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Title Guide to Sarnalr-

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A GUIDE TO SARNATH

BY
B. MAJUMDAR



Revised 2nd Edition

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

At the request of the readers of my 'Sarnath Vivaran' I am presenting my English Edition to the non-Bengali visitors to Sarnath, which, I hope, will help them in studying the monuments and antiquities unearthed there by the Archaeological Department. In the First Chapter before describing the First Sermon preached by the Sakya Sage at the Deer Park I have briefly sketched the life of the Great Master with particular reference to the Stele C(a)2, Plate XIII(a). I am thankful to my friend, Pandit Deshraj Sharma, M.A., M.O.L., for translating for me the original texts relating to the Nigrodhamiga Jataka and the First Sermon for inclusion therein. In the Second Chapter I have narrated the History of Sarnath based on the antiquarian data revealed there and supplemented it by a comparative study of sculptural art exhibited in the Museum. The Third Chapter of the book, which describes the principal monuments brought to light at Sarnath, is culled from the accounts of excavations that appeared in the publications issued by the Archaeological Survey of India. The red line in the Plan of Excavations (Plate I) indicates the route to the ruins of the Deer Park which the visitor is required to follow when inspecting the excavated site, as the monuments in this Chapter are arranged in that order. In the Fourth Chapter I have ventured to offer a different interpretation of the symbolic animals carved on the Lion Capital. (A1, Plate VI), tried to explain the philosophical significance of some of the Brahmanical sculptures detailed therein and incorporated the texts and translations of important inscriptions which, I believe, will be of some use to the students of epigraphy.

I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director General of Archaeology, who has kindly gone through my manuscript. The materials discovered at Sarnath deserve a comprehensive treatment, but for a guidebook I have followed the "Middle Path." **How far I have achieved that object it is for the reader to judge.**

B. MAJUMDAR

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NOTE FOR VISITORS

Sarnath lies some four miles north of Benares, not far from the high-road to Ghazipur. If one starts from the heart of the city—as for instance the Aurangzeb's Mosque near the Panchaganga-ghat—he has to pass due north of Lat Bhairav (the staff of Bhairo), cross the Varuna or Barna at Purana Pul or old bridge and take the metalled road to Ghazipur. Taxis, lorries and other conveyances, such as tongas, ekkas, etc., can be had at Kasi and Benares City Stations. Further there is a railway station at Sarnath on the O. T. Railway which is only about a mile off from the ancient remains at Sarnath. A visit may also be made from Benares Cantonment where visitors can find suitable accommodation in Clarke's Hotel and obtain a conveyance through the Manager of the Hotel.

There is no refreshment room at Sarnath Railway Station nor is there any conveyance or accommodation available in the locality, except small *dharmasalas* situated near the site. A mile from the station is the Archaeological Museum which is kept open between 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. every day. Admission to view the Museum is allowed only by purchasing " Permits " from the Ticket Office at the following rates :—

(a) Persons above 12 years of age at two annas per head.

(b) *Bona fide* students in parties not exceeding ten at a time in charge of a responsible teacher are admitted at half the rate, i.e., one anna per head. Application for this concession should reach the CURATOR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, SARNATH, NOT LESS THAN TEN DAYS BEFORE the date of the proposed visit.

(c) Children under 12 and over 3 are admitted, if *accompanied by a parent or parents or guardians*, at one anna, per head. Children below 3 years, so accompanied, are admitted free.

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The Museum establishment is maintained by the Archaeological Department and visitors are requested not to offer tips to any member of the staff.

awakened in him a genuine compassion for the sufferers and an
 abhorrence of war. 13

The extent of Asoka's empire can very well be gauged by the provenances of his major rock-edicts found incised at eight different places, viz.—

1. Shahbazgarhi (the Pu-lo-sha of Hiuen Tsang), nine miles from Mardan in the North-West Frontier Province,
2. Manshera in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province,
3. Kalsi in Dehra Dun District, U.P.,
4. Sopara (Surparaka) in the district of Thana north of Bombay,
5. The Girnar Hill (Girinagara) near Junagadh in Kathiawar,
6. Dhauli (the Dhavali Hill) in Puri District, Orissa,
7. Jaugada in Ganjam District, Orissa, and
8. Yerragudi or Jonnagiri in Kurnool District, Madras.

It appears from the Edict No. XIII that he ruled over the whole of India including Afghanistan, Sind, Nepal and the valley of Kashmir, except the southern extremity of the Peninsula. He maintained friendly relations with his neighbours the Chodas, Pandyas, Keralaputra, Satiyaputra and Tambaparni which fall within Southern India, and other outside potentates like Amtiyoka (Antiochus of Syria), Turamaya (Ptolemy of Egypt), Maga (Magas of Cyrene, c. 300-259) and Ahkasumbara (Alexander).³

There is a conflict of opinion about Asoka's original religion. Some maintain that in the beginning he was a follower of Saivism as is manifest from the bloody sacrifices alluded to in the inscriptions; while others, like Edward Thomas, hold that he was a Jaina and became a convert to Buddhism later on. However that be, he became an *Upasaka* or lay-worshipper after the close of the Kalinga war in the eighth year of his reign; thereafter, in the tenth year he established the system of *dharmayatra* (religious tours).

What his Dharma was and how far he wielded his spiritual force to uplift the moral character of his people are matters on which some light is thrown by his edicts. Nowhere in his edicts, however, do we find specific injunctions or explicit instructions to follow the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, the Chain of Causation and the Belief in Nirvana which constitute the basic principles of Buddhism. On the other hand, we find the quintessence of all

¹ The exact identity of this Alexander remains undetermined. Some scholars say he belonged to Epirus, others assign him to Corinth.

that is good and generally common to all religions ; for example obedience to parents and elders, respect for teachers, proper behaviour towards, friends and relations, etc., charity towards men and compassion towards animals. The code of duty was further enhanced by insistence on such other qualities as truthfulness, purity, self-control, tolerance, mildness, economy, the strength of will to follow the right course, etc. In fine, he aimed at the betterment of the self by right thinking, right speaking and right doing.

Asoka's catholic sagacity and far-sighted statesmanship is best exhibited by his insistence on toleration and the promulgation of his Dharma, which was not sectarian but universal—thus avoiding all religious controversy and bitterness among his own subjects. He was, however, a zealous adherent and defender of the religion of his adoption and tried his best for its spread in other lands. In the Mahavamsa, the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon, it is recorded that Asoka sent his own son Mahinda from Tamralipti to Ceylon with a mission (B.C. 250-230) to introduce Buddhism into that island. He was soon followed by his sister Sanghamitta (" Friend of the Order "), who brought over a band of nuns.

Asoka is said to have built during his lifetime several thousands of *stupas* enshrining the relics of the Buddha in various corners of his wide-flung empire, so that his subjects may be able to offer worship to the remains of the founder of the faith. Of the monuments unearthed at Sarnath, three can with certainty be assigned to the Asokan period. The magnificent column, found a few yards to the west of the Main Shrine, was erected by the Emperor most probably to commemorate the reputed spot where the Buddha preached his First Sermon. Originally it was a single piece of sandstone from the Chunar quarries, but it is now shattered into pieces. On the west face of its broken stump, which stands *in situ*, the edict is engraved in clear-cut Brahmi characters (Plate III). The royal command warns the monks and nuns against creating schism in the ranks of the Fraternity at Sarnath. The magnificent capital (A1, Plate VI), which once crowned the column, is now exhibited in the Central Hall of the Museum at Sarnath.

The next monument of the Maurya period is the brick *stupa*¹ or relic tower situated near the Asoka pillar. In the Mahavamsa

¹ *Stupa* (*thupa*), funeral mound, is a solid structure with a cylindrical base supporting a hemispherical dome built of stone or brick. They were first raised to enshrine relics of the Buddha or of his disciples, next to mark a holy spot connected with some important event in the career of the Master or one of his previous existences and later on as a mark of merit. For the details of the construction and dedication of a *stupa*, see *Mahavamsa*, pp. 169 seq.; *Divyavadana*, p. 244; Cunnin gham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Ch. XI11; H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, 11, pp' 210-12; A. Foucher, *L'art Greco-Buddhique*, pp. 94-98.

and other ancient Buddhist texts it is recorded that the corporeal remains of the Buddha after his cremation had been divided into eight portions and were enshined in eight *stupas* or tumuli erected at Bajagriha (Rajgir), Vaisali (Basarh), Kapilavastu, Alakappo, Eamagiama (Ranipur Dcoriya in the district of Basti in Oudh), Vethadipa (modern Bettia, east of Gorakhpur), Pava (Padraona, 12 miles north-west of Kusinagara) and Kusinagaia (Kasia). Tradition relates that Asoka opened seven of them, leaving the *stupa* at Ramagiama undisturbed on account of its being guarded by the Nagas or snake-gods,¹ redivided the relics and deposited them in a multitude of *stupas*. The third memorial, that can be attributed to Asoka, is the square monolithic railing brought to light by Mr. Oertel while clearing the floor of the south chapel of the Main Shrine. This railing originally formed the crowning *harmika* of the Dharmalajika Stupa of Asoka.

Sunga period.—On Asoka's death in 231 B.C. the empire of the Mauryas founded by his grand-father, Chandragupta, fell to pieces. It came to an end in 185 B. C., when General Pushyamitra Sunga having treacherously slain his master, Brihadratha, the last king of the Maurya line, usurped the throne of Magadha. He revived the antique rites of Brahmanical worship and celebrated the *Asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) to proclaim himself the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Although no trace of any structure erected during the Sunga dynasty has yet been brought to light at Sarnath, the excavations of the area round the Asoka pillar and the Main Shrine have yielded two fragments of a head carved in the round and a stone railing, which may be assigned to the 2nd century B. C. Several of the posts of the railing bear votive inscriptions in Brahmi giving the names of the pious individuals or guilds who bore the cost of its erection. Operations conducted by Mr. H. Hargreaves in the year 1914¹⁵ also yielded sculptures, architectural remains, etc., which may also be attributed to the 2nd century B.C. Although Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king, is portrayed by later Buddhist writers as an enemy of Buddhism, it is clear from inscriptions on the gateway of the Stupa at Bharhut, the Second and Third Stupa at Sanchi in Central India and the Great Temple at Bodhi Gaya that these important landmarks in the history, of the Buddhist religion were erected in the time of his successors, who must have been tolerant rulers. The last king of the line, a man of licentious disposition, named Devabhuti, was assassinated and his throne usurped about 27 B.C., by his Brahmana minister Vasudeva, whose successors are known as the Kanvas.

¹ A fragmentary sculpture, C(b)9, unearthed in 1904-05 east of the Main Shrine illustrates the legend of the Ramagrama Stupa. The interlaced triple-hooded snakes which encircle the drum of the *stupa* represent the dragons or Nagas who guarded the *stupa* at Ramagrama and dissuaded Asoka from removing the relics of the Buddha enshrined in it.

Andhra period.—The most important dynasty at the beginning of the Christian era in Central and Northern India was that of the Andhras. To this period are assigned the twelve railing posts, D (a)1 to 12, Plate VIII, which were found towards the north-west of the Main Shrine and certainly belonged to the early school of Indian art. Of the devices sculptured upon them the most interesting are :—the *pipal* tree with a railing and pendant garlands, the *triratna* (trident) symbol indicating the Buddha, *Dharma* (law) and *Samgha* (order) combined with *dharmachakra* (Wheel-of-the-Law) on the top of a Persepolitan pillar with bell-shaped capital ; the *stupa* with a double railing (*hti*), parasol, steamers and garlands ; a *chaitya* hall and a hermit's hut (*parna-sala*) with its covering of leaves.

Kushana period.—About the middle of the first century of the Christian era Kujula-Kadphises, the powerful chief of the Kushana sept of the Yueh-chih horde of nomads, descended through the Bactrian steppes and conquered the Kabul region, Gandhara and Taxila from the Parthians. In or about 78 A. D. he was succeeded by his son, Wima-Kadphises, who subjugated Northern India as far down as Benares. Then c. 125 A. D. Kanishka, the most powerful and adventurous king of the Kushana dynasty, ascended the throne, made Purushapura (Peshawar) his capital and extended his conquests from the borders of Central Asia to the basin of the Ganges. First he appears to have had leanings towards the Zoroastrian faith but also worshipped Hindu deities ; later he embraced Buddhism, held a council of Buddhist monks in Kashmir under the presidency of Vasumitra to settle the disputed questions of the Faith and became a follower of the Mahayana School of Buddhism. He opened some of the *stupas* of Asoka and re-deposited the relics in the *stupas* raised by him at Peshawar, Muttra and other places. Kanishka also built numerous monasteries and Buddhist religion and Buddhist art flourished under the royal patronage. The most important innovation introduced during this period is the Buddha image. In the Early Indian School, when events in the life of the Buddha were illustrated in plastic form, the Master was never represented in his bodily figure, but his presence was depicted merely by a symbol, such as *his throne, foot-prints, umbrella* or *an empty seat* under a tree, indicating his enlightenment. Although the Buddha did not emphasize in his teaching the existence of a Creator or of the individual self, the Sakya Sage was himself elevated in course of time by the Mahayana School of his followers to the position of a godhead and the saviour of mankind. The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhara (by which term the Peshawar District and surrounding territories are meant) strongly impregnated with the influence of classical Greek art first started the portrayal of the

figure of the Buddha and produced the principal incidents of the life of the Lord as well as the Jataka legends in bas-reliefs with which the *stupas* were decorated. About the beginning of the Christian era Mathura was ruled by Satraps or Governors of the Kushana overlords and thus came in close touch with the Gandhara country. The local artists, being inspired by the influence of the North-West, introduced the figure of Buddha in plastic art. The strong influence of the older traditions of the indigenous school on the one hand and the feeble imitation of Gandhara art on the other has imparted to the products of the Mathura School characteristics, which some critics consider as grotesque. A specimen of this class of work is illustrated in Plate IX *b*. It is an inscribed colossal standing Bodhisattva statue, B (a)1, of red sandstone of Mathura recovered at Sarnath in the area between the Main Shrine and the Dharmarajika Stupa of Asoka. A carved umbrella with its inscribed post, which originally sheltered the image, has also been unearthed in the same area. The purport of the inscriptions is that the third regnal year of Maharaja Kanishka the statue and an umbrella with a post dedicated by Friar Bala were erected at Benares on the place where the Lord used to walk (*Bhagavato chamkame*). The figure with two plain garments without ornaments represents Bodhisattva Gautama and indicates the period between the *mahabhiniskramana* (Great Renunciation) and the *sambodhi* (Perfect Enlightenment). The lower, portion of the body is clad in an *antarvasaka* (undergarment) fastened by a double *fta*, girdle; whilst the drapery of the upper robe (*sanghati*) resting on the left arm is treated in a most primitive fashion. It may also be noted that the left fist on the hip is stiff, expressionless and unnatural.

After the death of Kanishka in c. 170 A.D. his son Huvishka ascended the throne and ruled over Kabul, Kashmir, the Punjab and Mathura. In c. 187 A.D. he was succeeded by Vasudeva, in whose time the Kushana power was on the wane. Like Wima Kadphises this prince was a devotee of Siva and Buddhism did not receive any share of royal favour. The descendants of Vasudeva became an insignificant power and the kingdom in course of time fell an easy prey to the fresh invading hordes of White Huns. The later Sakas perhaps also supported Brahmanical Hinduism and patronized the Sanskrit language.

Gupta period.—When the Kushana sun was under eclipse, a greater luminary arose in the east in the person of Chandragupta, a local chief of Pataliputra, who, having married a princess named Kumaradevi of the Lichchhavi clan of Vaisali, was able to carve a kingdom which included Oudh, North Bihar and adjacent district. He perhaps established the Gupta era in 319 A.D. to commemorate the date of his enthronement or coronation but he

did not long outlive his meteoric rise. He was succeeded by Samudragupta, his son by Kumaradevi, who followed an ambitious and enterprising career and succeeded in extending the power of the Guptas till it reached the foot of the Himalayas on the north, the Narmada on the south, the Brahmaputra on the east and the Jumna and the Chambal rivers on the west. The inscription of Samudragupta, engraved on the Asoka pillar that now stands inside the Fort of Allahabad, contains the records of his extensive conquests, of his sharp and polished intellect, choral skill and musical and poetical accomplishments. Although he was a follower of Brahmanism and celebrated the *Asvamedha yajna* (horse sacrifice) in accordance with the ancient Vedic rites, he treated Buddhism with respect and extended his royal favour to Vasubandhu, the famous Buddhist author. He maintained friendly relations with Meghavarna the Buddhist king of Ceylon, who built a monastery near the Bodhi tree at Bodhi Gaya. After the death of Samudragupta, his son and chosen successor; Chandragupta II, ascended the throne (about 380 A.D.) and assumed the title of Vikramaditya. During his reign, when the Gupta power was at its zenith, the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, who travelled in India, visited the Buddhist establishment at the Deer Park (Sarnath) and found four large *stupas* and two monasteries with monks residing in them.

In A. D. 414 Kumaragupta I succeeded his father Chandragupta II and ruled for over 40 years. A broken image of the Buddha, B (6) 173, seated in *bhumisparsamudra* (earth-touching attitude) was found in clearing a mound of spoil earth to the south of the Dharmarajika Stupa. From the short *Sanskrit epigraph of the fifth century A.D. incised on the upper rim of the base of the statue it appears that the donor was perhaps Emperor Kumaragupta himself. Towards the close of his life when the stability of the Gupta kingdom was threatened by powerful enemies, perhaps Iranians, Skandagupta, the Crown Prince, who was known for his mighty intellect, effectively overthrew the invading hosts and restored the falling fortunes of his family. A little later, the White Huns, a horde of Central Asian nomads, swept into India and came into conflict with the Gupta power. Emperor Skandagupta seems at first to have repulsed their attack, but towards the close of his reign these barbarians carrying fire and sword swept every thing before them and eventually broke up the fabric of the Gupta empire into fragments. In A.D. 467-8 Skandagupta having left no heir was succeeded by his half-brother, Purugupta, but the exact chronology of this period is obscure. A well-preserved Buddha image,

¹ "De[ya]dharmo-yam Kumaraguptasya " means " This [is] the pious gift of Kumaragupta ". See A. S. R., Part I I , 1006-07, pp. 89 and 91, fig. 9 ; also p. 99 Inscription No. VIII and facsimile on Pl. XXX.

Plate IX a, recovered in 1914-15 from the east area of the Main Shrine at Sarnath, bears on its pedestal an inscription dated in the expired Gupta year 154=473-4 A.D. The statue was dedicated by Bhikshu Abhayamitra in the reign of Kumaragupta II. Two other images of standing Buddha found at Sarnath were inscribed and dated in the expired Gupta era 157 (467-7 A.D.). (Plate IX c.) These are also the gift of the same Bhikshu, Abhayamitra, in the reign of Budhagupta.² These epigraphs reveal that in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D. Sarnath lay within the borders of the Gupta Kingdom. The technical treatment of these statues marked by a, chaste simplicity shows that even after the decline of the Imperial Guptas artistic skill was still maintained at a relatively high level.

The best period in the evolution of the culture of Northern India coincides with the rule of the Guptas. The Chinese traveller, Fa-Hien, who traversed the whole of Northern India between A.D. 405 and 411, speaks very highly of the people, their progress in literature, their civilization, their religion and their fine arts. With the revival of the ancient Vedic rites under the Gupta kings we notice a more extended employment of Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Brahmans; and it is probable that the great Sanskrit poet Kalidasa produced his immortal plays. At this time the principal Puranas and the laws of Manu took their present form. The advance of mathematics and astronomy is exemplified by the writings of Aryabhata and Varahamihira. The science of metal working also reached the climax and the Iron Pillar at the Qutb near Delhi stands as the finest example of metallurgical skill of the Gupta age.

In the field of art and architecture, structural monuments and edifices exist *in* considerable numbers as worthy examples of Gupta workmanship. The decorative sculptures on the temple at Deogarh in the Jhansi District carved with elegance and precision may take rank among the best products of the Indian genius. The brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore District presents the finest specimens of terracotta sculptures. The clear-cut decorative motifs combined with intricate geometrical ornamentations and floral arabesques (Plate V) harmoniously blended on the Dhamekh Stupa display the free interlacing of the contrapuntal texture of plastic themes in sonata forms over the surface of this Stupa (Plate IV),

The above remarks apply equally to the cult images of the Buddhists and Hindus of the Gupta period. The composition and style adopted by the Hellenistic artists, who first attempted to portray the Master, bear clear testimony to their familiarity with

¹ For the text and translation of the epigraph see Chapter IV of this Guide page 88 *infra*.

² *Ibid* p. 89 *infra*.

the sense of grace and rhythm in Greek art and illustrate a greater mastery over the technical difficulties than what their Indian predecessors were able to achieve ; but the foreign motifs failed to satisfy the lofty spiritual ideals of Indian Buddhism. On the other hand, the sculptor of the Gupta age brought up in an intellectual atmosphere with a wider range of thought and deeply imbued with the religio-aesthetic inspiration of the times, was not satisfied with the conventions laid down by the artists of the preceding age, whose handiwork with their Apollonic faces, luxuriant hair arranged in small wavy locks, smiling lips, elongated ear-lobes, flowing robes and the delicate sensibility to form appeared to him as the mere effigies of royal personages and not the embodiments of the Supreme Spirit. The problem facing the artist which he unsuccessfully tackled was how to superimpose on the existing technique the plastic expression of peace and tranquillity, detachment from the world of illusions and pure contemplation, without diminishing the vital rhythm and grace. The most typical example of the Gupta style is the image of the Buddha, B(b) 181, Plate X, discovered at Sarnath which is peace incarnate. It is not the transient earthly peace but peace eternal, which ennobles and elevates the heart of a finite being in contemplation of the Absolute Infinite, and lends peculiar charm to the face. The beauty of features characterized by "fullness of the monk's form and the transparent drapery illustrate the most striking conception of the rhythmic notes of sculptural sequence capable of transmitting passion into the emotion of self-renunciation. This image of the Master and numerous other sculptural essays tell the tale of the glorious efforts of the Indian artists in the golden age of the Guptas to mould and strengthen all that was best in the national character. But this happy state of affairs did not last long, having received a rude shock at the hands of the ferocious White Hun chiefs Toramana and Mihiragula who destroyed innumerable master-pieces in the wake of their sanguinary advance, reducing the great empire of the Guptas into a number of petty principalities.

Sarnath in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Hiuen Tsang's visit.—The tyranny inflicted upon the whole of Northern India by the White Huns was so greatly felt that a revolt broke out in A.D. 528 under the leadership of Baladitya, King of Magadha, and Yasodharman, a raja of Central India. Mihiragula was shorn completely of his powers, and the country again recovered from the ruthless oppression of the savage invaders. About this time or a little later the Maukhari clan succeeded in imposing its authority over a large portion of the modern United Provinces. A stone inscription found at Haraha in the Barabanki district of Oudh records that in 611 Vikrama era (A.D. 554) king Isanavarman made

a successful war with the Andhras and drove back the Gaudas of Bengal. Thus it appears that Benares was then within the territorial limits of the Maukharis. Isanvaraman was succeeded by Sarvavarman and after him came Avantivarman and Graharvarman. Again in A.D. 606 when Northern India was in a chaotic condition Harshavardhana, the younger son of Raja Prabhakara vardhana of Thanesar, ascended the throne and within six years of his reign he established an empire almost as extensive as that of the Guptas. He was an accomplished scholar and a well-known author. At first Harsha was a worshipper of Siva and the Sun but afterwards coming under the influence of Buddhism he forbade animal sacrifice like Asoka. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited the holy places of the Buddhist India between A.D. 629 and 645, has left a lucid account of Sarnath then in a prosperous condition under the rule of the Kanauj king. He found at Sarnath a *stupa* built by Asoka and a pillar of polished green stone standing in front of it. The precincts of the *sangharama* were divided into eight sections and connected by a surrounding wall. Continuing his description the pilgrim narrates that he found 1,500 priests studying the 'Little Vehicle' according to the Sammitlya School. Within the enclosure there was a richly decorated temple about 200 feet high and surmounted by a golden *amra* fruit. Inside the temple he saw a metal image of the Buddha turning the 'Wheel-of-the-Law'. To the south-west of this temple the traveller found a ruinous *stupa* 100 feet high built by Asoka and a stone pillar as bright as jade standing in front of it. Perhaps this is the Asoka pillar but nothing is mentioned in his account either of the edict of Asoka incised on the shaft or of the crowning lion capital (Plate VI). Hiuen Tasang writes, "It was here that Tathagata (the Buddha) having arrived at enlightenment began to turn the Wheel-of-the-Law"¹. He has also given a vivid description of other parts of Sarnath but it is needless to repeat it here.

Kanyakubjaraja Yasovarman ; Pratihara dynasty.— In A.D. 647 after the death of Harsha one of his ministers, Arjuna, usurped the vacant throne. For the next half century the history of Aryavarta is almost blank. In the beginning of the 8th century Yasovarman, king of Kanauj, was defeated and dethroned by Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir. During the period of confusion and disorder that followed, the Pratiharas, the Rashtrakutas and the Palas were engaged in a violent conflict to win the paramourty of Arvavarta. In the middle of the 9th century Mihira Bhoja (Adi-Varaha) of the Pratihara dynasty was on the throne of Kanauj, and reigned for about half a century. His successors held Kanauj

¹ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. London, 1906, Vol. I I, pp. 45-60 Waters On *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I I, pp. 48.56.

under their sway until 1018-19 when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India. No antiquities of the IratiLara family have yet been found at Sarnath.

Inscription of Mahipala of Bengal.—The inscription incised on a door-jamb, D(f)59, found at Sarnath mentions the name of Jayapala. Scholars are of opinion that this Jayapala is perhaps the nephew of king Dharmapala of the lala dynasty of Bengal. In another inscription of Samvat 1083 (A.D. 1026) it is stated that in the reign of Mahipala of Gauda (Bengal) the brothers Sthirarala and Vasantapala restored two monuments named *Dharmarajika* and *Dharmachakra* and built a new shrine of stone relating to the eight great places' (*ashtamahasthana sailagandhakuti*), Plate XVI.

Stone inscription of A.D. 1058.—In A.D. 1019 Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni led his army into the heart of Kanauj, then under the rule of Rajyapala, occupied the capital and destroyed many temples. After that event the Pratihara rule in Kanauj was extinguished but the dynasty remained. A chronic warfare between Mahipala, king of Gauda, and Gangeyadeva Kalachuri of Tripuri continued for a long time for the suzerainty over Eastern India. Benares was probably then ruled by the Palas of Bengal. Six fragments of a stone inscription, D(1)8, in corrupt Sanskrit and Nagari, were found in the monastery to the east of the Dhamekh Stupa. The epigraph, which is dated in the Kalachuri Samvat 810, on a Sunday (4th October 1058), mentions that in the reign of Kalachuri (Chedi) Karnadeva of Tripuri, a devout worshiper, Mamaka, a follower of Mahayana, caused a copy of *Ashtasahasrika* to be written and with other things presented to the order of the monks. From the purport of the inscription it appears that in the 11th century A.D. Sarnath lay within the limits of the Kalachuri kingdom and was then known by the name of *Saddharmachakrapavarttanavihara* or 'Convent of the Turning of the Wheel-of-the-Law.

Gaharwar dynasty ; Kumaradevi inscription ; Muhamdan invasion.—After the downfall of the Pratihara dynasty by Sultan Mahmud, a raja of the Gaharwar clan, named Chandradeva, occupied Kanauj and founded a new dynasty, which annexed Benares, Ayodhya and Delhi to its rule and lasted for a century. The stone inscription, D(1)9, incised on a rectangular slab excavated to the north of the Dhamekh Stupa records the construction of a *vihara* by Kumaradevi, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra of Kanauj. His grandson, Jayachandra, was defeated and slain by Mu'izz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam and in 1193, his general, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, entered Benares, sacked the city and destroyed

numerous temples. It is quite possible that the invader did not spare the monasteries and temples of Sarnath.

Destruction of Dharmarajika Stupa by Jagat Singh.—We have no knowledge of Sarnath after this depredation. In 1794 the Dharmajika Stupa of Asoka, the most venerable monument of Sarnath, was hammered down to its foundations by Babu Jagat Singh, Diwan of Raja Chet Singh of Benares, for obtaining materials for the construction of a *bazar* in Benares now known as Jagatganj. During this ruthless dismantling of the *stupa* his workmen found a green marble relic-casket inside a sandstone box. An account of this incidental discovery, written by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the then Resident of Benares, appears in Volume V of the *Asiatic Researches* issued in 1798.

Colonel Mackenzie's excavation.—The exploration of the site was first undertaken by Colonel C. Mackenzie and the sculptures discovered by him are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,

Sir Alexander Cunningham.—Next came General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1835-36. At his own expense he examined the Chaukhandi mound, opened Dhamekh Stupa and found a stone slab inscribed with the Buddhist creed, re-discovered the stone box referred to above, explored a monastery and a temple to the north of the Dharmarajika Stupa. His excavations yielded a large collection of images and bas-reliefs, which he presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and are now displayed in the Indian Museum. Some 40 sculptures and carved stones, left behind by the General, were used for a new bridge over the Barna. In his book, *The Sacred City of the Hindus*, the **Rev. Sbering** writes that "in the erection of one of the bridges over the Barna (Duncan Bridge), forty-eight statues and many other sculptured stones were removed from Sarnath and thrown into the river to serve as a breakwater to the piers; and that in the erection of the second bridge, the iron one, from fifty to sixty cartloads of stones from the Sarnath buildings were employed".

Excavation by Major Kittoe and others.—In 1851-52 Major Markham Kittoe, Government Archaeological Enquirer, while engaged in designing and constructing the Queen's College building at Benares, exposed numerous *stupas* around the Dhamekh Stupa. His spade-work revealed a quadrangular building to the north of the Jaina Temple and he supposed it to have been a hospital but it is in reality a monastery. While clearing another monastery situated to the west of the Jaina Temple Major Kittoe fell ill and died before he could write an account of his explorations. His work was first conducted by Mr. E. Thomas, C.S.; and afterwards by **Professor Fita-Edward Half**. Then about 1865 Mr. C. **Horn, C.S.**,

undertook the work and his finds are now in the Indian Museum; In 1877 Mr. Rivett-Carnac, C.S., found a Buddha image at Sarnath.

Mr. Oertel's excavations.—With the approval of the Archaeological Department Mr. F. O. Oertel, the then Executive Engineer of Benares Division, undertook excavations during the cold weather of 1904-05 and published a well-illustrated account in Part II of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for that year. He exposed the Main Shrine, found the Asoka pillar and its capital, (A1), Plate VI, examined Chaukhandi monnd and unearthed 476 pieces of sculptures and 41 inscriptions. Of these the most interesting antiquities are :—

1. B(a)1. Inscribed colossal Bodhisattva statue of Friar Bala with its umbrella and post, Plate IX b.
2. B(b)175. Inscribed image of seated Buddha.
3. B(b)181. Buddha preaching his First Sermon, Plate X.
4. B(d)1. Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Plate XI b.
5. B(d)6. Bodhisattva Manjusri, Plate XI a.
6. B(d)3. Nilakantha-Bodhisattva.
7. B(d)9. Standing figure of Avalokitesvara*
8. B(d)10. Standing figure of Maitreya.
9. B(e)6. Shadakshari group, Plate XIV b.
10. B(f)2. Standing figure of Tara, Plate XV b.
11. B(f)7. Image of Tara, Plate XV a.
12. B(f)19. Image of Vasudhara.
13. Bf/23. Figure of Marichi, Plate XV c.
14. C(b) & 2. Leogryphs with swordsmen, Plate XII.
15. C(b)9. Bas-relief representing the Stupa of Ramagrama.
16. D(g)5&6. Two capitals illustrating scenes of Buddha's life.

Excavations by the Archaeological Department.—In 1907 Sir John Marshall, assisted by Dr. Sten Konow and Messrs. W. H. Nicholls and D. R. Sahni started the excavation work and carried on the operations for two consecutive field seasons. His excavations covered the northern and southern areas of the site and conveyed a general idea of the ancient topography of Sarnath. From the northern half he unearthed three monastic buildings of the late Kushana period buried at a much lower level beneath an imposing structure built in the 12th century A.D. From the southern area, particularly around the Dharmarajika Stupa and on the north side of the Dhamekh Stupa, he brought to light numerous small

stupas and shrines. Of the antiquities recovered by the explorers the most interesting finds are :—

1. B(b)173. Inscribed broken image of the Buddha.
2. B(c)2. Buddha in *bhumisparsamudra*.
3. B(d)8. Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.
4. B(e)1. Jambhala and Vasudhara, Plate XIV a.
5. B(h)1. Colossal figure of Siva.
6. C(a)1, 2, Scenes of the Buddha's life, Plate XIII.
3 & 6.
7. D(g)4. Capital of a pillar, Plate VII.
8. D(a)1, 6, Railing pillars, Plate VIII.
7 & 11.
9. D(c)11. Inscribed fragment of the top of an umbrella.
10. D(d)1. The Kashantivadi Jataka.
11. D(l)8. Stone inscription of the 11th century A.D.
12. D(l)9. Kumaradevi inscription.

In 1914-15 the excavation of the areas to the north, east and west of the Main Shrine was resumed by Mr. H. Hargreaves. The result of his digging was of great value, since the dated inscriptions of Kumaragupta II and Budhagupta found by him afford valuable chronological data for these two Gupta kings. Besides these his operations yielded many architectural and other fragments ranging in date from the Mauryan period down to the late mediaeval age. Next Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahnî, the then Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, Lahore, continued the excavations for five consecutive field seasons. He completely exhumed the unexplored area between the Dhamekh Stupa and the Main Shrine and Monastery II and found that the partially exposed underground structure believed to be a covered drain for carrying off rain water from the Main Shrine was originally a long subterranean passage (*suranga*) leading to a small chamber used by monks for practising meditation in a sequestered place.

CHAPTER III

MONUMENTS

I shall now conduct my visitors over the ancient remains of Sarnath. As they will turn to the left from the Ghazipur Road at the fourth milestone they will notice on the left side of the road to Sarnath a lofty brick structure locally known as Chaukhandi Stupa, Plate II, crowned with an octagonal tower. In 1836 Sir Alexander Cunningham drove a vertical shaft through its centre down to the foundation in search of a relic chamber, but his digging did not lead to any discovery. The edifice was a memorial stupa

perhaps erected on the spot where Gautama Buddha on his way to Mrigadava first met the *Panchadravargiyas*, i.e., the five of the ' Blessed Band '.

In 1905 Mr. Oertel while examining the lower parts of the Stupa exhumed three square terraces about 12 feet high and a portion of an octagonal plinth of the Stupa with star-like points at the angles. The original fabric of the structure had disappeared but the outer walls of the terraces were provided with niches for statuary separated by brick pilasters. Amongst the finds discovered are:—

1. B(b)182. Image of Gautama Buddha seated in the attitude of expounding law (*dharmachakramudra*). Gupta.

2. B(d)9. Avalokitesvara with Amitabha in head-dress and a kneeling female figure. Early Mediaeval.

3. B(d)10. Figure of Maitreya. Early Mediaeval.

4-5. C(b)1 & 2. Two bas-reliefs representing leogryphs and two gladiators perhaps adorned the either side of steps leading to the upper terrace of the Stupa. Gupta. Plate XII.

According to Hiuen Tsang the height of the Stupa was 300 feet but Mr. Oertel judging from the expanse of the base estimates that it was about 200 feet. The present height of the Stupa including the octagonal tower is 84 feet from the level of the ground.

The octagonal tower surmounting the Stupa was constructed to commemorate a visit paid by Humayun to that place. The Persian verses engraved on a stone slab fixed above the northern doorway give the following account of its erection :—

الله أكبر

(۱) جو اینجا شاه جنس آسبانی

همایون بادشاه هفت کشور

(۲) روزی آمد در تخت بنشینست

وز آن شد مطلع خورشید انور

(۳) کوپردن بلده را آمد بخاطر

غلام خانه زان شاه اکبر

(۴) که سازد جایگی بهر تبرک

معا کندے چون چرخ اخضر

(۵) تو آتش سال ز نه صد بود تا این

که آمد بهرینا ایمن خوب منظر

" ALLAH IS GREAT.

(1) " Since here the Bong Jannat Ashyani, Humiyun, the ruler of seven climes,

(2) " Came one day and sat on the throne, rendering (the spot) thereby like the rising place of the resplendent sun ;

(3) " It came to the mind of this humble creature, Gobardhan, a house-born slave of King Akbar,¹

(4) " To erect, as a sacred memorial, a magnificent dome resembling the blue firmament.

(5) " The year was nine hundred and ninetysix when this elegant edifice came into existence². "

From the top of the tower visitors will enjoy a pleasant bird's eye view of the country around. The modern brick platform with a flag at the foot of the Stupa is used by the villagers for sacrificing goats to the image of Omkarvir installed on it.

Just half a mile off the Chaukhandi Stupa lie the famous Buddhist remains of the Deer Park. On the right side of the road stands the Archaeological Museum wherein the sculptures and antiquities discovered from the site are exhibited. Visitors are, however, requested to view the ruins first, following the red line on Plate I which shows the route leading thereto.

Monastery V.—On entering the site visitors will first notice the remains of a quadrangle at a much lower level on the right hand side of the road. The monastery (*sangharama*) excavated by Major Markham Kittoe in 1851-52 contains an open courtyard 50' square, surrounded by ranges of cells 8½'x 8', on the four sides (*chatuhsala*) for the habitation of monks and a well in the centre of the court. Access to them was originally provided by a passage supported on pillars around the court. The central room-on the north was the entrance chamber and three chambers projected towards the north consisting of one protico (*mukhabhadra*) and two guard-rooms (*pratihara-kaksha*), respectively. A terracotta sealing with the Buddhist creed *Ye dharmma hetu-prabhava*. . . . in characters of the 9th century A.D. and an alms-bowl of fine clay, similar to F(6) 92, containing cooked rice and other earthen vessels were found from the cells of the south row. It is believed that the monastery was destroyed by a great fire.

¹ Govardhan was the son of Raja Todar Mal, *vide* Journal of the U.P. Hist. Society, Vol. XV, pp. 55-64.

² Maulvi Mohd. Ashraf Husain is responsible for the decipherment and translation of the above inscription. It has also been edited by Dr. B. Prasad in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. LXIII, pp. 11—17.

¹ 4.S.R.. Part I I . 1904-5, p. 74.

Monastery VII.—To the west of this are the remains of another Monastery of the late mediaeval period built on the ruins of an older structure of about the same size. There is the same open quadrangle, 30' square, surrounded by a paved verandah with ranges of cells on the four sides and a well in the north-east corner of the court. The cells have all disappeared with the exception of portions of the front walls and the paved verandah. Of the clay seals and sealings found in the monastery was a die, 1½" diameter, stamped with *Sri-Sishyada* in characters of the mediaeval period. The condition of the bases of the verandah columns found *in situ* shows that fire was also the cause of the destruction here as in the Monastery V,

Dharmarajika Stupa.—Proceeding towards the northern area visitors will inspect the ruins of the Dharmarajika Stupa. In 1794 the workmen employed by Babu Jagat Singh not only reduced this ill-fated edifice to a mere shell but rifled the contents of a cylindrical green marble casket (*manjusha*) encased in a large round stone box found at a depth of 18 cubits under the surface. The original marble casket has disappeared but the outer sandstone case rediscovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1835 is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In 1849 Major Kittoe recovered from Babu Jagat Singh's house an inscribed pedestal (*padmapitha*), B(c)1, Plate XVI, found by him at or near the Stupa. In spite of Jagat Singh's rapacity and other diggings carried out here by previous excavators, the operations conducted by Sir John Marshall in 1907-08 around the base revealed the history of successive rebuilding carried out at different periods over the core of the original Stupa at different levels. The concentric ring of the Stupa erected by Asoka measured 44' 3" in diameter. The bricks range in size, some being 19½" X 14½" X 2½" others 16½" x 12½" x 3½". They are slightly wedge-shaped, the smaller ends being laid nearer the centre of the Stupa. The first addition appears to have been made in the Kushana period with bricks of 17" X 10½" x 2¾" but half bricks are also noticed. The second enlargement belongs to the 5th or 6th century A.D., when a *pradakshinapatha* or circumambulatory passage of nearly 16' across encircled the Stupa and was encompassed by a solid outer wall of 4' 5" high pierced by four doorways at each of the cardinal points. In the 7th century A.D. the *pradakshinapatha* was, however, filled up and access to the Stupa then provided by placing from outside four flights of stone each containing six steps (*sopana*) cut out of single blocks. The next two additions date back to the 9th or 10th century A.D. and the last encasing of the Stupa took place when the Dharmachakrajinavihara of Kumaradevi was erected to the north aide of the site. **Operations around this**

monument brought to light crowds of subsidiary *stupas* and finds of which the following deserve notice :—

1. B(a). Colossal statue of Bodhisattva with inscriptions of the third regnal year of Kanishka. Plate IX *b*.

2. B(b)8. Standing Buddha in the attitude of granting security (*abhayamudra*). Gupta.

3. B(b)181. Gautama Buddha in *dharmachakramudra* Gupta. Plate X.

4. B(b)193. Gautama Buddha expounding law (*vydkhydnamudra*) attended by Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. Late Gupta.

5. B(c)110. Standing Buddha in *abhayamudra*. Late Gupta.

6. B(f)12. Standing figure of Tara in *varadamudra* (gift-bestowing attitude). Buddhist creed in Nagari characters of the 8th century A.D.

7. D(b)4. Votive Stupa cut out of a single block. Four figures in relief, *viz.*, Buddha, Tara, Avalokitesvara and Manjusri.

It is believed that remains of an earlier period still lie buried beneath this monument.

Main Shrine.—Some 20 yards of the Pharrmarajika Stupa stands a ruined temple, about 18' high, surrounded by a concrete pavement extending some 40' in every direction. The building, 60' along each side, is square in plan and faces to the east. It is built of bricks and plaster with a medley of carved stones from earlier structures. From the well-preserved mouldings on all sides of the outer facings, the thick walls intended to support a massive and lofty superstructure and the description recorded in Hiuen Tsang's "count it seems not unreasonable to conclude that this remarkable building Was the " Chief Fane " (*Mulagandhakuti*) " about 200 feet high and surmounted by a golden *amra* fruit ". The brick mouldings on the plinth consist of a torus and scotia with fillets between and those on the existing walls are decorated with circular niches adorned with pilasters with vase-shaped bases and bracket capitals and other ornamentations of the Gupta period. The rectangular chapels projecting from the north, west and south sides and the portico on the east make the plan of the shrine a regular Greek cross. A standing Buddha image, B(6)6, in Gupta style on a low brick pedestal Was found in the southern chapel ; while the platforms in the other two chapels have lost their images. The original construction of the temple had undergone, many changes and in order to protect the roof from collapsed brick walls within the principal chamber Were built up at a later date reducing its size to 23' 6" on each side.

Monolithic Railing.—While following the foundations of the south chapel Mr. Oertel discovered the plain monolithic railing, each side 8' 4" in length and 9" in height, fenced round a small brick *stupa* and almost intact except for some breakage on the north and west. It has four uprights on each face with three lozenge-shaped crossbars (*suchl*) between, a bevelled coping above and a massive plinth below. This railing, though devoid of any ornament, displays the high water-mark of workmanship achieved in the Mauryan period on account of its brilliant polish and the exquisite precision with which it is cut entire from a single block of sandstone. As in other *stupas* built by Asoka the railings must have originally formed the crowning *harmika* of the Dharmarajika Stupa.

Two dedicatory inscriptions written in Sanskrit are incised on the railing. The one on the east plinth reads :—

dchd[rya]nam sarvvastivddinam... .parigahetavam

" Homage of the masters of the Sarvastivadin_____ "

Dr. Sten Konow remarks " the inscription consists of two distinct parts in different characters. The beginning belongs to the third or fourth century A.D. The final portion, *parigahetavam*, is older by about four centuries. It appears that the first part of the earlier inscription has been erased and a different beginning substituted "

The second epigraph on the central bar of the south side of the railing records :—

(a) *dcharyyanam sarvvastiva-*

(b) *dinam parigrahe*

" Homage of the teachers of the Sarvastivadin sect. "

From the above two epigraphs it may be inferred that the Sarvastivadins scratched out the name of some other sect and substituted their own name as a donor of this railing or perhaps to assert their own predominance at Sarnath. The Stupa enclosed by the railing was examined but nothing was found in it.

The concrete pavement or the processional path around the Main Shrine referred to above dates from the same age as the later brick walls inside the principal chamber. Beneath it was found a succession of layers superimposed one above the other at different periods. The lowermost layer in front of the eastern doorway was found composed of stones taken from older structures. Among them are :—

1. C(b)2. A reotangular votive slab (*aydgapata*) bearing an ornamental wheel surrounded by four *triratna* (trident) symbols and lotus buds in the Mauryan style.

2. C(b)13. A similar slab representing an ornamental **thunderbolt** (*vajra*) and *svastika* of the 1st century B.O.

3. D(a)16. A fragmentary pillar of a railing bears a Prakrit epigraph of the 2nd century B.C., but from a second inscription incised thereon it appears that this railing stone was removed from its original position and used as a lamp-post of the *Mulagandhakufi* in the 4th or 5th century A.D.

1. [Bha]riniye saham Jateyika[ye thabho danam]

" [This pillar is the gift] of Jateyika together with Bharini."

2. 1. 1. *Deyadharmmo-yam paramopa-*

1. 2. [sa]ka-Kirtteh [mula-ga]ndhaku-

1. 3. [tyam pra]di[p.....ddhah]

" This is the pious gift of the devoted worshipper Kirtti, a lamp put up in the Principal Shrine."

The pointed niche in which the earthen lamp was placed is still intact and a line of soot adheres to the surface above the niche.

The clearance of the long passage by which the Main Shrine was approached from the east revealed a host of *stupas* of various sizes, ruined shrines, etc., and stone sculptures as well as tablets of sunburnt clay, of which the most interesting are :—

1. C(a)3. Stele (*urddhvapatta*) illustrating the eight principal events of the Buddha's life. Gupta. Plate XIII b.

2. B(c)9. Seated Buddha in *bhumisparsamudra* with three-peaked crown (*mukuta*). On back Buddhist creed in characters of 9th century A.D.

3. B(d)19. Manjusri seated on lion (*simhasanastha*). Late Mediaeval.

4. B(e)1. Kubera or Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth, and his *sakti* (female counterpart), Vasudhara, the goddess of plenty. On pedestal a five-line inscription in characters of the 11th century A.D. Plate XIV a.

The approach way also yielded small ruined *stupas*, architectural fragments and numerous sculptures, of which three inscribed Buddha images (22E, 39E and 40E ; Plate IX a & c) supply new dates of the Gupta rulers, as well as terracotta votive *stupas* and sealings. In front of the Main Shrine is a large rectangular chamber or court (No. 36 in Plate I) with a variety of other structures adjoining it. The walls are only 2'5" thick and the foundations about a foot deep. The interior surface is of brick and concrete paving. The solid brick platform against its west wall shows that it was presumably the seat of the teacher. Originally this chamber was surrounded by a stone railing from outside, a piece of which, D(a)39, bears the following inscription in Brahmi characters of the 2nd century B.C.

Bhikunikaye Samvahikaye danam ala[m]banam

" [This] base stone [is] the gift of the nun Samvahika."

Now turning to the north visitors will notice the plinth of a large Stupa (No. 40 in Plate I), about 18' square. The superstructure had all decayed away but the excavation of its plinth disclosed a stratum of unbaked clay tablets inscribed with the Buddhist creed. The characters are of the 8th or 9th century A.D. Around the Main Shrine is an array of small *stupas* and chapels in different states of preservation.

Asoka Pillar.—Proceeding to the western area of the Main Shrine Mr. Oertel brought to light first the capital of the monolithic column, next some fragments of the shaft and lastly the inscribed stump, 6'8" high, *in situ*. Excavations around the Asoka column and at a depth of 3' below the concrete terrace revealed a stone pavement and below this again four brick walls around the pillar. Further down, the base of the column was found resting on a large flat stone, 8' X 6' X 18". The stump embedded in the ground is rough, the rest of the shaft including the capital is well chiselled and highly polished. The capital (A1 ; Plate VI) and a few pieces of the crowning wheel are now exhibited in the Central Hall of the Museum. Hiuen Tsang describes the pillar about 70' high and as bright as jade, but the pilgrim does not mention the edict of Asoka incised on the west face of the shaft or the striking features of the lion capital. The monolithic pillar (*stambha* or *lat*), when intact, was about 50' in height and cut out of a single block of sandstone of the Chunar quarry. The shaft of the pillar is circular in section and slightly tapering with a base diameter of 2' 4" and a top diameter of 1'10".

The lower portion of the shaft standing *in situ* bears three epigraphs. The earliest one records an edict of Emperor Asoka in well-out Brahmi characters. It warns the monks and nuns against creating schism in the *Sangha* at Sarnath. The epigraph originally consisted of eleven lines. Of these the first two were destroyed when the pillar suffered from wilful destruction (Plate III). The royal edict thus commands:—

1. *Deva*.
2. *el*.
3. *Pita*. *ye kenapi samghe bhetave e chum kho*
4. *[bhikh]u [va bhikh] uni va samgham bh [akha]ti se odatani
dusani [sa] mnamdhapayiya anavasasi*
5. *avasayiye hevam iyam sasane bhikhu-samghasi cha bhikhuni-
samghasi cha vimnapayitaviye*

6. *hevam Devdnampiyē aha hediśa cha ika lipi tūphakamtikam huvati samsalanasi nikhita*

7. *ikam cha, lipim hediśameva updsakdnamtikam nikkhipatha te pi cha upasaka anuposatham yavu*

8. *etameva sasanam visvamsayitave anuposatham cha dhuvaye ikike mahamate posathaye*

9. *yati etameva sasawam visvamsayitave ajanitave cha avate cha iūphakam ahale*

10. *savata vivasyadtha tūphe etena viyamjanena hevameva savesu-kota-vishavesu etena,*

11. *viyamjanena vivasapayatha*

1. Deva[nampriya]

2. Pata[liputra]

3. . . . the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by anyone.

4. But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.

5. Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

6. Thus speaks Devanampriya : Let one copy of this (edict) remain with you deposited in (your) office; and deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

7-9. These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict; and invariably on every fast-day, every *Mahamatra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).

10-11. And as far as your district (extends), dispatch ye (an officer) everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).¹

The second inscription is of the Kushana period and reads *rpdrigehye rajna Asvaghoshasya chatarise savachhare hemata-pakhe prathame divase dasame....."* In the fortieth year of Rajan Asva hosha, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day." There are some letters at the beginning and the' end of the inscription, which have been intentionally rubbed off.²

The third record is incised in early Gupta characters,³ It reads as follows:—

A[cha]ryyanam Sa[mni]tīyanam parigraha Vatsiputrikanam.

¹ *Inscriptions of Atoka* by E. Hultzach, 1925, pp. 161-164.

² *E.I.* 8 171.

³ *E.I.* 8 172.

" Homage of the masters of the Sammitlya sect (and) of the Vatsiputrika school."

Area West of Main Shrine.—Just a few yards to the west of the A&oka pillar came to light an apsidal-ended edifice of the late Maurya period and above it traces of a monastery of a later date and other structural remains. The earlier construction shows the layout of an apsidal temple (*chaitya* hall),¹ used for the purpose of congregation by the order of the monks. The apsidal type of building is very common in the early Buddhist architecture of India and except for some Brahmanical temples does not survive in later Indian works. The skeletal remains of the foundation of the apsidal temple leave no doubt that this type was also, like the *viharas*, necessitated by the exigencies of monastic life. It is 82' 6" in length and 38' 10" in width with a semi-circular apse at its back towards the west. The outer face of the remains is covered with stucco (*sudha*), while none of the bases of capitals is left and the ruins of the temple are very meagre as practically there is nothing above ground. The examination of this area reveals the fact that the monuments on this side were wilfully destroyed; while the antiquities ranging in date from the Maurya epoch down to the late Gupta period suffered the ravages of a great fire. The objects unearthed from this area comprise of fragmentary remains of human, semi-human and animal figures; railings, cross-bars and copings, capitals with volutes; portions of a large wheel resembling the one which crowned the Hon capital of the Asoka pillar, stone bowls, terracottas, etc.

Area North of Main Shrine.—Now turning to the Asoka pillar and proceeding northward following the red line in Plate I, visitors will approach the paved open passage, like the approach on the east side of the Main Shrine, flanked on either side by smaller memorials of various ages and at various levels. From the western row of this passage came to light a standing Bodhisattva, B(a)2, of the 2nd century A.D."; while the eastern row yielded a seated Buddha image, B(b)242, in a niche of a small *stupa*. Not far from it, say, about 20 yards north-west of the steps terminating the passage, Sir John Marshall exhumed a late Gupta Shrine (No. 50) with an opening on east and west and brought to light two carved pilasters originally forming the jambs of a door-frame on the east and stone pedestals and stone umbrellas from outside the north and south walls of the shrine. No image has been found in the shrine except a stone slab, perhaps used as a *homakunda*, of irregular shape fixed to the floor with brick-on-edge. Among the

¹ The word '*chaitya*' is derived from the root *child* meaning a funeral pile, i.e. a Buddhist Stupa. The semi-circular portion of the monument represents the *stupa* and the hall in front of the apse is meant for congregations.

finds recovered from this part of the site two are of special value. One is a magnificent stone lintel, D(d)1, of Gupta date, 16' long, decorated with figures of Jambhala, Bodhisattva, dancing girls, women with musical instruments. The relief is divided into six panels, of which four compartments illustrate the Jataka of Kshantivadin, ' the Preacher of Forbearance ', described hereafter. The other is a railing in the late Mauryan style, D(a)1-12, (Plate VIII), consisting of 12 richly sculptured uprights found standing in the form of a rectangle. A number of clay tablets and sealings of the Gupta period were also found lying on the floor, bedded in ashes and earth.

Further out and beyond the limits of the passage visitors will notice a curious ring of brick-work with a small solid square projecting through the north-west. The different size of bricks and the technique used in the two structures clearly show that the square being a sacred monument of the pre-Gupta period was not disturbed but was incorporated with the later work. Surrounding this and separated by a space of 3' is another concentric ring, 4' 9" thick, but partly demolished on the north and the south and cross-walls of a later date built against it. These structures do not, therefore, appear to be successive encasements of a *stupa* and there being no access between them the intervening passage is not for *pradakshina*.

MONASTERY AREA

The passage from this structure down to the due north of the southern wall of the ' Monastery Area ' was found devoid of buildings and the gap in the boundary wall at this point perhaps afforded direct access from the Main Shrine to this part of the site.

The Buddhist monastery (*sangharama*) was founded in every centre of the Order for the dwelling of religious communities (*sanghas*) or individuals who have retired from society in order to lead a disciplined life of celibacy with vows of poverty and chastity, the aim being contemplation and asceticism in order to attain spiritual freedom by self-denial and self-conquest. The great development in this direction took place during the reign of Asoka, when Buddhist monasteries originally were dependent upon the Imperial Government. The Sarnath pillar edict marks an epoch of monastery reform, which commands monks and nuns to observe strict morality and follow monastic canons. The excavation of the site has revealed no examples of the monasteries of the Maurya period. Perhaps they have yielded to the ravages of time or were later rebuilt or transformed for other purposes. Earlier monasteries brought to light at Sarnath may be said to have followed one general plan of arrangement of the cells, necessary for the canonical life. The entrance chamber led into a

pillared court surrounded by cells on the four sides for the habitation of monks, one cell being set apart for the seat of the teacher to attend the general meetings of the Fraternity held for the purpose of reading the scriptures. The open court perhaps served as the general meeting hall of the assembled monks. Access to the cells was provided by a covered walk supported on pillars around the court.

Dharmachakra Jinavihara (Monastery I)—The excavations of the 'Monastery Area' laid bare an important architectural monument representing an epoch of construction at Sarnath when ideas of splendour and comfort had replaced that of an austere and simple monastic life. The monument, according to the *prasasti*, D(1)9, found north of the Dhamekh Stupa, was a worthy endowment of Kumaradevi, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra, the king of Kanauj (A.D. 1114-1154). The precincts so far exposed cover a stretch of ground more than 760' from east to west and consist of a central block of buildings, which stands due north to the Main Shrine, with an open paved court on the west bounded by rows of cells on the other three sides. Near the north-west corner of the court is a well surrounded by a low parapet. The basement of the monastery is built of neatly chiselled bricks, decorated with a variety of elegant mouldings on both its exterior and interior faces, and standing to a height of about 8 feet. All the halls and apartments of the monks have disappeared, but there are traces of cross-foundation walls of vanished chambers. The stone-work—such as door-jambs (*dvara-sakha*), lintels, *chhajjas* (eaves) and other architectural members—all carved and chiselled in precisely the same sober style—employed in this building were found lying in great heaps over the basement and in the courtyard below. It is, therefore, manifest that these were used for the construction of the apartments in the superstructure above, a few remains of which survive at the north end of the eastern row with stone bases of four corner pilasters and chiselled brick wallings between. The moulded brick plinth around the quadrangle and on the outside of the buildings had double projections on the south, east and north faces of the quadrangle and in the centre of each face was a flight of steps. The projection facing the east was divided into a number of chambers and the central one flanked with steps. Perhaps the latter served as a hall of audience (*upasthana-bhumi*) through which monks used to pass into the interior of the courtyard, 114' from east to west, flagged with heavy pavestones. The entrance to it was furnished on the outside with richly carved bastions inserted in the boundary wall and provided with a gate-keeper's lodge within. Passing through this gateway visitors will enter a more spacious court, 290' from east to west,

On the southern side of which is a monastery of an earlier period containing several chambers. Beyond this is the second gateway of more elaborate and massive dimensions than the First Gateway. Between the bastions and the gatekeeper's lodge there was a large gate-house (*dvaragopura*) containing several chambers. The excavations of the area beyond the second gateway revealed the existence of two parallel walls stretched out towards the east and it is quite possible that a third gateway still lies buried beneath.

This extensive area was occupied in earlier days by several monasteries. One of these, Monastery II, is situated at the western limits; another, Monastery III, lies in front of the eastern entrance of the Vihara of Kumaradevi and beneath the two courtyards; and a third, Monastery IV, standing beneath the second court and under its southern boundary wall. No attempt has yet been made to trace out the northern boundary wall which perhaps lies near the edge of the *jhil* (wet ditch). The southern area is bounded by a long wall stretching from the second gateway to the western limits of the site.

At the westernmost extremity of the site, a special feature of interest is a subterranean passage (*suranga*) leading into a small mediaeval shrine. It commences 34 feet to the west of the monastery buildings and is provided with a flight of steps, which leads to the underground passage running about 10' below the present ground level. The entrance is very low. The floor and the roof are composed of sandstone slabs laid side by side; while the side walls, 6' high and 3' 4" wide internally, are partly constructed of stone and partly of bricks. The inner faces of the walls were plastered. At a distance of 87' from the entrance the passage widens out into a chamber, 12' V and 6' 10" internally, and continues in a westerly direction till it joins the shrine, 8' 10½" X 7' 6" internally, which is now complete ruins and of which nothing but the bases of walls remains. The small niches in the walls of the passage were meant to hold oil-lamps and show that devotees used to resort to this shrine at night to practise spiritual exercises in this solitary place.

Of the antiquities found in this area the following deserve notice:—

1. B(c)59. Buddha seated, cross-legged, on cushion in *dharmachakramudra*. Traces of wheel and worshippers below. Late Gupta.
2. B(d)28. Avalokitesvara in relief. Legs from knees downwards wanting. Mediaeval.
3. B(d)36. **Head of Bodhisattva, highly ornamented. Late mediaeval.**

4. B(f)6. Sri, in alto-relievo, seated cross-legged. To r. miniature elephant. Late mediaeval.

5. B(f)32. Tara seated in *lalitasana* on lotus. R. hand in *varadamudra*. Mediaeval.

6. B(f)72. Fragment of three-headed figure of Marichi. Two heads are of female and the third of a sow. Vairochana in head-dress. Highly ornamented. Mediaeval.

7. B(h)3. Trimurti slab of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesa. Late Mediaeval.

8. B(h)14. Bhairava in relief, riding on dog, with mace in r. hand and bowl in l. Late Mediaeval.

9. C(a)2. Upper part of the stele illustrating scenes of Buddha's life.

10. C(a)18. Relief represents Buddha's descent from Trayas-trimsa Heaven. To l. Indra holding umbrella over Buddha's head; to r. Brahma with fly-whisk (*chamara*). Below flight of 5 steps, on r. and l. of which two worshippers in kneeling attitude. Late Gupta.

11. D(d)11. Lintel of doorway. Decorated with floral bands, etc. In centre, Tara holding lotus in l. hand. Early mediaeval.

Monastery II.—Monastery II found beneath the western area of the Dharmachakra Jinavihara is in a ruinous condition, its outer wall forming the western limit of the Deer Park. The average height of the structure is from 3 to 4 feet above the foundations and there are gaps in some parts of it. The ground plan of the monastery shows a central court open to the sky, approximately 90' 10" square, surrounded by low walls, 3' 3" thick, which must have carried the columns of the verandah in front of the cells and common rooms of the monks. The building so far excavated contains a row of nine chambers in the west, parts of two cells at the south-east corner, two small rooms in the south wing, and the most part of the low verandah wall on the west and south sides. The fifth chamber from the southern end on the west line is larger than the others and was possibly assigned to the senior monk in charge of the monastery. None of the verandah pillars has survived excepting two base-stones at the southern end of the western row. Thus, the building conforms to the general plan of other earlier monasteries un-earthed at Sarnath, the only difference being the absence of a well on the courtyard. From the size of bricks and the chiselled brick-work used for composing the inner and outer faces of the building there seems little doubt that the structure dates back to the early Gupta period. Trenches sunk below the level of this monastery revealed the existence of another and much earlier monastery. The wall of the earlier edifice was found standing, in parts, to a height of 3½ feet and had been used as a foundation of the later wall above its

Monastery HI.—The ground plan of this monastery, which occupies a very low level, is similar to that of Monastery II. In the courtyard paved with bricks laid flat was found an underground drain (*pranali*), 10" deep x 7" wide, which passed through the verandah and the passage at the south-west corner of the monastery for the purpose of carrying away water from the compound. A perforated stone may also be noticed here, set up vertically at its mouth apparently to prevent the drain outlet from being choked. So far, the western row of seven cells, three chambers on the south with a part of the verandah in front and the inner courtyard have been laid bare. The verandah pillars, intercalated by a low wall, are approximately 1' 3" square at the base. The square base of the columns is octagonal in the middle, above which the corners are cut to form a hexadecagon with a necking of inverted lotus petals and again reverts below the cap to the square. The capitals of the pillars are of the plain Hindu bracket type. The style of the carvings on the pillars proclaims them to be the work of the late Kushana period.

The average height of the walls is 10 feet. From the thickness of the walls it appears that this edifice had not less than two storeys. The doorways of the cells are 6' 7" high and 4' 2" broad. The carved brickwork above the lintel of the entrance to the cell No. 3 on the south side was found fixed in its present position. The door-jambes and lintels may have been of wood. The inner faces of the walls are all left rough, possibly they were originally plastered over; but there is no trace of plaster in any of the cells exposed. Two pierced stone slabs, D(c)3 and 4, found in this monastery appear to have been used as window screens. Like the courtyard, the verandah floor and the floors of the cells are all paved with bricks laid flat. The room to the east of the cell No. 3 on the south side appears to have been the entrance to the monastery. The excavation of the area towards the east could not be undertaken as it would have caused the removal of the first gateway which stands just above it. The chamber, which projects at the back of the cell No. 3 referred to above, has no entrance. Presumably it was the foundation of a superstructure entered from the first floor of the monastery.

Monastery IV.—This monastery as exposed comprises three cells on the north and three on the east, a part of the verandah and of courtyard at a depth of about 14' 6" below the level of the ground. Like Monastery III the verandah pillars were found intercolumned into a wall, 2' 2" high. The pillars, about 8' long, are of the same pattern as those in Monastery III, though the details differ. The verandah is 7' 6" to 7' 10" in width. The inner wall of the cells is 3' 6½" wide, the party walls 2' 4", and

the outer wall of the monastery 6' 1". Just as in the Monastery-III the floor of the courtyard is paved with bricks laid flat but slightly sloping towards the drain in the north-east corner. The colossal image of Siva, B(h)1, and its pedestal were found lying above the top of the walls of the eastern cells. A number of iron implements, belonging approximately to the period when the monastery was destroyed, were found on the floor of this structure.

Leaving the 'Monastery Area' by the second gateway and facing the Dhamekh Stupa on the south visitors will reach a host of memorials consisting of *stupas*, chapels, concrete floors in various stages of preservation. They range in date from the Gupta epoch down to the late mediaeval age. The most interesting of them is the plinth of Stupa 74 now entirely concealed beneath a later structure. Between Stupas 71 and 72 were found three sculptures, B(c)2, B(d)8 and B(c)35, of the early mediaeval period and from the style and technique it appears that all the three are the products of the same atelier. Important epigraphical evidence in the shape of a rectangular slab bearing a well-cut inscription, D(1)9, in verse in Nagari characters of the 12th century A.D., came to light some 80 feet northwards from the Dhamekh Stupa. The epigraph records the construction of a *vihara* at Dharmachakra (modern Sarnath) by Kumaradevi, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra. The lithic inscription is a unique record for the style and elegance of its composition. It indicates the culmination of Buddhist architecture at Sarnath, as it was constructed a few decades before the subversion of the Hindu kingdom of Benares by the Muhammadans, and is the last step in the continuous religious history of Sarnath.

Dhamekh Stupa.—The Dhamekh Stupa situated to the north-east of the Jaina Temple is a solid cylindrical tower, 93 feet in diameter at base and 143 feet in height including its foundations. The basement of the structure above the brick foundations is of stone-work to a height of 36' 9", while the upper part is of bricks. The stones in each layer were bonded together by means of iron clamps. The Stupa has eight projecting faces, 21' 6" wide and 15' apart, with niches for statuary. These faces, excepting the southern one, were originally adorned on either side with deep-cut incisions of floral arabesque combined with a broad band of intricate geometrical patterns. The subtle treatment of clinging human figures holding two branches of the lotus and birds playing among the foliage has further embellished the lyrical movement of the relief. The graceful proportion and mobility is harmoniously maintained with the geometric patterns which display as striking and pleasing a contrast as a floating theme from the lute followed melodiously by the notes of the bass chord. The flowing

curves of lines shooting out the meandering leaves and buds at the junction of the stem and finally encircling a flower or group of turned-back leaves (Plate V) illustrate the rhythmic trend of the artist's mind; they present the material expression of the intellectual faculties and aesthetic sentiments of the age in which this sacred tower was constructed. A triple band of ornament below the niches encircles the body of the edifice. The decorative motifs are superbly graceful and treated with the wonderful sense of surface decoration of Gupta workmanship.

The word 'Dhamekh' is derived from Sanskrit *dharmeksha* (*dharma* + *iksha*) and from Pali *dhamma-ikkha* = *dhammekkha* 'the beholding of the dharma' summed up in the First Sermon preached by the Buddha at the Deer Park. While examining the tower in search of a relic chamber General Sir Alexander Cunningham drove a vertical shaft through its centre down to the foundations and found at 3' from the top an inscribed slab containing the Buddhist creed in 6th or 7th century characters. The slab in question (now in the Indian Museum) was probably placed into the structure at some later date. At a depth of 110 feet from the top it was noticed by the explorer that the stone-work gave place to brick-work belonging to an earlier edifice erected on the spot.

Monastery VI.—To the west of the Dhamekh Stupa are the remains of Monastery VI designated by Major Kittoe as 'Hospital' on account of a number of pestles and mortars found in it. The excavation of this quadrangle revealed the fact that it was a monastery of the usual type built on the remains of a similar structure of the Gupta period. The parapet wall, $V\ 2\frac{1}{2}''$ high and 3' V wide, of the upper building on the south side made of rough rubble bricks with a coating of lime plaster is well preserved. The broken bases of four stone columns at equal intervals are found *in situ*. On the south of the quadrangle and at the back of the verandah is a row of cells similar to those in other monasteries unearthed at Sarnath. The central chamber on the west side of the quadrangle appears to have been the entrance to the building. A terracotta dealing with the Buddhist creed in characters of about 9th century A.D. was found in one of the cells.

Jaina Temple.—To the south of Monastery VI stands the Jaina Temple surrounded by a high enclosing wall. It was erected in 1824 to commemorate the scene of the asceticism and death of Sri Amsunatha, the thirteenth predecessor of Mahavira, the historical founder of Jainism.

BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURE SHED

To the west of the Jaina Temple Mr. Oertel erected a sculpture shed to store therein temporarily the antiquities discovered
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by him at Sarnath. The sculptures now displayed in this shed are Brahmanical and Jaina specimens and do not belong to Sarnath. Some of the typical pieces are detailed below.

Brahmanical Sculptures. - G1. The Hindu Triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, carved on a single block. Three faces and six arms. Their respective vehicles, goose (*hamsa*), Garuda and Bull (*Nandin*), are depicted on the base. The trinity represents the three aspects of the Supreme Deity or God. According to the three different functions He performs, namely, the creation, preservation and destruction. These three aspects are assumed as being endowed with the three *gunas* (*Rajas*, *Sattva* and *Tamas*) for the performance of the three functions. With the association or preponderance of Rajoguna there is creation, and so the God of Creation is called Brahma ; when God is associated with Sattvaguna, the preserving or harmonizing energy, He protects the Universe and is called Vishnu, and when the function of destruction is performed in association with Tamoguna the deity is called Rudra. Of these three Vishnu and Rudra are Vedio deities. Brahma has entered into the Hindu pantheon at a much later date. But the philosophers of later date identify this BrahmS with *Hiranyagarbha* (the cosmic mind) of the Rigveda. Being of Rajoguna Brahma is represented as red, the colour of *Rajas*. He has a *Sakti* (consort) called Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and learning. In fact the cosmic mind is omniscient and cannot do its function of creation without the aid of its innate power of omniscience. It thinks out first the whole process of creation and then concretizes the thought into the creative world, just like an artist, Brahma is a deity for creation and work and therefore for bondage as well. Hence he is rarely worshipped among the Hindus and there are few temples in India dedicated to him.

Siva with Parvati. For their standing figures compare Nos. G4-G6. Siva stands for pure transcendental principle of Intelligence (*Suddhajnanamatra*). But the same Siva when attached or connected with Sakti (consort), the primal energy, becomes Siva-Sakti, *i.e.*, the great symbol of Ardhanarisvara (G12), half Siva (the pure principle of Intelligence) and haif Sakti (the material energy). In Hindu philosophy Sakti or the creative principle is always symbolized in a female form. Siva is generally represented as nude, covering his body with ashes, adorned with a garland of skulls, having matted locks, with serpents coiled around his body-wearing the skin of a tiger and living in a cremation ground. As Siva stands for the Supreme Knowledge and Supreme God which is attained when all worldly desires and cravings for sensual enjoyments are wholly destroyed and reduced to ashes as it were—it is the stage when the world is completely negated—hence the

cremation ground (*smasana*) is made his abode. The adornment of skulls and ashes symbolizes the same psychological annihilation of sense propensities, the white colour of the deity represents the *sattvaguna* of the Primordial Existence after Dissolution, the garment of a tiger-skin depicts the perfect control of the brute in man. Of his four hands one holds the horn that produces the sound of creation (*omkara*), the other carries the trident (*trisula*)—the three-fold weapon of destruction, the third symbolizes *vara* or the bestowal of gift, *i.e.*, the gift of life eternal and the fourth takes *damaru*, a kind of drum, which signifies the eternal process of life function through all times. So the four hands practically symbolize the four duties of the Supreme Deity, *viz.*, Creation ; Preservation, Destruction and even after destruction holding the seed for the Future Creation. All these functions are discharged in association with his inseparable consort, the Divine Energy. Even the Sivalinga (G12), the phallic symbol of this deity, is represented as having two aspects, the upper part symbolizes the absolute aspect of Intelligence and the lower part, the Gauripatta, depicts the creative process when it comes into contact with Sakti or Energy.

G37. A seated figure of Surya (Sun-god) of the late mediaeval period. The physical Sun, being the greatest emblem of energy and light and the source of life itself, caught the imagination of the ancient Rishis strongly. Sun worship was current among the Sumerians and Egyptians and was one of the chief articles of faith among the Iranians and Indo Aryans. But in the hands of the Vedic Rishis Sun worship underwent a considerable change. The early thinkers of the Vedic age made the physical Sun a mere symbol for the meditation and worship of that spiritual Sun which is really the source of all beings. The sacred *Gayatri Mantra* which originally occurs in the Rigveda and subsequently was much elaborated into the ritual of *Sandhya Upasana*, represents the highest form of this Sun worship. The whole purpose and method is thus summed up in the utterances of the Vedic sage in the *Vdjasaneyi Samhita* :—" O Great Sustainer, the Glorious One, the Great Controller of Life, O Son of Prajapati, gather up all Thy physical rays and remove Thy shining form that I, the devout one, may see Thy most Beneficial Form. The same *Purusha* who is there is also in Myself ". Here the Rishi clearly indicates the spiritual form or light that is to be seen in the Sun by discarding the physical rays. But in the later days the Sun God (*Savitri-purusha*) came to be considered as another aspect of Vishnu, who was worshipped as existent in the solar region. He is still meditated upon in the same form as the *Dhyana Mantra* of Vishnu clearly states it. (*See Chhandogya*, 1.66.).

G.38 is a lintel of a doorway of a temple. Its provenance is unknown. It is of one single block of Chunar sandstone, and has three projecting niches flanked by pilasters. One at the middle and the other two at both the ends. The central, niche has a figure of four armed Sri seated on a cushion. The lower left hand has a water pot while the corresponding right hand is in the gift bestowing attitude. The upper two hands hold lotuses on which two elephants are found standing pouring water on the head of the divinity (*Gaja-Lakshmi*). The niche on the proper right hand contains a figure of the zoomorphic divinity Ganesa with four arms. In the lower right hand he holds a battle-axe while the lower left hand has a pot full of sweets (*modakas*). The upper hands have flowers. The niche on the left hand is occupied by a standing figure of Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning. She too has four arms and is playing on the lute (*Vina*). The upper right hand has a flower bud and the lower left hand has *pothi* (manuscript). The vehicle of the goddess the goose is to be found in the lower left corner. The rest of the space is occupied by the figures of the nine planets : the Sun, the Moon, Budha (Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (Venus) ; Sani (Saturn), and Mangala (Mars), and the ascending and descending nodes of Saturn known as the Raha and the Ketu. These according to Hindu astrology preside over the destiny of mankind.

CHAPTER IV

MUSEUM

On the opposite side of the Deer Park stands the Museum of Archaeology. For the purpose of study and research of the sculptures, inscriptions, and other antiquities recovered from excavations carried out at Sarnath, it was proposed by Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, to found a local museum amid its natural surroundings ; and the building was designed by Mr. James Ransome, late Consulting Architect to the Government of India. He followed the general quadrangular plan of an ancient Buddhist monastery, of which several examples had been brought to light at Sarnath. The construction of the building was completed in 1910. The structure, as it now stands, forms only one-half of a complete *sangharama*. The large central hall (Room NO. 1) exhibits the best specimens of the collection and it may therefore be well regarded as the *sanctum sanctorum*.

Boom 1.—The capital (A1, Plate VI), the best known specimen of the Mauryan art, which originally crowned the Asoka pillar, stands in the centre of this hall. It measures 7' high, is of hill-shaped type, reeded perpendicularly, with a circular abacus supporting four lions set back to back with a crowning wheel which originally adorned the whole design symbolizing *dharmachakrapravartana*, 'the turning of the Wheel of the Law'. The four adorsed lions have their mouths open and their tongues slightly protruded. The hair of the manes, the muscles and thews are boldly and cleverly treated and the general appearance of the capital is singularly striking. On the abacus are carved four animals in high relief, *viz.*, an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion, each separated by a wheel. Speaking of the technique of the composition Sir John Marshall remarks¹: "The four crowning lions and the reliefs are wonderfully vigorous and true to nature and treated with that simplicity and reserve which is the key-note of all great masterpieces of plastic art. India certainly has produced no other sculptures equal to them".

The proper significance of the Sarnath capital is still a subject of controversy. Mr. Bell observes that these four symbolical animals carved on some moonstones in Ceylon are those connected with the Anotatta Lake². The same animals are also found on certain pillars at Anuradhapura³ and we find the Sarnath capital also bears the very four figures. According to Dr. Bloch these four figures symbolize the gods Indra, Siva, Surya and goddess Durga whose *vahanas* (vehicles) these animals are, indicating their subordination to the Buddha and his Law⁴. Dr. Vogel, however, remarks that these animals—the four "noble beasts" (*mahajaneya*) of the Buddhists—are merely decorative⁵. Mons. Jean Przyluski in his article *Le Symbolisme du Pulier de Sarnath*⁶ compares the symbolism of the Sarnath pillar with the great cosmic pillar, of which this is a reproduction on a reduced scale. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni also identifies the tetrad of Sarnath as a representation of the Anotatta Lake of the Buddhist texts "in which the Buddha used to bathe. It was also with the water of this lake that his mother, Mahamaya was bathed before her conception. The lake had four mouths guarded by these very animals"⁷. But to me it

¹ *Benares Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1909, pp. 364/.

² *Archl. Survey, Ceylon*, 1896, p. 16.

³ *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. I I, Part I, p. 13.

⁴ *Z. O. M.*, Vol. LXII, 1908, pp. 653/.

⁵ *Catalogue of the Museum of Archeology at Sarnath*, 1914, p. 29 f.n.

⁶ *Eludes d' Orientalisme* published by Le Musee Guimet.

⁷ *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath*, Fifth Edition, 1933, p. 40.

appears that the symbology on the capital conveys a different meaning altogether and I venture to interpret the symbols as follows:—

The so-called " bell " is not really a bell but an inverted lotus with sixteen petals. The lotus flower has been used as a religious symbol among the Hindus from the very ancient times. Its probable origin might have been in the octagonal diagrams used for the construction of the sacrificial altar. In the later Vedic period this very symbol was used for the meditational purpose as a form of the heart, *hritpundarika*, in which the Supreme Being was to be meditated upon ; it is also asserted in some of the *Upanishads* that the heart is of the form of a lotus and in it resides the soul. Next, we find that the word *padma* or lotus is associated with a particular kind of *yogic* posture of sitting known as *padmsana*, which literally means ' the lotus seat '. Buddha during the time of his meditation was believed to be in that particular posture and the Buddha's seat has all along been symbolized as an open lotus. Moreover, the lotus as a religious symbol has been used as the origin or conception of the Buddha in the womb of his mother, Mayadevi. Subsequently, in later days, Buddhists invariably used the lotus as the seat of all gods and goddesses.

Hence the base of the capital being of the form of a lotus is very significant, as the capital is really the symbolic representation of the great religious event of the Buddha's appearance and the promulgation of his wonderful *dharma* which was first preached at Sarnath. Upon the ' bell-shaped ' lotus there is an abacus having four figures, namely, an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion, each separated from the other by a disc or wheel (*chakra*) with 24 spokes. These four symbolical animals probably represent the four principal events of the Buddha's life. The elephant stands for the conception of the Great one, as in a dream, just before her conception, his mother, Mayadevi, saw a white elephant entering her womb. The next symbol is the bull, which represents the Zodiac sign Taurus, in which the nativity of the Buddha occurred. The third symbol of a galloping horse depicts the Buddha's Great Renunciation. It was on the renowned horse, Kanthaka, that he left the imperial city in the dead of night and went far away in search of truth ; and lastly, the fourth symbol, the lion, represents probably the Great Master himself, Lion of the Sakya race, Sakyasimha. The four wheels with 24 spokes represent the *dharmachakra* (wheel-of-the-law) that the Buddha set rolling to the four quarters of the globe. The

¹ See also my note on the subject in *Indian, Culture, Calcutta, July, 1934.*, pp. 160f.

24 spokes that sustain the wheel stand for the 24 modes of principal casual relations treated of in Buddhist philosophy¹.

Next, the top of the capital. It is surmounted by four lions set back to back with gaping mouth as if in the very act of roaring. The composition beautifully represents the roaring lions of the Sakya race, as according to the *Chula Simhanada Sutta of Majjhima Nikaya* he addressed the monks as follows :—*Idheva Bhikkhave samano, idha dutiyo samano, idha tatiyo samano, idha chatuttho samano, sua parappavada samanehi anna ti. Evam eva bhikkhave samma sihanadam, nadatha*², which means " We have in our midst a recluse, yes and a second, third and fourth recluse who are empty and heretical—no true recluses ! in these words let your indictment ring out like a lion's roar". The four lions may therefore be taken as representing monks proclaiming the glories of the Buddha and his teachings to the four cardinal points.

The wheel which originally adorned the capital as a crowning feature consisted of 32 spokes. It represents symbolically the Great Buddha himself, the very embodiment of his own *dharmasarira*, having 32 chief signs of the Great Superman (*Mahdipurusha lakshana*). These are given in the *Lakkhana Sutta of Digha Nikaya*.⁴

The next sculpture to the left is the colossal Bodhisattva, B(a)1, Plate 1Xb, dedicated by Friar Bala in the third regnal year of Kanishka. It represents Gautoma Buddha before his enlightenment. The chin, nose, ear-lobes and eye-brows are damaged. The right hand, which is broken, was perhaps drawn up in the attitude of *abhayamudra*; while the left fist rests on the hip. Between the feet stands a lion. *Sanghati*, the upper garment, covering the body if slinging down the left knee, leaving the right shoulder bare. The under-garment (*antarvasaka*), hanging down the knees, is held by a double round of flat girdle. The statue is cut of red sandstone

1 These are :—(1) *Hetupachchayo*, (2) *Arammanapachchayo*, (3) *Adhipatipachchayo*, (4) *Anatarapachchayo*, (5) *Samannatapachchayo*, (6) *Sahajitapachchayo* (7) *Annamanpachchayo*, (8) *Nissayapachchayo*, (9) *Upanissayapachchayo*, (10) *Purejatapachchayo*, (11) *Pachahhijitapachchayo*, (12) *Asevandapachchayo*, (13) *Kammapachchayo*, (14) *Vipdkapachchayo*, (15) *Ahdrapachchayo*, (16) *Indriyapachchayoy* (17) *Jhanapachchayo*, (18) *Maggapachchayo*, (19) *Sarnpayuttapachchayo*, (20) *Vlppayuthapachchayo*, (21) *Atthipachchayo*, (22) *Natthipachchayo*, (23) *Vigatapachchayo*, and (24) *Avigata*.

Originally the term *pachchayo* was regarded as synonymous with *hetu*, cause. Later on it came to be distinguished from *hetu* as the genus of which *hetu* was the typical species. Afterwards these 24 were held reducible to 4 in the *Tikapatthana* and embodied in a formula. See *Tikapatthana*, *Udana* pp. 1ff; *Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 42 ff, specially at 259, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1915-16, pp. 21ff.

² *Majjhima Nikaya*, ed. by Treckner, Vol. I, pp. 63f.

² Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, p. 42.

⁴ *The Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, Vol. III, pp. 14f.

The epigraph incised on the back of the image runs as follows : -

1. *Maharajasya Kani[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 di 2[2]*
2. *etaye purvaye bhikshusya Balasya trepita [kasya]*
3. *Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha [pratishthapito].*

" In the third year of Maharaja Kanishka, the third [month] of winter, the 22nd day, on this [date specified as] above has [this gift] of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, [namely an image of] the Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post [been erected]."

The image is an example of indigenous development but the dated records incised on it is of great value. The folds of the upper garment grow flatter in delineation and prove that the Mathura school of sculpture received its element of Helleniatic influence through the school of Gandhara during the reign of Kanishka. The post was probably square at the base, octagonal in centre with round top. The octagonal portion, on which the epigraph is carved, was perhaps just before the level of the eye.

Compare Nos. B(a)2 and 3. They bear a striking resemblance to B(a)1. These are perhaps an attempt of the local sculptors to imitate, a faithful copy of B(a)1. The only difference in B(a)2 is the figure of a dwarf or *yaksha*, now badly damaged, between the feet.

To the north-west of *B(a)1* a railing has been erected of the 12 posts, D(a)1 to D(a)12, with bevelled copings. These originally belonged to one structure. The bas-reliefs carved on these posts are interesting. They show the faith of the donor in the veneration of the Bodhi tree, wheel, *triratna*, and also illustrate the style of architecture in the representation of *gandhakuti. stupas* adorned with dome, neck top, umbrella with garlands and surrounded by a palisade which is peculiar to Buddhist architecture; *vihara* with rails in front of the doors, etc., Plate VIII.

An interesting capital of a pillar, D(g)4, of the 1st century B.C. carved on the sides with Perso-Ionic volutes and with palmette back-grounds. On one face it is decorated with a prancing horse and a rider, Plate VII, and on the other an elephant with a *mahut* and a standard-bearer. Notwithstanding the fact that in this interesting carving the artist has displayed an innate aptitude for the treatment of the relief, his attempt to portray the riders degrades him to the rank of a servile school.

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D(A)1. Fragment of a *torana* lintel of the Kushana period. It is carved on each face by a fabulous elephant with a coiled tail holding a garland with its trunk. An interesting piece of carving is D(a)42. On one face is a wheel (*dharmachakra*) surrounded by four ornamental *triratnas* (trident) and lotuses and separated on either side by a *triratna* with a hanging garland between, while on the other is a tree with pendant garlands with platform around. To the right is a pillar with Persepolitan capital surmounted by an uncertain figure. The remaining surface is taken up with foliage. C(b)9 is a well-carved lintel of the late Kushana period. It is ornamented with vine and lotus designs. On the left panel to the right is a *stupa* surrounded by a railing, dome and *hti* crowned with an umbrella and adorned by fly-whisks. It is worshipped by a harpy (*suparna*) with stumpy wings and long tail carrying a garland and an elephant offering a bunch of lotus flowers, while the interlaced triple-hooded *nagas* (snakes) encircle the dome of the *stupa*. The scene depicts the Ramagrama *Stupa* guarded by *nagas*, who persuaded Asoka from destroying it for the sake of the Master's relics enshrined in it.

The wall-case standing against the north-wall of this room contains, antiquities of great interest. In the top shelf are the fragments of abaci of polished capitals of Indo-Persepolitan style inscribed with Mauryan Brahmi characters recording the names of donors of Pataliputra and Ujjain. The second shelf exhibits human heads cut in the round with Mauryan polish, some of which show individual peculiarities characteristic of Hellenistic figure sculptures and portraits. Of these W4 has full and round cheeks, with short nose, small mouth, thick under-lip, eyes flattened and open, long drooping moustache with curled ends. The forehead is covered by a fillet. Another, W5, is covered by an elaborate turban. Clean shaved face, long and oval eyes, straight nose, natural lips with round chin. 221W and 229W at the right end of the shelf are female heads with high head-dress, while 210W is a fragmentary kneeling female figure of the Sunga period. It is carved in the round sitting with right foot under the body. The back is bare save for a heavy jewelled girdle. She wears five bracelets on the wrist. In the next shelf seven large begging bowls of black and brown clay are displayed, and in the fourth may be observed the beautiful Mauryan fragment of a sitting woman, C(6)28. The head is leaning on arms which rest on knees as if she is absorbed in grief. The hair is floating back. The figure is clad in *sari* tied by a girdle and wears anklets. W12-16 are fragments of game birds. Among the antiquities kept in the lowest shelf are four fragments of the large wheel that originally crowned the lion capital.

Of the standing Buddha figures¹ exhibited in the southern half of this room Nos. 22E, 39E and 40E deserve special notice as they bear records in Gupta characters. The inscription carved on 22E reads thus:—

1. *Varshasate Guptanam sa-chatuh-panchasad-uttare bhumim rakshati Kumaragupte mase Jyeshihe dvitiyayam*\\

2. *bhakty-avarjita-manasa yatina pujartham—Abhayamitrenu pratima=pratimasya gunai [r=sa]pa[re]yam karita Sastuh*

3. *mata-pitri-guru-purttih punyen—inena satvakayo—yam labhatam—abhimatam—upasa mam=ah.....yam*

" When a century of years increased by fifty-four of the Gupta had passed away and on the second day of the month of Jyeshtha, when Kumaragupta was protecting the earth, this image of the Teacher (Buddha), which is unparalleled for its merits, was caused to be made for worship by Abhayamitra, a monk with mind subdued through devotion By this religious merit (acquired) let (all) parents and preceptors and the multitude of sentient beings obtain the desired extinction (from worldly existence). . .² "

On comparing the estampages of the two damaged inscriptions on the pedestals of the two Buddha images, 39E and 40E, all the letters have been restored and the verses run :—

Guptanam samatikkranto sapta-pamchasad-uttare sate samanam prithivim Budha-gupte prasdsati\\
Vaisakha-masa-saptamyam mule syd[ma-gate] maya kdrit=Abhayamitrena pratima Sakya-bhikshuna imam—uddhasta-sachchhatra -padmasana-vibhushitam/ De[va]putravato di[vyam] chitravi[nya]sa-chiti itam\\
Yad—asti punyam pratimam karayitva mam-astu-tat mata-pitror—gurunam cha lokasya cha samaptaye\\

" When a century of years increased by fifty-seven of the Gupta had passed away and on the seventh day of the dark fortnight Vaisakha, when the lunar mansion was Mula, when Budhagupta Was ruling (the earth), this charming image of one having divine sons (disciples) (Buddha), that is adorned with wonderful decoration was caused to be made by me Abhayamitra, a Buddhist monk. Whatever

¹ For standing Buddha figures see Nos. B(b)9, 21E, B(b)4, 63E, B(b)6, 38E in Room 1 ; B(c) 1f0, 178E, B(b)20, 150E, B(6)21, B(c)109, 149E, B(b)3, B(c)108 B(b)2, 8, 6, 10, 22, 14, 16[^]1/1917, 148E, B(b)110, 184, 115, 118, B(b)61, 31, B(e) 131 321E, B(C)111, B(b)43, 50, B(c)136, in Room 2 ; B(b)37, B(c)130, 114 377E, 378 416W, B(b)19, 11, 12, 13, 7/21, B(6)17, 16, C101, B(b)29, 82 and B(c)182 in Room 4

² A. S. R., 1914 15, Part II, p.

religious merit I have acquired in causing this image to be made, let it be for the attainment of final beauty of my parents, preceptors and mankind".¹

The next sculptures, B(6)181 and B(6)183², depict the Master preaching the First Sermon on the Deer Park. In the former (Plate X) the sculptor longing for a figurative god introduced his own plastic idiom to display in his contours graceful linear rhythm expressing the tender humanity in the image. The stillness of the figure depicts the acquisition of boundless happiness beyond instrumentality of sense. We notice the perfect poise, the gentle touch and simple beauty of modelling, the psychological pose of the hands in the preaching attitude and the beautifully carved halo around the head with two flying figures on either flank. On the pedestal is a group of devotees and in the centre is the sacred monogram, 'Wheel', symbolizing the First Sermon on salvation preached by the Sakya Muni at Mrigadava.

B(b)175³. A fine alto-relievo figure of Gautama Buddha seates cross-legged (*paryankanishanna*). The head is missing as well as both the arms are injured. The upper portion of the back-slab, the circular halo around the head decorated with two hands of rosette and beads and the foliage of the Bodhi tree above are damaged. A flying celestial being on the right is showering flowers on the image. The base is carved in imitation of a stone wall with a groove in the centre. Below it in the centre is a lion in a cave resting its head on its front-paws meant apparently to symbolize the forest of Uruvela, where Gautama reached enlightenment (*bodhi*). The right hand of the figure points downwards in the " witness " attitude and the left rests on the lap. Beneath his right hand the Earth-goddess appears with a vase, now defaced, in her hands in response to his call and the kneeling figure in her front is perhaps the donor of the image. On the other side is Mara's daughter running away in dismay while the defaced figure in front of her is perhaps Mara himself in flight. The drapery of the upper garment is shown very distinctly and like other sculptures on the wall the robe leaves the right shoulder bare.

An epigraph carved on the throne in raised letters of the 6th or 7th century A.D. reads thus :—*Deyadharmmo=yam Sakyabhiksho [h] sthavira-Bandhuguptasya.* " This [is] the pious gift of the Buddhist friar, the senior monk, Bandhugupta."

* A. S. R. 1914-16, Part I I, p. 125.

¹ See also Now. B(c)40, B(6) 182, B(b)193, B(c)39, B(c)52, B(b)195, B(c)43 B(6)186, B(c)38 in Boom 2; B(c)36, 35, 1, 40, 144 in Room 3; B(c)55, 53, B(b)242 173E, B(b)184, B(c)37, 50, 53, B(b)188, B(c)54, 43, 57 and B(b)249 in Room 4.

² Compare Nos. B(b)174 in Room 1; B(b)172, 170, B(c)3, 4 in Room 2; B(c)2, 2/1917 and B(b)177 in Room 3-

On the back of the slab are scratched the outlines of eight *stupas* in two vertical rows separated by the mark of a post or pillar.

Gautama's attainment of Buddhahood is described in the Buddhist literature as a unique event in human history. As far as the essential nature of his own religion is concerned it may safely be asserted that it is not at all different from the pure Vedantic doctrines of the Upanishads. The pessimistic view of worldly life, the consideration of ignorance and attachment as the prime cause of all bondages and sufferings of man, and the *summum bonum* of life consisting in the complete cessation of the worldly process in one's own life, are all phases of the Vedantic doctrine as well. Even the very word *-nirvana* was taken from the Upanishads. The latter day nihilistic Buddhism of the *Madhyamikas* was not Buddha's own view but only a polemical development on the ephemeral nature of the world. Buddha himself never indulged in empty metaphysics, his whole emphasis being laid upon ethical purification and his vision of *nirvana* can never be an empty *nihil* (*sunya*) as it is sometimes supposed. But his extreme emphasis upon the principle of renunciation only produced a mentality among his followers, which led them to the preaching of the doctrines of *anattavada* or *sunyavada*—nihilism. In the early period of Buddhist history the people believed that Gautama Buddha was the seventh in the genealogy of the Buddhas. The names of the preceding six are recorded thus:—Vipasyin, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Krakuchchanda, Kanakamuni and Kasyapa. In the time of Asoka this belief must have been held as we find the mention of Konagamuni in one of his inscriptions. Perhaps after Asoka the bifurcation of the Mahayana from the Hinayana became very prominent. The influence of Brahmanism upon Buddha's religion was responsible for the development of this new school. The original teaching of the Buddha as collected in the three previous councils of monks were all composed in Pali, the vernacular of the time. Later on, however, the Brahmana followers of the Buddha felt eager to dress the teachings of their Master in Sanskrit. The school of Sanskrit culture was very much honoured in those days, and so we find the Mahayana literature developing that mosaic structure with all its heterogenous pantheon side by side with Puranic Hinduism. There is a broad community of thought behind both of these schools, as regards religious ideas in imagination, assimilation and artistic presentation of abstract thoughts. It is a general belief that the Mahayana School got its wide circulation in the Kushana period. The early Bodhisattvas with their names like Avalokitesvara, Padmapani and others with their consorts, Tara, Prajnaparamita and other goddesses, were also conceived at that time.

Bodhisattvas' meant those highly evolved beings who would attain *nirvana* in one birth, but according to Mahayana School they came to signify same special Beings of higher order who helped mankind to attain *nirvana* and they did so in conjunction with their female consorts. The Adi-Buddha was the root of all. From Him emanated five Dhyani-Buddhas and five Dhyani-Manushi Buddhas. Later on, the five Bodhisattvas originated from the Dhyani-Buddhas. All these five Dhyani-Buddhas are alike in form, the only distinction there being in *mudras*, i.e., the pose of the hands.. There are five *mudras*, viz., attitude of granting protection (*abhaya*), gift-bestowing attitude (*oarada*), meditation (*dhyana*), earth-touching (*bhumisparsa*) and turning of the Wheel-of-the-Law (*dharmachakra*): —Amoghasiddhi in *abhaya-mudra*, Ratnasambhava in *wradamudra*, Amitabha in *dhyanamudra*, Akshobhya in *bhumisparsamudra*, and Vairochana in *dharmachakramudra*. The Dhyani-Buddhas, Dhyani-Bodhisattvas and Manitslu-Buddhus are arranged in Buddhist literature as detailed below : —

Dhyani-Buddhas	Dhyani-Bodhisattvas	Manushi-Buddhas
Vairoohana	Samantabhadra	Krakuchchanda
Akashobhya	Vajrapam	Kanakamuni
Ratnasambhava	Ratnapani	Kasyapa
Amitabha	Avalokitesvara	Gautama
Amoghaiddhi	Visvapani	Maitreya

B (d) 2. Image of the future Buddha Maitreya, " Messiah of Buddhism ", standing. The feet, arms and the upper part of the back slab missing. The hair is long and hangs over the shoulders. A seated figure of Amoghasiddhi in *abhayamudra* is in front of the top knot. The stem of a *nagapushpa*, which is one of his characteristic symbols, is still traceable.

The next sculpture is that of Tara, B (f) 1. There is some controversy among the scholars about the origin and true significance of Tara worship in ancient India. It may be said with fair accuracy that Tara worship was inaugurated in India some time in the 6th or 6th century A.D. The worship of Tara occurs in all the three principal religions of ancient India, namely, in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. In Hinduism Sakti worship may be considered as old as the pre-Vedic civilization of the Indus valley. The principal female deity worshipped in the Vedic age was Gayatri ; besides there were some other minor goddesses like Ushas,

The mention of the Uma Haimavati and Durga in the Talavakara Upanishad and the Narayana Upanishad should also be noted in this connection. But Sakti worship must have gained much prevalence in ancient India perhaps in the post-Buddhistic age. Sakti, as an energizing principle of God or Parama-brahman, who is represented as a pure principle of Intelligence, is no doubt philosophical in its origin, and the figurative presentation of abstract ideas is to be met almost in every religion. But there is a very exuberent display of these imageries both in Hinduism and its offsprings, Buddhism and Jainism. In the Puranio age the principal goddesses who held great influence in the mind of the devotees were Parvati and Lakshmi.

Now coming to the Buddhistic age we find that in early stages of the evolution of Buddhism the Buddha and his different conceptions were the principal objects of worship. When the schism came among the followers of the Buddha and the Mahasanghikas developed into the Mahayana (the followers of the Great Vehicle) they wanted to popularize the philosophy of the Buddha's teaching and introduced three entities of philosophical import, viz., *sunya*, *vijnana* and *mahasukha* into Buddhism. As they held that as the Buddha could not be conceived by the popular mind, they invented a particular word *nairatmya* (which is analogous to the *anatta* of the Hinayana) which really signified a kind of negation or better sublimation of the individualized self. And this word *nairatmya* being in the neuter gender they developed a beautiful imagery of that *nairatmya* in a female form in whose embrace Bodhichitta is merged, which means that individualized consciousness of the Enlightened One gets completely absorbed in a state which is non-individual. This psychological fact was allegorically represented as the Buddha getting united with his consort, the female deity. This was the origin and the introduction of the female divinity in the Buddhistic pantheon. Avalokitesvara is the principal Bodhisattva and his Sakti is called Tara. The root meaning of the word Tara is one who emancipates. Tara represents that knowledge, *jnanasakti*, which makes human mind free from its shackles of ignorance and removes all vestiges of limitation and bondages. As there are different names given to that one entity, it is commonly known in Buddhistic philosophy as *sunya vajra*, etc., so the Sakti connected with the *sunya* gets also the different names as viewed from different angles of vision. Thus we find a prolific number of different goddesses in the Buddhist pantheon, each with different aspects, (and all these different goddesses may be considered as different forms of Tara only. There are said to be 21 Taras, of whom 5 were principal ones with five different colours—white, blue, yellow, red and green—and these again

are classified into two classes, *viz.*, the terrific and the pacific forms. Tara was worshipped as a goddess who would help her devotees to surmount eight-fold dangers, *viz.*, those from lions, wild elephants, shipwreck, lightning, serpents, thieves, prison and ghosts. She therefore became very popular with the mass of people and we find several monuments dedicated to Tara in other Buddhist sites, such as Nalanda and Paharpur. The principal varieties of Tara are :—Mahattari or Syama, Khadiravani, Sita, Janguli, Bhrikuti, Vajra, Rakta or Kurukulla and Nilatara or Ekajata. Of the Tara images found at Sarnath the following deserve notice :—

B (f) 1. Standing figure of Bhrikuti Tara of the mediaeval period. Her feet and right hand are missing and the nose and lips are damaged. She wears a *sari* and rich jewellery. According to *Sadhanamala* her left hand holds a *kamandalu* (water-pot) on the hip, and the right, which is broken off, was apparently in the *varadamudra* (gift-bestowing attitude).

B (f) 2 in Room 3. By the presence of smaller figure of Marichi (the Goddess of Dawn) and Ekajata on either side of the margin it appears that the image is of Khadiravani. The goddess is standing on a lotus and a little headless figure of Dhyani-Buddha Amoghasiddhi appears on the middle of a five peaked crown (*mukuta*). The nose and ears are damaged. The arms are broken at the elbow, but the right hand was, according to the *Sadhanamala*, apparently stretched out in the *varadamudra* and the left held a flower, the stalk of which is damaged. She wears a lower garment and is profusely adorned with ornaments, which display the particular types of Indian jewellery of the mediaeval period. Plate XV (b).

B (f) 7 in Room 3. Image of Nilatara seated on a lotus in an easy attitude (*lalitasana*) with the right foot hanging down and placed on a smaller lotus. She wears a lower garment and many ornaments. Her right hand is in the *varada* pose, whilst the left holds a half-blown lotus (*nilotpala*). A standing female figure leaning against her left knee is perhaps a repetition of herself, and adoring figure, with a censer, projects from the base. On either side of the circular halo in the shape of a full-blown lotus is a flying celestial showering flowers. The bar of the seat, decorated with *makara* heads, is supported by rampant lions. (Plate XV a.)

B (f) 8 in Room 3. Bust of Vajratara carved in the round with four heads (*chaturvaktra*), profusely ornamented, and eight arms (*ashtabahu*). All the left arms are missing but portions of right ones are extant. Four miniature images of Dhyani-Buddhas are in her front headdress—two of Akshobhya in *bhumisparsamudra*, one of Vairochana in the preaching attitude and one of Amitabha in

meditation. Amoghasiddhi in miniature is represented on the back head.

B (f) 9 in Room 3, A four-armed image of Dipatara seated cross-legged on a lotus throne. The upper right hand is missing the lower right is in *vara* pose, the upper left holds flame and the lower left a stalk with two full-blown lotus flowers

Next to B (f) 1 is an unfinished figure of Vajrapani holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his right hand and a bell in the left.

B (d) 1 represents the earliest form of Lokanatha standing on a full blown lotus (Plate XI 6). He carries a lotus in his left hand and exhibits the *vara* pose in the right. Long curly locks fall on his shoulders and on the crest of his *jatamukuta* is the figure of Vajradharma (Amitabha) in meditation. On the base stand two *suchimukha* (needle-mouth) *Pretas* (tantalized spirits) with hands and face up-lifted to receive nectar that flows from his right hand. A two-line Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. is incised on the front base :—

1.1. *Om Deyadharmmo—yam paramopasaka-Vishayapati-Suyditrasya*

1. 2. *yad=attra punyam lad=bhavatu sarvvasatvanam anuttara-jnanavaptaye.*

" Om. This [is] the pious gift of the very devoted layman, Suyattra, the head of a district. Whatsoever merit [there is] in this [gift], let it be the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings "

B (d) 6 is Siddhaikavira, one of the forms of Manjusri, standing on a double conventional lotus (Plate XIa). The god is accompanied by Bhrikuti Tara and Mrityuvanchana Tara standing on either side on lotus flowers. The Bodhisattva wears long locks and various ornaments and bears an effigy of the Dhyani-Buddha Akshobhya in the earth-touching attitude in his diadem. In his left hand he carries a lotus stalk (*utpala*), but the flower at the end is missing. The right hand, which is broken off, was evidently in the *varada* pose. A Sanskrit epigraph in characters of the 7th century A.D. incised on the back of the image consists of the Buddhist creed or formula of the law followed by the syllables *aroika* which may be the name of the donor.

The next sculpture, B (d) 3, portrays the image of Nilakantha, one of the forms of Lokeshvara, with flowing long ringlets, seated cross-legged and holding a bowl with both hands in front of his breast. A miniature Amitabha in meditation is represented on the crown of his chignon, whilst a male and a female figure, each holding similar bowl, stand on his shoulders. (Cf. B(d)4 & 5 in Room 2) M38DGA

Nilakantha is another name of Siva of the Hindu Pantheon. To save the universe from destruction he quaffed off the poison left by the Devas and Asuras by churning the ocean and acquired the title of Nilakantha by assimilating the deadly bane (*kalakuta*) and utilizing it as an ornament to his person.

The mythological story goes that Devas and Asuras churned the Ocean of Milk (*Kshirodhasamudra-manthana*) to attain Immortality by tasting the Elixir. When the churning was in progress a fascinating damsel (Mohini) carrying the jar of nectar in her hand suddenly appeared, set both the communities to fight with each other and herself united with Siva in a loving embrace evolving the incarnation of Hari-Hara. The gods were thus served with *amrita* (nectar) and the Asuras infatuated¹ and decoyed by the Mohini.

Room 2.—The antiquities exhibited in Room 2 are bas-reliefs and other sculptures of the Gupta period. Of these only a few selected specimens are detailed below :—

C(b) 1 and 2. A pair of well-preserved bas-reliefs showing the leogryphs rising in the air and ridden by warriors armed with swords and shields. The horns, the well-executed manes, the protruding eyes and the paws of the dragons exhibit the fine skill of the Gupta artist in the portrayal of muscular flexibility. On the other hand, the wig-like curls of the youthful riders and their natural movements in grappling with the animals express the sculptor's conscious rhythmic idea of his sculptural rendering in a dramatic spirit.

¹ The legend divested of its metaphor may thus be stated :—The *Devas* and *Asuras* respectively symbolize the good and wicked propensities of the human mind. Unless these two sides of the mind co-operate in friendly harmony " the little state of man suffers in insurrection " and no action is possible. When a devotee is in search of Truth, material instincts often lurk about in the precincts of his mind even in a sub-conscious form, but they finally disappear when the Absolute (*Brahma*) bursts forth in all the radiant bliss of the "beatific vision ".

The " Ocean " typifies the world and the " Milk " represents the pleasure derived from the gratification of the senses. "Churning " stands for the subjects process of severe Introspection (*vichara-viveka*) involving the six-fold process of devotional exercises, i.e., Self-Reverence, Self-Reliance, Self-Help, Self-Analysis, Self-Review and Self-Continance. This leads to the realization of the underlying unity in the midst of the variety, which is the Nectar of Life.

The elimination of " Poison** (the bane of material instincts) and the differentiation of the *Amrita* (the spiritual insight) inevitably induces the manifestation of the Poison in all its deadly devastation of the world. The devotee assimilates it to the Absolute and becomes himself one with Siva. He does all the duties of the world without the least attachment and thereby renders himself perfect by attaining the Supreme Condition.

" Mohini " represents the objects of the senses which allure the *Asuras* (men of materialistic tendencies) and deprive them of Immortality.

The union of Hari and Hara stands for the unification of the *Prakriti* and *Purusha* from which perennially flows the Elixir of Life, a universal panacea of " all the ills that flesh is heir to ", which is induced by the duality of Matter and Mind.

C(a) 1, 2 and 3 standing against the east wall of the room depict scenes from Gautama Buddha's life.

G(a) 1. The stele is carved into four panels. The lower division, much damaged, illustrates the Birth of Gautama in the Lumbini Garden near Kapilavastu. His mother, Mayadevi, stands in the centre of the composition under a *sala* tree, a branch of which she clasps with her right hand. To her left stands her sister, Prajapati, and to her left again the child, now defaced, receives his first bath from two Naga kings, Nanda and Upananda, floating in the air and pouring water over the infant's head. [Cf C (a) 2 and 3.]

The second panel contains the scene of Gautama's Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya. Here he is seated beneath the *Bodhi* tree in the earth-touching attitude with Mara holding bow and arrow and his followers to his right and two of Mara's daughters trying to seduce him. On the pedestal beneath the Buddha's right hand there must have been the figure of the Earth-goddess, now obliterated, to bear witness by virtue of his acts in previous births. The figure in the middle is Mara's daughter fleeing away utterly discomfited. [Cf C (a) 2.].

The third compartment depicts the Buddha's First Sermon in the Deer Park, Sarnath, to the mendicant friars on the pedestal with a Wheel-and-deer symbol in the centre. [Cf C (a) 2 and 3.].

Lastly, the uppermost division is the Nirvana scene. Here the Master is shown reclining on the right side on a couch with pillows under his head and feet. A figure fanning at his head is perhaps monk Upavana and another, evidently Mahakasyapa, adores his feet before his cremation. In the background are four figures with up-lifted right hands in the attitude of grief; while the female figures from the, foliage of the two *gala* trees are the tree-spirits showering flowers on the dying Buddha. In front of the couch are his mourning followers and the right-hand one seated cross-legged is his last convert, Subhadra, facing the Master. The stele is crowned with a small *stupa* adorned with an arched niche in which the Buddha is seated, cross-legged, on a lotus in meditation. The back of the slab bears the Buddhist creed in six lines in characters of the 5th century A.D.

The stele C (a) 2 (Plate XIII a) depicts four events and they are described in Chapter I. C (a) 3 (Plate XIII b) illustrates the eight events in the life of the Master. The four principal ones, *i.e.*, Birth Enlightenment, First Sermon and Mahaparinirvana, respectively, are depicted in the four corners of the slab and the four secondary scenes are carved in the two rows between.

Above the 'Birth' scene is the presentation of *madhu* (honey) by a monkey in the Parileyyaka forest near Kausambi (modern

Kosam in Allahabad District). A seated figure of the Buddha holds a bowl with both hands. To his right a monkey is represented holding a bowl, while at the opposite corner are seen the feet and tail of the animal, who now disappears into a well. It is said that the monkey after making this offer to the Buddha committed suicide in this manner and was reborn as a celestial being. This event is illustrated at the right end of the panel. [Cf. C (a) 25.]

The next compartment to the right indicates the Buddha taming the mad elephant, Nalagiri or Ratnapala. During his sojourn at Rajagriha, his wicked cousin, Devadatta, being jealous of his fame and success attempted his life by letting a furious elephant loose at him. The attempt of course failed. The Buddha laid his hand on the elephant's forehead and calmed the animal. In the relief his right hand, now defaced, rests on the elephant and it is shown kneeling before him in submission.

The left upper panel in the third row relates to the Buddha's descent from the Trayastrimsa heaven after having preached his doctrine to his mother and other *devas*. This miracle is supposed to have taken place at Sankasya, modern Sankisa in Farrukhabad District of the United Provinces. In the centre is the figure of the standing Buddha accompanied by Indra holding an umbrella over his head and Brahma with a water-gourd (*kamandalu*) in his left hand¹. The corresponding register to the right records the great miracle performed by the Master. In order to confound six leaders of heretical sects, namely, Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kachchhayana, Nigantha Nataputta and Sanjaya Belatthiputta, the opponents of his gospel who were then at the court of King Prasenajit of Kosala, he proceeded to Sravasti and caused fire and water issue simultaneously from his body and expounded to them his doctrine at the same time from the four cardinal points. To indicate this scene the artist has portrayed the Master in the preaching attitude in the centre with two replicas on his sides. The kneeling figure with folded hands on the pedestal is perhaps the King Prasenajit and the collapsing figure on the other side represents a defeated Tirthika teacher².

The wall case set against the east wall contains terracotta plaques representing Sravasti and Temptation scenes, carved bricks, stone and stucco heads of the Gupta period. In the four table-cases are displayed bronze statuettes, heads of Buddha and Bodhi-sattva figures, well-carved hands, a small copper-plate containing

* See C 24 in (a) 18, 22 23 ,B(b) 10a in Room 2 and C (a)-Room 4, Of. B 20, B (b) 180 and B(c) 45, C (a) B and 8 (d) 179.

the Buddhist creed, copper utensils and the fragment of A stone umbrella, D(c)11, incised with a Pali inscription of the late Kushana period. The contents of the epigraph are :—

1. *Ohattar=imani bhikkhave ar[i]ya-sachchani*
2. *katamani [cha]ttari dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkahve ara(i)-yasachcham*
3. *dukkha-samuday[o] ariyasachcham dukkanirodho ariyasa chcham*
4. *dukkha-nirodha-gamini [cha] patipada ari[ya]sachcham*

" Four are, ye monks, the Noble Axioms. And which are these four ? The Noble Axiom about suffering, ye monks, the Noble Axiom about the origin of suffering, the Noble Axiom about the cessation of suffering, and the Noble Axiom about the way leading to the cessation of suffering."

The double masonry bench constructed along the west wall exhibit inscribed pedestals and several well-carved architectural members, while the pillars D (f) 3, 9 and 10 standing between the table-cases are the typical examples of Gupta workmanship.

Room 3.—The sculpture, B(c) 1, contains an epigraphical record during the reign of Mahlpala of Bengal. (Plate XVI). It is the lower part of a cross-legged figure of Buddha in the preaching attitude. 'The ' wheel-and-deer' symbol occupies the centre of the pedestal or supported by two thunderbolt designed pillars between and on either side of the deer is a couchant lion on a lotus. The ends of the- pedestal are supported by two dwarfish atlantes. The lower of the rim pedestal consists of a Sanskrit version of the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th century A.D. while the upper contains the following three-line inscription of great value:—

1.—*Om namo Buddhya || Varanasi(si)-sarasyam Gurava-
Sri-Vamarasi-pad-dbjam¹ aradhya namita-bhupati-siroruhaih
saival-adhisam || Isana-Chitraghant-adi-kirrti-ratna-satani yau¹
Gaudadhipo Mahipalah Kasyam sriman-akara [yat||].*

2 —*Saphali-krita-pandityau bodhav-avinivarttinu / tau
Dharmarajikam sangam Dharmmachakram pumr-navam ||
Kritavantau cha navinam-ashtamahasthanasaila gandhakutim
etam-Sri Sthirapalo Vasantapalo-nujah sriman ||*

3.—*Samvat 1083 Pausha-dine*

4-5.—*Ye dharma etc.*

" Om. Adoration to the Buddha ! The illustrious Sthirapala [and his] younger brother, the illustriou Vasantapala, whom the lord of Gauda (Bengal), the illustrious lipala, caused to establish in Kasi [thetemples of] Isana (Siva) Chitraghanta(Durga)

and other precious monuments of his glory in hundreds—after he had worshipped the foot of Gurava Sri-Vamarasi, which is like a lotus in the lake of Varanasi surrounded, as it were, by *saivala* (moss) through the hair of bowing kings ; they who have made learning fruitful and who do not turn back [on their way] to supreme knowledge, restored the *stupa* and [the shrine or the Convent of] the wheel of the law completely, and built this new shrine (*gandhakuti*) of stone relating to the eight great places. Samvat 1083, on the 11th day of Pausha."¹

B (d) 8. Image of Lokanatha in alto-relievo with a back slab as a background. The god sits in the *ardhaparyanka* (sportive) attitude on a double conventional lotus. The right hand, stretched down in *varada* pose rests on the right knee, whilst the left laid against the other knee holds a lotus with the stalk. Curly locks fall on the shoulders. In the *jatamukuta* is Amitabha in meditation. The oval-shaped halo of Magadha type around the head is decorated by a garland and flaming border. On the right side of the Bodhisattva's head is a Buddha figure seated in *varadamudra*. The base is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the early mediaeval period.

The wall case standing against the south wall displays a remarkable range and variety of seals and sealings, the majority of which appears to have been used as votive tablets presented by pilgrims to Sarnath. Some of them on the other hand must have been prepared as mementos for pilgrims visiting the place ; whilst a few others indicated that they were employed for sealing letters and parcels. Of these the following deserve special notice :—

J 55. Seal die of baked clay, circular in shape, surrounded by a deeply incised circular line. The upper portion of the face shows a row of *stupas*, whilst the lower space containing the Buddhist formula in reversed characters of the Gupta period says :

" Of all the things that proceed from a cause,

The Buddha the cause hath told ;

And he tells too how much shall come to its end,

Such alone is the word of the Sage."

419 W. An inscribed seal bears a legend referring to the " Mula-gandhakati of the Exalted One in the illustrious Saddharmachakij."

F (d) 19. Sundried clay tablets In the centre of the composition appears the Buddha, sitting in the preaching attitude, attended by Padmapani and Maitreya standing on a lotus.

¹ Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX (1807), pp. 203; and Vol. X (1808), pp. 1291-33 ; C.S.R., Vol. II. p. 134 sq, and Vol. XI, p. 18? Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV - p. 139 sq., and A.S.R., 1903-04, p. 221 sq., and Pl. LXIV.

F (d) 54. Irregular shaped mass of clay. The upper portion is stamped with three impressions of the same die. The inscribed surface is circular and shows a rosette above and the legend *Apramada* below. The underside of the mass bears string marks thus showing that it was attached to a parcel.

F (d) 55. Circular tablet of burnt clay. The legend stamped across the face in characters of the 8th or 9th century A.D. reads *Siladevah*.

Image of a goddess, B (f) 23, standing in the attitude of an archer (*pratyaldhapada*), is clad in a garment which is fastened to the waist with a flat girdle (*kanchi*). She has three faces and six arms. The central face is larger than the other two and the left one is that of a sow. Of the right hands, the uppermost, which held a thunderbolt (*vajra*) is damaged, of the other two each holds the arrow (*sara*) and the elephant-goad (*ankusa*). The uppermost left hand is broken but in accordance with the canon it is evident that it held an *asoka* flower. In the second we find a *bow* (*chapa*) and the third is in the *tarjanidharamudra* (a menacing pose of the hand with the index pointing upward). Dhyani-Buddha Vairochana in the attitude of expounding the law (*vyakhyanamudra*) is on her conical crown. On the pedestal are carved seven pigs (*saptasukara-ratharudhd*) driven by a corpulent female charioteer sitting on the central pig facing to the front. The two kneeling figurines carved beneath are perhaps the donor and his wife.

This figure represents the goddess Marichi. She is one of the principal goddesses that emanated from the first Dhyani-Buddha Vairochana. According to the *Sadhanamala* all emanations of Vairochana are feminine. They are five in number and all are " born of the family of Vairochana ". The goddesses that emanated from Vairochana are considered to be presiding spirits of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temples. Of all these, Marichi is the most important and considered as the consort of Vairochana. Even to-day she is worshipped in Tibet in the early morning just at the time of the rising Sun. Probably the very name Marichi is responsible in some way for her connection with the Sun. Marichi means solar rays in Sanskrit and therefore Marichi means the emanation from " Sun light " or " born of the Sun ". According to the lexicon Marichi is also one of the names of Mayadevi or Vajrakalika. There may be a philosophical significance in the conception that it is a *sakti* that emanated from the effulgence of Higher Wisdom (*sunya-jnsna*) which is symbolized as the Dhyani-Buddha and the entire symbolism of Marichi must have been borrowed or at least inspired by the Puranic conception of the Sun with **his** chariot **drawn by seven** horses. **The** chariot of Marichi is drawn by seven **pigs** ; **and her charioteer** is represented by only a head, **which may mean Rahu**,

a head without a body, or by a corpulent female figure without legs as we notice in B (f) 23. (Plate XV c.) She is represented as having three faces, as if to display three kinds of sentiments (*rasa*), viz., *sringara* (amour), heroic (*vira*), and *harsha* (joy). The seven pigs of her chariot probably indicate the principal planets and the various human shapes that lie under the wheel may mean the personification of different disease that befall mankind. As one of her faces represents a sow, she is sometimes considered as the same as Vajravarahi; but some authorities differ on this point and assert that Vajrayarahi, though another emanation of the same Vairochana, is quite different from Marichi.

B(e) 1. The sculpture represents standing figures of Uchchhushma Jambhala, the lord of wealth, and his female counterpart (*sakti*) Vasudhara, the goddess of abundance, carved in alto-relievo (Plate XIV a). Uchchhushma is dwarfish with a protruding abdomen (*lambodara*) and stands in the Pratyaldha attitude on Dhanadalying at full length on a lotus and wearing a high diadem and ornaments. The figure though nude wears ornaments of snakes and a bejewelled headdress with a Dhyani-Buddhar surrounded by a flaming halo of oval shape. From his mouth protrude two fangs. The right hand holds a skull (*kapala*) against the breast. The left hand with the mongoose is missing. The female figure is lavishly decked with ornaments. Her both hands are damaged. Between the two is a lotus, while below are two kneeling figures and above, a celestial being carrying a garland. Beneath the goddess is carved a pair of *ratnaghatas*, a symbol of abundance over which she presides. The pedestal contains a fragmentary Sanskrit inscription in characters of the 11th century A.D. consisting of the Buddhist creed followed by :—

1. 3. *De[yadharmmo=yam] mahdya[nanuydyinah paramopasaka-Ma*

1. 4. *[yad=atra pu]nyam tad—bhavatu—acharyopadhyaya-mata-*

1. 5. *[pitroh]. . . . sarvasattvananch—anuttara-jnanavaptaye*

" This is the pious gift of the follower of the Great Path, the supremely devoted. . . . Whatever merit there is in it, may it be to the attainment of unsurpassed knowledge by his preceptors, teachers, parents, . . . and all sentiment beings."

B (e) 6 contains three four armed figures, two male and one female, seated on lotus thrones, with four kneeling figurines beneath. (Plate XIV b.) The three seated figures each hold a rosary (*akshamala*) and a full-blown lotus, whilst two hands are joined before the breast in adoration. According to Dr. Binaytosh Bhattacharya this group represents Shadakshara Lokesvara with Shadakshari Mahavidya and Manidhara¹. Shadakshara Lokesvara is

¹ *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 1924, p. 34.

considered as another aspect of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Avalokitesvara is one of the most famous Bodhisattvas emanating from the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha and its is *sakti* Pandara. He is considered to be now presiding over the present *kalpa* or period of the evolution of the wheel, and is said to be trying to help every living creature to evolve higher until all would attain the Supreme Knowledge. He is therefore regarded as the very 'Jewel of the Buddhist Church' (*sangharama*). According to the *Sadhanamala* there are 31 aspects of Avalokitesvara or Lokesvara as he is commonly called. The Shadaksha'ra Lokesvara is the most important emanation of this Bodhisattva. He is the symbolic representation of the famous Buddhist *mantra* " *Om Mani-Padme Hum* ", which is composed of six syllables and considered as the easiest means of salvation in the age. The four figurines beneath the seat represent the four guardians of the gates of the Shadakshari Mandala.

The mutilated figure, B (f) 4, again represents Shadakshari Mahavidya of the Lokesvara. As all Mahavidyas signify the spiritual potency of a mystic symbol or *mantra*, this Mahavidya must also import the same idea about the mystic power of the *mantra* represented by Shadakshara Lokesvara.

Of the antiquities exhibited in the second table-case the following only need be noticed :—K 16, white limestone plaque showing Simhanada Lokesvara, Another fragment is a bas-relief representing the birth-scene, then the first sermon, and above this the miracle of Rajagriha, i.e., the subduing of the mad elephant, by which Devadatta attempted to destroy the Buddha. The death-scene occupies the top of the fragment. Domestic objects of pottery, such as spouted jars, *gharas*, *handis*, etc., are also displayed in the fourth wall-case.

B (h) 1—A colossal image (12' 1½" high 3' 11" broad and 1' 10" thick) showing Siva in one of his destructive forms. The god is represented as piercing his adversary with a trident which he holds with one left and one right hand. The god is ten-armed A second right hand holds a sword; a third holds two arrows and a fourth his *damaru*, while the fifth grasps an uncertain object. The second left hand holds the mace, adorned with a skull (*khatvanga*) ; the third grasps a shield (*khetaka*); the fourth supports the bowl for catching the blood of the demon to prevent drops from falling on the ground and the fifth holds a bow of double flexure (*pinaka*).

Siva is shown here as conquering Andhakasura, the demon of Darkness, who appears once on the ground near Siva's left foot fighting upwards with sword in right hand and shield in left; and

again in the sky pinned to the three prongs of Siva's
Near the right foot of Siva is the figure of a small bull. the

The carving of this sculpture was left unfinished and the ornaments which the god wears on his body are incomplete. The image was found in the debris above Monastery IV. It may be assigned to the late medieval period.

D (I) 9 is a rectangular slab inscribed in Nagari characters of the 12th century A. D., covering a space of 21" x 15½". The epigraph is written in 26 verses.¹ The inscription begins with an invocation of Vasudhara and the Moon, then it gives the genealogy of Kumaradevi, the Buddhist queen of Govinda chandra of Kanyakubja (Kanauj), whose descent is also detailed. Next we are told that Kumaradevi had a *vihara* constructed at Dharmachakra (Sarnath), she caused a copper-plate grant to be prepared in connection with the teaching of *sri-Dharmachakra-Jina* (Lord of the Wheel of the Law) as it existed in the days of Asoka. The last two verses state that the inscription was composed by the poet Srikunda and engraved by the *silpin* (sculptor) Vamana.

Of the architectural pieces, votive stupas, etc., arranged in the verandah the most noteworthy is a magnificent door-lintel, D (d) 1, of Gupta date. The reliefs on the face are divided up into six panels separated by two representations of *viharas*, alternating with each other. At either end of the lintel is an effigy of Jambhala, the Buddhist God of Wealth. Of the four intervening compartments the first from the right portrays a Bodhisattva seated in meditation adored by five worshippers. The next two sections depict a musical performance by dancing girls. The last compartment shows the torture of the Bodhisattva. He is seated with a rosary in his left hand, while his right hand is being cut off by a man whom two women try to restrain from this cruel act. The scene relates to the Kshantivadin Jataka identified by Dr. Vogel. The legend runs :—

When Kalabu, the king of Kasi, was reigning at Benares, the Bodhisattva was born in a rich Brahmin family. When he came of age he went to Taxila, acquired all the sciences and afterwards settled as a householder. On the death of his parents he looked at the pile of treasure and pondered that his kinsmen, who amassed the great fortune, died without taking it with them knowing that death must come he distributed all his wealth to his persons, entered the Himalayas and adopted the name of Ealabu. There he dwelt for a long time. In order to procure the three jewels he gradually came to Benares and took up his abode there. Now, one day king Ealabu came to the park,

1 A.S. R. ,1907.08,p.76f,and Ep. .,Vol.IX,pp.319ff.

company of dancing girls. He lay with his head on the lap of a favourite of the harem, when the nautch girls provided a musical entertainment. The king fell asleep, The women left the king and in wandering about came upon the Bodhisattva, who at their request, began preaching the doctrine. Meanwhile the king woke up and learnt that the women were sitting in attendance on a certain ascetic. He flew into rage and went to kill the sage, The women, however, pacified him. The king on coming to learn that the ascetic was preaching the doctrine of 'patience' subjected him to inhuman tortures with a view to test the ascetic's patience. The ascetic laid down his life for the sake of his faith and the king, when he passed out of the range of the Bodhisattva's vision, was wrapped up in a flame issuing forth from the Avichihell.

This Jataka illustrates the following lines of Dhammapada and the Sanyutta Nikaya :—

(1) "*khanti paramam tapo titikha nibbanam paramam vadanti Buddha*" means "The Awakened call patience, the highest patience, long-suffering the highest *nirvana*" (*Dh. v. 184*).

(2) "*khantiya bhiyyo na vijjati*", i.e., nothing for bearance doth excel. (*S. I. 226*.)

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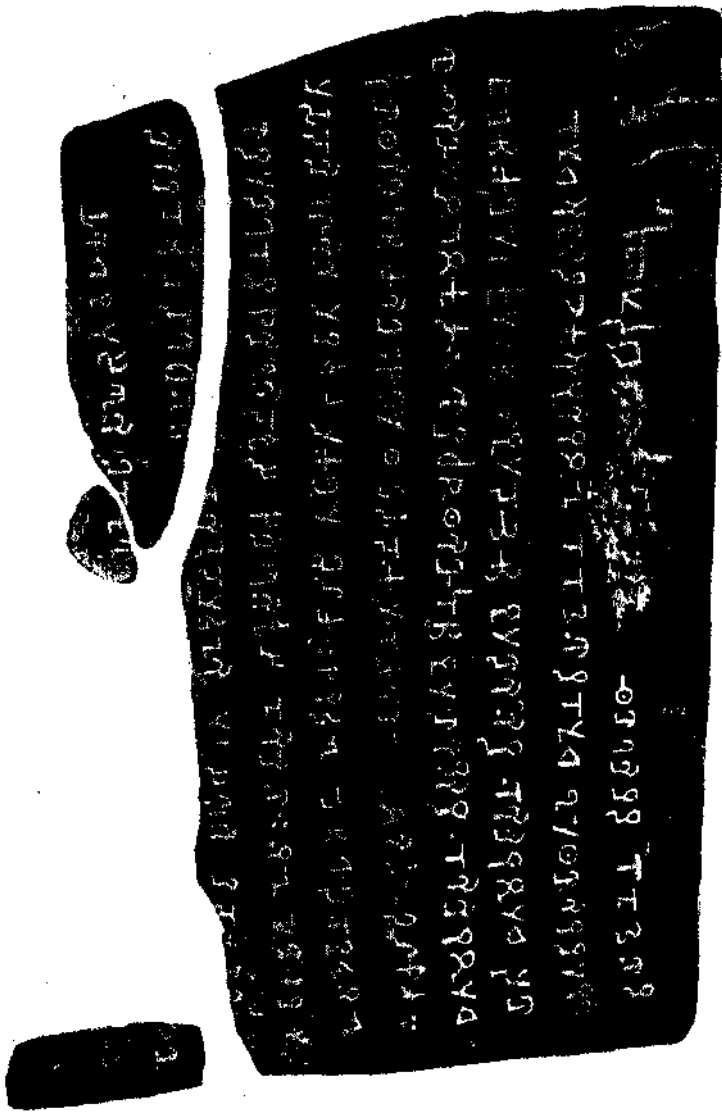
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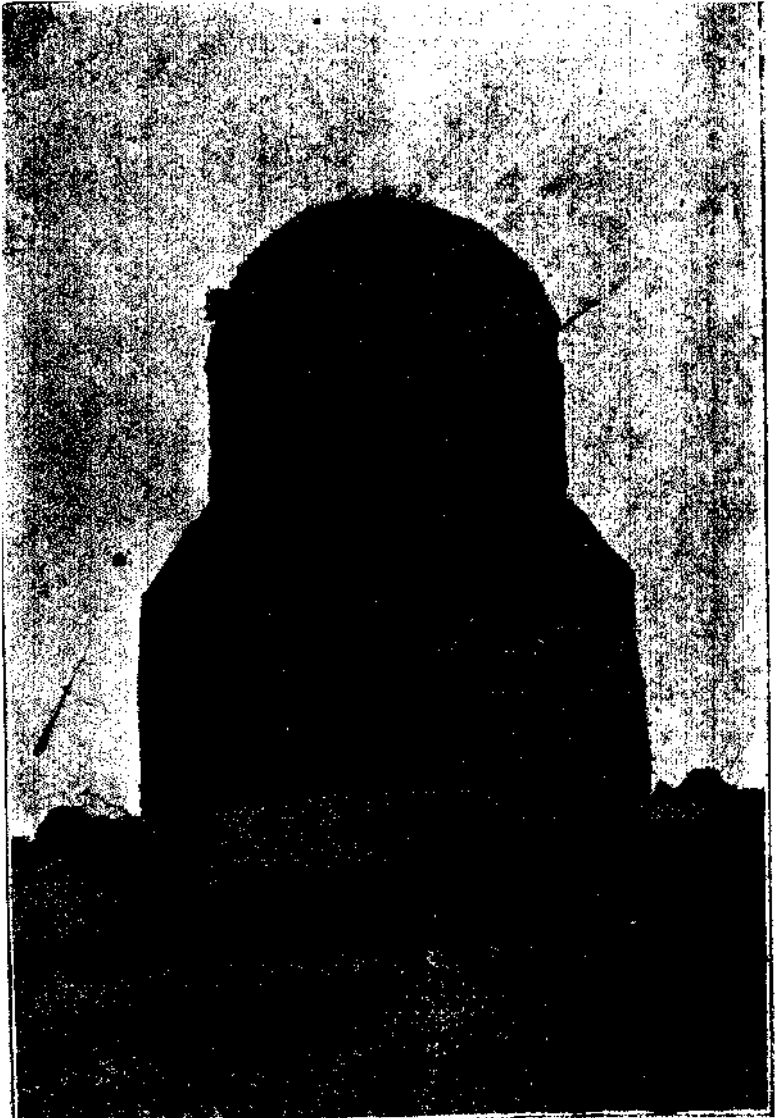
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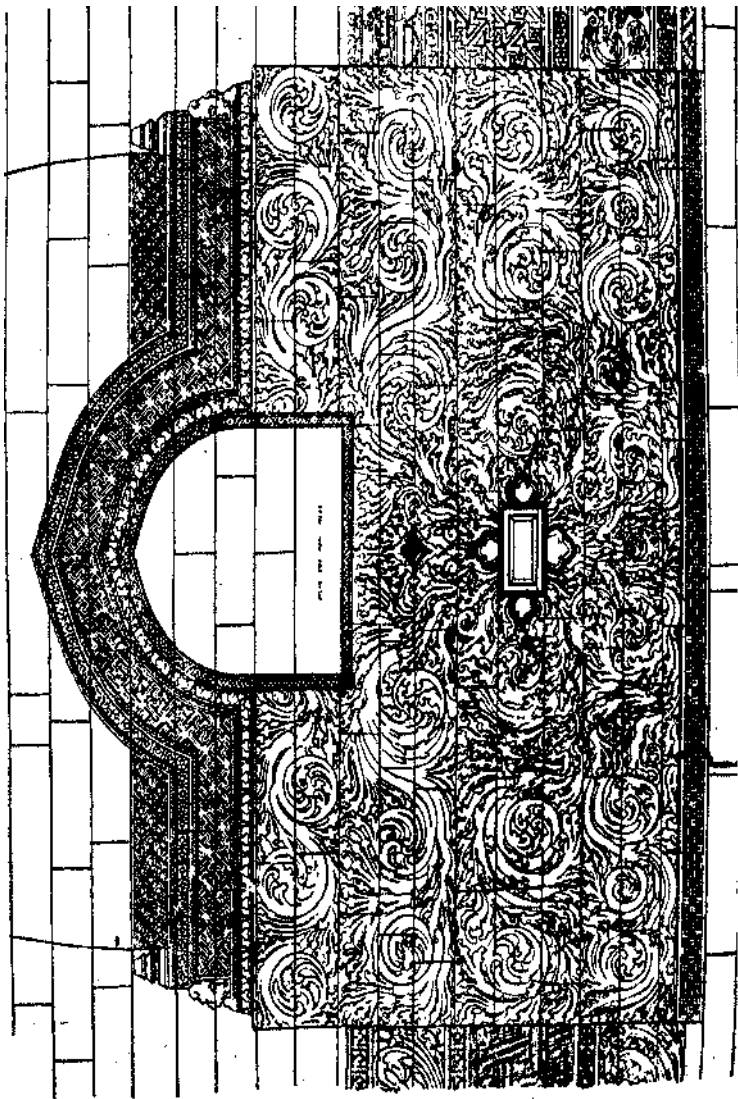
Chaukhandi Stupa where Gautam met his disciples



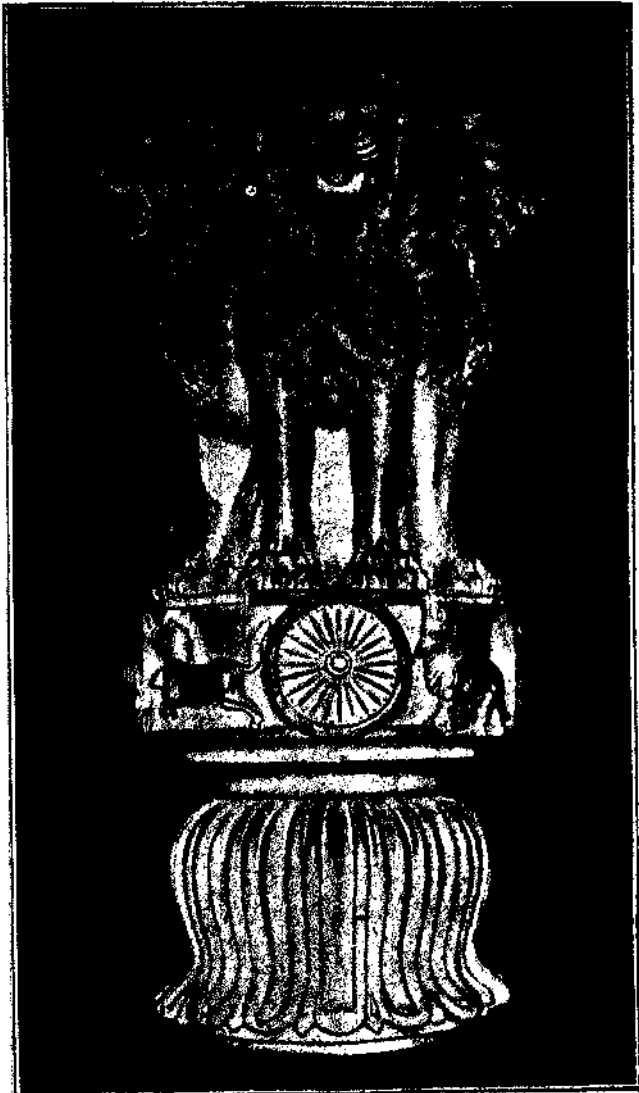
Asoka Edict.
(A Special pillar edict.)



Dhamekh Stupa



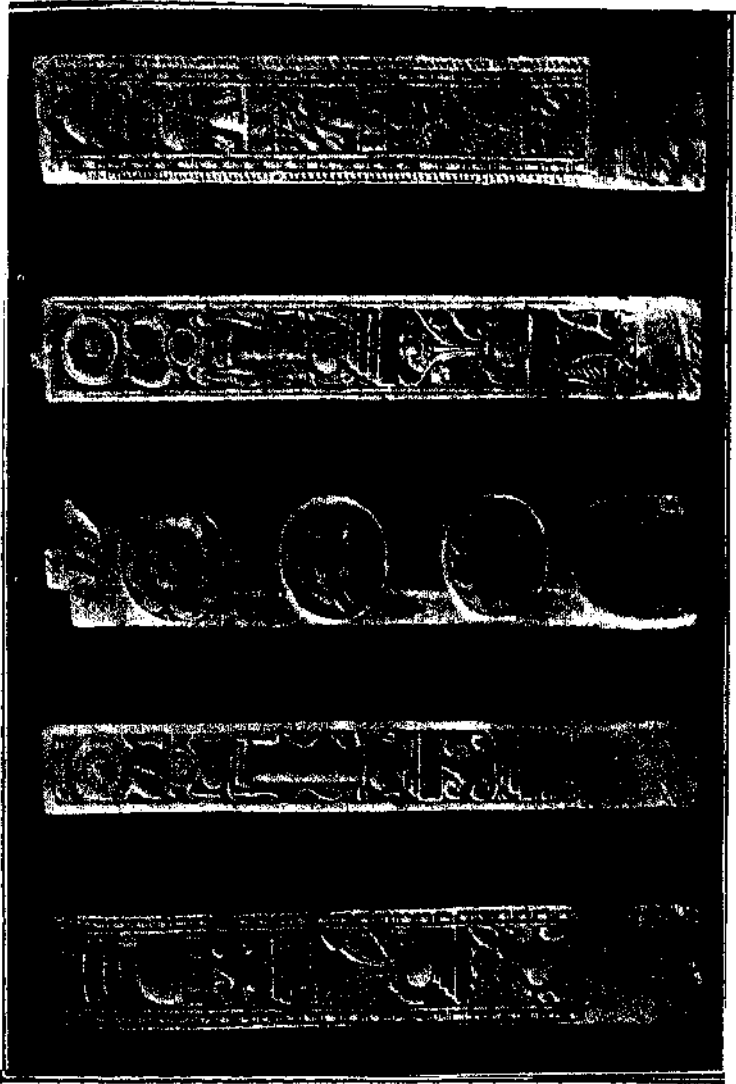
Dhamekh Stupa : Detail of West Face.



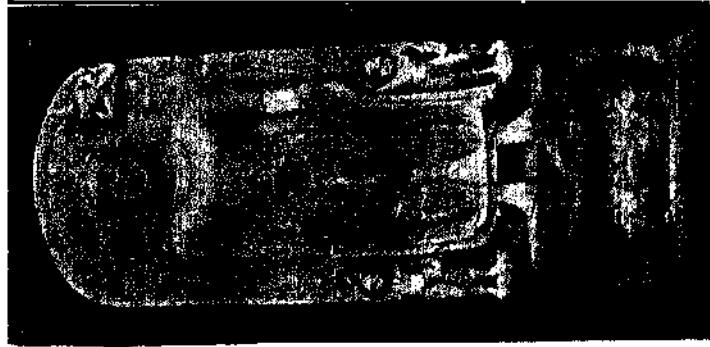
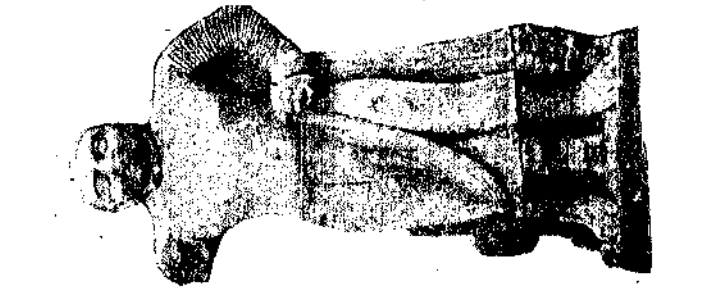
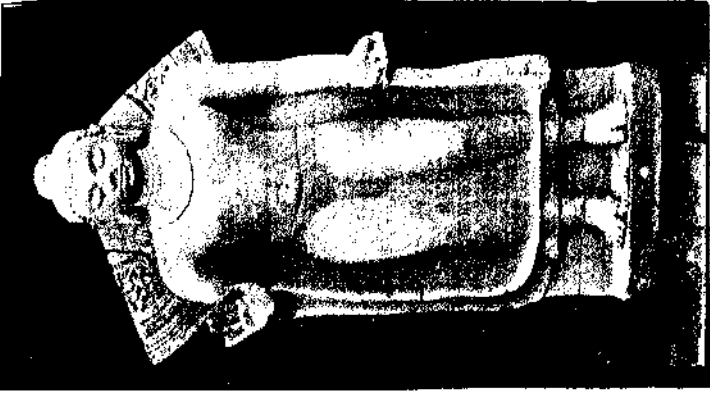
Lion Capital of Asoka,



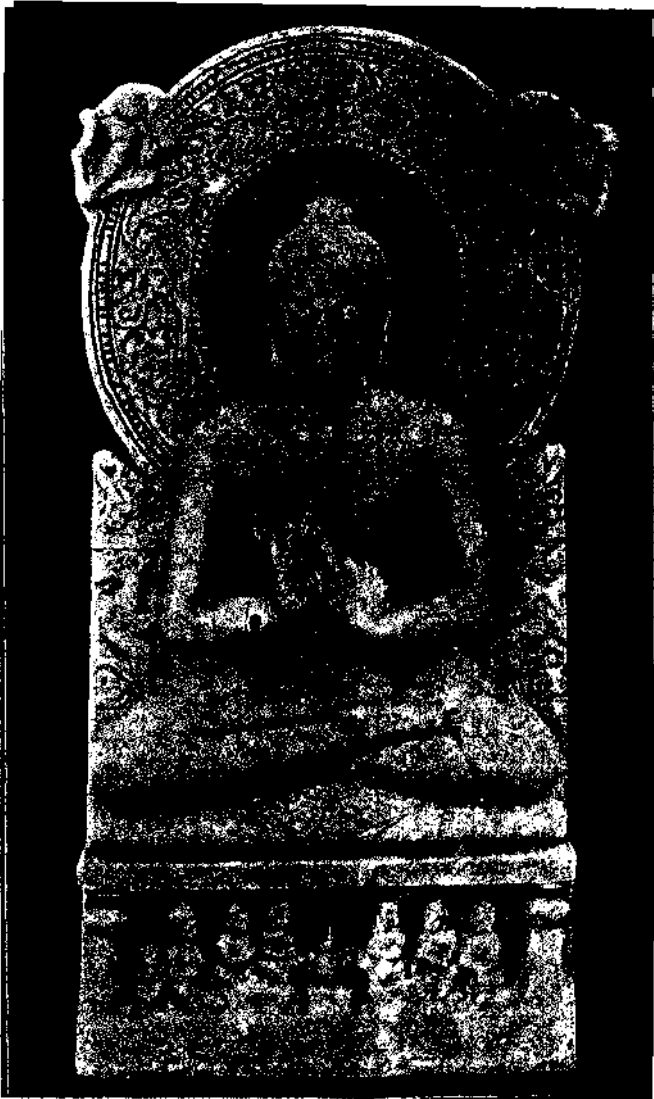
Capital D (g) 4.



Railing Pillars, D (a) 1, 6, 7, & 11.



(a) Standing Bodhisattva (B a I) and Buddha figures, 22 E & 30 E. (b) (c)



Buddha preaching his First Sermon. B (b) 181

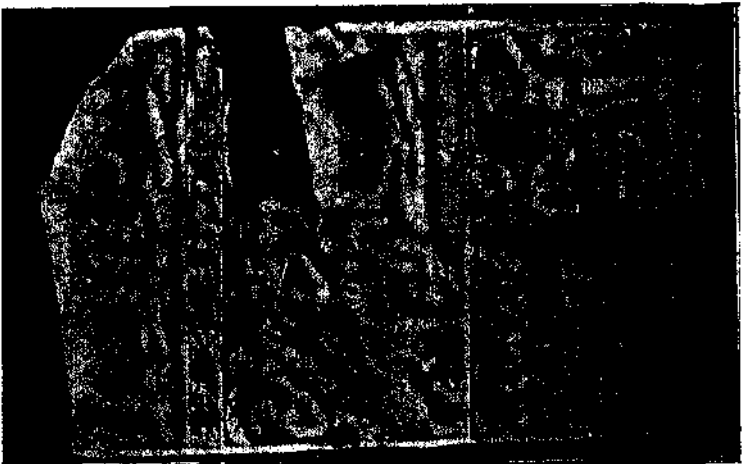
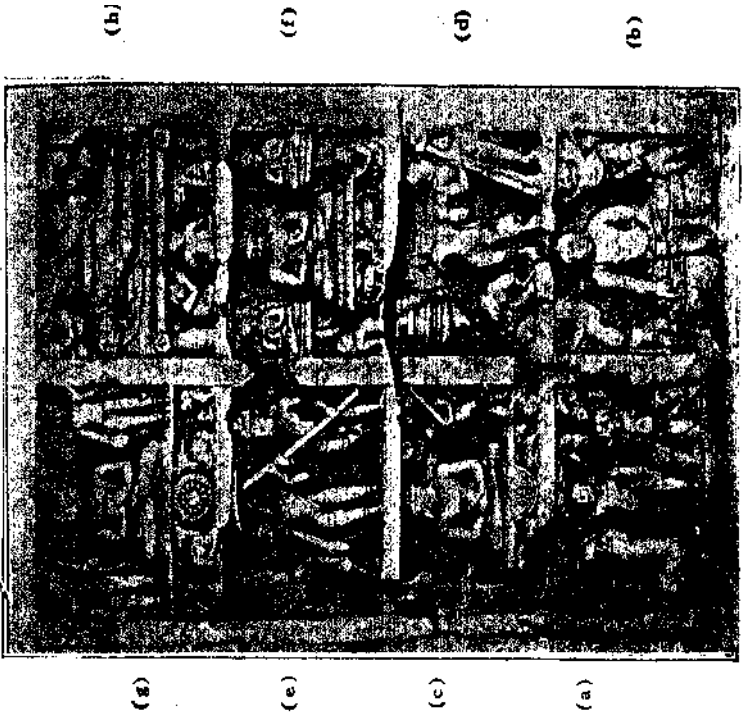


(a) Siddhaikavira B (d) 6.

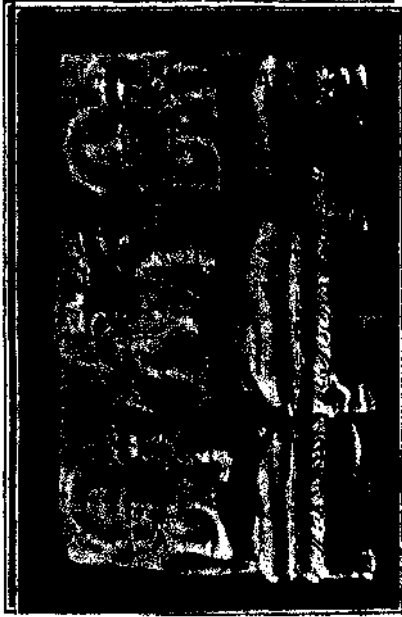
(b) Lokanath. B (d) 1



Leogryphs with swordsmen. C (b) 2 & 1.



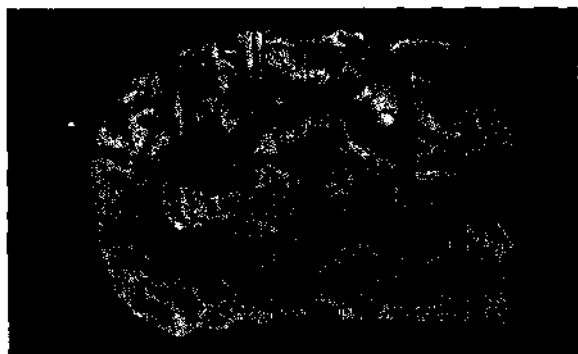
(a & b) Scenes of Buddha's life, C (a) 2 and C (a) 3.



(b) Shadakshari group, B (e) 6.



(a) Jambhala and Vasudhara, B (e) I



(a) Nila Tar a B (f) 7. (b) Khadiravani Tara B (f) 2. (c) Marichi B (f) 23



Pedestal with Sanskrit Inscription. B (c) I.
Mentions Sthirapala and Vasantapala

