THE GREAT STUPA FROM S.-E.

A GUIDE TO SANCHI

BY

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PREFACE

BY a strange coincidence it happens that the monuments of ftfmclri, the noblest of all the monuments which Early Buddhism has bequeathed to India, are those about which least information has been available to the public. Ancient Indian writers scarcely mention them; the Chinese pilgrims, who are such a mine of information regarding other Buddhist sites, pass them by in silence; and such modern literature as exists on the subject, is for the most part antiquated and misleading. How misleading and how antiquated, may be judged from the fact that of the best known books on Saiichi—Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship,* and Maisey's *Sdnchi and its remains—the* former, which appeared in 1868, treats the gateway reliefs mainly as illustrations of primitive Tree and Serpent worship; while the latter, which was

published in 1892, seeks to prove, among other fanciful theories, that Asoka was much later than King Piyadasi of the Edicts, that Buddhism in India was approximately coeval with Christianity, and that in essence it was largely Mithraic!

Among the very few contributions that are really sound and reliable, a short lecture on the Eastern Gateway delivered at the Musee Guimet by M. A. Eoucher stands *facile princeps.* On this brilliant lecture and also on a valuable manuscript note on the iconography of the other reliefs, with which the same distinguished scholar was generous enough to favour me, I have mainly based my description of the gateway carvings. Other authors to whom I am indebted, are my predecessor, Sir A. Cunningham, whose work * *The Bhilsa Topes* ' has supplied me with the details of the discoveries made by him in the Second and Third Stupas; Prof. A. Grunwedel, whose *Buddhist Art in India* is most helpful for the study of Buddhist iconography; and Mr. Vincent Smith, of whose standard work on Early Indian History I

have made free use in the second chapter of this guide.

No guidebook can cater for all classes of visitors, and I am sensible that this one is likely to be found too long for some, too short for others. My aim (need I say?) has been to hit the happy mean, but how far I have succeeded in this aim, it is for the reader to judge. Those who would study the subject in greater detail, should turn to the three large folio volumes entitled " The Monuments of Sahchi", in which he will find the whole series of these richly decorated monuments elaborately illustrated and described, with a full discussion of their art, their iconography and their inscriptions.[1]

JOHN MARSHALL.

[1] " The Monuments of Saiichi " by Sir John Marshall and Alired Fouchoi, with translations and notes on the inscriptions by N. G. Majnmdar, 3 vols folio. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta (in press). The detached sculptures and minor antiquities in the local museum are described in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Archceology at Sanchz,* Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1922.

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NOTE TO TRAVELLERS.

Safiehi is on the main line of the Great Indian Peninsula linilway between Bhilsa and Bhopal. Mail trains can be stopped there by giving warning beforehand to the guard. There is a pleasant dak bungalow at SaficliI, a few bund fed yards from the station, which is maintained by the Bhopal State. Travellers intending to stay there should take bedding with them and inform the khansamah beforehand.

A GUIDE TO SANCHI

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHICAL

The stupas of Sanchi are one of several groups of such monuments situated within a dozen miles of Bhilsa and known commonly as the Bhilsa Topes.[1] One of these groups is on the hill above Sonari; another is at Satdhara; a third is at Pipallya (Bhojpur); and a fourth at Andher. But by far the most extensive and most interesting of the series is the group at Sanchi,[2] a village in the Diwanganj sub-division of the Bhopal State, about 5½ miles S.-W. of Bhilsa. The existence of so many Bud-' dhist edifices in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa is not due to mere chance. It is explained by the fact that near by the modern town and at the junction

[1] The more important of these groups have been described by Sir A. Cunningham in his work entitled *The Bhilsa Topes,* where the reader will find a sketch map of the district and a full account of his exploration of some of the stupas.

[2] Lrft. 23° 28' N. and long. 77° 48' E.

of the Bes* and the Betwa rivers there once stood the* famous and populous city of Vidisa, the capital of Eastern Malwa (Akara) and that in and around this city there grew up a flourishing community of Buddhists, who found on the summits of the neighbouring hills attractive and commanding spots on which to build their memorials and their monasteries—spots, that is to say, which were far enough removed from the turmoil and distractions- of the great city, but sufficiently close to it to attract worshippers from its crowded thoroughfares» In the case of other famous Buddhist monuments, such as those at Bodh-Gaya, Sarnath and Kasia, the sites chosen for their erection were those which had been hallowed by the presence of the Buddha, and the monuments themselves were designed ta commemorate some act in his life, as for example his enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya, his first sermon at Sarnath, his passing away at Kasia. But Sanchi had no such connexion with the life or acts of the Master; the place is scarcely mentioned in Buddhist literature, and the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Thsang, who visited India between the fourth and seventh centuries of our era, though they tell us much about other ancient centres of Buddhism, have not a word to say about this one. It is a strange coincidence, therefore, that these remains should be at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Buddhist architecture in India.

THE HILL OF SiScHf.

The hill on which these monuments are clustered is not in any way remarkable, nor is there anything in its general aspect to distinguish it from the many

other eminences which girdle it close on the west and south. It is a low hill, less than 300 feet in height, of a whale-back shape, with a saddle near the middle, in which nestles the village of Sanchi from which it takes its name. As with all the neighbouring off-shoots of the Vindhyas, its formation is of sandstone, which slopes, layer upon layer, in shelving masses down its sides, wherein the Buddhist builders of old found a quarry for their stone ready to hand and easily worked. In the varied hues of this stone and in its rugged crags there is a wonderful charm alike of form and colour, and this charm is enhanced by the wealth of jungle shrubs and trees which spring from every nook anil crevice among the giant boulders. The vegetation grows free and dense on all the steeper slopes around the hill, but most luxuriantly on its southern half, in places where the high and shady cliffs afford shelter against the sun. Here the ever-green *kliirni* tree[1], with its sombre foliage, and the wild custard-apple are especially abundant, and here in the early spring the *dhdk* or ' flame of the forest ' as it has been so happily called, sets the hill-side ablaze with its clusters of gorgeous blossoms, affording a strangely gay and dazzling setting to the grey ruins that crest the ridges above.

ANCIENT AND MODERN ROADS.

The main road by which the hill is ascended, leads direct from the railway station, then passes up the rocky slope in the direction of the village of Saiichi, and bends to the right near a small pond, the embankment of which is of ancient construc-

[1] Mimusops.

tion. From this point the road is paved and stepped with heavy stone slabs as far as the brow of the hill; afterwards, it runs south for a distance of about 80 yards and enters the enclave at its north-west corner. Most of this road is of modern construction, having, so far as is known, been first made by Major Cole in 1883 and extensively repaired by the present writer in 1915. At the time when Vidisa was a flourishing city, the main approach came direct from the north-east, ascended the hill-side near the northern edge of the Purainia tank (PL IX), crossed the Chikni Ghati, and wound round to the north of the plateau, passing about 50 yards east of the modern gateway. A side path also branched off from it to the middle of the eastern side. Of the latter, a short section still exists outside the circuit wall, and two longer sections of the old main road are preserved at the Chikni Ghati, and immediately below the northern wall, the roadway in each case being constructed of long slabs of stone laid transversely on the rock and measuring as much a^ twelve feet in length. A third approach, described below at p. 147, ascended the western slope of the hill to Stilpa 2, and thence curved round to the western side of the enclave, which it entered close to Stupa 7.

THE HiLii-TOP AND CIRCUIT WALL.

The hill-top to which these roads gave access, measures over 400 yards from N. to S. by 220 yards from E. to W., and originally sloped upwards in a gentle gradient towards the east, reaching its highest point beneath the foundations of Temple 45 (PL X), whence there is a steep drop of nearly 300 feet

to the plain below. How the artificial terraces into which the central part of the plateau is now divided, oame to be formed, and when the retaining* wall between them was erected, will be described later on. The solid stone circuit wall encircling the plateau appears to have been first constructed in the 11th or 12th century A.D., but was largely repaired in 1883 and again in 1914. Over the greater part of its length it is founded on the living rock, but a section of it on the eastern side is carried over the ruins of some of the late mediaeval buildings. The present entrance at the north-west corner of this wall is a modern innovation due to Major Cole, the old entrance having apparently been located at a little distance towards the east, at a point where the ancient road had passed prior to the construction of the circuit wall.

In the description which follows of the monuments on the hill-top, I shall start with the Great Stiipa and the buildings immediately around it on the same terrace, dealing first with the stupas, then with the pillars, and lastly with the shrines. Afterwards, I shall conduct the visitor to Temples 40 and 8, and to the three monasteries 36, 37 and 38 to the .south of the Great Stupa; and, finally, I shall ascend with him the higher terrace on the east and examine the buildings numbered from 43 to 50.[1] But before embarking on this description,

[1] The numbers by which tho various monuments are designated in the plan on PL X are not, it will be observed, arranged in regular sequence, the reason being that the numeration of the stupas adopted by Sir Alex-

it is desirable to say something about the history of this site in ancient and modern times, as well as about the artistic character of its monuments.

ander **Cunningham in the plan which he published in 1854 has been generally followed by subsequent writers,** and it seemed likely to lead to inconvenience and confusion, if it were now to be abandoned. Accordingly I have, with one exception, retained *Gen* Cunningham's numbers and added others to **distinguish those monuments which T** myself have discovered, arranging them in such systematic sequence as has been practicable. The exception referred to is the early shrine numbered 8 on my plan. In Gen. Cunningham's sketch a stiipa numbered 8 is shown to the north of Stupa 3, but on the spot in question there is no vestige of any such structure; nor is any indication of its existence given in either of the plans prepaied by Gen. Maisey and Mr. Thompson. On the other hand, *Gen.* Maisey, who was associated with Gen. Cunningham at Saiichi in 1851 and in other respects follows his numeration, places No. 8 south, instead of north, of the Great Stiipa, at a spot where nothing appears on *Gen* Cunningham's plan, but where I unearthed a stone basement of an early shrine. Accordingly, I conclude that Gen. Cunningham, whose plan **in** other respects is far from accurate, made the mistake of placing this monument to the north instead of tho *hoata* **of** the central **group,**

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC

The history of Sanchi starts during the reign of A6oka in the third century B.C., and covers a period of some thirteen centuries, thus synchronising almost exactly with the rise and fall of Buddhism in India. The political story of Eastern Malwa during these fourteen centuries is known to us only in the barest outline, and is beset with many uncertainties. Such as it is, however, it enables us to follow the chief dynastic changes and the chief religious movements which affected this part of India, and which are necessarily reflected in the changing character of the monuments.

To make this history and its bearing upon the architecture and sculptures of Sanchi more easily intelligible, I shall divide it into three periods: the first extending from the reign of A6oka to the overthrow of the Kshatrapa power, about 400 A.D., by Chandragupta I I ; the second from the advent of the Imperial Guptas to the death of the Emperor Harsha in 647 A.D.; and the third embracing the later mediaeval period.

*Early period**

The ancient name of Siiiichi, as we leam from inscriptions at the site, was Kakanava or Kakanaya; later on it appears as Kakanada-bota, and still later (towards the end of the 7th century A.D.) as Bota-Sri-parwata. This last is perhaps to be identified with the sri-parvvata mentioned in Bhavabhuti's Malatlmadhava; and it is probable, too, that Saiichi is referred to under the name Chetiyagiri in the ' Mahavamsa '—the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon—where it is recorded that Asoka, when he was heir-apparent and was journeying as Viceroy to TTjjayini (Ujjain), halted at Vidisa and there married the daughter of a local banker, one Devi by name, by whom he had two sons, TJjjeniya and Mahendra, and a daughter Sanghamitra. It is further narrated that, after Asoka's accession, Mahendra headed the Buddhist mission, sent probably under the auspices of the emperor, to Ceylon, and that before setting out to the island he visited his mother at ' Chetiyagiri ' near Vidisa, and was lodged there in a sumptuous *vihara* or monastery, which she herself had erected. Now, assuming that the story of Mahendra as told in the Sinhalese chronicle is correct, it would be reasonable to identify this ' Chetiyagiri ' with the hill of Sanchi; for it was at Sanchi that Asoka set up one of his edict pillars as well as other monuments; and it is at Sanchi alone in this neighbourhood that any remains of the Maurya age have been found. Unfortunately, however, there is another version of the legend, which makes Mahendra the brother, not the son,

of A6oka, and which fails to connect him in any way with Viclisa. It would manifestly be unsafe, therefore, to deduce from the Mahavamsa version any conclusions as to the age or origin of the monuments of Sanchi. But, be the story true or not, there is good evidence, as we shall presently see, to show that the Buddhists were established at Saiichi before or during the lifetime of Asoka, and it is clear also from the memorials which the emperor erected there, that the *sahqha* at Saiichi was an object of special interest and care to him.

AS'OKA MAUBYA.

A6oka had probably become a convert to Buddhism early in life, and during the last thirty years of his reign (B.C. 274-237) he seems to have employed his almost unlimited powers in propagating his religious ideas throughout the length and breadth of his dominions (which comprised practically the whole of India except the Madras Presidency), and in sending missionaries of the faith to foreign lands[1] as far remote as Egypt and Albania. In fact, it is upon his zealous patronage of Buddhism that the fame of this great emperor mainly rests; and it is not surprising, therefore, that most of the monuments[2] of his reign which have come

[1] ft has been questioned whether the religion which Asoka's mission sought to propagate was Buddhism. Most scholars take the view that it was.

[2] These monuments comprise the following-—A series of royal edicts inscribed upon columns or natural rocks at various spots throughout his dominions, from the North-West Frontier to Mysore; stfipas of brick at Sarnath, Sanchi and other places; the remains of a pillared hall at Patna. which probably formed part of a royal palace.

down to us relate to that religion. Among these monuments are some of the most perfect and highly developed specimens of sculpture in India, but the particular specimens referred to, including the edict-bearing pillar at Sanchi, are Perso-Greek in style, not Indian, and there is every reason to believe that they were the handiwork of foreign, probably Bactrian, artists. In the time of A6oka indigenous art was still in the rudimentary state, when the sculptor could not grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, when the law of ' frontality ' was still binding upon him, and when the ' memory picture [n] had not yet given place to direct observation of nature.

SUKGA PBEIOD. On the death of Asoka in 232 B.C. the empire of the Mauryas rapidly fell to pieces: the central power declined, the outlying provinces asserted their independence, and about the year 185 B.C. the throne of Magadha passed to the Surigas. Of this dynasty our knowledge is meagre in the extreme. Its founder was Pushyamitra, who had murdered Brihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, and it appears from Kalidasa's drama the ' Malavikagni-

designed, apparently, on the model of the Acheemenid palaces of Persia; a group of rock-cut shrines in the BarSbar hills in Bihar excavated by Asoka or his successors for the Ajivika ascetics; a small monolithic rail at Sarnath; a throne in the interior of the temple at Bodh-Gaya; and some portions of stone umbrellas at Sanchi and Sarnath.

[1] See E. Loewy, *The Bendering of Nature in Early Greek Art,* English Translation by J. Fothergill; London, 1907.

mitra ' that during Pushyamitra's reign bis son, Agnimitra, was ruling as Viceroy over the "Western dominions, with Vidi&i as his Capital. Pushyamitra himself is reputed by later writers to have persecuted the Buddbist cburcb, but bis successors must bave been more tolerant; for an epigrapb on the gateway of the Buddbist stupa at Bbarbut records its erection ' during the supremacy of the j&ingas, ' and it is to tbe period of their supremacy, also, tbat several of the most important monuments at Sancbi probably belong, namely: the Second and Third Stupas (but not the gateway or ground balustrade of the latter), the ground balustrade and stone casing of the Great Stupa, which had originally been of brick and of much smaller dimensions,[1] and pillar No. 25. The sculpture of these and other monuments of the Sunga period is full of promise, but still in much the same primitive and undeveloped stage in which the sculpture of Greece was at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. The influence of ' frontality * and of

[1] Another very interesting monument of the Sunga age ia in the old city of Vidisa (now Besnagar), about 5 miles from fianchi. It is a stone column with Persepolitan capital and massive abacus, once crowned by a figure of Oaruda. An inscription on the column records that it was set up in honour of Vasudeva (Krishna) by a Greek named Heliodorus, the son of Dion, who had come to Vidisa. as an ambassador from Antialcidas, King of Taxila, to King Kasiputra Bhagabhadra, then in the fourteenth 3-ear of his reign The inscription is of special value as proving that Heliodorus, a Greek, had adopted an Indian faith, and as evidencing the contact which was then (end of 2nd century B.C.) taking place between this part of India and **the** Greek kingdoms of the Panjab.

the ' memory image ' continues to obtrude itseli; the relief-work is lacking in depth; the attitudes of the individual figures are as a rule stiff and awkward, and are generally portrayed as sharply denned silhouettes against a neutral background; and there is rarely any effort made at bringing them into close mutual relationship one with another. On the other hand, a great advance is eifected during this period in the modelling of the contours and interior details, and in many other respects, also, art begins to profit from the direct observation of nature. Here and there, the reliefs of the Suiiga period at Saiichl, as well as at Bharhut and Bodh-Graya, reveal the influence which foreign, and especially Hellenistic ideas, were exerting on India through the medium of the contemporary Greek colonies in the Punjab; but the art of these reliefs is essentially indigenous in character and, though stimulated and inspired by extraneous teaching, is in no sense mimetic. Its national and independent character is attested not merely by its methodical evolution on Indian soil, but by the wonderful sense of decorative beauty which pervaded it and which from first to last has been the heritage of Indian art.

ANDHBA PERIOD. The power of the Sungas endured for a little over a century, *i.e.,* until about the year 70 B.C., but whether they were supplanted by the Kanvas or the Andhras, is open to question. The Andhras had long been dominant in the west and south of India, and there are reasons for inferring that they extended their sway over Eastern Malwa at least

two or three decades before the beginning of the Christian era. It was under their dynasty that the early school of Indian art achieved its zenith, and that the most splendid of the Sanchi structures were erected, *viz.*, the four gateways of the Great Stupa, and the single gateway of the Third Stupa, all five of which must have been set up within a few decades of one another. On the Southern Gateway of the Great Stupa (the earliest of the five) is a donative inscription recording the gift of one of its architraves by a certain Anarhda, foreman of the artisans of the Andhra kind Sri Satakarip. Unfortunately for the identification of this king, the title of jSatakarni was borne by many members of this dynasty, an$ it is not possible to determine which particular one is here designated. Hitherto he has generally been identified with the $rl Satakarni who was reigning in the middle of the second century[1] B.C. and who is mentioned in the Nanaghat and Hathigiimpha inscriptions; but this view conflicts, not only with what is now known of the history of Eastern Malwa (which in the second century B.C. was ruled by the Sungas and not by the Andhras), but with the history also of early Indian plastic art, which has recently been established on a much firmer basis. It may now be regarded as practically certain that the king referred to is one of the Satakarnis who appear later in the Pauranic lists, and we shall not be far wrong if we

[1] See Rapson, *Cat. of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. XXITI sq.

assign his reign to the middle or latter half of the first century B.C.

Of the monumental art of this period the gateways of Saiichi are by far the most important survivals. Between the times when the ground balustrade of Stupa 2 and the earliest[1] of these gateways were erected, it is probable that not more than a few decades intervened, yet the advance made in relief work during this short period is most striking. In the decoration of the gateways there is little of the clumsy, immature workmanship that characterises the balustrade. Though they exhibit considerable variety in their composition and technical treatment, their style generally is maintained at a relatively high lev^J. They are manifestly the work of experienced artists, who had freed themselves almost entirely from the ' memory pictures ' of primitive art, and had learnt how tox« portray the figures in free and easy postures, how to compose them in natural and convincing groups, how to give depth and a sense of perspective to the picture, and how to express their meaning both dramatically and sincerely. That Hellenistic and Western Asiatic art affected the early Indian School during the Andhra even more intimately than it had done during the Sunga period, is evident alike from the increasing number of foreign motifs and from the phenomenally rapid advance made in the matter of technique by the sculptors of Malwa. But though western art evidently played a valuable role in the

[1] *i.e.,* the South Gateway.

evolution of the early Indian School, we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance. The artists of early India were quick, with the versatility of all true artists, to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them; but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek, than there would be in calling the modern fabric of St. Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its root in the heart and in the faith of the people, and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature. Free alike from artificiality and idealism, its purpose was to glorify religion, not by seeking to embody spiritual ideas in terms of form, as the mediaeval art of India was afterwards to do, but by telling the story of Buddhism in the simplest and most expressive language which the chisel of the sculptor could command; and it was just because of *its* simplicity and transparent sincerity that it voiced so truthfully the soul of the people, and still continues to make an instant appeal to our feelings.

THE KSHAHABATAS.

The rule of the Andhras in Eastern Malwa was interrupted for a few decades by that of the Kshaharatas, probably towards the end of the first Cfcvtury, but it was re-established about 125 A.D. by Uautamiputra Sri Satakarni, and survived until about 150 A.D., when it was finally overthrown by the Great Satrap Rudradaman, after which Sanchi and Vidi6a remained in possession of the Western

WBSTBBK KSHATBAPAS.

Kshatrapas[1] until the close of the fourth century, when both Malwa and Surashtia were annexed to the Gupta Empire.

The Kshatrapas of Western India, including the family of the Kshaharatas as well as the later Satraps, were of foreign origin and, as their name[2] implies, were in the position of feudatories to a supreme power, that power being, first the Scytho-Parthian, and later the Kushan empire of the North-West. In Eastern Mahva itself these Satraps do not appear on the scene until after the establishment of the Kushan Empire, and the only remains at Saiichi in which any connexion with the suzerain power of the north can be traced are a few sculptures *in* the Kushan style from Mathura, one of which bears an inscription of the year 28, in the reign of the King Shahi Vasishka.

The Gupta or early mediceval period.

IMPERIAL GUPTAS* Although the rapid expansion of Gupta power under Samudragupta had brought the Western Kshatrapas into contact with it as early as the

[1] Coins of the following Kshatrapa kings have been found at Safichi: Vijayasena, Rudraseiia II, Visvasimha Bhartridaman, Visvasena, Rudrasimha II, Rudrasena III.

[2] The title 'Kshatrapa' (= Greek aocTpric7rY)<;) signified in India, as in Persia, a viceroy of the 'King of Kings'. The higher title of *malidkshatrapa* or 'Great Satrap' was often borne by the ruling Satrap, while his heir-apparent was styled 'Kshatrapa.' The Western Kshatrapas appear to have been known commonly to the Indians as Sakas. *Cf.* Rapson, *op. cit.,* p. C. and p. CL fv.

middle of the fourth century, it was not until the close of that century that the actual annexation of Eastern and Western Malwa was achieved by Chandragupta II. An echo of this emperor's conquest occurs in an inscription carved on the balustrade of the Great Stupa, dated in the year 93 of the Gupta era, that is, in A.D. 412-13. It records the gift by one of Chandragupta's officers named Amrakardava, apparently a man of very high rank, of a village called Lsvarava aka and of a sum of money to the Arya-Sangha or community of the faithful at the great *villain* or convent of Kakanada-bota, for the purpose of feeding mendicants *(bhikshus)* and maintaining lamps.[1]

In A.D. 413 Kumaragupta succeeded Chandragupta II, and was himself succeeded by Skandagupta in 455. It was towards the close of the reign of the latter emperor (480 A.D.) that the Gupta Empire was overrun by invading hosts of White Huns, and shorn of the greater part of its western dominions. Eastern Malwa, however, was still unconqiiered in the reign of Skandagupta's sue- cessor, Buddhagupta, and it was not until about

BUDDHAQUPTA AND BHANUGUPT

[1] *Cf.* Fleet, *C. I. /.*, III, No. 4; Allan, *Cat. Gupta Coins*, p. XXXV. The Gupta occupation of Vidi-a is also attested by two epigraphs in the caves of the Udayagiri hill, four miles from Saiichi. One of them records the dedication made by a feudatory maharaja during the reign of Chandragupta II in 401 A.D. (Fleet, *C. I. I*, IJI, p. 25); the other commemorates the excavation of the cave by a minister of Chandragupta, who came here in company with the king, who was ' seeking to conquer the whole world/ Fleet, *ibid*, p. 36. *Cf.* Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. CL ff.

500 A.D. that it passed into the hands of a local chief named Bhanugupta, and not until a decade later that it became feudatory[1] to the Hun King, Toramana.

THE GUPTA AQE. The rule of the Guptas lasted for little more than a hundred and fifty years, but it marks in many respects the most brilliant and striking of all epochs in Indian history. It was the age when the thought and genius of the Indian people awakened, and when there was an outburst of mental activity such as has never since been equalled. What precisely were the causes which underlay this sudden development of the national intellect, we cannot say, any more than we can say what brought about similar developments in the golden age of Greece or in Italy during the Renaissance. Possibly, contact with other civilisations may have had something to do with it; for during this epoch there was close intercourse with the Sasanian Empire of Persia, and there was intercourse also with China and the Roman Empire. Possibly, too, the invasions of barbarian races and the sufferings they inflicted may have been contributing factors; for Northern India had suffered long beneath the yoke of the Kushans, as well as

[1] Buddhagupta issued coins imitating the types of **the** Gupta silver coinage. No coins of Bhanugupta are known: he is mentioned only in an inscription of A.D. 510-11, which commemorates a chief named Goparaja, who fell in ' a very famous hattle ' while fighting by the side of Bhanugupta. The battle referred to may be the **one** in which Bhanugupta was defeated by **Toramana.**

of the Parthians and Scythians. Whatever tha causes may have been, the effects of the new-intellectual vitality were conspicuous and far-reaching. In the political sphere they resulted in resuscitating the Imperial idea, which had been dormant since the time of the Mauryas, and the-outcome of this idea was the consolidation of an empire which embraced the whole of Northern India as far south as the Narmada river. In the sphere of religion, the new activity found expression in the revival of Brahmanism, and along with Brahmanism, in the revival of Sanskrit, which was the sacred language of the Brahmans. It was-during this period that Kalidasa—the Shakespeare of India—wrote his immortal plays,[1] and that other famous dramas were produced; and during this-period, also, that the Puranas were finally redacted, that the laws of Manu took their present form, and that mathematics and astronomy reached their highest perfection. Thus, the Gupta age marked a re-awakening—a true 'Renaissance '—of the Indian intellect; and the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought. Indeed, it is precisely in their intellectual qualities —in their logical thought and logical beauty—that the architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age stand pre-eminent in the history of Indian art, and that they remind us in many respects of the

[1] **The country round VidiSa must have been well-known to Kalidasa, some passages in whose dramas may well have been inspired by the monuments of Sanchi.**

creations of Greece eight hundred years earlier or of Italy a thousand years later.

43UPTA ART. Of early Indian art the keynotes, as I have already noticed, were spontaneous naturalism and simplicity. In the more advanced and cultured age of the Guptas these qualities were brought under the constraint of reason, and art became more formal, more self-conscious and more complex. Necessarily it lost much of the naivete and charm of the earlier work, but it gained in qualities which appealed to the conscious intellect as well as to the subconscious aesthetic sense: in symmetry and proportion, for example; in the structural propriety of its forms; in the reasoned restraint of ornament and in the definition of detail. In another important feature, also, the art of the[1] Gupta period differed radically from all that had gone before. For, whereas the Early School had regarded the formative arts merely as a valuable medium in which to narrate the legends and history of its faith, in the Gupta age a closer contact was established between thought and art, and sculptor and painter alike essayed to give articulate expression to their spiritual and emotional ideas by translating them into terms of form and colour. The types of the Buddha which this age produced and in which it succeeded in combining beauty of definition with a spirit of calm and peaceful contemplation are among the greatest contributions which India has made to the World's Art.

The *t* Renaissance *y* of India did not come to *tin* end with the break-up of the Gupta power, nor

was it limited by the geographical boundaries of that Empire. Its influence was felt, not *only* throughout the length and breadth of India, but in countries far beyond, and the strength which it had gathered in the fourth and fifth centuries did not exhaust itself until the close of the seventh. These three centuries of India's Renaissance (Circa 350-650 A.D.) are commonly known as the ' Gupta period/ though during the latter half of this period the Guptas themselves were reduced to a pfBtty principality in Eastern India.

For two generations Northern India lay under THB HTJHS, the yoke of the Huns, and it was not until 528 A.D. that their power was shattered by the victories of Baladitya and Yasodharman over Mihiragula—the blood-thirsty and ruthless successor of Toramana, who well earned for himself the title of ' the Attila of India.' Then followed a period of quiescence, while the country was recovering from the savagery of the barbarians. During this period, which lasted until the beginning of the 7th century, there was no paramount authority in Northern India capable of welding together the petty states, and the latter were probably too weak and exhausted by their sufferings to make a bid for imperial dominion.[1] The ideals, however, of Gupta culture, though necessarily weakened, were still vital forces in the

[1] About 550 A.D. Safichi may have been included in the dominions of the Kalachuri dynasty. Coins of Krishnaraja of that dynasty have been found at Bhilsa *(A. S.* JR., 1913-14, p. 214).

life of the people, continuing to manifest themselves alike in their science, their literature and their art; and it needed but the agency of a strong, benevolent government to bring them once more to their full fruition. In Northern India, this agency was found in the government of Harsha of Thanesar (606-647 A.D.),[1] who within five and a half years of his accession established an empire almost coterminous with that of the Guptas, and for thirty-five years more governed it with all the energy and brilliancy that had distinguished their rule. The art of the 6th and 7th centuries is represented at Sanchi mainly by detached images, which the visitor will find described in the catalogue of the local museum. For the most part, they arc infused with the same spirit of calm contemplation, of almost divine peace, as the images of the fourth and fifth centuries, but they have lost the beauty of definition which the earlier artists strove to preserve, and, though still graceful and elegant, tend to become stereotyped and artificial. The sculpture of this age, as we know from the caves at Ajanta, was not on so high a level as painting, and as a means of decoration was probably less popular than the sister art. At Sanchi, unfortunately, no trace is left of the paintings which once adorned the monasteries and chapels, and only those who know the grandeur of the Ajanta decorations,

[1] At this time Eastern Malwa was held by the later Guptas, of^ whom Devagupta and Madhavagupta are i,he most prominent. Devagupta met his death at the hands of Ilajyavardhana, the elder brother of Harsha; Madhavagupta became a feudatory of Ae latter.

can appreciate what a vast difference the presence of such paintings must have made to these buildings.

Later Mediaeval Period.

From the time of Harsha onwards, until 1023 A.D., when the Pan jab was occupied by Mahmud of Ghazna, Northern India was left practically immune from foreign aggression[1] and free therefore to work out her own destiny. During these four centuries no need was felt of a central power to oppose the common foe; there was no voluntary cohesion among the many petty states; and, with one single exception, no sovereign arose vigorous enough to impose his will upon his neighbours. It was a period, in fact, of stagnation, when the energy of the country was largely dissipated in internecine strife. The only ruler, so far as we know, who rose superior to his age and surroundings was Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj, who between MIHIRA BHOJA OFKANAUJ.
the years 840-90 A.D. made himself master of an empire which extended from the Sutlej to Bihar and which was maintained intact by his successors Mahendrapala and Bhoja II. In this empire, Eastern Malwa, which was then ruled by the Paramara dynasty, is known to have been included at the close of the 9th century, but the power of the Pratiharas of Kanauj rapidly declined during the early decades of the following century, and by the time that Raja Munja (974-95 A.D.) came to PARAMIBAS OF
the throne, Eastern Malwa appears to have asserted MALWA.

[1] *Cf.* Vincent Smith, *E. H. I.*, pp. 322 And 357.

its independence and to have become the predominant state in Central India. Both Munja and his nephew, the celebrated Bhoja, who reigned over Malwa for more than 50 years (A.D. 998-1053), were liberal patrons of literature and art, and themselves writers of no small ability. A reputed monument of the latter king, that may have preserved his name, was the great Bhojpur lake to the S. E. of Bhopal, which was drained in the fifteenth century by order of one of the Muhammadan kings. With the death of Bhoja, about 1053 A.D., the power of the Paramaras declined, and, though the dynasty survived at Dhar, Malwa passed during the twelfth century into the possession of the Chalukya kings of Anhilwara.[1] With the subsequent history of this district we need not here concern ourselves, for at Sanchi there are no Buddhist edifices of so late a date, and it is probable that the Buddhist religion, which had already been largely merged into Hinduism, died out in Central India about that time.

CHILUKTA KINGS o» AttuiLwlRA.

LATH MIDI&VAL «/*T-

. Of the architecture and sculpture of this Later Mediaeval period there are various examples at Sanchi, including the whole group of structures on the Eastern terrace, numbered from 43 to 50, besides a vast array of detached carvings, small votive stupas, statues and the like. One and all bear witness to the rapidly declining purity both of the Buddhist religion and of Buddhist art, but it

[1] The province may have been afterwards regained **for** a time by the Paramaras; at any rate, it was in the possession **of Devapala of Dhar (1217-1240 A.D.)**

is in Temple 45, which is by far the most pretentious, monument of this epoch, that the visitor will most quickly recognise the overwhelming influence which Hinduism had exercised on Buddhism before the 11th century A.D., and it is in the same temple that he will best appreciate the wide gulf which separates this architecture from that of the Gupta age. During the later mediaeval times architecture aspired to greater magnificence and display, but what it gained in grandeur (and the gain in this respect was undeniably great), it lost in its aesthetic quality. There is no longer the same sense of proportion and of balance between form and ornament,, which was so conspicuous in Gupta work. The purely decorative impulse which the Gupta artist had kept under the control of reason, reasserts itself, and ornament is allowed to run riot, destroying thereby the unity and coherence of the design. Carving loses its plasticity and vitality, and cult images become stereotyped and lifeless—mere symbols, as it were, of religion, devoid alike of spirituality and of anatomical definition.

S&flchi in modern times.

From the 13th century onwards Safichi appears to have been left desolate and deserted. The city of Vidis*a had fallen to ruin during the Gupta period and had been superseded by Bhilsa (Bhailasvamin); but, though the latter town played an important part in local history during Muhammadan times, and though it was thrice sacked by Moslem conquerors and its temples destroyed for a

fourth time in the reign of Aurangzeb,.yet amid all this devastation the monuments of Sanchl, in spite of their prominent position on a hill only five miles away, were left unscathed, and when rediscovered by Gen. Taylor in 1818, proved to be in a remarkably good state of preservation. At that time three of the gateways of the Great Stupa were still standing erect, and the southern one was lying where it had fallen; the great dome was intact; and a portion of the balustrade on the summit was still *in situ.*[1] The second and third stupas were also well preserved, and there were remains of eight minor stupas, besides other buildings, in the vicinity of the Second Stupa, but no record of their condition exists. The beauty and unique character of these monuments was immediately recognised, and from 1819 onwards there appeared various notes, illustrations and monographs descriptive of their architecture and sculpture, though too often marred by the fanciful ideas or inaccuracies of the authors.[2] Most notable among these works were Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* (1854), Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* (1868) and Gen. Maisey's *Sdnchi and its Remains* (1892). But the widespread interest which the discovery and successive accounts of the stupas excited, proved lamentably disastrous to the monuments themselves; for the site quickly became

[1] **See J. Burgess, *The Or eat stUpa at SMlchl KQ,nalchefa, J. B. A. S.*, Jan. 1902, pp. 29-45, where a succinct account is given of the history of the site since 1818.**

[2] **A list of these publications is given at the end of this guide-book.**

a hunting-ground for treasure seekers and amateur archaeologists, who, in their efforts to probe its hidden secrets or to enrich themselves from the spoils supposed to be hidden there, succeeded in half demolishing and doing irreparable harm to most of the structures. Thus, in 1822, Capt. Johnson, tho Assistant Political Agent in Bhopal, opened the Great Stupa from top to bottom on one side, and left a vast breach in it, which was the cause of much subsequent damage to the body of the structure and of the collapse of the Western Gateway and portions of the enclonng balustrade. The same blundering excavator was probably responsible, also, for the partial destruction of the Second and Third Stupas, which until then had been in perfect repair. Then, in 1851, Major (afterwards Gen. Sir) Alexander Cunningham and Capt. F. C. Maisey together contributed to the general spoliation of the site by hasty excavations in several of the monuments, and, though they succeeded in recovering a most valuable series of relic caskets[1] from the Second and Third Stupas, their discoveries scarcely compensated for the damage entailed in their operations. During all these years the idea of repairing and preserving these incomparable structures for the sake of future generations seems never to have entered anyone's head, and, though in 1869 (as an indirect result of a request by Napoleon I I I for one of the richly carved gates) casts of the East Gate were prepared and presented to the principal national museums

[1] See pp. 91 & 149, *infra.*

of Europe, it was not until 1881, wheii still mora havoc had been wrought by the neighbouring villagers or by the ravages of the ever encroaching jungle, that the Government bethought itself of safeguarding the original structures. In that year Major Cole, then Curator of Ancient Monuments, cleared the hill-top of vegetation and filled the great breach in the Main Stupa made by Capt. Johnson nearly sixty years before, and during the two following years he re-erected at the expense of the Imperial Government the fallen gates on the south and west, as well as the smaller gate in front of the Third Stupa. No attempt, however, was made by him to preserve the other monuments which were crumbling to ruin, to exhume from their debris the monasteries, temples and other edifices which cover the hill-top around the Great :Stupa, or to protect the hundreds of loose sculptures and inscriptions lying on the site. These tasks, which involved operations far more extensive than any previously undertaken, were left for the writer to carry out between 1912 and 1919. The buildings which were at that time visible on the hill-top were ihe Great Stupa, Temple 31, and parts of Buildings 43, 45 and 46. For the rest, the whole site was buried beneath such deep accumulations of <l£bris and so overgrown with jungle, that the very -existence of the majority of the monuments had not even been suspected. The first step, therefore, was to clear the whole enclave of the thick jungle growth in which it was enveloped. Then followed the excavation of the areas to the south and east of

the Great Stupa, where it was evident that a considerable depth of debris lay over the natural rock, and where, accordingly, there was reason to hope (a hope which has since been abundantly justified) that substantial remains might be found. The buildings which have been exposed to view in the southern part of the site are for the most part founded on the living rock; but those in the eastern area constitute only the uppermost stratum, beneath which there still lie buried the remains of various earlier structures. These I was well content to leave to the spade of some future explorer, having satisfied myself by trial diggings at different points that they are mainly monastic dwellings similar in character to those already brought to light in other parts of the enclave and likely, therefore, to add but little to our present knowledge of the monuments.

The third task was to put one and all of the monuments into as thorough and lasting a state of repair as was practicable. Most important and most difficult of achievement among the many measures which this task entailed have been : first, the dismantling and reconstruction of the whole south-west quadrant of the Great Stupa, which was threatening to collapse, and the restoration of the stairway, berm and harmika balustrades; secondly, the presorvalion of Temple 18, the ponderous columns of which were leaning at perilous angles, and had to be reset in the perpendicular and established on secure foundations; and, thirdly, the repair of Temple 45, which had reached the last stage*

of decay and was **a menace to anyone entering its** shrine, Other measures that are also deserving of particular mention, are the rebuilding of the **long** retaining wall between the central and eastern terraces; the reconstruction of the dome, balustrades and crowning umbrella of the Third Stupa; the re-roofing and general repair of Temples 17, 31 and 32; the effective drainage (involving the relaying of the old fragmentary pavement) of the area around the Great Stupa; and the improvement and beautifying of the site generally by roughly levelling and turfing it and by the planting of trees and flowering creepers.

Finally, there remained the question of protecting the numerous moveable antiquities which lay scattered about the site. For this purpose a small but adequate museum was built, where sculptures, inscriptions and architectural fragments could all be duly arranged and catalogued, and where the visitor could find plans, photographs and other materials to assist him in the study of these unique monuments.

CHAPTER III

THE GBEAT STUPA[1]

The foregoing chapter will, I hope, have served to give the visitor such information as he needs regarding the history of Sanchi, the character of the various schools of art represented here, and the measures taken in recent years for the exploration and preservation of the site. I shall now return to the summit of the hill and resume my description of the monuments, with the Great Stupa as my starting point. Primarily, let it be explained, stiipas were funeral mounds or tumuli, and there is

[1] " Tope " is a corrupt Anglo-Indian word derived from *thupa,* the Prakrit form of stupa. In Burma, a stupa is commonly known as a " *pagoda* ", and in Ceylon as a " *dagaba* "—a Sinhalese word derived from " *dhdtu* " = a " relic " and *garbha=* " receptacle " or " shrine." In Nepal, it is called a *chaitya,* a word which, like stupa, originally meant a heap or tumulus *(chita),* but subsequently came to mean a sanctuary of any kind. In the country round Sanchi a stupa is known as *bhitd* (a mound), and the name of the Great Stupa is *Stls bahu ka bhitd* " The mound of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law." For the details of the construction and dedication of a stupa, see *Mahdyarhta,* p. 169 sqq; Divyavadana, p. 244; Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes,* Ch. XIII; H. A. Oldfield, *SJeetchet from Nepal,* II, pp. 210-12; Foucher, *VArt grico—^-bouddhique,* pp. 94-98.

no reason to suppose that prior to the time of Asoka they had acquired any specially sacred character aniong the Buddhists. From the time, however, that Asoka divided up the body-relics of the Buddha and erected stupas to enshrine them in all the principal cities of his realm (he is credited with having erected 84,000 of them!), the relic-stupa became an object of cult-worship, and later on stupas were erected to enshrine holy relics other than those of the Buddha himself or even to mark some specially sacred spot; and in no long time the mere dedication of a stupa, with or without relics, came to be regarded as a work of merit which would bring its author a step nearer to salvation.

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY. CONSISTANCE OF

AS it now stands, the Great Stupa (PL I) almost hemispherical dome *(anda)*, truncated near the top and surrounded at its base by a lofty terrace *(medhi)*, which served in ancient days as a processional path *(pradaJcshina patha)*, access to which was provided by a double flight of steps *(sopdna)* built against it on the southern side. Encircling the monument on the ground level is **a** second procession path, enclosed by a massive balustrade *(vedikd)* of stone. This balustrade, which is of plain design unrelieved by carvings of any kind, is divided into four quadrants by entrances set approximately at the cardinal points, each one of which is adorned by a gateway *(torana)* lavishly enriched with reliefs on both the inner and outer sides. It has commonly been **supposed that the** Great Stupa was erected, just as it stands, together

with the column near the Southern Gateway, in the reign of the Maurya Emperor Aifoka, that the balustrade around its base was approximately contemporary with the body of the building, and that the gateways were erected in the course of the 2nd century B.C. These suppositions have proved to be erroneous. The original stupa, which was most probably built by Asoka a little before the column was erected, was a structure of brick of about half the diameter of the present stupa, and it was not until about a century later that this original stupa was encased in stone and brought to its present dimensions, and that the balustrade was built around its base;[1] while it was not until the latter part of the first century before the Christian era that the four gateways were erected[2]. Of the form and construction of the original stupa little is known, as it had evidently suffered much wanton damage between the time of its erection and the time when the stone envelope was added. It is noteworthy, however, that the bricks used in it measure 16" x 10/r x 3", and thus correspond approximately in size with the bricks employed in other structures of the Maurya epoch. It may also be inferred that it was roughly hemispherical in shape, with a raised terrace encompassing its base and a wooden railing and a stone

ORIGINAL BBIOB STUPA oir Adosi

[1] In the time of A6oka, when the brick stupa was built, the floor level was some 4 feet lower than in the Sunga period, wheu the balustrade was constructed.

[2] For the history of this stupa in detail, see the **writer's** account in *The Monuments of Siflchi,* **Part I.**

umbrella crowning its summit. Several pieces of an umbrella, probably belonging to this stupa, were found in the debris on the plateau. They are relieved by most delicately defined ribs radiating on their under side, the workmanship displaying all that exquisite precision which characterises every known specimen of the masons' craft in the Maurya age, and which has probably never been surpassed in the stone carving of any country.

ADDITION- OF STONE ENVELOPE.

With the addition of the stone envelope the diameter of the dome was increased to over 120 feet and its height to about 54 feet[1]. This later envelope to the dome was constructed by the simple and natural process of building a thick encircling wall at a given distance from the original structure, and, as it rose course by course, filling in the interval between the two with heavy rubble stones. Precisely the same process was, as we shall presently see, adopted in the enlargement of the Apsidal Temple 40, which was effected about the same time. Some writers have described the Great Stupa as a dome resting on a lofty plinth, as if the plinth had been constructed before the dome was raised above it. This description is apt to be misleading; for the dome was first built in its entirety, with its sides carried down to the ground level, and the terrace was then added to it, without any bond between the masonry. Over the masonry courses of both dome and terrace was laid a thick coat of

*The word used in Pali for enlarging a stupa by the addition of one or more envelopes is *achchhaday*" cover."

concrete, finished off, no doubt, with finer plaster and possibly embellished with swags or garlands in relief hanging from projecting horns. Broad patches of this concrete still adhere to the face of the stone-work on three sides of the dome; on the fourth side *(i.e.,* in the south-west quadrant) it was broken away when the stupa was opened by Captain Johnson in 1822.

HABMIKA BAIL IN AND CROWNING

When the body of the stupa was complete, the first adjunct to be added to it was the indispensable railing and the umbrella on the summit, many pieces of which were recovered in the writer's excavations and have beeu restored to their original positions. They are of the same form but proportionately larger in scale than the balustrade and umbrella on the summit of Stupa 3. Supporting the shaft of the umbrella was a pedestal *(harmikd)*[1] which in this case took the form of a heavy stone box, with a lid measuring 5 ft. 7 in. in diam. and 1 ft. 8 in. high, in which the relics were once preserved.

GROUND BALUSTRADE.

Following the crowning pinnacle and balustrade, the next addition to the stupa was the massive balustrade *(vedika)* on the ground level. As in the ease of other balustrades and of the gateways, each of the stone posts *(thabJia),* cross-bars *(suci),* and copings *(whnisha)* appear to have been gifts of different donors, whose names can still be seen

[1] *Harmika,* a diminutive of *harmya,* lit. 'a small pavilion', in its technical sense means the pedestal on the top of a stfipa in which the shaft of the umbrella *ichhattrayosJtti)* was set.

incised in early Brahmi characters upon them. Prom the fact that this balustrade was the gift of so many different people, Fergusson estimated that it must have taken at least a century to erect, but this estimate is wholly excessive; for there must have been large numbers of Buddhists flocking to the great city of Vidisa and thence making pilgrimages to this sacred site, and it may well have been that the whole railing was completed in a single decade or less.

Although built of stone, the design of this balustrade is manifestly copied from a wooden prototype, and it is worthy of note that the joints between the coping stones are cut af the slant, as wood would naturally be cut, and not vertically, as one would expect stone to be. At the time when it was erected, architecture in this part of India was still mainly of wood, and the influence of wooden forms is visible in all the lithic construction of this age. Besides the many short donative records in early Brahmi characters carved on this balustrade, there are two later inscriptions of the Gupta period which possess considerable interest.

GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

The earlier of these is engraved on the top cross-bar (outside) in the second row immediately to the south of the East Gateway. It is dated in the Gupta era 93 (A.D. 412-13) and has already been noticed (p. 17 *supra)* in connection with the conquest of Eastern Malwa- by Chandragupta I I . The second inscription, which is on the outside of the upper cross bar in the fourth row to the south of the East Gateway, is dated in the year 131 (A,D.

450-51). It records the gift by the lay-worshipper *(updsika) Harisvdmini* of certain sums of money to the Arya-Sangha at the great vihara of Kakanadabota for the purpose of feeding one mendicant *(bhikshu)* day by day and of maintaining lamps in the " Jewel-house " and in the place where the images of the four Buddhas are seated, *i.e.,* in the *pradakshina patlia* of the Great Stupa.

PROCESSIONAL PATH.

The processional path *(pradakshina patlia)* inside this balustrade is paved with large stone slabs bearing votive records. It was around this path, as well as around the terrace above, that monks and lay-worshippers used to perform their *pradakshitia* or devotional walk, keeping the stupa always on their right hand as they processed.[1]

STAIRWAY AND TERRACE

The third addition to the stupa was the balustrade flanking the stairs and encompassing the terrace. This balustrade is relatively small and is distinguished from the ground balustrade by its more refined treatment and by the sculptures which decorate its upright pillars. The newel posts at the foot of the stairs, which were both imbedded in the ground and mortised to the kerbstones, are longer than the other balusters and distinguished from them by relatively elaborate carving on three of their faces. The other balusters are fixed into a kerbstone and are adorned on their outer face with one complete and two half medallions *{pari-*

[1] Buddhists usually process three times round a stupa or shrine, but in obedience to vows or by way of penance they will perform 7, 14 or even 108 *pvadakzhifia.*

chakra), sculptured in relief with lotus and other floral or animal designs. The plainness of the inner face is relieved only at the top and bottom by two half discs devoid of carving.

It remains to add that in old days the balustrades and gateways of the Great Stupa (to be described in the next chapter) were coloured red. The body of the Stupa was probably white, with the garlands (if garlands there were) around the dome picked out in colour or gilt.

Who was responsible for the wanton destruction of the original brick stupa of Asoka and when precisely the great work of reconstruction was carried out, is not known, but it seems probable that the author of the former was Pushyamitra, the first of the gunga kings (B.C. 184—148), who was notorious for his hostility to Buddhism, and that the restoration was affected by Agnimitra or Tiis immediate successor. We shall see presently in connection with the ASoka Pillar (p. 105) that hardly less than a century could have elapsed T>etween the time when that pillar was erected (a few years after the stupa) and the time when the ground balustrade was set up. On the other hand, it is clear from the style of the lettering employed in the early Brahmi inscriptions on the ground balustrade that it must have been put up well ^before the close of the 2nd century B.C. We cannot, therefore, be far wrong if we refer it to the third quarter of that century.

CHAPTER IV

THE GATEWAYS OF THE GREAT STUPA, ETC.

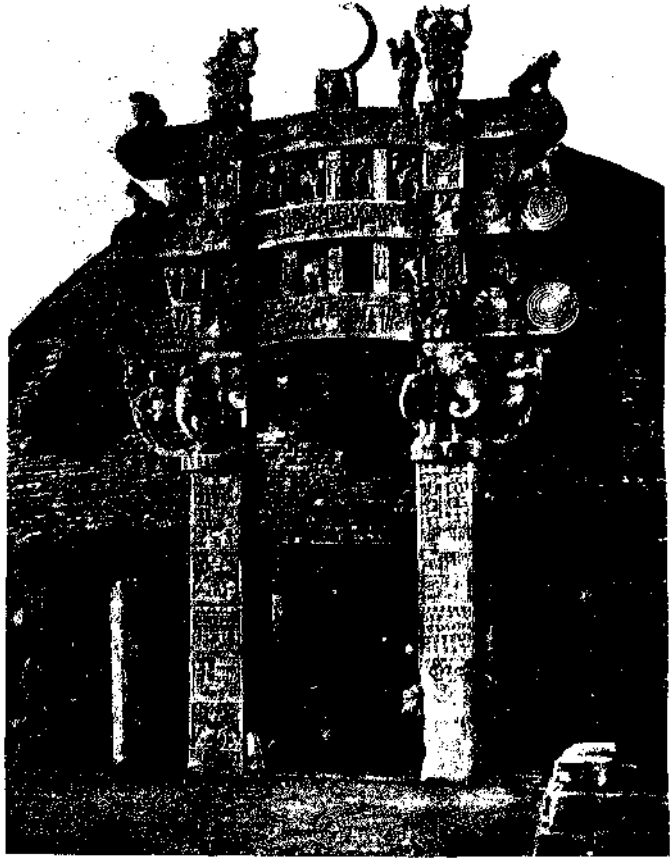
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE AND DESCRIPTION.

The last of the additions to this remarkable stupa, and its crowning: fflorv withal, are the elaborate and richly carved gateways or *toranas*, as they were called, which front the entrances between the four quadrants of the rail, and present a striking contrast with the massive simplicity of the structure behind them. The first of the four to be erected was the one at the South Entrance, in front of the steps by which the terrace was ascended, and then followed, in chronological order, the Northern, the Eastern and the Western.[1] It is

[1] At the time when the great balustrade was first constructed, each of its four entrances was screened by extending one side of the balustrade in front of it, like a barbican before a city- gate. But when the *tofavas* came to be erected, they could not with propriety be set sideways like the then existing gate, and accordingly a short balustrade of three pillars was added and another entrance formed at right angles to the former one. An examination of these four extensions reveals the significant fact that the two at the southern and northern entrances are in all respects similar to the original balustrade, the pillars being of the same height and cut, dressed and chamfered in the same way to a flat surface, while the two at the eastern and western entrances are not only less carefully adjusted and dressed, but are distinguished by their pillars being shorter and having a shallow concave chamfer

probable, however that not many years intervened between the building of the Southern.and Western gateways; for the right pillar of the latter was the gift of the same donor as the middle architrave of the former, *viz.*, of " Balamitra, the pupil of Ayachuda" and the south pillar of the Eastern Gateway and the north pillar of the Western Gateway were also the gifts of the same donor: Nagapiya, a banker of Achavada and resident of Kurara. All four gateways were of similar design—the work of carpenters rather than of stone masons, and the marvel is that erections of this kind, constructed on principles wholly unsuited to work in stone, should have survived in such remarkable preservation for nearly two thousand years. The best preserved is the Northern (PI. II), which still retains most of its ornamental figures and enables the visitor to reconstruct in his mind's eye the original appearance of them all. Each gateway was composed of two square pillars surmounted by capitals, which in their turn supported a superstructure of three architraves with volute ends. Separating the architraves from one another were four square blocks, or dies, set in pairs vertically above the capitals, and between each pair of blocks were three short uprights, the open spaces between them being occupied by a variety of figures in the round. The capitals were adorned with standing dwarfs or elephants or with the forefronts of lions[1]

[1] The lions on the South gateway are manifestly copies, and very inferior copies, of the lions on the A6oka column hard by. Observe that they are provided with five fully developed claws 1



NORTH GATEWAY OF GREAT STUPA.

set back to back in Persepolitan fashion; and springing from the same abacus as the capitals and acting as supports to the projecting ends of the lowest architraves were Caryatid figures of graceful and pleasing outline, though ill-designed to fulfil the functional purpose for which they were intended. These Caryatid figures were fairy spirits or *yakshinis,* who played the part of guardians and were portrayed in the orthodox attitude holding on to the bough of a mango tree.[1] Similar fairies of smaller proportions stood on the architraves immediately above them, with lions or •elephants set on the volutes at their sides, while in the other open spaces between the architraves were figures of horsemen, elephants and their riders, and lions, winged or otherwise. A curious feature of the horses and riders, as well as of one of the small *yakshinis* mentioned above is that they were provided with two faces, so that they might look, Janus-like, in bath directions. Finally, on the summit of the gateway, crowning and dominating all, stood the emblems so peculiarly distinctive of Buddhism: in the centre, the " Wheel of the Law " *(dharma-chakra[2])* supported on elephants or lions and flanked on either side by a guardian *(yaksha)* holding a fly-whisk *(chauri)* in his hand; and to right and left of the *yakshas,* the trident device *(triratna)*[3] which symbolises the trinity of

[1] For this motif, *ef.* Vincent Smith, *History of Indian Art,*2 p. 380, where its western origin is discussed

[3] For tho meaning of *dharma-chakra,* see p. 45, *infra.*

[3] The origin of the *triratna* is to he found in the buffalo or bison horns which in prehistoric Tndia, as in many other countries, were a symbol of divinity.

Buddhism—the *Buddha,* the *Dharma* (law) and the *Sangha* (religious order). For the rest, both pillars and superstructure were elaborately enriched with bas-reliefs illustrative of the *Jdtaka* legends[1], or of scenes from the life of the Buddha[2], or of important events in the subsequent history of the Buddhist religion. Besides which, there are representations of the sacred trees and stupas symbolical of Gautama Buddha and the preceding Manushi Buddhas, of real or fabulous beasts and birds, of flying *Gandharvas*[3] (issuing from the

[1] The doctrine of metempsychosis was a familiar one in India from very early times, and played an important part in the history of Buddhism. According to the Buddhist belief, Gautama had been born in all created foims (as man, god and animal) bcfoie he appeared on eaith as the son of Suddhodana. The Pali work entitled the " Jataka " contains 550 stories of these previous births. Each story opens with a preface setting forth the particular incidents in the Buddha's life which led him to tell tho birth-story, and at the conclusion of each the Buddha reveals the identity of the different actors in the story during their present births. Each story, moreover, is illustrated by one or more verses *(guthas)* put into the mouth of Buddha either in his last life or when he was still a Bodhisattva in one of his previous lives. The Jatakas are an inexhaustible storehouse of fables, of the gre.atest possible interest in connection with Indian folklore and civilization. At what time they were reduced to their present systematic form, is not certain; but that they were widely known in the second century before our era, is evident from the many illustrations of them which occur among the Bharhut sculptures. *Cf.* The *Jdtaka,* Ed. by Cowell, Vol. I, preface; Griinwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* p. 37; and Cunningham, *The Stilpa of Bharhut.*

[2] For a brief sketch of the life of the Buddha, see Appendix, p. 157.

? The *Gandharvas* (Pali, *Gandhabha)* were the musicians of Tndra, who joined with their master in serving and

ends of some of the architraves), and of many heraldic and floral devices of rich and varied conception.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Most of the inscriptions carved here and there on the gateways record, like those on the balustrades, the names of the pious individuals or guilds who contributed to their erection, or take the form of imprecatory curses on anyone so impious as to appropriate the gateways to the use of an unorthodox sect. Not one of them says a word, unfortunately, of the scenes and figures delineated, the interpretation of which is all the more difficult owing to the practice, universal in the Early School of Indian Art, of never portraying the Buddha in bodily form, but of indicating his presence merely by some symbol, such as his foot-prints or the throne on which he sat, or the sacred tree associated with his enlightenment. Thanks, however, to the light afforded by the sculptures of Bharhwt[1] with their clear explicit titles, and thanks, also, to the brilliant labours of M. Foucher,[2] the meaning of the majority of these reliefs has now been placed beyond dispute, and it will probably not be long before the meaning of the few remaining ones becomes equally clear.

INTERPRETATION OF SCULPTURES.

worshipping the Buddha. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 47 and note 2.

[1] See Cunningham, *The Stilpa of Bharhut.*

[2] See Preface, p. iv. To M. Foucher I am indebted for a lengthy and most valuable note on the iconography of these reliefs, of which I have made free use in the interpretations which follow.

RELIEFS PBEQUENTLY EBPEATED.

Most of the scenes depicted in the reliefs are more or less elaborate compositions and differ considerably on the four gateways. These will be described, one by one, in detail. On the other hand, there are a number of simple decorative devices or symbolical objects and figures which are many times repeated but which it would be superfluous to describe more than once. These decorative or symbolical reliefs fall into four categories.

Fotra GREAT EVENTS IN THE BUDDHA'S LITE.

In the first category are the reliefs relating to the four great events in the life Buddha, namely: his Birth, his .Enlightenment, his ±irst Sermon, and his Death. These occur mainly on the square dies and narrow uprights between the architraves.

The Birth.—The traditional symbol in India of all miraculous births is the lotus, and on the Sanchi gateways this symbol is present on all the panels representing the Buddha's birth. In some panels the birth is symbolised simply by a bunch of lotuses set in a vase *(bhadra ghata).* In other panels the figure of Maya, the mother of the Buddha, is seen seated, Indian fashion, on one of* the full blown lotus blooms. In others, again, she- is flanked by the two Nagas (here in the form of elephants), who, according to the Buddhist scriptures, bathed the new born babe, but are here shown pouring water over Maya herself[1]. Finally,

[1] The figure of Maya in these panels has usually been[1] identified as that of Lakshmi, the Goddess of luck. That it here represents Maya, though the type may have **been**

and in a manner still more in conformity with the Buddhist texts, Maya is shown in a standing posture ready for the birth. It only remained for the artists of the Gandhara school of the North-West to portray the infant Buddha issuing from her right side. In the Early Indian school this further development was precluded, since the Buddha himself, as stated above, was never portrayed in bodily form.

The Enlightenment.—The *Sawbodhi* or " perfect enlightenment " of the Buddha, which took place beneath, the famous tree at Bodh-Gaya is represented quite simply by a throne beneath a pipal tree[1] *(ficus religiosa:* Skr. = *asvattha)* or by the tree alone, with one or more umbrellas and streamers to denote its sanctity. In the more developed panels, worshippers are seen bringing offerings or in an attitude of adoration ; and in the still more elaborate reliefs, as we shall presently see, Mara and his hosts of demons, or crowds of worshipping animals and Nagas, are depicted.

The First Sermon.—The technical expression for Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park (Mrigadava) near Benares is *dharma-chakra-pravartana,* which literally means " the turning of the Wheel of the

equally that of Lakshmi, was first recognised by M. Foucher.

[1] The emblem of a tree serves in the Sanchi reliefs to symbolise the Buddha, on other occasions besides that of his enlightenment, and the seven previous Buddhas are also symbolised by their particular trees. It was these tree symbols, often repeated, that Fergusson mistook for examples of tree worship. See his *Tree and Serpent Worship,* passim.

Law." Hence the symbol of the first sermon became a wheel, which is sometimes set on a throne, sometimes on a column[1]—a copy no doubt of the lion column[2] which the Emperor Asoka set up in the Deer Park. More specifically, the locality of the Deer Park is indicated by two deer.

The Death.—The Death or *mahdyarinirvd^a* of the Buddha is represented by his stupa or " funeral tumulus/' with attending worshippers, both human and divine. Stupas too, as well as trees, are employed by the sculptors of Sanchi as emblems of the Seven Buddhas of the past.

YJJKSHAS. In the second category are the figures of " Yakshas " or guardians, the male counterparts of the Yakshinis mentioned above. A pair of these Yakshas was carved in bold relief on each of the four gateways, one facing the other on the inner sides of the two pillars. These, probably, were intended to represent the Rulers of the Four Quarters (Lokapalas), each with an attendant Yaksha, namely: Kubera or Vaisravana, the god of wealth, on the north; "Virudhaka, Chief of the Kumbhandas, on the south; Yirupaksha, Chief of the Nagas, on the west; and Dhritarashtra, Chief of the Gandharvas, on the east[3]. Other reliefs of Yakshas, on a smaller scale, are found on the narrow uprights between the architraves.

[1] Sometimes a lion column is depicted without the wheel, and may also symbolise the First Sermon.

[2] Now in the museum at Sarnath.

[3] *Cf.* Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut,* pp. 19-22; Griinwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* p. 136.

The third category comprises figures of animals or birds, as a rule arranged schematically in pairs, The most conspicuous positions occupied by the animals are on the faces of the " false capitals " or applied panels, which are ranged in pairs vertically above the true capitals and have the effect of dividing each architrave into three sections. The animals with which these " false capitals " are adorned are both real and legendary, and are sometimes with riders, sometimes without, sometimes caparisoned, sometimes not. They include goats, horses, bulls, camels, elephants, lions and leogriffs; among them the leogrrffs and winged lions are clearly traceable to a Western Asiatic origin. To the two riders on one of the false capitals of the East Gateway (lowest architrave: inner face : north end) a special interest attaches from the fact that they appear to represent people from a cold climate, perhaps from the North-West Frontier or Nepal. Figures of elephants and peacocks are also employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves *{e.g.,* East Gateway: outer face: middle and lowest architraves). Both of them no doubt possess a special religious or other significance; in the peacocks, perhaps, there is an illusion to A6oka, since this bird was the emblem of the Maurya dynasty[1]. ANIMALS AND BIRDS.

Fourthly and lastly, there are the floral designs, the richness and exuberance of which are among the greatest beauties of these monuments. Motifs FLORAL DESIGNS.

[1] See p. 68, *infra.*

taken from the plant world have at all times been handled with exquisite taste by the Indian artist, but never more exquisitely than by the sculptor* of Sanchi. Among these motifs are some which may be traced to a foreign source: for example, the honeysuckle pattern on the capital of the Soutli Gateway, and the grape vine on the West Gateway (right pillar: outer side); but most of the plant designs are purely Indian in character and, based as they are on the most careful and faithful observation of nature, far excel anything of which Assyrian or Persian art was capable. Most favourite among the subjects is the lotus *(padina),* the queen of Indian flowers, to which a special sanctity attached in the eyes of Buddhists and Hindus alike. Besides being the symbol of divine birth, the lotus was also the Tree of Life and of Good Fortune, giver of riches and blessings to mankind *(kalpa-druma* or *halpa-lata),* and hence it came to symbolize the Buddhist Church and Faith, and perhaps the Buddha himself. Good examples of the variety with which it was treated are to be seen on the outer sides of the pillars of the gateways. The one on the right of the East Gateway for example, is formal and almost geometric, but well adapted for the position which it occupies; that on the left is bold, free and flowing, and, as a design, more pleasing to the eye but less happy from an architectural point of view, since the serpentine stalk of the plant has the effect of detracting somewhat from the strength of the pillar. Still more elaborate and conventionalised are the two designs

based on the lotus motif on the pillars of the Northern Gateway. On the left pillar, observe at the base the footprints *(pada)* of the Buddha with the wheel *(chakra)* beneath the sole. This wheel is* one of the distinctive marks *(mahdpurusha-lakshana)* of the Buddha—the Universal Monarch *(Chakravartin)*[1]. Observe, also, the *triratna* emblem at the top of the pillar, the significance of which has already been explained (p. 41), and the necklaces of curious amulets suspended from the two brackets next* to the top on either side of the lotus tree. These, like the jewelled garlands and necklaces, stand for the material and spiritual blessings which the Tree of Buddhism has to confer on mankind. Most striking, however, and most exquisite of all these floral designs is the panel on the right pillar of the Western Gateway (PL III). The presence of the grape vine in this relief suggests foreign influence, but the treatment of the lotus blooms and leaves and the disposition of the animals set henaldically in pairs among the branches are essentially and characteristically Indian.

I now proceed to describe the other and more elaborate reliefs on each of the gateways in turn.

SOUTH GATEWAY.

This gateway is one of the two which were reconstructed by Major Cole in 1882-83. The

[1] For the distinctive marks of the Buddha, see Burnouf, *Lotus,* pp. 616-617; Alabaster, *Wheel of the Law,* p. 113 ff. and 312 f; Hardy, *Man. of Buddhism,* p. 382 f; *Lalita Vistara,* p. 93 f; Griinwedel, *Buddhist Art,* pp. 160-62.

whole of the right jamb and half of the left are new, as well as the west end of the lowest architrave, the east end of the middle architrave, and the six vertical uprights between the architraves. When the gateway was restored, the top and the lowest lintels appear to have been reversed by mistake, since the more important sculptures on them now face the stupa instead of facing outwards.

ARCHITRAVES. FRONT : TOP ARCHITRAVE : —*The birth scene of the Buddha.* In the centre, the figure of Maya[1] standing on a full blown lotus, with an elephant to right and left pouring water over her head. The rest of the lintel is occupied with a lotus Tree of Life and Fortune, among the leaves and blossoms of which birds are perched.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE : —*The visit of the Emperor Akoka to the Stupa at Ramagrama.* The relics of the Buddha were originally divided into eight portions$_3$ and it is related that Asoka took seven of these portions, divided them up, and distributed them among 84,000 stupas, which he himself erected. He failed only to secure the relics of Ramagrama in the Nepal Tarai, in face of the resolute opposition of their devoted guardians, the Nagas. Here, in the centre of the architrave, is depicted a stupa, with an inscription on its dome recording that the architrave was the gift of one Balamitra, pupil of Aya-chuda (Arya-Kshudra), the preacher of the Law. Above the stupa are

[1] See p. 44 *supra* regarding the identification of this figure with Lakshrm.

West Gateway: Lotus Tree of Life and Fortune on outer face of right pillar.

Krakucchanda, the Udumbara *(ficus glomerata)* of Kanakamuni, the nyagrodha *(ficus indica)* of Ka6yapa, and the pipal *(ficus religiosa)* of Sakya-muni. There is nothing to show to whom the three stupas belong. The inscription[1] on the dome of the central stupa reads as follows: —

L. 1. *rcino Siri Sdtakanisa*

L. 2. *dvesanisa vdsithlfutasa*

L. 3. *Anamdasa danam*

Translation.

"Gift of *Anamda,* the son of *Vasithi (Vdsishthi)* the foreman of the artisans *(dvesanin)* of *rdjan Siri-SdtaJcani."*[2]

On each of the projecting ends of this lintel is a horse with attendants and royal umbrella, issuing from a city gate. Possibly it is Kanthaka, the horse of Gautama, going forth from the city of Kapilavastu.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE:—*The Chaddanta Jataka.* The story runs that the Bodhisattva was once born as the king of a herd of elephants. He had six tusks[3] and was of great stature. He dwelt near the lake Chaddanta in the Himalayas, under a banyan tree and had two wives, Cullasubhadda and Mah*-subhadda. Cullasubhadda became jealous of Maha-

[1] See p. 12 above.

[a] Liiders, *List of Brdhml Inscriptions,* No. 346, p. 42.

[3] Another version of the story says that he had six-coloured rays issuing from the tusks.

biibhadda and prayed that she might be reborn and marry the king of Benares, when she could vent her wrath on her present lord. Her prayer was granted and she became chief queen to the king of Benares. Then she summoned together all the hunters of the realm, chose one named Sonuttara, and sent him to the far-off lake Chaddanta, to kill the six-tusked elephant King. Here we see the Bodhisattva, towards the left of the relief, disporting himself among the lotuses, with attendant elephants holding the umbrella and the fly-whisk *(chauri)* above him, to mark his royalty. Then we see the same figures repeated on either side of the central banyan tree and again to the right of the relief, where the king is walking with the rest of the herd under the trees, while Sonuttara, ensconced among the rocks, makes ready his bow.

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE:—*The war of the relics.* This was the war which the chiefs of seven other clans waged against the Mallas of Kusinara for the possession of the Buddha's relics. In the centre of the architrave, the seige of Kusinara is in progress; to right and left, the victorious chiefs are departing in chariots and on elephants, with the relics borne on the heads of the latter.[1] The scene is carried through on to the projecting ends of the architrave, and the seated elephants on the intervening false capitals are clearly intended to be part

[1] **After the war, stupas were erected for the relics at Rajagfiha, VaifoH, Kapilavastu, AHakappa, Ramagrama, Vethadvlpa, Pava and Kusinara.**

and parcel of the scene, since those turning away from the centre bear relic-caskets on their heads.

Lvrr PILLAR. LEFT PILLAR: FRONT FACE: TOP PANEL:—A Persepolitan column, rising from a stepped base and supporting a wheel with thirty-two spokes and an equal number of *triratna* devices on its outer rim. This is the *dharma-chakra* or "Wheel of the Law/' the emblem of Buddha's first sermon[1]. On either side of the wheel are celestial figures with garlands; below them are four groups of worshippers, and below the latter, deer, to indicate the spot where the first sermon was preached, namely, in the "Deer Park" *(Mrigadava)* near Benarea. Jn each of the groups of worshippers is a king with attendant females, who probably represent the four Lokapalas or Guardians of the world.

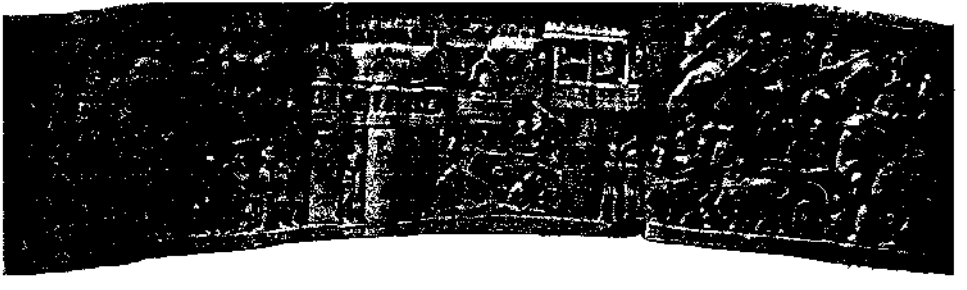
FRONT FACE: SECOND PANEL:—*The Emperor Asoha in his chariot with his retinue around,* his viceroy riding on an elephant.

INNER FACE: TOP AND SECOND PANEL:—Iu the corresponding panel on the inner face of this same pillar we see the Emperor, again with his two queens, at the temple of Bodh-Gaya, which is depicted in the panel immediately above the royal group. This temple[2] was erected by Asoka himself around the sacred *pipal* tree, beneath which the Buddha had attained enlightenment. Here the sanctity of the tree is indicated by umbrellas and

[1] See above p. 45.

[2] The temple was hypsethral. Compare the olive tree of Athena in the Erechtheion on the Akropolis at Athens.

a. SOUTH GATEWAY: BACK: MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE. THE CHADDANTA JĀTAKA.



b. SOUTH GATEWAY: BACK: LOWEST ARCHITRAVE. THE "WAR OF THE RELICS

garlands, and on the throne inside the shrine are three *triratna* symbols. The peculiar attitude of Asoka is explained by the fact that he is fainting-at the sight of the withering tree.

INNER FACE: LOWEST PANEL:—*Worship of the Bodhisattva's hair and headdress (chuda).* In the lowest panel of the inner face is a company of deitiea in the *Trayastrimsa* heaven, where Indra held sway, rejoicing over and worshipping the hair of the Bodhisattva.[1] The story told in the Buddhist scriptures is that, before embracing a religious life, Gautama divested himself of his princely garments and cut off his long hair with his sword, casting both hair and turban into the air, whence they were borne by the *devas* to the *Trayastrim&a* heaven and worshipped there.

FRONT FACE : LOWEST PANEL : —On the corresponding panel on the front face of the pillar the deities are seen on foot, on horseback and on elephants, hastening to do homage to the Bodhisattva's locks. The chief figure on the elephant is

[1] Bodhisattva means literally a ' being whose characteristic (saUva= Pali *satta)* and aim are enlightenment *(bodhi) '*. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous existences and also during his historical existence up to the time when he attained enlightenment and became the Buddha. By " The Bodhisattva " here and elsewhere Gautama himself is meant. But, according to the Northern or Mahayana School of Buddhism, there are, besides Gautama, innumerable other Bodhisattvas, both quasi-human and quasi-divine, among the best known of whom are Avalokitesvara, Maiijusri, Marichi, Samantabhadra, Vajrapani and Maitreya, the last of whom is the coming and last Buddha of this age of the world.

doubtless Indra with his wife Saehf at his side. The delicacy of workmanship, the breadth and spatial effect attained in these panels are particularly striking, and we can well understand that, as the inscription[1] records, they were the work of ivory-carvers of VidiSa.

BACK :—To the left of the panel, a royal figure seated beneath a canopy, holding a female by the hand; in the middle, another female sealed on a low stool; to the right, two other figures standing, with a child behind bearing a garland(P), At the back of them is a plantain tree, and above, a ' *chaitya* [y] window with an umbrella on either side. The meaning of this scene is uncertain.

RIGHT PILLAR (fragmentary; in museum): FRONT FACE : TOP PANEL :—Buddha (represented by his throne) beneath the goatherd's banyan tree *{ef.* p. IGl). In foreground, the Naga Raja Muchalinda with his four queens and attendants. Observe that the Nagis have only one hood, while the Raja himself has five.

MIDDLE PANEL:—Buddha beneath his Sambodhi tree; to right and left, the four Lokapalas or Guardian Kings of the World, each offering a begging-bowl to the invisible Buddha. With them are their viceroys, one of whom is playing the harp.

BOTTOM PANEL :—The merchants Tapussa and Bhalluka passing through XJruvilva in an ox-car-

[1] *Vedisakehi darhtak&rehi rupakamma katarh.* See Lflders, *List of Brahrai Inscriptions,* No. 345, p. 42.

riage. These were the two merchants who made an offering of harley cakes and honey to the Buddha while he sat under the Rajayatana tree (*cf.* p. 161).

INFER FACE : TOP PANEL :—The Sambodhi of the former Buddha Vipasyin, not of Sakyamuni.

SECOND PANEL :—The throne of the Buddha in a shrine, possibly the jewel-house *(ratna-griha)* built miraculously by the gods, wherein the Buddha spent his fourth week after Enlightenment.

THIRD PANEL;—The Sarhbodhi of the Buddha* To right, the grass-cutter Svastika (c/. p. 160) is bending down to cut with his sickle the grass which the Buddha needed for his seat; to left, the same figure repeated, holding the *kuSa-gra&s* in his arms and offering it to the invisible Buddha.

FOURTH PANEL:—The same subject repeated, with male and female worshippers around the throne of the Buddha. The female figure, repeated twice, in the foreground may be intended for Sujata, who gave him a meal of milk-rice before he attained Enlightenment (p. 160).

BOTTOM PANEL :—The *chankrama* or promenade of the Buddha at Bodh-Gaya, with a line of worshippers in front and garlands suspended on curved hooks *(ndga-danta).*

NORTH GATEWAY.

FRONT: TOP ARCHITBAVE:—*The seven last* ARCHiroumm *Mdnushi Buddhas.* Five stupas and *two* trees witli a throne in front of each, symbolical of the seven

last Buddhas; male and female worshippers around, and flying *Gandharvas* above.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE:—Seven trees with thrones in front, worshippers on either side, and celestial beings above. Like the series of stupas and trees on the top architrave, they stand for the seven Buddhas, *viz.:* from 1. to r., the patali *(bignonia)* of Vipa&yin, the fig *(?ficus elastica)* of Sikhin, the 6ala *(shorea robusta)* of Visvabhu, the sirisha *(acacia sirissa)* of Krakucchanda, the udumbara *(ficus glomerata)* of Kanakamuni, the nyagrodha =« banyan *(ficus indica)* of Kasyapa, and the a6vattha=pipal *(ficus religiosa)* of Sakyamuni.

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE: RIGHT END:—*Alambusd Jdtaka.*[1] In this birth the Bodhisattva was an ascetic, with whom a doe fell in love. She gave birth to a man child, who inherited one horn from his mother and was named Isisinga (Pishyasringa) or EkasViiga. The child in time became a saint like his father, and by the power of his virtue threatened the position of Sakra, king of the gods. Accordingly, the heavenly nymph Alambusa was sent to corrupt him. She succeeded in her mission, but after three years made known her identity to him, was pardoned and returned to heaven. To the right of the relief we see the new-born child with a single horn on its forehead, taking his first bath amid the lotuses, and the doe, its mother, standing behind. Then, in the centre of the panel,

[1] *The Jittala,* Vol. V, p. 79, No. 523; Cunningham *Stupa of Bharhut,* pp. 64-5 and PI. XXVI, 7.

the child, now grown up, is receiving instruction from his saintly father and being warned against the wiles of fair women.

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE : MIDDLE SECTION : —*Vessantar a Jdtaka.*[1] In his last but one incarnation (before he became the Buddha) the Bodhisattva was born as prince Vessantara and realised the perfection of charity. One by one he gave away: first, his riches, then, in succession, his white elephant, his chariot, his horses, his children and even his wife. Here, the story is told with a great wealth of detail and has the unique distinction of covering almost an entire architrave, both front and back. It starts from the right side of the central section, front face, *(a)* Here we see the prince giving away his royal elephant and then being banished for his pains into exile; outside the city gate he is saying farewell to his royal parents. Then we see him driving away with his family in the chariot drawn by four " Sindh horses ", and presently parting with his horses and his chariot to some Brahmans. *(b)* On the left end of the architrave he continues his journey on foot with his wife and two children; men and women line the path beside them, while, above, they are seen living at the hermitage outside the city (twice repeated), which the Cheta princes provided.

BACK : —(c) Then the story is continued along the back of the architrave, and in the end section to the right we see the prince with his wife and

[1] Cf. *The JdtaJia,* No. 547, Vol. VI, pp. 246-305.

children in the wilds, on the way to Mount Vanka. *{d)* On Mount Vaitka he takes up his abode in the hut which fiakra, king of the gods, had made ready for him, adorning its approach with plantain trees. A little later (towards the centre of the panel) he proceeds to make a gift of his children to the Brahman Jujaka, while, above, three gods, in the forms of a lion, a tiger and a leopard, keep the mother Maddi away from the hermitage. To the left of Maddi, the archer who had been set by the Oh eta princes to watch over Vessantara, is threatening to shoot the Brahman Jujaka; and, below, Jujaka is seen driving the children away with a stick. (According to the Jataka story, the archer should have been portrayed before the gift of the children was made.) Finally, to the left of the same panel, Vessantara is depicted giving away his wife, but, thanks to the intervention of Indra, who is wearing his characteristic cylindrical head-dress, both wife and children are restored to him after the children have been taken to their grand-parents hv the Brahman. The reunion of the prince with his wife is shown on the left (top) of the middle panel with Indra. wearing a high head-dress and holding a thunderbolt, beside them; and *(e)* the children in the palace of their grand-parents at the left end of the architrave.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE: CENTRAL SECTION:—*The temptation of the Buddha,* Towards the left end ©f the panel is the *pipal* tree at Bodh-Gaya with an umbrella and streamers above, and, in front, the diamond throne of the Buddha, whereon he sat when

he withstood the temptations and threats of Mara, the Satan of Buddhism, and when he attained t<i Buddhahood. The figure to the left of it is perhaps Sujata, bringing the meal which she prepared for Gautama, before he began his last meditation prior to his enlightenment. Near the middle of the panel is Mara, seated on a throne with attendants around, and advancing from him towards the throne is one of his daughters, who sought by their blandishments to seduce Gautama from his purpose. The figures of Mara and his daughter are again repeated standing near the Bodhi tree. On his other side, *i.e.*, in the right half of the panel, are the hosts ef Mara's demons, personifying the vices, the passions and the fears of mankind. The vigour and humour with which these fantastic beings are portrayed *i** very striking, and far more forceful than anything of the kind produced by the artists of Gandhara.

TOP ARCHITRAVE:—*The Chaddanta Jataka.* Compare the similar scene on the back of the middle architrave of the South Gate (p. 52, *sv*pra).* Here the huntsman Sonuttara is omitted, and the execution of the relief is far inferior to that on the South Gate, of which it is but a poor imitation.[1]

RIGHT PILLAR: FRONT FACE: TOP PANEL:—*The* RIGHT PILLAS. *descent of Buddha from the Trayastrimsa Heaven,* where Maya", his mother, had been reborn and whither he himself ascended to preach the Law to her. This miracle is supposed to have taken place

[1] For the technical and stylistic character of these reliefs see pp. 81-86.

at Sanklsa (Sankasya) in the United Provinces *{Cf.* p. 164). In the centre of the relief is the miraculous ladder by which the Buddha descended, attended by Brahma and Indra. At the top of the ladder is the tree and throne of the Buddha, with the gods on either side in an attitude of **adoration.** Other *devas* attend on him as he descends, among whom the one to the right of the ladder waving aloft a scarf and holding a lotus may be Brahma. At the foot of the ladder, the tree and throne are repeated with a trio of human devotees on either side, indicating that the Buddha has returned again to earth. Observe the smaller scale of the human beings.

SECOND PANEL : —The scene is analogous to **the** scene of Buddha's departure from Kapilavastu on the East Gate,[1] but here there is **no umbrella above** the horse to indicate the presence of the Buddha, and, there, there was no chariot behind the horse. Evidently this panel represents a combination of two episodes, *viz.,* the " Four Drives " (p. 159, *infra)* symbolised by the chariot, with the invisible Buddha beneath the umbrella, and the Great Departure *(Mahdbhinishkramana) (Cf.* p. 67), symbolised by the riderless horse.

THIRD PANEL:—*Conversion of the &akyas and Miracle at Kapilavastu.* This panel is to be interpreted in conjunction with the corresponding panel adjoining it on the inner face of the same pillar. When Buddha returned to his native city of Kapila-

[1] See p. 67, *infra.*

vastu, his father iWdhodana came forth with a royal retinue to meet him, and a question of etiquette arose as to which should salute the other first—the father, who was king, or the son, who had become the Budflha. Thereupon the, Buddha solved the difficulty by walking miraculously in mid-air. Here, in the panel on the inner face, we see a banyan tree, and, in front of it, the throne symbolising the Buddha, while suspended in the air above it is the *chankrama* or promenade on which the Buddha used to take his exercise and which here implies that he is walking in the air. Above it are celestial beings *(gandharvas)* with garlands in their hands. To the right of the tree is king Suddhodana with attendants, one of whom is holding the royal umbrella. The reason for the banyan tree *(ficns Indica;* Skr: *nyagrodha)* is that king Suddhodana presented a park of banyan trees to his son on his return, and the tree, therefore, helps to localise the incident. In the corresponding scene on the front face, the Buddha is represented in this park preaching to his father Suddhodana and the assembled nobles.

INNER FACE : TOP PANEL : —Probably *the dedication of the stilpa* containing the Buddha's relics, by the Mallas. Observe the individual and realistic features of some of the figures who are celebrating the occasion with music and dancing; and observe also their quasi-Greek dress (tunic, chlamys, taenia, etc.). It is likely that the Mallas came from the highlands of western Nepal, where a somewhat similar dress is still worn.

SECOND PANEL : —*The offering of a bowl of honey to the Blessed One by a monkey*[1]. Buddha is here represented by his *pipal* tree and throne, to which tlevotees are doing obeisance. The figure of the monkey is twice repeated, first with the bowl and then with empty hands after the gift has been made. The incident is portrayed in much the same way on the reliefs of Grandhara.

THIRD PA NET, :—See above, front face, third panel.

BACK:—Tree and throne of the Buddha with attendant worshippers bringing offerings.

Idurr PILLAR. LEFT PILLAR : FRONT FACE : —Most of the scenes on this face appear to relate to ^ravasti.

TOP PANEL :—*The Sermon under the mango tree.* In centre, a mango tree with the throne of the Buddha in front. Round the throne, a group of figures bringing garlands to the tree or in attitudes of adoration listening to his sermon. It was beneath a mango tree that, according to the Pali texts, Buddha performed the great miracle at SravastI, when he walked in the air, and flames broke from his feet and streams of water from his head. (See Third Panel, below.) The four figures seated in the foreground are probably king Prasenajit, his viceroy and courtiers. Above them, the four Lokapalas, and, beyond, a company of

[1] **The incident is usually locator^ at Vailali, but other authorities place it at Matliura or Sravasti. See Foucher, *T/Art yreco-bouddhique,* p. 512.**

gods. The beating of the drums is to announce **the** performance of a great miracle.

SECOND PANEL:—*The Jetavana at feravasti,* showing the three favourite residences of the Buddha—the Gandhakuti, the Kosambakuti and the Karorikuti, with the throne of the Buddha in the front of each. The *Jetavana* garden was presented to the Buddha by the rich banker Anathapindika, who purchased it for as many gold pieces as would cover the surface of the ground. Hence the foreground of the relief is shown covered with ancient Indian coins *(kdrshdpanas),* just as it is in the similar relief at Bharhut,[1] where the details of the coins are more in evidence.

THIRD PANEL:—*The miracle of Srdvasti,* indicated by the promenade *(chanJcrama)* of the Buddha (here covered by an open pavilion) soaring over the heads of the assembled people—presumably Prasenajit and his court.

FOURTH PANEL:—^4 *royal procession issuing from a city gate,* probably Prasenajit of Kosala going forth from SravastJ to meet the Buddha at the site of the Great Miracle.

FIFTH PANEL:—The meaning of this scene, which is analogous to several others on the gateways, is not clear. Perhaps, like the scene on the gateway of the Third Stiipa, it may represent the

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, *The Stupa of BharhiU,* pp. 84-87, PI LVII.

Paradise of Indra (nandana), where pleasure **and** passion held sway.

INNER FACE :—This face refers particularly to Rajagriha.

TOP PANEL :—*The visit of Indra to the Buddha in the cave near Rajagriha.* In the upper part of the panel is an artificial cave resembling in its facade many Buddhist shrines hewn in the rocks of Western and Central India. In front of the door is the throne which marks the presence of the Buddha. The animals, including human-faced rams, peering out from among the rocks serve to indicate the wildness of the spot. Below is the company of Indra in attitudes of worship, Indra himself being probably represented twice: first as the principal figure in the foreground, and then with his back to the spectator, against the rock.

SECOND PANEL :—*A king and his royal cortege issuing from a city.* As the panel on this side of the pillar relates particularly to Rajagriha, it is probable that the king is Ajatasatru, on a visit to the Buddha in the mango-grove of Jivaka.

THIRD PANEL :—*The Bamboo garden (Venuvana),* at Rajagriha, with the throne of the Buddha in the centre and devotees around. The identity of the spot is indicated by the bamboos on either side of the panel.

BACK:—*The death (parinirvana) of the Buddha,* indicated by a stupa or funeral tumulus and attendant worshippers.

EASTGATEWAY.

FRONT FACE : TOP ARCHITRAVE :—*The seven last* ARCHITBAVBS, *BuddhaSy* the first and last symbolised by thrones beneath their appropriate Bodhi trees (p. 58), the rest by the stupas which enshrined their relics. Around them are the usual worshippers, human and divine.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE :—*Buddha's departure (Mahdbhinishkramana) from Kapilavastu,* the city of his birth. To the left is the city, with wall and moat, and, issuing from its gate, the horse Kanthaka, his legs supported by *devas*[1] and accompanied by other *devas* in attendance on the Buddha, and by Chandaka his groom, who holds the umbrella symbolical of his Master's presence. In order to indicate the progress of the Prince, this group is repeated four times in succession towards the right of the relief, and then, at the parting of the ways, we see Chandaka and the horse[2] sent back to Kapilavastu, and the further journey of the Prince on foot indicated by his sacred footprints[3] surmounted by the umbrella. The three sorrowing figures following behind Kanthaka, at the right hand lower corner of the panel, appear to be the Yakshas who accompanied Siddhartha from the city,

[1] **Cf.** ***Nidanakatha,*** **trans., by Rhys Davids, p. 271, "Therefore the angels placed, at each step, the palms of their hands under his feet."**

[2] **According to the** ***Niddnahathd,*** **the horse Kanthaka died on the spot where the Buddha left him.**

[3] **C/. p. 49 above.**

sorrowing for his loss. In Gandhara sculptures, the city goddess herself, portrayed in Hellenistic fashion, is represented sorrowing for the loss of Gautama. But they might also be the emissaries whom king Suddhodana sent to bring back his son (See Poucher, *op. cit.,* p. TI). In the middle of the panel is a *jambu* tree *(Eugenia jambu),* placed there by the sculptor, apparently, as a reminder of the first meditation of the Bodhisattva and the path on which it subsequently led him. This meditation, it will be remembered, took place beneath a jambu tree, the shade of which moved not while he sat beneath it.[1]

LOWEST AHCHITRAVE :—*Visit of AioJca to the Bodhi tree.* In the centre, the temple and tree of Bodh-Gaya; to the left, a crowd of musicians and devotees with water vessels; to the right, a royal retinue and a, king and queen descending from an elephant, and afterwards doing worship at the tree. This is the ceremonial visit which A£oka and his queen Tishyarakshita paid to the Bodhi tree, for the purpose of watering it and restoring its pristine beauty after the evil spell which the queen in a tit of jealousy had cast upon it. In the pairs of peacocks at the ends of this architrave there may be a special allusion to A£oka, since the peacock (Pali = mora; Sanskrit = *maytlra)* was the badge of the Maurya dynasty.

[1] **Rockhill,** ***Life of the Buddha,*** **p.** ***23;*** **Foucher,** ***VArt Qr4co-bouddhiqne,*** **pp. 340-48.**

BACK : Top ARCHITRAVE ; —*The seven last Buddhas,* **represented** by their thrones **and the Bodhi** trees beneath **which** they attained **enlightenment.** Here they are shown from right to left, in chronological order, whereas on the middle architrave of the Northern Gateway (p. 58—*q. v.)* they are shown from left to right.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE:—*Worship by the animal kingdom.* Iu the centre, the Buddha, represented by his throne and *aivattha* tree. To right and left come animals, real and mythical, birds and Nagas, symbolising his new won sovereignty over all creatures. The presence of the Naga recalls the episode of Muchalinda, the tutelary deity of a lake near Gaya, who, shortly after the Illumination, spread his hood over the Buddha to protect him from the rain (p. 161).

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE: — In the centre is a stupa, to which elephants are bringing offerings of lotus flowers. It is probably the stupa of Ramagrama, the Naga guardians thereof, who prevented Asoka removing the relics, being portrayed as elephants. *Cf.* p. 50 above.

RIGHT PILLAR : FRONT : —*The six inferior hca vens* RIGHT PILLAR.
of the gods (devalokas) or Kamavachara heavens, in which the passions are still unsubdued. Starting from the base, they are as follows:—(1) The heaven of the Four Great Kings—the Regents -of the Four Quarters (Lokapala : Chaturmaharajika); (2) The heaven of the Thirty-three gods (Trayastr'mSa) over whom Sakra presides; (3) The heaven

over which Yama, the God of Death, reigns, where there is no change of day or night; (4) The Tushita heaven, where the Bodhisattvas are born before they appear on earth as the saviours of mankind, ^nd where Maitreya now resides; (5) The heaven of the Nirmanarati, who rejoice in their own creations; (6) The heaven of the Parinirmita-va^avartin gods, who indulge in pleasures created for them by others and over whom Mara is king.[1] Each of these six heavens or devalokas is represented by the storey of a palace, the front of which is divided by pillars into three bays, the pillars in the alternate storeys being either plain or provided with elaborate Persepolitan capitals. In the central bay there sits a god, probably Indra, holding a thunderbolt *(vajra)* in his right hand and a flask containing nectar *(amfita)* in his left. Behind him are his women attendants holding the royal umbrella *(ckhattra)* and flywhisk *(chauri).* in the bay to his right, seated on a slightly lower seat, is his viceroy *(wpardja);* and to his left are the court musicians and dancers. With slight variations the same figures are repeated in each of the six heavens. Nothing, perhaps, could give a better idea of the monotony of pleasure in the Buddhist heavens than the sameness of these reiterations.

The topmost panel of all, with two figures seated on'a terrace and attendants behind, is treated quite differently from the *devalokas* below and may

[1] See Griinwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* p. 61; Foucher, *IM porte orientate du stupa de Sdnchi,* pp. 48-50.

represent the lowest of the *brahmalokas,* which according to the Buddhist ideas rise above the inferior heavens. It may, however, be the abode of Mara, God of Love and Death and Sovereign of the world of senses, throned here at the pinnacle of his empire.

RIGHT PILLAK: INNER FACE:—This face of the pillar is devoted to scenes at Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Gautama.

Tor PANEL:—Either the gods in the Tushita Heaven entreating the future Buddha to come to earth and release mankind, or Indra and Brahma with their retinues, beseeching the already accomplished Buddha to preach to the world the truth he had just discovered. The first alternative would fit in with the conception scene immediately below.

SECOND PANEL:—At the top is portrayed *the dreamt of Maya,* the mother of the Buddha, otherwise called *the conception of the Bodhisattva.* Maya, the queen, is seen lying in a pavilion of the palace, and on her is descending the Bodhisattva[1] in the form of a white elephant. This scene, which was well known to all Buddhists, serves as a label to identify the city here represented as Kapilavastu. Below it is a royal procession threading its way through the streets of the city and issuing forth from the gate. This is the procession of king Suddhodana, when he went forth to meet his son on his return to Kapilavastu. Then, at the bottom of the panel, is portrayed the miracle which Buddha

[1] See footnote p. 55, *supra,* and Appendix, pp. 157-8.

performed on this occasion by walking in mid-air, *(Cf.* North Gateway, pp. 62-3 above); and, in the extreme left-hand bottom corner, is a banyan tree *(nyagrodha)* to signify the park of banyans which Suddhodana presented to his **son.** The **Buddha** walking in mid-air is represented, as on the Northern Gateway, by his promenade *(chahkrama);* it is interesting to observe the upturned faces of the king and his retinue as they gaze wonderingly on the miracle.

BACK:—*The Illumination of the Buddha.* Pipal tree in square railing with worshippers on either side and celestial beings above.

LEFT PILLAR. LEFT PILLAR: FRONT PACE. FIRST AND SECOND PANELS:—*The illumination and walk of the Buddha.* In the second panel from the top is the temple at Bodh-Gaya, built by Asoka with the throne of Buddha within, and, spreading through its upper windows, the branches of the sacred tree. It is the illumination of Buddha, and to right and left of the temple are four figures in an attitude of adoration, probably the Guardian Kings of the Four Quarters (Lokapalas); while ranged above in two rows are groups of deities looking on at Buddha taking his [illegible] walk "—indicated by his *canhrama* between them.

THIRD PANEL:—*The miracle of the Buddha walking o?i the waters.* The Nairanjana river is shown in flood and Kaiyapa accompanied by a disciple and a boatman hastening in a boat to the rescue of Buddha. Then, in the lower part of

the picture, Buddha, represented by his promenade *(chankrama),* appears walking on the face of the waters, and in the foreground the figures of Ka&yapa and his disciple are twice repeated, now on dry ground and doing homage to the Master (represented by the throne at the right-hand bottom corner).

LOWEST PANEL, :—*Bimbisdra with his royal cortege issuing from the city of Rdjagriha,* on a visit to the Buddha, here symbolised by his empty throne. This visit took place after the conversion of Kaiyapa, which was brought about by a series of miracles, one of which is illustrated in the panel above.

LEFT PILLAR: INNER FACE:—This face is concerned with the miracles by which Buddha converted the Brahman KaSyapa and his disciples.

TOP PANEL:—*Visit of Indra and Brahma to Buddha in the town of Uruvilvd.* Near the centre of the panel is the throne indicating the presence of the Buddha, surmounted by the umbrella; behind it, Indra and Brahma standing in an attitude of adoration; in the background, the houses of Ilruvilva and the people at their daily tasks. To the left, a man and woman, the woman grinding spices on a *" carl* stone *" ;* near by, to the right, another woman is at work at a table, while a third is pounding rice with pestle and mortar, and a fourth winnowing the grain with a fan. In the foreground is the river Nairaiijana, with cattle on its banks and a woman drawing water in a pitcher. The whole makes up a charming peep into Indian village life two thousand years ago.

SECOND PANEL :—*The victory of the Buddha over the serpent zn the fire chapel at Uruvilvd.* The story is that Buddha obtained the permission of Kasyapa to pass the night in a fire chapel[1] at his hermitage, which was inhabited by a fearsome *ndga.* The *ndga* attacked him with smoke and fire but was met with the same weapons, and being overcome crept into) the Buddha's begging bowl. In the middle of the panel is the fire temple with a fire altar in front and a throne, indicating the presence of the Buddha, within, while behind the throne is the five-headed *ndga.* Flames are issuing from the windows in the roof. On either side of the temple are the Brahmanical ascetics standing in an attitude of respect and veneration. In the foreground, to the right, is a leaf-hut *(parna-sdld)* and an ascetic at its threshold seated on a mat, with his knees bound up by a band and his hair *(jatd)* twisted turban-wise about his head. Evidently he is a Brahman doing penance. Before him is another Brahman standing and apparently reporting to him the miracle; and near by is a small fire altar and the instruments of Vedic sacrifice. To the left is the Nairanjana river, in which another ascetic is bathing and from which three young novices are drawing water, presumably to put out the fire.

THIRD PANEL : —*The miracles of the wood, the fire and the offering.* In the story of KaSyapa's conversion it is related that, after the miracle of

[1] **Or kitchen of Ka&yapa, according to the Burmese version.**

the fire temple, a sacrifice was prepared by the Brahmans, but the wood for the tire could not be split, the fire could not be made to burn, and the oblation could not be ottered, until in each case the Buddha gave his consent. In the relief, this triple miracle is dramatically represented. In the foreground, to the right, a Brahman ascetic has his axe raised to split the wood, but the axe will not descend until Buddha gives the word; then we see the axe driven home into the log. Similarly, a Brahman is engaged fanning the fire on an altar, but the fire will not burn until Buddha permits it. Then we see the altar repeated and flames blazing upon it. The third phase of the miracle, that of the oblation, is indicated by the single figure of a Brahman holding an oblation spoon over a flaming altar. The other figures in this panel, of two novices bringing wood and provisions, are mere accessories, while the stupa in the background, decorated with shell designs and surrounded by a square railing, serves to give local colour to the scene.

BACK:—*Parinirvana.* Stupa with worshippers to either side and celestial beings above.

WEST GATEWAY.

ARCHITRAVES.

FRONT : TOP ARCHITRAVE :—*Six of the seven last Buddhas and Maitreya, the future Buddha,* four represented by their appropriate *sambodhi* trees and thrones, and three by their relic stiipas with attendant worshippers, human and divine. The

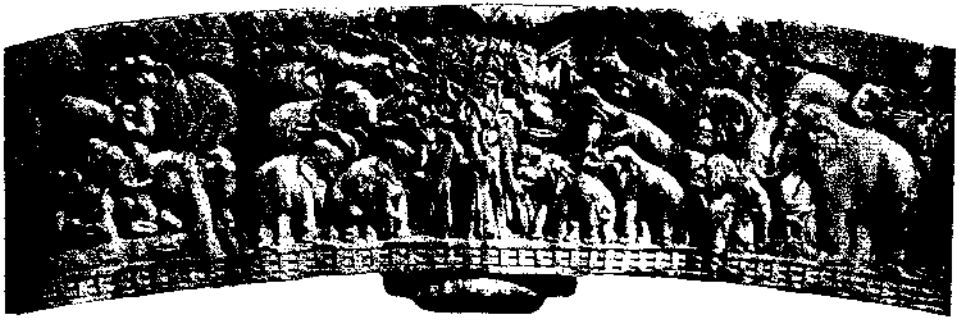
bodhidruma of Maitreya (left end of architrave) i» the naga-pushpa tree *(michelia champaka).*

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE : —*The first sermon in the Deer Park (Mrigaddva) at Sdmdth. Cf.* p. 45 above. The " Wheel of the Law " *(dharmachakra)* is here set on a throne, and there are numerous deer to indicate the deer-park in which the sermon was preached. Whether Kaundinya and his four companions are intended to be represented among the figures on either side of the wheel, it is not possible to say.

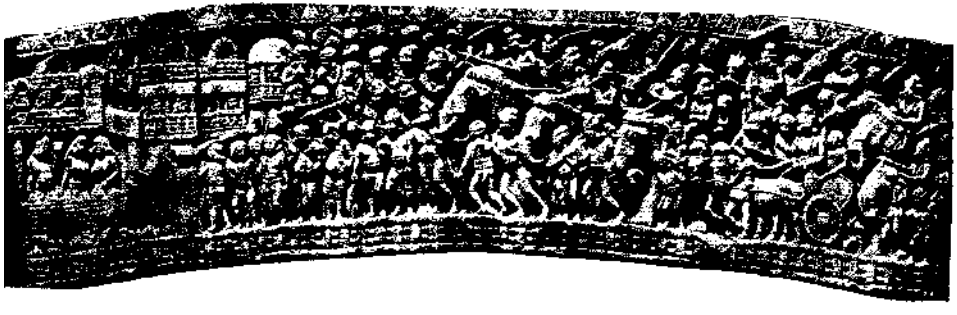
At each end of the architrave is a tree with a throne in front and attendant worshippers. To the left, it is the patali tree of Vipas'yin, with the four guardians of the World presenting their alms-bowls; to the right, it is the nyagrodha of Kasyapa. Observe the baskets of flower offerings in the right hand relief.

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE:—*The Chaddamta JdtakcK Cf.* South Gateway, middle architrave, back (p. 52), and North Gateway, top architrave, back (p. GI). In this case, as in the North Gateway, the hunter Sonuttara is not brought into the scene. At either end of the architrave is a stupa with attendant worshippers.

BACK: TOP ARCHITRAVE:—*The relic scene at Kusinagara (Kvsindrd).* After the death of the Buddha his relics were taken possession of by the Mallas of Kusinara, whose chief is here depicted riding on an elephant and bearing the relics into



a. West Gateway: front: lowest architrave. The Chaddanta Jātaka.



b. West Gateway: back: middle architrave. The "War of the relics".

the town of Kusinara on his own head. The tree behind the throne in front of the city gate appears to be a j§ala tree *(shorea robusta)* and to label the town as Kusinara, because the Buddha's *parinirvana* took place in a grove of those trees. The two groups of figures carrying banners and offerings, which occupy the ends of this architrave, are probably connected with the central scene, serving to indicate the rejoicings of the Mallas over the possession of the relics.

MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE:—*The ivar of the relics. Cf.* the lowest architrave of the South Gateway (p. 53). Here the seven rival claimants, distinguished by their seven royal umbrellas, are advancing with their armies to the city of Kusinara, the siege of which has not yet begun. Tho seated royal figure at the left end of the architrave may parhaps represent the chief of the Mallas within the city. The princely figures in the corresponding relief at the right end are repetitions of some of the rival claimants.

LOWEST ARCHITRAVE:—*The temptation of the Buddha.* This scene extends over the three sections of the architrave. In the centre is the temple of Bodh-Gaya with the *pipal* tree and the throne of the Buddha within; to the right, the armies of Mara fleeing discomfited from the Buddha; to the left, the *devas* celebrating the victory of the Buddha over the Evil One and exalting his glorious achievements. The temple at Bodh-Gaya, which enclosed the Bodhi tree, was built by the Emperor ASoka.

Its portrayal in this scene, therefore, is an anachronism.

RIGHT PILLAR. KIGHT PILLAR : FKONT FACE : TOP PANEL :—*Mahd-kayji Jdtaka.*[1] The story runs that the Bodhisattva was born as a monkey, ruler over 80,000 monkeys. They lived at a spot near the Ganges and ate of the fruit of a great mango tree. King Brahmadatta of Benares, desiring to possess the mangoes, surrounded the tree with his soldiers, in order to kill the animals, but the Bodhisattva formed a bridge over the stream with his own body and by this means enabled the whole tribe to escape into safety. Devadatta, the jealous and wicked cousin of the Buddha, was in that life one of the monkeys and, thinking it a good chance to destroy his enemy, jumped on the Bodhisattva's back and broke his heart. The king, seeing the good deed of the Bodhisattva and repenting of his own attempt to kill him, tended him with great care when he was dying and afterwards gave him royal obsequies. Down the panel of the relief flows, from top to bottom, the river Ganges. To the left, at the top, is the great mango tree to which two monkeys are clinging, while the king of the monkeys is stretched across the river from the mango tree to the opposite bank, and over his body some monkeys have already escaped to the rocks and jungles beyond. In the lower part of the panel, to the left, is king Brahmadatta on horseback with his soldiers, one of whom with bow and arrow is aiming

[1] *The Jdtaka,* No. 407. pp. 226-27.

upwards at the Bodhisattva. Higher up the panel the figure of the king is repeated, sitting bejneath the mango tree and conversing with the dying Bodhisattva, who, according to the Jataka story, gave the king good advice on the duties of a chief.

SECOND PANEL:—The *Adhyeshana.* See p. 162. The gods, led by Brahma and Indra, entreat the Buddha to show mankind the way of salvation. From the rocks at the feet of the gods break tongues of flame, owing to their own or the Buddha's presence.

THIRD PANEL:—*Indra' s visit.* The Buddha, represented by his throne, in a grotto, with hills and jungle around. In the foreground, a company of worshipping gods. The identity and meaning of the tree over the throne are not clear.

LOWEST PANEL : —The lotus Tree of Life and Fortune, with lions rampant emerging from its stem. Observe the curious turn in the upper leaves. This method of treating foliage is peculiar to the Early School and is never found in later work. The inscription over this panel records that the pillar was a gift of Balamitra, pupil of Ayachuda (Arya-kshudra).[1] See p. 40.

INNER FACE: FIRST PANEL:—*The Enlightenment (sathbodhi) of the Buddha.* Towards the top of the panel is the *pipal* tree and the throne of the Buddha, and round them Mara, his wives and daughters, and the demon host (to the right), with

[1] *Cf.* Ltiders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions,* No. 349.

which he sought to overawe the Buddha. The interpretation of the three sorrowing figures standing beside the throne in the foreground is problematical. In the *Mahdbhinishkramina* scene on the East Gateway we have already seen that the artist inserted a *jambu* tree in the middle of the panel, to remind the spectator of the first meditation of the Bodhisuttva and the path on which it led him (p. *US* above). 80, here, these three figures, which resemble the three sorrowing Yakshas in the *Mahabhinishkramaiia* scene, may be a reminder of the Great Renunciation which led to the attainment of Buddhahood, the gateway behind being also a reminder of the gateway of Kapilavastu.

SECOND PANEL:—*The conversion of the tfakyas. (Cf.* p. *02.)* The Buddha preaching in the Banyan-Park at Kapilavastu to his father iSuddhodana and the assembled Sakya lords.

BACK:—*The death (parinivana) of the Buddha,* represented by a stupa and attendant figures.

LEFT PILLAR.

LEFT PILLAR: FRONT FACE: TOP PANEL:—Probably *the yaradtse of Indra (nandana)* with the river Mandakini in the foreground. *Cf.* the scenes on the North Gateway (p. 05) and on the small gateway of the Third Stupa (p. 93).

INNER FACE: TOP PANEL:—*The Sydma Jdtoka** Sy&ma, the only son of a blind hermit and his wife, who are entirely dependent on him for support, goes to draw water at the river and is shot with an arrow by the king of Benares, who is out hunting.

Thanks to the king's penitence and his parents' sorrow Indra intervenes and allows Syama to be healed and his parents' sight to be restored. At the right hand top corner of the panel are the two hermitages with the father and mother seated in front of them. Below them their son Syania is coming to draw water from the stream. Then, to the left, we see the figure of the king thrice repeated, first shooting the lad in the water, then with bow in hand, then standing penitent with bow and arrow discarded; and in the left top corner are the father, mother and son restored to health, and by their side the god Indra and the king, the former wearing his characteristic headdress.

SECOND PANEL:—*The episode of the Ndyardja Muchalinda.* In the centre is the throne of the Buddha beneath the *pipal* tree, which is being garlanded by *kimiaras;* in the foreground, with his wives and retinue, the Snake-king Muchalinda, who spread his hood over the Buddha to shield him from the rain (p. 161).

THIRD PANEL :—Only the upper part of this panel remains.[1] It appears to depict the miraculous crossing of the Ganges by the Buddha when he left Rajagriha to visit Vaisali.

On the execution of these sculptures with their multitudinous figures and elaborate details, some

TECHNIQUE AND STYLE.

[1] **The lower part of the panel appears to have been cut away, when the gateway was restored by Col. Cole. The panel is shown complete in Maisey's illustration CP1. X X I , fig. 2).**

years of labour must have been exhausted and many hands employed. It is rarely that two panels, even among the smaller ones on the pillars, are by the same hand, and most of the larger panels on the architraves are the work o£ two or even more sculptors. It is inevitable, therefore, that there should be much diversity of Btyle and inequality of workmanship among the sculptures. Some of them, like the *adkyeshana* panels described on p. 79, show a strong archaizing tendency; others, like the lowest panels on the left jamb of the Southern Gateway, are as advanced as anything produced by the Early School. Some of them, again, like the " War of the Relics " on the Southern and Western Gateway (pp. 53 and 77) exhibit a fine sense of composition and modelling, but side by side with them are to be found examples such as the " Nativity " on the top architrave of the Southern Gateway (p. 50) or the return of the Mallas on the Western Gateway (pp. 76-77), of strikingly crude and clumsy workmanship. Yet with all their diversity of style and inequality of technique, these sculptures are essentially homogeneous and readily recognisable as the products of one and the same school. That school was the School of Malwa, which had its centre in the great cities of VidiSa and Ujjayini, but exerted a widespread influence in Central and Western India and Hindustan. At the time when this school was first taking shape, the materials chiefly in vogue for sculpture were wood, ivory and clay, and when stone came to replace wood for building purposes,

many technical difficulties were naturally experienced *in* carving the harder and more brittle substance. Once, however, the mastery over it had been gained, the headway made was rapid, and in no long time the sculptors were producing carvings in stone as excellent as those in the softer materials. This explains the phenomenal improvement that took place in stone sculpture between the time when the balustrade of Stupa II and the gateways of Stupa I were erected, and it also explains why some of the finest work to be found on the Southern Gateway was executed by a guild of ivory-carvers in Vidi6a. Another feature of these gateway sculptures that calls for notice is their strongly mundane character. The art of Malwa was not, like the art of Gandhara, an ecclesiastic art; it was developed and sustained by the patronage of the wealthy citizens of Vidi^a and Ujjayini, who might or might not be Buddhists, and it was used for secular purposes. From time to time it was impressed into the service of the Buddhist Church, and on these occasions it was dressed out, as far as possible, in a Buddhist garb and labelled with the sacred signs and emblems that were familiar to the Faithful, such as the *dharmachakra, triratna* and *irtvatsa,* but for all that there was no real change in ita essentially mundane character, and we must not therefore be shocked when we encounter erotic scenes among these reliefs and women whose nudity is accentuated rather than hidden by the transparency of their robes. Such scenes and figures were flagrantly opposed to every principle of the Sakya

faith, and it is probable that there were few among the Buddhist sects of this period who were hardy or lax enough in their outlook to admit this wordly sort of art into their monasteries. One thing, however, is certain: that, if they admitted it at all, they had to take it as they found it; they could not rid it of its worldliness or expurgate it at will to suit the pietism of the cloister. Whatever compromise there might have to be, must come from the Church itself not from art. Apart from its mundane and sensuous character, the keynote of this sculpture is its unaffected naturalness. Its aim was to follow nature as truthfully and simply as possible. At that early age its resources were necessarily limited. Of perspective it knew no more than is found on the Roman columns of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius; of foreshortening even less; yet, despite such limitations, it succeeded remarkably well in its aim. Compare it, for instance, with the sculpture of the Bharhat School, which of all the schools of Early India comes nearest to it in style, and you will perceive at once that, while it m'sses the charm of refined elegance and precise definition that belonged to the older work, it goes far beyond it as a broad and simple statement of truth. It is not that artifice is wanting in this sculpture, but that it never obtrudes itself. Consider, for example, the " War of the Relics " on the Western Gateway (PI. V6). If we take the trouble to analyse this relief, we can see how the artist has made use of stereotype *cliches* of men and horses, elephants, chariots and walled towns,

and with what care he has composed his figures so as to carry the eye upwards from the right to the head of the biggest elephant and **then down again** to the city gate; nevertheless the dominant impression that he has succeeded in conveying is that of a great host surging forward and with a common impulse towards the city gate—a scene which we instinctively gaze at in its entirety not in its integral parts, and which, whatever its borrowings from traditional art, is still natural and convincing. Still more natural and more convincing is the " War of the Belies " on the Southern Gateway (PI. *TVb),* because there the artist has depended more upon his own originality than upon the conventional treatment of such scenes, and has expressed his ideas with dramatic simplicity, varying at will the directions in which his figures are moving and diversifying the play of light and shade between them.

The only Gateway sculptures which exhibit marked stylization are those which architectural considerations required to be stiff and formal, or on which tradition imposed an archaic or conventional form. Among the former are the guardian Yakshas which stand sentinel inside the pillars of the gateways, and the smaller Yakshas carrying fly-whisks which flank the Wheels-of-the-L&w on their summits, both of which would have been out of keeping with the tectonic lines of the structure, had they been treated less formally. Among the latter are a few archaizing reliefs, like the *adhyeshana* panel referred to on p. 79 and the Tree of

Life and Fortune designs, like the one illustrated on PI. Ill, though even here the tendency to naturalism comes out strongly in the modelling of the beasts and their riders.

BUDDHA IMAGES INSIDE THB GATEWAYS.

Facing each of the four entrances of the Great Stupa and against the terrace wall, is an image of the Buddha in alto-relievo, which was once protected by a carved canopy. These are the four images referred to in the Gupta inscription of the year 131 (A.D. 450—51) mentioned on p. 37 above. Each of the four images represents Buddha in the attitude of meditation *(dhyana-viudra)* with an attendant standing on either side, and behind his head an elaborate halo, across which two *gandharvas* are Hying.[1] In the treatment of the groups, and particularly in the attitudes of the attendants, there are various minor differences, and in the case of the northern image there are three miniature figures sculptured on the face of the pedestal; but the^ differences are not such as to enable us to determine whether these images represent particular Dhyani[2] Buddhas or not. In mediaeval

[1] **Dr. Burgess's statement *(J. 11. A. S.*, 1902, p. 31) that the southern statue was a standing figure is without foundation. The sculpture referred to by him *(Cf.* Maisey's *Sdnchi,* PI. XIV, fig. I and Museum Cat. No. 9) was found near the South Gate; but had nothing to do with the pedestal opposite. It represents Buddha taming the elephant at Rajagriha, and is a work of about the 7th century A.D.**

*** It was a doctrine of the Northern (Mahayanist) School of Buddhishi that each of the earthly Buddhas had his mystic counterpart (Dhyani-Buddha) in one of the Dhyani-heavens. Thus the Dhyani of Kasyapa Buddha is**

tinies it was the practice to place figures of the JJhyani Buddhas in niches lound the base of a stupa facing the cardinal points, and it was usual to place Akshobhya on the east, Ratnasambhava on the south,, Arnitabha on the west, and Amogha-siddha on the north. Probably these are the four Buddhas intended to be represented here, but their identity cannot be established either from their attitudes or their attributes.[1] From an artistic point of view, the image at the South Gateway is the best, the nioderiing of the attendant figures being particularly graceful and pleasing. The south being the most important entrance, no doubt this image was executed by the best sculptor. Its style and workmanship recall to mind some of the reliefs, executed about the same time, in front of the Udayagiri Caves, four' miles from J^anchi.

CONSEBVATION OF STAPA I.

Considering the exposed position it occupies on the bare hill top, it is remarkable how well the Great Stupa has withstood for two thousand years the ravages of time and the elements. Many of the

Katnasambhava; of Gautama it is Arnitabha; and of the future Buddha Mai trey a it is Amoghasiddha. The doctrine appears to rest on the Zoroastrian theory of the *" Fravashis," according to which every being has his " Fravashi," or genius, which joins itself to the body at birth and after death intercedes for it. The Dhyani-Buddhas are anomalous, in that they have never been Bodhisattvas. *Cf.* Grrumvedel, *op. cit.*, p. 195; Kern, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 64.

[1] The head wearing a high *mukufa* or crown with a seated Buddha in front, which is figured in Maisey's *Sdnchi,* Plate XV, 10, does not, as he imagined, *belong to* the northern statue.

sculptured reliefs, particularly those on the Western Gateway, seem almost as fresh to-day as when they left the chisel of the sculptor, and such harm as the others have suffered has been chiefly wrought in modern days by Moslem iconoclasts. Other causes which have contributed to the decay of the fabric of the stupa were the ponding of water round its base and the reckless damage done by the amateur excavators in 1822, when a vast breach was made in the south-western portion of the dome. The former mischief was due, not so much to sinkage in the foundations, which for the most part rest on the living rock, as to the deposit of debris which from the Mediaeval Age onwards went on steadily, century by century, and accumulated to a height of several feet round about the edifice, with the result that during each monsoon it was submerged in a sheet of water. Small wonder that in these conditions two of the gateways (South and West), together with considerable sections of the ground balustrade, should have subsided and collapsed. The wonder is that any gateway designed on such fragile principles should have survived at all. The two gateways referred to were re-erected by Major Cole in 1882, and during the operations carried out by the writer between 1913 and 1918 the whole area around the monument was cleared of the accumulated debris, and the remnants of the old stone pavement were relaid at a slope, so that the monument now stands high and dry. The whole south-western quadrant of the dome, moreover, which had been rebuilt with mere random rubble and

earth in 1883 and was bulging outwards to a perilous degree, was entirely reconstructed; and when by these measures the fabric had been once more rendered secure, the stairway, terrace and summit had their balustrades and other members restored to them, so that this unique edifice now stands complete in all its essential features.

STONB PAVB-
MBNT ABOUND
sTUPA AND
RETAINING
WALL TO EAST.

The stone pavement alluded to above, which is now in a very fragmentary condition, was originally composed of large rectangular slabs measuring between 6 and 8 ft. in length by 3 to 4 ft. in width, It dates from the same age as the stone envelope and ground balustrade of the Great Stupa *(cir.* 150 B.C.). Beneath it is a succession of four other floors of concrete or other materials, the earliest of which lies at a depth of about four feet below the present surface and dates from the reign of the Emperor A6oka. To this floor I shall refer again in connexion with the A&oka column near the Southern Gate. The stone pavement now exposed to view on the surface originally extended, not only over the whole of the central plateau up to the limits of its present boundaries, but for a considerable distance beyond the long retaining wall on the east side, where it is still preserved in a good condition at a depth of some 16 ft. below the building No. 43. In this part of the site structure after structure was erected on the ruins of those which had gone before, and so the level gradually rose during mediaeval times, when the roadway was made of which the beginning is still visible to the

north of Building 19 *(vide* plan, PL X). Finally, about the twelfth century, when the accumulated debris of all these monuments had risen to a height of some fourteen feet, a long wall[1] was erected from north to south across the plateau in order to retain it in position.

[1] See p. 121 below.

CHAPTER V

OTHER STUPAS ON THE MAIN TERRACE

About 50 yards north-east of the Great Stupa and at the edge of the level plateau is another monument of the same character and design but of smaller proportions.[1] This is the stupa (PI. VI) in which General Cunningham discovered the relics of Sariputra and Mahamogalana, the two famous disciples of the Buddha, and which in old days must have been invested with peculiar sanctity. The chamber in which the relics were found was set in the centre of the structure and on a level with the top of the terrace. It was covered by a large slab upwards of five feet in length, and in it were two stone boxes, each of which bore a short inscription on the lid. On the one to the south was inscribed the name *Sdriputasa* [i(] of Sfiriputa," and on the one to the north *Mahamogalanasa* " of Mahamogalana/' Each box was a cube of 1' 6" with a lid 6" in thickness.[2] In Sariputra's box was a flat casket of white steatite covered by a thin

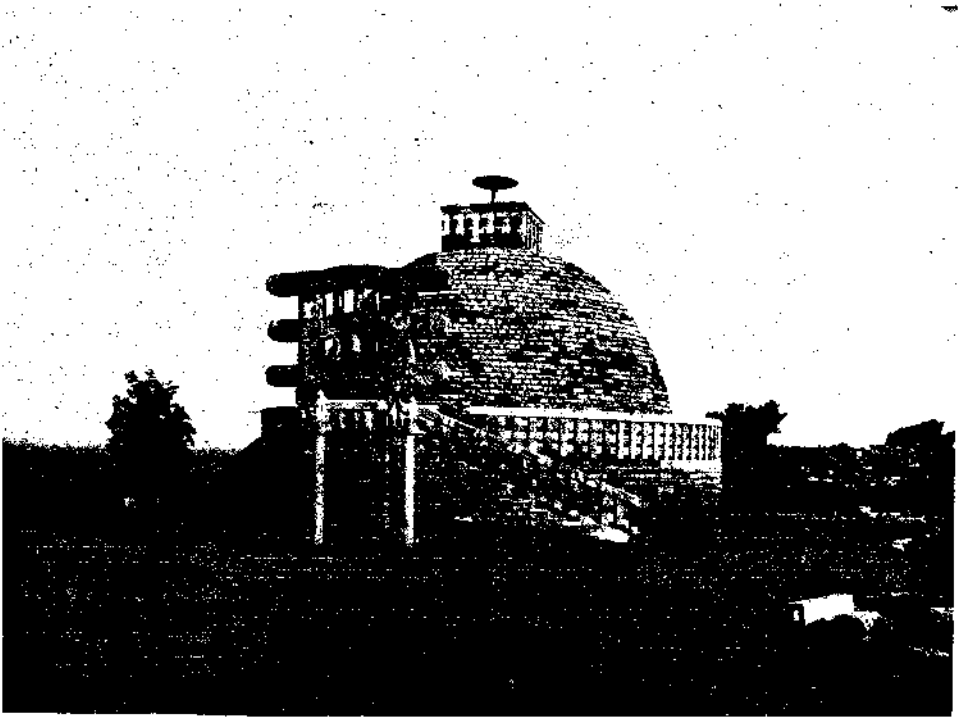
ST#PA 3.

[1] **The diameter of this stupa is 49' 6"; its height 27'.**
[2] **Cunningham, *BhiJsa Topes*, p. 297, Mus. Cat. Nos. A67 and 68.**

saucer of black earthenware and by its side two pieces of sandal wood.[1] Within the casket was a snialj. fragment of bone and several beads of pearl, garnet, lapis lazuli, crystal and amethyst. In the box of Mahamogalana was another steatite casket containing two small fragments of bone.

Apart from its size, the only essential points in which this stupa differed from the Great Stupa were Ihe possession of one instead of four gateways, the decoration of its ground balustrade, and the more hemispherical contour of its dome, which was of a slightly later and more developed type. The ground balustrade has almost entirely disappeared, having been removed in ancient days for the construction of other buildings, but a few fragments of it were found *in situ* and others have been recovered from the foundations of Temple 45. They show that it was nearly eight feet in height and adorned with conventionalised but boldly executed lotus designs, varied on each pillar according to the fancy of the sculptor. The stairway and terrace balustrades are similar in design and stylo to those of the Great Stupa. On the corner pillar on the landing of the berm opposite the gateway, the visitor should observe the interesting relief which is probably intended to depict this particular stupa and which shows clearly the manner in which the railing and umbrella at the top were disposed. The stxipa, with the stairway, berm and *harmiJcd* balus-

[1] Gen. Cunningham suggests that the two fragments of eandal wood may have been taken from the funeral pile.



Stupa 3 from S.-S.-E.

trades, dates from the middle of the second century B.C., *i.e.*, it is approximately contemporary with the rebuilding of the Great Stupa. The ground balustrade and the richly carved *torana* on the south, which was the latest of all the five *toranas* on the site, were added probably about the beginning of the Christian era. By the time they were erected, some soil had collected in and around the processional path and the ground level had risen between one and two feet, thus concealing the original path and hiding from view the lowest steps of the ascending stairways. In order to expose the latter, it was necessary to remove this ancient accumulation of soil, but the digging was stopped short near the foot of the steps, so as to avoid endangering in any way the foundations of the gateway.

GATEWAY OP STUPA3.

This gateway stands 17 feet high, and is adorned with reliefs in the same style as, but somewhat more decadent than, those on the gateways of the Great Stupa. Indeed, the majority of these reliefs are mere repetitions of the subjects and scenes portrayed on the larger gateways, and need not be described again. The only scene which differs materially from those on the gateways of the Great Stupa is the one delineated on the front face of the lowest architrave, which appears to represent the Heaven of Indra (TV*'andanavana)*. In the centre is the pavilion of the god, with Indra himself seated on a throne surrounded by women attendants and with his harpist, Panchaslkha, on his left. In the foreground is the river Mandakini, which bounds the heaven of Indra, and to right

and left of the pavilion are mountains and jungle forming a pleasaunce for the gods and demigods who are taking their ease therein. On the left is a horse-headed fairy, apparently detaining a man against his will. She may be the Yakshini A3vamukhi of Jut. 432, of whom the Bodhisattva was once born. In the corners next to the false capitals, are *nuga* kings seated, with their attendants, on the folds of seven-hooded *ndgas*, whose coils mingled with the waters of the river are carried through to the ends of the architrave, and go to form the spirals adorning its extremities. The sea monsters *(makaras)* and the heroes wrestling with them, which are portrayed on the false capitals of this architrave, are particularly appropriate in this position, where their coils combine effectively with those of the *ndgas*.

STGPA 4. Immediately behind and to the north-east of Stiipa 3 is another stupa of slightly smaller dimensions, which is now reduced completely to ruin. What remains of it is constructed in precisely the same manner as the neighbouring monument, with which there can be little doubt it was approximately contemporary. Remnants of the slabs with which the lower procession path was nagged still survive, but no trace has been found of any ground, stairway or terrace balustrade, and it seems unlikely, therefore, that these balustrades were ever constructed. On the other hand, an admirably carved coping stone forming part of a *Jtarmilca*[1] balustrade

[1] See p. 35 above and Mus. Cat. A69.

was found not far to the south of this stupa, and may well have belonged to it. It is 5' 7" in length, but broken at one end, and adorned on the outer face with an undulating garland of lotus blooms and leaves with birds seated among them.

STUTA 6. The only other stupa on this plateau which dates from the early epoch is No. 6, situated to the east of Temple 18. The core of this stupa, like those of Stupas 3 and 4, is composed of heavy blocks of stone interspersed with chippings, and is manifestly of the same age as the latter, but the existing face masonry is much more modern, having apparently been added between the 6th and 8th century A.D., by which time it may be presumed that the original facing had collapsed. The later masonry is laid in small, even, and well-dressed courses, additional stability being secured by the provision of footings (which are never found in the earlier structures) at the base both of the superstructure and of the plinth. Like the plinths of most of the mediaeval stupas on this site, the latter is square in plan and of no great height. As evidence of the early date of the core of this structure, it is noteworthy that the lower section of the walls[1] on the west and north sides of the court in which this stupa stands, are also of an early age, being constructed of massive stones and descending many feet below the floor level of the small Gupta shrine 17 hard by. In mediaeval times the upper parts of these walls, starting from

[1] These lower sections have now been covered in again.

the higher level, were rebuilt in smaller and neater masonry.

STCPAS 5, 7, KTO.

The rest of the stupas on the plateau belong to mediaeval times. Most conspicuous among them is No. 5, which was erected probably about the 6th century A.D. Projecting from its south side is a statue plinth of Udayagiri stone, the design and construction of which indicate that it was set up about the 7th century A.D. Whether the statue of the Buddha, which has been set up on this plinth originally belonged here, is not altogether certain.

To about the same period as Stupa 5 are to be referred also Stupa 7 at the south-west corner of the plateau and the group of Stupas 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 which are ranged in two lines near Temple 17. The plinths of all these stupas are square and constructed of rubble and earth faced with neatly dressed masonry and strengthened by footings round the outside. Some of them have a small square relic chamber in the centre; the others are solid throughout. No. 7, which was opened by General Cunningham but proved to contain no relics, is standing to a height of about six feet. On all fotir sides of it are the remains of what appears to have been a later terrace, which increased the dimensions of the base to a square of 29'. Projecting out, again, from this terrace on the northern side and probably contemporary with it, are the remnants of what may be assumed to have been a *chankrama* or promenade, over the western end of which two small circular stupas of the ordinary type were built.

Of Stupa 12, the relic chamber had been almost completely destroyed prior to its excavation, but amid the fallen masonry of its walls was discovered an interesting statue pedestal of the Kushan period executed in Mathura sandstone. The pedestal is unfortunately broken and nearly half of the relief which adorned its face, as well as half of the three lines of inscription engraved upon it, are gone.[1] What is left of the carving consists of a seated figure of the Buddha and, on his left, two female devotees bearing garlands in their right hands; and what is left of the inscription reads:— STtrPA. 12.

TJ. 1 . . [Bodhi] satvasya Maitreyasya pra-
ttm a pratishta[pita].
L/. 2 . . sya kutuhiniye Vishakulasya dhitu
Vashi.
L. 3 . . tana[m] hi[ta] sukh[a]rtha[rn]
bhavatu.

From this it appears that the statue represented the Bodhisattva Maitreya.

In Stupa 14 was brought to light another statue, not lying in the debris, as in the case of the last mentioned stupa, but set up against the western wall of the relic chamber, with a second wall immediately in front of its face to protect it from damage. This statue represents Buddha seated cross-legged in the *dhydnaTnudrd,* the familiar attitude of meditation. Like the pedestal STCPA 14.

[1] For a photograph of this pedestal see *A. S, R.,* 1912-13, Pt. I, PL VIII *(b).*

described above, it, too, is of Mathura sandstone and a product of the Mathura School, but the features of the face, particularly the lips and eyes, the highly conventionalised treatment of the hair and the no less highly stylised disposition of the drapery, proclaim it to be of the early Gupta, not of the Kushan, period. As this statue had already suffered much from wear and tear before it was enshrined in this stupa, it affords additional evidence of the relatively late date of the building, which on otlier grounds is to be assigned to about the seventh century A.D. Probably the statue was taken from one of the many shrines of the early Gupta age which were then falling to decay, and entombed here as an object of special veneration. The burial of older cult statues, whole or fragmentary, in Buddhist stupas is a practice which appears to have been common during the mediaeval age; for I have found instances of it not only at Saiichi, but at Sarnath, Saheth-Maheth and other sites.

Time was when the Great Stupa was surrounded, like all the more famous shrines of Buddhism, by a multitude of stupas of varying sizes crowded together on the face of the plateau. The majority of these appear to have been swept away during* the operations of 1881-83, when the ground around the Great Stupa was cleared for a distance of some 60 ft. from the outer rail. Apart from those described above the only ones that have survived are a few clustered together near Stupa 7, and a few more in front of Temple 31, where a deep

accumulation of debris served to protect them from harm. In this latter group two especially are deserving of mention, namely, those numbered 28 and 29 on my plan and situated to the right and left of the steps by which Temple 31 is approached. Each of these small stupas is provided with the high square base, cornice and footings characteristic of the early Gupta age to which they belong, and each has the same outward appearance. Their interior construction, however, is not identical. The one to the west of the steps is built -throughout of stone; but the one to the east has a core of large-sized bricks, which had no doubt "been taken from some much more ancient structure. In the centre of this core and at a height of three feet from the ground level was a tiny relic chamber, and in it a casket consisting of a small cup of coarse earthenware with a second cup of similar fabric inverted over it as a lid. Inside this rough and ready receptacle was a small bone relic and the remains of a broken vase of fine terracotta with polished surface, such as was manufactured during the Maurya and &unga ages. The presence of this ^arly and fragmentary vase inside a casket which was itself quite intact, coupled with the antiquity of the bricks forming the core of the edifice, leaves little room for doubt that the relic had originally been enshrined in another and older stupa, and that in the early Gupta period, when this stupa liad presumably fallen to decay, it was transferred to the small structure in which the writer found it, together with the fragments of the casket in which

STUFAS 28 AND '

it had previously reposed and some of the bricks belonging to the older edifice. From the size and fabric of these bricks it may be concluded that the older stupa was erected during the Maurya epoch, but where it was situated, there is now no means of ascertaining.

CHAPTER VI

JL'ILYLARS ON THE MAIN TERRACE

ASOKA PILL.AU.

Besides the stupas there are two other classes of monuments on the main terrace, namely, pillars and temples. The number of the former must once have been considerable; for fragments of many shafts and capitals have been found lying in the debris. Most of them, however, are small and insignificant memorials of the Gupta age, those which are deserving of notice being but five in number. The earliest of these, *the* pillar or *lat* of the Emperor Asoka near the South Gateway, is of particular interest, not only for the perfection of its workmanship and the royal edict inscribed upon its shaft, but for the light also which it throws on the age of the Great Stupa adjoining. Many years ago this pillar was broken into several pieces by a local zamindar, who, so it is said, was endeavouring to cut up and utilize its shaft in a sugar-cane press. The stump, however, still remains *in situ,* and the larger sections of the shaft have been laid alongside it, while the crowning lions are in the museum. The pillar, when intact,.

was about 42 feet[1] in height and consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft, with bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and a crowning ornament of four lions, set back to back,[2] the whole finely finished and polished to a remoikable lustre from top to bottom. The abacus is adorned with four ' honey-suckle ' designs separated one from the other by pairs of geese, symbolical perhaps of the Hock of the Buddha's disciples. The lions from the summit, though now sadly disfigured, still afford a noble example of the sculptor's art. Let the visitor mark in particular the spirited vitality of the animals combined with a certain tectonic conventionality, which brings them into harmony with the architectural character of the monument, and let him mark, also, the tense development of the muscles, the swelling veins, the strong set of the claws, and the crisp treatment of the mane disposed in short schematic curls. If these lions are compared with the neighbouring lion-capitals of the South Gateway, their vast superiority will be at once apparent, and the question may well be asked, how this superiority is to be explained, seeing that Indian -sculpture achieved such rapid development during the interval of two hundred years which separated them. The answer is that, while the South Gate-

[1] Drawings of the pillar, approximately correct, are published in Maisey, *Sdflchi and its remains,* PI. XIX, fig. •2, and PI. XXXITI, fig. 4, and Cunningham, *The Bhrisa Topes,* PI. X. A photograph of the crowning lions is reproduced in *A. S. R.,* 1912-13, Pt. I., PI. VIII, *c.*

[2] In this capital the lions did not support a " wheel of «the Law " *(dhcuma-chakra),* as they did at Sarnath.

way is a product of the indigenous Indian school, which had only recently emerged from a primitive state, this pillar of Asoka is the handiwork of a foreign, probably Perso-Greek, sculptor, who had generations of artistic effort behind him. Western influence is, indeed, apparent in every feature of the monument as well as in the edict incised upon it. It has long been known, of course, that the decrees of the Achoemenian monarchs engraved on the rocks of Behistun and elsewhere, furnished the models on which the edicts of Asoka are based. It was in Persia, also, that the bell-shaped capital was evolved. It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghab, at Istakhr, Naksh-i-Ilustam and Persepolis, that the smooth minuted shafts of the Maury an columns were copied. It was from Persia, again, that the craftsmen employed by A£oka learnt to give so lustrous a polish to the stone —a technique of which examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere. Lastly, it is to Persia, or, to be more precise, to that part of it which was once the satrapy of Bactria and was at this time asserting its independence from the empire of the Seleucids, that we must look for the Hellenistic influence which alone at this epoch of the world's history could have been responsible for the modelling of the living forms on this pillar at Sanchf or on the still more magnificent pillar of A^oka at Sarnath.[1] The edict which is engraved on the

[1] When these pillars were erected, little more than two generations had passed since Alexander the Great had

pillar in early Brahmi characters, is unfortunately much damaged, but the commands it contains appear to be the same as those recorded in the Sarnath and Kau&imbi edicts. It relates to the penalties for schism in the church and may be translated as follows:—

". . . path is prescribed both for the monks and for the nuns. As long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign; and) as long as the Moon and the Sun (shall endure), the monk or nun who shall cause divisions in the Sangha, shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart. For what is my desire? That the Sangha may be united and may long endure."[1]

The sandstone out of which the pillar is carved tame from the quarries of Chunar several hundred miles away, and it says not a little for the skill of Anoka's engineers that they were able to transport a block of stone over forty feet in length and weighing almost as many tons over so vast a distance.

planted in Bactria a powerful colony of Greeks, who occupying as they did a tract of country on the very threshold of the Maury a dominions, where the great trade routes from India, Iran and Central Asia converged, and closely in touch as they were with the great centres of civilisation in Western Asia, must have played a dominant part in the transmission of Hellenistic art and culture into India. Every argument indeed, whether based on geographical considerations or on the political and commercial relations which are known to have been maintained between India and Western Asia, or on the happy fusion of Hellenistic and Iranian art visible in these monuments, indicates Bactria as the probable source from which the artist who created them drew his inspiration.

[1] See B. Hultzsch, *J. R. A. 8.,* 1911, pp. 168-69.

No doubt, they availed themselves of water transport, using rafts during the rainy season up the Ganges, Jumna and Betwa rivers, but, even so, the task of shifting so ponderous a mass on to rafts and of hoisting it up the steep hill-side at Sanchl was one of which any engineer might well be proud.

With regard to the evidence which this pillar affords for the age of the great balustrade and stone envelope of the Main Stupa, it is based upon the stratification of the ancient floors laid round about the stupa and the pillar. The pillar itself is founded upon the solid rock at a depth of about twelve feet below the present surface. For the first eight feet its shaft is approximately circular and hammer-dressed, and this portion of it is imbedded in a packing of heavy stones retained in position by massive Avails built on a roughly rectangular plan about its base. Immediately on the top of these walls and packing is a floor of *bajrl* six inches in thickness, which meets the column at the junction of the rough-dressed base with the polished shaft and which coincided with the ground level at the time when the pillar was erected. This original floor is nearly four feet below the broken stone pavement now visible on the surface, and between the two there are three other floors with varying thicknesses of debris between.[1] Now, anyone familiar with the excavation of ancient Indian sites knows well that such an accumulation, nearly four feet in depth, with three floors

[1] See *A. S. B.*, 1913-14, Pt. II, p. 3.

intervening, could hardly have been formed in less than a century; in all probability the process lasted longer, but in any case the laying of the stone pavement cannot be referred to an earlier date than the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; and as this stone pavement is contemporary with the ground balustrade and stone envelope of the Great Stupa, it follows that the latter also must be assigned to the same age.

PILLAR 25. The next pillar in chronological order is that numbered 25 in the plan, which was erected about the same time as the Kham Biibfx pillar at Besnagar, that is, towards the end of the second century B.C., not, as Maisey and others have supposed, during the age of the Guptas. At a height of about six feet from the ground on the south side are a few letters of a mediaeval inscription, and near the base on the south-west side are some defaced characters apparently of the shell type; but both of these records were inscribed on the pillar long after its erection, and they afford therefore no clue as to its date. That it belonged, however, to the period of |§unga rule, is clear alike fiom its design and from the character of the surface dressing. The height of the pillar, including the capital, is 15 ft. 1 in.[1]; its diameter at the base, 1 ft. 4 in. Up to a height of 4 ft. 6 in. the shaft is octagonal; above that, sixteen-sided. In the octagonal portion all the facets are flat, but in the upper section some of the facets are fluted *

[1] Measured from the old ground level.

others flat. This and a very effective method of finishing off the arris at the point of transition between the two sections are features characteristic of the second and first centuries B.C., but are not, so far as is known, found in later work. The west side of the shaft is split off, but the tenon at the top, to which the capital was mortised, is still preserved. The capital is of the usual bell-shaped type, with lotus leaves falling over the shoulder of the bell. Above this is a circular cable necking, ihen a second circular necking relieved by a bead and lozenge pattern, and, finally, a deep square abacus adorned with a railing in relief. The crowning feature, probably a lion, has disappeared.

PILLAR 26.

The third pillar, numbered 20, stands a little to the north of the one just described and belongs to the early Gupta age. Apart from its design, it is distinguished from the other pillars on the site by the unusual quality and colour of its stone, which is harder than that used in the other pillars and of a pale buff hue splashed and streaked with purplish-brown. At Sauchi, this particular variety of stone was used freely in monuments of the Gupta period. This pillar was approximately 22 ft. 6 in. in height and was composed of two pieces only, one comprising the circular shaft and square base, the other the bell-capital, necking, lions and crowning wheel. Unfortunately, the shaft is broken into three sections, which owing to the character of the breakages could not be fitted together again. On the north-west side of the lowest section, which

is still *in situ,* is a short mutilated inscription[1] in Gupta characters recording the gift of a Vajrapani pillar *(i.e.,* No. 35 below), two pillars of a gateway, the mandapa of a monastery and a gateway, by one Rudrasena or Rudrasimha, son of Go6ura-Siinhabala, the superintendent of a monastery. As was usual with pillars of the Gupta age, the square base projected above the ground level, the projection in this case being 1 ft. 2 in., and was set in a small square platform. The lion capital of this pillar is a feeble and clumsy imitation of the one which surmounted the pillar of Asoka, with the addition of a wheel at the summit and with certain other variations of detail. The variations referred to are observable in the cable necking above the bell-capital, which is composed of a series of strands bound together with a riband, and in the reliefs on the circular abacus, which consist of birds and lotuses of unequal sizes disposed in irregular fashion, not with the symmetrical precision of earlier Indian art. Like the grotesque lions on the Southern Gateway, these lions also are provided with five claws on each foot, and in other respects their modelling exhibits little regard for truth and little artistic feeling.

PILLAB 35. It was iii the Gupta age also that the massive pillar near the North Gateway, numbered 35 in the plan, was erected, and there can be little doubt that this is the pillar referred to in the inscription on pillar 26 (pre. page). This pillar haa

[1] Cf. *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum* III, pp. 279-80.

repeatedly been described as the counterpart of and contemporary with the pillar of A3oka near the Southern Gateway; but a very perfunctory examination is sufficient to show that its ascription to the Maurya epoch is wrong. Every feature, indeed, whether structural, stylistic or technical, is typical of Gupta workmanship. Most of the shaft has been destroyed, but the stump still remains *in situ*, and the foundations are intact. The form, too, of the platform around its base is sufficiently clear, and the capital and statue which it is said to have supported, are both relatively well-preserved. What remains of the shaft is 9 ft. in length, 3 ft. 10 in. of which, measured from the top, are circular and smooth, and the remainder, constituting the base, square and rough-dressed. In the Gupta age, it was the common practice to keep the bases of such monolithic columns square, whereas those of the Maurya age were, so far as I am aware, invariably circular. Again, every known column of Maurya date is distinguished by its exquisite dressing and highly polished surface; but in this case the dressing of the stone is characterised by no such lustrous finish. As to the foundations, which consist of heavy stone boulders retained by stout walls, they cannot, in the absence of adequate data from other sites, be used as wholly reliable criteria of age, but it is noteworthy that they are constructed on a more uniform and regular plan than the foundations of the Agoka column near the South Gate. On the other hand, the stone platform which enclosed the base of Pillar

35 is both designed and constructed in the characteristic manner of the Gupta period, and the iron chisels which were discovered wedged beneath the bottom of the shaft and which were used to maintain it in the perpendicular, have yielded on analysis[1] almost identically the same results as other implements of the Gupta epoch.

The bell capital and square abacus ornamented with a balustrade in relief are cut entire from a single block of stone. So, too, is the statue which (1iinningham and Maisey found lying alongside the capital and which is believed to have belonged to the same pillar.[2] This statue, which appears to repn\sent the JJodhisattva Vajrapani standing erect, i\s clad in a *dhoti* and adorned with bracelets, earrings, bejewelled necklace and headdress. The hair falls in curls over the shoulders and back, and beneath it at the back fall the ends of two ribands. An interesting feature of the image is the halo, which is pierced with twelve small holes evenly disposed around its edge. Manifestly the halo, as we now see it, is too small in proportion to the size of the statue, and these

[1] Tins analysis, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Robert Hadfield, F.R.S., is as follows.—

C	Si	S	P	Mn
05	-09	-009	-303	-09

"With this it is interesting to compare the analysis of the Iron pillar ot Chandra at the Qutb, near Delhi, namely —

C	Si	S	P	Mn
•08	'046	-006	-114	*Nil*

[2] *Cf.* Mns. Cat. A99.

holes were no doubt intended for the attachment of the outer rays, which were probably fashioned out of copper gilt, the rest of the statue itself being* possibly painted or gilded. That this statue stood, as Cunningham and Maisey say, on the summit of the pillar, I see no reason to doubt, and that it is a work of the Gupta period, needs no demonstration to any one familiar with the history of Indian sculpture.

PILLAR 34.

The fifth and last pillar to be noticed is No. 34, which used to stand in the recess on the south side of the East Gateway of the Great Stupa. Nothing of this pillar is now left *in situ,* but a drawing of it, as it stood intact in 1851, is reproduced in General Maisey's work, and two pieces of it were found by the writer lying among the debris round the stiipa. One of these comprises the bell capital with its cable necking and a small section of the shaft beneath; and the other the crowning lion and circular abacus on which it stood. These carvings clearly belong to the Gupta school, but compared with other contemporary works their execution is rough and clumsy, and the design of the double capital is singularly bizarre and degenerate.

C1IAPTEK, YU

TEMPLES ON THE MAIN TERRACE

Of the several temples on the main terrace the most important in point of size and interest is the one numbered 18 (PL Vila) on the plan, which is situated on a low terrace directly opposite the South Gateway of the Great Stupa. The plan of this temple, as revealed by recent excavations, turns out to be similar to that of the rock-cut *chaitya*-halls at Karli and elsewhere, with this noteworthy difference, that in this case the apse is enclosed, not by columns, as *in* the cave temples, but by a solid wall, the difference being due to the fact that in a free-standing building light could be admitted to the aisles through windows in the outer wall. How these windows were arranged and what were their dimensions and number, there is now no means of determining, since the outer wall is standing to a height of less than two feet above the interior floor-level; but we shall probably not be far wrong, if we assume that they were spaced at even intervals, to the number of about 8 in each side and 4 in the back wall. The inner and outer walls around the apse are constructed of dry stone masonry similar

to that employed in the mediaeval stupas described above. The older pillars and pilasters of the nave are monoliths, square in section and 17 feet high, slightly tapering towards the top. They are not sunk in the ground, but rest on foundations of stone, which in themselves are not very strong or secure, the architect having relied upon the wooden timbers of the roof to tie the pillars together and thus maintain them in position. This, no doubt, they did, so long as they were intact, but since their collapse three of the pillars at the north-west corner and the pilaster on the western side have-fallen, and the others were found leaning at parlous angles, being saved from falling only by the heavy architraves above them. The curious and interesting design carved on the four faces of these pillars, which has the appearance of having been left in an unfinished state, was a favourite one in the 7th century A.D., and is found in buildings ot the-same age at places as far remote as Ellora in the De khan and Aihole in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency, but is not, so far as I am aware, found in any architecture of a later period. These pillars indicate 650 A.D. as approximately the date when this temple was erected, and this date is confirmed by other considerations, notably by the structural character of the walls, by the subsequent additions which were made to the temple, and by the succession of earlier structures which had stood here before it was erected. Of the later additions referred to, one is the stone filling in the apse, and another the stone jambs of the inner

doorway, of which the eastern one was still standing a few years ago but is now lying prostrate on the ground. This jamb, which is of the same Nagouri stone as the pillars of the interior, is adorned with sculptures in relief, the style of which proclaims it to be a work of the 10th or 11th. century A.D.

Within the apse of the temple there once stood a stiipa, the remains of which were found by General Maisey in 1851, and among the remains a broken steatite vase,[1] which may be assumed to have contained relics. The stupa appears to have stood well back in the apse, and, like the walls of the temple, to have been built on very shallow foundations, since all trace of it has now vanished.

Of the minor antiquities found in this temple the only ones that deserve mention are ai number of terracotta tablets of the 7th or 8th century A.D., which were found in a heap on the floor of the aisle on the eastern side of the apse. They are of varying sizes but of an almost uniform pattern, each being stamped with two separate impressions and roughly adorned around its edge with a scalloped border. In the lower impression, which is the larger of the two and shaped like a *plpal* leaf, is the figure of lUuldha seated on a lotus throne in the earth-touching attitude *(bliumispar&a-mudrfz)* with miniature stupas to the right and left of bis head and the Buddhist creed in characters of the

[1] *Scinchi and its remains,* p. 74.

7th or 8th century A.D. to the right and left of his body. In the upper impression, which is oval or round in shape, the Buddhist creed is repeated

EARLIER STRUCTURES ON THE SAME SITE.

In speaking of the iage of this temple I have alluded to the existence of earlier structures on the same site, lhe remains or these structures consist of a series of floors separated by layers of debris beneath the floor of the apse, of stone foundations beneath the walls at the back of the apse and aisle, and of stout retaining walls around the temple enclosure, which date back to an early period. The earlier floors[1] are three in number and, to judge by the remains in other parts of the site, the uppermost of the three, which is composed of lime concrete, is to be assigned to the fifth or perhaps sixth century A.D., the next to the first or second century B.C., and the lowest to the Maurya or Sunga epoch. Like the original *bajrt* floor around the pillar of Asoka, the lowest floor is laid on a foundation of stone boulders extending down to the natural rock, but, inasmuch as it was intended for the interior of a covered building, it was composed, not of coarse *bajri*, but of lime plaster over a layer of pounded clay. To the same age as this early floor belong also the early retaining walls on the east, south and west of the temple compound and along the edge of the main plateau to the west of it. On this side of the plateau the natural rock shelves rapidly away towards the south, and, in order to provide a level terrace for their structures, the

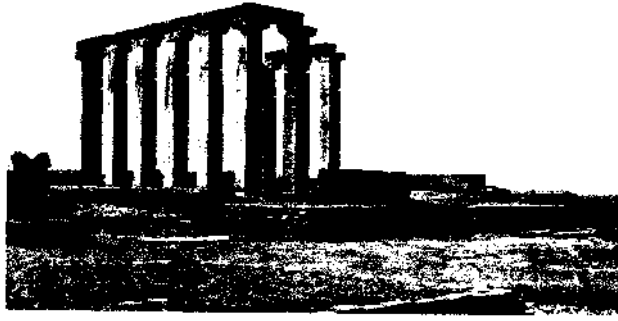
[1] The excavation which revealed these floors has now been filled in again

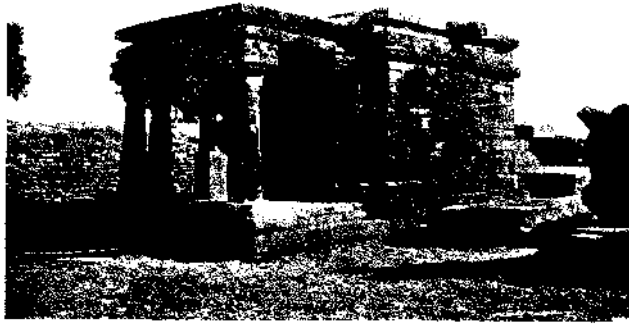
architects had to erect massive retaining walls and then level up the enclosed space with a filling of heavy stone boulders and earth. These retaining walls are constructed of hammer-dressed blocks similar to those used at a later period for the enlargement of the Great Stupa, and are between 2 feet and 3 feet in thickness by 12 or 13 feet in height. Seemingly, the retaining wall on the south side of the temple must have proved inadequate to meet the strain imposed on it; for a second wall was subsequently constructed on the outside of it and the space between the two filled in with stone boulders. This second wall, which appears to have been built very soon after the first and is also founded on the natural rock, has a thickness of over 4 ft. at the base, with several footings on its outer side. Whether it was as high as the first wall, cannot be determined, as the upper part of it has fallen.

TBRRJLOOTTA ROOF HLBS, ETC.

In the angle formed by the retaining wall on the WEST SIDE OF THE temple and the wall at right angles to it along the south face of the plateau a deep accumulation of debris had formed, much of which must have fallen from the temple terrace above. Near the bottom of this debris were found large number of terracotta roof tiles and, along with them, a broken stone bowl of fine early workmanship.[1] The tiles probably came from the roof of

[1] *Cf.* Mus. Catalogue, A 10 and PI. VI. The bowl, which is a standard one of polished Chunar stone, appears to have been intended for the distribution of food offered to **the** Sangharama.





b. TEMPLE 17.

{he earty building, the superstructure of which, on the analogy of other edifices of that age, may be assumed to have been mainly of wood.

The heavy block of stone nearly four feet square and hollow in the centre, which is now lying on the surface in front of the apse, was found resting on the early stone foundations beneath the forepart ot the apse, where it had probably been left last century by one of the earlier explorers; but however this may be, there can be little doubt that it was made in mediaeval times as a base collar for the support of one of the pillars of Temple 18.

Lu my remarks in Chapter II on the evolution of Indian art[1] I noticed that the keynote of Gupta art is its intellectualism, and that in this respect it is reminiscent of the classic art of Greece. This intellectual quality is well illustrated in tlie little shrine of the early fifth century A.D., which stands <a few paces to the east of the temple just described. A very unpretentious building, it consists of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed chambei with a pillared porch in front, but despite its modest size and despite, too, the absence of that refinement and clear definition which are the distinguishing features of Athenian architecture, the classical character of its construction, of its well-balanced proportions and its appropriate ornamentation are undeniable (PI. VII&). Compare it for a moment with the stupa gateways of the Andhra period, and mark how the irrational and almost fantastic TJSMFIJB 17.

[1] *Cf.* p. 20 supra.

wooden forms of the latter have now given place to rational lithic ones; how each member of the architecture, whether plinth or column, capital or cornice, now performs a clear and logical function, well-suited to the need of the material; and how relatively restrained and simple decoration has become. On the other hand, compare it with a Greek structure, such as the temple of ' Wingless Victory ' on the Akropolis at Athens, and consider the idatively close kinship between the two. The similarity between them, indeed, is such as to suggest the question, whether this and other structin eh of the same age were Dot copied from western prototypes. The answer to be returned to this question is a negative cue. In the Gupta epoch Indian art was undoubtedly indebted to the Western World, and particularly to Western Asia, for some *oi* its motifs and conceptions, but it is not to any mere superficial imitation that the ' classical ' character of this and other contemporary buildings is due. The cause lies deeper, and it is to be sought in the fact, as I have already pointed out, that during the Gupta age the mentality and genius of the people underwent much the siame broad and rapid development as the genius of Greece had done in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ; and it is in no way remarkable, therefore, that her art like her thought found expression in the same intellectuality, in the same purposefulness, and in the same logical beauty as the art of Greece. This little shrine, in fact, reflects in its every stone the temperament of the people and of the epoch which

produced it, an epoch which was primarily creative and not imitative; and if we take the trouble to compare it with the creations of the Andhra period, we shall find in it an eloquent index to the change which had come over Indian culture during' the first four centuiies of the Christian era.

SHRINE 9. On the opposite side of the entrance of Temple 18 stood another shrine of about the same age but of slightly larger dimensions than the one last described. All that is left of it *in situ* consists of the rough core of the plinth, from which even the face stones have been stripped; but lying in the debris above the plinth were two large and two small stone pilasters, besides various other architectural members, the style of which indicates that *ihe* structure belongs to the Gupta age, though it is probably somewhat later than Temple 17. Both larger and smaller pilasters are adorned with fluted vase capitals, cable necking and shafts that pass from the square to the octagon and sixteen-sided above.

TEMPLE 31. A fourth temple in this area (No. -U) is situated at the north-east corner, immediately behind Stupa 5. It consists of a plain pillared chamber with flat roof, standing on a broad plinth, and contains an image of the Buddha seated on a lotus throne opposite the entrance. The plinth was constructed for an earlier temple[1] which stood on the same site, and to this earlier temple also belonged the pedestal beneath the lotus throne of the cult statue, which is still in its original position at a slightly lower level than the floor of the present

temple. This earlier shrine must have been built in the 6th or Tth century A.D., and it is not improbable, therefore, that two of the pilasters now standing in the later building, which are similar in design to the pillars of Temple 18, had originally belonged to it. On the other hand, two of the other pillars are of the early Gupta age, and must have been taken from some other structure—possibly from one of those of which the plinths have been exposed beneath the long retaining wall on the east of this plateau. The cult statue inside this shrine is of reddish-brown sandstone and represents the Buddha seated on a lotus. The hands and forearms, unfortunately, are missing, but to judge from the two marks of breakage on his breast, which indicate that both hands were raised, he must have been portrayed in the attitude of teaching *(dhar ma-chakra-rnvdrd).* Although referable to the same epoch as the pedestal on which it stands, *i.e.,* 6th-7th century A.D., it does not fit the latter, and we must, therefore, presume that, like some of the columns, it also was brought here from another shrine.

Nial STATUE. A monument of interest which came to light during the excavations of the temple platform was a *naijl* statue, 7 ft. 6 in. in height (including tho tenon at the base), which used to stand in the angle formed by the approaching flight of steps and the face of the platform on its west. This statue was executed in the 4th or 5th century A.D., and must once have stood free on a spot where it could be seen from all sides. Beneath its base is a tenon

which was, no doubt, originally morticed into a stone plinth, but in late mediae vol days, when it was set up in its present position, the plinth was discarded and the base of the statue imbedded in dry stone masonry. Subsequently the image was broken in two at a point a little above the ankles. The lower part was found still *in situ;* the upper lying a little distance away. From the indications afforded by the masonry it appears likely that there was a second *ndga* or *ndgl* statue in the corresponding position to the east of the steps.

RETAINING WALL BETWEEN AND EASTERN AREAS.

Before leaving the main plateau it remains to say a few words about the retaining wall along its eastern side and the remnants of the several structures visible beneath its foundations. When speaking of the open paved area around the Great Stupa, we remarked that it had once extended on the same level for a considerable distance east of this retaining wall. That was in the first century B.C., and it is probable that for the next three hundred years or even longer the pavement was kept clear of debris. Then, as the buildings in this part of the site began to fall to decay, their ruins gradually encroached more and more upon the paved area, other buildings rose over their remains, and so the process of accumulation went on until, by the seventh century, an artificial terrace had been formed *fiYe or* more feet in height and extending almost to the limits of the retaining wall. It is to this period that the structures 19, 21 and 23, as well as the road (No. 20) to the north of the first mentioned probably belonged. The road in

BUILDINGS 19, 21 AND 23, AND ROAD

question, which to judge by the worn condition of its cobblestones must long have been in use, is 9 feet wide and rises eastward by a gradient of about 1 in 6. Of building 23 only the entrance, with a [4] moon-stone ' threshold, has been exposed, and the walls of buildings 19, which are standing to a height of between one and two feet only, are composed of the ordinary rough dry stone masonry. Building 21, on the other hand, is constructed of massive blocks of Nagouii stone with a torus moulding at its base, from which it may be judged to belong to the (iupta age. The letaining wall over the ruins of these edifices, erected when the terrace to the east had risen as high as fourteen feet, can hardly be earlier than the 11th century A.D. Probably it was contemporary with the later Temple 45. At the time it was built, there must have been some accumulation of debris also on its western side; for its foundations did not descend more than nine feet from the top of the terrace. In repairing this wall it was found possible to underpin and bank up that section of it which is north of the modern flight of steps leading to the upper plateau. The rest had to be dismantled and rebuilt completely, the foundations being carried another seven feet lower down.

CHAPTER VIII

SOUTHERN AREA

TEMPLE 40.

Of the remains in the southern group the most important is the great temple numbered 40 in the plan, which, like all the other structures in this part of the site, was until recently completely buried from view. In its original form this temple was an apsidal hall, and is the earliest structure of this type of which any remains have been preserved to us. What is left of the original building consists of a lectangular stone plinth approached by a flight of steps on its eastern and western sides. In the outward aspect of this plinth there was nothing to indicate that the superstructure had taken an apsidal form, but when the core of the apparently solid masonry was examined, it was found to be composed in reality of two distinct walls with a filling of debris between, while the interior face of the outer wall proved to be curved at the southern end in the form of an apse, the inner wall corresponding to it in shape *(see* plan PI. X). The masonry of these interior walls was strikingly rough, and it was clear that they were intended to do duty only as foundations; but the plan of the foundations left no doubt that the super-

fctructure had been apsidal in plan resembling in this respect the great *chaitya-halla* at Taxila, Ter, Chezarla and among the Cave Temples of Western India, though with this noticeable difference that, whereas the latter are provided with one or more entrances directly opposite the apse, this structural hall at Saiichi had an entrance in each of its two longer sides—a feature which recalls to mind the Sudania and other Maurya cave shrines in the Bariibar Hills. That the superstructure was mainly oi wood and was burnt down at a relatively early age, is evident from the fact that no vestige of it hud survived except some charred remains of timber, which were found on the original pounded clay floor of the building. Of the approximate date at which tiiis conflagration took place, some indication is afforded by the stone pillars which were subsequently set up on the same plinth. These pillars are ranged in five rows of ten each without reference, apparently, to the foundations of the original structure, and it is a reasonable inference, therefore, that by the time they were erected, the plan of the original had been forgotten. Seeing, however, that the pillars in question bear records carved upon them in the Brahmi script of the $unga period, it may reasonably be concluded that the original structure was erected in the preceding Maurya period and probably burnt down when Asoka's stiipa was destroyed by Pushyamitra; and that its reconstruction dates[1] from the same time as the reconstruction of that stupa, *i.e.,* after the death of Pushyamitra (Circ. 148 B.C.).

At the time when the reconstruction took place, the original plinth was much enlarged by erecting a thick retaining wall on all four sides of, but at some distance from, it, and filling in the space between with heavy boulders and worked stones, probably from the earlier building, among which was the broken image of an elephant in the round, of superior workmanship.[1] The effect of these measures was to increase the length of the plinth to 137 feet and its width to about 91 feet. At the same time the height of the floor was raised by about 1 ft. 4 in., and a new pavement was laid of large slabs measuring from 6 to 8 ft. in length by 3 ft. 6 in. in width. On three sides of the enlarged plinth—that is, on the north, south and west—are projections of varying dimensions, and it may be surmised that there was a similar projection also on the eastern side, which has not been excavated. All of these projections appear to be contemporary with the retaining wall.

By this enlargement of the older plinth the two stairways that led up to it on its eastern and western sides were buried from view, and their place was taken by two new flights constructed in the thickness of the northern retaining wall, which was more than doubled for the purpose. Similar stairways have also been found in the end wall of the temple at Sonari, which is to be ascribed to about the same age as this reconstruction.

[1] Mus. Oat. A 11

We have said that the octagonal stone columns of this hall were disposed in five rows of ten each, and this is the disposition shown in the plan. So far as these fitty columns are concerned, their arrangement is not open to question, since most of the broken shafts of the columns were found *in situ.* On the other hand, it seems probable that the number of columns in the hall was considerably over fifty, the extra ones having formed one or more rows at the sides or ends of the existing group. Indeed, at first sight, it appeared as if this must have been the case; for in the debris round about the building were found a number of other broken pillaYs of a precisely similar pattern to those *in situ,* which might reasonably be assumed to have stood on the enlarged plinth and to have been thrown down, when the upper part of the later retaining wall collapsed and brought down with it some six or more feet of the boulder filling behind. This assumption, however, is not free from objection, for the reason that every shaft without exception is broken, and that most of the pieces are only three or four feet in length; so that those which were found lying in the debris may in reality have been the upper sections of the pillars still *in situ,* and what appear to be their rough bases may actually have been nothing more than the unfinished tops of the shafts. I mention this alter* native hypothesis, not because I regard it as convincing or even probable, but because the evidence is not such as to demonstrate conclusively that there **were** more **than fifty columns; and in default of**

such conclusiveness I have thought it better to indicate on my plan only those pillars which were actually found *in situ.*

Besides the large octagonal pillars there were also found a number of smaller ones of about the same age, square below and octagonal above, with donative inscriptions in early Brahnil engraved on some of **the shafts.** Some of these pillars were ranged in **a** row alongside the eastern edge of the old plinth, but this position could not have been the one which they originally occupied; for the dressed faces of their shafts proved, on excavation, to extend some distance below the level of the earliest clay floor, and, what is still more significant, broken pieces of the larger octagonal pillars were found built into their foundations, thus demonstrating that they had not been set up here until after the taller columns had fallen. What their original position had been, can only be surmised. Possibly they were intended to support an open verandah around the main body of the hall, or possibly they had been employed in a subsidiary structure on the south side. Wherever they may have stood, it is clear from their rough bases that it was on the ground floor and not in an upper storey.

Whether this pillared hall was ever brought to completion or not, is questionable. To judge by the distance (about seven feet) between the octagonal pillars, it seems probable that architraves of stone rather than of wood were intended; but there was not a trace either of architraves or

of capitals or of any other architectural feature except the columns. If, therefore, the building was ever completed, the whole superstructure with the exception of the pillars must have been of timber, as it was in many of the early edifices of Ceylon. At a later date, that is, about the 7th or 8th century A.D., a shrine with a portico and entrance facing the west was constructed on the eastern side of the plinth, and it was probably at this time that the smaller square columns were set up in the position described above. The three steps which gave access to the portico of this shrine are placed directly over the eastern aisle of the original apsidal hall, the bases of the stone pillars in front of them having been cut off short at the floor level, so as not! to interfere with the entrance. The portico itself lias an inner measurement of 24 feet from north to south by about 9 feet east to west. Behind it were a few remnants of the walls of the shrine.

BviLDixa 8. Another early building in this area is that numbered 8 on the plan. It consists of a solid square plinth standing on its north side about 12 feet above the bed-rock. In front of it, in the middle of the east side, is a projecting ramp with a few steps at its base, the remaining steps together with a portion of their substructure having been destroyed. This lofty plinth was constructed of masonry similar to that of the early apsidal hall described above. But in this case the whole core of the plinth is filled in solid with rough boulders, and there are no interior foundation walls. In the centre of the core of this plinth General Cunning-

ham sank a deep pit and, finding only a filling of rough boulders, assumed, without discovering **the** plan of the building, that it was another early stupa. In the period to which this building belongs stupas were never built with square bases, and there is no reason to suppose that this was an exception to the rule. Probably, it was a square shrine with a stone plinth *(caya)* and timber superstructure, such as is figured in several of the reliefs on the gateways. In the angle formed by the south side of the stairway ramp and the east side of the plinth, a rectangular space was enclosed in later times by a wall. This enclosure wall appears to date from the mediaeval period.

MONASTERIES 36, 37 AND 38.

The remaining buildings that have been exposed in the southern area consist of the three monasteries 36, 87 and 38. All three are built approximately on the same plan—a plan which has already become familiar to us on many other sites in India. They consist, that is to say, of a square court surrounded by cells on the four sides *(chatuh-iala),* with a verandah supported on pillars around the court, a raised platform in the centre of it, and in some cases an additional chamber outside. The entrance passed through the middle chamber in one of the sides, and was flanked without by projecting turrets. The upper storey was probably constructed largely of timber, the lower storey being of dry stone masonry. All three monasteries belong to the Mediaeval Epoch, No. 36, which is nearer to the centre of the site, being the earliest of the three, No. 38, coming next, **and** No. 37 last.

MONASTERY 36. *In* Monastery 30', the masonry is rough and carelessly laid. The square platform in the centre of the courtyard is covered with a layer of brick and lime concrete about 3 in. thick. Round the outer edge of this platform was a low wall on which stood the columns of the verandah. The staircase which gave access to the upper floor was in the north-west corner, but only one step, worn by the passage of many feet, has been preserved. Water from the court was discharged through an underground drain covered with stone flags, which passed beneath the passage at the south-west corner. The entrance to this monastery is on its eastern side, and in front of it was an irregularly shaped compound, most of the walls of which are still tiaceable.

MONASTERY 37. The plan of Monastery 37 is more spacious and developed than that of 36, and the masonry is neater and better laid than in the latter. It is probably assignable to about the seventh century A.D. Like the square stupas of the same age, its walls are provided with footings on the outside. Built into the corners of the platform inside the courtyard are four square stone blocks, which served to strengthen the masonry and support the pillars of the verandah. The chambers at the back of the cells on the south and west sides are unusual, and the specific use to which they were put is not clear.

MONASTERY 38. Monastery 38 is not much later than Monastery 30, and, like it, is built of rough and uneven masonry. Apparently, there was an earlier building on this site, of which some of the stone founda-

tions still survive; and in the central chamber on the north side there is also a brick wall which was subsequently added, the bricks of which it was constructed having been taken from some older building". Instead of the utmal raised platform *in* the middle of the courtyard there was, in this monastery, a square depression, like that in a Roman atrium, with a raised verandah round it. The stairway leading to the upper storey is in the southwest corner. The ground about this building has not been excavated, but it may be assumed that, like Monasteries 36 and 37, it also had a compound, which probably occupied the ground on its western side, since the entrance of the monastery is in that quarter.

BUILDING 42. Building No. 42 which is situated north of Temple 40, is standing to a height of about 6 feet, and, so far as it has been excavated, appears to be a shrine somewhat similar perhaps, to No. 44.

CHAPTER IX.

EASTERN AREA.

TEMPLE AND MONASTERY 45.

We come, now, to the higher plateau on the east, tQe sulnm^0f which is crowned by the Temple and Monasteiy No. 45. This temple dates from the 10th or 11th century of our era, and it is therefore one of the latest buildings on the site. Two or three centuries before this, however, another shrine had been erected on the same spot with an open quadrangle in front, containing several stiipas and surrounded by ranges of cells for the monks. These earlier remains are*:at a lower level than the later and readily distinguishable from them. To the later period belong the shrine on the east side of the quadrangle, together with the platform in front of it, and the cells and verandahs flanking it on the north and south; to the earlier belong the ranges of cells on the north, south and west sides of the quadrangle, the plinths of the three detached stiipas in the courtyard, and the low stone kerb which served to demarcate the edge of the verandah in front of the cells.

THB BABLIBB TBMPLB AND MONASTERY.

The cells of the earlier monastery are built of tone maeonrv of the small neat varietv in vogue

at the period, the foundations being carried down as much as nine feet to the bed-rock. Access to the corner cells was provided not, as was often the case, through the cell adjoining, but by an open passage between the two cells, while another open passage also led from the entrance into the quadrangle. The verandah in front of the cells was a little over eight feet broad, raised about eight inches above the rest of the court and separated from it by a stone kerb. This kerb is divided at regular intervals by square blocks which served as bases for the pillars of the verandah. A specimen of the latter has been re-erected in its original position at the south-east corner of the quadrangle. It is 6 ft. 9 in. in height, with its corners partly chamfered to the form of an octagon—the squared faces being intended for ornamental carving. The stone pavement of this earlier court consists of heavy stone slabs of irregular shapes and varying sizes. Of the three small stupas which stood on it, two had apparently perished down to their plinths before the later building was started; the third looks as if it had been intentionally dismantled in part, in order to make way for the pavement of the later temple. It is of the familiar cruciform type, with niches in the face of each of the four projections, in which no doubt statues were aforetime placed. The remains of the early temple itself, as well as of the cells adjoining it on the eastern side of the court, are completely buried beneath the later structures, but parts of the platform in front of the former have been exposed by dismantling the debris

foundation beneath the corresponding platform of the later edifice. Apparently this earlier platform, though slightly smaller than the later one, was designed on much the same lines[1], and it may safely be inferred also that the plan of the sanctum itself was generally similar.

Like so many other buildings on the site, this earlier temple appears to have been burnt down and left for a long space of time in a ruined condition. This is evident from the quantities of charred remains that were found on the floor of the courtyard and the accumulation of earth that had formed above them. It might have been expected that, when the Buddhists set about rebuilding it, their first step would have been to clear away all this debris and utilise as far as posssible the old materials; bul, whether from religious or other motives, they preferred to level up the remains, lay a new pavement about 2 ft. 6 in. above the old one, and completely rebuild the shrine and cells adjoining it on the east side of the court. At the same time they lepaired and renovated the cells on the other three sides of the quadrangle, raised their walls and roofs between five and six feet, and constructed a verandah of the same altitude in front of them, which was thus elevated about 3 feet above the new courtyard.

T M I,ATIBR TBMPEA

The later temple consists of a square sanctum *(yarhha-yriha)* approached through a small ante-

[1] The base of the earlier plinth is adorned with a simple *cyma re versa* moulding relieved with the " lotus and dart " pattern.

chamber and crowned by a hollow spire *(Hkhara),* the upper part of which has fallen. The temple stands at the back of a raised terrace ascended by steps from, the west, and round three side of it runs a procession path *(pradakshind)* enclosed by a high wall. Like most of the temples of this date, it is constructed of massive blocks well dressed on their outer faces, but otherwise very rough and loosely fitting together. Much of the material of which it is composed was taken, no doubt, from the earlier edifice on the same spot as well as from other structures, but the majority of the decorative carvings are in the later mediaeval style and were manifestly executed expressly for this temple. Such are the sculptured threshold door-jambs, the ceiling of the sanctum, the statues in the niches in the outside walls, and the ornamental work on the spire and round the face of the terrace. To an earlier age, on the other hand, belong the corner pilasters in the sanctum and ante-chamber. The upper half of the former is richly decorated on both faces with the pot and foliage design set over a *kiitthmikha* head and surmounted by a band of floral ornament, with a border of palmettes above. The capitals are moulded and fluted and provided with a narrow necking adorned with a conventional garland pattern. Above them are Hindu corbel brackets of a simple type. The style of the carving on the pilasters, which is strikingly like some of the earlier carvings at the temple of Baro in Gwalior State, proclaims them to be the work of the 8th or possibly 9th century A.D., and it is evident there-

fore that they were not originally designed for this temple. This conclusion is also borne out by the rough drafts at their inner edges, which prove that in their original position they must have been partly engaged in wall masonry. The ceiling of the sanctum is constructed on the usual principle of diminishing squares, and is carried on architraves resting on the Hindu brackets above the pilasters, and further supported by corresponding brackets in the middle of each wall. Of these brackets it is noticeable that the one in the back wall has been left in an unfinished state, and it is also noticeable that the architrave above it has been partly cut away for a space of about two feet, apparently to make room for some object in front of it. That this object was the halo of a cult image of the Buddha may reasonably be inferred, though whether it was the image which is now in the shrine and which may once have been elevated on a higher plinth, or whether it was a taller image, for which the present one was afterwards substituted, is open to question. Clearly the existing image does not fit and was not designed for the plinth on which it rests; nor could it have been intended that the wall behind and the decorative pilasters should be half hidden by the masonry which it was found necessary to insert for the support of this statue. This image represents the Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude *(h?iumispar&a-mudra)* on a lotus throne, with a second lion throne beneath, which, however, may not have belonged to the original statue. Across the lower row of lotus leaves is inscribed the Bud-

dhist creed in letters of about the 10th century A.D. On a projection in the centre of the lion throne are two much mutilated figures, one lying prostrate on its back the other standing apparently in an attitude of victory over it. Similar figures are found in front of the throne of a Buddha statue in Cave XI at Ellora, which dates from the 7th century A.D., and are probably symbolical of the victory which Buddha won beneath the Bodhi tree over the armies of Mara.

Unlike the pilasters of the sanctum, the two pilasters between the ante-chamber and the sanctum are roughly decorated with unfinished designs, one of which (on the north side) was cut through when the pilaster was adapted to its present position, and accordingly it may be inferred that the building from which they were taken had never been finished. The sculptures on the entrance doorway are strikingly rich and elaborate. Projecting from the middle of the threshold is a branching lotus with birds seated on the flowers, and on each side of it a half *kirttimukha* head ; then come little figures holding vases, conventional lions, and, in each corner, a seated corpulent figure of Kuvera. Much of the left jamb, as well as the lintel above, has fallen, but the right jamb is almost intact. On the outer band is a stylised female standing beneath a tree, with a flowing arabesque above. Framed within this border are four vertical bands with a group of four figures at their base. Of these, the principal one is Yamuna (the river Jumna) with her vehicle, the tortoise, at her feet. Behind

her, is a female attendant holding a parasol above her head, and between these two is a smaller figure, perhaps of a child, while a still smaller figure sits in the corner of the slab near Yamuna's right foot. Above Yamuna's head is the bust of a Naga, and above her attendant's head a lotus supporting a tiny figure of the Buddha in the *bhumisimrsa-mudrd.* Of the vertical bands above, the innermost is covered with a scroll device ; the next, which is supported by a demon dwarf *(kichaka* or *kumbhdnda),* with leogryphs and riders standing on elephants; the third, also supported by a dwarf, is divided into three panels, each containing a male and two female figures in erotic attitudes; the foiuth is in the form of an ornamental pilaster. The decoration of the left jamb, so far as it is preserved, is an exact counterpart of the right one, with the single difference that Ganga (the river Ganges), with her vehicle the crocodile, is substituted for Yamuna.

The plainness of the exterior walls is relieved only by three niches, sunk in the "middle of their southern, eastern and northern faces. In the southern one of these niches is the image of a God, perhaps *Mayvr*avidydrdja,* seated on a lotus throne holding a lotus stalk in his left hand, with his *vdhana,* the peacock, beneath and a female attendant to either side. In the eastern niche is an image of Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation *(dJiydna-mudrd)* on a lotus throne supported by two lions and accompanied on either side by an attendant, who holds a lotus stalk in the left and a fly-

whisk in the right hand. The other niche on the north is empty. Carved on some of the stone blocks of the temple walls are several names (perhaps of the masons who cut them), some of which are now upside down, thus proving that the writing, which is in characters of about the 10th century, was engraved on them before the building was constructed.

The spire *(Hkhara),* with which this temple was rooted, was of the usual curvilinear type which distinguishes the Hindu temple architecture of the northern style. Its summit was crowned with a massive *dnmlaka* and *LaLasa* of the usual form, many dismembered fragments of which were lying immediately to the north-west of the temple; and from the multitude of other members discovered in the debris it is clear that the exterior was relieved on its four faces by repetitions of the same *dmalaka* motif alternating with stylised *cliaitya* designs, but out of the contused mass of fragments it is now impossible to restore the original elevation with any degree of certainty. All of the spire that is still actually standing is a hollow chamber immediately above the roof of the sanctum, and the vestiges of a small porch in front of it, which extended partly over the roof of the ante-chamber.

In the outer wall which surrounds the procession path are two windows of pleasing proportion, provided with heavy pierced stone screens decorated with rosettes and floral medallions and enclosed in a frame of conventional lotus leaves.

The raised platform in front of the temple was paved with architectural members taken from several earlier structures, among which were a number of broken pillars and cross rails belonging to Stupa 3. The vertical faces of the platform are adorned with niches and further relieved by salients and recesses, as well as by deep horizontal mouldings, which produce au effect of light and shade almost as indeterminate as it is in Chalukyan architecture. In the niches are one or more figures—sometimes erotic—rin the stiff conventional style of the period. Equally conventional are the decorative devices, simulating roofs, over the niches, and the lotus and other flora 1 designs on the horizontal mouldings.

To the north and south of the temple are two wings, each containing three cells, with verandahs in front. The door-jambs of the two cells nearest the temple are enriched with carvings closely resembling those on the doorway of the temple itself, and, like the jambs of the latter, are spanned by lintela of a later and totally different style, the fact being that the building both of the temple and of the wings must have been suddenly interrupted—for what reason is not known—and not resumed again until many years afterwards.

Tn constructing the verandah of these winga some of the pillars belonging to the earlier monastery described above were employed, and it is interesting to observe that the carvings on one of these pillars had also been left unfinished and subsequently cut away at the top in order to adapt the

pillar to its new position. These carvings consist of a pot and foliage base and capital and three *kirttimukha* heads on the square band between. They are in the same style as those on the pilasters in the corners of the sanctum.

From the open ground to the north of Temple 45, there is a fine prospect over the plains bordering the Bes and Betwa rivers. Between five and six miles away, following the line of the railway, is the bold and isolated rock of Bhilsa—the Lohangi, as it is called—the citadel of Bhailasvamin from the Gupta period onwards (see p. 25 above). Then, about two miles to the north west of Bhilsa is the hill of TTdayagiri, in the sandstone cliffs of which are hewn many Brahmanical shrines with sculptures and inscriptions dating from the early mediaeval epoch. Between these two eminences is a wide stretch of land covered by the remains of the ancient city of Vidisa. It is in the midst of this buried city, in the hamlet of Besnagar, that the column of Heliodorus (see p. 11, footnote) stands; and here also have been found numerous other interesting relics of antiquity, many of which are kept in a shed on the site. PROSPECT OVER PLAINS TO THE

South of the temple described above is the structure numbered 44, which was erected probably about the same time as Temple 45, and which appears from the disposition of its foundations to have been of a somewhat unusual type. It consisted of an ante-chamber stretching across the whole width of the building and of a rectangular hall behind it BUILDING. 44*

containing the remnants of a pavement, with what appears to have been a stupa in its centre. On either side of the hall were foundations which seemed to indicate that a row of small chambers had been built above them; but the chambeis were manifestly too small for the habitations of monks, and, assuming[1] that the foundations correctly represent the plan of the superstructure, it must be inferred that the cells were intended for the reception of images, as in some of the Gandhara chapels, and in many temples of the Jains. The building stands on :i stone plinth, four feet high, ascended by a flight of steps in the middle of its western side. Its walls are constructed of rough rubble faced on both sides with small ashlar of local purplish stone and provided on the outside with footings which start immediately above the plinth referred to. In the rectangular hall stand three images of local purplish-brown stone, two of the Buddha in the <*lhyiiiui-mvdra,* the third of Maitreya *(?)* seated in European fashion.

MONASTERY 46 AND 47,

On to the northern and western sides of the court in front of Temple 45 abuts the Monastery 4G-47. This monastery was not erected until after Temple 45 had been rebuilt, and it can hardly be assigned to an earlier date than the 11th century A.D. As will be seen from the plan, it comprises two courts, numbered respectively 4fi and 47, the larger of which, including the verandahs and chambers ranged around three of its sides, measures 103 feet from north to south

by 78 feet from east to west. On the south side of this court was a pillared verandah with a small cell and a long narrow chamber at the back; on the west is a closed colonnade; and on the north is a pillared verandah with a shrine, containing a small ante-chamber and sanctum at its western end, and behind it a corridor and five cells. The main entrance to this court is at the northern end of the western colonnade, and a second doorway leads by two steps from the eastern end of the northern verandah into the smaller court 46, which is on a somewhat higher level, and, like the larger court, provided with chambers on three sides. This monastery is still in a relatively good state of preservation, portions of the roof as well as many of the pillars being still preserved *in situ.* For the most part, the walls are built of neat regular masonry, but the construction of the verandah and chambers on the southern side, as well as of some of the interior walls of the smaller court, is somewhat inferior, and it seems likely that these were later additions. Probably both pillars and walls were intended to be covered with plaster, but no trace of the plaster has survived, and it is unlikely therefore that the intention was ever carried into effect.

The quadrangles of both larger and smaller courts were paved with massive stone slabs between 4 and 8 in. thick and considerably heavier, therefore, than those employed in and around the earliest stupas and in Temple 40. Beneath the pavement in the larger court were found numerous

architectural members of an earlier age, including a column, in the Gupta style. Still lower down—at a depth, that is to say, of about 3 ft. below the pavement—was brought to light a stone floor of an earlier building; then a second *kachchd* floor 9 in. lower; and, again, a third floor of concrete *2* ft. 3 in. below the second. These floors belonged to earlier monasteries erected on the same site, but, inasmuch as the lowest of them was not mora ancient than the Gupta period, it was not deemed worth while to continue the excavation.

Nos. 49, 50 AND 32. The long boundary wall at the back of the structures 49 and 50, which abuts on to the north-west corner of the Monastery 47, appears to be ohK r i han tho latter, since the western wall of the monastery is built on to it. It stands about 7 feet high and is built of somewhat loose masonry. Near its southern end was subsequently erected a small building of which only the raised plinth (No. 49) survives. Another building also subsequently erected is that numbered 50 on the plan, the construction of which necessitated the demolition of part of the boundary wall. All that now remains of this building consists of some stone pavements, walls and column bases, but these are sufficient to show that it was a monastery, and moreover, that it dates from approximately the same age as Monastery 47. Included within its precincts and situated apparently in the middle of one of its courts is the small Shrine 32. This structure, which dates from the late mediaeval period, is standing *to* a height of about eight feet above the ground level

and consists of three small cells, with an ante-chamber in front and an underground cellar beneath the central room. It is entered by a doorway in the eastern side of the ante-chamber and there is another doorway opposite, leading into the central chamber, but the side cells, curiously enough, are provided only with windows through which anyone wishing to enter would have to crawl.

One of the last of the monuments to be erected Bux&Diirci 4& on the site of Sanchi was the massive structure 43, which stands partly on the high ground of the eastern plateau, partly on the lower ground to the south of it. In plan, this structure bears a striking resemblance to the famous stupa of Kanishka at Peshawar, being cruciform in shape with a round bastion at each of its four corners; but, in the absence of any remains of a superstructure, it must remain doubtful whether it ever served as the base of a $tupa. As it stands, it is nothing more than an elevated court surrounded by low parapet walls, with traces here and there of a few interior walls, which appear to have been much later additions and have accordingly been omitted from the plan. The surrounding walls of this court as well as of the bastions are constructed of massive blocks of stone of varying sizes, among which are several that have been taken from dismantled buildings of the 10th or 11th century A.D., but as these particular blocks were built only into the top of the wall, it is possible that they belonged to a relatively late repair.

Excavations carried out almost in the centre of this building revealed some cells with a courtyard on their northern side. These earlier remains belong to a monastery which was erected on this site probably in the 7th or 8th century A.D. The floor level of this monastery is twelve feet below the present level of the court, and its walls, which are built of ordinary dry stone masonry, are standing to a height of between 6 and 7 feet; so that their tops come within five or six feet of the present urn face.

CHAPTER X

STUrA 2 AND OTHER REMAINS

We have now completed our examination of the monuments on the hill-top and shall descend to the ledge of rock some 350 yards down the western slope of the hill, on which S til pa 2 is situated. The pathway which now leads down to this ledge is reached by a steep flight of steps built against the retaining wall of the plateau opposite the western gateway of the Great Stupa. These steps are of modern origin, the old road, which was paved with heavy slabs of stone, having gone further south and followed a more devious course. Apparently it started immediately to the south of Stupa 7; then skirted the edge of an old quarry, subsequently converted into a tank, and swept round in a large curve to Stupa 2, a little above which it is joined by the modern road. Along it, on either side, can still be traced the remains of various monuments, the most noteworthy of which is the ruined base of an apsidal temple about 61 ft. long and 32 ft. 6 in. wide, with its entrance towards the east. The other remains are mere ruined platforms of rough stone masonry from which the superstructures have dis-

REMAINS NEAR THE OLD ROAD*

appeared. Three of these are situated to the west and north-west of the apsidal temple, and a fourth to the east of it; then there is a fifth, nearly 70 yards north of the last mentioned on the opposite side of the old road, and two more, close together, on the north side of the road some 80 yards higher up. North of these, again, and partly cut through by the modern road, is an extensive mound of stone rubble and brick which marks the site of a mediaeval monastery; and near by, on the west, a smaller mound with a massive stone bowl on its summit. It was surmised by Cunningham that

GIANT BOWL, this bowl, which has an outer diameter of 8 ft. 8 in., once held a holy nettle which Buddha himself was reputed to have bitten off and planted.[1] There are no grounds, however, for this surmise, which depends in the first instance on the false identification of Sanchi with the Sha-chi of Fa-Hien. Probably the bowl was intended, like the smaller one referred to on p. 116, for the distribution of food offered to the Sangharama.

STOPA 2. In point of size as well as of construction and design, the Second Stupa is strikingly similar to the Third, and the restoration which the latter has undergone will enable the visitor readily to picture to himself the appearance of the former when its crowning umbrella and balustrades were intact. The main difference between the two is that at Stupa 2 there is no *torana* adorning any of the four entrances. On the other hand, the ground balus-

[1] *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 180-82.

trade is in almost perfect prebervation, and exhibits a variety of most interesting reliefs which more than compensate for the absence of a gateway.

This stupa was opened and half destroyed bj Captain Johnson in 1822, but it was reserved for General Cunningham, who continued the digging in 1851, to discover the relics and, unfortunately, also to complete the destruction of the dome. The chamber in which the relics were deposited, was not in the centre of the structure, but two feet to the west of it, and at a height of seven feet above the raised terrace. The relic box was of white sandstone, 11 inches long by 9£ inches broad and (lie same in height, and contained four small caskets of steatite, in each of which were some fragments of human bone.[1] On the side of the relic box was an inscription in Early Brahmi characters of which the translation is as follows:—

" (The relics) of all teachers beginning with the Arhat (?) Kasapagota and the Arhat *(?)* Vachhi. Suvijayata, the teacher."[2] On the lids of the four steatite caskets were other inscriptions* recording **that the bones** contained within were the relics of various Buddhist saints and teachers, some of whom took part in the third convocation held under the Emperor As*oka, while others were sent on

[1] *The Bhilsa Topes,* pp. 285-94, where a full account of the discovery is given.

* *Cf.* Cunningham, *loc. cit.,* and Haiders, *List of Brtihmi Inscriptions* (Ep. Ind., Vol. X), No. 664.

[8] *Cf.* Ltiders *op. cit.,* Nos. 655-64.

missions to the Himalayas, to preach the doctrines then settled.[1] The following is a list of the ten names inscribed on the caskets: —

1. Kasapagota (Kasyapagotra), the teacher of all the Hemavatas.[2]
2. Majhima (Madhyama).
3. Ilfiritlputa (Haritiputra).
4. Vachhi-Suvijayata (Vatsi-Suvijayat?).
5. Mahavanaya.
6. Apaglra.
7. Kodiniputa (Kaundinlputra).
8. Kosikipnta (Kausikiputra).
9. Gotiputa (Gauptiputra).
10. Mogaliputa (Maudgaliputra).

Because Mahamogalana and Sariputra, whose relics were enshrined in Rtupa 3, were companions and friends of the Buddha, it does not therefore follow that that stupa goes back to the time of the Buddha; nor, becaxise some or possibly all of the

[1] The ' Dipawansa ' names the four missionaries who accompanied Kasapagota Kotiputa to convert the tribe of Yakkas in Himavanta, as-—Majjhima, Dudubhisara, Sahadeva, and Miilakadeva. Of these Kasapagota himself, Majjhima and Dudubhisara are named on the relic boxes from SanchT and Ronarl. J. JR. A. *S.*, 1905, pp. 683 ff, "Ferguson 7. *E. A.* (1910) Vol. T, p. 68; Geiger, *Mah.*, Preface, p. X I X.

[2] The term ' Hemavata ' has usually been taken to refer to the missions despatched to the Himalayas. But more probably it signifies the Haimavatas, who were a well' known branch of the Theravada School.

teachers whose relics are deposited in Stupa 2 were contemporaries of Asoka, is it necessarily to be concluded that this stupa was erected during the Maurya epoch. On the contrary, as these teachers could not have died at one and the same time, it is clear that their relics must have had some other resting places before they were transferred to this one, and we may suppose that this transference did not take place until the Sunga period, when there are other grounds for believing that this stupa was erected.[1]

By this time relic-worship had been extended to include not only the relics of the Buddha and his disciples, but those of relatively recent church dignitaries as well. It is interesting, however, to observe that the latter were enshrined, not side by side with the relics of the Buddha and his disciples, but on a separate terrace lower down the hill side.

The several balustrades of this stupa,[3] of which numerous members have recently been unearthed, are of the same pattern as the balustrades of Stupas 1 and 3, and it is unnecessary to remark either on their construction or on the decoration of the smaller balustrades, since the latter is closely analogous to that found on the balustrades of the other stupas. The reliefs of the large ground balustrade, on the other hand, are unique of their

[1] **Gen Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 291, opines that the stupa was at first intended only for the relics of Kasapagota and of Vachhi-Snviiayata, whose names alone are found on the outside of the stone box.**

• ***See* Mus. Cat. A 64, A 65 and A 66.**

kind in India and invested with a particular interest, since, with, the exception of a few later panels which, will be noticed presently, they exhibit to us the true indigenous chaiacter of Indian art before it had emerged from the primitive stage. The subjects portrayed are generally similar to those on the gateways[1] of the Great Stupa, but they are treated in simpler and cruder fashion, though with a keen sense for purely decorative effect. Among theni the four chief events of the Buddha's life are readily distinguishable: his Birth, his Enlightenment, his First Sermon, and his Death; each represented by the same emblems that we noticed among the later reliefs.[2] Then, there is the familiar figure of the *YaJcshini* or protecting fairy, the *naga* with many hoods, and a host of real and mythical animals, sometimes with riders[3] sometimes without, like those which adorn the false capitals of the gateways; elephants, bulls, horses, deer, winged lions, *makaras,* and griffins, and other creatures of the fancy, also, that we

[1] For minor points of difference, see the writer's remarks in A. *S.* JR., 1913-14, Pt. IT, p. 28.

[3] See pp. 44 *sqq.*

[3] Observe that stirrups are used by some of the horsemen in these reliefs. This is the earliest known example by some five centuries of the use of stirrups in any part of the world. In Persia, stirrups do not appear to have come into fashion until Sasanian times. In China, I am informed by Mr. Sieveking, on the authority of Prof. Giles, that they are mentioned in the *Nanshih* (5th-6th century A.D.). In Greek and Roman classical literature there is no mention of them whatever, and it seems that they were not introduced into Europe until the early mediaeval period.

have not observed before, such as horse-headed and fish-tailed men or centaurs with women on their backs—forms which are not Indian at all, but had found their way hither from Western Asia. Among plants, the favourite one is the lotus, sometimes quite simply treated, sometimes in the most rich and elaborate devices; among birds, we notice in particular the peacock, the goose and the *sai as;* and among symbols peculiarly sacred to Buddhism, the Wheel, the ' *trirattia,'* and the so-called ' shield ' 01 *srlvatsa* symbol. From a stylistic and technical point of view what strikes the spectator most forcibly about these reliefs, is the crude treatment of the living figure side by side with the masterly handling of decorative design. Thioughout the historic period the Indian artist has always possessed an innate aptitude for ornamental and particularly floral patterns, and nowhere is this aptitude better exhibited than in some of the lotus devices on this balustrade, like the exquisite one illustrated in Plate VIII *a.* On the other hand, the portrayal of the human form was never a strong point in the early Indian school, and it was not until he had come in contact with Hellenistic art, that the Indian sculptor became proficient in modelling it either in relief or in the round. The development which relief-work then underwent, is well illustrated by a comparison of the original carvings on this balustrade with the few at the eastern entrance which were added at a later date. Two specimens of the older carvings are reproduced in figs, *a* and *h* of PI. VIII, two of the later in

rigs, *c* and *d*. In these earlier carvings the designs aie as a rule surprisingly decorative and well adapted to their purpose, but the technique is rudimentary to a degree. Thus, the figures are kept almost in one plane, with practically no effort towards spatial effect, and each is portrayed almost as a silhouette sharply defined against the separate plane of the back-ground, such modelling as there is being effected by rounding off the contours of the silhouette or the interior details. The forms, too, are splayed out and distorted, **and** the **force** of mental abstraction on the part of the artist—always a sure •sign of rudimentary woik—is evidenced, as it is so often in the Bharhut sculptures, by the treatment of the feet, which, irrespective of anatomical accuracy, are turned sideways and presented in their broadest aspect. The same primitive workmanship is observable also in the semi-circular designs at the top and bottom of figure *r* and at the bottom of figure *d*. But the remainder of the two latter reliefs are of quite a different order. They are the work of artists who were copying direct from nature and were all but free from the trammels of the ' memory image.' The designs are pictorial rather than purely decorative, and exhibit very considerable skill in the matter of spatial effects. The modelling of the figures is organically true, there is comparative freedom in their poses and composition, and **a** conscious effort to bring them into closer relation ship one with the other. Of these later reliefs, those on pillar *d* were added at the time when the

(a) (b) (c) (d)

STUPA 2: RELIEFS ON THE GROUND BALUSTRADE.

gateways of Stupa I were being erected. The reliefs on pillar c may be slightly later.

MINOR BEMAINS nr T M VICINITY OF STUPA 2.

To the *N.-N.-W.* of Stupa 2 and jutting out from the hill-side towuids the west, is a rectangular platform constructed of stone. This platform served as the plinth of a pillar, several broken pieces of which, together with part of its lion capital[1], were found lying at the side. The shaft of the pillar is octagonal at the base and sixteen-sided above, each side being slightly fluted. Both pillar and platform appear to be of approximately the same age as Stupa 2. On the same spot were a few cross-bars belonging to a small stone balustrade, and a little to the north of it the ruined base of a stupa.

OTHER OBJECTS or IWTJDRBST AT SAfi0Ht

In conclusion, it remains to mention a few other antiquities of interest which are to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood of Sanchi. A little to the south of the main bill is another smaller hill ciowncd by the village of Kagouri. Near the base of the hill and north-west of the village, is a fine statue of a *ndga* set up on the rocks but not in its original position.[1] It is 6 ft. 7 in. in height from the bottom of the pedestal and of grey-white sandstone. The *naga,* which possesses seven hoods, holds an uncertain object (? lotus) in the right hand and a flask in the left. Its style proclaims it to be a clumsy work of the 1st or 2nd century A.D., and it is interesting to compare it with the

•Now removed to the museum.

Guardian *Yakshas* of the gateways on the one hand, and with later images of the Gupta period on the other. Near by the *naga* is a smaller figure of a *ndgi* of the same age and style, 3 ft. 3 in. in height. Another object of interest on the same hill is what is locally called *Dahg-hi-ghorl,* an unfinished statue of a horse which stands on the hillside south-west of the village and half way between it and the foot of the hill. Its date is uncertain, but it probably belongs to the mediaeval period.

The massive embankments *{'par)* which unite the main hill with the smaller hill to the south and the latter, again, with the hills on the west, appear to date from the pre-Christian era and to have been designed to form an extensive lake on that side of the hill.

Finally, about a hundred yards north-east of the Resthouse is a g-roup of four *sati* stones dating from late mediaeval times. The reliefs on them depict four different scenes, namely: (1) the husband and wife worshipping at a *Hnga ;* (2) the husband lying on a couch and the wife massaging his feet; (3) the husband fighting in battle with his adversary; (4) the sun and moon, to symbolize that the fame of the wife's devotion shall endure as long as the sun and moon themselves. The *satt* stone nearest to the bungalow bears a much defaced inscription in Nagari characters, dated in the year 12C)4-f>5 A.D.

APPENDIX

The Ufe of the Buddha briefly sketched[1] with particular reference to the sculptures of Safichi

Gautama, the Buddha, was born about the year 562 B.C., near tfhe ancient town of Kapilavastu in the Nepal Tarai. He became the *Buddha* (the ' Enlightened ') only after his attainment of wisdom under the *plpal* tree at Bodh-Gaya. Up to that time he was the *Bodhisattva*[a] or potential Buddha. Other titles by which he was known were *&dki/amuin* ' the sage of the Sakyas ', *Siddhartha* [4] he who has accomplished his aim and *Tathdgata* ' he who has arrived at the truth " It was by the last title that the Buddha invariably referred to himself. In the last of bis previous existences[4] the Bodhisattva had been born in the Tushita Heaven, where he was entreated by the deities to become the saviour of mankind; but before consenting he had to determine the time and place ot his appearance on earth, the race and family to which he should belong, the mother who should bear him, and the time when her life should end. The due time, he realised, had arrived and, like all other Buddhas, he must be born in Jambudvipa (India), in the Madhyadesa country, and in the caste either of the Brahmans or Kshatriyas. His fathej, he resolved, should be Ruddhoclana, a chieftain of the Sakya clan of Kapilavastu, and his mother Maya or Mahamaya, who should die seven days after his birth. .Accordingly, he left the Tushita Heaven, and was conceived by Maya in a dream, in which she saw the future Buddha

* An excellent account of the Buddha's life Is Riven In Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg 1896), pp. 12-46, where the reader an find full references to the authorities for the various episodes Of this and of a valuable summary by A. S. Ceden in Basting's *En&iclopaedxa ot rehgton and ethics*, s v. * Buddha *, *1* have made free use in compiling this brief sketch.

» P. 55 above, footnote 2.

* Or " he who has come as (his predecessors came)/*

[4] P. 42 above, footnote 1.

descending irom heaven in the form of a white elephant (p. 71). When the queen told her dream to SSuddhodana, he summoned Brahmaus to interpret it, who declaied that she had conceived a son destined to become either a Universal Monarch *(chakruvartiri)* or a Buddha. Duiing the period ot pregnancy four celestials guarded the Bodhisattva and Maya from harm. The birth (p. 44) took place in the Lumbini Garden* near Kapilavastu, Maya being delivered standing beneath a sala tree, a branch of which bent down for her to grasp. The chief deities including India were in attendance, and the child was received from the right side of his mother by the Guaidian Deities of the Four Quarters. On the body of the child were the thirty-two ma^or marks *(mahavyanjaiia)*, which indicated his future gieatness, as well as lesser marks *(aiiuryafljana)*. Immediately after birth he stood erect, faced in all directions, and after making seven steps exclaimed " I am the foremost of the world." At the moment of the Buddha's birth, there were born also his future wife, Yasodhara, the mother of liahula, Chanda (his groom), Kanthaka (his hoise), Kajudayin (his playmate) and Ananda (the best beloved of his disciples).

The birth of the Bodhisattva was the occasion of great rejoicings in the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods *(Trayastrifhfa)*, and the Seer *(Bisht)* Asita, becoming aware of these rejoicings, predicted that the child would be the future Buddha. The same prediction also was made by the young Brahman Kaundinya. Other Brahman soothsayers were doubtful whether he would become a universal monarch *(chakravartin)* or a Buddha, and the king, anxious that he should become the former rather than the latter, inquired what would induce the Prince to renounce the world. The answer was, four sights- an old man, a sick man, a coipse, and a monl Thenceforth Suddhodana took care that none of these sights should meet the eye of his son, and did all in his power to attract him to wordly things. During the childhood of the Buddha it is related that the king Suddhodana went out one day to celebrate the ' Ploughing Festival ', and the child Siddhartha was taken with him and placed on a couch beneath a Jainbu **tree.** There, when his nurses had left him, he rose up,

*The location of the Lumbini garden was determined in 1895 by the discovery of a pillar of As'oka with an inscription recording that it was set op by the **emperor at** the birth-place of the Buddha.

seated himself cross-legged, and performed his first meditation; while he meditated, the shade of the tree remained miraculously fixed above him (p. 68).

In order to terminate the long-standmg feuds with the Koliyas, Siddhaitha was married at the age of sixteen to the Kohya princess Yasodhara, daughter of Suprabuddha. According to tho legends, he was a young man of remarkable prowess, unrivalled in archery, possessed ot immense strength and expert in every art. Mindful of the piophecy regarding his future, his father surrounded him with every sort of luxury and continued to keep from him the four sights which might lead him to adopt an ascetic life On successive occasions, however, as he drove in the palace gardens, the gods caused to appear before him the visions of an old man, a sick man, and a corpse. Touched to the heart by these sights, the young man asked the meaning of them, and discovering the truth about old age, sickness and death, was plunged in griei. Then followed a fouith vision—that of a holy ascetic—which made a deep impression on his mind and showed him how, by renouncing the world, he could use supeiior to the ills he had witnessed. Accordingly, he resolved to forsake his home and take refuge in solitary meditation, and his resolution being strengthened by the repulsive sight of the attendant women in the palace, lying asleep in all manner of uncomely attitudes, he bade farewell to his wife and child, Rahula, while they slept, and silently left the palace. This was the ' Great Renunciation ' *(Mahabhinishhramana)* which he made at the age of twenty-nino (p. 67) Oi 1MS steed fvanthaua he rode forth at night from Kapilavastu attended by heavenly beings, who silenced the neighing of the horse and bore up his hoofs, lest the city should be roused by the noise, while Mara, the Evil One, sought in vain to deflect Gautama from his purpose by the promise of universal monarchy.

On the further side of the river Anoma, Gautama gave his ornaments to his faithful groom, and then, cutting off his hair with a stroke of his sword, he cast it with the headdress heavenward, saving as he did so " Tf I am destined to become a Buddha, let it remain in the air; if not, let it come to earth again." The hair soared upwards and was borne away in a golden casket to the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods *{Trayastrirh&a* where it became an object of worship to the deities (p. 55). Then

the Bodhisattva exchanged garments with the angel •Gha^IkSra, who appeared to him in the guise of a hunter, and, having sent back his groom with the horse[1] to announce that he had forsaken the world, he went forward alone and on foot to Rajagriha (p. 68). There the king Bimbisara came forth to greet him and to offer him his kingdom; and, on the Bodhisattva refusing this offer, he obtained from him a promise that, when he became the Buddha, he would revisit his realm. Thence Gautama pursued his way to Uruvilva (Pah: Uruvela), a village near Gaya, and there subjected himself to the severest penances, in tho course of which his body was reduced to the last stage of emaciation. These austerities continued for six years, at the end of which time he realised that enlightenment was not to be obtained by mortification of the flesh, and acrordinglv he returned to his former mode •of life as a mendicant. Thereupon his five companions lost faith in him and, leaving him, went to the Deer Park near Benares. The Bodhisattva wandered towards the bank of tho Nairanjana river, and received his morning meal from the hands of Sujata, the daughter of a neighbouring villager (p. 61). Having partaken of it, he threw the golden vessel in which she had brought it into the stream, saying, as he did so, " If on this day I am to become a Buddha, let the vessel ascend the stream; if not, let it go down ". And lo ! it went up stream and sank to the abode of Kala, the Naga king.

Tn the evening of the same day he went forward to the *pijml* tree at Bodh-Gaya, which thenceforth was to be known as the Bodhi tree or * tree of enlightenment ' (po. 45, 61, etc.). On his way he fell in with one Svastika (Sotthiya), a grass-cutter, from whom he took eight bundles of grass, and standing beneath the tree and surveying each of the four quarters, he cast down the grass OH its eastern side; then, having seated himself upon it, he said " Though my skin, my nerves and my bones waste away, and though my life blood be dried up, yet will I not leave this seat before T have attained unto perfect knowledge ". Then followed the assault and temptation of Mara, the ' Evil One,' who tried by every manner of violence to divert the Bodhisattva from his purpose (pp. 61, 77)., So furious and terrible was the onslaught of **his**

[1] According to other accounts, the horse died of a broken heart on the epot ^rhere Buddha said farewell.

demon hosts, that the very deities who attended the Bodhisattva fled in dismay. Alone the Tathagata remained steadfast and immovable on his throne, undaunted by the violence of the winds which Mara caused to blow and by the showers of rocks, of weapons, of glowing ashes and of charcoal which were launched against him but which, ere they reached him, turned to flowers. Sure of his coming victory he called upon the Earth to bear witness to his right to remain where he was, and the Earth replied with so mighty a voice that the armies of Mara fled discomfited (p. 77). Then came the gods crying "Mara is overcome: the prince Siddhartha has prevailed!", and the Nagas and other beings came, chanting songs of victory. It was at sundown[1] that the Bodhisattva defeated his foe, and it was during the night succeeding that he became *Buddha* 'the enlightened one.' In the first watch of the night he attained to the knowledge of his previous existences; in the second, of all present states of being; in the third, of the chain of causes and effects, and at the dawn of day he knew all things.

After attaining enlightenment the Buddha fasted for 49 days, being miraculously sustained during that time by the food which Sujata had provided for him. Those seven weeks he spent: first, beneath or near the Bodhi tree, where he enjoved the fruits of emancipation and went through the whole Abhidharma-Pitaka; next, beneath the goatherd's Banyan tr^e, where the three daughters of Mara, 'Desire/ 'Pining' and 'Lust', tried in vain to seduce him[2]; thirdly, under the Muchalmda tree, where he was shielded from the rain bv the coils and hood of the Naga king, Muchalinda (p. 69); and, lastly, beneath the Rajayatana tree, where on the last day of the seven weeks two merchants, Tapussa and Bhalluka, made an offering to him of barlev' cakes and honev. The Buddha having no bowl in which to receive the offerings, four bowls of stone were hi ought bv the Guardian Deities of the Four Quarters, and the Tathagata, commanding them to become one, took the food and ate it. The merchants, having made profession of their faith, begged to

[1] Some accounts say at sunrise

* According to the Tibetan version, the temptation bv the daughters of Ms™ took place beneath the Bodhf tree on the same occasion as the assaults of Mflra's armies. This version appears to be the one current among the sculptors of Saflchl (p. 61)

be received as his disciples, and, their request being granted, they became the first lay-disciples *(upasaka).*

From the Itajayatana tree the Buddha returned to the goatherd's Banyan tree, and there debated with himself whether* it might not be mere waste of time and effort to try and make known to others the profound and subtle truths which he himself had grasped. Then Brahma and other deities and archangels appeared to him and appealed to his love and pity of mankind, who must be lost, if he did not show them the way of salvation. This was the *adhyeshana* (p. 79). Prevailed upon by these prayers the Buddha pondered to whom he should first proclaim his gospel, and determined to seek out the five ascetics who had formerly been his companions. Accordingly, he proceeded to the Deer Park *(Isipatana)* near Benares and there delivered to the five his first sermon, or, to use the technical expression of the Buddhists, ' set in motion the wheel ot the law' (pp. 46, etc.) In this sermon he exhorted his heaiers to shun the two extiemes- on the one hand, the pursuit oi worldy pleasuies, on the other, the practice of useless austerities, and to follow the middle course, the only one that could lead to wisdom and to Nirvana, namely, tho noble eightfold path, right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right living, right effort, right mindedness and right meditation. Further, he explained the four truths as to pain, the origin of pain, the cessation of pain, and the path that leads to the cessation of pain. By this and other expositions of his doctrines lie succeeded in converting the five ascetics, who were duly ordained and became the first members of the Buddhist order *(taiigha)* of monks.

At this time the Buddha was 35 years of age and the remaining 45 years of his life were spent in journeying from place to place, mainly in the kingdom of Magadha, and in making an ever increasing number of converts. The rainy months of each year he spent, as a rule, at one of the gardens or monasteries which had been given him, and at the close of the rains he and his disciples went forth, hither and thither, to proclaim the pure and perfect life. Among his earliest converts were the three KSiynpa brothers (Pali: Kassapa), hermits with long hair *(J'tifa)* and fire worshippers who lived at Uruvilva (Uruvela). Of the several miracles by which the Tatha**gata** succeeded in converting them, namely: by walking Hi **the** waters, by overcoming the serpent in the fire

temple, etc., there are striking illustrations on the Eastern Gateway (pp. 72-75). Other famous converts whom he made shortly afterwards at Rajagriha and who were soon to become * chief disciples ' of the Buddha, were ^ariputra (Sariputta) and Maudgalyayana (Moggallana or Mahamogairma), whose body relics were enshrined in Stupa 3 at Safichi <pp. 91-92).

At the royal courts which he visited the Buddha appears to have found a warm welcome, and several reliefs at Safichi commemorate the ceremonial visits paid to him b\ Prasenajit, the King of Kosala, and by Bimbisara and his successor, Ajatasatru, ol Magadha (pp. 65-66, 72). Many gifts, too, of gardens, groves, or monasteries seem to have been made to the Buddha himself or to the community *(Sangh-i)* of which he was the head. One of the most miortant of these was the Jefcavana garden and monastery at r.lvasti—the gilt of Anathapindika, who purchased it from Jeta, the king's son, at the cost of as many gold pieces as would cover the surface of the ground (p. 65). Another was the mango grove at Vaisali presented by the courtesan Amrapall, and a third was the Bamboo garden *(Vcnuvana)* at Rajagriha, which Bimbisara presented to the Buddha personally on the occasion of his first visit to Rajagrihn after his enlightenment (p. 66). This Bamboo gat den afterwards became a very favourite residence of the Buddha, and many episodes are related of his sojourns there or at other spots in the neighbourhood. It was at Rajagriha that Devadatta, his wicked cousin, made three attempts to compass his death, first by hired assassins, then by hurling down a rock upon him, and again by letting loose a maddened elephant—an episode which is illustrated in one of the mediaeval sculptures at Safichi (p. 86, footnote 1). Needless to say, each attempt failed, the assassins being overawed, the rock being stopped, and the elephant bending meekly before the Buddha. It was near i< >ia riha, too, when meditating in the IndrnsSla Cave, that the Buddha was visited fly Indra (p. 66). Bimbisara the king of Magadha was, as we have seen, always a staunch supporter of the Buddha, but his son and murderer, Ajatasatru, at first sided with Devadatta against him. Later *on,* however, he also became a convert.

In the second year after his enlightenment, at the earnest entreaty of his father Snddhodana, the Buddha paid a visit to his old home at Kapilavastu. According to hivS custom he stopped in a grove outside the town.

There his father and the §akya princes met him, and a question arose, whether father or son should be the first to pay homage to the other. The question was solved by the Buddha rising miraculously into the air, and then walking to and fro preaching the law (pp. 63, 71). Thereupon the king prostrated himself before his son, and presented him with the grove of banyan trees. Following this visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu many converts were made among the Sfikyas, the chief among them being Ananda, afterwards his favourite disciple, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Bhagu, Kimbila and his cousin Devadatta, who subsequently proved the Judas Iscariot of Buddhist legend.

Among the most bitter opponents of Gautama were &'x Tirthikas—leaders of heretical sects, namely; Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, A.iita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kachchhayana, Nigantha Nataputta and Saiijaya Belajyhiputta, the last of whom had once been the teacher of Suriputra and Maudgalyayana. In order to confound these heretics, who were then at the court of King Prasenajit, Buddha proceeded to SrSvasti and, in accordance with the established practice of former Buddhas, performed there the greatest of all his miracles (p. 64). He created in the heavens a great road from the eastern to the western horizon and, ascending thereon, caused streams of water to issue from the upper part of his body and names of fire from the lower; his body became resplendent and a golden light flooded the world, while he preached to the assembred multitudes and ta.ught them the way of Truth.

After this miracle the Buddha vanished from among his disciples and wont to the Trayafttrimla Heaven, there to expound the Abhidharma to Maya his mother and the *{leva* hosts. For three months ho remained in heaven, and then returned to earth again by a staircase of beryl which Sakra had caused to be made, while Brahma and Tndra accompanied him,^the former descending a golden staircase on his right, and the latter a crystal one on his left (pp. 61-62). The spot at which he came back to earth was at Sankasya (S aikfcO.

The death (p. 46) of the Buddha took place when he was in his 80th year,[1] and is said to have been caused by over indulgence in a dish of ' dried boar's flesh * at a

[1] According to Dr. Fleet's calculations it occurred on Oct. 13th, 483 B.C.

repast which Chunda, a metal-worker of Para, had prepared for him. He was then on his way to Kusinagara (Kasia), and when he realised that his end was near, he ordered a couch to be spread between two sala trees (p. 77) in a grove near the. town, and laid himself down with his head to the north, on his right side * like a lion ', with one leg resting on the other. His last moments were spent in. giving advice and directions to his beloved disciple Ananda and the assembled monks, and in exhorting them to adhere faithfully to the rules of the order. By his direction Subhadra, a wandering heretic, was admitted to his presence and, having heard his teaching, became kis last convert. Then he inquired whether there >\ere any among his brethren who still entertained doubt about the Buddha, the Law and the Congregation, and, finding there were none, he bade them farewell saying " Decay is inherent in all things component. Strive, therefore, after salvation with diligence ".

The death of the Buddha was attended by earthquakes and thunder. Tidings of it were sent to Kusinagara, and the Ma 11 as came to the sala grove and for a space of six days paid honour to the remains with processions and witli music (pp. 63, 76). On the seventh the corpse was carried by eight of the chieftains to a shrine called *Maku^a-bandhana* outside the city, and, having been enveloped *in* 500 pieces of cloth and placed in an iron coffin, was set upon the funeral pyre. The pyre, however, could not be ignited without the presence of Kasyapa, who was then hastening with a company of monks to Kusinagara. After his arrival and when he had done homage to the corpse, the flames burst forth spontaneously and, having done their work, they were extinguished again by a miraculous shower of rain

Tbe relics that remained after the cremation were taken possession of by the Ma.llas of Kusinagara, but demands for portions of them were made bv seven other claimants, namelv • Aiatasatru, King of Magadha; the Lichchhavis of VaitSali; the Sakyas of Kapilavastu* the Bulis of Allakappa; the Koliyas of Ramagrama; a BrAhman of Vefhadina • the IVfallas of Pavn (pp. 53, 76). When the Mallas of Kusinagara were unwilling to part with the lehes. these seven claimants came with their armies to lay seige to their city and it was only by the intervention of Drona, a Brahman, that further strife was averted.

At his suggestion, the relics were divided by him into eight portions and the vessel in which they had reposed was given to Drona himself as a reward.

Afterwards there came a messenger from the Mauryas of Pippalivana asking for a share of the relics, but, none being left, he took away the coals of the pyre and erected over them a stiipa.

Of the eight relic etupas seven are said to have been opened by the Emperor Asoka and the relics from them redivided and distributed in a multitude of stupas throughout his dominions. Only the stiipa of Rama-grama (p 50), which was guarded by Nagas, is said to have been left intact.

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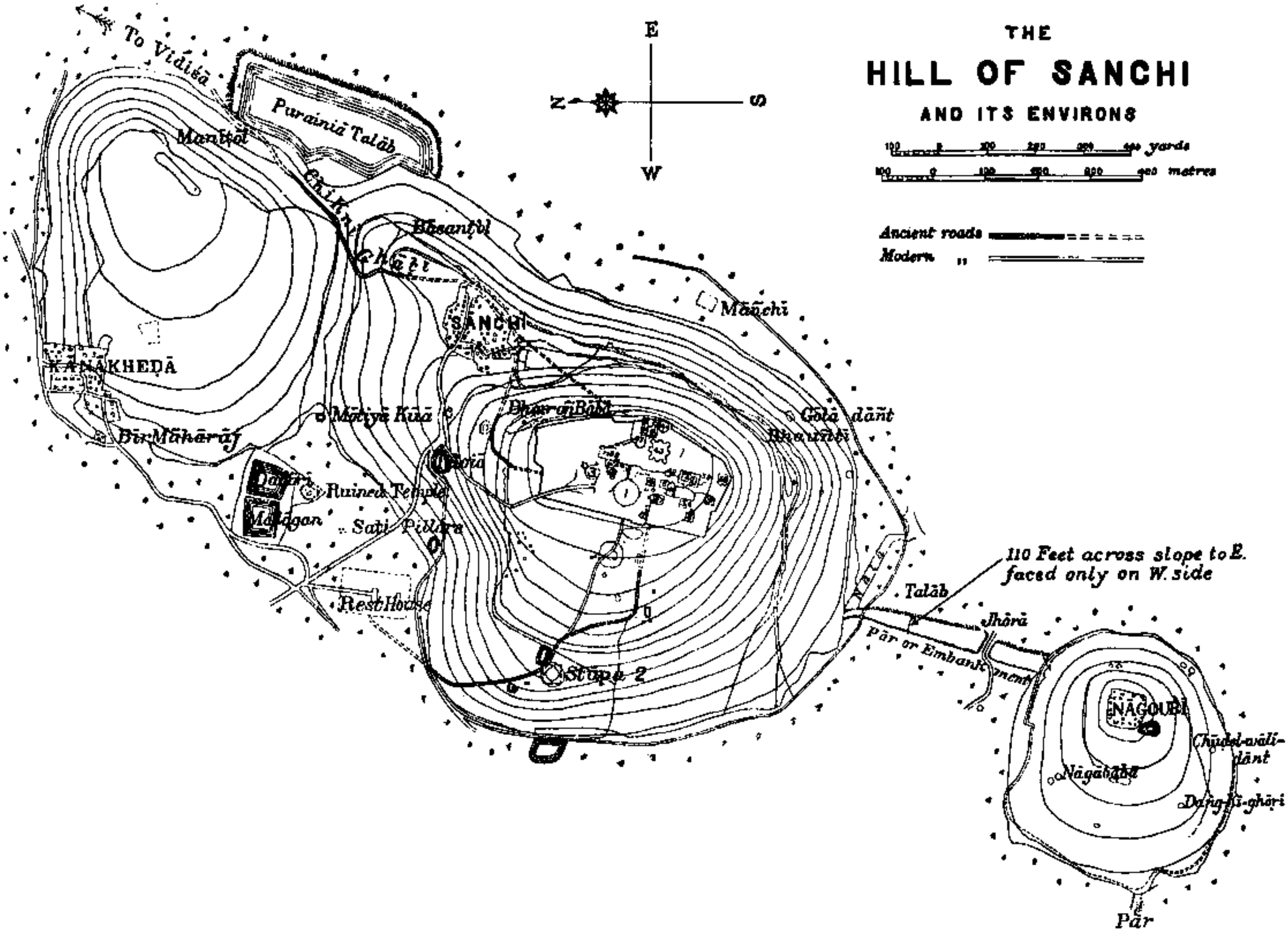
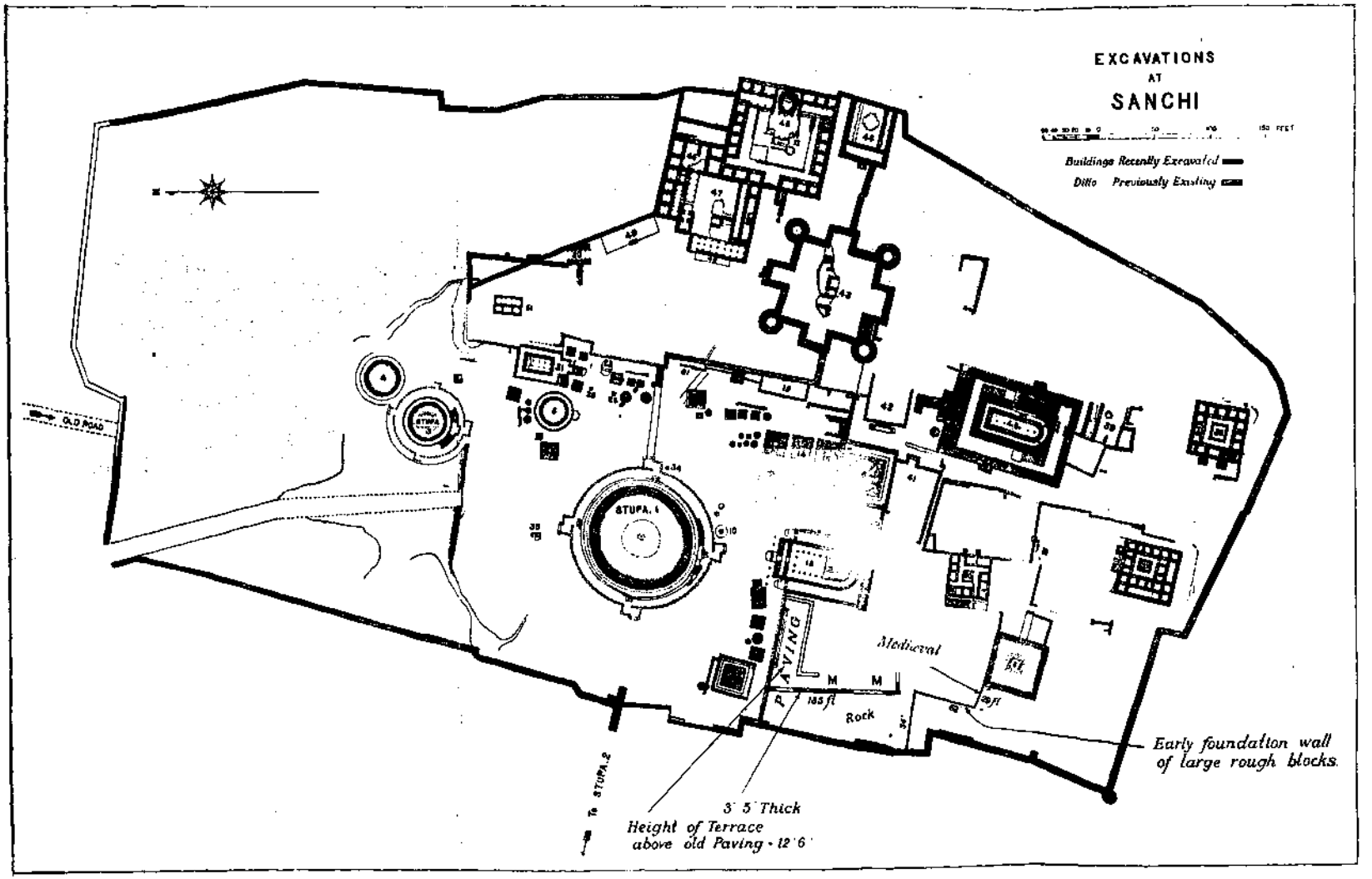
Plate IX.


THE
HILL OF SANCHI
AND ITS ENVIRONS
yards
metres
Ancient roads
Modern
E
N
S
W
To Vidiśā
Purainiā Talāb
Maniṭol
Chikni Ghāṭi
Bhsanṭol
SANCHI
Māṅchi
KANAKHEḌĀ
Moṭiyā Kuā
Bhawanī Bābā
Golā dānt
Bhauntī
Bir Mahārāj
Ruined Temple
Sati Pillars
Mālāgan
Rest House
Stūpa 2
110 Feet across slope to E.
faced only on W. side
Talāb
Jhōrā
Pār or Embankment
NAGOURI
Chūdel-wāli-dānt
Nāgabābā
Dang-ki-ghōri
Pār



Note Wall M M on same axis as original Stupa