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Tree and serpent worship

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The Tope At Amravati.

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THE TOPE AT AMRAVATI.

CHAPTER I.

UNLIKE that at Sanchi, the Tope at Amravati has been so completely destroyed that a traveller might ride over the mounds in which it is buried without suspecting what they covered, any more than those who, before the discoveries of Botta and Layard, looked on the mounds of Assyria guessed what treasures of antiquity were concealed beneath their green slopes. In some respects it is fortunate that it is so, for so soon as a slab is uncovered, either by the monsoon rains or an accidental excavation, it is taken away to be used as a door-step, or more frequently to be burned for lime by the incurious natives. The consequence of this is, that nothing of the central building probably now remains on the spot, and hardly anything of the inner enclosure; but of the outer Rail there may still be enough to enable us to complete our restoration of it, and to fill up many of the lacunæ which the imperfect materials now available have left in our descriptions.

Although two of the Gateways at Sanchi have fallen, two others are still standing, almost quite perfect; and a quadrant of the Rail is entire, and so is the bulk of the Tope itself. We have consequently no difficulty in assigning their proper place to all the fragments of sculpture, nor any in comprehending the general appearance or form of the building. At Amravati the case is widely different. It is probable that many of the slabs which Colonel Mackenzie first saw in 1797, and afterwards drew in 1718, were then *in situ*, but he has left no written description of his excavations,* and it is only in the rarest possible instances that he has written in pencil on his drawings such brief indications as "inner circle" or "outer circle." Beyond this, there is no explanation of his plan. The slabs recovered by Sir Walter Elliot, which form the bulk of the available materials, had all been removed probably in the twelfth or thirteenth century from their original site, and built into a little chapel, of which they formed the walls, so nothing was to be learned from them. The task, however, is by no means so difficult as it at first sight appears. First, there are numerous analogies with other buildings which are

* The late Professor Wilson, who had long charge of the Mackenzie MSS., and knew more about them than anyone else, says, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 32., "I have not found any description of it (the Tope at Amravati) amongst his papers, but from a few brief memoranda it appears to have been visited by him repeatedly, and in 1816 to have been measured and surveyed."

evident at a glance; but the circumstance that rendered the restoration most easy arose from the practice common to Indian architects of repeating everywhere representations of their main buildings as ornaments to the various parts of it. These, as will afterwards be explained, not only suggest the form, but confirm the restoration in a most satisfactory manner.

The Amravati Tope first attracted the attention of Colonel Mackenzie when on a tour of duty in the district in the year 1797. It seems that some two or three years previous to his visit the Rajah of Chintapilly, attracted by the sanctity of a temple dedicated to Siva, under the title of Amareśvara,* determined to erect a city on the spot, and on looking for building materials for his new capital, opened this and several other mounds in the neighbourhood, and also utilized the walls of the old city of Durnacotta or Dharanikotta, which stood about half a mile to the westward of the site of the new city.† Many of the antiquities perished in the process, and large quantities of the stones were used by the Raja in building his new temples and palaces, but several sculptured slabs still remained *in situ*. These attracted the Colonel's attention so strongly that he subsequently communicated an account of them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,‡ and afterwards returned to the spot in 1816. Being now Surveyor-General of Madras he employed all the means at his disposal during the two following years to the elucidation of the principal temple, which he now styles Dipaldinna, and translates as meaning "Hill of Lights." The results of his labours are careful plans of the building and maps of the surrounding country, together with eighty very carefully-finished drawings of the sculptures. These were made by his assistants, Messrs. Hamilton, Newman, and Burke, and are unsurpassed for accuracy and beauty of finish by any drawings of their class that were ever executed in India. Three copies were made of all these drawings. One was sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, another was deposited in Madras, and the third sent home to the Court of Directors, in whose library it still remains. As no text or description accompanies these drawings, they have attracted but little attention, probably because of this deficiency, and the consequent difficulty of understanding the form of the monument or the position of the fragments.

At the same time Colonel Mackenzie sent several specimens of the sculptures to the three museums just mentioned, and they have remained their principal ornaments to this day. But, except an attempt to translate two of the inscriptions, which appeared in Prinsep's Journal in 1837,§ very little notice seems to have been taken of them.

Fortunately, however, when Mr., now Sir Walter Elliot, was Commissioner in Guntur, in 1840, he determined to follow up what Colonel Mackenzie had so well begun. He excavated a portion of the monument which had not before been touched,

* Hence the full-length name of the place is Amareśvarapuram. Anglice, Amresbury.

† These and many other historical particulars in this paper are gleaned from two letters communicated by Colonel Mackenzie to Mr. Buckingham, published by him in the "Calcutta Journal," in March 1822. They were afterwards reprinted in "Allen's Asiatic Journal," in May 1823, and as the latter publication is generally accessible while the former is not, all my references to these letters will be taken from it.

‡ See Asiatic Researches, vol. IX. p. 272, et seq.

§ Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, vol. VI. p. 218.

and sent down to Madras a large collection of the sculptures, where they lay exposed to the sun and rain for fourteen years,* till they were ultimately sent home to this country about the year 1856. Unfortunately they arrived here in the troublous times of the Indian Mutiny, and just in the interval between the death of the old East India Company and the establishment of the new Indian Council. There was no proper place for their reception, and the greater part of them were consequently stowed away in the coach-house of Fife House, where they remained buried under rubbish of all sorts till accidentally I heard of their existence in January 1867. With the zealous co-operation of Dr. Forbes Watson and the officers of his establishment, I had them all brought out into the open air and photographed to a scale of one-twelfth the real size, and this was done so exactly that the photographs can be fitted together almost as well as the real stones could be. With these materials I set to work to restore the building; but though I had considerable knowledge of similar buildings, both older and more modern, I should not have succeeded but for the circumstance just mentioned, that among the sculptures themselves there are numerous miniature representations of the building itself and of its different parts, quite sufficiently correctly drawn to be recognized. With all these aids I believe I can now assign the true place and use to at least nine-tenths of the 160 fragments the India Museum possesses, and feel very little doubt that I might be able to recognize the position of all; but the process is slow and difficult, and requires more time and study than perhaps the value of the additional information now to be obtained would justify.

The position of the Amravati Tope will be easily understood from the map (Plate XLVI.). It is situated on the right or south bank of the Kistnah river, about sixty miles from its mouth, and nearly opposite to its junction to the Moony Air river. The Tope itself stands about half a mile to the eastward of the old town of Daranacotta, or Dharanikotta—the magic city—and unfortunately in the middle of the modern town of Amravati, to which circumstance it owes its destruction. To the westward of the town, a little more distant, is another mound, called Cootchtippa, which has not yet been explored; and to the south a third, called Nuckadeverdinna, which was dug up, and the materials used in building the new town. To the westward of the old town, near the Cootchtippa mound, are a great number of those rude circles of stone which were the burying-places of at least some of the inhabitants of the old city. A still greater number of these, however, are found at a distance of between four and five miles to the south-eastward, where they cover the roots of the hills in great numbers.† They range apparently from 24 to 32 feet in diameter, and when dug into have always yielded cinerary urns, burnt bones, and other indications of being burying-places. One of these has already been given from Colonel Mackenzie's work (Woodcut, No. 7.), where several of those at Amravati are drawn. They are, however, all alike in character, not only

* Selections from the Madras Records, 2nd series, vol. XXXIX. p. 195.

† In the map they are called "Circular Tumuli." This they certainly are not, as they are not raised in the centre. They are literally stone circles, but as the map is a fac-simile, I have thought it better to alter nothing. I have also generally retained the spelling of the map, though it certainly is not in all instances correct.

here, but, so far as I can ascertain, all over the south of India as far as Cape Comorin.

We are still very far indeed from any such knowledge of the modes of sepulture among the aborigines, as to be able to speak regarding them with anything like certainty. Ample materials, however, exist in India, and so soon as anyone will take the trouble to collect and classify them, we shall from their graves be able to discriminate between the different races, and assign to each its proper locality with a precision now entirely wanting to such researches. Nothing of the sort can of course be attempted here, but one curious feature may be alluded to, as it has not yet been suspected by European antiquaries; it is, that these rude megalithic monuments are of all ages; some no doubt of extreme antiquity, but many others of quite recent date; many, in fact, have been erected within the limits of this century, and it is not possible, either from their design or their form, to distinguish between those which are really old and those which are quite modern. In the meanwhile, however, I may be allowed to state that, to my mind, it does not appear doubtful but that the great Rail of the Amravati Tope is a Hindu sublimation of these Dasyu models, though we are still unable to trace the various steps by which so wonderful a transformation took place.

Besides these antiquities in the immediate vicinity of the town, there is a very extensive excavation near Datchapully, forty miles westward, covered with sculpture in a most masterly style, and another on the road leading from the river to the pagoda of Srichallum, ten miles further on. There seems also to be a four-storied cavern at Ondavully in Guntur, and another series in the Ellore districts, at a place called Jilkaragodum. All these, however, are quite unknown to Europeans, though, if carefully examined, they would probably prove as interesting as the better known Caves of Western India.*

* The following curious memorandum, in a clerk's handwriting, is pasted into one of Colonel Mackenzie's volumes with some pencil marks of his own. I fancy it belongs to 1798, though that date on it is erased. Speaking of the Amravati sculptures, he says, "The most curious and most complete is to be found further on (from the Dipaldinna), close to the outside walls of the Pagoda enclosure, on the south, and going towards the river. Here is a small Pagoda of the Lingam, formed by three rough stones or slabs set on end and covered on the top by another placed transversely" (exactly like Kits Coty House, as shown by a little sketch on the margin). "On this stone is represented the escalade of a fort, a figure ascending a ladder, another from a turret on the walls shooting an arrow. Before the gate of the place a figure with a round shield prostrating himself before a chief seated on an elephant, and followed by others on horses, bullocks, &c. The whole forms a group in a very different style from anything observed anywhere else in this country; and as the attitudes, profiles, &c., differ from the common Hindu style, a correct drawing would be desirable."

This apparently was never made, and the slab is not in the Museum collection. The description reads almost as if intended for the Sanchi (Plate XXXVIII.), but the scaling ladder is an addition to the siege materiel there represented.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF MONUMENTS.

So much of the interest and the value of the sculptures at Amravati depends on the age that may be assigned to them, that it is very desirable, in so far as it is possible, to fix the date to which they belong. In the present state of our knowledge this cannot be done with absolute certainty; first, because none of the inscriptions bear dates, nor, with one doubtful exception,* do any contain names that can be recognized as those of historical personages; next, no history or reliable tradition mentions the place by name, with either a date or the founder's name attached to it. A considerable degree of vagueness also prevails, and always must, because the buildings are not all of one age, but certainly extended through one, it may be through two or even three centuries. Notwithstanding all this, their date may, I believe, be fixed with fair approximate certainty, quite sufficient for our present purposes.

Taking, in the first instance, the architecture of the Sanchi Tope as the base of our argument, no one I think can examine the two without seeing that considerable progress had been achieved between the erection of the two monuments. According to the Indian chronometric scale, I would value the interval as at least two or three centuries, taking the sculptures of the great outer Rail at Amravati as the base for comparison with those of the Gateways at Sanchi. On the other hand, if we turn to the temples at Bhuvaneśvar in Cuttack, which dates from 657 A.D., we feel that we have passed into a new and much more modern architectural world. The question is, to determine where between these two poles lies the epoch of the execution of the principal parts of the Amravati monument.

There seems, however, no difficulty with regard to a final date before which it must have been erected. When Hiouen Thsang visited "Dhanakacheka," about the year 640, he describes the principal monument in the following terms, from which I quote at length because of the many interesting points the description contains:—
 "Un ancien roi de ce royaume l'avait construit en l'honneur du Bouddha et y avait déployé toute la magnificence des palais de Ta-hia (de la Bactriane). Les bois touffus dont il était entouré, et une multitude des fontaines jaillissantes, en faisaient un séjour enchanteur. Ce couvent était protégé par les esprits du ciel, et les sages et les saints aimaient à s'y promener et à y habiter. Pendant l'espace des mille

* This is the name of the Andhra king Yajnaśrí, read doubtfully on a fragment of an inscription copied by Colonel Mackenzie and reproduced, Plate XCIX. No. IX. This king was most probably the Yue-gnai of the Chinese, who we learn from Des Guignes was a zealous Buddhist, and is stated to have sent ambassadors to China in the year 408. If it really is this king who is mentioned in the inscription, his date would perfectly accord with all we learn from other circumstances. His coins and those of Gotamiputra are said to have been found in quantities in and about Amravati.

“ ans qui ont suivi le Nirvāna du Bouddha, on voyait constamment un millier de
 “ laïques et de religieux qui venaient ensemble y passer le temps de la retraite pen-
 “ dant la saison des pluies. Mille ans après (le ‘Nirvāna’) les hommes du siècle et
 “ les sages vinrent y demeurer ensemble. Mais depuis une centaine d’années les
 “ esprits des montagnes ont changé de sentiments et font éclater sans cesse leur
 “ violence et leur colère. Les voyageurs justement effrayés n’osent plus aller dans
 “ ce couvent. C’est pour cela qu’aujourd’hui il est complètement désert, et l’on n’y
 “ voit plus ni religieux ni novices.”*

Before applying this description, the first point necessary to establish is, that Amravati is really the place of which Hiouen Tshang was speaking. The name he gives is of some value for this purpose, for Dhanakacheka is as like the modern Durnacotta or Dharanikotta as we can well expect a name to be after the corruptions of twelve centuries, and Avarasilā for the name of the monastery may also be considered as indicating Amareśvara. Such nominal similarities are hardly sufficient in such a case as this; but if General Cunningham’s reading of the inscription, No. XX. Appendix E., is correct, which I see no reason whatever for doubting, this alone would suffice to settle the question. The slab on which it is found formed part of the inner Rail, and is stated to be a gift to the Māhā Chaitya of Dhankakata. Another proof is found in his route, as described by the traveller himself, which even taken alone would suffice for the purpose. After leaving Orissa he reaches Kalinga,—the Kalinga-paṭṭana of the present day,—a well-known spot on the coast. From this he diverges 1,800 li in a north-west direction, say 260 miles, to Kośala, the southern country of that name. This must have brought him either to Wyraghur or Chanda, or more probably to Bhuddrack, between Chanda and Hinghenghat, where there are extensive ruins; all these were important places in ancient times in the Nagpore territories. The distance quoted would not take him so far as Nagpore, but it might to Nirmul, which offers many points that render it probable it may be the place indicated.† In his next stage he retraces his steps to the south-east, and reaches a place which it can hardly be doubted was Warangal, the capital of Venga or Ping-ki-lo. Thence he journeys 1,000 li in a southern direction (143 miles) to Dhanakacheka.‡ The distance and direction both agree as closely as any of those given in his travels with what we find in our modern maps. The coincidence is indeed so close as to leave it hardly open to doubt but that this is the place indicated, even if the nominal similarity were not in itself sufficient.

With regard to the date, I am afraid that very little reliance can be placed on the 1,000 years twice mentioned in the passage quoted above from Hiouen Tshang. First, because he is evidently speaking loosely and in round numbers; but more because we cannot feel sure when he placed the Nirvāna. If we assume the Ceylonese date

* Histoire de Hiouen Tshang, 188.

† It may be worth noticing here that Nāgārjuna, in his old age, when Śālivāhana was on the throne, is said to have resided in this capital of Kośala which our traveller visited, which is another reason why we should try to ascertain its position, if possible.—Histoire de Hiouen Tshang, 186.

‡ Vivien de St. Martin, in his valuable memoir, takes him from Warangol to Rajamendri on the Godavery, though admitting that this would make his route south-east instead of south. He was not then aware of the existence of Durnacotta, which is in the exact direction and distance indicated. He probably would now adopt this rectification. See Mémoires de Hiouen Tshang, vol. II. p. 396.

(543 B.C.), which we now know to be the correct one, it would place the period of prosperity 457 A.D., which would accord perfectly with what we gather from other circumstances. Although, however, this indication may not be of much value, it seems evident from this passage that about the middle of the sixth century Buddhism had suffered such a blow as to prevent any such work as this being undertaken. Even if it is contended that Dhanakacheka may not be Dharanikoṭṭa, the facts remain the same. From what our author says of what he saw in Kalinga on the one hand and Djourya* on the other, it is evident that, in the century before his visit, war, pestilence, and famine had swept over the three Kalingas, and nearly obliterated the original population. We know, too, that in the neighbouring province of Orissa the Keśari family, worshippers of Śiva, had raised themselves before that time (A.D. 473) on the ruins of the Buddhist dynasty; † and we also know that in the year 605 the Chālukyas conquered Vengā, ‡ the country in which Dharanikoṭṭa was situated, and they were neither Buddhists nor Snake worshippers. From all these circumstances it may therefore fairly be assumed that it was at some time before the middle of the sixth century, or before 550 A.D. at all events, that all the buildings around the Tope were completed.

If we can thus fix, at least approximatively, the period before which our buildings must have been completed, we can with equal probability ascertain the date when they were commenced. In the first place, we find that Colonel Mackenzie collected a considerable number of coins about "Durnacotta." Some of these were Roman, others of the Bactrian Kadphises type, § showing that the place was probably of some importance about the Christian era; but as none of these were found in the Tope itself, they have no direct bearing on our investigation. Those coins which were found in the Tope were all of lead, but their date not having yet been ascertained they at present afford us no assistance in our enquiry. || Among the slabs, however, from the Tope, sent home by Colonel Mackenzie, there is one which bears directly on this point. It is photographed in Plate LXXVIII., Figs. 2. and 3. The sculpture on the front is of the age of the inner Rail, probably the fifth century, but on the back of the same slab is a bas-relief evidently of about the same age as those of the Sanchi Tope. This confirms the evidence we acquire from the coins that a city and buildings did exist here as early as the Christian era, but proves at the same time that none of the buildings we now find there are so early. Some centuries must have elapsed between the times when the sculptures on the back and front of that slab were executed.

Colonel Mackenzie also collected a number of traditions referring to a Mokunti Maharaja ¶ who, among the Hindus on the spot, is the reputed builder of the

* Histoire de Hiouen Tshang, p. 185 and 189, and Mémoires, vol. II p. 116.

† Stirling's Account of Cuttack, Asiatic Researches, vol. XV. p. 264.

‡ Journal R. A. S., N. S., vol. I. p. 254.

§ Asiatic Researches, vol. XVII. p. 561 and 582, Plate II. Fig. 29, c. 41.

|| Asiatic Journal, vol. XV. p. 471. Madras Journal, vol. XIX. p. 220, et seqq.

¶ On the spot it is called the Doop Mogaśāla of Mokunti Maharaja. Mogaśāla, in the Telinga language, signifies a court for public affairs, and the distribution of justice. "Doop" is Hindostani for sun, or rather sunshine; translated into architectural language this would be "Hypethral Basilica." This would perhaps be the best term that could be applied to it; but it involves a theory it is as well to avoid at present. See Asiatic Journal, vol. XV. p. 469.

Tope,* and curiously enough among his own manuscripts there is one which places a Mokunti Raja exactly where we want him, if looking for a founder of the central building, which, from the evidence of the architecture, seems almost certainly to date from about the year 200, which is the date given to this king in that document.† On examination, however, these traditions are found to refer either to Rudra Deva of Warangal (A.D. 1132), or more probably to Pratâpa Rudra of Orissa (A.D. 1503), and have, consequently, no bearing on the date of the monument. They are all of Brahminical origin, and Benares is the scene of action, but like most Puranic traditions they are foolish and fabulous in the extreme, and refer to a persecution, when the last feeble remnants of the Bauddhas, here called Jainas, were finally expelled from India. It is curious to find Buddhists in India as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century; but though this has little reference to our present enquiry, we must bear in mind that the inscription translated by Mr. Prinsep,‡ and Sir Walter Elliot's excavations, prove that Amravati was a temple of the Buddhists at least as late as the twelfth or thirteenth century. My impression is that the Tooth relic again visited the place in 1187, but of this hereafter.

Turning to the monument itself, we find upon it a great number of inscriptions, and my friend General Cunningham has kindly undertaken to investigate this branch of the subject. The result of his labours will be found in Appendix E. Unfortunately they merely record that the pillar, or bas-relief, or object on which they are found, is the gift of some piously-disposed persons whose names are given; but these names, with one doubtful exception, are, unluckily for our purpose, all unknown to fame. At present, therefore, it is only from the form of the characters that the inscriptions aid in ascertaining the date of the monument. Generally this may be described as the Gupta alphabet, as used either immediately before or after A.D. 318. No trace of the Lât character occurs, though that was used in a modified form at Sanchi on the northern limits of the province certainly after the Christian era.§ The inscriptions in which the form of the letters most closely resembles that found at Amravati are those of the Kenheri and Nasick Caves. If Dr. Stevenson|| is right in ascribing these to the first half of the fourth century, and I see no reason to

* Asiatic Journal, vol. XV. p. 470, et seq. Wilson's Catalogue of Mackenzie's MSS., vol. I. p. cxxiv., and Taylor in Madras Selections, Second Series, No. XXXIX. p. 229, et seq.

† Madras Journal, No. 19, April 1838, p. 352.

‡ It is to be regretted that the Daladâvansa has not been completely translated, for it appears that in the twelfth or thirteenth century the tooth relic was taken back to India at a time apparently when (1187) a Kirti Nissanga, a prince of Kalinga, was one of the many Indian princes who held sway in Ceylon. It is said to have been conveyed to the banks of the Ganges (Upham's History of Buddhism, p. 32), but as Landresse suggests (Foë-Kouë-Ki, p. 345) this more probably was the Godavery, or, in other words, the Kistnah. From some particulars furnished me by Sir Walter Elliot, it seems that the part of the monument he dug into was a chapel formed of old slabs arranged unsymmetrically by some prince about that time, so as to form a chapel for some unexplained purpose. It may have been to receive this relic. The inscription translated by Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vol. VI. p. 218) shows that Buddhism was flourishing at Amravati in—say the twelfth century. Altogether nothing would surprise me less than to find that the Tooth relic sojourned here for seventy-six years before its recovery by the Ceylonese, about 1314 of our era. The materials exist for settling this question, but they have not yet been made available.

§ Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, p. 264.

|| J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. V. p. 39, et seq.

doubt his correctness in this respect, this evidence, "valeat quantum," would assign to the Amravati Tope the same epoch.

The evidence derived from the architecture of these Caves confirms this attribution to the fullest possible extent. Two drawings have already been given (Woodcuts 11. and 12.), and more will appear in the sequel, but meanwhile, if I am correct in ascribing the Nasick Cave to Gotamiputra (A.D. 309) and the Kenheri Cave to the age of Buddhaghosa (A.D. 410), this evidence, as far as it goes, would fix the erection of the great Rail at Amravati within the limits of the fourth century.

A good deal has yet to be accomplished before this branch of the investigation can be said to be complete; but everything that has yet been brought to light tends to confirm the assumption that the extreme elaboration of ornament which placed sculptured discs on the intermediate bars, as well as on the pillars of Buddhist Rails, was not introduced before the third century, and every building where it is found must consequently be dated subsequent to the year 200 at the earliest. In so far, therefore, as either paleographic or architectural evidence is concerned, the great Rail belongs to the fourth century. The central building, as will afterwards appear, is older, and the inner Rail more modern.

Notwithstanding all this, there is so much of Greek or rather Bactrian art in the architectural details of the Amravati Tope, that the first inference is that it must be nearer to the Christian era than the form of the inscriptions would lead us to suppose. On the other hand, we do not know how long the classical influence prevailed, and how much it may have been nourished by intercommunication with the West. Down to the age of Constantine, Rome seems to have maintained its intercourse with India, and we must pause before we draw a line as to the time when classical feeling may have ceased to exert an influence on Indian art. Certainly, in this instance, the expression of Hiouen Thsang, that this Tope was ornamented with all the art of the palaces of Bactria, is borne out to the fullest extent; but there seems no reason to suppose that this classical influence may not have endured till the break down of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, though it could hardly have lasted beyond that time.

The one point which it seems necessary to insist upon at this stage of the inquiry is the strong Bactrian influence which is manifested in all the details of the monument. As has been explained, the sculptures, with scarcely an exception, refer to a Naga people and to a Naga worship; and since, as pointed out above, p. 44, Taxila and Cashmere were the head quarters of that faith at this age, that circumstance alone would almost suffice to indicate the north-west as the source from which we must expect information regarding its origin. But, again, how long did the Bactro-Parthian kingdom exist? and how long did it continue to influence the politics and arts of India Proper? These are questions to which no very definite answer can be given in the present state of our knowledge; my own impression is, that the influence continued to a much later date than has hitherto generally been supposed; but there is nothing in all this sufficiently definite to enable us to found on it any argument as to the date of the Amravati Tope.

Although, therefore, it must be confessed that neither these classical influences nor the Mackenzie traditions seem to throw any steady light on our subject, the

information collected by Mr. Stirling, and published in his invaluable history of Cuttack, does seem to bear on its origin.

The following extracts from his memoirs* are those which seem most to the point:—"In the reign of Bajra Nath Deo the Yavanas are said to invade the country in great numbers from Babul Des—explained to mean Iran and Cabul—but are finally driven back." "In the reign of Huns or Hangsha Deo (query, Hushka) the Yavanas again invade in great force from Cashmere, and many bloody battles ensue." In the reign of Bhoja, the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invade the country in great force, but are driven back. Then follows Vikramāditya. If, therefore, the dates are to be depended upon, these invasions took place before the Christian era. Other Yavana invasions occur in the next four reigns; but the most important of all occurred in the reign of Subhan Deo, who ascended the throne 318 (the year of the Ballabhi era). In the ninth year of his reign a Yavana, Rakta Bāhu, invades the country by sea, and conquers it. The king escapes with the image of Juggernath, which he buries under a ber tree, and flies farther into the jungle, where he dies. His son succeeds to the title, but is murdered by the invaders. "A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Orissa for a space of 146 years, or down to A.D. 473." If these dates are to be depended upon,—and I see no reason for doubting their general correctness,—the period of the supremacy of this Yavana dynasty in Orissa exactly coincides with the dates which from other circumstances I would ascribe to the principal buildings at Amravati. No Stirling has yet visited Guntur, and we cannot therefore assert it, but it seems more than probable that the foreigners who conquered the northern, would also take possession of the southern Kalingas.

This account of this last invasion, being derived from Brahminical sources, would hardly help us much; but, fortunately, we have two Buddhist accounts of the same transaction, which are much more complete and detailed, and which do, I fancy, throw great light on our researches. The first is contained in the Daladā-vansa, partially translated by the Hon. G. Turnour, and published in the J. A. S. B. vol. VI. p. 856, et seq.; the other is abstracted by Colonel Low from the Siamese Phrā Pat'hom, and published in the same journal, vol. XVII. part II. p. 82, et seq. Unfortunately, neither work has been completely translated, and the extracts having been made with reference to other objects, do not give us all the information we want. The following abridgment of the story will, however, suffice for present purposes:—

The left canine tooth of Buddha had been preserved in Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, probably at or near the spot where the celebrated temple of Juggernāth now stands, for 800 years, when Gāhasīvo, the king, early in the fourth century, was converted to Buddhism from the Brahminical faith, which he had professed up to that time. With the zeal of a convert he dismissed and persecuted the Brahmins, who had hitherto enjoyed his favour. They repaired to Pātaliputta (Patna) to complain of this to the paramount sovereign, here called Pāṇḍu, but who, as it appears from the context, most probably was the Gotamiputra of the Sātkaṇi

* Asiatic Researches, vol. XV. p. 254, et seq. J. A. S. B., vol. VI. p. 756, et seq.

dynasty. He orders Gûhasîvo to repair to his court, bringing the relic with him. It is then subjected to every sort of trial. It is smashed on an anvil, thrown into the gutter, and everything conceivable done to destroy or dishonour it. It comes triumphantly out of all its trials. The king is converted, and finally devotes himself to a religious life.

While all this is going on, a northern king—it is not quite clear whence he came*—named Khîrâdhâro, attacks the capital, in order to possess himself of the wonder-working relic. He was defeated and killed in battle, and Gûhasîvo returned, it is said, with the sacred tooth to his capital. Some time afterwards the nephews of Khîrâdhâro, allying themselves with other kings, march against Gûhasîvo. He, though seeing that resistance is hopeless, prepares for defence; but, before going to the combat, he enjoins on his daughter Hemachalâ, who was married to a prince of Oujein, called Danta Kumâra, that in the event of his falling, they should take the relic, and escaping by sea, convey it to Mahâsena, king of Ceylon, who had been for some time negotiating for its purchase.†

The prince and princess fly from the city before its fall, bury the relic in the sand, in the same manner as the image of Juggernath is said to have been concealed in the Brahminical account, and, afterwards returning, the princess conceals it in her hair, and escaping to the coast, they take ship apparently at Tamralipi or Tamlook, and sail for Ceylon. Half-way between the place of embarkation and Ceylon they are shipwrecked, at a place called the Diamond Sands.‡ From the context I do not think there can be much hesitation in fixing this locality on the banks of the

* Probably Śrāvastî, then the capital of the northern Kôsala, the modern Oude. See General Cunningham's Report for 1862-63, p. 40.

† Some years ago Dr. Bird opened a small Töpe in front of the Kenheri Caves in Salsette. In it he found a copper plate recording that a canine tooth of Buddha had been deposited there. The plate is dated in the year 245. From the expression "Samvat" being used, Dr. Stevenson (J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. V. p. 13) assumes that it must be from the era of Vikramâditya. I believe, however, it is correct to assert that no Buddhist inscription is dated from the era of the hated opponent of their religion. If, on the other hand, we assume the era of Śâlivâhana, it brings the date to almost the exact time—A.D. 323—of these events on the east coast; and though it is not directly stated in the inscription, it seems that the tooth was deposited there by Gotamiputra, the very king who played so important a part in the narrative just recorded, and what is more, it seems extremely probable that the Kenheri tooth was, or was supposed to be, the identical one which performed so many miracles in Pâṭaliputta.

This might seem paradoxical had not the same thing happened to the same relic in similar circumstances more than twelve centuries afterwards. When the Portuguese conquered Ceylon, Constantine de Braganza seized the Daladâ and conveyed it to Goa. The king of Pegu sent an embassy after it, and offered any amount of ransom for it. But the bigotry of the priesthood was proof against any such temptation. The tooth was consumed by fire in presence of the Archbishop and all the notables, and the ashes cast into the sea. The result was peculiar. The Ceylonese pretended that the one so destroyed was a counterfeit. A true one was discovered and sold to the king of Pegu, and as soon as he was gone and had paid for it, another true one was found concealed in Ceylon, and is probably the crocodile's tooth that is now so honoured in that country. To complete the parallelism, both the Burmese and the Concani teeth have disappeared, and only their empty Chaityas remain. The Ceylonese tooth still remains with the oldest pedigree of any such relic that the world possesses.

The particulars of this second great attempt to destroy the Daladâ will be found well stated in Sir E. Tennent's Ceylon, vol. II. p. 199. Translations of the original authorities are there given also.

‡ *Dimne* means sand bank in Telugu. This may be the origin of the name Dîpal dimne, which certainly does not mean "Hill of Lights." Can Dîpal, by any synonym, be assumed to mean diamond?

Kistnah. First, from its position half-way;* next, because here only, so far as I know, are those diamond† mines near the coast; but more because, as will be abundantly proved by the sequel, it was the residence of the Naga Raja.

The Naga Raja steals the relic from the princess when she is asleep, but he is forced by the power of a Thero, from the Himalaya, to restore it, and the wanderers again embark, and after various adventures reach Ceylon in the year 312.‡ Mahāsena had been dead nine years, but the fugitives are received with open arms by Meghavarna,§ the reigning sovereign; a brick and mortar Chaitya is made, and the relic brought by the prince and princess enshrined with great solemnity (Colonel Low, p. 86).

The narrative then proceeds:—"Three years had passed away, when the king of Lankā perceived from an ancient prophecy that in seven years from that date a certain king, Dhammāsoka Raja, would erect a temple on the Diamond Sands; and he likewise recollected that there were two Donas of relics of Buddha still concealed in the country of Naga Raja. He therefore directed a holy person to go and bring these relics." The Naga Raja's brother swallows the relics, and flies to Meru, but they are taken from him and brought back. "Soon after this Naga Raja arrived (in Ceylon), in the form of a handsome youth, and solicited a few relics from his majesty, which were bestowed upon him accordingly."

His majesty now ordered a golden ship to be made. It was one cubit long and one span broad. The relics were put into a golden cup; this was placed in a vase, and the whole put into the golden ship. A wooden ship was next built, having a breadth of beam of seven long cubits.

Danta Kumāra and Hemachalā being desirous of revisiting their country, the king of Lankā sent with them ambassadors to one of the five|| kings who now ruled there, requesting him to show them every attention. The vessel reached the Diamond Sands in five months, and the prince and princess went on shore, accompanied by the priests. An account is then given of the building of the temple, and the mode in which the relics were placed. The vessel now set sail for Dantapura, which it reached in little more than three months. The ambassadors of the king of Lankā landed with the prince and princess. They were treated with much distinction, and remained in the country.

* The Siamese, as Colonel Low points out, wishing to make their own country the scene of these events, have lengthened the periods of the voyage preposterously. They make it three months from Cuttack to the Diamond Sands, and three more from thence to Ceylon.—J. A. S. B., vol. XVII. pt. II., pages 86 and 87.

† One of the objects of Colonel Mackenzie's surveys was to mark the diamond mines in the locality. He plots the diamond district as extending to about eight miles north of Amravati, but it seems there are no mines elsewhere. Their position is marked on the map, Plate XLVI.

‡ It does not seem quite clear how far the Ceylonese dates are to be relied upon as quite correct about this time. Avowedly there is an error to the extent of at least sixty years in the date their annals assign to Asoka. This has subsequently been adjusted, to some extent, by Mr. Turnour, but not, so far as I can judge, in such a manner as to inspire entire confidence. My impression is that the dates in the fourth century are all from ten to fifteen years too early.

§ Is not this the Varāja of the Western Cave Inscript.?—J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. V. p. 42.

|| Those who, according to the Daladāvansa, had combined with the nephews of Khirādhāro and conquered the country.

After this follows a third tradition which Colonel Low treats as if referring to another king and to different circumstances, but both from the name he bore and the whole of the circumstances mentioned in the context seems undoubtedly to have been the same person. In the legend he is called Dhammāsoka* and ruled the country of Arvadi, apparently Avanti (Ougein) with strict justice, but is forced by a famine to emigrate with his followers, amounting to 31,000 able-bodied men. The wanderers proceeded southward for seven months. After various adventures they reach a place where water and fish were abundant. Next day the king mounted his horse and reached the Diamond Sands. Here he meets the Naga Raja, builds a Chaitya, and founds a city.

“Dhammāsoka reigned here quietly for seven years, but mortified and unhappy because he could not reach the relics. His Majesty accordingly offered a high reward to any one who should find the relics and disinhume them. But this proved of no avail. It so happened that, in the dilemma, a Putra or son of the king of Róm or Roum, named Kākabhāsa, who happened to be trading to the country of Takhasilā, encountered a violent storm. He had 500 souls on board, who, supplicating the gods, were rescued from death. The ship, with much difficulty, reached close to the Diamond Sands, and observing signs of population cast anchor with a view to refit.”

The Prince of Róm† assists the Naga Raja to recover the hidden treasure, and to build a wonderful nine-storied Chaitya over it, many particulars of which are given; but as they are too long to extract, and either are imaginary or do not refer to the particular building we are engaged upon, it is hardly necessary to quote them here. These quotations might be multiplied to almost any extent; but enough has probably been adduced to show that, in the beginning of the fourth century—about the time when the struggle for the tooth relic was convulsing all India—Buddhist tradition points most distinctly to the Diamond Sands, on the banks of the Kistnah, as the place where a great temple was being built. The kingdom of the Naga Raja certainly was there; and so far as can be judged from every indication as to the locality, if it was not at or near Amravati, it could not possibly have been far from the spot.

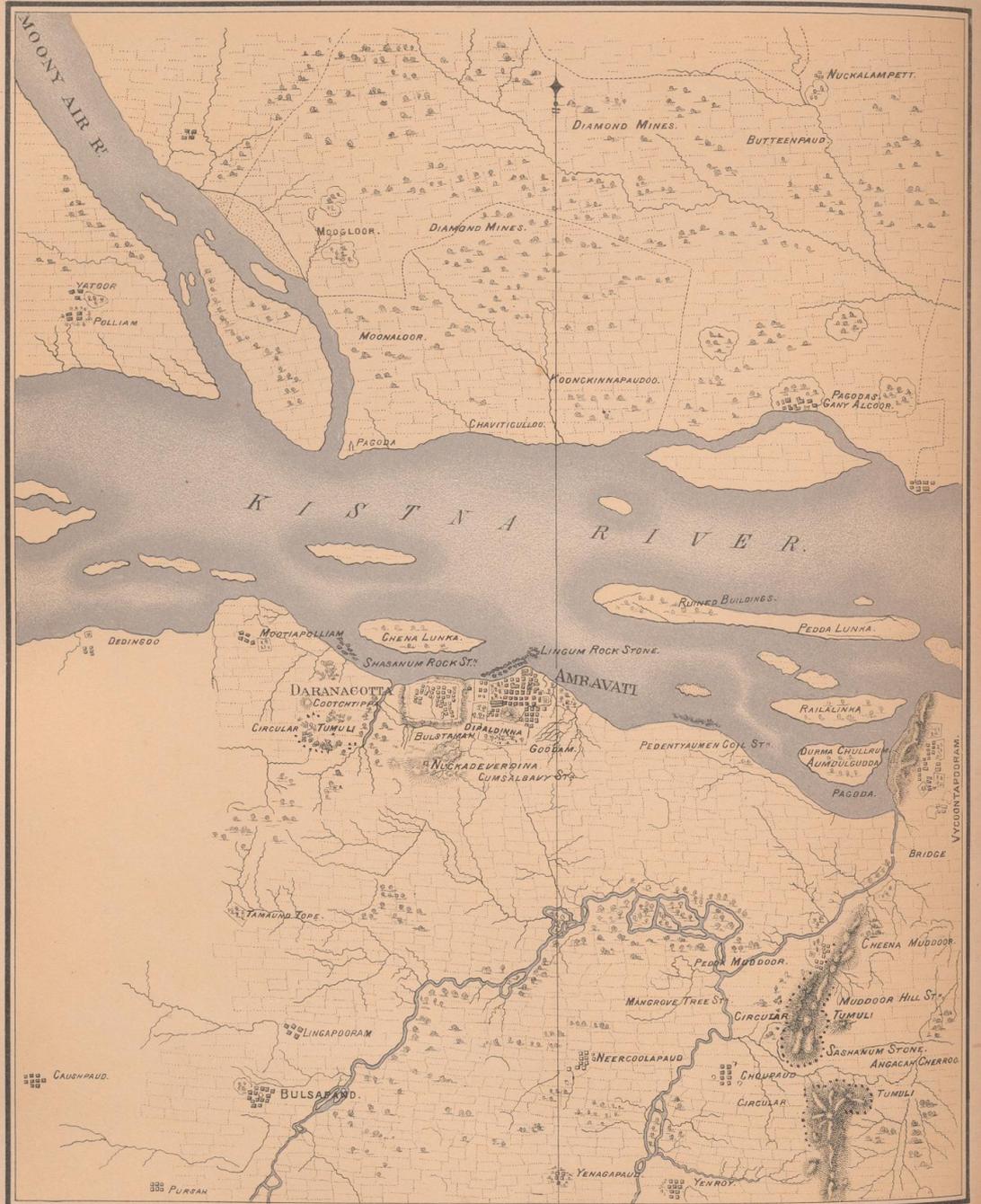
Though all this tends to confirm the idea that the building referred to is the Amravati Tope, the inference rises almost to certainty when we come to examine the sculptures with which it is adorned. In one bas-relief a ship is represented with

* This is evidently a title, though from the similarity of the name Colonel Low confounds him with the great Asoka, and places him 321 B.C.

† It would be absurd to found any serious theory on the mention of the name of Rome, if it stood alone and unsupported. The circumstance mentioned in the narrative of the strangers being white men, and coming by sea, is a small confirmation that the people here mentioned were really Europeans. My impression, however, is that few who are familiar with the arts of Rome in Constantine's time, and who will take the trouble to master these Amravati sculptures, can fail to perceive many points of affinity between them. The circular medallions of the arch of Constantine—such as belong to his time—and the general tone of the art of his age so closely resemble what we find here, that the coincidence can hardly be accidental. The conviction that the study of these sculptures has forced in my mind is, that there was much more intercommunication between the east and west during the whole period from Alexander to Justinian than is generally supposed, and that the intercourse was especially frequent and influential in the middle period, between Augustus and Constantine.

two persons on board, bearing relics, and is being welcomed by a Naga king on approaching the shore. In another an ark, in the form of a ship, like that described above, is being borne in state on men's shoulders; and in numerous scenes there are conferences between the Naga king and a prince or king accompanied by a lady, neither of whom nor any of whose suite are Nagas. Of course these may represent other similar scenes which have happened to other people; but a careful examination of the whole presents so many points of coincidence that I hardly think they can be accidental. One point which the sculptures undoubtedly reveal is that Amravati was the capital, or, at least, the residence of the Naga Raja. In all the sculptures which do not relate to the life of Buddha, and in many of these, the Naga king appears with his hood of a seven-headed snake, and all his women have also single snakes at the back of their heads. As will be presently shown, Naga worship almost supersedes Buddhism in the religious representations, so much so, indeed, that it is sometimes difficult to say to which religion the temple is dedicated.

It may be quite true that no single part of this evidence is sufficient to prove the case, but, taking the whole of it together, I think it must be admitted to be sufficient to justify the presumption that the beginning of the fourth century was the great building epoch at Amravati. When all the evidence about to be advanced in describing the Plates is added to what has been adduced, few, I fancy, will be inclined to doubt but that the two great Rails at Amravati are part of the Temple at the Diamond Sands, which, according to the Ceylonese computation, was commenced in the year 322. Judging from the elaboration of the outer Rail, it may have taken fifty years to complete. If this be so, the date of its completion may be about the year 370 or 380 of our era, and the principal part of the building may thus have remained complete for 150 or 200 years after that time, before it was deserted, as mentioned by Hiouen Tshang. From evidence which will be brought forward hereafter, it would appear that the central building or Tope itself is at least a century older than the great Rail, and that the inner or smaller Rail is at least as much more modern, so that, like our own cathedrals, the erection of this Tope may have lasted for two or three centuries, or say from 200 to 500 A.D. Even beyond this, however, there are reasons for believing—as will be shown in describing Plate LXXXIII.—that a building of importance existed here as early as the Christian era, or contemporaneously with the gates at Sanchi. On the other hand, we know for certain that it was afterwards repaired and used for Buddhist purposes as late as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries; but the particulars of this restoration are less interesting, and further explorations on the spot are necessary before they can be made intelligible. All this, however, will be clearer and more easily intelligible when we have gone through the description of the 54 Plates, which are devoted to the illustration of the architecture and sculptures of the Amravati Tope.



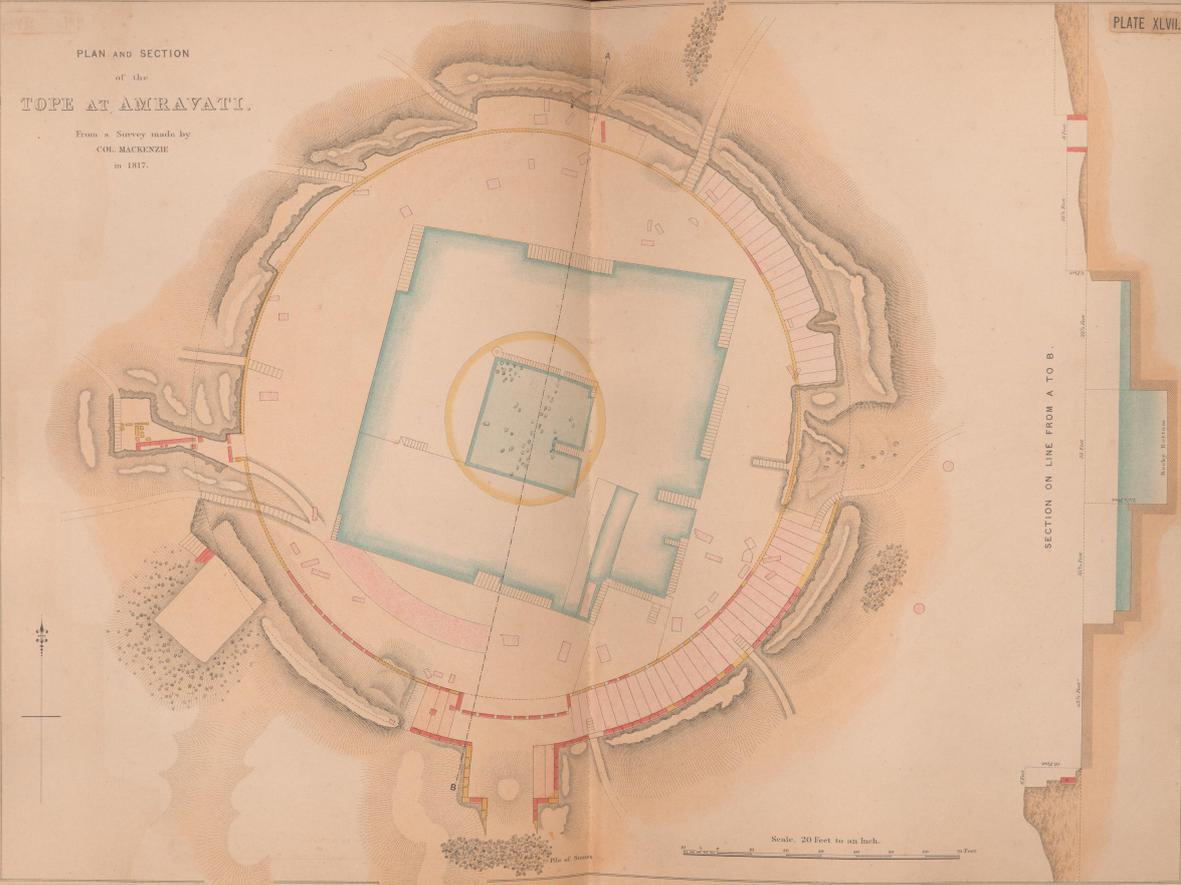
W. GRIGGS LITH.

INDIA MUSEUM

MAP OF AMRAVATI IN GUNTOOR
 & OF PURTYALL & THE DIAMOND MINES
 WITH THE VILLAGES ADJACENT REDUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL SURVEY.
 IN 1816.
 SCALE OF 1 MILE TO AN INCH.

PLAN AND SECTION
of the
TOPE AT AMRAYATI.

From a Survey made by
COL. MACKENZIE
in 1817.



DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

AMRAVATI TOPE.

PLATES XLVI. AND XLVII.

PLATE XLVI. is copied literally from the survey of the locality made by Colonel Mackenzie in 1816-17, and suffices to explain the exact relative position of the different antiquities already alluded to (page 151). In order to prevent any appearance of adjusting it to suit any theory, the spelling has been retained as found in the original map, though it differs occasionally from that adopted in the text.

The ramparts of the old town of Daranacotta will be observed to the westward of the modern town of Amravati, and the site of the several mounds of Dipaldinna, Nuckadeverdina, and Cootchitippa are also plainly marked. One cluster, though the smallest, of the circular tumuli or stone circles, is close to the old town to the westward; but by far the most numerous groups are gathered round the bases of the hills in the right-hand lower corner of the map, where they are described as existing in hundreds. The diamond mines are all on the left bank of the river, opposite the town.

Plate XLVII. is likewise copied literally from a drawing in the Mackenzie Collection,* and represents the monument as it existed in 1816-17. At that time the slabs coloured dark red were either standing or were lying in such a position that their original site could be identified; and the paving stones of the procession path, coloured pink, were also *in situ*.

The central building had at that time entirely disappeared, the materials having been utilized by the Raja in building the new town.† Having cleared it away, he was induced to dig deeper in search of treasure, which is always supposed to be buried in these mounds; and having made a great hole in this pursuit, he afterwards determined to make use of it by forming it into a water tank. This, as will be seen from the plan and section, was not complete at the time it was abandoned, the Raja having ruined himself by extravagance some time before Colonel Mackenzie's second visit. In the process of excavation the earth had fortunately been thrown

* A reduction of it to the scale of 100 feet to 1 inch was published by me in the Handbook of Architecture (Woodcut 9), in 1855.

† "The whole of the inner circle has been dug up, and the stones removed for building purposes. They have been chiefly applied to the repair of Pagodas, and a great many were put to form a flight of steps to the square tank of Shivagunga."—Colonel Mackenzie, in Asiatic Journal, p. 469.

on to the path and rails, so as to protect them to a certain extent; and those slabs which had not been carried away were thus partially protected till some were excavated by the Colonel.* Sir Walter Elliot's explorations were apparently wholly confined to the northern side of the Western Gateway, where a mound of earth concealed the modern chapel, the walls of which furnished nine-tenths of the slabs now in the India Museum.

All that the Raja discovered to reward his search was a small relic casket, which is now in the Madras Museum.† It was apparently similar to those found at Sanchi, but has no inscription and is of no intrinsic value.

The dimensions of the Tope, as shown in the plan, and recorded by Colonel Mackenzie, are 195 feet‡ for the inside diameter of the outer circle, and 165 feet for that of the inner. The procession path is paved with slabs 13 feet long, and the inner rail is 2 feet in width. Each of the four Gateways projected about 30 feet beyond the outer rail; but all are so ruined that the dimensions cannot be ascertained with exactness.

The only addition I have made to the plan is the yellow circle in the centre. This is the site and I believe the dimensions of the enclosing Rail of the central Dagoba. For reasons which will be given when describing Plates XCIII. to XCVIII., it would appear that it did not exceed 30 feet in diameter; and if this were so, it seems nearly certain that other buildings occupied the rest of the enclosure; but as it is nearly certain that all these were erected in wood it is in vain now to hope to find any remains of them. A nine-storied pagoda has already been alluded to (p. 161); and my conviction is that, besides this, there must have been a Vihāra or residence, a Chaitya hall, a Dharmasāla, and other conventual buildings. These, or the greater part of them, must have existed prior to 322; and it was to enclose and unite them that the great Rail was erected. Nothing is so common as such an arrangement as this in the Madras territory. In nine cases out of ten, in their greatest temples, the sanctuary itself is relatively less important, as compared with its surroundings, than this 30-foot Dagoba is to its rails and the other buildings; so that there is at least no *à priori* improbability in the arrangement.§

* "In the present state of the mound it is impossible to form any conjecture whether there was any or what sort of building standing in the centre, or for what purpose it was intended."—Asiatic Journal, vol. XV. p. 469.

† The following extract from a letter of 12th June last, from Sir Walter Elliot, contains all the information available on this subject:—"They found in the centre of the mound a stone casket, with a lid, on opening which a crystal box was found, containing a small pearl, some gold leaf, and other things of no value. The Raja sent the relics to his tosha khanah, and there they remained. At a later period I succeeded in securing them for Government, and they are now in the Museum at Madras."

‡ By a curious coincidence this is exactly twice the diameter of the outer circle at Stonehenge. There the inner diameter of the outer circle is exactly 100 Roman feet, or 97/6 feet English. The outer rail in the Indian example is rather more than 14 feet high; that at Stonehenge is, as nearly as it can be now measured, 15/6. These coincidences may be accidental, but though at first sight so different, it does not appear to me doubtful but that they are both simulated sepulchres—cenotaphs—relic shrines, or whatever they may be called, and are utterances of the same primæval faith. What does not appear to admit of doubt is, that they were being erected simultaneously—the western one to commemorate a martyrdom, the eastern to perpetuate the memory of the visit or enshrinement of a relic.

§ So convinced am I of the correctness of the view, that I had prepared a drawing purporting to be a bird's eye view of the Tope, with all these arrangements, and intended it should form the frontispiece to this work. On second thoughts I abandoned the idea. All the other Plates in the work are absolute facts; this would have been said to have involved theories.

XXXVXTI.

PLATE XLVIII.

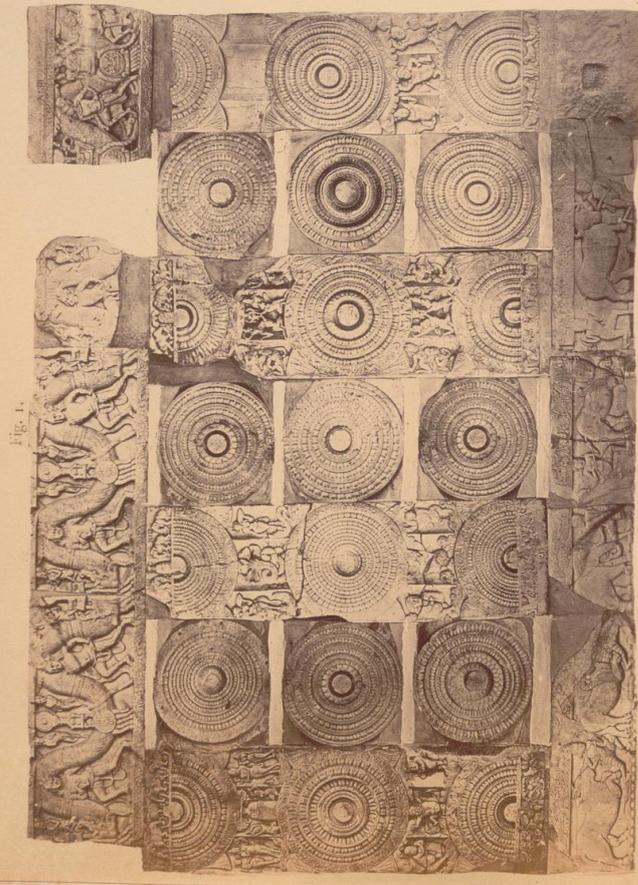


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

ELEVATION OF EXTERNAL FACE OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1-3RD OF 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

ΣΜΡΞΥΞΤΙ,

PLATE XLIX.



Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1-3RD OF 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES XLVIII. AND XLIX.

WHEN I was first furnished with a complete set of Photographs of the Amravati marbles in the India Museum, I confess that the task of arranging them or of finding out to what parts of the building each belonged, seemed hopeless enough. By degrees, as I became familiar with them, I perceived that they might be classified in three great groups. First, I perceived that in one portion the figures were very much larger than the others, the sculpture coarser, and they had the Sanchi form of Rail as an ornament. These, I afterwards made out, belonged to the central building, and they are found arranged in Plates XCIII. to XCVIII. Once their general characteristics are guessed, there is no difficulty in recognizing them either in the marble or in Colonel Mackenzie's drawings.

A second group consisted of marbles diametrically opposed in style to these. The figures were the smallest, the carving the most delicate, and the ornamentation more elaborate than in any of the others. They were in fact more like ivory carvings than things to be executed in stone. These I discovered belonged to the inner Rail. They will be found in Plates LXXV. to LXXXV.

There only then remained the principal group, which there was no difficulty in recognizing as fragments of the great outer Rail. They occupy Plates XLVIII. to LXXIV. There only then remained a few fragments, Plates LXXXVI. to XCII., which were of no architectural importance, and may have been placed anywhere. Once this assortment was completed, there was no great difficulty in restoring the great Rail. Many of the pillars were entire for their whole height, and some were sculptured both on the back and front; so that, with a little familiarity, that distinction could be easily recognized. In addition to this, each was furnished at the sides with three lentil-shaped mortices, like those at Sanchi, as shown in the frontispiece and in woodcuts 8 and 10. Some also of the intermediate discs still retained their flanges, which fitted into these mortices, though the greater number had been trimmed into circles, apparently for convenience of carriage. There could, however, be no mistake as to their position. The upper Rail was easily recognized by the rounded and weather-worn top, but the animal frieze at the bottom of Plate XLVIII. for a long time puzzled me. Eventually, however, I found fragments which represented the Rail in its complete state. Such, for instance, as Figs. 1. and 2., Plate LXXXVIII., represent the external appearance of the Rail with minute accuracy. They have the waving roll at top, the Zoophorus at bottom, the octagonal pillars, with one central disc and two half discs at top and bottom; and their intermediate Rails with their circular discs and the open spaces between.* With these aids and the sculptures themselves, as I became familiar with them, the task became easy, and the restorations were made which are shown on a reduced scale in

* Compare these with Woodcuts 11 and 12, from Nasick and Kenheri.

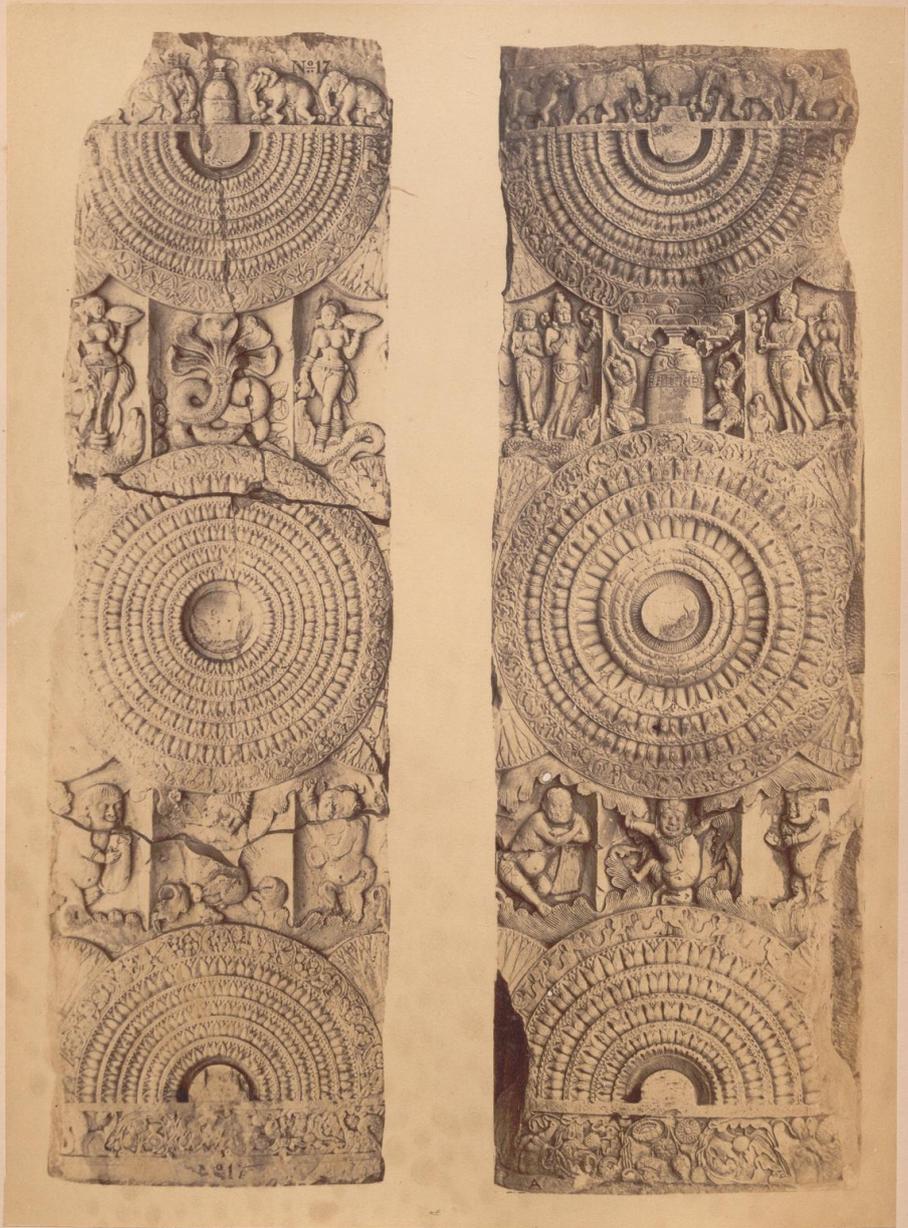
Plates XLVIII. and XLIX., and so perfectly do all the parts fit together that I do not think there can be any doubt as to their correctness.

Plate XLVIII. represents the outer face of the great Rail, and is plainer than the inner face, as shown in the next Plate. This was an arrangement singularly consistent with good taste and architectural propriety, as it is evident that those who wished to study the sculptures could do it with more facility in the quiet and seclusion of the interior than from the outside. The only additional ornament on the exterior was the lower animal frieze, which forms a base to the whole. As that was raised two feet above the level of the country outside, something was necessary to hide its external face, while it would be difficult to design anything more elegant or better adapted to its purpose than this frieze of animals. This was not wanted internally, as the pillars there rose from the paving stones of the procession path.

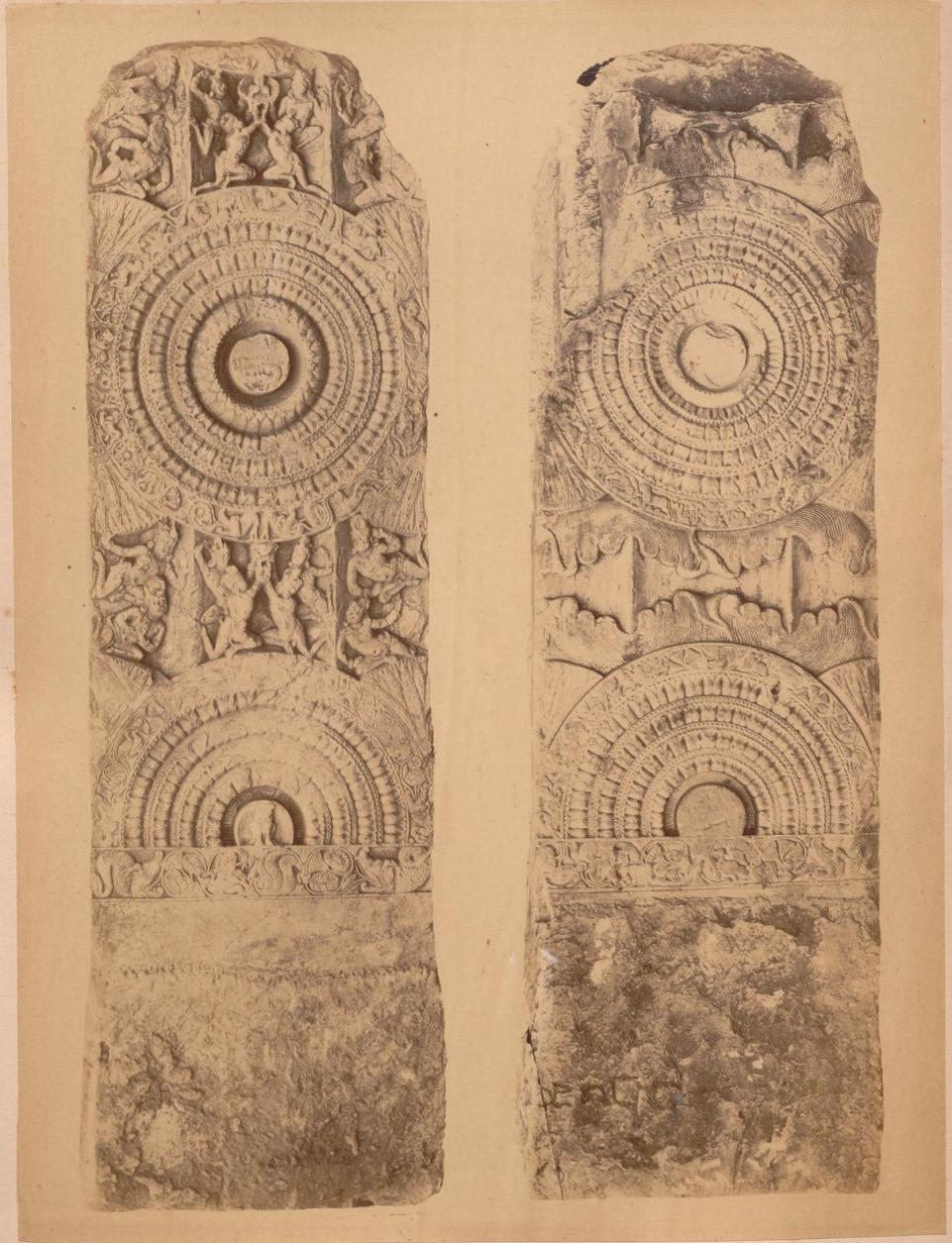
Plate XLIX., Fig. 1., represents the inner face of six pillars of the great Rail, with their intermediate discs and the upper frieze; the whole, as will be observed, were elaborately covered with sculptures. The lower range of sculpture is omitted, as it apparently represented on the outside the height of the solid pavement in the interior. Fig. 2. represents a portion of a frieze of the same dimensions, but from a different part, probably one of the gateways or projections.

There were apparently twenty-four pillars in each quadrant, and eight at least in each Gateway, say 112 to 120 in all. This involves 230 to 240 central discs, all of which were sculptured; and as each of these contains from twenty to thirty figures at least, there must have been in them alone from 6,000 to 7,000 figures. If we add to these the continuous frieze above and the sculptures above and below the discs on the pillars, there probably were not less than 120 to 140 figures, for each intercolumniation, say 12,000 to 14,000 in all. The inner Rail contains probably even a greater number of figures than this, but they are so small as more to resemble ivory carving, but except, perhaps, the great frieze at Nakhon Vat.* There is not, perhaps, even in India, and certainly not in any other part of the world, a storied page of sculpture equal in extent to what this must have been when complete. If not quite it must have been nearly perfect, in all probability less than a century ago.

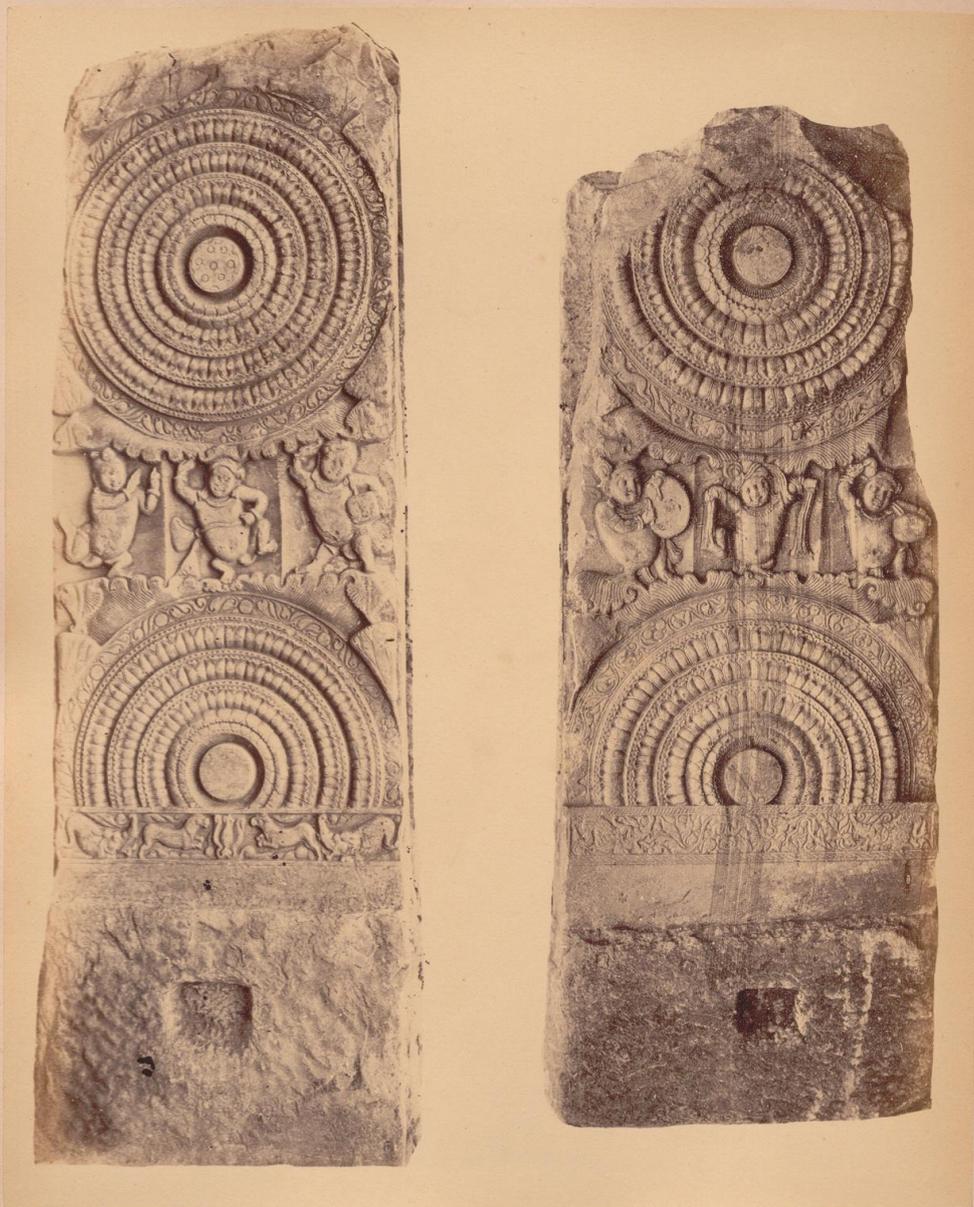
* History of Architecture, vol. II. p. 713, et seqq.



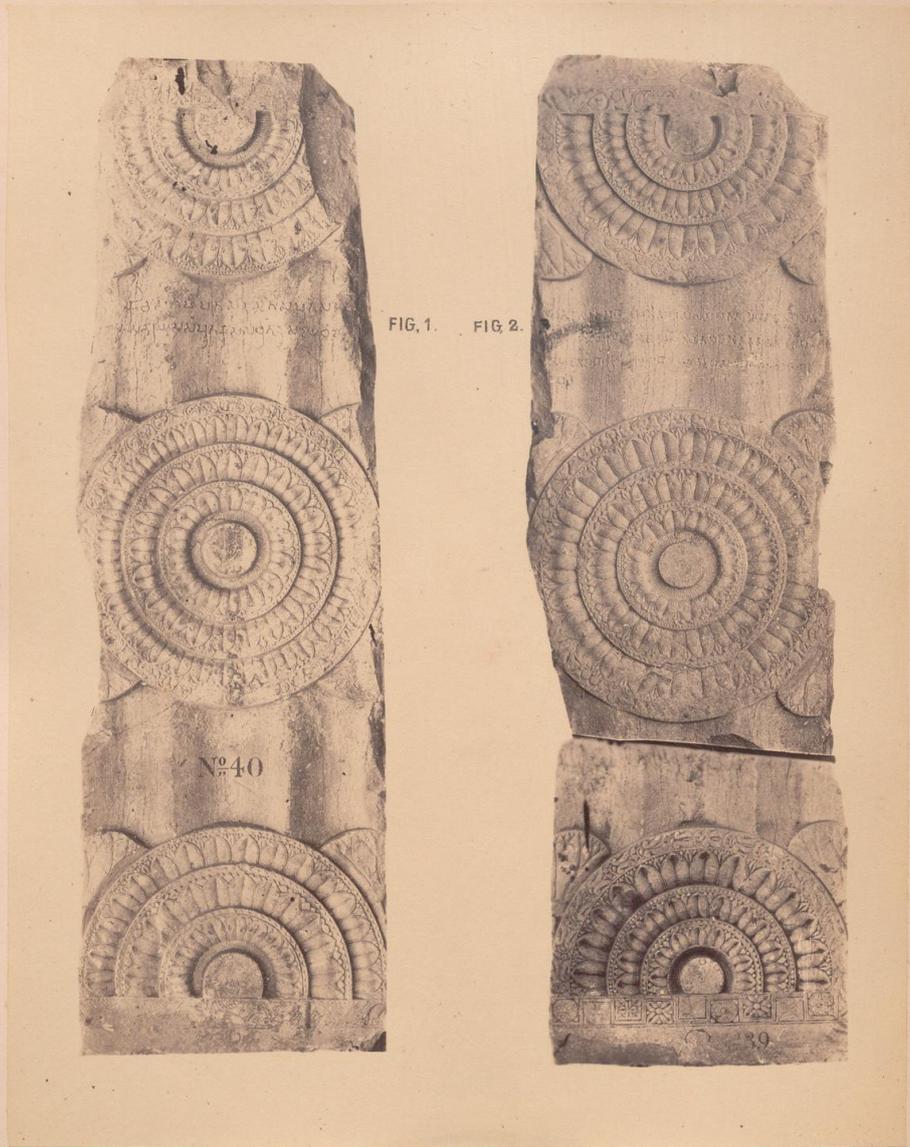
ELEVATION OF THE EXTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



ELEVATION OF THE EXTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

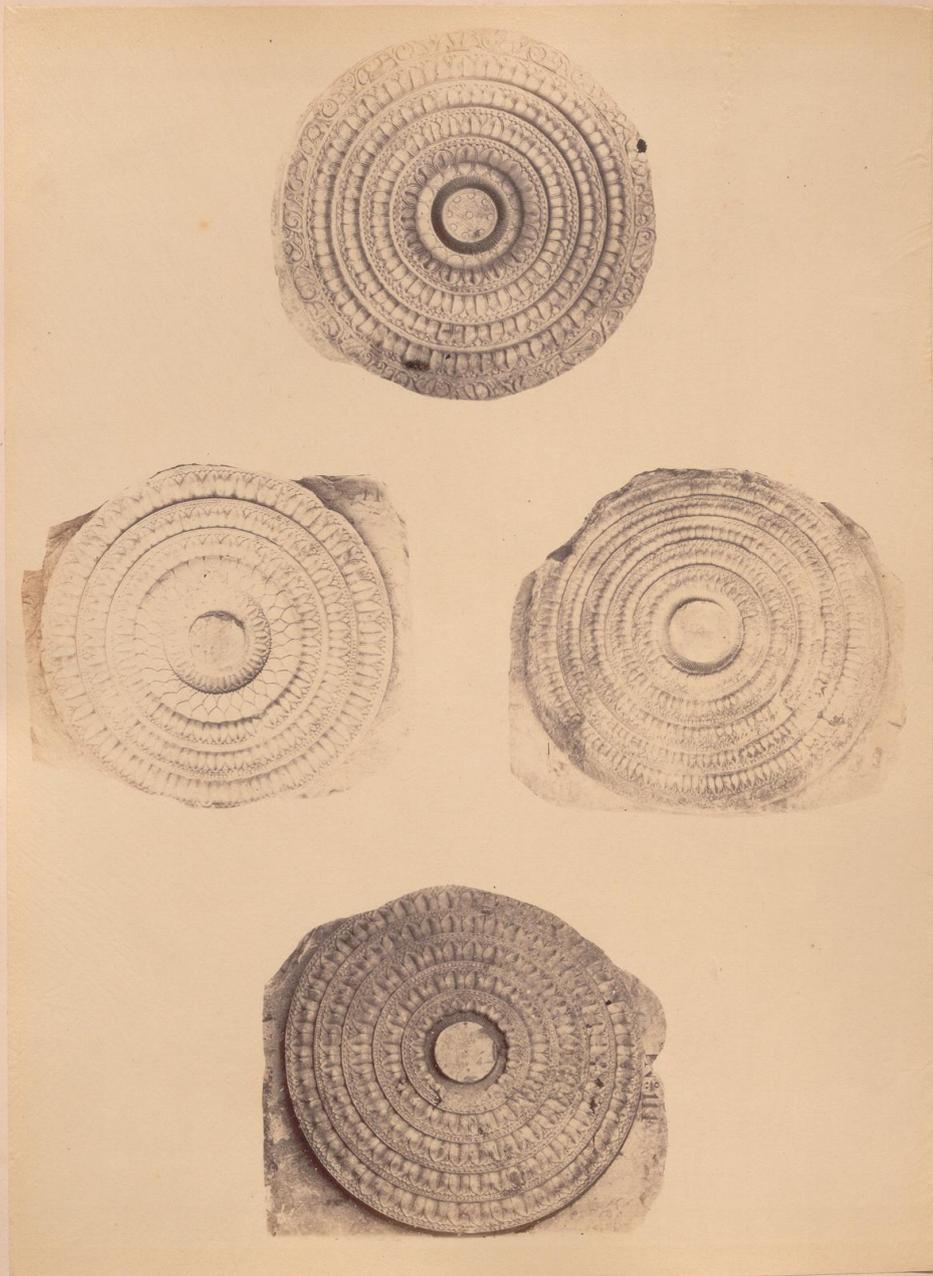


ELEVATION OF THE EXTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

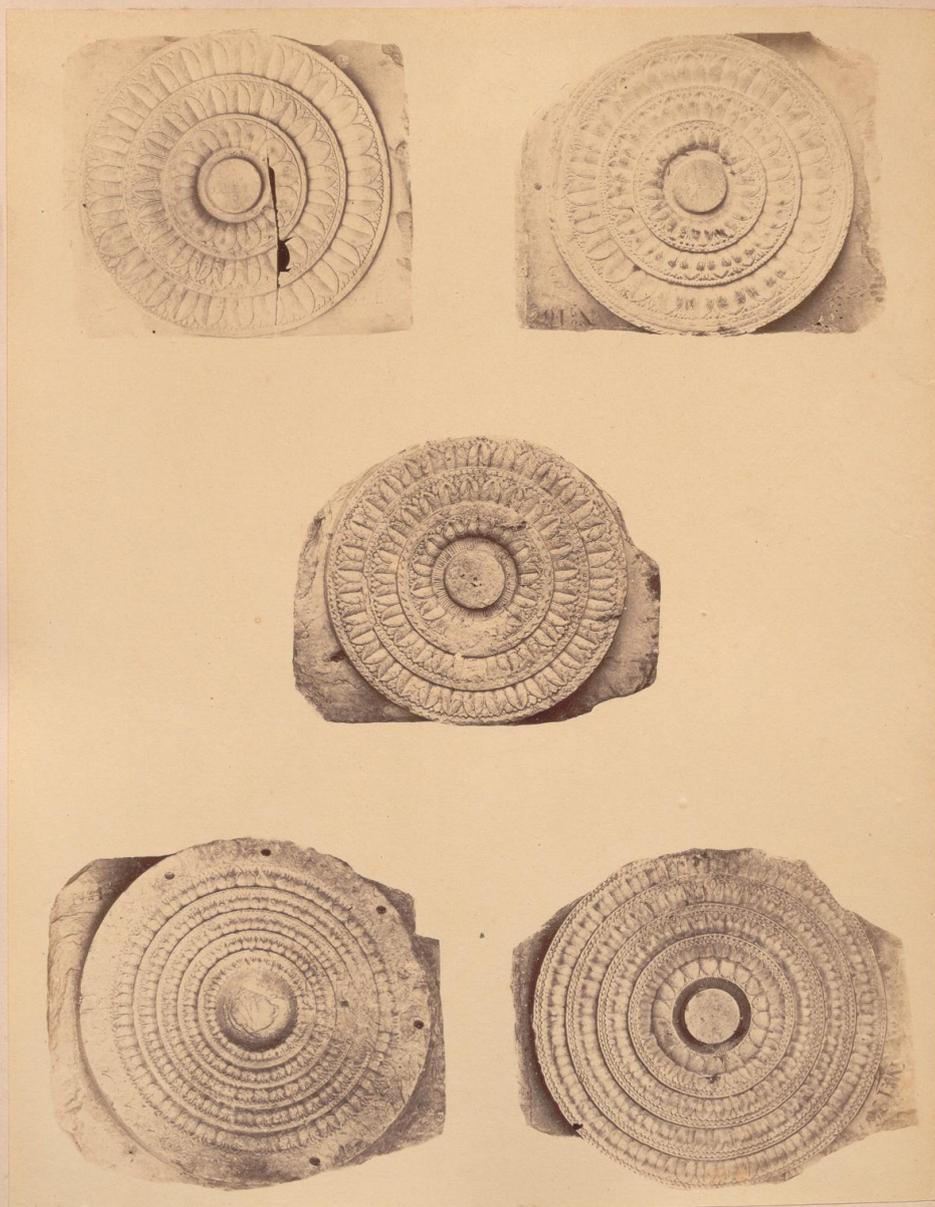


ELEVATION OF THE EXTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF SMALLER RAIL.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

FIG. 1. 1824



DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES L. TO LV.

THE six Plates contain all the fragments representing the outer face of the great Rail which exist in the India House collection—with the exception of the friezes (Plates LVI., LVII.),—and are all photographed to the same scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.

The left-hand pillar (Plate L.) is dedicated to the five-headed Naga, who occupies the place of honour in front; on either side of him are two female figures bearing offerings, and standing on two reptilian monsters, apparently dead. Above are elephants worshipping the Dagoba. On the right-hand pillar the Dagoba occupies the principal position, crowned by eleven Chattas. On either side a male and a female figure are represented in attitudes of ecstatic devotion; and beyond, on the outside faces of the octagon, a man in Hindu costume and his wife on each side, approaching the Dagoba, bearing offerings apparently of flowers. Above are elephants worshipping the Tree.

On both these pillars, on the octagonal compartment below the central disc, are Gaṇa or dwarfs, playing and laughing and throwing themselves into grotesque attitudes.

The left-hand pillar in Plate XLI. is so much weather-worn that it is extremely difficult to make out what the story of the sculptures may be. In the upper compartment two figures appear to be upholding a tray, on which a relic or some precious object is placed; and six other figures, floating in the air, appear as worshipping the object, whatever it may be. In the lower compartment two men seem to be seizing something that is descending to them from what might be called a shoot or vessel of some sort.* The story evidently refers to some relic or gift received miraculously below, and exalted and worshipped above, but what the precious object may be there is nothing to show.

The three following pillars (Plates XLI. and XLII.) contain no novelty, but are interesting as exhibiting the endless variety of detail with which these pillars are executed, and the grotesque form of the dwarfs with whom they are adorned. The drum, it will be observed, is here beaten with two crooked sticks; at Sanchi only one was employed.

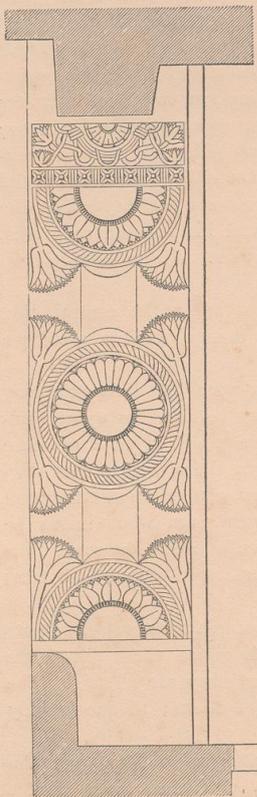
The two pillars (Plate LIII.) belong to a somewhat smaller Rail, and the patterns upon them are of a somewhat purer and less exuberant style of art. Possibly they may be older, but hardly materially so; and I am clearly of opinion that they are only parts of the great outer Rail, perhaps the old part, or perhaps some detached portion or projection. Both are inscribed. The inscription on the left-hand pillar, according to General Cunningham, is to the effect that the pillar on which it is engraved was the pious gift of a householder—whose name is partly

* There is a drawing of this pillar in the Mackenzie Collection, Plate XXXI., but it does not help us to an explanation of the meaning.

obliterated—together with his wife and son. The other inscription, on the right-hand pillar, is longer, but to the same effect. It records the pious gift of two pillars by Tunulauraka the householder, son of Pusili, together with other members of his family.*

I have before had occasion to point out (page 84) the similarity that exists between the arrangements of the Rail in front of the Gotamiputra Cave at Nasick

No. 19.



PILASTER IN NASSICK CAVE.
From a Drawing by E. W. West.

and that at Amravati. The coincidence becomes even more striking when we compare the pillars in this Plate with one from the same Cave, represented in the annexed woodcut (No. 19). The central circle and the two half-circles at top and bottom are as like as the difference of material would allow; and the lotus buds used to fill up the angles in both examples are nearly identical. It seems to me impossible that the two can differ much in age; and if I am correct in assigning the beginning of the fourth century to the Cave, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the Rail was erected within a few decades of it either way.

Plates LIV. and LV. contain nine of the intermediate discs of the great Rail, as seen from the outer side. The three upper ones in Plate LV. belong to the smaller Rail last described, and fortunately have not been trimmed, like some of the larger ones, so that the flanges by which they were inserted into the pillars can still be observed. The other six, with the six in the centre of the pillars just described, and the eight half discs on the pillar, are sufficient to exemplify the usual form of these ornaments. Every one is different, though all have a general resemblance, and display an exuberance of fancy for such details not probably to be found in any classical or mediæval monument of its class.

In one other point they are interesting as exhibiting a classical tendency, more than any other details at Amravati. They forcibly recall the expression of Hiouen Thsang, "that the Sanghârâma was ornamented with all "the art of the palaces of Bactria,"—an expression the more remarkable because our traveller does not apply it to any other building he saw in India, and we do not know any one in that country where so much classical feeling prevails.† The ornament is the water-leaf of the classical artists, and might be used now on the ceiling of any modern classical hall without anyone detecting that its details were borrowed from any building east of the Bosphorus.

* See Appendix E., Nos. IV. and XV.

† Supra, p. 153.

XXXVXTI.

PLATE LVI.

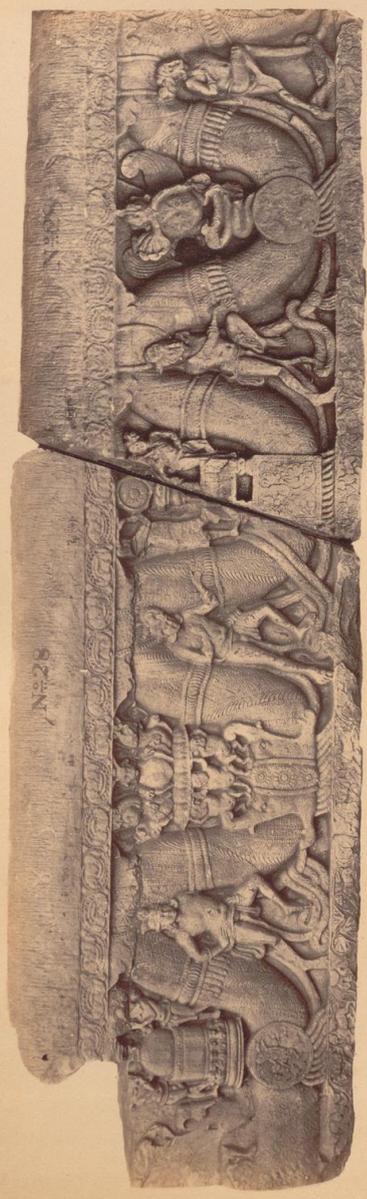


FIG. 1.



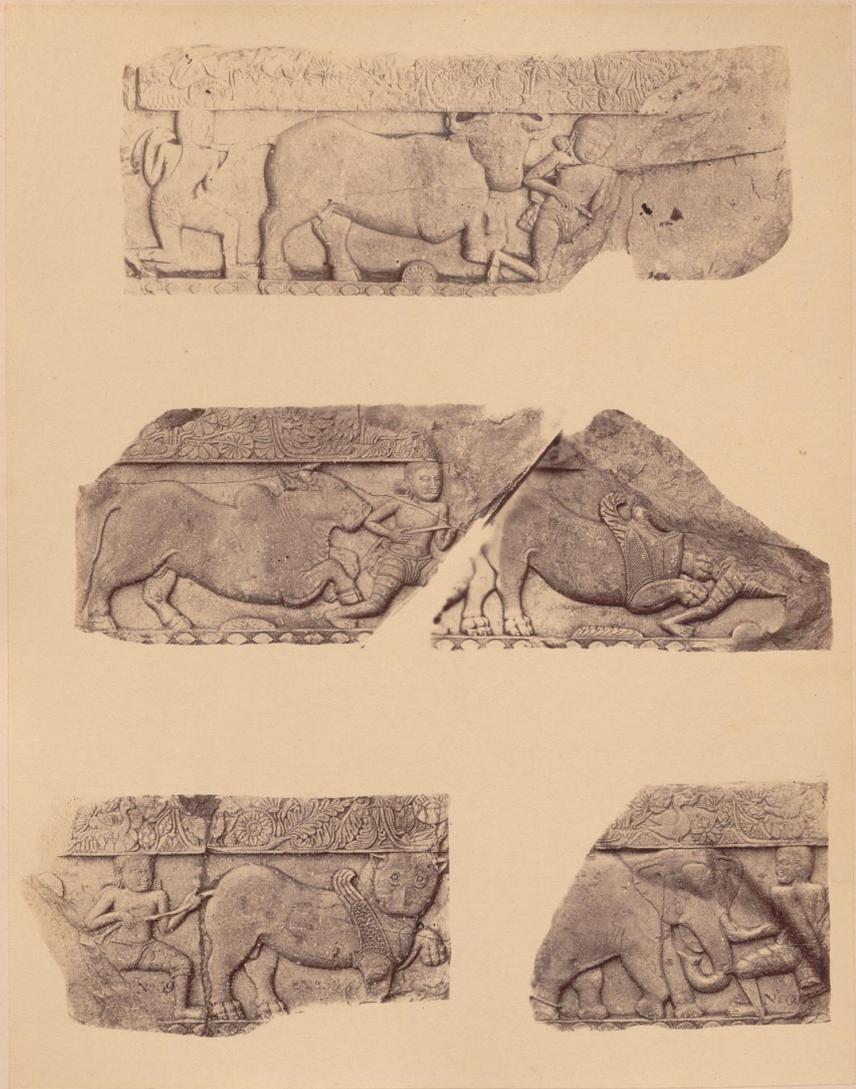
FIG. 3.



FIG. 2.

FRAGMENTS OF EXTERNAL FRIEZE OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



FRAGMENTS OF PLINTH OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES LVI. AND LVII.

THE upper external frieze of the great Rail, Plate LVI., is in many respects one of the most pleasing parts of the design. Nothing can well be better, as an architectural ornament, than the wavy flow of the long roll, borne by animated figures, and interspersed with emblems appropriate to the dedication of the Tope.

The three fragments in this Plate, it will be observed, are all of different depth though of the same design, and must therefore have belonged to different parts of the great Rail. Either it was that the deepest were used to eke out the height of the small Rail (Plate LIII.), and so make it range with those parts having taller pillars, or there was one quadrant or some part which had a Rail of a smaller proportion altogether. As we have no knowledge where each fragment was found, it is impossible to say which theory is the true one, either is equally probable, such irregularities being very usual in all Hindu buildings.

Like the last-described features, it seems to be of Bactrian origin. Something at least very like it occurs among the sculptures at Jamālgiri near Peshawer,* and there so mixed with classical details as to make it appear very ancient. Something very like it is still used, I am told, in Burmah. On the occasion of the funeral of the late High Priest at Rangoon, long rolls, made as lightly as possible of paper, and bound round with rags and coloured decorations, were borne by men on each side of the procession in precisely the same manner as here represented, and probably the same practice will be found elsewhere when looked for. At Amravati the roll is not only most elaborately, but also very tastefully, ornamented, and so interspersed with emblems as to give it all the variety requisite for architectural embellishment. These are generally, of course, the emblems with which we are already familiar, such as the Tree, the Wheel, and the Dagoba, but in the centre of the upper left-hand fragment an ornament is introduced which is new to me, in so far as India is concerned, but is found on the mystic representations of Diana of the Ephesians.†

By far the most curious, however, of the episodes introduced into this frieze is that on the right hand of the upper portion. It represents Garuḍa, the bird of Vishnu, the dreaded enemy of the Nagas in all ages, holding in his beak, evidently for the purpose of destroying it, a five-headed Naga. It is difficult to guess what this can mean in a temple where the Naga is honoured almost as the chief god, and where everything is at least so mixed up with the honour of this many-headed divinity.

It is interesting, however, as it is just one of those incidental allusions which, when a sufficient number of them are collected together, may enable us to trace

* One slab of this frieze was destroyed in the fire at the Crystal Palace in December 1866. A very imperfect representation of it will be found, *J. A. S. B.*, XXI. 606.

† There is a statue of the Ephesian Diana in the Museum at Naples, which has been frequently engraved, which is covered with figures like these. A representation of it will be found in Falkener's *Ephesus*, p. 286.

(4799.)

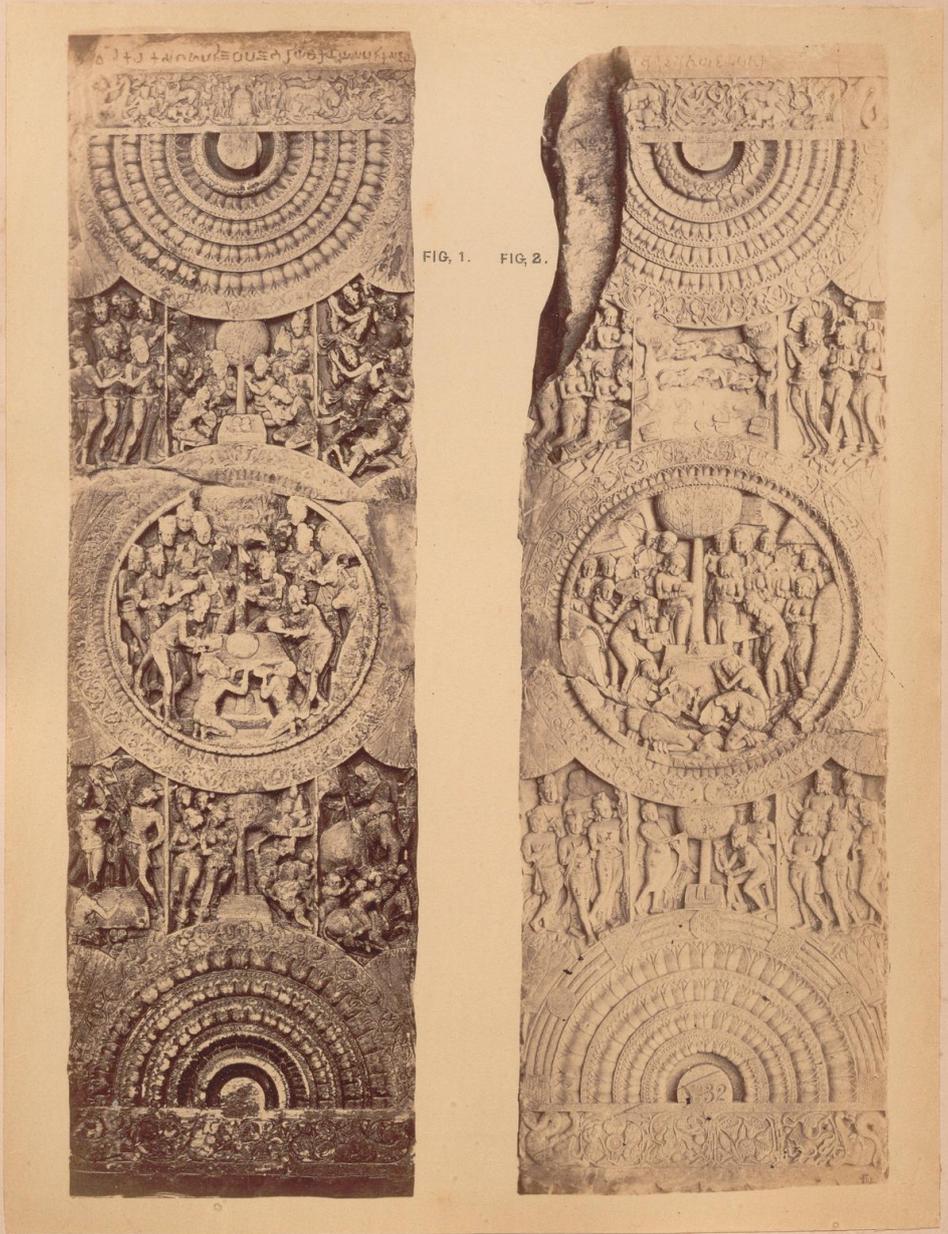
the affiliation of Indian religions, and to decide as to their affinities. In the present instance it is another of the indications of the connexion between Buddhism and Vishnuism so often alluded to in these pages.

The lower frieze, Plate LVII., is not remarkable in a mythological point of view, but curious as a piece of playful fancy, and in perfect keeping with the frolics of the Gana or dwarfs, which are next to it in position. The leading idea throughout the frieze is the humorous one of boys holding on by the tails of animals in a state of greater or less excitement, which they are evidently incapable of controlling.

In the upper figure a boy has got hold of the tail of a bull, very fairly executed, but not so well as the galloping humped animal next below it in the Plate. The latter is as perfect a representation of a bull of purely Indian breed as can probably be found in any Indian sculpture, and the action also is free and animated in an unusual degree. The two-winged lions who follow are by no means so commendable as works of art, but they are curious as lineal descendants of those discovered by Botta and Layard at Nineveh. They are, however, considerably further removed from those prototypes than those which adorn the gates at Sanchi (Plate VII. or Plate XXXIX.), and which still retain many features in common with their Assyrian ancestors.*

The elephant in the last figure shows the same perfect appreciation of the characteristic features of that animal as is done in all the representations of the elephant, both here and at Sanchi. The boy in this instance has got hold of his tusk,—the comic element of the representation, as just remarked, consisting apparently in the absurdity of a boy controlling the largest of animals by such means, or of holding a lion or bull by their tails.

* At the great Pagoda at Rangoon winged lions with human heads guard all the portals leading to the enclosure in which it stands. As may be supposed, from the distance of time and place, they are very different looking animals from their prototypes, but I do not think it admits of a doubt but that they, and a great deal of the architecture of Burmah, were derived from the banks of the Euphrates or Tigris.—See my History of Architecture, p. II. 518.



ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LVIII.

Of the two great pillars of the outer Rail represented in this Plate, that on the left hand was considered as the most beautiful in the Elliot Collection. It was in consequence selected for the honour of being exhibited, and was attached to the outer wall of the India Museum at Fife House. The result has, however, been unfortunate. The frost of our winters has so destroyed the surface of the stone that it has in many places peeled off to such an extent that it is now difficult to trace the design, and the whole is in a degraded and perishing condition.

Its sculptures are wholly devoted to Tree Worship. In the central circle some circular object is placed on the altar in front of the Tree, to which the attention of the bystanders seems to be especially directed. Two men on either hand are making offerings to it, or adding offerings to one already made, and two kneeling figures in the foreground seem trying to catch what may overflow from the right-hand man's offering, which seems to be a liquid presented in a jar. Behind him is a yoke of oxen, indicating that he is a stranger arrived for the purpose of worship. Below the altar are impressions of Buddha's feet.

In the upper bas-relief the altar table is removed. The Tree rises simply behind the representation of the sacred feet, and in the central compartment a number of men are engaged in adoring it. In the left-hand compartment seven men, in standing attitudes, are also paying respect to the sacred Tree. On the right, an equal number, in violent action while in the act of worshipping, seem also to be flying as if driven from the sacred presence.

Something of the same action is repeated in the lowest bas-relief on the pillar. Four women on the left and four dwarfs on the right are worshipping the Tree. On the right stands the king or prince, with the umbrella of state borne over his head in front of another Tree, with a kneeling figure in front of the altar.

On the right an elephant pursues a horseman. His horse has fallen on his knees, and he is being knocked on the head by a dwarf with a mallet.

It is probable that the interest of the story centres in the fallen horseman, who, with his companions in the corresponding compartment above, seems to be driven from the congregation of the faithful; but till we recover a *Druma Purāna*, it is hardly likely we shall know who he is. The *Lalita-Vistara* and the books we have make no prominent mention of Tree Worship. It belongs apparently to an earlier form of faith, and the legends connected with it are not to be found there.*

* The following is a curious instance of the irradicability of local forms, even long after the religion to which they belonged may have perished. At the present day, during the festival of Navarātri, in honour of Śiva as Amreshwar, the immortal lord, on the third night a brazen tree is carried round the town in procession; on the fifth night a ten-headed serpent in brass. At the close of the festival the worshippers go in great pomp to a tree called *Shemmu Veerchum*, where the god is made to exercise in shooting an arrow at the sacred tree, followed by a discharge of fire-arms in the air, which closes the ceremony. In the festival called *Siva Mahārātri*, the procession to the same tree is the culminating point, to which all previous arrangements are subordinate, and thus the festival closes.—See *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XV. p. 472 and 473.

The two lower bas-reliefs on the right-hand pillar of this Plate are devoted to the same subject. In the centre a number of women—there are no men—are performing various acts of devotion, and bringing offerings, to the sacred Tree. The scene is laid in the centre of a village, the huts of which are seen both above and on either hand.

In the lower bas-relief all the actors are men. Two in the centre present pieces of cloth or garments to the Tree, and those in the side compartments seem also to be bringing scarfs or similar objects.

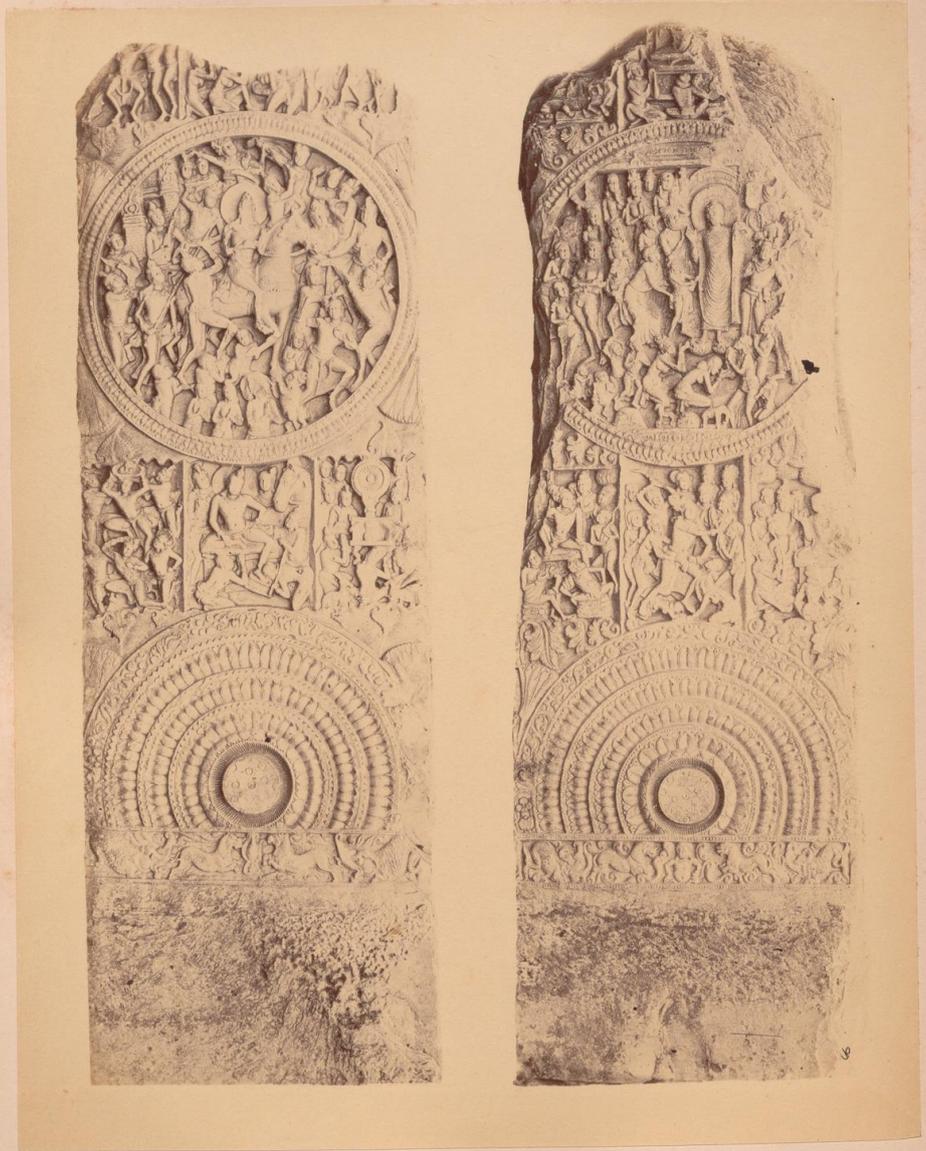
The upper sculpture is of a different nature. In the centre a flight of Hansas or sacred geese are winging their way across what appears to be a lake, between two trees. A hand issues from the right-hand tree, with two circular objects in it, and the geese under it look as if falling dead on the shore, but it may be they are only flying downwards. On the sand are five impressions of the sacred feet,—there were probably originally eight,—and two birds, apparently peacocks, are somewhat indistinctly seen strutting on the sand. I have met with no legend that explains all the incidents depicted in the bas-relief, but it seems probable that it is an early form of a Jâtaka, still found in Ceylon. "The royal Hansa assembled all his subjects in an extensive plain, that his daughter might choose a husband from among them. She chose the peacock, at which the vain bird was so elated that he raised his tail, and made such a display as to disgust the king, who in consequence broke off the match."* If this is the legend, all that can be said is that what is here represented must be an earlier form.† On the left hand are several women presenting flowers in pots, and on the right the Naga Raja with his seven-headed snake hood, and behind him his three wives, over each of whose heads may be seen the single-headed snake, which always marks them.‡

Taken altogether, this is one of the most elegant of the Amravati pillars; and whether as regards its sculptures or its ornamental details, exhibits the progress in elegance and purity of design that has been made since the representation of the Naga Raja and his three wives was carved, which is seen on Plate XXIV., Fig. 2., from Sanchi. The snakes here are so subdued as not to be offensive, and the figures of the women are of great elegance. The ornaments of the circles on this pillar are also of great beauty. Those of the lower semicircle are not surpassed by any in this collection, though the scale of the photographs is rather too small to exhibit them in all their perfection.

* Upham's Historical Books of Ceylon, vol. III. p. 289.

† There is another legend quoted by Schiefner (Transactions of the St. Petersburg Academy, 1851, p. 238) from a Thibetan life of Buddha, which may be the one referred to. Devadatta, it is there related, wounded a goose, which fell into the garden of the Bodisattwa. He extracted the arrow, and having cured the wound let it go. It was claimed, however, by the sportsman, and hence arose a serious quarrel. A tree figures as the most important feature in this legend, which may be that one on the left hand; but no hand from another tree, and no peacocks. On the whole the probability seems to be that there was an older legend which is here represented, and which was afterwards broken up into numerous fragments.

‡ The inscription will be found in Appendix E., Nos. XVII. and XIV. They merely record the names of the donors.



ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LIX.

THERE is no difficulty in recognizing the principal figure in the two central circles of the pillars in Plate LIX. In the first it is the Prince Siddhârtha riding* forth from the city gate, with all the insignia of his rank. The umbrella of state is borne over his head; Chaori bearers attend on either hand, and music and dancing precede him. The glory round his head marks him as the elect—the future regenerator of the world. This is the first time we meet with this distinguishing mark, as there are no glories at Sanchi, though they are found commonly behind the heads of saints in the Peshawer sculptures.

In the circle of the right-hand picture we have the same individual after he had attained Buddhahood, in the robes in which he is always represented after apparently the second or third century of our era. On his right a woman, more fully clothed than any other woman in these sculptures, presents a boy to him, who catches hold of his garment as if entreating him to come with him. The boy's toys are seen in the foreground. It hardly seems doubtful but that this represents Yaçodharâ and her son Râhula entreating the great ascetic to return home to them, and reoccupy the position of his rank and his duties as a prince and a father.

The figures around Buddha are his disciples, among whom will be remarked in the foreground a hump-backed woman (Kubja), who frequently reappears in the sculptures.

The lower bas-reliefs on both these pillars seem to continue the subjects represented in the principal circles. In the centre of the left-hand pillar we have Siddhârtha with the glory round his head; one man kissing his feet, and others in reverential attitudes; and beside him "the Horse," to whom we shall frequently have occasion to revert hereafter. On the left of this a man bearing a relic in a tray; the same as seen in Plate LL., whatever it may be. Below him is a Naga Raja in a kneeling attitude. On the right is the worship of the Chackra or Wheel, with the usual accompaniments, and two antelopes in the foreground.

The story told in the lower bas-relief of the right-hand pillar is easily made out. A prince is seated on a couch, surrounded by his attendants, and a boy with a bow seems to ask him to join in the chase or some martial exercise. In the central compartment he resists the temptations of the daughters of Mâra;† and in the third, having assumed the priestly robes, teaches a multitude under a Bo Tree. It looks at first sight as if intended for an epitome of the life of Buddha, but it may be doubted whether he is really the person intended here, as in none of the three compartments has he a glory round his head, and it is hardly probable that in the same

* It is worthy of remark that at Sanchi the prince is always in his chariot, at Amravati on horseback. There is only one chariot in all the sculptures at Amravati, Plate LXXXVI., and the subject of that bas-relief is singularly connected with Sanchi.

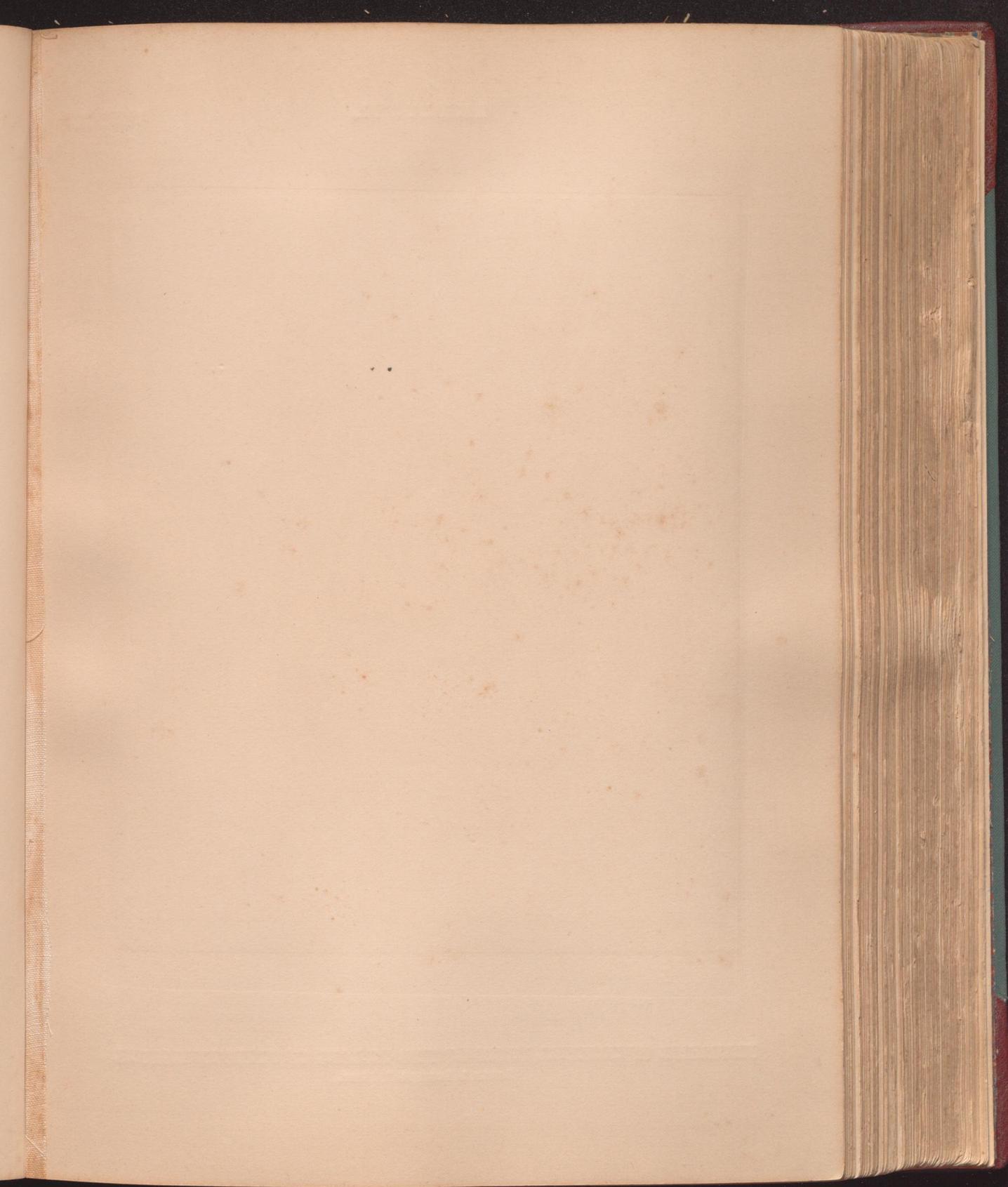
† This scene occurs again more in detail, Plate LXIII., where it will be more especially referred to.

pillar he would be represented with and without this accompaniment. It may be some Bodhisattwa, but on the whole I am inclined to believe that it may represent scenes in the life of Rāhula, who seems certainly to be the hero of the central bas-relief; and if this is so nothing can be more natural than that his story should be continued on the same pillar. This prince, according to the legend, at the age of twenty, assumed the garb of a priest, and shortly after, by his father's teaching, rose to the rank of a Rahan.* It will be observed that the old woman who appears behind the boy in the central picture reappears in the left-hand lower picture. Is she the mother of Yaḡodara?

The two upper bas-reliefs are too completely destroyed for their subjects to be made out. We can just see in the central bas-relief of the left-hand pillar that some person or object is being worshipped by women in the usual attitude, and on the right-hand pillar that Buddha himself is seated in the usual cross-legged attitude, and being worshipped by his followers. We can, however, restore with tolerable certainty the upper representation on the left of the left-hand pillar by comparing it with the left-hand pillar, Plate LI., or Plate LXXIII., Fig. 2. The man whose legs only appear, almost certainly bore a tray on his head, on which stood a cup or some similar object, and the others are reverencing it, whatever it may have been.

It will be observed the representation of Buddha here is very far in advance of anything found on the Gateways at Sanchi, and much more nearly resembling the modern representations found everywhere. The whole scene, indeed, shows a progress which fully accounts for the 300 years that elapsed between the execution of the two monuments.

* Bigandet, *Burmese Legend of Buddha*, p. 229, *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* III. 69. His having entered the priesthood by no means precludes his having succeeded to the throne of Kapilawastu on the death of his grandfather. In Burmah, at the present day, nothing is so common as for members of the upper classes to become priests. Some remain so, but many more resume their civil status after three or four years' probation. A young Burmese gentleman looks on entering the priesthood very much as an undergraduate in one of our monastic colleges at Oxford or Cambridge regards his wearing a surplice in chapel. Many in our country remain in the priesthood, but as many return to civil life.





ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACES OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LX.

THE palace scenes portrayed on the two pillars in this Plate are among the most elegant of the Amravati sculptures, and interesting as pictures of life in India during the fourth century, though it is not easy to affix any particular story to the scenes they represent. Still, as the seated figure in the upper part of the central circle of the right-hand pillar has a glory round his head, we cannot refuse to recognize him as the Prince Siddhārtha; and if so, the scenes represent the Harem at Kapilawastu, which he deserted to devote himself to save his fellow creatures from sin and death.

In front of him, two of the ladies of the Harem are playing at Pachisi, or drafts, or some such game, while others are looking on; and in front of them a very graceful figure is dancing, while another plays on the flute, a third on a guitar, and one on a drum. Others are listening or applauding, and one child (is it the infant Rāhula?) appears in the foreground.

In the lower bas-relief the same Prince is seated on a couch, in conference with a Naga Raja, and in front of them two women are seated, apparently as attendants. On the left are the Naga Raja's people. On the right the country people are bringing presents of cattle, fruit, &c to the seated Rajas.

The head of the principal figure of the circle of the left-hand pillar is so completely destroyed that we cannot now know whether he had a nimbus round his head or not, nor consequently whether he is the same as the person represented on the right-hand pillar. Most probably he is. The object of the sculpture is to represent the entertainment of two distinguished guests. They are seated on a dais, on the King's right hand, with a table in front of each. The major domo stands between the Raja and his guests, and presents something to the nearest; while a girl in front offers apparently something to drink. In front of her, with his back to the spectators, is a man seated in one of those square-backed chairs which are common in these sculptures. The Queen sits on the Raja's left, in a chair of another and more elegant pattern, but extremely like the modern chairs we now use. To those familiar with Indian habits at the present day, few things are more curious than the fact that all dignitaries in these sculptures are always seated on chairs or sofas, like Europeans; never on the ground or on cushions cross-legged, as is the universal practice now-a-days. The only difference seems to be that the seat of the chair or throne must always have been made wide enough for the sitter to put up one leg on it, which seems to have been the fashionable attitude.

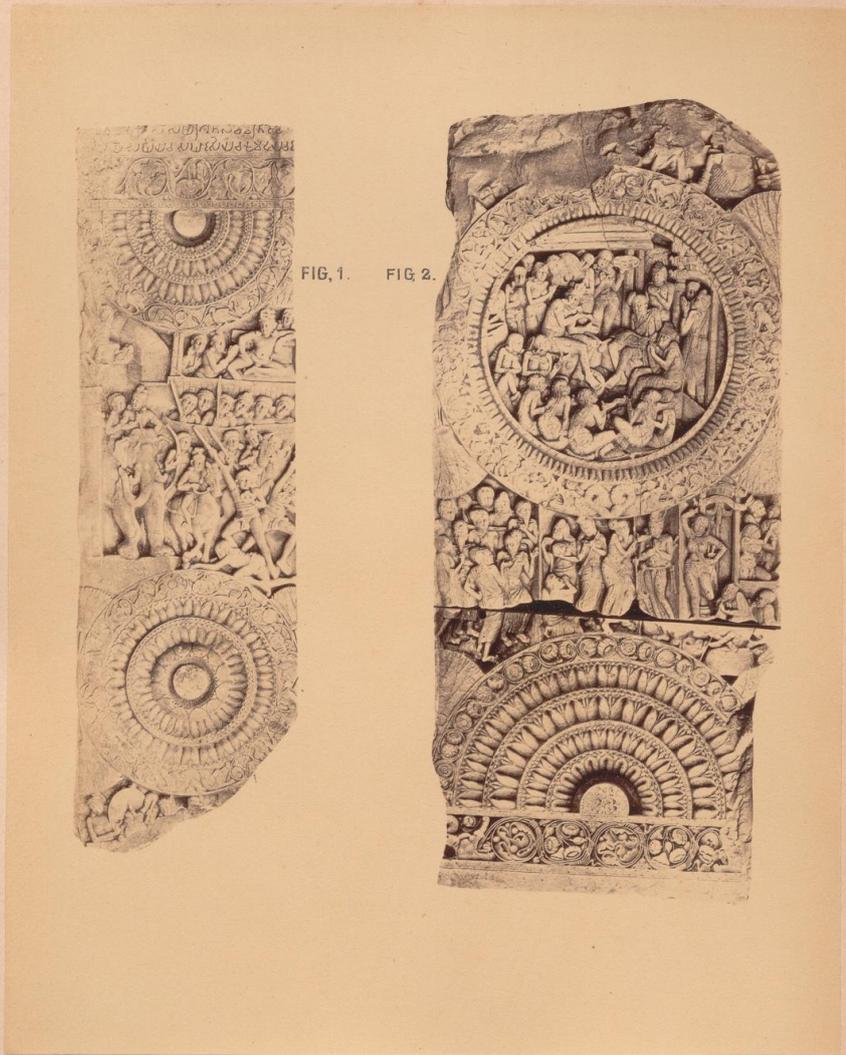
In the central picture some of the women are seated on stools, some on chairs; but in both the circular bas-reliefs, as in the lower one on the left hand of the left-hand pillar, the Raja is seated on a throne with a square back, ornamented with lions' heads.

In the centre of the foreground of the circular bas-relief of the left-hand pillar, is a child attended by two women, one old and one very much younger.

This would seem to connect the two bas-reliefs as representing the same persons, and if that is so, it scarcely admits of doubt but that the principal figure is intended for the Prince Siddhârtha, and the child in that case must be his son Râhula.

In the central lower bas-relief of the left-hand pillar, the Raja is cutting something with his sword, which a man with a steelyard is standing behind him ready to weigh. What the object is cannot be made out from this representation. In the right-hand lower bas-relief a man, with a curious tall mitre or hat, is seated outside the palace gate, doing justice. The same head-dress is repeated several times in the sculptures, but whether it indicates that the wearer is always the same person is not clear. The central picture looks as if intended to represent the hero of the right-hand bas-relief cutting the Gordian knot which his legal acumen could not untie.

The Gateway in this bas-relief is curious, as almost literally reproducing those at Sanchi. There are at Amravati at least a dozen representations of the same thing, all nearly though not exactly alike, but all evidently intended to represent a wooden erection, such as it can hardly be doubted suggested those at Sanchi. Though these are in stone, this material did not at once supersede the wooden form which continued to be employed long afterwards in India, as it is at the present day in China.



ELEVATION OF TWO PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXI.

THERE does not seem to be any sign or symbol by which we can attach a name to any of the actors in the scenes portrayed in the principal circle of the right-hand portion of Plate LXI., though it is easy to describe the action. It is evidently a disputation held between two men, one of whom, of superior rank, sits in the middle of the picture, and lays down the law in an authoritative manner. The other, on a lower seat, is evidently represented as beaten in argument. Between the two disputants sits an old man with something like a book on his lap, the arbiter in the contest, and behind him an attendant apparently with refreshments. Another man is standing in a gateway of the Sanchi type, and turning to listen. The rest of the audience are all women, ten of them are there as listeners only, an eleventh bears a fan, and a twelfth food. This presence of women in such scenes as these is one of the remarkable features of the sculptures, both here and at Sanchi. Not only do they take part in every action almost without exception, but seem almost as important as the male actors. Certainly the idea of a veiled or Purdah woman had not occurred to the Hindus when these sculptures were executed.

In the lower bas-relief the king or prince issues from one of these Sanchi portals, followed by his wife, to meet or feed a body of mendicant friars or monks. It is the first appearance of these noted priests in these sculptures, and is the more remarkable as there are only two other instances in which they appear at Amravati, and as before mentioned no trace of them is to be found at Sanchi. Both in costume and appearance they differ entirely from the people I have there designated as Dasyus, so that with the knowledge we now possess it seems impossible to confound the two, but this will become more apparent as we proceed. The absence of priests is the more remarkable, because if we were to believe Buddhist books, they flocked in thousands and tens of thousands from all parts of India to attend the great convocations held five or six centuries before these sculptures were commenced.

The story of the left-hand pillar is perhaps more graphically told than almost any other on these pillars. A king is seated on his throne, to whom a messenger with clasped hands brings intelligence or solicits orders. In front of him a part of the army is seen defending the walls of the citadel, and on the left hand the moveable force is sallying from the city gate. In front the infantry, in attitudes of great excitement, are seen advancing to the fight, and the rear is brought up by horsemen and elephants, all remarkably well drawn foreshortened. In the foreground one of the enemy falls on his knees to beg pardon and mercy.

If the lower part of the pillar had been preserved, we might have seen the result of this sally. It no doubt was successful, and as women appear in the fragments that remain the whole ended probably in triumph.

According to the *Lalita-Vistara** and other Indian works, a perfect army always consists of four arms, elephants and horsemen, chariots and infantry. Three of these are represented here, but strange to say the chariots are absent, as they always are at Amravati, though, as before remarked, they are so prominent at Sanchi. This probably is owing to some local peculiarity which could only be discovered on the spot. It can hardly be that they had gone out of fashion, because in the great temple of Nakon Vat, in Cambodia, built probably eight centuries after Amravati,† chariots are everywhere used by the chiefs in war, and with wheels as perfect and as light as could be made now by a London coach-builder. Those who know how much civilization is involved in a perfect wheel will acquire a higher estimate of the stage reached by the snake worshippers there, from these mechanical appliances, than even from their sculptures themselves.

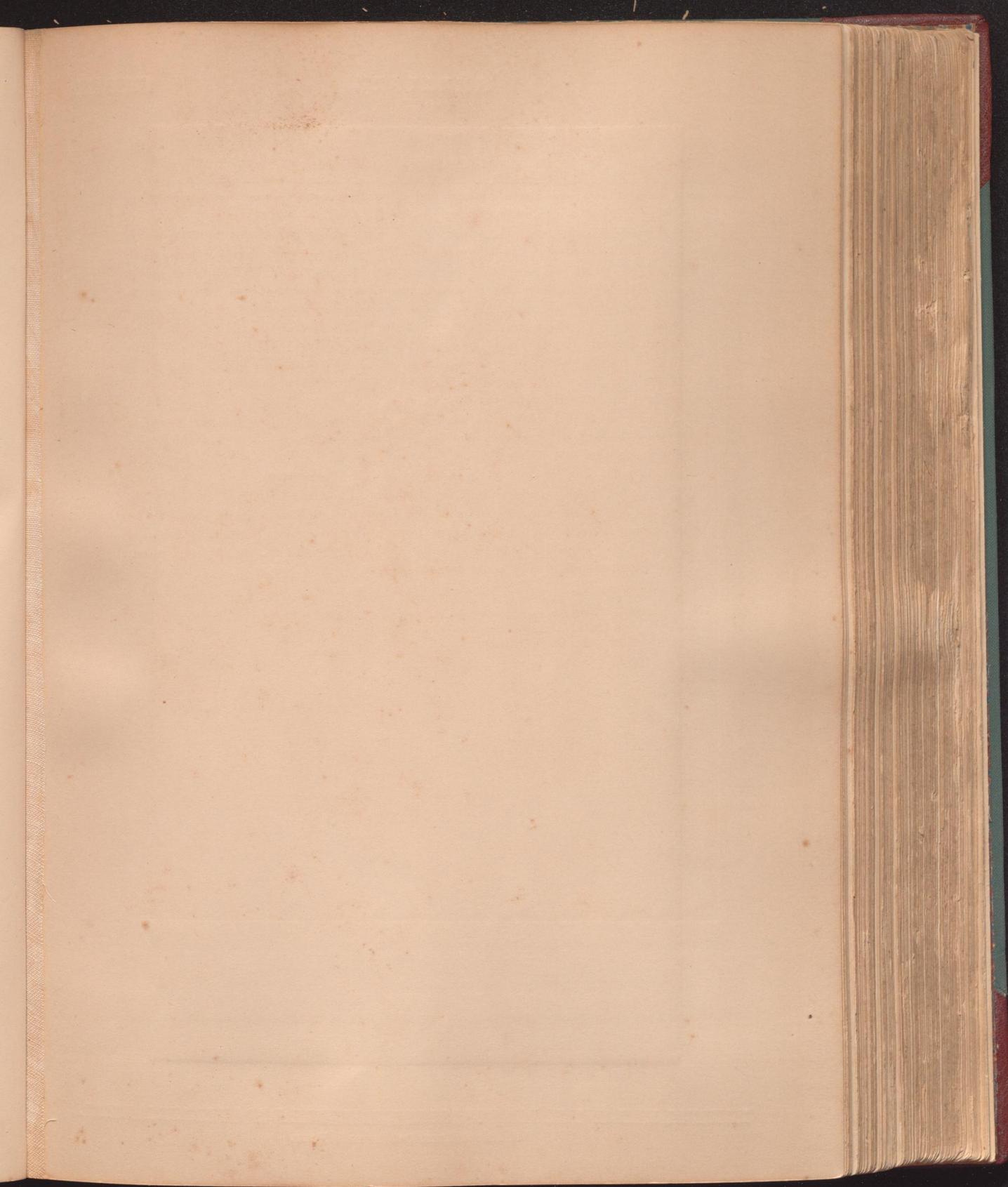
Taken altogether, this pillar, both in its decorations and its sculptures, is one of the most elegant at Amravati, and it would consequently be extremely interesting if its inscription told us something of its story. All, however, we gather from it is that the pillar was the gift of three men and their three wives.‡

It is so much narrower than the others just described, that it evidently did not form one of the regular pillars of the outer Rail, but as it is the same height and the circles are the same distance from centre to centre, it probably belonged to one of the projecting Gateways, either as an angle column, or on some return where narrower pillars only could be introduced.

* See also the *Niti-sāra*, or *Elements of Polity*, by Kāmandaki. Calcutta, 1861, ch. 19.

† See *History of Architecture*, by the Author, vol. II., p. 713, et seqq.

‡ See Appendix E., No. XIII.





INTERNAL FACE OF TWO DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH 3-4TH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXII.

THE two circular bas-reliefs represented in this Plate are the two most perfect of their class in the collection, and have consequently been photographed to a larger scale in order to make their details more easily visible. The upper one Colonel Mackenzie considered as the most elegant of the Amravati sculptures,* an opinion in which he probably was not far wrong. It is somewhat weather-worn, however, now, and was very seriously damaged on its return from the late French Exhibition.

The action is simple. A casket containing a relic is placed on the throne under an elaborate canopy, and is being worshipped by the Naga Raja and his people. The Naga Raja stands in the centre, with the seven-headed snake hood over him, and the two attendants on either hand, with Chaoris, have also the same canopy. It is not easy to see whether the two men with their hands clasped over their heads are Nagas also, but the probability is that they are. The men behind him have none of them the snake hood, but the twelve females in the foreground have all of them a single snake on the back of their heads. The whole is, however, arranged so much more elegantly than at Sanchi (Plate XXIV.), that it is not offensive, and the snakes would not, indeed, be noticed unless attention was directed to them. The two standing female figures on either hand are singularly elegant, especially the one buying the wreath to present to the relic, or at least she was before her visit to Paris.

It is probably in vain to inquire what the relic is that is enclosed in this casket. If the conjectures hazarded above with regard to the visit of the Tooth relic to this place have any foundation, it is by no means impossible that the famed Daladā may be contained within, and is here exposed temporarily on the throne to be worshipped by the Naga Raja and his people.†

Both the throne and the canopy or umbrella over it are singularly rich and elegant specimens of the furniture of the period. Such thrones frequently occur, but no such canopy in any other of the sculptures.

The lower circle contains no peg on which it will, I fear, be possible to hang a story. It is simply this, two Hindu

No. 20.

RELIC CASKET FROM
MANIKYALA.

represented in Woodcut, No. 6, p. 76, is, perhaps, even more like the one worshipped by the Naga Raja in the bas-relief. It, too, was found in a Tope at Manikyala, and, to judge from the coins that were found with it, should be of about the same age. Its form, however, and other circumstances, incline me to think it may be more modern.

* From a pencil note in his handwriting on the drawing of this sculpture in his book.

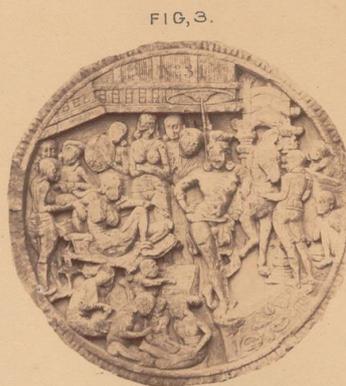
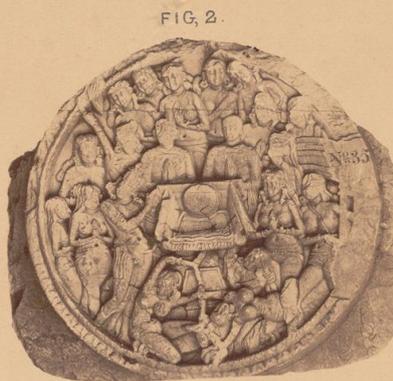
† In the Tope at Manikyala, opened by General Ventura, a casket was found, of which the annexed is a representation. It contained only fragments of amber in a brown liquid, but the inscription not yet having been satisfactorily made out, we are ignorant to whom it belonged. See Thomas, Edition of Prinsep, vol. I. p. 97, et seqq., and Professor Dowson, in vol. XX, p. 244, J. R. A. S. It probably belongs to a date not far distant from the Christian era. The casket

gentlemen,—they are not Rajas, as they have no umbrellas of state borne over them,—not much burthened with clothing, are seated on a sofa of modern form, listening to a concert of music which is being performed by a number of women in the foreground. Eighteen women seem to be engaged in the performance. Three are playing on harps, three or four on drums, some on flutes, one is blowing a horn, and others are performing on instruments, the nature of which it is not easy to make out. One woman, with her back to the spectator, standing in the centre, appears to be the leader, and is beating time with her hands. In front of her, with one foot on a stool or drum, is the *prima donna*, accompanying her voice with a harp. She has short curly hair, and, like all the musicians, rather a sharp Roman nose, extremely unlike the men or any other of their women. It will also be observed, she alone of all the women has no bangles on her ancles, though she has on her wrists. Besides the eighteen performers two others of the same race will be observed on the right of the circle: one with her hands joined is addressing the principal Queen, while another lower down seems to covet the bead belt of a girl she is talking to. Whoever these performers are they are a class we have not met before, nor do we, so far as I know, meet them again. They are very unlike all the other people represented in the sculptures, and very easily distinguishable from the other people in this bas-relief. The latter have all rather flat noses, and a more Tartar-like cast of features than are generally seen in these sculptures. Are they Gonds? The performers, on the contrary, have singularly sharp features and prominent Roman noses, and seem to have curly heads, but nothing in the least approaching the Negro type in any way. Are they Gypsies?

Besides the musicians and the gentlemen on the sofa, there are three ladies of rank, two on the right and one on the left of the picture, who are accommodated with chairs. Their principal articles of dress are their bangles and their bead belt below their waists.* There are two little girls in the foreground, and about twenty others, who seem to be the attendants on inmates of the Harem.

One other point requires notice. Below the sofa are two jars or pots, evidently containing some drink for the refreshment of those seated upon it. The same thing was observed at Sanchi (Plates XXX. and XXXVII.). There it certainly contained some intoxicating fluid. I am afraid that in this instance also they contain something stronger than water.

* "On the east of the Chanda district (the Gond district nearest Amravati) the men wear no covering for their heads or the upper part of their bodies. The women deck themselves with thirty to forty beads, to which some add a necklace of pendant bells. Bangles of zinc adorn their wrists, and a chain of the same metal is suspended from the hair, and attached to a large boss stuck in the ear. But the greatest peculiarity connected with their costume is the practice that prevails, in more remote districts, of the women wearing no clothes at all; instead of which they fasten with a string passing round their waists a bunch of leafy twigs to cover them before and behind." Barring the twigs, which seem to be a modern innovation, nothing can more correctly describe the costumes of the sculptures than the above extract from Mr. Hislop's paper on the Gonds, edited by Sir R. Temple, p. 8.



DISCS ON INTERNAL FACE OF INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXIII.

THE three circles represented in this Plate are the only other intermediate sculptured circles in the Indian Museum. All three are so much damaged and weather-worn that it is extremely difficult to make out their details, and to feel certain about their story. The subject of the upper one is clearly a temptation scene, and is a more detailed representation of the central bas-relief on the lower compartment of the right-hand pillar (Plate LIX.). A man in great wrath drives from him a number of females, some of whom are in the act of asking favours; some are laughing, some going quietly away, but others have tumbled down, and are being apparently trampled upon. The first impression is, that this is meant to represent the temptation to which Buddha was subjected by the Apsaras, the daughters of Māra, as described at length in the *Lalita-Vistara*.^{*} In every respect it would answer for this legend but for the attitude of the main figure. The nearly perfected Buddha replied calmly to all their seductions that he had conquered all the passions, and that love of women had long since ceased to influence him. He looked on them as mere illusions, and their power was gone. It was by calmness and dignity that he repulsed them. This figure is in violent action. He holds a stick—it may be a bow—in his hand, and seems in wrath. All this is so unlike Buddhism that we must probably look elsewhere for a solution of the myth, though it may only be an earlier form of it than that found in the *Lalita-Vistara*. It might be suggested that the face of the principal and only male figure being destroyed, we mistake the action; but the representation on Plate LIX. negatives this hypothesis. There the face and the figure are complete, and in that instance they can hardly be assumed to be identical with those of the principal figure in the central circle above them. On the whole I am inclined to believe rather that Rāhula is the hero of the scene, but the *Lalita-Vistara* and our other usual authorities on Buddhist tradition, are so singularly silent with regard to him or his connexion with his father's preaching, that I do not know where to look for elucidations. Some one more familiar with Buddhist legends than I can pretend to be, may probably suggest an interpretation.

Though the upper part is broken off, this is one of the few circles that have not been trimmed. It retains the flanges by which it was fitted into the pillars nearly entire.

The middle circle is entire, though weather-worn. It represents a Hindu chief. He has the Chaori, but no umbrella, and is followed by one of his wives on the left hand. Two others are on the right, worshipping a circular object placed on a throne. It is extremely difficult to feel certain what the object may be, though it occurs very frequently in these sculptures; generally, however, there are two of them. Most

^{*} *Lalita-Vistara*, p. 306, et seqq.

probably it is a measure called a Drona, or Dona, and contains a relic or relics. Two men like shaven priests stand behind the throne, with their hands joined, in the attitude of prayer, and behind them nine women, also worshipping. Several women in the foreground are in attitudes of violent devotion, one has fallen in her ecstasies quite on her back. This circle also retains a portion of its flanges.

The third or lowest circle in this Plate refers to some legend to which it probably will not be easy to give a name. It may be wholly local. A Raja, with the umbrella of state over his head, stands in a very easy and graceful attitude, leaning on his horse, which issues from the portal of the palace led by a groom in very complete clothing. The Raja is addressing or being addressed by an old lady seated on a couch or easy chair on his right. She is surrounded by her handmaidens, some of whom in the foreground seem to be busy preparing wreaths, while one is taking something out of a box. In front of the hero a number of objects are spread out on a tray or table. They look like lotus flowers, but they may be refreshments of some sort.

At the time the bas-relief was sculptured everyone of course could recognize who the old lady was, and who her son, as easily as we can name at once the Virgin Mary or her Son in any picture of the Italian school, but without some symbol it is difficult to do the same with these Buddhist sculptures. It will be observed that the Trisul ornament surmounts the Gateway in the background precisely as at Sanchi The pillars had, apparently, lion capitals, but the sculpture is too much worn to feel sure of this.

It is to be regretted that a greater number of these circles have not been rescued. Originally there must have been 100 or 120 at least, and judging from the interest of five which the Museum possesses, the whole, when complete, must have formed a very complete picture-bible of Buddhist tradition, as understood at the time they were executed. They are so light and so easily handled, however, that it is to be feared the greater number have been carried away, and either built into walls as ornaments, or what is more probable, burnt for lime.

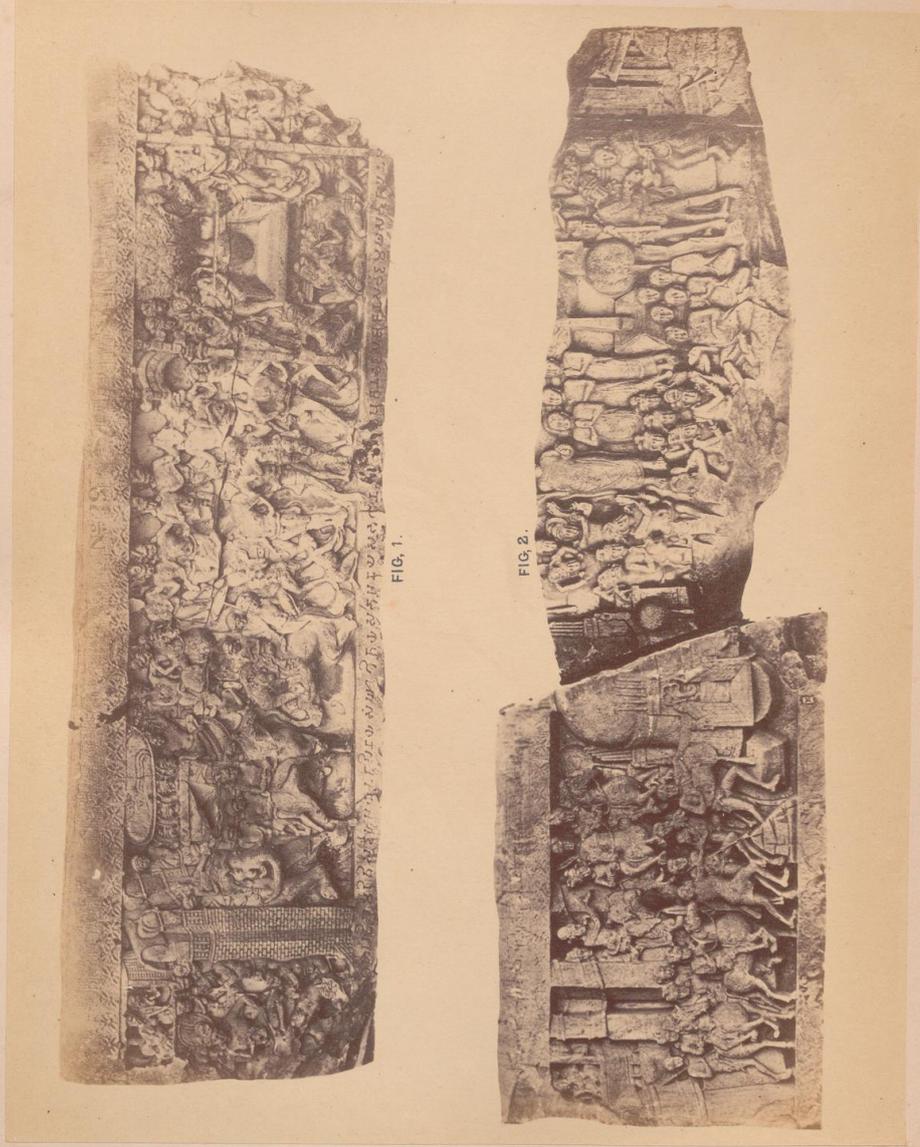


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FRAGMENTS OF ANTIQUE FRIEZE OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXIV.

THE photographs on Plate LXIV. represent the only two fragments of the inner face of the frieze of the great Rail which have reached this country. This is to be regretted, as the sculpture is singularly spirited, and a bas-relief 130 feet long, which each quadrant must have possessed when complete, could hardly have failed to tell a story and to give a distinct idea of the arts of the age in which it was executed. As it is, we must content ourselves with two fragments, each only a little more than 8 feet long—17 feet out of 500—and the lower one so much weather-worn as to lose very much of the spirit it originally possessed.

In the upper fragment we have on the left hand a prince seated on a throne inside a city, surrounded by a host of admirers doing him homage; and above, two of his wives looking out of a window. Next we have a procession, with elephants and horsemen, issuing from the city gates, escorting what appears to be the principal object of the ceremonial. From the ruined and worn state of the stone it is not easy to feel sure what this is intended to represent. The lower part of it is certainly an ark or palanquin, shaped like a boat, and borne on the shoulders of men with short curly hair. The upper part may be intended to represent four figures seated in the ark, under a canopy, or if, as I fancy, it is meant to represent a ship, this may be a rude way of depicting the sails and equipment. The boat-like form forcibly recalls the golden ship which the King of Ceylon ordered to convey the relics to the Diamond Sands. It is too big, if the scale is to be depended upon, for the golden ship, and too small for the wooden one, but as the whole representation is conventional, it either represents the identical relic vessel or some similar ark used for a like purpose. As the procession approaches him, the Raja, who is easily recognized in the centre of the picture from the Chatta borne over him, descends from his elephant and proceeds on foot to the sacred Bo-tree, in front of which, and under whose shade the throne is placed for the reception of the relics.

There is another representation in Plate LXXXIV. of a procession bearing what is apparently the same or at least a similar object. In that Plate there are certainly two persons seated in front, and three more inside the litter, or whatever it may be, and they seem bringing a number of presents which are depicted in front. Taking the two together I see nothing in the representation to militate against the idea that this bas-relief may represent Danta Kumâra and Hemachalâ bringing the relics from Ceylon, as recorded above, page 160.

It is not clear whether the space within the Gateway of the Sanchi type is to be considered as a separate picture, and that the cushion-like ornament at the back of the chair is meant to be represented as already containing the relics or only prepared for their reception. A number of persons are represented as already worshipping either the object on the throne or the Tree behind it. Beyond the tree on the right there is a division where a new subject certainly begins.

There is a very legible inscription on this frieze, but unfortunately it is imperfect at the beginning, and what remains only records that the bas-relief is the gift of the five daughters of Maditi, with their sons and two slaves, whose names are given.*

The lower sculpture represents a procession issuing in like manner from the city gate, and proceeding to a Dagoba with all the accompaniments with which we shall presently become so familiar.

There is the Tee, the five steles or pillars on each face, the Rail with its four projecting Gateways, each with two lions, and on the front of the Dagoba the seven-headed Naga in the place of honour.

Beyond the Dagoba, to the right, are three separate subjects, first, seven men in the usual Hindu costume, listening to a man in priestly robes who is preaching, with three other monks standing behind him. The head of the principal figure is unfortunately broken off, so we cannot be sure who is intended. It may be Buddha himself. In the next division five men are listening to a seated priest expounding, and accompanied by four others of his order. Above them, there is a sacred tree in a square enclosure. The last scene represents the Raja, or Hindu chief, pouring water from the mysterious spouted vessel on the hands of a priest, probably confirming a grant. Behind him are some fragments which seem to represent a monastery. The fragments of marble would, however, require to be very carefully fitted together before they could be reproduced by photography. They are certainly parts of this bas-relief, and when put together may be of some interest.

No women appear on either of these bas-reliefs, except the two in each fragment looking out of the windows on the extreme left of each.

Though so much injured as to make it a little difficult to judge correctly, I look on these two fragments of the frieze with the left-hand pillar in Plate LXI. as the masterpieces of Amravati art. They certainly are more spirited and tell their story more distinctly than any others of those which have been brought to this country.

* See Appendix E., No. I.

XXXVXTI.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.

FRAGMENTS OF INTERNAL FRIEZES OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXV.

THIS Plate contains three fragments of friezes similar in depth to that described in the last Plate, but certainly not part of the same continuous decoration. The first, on the left hand at the top, certainly is not; in the first place, because its style is quite different, but also from its being but three inches less in depth. Fig. 2. may be part of another quadrant; its depth is exactly 2 feet, like the others in the last Plate. Fig. 3. I fancy must have belonged to one of the returns of the Gateways. It is a complete picture in itself, and if it belonged to the outer Rail, could only have been placed in some such detached position.

Fig. 1., besides its inferior style, is dreadfully weather-worn, so that it is difficult to make out the subject. In the first compartment we have a Hindu Raja, with his teapot, pouring water on the hand of a man who carries a parasol, and he is accompanied by another man who likewise carries his own umbrella. Between these figures stands a dwarf, bearing a tray on his head, either to support the spouted vessel when not in use, or to catch the drops of the liquid if they are precious. My impression is, however, that generally speaking the spouted vessel contains most probably water. In the next compartment we have a covered cart drawn by two bullocks, remarkable as being one of the few wheeled carriages at Amravati. The Hindu in the cart meets a man with a parasol, and above him a man with a bangy follows one with a parasol, who is apparently welcomed by a tall figure with two children. In the third compartment three seated figures receive a deputation bearing offerings. Is it possible that these men with the parasols are Chinese, and the subject of the bas-relief the reception of an embassy from China. We know that Fa Hian visited India from China in 399* and travelled in search of Buddhist books and traditions over a great part of India, though he did not reach Amravati. Yadjna Śrí, however, a king whose coins are found frequently at this place, and whose name appears—doubtfully—in one of the Amravati inscriptions (see page 160) sent an embassy to China about the year 408. From its style it is evident that this is among the most modern pieces of sculpture at Amravati, and certainly executed after the dates just quoted. There is, therefore, no *à priori* improbability, and on the whole I am very much inclined to believe that this is the true interpretation of the subject.

Fig. 2. represents in its first compartment the worship of the Dagoba, with its usual accompaniments, and on the right one of those Harem scenes to which it seems impossible at present to attach a name. A noble—he has no emblem of royalty—pats under the chin a lady who is seated on the same sofa as himself. She apparently has a glory round her head, which he has not. It is not, however, Mâyá, for she died seven days after giving birth to her illustrious son, and I do not know any other female who would be so honoured. Perhaps, however, it is not a glory

* Foë-Kouč-Ki. Translated by Rémusat and others. Paris, 1836.

after all, but something borne by one of the attendants behind. The attendants both before and behind seem to be bringing refreshments, and the chief seems to hold something eatable in his hand. The figures are all elegant, and the sculpture of the best class of those at Amravati.

Whatever may be the difficulty with the two others, there is none whatever in identifying the subjects of the lower bas-relief. In the first compartment Śuddhodana, the father of Buddha, is seated on his throne. In the centre, on his right, sits Māyā, this time certainly with a glory behind her head. On his left stands his prime minister, and further on are four seated guests.

The central compartment depicts the well-known legend of the birth of Buddha. When Māyā* felt her time approaching, she left the city for the beautiful Lumbinī garden, and gave birth to the future prophet, standing and holding on to a branch of a tree.† Behind her stands her mother-in-law, distinguished by her umbrella, and beside her four men or gods hold a long cloth, which they are prepared to wrap round her. The infant was delivered from her left side. The cradle is prepared in front, and the gods look on and worship above.

The third compartment represents the Prince Siddhārtha seated on a couch under a gorgeous canopy, with a glory behind his head. On the same couch is seated Gopā, his first wife. In front one woman is playing on a harp, another on a flute. Two in front of them are either listening or singing, and one is playing with a little girl.

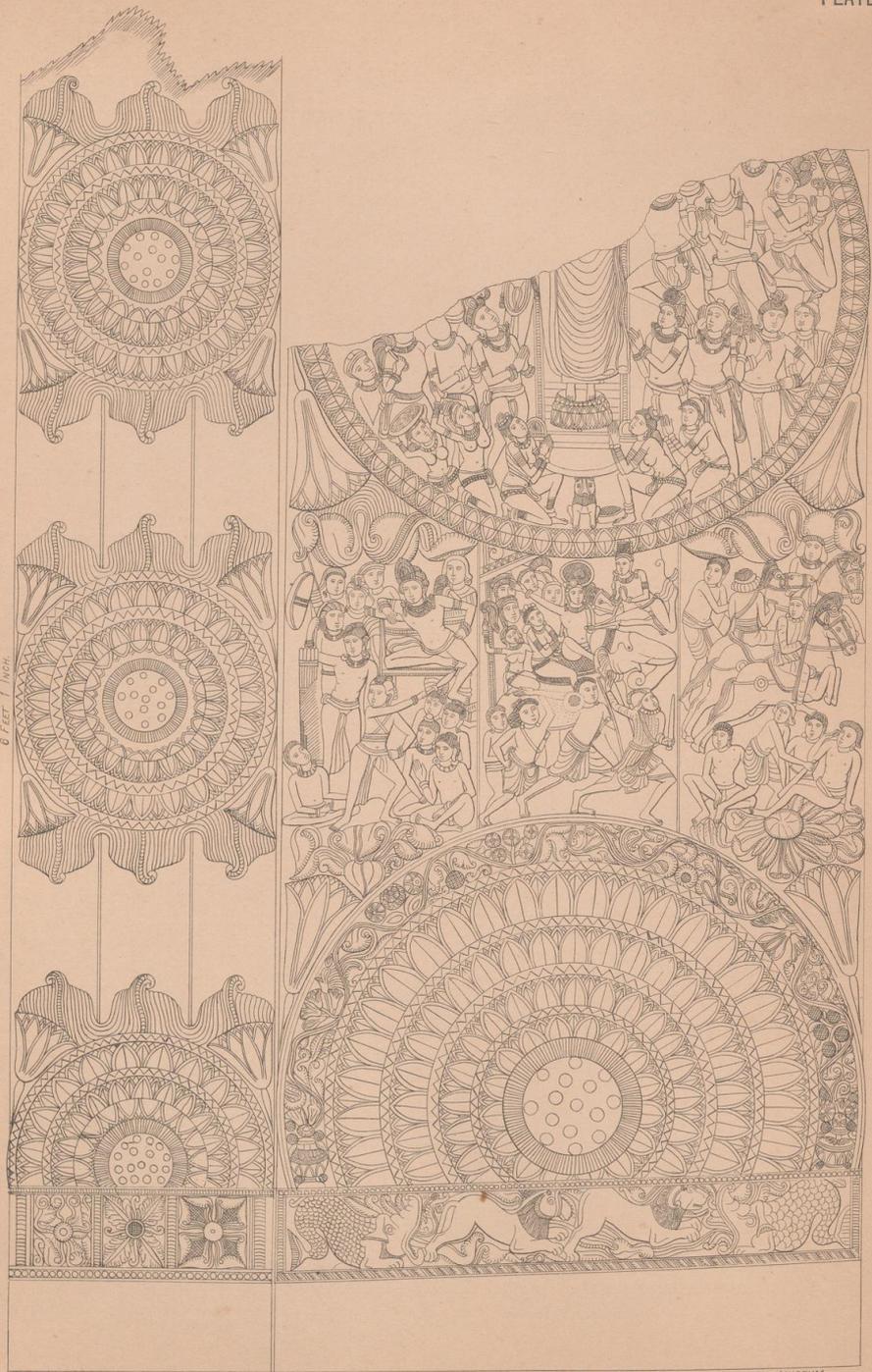
All these subjects occur frequently again in the sculptures of the Amravati Tope, and are almost as common in Buddhist iconography as the Nativity, or the Virgin and Child, are among Christian pictures. The mode of treatment varies, however, in all, but excepting that it is somewhat weather-worn, this is one of the clearest and best I am acquainted with.

In both this one and in number 2. above it will be observed that the different groups are cleverly divided from one another by walls, with ornamented ends towards the spectators; these separate without interrupting the action of the piece.

* One of the most tempting nominal similarities connected with this subject is suggested by this name. The mother of Buddha was called Māyā. The mother of Mercury was also Māia the daughter of Atlas. The Romans always called Wodin, Mercury, and dies Mercurii and Wodensday alike designated the fourth day of the week. The serpent-formed Caduceus of Mercury seems nearly akin to the serpent-shielded Buddha of our sculptures, and the astronomical sign of Mercury as represented in the annexed woodcut is very like our mysterious Trisul emblem.

† These and other similarities have frequently been pointed out and insisted upon, and they are too numerous and too distinct not to have some foundation in reality. All, however, that can be said of them at present is that our knowledge of the subject is not sufficiently advanced to enable us to make use of them as facts for the purposes of our investigation. We have not yet found the thread that is to guide us safely through the labyrinth, but I by no means despair of finding it, and that very shortly.

‡ The Lalita-Vistara calls the tree a Pipal, "*Ficus religiosa*," p. 86. Others say it was an Aśoka, "*Jonesia Asoka*." In the bas-relief it looks like a Pipal.



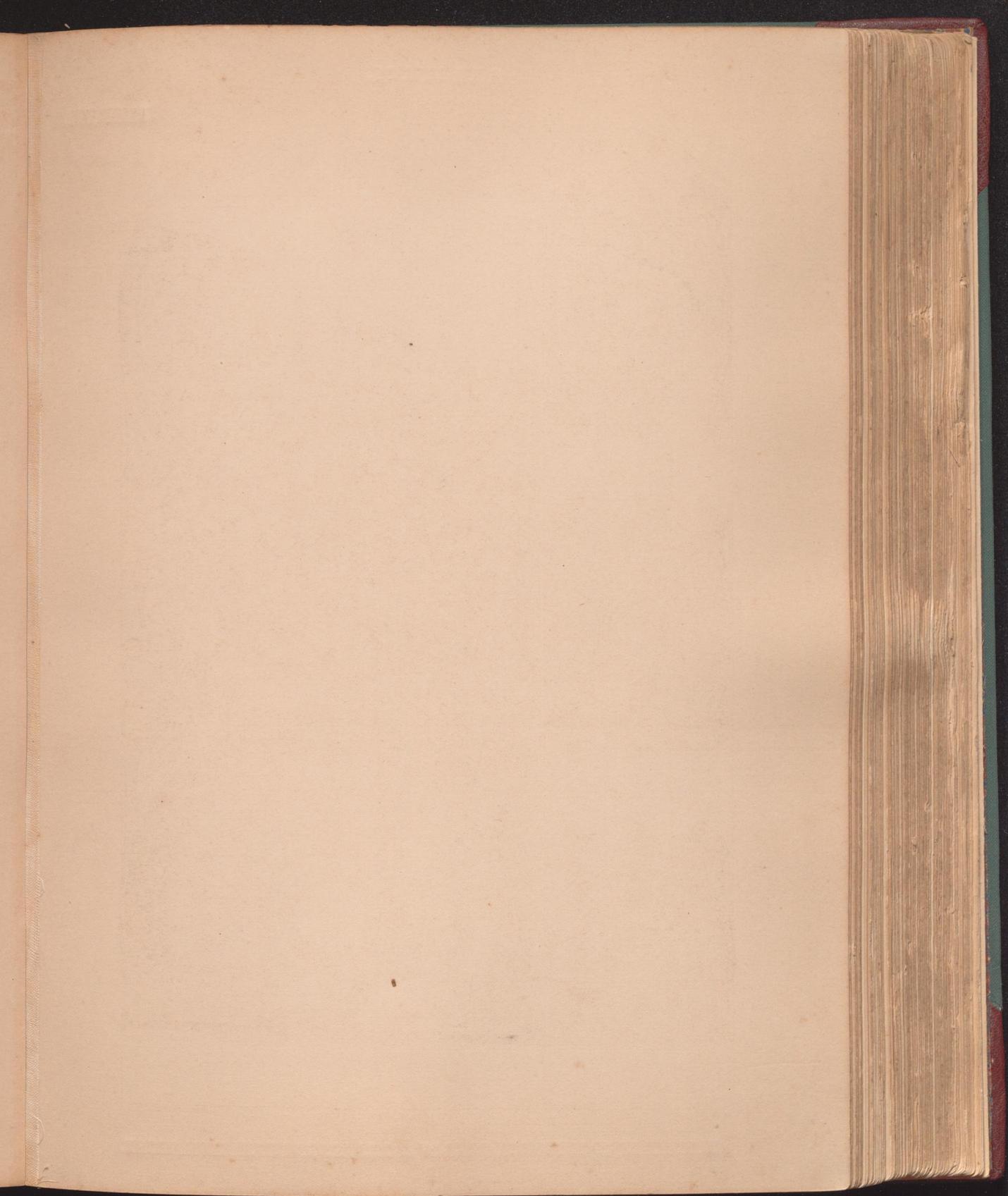
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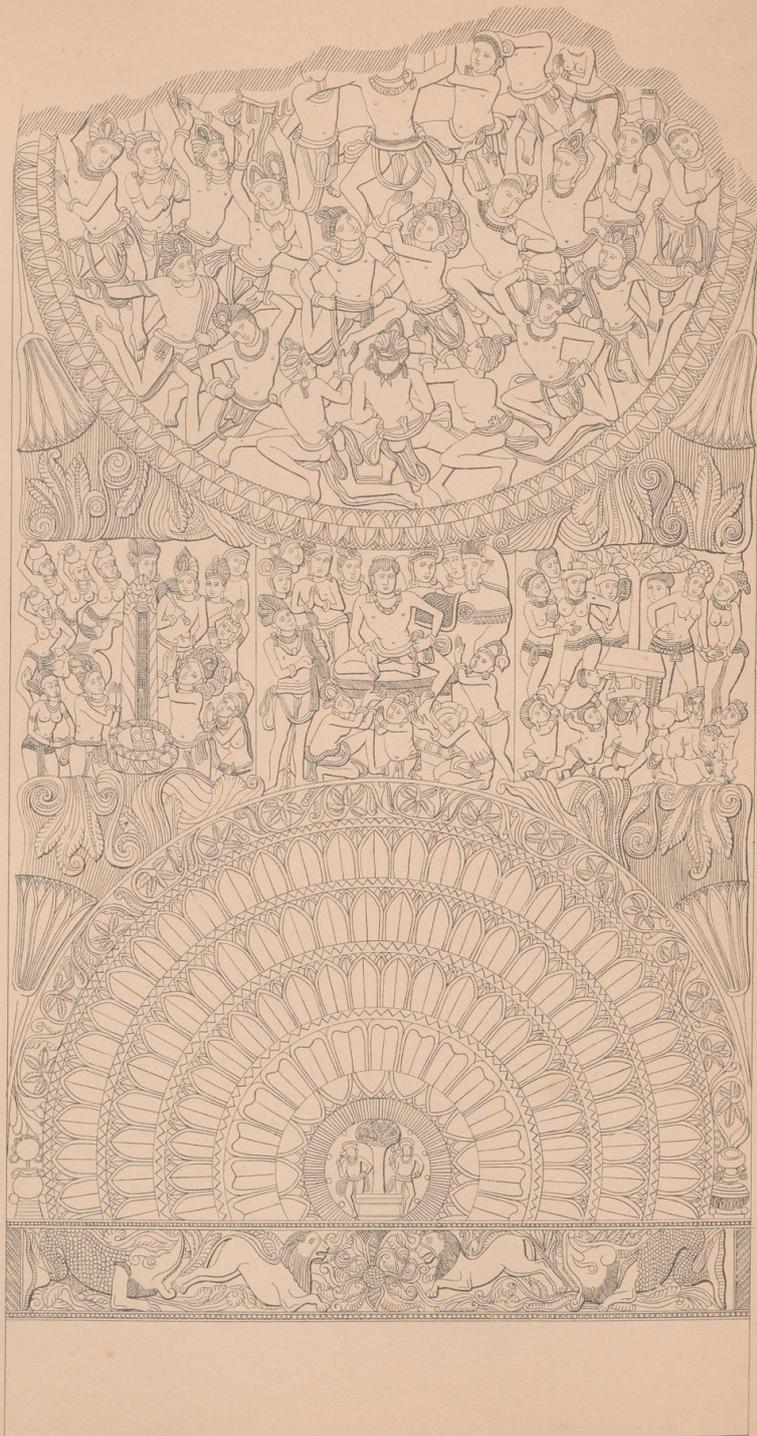
W. GRIGGS. LITH.

3 FEET 11.2 INCHES

INDIA MUSEUM.

ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF PILLARS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.





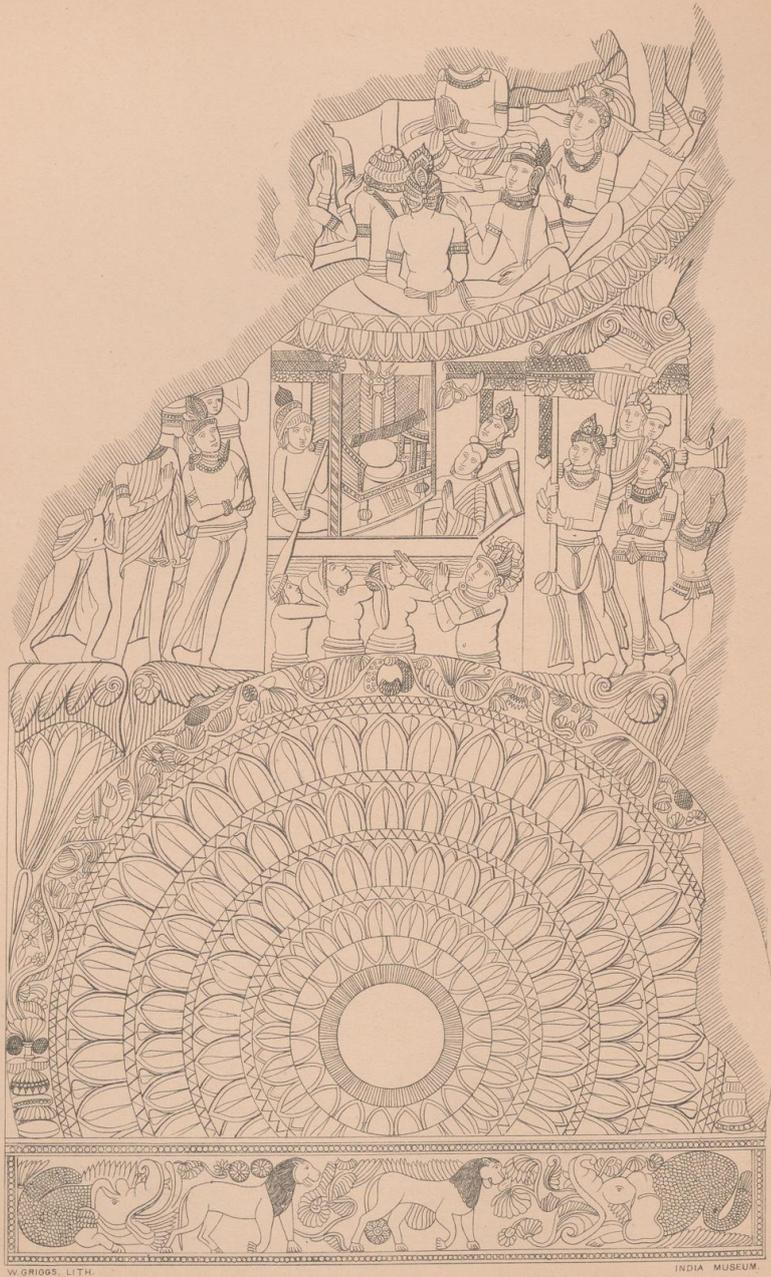
5 FEET 10 INCHES

W. GRIGIS, LITH.

3 FEET 1 INCH

INDIA MUSEUM.

ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF A PILLAR OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.



4 FEET 7.5 INCHES

W. GRIGGS, LITH.

2 FEET 8.9 INCHES.

INDIA MUSEUM.

ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF A PILLAR OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

PLATES LXVI., LXVII., AND LXVIII.

PLATE LXVI.

THIS Plate, lithographed from a drawing in the Mackenzie Collection, represents one of the angle pillars of the great Rail. The tall pillar, with three full and two half circles, is introduced as an angle piece terminating the curved part, and commencing the straight projection of one of the Gateways.*

The subject of the central circle, though much broken, is apparently a Buddhist preacher addressing men and women in the foreground, who listen in attitudes of adoration; and higher up floating figures, Devas or Devatās, attend and bring offerings.

The three bas-reliefs in the octagon part below are similar in subject to those described above in speaking of Plate LVIII. On the left a chief, seated on a throne, is listening to the animated eloquence of a warrior, who seems addressing a youth seated cross-legged on the ground. The result of this speech is seen in the central compartment. The King, with the umbrella of state, sallies forth on his elephant, but unarmed, and accompanied by two of his women. His army accompany him in the foreground, and a floating figure above offers a wreath. In the third compartment the enemy fly, apparently without striking a blow!

As the head of the principal figure in the centre is broken off, we cannot feel sure that it represents Buddha himself. If it is he, this bas-relief ought to refer to some legend of his youth. If it is one of the Bodhisattwas, which is possible, it is to him that the event depicted must be referred.

PLATE LXVII.

It will not be necessary to say anything here about the mutilated circle in this Plate, as another representation of the same subject will be found further on in Plate LXXIII., where it occurs on an intermediate Rail.

In the lower bas-relief we have in the centre a Saint or Bodhisattwa seated expounding. From his being accompanied by a horse, it probably may be Avalokiteśwara. One man is embracing his foot, but the principal personage is presenting a cloth.

On the left we have the worship of an emblem, which I have already suggested may mean Buddha himself, though in what combination is by no means clear. It

* Compare it with woodcut No. 19, page 168.

recurs frequently further on, so we shall have to refer to it again and again. Here the Trisul emblem is placed on a tall pillar, from each side of which issues what may be taken for flames. At the bottom are the sacred feet on the Lotus. To the right of the pillar is the Naga Raja with his wife. On the left a saint with a glory round his head, and a bird hovers over him—it looks like a pigeon (?) Behind him is a Naga woman, and above them four women bearing pots on their heads.

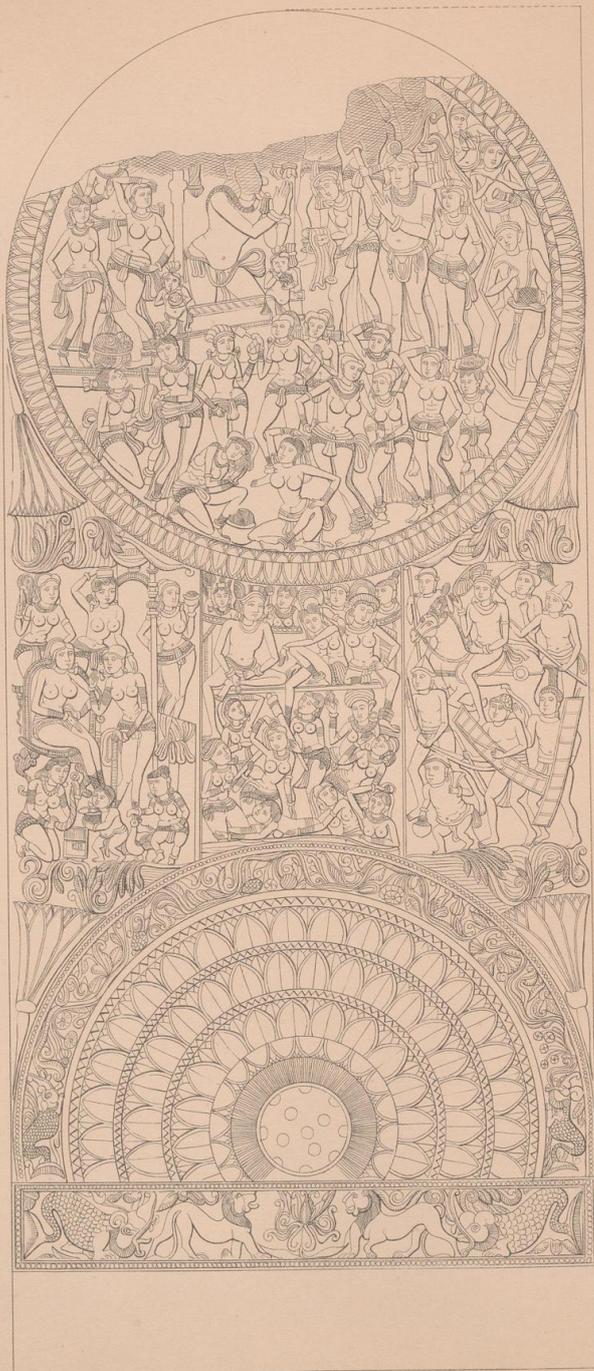
On the right-hand side are seven women, looking at the gambols of dwarfs and grotesque figures in front of the Sacred Tree.

PLATE LXVIII.

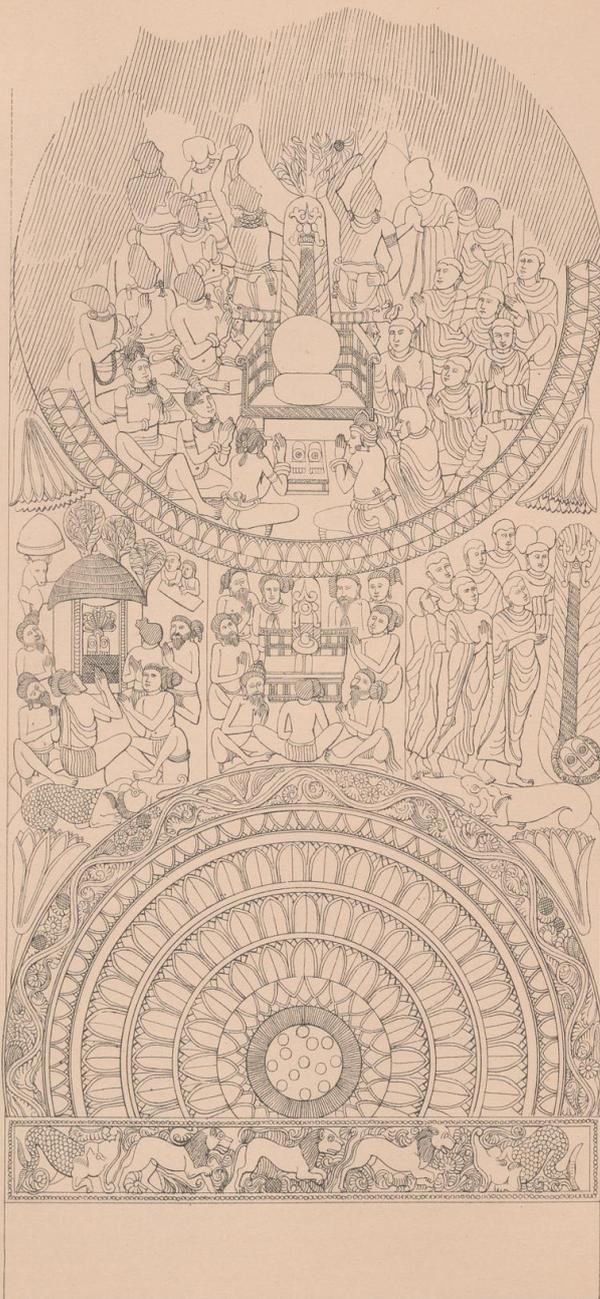
This pillar, though very much dilapidated, is of considerable interest, first, as a means of comparison with Plate XXXI., representing a similar scene at Sanchi, and secondly, because it may possibly represent the arrival of the relics, in charge of Danta Kumāra, from Ceylon. The upper circle is too much mutilated to be deciphered; but in the centre of the lower compartment we have a boat or ship, in which is one man paddling. In front a man in the garb of a priest, with his hands joined, worshipping a relic or rather two relic bundles or Dropas, placed on a throne, below which the sacred feet are seen. Above these is the same Trisul emblem as was seen in the last Plate. If I am correct in my conjecture, this would simply mean relics of Buddha, whether or not they were coming from Ceylon.

Below, the Naga Raja is welcoming the arrival, accompanied apparently by two women and a man. In the right-hand compartment a chief bears himself the canopy of state, evidently in honour of the relics, and his wife stands behind in the act of worshipping.

That these represent relics arriving by water at Amravati seems quite clear, but whether those mentioned at page 160 or some others, must for the present I fear be matter for conjecture. My own impressions are in favour of the Ceylonese relics being those here depicted, but the destruction of the upper part of the pillar and the fracture of the sides deprives us of the means of determining the point. I may also add that, notwithstanding the general fidelity of the drawings made for Colonel Mackenzie, it would be satisfactory, in a difficult and important case like this, to see the slab itself.



ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF A PILLAR OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.



W. RIDGES. LITH.

INDIA MUSEUM.

ELEVATION OF INTERNAL FACE OF A PILLAR OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

PLATES LXIX. AND LXX.

THE central circle in Plate LXIX. represents the reception of a Princess and Prince by some one, very important from his size, who stands under a canopy with his hands joined. The Princess presents a piece of cloth, on which is the impression of two feet. If any dependence can be placed on the story in the Râja Taranginî,* this would indicate that the strangers came from Ceylon, and consequently they probably were Hemâchala and Danta Kumara. If the person receiving them were the Naga Raja, I should consider this as nearly certain. Unfortunately, his head is so defaced that it is impossible to be sure; but as none of his women have snakes at the back of their heads, it is most probable that he was not a Naga. It may, however, represent the reception of the same persons in Ceylon; and these peculiarities about the head-dresses of the women would lead to the belief that we have got among a new people.

The story of the lower bas-relief is not difficult to make out, though, without knowing who the principal person in the central bas-relief may be, it is not easy to give a name to the principal parties concerned. On the right "a gay and a gallant knight"—a Raja on horseback attended as his body-guard—comes to court a maiden, who sits in a tall round-backed chair on the left. Between the two in the centre sits the stern father with his two wives, with the ladies of his household disporting themselves in front and attending on him behind. One of the attendants of the expectant bride is getting a garland out of a box, and others are ready with refreshments; while the principal ladies-maid reports to her mistress the arrival of the Prince, and describes his person. The shields and helmets of the Prince's attendants are worthy of remark, as they are unlike any others we have hitherto met with in these sculptures.

PLATE LXX.

This is one of the most interesting, in a ritualistic point of view, of the whole series of pillars at Amravati. In the central circle we have a throne, on which are placed two objects I have ventured to call Dronas of relics. At the back is the Trisul emblem on a pillar beneath the sacred Tree, and the feet are in front. If the Trisul emblem is that of Buddha, the combination seems intelligible, but otherwise it seems difficult to suggest what it may in this instance mean.

* Mihira Kula, King of Cashmere, made war on Ceylon because the cloth of Sinhala was stamped with a golden foot as the seal of the monarch.* (It means evidently the feet of Buddha, as used everywhere.) His wife, wearing a jacket of Sinhala cloth, the impression came off on her bosom, and the king, indignant that the mark of anyone's foot should appear on the bosom of his wife, invaded Ceylon, and forced him in future to stamp his cloth with the golden Sun.—Asiatic Researches, XV. 28. Mihira Kula, it should, however, be observed, lived before the time of these events (his date was probably 200 A.D.), and cloths with the sacred feet stamped upon them are by no means uncommon in the Amravati sculptures, where no reference to Ceylon can be intended.

On the right-hand side is a group of shaven priests in the robes we usually see, even down to the present day, as the ordinary and distinctive dress of Buddhist priests. On the other side the figures appear to be all of the usual Hindu type; but the upper part of the group is so defaced that it is impossible to feel sure.

In the bas-relief below we have, on the left, our old friends the *Dasyus* or *Takshaks* worshipping the five-headed snake in a temple precisely as at Sanchi (Plate XXIV.). Their hair is dressed as in Plate XXXII. They are bearded as these, but as no other people are, either at Sanchi or at Amravati. We have also the deer, indicating a forest people, and a *Stûpa* without a Tee, as in the Plate last quoted.

In the central compartment the same people are worshipping the *Trisul* emblem on a throne; but in front of it they have placed an object which is identical with one which a figure, in Plate XXXII., on the left hand is roasting in the fire. I am quite unable to form an opinion as to what it may be intended to represent. On the right we have again the Buddhist priests worshipping the *Trisul* emblem, as in the central circle.

This and the corresponding bas-reliefs at Sanchi seem intended to show that these *Takshaks* or *Dasyus*, whoever they may be, were the original and real *Serpent Worshippers*. This Plate, however, represents the two religions as partly distinct, partly amalgamated. As the work progressed—indeed from the foundation of Sanchi to the destruction of Amravati—the *Naga* element seems to have become more and more important as years rolled on, and at last to have become predominant. But as both the *Topes* were built by Hindus, the poor *Dasyus* and their religion, in its purity, are forced to be content with the slight notice that is taken of it here and in the corresponding sculptures at Sanchi. The juxtaposition, however, of the two religions on one pillar, as is done here, is singularly interesting, especially as so much pains are taken at the same time to mark the antagonism that existed between them. At Sanchi the difference might have been assumed to be local or accidental; but when we find the same distinction maintained three centuries afterwards, in a distant locality, it must be admitted that they were permanent, and that the sculptors meant to mark the differences which characterized the two forms of faith.



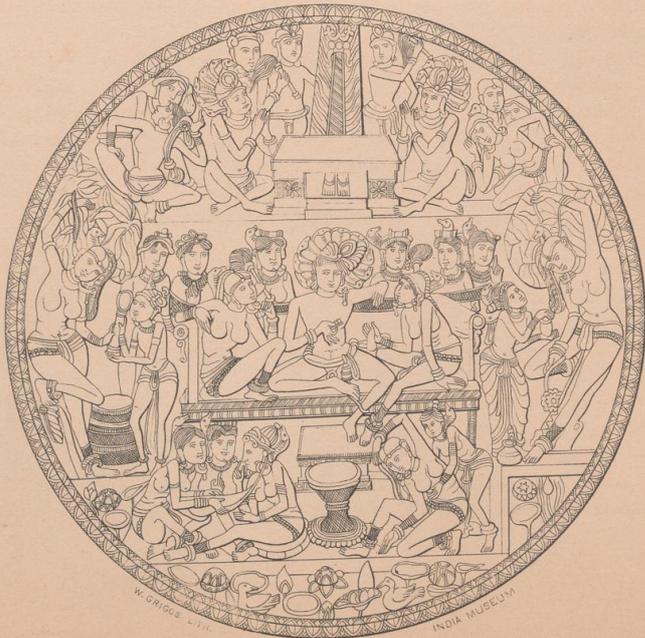
FIG. 2.



INTERNAL FACE OF TWO DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.



FIG. 2.



INTERNAL FACE OF TWO DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

PLATES LXXI. AND LXXII. Fig. 2.

THESE three circles from the intermediate Rails of the outer enclosure are lithographed in fac-simile from drawings in the Mackenzie Collection, and represent the Trisul emblem in various combinations. It is a little unfortunate that no stone with this emblem upon it in this combination has reached this country, because, though we may feel great confidence in Colonel Mackenzie's draughtsmen, it might aid us in understanding this emblem if we could touch the real stone, and feel whether that flame-like emanation on each side of the pillars was really intended to represent fire, or what it really was. Flame occurs several times in the sculptures at Sanchi; and if this emblem was found there in that form, it would be easy to say what was intended; but flame does not occur anywhere at Amravati in an unmistakable manner, and it is impossible therefore to say how far it may have been conventionalized. I can only therefore state it as my impression that flame is here intended.

The upper part of circle, Fig. 1., Plate LXXI., is unfortunately destroyed, and we cannot therefore feel sure how the emblem terminated, but all the rest of the arrangements are easily intelligible. Both in this and in Fig. 2. the cushion-like object which I have ventured to call a "Droṇa of relics" is placed on the throne, and below it are the impressions of the sacred feet.

In the upper circle, on the right-hand side, is a group of Buddhist priests in their yellow robes worshipping. In front there are two supple women in attitudes of adoration, who occur so frequently in these sculptures, and on the left a chief in the ordinary Hindu costume presents his little son to the emblem. Around him are the women of his family.

In the lower circle the same structural arrangements occur up to the Trisul, but the whole is surmounted by the Chakra, or Wheel, which, as above suggested, I believe to be the emblem of Dharma or the Law. Here all the worshippers are men. It is, in fact, one of the very few scenes in these sculptures from which women are entirely excluded. Whether it was considered that the study of the Law was not appropriate for women, or from whatever motive, the fact of all the worshippers being of one sex and of one race is exceptional. The only other peculiarity worthy of remark is the introduction of two antelopes, one on each side of the throne.

Fig. 2. Plate LXXII. represents the Trisul ornament, not on a throne, but behind an altar. The sacred feet are there, but no relics. The principal worshippers in the upper compartment are two men with seven-headed snake hoods, and two women with single snakes. The Chaori bearers and other attendants have not this appendage.

In the centre of the bas-relief sits the principal personage, with a nine-headed snake hood, between two of his wives, and beyond, on the edge of the circle on either hand, is a female figure standing, and holding on to the branches of two trees. A girl attends on each, one of whom has a snake at the back of her head, the other has not. In front are three musicians with snakes, and on their right a

lady without a snake seems to require the assistance of a girl with a snake. Whether she is tipsy or merely faint is not clear. There is a pot on a table behind her that looks suspicious.

This distinction between people with snakes and those without is most curious and perplexing. After the most attentive study I have been unable to detect any characteristic either of feature or costume by which the races can be distinguished, beyond the possession or absence of this strange adjunct. That those with snakes are the Naga people we read of, can hardly be doubted; yet they never are seen actually worshipping the snake like the *Dasyus*, but rather as protected by it. The snake seems their tutelary genius, watching over, perhaps inspiring them; but whether they borrowed this strange emblem from the natives of the country, or brought it with them from the north-west, are questions we are hardly yet in a position to answer satisfactorily.

To revert, however, to the Trisul. It will be observed that in all the six representations of it in these three Plates the central limb terminates in a point. In this it differs essentially from those which crown the Gateways at Sanchi, though it agrees generally with the form found on the coins and elsewhere. At Sanchi (Plates VI. to IX.) it will be observed that a shield-like emblem is introduced between the outer horns. This is represented in the necklace of emblems (Fig. 4. Plate III.), the fourth from the top on the outside of the left-hand string, and the fifth on the opposite one. It occurs above the Swastika on the great Khandagiri inscription,* and is found by itself painted on the pillars of some of the oldest of the Western Caves. If the diagram, page 106, is to be taken as an explanation of the compound emblem, it represents Ether, and is here omitted. The crescent there meant Air, the triangle Fire, the circle Water, and the square block Earth. As nothing the least resembling the triangle is found in any of these emblems, this would favour the idea that flames were really meant in these representations. The pillar would thus represent the earthy or real body with water and air. Ether was replaced by the soul divine, symbolized by the Tree, the Wheel, or such other emblem as was placed in conjunction with the Trisul on its pillar. All this, however, is so hypothetical that I would willingly refrain from entering upon it if I knew where to look for information elsewhere. Surely there must be Buddhist books that treat of emblems; but as both General Cunningham and Colonel Maisey, whose attention was turned to the subject in India, are quite at sea regarding them, I fear the requisite explanations are not easily accessible.

* J. A. S. B., vol. VI. plate LVIII.



FIG. 2.



INTERNAL FACE OF TWO DISCS ON INTERMEDIATE RAILS OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

PLATE LXXII. FIG. 1., AND PLATE LXXIII.

WITH the upper circle in Plate LXXII. we return to one of those domestic scenes which it is easy enough to understand, though it is difficult to assign names to the principal actors.

Above, a Raja, with two females behind him, is seated on an elephant in a boat, being apparently ferried across a stream—the Kistnah? Two of the females who accompany him jump on shore the moment the boat reaches land, and embrace two other females who seem awaiting their arrival. The Raja's ladies are easily distinguishable by their allowing their long back hair to hang loose behind them. Those who receive them have a roll, something like a comb, at the back of their heads.

In the foreground a lady is seated, with her attendants; on the left, as usual, are the musicians, and above the two "dames d'honneur." On the right one attendant offers her something apparently to eat, and another something to drink out of a small pot slung on her arm.

The story seems simply to be, that a certain Raja, whose name we cannot guess, comes across the river to demand the hand of the fair lady in the foreground, but beyond that we cannot at present go.

The story of the bas-relief, Fig. 1. Plate LXXIII., is likewise simple enough, except perhaps the name of the principal figure. From the glory round his head, however, he is either Śuddhodana or his son Siddhārtha, before he became Buddha. If the upper part of the bas-relief were complete, we might speak with certainty, but from what we see I fancy it more likely to be the king than his son.

Whichever it is, he is represented seated on the throne between his two principal wives on high-backed chairs, and surrounded by the ladies of his court, some seated, some standing in pairs, but all collected to witness a wild dance performed by six men in the centre. The left, as usual, is occupied by the musicians, who are all women, and the dancers are certainly exerting themselves in a manner quite unknown in the East in modern times, and which could hardly be surpassed in the ballet of a modern opera house. No religious significance seems to be attached to the ceremony. It appears to be only an amusement of the palace.

This cannot be said of the lower circle, Fig. 2. of Plate LXXIII. Here five men in the centre dance wildly while upholding a tray, on which is a cup, possibly the begging dish of some Bodhisattiva. It may even be supposed to be that of Buddha himself. Seventeen men, with various head-dresses, though in the same Hindu costume, dance wildly in front of these three. The women dance in the background, and behind the tray, in the centre, is seen the head of the principal personage of the ceremony, among the ladies and gentlemen of his court. He has no emblem, so it is impossible to say what his rank may be.

(4799.)

B B

There can be little doubt but that this sculpture is intended to represent a great religious ceremony, on the occasion of the public display of a much-valued relic.* The wildness with which the men dance in these two sculptures is very unlike anything we are accustomed to in India at the present day among the Hindus. All the hill tribes, however, from Beerbhoom westward, to the extreme limits of Gondwana, are passionately addicted to dancing. The young men and women of the villages meet on all festal occasions, and at certain seasons of the year dance all the night through, and with as much zest and as violent action as any Celtic Highlander could display.† We must never overlook the fact that these sculptures do not represent the Aryans—at least certainly not in their purity—but the aborigines, or tribes of very mixed blood, and dancing with them was a passion. I am afraid drinking was so also.

As before remarked, this bas-relief is an exact reproduction of the central circle of the pillar, Plate LXVII., except that there a man with a seven-headed snake hood appears among the performers. From this circumstance, and others to be mentioned further on, I am inclined to believe that if we had the whole Rail we should find the same subjects repeated possibly as often as four times, once in each quadrant, and with very little variation. This I think is almost certainly the case with the inner Rail, but this is the only instance of a duplicate which I have yet found belonging to the outer enclosure.

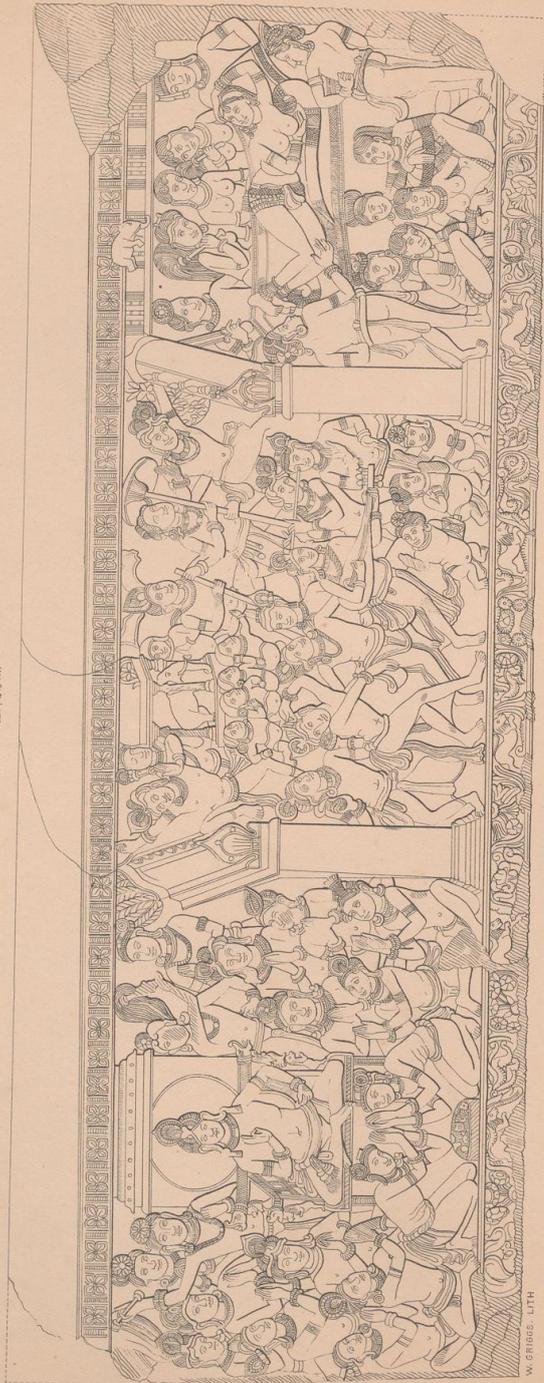
* Fa-Hian mentions having seen the begging dish of Buddha in Afghanistan, and also "un vase où Foë a craché ; il est de pierre et de la même couleur que le pot de Foë" (page 27), and he describes the honours paid to them and to other relics which he saw, but he does not mention dances as part of the ceremonies. According to the usually received tradition, the form of the pot here displayed is not that of the begging dish of a priest, but it may be his spittoon!

† Campbell's *Ethnology*, J.A. S. B., Special Report, 1866, page 182., et seq., and the Government Reports on the Central Provinces, *passim*.

X M R X Y X T I .

PLATE LXXIV.

7 FEET, 4 1/2 IN.



W. GRIBBS. LITH

INDIA MUSEUM.

PORTION OF INTERNAL FACE OF FRIEZE OF OUTER ENCLOSURE.

25 91

PLATE LXXIV.

THIS bas-relief* is the pendant to that represented in the photographs, Plate LXV., Fig. 3. It is indeed earlier in Buddhist chronology, as that represented the birth of Buddha, this only the annunciation. It is divided into three compartments. In the first sits Śuddhodana, the father of Buddha, surrounded by the gentlemen of his court. There are no ladies present, which is unusual.

In the central division, Buddha, symbolized by the white Elephant, descends from the Heaven Tūshita, borne by celestial dwarfs and surrounded by Devatās. An umbrella of state is borne before him, and music and dancing accompany him. In the third division, Māyā is represented asleep on her couch. Four men guard the four angles of her bed, and her women stand or sit on either side. She dreams she sees the white Elephant descend from Heaven and enter her womb. As this same subject has already been presented in Plate LXV., and will occur again, it is not necessary to describe it more particularly here. It is evidently as great a favourite with the Buddhists as the Annunciation is with early Christian painters.

The preceding twenty-six Plates may be sufficient to convey a correct impression of the form of the great outer enclosure of the Amravati Tope, and of the mode in which it was decorated; but in extent they can hardly be considered as representing more than a tenth or a twelfth of the whole. Even supposing that some of the subjects may have been repeated in different quadrants of the Rail, still the whole conveys a marvellous impression of the fertility of invention and patient labour with which the Indians in all ages decorated their religious edifices. There are temples both in India and in Cambodia which equal Amravati in this respect, but in none of these, so far as I am aware, is the art so dramatic, or the story told with such distinctness or such elegance, when looked at from an outside point of view.

It would be extremely interesting if any ancient traveller had left us even an indication of what such a monument was intended by its founders to express; none such, I fear, exist. Yet when Fa-Hian visited Ceylon in the year 410, he describes the preparation made for the great annual festival in honour of the celebrated Tooth relic; on which occasion it was conveyed in procession, from Anurādhapura to Mehen-tele, a distance of about six miles. After the preliminary ceremonies, he goes on to say, "The king thus disposes or hangs up on the two sides of the route representations of the 500 successful manifestations in which Buddha had assumed various forms, such as the transformation into lightning (?), into the stag-horse, or the king of the elephants, &c. These, painted in different colours, are executed with care, and

* The slab from which this drawing was made was presented by Colonel Mackenzie to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it now is. It was engraved for M. Foucaux's Translation of the *Lalita-Vistara*, Plates III. to VI.

"look like life."* I have already had occasion to remark† that the Ceylonese mode of making Rails seemed to depend on some such arrangement. Instead of a continuous stone screen, as at Sanchi or Amravati, they consist of stone posts adapted to hang tapestries or pictures upon, and I fancy that this pictorial display described by Fa-Hian is the counterpart of what we see in stone on the banks of the Kistnah. The Amravati Rail may have been in progress while Fa-Hian was in Ceylon, and both displays were, if I mistake not, got up in honour of the sacred Tooth.

The sculptures of the Amravati Rail were at one time painted, and traces of colour may still be detected in the recesses of the sculptures. When this was the case, the difference between the temporary decoration along the path through which the Tooth was borne in triumph in Ceylon, and the permanent procession path at Amravati, would not be so great in appearance.

We must wait, however, till all the Rails known to exist in India are published before these and many other points can be settled in a satisfactory manner.

Perhaps the most interesting point, regarding it at least for our present purposes, is that it is a purely original and Buddhist form of art. It hardly seems doubtful but that the unhewn circles of stones that exist at Amravati and all over the western world are the rude originals out of which it grew, first into such a circular enclosure as we find at Stonehenge, then into such a Rail as we find at Sanchi, and lastly into such a screen as this. It is the blossoming of a long series of attempts which probably would have for ever remained rude in the hands of the western nations, but which Indian taste fashioned into beauty, as we see it here.

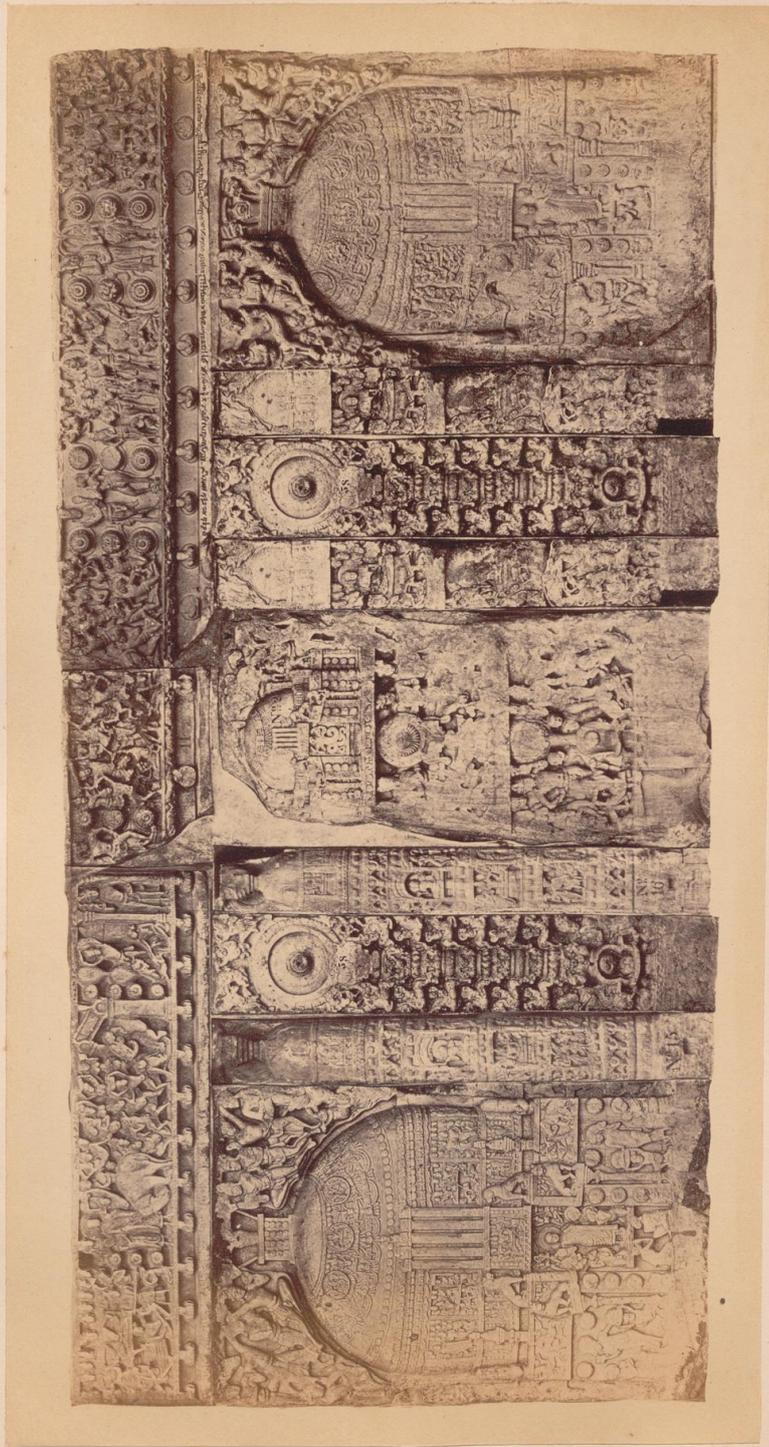
Besides its history, however, and its originality, this outer Rail at Amravati is to be admired for its elegance and appropriateness. I do not know of any architectural form which, in such a climate, is or could be more beautiful than this. The sculptures on the walls of a temple could not be so well lighted or so well displayed, and to a certain extent must always be subordinated to the architecture. Here the two are perfectly in accord, helping one another, and as the "temenos" enclosing a sacred spot, and uniting without hiding a group of sacred buildings, I do not know where to look for anything combining so many excellences of design as this encircling screen of the great Temple of the Diamond Sands.

* Foë-Kouë-Ki, p. 335.

† Ante, p. 82.

XXXVXTI.

PLATE LXXV.



RESTORATION OF A PORTION OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE.
1 2 3 4 5 6 FT.

PLATE LXXV.

THE inner Rail of the Amravati Tope that bounded the procession path on the side next the centre, was richer and more elaborately carved than the great outer Rail, though inferior both in dimensions and in architectural design. It was, in the first place, only half its height, or 6 feet above the path, as compared with 12 feet on the other side. It had, however, some metallic finishing on the top, which is now lost, and must have added not only to its height but to its architectural effect. The holes by which the metal cornice was fastened to the marble still remain, but no trace of the metal itself; and I have failed to detect any representation of this inner Rail from which it might be restored. My impression is that it must have been a range of Trisuls, not unlike fleurs de lys; but this is only a guess.

A portion of this Rail is restored in Plate LXXV., from fragments that undoubtedly belong to it, and its vertical dimensions and arrangements are certain, so far as it goes; but I cannot feel certain how far the Dagobas were apart, nor whether the other parts were arranged exactly as I have placed them. The arrangements probably varied in parts, but could not have been very different from what is here suggested.

My impression is that there were twelve representations of the Dagoba in each quadrant, and that they were spaced about 10 feet apart from the centre, and that the same representations were repeated four times, or once in each quadrant. My reason for this supposition is, that in the Elliot and Mackenzie Collections we have thirty different representations of Dagobas, of which twenty-seven or twenty-eight certainly belonged to this Rail, and the principal emblem on the front of each is repeated as follows:—

Buddha seated on the Naga, with hood	-	-	3	times.
Ditto, without Naga	-	-	3	„
Ditto, standing preaching	-	-	4	„
Ditto, with Horse	-	-	1	„
The Chakra or Wheel emblem occurs	-	-	4	„
The Horse	-	-	3	„
The Feet enfolded in the Naga	-	-	3	„
The Tree	-	-	1	„
The Relic Casket	-	-	1	„
The Naga Raja, with attendants	-	-	1	„
The great five-headed Naga alone	-	-	6	„
			30	„

It is with reference to the last alone I am in doubt. Some of the Naga Dagobas do undoubtedly belong to this Rail; others in the Mackenzie Collection may not. It is a little difficult to judge from the drawings; from the sculptures it is

always easy to determine to which Rail any bas-relief belonged, or whether it formed part of the decoration of some other building.

Looking at the above list, it will be seen that some subjects are repeated four times, several thrice, others, it is true, only once, and we miss one subject to make up our twelve. Still, considering how small a portion of the Rail we have, and that the subjects were not selected, but picked up by accident, the inference seems fair that there may have been twelve subjects, and each was repeated four times.*

Whether the Chakras with their pillars, or the steles terminating in Dagobas, were placed exactly as shown in the restoration, must for the present be an open question, but one not of much importance. The frieze was certainly arranged as shown, but alas its metal crowning ornament is gone and cannot be restored. All these parts are repeated in the following Plates, where they will be again referred to. The central object has not been repeated, being too much damaged to be of much artistic importance; but it is one of the most interesting fragments of the Rail, and if it was repeated, as I suppose, in each quadrant, it would be interesting if another copy could be found. It contains the whole creed of Amravati. At the bottom we have the throne, with the relic Drona; behind that the Tree. In the central compartment the Wheel with garlands, upon or behind the throne, and men worshipping; and the whole crowned by the Dagoba with its Rail, its five steles, its lions, and the five-headed Naga in the place of honour. The worshippers, both terrestrial and celestial, have been so defaced as to be hardly perceptible in the photograph, though plain enough in the marble. We miss both Buddha and the Trisul, except around the Wheel; but otherwise this one sculpture contains a fair epitome of the religious faith to which this gorgeous monument was dedicated.

This inner circle has been so ruined that it is difficult to make out now where the entrances were, by which access through it to the interior was obtained. Judging from what we find at Sanchi and elsewhere, we may feel certain it could not be direct. Care was taken to hide from those outside what was passing in the interior, so as to add mystery to sanctity. My conviction would be, that the entrance was past the ends of the small advanced segment shown in front of the Southern Gateway, were it not that Colonel Mackenzie's plan (Plate XLVII.) shows two slabs placed there, blocking the passage. I do not, however, gather from his descriptions that the stones marked red were actually standing *in situ* when he was there, but only that they were found lying about, and that their places could be recognized. Joining the two segments, as shown in the plan, is just such a suggestion as an over-clever draughtsman would make; but if so, it is a mistake I am afraid there is now no means of rectifying. All I know of the subject would lead me to suppose that they did not exist there, and that the seven detached stones originally stood alone in the centre of the procession path and unconnected with the rest of the Rail.

* If this theory is correct, the two standing Buddhas in the restoration in this Plate would not have appeared in the same quadrant. Unfortunately, they are the only two slabs in the collection which are perfect and of moderate width, so as to fit my scale.



ELEVATION OF A PORTION OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE. 1 2 4 FT.



ELEVATION OF A PORTION OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE. 1 2 4 FT.

PLATES LXXVI. AND LXXVII.

THESE two Plates represent the two most perfect Dagobas from the inner Rail which are now in the India House Collection. They were sent home by Colonel Mackenzie, and were among the principal ornaments of the old museum in Leadenhall Street, which they reached about the year 1820. It is probable that other slabs of the same description exist in the museums at Calcutta and Madras. As their details are so minute they have been photographed to twice the scale of the others, or 2 inches to 1 foot.

For reasons to be given hereafter, when describing the central building, I believe these Dagobas to be free copies, "mutatis mutandis," of one which existed in the centre of the circle, and which, having become pre-eminent for some reason or other, in the fourth century, these Rails were erected to enclose it; but whether this is admitted or not, they are interesting as showing how Dagobas were ornamented, or how at least the Buddhists thought they ought to be ornamented, at the time this enclosure was built. If we compare the very plain Rail at Sanchi with the very elaborately sculptured enclosure at Amravati, we ought to expect the same progress towards elaboration in the Dagobas themselves. Even if we assume that the older Dagoba was as little ornamented as it now appears, it seems natural to expect from comparison with the Rails, that in the fourth century the Dagobas may have been as richly sculptured as these representations would lead us to expect they were.

All these sculptures represent the Dagobas as surrounded by a Rail four discs in height, whereas the great Rail has only three. The Rail in these representations is surmounted by a frieze, sometimes of animals, sometimes of wreaths. Inside the Rail, and to the same height, the Dagoba is perpendicular, and ornamented by pilasters, between which are the usual emblems, terminating upwards in the Dagoba, the Wheel, the Serpent, or the Tree, as the case may be. Above this are two rows of sculptures, divided into panels, the lower generally single figures or emblems, but sometimes also groups; the upper always historical groups, generally three on each quadrant. Among these it is not difficult to recognize many of the scenes described above. For instance, on each side of the five steles in Plate LXXVII. we recognize the subjects already depicted in Plates LXII. and LXV., and others may be made out. The central right-hand upper panel in Plate LXXVI. represents a battle scene, which ought not to appear on a Buddhist monument, but seems the same as that on the small pillar, Plate LXI. The medallions, also, higher up in the dome, all contain subjects which are repeated over and over again elsewhere.

One of the remarkable peculiarities of these sculptured Dagobas is the five steles which occur over the principal figure in each face, twenty in all. What they symbolize it is difficult to say. It may be the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, or the five Dhyâni Buddhas, or the five Elements. Everything in Buddhism goes by fives.

Generally the central one is crowned by a Dagoba, and on their lower parts are represented Wheels, Trees, Dagobas, and other emblems, sometimes singly, sometimes in pairs. In Plate LXXVII. by an inscription recording the donation.*

Inside the Rail are generally four other pillars or lâts, bearing figures or emblems.

The dome is always surmounted by a Tee with an umbrella and flags, and when the slab is perfect, floating figures, but without wings or griffins to ride upon, as is generally the case at Sanchi, are always represented as worshipping the Tee. That they are intended as celestial beings is certain, and this being so, perhaps the best name to give them is Devas or Devatâs.

As before mentioned, the principal figure is generally varied. On Plate LXXVI. it is Buddha seated on the folds of a great Naga, with an inner hood of seven and an outer of fourteen heads, with the usual worshipping figures. In Plate LXXVII. it is Buddha standing with his right hand raised. The worshipping figures on his left are Nagas, on his right a man and woman in the usual Hindu costume.

Outside the Rail a man or a woman on either side of the entrance is always represented either as purchasing offerings from persons who are selling them, or are bringing offerings, generally borne on the heads of dwarfs. On either side of the entrance is always placed a vase,† which will be alluded to hereafter.

All this is practically new to Indian antiquaries. Hitherto our ideas regarding structural Dagobas have been derived from the present appearance of those at Sanchi or Manikyala, or from the very imperfect representations we possess of those in Afghanistan, and these are all now at least plain or nearly so. The one which it seems was intended to have been as richly ornamented as these was that at Sârnâth; but it was left incomplete, probably in the tenth or eleventh century, which seems to be the age to which its decoration belongs.‡ Had it been completed it would have been even more elaborately decorated than those at Amravati. Those in Caves hardly help us in this respect; they probably were painted, and the colours having perished, there is nothing left from which to form an opinion. Those in Ceylon, too, are in much too ruinous a state to aid in this inquiry, so that these representations on the inner Rail are really the only authentic documents we have, and they thus become in this respect invaluable.

* Appendix E., No. VIII.

† One which belonged to the central building is shown on Plate XCVI. It is photographed to the usual scale.

‡ Asiatic Researches, IX. 203.



FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



ELEVATIONS OF PORTIONS OF INNER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATE LXXVIII.

THE upper figure in this Plate is the only slab in the India Museum representing the Naga in the place of honour on the Dagoba.* But there are among the drawings in the Mackenzie Collection six others similar to this, with merely such variations of detail as occur in all these representations. Generally speaking, the Naga Dagobas are less profusely ornamented with sculpture than those more essentially Buddhistical in their arrangements, but the subjects all belong to the same class. In this one, for instance, we have Mâyâ's dream, the birth of Buddha, and other well-known subjects in the medallions on the dome, and the Wheel, the Tree, the Trisul, and other familiar emblems on the band under the five steles. The Serpent of course occurs there also. The Rail, too, is identical with that of the other Dagobas. The frieze is generally of the roll pattern (Plate LVI.), and there are the four Lions as usual, belonging to each entrance.

What we really do miss, and what seems the characteristic distinction between the two, is the absence of worshippers. As will be observed, the panel under the Naga is blank. In a more purely Buddhist Dagoba it would have had two or more kneeling or worshipping figures. There are no persons outside the Rail bearing offerings, and there are no historical bas-reliefs. The Nagas had no history apparently. All this makes it difficult to say whether these purely Naga Dagobas were worshipped generally or were appropriated to a particular class like the Dasyus or Takshaks.† My impression is, that at the time these sculptures were executed the Naga and the Buddha were so mixed up together, and so nearly equal, that it is impossible to draw any distinction between them, either as to the worship or their worshippers.

The two lower photographs in this Plate represent the obverse and reverse of the same slab. The Dagoba itself is the duplicate of that represented in the last Plate, and is so very nearly similar that at first sight they might be mistaken for the same. On close examination, however, the differences are easily detected. The Rail in Plate LXVII. has an animal—this has a roll frieze. The Naga worshippers are on Buddha's right instead of his left. The position and character of the upper range of bas-reliefs are slightly altered. The subjects of the medallions are changed. In the last Plate the subjects represented in them were Buddha seated, and on either hand the men dancing, and bearing the relic trays on their heads. In this Plate the scenes are the Annunciation and the birth of Buddha. The two may, however, be taken as a fair example of the extent of variation with which the same design was repeated four times, once in each quadrant of the Rail.‡

* I of course except the central slab in Plate LXXXV., and such representations as occur in Plate LXIV., and elsewhere, where the Dagoba with the serpent occurs in conjunction with other objects.

† In the Mackenzie Collection, Plate XIII., two Hindus are worshipping a Naga Dagoba; but from their position it is not quite clear that they are worshipping the Naga.

‡ The reader will of course bear in mind the scale to which the one is photographed is double that of the other.

The great interest of this slab, however, resides in the sculptures on the back of it. They are very much larger and ruder than anything else at Amravati, and so different in design that they must evidently belong to another age than those we have been describing. On the other hand the figures, the tree, even the flying harpy-like figures above, are so nearly identical with what are found at Sanchi (Plates XXIV., XXV., XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII., and XXIX.), but not found elsewhere at Amravati, that we can hardly help ascribing them to the same age; obviously executed by an inferior artist, but still nearly identical.

The question thus arises, Was there an older building at Amravati, contemporary with the Gateways at Sanchi, which was desecrated when the inner Rail was erected, and its slabs used up for the new buildings? Or, was it *in situ* when the elaborate sculpture of Fig. 3. was added on the other side of it? Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, my impression is that the latter may be the true solution of the difficulty. According to this hypothesis, that which is now the inner Rail was originally the outer Rail of the Tope, sculptured, like Fig. 2., on the inside, but probably plain on its outer face. When the great outer Rail was added in the fourth century, and the procession path carried outside this Rail, then these elaborate sculptures were added to match those of the great outer Rail then being erected. All this is so completely in accordance with what we find being done in Hindu temples in the south of India down to the present day, that I can hardly bring myself to doubt that this was what took place in this instance.

On the other hand, however, it may also be that both these Rails are parts of an entirely new design commenced only in the fourth century, and that this slab belonged to some building which may have been removed in order that it might not interrupt their alignment. Whichever hypothesis we adopt, the conclusion is the same as regards the age of the sculptures on the front and back of the slab. It proves incontestably that there was at Amravati a building as old as the Gateways at Sanchi, if not older. My impression, indeed, is that this sculpture is the most ancient of any represented in this volume. It is so difficult, however, to know what allowance should be made for locality or the personal equation of the artist, that it is impossible to speak positively on such a subject.

As before remarked (page 155) the coins found by Colonel Mackenzie would lead us to suppose that Amravati was a place of importance as early at least as the Christian era; this sculpture, therefore, not only tends to confirm that surmise, but aids us materially in understanding the history of the place.*

* A curious piece of collateral evidence to the same effect is obtained from the inscriptions at Karlee and those Western Caves which date from about or before the Christian era. The name of Yavana Dhanaka cheka frequently occurs in them either as an artist or a benefactor, but whether as one person or several has not been determined. Dr. Stevenson (J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. V., pp. 11, 20, &c.) translates the name as the "Greek Xenocrates." General Cunningham, with much more probability, makes it the "Yavana of Dhanaka cheka"! The first reading we may safely reject. If the second is established, it will be interesting to find our city on the Kistnah sufficiently important and artistic to have lent assistance to these great undertakings. At present, however, the indication is too vague for much reliance to be placed upon it.

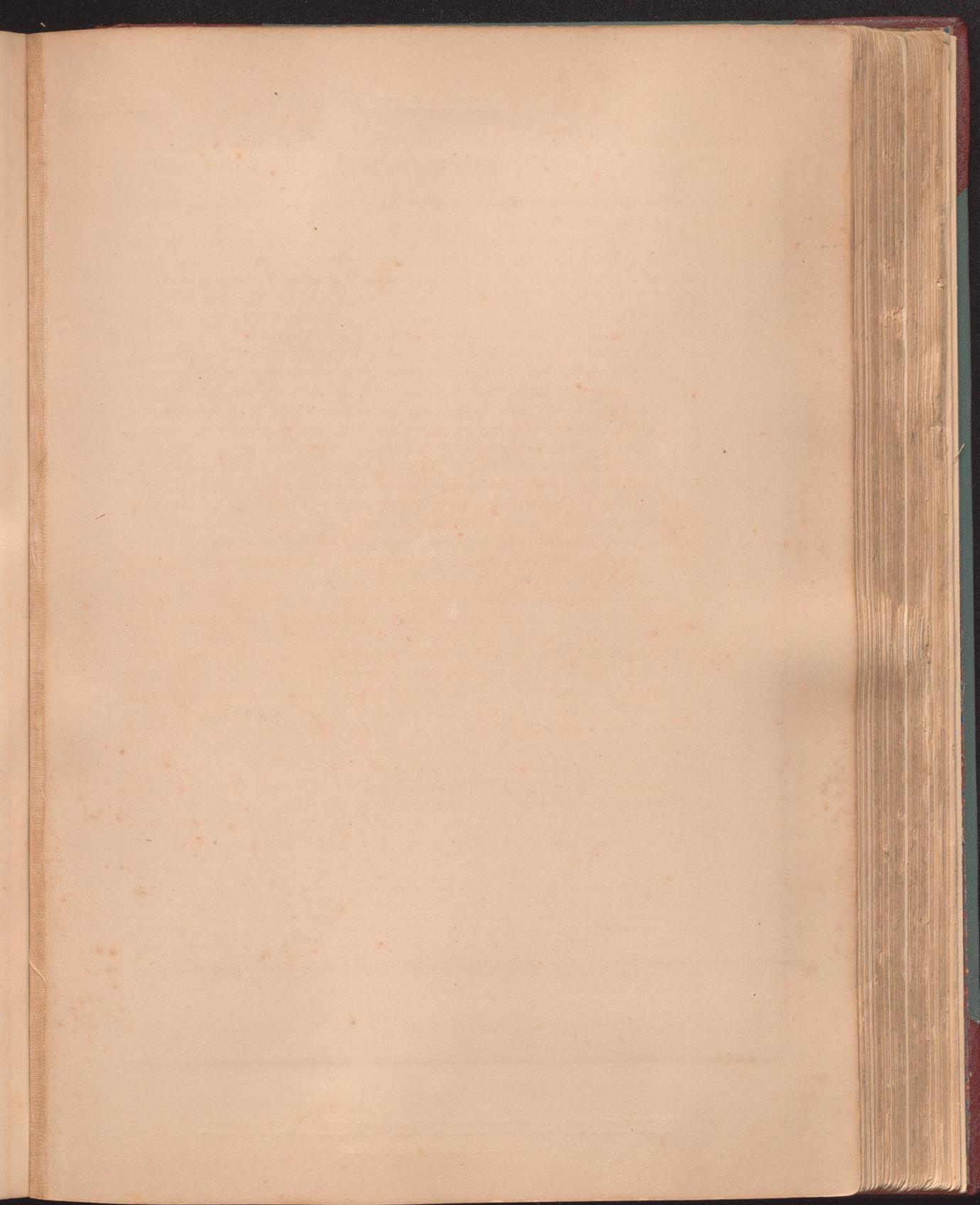


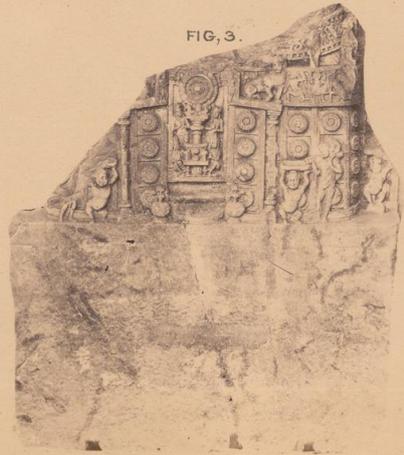


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



ELEVATIONS OF PORTIONS OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



ELEVATIONS OF PORTIONS OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



ELEVATIONS OF PORTIONS OF INNER ENCLOSURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES LXXIX., LXXX., AND LXXXI.

THESE three Plates contain nine photographs of fragments of the Dagobas of the inner Rail, all to the scale of 1 inch to 1 foot. They are not all the examples which the Museum Collection contains, but they are probably sufficient to illustrate the variety as well as the monotony of these representations.

In Fig. 1., Plate LXXIX., the principal object of worship is the Wheel, but the Naga appears very prominently on the Dagoba.* The same object is repeated in Fig. 3., which, though very much broken, is a better and more perfect piece of sculpture than the other, tending to show, as other circumstances do, that the different quadrants were not all exactly of the same age.

The lowest figure on the left hand of the same Plate contains a form we have not yet met with. The principal object here is a representation of the sacred feet enveloped in the folds of the Naga, and worshipped by Naga men and women.

The emblem has unfortunately disappeared from Fig. 1., Plate LXXX. This is to be regretted, as it seems a beautiful fragment, and the two children below, the panel in which it ought to appear, betoken something new.

Fig. 2. and 3. of this Plate, and Fig. 3. of Plate LXXXI., instead of the emblems we are usually accustomed to, contain two medallions. The upper, representing the worship of the Horse, the lower Buddha seated cross-legged, surrounded by listeners or adorers.

As we have frequently had occasion to remark, the Horse plays an important part in the sculptures at Amravati. It is once represented as honoured at Sanchi (Plate XXXV.), but this form of worship occurs here several times, but nowhere so prominently as in these three Dagobas. (It is to be presumed that there was a fourth.)

It is not easy to say what we are to understand from the prominence of the Horse in such a position as this. Is it an importation from Scythia, brought by immigrants from that country? Is it the Horse of the Sun, or of Poseidon? Is it the Avalokiteśvara of the Thibetan fables? Some one must answer who is more familiar than I am with Eastern mythology. At present it will be sufficient to recall to memory how important a part the Horse sacrifice or *Aśwamedha* plays in the *Mahābhārata*, and in all the mythic history of India. What is still more curious is that the worship of the Horse still seems to linger in remote parts of India. At least in a recent work by Mr. Hislop, missionary at Nagpore, edited by Sir R. Temple, he describes the religion of the Gonds in the following nine words:—"All introduce figures of the horse in their worship." Other instances might no doubt be found if looked for, but the subject is new and unthought of.

In all these Dagobas in which the horse occurs, the objects next in importance

* This slab has been so long exposed on the external wall of Fife House, that it is nearly destroyed, and its details can but with difficulty be made out.

are the sacred feet. They occur on each side of the five steles under a great umbrella, but what the connexion between the two may be is by no means clear.

The principal representation on the Dagoba, Fig. 1., Plate LXXXI., is a repetition of the scenes depicted in the upper circle, Plate LXII.,—the worship of the relic casket by the Naga Raja; but so far as can be made out, there does not seem to be anything in the other bas-reliefs on this Dagoba which would enable us to identify the relic, or say whence it came. So far as execution is concerned, this is one of the most delicate as well as one of the best preserved examples belonging to the series.*

The remaining Dagoba, Fig. 2., Plate LXXXI., is the most essentially Buddhist of the whole, using the word in the sense in which we now understand it. Buddha is seated in his usual cross-legged attitude in the place of honour, and reappears in easily recognizable forms in the sculptures above. Yet, if I mistake not, on the very top of the dome there are the remains of a great Naga, in a position more prominent than on any other Dagoba of this class.

In all these Dagobas, when sufficiently perfect to enable the emblems to be made out, it appears that the central stele of the five was crowned by a miniature Dagoba. But on the lower part of the steles (Plate LXXX.), on the left-hand lower corner, there are in the centre a Dagoba, on each side of that the two Wheels, and then two Trees, and in others, a figure adorns the base of each stele, but without any mode by which he or they can be distinguished. Other combinations are found, both on those represented here and on those in the Mackenzie drawings, but all of the same character, and apparently without any important significance.

We shall have occasion to refer again to these miniature Dagobas when speaking of the central one, for the restoration of which they are most important. Even in themselves, however, they are as interesting as any of the slabs at Amravati, and as important as illustrations of the form of Buddhist art in the fourth or fifth century of our era.

* After they were photographed, the marbles were returned to the coach-house, and afterwards were transferred to the Military Stores, when the Fife House establishment was broken up. In neither position were they, nor are they accessible; there are, consequently, many points which my more educated eye might enable me now to detect, which I overlooked when I had access to them.

XXXVXTI.

FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

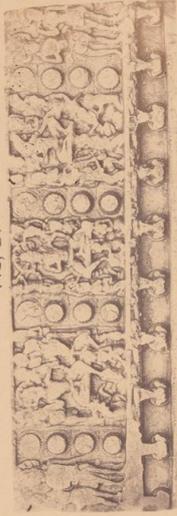


FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 5.



FRAGMENTS OF FRIEZES OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

FIG. 1 ENLARGED SCALE, FIGS. 2 TO 8 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

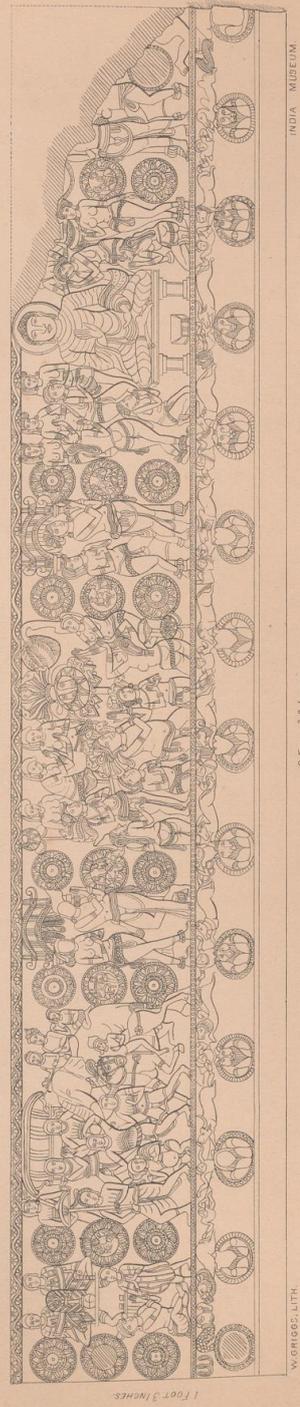
XXXVITI.

PLATE LXXXIII.

FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FRAGMENTS OF FRIEZES OF INNER ENCLOSURE.

W. GRIFFITH, LITH.

PLATES LXXXII. AND LXXXIII.

WE have unfortunately very few fragments of the frieze that crowned the inner Rail. Like that of the outer, it seems to have been one of the most elegant as well as interesting parts of the whole. The India Museum contains no specimen of the best quadrant, but one found its way by accident into the British Museum,* and is photographed to an enlarged scale in Fig. 1. Plate LXXXII. Two others are represented by drawings in the Mackenzie Collection, and are reproduced in Figs. 1. and 2. Plate LXXXIII. Figs. 6. and 7. Plate LXXXII. belong probably to a different quadrant, and Figs. 2. and 3. on the same Plate are certainly from another part of the enclosure from that represented in the three fragments just enumerated.

The whole frieze was very ingeniously divided into compartments by conventional Rails, with three discs or knobs. The central one is sculptured, but the upper and lower knobs are merely lotus flowers, like those of the great Rail. Between each of these pillars is a small compartment, containing a man and a woman or an object of worship, while the larger compartments always contain a historical subject. I am not aware that any more ingenious or pleasing mode of treating such a sculptural representation is to be found in any other building in any part of the world.

In Fig. 1. Plate LXXXII. we have, first on the left, the man bearing the relic on his head, and men, women, and Nagas following in wild dance (vide ante, Plates LXVII., LXXXIII.). In the centre we have Buddha, or rather Prince Siddhârtha, with his horse, apparently blessing little children. In the third a Bodhisattwa—he has no glory—expounding to a Naga people, all of whom have snakes at the back of their heads.

In the small compartments we have on the left a Hindu man and woman in the usual costume; on the right a man and woman in a costume betokening a colder climate; but in order to prevent its being understood to be in a colder country, a palm tree is introduced between them. Are they Scythians? Do they bring the

* The history of this slab is so curious that it may be worth recording. When I was at the Crystal Palace, Monti the sculptor one day asked me to come to his place in Great Marlborough Street to see a piece of Indian sculpture which belonged to a friend of his, and had been left in his charge. I was so struck with its beauty that I got it moulded, and three casts were taken. One was presented to the Crystal Palace, one to the Asiatic Society, and a third to the India Museum. The two first were destroyed in the fire in December 1866; the third luckily was safe. When I became familiar with the Amravati marbles, I at once recognized this slab as belonging to that Tope, and immediately set to work to try and find out what had become of it, but for a long time in vain. One day, however, talking to Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, about the Amravati discovery, he said, "We have a slab with a Gupta inscription on it in the cellars," and sent a man with me to point it out, when I at once recognized my old friend. It seems an officer of the Museum was getting his hair cut in Great Marlborough Street, when the barber, knowing who his customer was, asked him to look at a piece of marble lying in the back yard. The officer had the good taste to see its value, got a grant from the trustees for 10*l.*, and purchased it. I may mention that there is also in the British Museum a figure from one of the Gates at Sanchi, though how it got there nobody knows. There is nothing from Sanchi in the India Museum. This therefore is the only opportunity that exists in this country of comparing the two styles from actual examples.

horse? The man who kneels in front of it is in the same costume, and the whole may be parts of one story or one symbolism.*

It was on the top of the Museum slab that I first perceived the holes into which the crowning metal finish was fixed. From their form and position I would have had little hesitation as to what they were intended for, but the fact that every ridge in the great Serpent temple of Nakhon Vat in Cambodia was originally adorned by a metal ornament, removes at once any doubts that might exist. This inner Rail being apparently the last thing erected, there are no representations of it in any other part of the building, and till one is found the exact form of the ornament must remain doubtful. As before suggested, my impression is that there was a repetition of Trisuls.

Fig. 1. Plate LXXXIII. contains in its two compartments what are evidently intended as parts of the same story. On the left hand a man steps into the scale of a steelyard which another is holding in his hand, while another in the foreground holds a bird in his hand as if intending it should be weighed against the man. In the second compartment the first man seated on a throne holding the bird in his hand expounds the moral of the transaction for the delight and benefit of his hearers, if not for that of modern mankind, though I have no doubt the legend might be traced.†

In the lower lithograph we have, first, the Trisul emblem on the throne, with two priests behind (compare Plates LXVIII. and LXXI.). Then a procession, with a palanquin, elephant, horsemen, &c. (compare Plates LXIV. and LXXXIV.). In the centre the sacred feet on the lotus shaded by the Naga, and worshipped by Naga people (compare Plate LXXIX. Fig. 2.). Then Buddha, in his usual attitude, preaching to a female congregation. There does not seem to be any attributes by which the figures in the smaller central compartment can be identified.

Fig. 2. Plate LXXXII. is scarcely historical. It only contains figures of the Naga Raja in various attitudes and with various accompaniments. The principal object in Fig. 3. is the adoration of Buddha by the white elephant. It unfortunately is very much weather-worn.

Figs. 4. and 5. are portions of two smaller friezes. In the first it is the horse that is honoured (compare Plate LXXX.). In the other the relic borne on a man's head. This is so well preserved that if it were not so small we might almost hope to make out what is intended. Till access can be obtained to the slab itself it must remain a puzzle.

Figs. 6. and 7. belong to the principal frieze, but are so weather-worn and so fragmentary that their subjects can hardly be made out.

Fig. 8. belongs to another frieze, and does not seem to form part of the Rail, but belongs apparently to some detached building.

* The inscription in Fig. 1. will be found, Appendix E. Fig. XX., and translated in so far as its weather-worn character will allow. It is one of the most interesting of the series, as it records a gift to the Mâhâ Chaitya of Danakakata. If this is established, it settles the question of this being the place described by Hiouen Tsang as Danakacheka. The other long inscription, Plate LXXXIII. Fig. 1., will be found in the same Appendix, No. II. It is unfortunately only known from a transcript by Colonel Mackenzie's draughtsman, who did not know the character, but it can be made out tolerably satisfactorily.

† Is it the legend. J. A. S. B. vol. XVII. part II. p. 73.

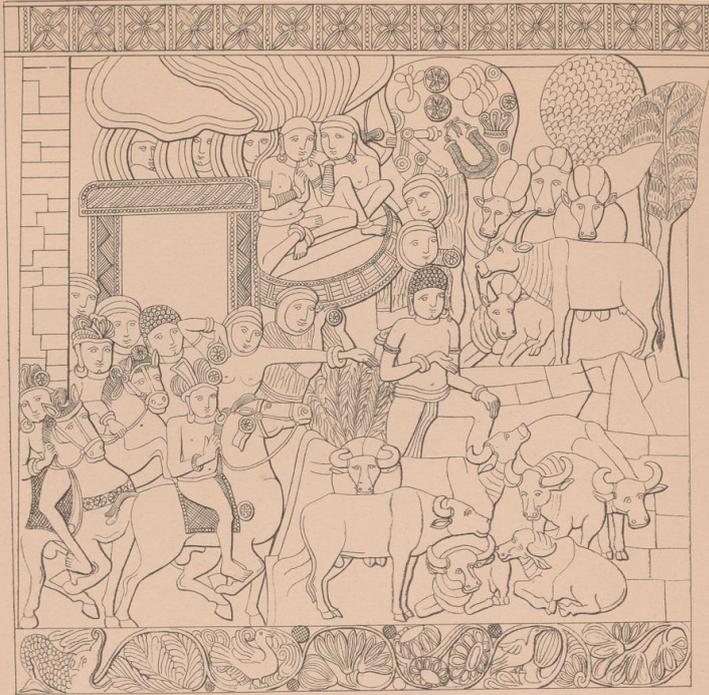


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



W. GRIGGS. LITH.

INDIA MUSEUM.

FRAGMENTS OF FRIEZES.



W. GRIGGS LITH.



INDIA MUSEUM

FEMALE FIGURES FORMING PORTION OF INNER ENCLOSURE.



W. GRIGGS, LITH.

INDIA MUSEUM.

FRAGMENT OF BAS RELIEF.

PLATES LXXXIV., LXXXV., AND LXXXVI.

PLATE LXXXIV.

FIGS. 2. and 3. of Plate LXXXIV. represent two other portions of the frieze of the inner Rail. From the style of sculpture and the arrangement of the lotus discs, they evidently belong to a different part of the Rail from those previously quoted, and have all the appearance of being the most modern of the sculptures at Amravati. From their character I should guess that they might belong to the sixth century, but as something of this appearance may be due to the draftsmen, this indication must not be implicitly relied upon.

The figure seated on the couch between his two wives in Fig. 2. is probably the same as is depicted in Plate LXXIII. Fig. 1. The interest of the story evidently hangs on the three old women in the foreground, whoever they may be.

In Fig. 3. we have Buddha represented in the usual attitudes in which he appears in all sculpture subsequent to the fourth or fifth century, but in which he hardly appears before that time.

Fig. 1. is also of an inferior character as a piece of sculpture, but is curious as representing what appears to be a kind of litter borne on men's shoulders, in which five persons are seated. Two men only are represented as carrying it, though it must have required at least a dozen. It is introduced here not because of its beauty, but because it may serve to illustrate a somewhat similar representation in Plate LXIV. Fig. 1. If, however, it is only a litter or palanquin, this would seem to militate against the idea expressed when describing that Plate, that it was the boat-shaped ark bearing relics from Ceylon. In this case the difficulty of ascertaining what this action may represent is very much augmented by the fact that the marble is only a fragment, and we do not see to whom or towards what object the procession is tending. So far as can be made out, the persons in the litter are bringing as presents those objects—jewels or relics—which are displayed in front of them, to some person or shrine that was depicted in the front part now broken off; and it may be that Danta Kumara and Hemachalâ were thus borne on their return to Dhanakacheka. At present, however, I am afraid the materials do not exist for determining this question.

PLATE LXXXV.

These two female figures, with several others, were used as pilasters either at the angles of the inner Rail or in the centre, when it was desirable to separate the subjects into groups. They cannot be said to be pleasing, showing all the defects of the style in an exaggerated manner, but they are certainly curious. That on the left bears apparently a torch in her right hand, and behind her head is seen the familiar snake. The figure on the right holds a dagger run through a human head, and in her left another head held up by a handle. Whether these are to be considered as heads severed from human bodies, or as vessels in the form of heads,

is by no means clear. If the figure were Durgá, or any shadowing of her appearance on the stage, we would at once acknowledge them as skulls, but in the absence of the marble itself, we must not speculate too boldly.

The niches in which these figures stand are curious reminiscences of the Sanchi Gateways.

PLATE LXXXVI.

The principal interest in this piece of sculpture centres in the bearded figure in the lower division. Except those represented in Plate LXX., he is the only man with that appendage* at Amravati.

That he is of the same race as those I have called Dasyus or Takshaks at Sanchi is evident, not only from this, but from the form of his kilt and his mode of dressing his hair. From the animals that accompany him he is intended to be represented as a dweller in the woods, and his hermitage is seen behind him—no longer a circular thatched hut, but a square-built cell. Beside it is a tumulus, in a square enclosure, similar to that represented in Plate XXXII., and with a pot of flowers at each angle. Still, from the absence of a Tee, it remains uncertain whether we are to consider this as a Dagoba, or a Tomb, or a Temple of the older people, from whom the Buddhist may afterwards have adopted this form for their Dagobas. My own impression is, that the latter is the most likely hypothesis. From the reverential mode in which the women approach him, and the manner in which the man in the chariot brings his gift, it is evident that the bearded man is considered a holy hermit. So far, however, from this reflecting a priestly character on those of his race at Sanchi, it appears rather that the race had become nearly extinct, and that the first time the Hindus approach one of them with reverence is on one of the latest sculptures at Amravati, when the few who remained had acquired a character of sanctity from their scarcity.

I am afraid from the style of drawing, that this bas-relief has been entrusted by Colonel Mackenzie to an inferior artist to copy, which is to be regretted, as it is one of the most interesting in the series. So far as can be judged from the style, it is one of the most modern of the whole. The chariot, the hermit, and the head-dress of the king do not occur in any other sculpture at Amravati. The altar in front of the Pipal tree is peculiar, so is the mode in which the women dress their hair. Besides all this, it does not seem, either from its style or dimensions, to belong to either of the Rails or to the central building. It probably was part of some later erection, of which no other fragment now remains, but with such evidence as this drawing affords it is not possible to say what that was or when erected.

The head-dress of the Raja in the upper division of this bas-relief is also worthy of remark. We have only once met with it before, in Plate LX., but is similar to some that are found in the Caves at Badamee, belonging probably to the ninth or tenth century. A similar head-dress is also represented by Colonel Abbott, as found in a fragment of a statue at Mullote, in the Punjab.† My impression is, that it is of Persian or rather Yavana origin.

* The Scythians, in Fig. 1. Plate LXXXII., ought perhaps to be excepted, but they are evidently strangers.

† J. A. S. B., vol. XVII. Plate IV. Fig. 2.



FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

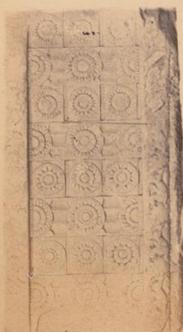


FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 2.

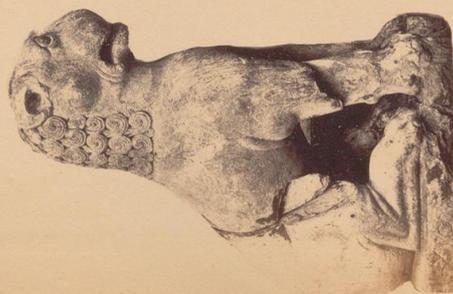


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



DETACHED PILLARS WITH EMBLEMS.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES LXXXVII., LXXXVIII., AND LXXXIX.

THESE three Plates contain representations of various details, some of considerable interest, but which do not belong to either of the Rails, and to which, except the lions, we cannot at present assign any definite position in the building. They are all to the scale of 1 inch to 1 foot.

No. 1. Plate LXXXVII. is a figure of Buddha, as he is usually represented in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is of no especial merit, and probably is among the most modern sculptures of the place, coeval with the fragments of the frieze (Plate LXXXIV.).

Fig. 2. represents a fragment of a frieze of the Trisul emblem, of the best age and very good execution. It did not belong to either of the Rails, nor to any building of which we have now any knowledge.

Fig. 3. represents the sacred feet of Buddha, probably of the same age, and it may be from the same building as the last. In the centre of the soles is the Chakra; above it the Trisul emblem reversed, with a swastika on each side. Below the Chakra is the swastika again, with an ornament like the crux ansata on each side. On the great toe is the Trisul, on each of the others a swastika. The whole, however, is in such low relief that it is extremely difficult to bring it out in the photograph.*

Fig. 4. is the Chakra, with the swastika and foliage, all of very elegant sculpture.

Fig. 5. is one side of the abacus of a pillar, meant to bear a lion or some other emblem. The representation on it is one we have frequently met with before of two elephants bringing offerings to the Dagoba. This is not only a favourite subject of Indian sculptors, but of Indian legends. Fa-Hian, for instance, tells the following legend of a Dagoba at Râma Grâma, about twenty miles eastward from Buddha's birthplace. The place being sterile, and there being no inhabitants, troops of elephants were continually seen bringing water in their trunks to moisten the earth, and gathering all sorts of flowers and perfumes to perform the service of the tower or Dagoba, which, by the way, was guarded by an enormous Dragon or Naga. The legend goes on to say that certain followers of the doctrine of Tao-sse were so struck by the reverential behaviour of the elephants, that they were converted to Buddhism.†

Fig. 6. represents a seven-headed Nâga of more than ordinary perfection of sculpture.

Figs. 7. 8. and 9.—An architectural fragment of great elegance, but which could not belong to any building we now know. These, with other sculptures in the collection, suffice to prove that there must have been several different edifices within the enclosure, which have been so utterly swept away that it is impossible to say now what they may have been.

* The worship of the sacred feet, or footprints, is one of the favourite forms of Vishnuism at the present day. At Gaya the Vishnu pud is the principal temple, and wholly devoted to this form. It succeeds Buddhism in its original seat as Juggernath superseded the Tooth relic at Puri.

† Foë-Koué-Ki, p. 227.

PLATE LXXXVIII.

Figs. 1. and 2. in this Plate are curious as being exact elevations of the outer face of the great Rail, used evidently as a frieze to some building in the enclosure. On comparing it with the elevation in Plate XLVIII., it will be seen at once how exactly they tally. The pillars are octagon, with a central complete lotus disc, and a half-circle at top and bottom. Between the pillars are three Rails, each with a complete foliated disc or circle. Above them is the roll ornament, and below the Zöophorus or animal frieze. With such pictures the restoration, though sometimes puzzling, becomes when done perfectly authentic.

Fig. 3. is made up of fragments of one of those curious columns on which the Chakra is usually placed. A similar one, but much smaller, is shown in Plate LXXV., and another from the Mackenzie Collection is lithographed in Plate XCVIII. Four other representations of similar columns exist in that collection, all differing, but all equally fantastic. They all commence at the bottom, with the throne and the relics upon it. Behind them rises a central column of varied and fantastic design, and on each side are men riding on horses, lions, oxen, giraffes, and human-headed monsters of most varied design. This one, when complete, must have been about 13 feet in height.

Figs. 4. and 5. represent two of the lions that adorned the portals of the great Rail. If we may trust the bas-reliefs, there must originally have been four to each Gateway, or sixteen to each Rail.

PLATE LXXXIX.

This Plate represents four faces of a very beautiful octagonal pillar that once stood probably within the enclosure, and supported a statue or an emblem; most probably the former, as all the principal emblems are on its faces. There is the sacred tree in its circular enclosure, and easily distinguished as a Pipal from the form of its leaves. The wheel on its pillar is a square one,—the Lion-pillar and the Dagoba.

The foliage on three sides is the flowing lotus pattern, executed with great delicacy and elegance. On the side with the wheel it is different and more complicated, but equally beautiful. It seems, however, that the wheel should always crown a complicated arrangement of this sort, but from what motive we do not now know.

Above the emblems the pillar changed into a polygon of sixteen sides, and may have been as high again—it is now about eight feet high—before terminating with the capital, on which the crowning object stood.

The inscription merely records that it is the gift of Hagha of Gadhika, together with his son and daughter. (See Appendix E., No. V.)



FRAGMENTS OF PILLARS.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

N°102

FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES XC., XCI., AND XCII.

PLATE XC. contains seven fragments of other pillars and one base. Two of them, the first and last, have inscriptions, but so faint that it is difficult to make them out. Fig. 2. has an inscription at the top, the letters of which are beautifully legible, but unfortunately it is split down the middle, so as to be utterly unintelligible. It is not easy to say whether these are fragments of the five steles which ornamented each face of the great Dagoba, or whether they were "Stambas," bearing emblems which may have stood in various places in the enclosure. From their form and style, as well as the minute character of the inscriptions, which could not have been seen at that height, it would seem probable that they may have stood on the ground. On the other hand, however, the position of the inscription on the columns of the Dagoba, Plate LXXVII., would favour the idea that they once occupied a similar position.

PLATE XCI.

Contains four fragments of considerable interest, though it is at present impossible to say what position any of them may have occupied in the buildings within the enclosure.

The first is a Dagoba divided into compartments by pilasters, with double Lion capitals of a curious Persepolitan type, but altogether of considerable elegance. The pillars themselves, however, are of the same form as those used in the Rails, with one central circular disc, and two half circles at top and bottom. The cushion capital also recalls what we find afterwards at Elephanta and Ellora. Between them, in the place of honour, is the five-headed Naga; on the right the Wheel, and on the left the Tree. With the Dagoba, these form the four principal objects of adoration in this place. Were it not for the very wooden form of the Tee, I fancy this sculpture would be of comparatively modern date. No. 2. is simpler, but certainly more modern. The Naga here reigns supreme on the Dagoba, without any compeer. The crowd of umbrellas that crown the Tee is a curious ebullition of Hindu fancy.

The upper part of Fig. 3. is so defaced that it is difficult to make out whom it represents. It is probably, however, the same scene as recurs in Plate XCV. Fig. 1. Whatever his name may be, he is a man who possesses two wives, two friends, a horse, and an elephant, and is probably meant to be contrasted with the Raja as in the lower compartment of the bas-relief, who is a Chakravarti Raja possessed of the seven precious things which constitute human greatness, according to the *Lalita-Vistara*,*—the treasure of the Wheel, the treasure of the Elephant, the treasure

* Foucaux's Translation, p. 14, and plate II., where this subject is engraved.

of the Horse, the treasure of a Wife, the treasure of a Pearl, the treasure of a Major Domo, and of a Counsellor. The sequence is curious, but characteristic.

Fig. 4. is another edition of a legend more frequently repeated than almost any other in Buddhist scriptures. As mentioned above, it was with their artists as great a favourite as the Annunciation and Nativity were with Christian painters. In the left upper compartment we have Śuddhodana and his friends, and on the right Mâyâ's dream. The upper part of the slab being injured, his umbrella and her elephant have both disappeared. Below we have on the right the scene in the Lumbini Garden, which immediately preceded the birth of Buddha. It is not quite clear what the fourth compartment is intended to represent, as it is not to be found in any edition of the legend I am acquainted with. It looks as if it were intended that the old woman who appears in the first compartment should announce to the King in his bath the birth of the miraculous son. The cloth she carries in her hands bears the same impression of the sacred feet as that which is wound or to be wound round Mâyâ, in the next compartment.

PLATE XCII.

The upper figure in this Plate once formed part of the frieze of some Rail. It may have been one of the returns of the great Rail, but it is difficult to see, if that is so, where it would fit. It is the now familiar subject, the adoration of the wheel, by men, behind the throne on which the cushion or relics are placed (compare Plate LXXI. Fig. 2.). The inscription upon it merely records that it is the pious gift of Akasavâdi and Samiriti householders.*

The three fragments in the centre certainly belong to the outer frieze of the great Rail. Fig. 4. shows its commencement. Fig. 5. is a portion of another Rail belonging to some unknown building. It is very carefully executed, and though the "motivo" is the same as the first frieze, still the introduction of the dwarfs and the arrangement of the whole is novel and of great beauty.

* Appendix E., No. XVI.



RESTORATION OF A PORTION OF CENTRAL BUILDING.

SCALE. 1 2 3 4 8 FT.

PLATE XCIII.

LOOKED at from an architectural point of view, the most difficult question connected with the Amravati Tope was to ascertain whether any building occupied the centre of the enclosure, and if any, whether it was a Dagoba or a Chaitya hall, or a Vihāra or monastery. Owing to the excavation of the tank in the centre of the mound, as mentioned above, absolutely no trace of its foundation remained, and it might as probably have belonged to one as to any other of these classes. *A priori*, both from what Hiouen Thsang says* and the general probabilities of the case, I should have felt inclined to restore it with a Sanghārāma or Buddhist choir, like that at Stonehenge. But on looking carefully through the Mackenzie drawings, I soon perceived there existed among them representations of a class of sculpture which certainly did not belong to either of the enclosures; and from some pencil memoranda on the drawings, some of these were identified with the loose stones lying in the centre of the enclosure (Plate XLVII.). In the Elliot Collection, also, there are some twenty fragments, some of which are those drawn by Colonel Mackenzie's assistants, others so exactly in the same style, that it was easy to group them apart. Having got so far, it was not difficult to see that these fragments formed part of a Dagoba similar in design to those of the inner Rail, and which consequently must have formed the central object of the group of buildings.

If anyone will look carefully at any of the Dagobas represented in Plates LXV., LXVI. to LXXIX., he will perceive that the solid part to the height of the Rail is divided into slips by long pilasters, between which are various sculptures, generally hid by the Rail, but terminating upward by a Dagoba, with the three umbrellas on each side, or a Wheel or some such emblem, as in Figs. 1., 3., and 5. of Plate XCIV.

The historical subjects belonging to this group of sculptures were all found to be two-storied—if such an expression may be used. The lower group stand in a simple three-barred Rail of the Sanchi type; above them is a flat band, variously ornamented. Besides these, there are a considerable number of fragments, which all terminate upwards by a cornice or battlement of Trisuls, evidently forming the crowning ornament of a wall.

All the principal fragments of this class have been arranged in this manner in Plate XCIII., and, if compared with any of the Dagobas of the inner Rail, it will be seen, I think without doubt, that the one is a copy of the other. There is first the perpendicular part, terminating in the Wheel or Dagoba. Then the two stories of sculptured panels, and then the rich cornice, which invariably terminates the whole before the springing of the dome.

Arranged in this manner, these fragments make up a wall 22 feet high, and taking the widest of those of the Rail as our model, this would make the central

* Voyages, 188.

Dagoba 30 to 35 feet* in diameter, and its height, including dome and Tee, about 50 feet.

To those who are not familiar with the architecture of the country where this Tope is situated, it may appear strange that so magnificent an enclosure should have been erected to enshrine so insignificant a casket. Such an arrangement is, however, there rather the rule than the exception. Take, for instance, the great temple at Seringham. The outer enclosure measures more than 2,500 feet each way. Each of its Gateways is 130 feet in width, 100 feet in depth, and would, if completed, have risen to 300 feet in height. The inner six enclosures, though less than the outer, are all of great magnificence; but the central building is smaller and less in magnificence than nine-tenths of the village temples in the neighbourhood. The cause of this inversion of the usual rule is easily explained. A village temple becomes famous from some miracle performed by its god, or rich from the endowment of some dying sinner. To pull it down would be desecration, but to add enclosure after enclosure and gateway to gateway was easy, and has happened in nearly all the great temples of Southern India, and did, I fancy, happen at Amravati.

In Egypt, too, something of the same sort occurred at Karnac. The little sanctuary of Orsortasen became there the nucleus of all the subsequent magnificence, and, though overshadowed by the palace of Thothmes and the great hall of Menephthah, it still remained the most venerated, though the smallest of all the erections in that vast enclosure.

* The yellow circle in the plan, Plate XLVII., which is meant to mark its site, is 50 feet in diameter. It was made so to include a terrace or procession path, with or without a Rail, which I conceive must have surrounded it.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

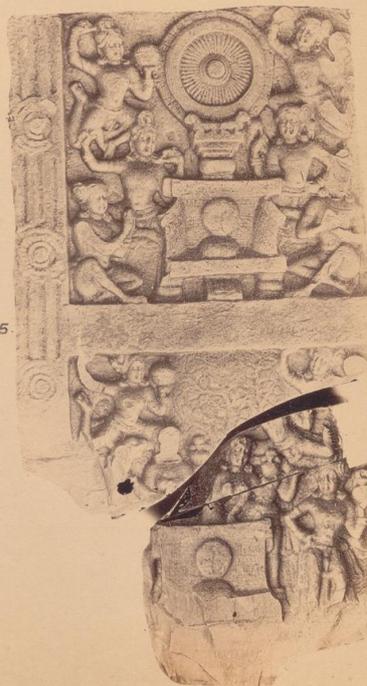


FIG. 5.

PORTIONS OF SCULPTURE OF CENTRAL BUILDING.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

FIG. 2

FIG. 1

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

FIG. 5



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 4.

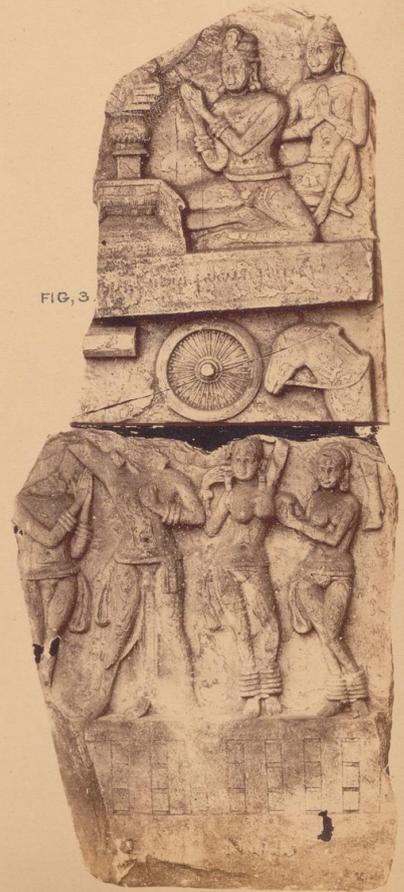


FIG. 3.

PORTIONS OF SCULPTURE OF CENTRAL BUILDING.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

FIG. 2

FIG. 1

FIG. 3

FIG. 4



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE OF CENTRAL BUILDING.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.



PORTIONS OF FRIEZE OF CENTRAL BUILDING.

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 FOOT.

PLATES XCIV. TO XCVII.

THERE is very little in the sculptures of the central Tope that calls for any particular remark after what has been said in the preceding pages. The emblems employed in its decoration are those with which we are already familiar. The Throne, with the relics upon it, the Tree, the Wheel, and the Dagoba. In two instances, at least, (Plate XCIV. Fig. 3.* and Plate XCVII. Fig. 1.) the five-headed Serpent is in front of the Dagoba, and in both these instances the worshippers are unmistakably Hindus, and the same who are worshipping the Wheel and the Tree in the same sculptures.

The Naga people also occur in at least one instance in the lower part of the bas-relief, Fig. 1. Plate XCVI. The slab was complete when Colonel Mackenzie drew it, but even without that, enough remains of the lower bas-relief to show that it represented one male and three female Nagas, but who were essentially Buddhists, if we may judge from the seven figures of Buddha,† seated cross-legged, which appears immediately over their heads, and the five impressions of the sacred foot that are placed between the snakes' heads.

The Horse, too, forms an important element in the decoration of the central monument. In Plate XCV. Fig. 1. and Plate XCVI. Fig. 1., he may be merely the favourite charger of the man who is leaning against him, but in Plate XCV. Fig. 4. he is introduced in mid air alongside the Wheel as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture where the Wheel just above him is the especial object of worship; and in Plate XCVI. Fig. 3. he issues from the portal with the umbrella of state borne over him, the hero of the representation. The same subject is repeated on another slab, Plate XCVIII. Fig. 2., from a drawing in the Mackenzie collection, but which is easily recognized as belonging to the upper or sculptured part of the central building. The first impulse, on looking at these and on the last-quoted illustrations, is to consider them as representing the commencement of an Aśwamedha, or horse sacrifice; but one of the essentials for that is wanting in both. The story of the Aśwamedha is easily understood. A Raja, who claimed to be lord paramount in India, let loose a steed to wander wherever he listed, and followed close behind him prepared to fight anyone who dared to meddle with the horse, and to release him if anyone took possession of him. If he accomplished this, and brought the steed back in safety, he was acknowledged a Chakravartti Raja. If he failed, the sacrifice did not take place.

In the bas-relief at Sanchi, Plate XXXV. Fig. 1., a Raja is following the steed in his chariot, and that may therefore be the commencement of the Aśwamedha. At

* This slab has been so long exposed on the outer wall of Fife House that its sculptures are nearly obliterated.

† That is, assuming the figures of Buddha to be cœval; but they have very much the appearance of being added afterwards.

Amravati the challenger is in all instances absent, and it seems difficult to account for this if such a sacrifice were intended. On the whole I am much more inclined to believe that the Horse was an object of reverence, if not exactly of worship, at Amravati, and that those bas-reliefs on the Dagobas (Plates LXXX. and LXXXI.), and those on the central building, as well as those elsewhere, all shadow forth that faith and that only.

I would require that much more attention should be paid to this subject than I can pretend to have done, and also that more materials should be available for the investigation, before any confident opinion could be expressed regarding the real position of the horse in these sculptures. Meanwhile I may state that the inference I draw from the representations of the horse in the sculptures is that the reverence paid to him is the counterpart of the worship of the Bull Nandi by the Sivites. The two sects are and always were the antipodes of each other in India, and each seems to have adopted an animal as their emblem, the Buddhists taking the horse as theirs. This does not of course preclude the idea of this form of worship being borrowed from Scythia. On the contrary, everything we learn from either Sanchi or Amravati points to the north-west and to countries beyond the Indus as the source whence everything took its origin. What the Buddhists derived from those countries was, however, directly antagonistic to anything which we know that the Aryans either possessed or affected, and must consequently have been derived from some other race. Whether, therefore, we call the people Turanian or Scythian, we come back to the same thing. The Buddhists must have derived the foreign influences from a northern Turanian race, occupying the countries both to the north and to the south of the Himalaya chain, being the people who were Buddhists in India and are Buddhists in Thibet. If Sivaism arose among the Dravidians, they were of a different race, and must have come into India by another route, probably across the Lower Indus.

One indication of the age of the central building should not be passed over without notice. The principal string course under the lower range of panels, is throughout of the plain Sanchi type of Rail. This, if not an absolute test of age, is at least one of the best indications we possess, and would go far to prove that the central building is older than the Rails that enclose it. Wherever a Rail is represented on the enclosures at Amravati, it is always of a more ornate and more complicated character than that on the central building.

Another test is the form of the characters of the inscriptions. Both General Cunningham and Mr. Thomas are of opinion that those on the central building are the oldest, but cannot, from their limited extent, feel sure how much more ancient they may be.

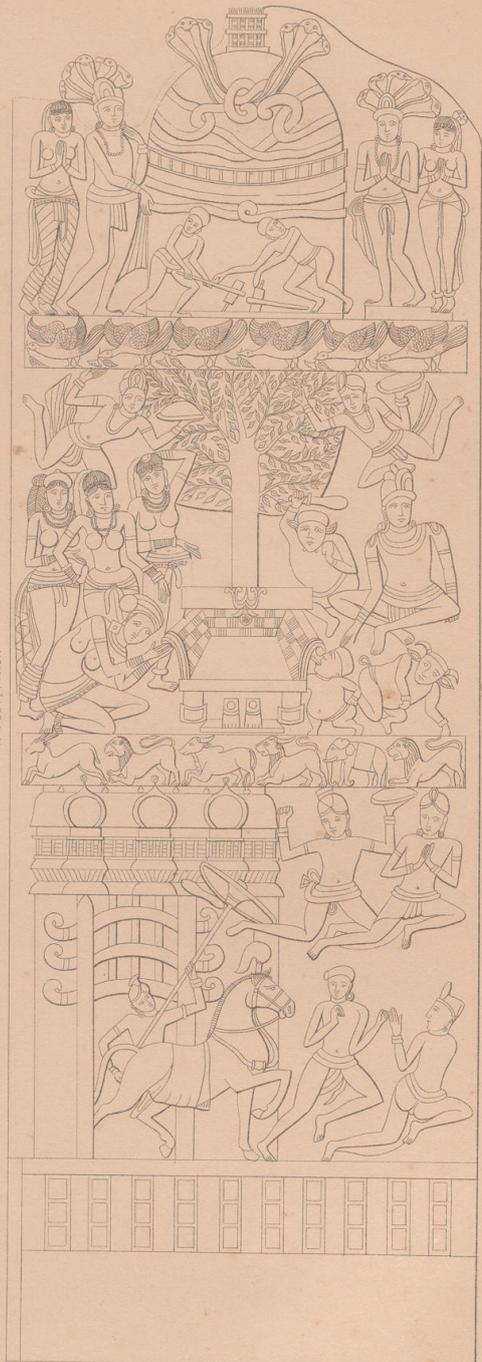
The principal inscription—No. XIX. Appendix E.—merely records that the sculpture on which it is found is the pious gift of Agheya, the pupil of Buddha Rakshita.



6 FEET. 10 INCHES

W. GRIGGS LITH. 10 INCHES

PILASTER INNER ENCLOSURE.



11 FEET. 1 INCH

INDIA MUSEUM

3 FEET. 10 INCHES

PILASTER CENTRAL BUILDING.

PLATE XCVIII.

THE Wheel pillar represented in Fig. 1. of this Plate contains no novelty, or anything which is not found in those represented in Plates LXXV. and LXXXVIII., but it is more distinct than the first and more complete than the last of these, and is consequently useful towards understanding one of the most characteristic features of the inner Rail to which it belonged.

The slab, Fig. 2., which is also from the Mackenzie Collection, is extremely useful towards completing the restoration of the central building, inasmuch as it carries us direct from the three-barred Rail to the Dagoba frieze. It will be observed in Plate XCIII. there is a hiatus between the upper range of sculptures and the Dagoba, which, as far as any evidence went, might be of any dimensions. In this slab we have the Rail, the two ranges of sculptures, and the crowning Dagobas, all in one slab, and fortunately with the dimensions written upon them, which settles the question.

The upper sculpture is also interesting as illustrating the legend of King Dharma Aśoka, alluded to above, page 160. "After reaching the Golden Sands, his majesty had a dream in which Devatās appeared to him and said that underneath the temple were relics which had been deposited there by order of the king of Lankā. Next day the king directed people to dig into the Chaitya, but the crows, or spirits in their shape, compelled them to desist.

"It happened that at this time the Naga with seven heads and as many tails guarded the Chaitya, but no sooner had the king, accompanied by Mahā Tuli (sent by Indra to assist) and a large retinue, approached close to it, than this mighty snake king was observed to be majestically disentwining himself from the huge fold with which he had encompassed the relic shrine."* As already related, with the assistance of the king of Róm he was eventually successful, and founded a city, and built a new Chaitya to enshrine the recovered relics. Was this the temple we now see? and are the relics those so frequently represented in the foregoing Plates?

It is, of course, extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible to arrive at anything like certainty in such a case as this, but after what has been said above, I think the history of the Amravati Tope may be made out with very tolerable precision. First, we have indications from the coins collected by Colonel Mackenzie, and also from the slab, Plate LXXVIII., Fig. 2., that buildings did exist on this spot as early as the Christian era, but we have now no means of knowing what they may have been. In the next place, judging from the character of the sculptures, as well as from such shadowy traditions as exist, it does not seem that any part

* J. A. S. B., XVII. p. 90.

of the buildings which have been described above were undertaken till more than a century after the Gateways at Sanchi were completed.

About or after the year 200, however, the central Dagoba may have been commenced with an enclosing Rail, of which, however, nothing has reached this country. Subsequently, in the beginning of the fourth century, either in consequence of the visit of the Tooth relic on its way to Ceylon, or from some other local cause, the place acquired celebrity, and the great outer Rail was commenced, and it may have continued during the remainder of that century before being completed. The sculptures of the inner Rail seem then to have been taken in hand, possibly were not completed till the year 500, after which time decay seems to have set in, and nothing further was done.

All that we know of Indian art is perfectly in accordance with this, and now that we are enabled to study the sculptures at Sanchi we can speak with some confidence on this subject. Before they were known, everything as we traced the history of art backwards seemed to become more and more elegant and perfect. Now that we have got hold of the earliest examples, we find that the art began in rude vigour, but without any of that refinement it afterwards attained. About the fourth century seems to have been the culminating point, and from that period the rock-cut temples, and those at Bhuvaneswar and elsewhere, carry us on without intermission till we reach such temples as those on Mount Abu, 1032; those around Hullabeed, dating from 1200 to 1300; or those at Kanaruc in 1241. We know that in this period there was no retrocession nor any age of decay which would account for the inferiority of the sculptures of the central building compared with those of the enclosure, on the supposition that these were the more modern of the two.

The architecture, as far as it goes, bears out the same conclusion as the sculpture. At Sanchi it is careless and wooden, the string courses seldom horizontal and occurring at every different level. It is the same in the central building at Amravati, especially in the crowning cornice, Plate XCVII. In the Rails, all afterwards became precise, almost finicking, and that remains a characteristic of Hindu art to the present day.
