A Guide to Sarnath

သာသနာရေး ဦးစီးဌာန သို့
အရှင်ကောဝိဒ ပို့
လှူဒါန်းပါသည်။

B. Majumdar

Price. 1-12 or 3s.

DGA-4
500

A GUIDE TO SARNATH

BY

B. MAJUMDAR

Revised 2nd Edition

PRINTED IN INDIA FOR THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA
1947

CONTENTS

	Page
Note for visitors	v—vi
Chapter—	
I.—Turning of wheel	1
II.—History	12
III.—Monuments	25
IV.—Museum	44
Bibliography	68

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

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

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

B. MAJUMDAR

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE I.—Sarnath : Plan of Excavations.

II.—Chaukhandī Stūpa.

III.—Asoka Edict.

IV.—Dhamekh Stūpa.

V.—Dhamekh Stūpa : Detail of West Face.

VI.—Lion Capital of Asoka.

VII.—Capital, D(*g*) 4.

VIII.—Railing pillars, D(*a*)1, 6, 7 and 11.

IX.—Standing Bodhisattva (B *a* 1) and Buddha figures, 22E and 39E.

X.—Buddha preaching his First Sermon, B(*b*) 181.

XI.—(*a*) Siddhaikavīra, B(*d*) 6.

(*b*) Lokanātha, B(*d*) 1.

XII.—Leogryphs with swordsmen, C(*b*) 2 and 1.

XIII.—(*a* and *b*) Scenes of the Buddha's life, C(*a*) 2 and C(*a*) 3.

XIV.—(*a*) Jambhala and Vasudhārā, B(*e*) 1.

(*b*) Shadaksharī group, B(*e*) 6.

XV.—(*a*) Tārā, B(*f*) 7.

(*b*) Tārā, B(*f*) 2.

(*c*) Mārichī, B(*f*) 23.

XVI.—Pedestal with Sanskrit Inscription B(*e*) 1.

NOTE FOR VISITORS

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

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

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

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

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

Copyright of all Archaeological Department photographs belongs to the Government of India and their publication is subject to the approval of the Director General of Archaeology in India.

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

A GUIDE TO SARNATH

CHAPTER I

TURNING OF THE WHEEL

The 6th century B. C. was, indeed, a most remarkable epoch in the world's history. The quickening of the pulse of humanity was felt in far-reaching spiritual movements in countries so far apart as Greece, India, China, and Persia. In India there appeared a great teacher who revolutionized the religious thought and feeling of her people. This was Gautama Buddha, who preached his First Sermon on the way to emancipation (*nirvāna*) at Sārnāth near Benares.

Short sketch of the Life of Gautama Buddha.—Gautama was the son of Suddhodana, a chief of a petty principality in the submontane Tarāi of the Himālayas on the borders of Nepal. Suddhodana was of the Sāḳya clan and a descendant of the Ikshvākus, a royal family traditionally belonging to the Solar race. His consorts Māyā and Mahāprajāpati were the two daughters of a chief of the Sākyas. One night in her forty-fifth year Māyā, the elder sister, saw in her dream a snow-white elephant entering her womb. The court Brāhmanas of Rājā Suddhodana interpreted the dream as the approaching conception of the queen and predicted the birth of a wonderful child who would either be a universal monarch (*chakravartin*) or a Buddha. The scene in the left corner of the lower panel of Stele (*ūrddhvapattā*) C(*a*)2, Plate XIII(*a*), illustrates the dream. While the Queen was on her way to her father's house from Kapilavāstu, the seat of Suddhodana, Gautama was born in the Lumbinī Garden (modern Rummindeī). This event has been assigned by scholars to the year 557 B. C. The right corner of the same panel in Plate XIII(*a*) portrays the birth scene. Here Māyādevī is shown standing in the centre of the composition with her left hand upraised and clutching a branch of the *Sāla* tree (*Shorea robusta plaksha*), which symbolizes the garden. The defaced standing female figure to her left is her sister, Mahāprajāpati, holding a water-pot in her left hand. On the other side stands Indra in reverence about to receive the future Buddha, marked by a circular halo, issuing from the right side of the queen. Between these two reliefs is the scene of the first bath of the infant Bodhisattva. Here he stands on a full-blown lotus, the two hooded figures floating in the air and pouring water over his head represent the Nāga-kings, Nanda and Upanada, who are mentioned in the Lalitavistara. In Volume II, pages 24*f*, Beal gives the following account from Hiuen

[1] Ed. by S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, pp. 83-84 and 93.

Tsang (Si-yu-ki): "To the east of this *stūpa* are two fountains of pure water, by the side of which have been built two *stūpas*. This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When the Bodhisattva was born, the attendants and relations hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm; using which they bathed him." His mother died seven days after his birth and Mahāprajāpati, his mother's sister, became his foster-mother. The child was named Siddhārtha, which means 'one who has accomplished his object'; besides he had several other epithets as well. He was reared up in princely galore and was married at nineteen to his own cousin, Yasodharā, a lady of an aristocratic family of the Koliyan clan. From the time of his wedlock till his twenty-ninth year he was steeped in all sorts of human pleasures when, it is said, the sight of the miseries of life wrought a change in him and the material world appeared to him an illusion (*māyā*) to escape from which became his chief concern hereafter.

When his mind was brooding over this subject, news was brought to him that his wife had been delivered of his first-born son, who was named Rāhula (meaning 'hindrance') and six days after his birth Gautama resolved to renounce the world in order to obtain freedom from the ills of life. He commanded his groom Chhandaka to saddle his horse Kanthaka. While Chhandaka was engaged in the stable he went softly to the threshold of his wife's apartment and saw her fast asleep, surrounded by flowers, with her infant son in her arms. He stole out of the room without disturbing his beloved ones lest he should be overpowered by emotion. At midnight he mounted the horse and rode off into the world. The technical designation of this subject is the 'Great Renunciation' (Skr. *Mahābhinishkramaṇa*). When he reached the bank of the Anomā, beyond the lands of his clan, he gave away his ornaments to his groom, ordered the steed to be taken back to Kapilavāstu and cut off his flowing locks with his sword. The left lower corner of the second panel in Plate XIII(*a*) depicts Gautama's departure from Kapilavāstu. He is portrayed in this relief on his horse-back holding the rein in his left hand and the seated figure under the horse's head is his grief-striken groom receiving the princely jewels from his master now standing in front of the horse. The standing figure on the background holding a sword in his right hand and seizing his long locks with his left is Gautama in the scene of the 'cutting of the hair'. Thereafter he met a ragged man and exchanging his clothes with him proceeded alone on foot to Rājagriha (modern Rājgīr in Bihar), the capital of the Magadha country situated in a cup-shaped valley in the hilly spurs of the Vindhya range.

There Gautama received his first initiation in religion and philosophy from Ālāra Kālāma and the next from Udraka, son of Rāma. His acute intelligence however not being satisfied with the set doctrines of these Brāhmanical teachers, he left their society and repaired to Uruvelā (modern Urel) a village near Gayā ; where he was joined by five mendicant friars, Kaundinya, Vappa, Bhadriya, Mahānāman and Asvajit, commonly known in Buddhist texts as *Panchabhadravargīyas*. Here he followed the traditional methods adopted by a Hindu ascetic (*yogin*) and devoted himself to intense meditation, subjecting his person to the most austere mortification for the attainment of that end which is the *summum bonum* of existence. The plastic representation of this event is illustrated in the right compartment of the second panel. Plate XIII (*a*), wherein Gautuma is shown seated in meditation. He gave himself up to penance and self-torment for six years which made him perfectly emaciated. One day he realized, "Surely not through this which involves extreme physical strain shall I be able to attain the state of superhuman. There is no need therefore of this philosophy. The path to enlightenment is different." Consequently, Gautama abandoned the fruitless practice of his austerities, partook of food and decided to enter on a more rational course of contemplation, focussing his mind on deep meditation. On this the five monks having lost faith in his new methods, deserted him and departed for Rishipatana (Pāli Isipatana). Subsequently, in Uruvelā Gautama had five dreams in one night and when he awoke, he was convinced that he would surely attain *bodhi* (enlightenment) on the following day. So at daybreak he got up from his bed and took his seat beneath a Bodhi tree. Just at that time, Sujātā, the daughter of Nandika, the headman of Uruvelā, approached and offered him milk-rice in a golden vessel. The relief in the centre of the second panel, Plate XIII(*a*), portrays a standing female figure holding a bowl, who is perhaps the girl Sujātā offering Gautuma a pot of milk-rice. He took the bowl to the bank of the Nairanjanā, bathed in its water, put his loin cloth on and then partook of the food. After finishing the repast, he flung the bowl into the river and thought to himself, "If on this day I am to become a Buddha, let the vessel ascend the stream ; if not, let it go down." Ah ! the vessel, indeed, began to float against the current and at last sank to the abode of Kāla, a Nāga king. Having reassured himself, he proceeded to the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā. While repairing to this spot he passed the abode of Kālika, the king of the Nāgas, who with his spouse, Nagī Suvarnaprabhāsā, after chanting the hymn of praise in honour of him, prognosticated his approaching Enlightenment. In the top corner of the second panel, Plate XIII(*a*), we notice the figure of Naga Kālika standing with folded hands in a mood of reverence. At the close of the day, Gautama came to the foot of the tree, sat

there on a seat of grass facing the east, remained in the sedate posture and resolved, " Though my skin, my nerves and my bones waste away, and though my life blood be dried up, yet I will not leave this seat before I have attained unto perfect knowledge ".

At this time Māra, the Tempter, with this army approached and tortured him utmost to seduce him from the path of enlightenment. When all his attempts were of no avail, Māra asked Gautama, " Who is witness to your having bestowed alms ?" Bodhisattva replied, " I leave out the instances of other births even being born as prince Visvantara, I offered seven hundred great gifts." He then touched the earth with the forefinger of his right hand and said, " this earth is my witness." At this Mother Earth rose up and spoke, " It is so as thou hast declared." The relief to the left corner of the third panel, Plate XIII(*a*), marks the supreme moment of his attaining Enlightenment when Gautama, assailed by Māra, called upon the Earth goddess (*Vasundharā*). To his right Māra holds a bow in his left hand and to the other side one of Māra's daughters (Rati, Arati and Tanhā) approached Bodhisattva and tempted him to break his meditation. In response to Gautama's call, the Earth goddess is emerging from the earth with a treasure-vase (*dhanaghata*) in both hands. In the centre of the pedestal the flying female figure represents Māra's daughter being forced to retire discomfited. Māra was thus repulsed and fled away with his party. Bodhisattva remained absorbed in deep meditation to attain omniscience. In the first watch of the night he, by an inward illumination, obtained divine vision by virtue of the merit of the knowledge of his previous births (*pūrvanivāsa*); in the the second he acquired the heavenly eyes (*divya-chakshus*) and beheld the transmigration and re-births of various beings; in the third he began to search with a grievous heart for the origin and remedy of sorrows of souls and discovered that suffering and pain arise from attachment to the ways of the world, and that life is but a link in a series of successive existences insuperably bound up with misery. Worldly existence is the result of chance, the consequence of *karma* ' good or evil merit ' produced by *avidyā* or ignorance. Ignorance is the chief factor of causation. A being who is free from the lust of the flesh as well as the cloud of ignorance is subject to no more births, *i.e.*, makes his final exit from the world of transmigration. Thus, at the break of day he came to the solution of the great mystery of the cycle of re-births in this mundane existence and became the Buddha, that is ' Enlightened ' or Tathāgata, which means ' he who has arrived at the truth.' The spot where these protracted meditations were carried on is still held in the highest veneration by the Buddhist world and, in fact, Bodh Gayā, was once considered as one of the eight holy places on earth and was studded with temples and monasteries. Immediately

after attaining enlightenment the Buddha—we may now call him so for the first time—enjoyed for several weeks the bliss of emancipation in an ascetic trance of *sambodhi* (perfect enlightenment), which means the communion of the human soul with the eternal soul or Spirit of the Universe. During the first week he sat beneath the Bodhi tree, next under the Goatherd's Banyan (*Ajapāla-nyagrodha*) tree, thirdly at the foot of the Muchalinda tree. At this time the Nāga king Muchalinda spread his hood as a canopy over the Buddha to protect him from the rain and thunderstorm. This scene is recessed on one of the projected faces of a rectangular capital, D(*g*)5. He spent his fourth week under the Rājāyatana tree. This time two merchants, Tapussa and Bhalluka of Ukkala (Orissa), approched him and asked his permission for offering him barley-cakes and honey. They afterwards sought his grace and became his first lay-worshippers (*upāsakas*). Thence he retreated to the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan tree and began to contemplate whether he should preach to the world the great truth he had realized. Brahmā and other gods, having understood his motive, approached him and with due obeisance appealed to him saying, "The *dhamma* hitherto manifested in the country of Magadha had been impure, thought out by contaminated men. But dost thou now open the door of the Immortal, let them hear the *dhamma* of the Spotless One."

Moved by these prayers, the Buddha pondered as to whom he should first proclaim his doctrine and who would be able to understand his *dhamma*. He first thought of addressing Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka, but finding that they were no more, he decided to preach his revelations to his former companions, who faithfully attended him during the period of his austerities in the jungle of Uruvelā, and proceeded to Mrigadāva (Rishipatana) near Benares, where they were then living.

Rishipatana or Mrigadava (Modern Sarnath).—The ancient site of Sarnath is in Buddhist texts known as Rishipatana or Mrigadāva. In Mahāvastu, a Sanskrit Buddhist work, one finds the following account :—" Once there lived five hundred Pratyeka-Buddhas or Rishis in a big forest at a distance of a *yojana* and a half from Benares. They once rose to the sky where they attained *nirvāṇa* and thus their corporeal bodies fell on earth. As the bodies of the Rishis or Pratyeka-Buddhas fell on that forest, it came to be known as Rishipatana, *i.e.*, where the Rishis fell down."[1] The Chinese traveller, Fa-Hien, who visited India in the beginning of the 5th century A. D. (405-411), records in his itinerary that one Pratyeka-Buddha lived in the forest and on hearing of the approaching enlightenment of Gautama Buddha attained *parinirvāṇa*.

[1] *Mahāvastu* edited by E. Senart, Vol. I, pp. 347*f*.

The Jātakas are the stories of the previous births of the Buddha as told by him on different occasions to his disciples in connection with his moral teachings. Just after his *parinirvāṇa*, 550 of these were collected and incorporated in Pāli literature. There is a story of Bodhisattva having once been born as a deer which is known commonly as Nigrodhamiga Jātaka. It runs thus :—

"In the past, when Brahmadatta was the king of Benares Bodhisattva was re-incarnated in the form of a deer. He was of golden hue, his eyes were like round jewels, horns of a silvery glow, face like a piece of red cloth, hoofs adorned with the toilet of lacdye, tail as developed as that of a yak, and his body as big as that of a foal. Known as Nigrodha-migarāja (King of the Banyan Deer) with a retinue of five hundred deer, he lived in the jungle. Not far from him, however, there dwelt another deer named Śākhāmiga (Branch Deer), golden as the other was, with a herd of five hundred. In those days, the king of Benares was very much given to hunting and never ate without meat. Cancelling the engagements of all townsmen, he would take them with him and go daily for a hunt. These people spoke to one another : "This king puts an end to all our business. Let us sow fodder and provide water for the deer in the park and there capturing a number of them and closing the entrance inform the king." Thus, all the townsmen planted fodder and stored water in the park and fitted it up with gates ; then armed with clubs and other weapons they entered the forest in search of deer, thinking that by surrounding them on all sides they would capture the animals. So they fenced in an area of seven mile in the jungle, including the abodes of Nigrodhamiga and Śākhāmiga. Now, beholding the herd of deer they began to strike the trees and bushes and beat on the ground with their clubs and thus drove the flock out of their hiding places ; then making a great noise by rattling their swords, daggers, bows and the like, they drove the animals into the park, bolted the gates and approaching the king said : "Lord, by your constant going out ahunting, our business is ruined ; your park has been filled with the deer brought by us from the jungle ; henceforth feed on them." And so saying they departed. In acceding to their submission the king repaired to the park and beholding there two golden-hued deer ordained for their safety. Thenceforth, sometimes the king would himself go to the park to shoot and bring a deer, sometimes his cook would go, shoot and bring one. At the sight of the bow, the deer, moved by the fear of death, would take to their heels ; but when they had been hit twice or thrice they became exhausted and dropped down dead.

---

[1] *The Jātaka* (Text), I, p. 149*f*, edited by V. Fausböll, London, 1877.

The herd of deer narrated this news to Bodhisattva (Nigrodhamiga). He sent for the Sākhāmiga (Branch Deer) and said: "Friend, lives of so many of us are being lost. Though one must die, let not the deer be shot at henceforth. Let a deer go by turn to the place of execution. One day let the turn fall upon one of my flock, the next day on your group. Each animal in his turn should approach the place of execution, put his head on the block and lie down. In this way the deer would escape laceration."

"Right," he said and agreed. Thenceforth, a deer used to go to the place of execution by turns and lie down. The cook would come and carry off the animal lying there.

Now, one day came the turn of a roe in the herd of Sākhāmiga. She approached Sākhā and said, "Lord, I am big with young. After I have fawned, I will give myself up without regret. Please defer my turn." "Unable am I", replied he, "to pass thy turn to others. Thou alone knowest thy condition. Go away."

Having received no help from him, she sought Bodhisattva (Nigrodhamiga), prostrated herself before him and appealed for mercy. Touched with compassion he said, "Be it so, goest thou. I should meet thy turn." He then went himself, put his neck upon the block of execution and lay down. The cook, seeing him, exclaimed, "How is it that the Deer-king, who has acquired safety of life, is lying at the place of execution"; and hurried to the king to relate the matter. The king mounted his chariot the very moment, came thither followed by a large retinue, and beholding the Bodhisattva, said, "Friend, Deer-king, is it not that I granted you safety of life? How then are you lying here?"

"O Great King, a roe big with young came to me and said, 'Transfer my turn to someone else.' Now, impossible was it for me to throw her miserable fate upon another; therefore accepting her turn of death I have laid myself here. Harbour no further suspicion, Oh Great King."

The king said, "Lord, the golden-coloured king of the Deer, a being like you, so full of forbearance and loving compassion, I have never seen even one among men. Therefore, I am pleased with you. Rise up, I grant safety of life to you both."

"Two of us being safe, what will the rest do, O King of men?"

"I grant safety to the rest also, O Lord."

Thus, the king having granted a gift (*dāya*) to deer (*mrigas*) to live in the forest (*dāva*), the locality was in the Buddhist period known as *Mrigadāva* or *Mrigadāya*). Modern Sārnāth is derived from Sāranganātha (Lord of the Deer) reminds us of this interesting legendary account.

Buddha's arrival at Sārnāth and preaching of Sermon.— Now, the Blessed One having traversed the course gradually came to Benares, to the Deer Park (*Mrigadāva*), the abode of the five monks. Seeing him coming from afar they decided among themselves "Friends, there comes the Samana Gotama, who has given up his exertions and has turned to a life of ease. We must not salute him, nor rise from our seats when he approaches, nor take his bowl and robe from his hands. But a seat may be kept for him; if he likes he will sit down." However, as the Lord approached nearer, the five monks unable to keep their agreement advanced to receive him. One took his bowl and robe, another prepared a seat and a third brought water for washing his feet, a foot-stool and a towel. The Lord sat down on the seat and washed his feet. Then the monks addressed the Blessed One by his name as well as with the appellation "Friend."

At this the Lord said to the five monks, "Don't, O Monks, address the Tathāgata by his name or with the title of 'Friend' Monks, I am an Arhat, a Tathāgata, fully enlightened. O Monks, give ear, I teach you the immortal truth I have attained. I preach you the doctrine. Acting according to the teaching for the sake of which ye, youths of good family, rightly wander forth out of home to a homeless life, you will, in a short time, learn, realize and attain the supreme end of the truth and live in it."

On this the five monks said thus to the Lord: "Even by those exercises, Friend Gotama, by those austerities, by those practices of self-mortification, you have not won the superhuman power, noble knowledge and insight. How will you, now living in abundance, having given up the exertions and returned to luxury, gain the superhuman power and noble knowledge and insight?"

Thereat the Enlightened said to the five monks, "The Tathāgata does not live in abundance, nor has he given up exertion, he has not turned to the life of luxury."

Having thus convinced the five monks he addressed them:— "There are Two Extremes, O Monks, which ought to be avoided by one who goes forth from the world. Which are these Two Extremes? (1) Attachment to passions and worldly enjoyment or that which is low, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and useless; (2) practice of self-torture is painful, ignoble and profitless. O Monks, by avoiding these two extremes the Tathāgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path (*majjhimā patipadā*) which gives insight and wisdom and leads to calmness, to enlightenment and to Nirvāna.

"Which, O Monks, is the Middle Path discovered by Tathāgata which gives insight, leads to wisdom, to calmness, to knowledge, to

enlightenment, to Nirvana? It is the Noble Eightfold Path, namely:—

1. Right Views.
2. Right Aspirations.
3. Right Speech.
4. Right Conduct.
5. Right Living.
6. Right Effort.
7. Right Mindfulness.
8. Right Meditation.

"This, indeed, O Monks, is the Middle Path gained by the Tathāgata, which leads to insight, wisdom, calmness, perfect enlightenment, to Nirvāna.

"Now, four are, ye Monks, the Noble Axioms. And which are these four? The Noble Axiom about Suffering; Monks, the Noble Axiom about the Origin of Suffering; the Noble Axiom about the Cessation of Suffering and the Noble Axiom about the Way leading to the Cessation of Suffering.[1]

"Thus, O Monks, Suffering is the Noble Truth. Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering, association with unpleasant objects is suffering, separation from the desired objects is suffering, not to obtain one's desire is suffering. In short, the fivefold attachment to existence is suffering.

"The Origin of Suffering, O Monks, is the Noble Truth. Thirst (*taṅhā*), which leads to re-birth, is accompanied by pleasure and attachment and finds pleasure here and there. It is thus craving for pleasure, thirst for life and thirst for non-existence.

"This, O Monks, is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering—the complete cessation without a remainder of that craving, abandonment, forsaking, release, non-attachment. Now this, O Monks, is the Noble Truth of the Path that leads to the Cessation of Suffering. This is the Noble Eightfold Path, namely Right Views, Right Aspirations, etc."

Thus having turned (*āvartana*) 'the Wheel-(*chakra*) of the Law', Gautama became a *Dharma-Chakravartin* (Religious Monarch). The relief in the upper right corner of the top panel, Plate XIII(*a*), illustrates the First Sermon. The Buddha is seated cross-legged in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharma-chakra mudrā*) in the midst of the *panchabhaddavaggiyas* (the five monks). On his right are two figures in monk's garb, and traces of other

[1] A Pāli inscription of four lines containing the Four Noble Truths is carved on the top of an umbrella, D(*c*) 11, found at Sārnāth.

worshippers to his left. In front of the throne the Wheel symbolizes the First Sermon and the Deer reclining on either side indicate the Deer Park (*Mrigadāva*), where the Great Teacher first gave forth his doctrines to the world.

During his stay at Sārnāth, the Lord was joined by a youth of good family, Yasa by name, whose parents and wife also embraced the faith and became layworshippers. Now his disciples numbered sixty, and he sent them to different directions to popularize his doctrines, except Yasa, who remained with his parents. Gautama was in the habit of moving from place to place to instruct men about the road to Nirvāna. At Rājagriha the Brāhman Kāsyapa and King Bimbisāra became his disciples. Afterwards, two ascetics, named Sāriputra and Moggallāna, joined the *samgha*. Rāhula, Gautama's son, was also admitted into the order. Nanda, his half-brother, too adopted the popular creed. The *samgha* in course of time boasted of several prominent advocates, among them being Ānanda, Devadatta, Anuruddha, Uggasena and Upāli, the last a barber by caste. Gautama had two denominations of disciples, *Upāsakas* or 'lay-men', and *Sramaṇas* or 'ascetics'; the latter again divided into two orders, *viz.*, *Bhikshus* and *Parivrājakas* or 'religious mendicants.' The senior members of the *samgha* were called *Sramaṇas* and *Bhikshus* and the novices *Sramaṇeras*. The Buddha also established an order of nuns or female mendicants, his wife becoming one of the first Buddhist nuns. Prajāpati, his step-mother, and Kshema, wife of King Bimbisāra, followed suit. Gautama departed this life or entered *Mahāparinirvāna* when he was about eighty years of age at Kusinagara (Kasia in the Gorakhpur District). His teachings simplified the highly philosophical and ritualistic system of the Brāhmanas into a practical doctrine easy to follow and Buddhism as a religion thus appealed strongly to the masses.

India witnessed a great upheaval with the appearance of a mighty personality in Gautama Budha. While revolting against the ceremonial sacerdotal religion of the Brāhmanas, he strongly emphasized the *jñāna* or the transcendental aspect of the teaching of Upanishads and enriched it with a wealth of ethical refinement. Class domination, which was the natural sequence of the Brāhmanas becoming intermediaries between man and God, was thus subverted. The Master emphasized ethical attainments and spiritual purity as the chief characteristics of nobleness. According to him, not birth but character was to be honoured. The levelling influence of Budhism with its beautiful mosaic structure interweaving ethical principles with humanitarian impulses gained the heart of the country to such an extent that not less than three-fourths of India embraced this religion. The powerful personality of the Buddha exercised so great a fascination over his devotees that, in

spite of his preaching to the contrary, personal devotion became almost the key-stone of later Buddhism. Indeed, long after the physical disappearance of the Buddha, his corporeal relics were enshrined in beautiful *stūpas*, which are thus the earliest religious edifices extant in India. In course of time, these *stūpas* were decorated with images installed in the memory of the Master and became the sacred places where the five or ten vows (*panchasīla* or *dasasīla*) peculiar to Buddhism were taken.

The unique importance of Sārnāth consists in its association with the propagation of the doctrine of Sākya Muni which he himself had realized at Bodh Gayā. It was at Mrigadāva that he first founded the Buddhist community (*samgha*), the third of the elements of Buddhist Trinity. The excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department revealed a number of *ārāmas* (monasteries), *stūpas*, shrines—large and small—all testifying to the sanctity of the place and the reverence in which it was held by the Buddhists from century to century.

According to the Master's commandment, his present-day followers, under the leadership of the late Venerable Sri Devamitta Dhammapāla, the founder of the Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta, erected a modern edifice known as the Mūlagandhukuti Vihāra at Sārnāth, and the body-relics of the Lord discovered at Taxila in 1914 by Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of Archæology, were presented to the Mahabodhi Society to be enshrined therein. His Excellency the Earl of Willingdon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, conveyed his congratulations to the Society on the opening ceremony of the newly built *vihāra* at the sacred spot on the 11th November 1931. Two more sacred body-relics discovered from a *stūpa* at Nāgārjunikona in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District of the Madras Presidency, and from the *stūpa* at Mirpurkhās in Sind, respectively, were presented for enshrinement to that Society by the Government of India on the occasion of the first and fourth anniversaries, respectively, of the Mūlagandhukuti Vihāra at Sārnāth. It is hoped that the Buddhist votaries from all parts of the world will hereafter flock to the holy spot, pay homage to the image of the Sākya Sage installed in the new *vihāra* and honour the saplings from the Bodhi tree of Anurādhapura in Ceylon planted near the *vihāra* of Sārnāth on the 12th November 1931. It is a descendant of the celebrated Bodhi tree, seated under which Gautama Buddha attained perfect enlightenment. According to the Mahāvamsa, Sanghamittā, the daughter of Asoka, carried a graft of the Bodhi tree of Bodh Gaya to Ceylon, where it was planted in the eighteenth year of Asoka' reign. The re-planting of the sapling from the full-grown tree in Ceylon is symbolical of

the attempt to resuscitate the teachings of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

The Jainas also claim an amount of sanctity for the locality, due to the presence of a temple belonging to the Digambara sect, erected in A.D. 1824, in memory of their eleventh Tīrthankara, Sreyāmsanatha. There also stands a temple of Sāranganāth Mahādeva about half a mile from the ancient remains of the Deer Park.

CHAPTER II

History

Shortly after the demise of the Master, the members of the *Samgha* or community of monks are said to have held a council near Rājagriha (Rājgīr), under the leadership of Kāsyapa, to settle and codify the doctrines of their Order. We hear of a second council being held about 100 years later under the presidency of Yasa, son of Kalandaka and of Revanta, at Vaisālī (present Basārh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar) to scrape off and settle the doctrines of the Buddhist Faith by eliminating the cankerous growth of sophistry which had taken its root in the march of time. The evil was, however, too deep-rooted and the decisions of this council were not universally accepted. The third council is stated to have been held at Pātaliputra (modern Patna) in the eighteenth year of Emperor Asoka, under the presidency of Tissa, son of Moggali, to settle once more the rules of the Order. Shortly after the council of Pātaliputra, missionaries were sent out to different parts of India and to foreign countries so far remote as Egypt and Albania ; and these missions, despatched with the active support of a Great Emperor behind them, achieved their object. Gautama's doctrines were disseminated far and wide and the number of adherents to the Faith increased by leaps and bounds. Kings, governors and chieftains, nobles and ministers gave up not only their former priests but sometimes exchanged their happy homes, wives and children for the yellow robe of the mendicant.

Maurya period.—The greatest convert to the Buddhist Faith was Emperor Piyadasi, best known under the name of Asoka, the son of Bindusāra and the grand-son of Chandragupta Maurya, who reigned from B.C. 272 to 232. With the support of this royal patron Buddhism made fast strides and in due course came to be the acknowledged faith of about one-fifth of the human race, though not in the country of its birth. Asoka, after serving his viceroyalty at Ujjain during the reign of his father Bindusāra, ascended the throne about B.C. 272. The only war waged during his reign was against the Kalingas ; but the horror and brutality incidental to war

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

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

1. Shāhbāzgarhi (the Pu-lo-sha of Hiuen Tsang), nine miles from Mardan in the North-West Frontier Province,
2. Mansherā in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province,
3. Kālsi in Dehra Dun District, U.P.,
4. Sopārā (Sūrpāraka) in the district of Thāna north of Bombay,
5. The Girnār Hill (Girinagara) near Junāgadh in Kathiāwār,
6. Dhauli (the Dhavali Hill) in Puri District, Orissa,
7. Jaugada in Ganjam District, Orissa, and
8. Yerragudi or Jonnagiri in Kurnool District, Madras.

It appears from the Edict No. XIII that he ruled over the whole of India including Afghanistan, Sind, Nepal and the valley of Kashmir, except the southern extremity of the Peninsula. He maintained friendly relations with his neighbours the Chodas, Pāndyas, Keralaputra, Satiyaputra and Tambaparnī which fall within Southern India, and other outside potentates like Amtiyoka (Antiochus of Syria), Turamāya (Ptolemy of Egypt), Maga (Magas of Cyrene, *c.* 300-259) and Alikasumdara (Alexander).[1]

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

The next monument of the Maurya period is the brick *stūpa*[1] or relic tower situated near the Asoka pillar. In the Mahāvamsa

---

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

and other ancient Buddhist texts it is recorded that the corporeal remains of the Buddha after his cremation had been divided into eight portions and were enshrined in eight *stūpas* or tumuli erected at Rājagriha (Rājgīr), Vaisālī (Basārh), Kapilavāstu, Alākappo, Rāmagrāma (Rāmpur Deoriya in the district of Basti in Oudh), Vethadīpa (modern Bettiā, east of Gorakhpur), Pāvā (Padraona, 12 miles north-west of Kusīnagara) and Kusinagara (Kāsiā). Tradition relates that Asoka opened seven of them, leaving the *stūpa* at Rāmāgrāma undisturbed on account of its being guarded by the Nāgas or snake-gods,[1] redivided the relics and deposited them in a multitude of *stūpas*. The third memorial, that can be attributed to Asoka, is the square monolithic railing brought to light by Mr. Oertel while clearing the floor of the south chapel of the Main Shrine. This railing originally formed the crowning *harmikā* of the Dharmarājikā Stūpa of Asoka.

Sunga period.—On Asoka's death in 231 B.C. the empire of the Mauryas founded by his grand-father, Chandragupta, fell to pieces. It came to an end in 185 B. C., when General Pushyamitra Sunga having treacherously slain his master, Brihadratha, the last king of the Maurya line, usurped the throne of Magadha. He revived the antique rites of Brāhmanical worship and celebrated the *Asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) to proclaim himself the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Although no trace of any structure erected during the Sunga dynasty has yet been brought to light at Sārnāth, the excavations of the area round the Asoka pillar and the Main Shrine have yielded two fragments of a head carved in the round and a stone railing, which may be assigned to the 2nd century B. C. Several of the posts of the railing bear votive inscriptions in Brāhmī giving the names of the pious individuals or guilds who bore the cost of its erection. Operations conducted by Mr. H. Hargreaves in the year 1914-15 also yielded sculptures, architectural remains, etc., which may also be attributed to the 2nd century B.C. Although Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king, is portrayed by later Buddhist writers as an enemy of Buddhism, it is clear from inscriptions on the gateway of the Stūpa at Bhārhut, the Second and Third Stūpa at Sāñchī in Central India and the Great Temple at Bodh Gaya that these important landmarks in the history of the Buddhist religion were erected in the time of his successors, who must have been tolerant rulers. The last king of the line, a man of licentious disposition, named Devabhūti, was assassinated and his thron usurped about 27 B.C., by his Brāhmana minister Vāsudeva, whose successors are known as the Kānvas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] "*De[ya]dharmō-yam Kumāraguptasya*" means "This [is] the pious gift of Kumāragupta". See *A. S. R.*, Part II, 1906-07, pp. 89 and 91, fig. 9; also p. 99 Inscription No. VIII and facsimile on Pl. XXX.

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

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

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

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

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

[2] *Ibid* p. 89 *infra*.

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

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

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

Kānyakubjarāja Yasovarman ; Pratīhāra dynasty.—In A.D. 647 after the death of Harsha one of his ministers, Arjuna, usurped the vacant throne. For the next half century the history of Āryāvarta is almost blank. In the beginning of the 8th century Yasovarman, king of Kanauj, was defeated and dethroned by Lalitādityа, king of Kashmir. During the period of confusion and disorder that followed, the Pratīhāras, the Rāshtrakūtas and the Pālas were engaged in a violent conflict to win the paramountcy of Āryāvarta. In the middle of the 9th century Mihira Bhoja (Ādi-Varāha) of the Pratīhāra dynasty was on the throne of Kanauj, and reigned for about half a century. His successors held Kanauj

[1] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. London, 1906, Vol. II, pp. 45-60 Waters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, pp. 48-56.

under their sway until 1018-19 when Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī invaded India. No antiquities of the Pratīhāra family have yet been found at Sārnāth.

Inscription of Mahīpāla of Bengal.—The inscription incised on a door-jamb, D(*f*)59, found at Sārnāth mentions the name of Jayapāla. Scholars are of opinion that this Jayapāla is perhaps the nephew of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. In another inscription of Samvat 1083 (A.D. 1026) it is stated that in the reign of Mahīpāla of Gauda (Bengal) the brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla restored two monuments named *Dharmarājikā* and *Dharmachakra* and built a new shrine of stone relating to 'the eight great places' (*ashṭamahāsthana-sailagandhakuti*), Plate XVI.

Stone inscription of A.D. 1058.—In A.D. 1019 Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī led his army into the heart of Kanauj, then under the rule of Rājyapāla, occupied the capital and destroyed many temples. After that event the Pratīhāra rule in Kanauj was extinguished but the dynasty remained. A chronic warfare between Mahīpāla, king of Gauda, and Gāngeyadeva Kalachuri of Tripurī continued for a long time for the suzerainty over Eastern India. Benares was probably then ruled by the Pālas of Bengal. Six fragments of a stone inscription, D(*l*)8, in corrupt Sanskrit and Nāgari, were found in the monastery to the east of the Dhamekh Stūpa. The epigraph, which is dated in the Kalachuri Samvat 810, on a Sunday (4th October 1058), mentions that in the reign of Kalachuri (Chedi) Karnadeva of Tripurī, a devout worshiper, Māmakā, a follower of Mahāyāna, caused a copy of *Ashṭasāhasrikā* to be written and with other things presented to the order of the monks. From the purport of the inscription it appears that in the 11th century A.D. Sārnāth lay within the limits of the Kalachuri kingdom and was then known by the name of *Saddharmachakra-pavarttanavihāra* or 'Convent of the Turning of the Wheel-of-the-Law.

Gāharwār dynasty ; Kumaradevī inscription ; Muhammadan invasion.—After the downfall of the Pratīhāra dynasty by Sultān Mahmūd, a rājā of the Gaharwār clan, named Chandradeva, occupied Kanauj and founded a new dynasty, which annexed Benares, Ayodhyā and Delhi to its rule and lasted for a century. The stone inscription, D(*l*)9, incised on a rectangular slab excavated to the north of the Dhamekh Stūpa records the construction of a *vihāra* by Kumaradevī, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra of Kanauj. His grandson, Jayachandra, was defeated and slain by Mu'izz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sām and in 1193, his general, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, entered Benares, sacked the city and destroyed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III

MONUMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

الله اکبر

(۱) چو اینجا شاه جنت آشیانی
همایوں بادشاه هفت کشور

(۲) بروزے آمدو بر تخت بنشست
و زاں شد مطلع خورشید انور

(۳) کوبردن بندہ راآمد بخاطر
غلام خانه زاں شاه اکبر

(۴) که سازد جایگی بهر تبرک
معلا گنبدے چوں چرخ اخضر

(۵) نوه آشش سال و نه صد بود تاریخ
که آمد بهر بنا الیس خوب منظر

"ALLĀH IS GREAT.

(1) "Since here the King Jannat Āshyānī, Hūmāyūn, the ruler of seven climes,

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

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

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

(5) "The year was nine hundred and ninetysix when this elegant edifice came into existence [2]."

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

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

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

---

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

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

[1] *A. S. R.*, Part II, 1904-5, p. 74.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

āchā[rya]nam sarvvāstivādinam....parigahetāvam

" Homage of the masters of the Sarvāstivādin...."

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

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

(*a*) *āchāryyanam sarvvāstivā-*

(*b*) *dinam parigrāhe*

" Homage of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin sect. "

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

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

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

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

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

1. [*Bha*]*riniye saham Jateyikā* [*ye thabho dānam*]

" [This pillar is the gift] of Jateyikā together with Bharinī ."

2. 1. 1. *Deyadharmmo-yam paramopā-*
1. 2. [*sa*]*ka-Kīrtteh* [*mūla-ga*]*ndhaku-*
1. 3. [*ṭyām pra*]*dī*[*p*.....*ddhah*]

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

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

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

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

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

3. B(*d*)19. Manjusrī seated on lion (*simhāsanastha*). Late Mediæval.

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

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

Bhikunikāye Samva hikāye dānam āla[m]banam

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

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

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

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

1. *Deva.....*

2. *el .....*

3. *Pāṭa.....ye kenapi samghe bhetave e chum kho*

4. [*bhikh*]*ū* [*va bhikh*] *uni vā samgham bh* [*ākha*]*ti se odātāni dusāni* [*sa*] *mnamdhāpayiyā anāvāsasi*

5. *āvāsayiye hevam iyam sāsane bhikhu-samghasi cha bhikhuni-samghasi cha vimnapayitaviye*

6. *hevam Devānampiye āhā hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākamtikam huvāti samsalanasi nikhitā*

7. *ikam cha lipim hedisameva upāsakānamtikam nikkhipātha te pi cha upāsakā anuposatham yāvu*

8. *etameva sāsanam visvamsayitave anuposatham cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye*

9. *yāti etāmeva sāsanam visvamsayitave ājānitave cha āvate cha tuphākam āhāle*

10. *savata vivāsyaātha tuphe etena viyamjanena hevameva savesu kota-vishavesu etena*

11. *viyamjanena vivāsāpayāthā*

1. Devā[nāmpriya].....
2. .....Pāṭa[liputra].....
3. ....the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by anyone.

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

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

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

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

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

The second inscription is of the Kushāna period and reads .....*rpārigehye rājna Asvaghoshasya chatariśe savachhare hemata-pakhe prathame divase dasame*..... " In the fortieth year of Rājan Asva hosha, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day....." There are some letters at the beginning and the end of the inscription, which have been intentionally rubbed off.[2]

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

Ā[chā]ryyaṇam Sa[mmi]tiyānam parigraha Vātsīputrīkānām.

---

[1] *Inscriptions of Asoka* by E. Hultzsch, 1925, pp. 161-164.

[2] *E.I. 8* 171.

[3] *E.I. 8* 172.

"Homage of the masters of the Sammitīya sect (and) of the Vātsīputrika school."

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

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

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

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

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

Monastery Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. B(*c*)39. Buddha seated, cross-legged, on cushion in *dharmachakramudrā*. Traces of wheel and worshippers below. Late Gupta.

2. B(*d*)28. Avalokitesvara in relief. Legs from knees downwards wanting. Mediæval.

3. B(*d*)36. Head of Bodhisattva, highly ornamented. Late mediaeval.

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

5. B(*f*)32. Tārā seated in *lalitāsana* on lotus. R. hand in *varadamudrā*. Mediaeval.

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

7. B(*h*)3. Trimūrti slab of Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahesa. Late Mediaeval.

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

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

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

11. D(*d*)11. Lintel of doorway. Decorated with floral bands, etc. In centre, Tārā holding lotus in l. hand. Early m diaeval.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Monastery VI.—To the west of the Dhamekh Stūpa are the remains of Monastery VI designated by Major Kittoe as 'Hospital' on account of a number of pestles and mortars found in it. The excavation of this quadrangle revealed the fact that it was a monastery of the usual type built on the remains of a similar structure of the Gupta period. The parapet wall, 1′ 2½″ high and 3′ 2″ wide, of the upper building on the south side made of rough rubble bricks with a coating of lime plaster is well preserved. The broken bases of four stone columns at equal intervals are found *in situ*. On the south of the quadrangle and at the back of the verandah is a row of cells similar to those in other monasteries unearthed at Sārnāth. The central chamber on the west side of the quadrangle appears to have been the entrance to the building. A terracotta dealing with the Buddhist creed in characters of about 9th century A.D. was found in one of the cells.

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

Brāhmanical Sculpture Shed

To the west of the Jaina Temple Mr. Oertel erected a sculpture shed to store therein temporarily the antiquities discovered

by him at Sārnāth. The sculptures now displayed in this shed are Brāhmanical and Jaina specimens and do not belong to Sārnāth. Some of the typical pieces are detailed below.

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

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

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

G37. A seated figure of Sūrya (Sun-god) of the late mediaeval period. The physical Sun, being the greatest emblem of energy and light and the source of life itself, caught the imagination of the ancient Rishis strongly. Sun worship was current among the Sumerians and Egyptians and was one of the chief articles of faith among the Iranians and Indo Aryans. But in the hands of the Vedic Rishis Sun worship underwent a considerable change. The early thinkers of the Vedic age made the physical Sun a mere symbol for the meditation and worship of that spiritual Sun which is really the source of all beings. The sacred *Gāyatrī Mantra* which originally occurs in the Rigveda and subsequently was much elaborated into the ritual of *Sandhyā Upāsanā*, represents the highest form of this Sun worship. The whole purpose and method is thus summed up in the utterances of the Vedic sage in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* :—" O Great Sustainer, the Glorious One, the Great Controller of Life, O Son of Prajāpati, gather up all Thy physical rays and remove Thy shining form that I, the devout one, may see Thy most Beneficial Form. The same *Purusha* who is there is also in Myself ". Here the Rishi clearly indicates the spiritual form or light that is to be seen in the Sun by discarding the physical rays. But in the later days the Sun God (*Savitri-purusha*) came to be considered as another aspect of Vishnu, who was worshipped as existent in the solar region. He is still meditated upon in the same form as the *Dhyāna Mantra* of Vishnu clearly states it. (*See Chhāndogya*, I.66.).

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

CHAPTER IV

Museum

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

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

The proper significance of the Sārnāth capital is still a subject of controversy. Mr. Bell observes that these four symbolical animals carved on some moonstones in Ceylon are those connected with the Anotatta Lake[2]. The same animals are also found on certain pillars at Anurādhapura[3] and we find the Sārnāth capital also bears the very four figures. According to Dr. Bloch these four figures symbolize the gods Indra, Śiva, Sūrya and goddess Durgā whose *vāhanas* (vehicles) these animals are, indicating their subordination to the Buddha and his Law[4]. Dr. Vogel, however, remarks that these animals—the four "noble beasts" (*mahājaneya*) of the Buddhists—are merely decorative[5]. Mons. Jean Przylusk in his article *Le Symbolisme du Pulier de Sarnath*[6] compares the symbolism of the Sārnāth pillar with the great cosmic pillar, of which this is a reproduction on a reduced scale. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni also identifies the tetrad of Sārnāth as a representation of the Anotatta Lake of the Buddhist texts "in which the Buddha used to bathe. It was also with the water of this lake that his mother, Mahāmāyā was bathed before her conception. The lake had four mouths guarded by these very animals[7]". But to me it

---

[1] *Benares Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1909, pp. 354*f*.

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

[3] *Ceyoln Journal of Science*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 13.

[4] *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXII, 1908, pp. 653*f*.

[5] *Catalogue of the Museum of Archeology at Sārnāth*, 1914, p. 29, *f.n.*

[6] *Etudes d' Orientalisme* published by Le Musée Guimet.

[7] *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sārnāth*, Fifth Edition, 1933, p. 40.

appears that the symbology on the capital conveys a different meaning altogether and I venture to interpret the symbols as follows[1] :—

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

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

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

24 spokes that sustain the wheel stand for the 24 modes of principal casual relations treated of in Buddhist philosophy[1].

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

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

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

---

1 These are :—(1) *Hetupachchayo*, (2) *Arammanapachchayo*, (3) *Adhipatipachchayo*, (4) *Anātarapachchayo*, (5) *Samanantapachchayo*, (6) *Sahajātapachchayo* (7) *Annamannpachchayo*, (8) *Nissayapachchayo*, (9) *Upanissayapachchayo*, (10) *Purejātapachchayo*, (11) *Pachahhjātapachchayo*, (12) *Asevanāpachchayo*, (13) *Kammapachchayo*, (14) *Vipākapachchayo*, (15) *Ahārapachchayo*, (16) *Indriyapachchayo*, (17) *Jhānapachchayo*, (18) *Maggapachchayo*, (19) *Sāmpayuttapachchayo*, (20) *Vlppayuthapachchayo*, (21) *Atthipachchayo*, (22) *Natthipachchayo*, (23) *Vigatapachchayo*, *and* (24) *Avigata*.

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

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

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

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

and bears two inscriptions—one in front of the pedestal and the other on its back. The image was originally protected by a beautifully carved stone umbrella, the top of which is exhibited near the north-east corner of the room. Its octagonal shaft, which is now set up behind the statue, also bears an inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. It consists of ten lines and runs as follows[1]:—

1. *Mahārajasya Kānishkasya sam 3 he 3 di 22*
2. *etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-*
3. *hārisya bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya*
4. *Bodhisatvo chhatrayashṭi cha pratishṭhāpito*
5. *Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato chamkame sahā māt[ā]*
6. *pitihi sahā upaddhyāyācherehi saddhyevihāri-*
7. *hi antevāsikehi cha sahā Buddhamitraye trepitika-*
8. *ye sahā kshatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallā-*
9. *nena cha sahā cha[tu]hi parishāhi sarvasatvanam*
10. *hitasukhārttham.*

"In the third year of Mahārāja Kānishka, the third [month] of winter, the 22nd day, on this date [specified as] above, was [this gift], of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi [namely an image of] the Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord used to walk, together with [his] parents, with [his] masters and teachers, [his] fellows and pupils and with [the nun] Buddhamitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,[2] for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

The record carved on the front of the pedestal runs[3].—

1. *Bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya Bodhisatvo pratishṭhāpiṭo* [*sahā*]

2. *mahākshatrapena Kharapallānena sahā kshatrapena Vanashparena*

"This [image of] the Bodhisattva, [a gift] of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka, has been erected together with the great satrap Kharapallāna together with the satrap Vanashpara."

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 176 and facsimile.
[2] Monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 179 and facsimile.

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

1. *Mahārajasya Kani*[*shkasya*] *sam 3 he 3 di 2*[2]
2. *etaye purvaye bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭa* [*kasya*]
3. *Bodhisatvo chhatrayashṭi cha* [*pratishṭhāpito*].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of the standing Buddha figures[1] exhibited in the southern half of this room Nos. 22E, 39E and 40E deserve special notice as they bear records in Gupta characters. The inscription carved on 22E reads thus :—

1. *Varshasate Guptānām sa-chatuh-panchāsad-uttare bhūmim rakshati Kumāragupte māse Jyeshīhe dvitīyāyām*||

2. *bhakty-āvarjjita-manasā yatinā pūjārtham=Abhayamitrena pratimā=pratimasya gunai* [*r=a*]*pa*[*re*] *yam kāritā Sāstuh*||

3. *mātā-pitri-gurū-pūrttih puṇyen=anena satvakāyo=yam labhatām=abhimatam=upasa mam=ah.....yām*||

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

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

Guptānām samatikkrānte sapta-pamchāsad-uttare/
sate samānām prithivim Budha-gupte prasāsati||
Vaisākha-māsa-saptamyām mūle syā[*ma-gate*] *mayā/*
kārit=Abhayamitrena pratimā Sākya-bhikshuṇā||
imām=uddhasta-sachchhatra-padmāsana-vibhūshitām/
De[*va*]*putravato di*[*vyām*] *chitravi*[*nya*]*sa-chitritām*||
Yad=asti puṇyam prātimām kārayitvā mam-āstu-tat/
mātā-pittror=gurūnām cha lokasya cha samāptaye||

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

---

[1] For standing Buddha figures *see* Nos. B(*b*)9, 21E, B(*b*)4, 63E, B(*b*)6, 38E in Room 1 ; B(*c*) 110, 178E, B(*b*)20, 150E, B(*b*)21, B(*c*)109, 149E, B(*b*)3, B(*c*)108 B(*b*)2, 8, 5, 10, 22, 14, 16. 1/1917, 148E, B(*b*)116, 134, 115, 113, B(*b*)51, 31, B(*c*)131 321E, B(*c*)111, B(*b*)43, 50, B(*c*)135, in Room 2 ; B(*b*)37, B(c)130, 114 377E, 378 416W, B(*b*)19, 11, 12, 13, 7/21, B(*b*)17, 15, C101, B(*b*)29, 52 and B(*c*)132 in Room 4

[2] *A. S. R.*, 1914-15, Part II, p. 125.

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

The next sculptures, B(*b*)181 and B(*b*)183[2], depict the Master preaching the First Sermon on the Deer Park. In the former (Plate X) the sculptor longing for a figurative god introduced his own plastic idiom to display in his contours graceful linear rythm expressing the tender humanity in the image. The stillness of the figure depicts the acquisition of boundless happiness beyond instrumentality of sense. We notice the perfect poise, the gentle touch and simple beauty of modelling, the psychological pose of the hands in the preaching attitude and the beautifully carved halo around the head with two flying figures on either flank. On the pedestal is a group of devotees and in the centre is the sacred monogram, 'Wheel', symbolizing the First Sermon on salvation preached by the Sākya Muni at Mrigadāva.

B(*b*)175[3]. A fine alto-relievo figure of Gautama Buddha seates cross-legged (*paryankanishaṇṇa*). The head is missing as well as both the arms are injured. The upper portion of the back-slab, the circular halo around the head decorated with two bands of rosette and beads and the foliage of the Bodhi tree above are damaged. A flying celestial being on the right is showering flowers on the image. The base is carved in imitation of a stone wall with a groove in the centre. Below it in the centre is a lion in a cave resting its head on its front-paws meant apparently to symbolize the forest of Uruvelā, where Gautama reached enlightenment (*bodhi*). The right hand of the figure points downwards in the "witness" attitude and the left rests on the lap. Beneath his right hand the Earth-goddess appears with a vase, now defaced, in her hands in response to his call and the kneeling figure in her front is perhaps the donor of the image. On the other side is Māra's daughter running away in dismay while the defaced figure in front of her is perhaps Māra himself in flight. The drapery of the upper garment is shown very distinctly and like other sculptures on the wall the robe leaves the right shoulder bare.

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

---

[2] *A. S. R.*, 1914-15, Part II, p. 125.

[1] *See* also Nos. B(*c*)40, B(*b*) 182, B(*b*)193, B(*c*)39, B(*c*)52, B(*b*)195, B(*c*)43 B(*b*)186, B(*c*)38 in Room 2; B(*c*)36, 35, 1, 46, 144 in Room 3; B(*c*)55,53, B(*b*)242 173E, B(*b*)184, B(*c*)37, 50, 53, B(*b*)188, B(*c*)54, 43, 57 and B(*b*)249 in Room 4.

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

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

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

'Bodhisattvas' meant those highly evolved beings who would attain *nirvāna* in one birth, but according to Māhāyāna School they came to signify same special Beings of higher order who helped mankind to attain *nirvāna* and they did so in conjunction with their female consorts. The Ādi-Buddha was the root of all. From Him emanated five Dhyāni-Buddhas and five Dhyāni-Mānushi Buddhas. Later on, the five Bodhisattvas originated from the Dhyāni-Buddhas. All these five Dhyāni-Buddhas are alike in form, the only distinction there being in *mudrās, i.e.*, the pose of the hands. There are five *mudrās, viz.*, attitude of granting protection (*abhaya*), gift-bestowing attitude (*varada*), meditation (*dhyāna*), earth-touching (*bhūmisparsa*) and turning of the Wheel-of-the-Law (*dharmachakra*) :—Amoghasiddhi in *abhaya-mudrā*, Ratnasambhava in *varadamudrā*, Amitābha in *dhyānamudrā*, Akshobhya in *bhūmisparsamudrā*, and Vairochana in *dharmachakramudrā*. The Dhyāni-Buddhas, Dhyāni-Bodhisatvas and Mānūshi-Buddhas are arranged in Buddhist literature as detailed below :—

Dhyāni-Buddhas	Dhyāni-Buddhisattvas	Mānushi-Buddhas
Vairochana	Sāmantabhadra	Krakuchchhanda
Akshobhya	Vajrapāni	Kanakamuni
Ratnasambhava	Ratnapāni	Kāsyapa
Amitābha	Avalokitesvara	Gautama
Amoghasiddhi	Visvapāni	Maitreya

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

The next sculpture is that of Tārā, B (*f*) 1. There is some controversy among the scholars about the origin and true significance of Tārā worship in ancient India. It may be said with fair accuracy that Tārā worship was inaugurated in India some time in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The worship of Tārā occurs in all the three principal religions of ancient India, namely, in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. In Hinduism Sakti worship may be considered as old as the pre-Vedic civilization of the Indus valley. The principal female deity worshipped in the Vedic age was Gāyatrī ; besides there were some other minor goddesses like Ushas.

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

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

are classified into two classes, *viz.*, the terrific and the pacific forms. Tārā was worshipped as a goddess who would help her devotees to surmount eight-fold dangers, *viz.*, those from lions, wild elephants, shipwreck, lightning, serpents, thieves, prison and ghosts. She therefore became very popular with the mass of people and we find several monuments dedicated to Tārā in other Buddhist sites, such as Nālandā and Pahārpur. The principal varieties of Tārā are :—Mahattarī or Syāmā, Khadiravanī, Sita, Jānguli, Bhrikuṭī, Vajra, Rakta or Kurukullā and Nīlatārā or Ekajatā. Of the Tārā images found at Sārnāth the following deserve notice :—

B (*f*) 1. Standing figure of Bhrikuṭī Tārā of the mediaeval period. Her feet and right hand are missing and the nose and lips are damaged. She wears a *sārī* and rich jewellery. According to *Sādhanamālā* her left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot) on the hip, and the right, which is broken off, was apprently in the *varadamudrā* (gift-bestowing attitude).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. 1. *Om Deyadharmmo=yam paramopāsaka-Vishayapati-Suyāttrasya*

1. 2. *yad=attra puṇyam tad=bhavatu sarvvasatvānām= anuttara-jñānāvāptaye.*

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

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

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

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

The mythological story goes that Devas and Asuras churned the Ocean of Milk (*Kshīrodasamudra-manthana*) to attain Immortality by tasting the Elixir. When the churning was in progress a fascinating damsel (Mohinī) carrying the jar of nectar in her hand suddenly appeared, set both the communities to fight with each other and herself united with Siva in a loving embrace evolving the incarnation of Hari-Hara. The gods were thus served with *amrita* (nectar) and the Asuras infatuated and decoyed by the Mohinī. [1]

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The left upper panel in the third row relates to the Buddha's descent from the Trāyastrimsa heaven after having preached his doctrine to his mother and other *devas*. This miracle is supposed to have taken place at Sānkāsya, modern Sankisā in Farrukhabād District of the United Provinces. In the centre is the figure of the standing Buddha accompanied by Indra holding an umbrella over his head and Brahmā with a water-gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*) in his left hand[1]. The corresponding register to the right records the great miracle performed by the Master. In order to confound six leaders of heretical sects, namely, Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kachchhāyaṇa, Nigantha Nātaputta and Sanjaya Belatthiputta, the opponents of his gospel who were then at the court of King Prasenajít of Kosala, he proceeded to Srāvastī and caused fire and water issue simultaneously from his body and expounded to them his doctrine at the same time from the four cardinal points. To indicate this scene the artist has portrayed the Master in the preaching attitude in the centre with two replicas on his sides. The kneeling figure with folded hands on the pedestal is perhaps the King Prasenajit and the collasping figure on the other side represents a defeated Tirthika teacher[2].

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

[1] See C 24 in (*a*) 18, 22 23 ,B(*b*) 10*a* in Room 2 and C (*a*) Room 4.

[2] *Cf.* B 20, B (*b*) 180 and B(*c*) 45, C (*a*) 6, and B (*d*) 179.

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

1. *Chattar=īmāni bhikkhave ar[i]ya-sachchāni*

2. *Catamāni [cha]ttāri dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkahve ara(i)-yasachcham*

3. *dukkha-samuday[o] ariyasachcham dukkanirodho ariyasachcham*

4. *dukkha-nirodha-gāminī [cha] paṭipadā ari[ya]sachcham*

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

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

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

1.—*Om namo Buddhāya || Vārānasī(sī)-sarasyām. Gurava-Śrī-Vāmarāsī-pād-ābjam* [1] *ārādhya namita-bhūpati-siroruhaih saival-ādhīsam || Īsāna-Chitraghānt-ādi-kīrtti-ratnā-satāni yau* [1] *Gaudādhipo Mahīpālah Kāsyām srīmān-akāra [yat||].*

2.—*Saphalī-krita-pānditya u bodhāv-avinivarttinau / tau Dharmarajikām sāngam Dharmmachakram punar-navam || Kritavantau cha navīnam-ashtamahasthanasaila gandhakutīm-etām-Śrī Sthirapālo Vasantapālo-nujah srīmān ||*

3.—*Samvat 1083 Pausha-dine*

4-5.—*Ye dharmā etc.*

" Om. Adoration to the Buddha ! The illustrious Sthirapāla [and his] younger brother, the illustrious Vasantapāla, whom the lord of Gauda (Bengal), the illustrious Mahīpāla caused to establish in Kāsi [the temples of] Īsāna (Siva) and Chitraghanṭā (Durgā)

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

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

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

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

" Of all the things that proceed from a cause,
The Buddha the cause hath told ;
And he tells too how much shall come to its end,
Such alone is the word of the Sage."

419 W. An inscribed seal bears a legend referring to the " Mūla-gandhakatī of the Exalted One in the illustrious Saddharmachakra. ".

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

---

[1] Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX (1807), pp. 203; and Vol. X (1808), pp. 1291-33 ; *C.S.R.*, Vol. II, p. 134 *sq.*, and Vol. XI, p. 182 Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV- p. 139 *sq.*, and *A.S.R.*, 1903-04, p. 221 *sq.*, and Pl. LXIV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. 3. *De*[*yadharmmo=yam*] *mahāyā*[*nā*]*nuyāyinah paramopāsaka-Mā*.....

1. 4. ..... [*yad=atra pu*]*ṇyam tad=bhavatv=āchāryopādhyāya-mātā-*

1. 5. [*pitroh*].....*sarvasattvānāñch=ānuttara-jñānāvāptayē*

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

B (*e*) 6 contains three four armed figures, two male and one female, seated on lotus thrones, with four kneeling figurines beneath. (Plate XIV b.) The three seated figures each hold a rosary (*akshamālā*) and a full-blown lotus, whilst two hands are joined before the breast in adoration. According to Dr. Binaytosh Bhattacharya this group represents Shadakshara Lokesvara with Shadakshari Mahāvidyā and Manidhara [1]. Shadakshara Lokesvara is

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D (*l*) 9 is a rectangular slab inscribed in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A. D., covering a space of 21″×15½″. The epigraph is written in 26 verses.[1] The inscription begins with an invocation of Vasudhārā and the Moon, then it gives the genealogy of Kumaradevī, the Buddhist queen of Govinda chandra of Kānyakubja (Kanauj), whose descent is also detailed. Next we are told that Kumaradevī had a *vihāra* constructed at Dharmachakra (Sārnāth), she caused a copper-plate grant to be prepared in connection with the teaching of *srī-Dharmachakra-Jina* (Lord of the Wheel of the Law) as it existed in the days of Asoka. The last two verses state that the inscription was composed by the poet Srīkunda and engraved by the *śilpin* (sculptor) Vāmana.

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

When Kalābu, the king of Kāsī, was reigning at Benares, the Bodhisattva was born in a rich Brahmin family. When he came of age he went to Taxila, acquired all the sciences and afterwards settled as a householder. On the death of his parents he looked at the pile of treasure and pondered that his kinsmen, who amassed the great fortune, died without taking it with them. Knowing that death must come he distributed all his wealth to the deserving persons, entered the Himālayas and adopted the ascetic life. There he dwelt for a long time. In order to procure salt and vinegar he gradually came to Benares and took up his abode in the royal park. Now, one day king Kalābu came to the park, accompanied by a

1 *A. S. R.*, 1907-08, p. 76f, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 319ff.

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

This Jātaka illustrates the following lines of Dhammapada and the Sanyutta Nikāya :—

(1) "*khantī paramam tapo titikkha nibbānam paramam vadanti Buddhā*" means "The Awakened call patience, the highest patience, long-suffering the highest *nirvāna*" (*Dh. v.* 184).

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDERSON, J.—*Cataloque and Handbook of the archaeological collections in the Indian Museum*; Calcutta, 1883, Part II, pages 1—31.

Archaeological Survey of India, Reports of the Director General; Parts I and II from 1902.

Asiatic Researches; Vols. V and IX.

Asiatic, Researches; Vols. IX (1807) and X (1808).

BEAL, S.—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*; London 1906. Hwui Li and Yen Tsung. *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*; London, 1888.

Benares Gazette, compiled by H.R. Nevill; Allahabad, 1909 pages 345—362.

BHANDARKAR, D. R.—*Asoka*, Calcutta, 1925.

BHATTACHARYA, B.—*Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1924.

BURGESS, J.—*The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, London 1897, Part I, Plates 65—68, 80 and 96. *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887, Plates XII, 1; XXXVIII, 6; XLV, 4; XLVI, 1; XLVIII, 1. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*; Vol. VIII (1898), Nos. 62-63. Plate 10, 4 and 5.

BUYERS.—*Recollection of Northern India with observations*, London, 1848, pages 347ff.

COWELL, E. B.—*The Jātaka*; Cambridge, 1897, Vol. III, pages 26—29. *The Buddha Carita of Aśvaghosha* (Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX) XV, 84—XVII, 8 (pages 168—192).

CODRINGTON, K. DE B.—*Ancient India*, London, 1926.

COOMARASWAMY, A. K.—*History of India and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927.

CUNNINGHAM, Sir ALEX.—*Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*; Vol. I (1871), pages 103—130; Vol. III (1873). pages 121ff; Vol. VIII (1878), page 16; Vol. XI (1880), pages 181 ff.

Divyāvadāna, edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil; Cambridge, 1886, pages 143—166.

Epigraphia Indica, Vols. VIII (1905-06) and IX (1907-08).

ELLIOT, R., and EMMA ROBERTS.—*Views in India, China and on the shores of the Red Sea*, London, Vol. II, pages 7—9. (Sarnat, a Boodh monument near Benares, with plate.)

FAUSBOLL, V.—*The Jātaka*, London, 1877 Vols. I and III.

FLEET, J. F.—*Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their successors*, Calcutta 1888.

FERGUSSON, J.—*History of India and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1899, pages 65—68 and 173 f. Revised Edition, London 1910, Vol. I, pages 71—75. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873, Part I, Plate XXIX, 2. Part II, Plate LXXI, 2.

FOUCHER, A.—*Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900. *Journal Asiatique, deuxieme series*, Tome XIII. *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Tome I, Paris, 1905. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1918.

Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, page 42.

GRÜNWEDELL,—A.—*Buddhist Art in India*, revised by J. Burgess, London, 1901, pages 143—146; fig. 96.

HAVELL, E. B.—*Benares, the sacred city*, London, 1905, pages 32 ff.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.—*Memoirs of the Archaelogical Survey of India*, No. 20 Calcutta, 1925.

HULTZSCH, E.—*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Oxford, 1925.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV (1885), page 139 ff; Vol. XXXVII (1908), pages 227-280, with plates.

Indian Culture, Calcutta, July 1935, pages 160 ff.

I-TSING. *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*. Translated by J. Ta kakusu, Oxford. 1896.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV (1835), pages 124—138, with plate ; Vol. XXIII (1854), pages 469—477, with 3 plates ; Vol. XXV (1856), pages 395 and 399.

Journal Asiatique, 10th Series, Vol. X (1907), pages 119 f.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. II (1906), pages 445—447 ; Vol. III (1907), pages 1—7.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1907, 1908 and 1912.

KERN, H.—*Manual of Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896.

KITTOE'S *Drawings*, Vol. I. India Office Library. No. 83. Case 3—5.

KRAMRISCH, ST.—*Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933.

LEFMANN, S.—*Lalita Vistara*, Halle, 1902.

LEGGE, J.—*A record of Buddhistic kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon* (A. D. 399-414), Oxford, 1886 pages 94—96.

MAJUMDAR, B.—*A Bengali Guide to Sārnāth* ; Calcutta, 1928.

MARSHALL, Sir JOHN.—"*The Monuments of Ancient India* " in Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922.

Majjhima Nikāya, edited by Treekner, Vol. I, pages 63 *f*.

OLDENBURG, H.—*The Vinaya Pitakam*, London, 1879-83.

PARKER.—*Handbook of Benares*, 2nd Edition. Trivandrum, 1901, pages 75—78.

PLEYTE, C. M.—*Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen von Boro-budur*. Amsterdam, 1901-02. Figs. 117-120.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1878, page 68.

RHYS DAVIDS, T.W.—*Buddhist birth stories or Jātaka tales*, London, 1880, Vol. I, pages 112 *f*.

PRZYLUSKI, J.—*Etudes d'Orientalisme*, published by Le Musée Guimet : Tome II, 1932, pages 481 *f*.

Sacred Books of the Buddhist, Vol. III, pages 14 *f*.

SAHNI, D. R.—*Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, Calcutta. 1914. *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sārnāth*, 5th Edition, 1933.

SEN, R. R.—*The Holy City, Benares*, Chittagong, 1912, pages 83—115.

SENART, E.—*Mahāvastu* ; Paris, 1882-97. *Une nouvelle inscription d'Asoka*, pages 25 *ff*.

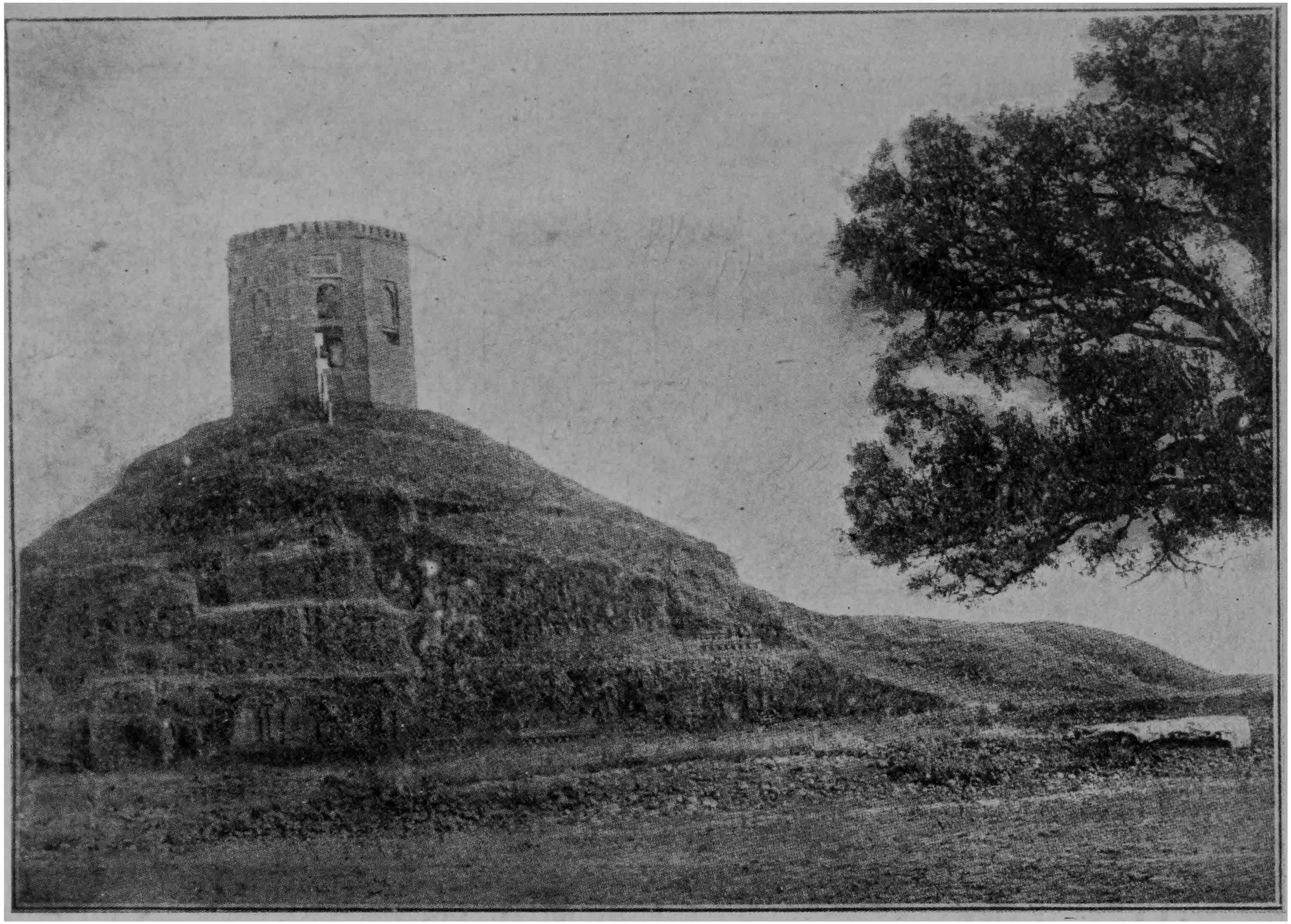
SHERRING, M.A.—*The Sacred City of the Hindus*, London, 1868, pages 230 *ff*.

SMITH, VINCENT.—*Asoka*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, 1909. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911. *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1920 *Early History of India*, 4th Edition.

Vinaya Texts translated from the Pali, by T.W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII), Part I, pages 89—102.

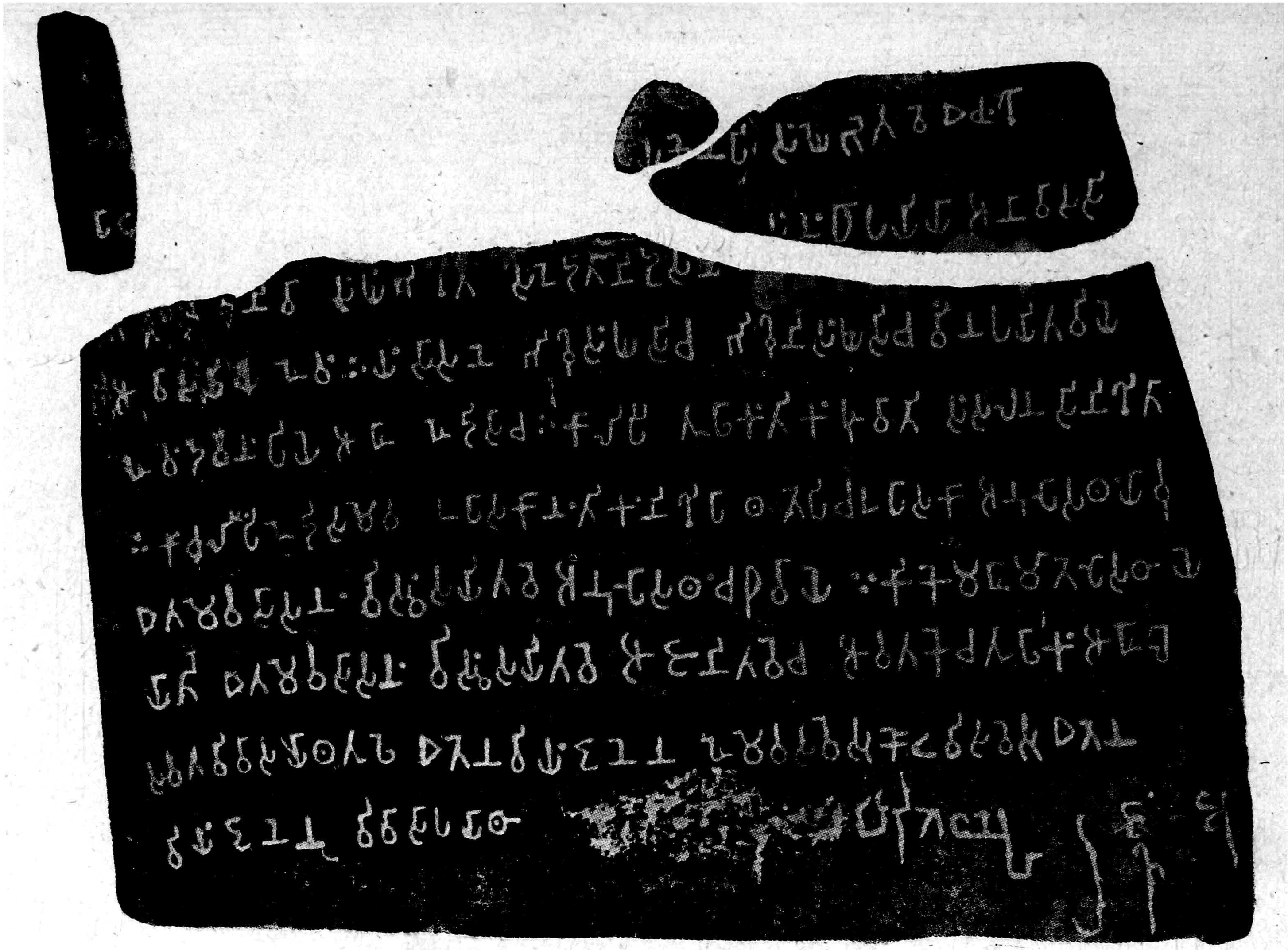
WATTERS, T.—*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904-05 , Vol. II pages 46—59.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. LXII (1908), pages 653 *f*. ; Vol. LXIII (1909), pages 337-345.

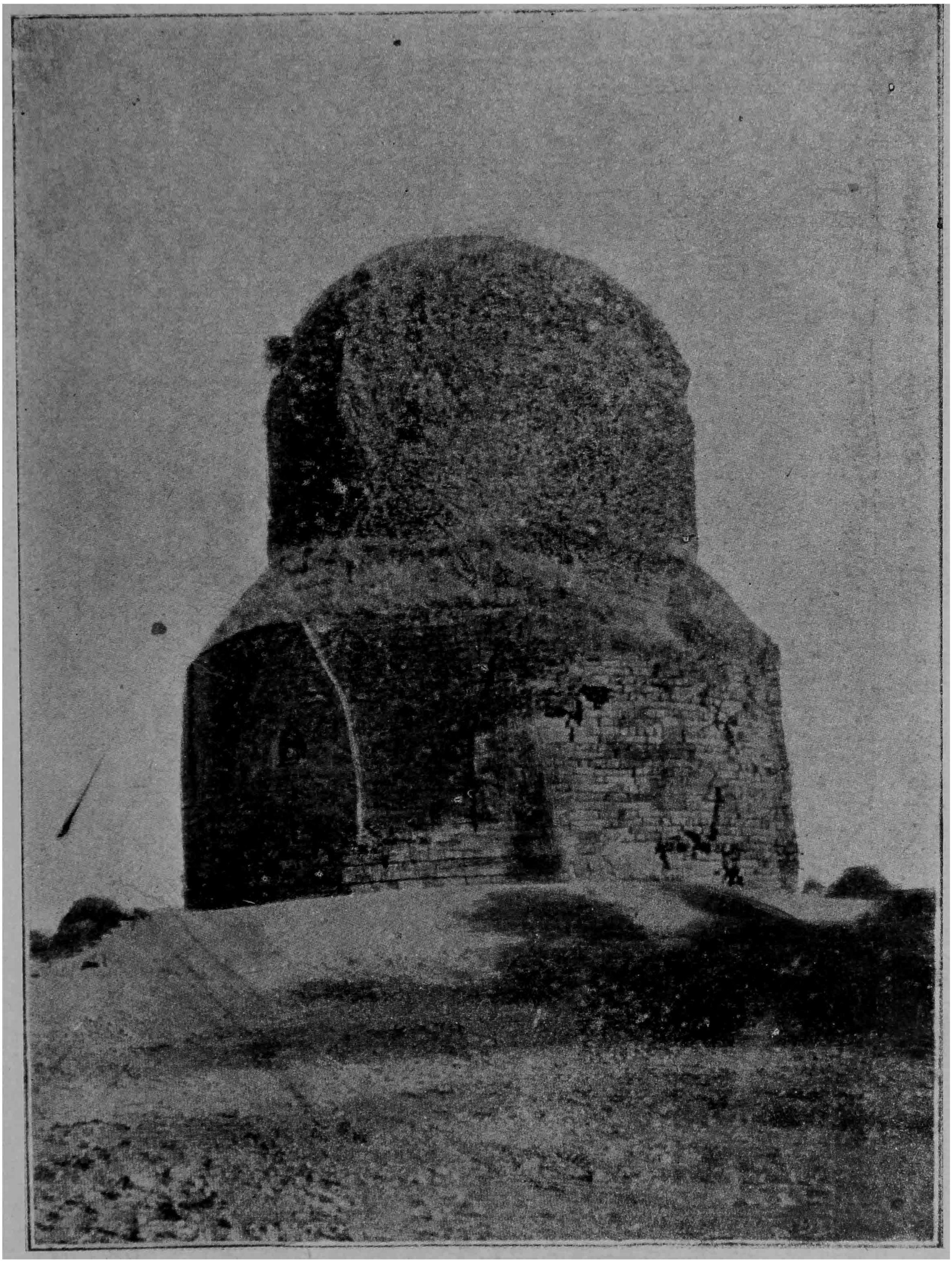


Chaukhandi Stupa where Gautam met his disciples

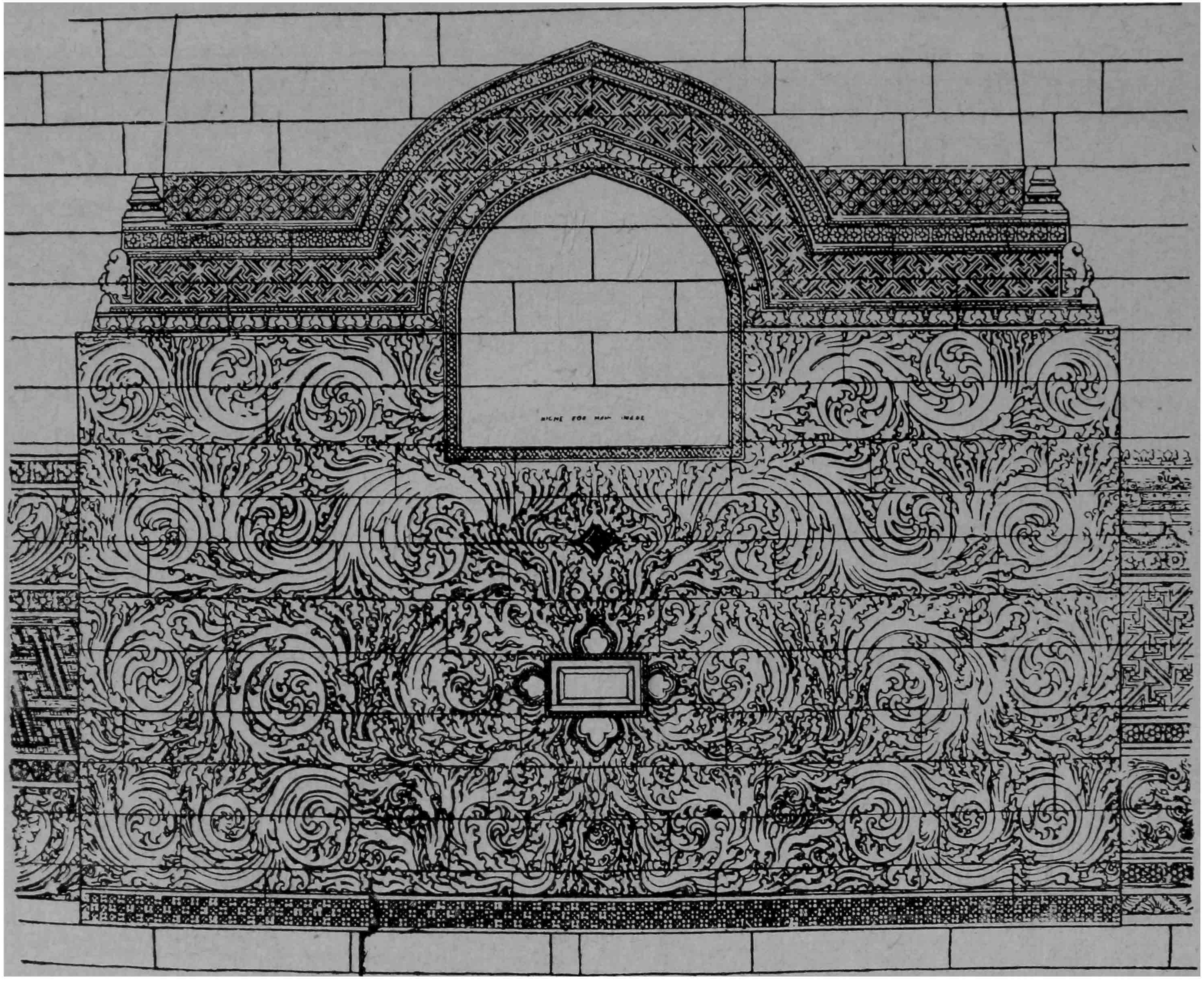
PLATE II



Asoka Edict.
(A Special piller edict.)

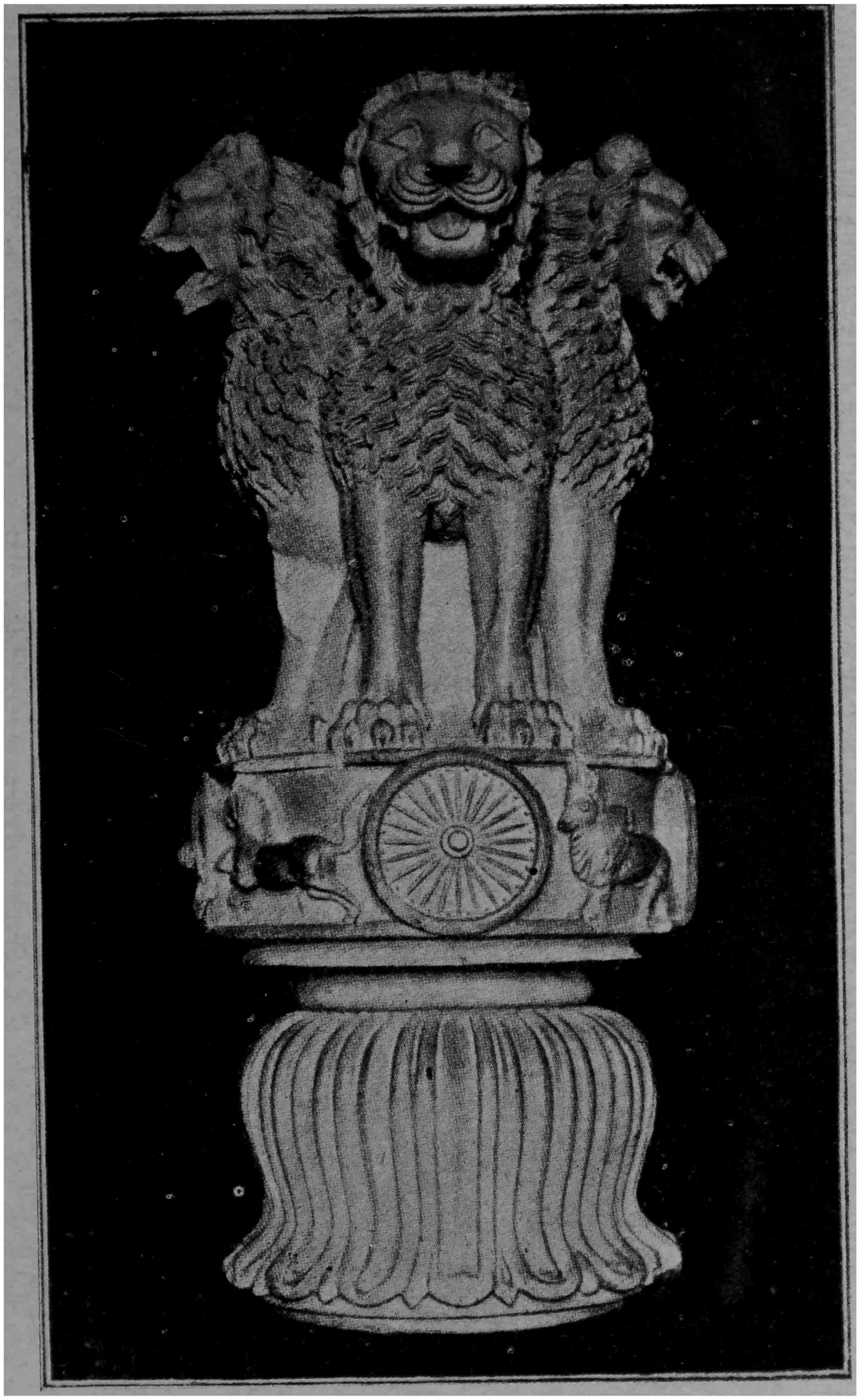


Dhamekh Stupa.

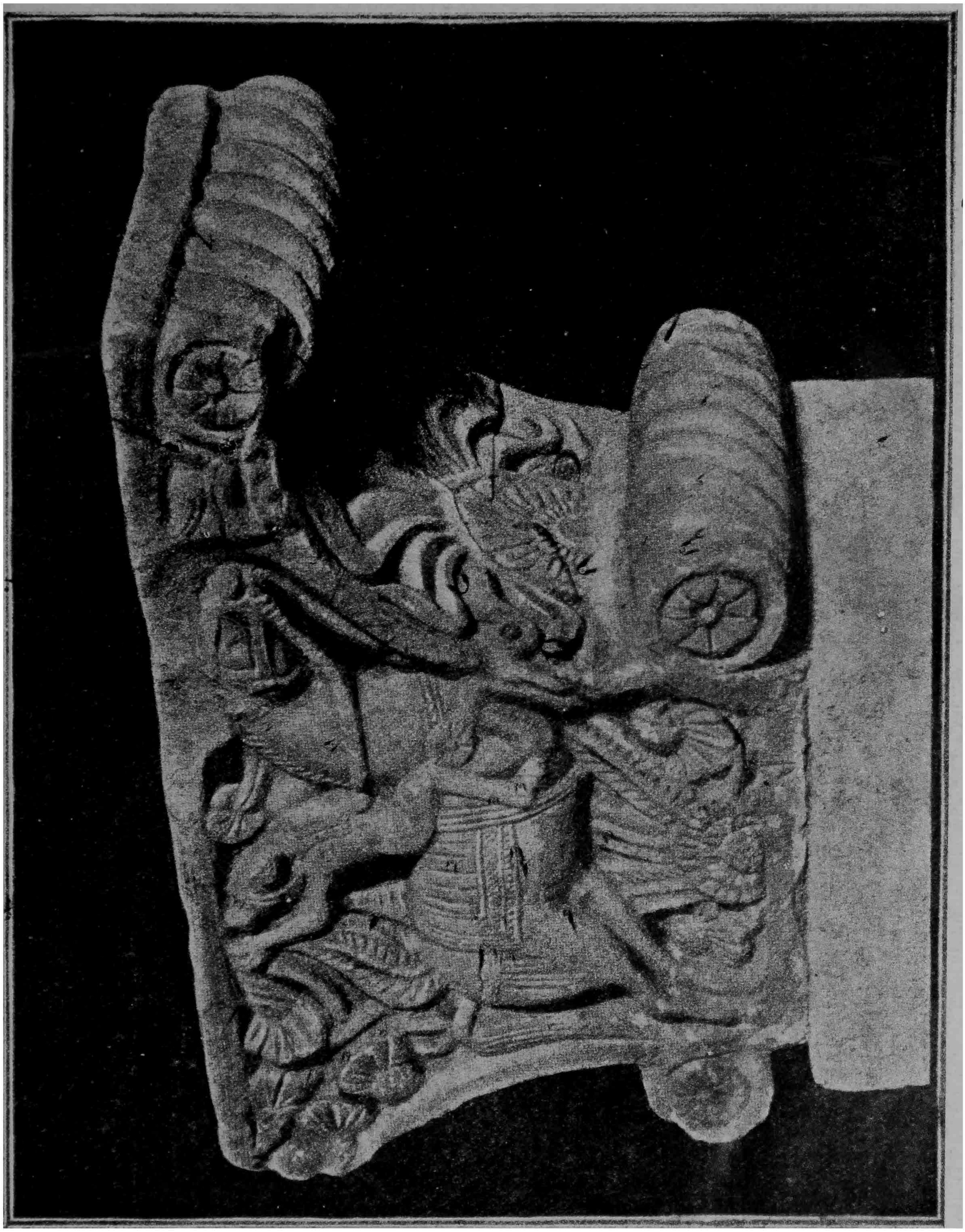


Dhamekh Stupa : Detail of West Face.

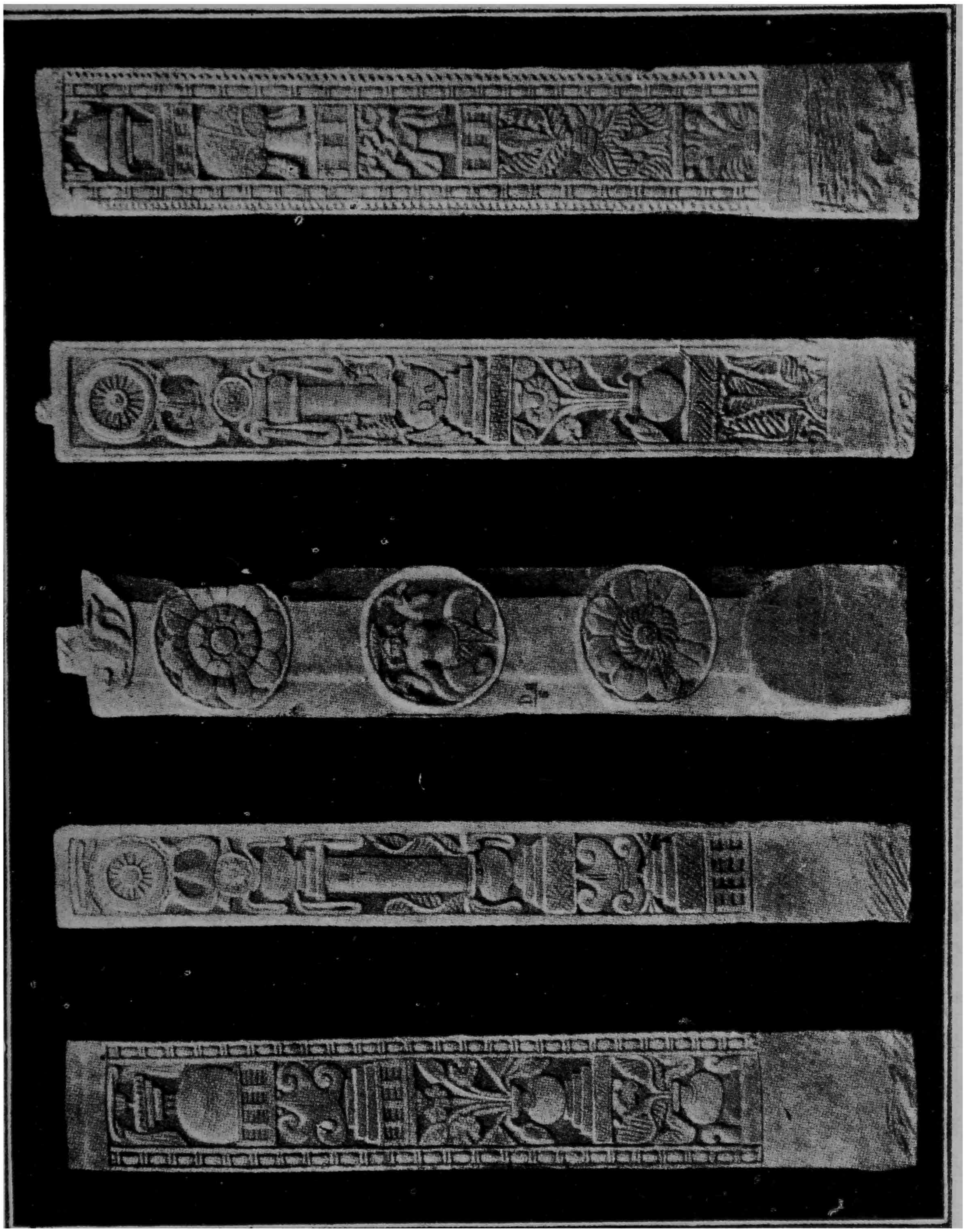
PLATE V.



Lion Capital of Asoka.



Capital D (g) 4.

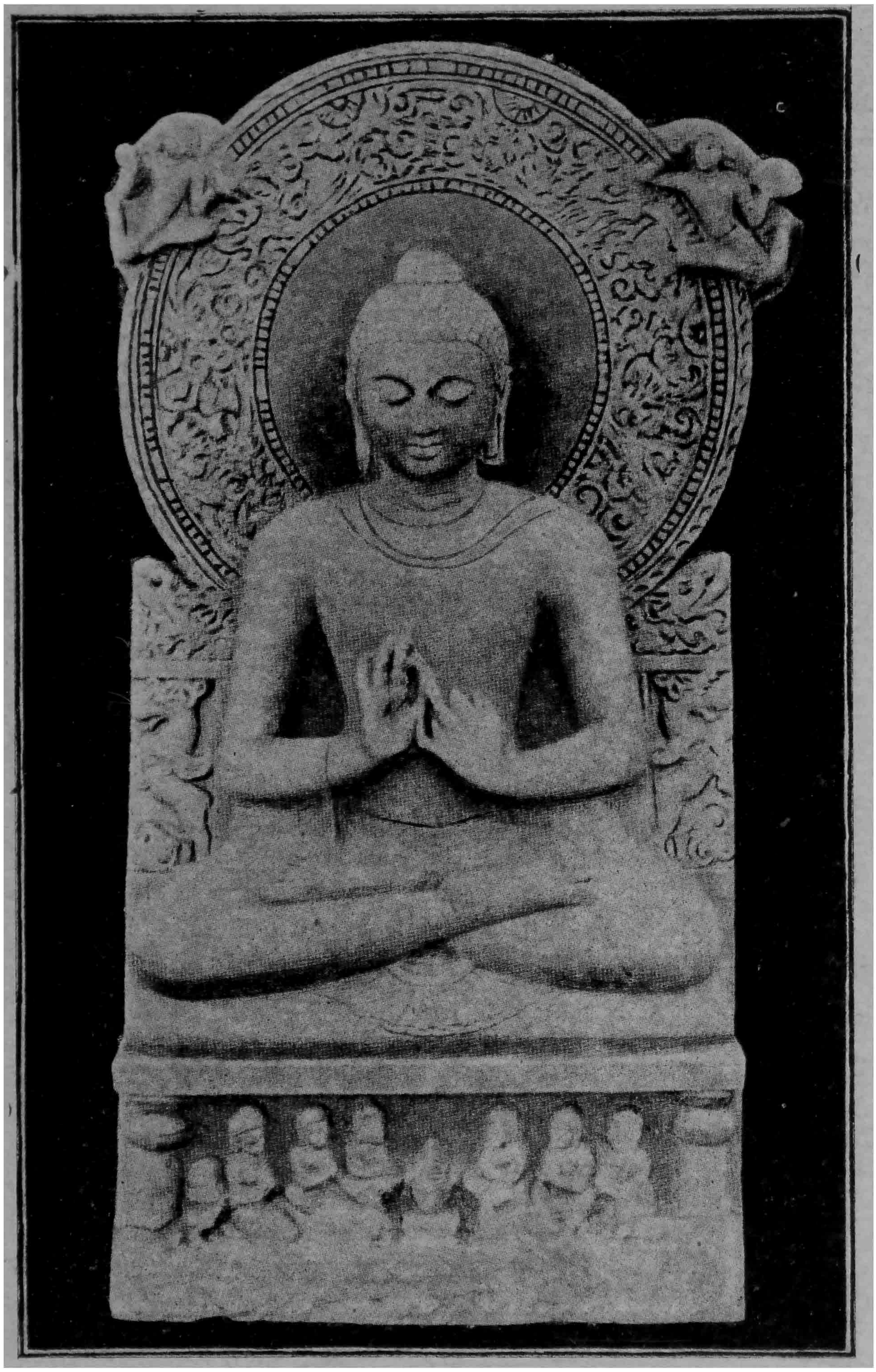


Railing Pillars, D (*a*) 1, 6, 7, & 11.

(a) (b) (c)

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

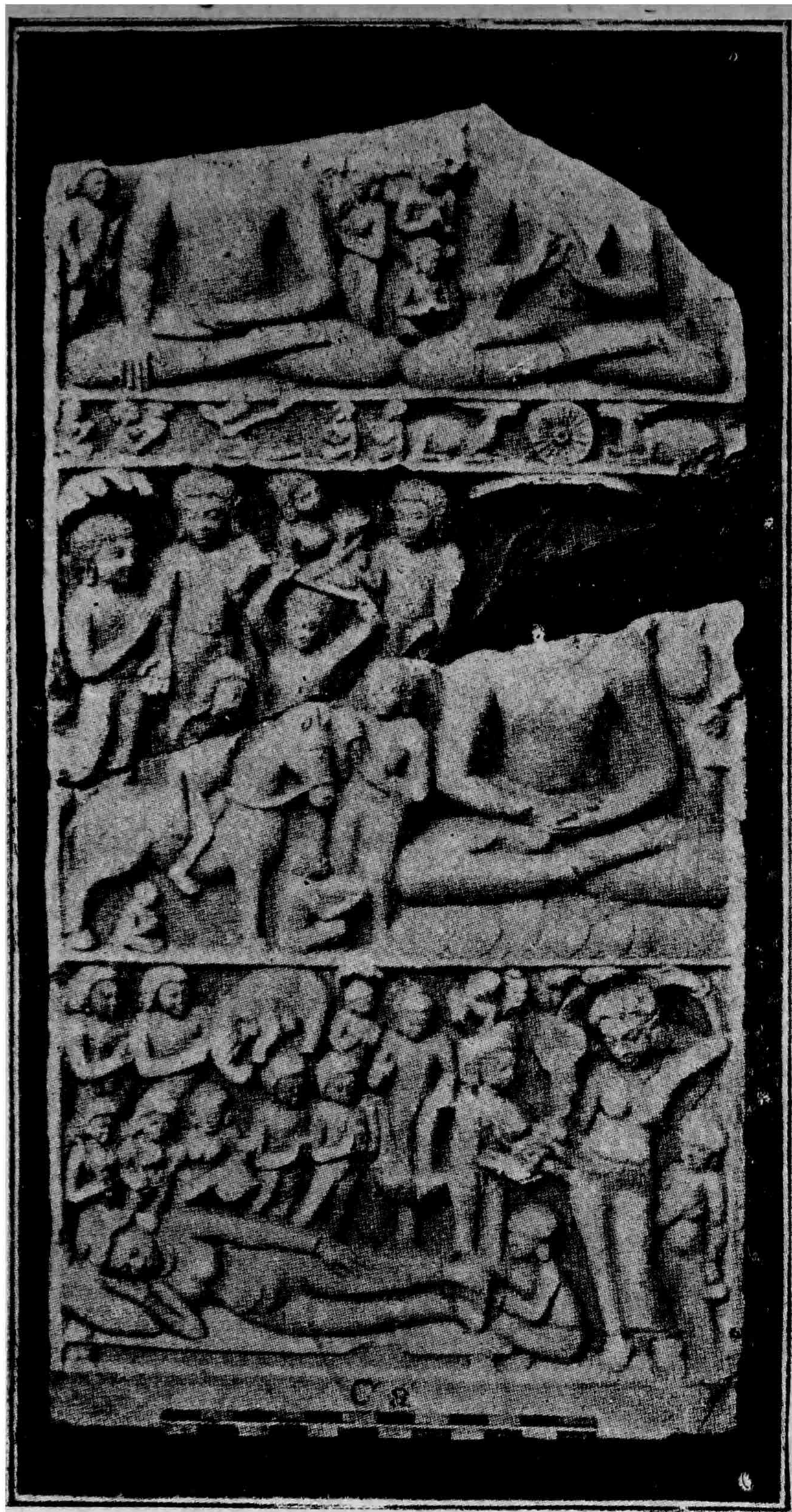
PLATE IX.



Buddha preaching his First Sermon. B (*b*) 181

(a) Siddhaikavira B *(d)* 6. *(b)* Lokanath. B *(d)* 1

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

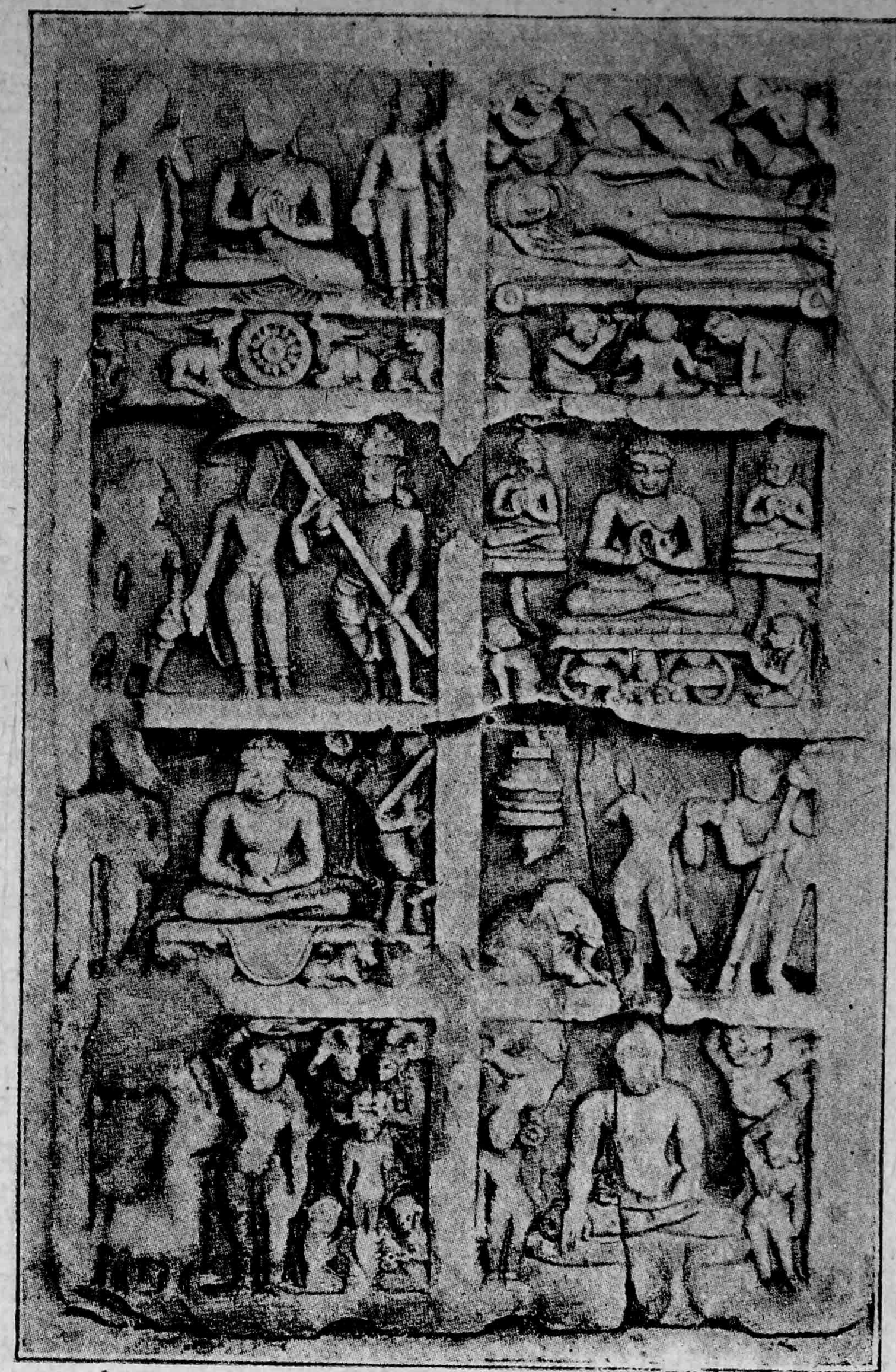


(g)

(e)

(c)

(a)



(h)

(f)

(d)

(b)

PLATE XIII,

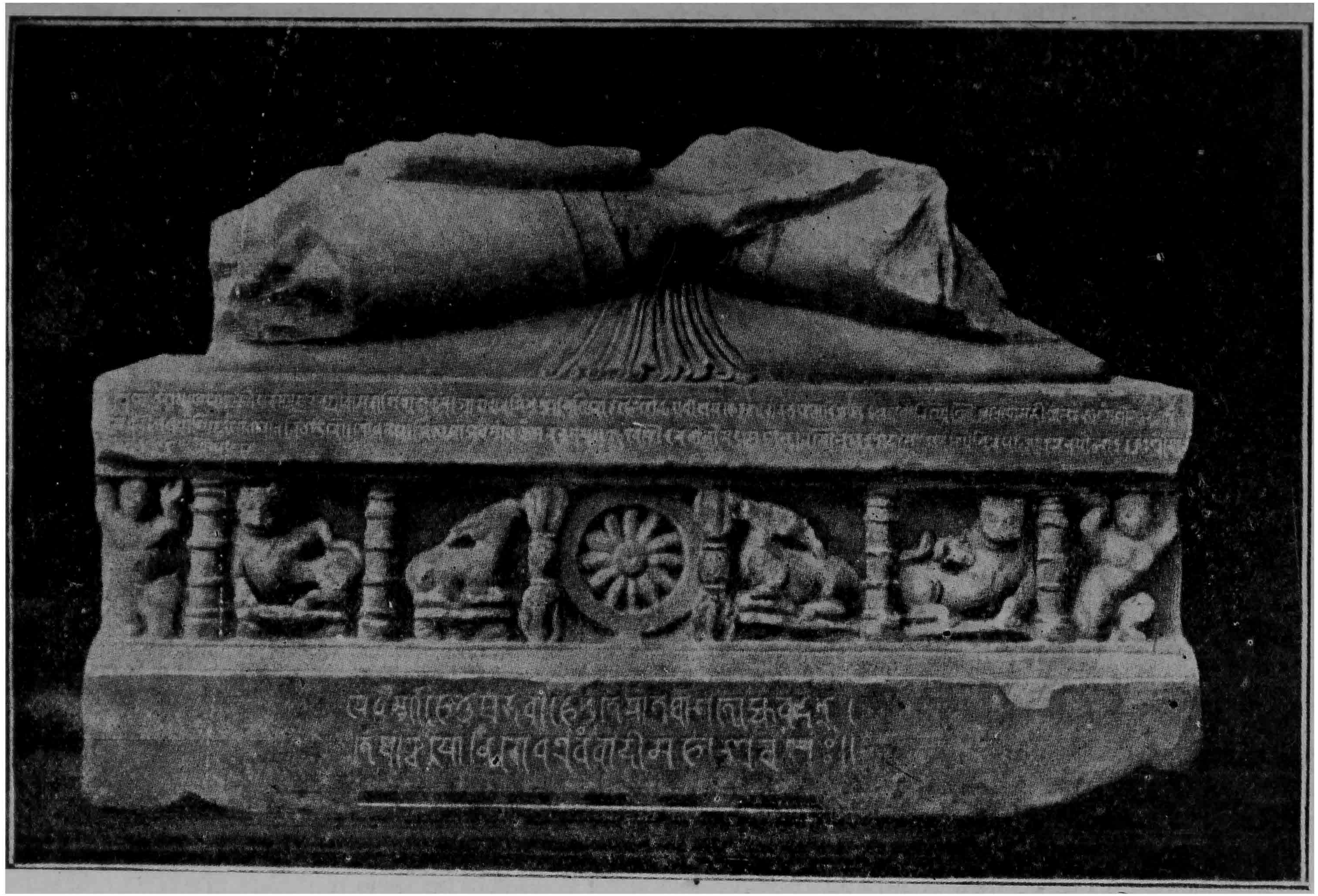
(*a* & *b*) Scenes of Buddha's life, C (*a*) 2 and C (*a*) 3.

(*a*) Jambhala and Vasudhara, B (*e*) 1

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

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

PLATE XV.



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

PLATE XVI.