BOOK I.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION AND CLASSIFICATION.

It may create a feeling of disappointment in some minds when they are told that there is no stone architecture in India older than two and a half centuries before the Christian Era; but, on the other hand, it adds immensely to the clearness of what follows to be able to assert that India owes the introduction of the use of stone for architectural purposes, as she does that of Buddhism as a state religion, to the great Asoka, who reigned from about B.C. 265 to 228.

It is not, of course, meant to insinuate that the people of India had no architecture before that date; on the contrary, it can be proved that they possessed palaces and halls of assembly, perhaps even temples, of great magnificence and splendour, long anterior to Asoka's accession; but, like the buildings of the Burmese at the present day, they were all in wood. Stone, in those days, seems to have been employed only for the foundations of buildings, or in engineering works, such as city walls and gates, or bridges or embankments; all else, as will appear from the sequel, were framed in carpentry. Much as we may now regret this, as all these buildings have consequendy perished, it is not so clear, as it may at first appear, that the Indians were wrong in this, inasmuch as, in all respects, except durability, wood is a better building material than stone. It is far more easily cut and carved, larger spaces can be covered with fewer and less cumbrous points of support than is possible with stone, and colour and gilding are much more easily applied to wood than to stone. For the same outlay twice the space can be covered, and more than twice the splendour obtained by the use of the more perishable material, the one great defect being that it
is ephemeral. It fails also in producing that impression of durability which is so essential to architectural effect; while, at the same time, the facility with which it can be carved and adorned tends to produce a barbaric splendour far less satisfactory than the more sober forms necessitated by the employment of the less tractable material.

Be this as it may, it will, if I mistake not, become quite clear when we examine the earliest "rock-cut temples" that, whether from ignorance or from choice, the Indians employed wood and that only, in the construction of their ornamental buildings, before Asoka's time.\(^1\) From this the inference seems inevitable that it was in consequence of India being brought into contact with the western world, first by Alexander's raid, and then by the establishment of the Baktrian kingdom in its immediate proximity, that led to this change. We do not yet know precisely how far the Baktrian kingdom extended towards the Indus, but we feel Greek influence on the coinage, on the sculpture, and generally on the arts of India, from an early date, and it seems as if we might be able to fix with precision not only the dates, but the forms in which the arts of the Western world exerted their influence on those of the East. Meanwhile it may be sufficient to state here that we know absolutely nothing of the temples or architecture of the various peoples or religions who occupied India before the rise of Buddhism,\(^2\) and it is only by inference that we know anything of that of the Buddhists before the age of Asoka. From that time forward, however, all is clear and intelligible; we have a sufficient number of examples whose dates and forms are known to enable us to write a fairly consecutive history of the architectural style during the 1000 years Buddhism was prevalent in India, and thence to trace its various developments in the extra Indian countries to which it was carried, and where it is still practised at the present day.\(^3\)

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1 These remarks must not be taken as applying to sculpture also. It is quite true that no stone sculptures have yet been found in India of an earlier date than the age of Asoka; but, as will be seen in the sequel, the perfection the Indian artists had attained in stone sculpture when they executed the bas-reliefs at Bharaut (B.c. 200), shows a familiarity with the material that could only be attained by long practice.

2 No mention of temples, or, indeed, of buildings is, I believe, found in the Vedas, and though both are frequently alluded to, and described in the Epic Poems and the Purâ nas, this hardly helps us; first because, like all verbal descriptions of buildings, they are too vague to be intelligible, and secondly, because there is no proof that the passages containing these descriptions may not have been interpolated after—possibly long after—the Christian Era.

3 I believe I was the first to ascertain these facts from a personal inspection of the monuments themselves. They were communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society in a paper I read on the "Rock-cut Temples of India," in 1842. Every subsequent research, and every increase of our knowledge, has tended to confirm those views to such an extent that they are not now disputed by any one acquainted with the literature of the subject.
This being the case, it would be in vain to look for any earlier architecture of any importance in India before Asoka's time: such could be expected only in countries where stone had been in use from the very earliest times. The Aryans, who were dominant before the rise of Buddhism, wrote books and expressed their ideas in words, like their congeners all the world over, but they do not seem successfully to have cultivated the aesthetic arts, or to have sought for immortality through the splendour or durability of their buildings. That was the aspiration of the Turanian and other races, and we owe it to this circumstance that we are enabled to write with any certainty the history of their rise and fall as evidenced in their architectural productions.

There is no \textit{à priori} improbability that the Dravidian races of the south of India, or the indigenous races of the north, may not have erected temples or other buildings at a very early date, but if so, all that can be said is that all trace of them is lost. When we first meet the Buddhist style it is in its infancy—a wooden style painfully struggling into lithic forms—and we have no reason to suppose that other styles were then more advanced. When, however, we first meet them, some six or seven centuries afterwards, they are so complete in all their details, and so truly lithic in their forms, that they have hitherto baffled all attempts to trace them back to their original types, either in the wood or brick work, from which they may have been derived. So completely, indeed, have all the earlier examples been obliterated, that it is now doubtful whether the missing links can ever be replaced. Still, as one single example of a Hindû temple dating before the Christian Era might solve the difficulty, we ought not to despair of such being found, while the central provinces of India remain so unexplored as they are. Where, under ordinary circumstances, we ought to look for them, would be among the ruins of the ancient cities which once crowded the valley of the Ganges; but there the ruthless Moslim or the careless Hindû have thoroughly obliterated all traces of any that may ever have existed. In the remote valleys of the Himalaya, or of Central India, there may, however, exist remains which will render the origin and progress of Hindû architecture as clear and as certain as that of the Buddhist; but till these are discovered, it is with the architecture of the Buddhist that our history naturally begins. Besides this, however, from the happy accident of the Buddhists very early adopting the mode of excavating their temples in the living rock, their remains are imperishably preserved to us, while it is only too probable that those of the Hindû, being in less durable forms, have disappeared. The former, therefore,
are easily classified and dated, while the origin of the latter, for the present, seems lost in the mist of the early ages of Indian arts. Meanwhile, the knowledge that the architectural history of India commences about B.C. 250, and that all the monuments now known to us are Buddhist, or of cognate sects, for at least five or six centuries after that time, are cardinal facts that cannot be too strongly insisted upon by those who wish to clear away a great deal of what has hitherto tended to render the subject obscure and unintelligible.

CLASSIFICATION.

For convenience of description it will probably be found expedient to classify the various objects of Buddhist art under the five following groups, though of course it is at times impossible to separate them entirely from one another, and sometimes two or more of them must be taken together as parts of one monument.

1st. Stambhas or Lâts.—These pillars are common to all the styles of Indian architecture. With the Buddhists they were employed to bear inscriptions on their shafts, with emblems or animals on their capitals. With the Jains they were generally Dîpâns, or lamp-bearing pillars, but sometimes supporting quadruple figures of a Jina; with the Vaishnavas they as generally bore statues of Garuda or Hanumân; with the Saivas they bore the triśula symbol or were Dîpâns and flag-staffs, but, whatever their destination, they were always among the most original, and frequently the most elegant, productions of Indian art.

2nd. Stûpas or Topes.—These, again, were primarily relic-shrines, but may be divided into two classes, according to their destination: first, Stûpas proper, or monuments containing relics of Buddha or of some Buddhist saint;\(^1\) secondly, the stûpas or towers erected to commemorate some event or mark some sacred spot dear to the followers of the Buddha. If it were possible, these two ought to be kept separate, but no external signs have yet been discovered by which they can be distinguished from one another, and till this is so, they must be considered, architecturally at least, as one.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) The Jains in very early times had stûpas and worshipped at them. Even still the Samaśārasānas in some of their temples at Śrūṇjaya, Girnar, Ābû, etc., are survivals of the earlier stûpas. They were also known as ‘Chalyas’—as stûpas are still called in Nepal and Tibet.—Bühler, ‘Legend of the Jaina Stûpa at Mathurā’; ‘Epigraphia Indica,’ vol. ii. plates at pp. 314-321; ‘Actes du Vienna Congrès Int. Orient.’ vol. iii. pt. ii., plate at p. 142; and infra pp. 131, 130.

\(^2\) Dâgaba is a Singalese word applied to a stûpa, from the Sanskrit ‘dghat’, a ‘relic’, ‘element,’ and ‘garbha’ (in Pâli ‘gabbho’) a ‘womb,’ ‘receptacle,’
3rd. Rails.—These must be recognised as one of the most important features of Buddhist architecture. Generally they are found surrounding Topes, but they are also represented as enclosing sacred trees, temples, pillars, and other objects. It may be objected that treating them separately is like describing the peristyle of a Greek temple apart from the cella. The Buddhist rail, however, in early ages at least, is never attached to the tope, and is used for so many other, and such various purposes, that it will certainly tend to the clearness of what follows if they are treated separately.

4th. Chaityas or Assembly Halls.—Chaitya is a more general term than stūpa, and may be applied to any building of the nature of a religious monument, but more correctly to the second division of stūpas, or those commemorative of acts, miracles, etc., or not funerary. But it has further been restricted so as to correspond with the churches of the Christian religion: their plans, the position of the altar or relic casket, the aisles, and other peculiarities are the same in both, and their uses are identical in so far as the ritual forms of the one religion correspond to those of the other.

5th. Vihāras or Monasteries.—With the Buddhists and Jains a Vihāra was a hall where the monks met and walked about; afterwards these halls came to be used as temples, and sometimes became the centres of monastic establishments. Like the Chaityas, they resemble very closely the corresponding institutions among Christians. In the earlier ages they accompanied, but were detached from, the Chaityas or churches. In later times they were furnished with chapels in which the service could be performed independently of the Chaitya halls which may or may not be found in their proximity.

or ‘shrine.’ Dhatugarbha is thus the relic-receptacle or inner shrine, and is strictly applicable only to the dome of the stūpa, sometimes called the “anda” or egg. ‘Dhātu’ were not merely relics in the literal sense, but memorials in an extended acceptation, and were classified as—corporeal remains; objects belonging to the teacher, as his staff, bowl, robe, holy spots, etc.; and any memorial, text of a sacred book, cenotaph of a teacher, etc. Stūpas are known as Chaityas in Nepal, and as Dāgabas in Ceylon. 

The word Chaitya, like Stūpa, means primarily a heap or tumulus, but it also means a place of sacrifice or religious worship, an altar—from chhit, a heap, an assemblage, etc. Properly speaking, therefore, the chaitya caves ought perhaps to be called “halls containing a chaitya,” or “chaitya halls,” and this latter term will consequently be used wherever any ambiguity is likely to arise from the use of the simple term Chaitya.

All structures of the nature of sanctuaries are Chaityas, so that sacred trees, statues, religious inscriptions and sacred places come also under this general name.
CHAPTER II.

STAMBHAS OR LÂTS.

It is not clear whether we ought to claim a wooden origin for these, as we can for all the other objects of Buddhist architecture. Certain it is, however, that the lâts of Asoka, with shafts averaging twelve diameters in height, are much more like wooden posts than any forms derived from stone architecture, and in an age when wooden pillars were certainly employed to support the roofs of halls, it is much more likely that the same material should be employed for the purposes to which these stambhas were applied, than the more intractable material of stone.

The oldest authentic examples of these lâts that we are acquainted with, are those which King Asoka set up in the twenty-seventh year after his consecration—the thirty-first of his reign—to bear inscriptions conveying to his subjects the leading doctrines of the new religion he had adopted. The rock-cut edicts of the same king are dated in his twelfth year, and convey in a less condensed form the same information—Buddhism without Buddha—but inculcating respect to parents and priests, kindness and charity to all men, and, above all, tenderness towards animal life.¹

The best known of these lâts is that removed from Topra in Ambâla district, and set up in 1356, by Firoz Shâh Tughlak, in his Kotila at Delhi, without, however, his being in the least aware of the original purpose for which it was erected, or the contents of the inscription. A fragment of a second was found lying on the ridge, north of Delhi, where it had been set up by Firoz

¹ These inscriptions have been published in various forms and at various times by Sanskrit scholars, such as Burnouf, Kern, Senart, Bühler, etc. Among these reference may be made to E. Senart, 'Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi' (2 vols.) Paris, 1881-1886; Bühler, in 'Epigraphie Indica,' vols. i. and ii.; and 'Archaeological Survey of Southern India,' vol. i. Among other things, they explain to us negatively why we have so little history in India in these days. Asoka is only busied about doctrines. He does not even mention his father's name; and makes no allusion to any historical event, not even those connected with the life of the founder of the religion. Among a people so careless of genealogy, history is impossible.
Shâh, in his hunting lodge; and was re-erected in 1867.\(^1\) Two others exist in Champâran district at Râdhia, and Mâthia,\(^2\) and a fragment of another was recognised—utilised as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the Civil Service. The most complete shaft, however, is that which, in 1837, was found lying on the ground in the fort at Allahabad, and then re-erected with a pedestal, from a design by Captain Smith.\(^3\) This pillar is more than usually interesting, as in addition to the Asoka inscriptions it contains one by Samudragupta (A.D. 380 to 400), detailing the glories of his reign, and the great deeds of his ancestors.\(^4\) It seems again to have been thrown down, and was re-erected, as a Persian inscription tells us, by Jahângir (A.D. 1605), to commemorate his accession. It is represented without the pedestal (Woodcut No. 4). The shaft, it will be observed, is more than 3 ft. wide at the base, diminishing to 2 ft. 2 in. at the summit, which in a length of 33 ft.\(^5\) looks more like the tapering of the stem of a tree—a deodar pine, for instance—than anything designed in stone. Like all the others of this class, this lât has lost its crowning ornament, which

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1 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. vi. p. 794. It had been brought from Mirath in 1356.
2 The first of these is known as the Lauriyâ-Árarâj or Bakhira pillar, being at the village of Lauriyâ about a mile from the temple of Mahâdeva Árarâj, the shaft of which rises nearly 40 ft. above the water level; and the second is the Lauriyâ Navandgarh lât, 3 miles north of Mâthia. Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. i. pp. 67 and 73; xvi. plate 17; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. ii. pp. 245ff.
3 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. vi. plate 40, at p. 798.
4 Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions,' pp. 1-17.
5 These dimensions are taken from Capt. Burt's drawings published in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii. pp. 105-123 and plate 3.

4. Lât at Allahabad.
probably was a Buddhist emblem—a wheel or the triratna ornament—but the necking still remains (Woodcut No. 5), and is almost a literal copy of the honeysuckle ornament we are so familiar with as used by the Greeks with the Ionic order. In this instance, however, it is hardly probable that it was introduced direct by the Greeks, but is more likely to have been borrowed, through Persia, from Assyria, whence the Greeks also originally obtained it. The honeysuckle ornament, again, occurs as the crowning member of a pillar at Sankisá, in the Doáb, half-way between Mathurá and Kanauj (Woodcut No. 6), and this time surmounting a capital of so essentially Persepolitan a type, that there can be little doubt that the design of the whole capital came from Persia. This pillar, of which the greater part of the shaft is lost, is surmounted by an elephant, but so mutilated that even in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mistook it for a lion, if this is indeed the effigy he was looking at, as General Cunningham supposes, which, however, is by no means so clear as might at first sight appear.

6. Capital at Sankisá. (From a Drawing by Gen. Cunningham.) 7. Capital of Lát in Tirhut. (From a Drawing by Capt. Kittoe.)

Another capital of a similar nature to that last described crowns the Lauriyá Navandgarh lát in Champáran—this time surmounted by a lion of bold and good design (Woodcut No. 7). In this instance, however, the honeysuckle ornament

1 ‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’ plates 9, 10, 10a, et passim. 8 ‘Archæological Reports,’ vol. i. p. 274, plate 46.
is replaced by the more purely Buddhist ornament of a flock of the sacred hansas or geese. In both instances there are cable ornaments used as neckings, and the bead and reel so familiar to the student of classical art. The last named form is also, however, found at Persepolis. These features it may be remarked are only found on the lāts of Asoka, and are never seen afterwards in India, though common in Gandhāra and on the Indus for long afterwards, which seems a tolerably clear indication that it was from Persia that he obtained those hints which in India led to the conversion of wooden architecture into stone. After his death, these classical features disappear, and wooden forms resume their sway, though the Persian form of capital long retained its position in Indian art. Whatever the Hindūs copied, however, was changed, in the course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own tastes.

To the preceding five we have to add four more lāts found in recent years. These are: (1) one at Rāmpurwâ near Pipariyâ, also in Champâran district, on the edge of the Tarai, discovered in 1881, but not quite excavated; (2) at Nigliva in the Nepāl Tarai, about 18 miles north from Chilliyâ in Basti district, a broken pillar, bearing an inscription by Asoka, stating that it had marked the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha; (3) at Rummindêi about 13 miles south-east from the preceding and north of Paderiyâ, the lower 22 ft. of a lāt, discovered by Dr. A. Führer in 1896, and bearing an inscription stating that it marked the spot where Sākyamuni was born, and (4) a large fragment and capital found, about three years ago, at Sârnâth, bearing a portion of an Asoka inscription.

It is more than probable that each of these Asoka lāts stood in front of, or in connection with some stūpa, or building of some sort; but all these have disappeared, and the lāts themselves have—some of them at least—been moved more than once, so that this cannot now be proved. So far, however, as can now be ascertained, one or two stambhas stood in front of, or beside each gateway of every great tope, and one or two in front of each chaitya hall. At least we know that six or seven can be traced at Sâńchi, and nearly an equal number at Amarâvatî, and in the representation of topes at the latter place, these lāts are frequently represented both outside and inside the rails.

At Kârlê, one still stands in front of the great cave sur-

1 Cunningham, ‘Archæological Reports,’ vol. xvi. pp. 110f. and plate 28; Führer, ‘Buddha Sākyamuni’s Birthplace,’ pp. 27f., 33f., and plates 4-6. There is also a fragment of a stambha at the great Sâńchi stūpa, with remains of an Asoka inscription on it.

2 ‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’ plates 1, 5, 89 and 90.
mounted by four lions, which, judging from analogy, once bore a chakra or wheel, probably in metal.¹ (Woodcut No. 8.) A corresponding pillar probably once stood on the opposite side of the entrance bearing some similar emblem. Two such are represented in these positions in front of the great cave at Kanheri, which is a debased copy of the great Kârlê cave.²

The lât at Eran and the iron pillar at Mehrauli near Delhi, though similar in many respects to those just described, seem certainly to belong to the era of the Guptas during the 5th century of our era — the latter about 415, and the former in A.D. 484 — and to be dedicated to the Vaishnava creed, and in consequence belong to a subsequent chapter. That at Pathârfi in Bhopal bears a much obliterated inscription of a Râshtrakûta king, Parabala, dated in A.D. 861.³

This is a meagre account, it must be confessed, of Buddhist lâts, which probably at one time could be counted by hundreds in the important Buddhist localities in Bengal; but it is feared we shall hardly be able to add many more to our list. They are so easily overthrown and so readily utilised in populous localities, that all trace of most of them has probably been irrecoverably lost, though one or two more examples may possibly be found in remote, out-of-the-way places.

There is no instance, so far as I am aware, of a built monumental pillar of ancient date now standing in India. This is sufficiently accounted for by the ease with which they

¹ 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' plate 42.
² In the description accompanying Daniell’s view of this cave he says: "On the pillar to the right, above the capital, is a group of lions, from the centre of which a few years since arose the chakra . . . though not the least appearance of it at present remains."
could be thrown down and their materials removed, when they had lost the sanctity which alone protected them. There are, however, two such pillars among the topes of Kâbul, and evidently coeval with them, now called the Sûrkh Minâr and the Minâr Chakri (Woodcut No. 9). These are ascribed by the traditions of the place to Alexander the Great, though they are evidently Buddhist monuments, meant to mark some sacred spot, or to commemorate some event, the memory of which has passed away. There can be little doubt that their upper members are meant to be copies of the tall capitals of the Persepolitan pillars, which were probably common throughout this part of Asia, but their shape and outline exhibit great degeneracy from the purer forms with which that architecture commenced in India, and which were there retained in their purity to a much later period than in this remote province. No reliable data seem to exist for ascertaining what the age of these monuments may be. It probably was the 3rd or 4th century of our era, or it may be even earlier.

Minâr Chakri, Kâbul.
(From a Drawing by Mr. Masson, in Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua.')
CHAPTER III.

STŪPAS.

CONTENTS.

Relic Worship—Bhilsā Topes—Topes at Sārnāth and in Bihār—Amarāvatī Stūpa—Gandhāra Topes—Jalālābād Topes—Mānikyāla Stūpa.

There are few subjects of like nature that would better reward the labour of some competent student than an investigation into the origin of Relic Worship and its subsequent diffusion over the greater part of the old world. So far as is at present known, it did not exist in Egypt, nor in Greece or Rome in classical times, nor in Babylon or Assyria. In some of these countries the greatest possible respect was shown to the remains of departed greatness, and the bones and ashes of persons who were respected in life were preserved with care and affection; but there was no individual so respected that a hair of his head, a tooth, or a toe-nail, even a garment or a utensil he had used, was considered as a most precious treasure after his death. In none of these countries does it appear to have occurred to any one that a bone or the begging-pot of a deceased saint was a thing worth fighting for; or that honour done to such things was a meritorious act, and that prayers addressed to them were likely to be granted. Yet so ingrained do these sentiments appear to be among the followers of Buddha, that it is difficult to believe that the first occasion on which this sentiment arose, was at the distribution of his remains on his attaining Nirvāṇa at Kusinagara, about B.C. 480. On that occasion, eight cities or principalities are said to have contended for the honour of possessing his mortal remains, and the difficulty was met by assigning a portion to each of the contending parties, who are said to have erected stūpas to contain them in each of their respective localities. None of these can now be identified with

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1 Examples of this may be cited in the reverence of the Athenians for the remains of Theseus and Oedipus, and the honours paid to those of Demetrius; but this bears no analogy to the relic-worship of India and Central Asia.

2 These were Rājagriha, Vaisālī, Kapilavastu, Allakapuri, Rāmagrama, Vathadipa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā. —'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 15; S. Hardy’s ‘Eastern Monachism,’ p. 221.

The fame of this distribution seems to
certainty—everything in future ages being ascribed to Asoka, who, according to popular tradition, is said to have erected the fabulous number of 84,000 relic shrines, or towers to mark sacred spots. Some of these may be those we now see, or are encased within their domes; but if so, they, like everything else architectural in India, are the earliest things we find there. It is true, the great pagoda—the Shwé Dagon at Rangún—is said to contain relics of all the four Buddhas of the present Kalpa, the staff of Kakusandho; the water-dipper of Konágamano; the bathing garment of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama Buddha; but supposing this to be true, we only now see the last and most modern, which covers over the older erections. This is at least the case with the great dagaba at Bintenne, near Kandy, in Ceylon, in which the thorax-bone of the great ascetic is said to lie enshrined. The ‘Maháwansa,’ or Buddhist history of Ceylon, describes the mode in which this last building was raised, by successive additions, in a manner so illustrative of the principle on which these relic shrines arrived at completion, that it is well worth quoting:—“The chief of the Devas, Sumana, supplicated of the deity worthy of offerings for something worthy of worship. The Vanquisher, passing his hand over his head, bestowed on him a handful of his pure blue locks from the growing hair of the head. Receiving it in a superb golden casket, on the spot where the divine teacher had stood, he raised an emerald stupa over it and bowed down in worship.

“The theró Sarabhû, at the demise of the supreme Buddha, receiving at his funeral pile the Thorax-bone, brought and deposited it in that identical dagaba. This inspired personage caused a dagaba to be erected twelve cubits high to enshrine it, and thereon departed. The younger brother of King Devánampiyatissa (B.C. 244), having discovered this marvellous dagaba, constructed another encasing it, thirty cubits in height. King Dutthagámini (cir. B.C. 96), while residing there, during his subjugation of the Malabars, constructed a dagaba, encasing that one, eighty cubits in height.” Thus was the “Mahiyangana have reached Europe at least as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, inasmuch as Plutarch (‘Moralia,’ p. 1002, Dübner, ed. Paris, 1841) describes a similar partition of the remains of Menander, among eight cities who are said to have desired to possess his remains; but as he does not hint that it was for purposes of worship, the significance of the fact does not seem to have been appreciated. Conf. ‘Questions of King Milinda’ in ‘Sacred Books of the East,’ vol. xxxv. introd. p. 20.


* Account of the great bell at Rangun.
dāgaba completed.”¹ It is possible that at each successive addition some new deposit was made; at least most of the topes examined in Afghanistān and the Panjāb, which show signs of these successive increments, seem also to have had successive deposits, one above the other.

Of the four canine teeth of Sākyamuni, one is said to have been honoured among the Devas or gods, another among the Nāgas or water-spirits, the third was carried to Gāndhāra,² and the fourth to Kālinga. Little or nothing is related of the first three; the most celebrated is the left canine tooth. At the original distribution it is said to have fallen to the lot of Orissa, and to have been enshrined in a town called from that circumstance “Dantapura.” This, most probably, was near the modern town of Kalingapatam; or possibly, as has been supposed, the celebrated temple of Jagannāth, which now flourishes at Pūrī, may be on the site of the temple to which the tooth belonged. Be this as it may, it seems to have remained there in peace for more than eight centuries, when Guhaśīva, the king of the country, being attracted by some miracles performed by it, and by the demeanour of the priests, became converted from the Brahmanical cult, to which he had belonged, to the religion of Buddha. The dispossessed Brāhmans thereon complained to his suzerain lord, resident at Pātaliputra, in the narrative called only by his title Pāndu. He ordered the tooth to be brought to the capital, when, from the wonders it exhibited, he was converted also; but this, and the excitement it caused, led to its being ultimately conveyed surreptitiously to Ceylon, where it is said to have arrived about the year 310; and in spite of various vicissitudes, its representative still remains in British custody, the palladium of the kingdom, as it has been regarded during the last sixteen centuries.³

Almost as celebrated was the begging-pot of Sākyamuni, which was long kept in a dāgaba or vihāra erected by Kanishka at Peshāwar, and worshipped with the greatest reverence.⁴ After

¹ Abstracted from the ‘ Mahāwansa,’ chap. 1.
² It was preserved at Nagara or Nagārahāra near Jalālābād, where Fāh-Hiian, a.d. 400, in his 13th chapter describes it as perfect. Hiouen Tshang, ‘Mémoires,’ tome ii. p. 97, describes the stūpa as ruined, and the tooth having disappeared.—Beal, ‘Buddhist Records,’ vol. i. p. 92.
paying a visit to Benares, it was conveyed to Kandahar, and is said to be still preserved there by the Musalmans, and looked upon even by them as a most precious relic.

All this will become plainer as we proceed, for we shall find every Buddhist locality sanctified by the presence of relics, and that these were worshipped apparently from the hour of the death of the founder of the religion to the present day. Were this the place to do it, it would be interesting to try and trace the path by which, and the time when, this belief in the efficacy of relics spread towards the west, and how and when it was first adopted by the Catholic Church, and became with them as important an element of worship as with the Buddhists. That would require a volume to itself; meanwhile, what is more important for our present purpose is the knowledge that this relic-worship gave rise to the building of these great stūpas or dāgabas, which are the most important feature of Buddhist architectural art.

No one can, I fancy, hesitate in believing that the Buddhist stūpa is the direct descendant of the sepulchral tumulus of the Turanian races, whether found in Etruria, Lydia, or among the Skyths of the northern steppes. The Indians, however, never seem to have buried, but always to have burnt, their dead, and consequently never, so far as we know, had any tumuli among them. It may be in consequence of this that the stūpas, in the earliest times, took a rounded or domical form, while all the tumuli, from being of earth, necessarily assumed the form of cones. Not only out of doors, but in the earliest caves, the forms of dāgabas are always rounded; and no example of a straight-lined cone covering a stūpa has yet been discovered. This peculiarity, being so universal, would seem to indicate that they had been long in use before the earliest known example, and that some other material than earth had been employed in their construction; but we have as yet no hint when the rounded form was first employed, nor when it was refined into a relic shrine. We know, indeed, from the caves, and from the earliest bas-reliefs, that all the

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1 'Hiouen Thsang,' tome i. p. 83, or Beal, 'Life of Hiouen Tsiang,' p. 63.
3 The craze for relics that sprang up in the 5th century was largely stimulated by the writings of such authorities as Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, and Chrysostom. It was strictly akin to the belief of the Buddhists. The reverence for the "gadam-i-rasul," and relics of Muhammad by his followers is also of a similar character.
roofs of the Indians were curvilinear—probably derived from the roofs of thatched huts; and if one can fancy a circular chamber with a domical roof—not in stone, of course—as the original receptacle of the relic, we may imagine that the form was derived from this.\(^1\)

The worship of stūpas probably arose from the popular idea that the sanctity of the relics was shared by their shrines; and gradually stūpas, simply in memory of the Buddha or of any of his notable followers, came to be multiplied and revered everywhere. Many were solid blocks without any receptacle for a relic; but in those inside chaitya halls, the casket was placed in the capital or Tee, whence it could be readily transferred, or taken out on the occasion of a festival.

The earlier ones were very plain, consisting of a base or drum and dome, with a square capital in the form of a box; the dome was regarded as the essential feature of a stūpa, and with the "chhattra" or umbrella over it, as a symbol of dignity, and a surrounding path for "pradakshina" or circumambulation fenced off by a wall or railing, it was complete. In course of time they came to be honoured almost as the Buddha himself—had his image affixed to their drums, and were decked with parasols, garlands of flowers, and flags or long ribbons, whilst presentations of money were made for their service.

**Bhilṣā Topes.**

The most extensive, and taking it altogether, perhaps the most interesting, group of topes in India is that known as the Bhilṣā Stūpas or Topes, from a town of that name on the north border of Bhopāl, near which they are situated. There, within a district not exceeding 10 miles east and west and 6 north and south, are five or six groups of topes, containing altogether between twenty-five and thirty individual examples. The principal of these, known as the great tope at Sānchi-Kānākhedā, has been frequently described, the smaller ones are known from General Cunningham's descriptions only;\(^2\) but

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1. Among the bas-reliefs of the Bharaut tope is one representing just such a domical roof as this (Woodcut No. 81). It is not, however, quite easy to make out its plan, nor to feel sure whether the object on the altar is a relic, or whether it may not be some other kind of offering.

2. "Bhilṣa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments in Central India," 1854. One half of the work on 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' and forty-five of its plates, besides woodcuts, are devoted to the illustration of the great Tope; and numerous papers have appeared on the same subject in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' and elsewhere. A cast of the eastern gateway is in the South Kensington Museum; also in Edinburgh, Dublin, Berlin, and Paris Museums.
altogether they have excited so much attention that they are perhaps better known than any group in India. We are not however, perhaps, justified in assuming, from the greater extent of this group as now existing, that it possessed the same pre-eminence in Buddhist times. If we could now see the topes that once adorned any of the great Buddhist sites in the Doāb or in Bihār, the Bhilsā group might sink into insignificance. It may only be that, situated in a remote and thinly peopled part of India, they have not been exposed to the destructive energy of opposing sects of the Hindū religion, and the bigoted Moslim has not wanted their materials for the erection of his mosques. They consequently remain to us, while it may be that nobler and more extensive groups of monuments have been swept from the face of the earth.

Notwithstanding all that has been written about them, we know very little that is certain regarding their object and their history.¹ Our usual guides, the Chinese Pilgrims, fail us here. Fa Hian never was within some hundreds of miles of the place; and if Hiuen Tsang ever was there, it was after leaving Valabhi, when his journal becomes so confused and curt that it is always difficult, sometimes impossible, to follow him. He has, at all events, left no description by which we can now identify the place, and nothing to tell us for what purpose the great tope or any of the smaller ones were erected. The ‘Mahāwansa,’ it is true, helps us a little in our difficulties. It is there narrated that Asoke, when on his way to Ujjjeni (Ujjain), of which place he had been nominated governor, tarried some time at Chetyagiri, or, as it is elsewhere called, Wessanagara, the modern Besnagar, close to Sānchi. He there married the daughter of a chief, and by her had twin sons, Ujjienia and Mahinda, and afterwards a daughter, Sanghamittā. The two last named are said to have entered the priesthood, and played a most important part in the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. Before setting out on this mission, Mahinda visited his royal mother at Chetyagiri, and was lodged in “a superb vihāra,” which had been erected by herself.² In all this there is no mention of the great tope, which may have existed before that time; but till some building is found in India which can be proved to have existed before that age, it may be assumed that this is one of the 84,000 topes said to have been erected by Asoke. Had Sānchi been one of the

¹ Colonel F. C. Maisey was sent by Government in 1849 to make drawings of the gateways and sculptures at Sānchi-Kānkhedā. These drawings—which had been first used in ‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’—he re-published in 1892, with letterpress based on a fanciful theory as to their age and origin.

² ‘Mahāwansa,’ chap. 13. See also ‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’ pp. 99 et seq., where all this is more fully set out than is necessary here.
eight cities which obtained relics of Buddha at the funeral pyre, the case might have been different; but it has been dug into, and found to be a stūpa without relics. It consequently may have been erected to mark some sacred spot or to commemorate some event, and we have no reason to believe that this was done anywhere before Asoka's time.

On the other hand, two smaller topes at the same place contained relics of a historical character. That called No. 2 Tope contained those of some of the Buddhist teachers who took part in the third great convocation held under Asoka, and some of whom were sent on missions to the Himālayas, to disseminate the doctrines then settled, and with these were associated the names of others, probably contemporaries, but of whom we know nothing otherwise. No 3 Tope contained two relic caskets, represented in the accompanying woodcuts (Nos. 10 and 11). One of these contained relics of Mahā Moggalāna, the other of Sāriputra, friends and companions of Buddha himself, and usually called his right and left hand disciples. It does not of course follow from this that this dāgaba is as old as the time of Buddha; on the contrary, the probability seems to be that these relics were deposited there in Asoka's time, in close proximity to the sacred spot, which the great tope was erected to commemorate. The tope containing relics of his contemporaries may, of course, be more modern, possibly contemporary with the gateways.

The general appearance of the Sānchi-Kānâkhedâ Stūpa will be understood from the view of it on Woodcut No. 12, and its shape and arrangement from the plan and section, Nos. 13

1 At least the excavations failed in the discovery of a deposit.
2 The 'Dipawansa' names the four missionaries who accompanied Kâsapa-gota Kotiputa to convert the tribe of Yakṣa in Himavanta, as — Majjhima, Dudubhisara, Sahadeva and Mâla-kadeva. Kâsapa-gota, Majjhima and Dudubhisara, are named on relic-boxes from Sânchi and Sonari.—"Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," 1905, pp. 68-ff.
3 Cunningham, 'Bhilas Tope,' pp. 297, 299 et seqq.
4 The Chandragupta inscription on the rail near the eastern gateway is a subsequent addition, and belongs to Chandragupta II., of the year A.D. 412. Fleet, 'Early Gupta Inscriptions,' pp. 29-34.
and 14. From these it will be observed that the principal

12. View of the great Tope at Sâachi, north-east side.

13. Plan of great Tope at Sâachi.

14. Section of great Tope at Sâachi.
building consists of a dome somewhat less than a hemisphere, 106 ft. in diameter, and 42 ft. in height.\(^1\)

On the top of the stūpa is a flat space about 34 ft. in diameter, formerly surrounded by a stone railing, some parts of which were found still lying there; and in the centre of this once stood a feature known to Indian archaeologists as a ‘Tee.’\(^2\)

The woodcut (No. 15), from a rock-cut example at Ajantā, represents the usual form at this age. The lower part is adorned with the usual Buddhist rail (to be described hereafter), the upper by the conventional window pattern, two features which are universal. It is crowned by a lid of three slabs, and no doubt either was or simulated a relic casket. No tope, and no representation of a tope—and we have hundreds—are without this feature, and generally it is or was surmounted by one or more discs representing the umbrellas of state; in modern times by as many as nine of these. The only ancient wooden one now known to exist is that in the cave at Kārlē (Woodcut No. 70), but the representations of them in stone and painting are literally thousands in number.

The dome rests on a sloping base, 14 ft. in height by 121 ft. in diameter, having an offset on its summit about 6 ft. wide.\(^3\) This, to judge from the representations of topes on the sculptures, must have been surrounded by a balustrade, and was ascended by a broad double ramp on one side. It was probably used for processions round the monument, which seem to have been among the most common Buddhist ceremonials. The centre of this great mound is quite solid, being composed of bricks laid in mud; but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over these was laid a coating of cement nearly 4 inches in thickness, which was, no doubt, originally adorned either with painting or ornaments in low relief.

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1 These views, plans, etc., are taken from a Memoir by Capt. J. D. Cunningham, ‘Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,’ vol. xvi. (August, 1847), pp. 739-762.

2 This is an Anglicised form of the Burmese “Hit,” by which this member is known; in Sanskrit it is called karmikā. The lower part is called gala in Nepal—the “neck” and the whole chālākuti—“the crest or crest jewel.” The umbrellas grouped over it were termed chhaurāvalī, and the shaft on which they are supported the yasti.—Foucher, ‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique,’ tom. i. p. 97.

Besides the group at Sânchi, which compromises six or seven stûpas—mostly ruined, there is at Sonâri, 6 miles distant, another group of eight topes. Two of these are important structures, enclosed in square courtyards, and one of them yielded numerous relics to the explorers.

At Satdhâra, 3 miles further on, is a great tope 101 ft. in diameter, but which, like that at Sânchi, yielded no relics. No. 2, however, though only 24 ft. in diameter, was found to contain relics of Sâriputra and Moggalâna, like No. 3 at Sânchi. Besides these there are several others, all small, and very much ruined.

The most numerous group, however, is situated at Bhojpur, 7 miles south-east from Sânchi, where thirty-seven distinct topes were grouped together on various platforms. The largest is 66 ft. in diameter, but No. 2 is described as one of the most perfect in the neighbourhood, and, like several others in this group, contained important relics.

At Andher, about 5 miles west of Bhojpur, was a fine group of three small, but very interesting topes. With those above enumerated, this makes up about sixty distinct and separate topes, in this small district, which certainly was not one of the most important in India in a religious point of view, and consequently was probably surpassed by many, not only in the number but in the splendour of its religious edifices.¹

Without more data than we at present possess, it is of course impossible to speak with certainty with regard to the age of this group of topes, but, so far as can be at present ascertained, there seems no reason for assuming that any of them are earlier than the age of Asoka, B.C. 250, nor is it probable that any of them can be of later date than, say, the first century before our era. The topes themselves seem all to be included within these two centuries, or possibly even less.

**TOPES AT SĀRNĀTH AND IN BIHĀR.**

Not only is there no other group of topes in India Proper that can be compared, either in extent or in preservation, to those of Bhilsâ, but our knowledge of the subject is now so complete that it is probably safe to assert that only two, or at most three, topes exist between the Satlaj and the sea, sufficiently perfect to enable their form and architectural

¹ As the particulars regarding all these topes, except those at Sânchi, are taken from Gen. Cunningham's work entitled "Bhilsa Topes," published in 1854, it has not been thought necessary to repeat the reference at every statement.
features to be distinguished. There are, of course, numerous mounds near all the Buddhist cities which mark the site, and many of which probably hide the remains, of some of the hundreds of stūpas or dāgabas mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrims, besides many that they failed to distinguish. All, however, with the fewest possible exceptions, have perished; no. Is it difficult to see why this should be so. All, or nearly all, were composed of brick or small stones, laid either without mortar, or with cement that was little better than mud. They
consequently, when desecrated and deserted, formed such convenient quarries for the villagers, that nearly all have been utilised for building huts and houses of the Hindūs, or the mosques of the Musalmāns. Their rails, being composed of larger stones and not so easily removed, have in some instances remained, and some will no doubt be recovered when looked for; and as these, in the earlier ages at least, were the iconostasis of the shrine, their recovery will largely compensate for the loss of the topes which they surrounded.

The best known, as well as the best preserved of the Bengal topes, is that called Dhamek, at Sārnāth, near Benares (Woodcut No. 16). It was explored by General Cunningham in 1835-36, and found to be a stūpa or chaitya—not containing relics, but erected to mark some spot sanctified by the presence of Buddha, or by some act of his during his long residence there. In 1904-05 further excavations were made under Mr. Oertel, but the results have not yet been made public. It is situated in the Deer Park, where Buddha took up his residence with his five disciples when he first removed from Gayā on claiming to have attained Buddhahood, and commenced his mission as a teacher. That it commemorates this event, is exceedingly probable, since that stūpa, of all others, would be religiously preserved and restored. There are several mounds in the neighbourhood, but the descriptions of the Chinese Pilgrims are not sufficiently precise to enable us always to discriminate between them.

The building consists of a stone basement, 93 ft. in diameter, and solidly built, the stones being clamped together with iron to the height of 43 ft. Above that it is in brickwork, rising to a height of 110 ft. above the surrounding ruins, and 128 ft. above the plain.1 Externally the lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces, each 21 ft. 6 in. wide, and 15 ft. apart. In each is a small niche, intended apparently to contain a seated figure of Buddha, and below them, encircling the monument, is a band of sculptured ornament of the most exquisite beauty. The central part consists—as will be seen by the cut (No. 17) on the next page—of geometric patterns of great intricacy, but combined with singular skill; and, above and below, foliage equally well designed, and so much resembling that carved by Hindū artists on the earliest Muhammadan mosques at Ajmir and Delhi, as at first sight might suggest that they may not be very distant in date.

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1 These dimensions and details are taken from Gen. Cunningham's 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 107 et seqq.; for his account of the exploration, see 'Journal Bengal Asiatic Society,' vol. xxxii.; Sherring's 'Sacred City of the Hindūs,' pp. 236-243.
The carvings round the niches and on the projections have been left so unfinished—in some instances only outlined—that it is impossible to guess what ultimate form it may have been intended to give them. The upper part of the tower was possibly an addition of even later date than the lower part, and may never have been finished at all; but from our knowledge of the Afghanistan topes we may surmise that it was intended to encircle it with a range of pilasters, and then some bold mouldings, before covering it with a hemispherical dome.
In his excavations, General Cunningham found, buried in the solid masonry, at the depth of 10½ feet from the summit, a large stone on which was engraved the usual Buddhist formula, "Ye dharmma hetu," etc., in characters belonging, he thought, to the 7th century, from which he inferred that the monument belongs to the 6th century. But I cannot accept the conclusion; it seems to me much more probable that this stone may have belonged to some building which had fallen into decay, or to have been the pedestal of some statue which had been disused, and was consequently utilised in the erection or repair of this structure. One feels consequently more inclined to adopt the tradition preserved by Captain Wilford,1 to the effect that the Sārnāth monument was erected by the sons of Mahipāla, and destroyed (interrupted?) before its completion.2 We know that the Deer Park, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, was the site of one of the early and most sacred stūpas, and the excavations recently made have brought to light remains of all ages from that of Asoka down to the 11th century at least. An inscription, found long since, and dated in A.D. 1026, records the repair of a Buddhist stūpa and Dharmachakra, and the erection of a Gandhakutt temple in the time of Mahipāla—probably by his sons.3 Whether it refers to this stūpa or not, it indicates that large restorations did take place as late as the 11th century, when this also was probably encased, as we now find it, with a modernised exterior. The form of the monument with the eight projecting faces that decorate its drum, the character of its sculptured ornaments, the unfinished condition in which it is left, and indeed the whole circumstances of the case, render this date so probable that it may be accepted for the present at least, though it is quite possible that further research may require us to modify this opinion.

The only stone building yet found in India that has any pretension to be dated before Asoka’s time is one at Rājgir, having the popular name of Jarāsandha-ka-baithak. As will be seen from the annexed woodcut (No. 18), it is in the form of a platform 85 ft. square at the base and sloping upwards for 20 or 28 ft. to a platform measuring 74 by 78 ft.4 It is built wholly of stones, neatly fitted together without mortar; and its most remarkable peculiarity is that it contains fifteen cells, one of which is shown in the woodcut. They are from

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1 ‘Asiatic Researches,’ vol. ix. p. 203, and vol. x., p. 130.
2 See also paper by Vesey Westmacott, ‘Calcutta Review,’ vol. lix., 1874, p. 68.
3 ‘Asiatic Researches,’ vol. v. p. 133;
4 ‘Indian Antiquary,’ vol. xiv. p. 139
5 The contents of this inscription were probably the basis of Wilford’s statement.
6 ‘Indian Antiquary,’ vol. i. p. 72.
6 to 7 ft. in length, by about half that in breadth, and they are occupied at times up to the present day by Jogis whose bodies are constantly smeared with ashes.\(^1\)

18. View and Plan of Jarāsandha-ka-baithak. (From Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. iii. plate 42.)

The other Bengal tope existing nearly entire, also known as Jarāsandha-ka-baithak, is opposite to the village of Giriyek, about 6 miles east-north-east of the preceding. General Cunningham states its dimensions to be 28 ft. in diameter by 21 ft. in height, resting on a basement 14 ft. high, so that its total height, when complete, may have been about 55 ft. As it was not mentioned by Fah Hian, A.D. 400, and is, apparently, by Hiuen Tsiang, A.D. 640, its age is probably, as General Cunningham states, intermediate between these dates, or about A.D. 500.\(^2\) It is a bold, fine tower, evidently earlier than that at Sārnāth, and showing nothing of the tendency towards Hindū forms there displayed. It has, too, the remains of a procession-path, or extended basement which is wholly wanting at Sārnāth, but which is always found in the earlier monuments. It was erected, as Hiuen Tsiang tells us, in honour of a Hansa—goose—who devoted itself to relieve the wants of a starving community of Bhikshus.\(^3\)

The third stūpa, if it may be so called, is the celebrated temple or; properly, chaitya at Bodh-Gayā, which stands

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\(^1\) 'Cave-Temples,' pp. 33f.; Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Report,' vol. i. p. 20; vol. iii. p. 142.

\(^2\) Hiuen Tsiang, tom. iii. p. 60; or Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. p. 181.

\(^3\) pp. 16-19, and plate 15.
immediately in front of the celebrated Bodhi-tree (Ficus religiosa) under whose shade Buddha is said to have attained complete enlightenment in the thirty-fifth year of his age, cir. B.C. 525. Its history is told in such detail by Hsiuen Tsiang that there seems little doubt as to the main facts of the case. According to this authority, Asoka built a small vihāra here, but long afterwards this was replaced by a temple 160 ft. high and 60 ft. (20 paces) wide, which are the exact dimensions of the present building, according to Cunningham, and we are further told that it was erected by a Brāhmaṇ, who was warned by Maheswara (Siva), in a vision, to execute this work. In this temple there was a cella corresponding with the dimensions of that found there, in which the Brāhmaṇ placed a statue of Buddha, seated cross-legged, with one hand pointing to the earth. The date of the erection of this temple is still obscure: General Cunningham laboured, on rather doubtful data, to prove that it was erected in the reign of the Kushan king, Huvishka, in the century B.C., and, from a coin found in a later image, he concluded that additions and restorations were made in the 4th century. There are sculptures and inscriptions that must belong between the 2nd and 7th centuries, and they are numerous between the 9th and end of the 12th; but none of them help us in definitely fixing the date of the temple. From the style and what remains of the older sculptures, we can only assume that it may belong to somewhere about the 6th century, though considerably altered in later times by successive restorations. From an Arakanese inscription on the spot, first translated by Colonel H. Burney, we further learn that the

1 Buchanan Hamilton was told by the priests on the spot, in 1811, that it was planted there 2225 years ago, or B.C. 414, and that the temple was built 126 years afterwards, or in 289 B.C.:—not a bad guess for Asoka's age in a locality where Buddhism has been so long forgotten.—Montgomery Martin's 'Eastern India,' vol. i. p. 76.


3 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 5; and 'Mahābodhi,' p. 18.

4 Wassiliev, in his work on the Doctrine, History, etc., of Buddhism, pp. 41-42, gives a somewhat different account, stating that it was erected by Panya, one of three brothers converted by Utara, one of whom built a temple in the Deer Park at Benares, and the other a temple in the Venuvana garden at Rājagriha. Gen. Cunningham refers to a story related by Tārānāth of two brothers, one of whom built the Nālanda temple, and, from the resemblance in style, he infers that the Mahābodi temple belongs to the same date, if not to one of the brothers.

5 That is in the attitude known as the 'Bhūmisparśa mudrā,' in which Śākyamuni sat when he attained supreme knowledge.

6 'Mahābodhi,' pp. 17-25. This was a coin of Parupati, Raja of Nepāl, whose name—possibly the Paruprēksha of the chronologies—is well-known to numismatists from his coins; but nothing is certain about his date, except that most probably he lived subsequently to the 7th century.—'Indian Antiquary,' vol. xiii. p. 412; Wright's, 'History of Nepāl,' p. 113; Sylvain Lévi, 'Le Népāl,' tome ii. pp. 108-111; 'Journal Royal Asiatic Society,' 1908, p. 681.
place, having fallen into decay, was restored by the Burmese in the year 1105, and again in 1298.¹

From the data these accounts afford us we gather that the building we now see before us (Woodcut No. 19) is substantially that erected in the 6th century, but the niches Hiuen Tsiang saw, containing golden statues of Buddha, cannot be those now existing — most of the images round the basement are

¹ 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xx. pp. 161-189; Rājendralal Mitra, 'Buddha Gayā,' p. 209; Phayre's 'History of Burma,' p. 46; and 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xxxvii. p. 97, note. Gen. Cunningham read the dates as equivalent to 1079 and 1086 A.D.; 'Mahābodhi,' pp. 27, 28, and 77. But though a scholarly translation of the inscriptions has yet to be made, the readings of the Burmese or Arakanese dates as 467 and 660 of their era, can hardly be questioned—i.e. 1105 and 1298 A.D.
distinctly of Burmese type, though some few of them appear to be of about the 6th century—and the sculptures he mentions find no place in the present design; the amalakas of gilt copper that crowned the whole, as he saw it, have also disappeared.1

The changes in detail, as well as the introduction of radiating arches in the interior, must belong to the Burmese restorations in the beginning of the 12th and end of the 13th centuries. Though these, consequently, may have altered its appearance in detail, it is probable that, until the “restoration” in 1880-81, we still had before us a straight-lined pyramidal nine-storeyed temple of about the 6th century, retaining all its essential forms—anomalous and unlike anything else we find in India, either before or afterwards, but probably the parent of many nine-storeyed towers found beyond the Himālayas, both in China and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, instead of carefully preserving this very interesting monument, the Government of Bengal was advised to “restore” it, and this was carried out under the superintendence of General Cunningham and his assistant, by which—as might have been anticipated—it was materially modified, and from an archaeological point of view seriously injured.2

Eventually we may discover other examples which may render this noble tower less exceptional than it now appears to be. At Kesariyā in Champāran, about 20 miles south-east from Lāuriyā-Ararāj, where one of the pillars of Asoka mentioned above is found, are the ruins of what appears to have been a very large tope. It is, however, entirely ruined externally, and has never been explored, so that we cannot tell what was its original shape or purpose.3 At Pipraha also in the north of Basti district, on the Nepal frontier, a mound containing the remains of a stūpa was excavated in 1897-98, but, apparently, more attention was given to the discovery of the relic casket, than to the construction and dimensions of the stūpa. It seems, however, to have been about 90 feet in diameter at the base, and about 13½ ft. from the ground level; the dome began with a diameter of about 62 ft.4 The inscription

1 Beal’s ‘Buddhist Records,’ vol. ii. pp. 118 and 136, note 2.
2 Cunningham’s ‘Mahābodhi,’ preface, p. ix. The restoration cost the Government somewhere about 200,000 rupees; and then the Mahant of the neighbouring monastery appropriated the renovated temple for his Vaishnava followers and consecrated the image by applying to it the “tilak” or frontal mark of Vishnu, so that it might be worshipped as that divinity, whilst he set both the Buddhists and Government at defiance to re-occupy the shrine.
3 Cunningham, ‘Archaeological Reports,’ vol. i. pp. 64ff. and plate 24.
4 ‘Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ 1898, p. 577; and ‘Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal,’ by Babu P. C. Mukherji, 1899, pp. 43-47, in which the “approximate total diameter of the whole stūpa” is given as 90½ ft.; but both illustrations and descriptions are very unsatisfactory.
on one of the relic caskets has attracted much attention on the part of scholars as recording the deposit of relics of the Sākya clansmen of Buddha.¹

All along this line of country numerous Buddhist remains are found, all more or less ruined, and they have not yet been examined with the scientific care necessary to ascertain their forms. This is the more to be regretted as this was the native country of the founder of the religion, and the place where his doctrines appear to have been originally promulgated. If anything older than the age of Asoka is preserved in India, it is probably in this district that it must be looked for.

AMARĀVATĪ.

Although not a vestige remains in situ of the central stūpa at Amarāvati, there is no great difficulty, by piecing together the fragments of it now in the British Museum—as is done in Plates 48 and 49 of ‘Tree and Serpent Worship’—in ascertaining what its dimensions and general appearance were. When Colonel Mackenzie first saw it, in 1797, the central portion of the mound was still untouched, and rose in a turreted shape to a height of 20 ft. with a diameter of about 90 ft. at the top, and had been cased round with bricks, and so may have been 40 or 50 ft. in height. This indicates a dome of considerable size; the base or drum was probably 162½ ft. in diameter, and wainscotted with sculptured marble; how broad it was above we have no means of knowing, or whether there may not have been even a second terrace; but if, as is most probable, there was only one, the dome may have been 120 to 140 ft. in diameter. The perpendicular part was covered with sculptures in low relief, representing stūpas and scenes from the life of Buddha. The domical part was covered with stucco, and with wreaths and medallions either executed in relief or painted. No fragment of them remains by which it can be ascertained which mode of decoration was the one adopted.²

Altogether, there seems no doubt that the representation of a stūpa (Woodcut No. 20), copied from the Amarāvati marbles, fairly represents the central building there. There were probably forty-eight such representations of dāgabas on the basement of the stūpa. In each the subject of the sculpture is varied, but the general design is the same throughout; and, on the whole, the woodcut may be taken as representing the

¹ ‘Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ 1899, pp. 149-180; 1905, pp. 679f; and 1907, pp. 105f.
² For a detailed account of the Amarāvati Stūpa, see ‘Archaeological Survey of Southern India: The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta,’ 1887.
mode in which a Buddhist stūpa was ornamented in the 1st or 2nd century, at which time the style seems to have reached its highest point of elaboration, in India at least.\(^1\)

20. Representation of a Stūpa from the Rail at Amarāvati. (From a bas-relief in the British Museum.)

In the Andhra country—or, at least, in the districts adjoining the deltas of the Krishnā and Godāvarī rivers—Buddhism must

\(^1\) The recent discovery of the base of a stūpa, about 11 ft. in diameter, outside where the south gate of the great Amarāvati stūpa was, has revealed the style in which the base or drum of these eastern stūpas was decorated—by marble slabs richly carved with representations of stūpas, placed at intervals, and with other sculptures between. There was no "inner rail" around the large stūpas, as was at one time assumed.
have had a very strong hold in early times. This is abundantly evidenced by the numbers of their remains in the area. A list of the mounds or "dibbas"—as they are called—indicates about three hundred in the Kistna district alone; probably most of these cover ancient remains, and, as excavation has shown, many of them were stūpas.¹ How many may exist in neighbouring districts we do not yet know. Unfortunately many, including the largest of these, containing the most important remains, have been used as quarries for brick and marble—not by natives only—but by Government Public Works engineers, the record of whose vandalism in utilising the materials is most deplorable.²

The stūpa at Bhattiprolu, about 6 miles north of Repalle, was for long one of the best preserved in the district—presenting a circular mound or dome of 40 ft. or more in height, though ruined at the top, a marble pillar 15 ft. high standing erect beside it, and with clear indications of the procession-path round it.³ This was destroyed, about 1870;⁴ what was left of it, on being surveyed in 1892, showed that the dome had been about 132 ft. in diameter, while the basement was of about 148 ft., the procession-path had been 8 ft. 4 in. wide and fenced on the outside by a marble rail—of which the bases of six piers were found in situ. Towards each of the cardinal points the base projected about 2 ft. 4 in., with a straight front, probably for the support of the five monoliths—represented on all the sculptured stūpas from Amārāvatī, and as was the case at Jaggayyapeta.⁵ The sculptures of the latter stūpa, indeed, bear a close resemblance in their archaic character, to the only two fragments recovered here, and, so far as they go, indicate that this stūpa may have been of considerably earlier date than even the great rail at Amārāvatī. We might suppose also that the sculptures would be confined chiefly to the projecting façades, whilst the rest of the basement was faced with plain slabs and pilasters.

At least one relic casket had been found by the first excavators at a considerable height above the ground level; but the enclosing slabs, whether inscribed or not, were broken and cast aside, and the casket was smashed on the voyage to England and thrown away. During the survey, Mr. Rea discovered three more relic boxes at a lower level, and bearing

¹ 'Madras Government Orders,' No. 462 of 29th May 1889.
² See e.g. 'Madras Government Orders,' No. 467, 30th April 1888, p. 15.
⁴ Ante, p. 34, note 3.
⁵ 'The Buddhist Stūpes of Amārāvatī and Jaggayyapeta,' p. 110. These projecting pedestals with their five dṛyakus (worshipful) columns, may be analogous to the chapels for the Dhyākini-Buddhas at the bases of the dīgabas of Ceylon and of the chaityas of Nepāl.
inscriptions of considerable palæographic interest, the alphabet of which can hardly be placed later than 200 B.C.1

At Guḍivāda, 20 miles north-west from Masulipatam, there was a “dibba” containing the remains of a stūpa, which was also demolished by the local engineers, it is said about 1860, and so little was left of it that its dimensions cannot now be ascertained. Four relic caskets are said to have been found, though we can learn nothing about their age; but considerable numbers of Andhra coins, mostly of lead, are turned up about the site belonging, probably, to the first three centuries of our era.2

The stūpa at Jaggayyapeta or Betavolu, 30 miles north-west from Amaravati, had been plundered of its rail, and of much of the marble casing of its basement, the dome had been destroyed, and relic casket dug out before it was surveyed in 1882. The basement was 31 ½ ft. in diameter, and portions of the facing remained, chiefly on the south side where the slabs on the projection for the support of the five stelae bore archæic sculptures. The procession-path had been about 5-ft. wide, surrounded by a rail or wall, of which every fragment had disappeared.3

At G[hant]asāla, 13 miles west from Masulipatam, a mound was surveyed by Mr. Rea in 1892, and was found to contain the remains of a stūpa with a diameter at the ground level of about 111 ft. contained by a circular brick wall 18 ft. thick, forming the drum of the stūpa. Inside this was a curious reticulation of walls, between which the spaces were packed with black earth: a circular wall of 56 ft. outside diameter was connected by sixteen radiating partitions with the outer wall; and inside this was a square of 26 ft., in the middle of which was a column of brick 10 ft. square, joined to the preceding by four partitions from the middle of its sides, which ran right through the whole interior, while the sides of the outer square were continued to the inner circle.4 In the centre of the column was a well, varying in width from 9 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. square, in which was a relic casket, but without anything to indicate its age. On each of the four faces of the base were projections, as at Jaggayyapeta, about 17 ft. in length by 5½ ft. broad and 4½ ft. high. Sculptured slabs were

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4 Rea, ‘South Indian Buddhist Antiquities,’ plate 14; a less complex arrangement of interior partitions was found by Dr Führer in the Kankāli-Tīl at Mathurā.—Foucher, ‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique,’ tom. i. p. 95; and V. Smith, ‘Jain Stūpas,’ plates 1 and 3.
found in the neighbourhood bearing a strong resemblance to those of Amarāvatī; and some had been utilised to carve on them Hindū divinities.\footnote{One siah had represented a fine stūpa, with Buddha, having a halo about his head, as the central figure, and with the usual five steles above; another, represented a Bodhi tree, under which is a throne on which lie two round objects like cushions (perhaps relics), whilst, curiously enough, the figures at each side are not the usual worshippers, but Māra and his hosts of Māra-kāyakas. Photographs of such sculptures would be preferable to pen and ink drawings. — Rea, loc. cit. plates 27 and 28.}

It is not quite clear how this stūpa was completed; possibly there may have been more than one platform round the dome; but we may suppose, as is most probable, that the massive brick wall formed the true basement or drum, faced with sculptures, and crowned by a procession-path round the dome, as at Sânchi; this latter may have had a diameter of about 84 ft., rising as a hemisphere to about 54 ft. from the ground.\footnote{Mr Rea, loc. cit., pp. 33-41, has proposed a somewhat fanciful theory of the construction of this stūpa.}

At many other places, both in the Godāvari and Kistna districts, remains of other stūpas, as also of rock-temples and other Buddhist antiquities, including some structural chaitya chapels, have been found—testifying to the predominance of Buddhism in this province, and their prosperity for some centuries before and after the Christian Era. Jaina images are also met with—evidencing their spread southwards from Orissa.\footnote{Since the publication of the volume on the Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta stūpas in 1886, the sole addition has been Mr. Rea's report on the excavation of three sites — Bhattiprolu, Ghantajalā, and Gudiwāda. Detailed accounts of the rock-temples at Guntupalle or Jilligera-gudem, and of the structural chaityas at Chezarla, Vidyādhara-puram, Sankaram, etc., illustrated with photographs and plans, would be of great archaeological importance. See below, page 167.}

**GANDHĀRA TOPES.**

The extreme paucity of examples retaining their architectural form, in the valley of the Ganges, is, to some extent, compensated for by the existence of a very extensive range of examples in Afghanistan and the western Panjāb. In his memoir of these topes, published by Professor Wilson, in his ‘Āriana Antiqua,’ Mr. Masson enumerates and describes, in more or less detail, some sixty examples,\footnote{Masson, however, distinguished between topes, of which portions of the masonry were visible, and “mounds” that, in most instances, cover the remains of stūpas, such as the Abin-posh stūpa, and in some cases at least, they cover whole groups of stūpas.} or almost exactly the same number which General Cunningham described as existing in Bhopāl. In this instance, however, they extend over a range of 200 miles, from Kābul to the Indus, instead of only 16 or 17 miles from Sonāri to Andher. To these must be added some fifteen or twenty examples, found at Mānifyāla.
or in its neighbourhood, together with those discovered in Swât and on the north-west frontier within the last twenty-five years, and it is certain that numbers still exist undescribed, making altogether quite a hundred stūpas in this province.

Notwithstanding this wealth of examples, we miss one, which was probably the finest of all. When Fah Hian passed through the province in A.D. 400, he describes the dāgaba which King Kanishka had erected at Peshāwar as “more than 470 ft. in height, and decorated with every sort of precious substance, so that all who passed by, and saw the exquisite beauty and graceful proportions of the tower and the temple attached to it, exclaimed in delight that it was incomparable for beauty”; and he adds, “Tradition says this was the highest tower in Jambudwipa.”

When Hiuen Tsang passed that way more than 200 years afterwards, he reports the tower as having been 400 ft. high, but it was then ruined — “the part that remained, a li and a half in circumference (1000 feet) and 150 ft. high”; and he adds, in twenty-five stages of the tower there were a “ho”—10 pecks—of relics of Buddha.

No trace of this monument now exists.

These north-western stūpas are so important for our history, and all have so much that is common among them, and are distinguished by so many characteristics from those of India Proper, that it would be extremely convenient if we could find some term which would describe them without involving either a theory or a geographical error. The term Afghanistan topes, by which they have been designated, is too modern, and has the defect of not including Peshāwar and the western Panjāb. “Ariana,” as defined by Professor Wilson, describes very nearly the correct limits of the province; for, though it includes Baktria and the valley of the Upper Oxus, where no topes have yet been found, we know from the Chinese Pilgrims that in the 5th and 7th centuries these countries, as far as Khotan, were intensely Buddhist, and monuments exist there, and have recently been found in Khotan both by Dr. Sven Hedin and by Dr. M. A. Stein. The name, however, has of late almost disappeared in favour of Gandhāra—the early Indian name of the eastern portion of the district under notice.

When the Sanskrit-speaking races first broke up from their original settlements in the valley of the Oxus, they passed through the valley of the Kābul river on their way to India,

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1 Beal’s ‘Fah-Hian,’ p. 35; ‘Buddhist Records,’ vol. i., introd. p. xxxii.
2 ‘Vie et Voyages de Hsien Thsang,’ tom. i. p. 84; Beal, ‘Life of Hiuen Tsiang,’ p. 63.
3 Stein’s ‘Archaeological Exploration in Chinese Turkistan’ (1901); ‘Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan’ (1903); and ‘Ancient Khotan,’ 2 vols. (4to), 1907.
and lingered, in all probability, both there and in the Panjâb before reaching their first permanent position on the Saraswat— in the true "Arya Varta"— between the Satlaj and the Jamnâ. It is also nearly certain that they remained the dominant race in these countries down to the time of Alexander's invasion, and during the supremacy of the Baktrian kingdom. About 150 years, however, before the Christian Era, if we may trust the Chinese accounts,¹ the Yue-chi, and other tribes of Tartar origin, were on the move in this direction. Somewhat later they struck down the Baktrian monarchy, and appear from thence-forward to have permanently occupied their country. It is not clear whether they immediately, or at what interval they penetrated into the Kâbul valley; but between that time and the Christian Era successive hordes of Yue-chi, Sakas, Turushkas, and Hunas, had poured into the valley and the western Panjâb to such an extent as to obliterâte, or, at least for the time, supersede the Aryan population, and supplant it by one of Turanian origin, and with this change of race came the change of religion. Gandhâra is, however, a local name, which certainly, in early times, included the best part of this province, and in Kanishka's time seems to have included all he reigned over, and, if so, is the most appropriate term we could find.

It has, moreover, this advantage, that it is essentially Buddhist. In the time of Asoka, it was Kashmir and Gandhâra to which the Buddhist Council sent its missionaries, and from that time forward Gandhâra is the term by which, in all Buddhist books, that kingdom is described, of which Taxila was at one time the capital, and which is, as nearly as can now be ascertained, conterminous with our architectural province.

It is not clear whether Kanishka was or was not the first Buddhist king of this country; but, so far as is at present known, he seems to have done for Buddhism in Gandhâra what Asoka did for that religion in Central India. He elevated it from its position as a struggling sect to that of being the religion of the State. We know, however, that Asoka's Council sent missionaries to this country;² and, more than this, that he engraved a complete set of his edicts on a rock at Kapurdigiri, 30 miles north-east from Peshâwar, but we do not know what success they or he attained. Certain it is, as Professor Wilson remarks, that "no coin of a Greek prince of Baktia has ever been met with in any tope."³ The local coins that are found in them all belong to dynasties subsequent to the destruction of the Baktrian kingdom, and, according to the same authority

² Turnour's 'Mahâvamsa,' p. 71.
³ 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 43.
(p. 322), "were selected from the prevailing currency, which was not of any remotely previous issue;" "while the Græco-Baktrian coins had long ceased to be current, though they had not, perhaps, become so scarce as to be enshrined as rarities" (p. 44). Under these circumstances, Professor Wilson arrives at the conclusion that the topes "are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian Era" (p. 322). It is true that some of the kings whose coins are found in the topes, such as Hermæus, Azes, and others, probably lived prior to that epoch, but none of their coins show a trace of Buddhism. With Kanishka, however, all this is altered. He is represented as a Buddhist, beyond all doubt; he held the convocation, called the third by the northern Buddhists—the fourth according to the southern—at which Nâgârjuna was apparently the presiding genius. From about that time the Tibetans, Burmese, and Chinese date the first introduction of Buddhism into their countries; not, however, the old simple Buddhism, known as the Hînayâna, which prevailed before, but the corrupt Mahâyâna, which, as a new revelation, Nâgârjuna spread from Peshâwar over the whole of central and eastern Asia. It was precisely analogous to the revolution that took place in the Christian Church, about the same time after the death of its founder. Six hundred years after Christ, Gregory the Great established the hierarchical Roman Catholic system, in supersession of the simpler primitive forms. In the fifth century after the Nirvâna, Nâgârjuna introduced the complicated ritualistic and idolatrous Mahâyâna,¹ though, as we learn from the Chinese Pilgrims, a minority still adhered in after times to the lesser vehicle or Hînayâna system.

Although, therefore, we are probably safe in asserting that none of the Gandhâra stûpas date much before the Christian Era, it is not because there is any inherent, à priori improbability that they should date before Kanishka, as there is that those of India Proper cannot extend beyond Asoka. There is no trace of wooden construction here: all is stone and all complete, and copied probably from originals that may have existed two centuries earlier. Their dates depend principally on the coins, which are almost invariably found deposited with the relics, in these topes. Coins have rarely been found in any Indian tope.² They are found in hundreds in these north-western ones, and always fix a date beyond which the tope cannot be carried back, and generally enable us to approximate to the true date of the monument in

¹ Vassilief, 'Le Bouddhisme, ses Dogmes,' etc., Paris, 1865, p. 31, et passim.
² A silver coin of one of the Andhra kings, belonging to the 2nd century A.D., was found in the Sophâra stûpa.
question. If those of Kanishka are the earliest, which appears to be the case, the great one which he commenced, at Māṇikyāla, is probably also the last to be finished in its present form, inasmuch as below 12 ft. of solid masonry, a coin of Yasovarman of Kanauj was found, and his date cannot be carried back beyond A.D. 720. Between these dates, therefore, must be ranged the whole of this great group of Buddhist monuments.

There were perhaps no great Buddhist establishments in Gandhāra before Kanishka, and as few, if any, after the 8th century, yet we learn that, during the earlier part of the period between these dates this province was as essentially Buddhist as any part of India. Fah Hian tells us, emphatically, that the law of Buddha was universally honoured, and mentions 500 monasteries,¹ and Hiuen Tsiang makes no complaint of heretics, while both dilate in ecstasies on the wealth of relics everywhere displayed. Part of the skull, teeth, garments, staffs, pots of Buddha—impressions of his feet, even his shadow—was to be seen in this favoured district, which was besides sanctified by many actions which had been commemorated by towers erected on the spot where these meritorious acts were performed. Many of these spots have been identified, and more will no doubt reward the industry of future investigators, but meanwhile enough is known to render this province one of the most interesting of all India for the study of the traditions or art of Mediæval Buddhism.

The antiquities of the western part of the province were first investigated by Dr. Honigberger, in the years 1833-1834,² and the result of his numismatic discoveries published in Paris and elsewhere; but the first account we have of the buildings themselves is that given by Mr. Masson, who, with singular perseverance and sagacity, completed what Dr. Honigberger had left undone.³ Those of the eastern district and about Māṇikyāla were first investigated by General Ventura and M. Court, officers in the service of Ranjit Singh, and the result of their researches published by Prinsep in the third volume of his 'Journal' in 1830; but considerably further light was thrown on them by the explorations of General Cunningham, published in the second volume of his 'Archæological Reports' for 1863-1864 (pp. 82 et seqq.). Since then still further additions have been

¹ Beal's translation, p. 26; *Buddhist Records,* introd. pp. xxx., xxxi.
³ Mr. Masson's account was communicated to Professor Wilson, and by him published in his *Ariana Antiqua,* with lithographs from Mr. Masson's sketches which, though not so detailed as we could wish, are still sufficient to render their form and appearance intelligible.
made to our knowledge of the Gandhāra remains. In 1879 the late Mr. Wm. Simpson, whilst accompanying the British forces, excavated the Ahin-posh stūpa, to the south of Jalālbād, and his account of it formed a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this and other remains in the valley.¹ Under Major Cole and others, extensive excavations were also made in Yūsufzai and Swāt in search of sculptures; but plans of the structures have but seldom been secured.² Lastly, in 1895–1897, a mission was sent out from France, under the direction of Mons. A. Foucher, to make a scientific survey of the Buddhist remains in the Yūsufzai and Swāt districts. The first volume of the results of this expedition was published in 1905, containing an account of the whole subject, abundantly illustrated and thoroughly scientific.³

JALĀLBĀD TOPES.

The topes examined and described by Mr. Masson as existing round Jalālbād are thirty-seven in number, viz., eighteen distinguished as the Dārance group, six at Chahar Bāgh, and thirteen at Hiddā. Of these about one-half yielded coins and relics of more or less importance, which proved the dates of their erection to extend from somewhat before the Christian Era to the 7th or 8th century.

One of the most remarkable of these is No. 10 of Hiddā or Hadā, which contained, besides a whole museum of gems and rings, five gold solidi of the emperors Theodosius (A.D. 408), Marcian and Leo (474); two gold Kanauj coins; and 202 Sassanian coins extending to, if not beyond, the Hijra.⁴ This tope, therefore, must belong to the 7th century, and would be a

¹ ‘Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,’ 1879–80, pp. 37–64. The plates in Gen. Cunningham’s paper, — ‘Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,’ 1879, pp. 205–210, supplied to him by Lieut. Mayne, R.E.—do not add to Mr. Simpson’s drawings. Mr. J. D. Beglar, Gen. Cunningham’s assistant, was sent to excavate the stūpas at ‘Ali Masjid, at the same time, but no account of his work seems to have been given—not even a plan of the stūpas excavated; a few photographs in the Calcutta Museum (of which six were published in the ‘Ancient Monuments of India,’ plates 103–108) are the only evidence of this excavation.

² The way in which the excavations of so many of these sites were conducted, must ever be regretted. Major Cole’s “lointaine direction” of the excavations in Yūsufzai, leaving the entire supervision to a native jamadār, is severely criticised (‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra,’ tome i. p. 21), as is also the destruction of interesting ancient structures by the Public Works Department.—Foucher, in ‘Le Tour du Monde, 1899,’ p. 486, and ‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique,’ pp. 14ff, 47, etc.

³ Foucher, ‘L’Art Gréco Bouddhique du Gandhāra,’ contains a masterly account of the origin of the classical influence on Buddhist art in India and the East, and is richly illustrated from his surveys and the sculptures stored in various museums.

⁴ The length of time over which these coins range—more than 200 years—is sufficient to warn us what caution is requisite in fixing the date of buildings from their deposits. A tope cannot be earlier than the coins deposited in it, but, as in this case, it may be one or two hundred years more modern.
most convenient landmark in architectural history, were it not that the whole of its exterior is completely peeled off, so that no architectural mouldings remain, and, apparently from the difficulty of ascertaining them, no dimensions are quoted in the text. About one-half of the others contained relics, but none were found to be so rich as this.

In general appearance they differ considerably from the great Indian topes just described, being taller in proportion to their breadth, and having a far more tower-like appearance, than any found in India, except the Sārṇāth example. They are mostly smaller, one of the largest at Dārānṭā being only 160 ft. in circumference or about 51 ft. in diameter. This is about the usual size of the topes in Afghanistan, the second class being a little more than 100 ft., while many are much smaller. There are, however, some of larger size, for Mr. William Simpson found the circumference of the Ahin-posh stūpa to be about 250 ft., and of the Umar Khel tope at Dārānṭā, a rough measurement gave 300 ft. circumference to the circular drum.

In every instance they seem to have rested on a square base, though in many this has been removed, and in others it is buried in rubbish; in many cases also, if not always, there was a deep plinth or low terrace below this base. Above this rises a circular drum, crowned by a belt sometimes composed merely of two architectural string-courses, with different coloured stones disposed as a diaper pattern between them. Sometimes a range of plain pilasters occupies this space. More generally the pilasters are joined by arches sometimes circular, sometimes of an ogee form. In one instance—the Red (Sūrkh) Tope—they are alternately circular and three-sided arches. That this belt represents the enclosing rail at Sānchī and the pilastered base at Mānīkyāla need not be doubted. It shows, however, a very considerable change in style to find it elevated so far up the monument as it is here.

Generally speaking, the dome or roof rises immediately above this, but no example in this group retains its termination in a perfect state. Some appear to have had hemispherical roofs, some more nearly conical, of greater or less steepness of pitch; and some (like that represented in Woodcut No. 21) had, perhaps, only a slight elevation in the centre. It seems possible there may have been some connection between the shape of the roof and the purpose for which the tope was raised, or the age

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1 *Ariana Antiqua,* p. 109.
2 *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,* 1879-80, p. 53. The Nagar-gūndī tope, at old Nagarāhāra, appears to have been also of similar size.

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One between Cherat and Gūniyār passes in Swāt, is 140 ft. in circumference at the bottom of the cylindric part.—Foucher, *L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra,* tome i. p. 65.
of its erection. But we have no evidence to lead us to any
decision of this point.

One interesting peculiarity was brought to light by Mr. Masson in his
evacuation of the
tope at Sultânpur,
9 miles west of Jalâlâbâd, and is
shown in the ann-
exed section
(Woodcut No. 22).
It appears that the monument originally consisted of a
small tope on a
large square base,
with the relic
placed on its sum-
mit. This was
afterwards in-
creased in size by a
second tope being built over it.\(^1\)

Among the later discoveries in the North-West Frontier
districts, the following may be mentioned as adding to our
knowledge of these stûpas.
At Chakpat near Chakdarrâ
fort in the Swât valley, a
mound was excavated by
Mr. A. Caddy in 1896, in
search of sculptures for the
Calcutta Museum, and was
found to contain a small
stûpa in the form of a simple
hemispherical dome, about 20
ft. in diameter. This unique
form, probably one of the
earliest types for such a
structure, points to the derivation of these structures from
the simple tumulus (Woodcut No. 23). The dome was fairly
complete and was encircled by the base of a wall about 30 ft. in
diameter. This was evidently the remains of an outer casing
that had been built at a later date over the original structure—
 enlarging it and probably altering the contour. The débris of
this—when the stones of the outer surface were carried off—

\(^1\) At Hadâ, near Jalâlâbâd, Mr. Simpson found a somewhat similar instance—
transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, p. 56.
had concealed and helped to preserve the original. A circular stone disc, of quite 11 ft. 6 in. in diameter, which had formed one of the chhattras or umbrellas crowning the larger stūpa, and had slid down from the higher dome when first ruined, is seen in the illustration.¹

Half a mile below 'Alī Masjid in the Khaibar Pass, on a small hill, are the remains of a religious establishment surrounded by a group of ruined stūpas of a very interesting character. They were excavated in 1879 by General Cunningham's assistant, and are said to have yielded important materials, never published. Little more than the bases of these stūpas remained, but they were very rich in stucco figure decoration; the accompanying reproduction of a photograph of No. 5 of the series (Plate 1) will convey some idea of their form.²

Beyond 'Alī Masjid and near Lālābeg is the Ishpola tope—M. Court's Pishbulak³—placed on the summit of a rock projecting into, and dominating the valley. It appears about nearly as large as the Mānıkýāla stūpa, and, like it, the hemispherical dome that crowns it, is only slightly raised on a short cylindrical neck resting on a square base which is further supported by walls forming a second and lower quadrangular terrace. The base had fourteen pilasters on

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² Burgess, 'Monuments of Ancient India,' plate 106. Three coins of Vasudeva, the third Kushan King, were found here, but the stūpas can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than the 3rd century A.D.  
³ 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. v. p. 393.
each side with quasi-Corinthian capitals; and three of the interspaces have recesses as if for images of the Buddha, whilst on the lower member of the base was a continuous row of Buddhist figures about 18 in. high and placed close together. The stair leading to the top of the base was on the east side, and both the base and south side of the dome were still fairly entire in 1879.1

Of the Ahin-posh stūpa mentioned above, only the base remained and was 100 ft. square with extensions on the sides for the stairs, of which the principal appear to have been on the north and south sides—those on the other two sides having been added afterwards. Parts of the lowest course of the drum or dome showed that its diameter had been 80 ft., and the base seems to have been about 23 ft. high, with fourteen pilasters on the east and west faces. Under this base is a plinth 5½ ft. high and projecting 6 ft. In the relic chamber were found three Roman coins of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), Trajan, and the empress of Hadrian (117-138), and seventeen of Kanishka, Huviska and Kadphisë: hence this stūpa can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than the end of the 2nd century, but probably considerably later.2

The most imposing ruin of a stūpa noticed in Swat is one between the passes of Cherat and Guniyār, to the south of Chakdarra, of which the circumference of the drum is about 140 ft., or 45 ft. in diameter. Like the Ishpola stūpa, its dome rises on a double drum, by which the vertical lines in the outline seem to gain in importance at the cost of the downward curve. The case is similar with the Barikot tope, about 9 miles up the valley from Chakdarra, which, as M. Foucher points out, is very probably the Uttarasena stūpa mentioned by Hiuén Tsiang.3 It has lost its square base or platform, of which the stones have been used to build modern walls in the vicinity, but it has preserved the belt of arches which divides the cylindrical portion into two sections, one above the other; and the dome is pretty entire.

About a mile south-east from Haibatgrām, in the same locality, is another stūpa, hid away in a valley that takes from it the name of Top-darra. It has a circular base about 3½ ft. in diameter and 7½ ft. in height, introduced above the square base. This latter is some 12 ft. high and 58 ft. square, has nine pilasters on each face, and remains almost intact

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1 Simpson, 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' 1879-80, pp. 40, 41; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. p. 74 and fig. 14.
2 Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. pp. 126-127, and 132-133; Julien, 'Mémoires,' tome ii. pp. 139, 146-149.
3 A view is given in Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique,' tome i. p. 67.
except the stair on one side ascending to the platform, which a trifling excavation would probably disinter.\(^1\) The height of this structure to the top of the dome must have been nearly 40 ft.

Besides those already mentioned there are about twenty or thirty topes in the neighbourhood of Kâbul, but all much ruined, and few of any striking appearance. So at least we are led to infer from Mr. Masson’s very brief notice of them. No doubt many others still remain in spots hitherto unvisited by Europeans.

In the immediate vicinity of these topes are found caves and tumuli, the former being the residences of priests, the latter partly burying-places, and partly ruined vihâras, perhaps in some instances smaller relic-shrines. Their exact destination cannot be ascertained without a careful investigation by persons thoroughly conversant with the subject. There are still, also, many other points of great interest which require to be cleared up by actual examination. When this has been done we may hope to be able to judge with some certainty of their affinity with the Indian buildings on the one hand, and those of Persia on the other.

MĀNIKYĀLA.

The most important group, however, of the Gandhāra topes is that at Mānikyāla in the Panjâb, situated between the Indus and the Jehlam or Hydaspes, about 20 miles south-east of Rāwalpindi. Fifteen or twenty examples are found at this place, most of which were opened by General Ventura and M. Court about the year 1830, when several of them yielded relics of great value, though no record has been preserved of the greater part of their excavations. In one opened by M. Court, a square chamber was found at a height of 10 ft. above the ground level. In this was a gold cylinder enclosed in one of silver, and that again in one of copper. The inner one contained four gold coins, ten precious stones, and four pearls. These were, no doubt, the relics which the tope was intended to preserve. The inscription has been read, and is dated in the eighteenth year of Kanishka,\(^2\) so that we may feel assured it was erected during, or not long after, his reign. Seven Roman coins were found much worn, as if by long use,\(^3\) before they reached this remote locality; and, as they extend down to

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\(^1\) Foucher, *loc. cit.* pp. 70, 71 and 74, and figs. 17, 18.
\(^2\) ‘*Journal Asiatique,*’ IX\(^{\text{e}}\) Sér., tome vii., 1896, pp. 1-25.
\(^3\) ‘Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,’ vol. iii. p. 559.
b.c. 43, it is certain the monument was erected after that date. The gold coins were all those of Kanishka. This tope, therefore, could hardly have been erected earlier than thirty years before Christ. To the antiquary the enquiry is of considerable interest, but less so to the architect, as the tope is so completely ruined that neither its form nor its dimensions can now be distinguished.

Another was opened in 1863 by General Cunningham, in the relic chamber of which he found a copper coin, belonging to the Satrap Zeionises, who is supposed to have governed this part of the country about the beginning of the Christian Era, and we may therefore assume that the tope was erected by him or in his time. This and other relics were enclosed in a glass-stoppered vessel, placed in a miniature representation of the tope itself, 4½ in. wide at base, and 8½ in. high (Woodcut No. 24), which may be considered as a fair representation of what a tope was or was intended to be, in that day. It is, perhaps, taller, however, than a structural example would have been; and the tee, with its four umbrellas, is, possibly, exaggerated.

The principal tope of the group is, perhaps, the most remarkable of its class in India, though inferior in size to several in Ceylon. It was first noticed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and a very correct view of it published by him, with the narrative of his mission to Kâbul in 1809. It was afterwards thoroughly explored by General Ventura, in 1830, and a complete account of his investigations published by Prinsep in the third volume of his 'Journal.' Since then its basement has been cleared of the rubbish that hid it to a depth of 12 ft. to 15 ft. all round, by the officers

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2 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. ii. p. 167, plate 65. A similar reliquary, with five umbrellas or chattras, was found by Gerard in the Burj-i-yak-dereh tope to the east of Kâbul; Jacquet, in 'Jour. Asiatique,' IIIe série, tome vii. pp. 394-395; Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,' tome i. pp. 146 and 175.
3 Elphinstone's 'Account of Caubul,' pp. 78, and 376, 1st ed.
of the Public Works Department. They also made careful plans and sections of the whole.¹

From these it appears that the dome is an exact hemisphere, 127 ft. in diameter, and consequently as nearly as may be, 400 ft. in circumference. The outer circle measures in like manner 159 ft. 2 in., or 500 ft. in circumference, and is ascended by four very grand flights of steps, one in each face, leading to a procession-path 16 ft. in width, ornamented both above and below by a range of dwarf pilasters, representing the detached rail of the older Indian monuments. It is, indeed, one of the most marked characteristics of these Gandhāra topes, that none of them possess, or ever seem to have possessed, any trace of an independent rail; but most have an ornamental

![View of Mānīkyāla Tope. (From a Photograph.)](image)

belt of pilasters, joined generally by arches simulating the original rail. This can hardly be an early architectural form, and leads to the suspicion that, in spite of their deposits, their outward casing may be more modern than the coins they contain; yet, on the other hand, we must admit that the simple hemispherical dome, without drum, placed on a low platform,

(as at Chakpat) must have been an early form, and that the rail was a feature confined to purely Indian stūpas, whilst among those of the Gandhāra region it never appeared.

The outward appearance of the Māniṇyāla tope, in its half-ruined state, may be judged of from the view (Woodcut No. 25). All that it really requires to complete its outline is the tee, which was an invariable adjunct to these buildings: no other feature has wholly disappeared. The restored elevation, half-section, half-elevation (Woodcut No. 26), to the usual scale, 50 ft. to 1 in., will afford the means of comparison with other monuments;¹ and the section and elevation of the base. Woodcut No. 27, on the next page, will explain its architectural details in so far as they can be made out.

On digging into this monument, General Ventura found three separate deposits of relics, arranged at apparently equal distances of 25 ft. from the surface of the finished monument and from each other, and each apparently increasing in value or importance as it descended. The first was at the base of a solid cubical mass of squared masonry, and contained, inter alia, some Sassanian coins and one of Yaśovarman (about A.D. 720), and one of Abdullah bin Hāzim, struck at Merv A.H. 66, or A.D. 685.² The second, at a depth of 50 ft., contained no coins. The principal deposit, at a depth of 75 ft., was on the exact level of the procession-path outside. It consisted of a copper vessel, in which was a relic casket in brass, represented in the

¹ The restored elevation here, omits the stairs (ṣaṇḍa) in front and at the sides, as also the umbrellas that crowned the whole.—See Cunningham, 'Archæological Survey Reports,' vol. v. plates 21 and 22.
² Thomas's 'Prinsep,' vol. i. p. 94.
woodcut No. 28 on next page, containing a smaller vessel of gold, filled with a brown liquid, and with an inscription on the lid which has not yet been fully deciphered, but around it were one gold and six copper coins of the Kanishka type.

If this were all, it would be easy to assert that the original smaller tope, as shown in the section (Woodcut No. 26), was erected under Kanishka, or in his time, and that the square block on its summit was the original tee, and that in the 8th century an envelope 25 ft. in thickness, but following the original form, was added to it, and with the extended procession path it assumed its present form, which is very much lower than we would otherwise expect from its age.

Against this theory, however, there is an ugly little fact. It is said that a fragment or, as it is printed, three Sassanian coins

1 It is not to be assumed that, when a stupa was enveloped by an addition, the enlarged form was symmetrical with the original; rather it would usually add proportionately more to the height than to the diameter.

2 In the text it is certainly printed "three" with a reference to 19 in the plate 21 of vol. iii. The latter is undoubtedly a misprint, and I cannot help believing the former is so also, as only one fragment is figured; and Prizep complains more than once of the state of the French MS. from which he was compiling his account. I observe that Gen. Cunningham adopts the same views. At p. 78, vol. v., he says: "I have a strong suspicion that Gen. Ventura's record of three Sassanian coins having been found below deposit B may be erroneous."
were found at a depth of 64 ft. (69 ft. from the finished surface); and if this were so, as the whole masonry was found perfectly solid and undisturbed from the surface to the base, the whole monument must be of the age of this coin. As engraved, however, it is such a fragment that it seems hardly sufficient to base much upon it. Unless the General had discovered it himself, and noted it at the time, it might so easily have been mislabelled or mixed up with other Sassanian fragments belonging to the upper deposits that its position may be wrongly described. If, however, there were three, this explanation will not suffice. It may, however, be that the principal deposit was accessible, as we know was sometimes the case, in this instance at the bottom of an open well-hole or side gallery, before the time of the rebuilding in the 8th century, and was then, and then only, built up solid. If we may disregard this deposit, its story seems self-evident as above explained. But whatever its internal arrangements may have been, it seems perfectly certain that its present external appearance is due to a rebuilding, possibly as late as the early part of the 8th century.

General Cunningham attempted to identify M. Court’s tope with that erected to commemorate the Buddha, in a previous stage of existence, offering his body to appease the hunger of a tigress, or—according to another version—of its seven famishing cubs; but this was based on a mistaken reading of some words in the inscription. The stūpa of the “body-offering” must have been far to the north-east of Taxila—probably in the Hazāra country. Unfortunately nothing of the exterior coating now remains on any of the sixteen topes at this place, and, what is worse, of all the fifty or fifty-five which can still be identified at Taxila. As General Cunningham remarks, of all these sixty or seventy stūpas there is not one, excepting the great Mānikyāla tope, that retains in its original position a single wrought stone of its outer facing; none

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1 ‘Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,’ vol. iii. plate 21, fig. 18.
consequently, are entitled to a longer notice in a work wholly devoted to architecture.

Over all India there must have been large numbers of stūpas in Buddhist times, though now so very few remain above ground. There is, however, near Daulatpur in the Haidarābād district of Sind, a large tope, known as Thal Rukhan, fully 50 ft. in diameter, and about the same in height. The inner core is of sun-dried brick cased outside with good burnt bricks—moulded for the cornices and capitals of pilasters. It has been surrounded by a platform about 6 yards wide, now ruined and covered with débris. The lower portion of the stūpa is much peeled and injured; but above are two belts of pilasters—about twenty in each—with moulded bases and quasi-Corinthian capitals. Over the lower belt a cornice ran, above which the diameter of the tower is contracted by perhaps 5 ft. In the upper section the pilasters are better preserved, and though the top is much ruined, the dome probably began at about 8 ft. above this. The bricks are very large, measuring 16 in. in length by 11 in breadth and 3 in. thick. The stūpa probably belongs to an early age, and, as M. Foucher remarks, in style, it appears to have descended directly from those of the Swāt valleys and Kābul.

In 1877 a stone box containing a crystal reliquary was found embedded in brick when excavating a small mound at Kolhapur; the casket was broken, but the lid of the box bore a short inscription in early letters, of the maker’s name and of the person for whom it was made.

In 1882 Mr J. M. Campbell of the Civil Service excavated the remains of a stūpa at Sopārā, 5 miles north of Basein. The dimensions of it, given by Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indraji are unfortunately not consistent. If the diameter of the stūpa was, as stated, 67 ft., and the circular platform on which it stood was 268 ft. in circumference and 18 ft. high, the ramp round the dome would be just 9 ft. wide (not 18 ft.). But possibly the

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1 Among the débris were found some 27 bricks, about 7 inches square, each bearing a small figure of Buddha, seated with the legs down: these may have formed part of a string course. Others bore representations of the birth of Buddha and of the bedroom scene before his leaving home.

2 Burgess, ‘Ancient Monns. of India,’ plate 62. Other stūpas, more ruined, have been noted in Sindh. At Kahu near Mirpur Khās, one was excavated for bricks when making the Haidarābād Umarkot railway, and figures of Buddhas moulded in brick and other ornamental forms were found and appropriated by officials. At Depar, 4 miles from Brahmanābād, and at Tando near Tando-Muhammad-Khān, are brick mounds which are remains of stūpas. — ‘Jour. Bombay B. R. Asiatic Soc.’ vol. xix. p. 45.


4 ‘Jour. Bombay B. R. Asiatic Soc.’ vol. xv. pp. 292-311. It is twice stated (pp. 293 and 295) that the terrace was 18 ft. wide. The plan and section on plate 3 are evidently not drawn to any scale, and afford no help.
diameter of the stupa was only 49 ft., and the height of it, before excavation, must have been about 50 ft. The special interest of the excavators, however, was in the relic caskets, which, with some interesting figures of Buddhas, contained a silver coin of Sri Yadnya Gautamiputra, who reigned about the end of the 3rd century A.D.\(^1\)

\(^1\) In 1889 Mr Campbell had the Boria stupa, at the foot of Mount Girnár excavated; but the account given in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. lx. pp. 17-23, is defective in details. In April 1898 Mr. Cousens found the basement of another stupa at Sopārā with the empty relic casket.

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29. Parinirvana of Buddha. From Cave 26 at Ajantā.
CHAPTER IV.

RAILS.

CONTENTS.

Rails at Bharaut, Mathurâ, Sânchi, and Amarâvatî.

It is only within the last forty years or so, that our rapidly-increasing knowledge has enabled us to appreciate the important part which Rails play in the history of Buddhist architecture. The rail of the great Tope at Sânchi has, it is true, been long known; but it is the plainest of those yet discovered, and without the inscriptions which are found on it, and the gateways that were subsequently added to it, presents few features to interest any one. There is a second rail at Sânchi which is more ornamented and more interesting, but it has not yet been published in such a manner as to render its features or its history intelligible. The great rail at Bodh-Gayâ is one of the oldest and finest of its kind, but, though it was examined and reported on by Râjendralâl Mitra and by General Cunningham, neither of them added much to our previous information. When the Amarâvatî sculptures were brought to light and pieced together,¹ it was perceived that the rail might, and in that instance did, become one of the most elaborate and ornamental features of the style. In 1863 General Cunningham found two or three rail pillars at Mathurâ (Muttra), of an early Jaina stûpa, but his discovery, in 1874, of the great rail at Bharaut made it clear that this was the feature on which the early Buddhist architects lavished all the resources of their art, and from the study of which we may consequently expect to learn most.

The two oldest rails of which we have any knowledge in India are those at Bodh-Gayâ and at Bharaut. The former, General Cunningham thought, cannot be of much later date than Asoka.² The latter has been ascribed to the period of

¹ 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' Preface to the First Edition.
² 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. p. 10.
the Sunga dynasty, or about two centuries before the Christian Era. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the Bodh-Gayâ rail was really erected by Asoka, or during his reign. At all events, we know from the fifteenth chapter of the ‘Mahâwansa’ that even if he did not worship this tree, he is said to have reverenced it to such an extent that, as tradition reports, when he sent his daughter Sanghamittâ to aid in the conversion of Ceylon to the Buddhist creed, he cut off and entrusted her with a branch of this tree planted in a golden vessel. That tree was replanted with infinite ceremony at Anurâdhapura, and it, or its lineal descendant, remains the principal numen of the island to this day. Huien Tsiang tells us that Asoka built a small vihâra to the east of the tree on the spot where the present temple stands;¹ and nothing is consequently more probable than that he should have added this rail, which is concentric with his vihâra but not with the tree.

There certainly is no inherent improbability that he should have done so, for it seems hardly doubtful that this was the traditional tree under whose shade Sâkyamuni attained “complete enlightenment,” or, in other words, reached Buddhahood; and no spot consequently could be considered more sacred in the eyes of a Buddhist, or was more likely to be reverenced from the time forward.

The Bharaut rail, according to an inscription on it, was erected by a Prince “Vâtsi-putra Dhanabhûti, son of Gautî-putra Angâradyut, and grandson of Gârgîputra Visvadeva”—“in the time of the Sungas.”² This helps us only to a small extent, indicating, however, that this rail is of somewhat later date than the time of Asoka. Some fragments of another rail of early date were also found at Patna—the ancient Pâtaliputra—in excavations conducted there by Dr. L. A. Waddell, in 1895, which are much of the same type as those of Bodh-Gayâ.³ As already mentioned, we have no complete set of photographs of the Bodh-Gayâ rail. It is true the drawings by Major Kittoe, in the India Office Library, are very much better than those published by General Cunningham in his report;⁴ but they do not

³ Waddell’s ‘Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra’ (Calcutta, 1903), plates 1 and 3.
⁴ ‘Archæological Reports,’ vol. i. plates 8 to 11. In Râjendralâl Mitra’s ‘Buddha-Gaya,’ plates 34-38 and 44, 45, a number of medallions from the rail-pillars are given; but the drawings in the volume are so often inaccurate in details that we cannot altogether trust them. In Cunningham’s ‘Mahâbodhi,’ plates 8 and 9, are given small photographs of a few discs. A complete survey should give the whole pillar in each case; of eight of them, there are photographs in the Calcutta Museum and India Office.
suffice for this purpose. In so far, however, as the evidence at present available enables us to judge, it seems nearly certain that the Bharaut sculptures are somewhere between those of the gateways at Sânci and those at Bodh-Gayâ; and consequently we may, for the present at least, assume the latter rail to be B.C. 250, that at Bharaut B.C. 200, and the gateways at Sânci to range from about B.C. 150 to say B.C. 100.

The Bodh-Gayâ rail is a rectangle, measuring 145 ft. by 108 ft., and is very much ruined. Its dimensions were, indeed, only obtained by excavation. The pillars are apparently only 6 ft. 8 in. in height, standing on a plinth, and are generally ornamented with a semi-disc top and bottom containing a single figure, or a group of several. They have also a central circular disc, with either an animal or bust in the centre of a lotus. Portions of the coping of the rail have been recovered, the inner faces of which are ornamented with long lines of animals—elephants, deer, bulls, winged horses, makaras, centaurs, etc.; and the outer faces are carved with bands of flowers. The intermediate rails between the pillars are sculptured with circular lotus flowers on both sides, some of them containing busts or animals. As the most ancient sculptured monument in India, it would be extremely interesting to have this rail fully illustrated, not so much for its artistic merit as because it is the earliest authentic monument representing manners and mythology in India. Its religion, as might be expected, is principally Tree and Serpent worship, mingled with veneration for dâgabas, wheels, and Buddhist emblems. The domestic scenes represent love-making, and drinking—anything, in fact, but Buddha or Buddhism, as we afterwards come to understand the term.

**Bharaut or Bharhut.**

Whatever interest may attach to the rail at Bodh-Gayâ it is surpassed ten times over by that of the rail at Bharaut, which, taking it all in all, is perhaps the most interesting monument—certainly in a historical point of view—known to exist in India. The tope itself, which seems to have been

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1 Gen. Cunningham assumed that the original rail formed a rectangle, about 74 ft. from north to south by 54 ft. from east to west, but at a later date it was reconstructed as an enclosure for an enlarged temple, measuring 145 ft. from east to west, and 108 from north to south ("Archaeological Reports," vol. iii. p. 90, and plate 25). In "Archaeological Reports," vol. i. plate 4, he gave the dimensions of the enclosure as only 131 ft. by 98; and Râjendralâl Mitra ("Buddha-Gaya," p. 73), contends that it measured 154 ft. by 114 ft. 8 in.

2 Major Kittoe made careful drawings of most of the medallions to be seen seventy years ago. Two of them are reproduced here, the first representing a
about 68 ft. in diameter, had entirely disappeared, having been utilised by the natives to build their villages; but about one-half of the rail, which was partly thrown down and buried in the rubbish, had been preserved. Originally it was 88 ft. in diameter, and consequently some 277 ft. in length. It was divided into four quadrants by the four entrances, each of which was guarded by statues 4½ ft. high, of Yakshas and Yakshinis, and Nāgarājās carved in relief on the corner pillars. The eastern gateway only is known to have been adorned with a Toran—or, as the Chinese would call it, a “P'ai-lu”—like those at Sānchi. One pillar of it is shown in the woodcut (No. 32) on next page, and sufficient fragments were found in the excavations to enable General Cunningham to restore it with considerable certainty. From his restoration it appears to have been 22 ft. 6 in. in height from the ground to the top of the chakra, or wheel, which was the central emblem on the top of all, supported by a honeysuckle ornament of great beauty. The beams had no human figures on them, like those at Sānchi. The lower had a procession of elephants, bringing offerings to a tree; the middle beam, of lions similarly employed; the upper beam has not been recovered, but the beam-ends are ornamented with conventional crocodiles or makaras, and show man on his knees before an altar worshipping a tree, while a flying figure brings a garland to adorn it. The other represents a relic casket, over which a seven-

30. Tree Worship; Bodh-Gaṇḍī Rail. 31. Relic Casket; Bodh-Gaṇḍī Rail.

headed Nāga spreads his hood, and over him an umbrella of state. There are, besides, two trees in a sacred enclosure, and another casket with three umbrellas (Woodcuts No. 30, 31).
elevations of buildings so correctly drawn as to enable us to recognise all their features in the rock-cut edifices now existing.

The toran, most like this one, is that which surmounted the southern entrance at Sâñchi, which I believe to be the oldest of the four found there, and to have been erected in the middle of the 2nd century, before our era (B.C. 160-150). This one, however, is so much more wooden and constructively so inferior, that I would, on architectural grounds alone, be inclined to affirm that it was the older. The age of the rail, however, does not depend on this determination, as the toran may have been added afterwards.

The rail was apparently 9 ft. in height, including the coping,
and had three discs on intermediate rails. The inner side of
the upper rail was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-
reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll.
The inside also of the discs was similarly ornamented—their
sculptures bearing an evident analogy to those on the Bodh-
Gaya rail, whilst some of the pillars had bas-reliefs in three
storeys on three of their sides. Altogether, I fancy not less
than one hundred separate bas-reliefs were recovered, all
representing some scene or legend of the time, and nearly all
inscribed ¹ not only with the names of the principal persons
represented, but with the title of the Jātaka or legend, so that
they are easily recognised in the books now current in Buddhist
countries. It is the only monument in India that is so
inscribed,² and it is this that consequently gives it such value
for the history not only of art but of Buddhist mythology.

If this work professed to be a history of Indian art, including
sculpture, it would be necessary to illustrate this rail to a much
greater extent than is here attempted; but as architecturally it is
hardly more important than others, the reader who is interested
in it may be referred to the volume published by its discoverer.³
Meanwhile, however, it cannot be too strongly insisted upon
that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is
absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is, indeed, in
every detail antagonistic to that art; nor is there any trace of
classical art. The capitals of the pillars do resemble some-
what those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point
in the same direction;⁴ but, barring that, the art, especially the
figure-sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated
on the spot by Indians, and by Indians only.⁵

Assuming these facts to be as stated, they give rise to one
or two inferences which have an important bearing on our
investigations. First, the architecture of this rail, with its toran,
are more essentially wooden than even those at Sāndhi, and, so

¹ For the translation of these inscriptions by Dr. Hultsch, see 'Indian
² The sculptures on the walls of the old Pānāthi temple at Pattadakal are also
labelled; but it is an almost exceptional instance.
³ General Cunningham’s ‘Stūpa of Bharhut,’ London, 1879.
⁴ Whatever the early Hindūs borrowed from Persia or elsewhere they gradually
modified by varying the details, until it became native in form.
⁵ The following outline (Woodcut No. 33, on the next page) of one of the bas-
reliefs on a pillar at Bharaut may serve to convey an idea of the style of art and of
the quaint way in which the stories are there told. On the left, a king with
a five-headed snake-hood is represented kneeling before an altar strewed with
flowers, behind which is a tree (Sīrīsa Acsa?) hung with garlands. Behind
him is an inscription to this effect:—
"Erāpato (Airavata) the Nāgarjña wor-
ships the blessed one (Bhagavat)." Above
him is the great five-headed Nāga him-
self, rising from a lake. To its right a
far as it goes, tends to confirm the conclusion that, at the period they were erected, the style was passing from wood to stone.

man in the robes of a priest standing up to his middle in the water, and above the Nāga a female genius, apparently floating in the air. Below is another Nāgarjūka, with his quintuple snake-hood, and behind him two females with a single

snake at the back of their heads—an arrangement which is universal in all Nāga sculpture. They are standing up to their waists in water. If we may depend on the inscription below him, this is Erāpato twice over, and the females are his two wives. The inscription up the side states that this is "the gift of Rishidatta, a preacher."—Cunningham’s ‘Stūpa of Bharhut,’ plate 14.

This bas-relief is further interesting as being an epitome of my work on ‘Tree and Serpent Worship.’ As expressing in the shortest possible compass nearly all that is said there at length, it will also serve to explain much that is advanced in the following pages. As it is years older than anything that was known when that book was written, it is a confirmation of its theories, as satisfactory as it is complete.
On the other hand, however, the sculpture is so sharp and clean, and every detail so well and so cleverly expressed in the hard sandstone in which it is cut, that it is equally evident the carvers were perfectly familiar with the material they were using. It is far from being a first attempt. They must have had chisels and tools quite equal to carving the hardest stone, and must have been perfectly familiar with their use. How long it may have taken them to acquire this degree of perfection in stone carving, it is of course impossible to guess, without further data; but it must have been centuries. Though, therefore, we may despair of finding any architectural buildings older than the time of Asoka, it is by no means improbable that we may find images or bas-reliefs, and inscriptions of a much earlier date, and for the history of India and her arts they would be as useful as the larger examples.

For the present we must be content with the knowledge that we now know perfectly what the state of the arts was in India when the Greeks first visited it. Neither the Bodh-Gayâ nor the Bharaut rails were, it is true, in existence in Alexander’s time; but both were erected within the limits of the century in which Megasthenes visited the country, as ambassador from Seleukos, and it is principally from him that we know what India was at that time. If he did not see these monuments he may have seen others like them, and at all events saw carvings executed in the same style, and wooden chaityas and temples similar to those depicted in these sculptures. But one of the curious points they bring out is, that the religious observances he witnessed at the courts of the Brahmanical king, Chandragupta, are not those he would have witnessed had he been deputed to his Buddhist grandson the great Asoka. Here, as everything else at this age, everything is Buddhist, but it is Buddhism without Buddha. He nowhere appears, either as a heavenly person to be worshipped, or even as an ascetic. The nearest indication of his presence is in a scene where Ajâta-satru—the king in whose reign he attained Nirvâna—kneels before an altar in front of which are impressions of his feet. His feet, too, seem impressed on the step of the triple ladder, by which he descended from Heaven at Sankisâ; Mayâ’s dream, and the descent of the white elephant, can be recognised, and other indications sufficient to convince an expert that Buddhism is the religion indicated. But, as at Sânchi, by far the most numerous objects to which worship is addressed in these sculptures, are trees, one of which, the inscription tells us, is the Bodhi-tree of Sâkyamuni. Besides this, the Bo-trees of six or seven of his predecessors are represented in these sculptures, and both by their foliage and
their inscriptions we can easily recognise them as those known at the present day as ascribed to these previous Buddhas.\(^1\)

Nāga people, and kings with their five-headed serpent-hoods, are common; but only one instance has yet been brought to light in which the serpent can be said to be worshipped. Making love and drinking are not represented here as at Sānchi—nor are females represented nude as they are on the Jaina sculptures at Mathurā. All are decently clothed, from the waist downwards at least, and altogether the manners and customs at Bharaut are as much purer as the art is better than it is in the example of Sānchi.

**MATHURĀ (MUTTRA).**

When excavating at Mathurā, General Cunningham found several pillars of a rail, which, judging from the style, is probably later than that at Bharaut, but still certainly anterior to the Christian Era. The pillars, however, are only 4½ ft. high, and few traces of the top rail or of the intermediate discs have been found. Each pillar is adorned by a figure of a nude female in high relief, singularly well executed, richly adorned with necklaces and bangles, and a bead belt or truss around their middles. Each stands on a crouching dwarf or demon, and above each, in a separate compartment, are the busts of two figures, a male and female, on a somewhat smaller scale, either making love to each other, or drinking something stronger than water.\(^2\)

Though the sculptures at Sānchi and Katak have made us familiar with some strange scenes, of what might be supposed an anti-Buddhistic tendency, this rail, we cannot now doubt, belonged to a group of Jaina temples and monastic buildings of a very early age. We do not, indeed, know if the rail was straight or circular, or to what class of building it was attached; but it is pretty certain that these pillars belonged to one or more Jaina stūpas such as that of which the remains were excavated by Dr. Führer in 1888-89. Jaina tradition had always claimed Mathurā as one of the centres of their sect, and an inscription found there and dated in the year 79 of the Kushan kings, records the consecration of a statue to the stūpa of Supārśva.\(^3\) This confirms what had previously been anticipated—that the Jains, as well as the Buddhists, erected stūpas in honour of their

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\(^1\) Turnour’s ‘Mahāwansa,’ Introd. p. 32; Grünwedel, ‘Buddhist Art in India’ (Eng. tr.), p. 74.

\(^2\) Outlines of these sculptures are given in Gen. Cunningham’s ‘Archaeological Reports,’ vol. iii. plate 6; also in Führer’s plates 60-64, in V. A. Smith’s ‘Jaina Stūpa, etc., at Mathurā.’

\(^3\) ‘Epigraphia Indica,’ vol. ii. pp. 204, 321 f.
prophets, and that their art did not differ materially from that of the latter.  

SÂNCHI-KÂNÂKHEDA.

Though the rails surrounding the topes at Sânchi are not, in themselves, so interesting as those at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut, still they are useful in exhibiting the various steps by which the modes of decorating rails were arrived at, and the torans or gateways of the great rail are quite unequalled by any other examples known to exist in India. The rail that surrounds the great tope may be described as a circular enclosure 140 ft. in diameter, but not quite regular, being oval on one side, to admit of the ramp or stairs leading to the berm or procession-path surrounding the monument. As will be seen from the annexed woodcut (No. 34), it consists of octagonal pillars 8 ft. in height, and spaced 2 ft. apart. These are joined together at the top by a rail 2 ft. 3 in. deep, held in its position by a tenon cut on the top of the pillars, as at Stonehenge; between the pillars are three intermediate rails, which are slipped into lens-shaped holes, on either side, the whole showing how essentially wooden the construction is. The pillars, for instance, could not have been put up first, and the rails added afterwards. They must have been inserted into the right or left hand posts, and supported while the next pillar was pushed laterally, so as to take their ends, and when the top rail was shut down the whole became mortised together as a piece of carpentry, but not as any stone-work was done either before or afterwards.

The rail of the No. 2 Stûpa at Sânchi is of special interest as being more ornamented with sculptures which, with many of the inscriptions, appear to belong to a period distinctly antecedent to those of the gateways of the great stûpa (Woodcut No. 35); there circular discs are added in the centre of each pillar,

and semicircular plates at top and bottom.¹ In carpentry the circular ones would represent a great nail meant to keep the centre bar in its place; the half discs top and bottom, metal plates to strengthen the junctions — and this it seems most probably may really have been the origin of these forms.

If from this we attempt to follow the progress made in the ornamentation of these rails, it seems to have been arrived at by placing a circular disc in each of the intermediate rails, as shown in the woodcut (No. 36), copied from a representation of the outer face of the Amaravati rail, carved upon it. In the actual rail the pillars are proportionally taller and the spaces somewhat wider, but in all other respects it is the same — it has the same zōophorus below, and the same conventional figures bearing a roll above, both of which features are met with almost everywhere.

¹ The sculptures on this rail have not been fully illustrated; some of them were drawn by Col. Maisey. See his ‘Sānchi,’ plates 29-31, and pp. 67-70.
Gautamiputra cave at Násik, *cir.* A.D. 160 to 175, where there are three full discs on the pillars as well as on the rails, and no doubt other variations may yet be found; but these are sufficient to show how the discs were multiplied till the pillars almost become evanescent quantities in the composition.

![Image of rail in Gautamiputra Cave, Násik.]

The greatest innovation, however, that took place, was the substitution of figure-sculpture for the lotus or water leaves of the discs, if that can be called an innovation, which certainly took place in the wooden age of architecture, before it was thought of translating these things into stone. The earliest rails we know, those at Bodh-Gayā and Bharaut, show these changes already completed in the manner above described. The plainness of the rail, or the absence of figure-sculpture, is consequently no test of its greater or less antiquity, though the extreme multiplication of discs, as shown in the last example, seems only to have taken place just before their discontinuance.

To return, however, from this digression. The rail that surrounds the great tope at Sānchi was probably commenced immediately after its erection, which, as explained above, was probably in Asoka's time, B.C. 250; but as each rail, as shown by the inscription on it, was the gift of a different individual,¹

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¹ Gen. Cunningham collected and translated 196 inscriptions from this tope, in his work on the Bhilsa Tope, pp. 235 *et seqq.*, plates 16-19; but the more accurate versions of a larger collection of 378 from this rail and 78 from that of Stūpa No. 2, are those by Professor Bühler, published in ‘Epigraphia Indica,’ vol. ii. pp. 87 *et seqq.*, and 366 *et seqq.*
it may have taken a hundred years to erect. The age or the
storans is more easily ascertained. There is an inscription on
the south gateway, which is certainly integral, which states that
the gateway was erected during the reign of King Sātakarni
of the Andhra dynasty, and it is nearly certain that this applies
to a king of that name who reigned about B.C. 155. If we
assume that this gateway—which leads to the steps by which
the berm is ascended—is probably the oldest of the four, it gives
us a starting-point from which to determine the age of the
others. The next to be erected would be the northern. That
may have been followed by the eastern—the one of which there
is a cast at South Kensington—and the last erected was perhaps
the western. The style and details of all these show a succes-
sion and a progress that could hardly have taken place in much
less than a century; and, with other reasons, enable us to assert
without much hesitation, that the four gateways were added
to the rail of the great tope during the 2nd century before the
Christian Era. The northern gateway is shown in the general
view of the building (Woodcut No. 12), but more in detail in the
cut (No. 38) on the following page.

In design and dimensions these four gateways are all
very similar to one another. The northern is the finest, as
well as somewhat larger than the others. Its pillars, to the
underside of the lower beam, measure 18 ft., including the
elephant capitals, and the total height to the top of the
emblem is 35 ft. The extreme width across the lower beam
is 20 ft. The other gateways are somewhat less in dimen-
sions, the eastern being only 33 ft. in height. The other
two having fallen, and—though re-erected by Government—
we cannot be sure what their exact dimensions may originally
have been.

All these four gateways, or storans as they are properly
called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both
in front and rear—wherever, in fact, their surface was not
hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally
the sculptures represent scenes from the life or legend of

1 In later stūpas, the west side seems
have been frequently regarded as the
front; but generally it was on the side
facing the monastic buildings.

2 The details from which these de-
terminations are arrived at will be found
in 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' pp. 98
et seqg. Since that work was published,
however, the discovery of Sātakarni's
name in the Hathigumpha inscription, at
Khandagiri, the re-adjustment of the
chronology of the Andhras, and other
epigraphical results, have considerably
altered the actual dates ascribed to
monuments of this early period; their
relative ages, however, are not materially
affected by this.

3 It is very much to be regretted that
when Lieut. Cole had the opportunity he
did not take a cast of this one instead of
the eastern gateway. It is far more com-
plete, and its sculptures more interesting.
Northern Gateway of Tope at Sanchi. (From a Photograph.)
Buddhi, but nowhere is he represented in the conventional forms either standing or seated cross-legged, which afterwards became universal. In addition to these are scenes from the jātakas or legends, narrating events or actions that took place during the five hundred births through which Sākyamuni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara, or “alms-giving Jātaka,” occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Sinhalese and Pāli books at the present day. Besides these legendary scenes, the worship of trees is represented at least seventy-six times; of dāgabas or relic shrines, thirty-eight times; of the chakra, or wheel, the emblem of Dharma—the law—ten times; and of Śrī, the goddess of fortune, who afterwards, in the Hindu Pantheon, became Lakshmi the consort of Vishnu, ten times. The Triratna or trident emblem which crowns the gateways may, and I am inclined to believe does, represent the Buddhist creed. On the left-hand pillar of the north gateway it crowns a pillar, hung with wreaths and emblems, at the bottom of which are the sacred feet (Woodcut No. 39):—the whole looking like a mystic emblem of a divinity, it was forbidden to represent under a human form. The corresponding face of the opposite pillar is adorned with architectural scrolls, wholly without any esoteric meaning so far as can be detected, but of great beauty of design (Woodcut No. 40).

Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting, and consequent triumphs. Others portray men and women eating and drinking and making love, and otherwise occupied, in a manner as unlike anything we have been accustomed to connect with Buddhism as can well be imagined. Be this as it may, the sculptures of these gateways form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in India in the 2nd century before the Christian Era, and as such are as important historically as they are interesting artistically.

The small tope (No. 3) on the same platform, and about 40 yards north-north-east from the great tope at Sānchi, was surrounded by a rail which has now almost entirely disappeared. It had, however, at least one toran, the pillars and one beam of

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1 See Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' Eng. transl., pp. 58-74.
2 For details of these sculptures and references, the reader must be referred to 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' where a great number of them are represented and described in great detail. Sculptures do not, strictly speaking, belong to this work, and, except for historical purposes, are not generally alluded to.

The sculptures were all photographed to scale some years ago by Mr. H. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey, but as yet there is no prospect of their publication.

which were still standing twenty years ago, when the upper two beams were also pieced together and replaced. It is only about half the size of those of the great tope, measuring about 17 ft. to the top of the upper beam, and 13 ft. across its lower beam. It is apparently somewhat more modern than the great gateways, and its sculptures may have reference to the acts of Sâriputra and Mogga-lâna, whose relics, as above mentioned, were deposited in it.

This tope was only 40 ft. in diameter, which is about the same dimension as No. 2 Tope, containing the relics of some of the apostles who took part in the third convocation under Asoka, and afterwards in the diffusion of the Buddhist religion in the countries bordering on India.

As above pointed out, the rails at Bodh-Gayâ and Bharaut afford a similar picture of Buddhism at a time perhaps a century earlier. The difference is not striking, but on a close examination it is evident that the art, if not also the morals, had degenerated during the interval. There is a precision and a sharpness about the Bharaut sculptures which is not found here, and drinking and
love-making do not occur in what remains of the sculptures—they do, however, occur at Bodh-Gaya—to anything like the extent they do at Sâñchi. There is no instance at Bharaut of any figure entirely nude; at Sâñchi apparent nudity among the females is rather the rule than the exception. The objects of worship are nearly the same in both instances, but are better expressed in the earlier than in the later examples. We may, however, make some allowance for differences of material and race or locality—possibly also to peculiarities in the different sects for which the two monuments were executed.¹ The Mathurâ sculptures may suggest that the Digambara Jains regarded female as well as male nudity as a mark of sanctity.

Before leaving these torans, it may be well to draw attention again to the fact of their being, even more evidently than the rails, so little removed from the wooden originals out of which they were elaborated. No one can look at them, however carelessly, without perceiving that their forms are such as a carpenter would imagine, and could construct, but which could not be invented by any process of stone or brick masonry with which we are familiar. The real wonder is that, when the new fashion was introduced of repeating in stone what had previously been executed only in wood, any one had the hardihood to attempt such an erection in stone; and still more wonderful is it that, having been done, three of them should have stood during eighteen centuries, till one was knocked down by some clumsy Englishmen, and that only one—probably the earliest, and consequently the slightest and most wooden—should have fallen from natural causes.

Although these Sâñchi torans are not the earliest specimens of their class executed wholly in stone, neither are they the last. We have, it is true, no means of knowing whether those represented at Amarâvatî² were in stone or in wood, but, from their different appearances, some of them most probably were in the more permanent material. At all events, in China and Japan their descendants are counted by thousands. The “p’ai-lus” in the former country, and the “tori-is” in the latter, are copies more or less correct of these Sâñchi gateways, and like their

¹ The difference of style may be compared with that which prevails among Musalmân monuments in different parts of India in the 15th and 16th centuries.
² They must certainly have been very common in India, for, though only one representation of them has been detected among the sculptures at Sâñchi (‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’ plate 27, fig. 2), at least ten representations of them are found at Amarâvatî, plates 59 (fig. 2), 60 (fig. 1), 63 (fig. 3), 64 (fig. 1) 69, 83 (fig. 2), 85 (figs. 1 and 2), 96 (fig. 3), 98 (fig. 2), and no doubt many more may yet be found. In Cave 10 at Ajantâ, containing the oldest paintings there, two were represented on the left wall. ‘Notes on the Baudhâ Rock-Temples of Ajanta,’ p. 51, and plate 11.
Indian prototypes are sometimes in stone, sometimes in wood and frequently compounded of both materials, in varying proportions. What is still more curious, a toran with five bars was erected in front of the Temple at Jerusalem, to bear the sacred golden vine. It, however, was partly in wood, partly in stone, and was erected to replace one that adorned Solomon's Temple, which was wholly in bronze, and supported by the celebrated pillars Jachin and Boaz.  

AMARĀVATĪ.

Although the rail at Bharaut is the most interesting and important in India in an historical sense, it is far from being equal to that at Amarāvatī, either in elaboration or in artistic merit. Indeed, in these respects, the Amarāvatī rail is probably the most remarkable monument in India. In the first place, it is more than twice the dimensions of the rail at Bharaut, the great rail being 192 ft. in diameter, the base 162 ½ ft., or almost exactly twice the dimensions of that at Bharaut; between these two was the procession-path—13 ft. wide. The inner wall of sculptures was the facing of the base that supported the platform on which the dome stood. Externally, the total height of the great rail was about 14 ft.; internally, it was 2 ft. less, while the sculptured facing of the base was, perhaps, only 6 ft. in height, with a frieze and cornice over it.

The external appearance of the great rail may be judged of from the annexed woodcut (No. 41), representing a small section of it. The lower part, or plinth, was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys or dwarfs, generally in ludicrous and comic attitudes. The pillars, as usual, were rectangular with the corners splayed off, ornamented with full discs in the centre, and half discs top and bottom, between which were figure sculptures of more or less importance. On the three rail-bars were full discs, all most elaborately carved, and all different. Above runs the usual undulating roll moulding, which was universal in all ages, but is here richly interspersed with figures and emblems. The inside of the rail was very much more richly ornamented than the outside.

1 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' Appendix I. p. 270; 'Temples of the Jews,' pp. 152, 155.

2 From some misunderstanding of the first accounts, it was supposed the Amarāvatī stūpa had an inner rail; this was a mistake—the inner circle of sculptures was the facing of the base of the stūpa.

3 In Burma at the present day a roll precisely similar to this, formed of coloured muslin, distended by light bamboo hoops, is borne on men's shoulders in the same manner as shown here, on each side of the procession that accompanies a high priest or other ecclesiastical dignitary to the grave.
shown in the woodcut. All the central range of discs, both on the pillars and on the rails, were carved with figured subjects, generally of very great elaboration and beauty of detail; and the coping was one continuous bas-relief upwards of 600 ft. in length. At the returns of the gateways another system was adopted, as shown in next woodcut (No. 42). The pillars being narrower, and the discs smaller, the principal sculpture was on the intermediate space: in this instance a king on his throne receives a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls; lower down the infantry, cavalry, and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace, which is probably the information being communicated to the king.

The sculptured base, though, perhaps, lower than the rail, was even more richly ornamented than it, generally with figures of dagabas—apparently twelve in each quadrant—
most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends. One of these dagabas has already been given (Woodcut No. 20, page 81). Between these were pillars and slabs ornamented, either as shown in Woodcuts Nos. 43 and 44, or with other Buddhist designs or emblems, but all as rich, at least, as these; whilst

1 For other examples, see 'Amaravati and Jagannayapeta Stūpas.' plates i., xxxi. figs. 6, 7, and xxxiii. xxxix.
over these slabs was an architrave, carved like ivory, with scenes from the life of Buddha; the whole making up a series of pictures of Buddhism, as it was understood in the 1st and 2nd centuries, unsurpassed by anything now known to exist in India. The slab represented in Woodcut No. 43 (p. 121), though now much ruined, is interesting as showing the three great objects of Buddhist worship at once. At the top is the dāgaba with its rail, but with the five-headed Nāga in the place usually occupied by Buddha. In the central compartment is the chakra or wheel, now generally acknowledged to be the emblem of Dharma, the second member of the Buddhist Triad; below that the tree, possibly representing the Sangha or the congregation; and in front of all a throne, on which is placed what I believe to be a relic, wrapt up in a silken cloth.

This combination is repeated again and again in the earlier of these sculptures, and may be almost designated as the shorter Buddhist catechism, or rather the creed—Buddha, Dharma, Sangha. The last woodcut (No. 44) is also interesting, as showing, besides the three emblems, the form of pillars with double animal capitals so common in structures of this and an earlier period.

The age of this monument can hardly be fixed with certainty; the sculptures on the rail and on some of the slabs that probably belonged to the stūpa itself, are sufficiently analogous in general style to those left of the Bharaut stūpa to suggest that they may be of scarcely more than a century later. It must have been commenced at least before figures of Buddha were represented in sculpture—the relic casket and pair of footmarks being the symbols employed to represent him. But among the figures that appear to have belonged to the base of the stūpa, there are many that can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. From an inscription of the reign of Pulumāvi Vasishṭhiputra, it would seem
that the stūpa—called a “great chaitya”—belonged to the Chaitika or Pūrvasaila school, and must have undergone a great restoration about A.D. 150; but we find pieces of very ancient sculpture, some of which have been reworked on the back to fit into new places; and at least one inscription was found that is engraved in pure Maurya characters of about B.C. 200. It seems probable then that an early stūpa existed here, of which only a few archaic sculptures have survived. This was restored—perhaps reconstructed and much enlarged—a century or more B.C., the sculptures of the rail representing the veneration of relics, the Triratna, domestic and other scenes, etc., but without the figure of Buddha. Then, in the 2nd century A.D., the stūpa itself seems to have been restored when the sculptures wainscotting its base were added, picturing scenes from the legend of Buddha.  

When Hiuen Tsiang visited this place in the year 639 it had already been deserted for more than a century, but he speaks of its magnificence and the beauty of its site in more glowing terms than he applies to almost any other monument in India. Among other expressions, he uses one not easily understood at first sight, for he says, “it was ornamented with all the magnificence of the palaces of Baktria” (Tahia). Now, however, that we know what the native art of India was from the sculptures at Bharaut and Sānchi, and as we also know nearly what the art of Baktria was from those dug up near Peshāwar, especially at Jamālgarhi, we see at once that it was by a marriage of these two arts that the Amaravati school of sculpture was produced, but with a stronger classical influence than anything of its kind found elsewhere in India.

With this, which is certainly the most splendid specimen of its class, we must conclude our history of Buddhist rails. No later example is known to exist; and the Gandhāra topes, which generally seem to be of this age or later, have all their rails attached to their sides in the shape of a row of pilasters. If they had any figured illustrations, they were either in the form of paintings on plaster on the panels or

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1 There is no record of the positions of the sculptures belonging to the basement; and the Government excavation of the whole area in 1881 destroyed the last chance of any further determination.

2 For a full account of the Amarāvati stūpa, see the volume of the Archeological Survey, ‘The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayaspeta,’ 1887.

3 ‘Histoire de Hiouen Thsang traduite par Julien,’ vol. 1, p. 188; Beal, ‘Life of Hiuen Tsiang,’ pp. 136f.

4 In some of the technical details of the sculptures, notably in the treatment of drapery, the influence of classic art is perceptible; and it is perhaps here alone in India proper that this foreign impress is seen. The age of the later sculptures nearly coinciding with the same influence in Gandhāra may account for this. Conf. Dr. Le Bon, ‘Les Monuments de l’Inde,’ p. 14.
rilievos between the pilasters; for we cannot understand any Buddhist monument existing anywhere, without the jātakas or legends being portrayed on its walls in some shape or other.

At Sārnāth all reminiscences of a rail had disappeared, and a new mode of ornamentation introduced, which bore no resemblance to anything found on the earlier topes.

Although, therefore, our history of the rails may finish about A.D. 200, it by no means follows that examples may not yet be brought to light belonging to the five centuries that elapsed between that date and the age of Asoka. As they all certainly were sculptured to a greater or less extent, when they are examined and published, we may hope to have an ancient pictorial history of India for those ages nearly as complete as that possessed by any other country in the world. At present, however, we only know of ten or twelve examples, but they are so easily thrown down and buried that we may hope to find more whenever they are looked for, and from them to learn the whole story of Buddhist art.

**Note.**—The central crowning ornament in Woodcut No. 38, page 115, is a chakra or wheel in the centre, with Triratna emblems right and left. These triratna symbols represent the three "Jewels" of Buddhism,—Buddha, the Dharma and Sangha. On the upper beam five dāgābas and two trees are worshipped; on the intermediate blocks, Śrī and a chakra; on the middle beam are seven sacred trees, with altars; on the intermediate blocks, Śrī and the chakra again. The lower beam is wholly occupied by the early scenes in the Wessantara jātaka, which is continued in the rear. The subjects on the pillars have been described in 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' but are on too small a scale to be distinguishable in the woodcut. See also Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India,' Eng. trans., pp 19, 74, 145. The Triratna is also a Jaina symbol.