HISTORY OF INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
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INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART

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KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMADAN ART
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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Museums</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part I: Pre-Maurya</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Sumerian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravidians and Āryans</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaśunāga-Nanda Period 642—320 B. C.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Asiatic</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part II: Maurya, Śuṅga, Early Āndhra and Scytho-Parthian (Kṣatrapa)</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurya Period, 320—185 B. C.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śuṅga, Āndhra and Indo-Parthian or Kṣatrapa Period, ca. 200 B. C. to A. D. 20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part III: Kuśana, later Āndhra, and Gupta</strong></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The beginnings of Hindū and Buddhist theistic art.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuśāna and later Āndhra, ca. 50—320 A. D.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gupta Period 320—600 A. D.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part IV: Early mediaeval, mediaeval, Rājput painting and later arts and crafts</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early mediaeval: Harṣa of Kanauj; early Cālukyas; Rāṣṭrakūtas; and Pallavas</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Cālukya</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṣṭrakūtas</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallava</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediaeval from 900 A. D.: Pāla, Cālukya, Cola, Rājput, &amp;c.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājput painting</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian arts and crafts</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part V: Kaśmīr, Nepāl, Tibet, Chinese Turkistān, and the Far East</strong></td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśmīr</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepāl</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Turkistān</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Far East</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF MUSEUMS IN WHICH INDIAN ART IS REPRESENTED

AMERICA: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Brooklyn Art Institute; Cleveland; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum and University Museum; Chicago, Art Institute and Field Museum; Detroit, Art Institute; Washington, Freer Gallery; Newark; Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum; Montreal.

Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde; Preußische Staatsbibliothek; Lipperheidesche Bibliothek. Birmingham, Museum and Art Gallery.

Ceylon, Colombo Museum and Kandy Museum.

Copenhagen, Glyptothek.

FARTHER INDIA: Burma, Rangoon, Pagān; Siam, Bangkok; Cambodia, &c., Saigon, Phnom Peñ (Musée Sarrault), Tourane.

Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

INDIA: Calcutta, Indian Museum, and Baṅgliya Sāhitya Parisad; Madras, Government Museum; Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum; Lahore, Pañjāb Museum; Mathurā, Archaeological Museum; Patna; Ajmere, Rājputāna Museum; Jaipur; Rājshāhi, Varendra Research Society; Nāgpur; Dacca; Sārnāth; Bhopāl; Lucknow; Śrīnagar, Śrī Pratāp Siṅgh Museum; Cambā, Bhubān Siṅgh Museum; Jhalrapatan; Haidarābād; Karāchi; Taxīla; Nālandā.

Java, Batavia.

Leiden, Ethnographisches Reichsmuseum.

London, British Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum; India Office; Horniman Museum.

München, Museum für Völkerkunde.

Paris, Musée Guimet.
PREFACE

Like all students of Indian art, I am deeply indebted to the Archaeological Survey of India. The work of this organisation in the time of Cunnigham, in more recent years under the guidance of Sir John Marshall, provides the Memoirs and Reports an indispensable source of information, of which recent sensational discoveries in Sind are only the latest example.

In the present work the following illustrations are reproduced by permission from photographs taken by the Survey: Nos. 1—6, 12—19, 22, 28, 40, 58—60, 65—67, 69, 69a, 72, 73, 81—84, 89, 90, 102—105, 137, 138, 155—158, 163—168, 171, 176, 181, 199, 203—205, 218, 226, 233, 235, 248, 251, 257, 311—314. To the Archaeological Survey of Gwåliar I am indebted for Nos. 178, 183; the Archaeological Survey of Kashmir, Nos. 232; the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, No. 184; the Direction des Arts Cambodgiens, Phnom Peñ, Nos. 324, 325, 333, 364; the Oudheidkundige Dienst in Java for Nos. 345—48, 352, 355, 359—362, 366, 380; and to the Publicity Department of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway for Nos. 35, 254. The following are from photographs by the Lucknow Museum, Nos. 71, 74—79, 86, 222, 223; Räjshâhi Museum, No. 227; Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 47; Colombo Museum, Nos. 289, 290, 296; Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Nr. 382; Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, No. 106; Manchester Museum, No. 133; British Museum, No. 88; Field Museum, Chicago, No. 95; Detroit Institute of Arts, No. 91; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 259; Fogg Art Museum, No. 335; University Museum, Philadelphia, Nos. 80, 224, 225, 272; Cleveland Museum of Art, No. 338; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Nos. 23, 57, 70, 85, 93, 94, 96—98, 109, 114, 121, 122, 125, 126, 131, 159, 228, 230, 242, 244, 246, 253 a and b, 258, 260, 261, 264, 266, 270, 271, 276—278, 280, 281, 297—299, 322, 336, 337, 365, 368—370, 392—395, 397—400. I have to thank Mr. W. F. Barden for No. 328; Mrs. W. E. Briggs for No. 326; M. G. Coedès for No. 323; Mr. Davis Ewing, Nos. 288, 327, 331; M. Victor Goloubew for Nos. 181, 182, 195, 198; Mr. H. Gravely for Nos. 197, 256; Mr. S. Hadaway for No. 234; the Hon. G. Kemp for Nos. 305—307; Mr. H. Kevorkian for No. 229; Mr. Thornton Oakley for No. 262; M. H. Parmentier for Nos. 341, 342; Pandit Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna for Nos. 20, 21, 92; Dr Denman Ross for Nos. 200, 201, 208, 240, 316, 317; Herrn R. Samson for Nos. 319, 321; Mr. H. L. H. Shuttleworth, for No. 273; Mr. D. V. Thompson, Jr. for No. 196; and Messrs. Yamanaka, for No. 87. Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman have kindly permitted the use of their photos reproduced in figures 9, 11, 24—27, 32—34, 36, 53, 61, 148, 152, 153, 179, 180, 185, 188, 194, 202, 214—216, 219—221, 237, 253, 279, 282, 302—304; and the Lux Photo Studio, Garoet, Java,
of No. 357. The following are from the India Office and old India Museum negatives (the latter now stored by the Archaeological Survey in India): Nos. 8, 10, 30, 37—39, 41—46, 48, 49, 135—136, 139, 140—147, 154, 172, 174, 177, 187, 191—193, 208, 209, 211, 213, 247, 249, 250. No. 203 is by Messrs. Platé, Colombo; No. 286 by Messrs. Skeen and Co, Kandy. The following are from my own negatives: Nos. 29, 50—52, 54—56, 63, 64, 76, 149, 151, 161, 169, 173, 175, 207, 238, 239, 241, 243, 252, 263, 267, 268, 269, 291, 292—294, 300, 309, 329, 330, 334, 339, 340, 354, 363, 367, 371, 373—376, 378, 379, 381, 383—396. The sources of a few others, taken from published works, are mentioned in the descriptions of the Plates.

I am very grateful to Miss Mary Fairbank for her assistance in reading the first proof, to Dr. Hermann Goetz in Berlin both for his translation and a final revision, to Dr. Wilhelm Olbrich in Leipzig for reading all intermediate proofs and revising the index.

Attention may be called to some special features of the present volume. The latest available information regarding Indo-Sumerian finds is embodied; the early architecture as represented in reliefs and on coins has been rather fully illustrated; the origin of the Buddha image is discussed in some detail; a synthetic survey of Farther Indian and Indonesian arts is for the first time attempted. Ex cept did not permit a treatment of Musalmān art in India, and works dealing Biblically with this phase of Indian art are omitted from the Bibliography. The a suiteography and references in the footnotes, though not exhaustive, will provide visit of ent guide to the student. It may be remarked that the author has personally

The often on several occasions, most of the sites and museums referred to, but the usually accepted International scheme of transliteration has been followed; specific quantity of the vowels o and e, always long in Sanskrit, has not been place tally indicated in Sanskrit words and names. In the case of a few Indian the s names, such as “Lucknow”, properly Lakhnau, the accepted rather than with lenitic transliteration is retained. Some words, e.g. yakṣa, yakṣa will be met place both in Sanskrit and in Pāli forms. In the case of Farther Indian and Indonesian names I have not always been able to secure an adequate transliteration. 

As regards pronunciation, it may be remarked that the vowels should be pronounced as in Italian; it is important to remember that a (short) should be pronounced like a in America, never like a in man. C should be pronounced like ch in church, ē and ē like sh in ship. In the case of kh, gh &c., the aspirate should be distinctly heard. H is like ch in loch; the sound of kh and gh in Persian words such as Mughal is somewhat similar. Most of the other consonants may be pronounced approximately as in English.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, May 15, 1926  Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
PART I: PRE-MAURYA

INDO-SUMERIAN

It has long been known that seals of a type unique in India have been found in the Indus valley\(^1\). Quite recently excavations at two sites, Harappa in the Pañjāb, and Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, have revealed the existence of extensive city sites with remains of brick buildings by no means of a primitive character, and an abundance of minor antiquities indicating a period of transition from the stone to the copper age. These remains underly those of the Kuśāna period, but are not far from the surface; the existence of still lower strata suggests that the Indus valley culture must have had a long previous history in the same area and that it may be regarded as indigenous\(^2\).

"The more we learn of the copper age", says Rostovtzeff, "the more important it is seen to be. This epoch created brilliant centres of cultured life all over the world, especially in the Orient. To the centres already known, Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt, we can now add Turkestan and Northern Caucasus"\(^3\). And finally the Indus valley. It may be remarked too that the further we go back in history, the nearer we come to a common cultural type, the further we advance, the greater the differentiation. The chalcolithic culture was everywhere characterised by matriarchy and a cult of the productive powers of nature, and of a mother goddess; and by a great development of the arts of design. We must now realise that an early culture of this kind once extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges valley, and that the whole of the Ancient East has behind it this common inheritance.

The antiquities found in the Indus valley, other than brick buildings and a limited amount of masonry, include limestone figures of bearded men (fig. 1), and terracottas representing female figures and animals, the latter including the rhinoceros, now extinct in the Indus valley. No anthropomorphic images, other than the terracottas, have been found; but a blue faience tablet with pictographic

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\(^1\) Cunningham, 4, vol. p. 108 and pl. XXXIII; Fleet.

\(^2\) For the Indus valley discoveries, still in progress, see Marshall, 9, 12, and in A. S. I., A. R., 1921-22, pl. XIII and 1923-24, pp. 47-54; Chanda, 2; Mackay.

\(^3\) The Iranians and Greeks in South Russia, Oxford, 1922.
characters at the back has in front the representations of a cross-legged figure, with kneeling worshippers right and left, and a Nāga behind, a remarkable anticipation of familiar types in later Buddhist art of the historical period. Painted pottery analogous to the prehistoric pottery of Baluchistān is abundant; it may be remarked that in Baluchistān there survives an isolated Dravidian language, Brahuī, which had long been regarded as a possible island, connecting Dravidian India with the West. Other remains include beads and other ornaments of chank, carnelian, etc; ring stones or maces; faience bangles; hematite pestles; polished gold jewellery; coins; abundant neolithic implements; and above all, seals. Iron is lacking, and the horse was unknown.

The seals (figs. 2—6) are of ivory, or blue or white faience, square in form, and with a perforated boss at the back for suspension. They bear a great variety of designs, including bulls both with and without humps, elephants, tigers, and a representation of a pippala tree (Ficus religiosa) with two horned monsters affronted attached to the stem. Further, the seals bear numerous characters of a pictographic script which it has not yet been possible to decipher. The representation of these various animals, especially that of the bull and elephant, is masterly in the extreme; that of the limestone sculpture is aesthetically decadent, rather than primitive.

It has been shown that these antiquities bear a general resemblance to those found on Sumerian sites in Mesopotamia, especially Kish and Susa, dating from the fifth to third millenniums B.C. The resemblance amounts to identity in the case of an early Sumerian glazed steatite seal from Kish, alike in respect of the script and of the bull. The miniature funeral potteries of both areas are almost indistinguishable; it may be noted, too, that the oblong, short-legged terracotta sarcophagi of prehistoric South Indian sites are of a Mesopotamian type. Carnelian beads found at Kish are decorated with white lines on a red ground, obtained by local calcination of the surface; this technique, unknown west of Mesopotamia, is so common in India, though at a later date, as to suggest a probable Indian origin. Some Indian boat designs are of a Mesopotamian character, the coracle in particular, while the presence of conch at Susa and of teak and Indian cedar in Babylon are evidences of a seaborne trade, as early as the eighth century B.C., or is there much reason to doubt that it had begun still earlier.

While the remains alluded to above as found in the Sind valley certainly go back to the third or fourth millennium B.C., it must not be supposed that a

1 Attempted by Waddell, 4, and Note in J. R. A. S., Jan. 1926. Waddell identifies Sumerians with Āryans; the equation Sumerian = Dravidian is much more plausible. For another attempt to read the seals see Bishan Svarup in J. B. O. R. S., IX, 1925, and criticisms by Chanda in the same volume. Some scholars connect Assyrians with Asuras.

2 Mackay. Bloch, 1.

3 Kennedy; Hornell, 2, p. 208.
complete hiatus divides this early period from later times. A part of the remains at Mohenjo-Daro probably dates between 1000 and 400 B.C., and on the other hand the minor antiquities from various Indian sites, as at Basārīh, Taxila (Bhir mound), Pātaliputra, and South Indian prehistoric sites go back at least to the fifth century B.C.

The study of Indo-Sumerian antiquities is still in its infancy, and it is too early to draw far-reaching conclusions. But it is at least probable "that the civilisation of which we have now obtained this first glimpse was developed in the Indus valley itself and was as distinctive of that region, as the civilisation of the Pharoahs was distinctive of the Nile"; and if the Sumerians, as is generally supposed, represent an intrusive element in Mesopotamia, "then the possibility is clearly suggested of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of their civilisation, which in its turn lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian and Western Asiatic culture generally".

DRAVIDIANS AND ĀRYANS

Certainly before the second millennium B.C. the Dravidians, whether of western origin, or as seems quite probable, of direct neolithic descent on Indian soil, had come to form the bulk of a population thinly scattered throughout India. These Dravidians should be the Dāsas or Dasyus with whom the conquering Āryans waged their wars; their pūrs or towns, are mentioned in the Vedas, and they are described as anāsāḥ, noseless, a clear indication of their racial type.

Amongst the elements of Dravidian origin are probably the cults of the phallus and of mother-goddesses, Nāgas, Yakṣas and other nature spirits; and many of the arts. Indeed, if we recognize in the Dravidians a southern race, and in the Āryans a northern, it may well be argued that the victory of kingly over tribal organisations, the gradual reception into orthodox religion of the phallus cult and mother-goddesses, and the shift from abstract symbolism to anthropomorphic iconography in the period of theistic and bhakti development, mark a final victory of the conquered over the conquerors. In particular, the popular, Dravidian element, must have played the major part in all that concerns the development and office of image-worship, that is, of pūjā as distinct from yajña.

1 Marshall, A. S. I., A. R., 1923—24. For the theory of the eastern origin of Western Asiatic and even Egyptian culture, with special reference to the origin of copper and of early religious systems, see de Morgan.

2 Worshippers of the śīna are mentioned with disapproval in the Vedas. A prehistoric liṅgam is illustrated by Foote, 2, pl. XV. An object resembling a liṅgam has been found at Mohenjo-Daro.

3 For the theory of northern and southern races see Strzygowski, Altai-Iran, etc. In India, Marshall, 11; and Kramrisch, pp. 79—87.
To the Dravidians are probably due the forms of architecture based on bamboo construction; the architecture of the Toda hut has been cited as a prototype, or at any rate a near analogue, of the early barrel-vaulted caitya-hall and the horseshoe arch\(^1\). Curved roofs, common in India, are rare in the rest of the world. The stone slab construction of many early temples is likewise of Dravidian (dolmen) origin. Early maritime trade and all that has to do with fishing must be Dravidian. The chank or conch industry is a case in point; the use of chank bangles, and of the conch as a trumpet in ritual and war must have been borrowed from Dravidian sources before the epic period\(^8\).

The early history of the Dravidians in the Dekkhan and Southern India is obscure. It is fairly evident that in these areas Dravidian culture had already attained a high level, economic, martial, and literary, in centuries preceding the Christian era. Already in the third century B.C. the great Andhra empire stretched across the Dekkhan from east to west\(^2\). In the far south a powerful and prosperous Pandyan kingdom flourished before the beginning of the Christian era, with a capital at Korkai. The first three centuries of the Christian era represent an Augustan period in the history of Tamil culture, and there is sufficient literary evidence for a high state of development of poetry, music drama, sculpture and painting. At the same time there had grown up a flourishing trade with Rome on the one hand, and with Farther India and Indonesia on the other, the principal articles of export being pepper, cinnamon, pearls and beryl\(^4\).

A brief reference must be made to the prehistoric Indian antiquities which cannot be exactly placed or dated. Eoliths have been found in India and Ceylon, and paleoliths are widely distributed. Remains of the Neolithic cultures, some of incalculable age, others later than the beginning of the Christian era, include the usual types of stone weapons, pottery, and dolmens. In northern India a copper age succeeded and in part overlapped (Mohenjo-Daro, etc.) the neolithic. Finds of copper weapons have been made in many places, the most important being that at Gungeria, C. P., where silver ornaments were also found. The weapons include bare and shouldered celts, plain and barbed spearheads, swords and harpoons, often in handsome shapes and finely wrought; some are of great weight and may have been used for cult purposes. There is no bronze age, nor does bronze begin to appear much before the first century A. D. Iron may have come into use in the earlier part of the first millennium B.C., or may have been known

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\(^1\) Simpson, 3. But I cannot regard the "Indo-Aryan" sikhara as directly derived from a primitive type of bamboo construction; it is a later development, produced by the reduplication of vertically compressed storeys. See discussion on page 83.

\(^2\) Hornell, 1.

\(^3\) Smith, 4, p. 217; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 6; Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., Early history of the Dekkhan.

\(^4\) Smith, 4, ch. XVI; Aiyangar, M. D., Tamil studies, Madras, 1914; Kanakasabhai.
to the Áryans still earlier; the facts that there is no copper age in the south, that
then is a continuity of stone and iron using cultures, that the technique of chank
working requires a thin iron saw, and that iron weapons (of uncertain age) are
characteristic of prehistoric sites in the south, that iron ore is abundant and rea-
dily worked, and that steel was known already in India and Ceylon in the second
century B.C., all suggest that iron and steel may have come into use at an early
date and may have been discovered in India. Against this view are the facts
that iron is not mentioned in the early Vedic literature, and that the Hittites were
using iron already about 1500 B.C. According to Sayce the Khalybes, who were
neighbours of the Hittites, and perhaps of the same race, had the reputation of being
the discoverers of steel; in any case, they were its transmitters to the Greeks.
The existence in India of Munda languages, of Mon-Khmer affinity, seems
to show that the southward migration of Sino-Tibetan races which peopled the
Irawadi, Menam and Mekong valleys and the Indonesian islands had also entered
India at some very early period. A pre-Dravidian element in Southern India is
probably Negrito or proto-Malay, and Hornell finds a trace of this first connection
of India with the east in the single outrigger boat. Sylvain Levi recognizes sur-
vivals of a pre-Dravidian language in the occurrence of doublet place-names.

The Áryans, whose origin is uncertain, appear in India and Western Asia
about the same time. The Indo-Iranian separation may date about 2500 B.C.
Áryan names are recognizable in the case of the Kassites, who ruled in Babylonia
about 1746—1180 B.C., and those of Áryan deities were in use amongst the
Mitani people at Boghaz-Koi in Cappadocia about 1400 B.C. The Áryans
appear to have entered India between 2000 and 1500 B.C. through Afghánistán
and the Hindu Kush, settling at first in the upper Indus valley, later in the upper
Ganges valley, later still reaching the sea, the Vindhyás and the Narbádá, and
still later penetrating to the Dekkhan and the far south.

1 Hornell, 1.
2 For the prehistoric remains see Foote, 1, 2; Bloomfield; Smith, V.A. in Imperial Gazetteer. vol II; and references in C. H. I., pp. 692, 693. Most of the literature on the stone age in Ceylon
will be found in Spolia Zeylanica (Colombo). For the literature on iron see p. 24, note 4. The making
of steel in small ingots by a true “Bessemer” process has survived in Southern India and Ceylon
into the present century. If the early Vedic ātras refers to iron we might suppose that the use of
iron weapons enabled the invaders to overcome the indigenous copper-using Dasys.
3 Hornell, 2 (the introduction of the coconut, of Pacific origin, and of the double-outrigger
boat, due probably to the seafaring Malays who colonised Madagascar, are referable to the later
period of maritime expansion, about the beginning of the Christian era); Lévi, 3, pp. 55—57.
4 The Hittite language has Indo-European affinities. A treatise by a Mitanian author on
horse-breeding found at Boghaz-koi contains numerous Sanskrit words; the first breeders and
trainers of horses seem to have been a Sanskrit speaking race.
5 For recent general discussions of the Áryan question in India see C. H. I., Chs. III
and IV; and Jarl Charpentier in B.S.O.S., IV. 1. 1926
The Vedic Āryans were proficient in carpentry, building houses and racing chariots of wood; and in metal work, making vessels of ayas, presumably copper, for domestic and ritual use, and using gold jewellery. They wove, knew sewing and tanning, and made pottery. The early books afford no certain evidence for the making of images of any kind; on the other hand it is impossible to suppose that the manufactures alluded to above were devoid of significant decoration. In all probability, the early Āryan art was “decorative”, or more accurately, abstract and symbolical; in other words, a Northern art in Strzygowski’s sense.

The probable character of early Āryan art at the time of the Indo-Irānian separation has been brilliantly visualised by the same writer; he applies to this ancient art of Altai-Irān, whose cognates we should naturally expect to find in India, the name Mazdean. The dominating conception is that of Hvarena (the Indian Varuṇa), the power of Ahura-Mazda “that makes the running waters gush from springs, plants sprout from the soil, winds blow the clouds, and men come to birth” and “governs the courses of the sun, moon, and stars”. The characteristic expression of such ideas is to be sought in a kind of landscape “originating in a philosophy of the universe, and based upon significance and form... not upon natural objects exactly reproduced”. This Mazdean art should include landscapes showing the sun and clouds, the earth with its plants and herds, and the waters; river landscapes with formal trees; hunting scenes; and symbolic geometrical arrangements of birds, animals and plants. The use of ornamented textiles and decorative hangings, characteristic for nomad races, is also indicated; and these are the forerunners of mural decoration consisting of formal floral ornament enclosed in framed spaces, where the essential element is pattern rather than representation. Landscape of this type, indeed, can be recognized on punch-marked coins, in early Buddhist reliefs, Ajanṭā and Rājput paintings, and in types of folk-art used in ritual decoration and in many textiles. Indian art and culture, in any case, are a joint creation of the Dravidian and Āryan genius, a welding together of symbolic and representative, abstract and explicit language and thought. Already at Bhārhat and Sāñcī the Āryan symbol is yielding to its environment and passing into decoration; Kuṣāna art, with the fact of imagery and its roots in bhakti, is essentially Dravidian. Already, however, the Indra-Sānti figure at Bodhgayā shows Āryan affecting Dravidian modes of expression, anticipating the essential qualities of all later sātvik images. The Gupta Buddhas, Elephanta Maheśvara, Pallava liṅgams, and later Nāṭṭājas, are all products of the crossing of two spiritual natures; there is an originally realistic intention, but accommodated to the terms of

1 Strzygowski, 1, 2, 3, 4.
2 Strzygowski, 4.
3 Tagore, 1; Annandale.
pure design. Every icon is thus at once a symbol and a representation; the worshipper, though he knows that the deity takes the forms that are imagined by his worshippers, is nevertheless persuaded that the form is like the deity. Just in the same way the ascetic and sensual, opposed in primitive thought, and all other pairs of opposites, are theoretically and emotionally reconciled in mediaeval philosophy and faith. This in a very real sense was a "marriage of the East and West", or North and South, consummated, as the donors of an image would say "for the good of all sentient beings": a result, not of a superficial blending of Hellenistic and Indian technique, but of the crossing of spiritual tendencies, racial samskāras (preoccupations), that may well have been determined before the use of metals was known.

THE ŚAĪŚUNĀGA-NANDA PERIOD

642—320 B.C.

A definitely historical period may be said to begin with the first half of the sixth century B.C. The kings of two dynasties ruling in Magadha include the Śaīśunāgas (ca. 642—413 B.C.) and the Nandas (ca. 413—322); of the former, Bimbisāra (Srenika), the builder of New Rājagṛha, and Ajātaśatru (Kuṇika), the founder of Pāṭaliputra, were contemporaries of Mahāvira and Buddha. The period is that of the later Vedic literature (Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and earlier Sūtras, and for the latter part of it the Buddhist Jātakas afford evidence. Vedic literature shows little or no knowledge of the West; but Darius in the sixth century B.C. had annexed a part of the Indus valley, and in the time of Alexander’s invasion (327) the Indus was still the boundary between India and Persia. Vast areas of the Pañjāb and in Sind, now arid, were then still rich and prosperous.

The later Vedic books show that a knowledge of the metals has advanced; tin, lead, and silver are mentioned as well as two varieties of āyās, usually regarded as copper and iron. Cotton, linen, silk and woolen garments were worn; a linen robe used in the Rājasuya ceremony was embroidered with representations of ritual vessels. Storeyed buildings are mentioned (Ṛgveda Sāṁhitā, 6, 46, 9). Round and square huts, bricks, plates, cups and spoons of gold and silver, iron knives, needles, mirrors, elevated bedsteads, thrones and seats, musical instruments, millstones, cushions, turbans (worn by the king in the Rājasuya ceremony and by students after graduation), crowns, jewellery, earthen-ware and a ship are mentioned in connection with the rituals. Writing, no doubt an early form of the Brāhmi character, must have been known in the eighth cen-

1 For Vedic references to architecture, see Ganguly, 3.
tury B.C. or earlier, but mnemonic methods were preferred for handing down the sacred texts.

The jāтakas etc. describe the organisation of craftsmen in gilds, eighteen in number, including "the woodworkers, the smiths, the leather-dressers, the painters and the rest, expert in various crafts". The smiths, workers in any metal, were already called кammāra, a name by which the higher craftsmen are still known in the south and in Ceylon. As in Ceylon, too, a characteristic localisation of industries in craft-villages in indicated; in towns, a further localisation in streets or quarters. Ivory workers amongst others are mentioned.

Actual remains of pre-Maurya date, apart from the prehistoric antiquities above referred to, are comparatively few. The cyclopean walls of Old Rājagṛha are undoubtedly very ancient. Excavation of what are apparently Vedic burial-mounds of the seventh or eighth century B.C. at Lauṛiya-Nandangāra have yielded amongst other objects a small repoussé gold plaque (fig. 105) bearing the figure of a nude female, probably the Earth goddess of the burial hymn. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil believes that he has discovered in Kerala (Malabar) rock-cut tombs of Vedic age. The most remarkable type is the "hollow stupa with central column", a circular chamber, hemispherical in section, and with a very slender central pillar, apparently representing the centre pole of a tent or thatched hut, extending from floor to roof. A similar tomb is described by Longhurst; other caves by Logan, including another circular type with an opening or luffer in the roof.

Minor antiquities of undoubted pre-Maurya date have been found at various sites, of which the Bhīṛ mound at Taxila is the most important. The remains excavated here include beads and lathe-turned polished hard stones, terra-cotta reliefs (some resembling the Earth goddess from Lauṛiya referred to above), and two polished sandstone discs. The antiquities found here and elsewhere prove that glass making had attained a high level before the Maurya period, and that the cutting and polishing of hard stones in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. had reached a level of technical accomplishment which was sustained in the Maurya period, but never afterwards surpassed. Other terra-cottas of probably pre-Mauryan objects are described on p. 20.

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1 Rhys Davids in C.H.I., Ch. VIII, p. 206.
2 Bloch, 4.
3 Jouveau-Dubreuil, 4; Longhurst, 5; Logan, 1 and 2. The Vedic age of these interesting antiquities is doubtful: see Finot in B. E. F. E. O., 1922, p. 247, and Shastri in A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, p. 133.
4 For the antiquities of the Bhīṛ mound see A. S. I., A. R., 1919—20 and 1920—21. The carved stone discs and some other probably pre-Mauryan objects are described on p. 20.
EARLY ASIATIC

The Indo-Sumerian and Indo-Irānian background outlined in the preceding chapters naturally prepares us for the recognition of many common elements in Early Indian and Western Asiatic art. And in fact a great variety of motifs found in Maurya, Sunga and early Andhra art, and thus antedating the age of Hellenistic influence, present a Western Asiatic appearance, suggesting parallels in Sumerian, Hittite, Assyrian, Mykanean, Cretan, Trojan, Lykian, Phoenician, Achaemenid and Scythian cultures. A partial list of such motifs would include such mythical monsters as winged lions, centaurs, griffons, tritons; animals formally posed in profile with head forward, facing, or turned back, animals addorsed and affronted, animal combats and friezes; the sun car with four horses; the bay wreath and mural crown; altar or battlement friezes of Bhār hut and Orissan; the tree of life; mountain and water formulae; palmette and honeysuckle (blue lotus), rosette and petal-moulding (rose lotus), acanthus, reel and bead; lotus or "bell" (so-called "Persepolitan") capital; Troy mark and other symbols on punch-marked coins. These and others, such as the fret, spiral, volute, labyrinth and svastika have survived in folk art up to modern times and are widely distributed in India and Ceylon.¹

A striking example is afforded by the group of designs representing two or more animals having but one head, so placed as to be equally appropriate to each of the several bodies. Designs of lions of this type occur on an Etruscan vase of the sixth century B.C., on a Sunga railing pillar from Garhwa, and in eighteenth century Simhalese folk art.² A design of four deer is even more remarkable; it occurs on a Chalcidian vase of the sixth century B.C. (derived, no doubt, as Morin-Jean suggests, from an oriental textile), then on a capital of Cave I at Ajanṭā (fig. 7), in a Rājput drawing of the nineteenth century, and finally

¹ The material is too abundant to be cited in detail; see amongst other sources Birdwood, p. 325 ff.; Coomaraswamy, 5; Cunningham, 2, 3; Fergusson, 1, 2; Foucher, 1; Grünwedel; Marshall, 5, 6, 7; Maisey; Perera; Spooner, 8, 10; Strzygowski, 3; Tagore, 1; Walsh. The Hittites, ca. 1700—1200 B.C. played a considerable part in developing Babylonian designs and transmitting them to the Eastern Mediterranean; most likely it is more for this reason than because of direct connections that Indo-Hittite and Indo-Lydian parallels can be recognized, the forms being cognate in West and East. The svastika appears in the lowest strata at Susa, the double-headed eagle is Hittite and probably earlier. For the early motifs see Pottier, Délégation en Perse, vol. 13. Animals with interlacing necks are Sumerian (Weber, O., p. 59, fig. 14). Indian numerals are used in ancient Hittite texts (Jensen, P., in Sitz. k. bai. Ak. Wiss., 1919, pp. 367 ff.).

² Morin-Jean, fig. 175; Cunningham, 4, vol. X, pl. V; Coomaraswamy, 5; cf. Martin, F. R., Miniature painters and painting of Persia, India and Turkey, 1912, pl. 164; Sarre and Mittwoch, Zeichnungen von Riqa Abbari, 1914, pl. 11; British Museum Ms. Or. 2529, f. 141; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Rājput drawing no. 25, 531.
in Southern India in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. An reverse type is illustrated by the two-headed bird which first appears in Hittite art at Boghaz-Koi, then on a Jaina stūpa base at Taxila, later as a common Saracenic and European armorial device, and finally in Sinhalese folk art.

The cylindrical stūpa with drum in two stages, as seen at Beṣā and in the Kuṣāṇa period is identical in form with a Phoenician tomb at Amrith (Marath) in North Syria. The Bhārhatu altar or battlement-frieze occurs as a string course on the same tomb and on a Babylonian kudurrum. Lydian excavated and monolithic tombs at Pinara and Xanthos on the south coast of Asia Minor present some analogy with the early Indian rock-cut caitya-halls; but the Lydian door jambs are erect. The true arch, which is widely if sparsely distributed in India long before the Muḥammadan period, occurs in Sumerian and other Mesopotamian sites.

Another parallel is afforded by the occurrence of shoulder wings (figs. 16, 103) on certain terra-cottas and figures of deities found in India. An early Indian terra-cotta type of female divinity closely resembles a form found at Ur.

Other analogies are technical: thus, the art of granulating gold, which may have originated in Egypt in the sixth dynasty, and is highly characteristic of Trojan, Mykenean and later pre-Christian Mediterranean cultures, is typical of the gold jewellery found at many early Buddhist sites in India, e.g. Tordher in the Yūsufzai district and Piprāhrwā in Nepāl, and equally of modern Tamil and Sinhalese jewellery in Ceylon. On the other hand the art of encrusting gems seems to be of Indian origin, not appearing in the Mediterranean until after the time of Alexander. The beaten pottery technique of the early eastern Mediterranean has been recognized at Chārsada, and is represented by ancient and modern

1 Morin-Jean, fig. 154; Coomaraswamy, 5; Rajput drawing, M. F. A. Boston, no. 26, 50.
2 Springer, Kunstgeschichte, 1923, fig. 177; Marshall, 6, p. 74; Bell, 2; Coomaraswamy, 1.
3 Springer, loc. cit. fig. 193; Perrot and Chipiez, Phénice-Chypre, fig. 95; against this analogy is the fact that the early stūpas are always hemispherical (cf. fig. 292).
4 Springer, loc. cit.; Delaporte, fig. 11. The form occurs in India not only in the frieze, but as an altar and as a battlement.
5 Springer, loc. cit. figs. 188, 191.
6 Sumerian examples, see Perrot and Chipiez, Phénice-Chypre, fig. 55; Woolley, C. L., Excavations at Ur, Antiquaries Journal, V, London, 1925, p. 387, and pls. XXXVII, XLV. For Indian examples see note on p. 73.
7 Spooner, 8, p. 116 and pl. XLIV (Basārī); Vogel, 6, 1909—10, pl. XXVIII, c, and 13, p. 104 (Sūrya, 46 in the Mathura Museum); A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, pl. X, b (bronze goddess from Akhun Dheri). Sir John Evans in Journ. Hellenic Soc. XLIV, 1925, pt. 1, states that the sacral knots on the shoulders of the Minoan goddess became the shoulder wings of Greek art.
8 C. B. S. 13634 in the Philadelphia University Museum, from the cemetery of Didiqiqqeh near Ur, assigned to 2400—2000 B. C.
9 Marshall, 11; Coomaraswamy, 1, pls. XLVIII—L. See also pp. 135, 136 and fig. 375.
10 Marshall, 11; Coomaraswamy in Spolia Zeylanica, (technique), Vol. VI and I, pls. XLVIII, L, and p. 108, fig. 65, 1. This does not refer to “orfèvrerie cloisonnée”.

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practise in Ceylon. Early Indian and Assyrian glass are of similar composition.

Thus, so far as its constituent elements are concerned, and apart from any question of style, there is comparatively little in Indian decorative art that is peculiar to India, and much that India shares with Western Asia.

In view of the fact that the forms referred to appear in Indian art for the first time in the Maurya and Suṅga periods and that there is good evidence of Achaemenid influence at this time, it has been not unusual to assume that the whole group of Western Asiatic and Persian motifs came into India in the Maurya period. It must, however, be constantly borne in mind that a motif was not necessarily invented or borrowed at the date of its first appearance in permanent material; indeed, a first appearance in stone is almost tantamount to proof of an earlier currency in wood. No one, in fact, doubts the existence of a pre-Maurya Indian art of sculpture and architecture in wood, clay modelling, ivory carving, cutting of hard stone, glass, textiles and metal work, and this art must have embraced an extensive ensemble of decorative motifs, ranging from lines and dots incised or painted on earthen pots and chank bangles to representations of the human figure. To suppose that the whole group of motifs of Western Asiatic aspect was introduced by Aśoka’s Persian craftsmen en bloc, would thus necessarily imply a belief in the existence of a lost pre-Maurya art of some strange and unknown kind. As a matter of fact, it would be fantastic to postulate the existence of any such art, and, in view of our knowledge of the continuous preservation of motifs, and the conservative character of Indian decorative art, it would be impossible to believe that it could have vanished without trace.

All this amounts to proof that the themes and motifs of pre-Maurya art cannot have differed very greatly from those of Maurya and Suṅga; fantastic animals, palmettes, rosettes, and bell capitals must have been common elements of the craftsman’s repertory under the Nandás as in the time of Aśoka. India, in centuries and perhaps millenniums B. C., was an integral part of an “Ancient East” that extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges valley. In this ancient world there prevailed a common type of culture, which may well have had a continuous history extending upwards from the stone age. Some of its most widely distributed decorative, or more accurately speaking, symbolic motifs, such as the spiral and svastika, with certain phases of its mythology, such as the cults of Sun and Fire, may go back to that remote past; more sophisticated motifs

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1 Marshall and Vogel, p. 181; Coomaraswamy, 1, p. 220.
and technical discoveries may have originated in any part of the area; a majority, perhaps in southern Mesopotamia\(^1\), others in India or in Egypt.

The effect of these considerations is to withdraw India from its isolation; as a background to the existing art there is a “common early Asiatic art, which has left its uttermost ripple marks alike on the shores of Hellas, the extreme west of Ireland, Etruria, Phoenicia, Egypt, India, and China”\(^8\). All that belongs to this phase of art is equally the common inheritance of Europe and Asia, and its various forms as they occur in India or elsewhere at various periods up to the present day are to be regarded as cognates rather than as borrowings.

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\(^1\) Pottier, E., *Les Sumeriens et la Chaldée*, Rev. de l’art ancien et moderne, XXVII, 1910: “La Chaldée nous apparaît comme le réservoir d’ou les formules d’art les plus connues se sont deversées sur le mond entier”; and Rostovtzeff, pp. 192, 193, 237: “All these types spread far and wide, eastward, westward, and northward”.

PART II:
MAURYA, ŚUŃGA, EARLY ĀNDHRA AND SCYTHO-PARTHIAN (KṢATRAPA)

MAURYA PERIOD, 320—185 B. C.

Candragupta Maurya, of whose origins little is known, displaced the last king of the Nanda dynasty about 320 B. C. and made himself master of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. His more famous grandson Aśoka (272—232) B. C., whose early faith may have been Brāhmaṇical, Jaina, or possibly Magian, early in life became an ardent Buddhist; Aśoka first made Buddhism a kind of state religion, and sent Buddhist missionaries to other parts of India and to Ceylon, and westwards as far as Syria and Egypt. His monolithic pillar and rock edicts inculcating the practice of the Dhamma, or (Buddhist) Law of Piety are well known; he is credited with the erection of 80000 stūpas, and countless monasteries; excavations have shown that his famous palace at Pāṭaliputra formed a large and magnificent group of buildings. The empire included the whole of northern India from east to west, Afghānistān and Kaśmīr, and the Dekkhan, only the far south remaining independent. The later Mauryas ruled till about 184 B. C., when the Śuṅga dynasty succeeded; but the kingdom had already begun to break up soon after the death of Aśoka, when the power of the Āndhras in the Dekkhan was already developing.

For this age we have abundant literary sources of all kinds. A general picture of Indian civilisation can be drawn from the Jātakas and Sūtras, with some reserves from the Epics, in greater detail from the Arthasastra of Kautilya, and from western sources, particularly Megasthenes. A few capital cities were now acquiring increasing importance, amongst which Taxila, Ayodhyā, Ujjain, Vidiśā, and Pāṭaliputra are most prominent; but the village is still the typical centre of Āryan life. All the crafts were practised, eighteen of the most important, amongst which that of the painters is mentioned, being organised in gilds (seni); the term kammāra was already in use as a designation of the higher craftsmen. Carpenters, iron-smiths and potters occupy their own villages, the former tra-
velling up and down the Ganges with timber ready out for building. The more pretentious houses were built of wood with squared beams, sometimes of several storeys supported by pillars and well provided with balconies. City walls were of burnt or unburnt bricks. The arts of glass-making and cutting of hard stones had in previous centuries attained great perfection, unequalled at any later period. Fine materials of cotton, wool, linen and silk were woven, and the art of printing on cotton was practised. Stone begins to come into use both in architecture and for sculpture in relief and in the round, the special characteristic of the Aśokan work being the fine finish and polish of the surface, conspicuous even in the case of the excavated monastic halls.

In religion, the Vedic rituals persist, and there must have existed Persian and Hindu modes of fire-worship; but the deities are now beginning to be conceived as worshipful persons (Bhagavata), rather than as elemental powers. Āryan philosophies, Aṣamāic and Bāddha, are undergoing great modifications in the process of adjustment to popular necessity, with a resulting development of devotional theism and the fusion of Dravidian with Āryan conceptions.

To some extent a distinction can be drawn in the art of this period between an official or court art, and a purely indigenous art. Probably the most important examples of the latter are the famous free-standing stone figures from Besnagar and Pārkham, etc. of colossal size (figs. 8, 9). Although of archaic aspect, and designed from a frontal viewpoint, with flattened sides, they represent a relatively advanced art and imply a long anterior development and practise, if only in the handling of wood. Magnificently conceived, they express an immense material force in terms of sheer volume; they are informed by an astounding physical energy, which their archaic “stiffness” by no means obscures. There is no suggestion here, indeed, of introspection or devotion; this is an art of mortal essence, almost brutal in its affirmation, not yet spiritualised. But this is the material that must later on be used to serve the ends of passionate devotion (bhakṣṭa) to spiritual and unseen powers, and for the exposition of cosmic theory in terms of an elaborate theology; this same energy finds expression in the early Kuṣāṇa Buddhas and survives even in the more refined creations of the Gupta age.

Mr. Jayaswal has attempted to prove that the Pārkham statue inscription identifies it as representing Kuṇika Ajātaśatru of the Śāśunāga dynasty, who died about 459 (Pargiter) or 618 (Jayaswal) B.C.; and to show that two other massive figures discovered at Patna about a hundred years ago represent Udayin Nanda.

1 The official art of Aśoka seems to have somewhat the same relation to the older Indian tradition that Mughal painting and architecture have to Rājput at a later period. The distinction is not so much between a native and a foreign art as between a folk art and a court art. The same kind of distinction can be traced in Persia (Sarre, p. 29).
face are executed with extraordinary precision and accuracy; not only is great technical skill displayed in this respect, but the art itself is of an advanced and even late type with quite realistic modelling and movement. In other extant or now lost examples the crowning member consisted of similar lions, or of a single bull (fig. 14), horse, elephant or wheel, with the abacus variously ornamented, in one case with flying bhimas in low relief, in another with lotus and palmette motifs. All the inscriptions are finely cut, and with the exception of two in Kharaṣṭhī are in Brāhmi characters. It may be inferred from the existence of these edicts, and from the inscribed bricks of the Morā and Gaṇeśra sites at Mathurā, and those of Tissamahārāma in Ceylon, that writing and reading had by this time become a fairly general accomplishment.

Architectural remains of Aśoka’s reign in polished sandstone include a monolithic rail and fragments of inscribed capitals at Śārmāth; the altar (Bodhi-maṇḍa) at Bodhgaya, with four pilasters, exactly as represented in the Bhāṛhut relief (fig. 41), and similar to the altar in the verandah at Bhājā; the capital from Paṭa-liputra; a railing (?) pillar with inscription from the Arjunpura site, Mathurā, now lost; the oldest parts, subsequently enclosed, of various stūpas; foundations of caitya-halls at Śāncī and Sonārī; and the excavated caitya-halls in the Barābar hills, Bihār, dedicated to the use, not of Buddhists, but of the Ājīvikas. Of the latter, the Sudāma cave, dated in the twelfth year of Aśoka’s reign consists of a circular chamber and an antechamber with side entrances; the two chambers are separated by a wall which, except for the narrow doorway, completes the circle of the inner shrine, and the upper part of this wall has overhanging eaves representing thatch. The remarkable plan of this cave is repeated in the somewhat later Buddhist cave at Kondivte, Salsette, in Western India, where, however, the circular shrine or garbha-grha is occupied by a solid stūpa which leaves only a narrow passage for circumambulation within the screen; other examples at Junnār and Guṇṭupalle. The Lomas Rṣi cave, undated, and apparently unfinished, but certainly Maurya, has a similar plan, but the shrine chamber is oval, and the entrance façade is carved, in imitation of wooden forms, in the shape of an ogee arch above heavy sloping jambs, and the pediment is decorated with a frieze of well-designed elephants (fig. 28). At least four other Maurya cave shrines or monasteries are found in the same district. All are excavated in the hardest rock, but are exquisitely finished and polished like glass inside. The forms are evidently those of contemporary structural buildings in indigenous style.

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1 Inscribed bricks at Mathurā, Vogel, 15; in Ceylon, Parker, 1.
2 Waddell, 5, pl. II.
3 For the Barābar caves and related later types mentioned see Fergusson, 2, pp. 130, 158, 167, 173; Jackson, 2; Banerji-Sastri.
(fig. 67) and Varta Nandin, later kings of the Nanda dynasty reigning about 400 B.C. The archaic aspect of the statues themselves lends plausibility to these views, which have been tentatively accepted by several scholars, and by myself in previous works. But in view of more recent criticisms it is impossible to adhere to Jayaswal's views, and it is necessary to revert to the opinion that the statue represents a Yakṣa and must date from the third century B.C.¹ A seated figure in the same early style, with an inscription designating it, or rather her, as a Yakṣī, is in pūjā at Mathurā under the name of Manasā Devi². The colossal standing female figure from Besnagar, sometimes called the Earth goddess, may be either a Yakṣī or a human figure. Another and more perfect example of the same school of art is represented by the large female caurī-bearer (fig. 17) recently found at Patna³. The upper part of a colossal male figure from Barodā near Pārkham is even more massive and archaic than any of the other figures; the complete statue must have been over twelve feet in height⁴. Whatever the actual age of this group of four large sculptures in the round, they illustrate and adequately establish the character of the indigenous school in and before the Maurya period. With this group must be associated the Besnagar kalpa vrṣka (fig. 10).

The official art of Aśoka's reign is mainly represented by the monolithic pillars (stambha, lāṭ) on which the edicts are engraved⁶. Of the numerous extant examples the finest is that of Sārnāth erected on the traditional site of the First Turning of the Wheel of the Law (fig. 12). The shaft is of plain polished sandstone, circular in section and slightly tapering; the capital consists of four addorsed lions, which originally supported a Dhamma-cakka or Wheel of the Law, resting on an abacus bearing in relief an elephant, horse, bull and lion separated by four small dhamma-cakkas, below which is the inverted lotus forming the "bell"⁷. As in other typical examples of Aśokan art the cutting and polishing of the sur-

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¹ Jayaswal, 1 and 2; discussion in J. R. A. S., 1920, pp. 154—56. Criticism by Chanda, 1.
² The two Patna figures are probably the tutelary Yakṣas of the city of Nandivardhana, as suggested by Gangoly, O. C., in the Modern Review, Oct. 1919, and are to be dated in the second century.
³ A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21, pl. XVIII; and Chanda, 5, p. 165.
⁴ Spooner, 11.
⁵ Vogel, 6, 1909—10, p. 76 and pl. XXVIII, a.
⁶ For Aśoka pillars see Smith, 5; Oertel; Marshall, 8, pp. 619—622 and figs. 27, 28; Sahni and Vogel, p. 28 and pl. IV.
⁷ It is impossible to regard the Aśokan lotus or "bell" capital as a copy of a Persian form; the resemblances are by no means sufficient to justify the designation "Persepolitan" (cf. Diez, p. 11). The two types are to be regarded as parallel derivatives from older forms current in Western Asia. Northern India as we now realise had long formed a part of the Western Asiatic cultural complex; inheritance of common artistic traditions, rather than late borrowing, affords the key to Indo-Persian affinities. Octagonal columns are essentially Indian (Ganguly, 3).
It may be remarked that the ground plan of a church exhibited by a cave of the Sudāma type corresponds to that of a circular shrine preceded by a hall of assembly or approach (such as in later times would be called a mandapa or porch) and that in fact it exactly reproduces that of the Sudhamma-sabhā of the Bhārhat relief (fig. 43). It is natural to suppose that simplest form of such a shrine consisted of the circular cella alone, and that the porch was later added to accommodate worshippers, the very narrow passage surrounding the stūpa at Kondive being explained by the fact that circumambulation would be made in single file. By elimination of that part of the shrine wall which separates the cella from the porch the apsidal form of the familiar caitya-halls is immediately obtained.

Aśoka’s palace at Pātaliputra (modern Bankipore, near Patna) was described by Megasthenes as no less magnificent than the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana; it was still standing at the beginning of the fifth century A. D., when Fa Hsien tells us that it was attributed to the work of genii, but when Hsūan Tsang visited the city in the seventh century the palace had been burnt to the ground and the place was almost deserted. Recent excavations have revealed the remains of a great hall with stone pillars, which seems to have been planned on the model related to that of the pillared halls of the Achaemenid kings of Persepolis. Sandstone capitals with acanthus ornament have also been found. There exist also massive pier-like foundation of timber, the purpose of which has not been explained. Minor antiquities included some fragments of polished sandstone sculpture, and a few very fine terracottas, now in the Museum at Patna2 (fig. 22).

A number of interesting sculptures (Fig. 18, 19) of late Maurya or early Suṅga date, known only by fragments, most of which have been found at Sārnāth establish a well-marked stylistic group. These sculptures consist for the most part of broken heads, usually of moderate dimensions, but of quite extraordinary actuality, and not quite like anything else in Indian art. They can hardly be anything but parts of portrait figures, and presumably portraits of donors. They are characterised not only by their marked individuality, but by the type of headdress, which consists in most cases of a fillet, with a bay wreath or mural crown in other cases; the material, except in the case of the Mathurā examples, is polished buff

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1 It is quite possible and even probable that the circular and apsidal plans of early Christian church architecture were of eastern origin, and perhaps even of Indian origin so far as the apsidal form is concerned. Where practically a whole monastic system was copied, as happened in the case of Coptic Christianity, the adoption of an architectural formula may well have taken place. See also page 149. The question is briefly discussed by Stein, 7, p. 156, note 16. In Gandhāra there is a circular domed temple near Chakkana. For Indian influences in western architecture see also Beylié; Dalton, pp. 77 ff.; Pullé (pp. 111, 112); Rivoira pp. 114 ff. and 347).

2 For Aśoka’s palace see Waddell, 5, 6; Spooner, 7, 11; Fergusson, 2, fig. 117; and A.S.I., A. R., 1917—18, pt. 1. For the terracottas see pp. 20, 21.
sandstone\textsuperscript{1}. Similar to the Sārnāth examples are a life-sized head from Bhītā\textsuperscript{2} and two fragmentary heads from Mathurā, reproduced in figures 20 and 21.

Some other fragments of similar date are reliefs with lyrical themes. A fragment from Sārnāth representing a grieving woman appears to be a spandril filler belonging to a larger composition\textsuperscript{3}. Another from Bhītā (fig. 13), decidedly advanced in its knowledge of pose and movement, represents a woman reclining, with a man fanning, and apparently massaging her limbs\textsuperscript{4}. Fragments of a Maurya ribbed polished stone umbrella (\textit{chatta}) have been found at Sāncī.

In this connection reference may be made to two carved perforated circular stone plaques found at the Bhīr mound site, Taxila, and of very early Maurya or pre-Maurya date; of these Sir John Marshall remarks that “For jewel-like workmanship and exquisite finish these two objects are unsurpassed by any other specimens of stonework from ancient India”. These plaques, which I believe to be large earrings — they are not larger or heavier than many of those represented in the early reliefs — are elaborately decorated in concentric circles, one zone consisting of a spirited series of elephants recalling those of the Sudāma cave pediment, another with a kind of palmette ornament alternating with mountains (?) and figures perhaps representing the Earth goddess; these zones being separated by narrow bands of cable and cross and bead ornament. The material is polished Chunār sandstone, the diameter of the plaques four inches in one case, two and three eighths in the other\textsuperscript{5}. A similar disc in hard fine-grained soapstone, two and three quarter inches in diameter was obtained by Cunningham at Sāncī (fig. 134): here the outermost decorated circle is composed of radiating bud-forms like those of a modern \textit{campākali} necklace, the next zone repeats the same form on a smaller scale, while the inner zone has alternating representations of fan-palms, the nude Earth goddess (?), and taurine symbols. The centre is sunk, but not perforated, a fact apparently fatal to the earring interpretation suggested above\textsuperscript{6}.

No less important is a considerable group of Maurya and Suṅga terracottas of which examples have been found in the lowest, or nearly the lowest, levels at several widely separated sites, extending from Pātaliputra to Taxila (figs. 16, 23, 57, 60). These moulded plaques and modelled heads and busts represent in most

\textsuperscript{1} Hargreaves, 2, p. III, and pls. LXV—LXVIII, and A. S. I., A. R., 1914—15, pt. 1, pl. XVIII; Sahni and Vogel, p. 32 (B 1 in the Sārnāth Museum).
\textsuperscript{2} Marshall, 3, pl. XXXI, 7.
\textsuperscript{3} Sahni and Vogel, p. 204 (C (b) 28 in the Sārnāth Museum); Gangoly, O. C., \textit{Ein neues Blatt früher indischer Kunst}, Jahrb. d. as. Kunst, 1924.
\textsuperscript{4} Marshall, 3, pl. XXXI, 8.
\textsuperscript{5} A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21, pl. XVII, 29, 30. Similar object from Basārha, Bloch, 1, p. 100, fig. 16 (7).
\textsuperscript{6} Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, pl. IX, 3.
cases a standing female divinity, with very elaborate coiffure, dressed in a tunic or nude to the waist, and with a dhoti or skirt of diaphanous muslin. Despite the garment, especial care is taken to reveal the mount of Venus in apparent nudity, a tendency almost equally characteristic of the stone sculpture in the Suñga, Andhra and Kuśāṇa periods. In some cases the figure stands on a lotus pedestal and in two examples from Basārṣ (fig. 16) there are shoulder wings; the arms are generally akimbo, and there are often symbols represented in the space at the sides of the plaque. These types may have behind them a long history; they may have been votive tablets or auspicious representations of mother-goddesses and bestowers of fertility and prototypes of Māyā-devi and Lakṣmī. Other plaques, often in high relief, represent male and female couples like the mithuna and Umā-Maheśvara groups of later art.

The technique of these terracottas is stylistic and almost always accomplished; although made from moulds, few or no duplicates are met with, and there is great variety of detail. In some cases the figure is endowed with real grace, foreshadowing, as Sir John Marshall remarks, the free and naturalistic development of the succeeding century. A much more refined type of terracotta found at Pāṭaliputra, and in particular the smiling child from that site, seems at first sight to belong to another and far more advanced school (fig. 22); but not only are similar types of headdress recognizable, a careful comparison with the less individualised types reveals an ethnic relation, and the refinement and sensitiveness that at first might suggest the working of some external influence may be only the result of local conditions.

We have already referred to the foundations of probably Asokan caitya-halls traceable at Sāncē, Sārnāth, Sonārī, and probably also in the Kistna-Godāveri delta. Besides these, remains of Brāhmaṇical temples have been excavated at least two sites. At Nagarī near Chitor, the ancient Madhyamikā, an inscription of from 350—250 B. C. refers to a temple of Śaṅkarāṇa and Vāsudeva at a place called Nāryaṇa-vāta; this is the erliest known inscription indicating the existence of a Vaiṣṇava cult, and also the earliest known Sanskrit inscription. Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices are also mentioned. The original shrine was no doubt

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1 These terracottas have been found at Basārṣ, Spooner, 8; Taxila, Cunningham, 4; vol. XIV, pl. IX; A. S. I., A. R., 1919—20, pl. XI, 9, 10, and 1920—21, pl. XVI, 9, 15, 17; Bhīṣa, Marshall, 3, pl. XXII, 8; Nagarī, Bhandarkar, D. R., 6, pl. XXIV, 17, 21; Mathurā, a series in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Pāṭaliputra A. S. I., A. R., 1915—16, pt. 1, p. 14, and 1917—18, pt. 1, pl. XVI; Kosām, Banerji, 4; and Saṅkīsa, Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, p. 29, and pl. IX, 4. These terracottas may range in date from the fifth century B. C. to the first A. D. The more primitive types from Pāṭaliputra and Mathurā, especially in respect of the two lateral masses or horns of the headdress, closely approximate to some very ancient examples from Mohenjo-Daro: cf. A. S. I., A. R., 1917—18, pt. 1, pl. XVI, I, 4, with ibid. 1923—24, pl. XXXI e. For mithuna see Gangoly.
of wood, but continuous Vaiṣṇava worship seems to have been conducted here from the third century B.C. to the seventh A.D.; the excavations revealed remains of a rectangular enclosure with walls nearly ten feet in height at the site now known as Hāthī-Bāda, evidently the pājā-sīla prakāra of the inscription\(^1\). What would appear to be the earliest known depiction of a specifically Brāhmaṇical shrine is the pavilion with an ornamented basement, and enshrining figures of Skanda, Viṣṇu, and Mahasena, found on a coin of Huviṣka\(^2\).

It is only after about 800 B.C. that we can trace or infer any contemporary contact of Aryan India with Persia. From the evidence of Indian art, Maurya to Gupta — Asoka’s capitals and palace, certain terracottas, fire-altars on seals and coins, pointed caps, and so forth — a “Zoroastrian period of Indian history” has been inferred, and a “semi-Mithraic Buddhism” spoken of\(^3\). Elements of sun- and fire-worship are certainly indicated in early Buddhist art; we find the worship of a flaming pillar, and later, Buddhas, Sivas and kings (coins of Kanishka) with flames rising from their shoulders, while the nimbus is of solar origin and must have originated either in India or Persia. Magian ideas may have played a part in the development of the Buddhist holy legend, and of the Bodhisattva iconography; and were still current in the Panjāb and Rājputāna in the sixth century A.D. It is interesting too to remark that the doctrine of the passing on from king to king of a divine royal glory, which is the essential element of the later Javanese-Cambodian-Cam Devarāja cult, is also Avestan. Kadphises II used the style “Maheśvara”; does this signify that he claimed to be a descent of Siva? A Semitic origin of the Kharoṣṭhī script about the fifth century B.C. can hardly be doubted; an Aramaic inscription, too, of about the fourth century B.C. has been found at Taxila\(^4\). During a great part of the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era the Indus formed the eastern boundary of Persian dominion. It has been argued too that the Nandas, Mauryas and Lichavis were all of Irānian extraction. It is certain that during this period contacts with Persia were easy.

Many of the parallels referred to, however, seem to indicate a common Aryan Weltanschauung, such as Hertel has adumbrated\(^5\), rather than contemporary borrowing. It may be taken for granted that Persian influences were actually felt in India in and after the Maurya period; but there is no reason to infer that any of these parallels or borrowings connote a religious, social or political dependence of Northern India on Persia\(^6\).

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3. Spooner, 17; Maisey, pp. 124, 276, etc. Cf. C. H. I., p. 87.
5. Hertel, J., Die arische Feuerlehre.
The history is too complicated to be noticed here in any detail. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, the immediate successor of the last Maurya king ca. 185 B. C. was a zealous Hindū, perhaps with Magian tendencies, and may have gone so far as to persecute Buddhists and destroy monasteries; his dominions included Magadha and extended southwards to the Narmadā, northwards to Jālandhar in the Pañjāb. Puṣyamitra repelled the Greek invader Menander, the Milinda of Buddhist tradition, about 175 B. C.; but was defeated by Khaṛavela about 161 B. C. The Kāṇvas (75—28 B. C.) succeeded the Śuṅgas. The dominant power in the Pañjāb and Mathurā, ca. 70 B. C. — 20 A. D. was Scythian (Sakas of Seistān). Meanwhile the Āndhras, who already in Maurya times were a powerful Dravidian people possessing thirty walled towns in the Kistna-Godāverī delta (later Veṅgī), and had extended their domains across India as far as Nāsik and Ujjain, ruled the Dekkhan; the dynasty lasted for four and a half centuries and was only succeeded by the Pallavas in the East in the third century A. D. A relief figure of Sātakarṇī, third king of the dynasty, accompanies the important Āndhra inscription at Nānāghāt, near Pūna. Most of the Āndhra kings seem, by their names, to have been Brāhmaṇical Hindūs, but they are best known by their benefactions to Buddhist communities; to them are due most of the cave temples and monasteries of the Western Ghāts, the Ghaṇṭāśāla, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Guṇṭupalle and Amarāvati stūpas and other structures in the east, and probably the Sāṅcī gateways.

In eastern India the Kaliṅgas recovered the independence they had lost under Aśoka. The Jaina king Khaṛavela, about 161 B. C. took Pāṭaliputra, the Śuṅga capital (see pp. 37, 43). Other events were taking place in the North-west. About 250 B. C. Parthia and Bactria broke away from the Seleukid Empire and set up as independent Greek principalities. Yavana (“Greek”) princes of the two houses of Eurycles and Eucratides reigned in Bactria, Kābul, and the Pañjāb west

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1 The Śaka invasion of the Indus delta, ca. 75 B. C. may represent the historical foundation of the Jaina story of Kāḷākācārya; cf. C. H. I., p. 532.

2 C. H. I., p. 530; Bühler, Arch. Surv. Western India, IV. The inscriptions refer in part to Brāhmaṇical ceremonies performed for Āndhra rulers at an enormous cost in priestly fees “which testify eloquently to the wealth of the realm and the power of the Brāhmaṇ hierarchy at this date”. The royal statues represent Simuka, founder of the line, Sātakarṇī and his queen, and three princes. So far as I know the statues have never been published.
of the Indus, the leading names being those of Demetrios of Bactria (ca. 175 B.C.); Menander (Milinda) of Kābul (160—140 B.C.) who invaded India, reaching Mathurā, Saket, Madhyamikā (= Nagarī, Chitor) and perhaps Pātaliputra, then the Suṅga capital, and is claimed as a convert by Buddhist tradition; and Antialkidas of Taxila, (ca. 140—130 B.C.) whose ambassador Heliodora professed himself a Bhāgavata and dedicated a monolithic column at Besnagar in honour of Vāsudeva (= Krśṇa). Meanwhile the nomad Sakas or Scythians had attacked both Bactria and Parthia and the Hellenistic Bactrian kingdom came to an end about 130 B.C. but numerous princes with Greek names continued to rule as Parthian Satraps in Afghānīstān and the western Pañjāb; amongst these, the best known are Maues (ca. 95—58), Azes I and Azes II (ca. 58—18 B.C.) and Gondophares (ca. 20—48 A.D.). At the same time Saka princes ruled in Taxila and Mathurā (e.g. Soḍāsa) and established a dynasty in Western India, known as that of the Western Satraps, which lasted until the time of Candragupta, ca. 390. The Indo-Greek kings of the Pañjāb are known almost exclusively by their coins, which are at first in a purely classical style, and subsequently Indianised, and by small objects, none of which are of a Buddhist or Hindū character. A temple with Ionic pillars, but not otherwise Greek, excavated at Taxila, may date from about 80 B.C. Many authors are inclined to believe that the development of Graeco-Buddhist (Gandhāran) sculpture had begun towards the end of the first century B.C., but at present no positive evidence for or against this view can be adduced. Others attach considerable importance to the indirect influence of Hellenistic art in Bactria, of which however we have no knowledge, and find evidence of it in the evolution which is certainly traceable at Sāñci. The subject of the Western Asiatic motifs in Maurya and later Indian art, and of Irānian (Magian) elements in Indian culture and art from the Maurya to the Gupta period have been referred to above. Objects in the Scythian animal style have been found at Taxila.

Only the more important monuments of the period can be discussed. The old vibāra (monastery) at Bhājā near Pūna in the Western Ghāts is the oldest, or if not the oldest in point of time, at any rate the oldest in respect of its sculptures. The plan, though irregular, is similar to that of most excavated vibāras; there is an outer verandah separated by a wall with two doorways and a barred window, from an inner hall, surrounded, in this case on two sides only, by excavated cells. The verandah roof is hollowed out to form half of a barrel vault, the two

2 See next Chapter; and references in Coomaraswamy, 16.
3 Marshall, 5 and 8, p. 644.
5 Fergusson, 2; Burgess, 5, 8; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1; Marshall 8.
gable ends and flat inner wall with cornices supported by alternate stūpas and caryatides. At the west end, a group of three cells is divided from the verandah by a pilaster and pillar, with a frieze below. The pillar has a lotus capital surmounted by addorsed sphinx-like creatures, with bovine bodies and female busts. The slender outer pillars of the verandah are all broken. The cave is most remarkable, however, in respect of its unique reliefs; these include the aforesaid frieze, five armed figures in niches on the east side of the hall and on the verandah wall, and the two reliefs at the east end of the verandah, separated by the cell doorway. On the left side is represented a royal personage driving in a four-horsed chariot (fig. 24); he is accompanied by two women, one a chatra-, the other a caurī-bearer. Figures on horseback form an escort, and of these the female rider in the inner angle of the verandah is clearly provided with some kind of stirrups, of which this appears to be the earliest known instance in the world. The chariot is being driven across the backs of very grossly proportioned nude female demons, who seem to be floating face downwards in the air. I see no reason to question the original identifications of this scene as representing Sūrya with his two wives driving through the sky and dispelling the powers of darkness.

The relief on the right side is even more elaborate (fig. 27). A royal personage, with one attendant seated behind him bearing a standard, is riding on an enormous elephant which is striding over a broad landscape, and holds aloft in its trunk an uprooted tree. The elephant and its two riders are designed on a scale enormously greater than that of the landscape, and blotting out the greater part of it: an elephant forming part of the normal landscape is not much larger than the foot of the great elephant. Almost certainly, as former writers have suggested, this is Indra, riding upon his elephant Airāvata. In his character of god of rain, and bearer of the vajra (= lightning) Indra is a hostile and dangerous power, especially in the Krṣṇa-Vāsudeva legends, which were already well known at this time. Moreover, nothing is more characteristic of the Vedic descriptions of Indra than the insistence upon his great size: “he surpasses in greatness heaven, and earth, and air”, “were the earth ten times as large, he would be equal to it”, and he is a warrior of irresistible power. And if it is only in the Epics that he

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1 Also at Sāncū (Marshall, 5, p. 138) and at Pathaora near Bhārhut (Cunningham, 2, pl. XX). But a majority of riders in the early periods, and even in Kuśāna and Gupta sculptures, are represented without stirrups. For bits and bridles see Hopkins in J. A. O. S., XIX, pp. 29—36.

2 Similar figures appear on a medallion at Bhārhut, where too the elephant holds a tree in it trunk (fig. 48), on the Sāncū toranas, and on the Kuḷā āhpā (Marshall, 8, fig. 22), but moving in calm and orderly progression. As regards these and other examples, it should be observed that not every rider in a four-horsed car necessarily represents the Sun, nor every rider on an elephant, Indra. The tṛīśāla standard with floating banner seems to be used as royal insignia without specific religious significance.
is said to ride upon Airāvata in battle, it is easy to see how this connection arose: Indra is the power of the storm, he rides upon the clouds, the Maruts are his allies; in the Mahābhārata, “airāvatas” = lightning clouds; and in later poetry clouds and elephants are so constantly associated as to be practically synonymous\(^1\).

Whatever the iconographic significance, the relief deserves close study from every point of view. The princely rider is his own driver; the attendant behind him, wearing an enormous collar and crenellated drawers, carries a scythe-shaped standard the shaft of which terminates in a trident, and what appear to be two spears. Both are seated on a richly embroidered cloth which covers the whole back of the elephant. Below the uprooted tree are falling figures.

The remainder of the landscape is unaffected by the storm. Below the falling figures is a sacred tree enclosed by a vedikā, and hanging on this caitya-vrksa are three human figures, suspended in each case from a sort of inverted funnel, similar to those by which the garlands are attached to another sacred tree shown below; both trees are crowned by parasols, probably indicative of an indwelling spirit. It can hardly be doubted that this is a representation of human sacrifice\(^a\). Below, on the left, is a court scene, occupying the remaining space down to the foreground. The king, designated by a royal umbrella (chatra), is seated on a wicker throne (morhā or bhadrāsana), a caurī-bearer at his side; before him are dancers and musicians. On his right is the second, railed, parasol-crowned, and garlanded, caitya-vrksa; and further to the right a more confused jungle scene, in which appear an armed man and a horseheaded fairy\(^a\). On the whole the costume and accessories are not unlike those of the Bhārhat reliefs, but the turbans and jewelry are much larger and heavier.

The composition rises immediately from the wall surface, without a frame, and it is carried a little way over the angle of the jamb of the doorway. This

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\(^1\) Cf. Kathāsarit Sāgara, l.c., tarāṅga, LV: “Then the mast elephant of the wind began to rush, showering drops of rain like drops of ichor, and rooting up trees”. The elephants in Māyā-Devi and Gaja-Lakṣmī compositions must likewise be regarded as rain-clouds. Cf. Hopkins, p. 126.

\(^a\) “Dryads are vegetal divinities that eat human flesh and have to be appeased with offerings” (Hopkins, p. 7). Cf. Sutusoma Jātaka (illustration at Degaldoruw, Ceylon, Coomaraswamy, I, fig. 152.)

\(^a\) This horse-headed fairy recalls the Yakkhini Assamukhī of the Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka (Nr. 432), “who dwelt in a rock cave in a vast forest at the foot of a mountain, and used to catch and devour the men that frequented the road”. The same or a similar fairy appears at Sānci on a medallion of the railing of Stūpa 2, and at Bodhgaya on a railing relief (Foucher, 5, pl. 1, figs. 8 and 9). At Bhājā it hardly seems that so small a detail on so large a composition can refer directly to the Jātaka; more likely the Yakkhini is represented simply as a forest goblin, as a type, and not as an individual; just as she appears amongst the peaks of Mt. Govardhana on the later Maṇḍor stele (fig. 166). Another “Assamukhī” appears on the ancient railing found at Pāṭaliputra (Waddell, 5, pl. 1). Cf. the Yakkhini mare of Mahāvamsa, Ch. X.
earliest Indian landscape is a mental picture without any attempt at the representation of visual appearances as a whole, though realistic in detail; it shows great knowledge, but not a study of nature. The question of perspective in a modern sense does not arise, because, as in Indian and Eastern landscape at all times, the various elements are successively presented in half-bird’s-eye view, with the horizon practically out of the picture; the “atmosphere” is not supposed to be seen in lateral section, but forms an ambient including the spectator and the whole picture. To one accustomed to the convention, a three-dimensional effect is more obvious than in a modern painting; there is no crowding, or overlapping of planes, and the mutual relations of the parts are unmistakable.

The whole approach, like that of early Indian art generally, is realistic, i.e. without arrière pensée or idealisation. The main interest is neither spiritual nor ethical, but altogether directed to human life; luxury and pleasure are represented, interrupted only by death, and these are nothing but practical facts, endorsed by the inherently sensual quality of the plastic language. The art of these reliefs expresses a philosophy older than the Great Enlightenment.

These are not personal deities conceived in the manner of Hindū theism, but powers personified only in the way that they are personified in the Vedic hymns. Both reliefs are the creation of a wild and fertile, not to say an uncanny imagination. The forces of Nature are regarded only in the light of their relation to human welfare, and over all there hangs the dread of the tiger-haunted forest, the power of the storm, and the marvel of the sun that journeys through the air. None of this mystery appears in the orderly reliefs of Bhārhat and Sānci, and only some trace of it in the far less accomplished art of the Orissan caves. What the true meaning of these reliefs in a Buddhist vihāra may be, is hard to determine; the vihāra must be Buddhist, but the sculptures are not Buddhist. This is rather, a sample of the kind of non-Buddhist art which the Buddhists had to adapt to their own edifying ends; and it reminds us that much must have been going on outside the limited range of Buddhist art properly so called.

From the fact that the relief is high and the forms rounded, Sir John Marshall has assigned a late date to the cave (first century B.C. in place of the third or second century of former authors). The developed relief at Sānci does, indeed, represent an emancipation from an earlier compression, and tends to visual realism and conscious artistic grace; but the relief at Bhājā is a quality of volume and expansion, quite distinct from plastic modelling, and due, like the volume

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1 For a discussion of “vertical projection”, which appears in western art only at a much later date, see Dal ton, pp. 163, 229, 230.

2 Marshall, 8: the earlier dating adopted above was originally proposed by Fergusson (2) and is endorsed by Jouveau-Dubreuil (1).
of the Pārkham statue, to pressure from within; at the same time both style and
detail are related to those of the Maurya-Suṅga terracottas.

Very near to the old vibāra at Bhājā there is a group of rock cut stūpas, and
a large excavated caitya-hall (fig. 29), which, together with caitya-halls at Beḍsā
(figs. 32, 33), Kondāne, Pitalkhōrā, and Ajaṇṭā (cave X) may be dated about
175 B.C. These caitya-halls are excavated copies of wooden structural buildings
as clearly appears in the literal imitation of timbered construction; occasionally
wood was combined with the stone, forming a screen of concentric ribs within
the arch of the entrance, or applied to the stone ceiling to represent rafters, and
in one or two cases part of the original woodwork has survived. Another feature
derived from wooden construction is the inward slope of the entrance jambs,
which is most marked in the earliest examples (fig. 29), and becomes much less
conspicuous as the style develops.

The caitya-hall is really a Buddhist church, and like a Christian church, con-
sists of a nave, apse and aisle, the latter separated from the nave by pillars, the apse
containing in place of the altar, a solid stūpa, the whole excavated in the living
rock or built of wood and brick. The aisle is continued round the apse, thus
providing for circumambulation (pradakṣīṇā) and corresponding to the outer hall
or veranda of structural temples. Except at Bhājā there is very little sculpture
associated with the earliest vibāras and caitya-halls.

The caitya-hall at Nāsik (fig. 31), and the Nahapāna vibāra, Cave VIII, may
be dated near the middle of the first century B.C. The façade of the caitya-hall
is divided horizontally into two storeys, the lower with an arched door, the upper
with a great “caitya”-window; beside the door is a Yakṣa guardian. The inscrip-
tion states that the villagers of Dhambika gave, i.e. paid for, the carving over
the doorway, which is more than usually elaborate. By this time the “batter”
of the doorway jambs, so conspicuous in the earlier caves, is greatly reduced, and
is hardly noticeable; but the internal rafters are still supplied in wood. The Na-
hapāna cave (vibāra) pillars, supported by pots above pyramidal pedestals, are
crowned by large bell capitals, which support another member, consisting of an
inverted pyramid and addorsed bulls, a form to which the later pillars at Kārī
(fig. 34) closely approximate; the railing of the architrave is quite plain, affording
a contrast to that of Cave III, which is covered with lotus rosettes, and is supported
by a narrow frieze of animals.

The caitya-hall, No. 9, at Ajaṇṭā, must be of about the same age.

1 Many of the old Buddhist monuments were erected by public subscription.
2 For Nāsik see Fergusson, 8, vol. 1, pp. 140, 185; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, vol. 1, Chs. 1
and 2; Marshall, 8, p. 637. In dating the early caves I follow Marshall, except as regards
Bhājā. For the dating of the excavations in Cave III see Nilakantha Sastri in J.R.A.S., 1926, p.665.
The largest of all the early Buddhist churches, and indeed, one of the most magnificent monuments in all India, is the great caitya-hall at Kārli (figs. 34, 35), which may be dated near to the beginning of the Christian era. The general dimensions are in excess of a hundred and twenty four by forty-five feet in area, and forty-five in height, comparable in size with those of an average Gothic cathedral. The stūpa is of the high cylindrical type with two rail courses; the original wooden umbrella is still preserved. As at Nāsik the façade consists of two stages; there is a lower wall pierced by three doorways, and an upper gallery, over which is the usual enormous horse-shoe window, in which remains of structural woodwork, consisting of concentric arches forming a pediment, are still preserved. The great pillars separating the nave from the aisles have “Persepolitan” capitals, more elaborate than those which already appear at Pîtalhorâ and Bedsâ, and having the effect, as Fergusson remarks, of a frieze and cornice; from these rise the wooden ribs attached to the domed stone of the roof, one of the last instances of this peculiar vestigial use of woodwork in combination with the solid stone. The lower storey of the screen or façade, in the spaces between the doorways, is decorated with sculptures of two periods. Those evidently representing donors, are pairs of human figures, of enormously massive type, and very grandly conceived; those representing Buddhas, which have been cut into the screen and side walls of the porch at a later date (Gupta) are far less vivid. The setting back of the entrance into the face of the rock forms an outer porch, the sides of which are sculptured in architectural façades of several storeys, the lowest supported by huge elephants, the second decorated with sculptured figures like those of the screen. Numerous mortice holes in the rock show that as usual the entrance was preceded by some kind of wooden antechamber or porch, and further outside stands one of the two original monolithic dhvaja-stambhas with a capital of four lions which once supported a wheel (dhvamma-cakka).

The five groups of caves near Junnâr (48 miles north of Pûna) include a very interesting circular caitya-hall, in which a plain stūpa is surrounded by a ring of twelve pillars, the central area being domed, the circular “aisle” half domed, almost literally realizing the form of the double-roofed circular temple (the Sudhamma Sabha) of the well-known Bhârhat relief (fig. 43). Later, and probably coeval with the Kārli church is the caitya-cave at Mânmoda hill (fig. 30); two Nāgas are represented above the finial of the caitya-window, and the semicircular pediment is occupied by a standing figure of Mâyâ Devî with the two elephants and four worshippers, standing in niches consisting of seven petals of an expanded lotus.

1 For Kārli see Fergusson, 1, vol. 1, pp. 140ff.; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1; Marshall, 8, p. 637.
2 For all the Western caves see Fergusson, 2; Burgess, 1, 2, 5, 8; Marshall, 8.
At Nānāghāṭ, 50 miles N. W. of Pūna, there are important inscriptions, proofs of the westward extension of the Āndhra power early in the second century B. C., and reliefs, including one of Sātakarni, probably the third king of the Āndhra dynasty and contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga, affording an early example of the common Indian practise of placing figures of donors in the shrines due to them.

The most famous monuments of the post-Mauryan and pre-Kuśāna period are the Bhārhut (Nāgoḍh State) and Sānci (Bhopāl State) stūpas and their railings and gateways. Before describing these specific examples of typical Buddhist architecture (the Jains also erected stūpas, but no Hindū examples are known, though the technical term stūpi is applied to the finial of a structural Hindū temple), we must briefly describe their nature.

The stūpa ("tope", or dāgaba), originally (pre-Buddhist) a funeral mound, becomes a symbol of the last great event of the Buddha’s life, viz. the Parinirvāṇa, and usually enshrines relics of the Buddha (authentic relics have been discovered at Taxila), sometimes of other teachers, contained in reliquaries, which may be of crystal, gold, or other material. The early stūpas are of brick or brick and rubble, the later usually enclosed in a masonry casing; others are monolithic, e. g. those in excavated caitya-halls, where their character is purely symbolic. A stūpa usually rests on a basement of one or more square terraces (medhi) or is at least surrounded by a paved square or circle for circumambulation, the terraces being approached by stairs (sopāna); it consists of a solid dome (aṇḍa or garbha) with a triple circular base, and above the dome a cubical "mansion" or "god's house" (barmikā, Siṃ. deva-kotumva), from which rises a metal mast (yasti) the base of which penetrates far into the aṇḍa; and this mast bears a range of symbolical parasols (chatra) and at the top a rain-vase (varṣa-sthala, corresponding to the kalasa of a Hindū shrine). The form undergoes stylistic development; at first there is no drum, but later on the circular base becomes a cylinder, and the dome is elevated and elongated, and the base terraces are multiplied. The Chinese pilgrims speak of certain stūpas as towers; but a high wooden structure like Kanisṭa’s at Peshāwar (see p. 53) must have been something more like a Chinese pagoda, and called a stūpa only because it enshrined relics.

The railing (vedikā) is identical in nature with the wooden fence that protected any caitya, for example the caitya-vrksas so often represented in old Indian art; it consists of a plinth (alambana), uprights (sthaba) with lateral sockets for the reception of the horizontal "needles" (tūci), and a coping (usniśa). The railed

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1 Burgess, 1, p. 65; C. H. L., pp. 530, 600, etc.
2 As described in the Divyāvadāna, quoted Foucher, 1, vol. 1, p. 96. The barmikā is not, and never was, a "relic box".
enclosure has four angled entrances; and above these are often erected high and elaborate single, double or triple arches (torana), both railing and arches alike closely imitating wooden prototypes.

The Bhārhut brick stūpa, stone railing and entrance archways, of which all that now survives is to be found in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, most likely dates from about 150 B. C., in the Svāngā period. The Bhārhut reliefs are usually accompanied by contemporary descriptive inscriptions. Inscribed figures of guardian Yakṣas and Yakṣis, Nāgarajas, Devatās, etc., constituting an extensive iconography, are found on the torana posts (figs. 37–39); Jātakas (Vessantara, fig. 47), and scenes from the life of Buddha; a group of floral, animal and monster motifs; and lotus rosettes often enclosing heads of men or women, are represented on the railing medallions and coping. It is very important to remark that in the scenes from the life of Buddha (Incarnation, Nativity, Enlightenment, etc) the Master is never represented in human forms, but only by symbols, of which the caitya-tree (Bodhi-druma = aśvattha, pippala, Ficus religiosa), umbrella (chattaa), and feet (pāduka) (cf. Rāma’s sandals, by which he is represented as ruler at Ayodhyā during the period of exile) and wheel (Dhamma-cakka) are the most usual. Beneath the Bodhi-tree is an altar or throne (Bodhi-manḍa, vajrāsana). The inscriptions make it certain that these symbols represent the actual presence of Buddha; Elāpatra kneeling before the tree and altar, Ajātaśatru kneeling before the pāduka altar, are both “worshipping Buddha”. In later art the empty throne will be occupied by a visible image. On the other hand, in all Jātaka scenes, the future Buddha (Bodhisattva) is visibly represented (fig. 47).

The three-pointed Tri-ratna symbol represents the “Three Jewels”, the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. The Nativity is represented by a figure of Māyā Devī seated or standing on a lotus with or without elephants pouring water from inverted jugs; this composition occurs also in Jain usage, but after the third century A. D. disappears from Buddhist and Jain art and invariably represents the Hindū goddess Śrī or Lākṣmī.

Both at Bhārhut and Sāncī the elements of floral design are treated with an impeccable sense of decorative values. For Bhārhut, I am tempted to quote Ferguson’s remarks, as an example of appreciation at a time when Indian art was but ill understood: “Some animals”, he says, “such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculpture known in any part of the world; so too are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and

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1 Cunningham 2: for theories relating to the iconography see Waddell, 2, 3.
2 For apparent exceptions to this rule, at Bodhgaya and Sāncī, see p. 33.
3 It is highly probable that some older image of Abundance underlies both forms, cf. figures 16, 74 and pp. 21, 64. Cf. Foucher, 3.
precision that are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and, where grouped together, combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest purpose-like pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found elsewhere"1.

Some of the pillar figures reveal combined with their wonderful decorative fitness, an astonishing and poignant sense of the beauty of the human body.

Other fragments of Suṅga date, and indicating the former existence of stūpas and toranas have been found at Besnagar, Kosām(Kośāmbi), Bhīṭā, Gaṅgāwā, and at Amin, Karnal District, where there are two finely sculptured pillars near the Thākurji temple, Surajkund6. A monolithic column with a female figure in relief at its base is preserved at Rājasan (fig. 58)4. Remains of a railing from Pāṭaliputra are preserved in the Calcutta Museum6. There are fine pillars from Mathurā in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London6.

A Siva-liṅgam found at Bhīṭā, and now in the Lucknow Museum, is of interest; it is of the pariṣṭava-mukha type, the upper part consisting of a head and bust, the right hand in abhyāsa mudrā, the left, as in the case of the Guḍimallam example described below, holding a water-vessel. The four remaining heads are represented in low relief in a position corresponding to the waist line of the terminal bust, and below these heads the suture of the liṅgam is clearly indicated. The Brāhmi inscription, mentioning the donors, and concluding "May the Devatā be pleased!" has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first century B. C.7.

The famous railing at Bodhagāya, referred to in the older descriptions as the "Aṣoka railing", is, on the whole in Bhārhat style, but more evolved, and may be dated not far from 100 B. C.6. It enclosed, not a stūpa, but a caṅkrama or promenade, where the Buddha was thought to have walked after the attainment of the Great Enlightenment beneath the Bodhi tree at the same site7. Amongst the pillars of more especial interest are one with a fine figure in relief representing Indra in the form of the Brāhmaṇa Sānti (fig. 40)9; one completely covered with architectu-

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1 Fergusson, 1867.
2 Cunningham, 4, vol. X.
5 Waddell, 5.
6 Codrington, K. de B., Pl. XIV.
7 Banerji; 1; Rao, 1, vol. II, p. 63.
8 Marshall, 8, pp. 626, and J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 1096; Cunningham, 3, and 4, vols. I and III; Bloch, 2; Mitra; Burgess, 8, pls. 171—175.
9 Bachhofer, 2; Kramrisch, p. 83. This pillar was dedicated by a king Nāgadeva or queen Nāgadevā between 100 and 50 B. C. The figure of Sānti affords the earliest known example of the nāga in sculpture.
ral reliefs, and some subject panels, including a symmetrically and decoratively designed representation of the Sun in a chariot drawn by four horses (fig. 61); and one with the familiar “woman and tree” motif, in this case a vṛkṣakā embracing her tree¹ like the Devatā at Bhārhat (fig. 39). Amongst the smaller reliefs in medallions or half medallions may be remarked an illustration of the story of Assamukhi, referred to above (p. 26); a replica of the Bhārhat Jetavana-purchase scene; and two representing the approach to the Bodhi-tree. One of the latter is indeed of particular interest as it represents, in the figure approaching the tree, a personage who can be no other than the Bodhisattva, Siddhārtha²; the same subject is later on illustrated in a very interesting manner in more than one Gandhāran relief³.

A special form of temple is connected with the Bodhi-tree⁴, and consisted of a gallery, supported by pillars, encircling the tree. A large number of reliefs (figs. 41, 46, 55, 70), ranging from the second century B.C. to the second A.D., illustrate such temples, and some of these may be intended for representations of the one asserted by tradition, very probably correctly, to have been erected by Aśoka at Bodhgaya⁵, where Cunningham’s excavations revealed traces of an ancient structure underlying the mediaeval temple. The best known example is the relief at Bhārhat inscribed Bhagavatō Saka Mumiṇo Bodbo, i.e. “the attainment of enlightenment by the worshipful Sākya Muni” (fig. 41); there are others at Sānchi, from Mathurā, and at Amarāvatī. All are of one type, representing a gallery with barrel-vaulted roof and caitya-windows of the usual type, supported by pillars, and with a ground plan like a Maltese cross; with the single exception of the Mathurā example in Boston (fig. 70), which represents a square structure supported by only four pillars, and with an entablature of the form of the harnīkā shown above the stūpa in the Bhārhat relief (fig. 42). The only Bodhi temple now surviving is that of Anurādhapura in Ceylon, where the tree rises from a terraced pyramid, approached by arched gates. But Bodhi-trees must once have existed on all Buddhist sites; three,

¹ For this motif see p. 64; and Berstl.
² See note 3 on p. 47.
³ Spooner, 5, pp. 15, 16, 66, 67, referring to sculptures nos. 787, 792, then in Peshāwar, now in the Lahore Museum; and A. S. I., A. R., 1921–23, p. 59 and pls. XXIV c and XXV b.
⁴ For general discussion see Cunningham, 3; Bloch, 2; Coomaraswamy 17; Spooner 12. Reliefs representing Bodhi-maṇḍa temples at Bhārhat, Cunningham, 2, pl. XIII and XXI; at Sānchi, Ferguson, 1, pl. XV, XVI, XXV, XXX, Maisey, pl. XVIII, Marshall, 5, pl. VII, Kramrishch, 2, pl. XXXIV; at Mathurā, Vogel, 6, 1909–10, p. 63 and pl. XXVII and Coomaraswamy, 17; at Amarāvatī, Rea, 4, pl. XXX, and Burgess, 7, pl. XXI, 2.
⁵ One of the railing inscriptions refers to the rājapāsāda cetika, which shows that it was erected round a temple originally built by a king, who in this case may well have been Aśoka. For this inscription see A. S. I., A. R., 1923–24, p. 99. Rājapāsāda, however, may only signify “regal”, “splendid”. The Aśokāvadana mentions an “enclosure surrounding the tree on all four sides”, upon which Aśoka mounted to perform his offering of 4000 vessels of perfumed water. See Przyluski, and Coomaraswamy, 17.
of special fame, were planted respectively by Ānanda at Srāvasti, by Kaniśka at Peshāwar, and by Devānampiyatissa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon.

Two statues of Yakṣas (fig. 67) inscribed with the names Nandi and Vardhana, found at Patna, have generally been regarded as dating in the second century B.C.¹. Very much in the same style is the figure of the Yakṣa Māṇibhadra from Pawāyā, Gwāliar (fig. 63), now in the Gwāliar Museum, together with two fan-palm capitals from the same site; these were regarded by Garde as Kuśāna, but have since been placed by Chanda in the second half of the first century B.C. on palaeographic grounds, and this dating better accords with the stylistic evidence, since the type is very like that of the Yakṣa statuettes at the top of the Sānci toranās (fig. 53)². At Vidiśā (= Besnagar) there still stands the Garuḍa pillar, lacking only its capital, which was erected in ca. 140 B.C. by Heliodora, the ambassador of Antiochus, in honour of Vāsudeva. At the same site have been found two fan palm capitals and a makara capital apparently derived from other pillars³, indicating that at least one important Vaiṣṇava temple must have been in existence here in the second century B.C., and excavations have revealed the existence of a dove-tailed solid stone panelled railing surrounding the sacred enclosure. Two pieces of steel found below the Heliodora pillar confirm the conclusions based on the early steel found in Ceylon⁴.

The Bhilsā topes, of which the Sānci group afford the most complete and magnificent examples of structural Buddhist architecture in India, were erected near and about the old Malwā capital of Vidiśā (Besnagar)⁵. The main structures at Sānci, other than the Aśokan pillar, and the later temples referred to on p. 78, are the Great Stūpa, No. 1 (fig. 50) and two others, Nos. 2 and 3. These may be dated as follows:

Maurya, third century B.C., the small brick stūpa which forms the core of No. 1.

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¹ Marshall, 8, figs. 29, 30; Chanda, 1, p. 26; Foucher in J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 519.  
² Garde; Chanda, 1.  
³ Chanda, 4, p. 163 supposes that the makaradvaja implies a cult of Pradyumna. The capitals are now in the Museum at Gwāliar.  
⁵ Cunningham, 1; Maisey; Marshall, 4, 5, 8, 12. A fully illustrated monograph on Sānci has been announced to appear within a few years.
Suṅga, 184—72 B.C., Nos. 2 and 3 with their railings; enlargement of No. 1 and addition of the plain railing on ground level and terrace.

Andhra, 72—25 B.C., the gateways (torana) of Nos. 1 and 3.

The sculptured reliefs are found on the railing of No. 2 and the toranas of Nos. 1 and 3. As at Bhārhat, the Buddha is invariably designated by symbols, and never represented in human form. The reliefs of the rail of No. 2 are not far removed in style from those of Bhārhat; this however only applies to a part of the work, evidently the earlier part, in which, despite the extraordinary sense of decorative design, the treatment of the human figure is still primitive (fig. 51). These earlier reliefs are in silhouette without any differentiation of planes, the only approach to modelling appearing in the occasional rounding of the contour; the feet are always in side view, regardless of the position of the figure. In some respects this art seems to start from a point less advanced than that of the preceding century. Other reliefs on the same railing (fig. 52) exhibit a much greater knowledge of the figure, of spatial relations, and represent pose and movement not merely with animation, but with conscious grace. Some authors attribute this rapid development to the influence of hypothetical Bactrian Hellenistic art, or to that of the Greek colonies in the Pañjab. Political relations would indeed have made this possible. But it must be remembered that development at one stage of any artistic cycle is as natural and inevitable as degeneration at another stage, and Indian art viewed as a whole offers no exception to the ordinary rules; so that external influences can never be taken for granted on the sole ground of a stylistic advance. Nor do Sir John Marshall’s phrases “direct observation of nature” and “free from the trammels of the memory image” quite meet the case; since rarely if ever have Indian artists drawn with a model before them, and the image proper is at all times, from first to last, obtained by a process of mental visualisation. The process, at first no doubt, unconscious, is later on prescribed by śāstraic injunction. Thus the form is always reached by a process of synthesis and abstraction, rather than by observation, and is always in the last analysis a memory image. When we perceive increased reality or truth, we must ascribe this, not to a change of habit, but to heightened consciousness, a more complete identification of consciousness with the theme itself, — in other words, to a more profound empathy.

The reliefs of the great gateways are marvels of decorative story-telling composition, and at the same time an encyclopedia of contemporary civilisation. The principal themes are drawn from the life of Buddha, and from the Jātakas. The more extended compositions are found on the torana architraves, and here a whole succession of scenes belonging to a given event is represented within a

1 Marshall, 5, 8.
single frame, the presence of the Buddha at each stage of the story being indicated by an appropriate symbol. Figures of Yakṣas are placed as guardians on the upright posts, while at the ends of the architraves there are represented beautiful nude dryads leaning from their trees (figs. 53, 54).

The art of Sānci as a whole, is of course, Buddhist in theme; the story-telling reliefs successfully fulfil an edifying purpose. It is equally clear that their content is not religious, in the sense that Indian art at a later period becomes religious; the intrinsic quality of the early art is realistic and sensuous, and this is only more evident in the case of the dryads, because there the theme is anything but Buddhist. Or if we recognize in this very sensuousness with which the art is saturated, a true religious feeling, then it is religious on a plane very far removed from that of the aristocratic philosophy of the Upaniṣads and Buddhism. It is religious in the very real sense of the ancient cults of mother-goddesses and fertility spirits, not in the sense of the Great Enlightenment.

We cannot therefore be surprised at the "Puritanical" objections to art which were voiced at this time or a little earlier by Brāhmanical and Buddhist philosophers; art had not yet been conceived as an embodiment of spiritual ideas in terms of form; a theory of beauty as Perfect Experience (rasāsvādana = Brāhma-nāsvādana) had not yet been imagined1. When the Church began to make use of art, it was only, as Sir John Marshall puts it, "as a valuable medium in which to narrate the legends and history of its faith". The art of Sānci is not, as art, created or inspired by Buddhism, but is early Indian art adapted to edifying ends, and therewith retaining its own intrinsic qualities. A pure Buddhist content is far more apparent in the early architecture, and especially in the undecorated hemispherical stūpa, with its "unheimlichem, ja grauenhaftem Ernst", and in the excavated caitya-halls, forming, so to speak "eine Art negativer Plastik"2.

Art of the Sānci school has been found also at Sārnāth, where it is represented by twelve finely sculptured rail uprights3. A circular terracotta sealing from Bhītā, of minute and exquisite workmanship, in the style of the finest reliefs at Sānci, was probably made from an ivory die, and recalls the inscription at Sānci which describes one of the reliefs as the work of the "Ivory-workers of Bhīlsā"4.

1 For the mediaeval theory of beauty see Viśvanātha, Sāhitya Darpaṇa (v. 44 of Roer's edition, v. 33 in Ballantyne's translation in the Bibliotheca India); Regnaud, La rhétorique sanskrite; Coomaraswamy, 14, 1918, pp. 30ff; Masson-Oursel.

2 Hoenig, p. 6.

3 Sahni and Vogel, pl. VI.

4 Marshall, 3, pp. 35, 36, 71 and pls. XXIII, XXIV; 8, p. 632 and pl. XXIX. For an early silver signet, with the name "of Nandivardha" in Brāhmi characters, and lion, fish and railed banner symbols, of fine workmanship, and dateable about 200 B. C., see Rapson in J. R. A. S., 1900, plate, facing page 97.
The school of Mathurā is more nearly related to Bhārhat than to Sāñci, and is represented by some fragmentary sculptures which must go back to the middle of the second century B.C. Better known are those of the Kṣatrapa period immediately preceding the Kuṣānas. The famous lion-capital, indeed, which has a Kha-
roṣṭhī inscription and a somewhat Irānian aspect, was dedicated by the queen of the satrap Rañjugula or Rājula, the last Yavana king of the eastern Pañjāb, probably about 30 B.C.¹. The same lady seems to have founded the Buddhist Gūhā-
vihāra, now represented by mounds beside the Jamnā, south of Mathurā city. A Jaina votive plaque dedicated by the lady Āmohini in the reign of Soḍāsa, son of the aforesaid Rañjugula, is dated in the year 42 or 72 of an unknown era: Soḍāsa probably flourished ca. 10—15 A.D. Another, dedicated by the courtesan Loṇaśobhikā, Q 2 in the Mathurā Museum (fig. 72), without date, represents a Jaina stūpa of the high cylindrical type standing on a terrace (medhi) approached by a single stair (sopāna): two female figures similar to those of the railing pillars lean against the stūpa drum, and there are two stambhas respectively with a dhāmmana-
cakka and lion at the sides. The basement shows two arched niches like those of the Jaina stūpa base at Taxila, but containing figures².

The main Jaina establishment represented by the Kaṅkālī Tilā site already existed in the second century B.C. Amongst the most interesting sculptures are the āyāgapasas or votive tablets, such as those above referred to, but usually square; they bear inscriptions in Brāhmī characters which can scarcely be later than the beginning of the Kuṣāna period. Some (fig. 71) bear in the centre the representation of a seated Jina with shaven head of the type of the larger cult image of Pārśvanātha from the same site (fig. 86), and of the early Buddhas. Other reliefs include representations of Harinegamaśa, a minor divinity connected with the nativity of Mahāvīra³.

We must now refer to the Jaina and Buddhist caves of Eastern India, especially those in Oriṣsā, all of which are Jaina monasteries (vihāras). There is a large group of these excavations in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills. The Hāṭhi Gumphā, already mentioned in connection with the important inscription of Khāravela, ca. 161 B.C., is little more than a natural hollow. The Maṇcapuri (Vaikuṇṭha or Pāṭalapuri of earlier authors) contains another inscription of Khāravela’s reign, and a crudely executed frieze, somewhat reminiscent of Bhaji and Bhārhat: one female figure wears a mural crown. The most important of the remaining caves, viz. the Ananta, Rāni and Gaṇeśa Gumphas must range

² Vogel, 13, p. 184 and pl. V.
³ For the Kaṅkālī Tilā āyāgapasas, etc. see Smith 1. The majority are now in the Lucknow Museum. One example has been found at Kosām.
between 150 and 50 B.C. The pediment sculptures of the Ananta include a standing Māyā Devī with elephants. In Buddhist art this would represent the Nativity of Buddha, in Hindu art Gaja-Lakṣmī, but what it represents, unless perhaps the Nativity of Mahāvīra, we do not know; it is one of many motifs, such as the stūra and the caitya-tree, which are elsewhere Buddhist, but here employed in Jain art. Each doorway is adorned with a pair of three-headed Nāgas, like those which appear at Nāsik and elsewhere in Western India.

The Rānī and Gañēśa caves are both two-storied, with friezes interrupted by the cell doorways, in both the upper and lower galleries; the former the largest and best decorated of all (fig. 36). The scenes, which include the hunting of a winged deer, fighting scenes, the carrying off of a woman, etc., have not been identified, but may be presumed to be taken from Jaina legends and to have an edifying value equivalent to that of the Buddhist Jātakas. The style is original and vigorous. “Shield” and svastika symbols are found in the same cave. The same themes are repeated in the Gañēśa Gumphā, in a somewhat inferior style, and degeneration proceeds further in the later Jayavijaya and Alakāpurī caves. The style appears to have had no descendants in Orissā but may have had some connection with the earlier work in Farther India and Indonesia, the makara lintel arch appearing here for the first time.1

Farther south, in the Andhra homeland of the Kistna-Godāverī delta there certainly existed a stūpa at Amarāvati in the first or second century B.C., and fragments of sculpture derived from it are extant (figs. 144—146), distinguishable by their low relief from that of the later work.2 What appears to have been a more important early stūpa existed at Jaggayapeta, some thirty miles from Amarāvati, and from this site a number of early reliefs of high interest have been recovered; amongst these may be especially mentioned a number of pilasters (fig. 143) with bell capitals and addorsed winged animals in Bhārhut style, one representing an elegant pūnya-tāla with worshippers (fig. 142), and another representing a king surrounded by emblems of royalty.3 Near Gunṭupalle there is an important group of Buddhist caves, including vibhāras and monolithic stūpas, and a small circular caitya-hall similar to the curious early types at Junnār and Kondive in the west, but with a façade recalling that of the Lomas Rṣī in the Barābar hills.4 Here also are remains of the largest known structural caitya-hall, and there is another at Vidyādurrapuram near Bezwāḍa.5 A large Buddhist

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1 For the Orissan caves see Fergusson, 2; description of reliefs in A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23.
2 Burgess, 7, Chs. VII and IX. But the distinction of inner and outer rails is mistaken.
3 Burgess, 7, pls. LII—LV.
monastery existed in the Saṅkarām Hills, Vizagapatam District, the monolithic stūpas, some of the cells, and perhaps the three structural apsidal caitya-halls, dating from the first or second century B.C., though the site continued in occupation up to the Pallava period¹. There was another large monastery at Rāmatīrtham, with the brick foundations of no less than six structural caitya-halls, some of which at least must be of quite early date².

In the same area, at Guḍimallam, near Renigunta, North Arcot District, exists one of the most interesting and important monuments of pre-Kuśāna Brāhmaṇical art extant, the Śiva-liṅgam known as Paraśurāmeśvara, still in pūja. This is a realistic phallic emblem, five feet in height, with a figure of Śiva carved on its lower side (fig. 66). The deity is two-armed, holds as attributes a ram, battle-axe (paraśu), and water-vessel, and stands firmly on a crouching Yakṣa of the Bhārhat pedestal type. This Yakṣa is evidently the apasmāra puruṣa, the symbol of māla, which supports the figure of Naṭarāja in the later iconography; can it too have been by this route, and by sea, that the formula reached Japan? The stone is finely wrought and highly polished. Both in style and costume the figure is closely related to the standing Yakṣa types of Bhārhat and Sānci, but the workmanship is more accomplished and more forcible. This sculpture is a document of great significance in the history of Indian art, and reminds us of what we are too apt to forget, that innumerable works and types of work must have existed, that are now lost. Rao is undoubtedly right in assigning the liṅgam on stylistic grounds to the first or perhaps the second century B.C.³.

Remains of painting of pre-Kuśāna date have survived in two localities. The early painting in Caves IX and X at Ajañṭa represents indigenous types of noble quality⁴, more vigorous and less highly refined than those of the Gupta period, the costume, especially the large turbans twisted round the hair to form a top-knot, recalling that represented at Bhārhat and Sānci. This form is very suggestive of an uṣṇīsa. A powerful standing figure, stylistically related to the early Yakṣa-Bodhisattva types, has been reproduced in colour by Taki (Cave IX = Griffith, pl. XXXVII); the Chaddanta Jātaka composition, with greater reserve, and less emotional than the later picture in Cave XVII, is reproduced in outline by Griffiths; and a beautiful royal group by Dey. In both caves there are later, probably early Gupta, paintings of seated and standing Buddhas, in part at least painted over the work of the early period. Burgess remarks that the pillars

¹ Rea, 1.
² Rea, 6.
³ Rao, 1, vol. 11, pp. 65—69, with detailed illustration of the ornaments and attributes.
⁴ Burgess, 4, pls. VIII—X.
of the cāitya-hall at Beḍsā were originally painted, but were whitewashed late in
the nineteenth century¹.

In the Jogīmāra cave, Sirguja State, Orissa, there is painting of two periods,
the mediaeval work, of poor quality, almost obscuring that of the first century
B.C., which, so far as decipherable, reveals figures, makaras, etc., drawn with
vigour and decision².

The most detailed early literary reference to painting is found in the Pali
Ummaga Jātaka. This is one of the younger Jātakas, but certainly pre-Kuśāna.
Painted halls and palaces are referred to, and in more detail the painted tunnel,
as follows: “clever painters (cittakara) made all kinds of paintings, the splendour of
Sakka, the zones of Mt. Sumeru, the sea and mighty ocean, the Four Continents,
Himālaya, Lake Anotatta, the Sun and Moon, the Four Great Kings, the six sen-
sational Heavens ... as though it had been the Sudhamma Hall of the gods”.
There are incidental references to painting in the Vinaya Piṭaka, Therā-Theri-
Gāthā, Mahāvamsa, etc.; in the Brāhmaṇical Epics; and in Patañjali³.

¹ For the Ajaṃṭā paintings see Griffiths (Chaddanta outline, pl. 41); Burgess, 4; Fergusson
and Burgess, pp. 284ff.; Dey, plate facing p. 106; Taki (= Griffiths, pl. 37); Foucher, 5.
³ Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, describing the exhibition of Kṛṣṇa-Lilā paintings, see Keith, A. B.,
The Sanskrit drama, pp. 32, 34. This seems to have been an exhibit of the Wayang Beber type.
PART III:
KUŚĀNA, LATER ĀNDHRA, AND GUPTA

THE BEGINNINGS OF HINDŪ AND BUDDHIST
THEISTIC ART

There is evidence in the early Vedic texts, revealing a connection of the elemental deities with certain animals, by which they might be represented in the ritual. Thus the horse was associated with Sūrya and Agni, the bull with Indra and Rudra (= Śiva). The animal Avatārs of Prajāpati, later appropriated by Viṣṇu, may also be cited. Material objects, too, were used as symbols. The wheel (cakra), which later on becomes the mark of a Cakravārtha, the discus of Viṣṇu, and the Buddhist Wheel of the Law, originally represented the Sun. The disk of gold placed behind the fire altar to represent the Sun may well be the origin of the later prabhā-mandala or śīra-cakra (nimbus¹). Radiance is predicated of almost all the Devas, is indeed one of the root meanings of the word, and most of them are connected in their origins with Sun and Fire. Just as the tree behind the empty altar or throne, representing Buddha in the early art, remains in the later art when the throne is occupied, so the sun-disk behind the fire-altar may well have remained there when the deity was first made visible. The altar itself, usually wide above and below and narrow in the middle “like a woman’s waist”, is evidently the prototype of the āsana and pītha of later images.

The vajra (bolt) is constantly mentioned as wielded by Indra. A deprecatory reference to those who have the śīna for their deity (Rv. 7, 24) seems to employ the early use of a phallic symbol by non-Āryan. Caitya-vṛksas (cf. figs. 10, 27) are mentioned in the Atharva Veda, pariliṣṭa LXXI; large trees are sometimes addressed as deities, they are connected with human fertility, and nymphs inhabiting them are asked to be propitious to passing wedding processions.

An elemental conception of the powers of nature does not necessitate an iconography, and there are no unmistakeable references to images in the early books. The most definite suggestion is that of Rv. 4, 24¹⁰, “Who will buy my

¹ We do not know when the nimbus was first used in Indian iconography, as no early images, for which we have adequate literary evidence at least in the second century B.C., are extant. In western art it first appears in Alexandrian times. Cf. p. 57.
Indra?"; but just as the Bodhi-tree and pāduka at Bhārhut are called "Buddha" (Bhagavato), so here a symbol may have been referred to as "Indra". The "golden Puruṣa" of the Agniśayana, however, must have been a plaque in human form, probably something like the little plaque supposed to represent Prthvī found in a burial, regarded as Vedic, at Lauriyā-Nandangarh. The ultimate tendency is to conceive the gods more and more in definitely anthropomorphic terms; and clear references to images occur not infrequently in the later Brāhmanaś and Sūtras. To a very considerable extent the development of theistic, devotional cults must represent an emergence of popular, non-Aryan tendencies, now recognized, absorbed, and systematized in relation to Aryan philosophies. It must never be overlooked that in the Vedas, and before the second century B.C. we possess only a one-sided view of "Indian" religion, and representing, quantitatively at least, the smaller part of Indian religion. The mass of the people worshipped, not the abstract deities of priestly theology, but local genii (Yakṣas and Nāgas) and feminine divinities of increase, and mother goddesses.

A description of a temple of post and thatch, with mat walls, is given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, but this was a building for the performance of sacrifices, not a temple in the later sense. Many precise and elaborate details are given regarding the building of altars, generally fire-altars; and it is noteworthy that the rules for the construction of these sacrificial altars, given in the Sulva Sūtras, make use of dynamic symmetry, of which no trace can be recognized at a later period.

In the Epics, Manu, the Grhya Sūtras, etc., collectively good evidence for the second century B.C. or earlier, the transition from elemental to personal conceptions of the deities is completed, and at the same time images and temples are referred to fairly frequently and as a matter of course. The words used for image are daivata, pratiṃā, pratiķrti, mūrti, devatā-pratimā, and those who make or carry about images are called devalaka. The Harivamsa, somewhat later, refers to stone images, but no stone image of a Deva is certainly older than the first century B.C., the Maurya or possibly earlier figures representing either human beings or Yakṣas.

1 Bloch, Th., Excavations at Lauriṣa, A. S. I., A. R., 1906—07; Marshall, 8, pl. XI.
2 Macdonell, 1, pp. 150, 155; Bhattacharya, 1, introduction. Bollensen's interpretation of Rv. I, 145, in Z. D. M. G., XLVII, 1890, p. 586, as implying a picture of Agni painted on cowhide, is very doubtful.
3 Discuss by Simpson, 6.
4 Mazumdar, N., Manava Sulba Sutram, Calcutta University, 1922.
5 Hopkins, pp. 70—73. Quintus Curtius, Vit. Alex., VII, 14, 11, states that an image of "Hercules" was carried in front of the army of Porus as he advanced against Alexander. This may have been an image of Śiva or of a Yakṣa.
6 Supra, p. 16 ff.
Images are mentioned about the same time in several other connections: thus Patañjali, commenting on Pāṇini, refers to the exhibition and sale of images of "Siva, Skanda, Viśākha, &c."1. The moving about of images of bucolic deities is referred to in Āpastambha, Gṛhya Sūtra, 19. 13, a work perhaps composed in the Andhra country. A Nāga-bali is described in Asvalāyana, Gṛhya Parīśīṭa, 3. 16; a five-headed snake of wood or clay is to be made and worshipped for a year. This is interesting evidence of the making of images in impermanent materials; stone images of Nāgas, of the Mathurā school, are common in the Kuśāna and Gupta periods.

Late Buddhist legends describe in the same way the making of images of Buddha at an early period, and even in the lifetime of Buddha; but these stories cannot be held to do more than emphasize the likelihood of wooden images having been made at some time anterior to the earliest known stone figures2. Khāravela's Hāthī-gumphā inscription mentions a wooden image of Ketu, a human hero; this inscription, dateable about 161 B.C. is good evidence for human images, and were it necessary the figure of Śātakarni at Nānāghat, and the various epic references to human figures, generally of gold, might be cited as analogues3.

The manner in which deities are or may be distinguished or represented by their symbols is well illustrated in a passage of the pseudo-epic, which claims all beings as creatures of Siva, on the ground that they are marked by distinctions of sex, and not by the cakra, padma, or vajra (discus, lotus, or thunderbolt), by which they might have been claimed as Viṣṇu's, Brahmā's or Indra's. At a relatively early period the lotus may have represented Brahmā, for he is the successor of Prajāpati, who is born of the waters. The lotus pedestal appears already in Maurya or Suṅga terracottas, and at Sānchi and Bhārhat as the seat of Māyādevi-Lakṣmī, and is very soon employed in the case of all divine beings to denote miraculous birth and appuritional character; standing alone, in early Buddhist art, it seems to represent the Nativity.

Such symbols (rūpa) as are above referred to are found in great variety on the punch-marked coins (kāhāpana, kārṣāpana, purāna) (figs. 106—108) which were in

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1 Konow. Figures of Skanda and Viśākha appear on the coins of Huviṣka (fig. 126A, and Gardner, pl. XXVIII no. 24, &c.).
3 For the Hāthī-gumphā inscription see Jayaswal, K., Hāthī-gumphā inscription of the Emperor Khāravela, J. B. O. R. S., vol. III; Banerji, ibid; and A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, pp. 130 ff. The inscription further states that Khāravela recovered at the Magadhan capital (Pātaliputra) some objects connected with the first Jina (Rṣabhadeva) which had originally been taken away from Kālīṅga by King Nanda three centuries earlier. Smith, 4, p. 209, speaks of "it" as a statue, and were this justified, our ideas of the development of Indian art would have to be radically modified; in fact, however, the critical word is obliterared, and the correlative pronoun referring to it is in the plural. We may suppose that relics, or possibly symbols, may have been referred to.

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general use from about 600 B.C. up to the beginning of the Kuśāna period or somewhat later, on the closely related native cast and die-struck coins (figs. 110-115) of the latter part of the same period, and also on some of the Indianised coins of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian kings of the Pañjab e.g. Agathokles. Some of the same symbols appear in Maurya, Śunga and Kuśāna art at Paṭaliputra, Bhārhat, Sānci, Mathurā and in Orissā, and together with some new forms on Kuśāna and Gupta sealings from Bihār, Basār̥h, and many other sites, and on pādukas (Buddha-pada, Viṣṇu-pada) and aṣṭamaṅgala of various periods. With them can be associated, as belonging to the same kind of hieroglyphic art, the banner cognizances of gods and heroes mentioned in the Epics, those still used by Pañḍās at tīrthas to facilitate recognition by visiting pilgrims, tattoo marks ancient and modern, cattle-brands, and folk art generally. A few of the types appear in Western Asia, and the svastika is of world-wide distribution.

In determining the nature of the objects represented, all these, together with the formulae commonly employed in Indian art of less abstract types, must be considered; had this been done at first, the now universally recognized "mountain" would never have been mistaken for a stūpa. The special religious meanings possible for each symbol must be considered in the light of Vedic and Epic references to avatārs and attributes, and to later and modern iconography, remembering always that the vocabulary was equally available to all sects, Brāhmaṇs, Buddhists and Jains each employing them in senses of their own. Finally, the heraldic significance, the secular usage by a particular king, city, or community, must be considered in the light of a comparative study of find places, and incidental references to rāja-aṅka of particular rulers, such as the bull mark of the Brhataratha dynasty of Magadha mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the tiger mark of the kings of Kāveri-pum-paṭṭinam mentioned in the Paṭṭinappālai; the later royal emblems used as seals on copperplate grants, and the heraldic usage of symbols on banners and standards. A passage of the Visuddhimagga, referring to kāhāpanas states that an experienced banker would be in a position to distinguish at what village, borough, town, mountain or river bank they were issued, and by

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1 On punch-marked coins and their symbols see Bhandarkar, 5; Rapson, 1; Spooner, 9; Theobald; Walsh; Smith, 6; and Whitehead, W. H.
2 For symbols on pādukas see Fournereau, 2; Coomaraswamy, 1, fig. 69, and cf. ibid. pl. XLVIII, 15.17. For the Jaina aṣṭamaṅgala, Coomaraswamy 9 (4) pl. XXXVII; Smith, 1; and fig. 72.
3 For tattoo marks see Cunningham, 2 and Luard, 1.
4 The mountain represented by 'arches' (peaks) is found in Mesopotamia and throughout the ancient world, as well as in later Indian and Central Asian and Chinese art, cf. Glotz, G., The Aegian civilization, 1925, fig. 40, and Petrucci, R., in Burlington Mag., vol. v. 29, pp. 74—79, and Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. II. cf. Burgess, 7, pl. LV, 5.
what mint-master. In general, the obverse marks seem to be those of the issuing authority, the reverse signs those of private bankers and merchants.

The commonest coin symbols (see figs. 106—114) in general use before the Kuśāna period include human figures (singly or in threes), elephant, horse, bull, bull’s head, dog, cobra, fish, peacock; caitya-vṛkṣa (railed tree), branch, flower, lotus; sun (circle with rays), moon (crescent); mountain (many varieties with one or more peaks, and with or without the dog, peacock, tree or crescent), river (often with fish), tank; taurine, mandipada, triratna or trisūla, svastika, double triangle (like a Tāntrik yantra), steel-yard, so-called cotton-bale or caduceus, shield (= triratna or fire-altar?), Taxila mark (equal-armed cross, tipped with four circles enclosing dots), “Troy” mark (three chatras or arrow heads interspaced with ovals about a central circle, generally regarded as another solar symbol), bow and arrow, pile of balls (= heap of gems?), and many others. Rarer marks include the lion, rhinoceros, camel and makara. Marks which we might expect, but which are not found, include the lingam, vajra, pāduka, and Garuḍa. Nor is there any sign clearly representing a stūpa of any kind; when this symbol finally appears on seals in the Gupta period it is quite unmistakable.

For our purpose, the importance of these symbols, many of which have remained in use to the present day, lies in the fact that they represent a definite early Indian style, amounting to an explicit iconography. In Buddhist art, for example, we find at Bhārhat and Sānci the tree, wheel, &c., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as “Buddha” (Bhagavato) and worshipped as such; even in elaborate scenes from the Life, the Master is represented only by the symbols (tree, wheel, chattra, pāduka), repeated as often as the technique of continuous narration may require. Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained as specific designations, and in the scenes from the life too, he appears in human form. In the same way with Hindū types; thus we find at first the humped bull alone (fig. 109), then a two-armed (fig. 122), and finally a four-armed figure (figs. 125, 126) accompanying the bull, once the representative of the deity, now his “vehicle” (vāhanam), while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes. Finally the forms of such images are codified in descriptive mnemonic texts (dhyāna mantrams, sādhanā, included in the Silpa-śastras), and these texts, which are a development and definition of the older Vedic and Epic lauds, must be visualised before the work is begun.

1 Text quoted, Bhandarkar, 3, appendix.
2 For the stūpa on Gupta seals see Spooner, 8, pl. XLVI, no. 159. The so-called square stūpa of Amoghabhūti’s coins (Smith, 6, p. 167, and pl. XXII; and fig. 115) seems to be simply a railed parasol caitya like those represented on the Bodhgaya railing, Cunningham, 3, pl. IX, no. 14. Structural shrines or pavilions appear on the Audumbara coins (figs. 116, 117) about the beginning of the Christian era, also on coins of Kaniṣṭha in the second century A.D.
Thus there is a natural development from indications, appropriate to elemental conceptions of the deities, to representations appropriate to the new conception of them as worshipful persons. As is always the case in India, styles of art are not developed arbitrarily, but as the result of changes in racial psychology. In this case the change may have been due in the last analysis to a fusion of Northern with Southern racial types, of Āryans with Dravidians.

It must always be remembered that the Vedas exhibit only a certain aspect of early Indian religion. Behind the pale of Āryan orthodoxy and its tendency to abstract symbolism there lay an extensive and deep-rooted system of popular beliefs and cults and a decided tendency to anthropomorphic presentation. These popular beliefs implied an iconography, such we actually find at Bhārhut, of Yakṣas and Nāgas, Devatās and Vṛksakās, the Earth and Mother-goddesses and divinities of fertility, fairies and goblins and human heroes\(^1\). Gradually all of these found their place in a theistic Hinduism and Buddhism which were not purely Āryan, but Indian; partly \textit{in propriā personā} as minor divinities acting on behalf of the higher gods as guardians or servants, but also, by a fusion of concepts, representing them. India offered no exception to the general rule that a higher or developing religion absorbs, embodies and preserves the types and rituals of older cults without destroying them and establishes its churches in places already sacred\(^2\). If popular belief thus contributed a large element to the personalities of the gods as they came to be imagined, it can hardly be doubtful that popular religious art, of which the early terracottas and the Mathurā railing pillars may be cited as examples, made large contributions to the iconography of the ultimate pantheon. With this in view, for example, it is easy to see how it happened that the early figures of Siva and the early Bodhisattvas should have so much resembled the current types of Yakṣas. The attendant \textit{caurī}-bearers of early Buddha images (fig. 84), for example, predecessors of the Bodhisattvas of later trinities, are evidently Yakṣas: there is a good example in Amaraṅvati style in the Field Museum, Chicago. What we see taking place in Indian art towards the beginning of the Christian era is not so much the creation of a brand-new icono-

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\(^1\) In addition, cf. the popular deities still worshipped (Whitehead, H.; Parker, 2, pp. 133—206, etc.).

\(^2\) Thus, according to Hsūan Tsang, Nālandā was originally the name of a Nāga, "and the monastery built by the side of the pool is therefore called after his name" (Beal, 2, p. 110). It is highly probable that the Tibetan \textit{Dulha} preserves a true tradition when it says that the Sākyas were accustomed to present all new-born children before the image of the Yakṣa Sākya-vardhana, (Rockhill, W. W., \textit{Life of the Buddha}, popular ed., p. 17). For Yakṣas as tutelary deities see also p. 17, note 1, 47, 68; and Schiefner, 1, p. 81. For Yakkhā (Yakṣa) worship in Ceylon, \textit{Mahāvaṁśa}, Ch. X, vv. 84—90. The designation Bhāgavata is applicable to Yakṣas and Nāgas (Chanda, 1, and Hopkins, p. 141), as well as to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Buddha.
graphy as the adaptation of an older iconography to new requirements, and the giving of a new and deeper content to time-honoured forms.

Temples or shrines are referred to in the Epics as devatā-āyatana, deva-grha, devāgāra, caitya. Inscriptions mention deva-kula, arahat-āyatana, &c. The general meaning of the word caitya (from cai) is something built or piled up, the related derivative cītya referring to the altar or fire-altar. Hence the usual application to funeral mounds, built in honour of heroes, teachers or prophets, of which the Buddhist and Jaina stūpa is a familiar example. But the word applies to many other kinds of sacred objects coming under the head of sanctuary or holystead. Sacred trees (caitya- vrkṣa) are perhaps the most commonly mentioned in the Epics, where it is remarked that "not even the leaf of a caitya may be destroyed, for caityas are the resort of Devas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Apsarasas, Bhūtas, &c." The Bodhidruma (nyagrodha of most Buddhist texts, the akṣaya vata of the Epic, but pippa or asvatttha of the reliefs) was certainly a sacred tree, haunted by a Devatā, before the Bodhisattva took his seat beneath it on the eve of the Great Enlightenment. Most of the Yakhadetiya so frequently referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature as having been the haunt (bhavana) of such and such Yakṣas, may have been sacred trees; the commentators however seem to understand sanctuaries in the sense of buildings, and this may be correct in some cases. The existence of early images of well-known

1 The term "gods' houses" is popularly applied even at the present day in Southern India to slab-built dolmen-like hero-shrines (Longhurst, 4). It can hardly be doubted that there exists some connection between temples and tombs. For discussion see Simpson; Hocart.

2 Represented already on an Indo-Sumerian seal, fig. 6.

3 In the Sūjātā story the Bodhisattva is mistaken for the tree-spirit. Bloch, 2, interpreted the railing relief of Cunningham, 3, pl. VIII, fig. 4, as representing an earlier form of the story in which the tree-spirit makes the offering of food and drink. In this case the figure standing before the tree and receiving the gifts would be the Bodhisattva, who "stretching out his right hand to find the bowl, grasped the vase of water" (Jātaka, I, 685 = Nidānakathā, Warren, Buddhism in Translations, p. 73 = Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 93). In Gandhāran art the "Approach to the Bodhi tree" occurs in several reliefs (A. S. I., A. R. 1921—22, p. 59, and pls. XXIV, C, and XXV, b; also nos. 787, 792 in the Peshāwar Museum, referred to by Spooner, 5, pp. 15, 16, 66, 67). But the railing relief of Cunningham, 3, VIII, 4, alluded to above does not stand alone; exactly the same composition occurs at Bāhūṭ (Cunningham, 2, pl. XLVIII, II) with an inscription (Jambo  nādode pava, "when the Jambutee-expedient is ready to hand"), which does not refer to the Bodhisattva or the Bodhi tree. It is possible that the two reliefs do not illustrate any form of the Sūjātā story, but some other and different story. The only other supposed early representation of the Bodhisattva is on the inner face of the right hand pillar of the east gate at Sānci (Fergusson, 1, pl. XXXIII = Maisey, pl. XVI). The Bodhisattva is, of course, constantly represented in human form when a former incarnation is illustrated.

4 In one case, explaining the Āsaṇo Sutta of Saṅyutta Nikāya, 11, 5, a stone dais, throne or platform (takkest mañca) is stated to have been the Yakkha's haunt (bhavani). I am indebted to Dr. W. Stede for this reference; I believe that an altar like a Bodhi-mañca or vaṣṭrasana, such as is represented in innumerable reliefs, is intended. If Yakkha temples existed, they may have served as prototypes of Buddhist Bodhi-shrines like those of figs. 41 and 55. Cf. page 46, note 2.
Yakṣas (Dadhikarna, Manibhadra, &c.) must indeed imply some kind of shrine, and such a deva-kula is thought to have been traced in the Jamālpur mound at Mathurā.

Where, in Rāmāyaṇa 5, 15, 15 a caitya is described as having railings (vedikā), terraces, coral stairs and a high roof, it is clear that a temple is meant; and a caitya or āyatana must always be a shrine or temple when it is “erected” and generally when images are mentioned. The “horn of the trident-bearer, high as heaven and spotless”, on seeing which the mortal knows that he has reached the city of Śiva must refer to the tower of a temple; the words recall the later “Golden Horn” of Aṅkor Thom, which was the tower of the Baphuon temple, visible from afar (see p. 189).

Thus it is clear from the literature that both temples and images must already have existed certainly in the second century B.C. and perhaps earlier. Remains of two or three Brāhmaṇical and several Buddhist temples have been traced: an inscription at Nagarī (= Madhyamikā) near Chitor, in script of 350—250 B.C. refers to a temple of Saṅkarṣana and Vāsudeva, which was doubtless a wooden building, and part of the stone enclosing wall, over nine feet in height, has been unearthed; another inscription of the same period refers to a Vaiṣṇava temple at Besnagar, where in the second century Heliodora dedicated his Garuḍa-dhvaja-stambha, and two railings, one a solid morticed slab wall, have been traced. The temple at Māt, near Mathurā, mentioned in two inscriptions as a devakula, seems, from the occurrence of the portrait statue of Kaniṣka, and other royal figures, to have been the royal chapel of the Kuśāna kings; excavations have revealed a large rectangular plinth and some traces of a circular structure. The foundations of an Aśokāna caitya-hall have been recognized at Sāṇcī; the earliest excavated caitya-halls and vibhāras afford reliable indications of corresponding structural buildings. The remains at Bhārhat, Sāṇcī, Gayā and Mathurā provide other valuable data (cf. figs. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55, 62, and 69). The only buildings represented on early coins are the domed pavilions of the Audumbara coins of Paṭhāṅkoṭ and Kāṅgrā (figs. 116, 117) dating about the beginning of the Christian era, and the pavilion with a double ornamented plinth, and enshrining figures of Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena, represented on a coin of Huviṣka (fig. 126 A). Similar pavilions are represented on early Pāṇḍya coins. The last mentioned pavilion resembles one on a terracotta of early Gupta date from Bodhgayā.

1 Hopkins, pp. 70—73; Chanda, 1. A list of pre-Buddhist caityas is given in the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary, s. v. caitya, but the meanings of the word other than stūpa are ignored.
2 Mahābhārata, 3, 88, 8.
3 Bhandarkar, D. R., 6.
4 Bhandarkar, D. R., 5.
5 Vogel, 15.
6 Pieris, pl. XIII, 7, 8, 11, 12.
7 Cunningham, 3, pl. XXIV, B.
Theoretically, the Hindū shrine is the imitation of a building existing in another world (generally Indraloka) the form of which has been revealed or otherwise ascertained (see p. 125). Practically, it can hardly be doubted that, as in other countries, the form of the god’s house is derived from that of human dwellings and tombs, the main sources leading back to the domed thatched hut, and the barrel vaulted types of the Todas, and to the slab-built dolmens.

**KUṢĀNA AND LATER ĀNDHRA, CA. 50—320 A. D.**

The Yue-chi tribe originally occupied a part of N. W. China. Driven thence about 165 B. C. they first occupied the territories of the Scythian (Saka) nomads, and later took possession of Bactria, about 10 B. C. By about 50 A. D. under Kadphises I, the first Kuṣāna king of N. W. India, they had occupied Gandhāra, i.e. most of Afghanīstān, and the Pañjāb as far as Taxila. Kadphises II (A. D. 90—110) and Kaniṣka (ca. 120—160) extended the Kuṣāna dominion certainly as far as Mathurā and probably as far as Benāres; the eastern territories were governed by viceroys (satraps), Kaniṣka’s winter capital being at Purusapura (Peshāwar), and his summer capital at Kapisa in Afghanīstān. The ancient University city of Taxila, on the Indian side of the Indus, lay within easy reach of Peshāwar. The Kuṣāna dominions included also Kaśmir, and in India proper, Mathurā and the Ganges Valley as far as Bihār.

It should be noted that the date of Kaniṣka has been the subject of a great controversy; the dates given above are those now accepted by a majority of Indianists, including the late Vincent Smith (4) and Marshall (6) and in accordance with the results of the excavations at Taxila. Rapson, however, adheres to A. D. 78, the initial year of the Saka era.

In centuries preceding the Christian era the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings of Gandhāra and the Pañjāb had already come under the influence of Indian religions; we have a remarkable instance of this in the pillar erected by Heliodora, ambassador of Antialkidas of Taxila at the court of Vidiśā (Bensagar), about 126 B. C. in honour of Vāsudeva (Krṣṇa); Heliodora calls himself a Bhāgavata (Vaiśṇava). Indian religious symbols appear not only as before on native punch-marked coins, but on various coins of Greek and Indo-Scythian kings from Agathocles (ca. 200 B. C.) onwards. In many cases these symbols had, no doubt, a Buddhist significance, but all are common to Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical usage, and many represent the deities of the cities in which they were struck (e.g. the elephant deity of Kapiša, and the bull deity, probably Śiva, of Puškalāvati). Religious benefactions by Saka satraps or their queens are recorded in the Taxila copper plate (ca. 72 B. C.), the Mathurā lion capital inscription (ca. 30 B. C.
or near the beginning of the Christian era), and a Jaina votive tablet of about 16—17 B.C., likewise from Mathurā. In the first century of the Christian era figures of Indian deities appear on the coins of Gondophares and Kadphises II, followed in the second century by representations of Buddha, and of Śiva with four arms, on coins of Kaniṣṭha. Stūpa bases of the Śaka period, associated with coins of Azes, appear at Taxila.

The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra must now be discussed in greater detail. The whole subject is highly controversial, and even the most important points at issue depend upon a balance of evidence rather than upon positive data. It will be helpful to distinguish, as M. Foucher has done, the Indian from the Hellenistic elements of the iconography. The former, which predominate, include a part evidently of Indian origin, and another part that belongs to the common Indo-Irānian inheritance of "Early Asiac"; for present purposes these can be considered together. The following motifs exemplify those current in pre-Gandhāran Indian art (cf. figs. 85—95):

Types and compositions: Jātakas (cf. figs. 47 and 93); the Sun god; Atlantes; Indra, Brahmā, and Yakṣas as probable prototypes of Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, and Vajrapāṇi; "woman and tree" (Yakṣī or Vṛkṣaka) motif; figures of donors; lotus-seat, &c.

Architectural forms: stūpas; the double-roofed vihāra; the caitya-window arch; Buddhist railing; "Persepolitan capital"; battlements.

Animals: Lion, elephant, bull, horse; winged lion, centaur, and other monsters; hamsa, garuḍa, makara, &c.

Floral: rose-lotus forms; blue-lotus derivatives (palmette and honeysuckle); vine (already at Śāṇcī); various trees.

Patterns: diaper, dog’s tooth, reel and bead, checker, &c.

Symbols: lion, elephant, bull, horse; wheel, triratna, &c.

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¹ Kaniṣṭha is represented in Buddhist literature as a Buddhist emperor like Aśoka. His eclecticism is evident, however, from the fact that the deities represented on his coins include Hindū, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Elamite and other types.

² Spooner, 1, remarks that the evolution of Indra and Brahmā "was an accomplished fact prior to any form of the Gandhāra school with which we are acquainted". One aspect of Vajrapāṇi too, seems to derive from old Indian yakṣa forms. See also Bachhofer, 2 and Grünwedel, Athene-Vajrapāṇi, Jahrb. k. Preuß. Kunstsamml., 1915.

³ This most important characteristic of Gandhāra art will be discussed after the Kuṣāṇa art of the Mathurā school has been described.

⁴ At least three types are now current, (1) the early hemispherical, which is becoming rare, except in Ceylon where it persists at least to the thirteenth century, (2) the type with high cylindrical drum and two vedikā courses (e.g. Vogel, 13, pl. V) which occurs already at Beṣā and has been compared above with Phoenician forms, and (3) the type with a bulbous dome (Vogel, 13, pl. IV). A fourth type which must have differed considerably from these, was that of the pagoda-like wooden relic towers (see p. 33). Cf. Finot and Goloubew.
Costume: Indian ābotī, &c., and jewelry, turbans, &c.,
while the leading Gandhāran forms which do not occur at Sānči, Bhārhut, and Bodhgaya, &c., include:

Types and compositions: the Buddha figure; many Jātaka scenes and scenes from the life of Buddha which now appear for the first time\(^1\) (but in many cases the composition — e. g. the “Visit of Indra” — is practically that of old Indian art, with the Buddha figure inserted); Hārtī (?)\(^2\); garland-bearing Erotes (fig. 89); the nimbus (see pp. 41, 57 ff.).

Architectural: the three Greek orders, especially the Corinthian.

Floral: acanthus.

Costume: various classical, Irānian, and Central Asian garments and jewelry.

The dating of Gandhāran sculptures is a matter of great uncertainty. As remarked by Marshall, “Not one of the thousands of known images bears a date in any known era, nor do considerations of style permit us to determine their chronological sequence with any approach to accuracy”\(^3\). Foucher and others have attempted to prove that the school developed in the first century B. C., relying partly on the supposition that the best examples must have been the earliest, partly on the Bimarān reliquary and the few sculptures which are dated in undetermined eras. The Bimarān reliquary (fig. 88), if we can rely upon Wilson’s (Masson’s) account published in 1841, was associated with coins of Azes\(^4\); it is a golden casket, with standing figures of Buddha and worshippers in relief in niches of Indian form, the base engraved with an Indian lotus. This is generally cited as the earliest example of Graeco-Buddhist art\(^5\); but coins merely provide a terminus post quem, and Wilson himself concluded that the stūpas of Afghānistān “are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era” (loc. cit. p. 322). A headless

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\(^1\) It is rarely safe to assume on negative evidence that a composition first met with in Gandhāran art must be of Gandhāran origin. Compare Figures 47 and 93; if we did not possess the first, we might easily have been misled to suppose that no Indian prototype existed for the second. What we know is only a part of what was produced in stone, and what was executed in stone was only a part, probably a very small part, of the total production.

\(^2\) Marshall, 6, p. 31. For the whole problem consult Adam, Bachhofer, Burgess (8, 9), Codrington, K. de B., Foucher (1, 3, 4), Grünwedel, Marshall (5, 6, &c.), Rapson (2), Rawlinson, Smith (1, 2, 4), Spooner (1—5), Vogel (3, 7, 13), Wilson; also Goloubew, reviewing Foucher, 1, in B. É. F. E. O., 1925, pp. 438 ff., and Coomaraswamy, do. in O. Z., N. F. 1, 1924, and Indian origin of the Buddha figure, J. A. O. S., 1926. Goloubew, loc. cit. remarks: “Rien n’empêche en effet, dans l’état présent de nos connaissances, de supposer que le boudha indo-grec du Gandhāra soit une création plastique postérieur de quelques années au boudha indien de Mathurā.” Smith (4, p. 255) calls the Lahore Pallas Athene type (Smith, 2, fig. 66) “the earliest known Indo-Greek sculpture”, but elsewhere points out that the type is Indianised, and may be late (Smith, 2, p. 116).

\(^3\) Wilson, H., Ariana Antigua, 1841.

\(^4\) Bachhofer; Marshall places it about the beginning of the Christian era, and this is possible.
standing Buddha figure from Loriyan Taingai in the Calcutta Museum is dated 318, which, if the Seleukid era is to be understood, gives 6 A.D.; another figure, from Hasanb Nagar, is dated 384, equivalent by the same reckoning, to 72 A.D.¹. Unsculptured reliquaries and parts of buildings undoubtedly date from the latter part of the first century B.C., e.g. part of the Dharmarajika stūpa², and the Jaina stūpa base at Sirkap³. Thus, all that can be safely said is that the Gandhāra school of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture may date from the first century B.C., probably antedates Kaniśka, and certainly attains its greatest expansion in his reign⁴, and that it continues an abundant production in the third and fourth centuries, with increasing Indianisation both there and in Kaśmir. Gandhāra art is iconographically in part, plasticly almost altogether, a local phase of Hellenistic (not Roman — Roman art is cousin, not parent), descended from the art of the Greek period in Afghanistān and the Pañjab, but applied to themes of Indian origin. It may be described from one point of view as representing an eastward extension of Hellenistic civilization, mixed with Irānian elements, from another as a westward extension of Indian culture in a western garb.

It should be observed that while the Gandhāran Buddha (figs. 89, 90, 94) is stylistically Hellenistic, it follows Indian tradition, verbal or plastic, in every essential of its iconography. The whole conception of the seated yogī and teacher is Indian, and foreign to western psychology, while the Indian Yakṣas afford a prototype for the standing figures. The uṣṇīsa is found already at Bodhgaya, the lotus seat at Sānchī; indeed, the Gandhāran type of lotus, resembling a prickly artichoke, is far from realising the Indian idea of a firm and comfortable (sthira-sukhā) seat, and this is really due to the misunderstanding of a purely Indian idea. Nor can the mudrās, abbaya and dhyāna for example, be anything but Indian. All that is really Hellenistic is the plasticity; the Gandhāran sculptor, even supposing his priority in time, did not so much make an Apollo into a Buddha, as a Buddha into an Apollo. He may not have copied any Indian sculpture, but his Buddha type and that of Mathurā are equally based on a common literary and oral tradition⁶.

¹ Vogel, 3; Bachhofer, pp. 24, 25.
² Marshall, 6, 7.
³ Marshall, 6, p. 73, and pl. XII.
⁴ “It is a point on which most authorities agree, that the palmly days of Buddhism and Buddhist art in Gandhāra coincide with the reign of the great Kuśāna kings, and more especially with that of Kaniśka. This is somewhat more than a hypothesis” (Vogel, 3, p. 258).
⁵ For the Indian conception of the yogī seated in meditation see Bhagavad Gītā, VI, vv. 10—21, and the Samaññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. A seated teacher is represented at Bhārhat, “Dīgha instructing his disciples”, Cunningham, 2, pl. XLVIII, 4; a seated cross-legged figure occurs already on an Indo-Sumerian seal. The westward migration of the Yogī motif is traced by Berstl, who, unacquainted with the examples at Bhārhat, nevertheless inferred its representation in Indian art of the second or third century B.C.
The most important remains of Gandhāran art have been found or still exist at Jalālābād, Hadda, and Bāmiyān in Afgānīstān, in the Svāt Valley (Udyāna), and at or near Taxila and Peshāwar. At Jalālābād (= Nagarahrā, scene of the Dipaṅkara legend) is the Khaestā stūpa, with a magnificent basement; the lower part of the stūpa drum is adorned with niches and statues. At Hadda the Tappa Kalan monastery proved to be a veritable museum of Gandhāra sculpture, but nothing that has been excavated has escaped the iconoclasm of the local Musalmāns. At Bāmiyān are many monasteries, innumerable “caves” and some colossal Buddha images; nothing seems to antedate Kaniṣṭha. One of the colossal images, 53 metres in height, is well proportioned, and slightly “swayed.” The trefoil niche in which it stands preserves remains of painting, more or less Indian in aspect. The painting at Bāmiyān, however, exhibits a great variety of styles, and inclines more to the later Central Asian, than to Indian types, as a rule. The Kaniṣṭha monasteries were built in the open; later in date are the innumerable excavated monastic dwellings. Sculptures from the Svāt valley (Udyāna) and many unknown sources are scattered in various collections all over the world, the most important series being that of the Lahore Museum, which includes the sculptures formerly at Peshāwar. The gray slate in which Gandhāra sculptures are executed is supposed to come from an unknown site in the Svāt valley.

Excavations at Taḵht-i-Bahī, in the heart of the Yūsufzai country and centre of Gandhāra have yielded abundant Gandhāra sculptures; the only actual date available is an inscription of Gondophares, A.D. 46, but most of the remains date from the third to fourth century. The most remarkable monument of Kaniṣṭha’s reign was probably his great stūpa near Peshāwar. To sum up the various descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims, it consisted of a basement in five stages (150 feet), a superstructure ("stūpa") of carved wood in thirteen stories (400 feet), surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 feet) making a total height of 638 feet. The monument was probably a transitional form between the simple stūpa and the Far Eastern pagoda; a storeyed tower represented on a torana architrave in the Mathurā Museum (fig. 69) may perhaps give some idea of its appearance. The site (at Shāh-jī-kī-Dheri) has been

1 Godard; Ferguson, 2, vol. 1, pp. 84ff. Good illustrations of remains in Afgānīstān are given by Hayden.
2 Spooner, 5; and Foucher, 1.
4 Chavannes, 1 p. 424.
5 Vogel, 6, 1909—10, pl. XXVII. Some further suggestion of what such a high wooden tower may have been like may be gleaned from the Go-jū-no-tō, Hōryuji, Japan; or from the Sembutsu Ha-no-tō (Hokke mandara) of the Hasedara monastery, Japan (Japanese temples and their treasures, 11, pl. 209). The Bukkyō Daijiten (Japanese Buddhist Encyclopedia) explains to as etymologically = stūpa. For Indian characteristics in Chinese architecture see also Boerschmann, passim.
identified and excavated. The total base diameter proved to be some 286 feet, and the monument was thus by far the largest of its kind in India (the base diameter of the contemporary Maṇि�kyaḷa stūpa is less than 160 feet). In the relic chamber was found the famous Kaniṣka reliquary (fig. 89). This reliquary consists of a gilt copper alloy cylinder and lid, of total height 7¾ inches. On the lid are a seated nimbrate Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, around the rim a series of bands with extended wings; and on the cylinder are seated Buddhas, a representation of Kaniṣka, and the sun and moon deities, with garland-bearing Erotes. The inscription mentions the names of Kaniṣka and of Agiśala, the Greek or Eurasian craftsman by whom it was made. The inferior workmanship has provided an argument for regarding the Gandhāran art of Kaniṣka’s reign as late in the development of the school, but it is doubtful how far this can be pressed.

The name Taxila (Takṣaśila) covers a number of neighbouring sites. The Bhīr mound has already been referred to; the city of Sirkap is Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian and early Kuṣāṇa; Sirsukh is the city of Kaniṣka’s reign. The area has yielded remains dating from the Mauryan period onwards; Hellenistic art of the Scytho-Parthian period; and Buddhist art mainly of the Kaniṣka period and later. Of true Gandhāran (Graeco-Buddhist) sculpture not a single fragment occurs in Scytho-Parthian or early Kuṣāṇa strata. The remains of fifty or sixty stūpas and many monasteries have been traced. The following are the chief monuments:

Dharmarājikā stūpa (= Chir tope): originally Scytho-Parthian, repaired and enlarged in the Kuṣāṇa period, and partly refaced in the fourth century. In connection with the building of various periods here a succession of masonry types has been established as follows: rubble and kañjur work of the Scytho-Parthian (Kṣatrapa) period, small diaper of the latter part of the first century, massive diaper of the second century, and semi-ashlar of the third and later. The sculptures from this site are all of the later period and include many fine specimens of the stucco Buddha heads of the Indianised Gandhāran type.

Chapel G 5 at the Dharmarājikā site is of interest only because of the discovery beneath its floor of the relics of Buddha, accompanied by an inscribed silver scroll dated equivalent to A.D. 78. The Kuṣāṇa apsidal caitya-hall 13 has the end octagonal instead of round. Chapel F 1 had a floor of thick transparent glass tiles, mostly bright blue.

In the city of Sirkap, the plan of the great palace has been made out; partly of Scytho-Parthian (Kṣatrapa), partly of Kuṣāṇa date, it shows a remarkable resemblance to the planning of Assyrian palaces in Mesopotamia, a feature already

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1. Spooner, 2.
2. Spooner, 2, 4; Foucher, 1; Smith, 2.
3. See Marshall, 6 (the great mass of information contained in this invaluable handbook cannot be adequately condensed in the space here available), and 7.
remarked at Pātaliputra. The Jaina stūpa base in block F, probably of the Kṣatrapa period, has a façade with niches of three types, Greek pediment, Indian caitya-arch, and toṇaṇa: birds are represented as perched on the arches¹, amongst others the double-headed eagle, the oldest known example of this type in India. Temple D is a large structural caitya-hall. An elegant female statue in the round, dateable by the evidence of coins about 50 A.D. is of interest in view of the rarity of early dateable examples of Gandhāra sculpture, and of types in the round generally². Amongst the small copper ornaments found are some comma-shaped forms exactly like the well-known prehistoric Japanese makatama³.

A remarkable temple at Jaṇḍial had a lofty central tower and an otherwise flat roof; certainly not Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical, it may have been a Zoroastrian fire temple with a ziggurat like those of Mesopotamia.

The ancient city of Puṣkalavati⁴ is probably to be identified with the site known as Mīr Ziyārat or Balā Hiṣār at the junction of the Śvāt and Kābul rivers, in the Peshāwar valley. Various sites in the immediate neighbourhood, such as Chārsada (= Haṣṭnagar), Pāḷāṭi Dheri, Ḡhāz Dheri, &c. have yielded remains of Gandhāran art rather above the average quality, and it is noteworthy that at least five of the very few inscribed sculptures of this school, including two with dates in unknown eras, one however supposed to be equivalent to 6 A.D., have come from this area⁵. That Indian influence in Gandhāra was not exclusively Buddhist is illustrated by the occurrence of a Śiva image (Maheśa, a so-called Trimūrti) from Chārsada; the deity is three-headed, three-eyed, and six-armed, and stands before the bull Nandi, holding the damaru, triśūla and kamanḍalu. This type is very close to that of Vāsudeva’s coin, fig. 126. The style is that of the Indianised Gandhāran art of the third century⁶. The same is true of a four-armed female figure from the Momand frontier⁷.

¹ A fact of interest in connection with the resemblance and like usage of the Indian toṇaṇa and Japanese torii, and the meaning of “bird roosting-place” assigned to the latter term.
² A. S. I., A. R., 1919—20, pl. IX.
³ A. S. I., A. R., 1919—20, pl. X. So far as I know, the related tomo-e form appears first on a Gupta seal (Marshall, 3, pl.XXI, 120); it is not uncommon as an architectural ornament in later south Indian art.
⁴ The site of Foucher’s classic picture of the Indian Buddhist visiting the Euranian craftsman and asking him to make a Buddha.
⁵ Bachhofer, 1; Marshall and Vogel; Stratton; Vogel, 3. In the last mentioned the plate references on the first page need correction.
⁶ Natesa Aiyar, 1; and A. S. I., A. R., 1914—15, p. 1, pl. XVI d. The type (seated), whether representing Śiva, or as has been suggested, Lokeśvara, reached Kāśmir and Khotān (Kak, 1, and Stein, 4, pl. 230). Cf. pp. 67, note 1, 99, note 2, and 149. What appears to be part of a three-headed Viṣṇu of the later Kuḻu type is illustrated by Burgess, 8, pl. 22, no. 5. Cf. p. 143, note 4.
⁷ Smith, 2, fig. 78.
Another important group of stūpas, at least fifteen in number, is found at Manikyālā, some twenty miles south east of Rāwalpiṇḍī, and several have yielded valuable relics. The largest, and best preserved of all the Panjab stūpas, is a hemispherical dome of the ancient type, but probably dating from the second or third century and repaired, perhaps in the eighth, when the pillared basement must have been added. Other stūpas are met with further down the valley, at Mohenjo-Daro, where fragments of frescoes have been recovered, and at Thūl Mir Rukhān near Daulatpur, Saidpur, and Mirpur Khas, the latter here regarded as of early Gupta date.

Few sites in India are of greater interest than Mathurā. If all that has been excavated had been adequately surveyed at the time, or if all that remains could be made accessible, it is probable that many of the most doubtful problems of Indian political and artistic history might be solved, and much light would be thrown on the early development of the iconography. Even the rich finds, ranging from the Śuṅga to the Gupta period, which are now preserved in the Mathurā, Lucknow and Calcutta Museums, have not been adequately studied.

The pre-Kuśāna sculptures of the Scytho-Parthian Ksatrapa period have already been alluded to. Here we are chiefly concerned with those assignable to the reign of Kaniška which was the time of greatest production, and those of his immediate successors.

The most obvious characteristic of the Kuśāna school in Mathurā is the fact, by no means astonishing, that it represents in the main a direct development of the older Indian art of Bhārhat and still older art of Besnagar. The position is nevertheless complicated by the development of a new iconography in which the Buddha figure is one of the most important elements, and by the evidence in a few of the sculptures, especially in certain reliefs, of the influence of the contemporary school in Gandhāra.

The early Kuśāna Buddha and Bodhisattva type of Mathurā (figs. 79, 83—85)

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1 Cousens, 8, pl. 10.
2 Bhandarkar, D. R., 7.
3 Cousens, 5; 8, pl. 11.
4 These finds have been secured very largely through the indefatigable efforts of Pandit Radha Krishna, Honorary Curator of the Mathurā Museum. The inadequate space available for the exhibition is by no means compensated for by the publication of Vogel's Catalogue in 1910. No catalogue of any kind is available at Lucknow, and no recent or illustrated catalogue in Calcutta. Publications fully illustrating all that has been found in Mathurā are one of the first necessities.
5 The early inscriptions distinguish by the designations “Buddha” and “Bodhisattva” types which are to all appearances the same; in these cases “Bodhisattva” must refer to Gautama, Śākyamuni, and may be freely equated with “Buddha”. In the early Kuśāna period the iconography is not yet fixed, and there is considerable variety of costume, and it would appear that prototypes of the later crowned Buddhas can already be recognized (fig. 87). It will be noticed that in some cases the right hand raised in abbaya mudrā is held sideways (vyāśṣṭī) in others with the palm forward (parīṇā)) as in all later types. The clenched fist should be a symbol of stability, as it is in dance gesture.
is characterised by the following peculiarities: the sculpture is in the round, or very high relief, and always in the mottled red sandstone of Sikrī or Rūp Bās; the head is shaven, never covered with curls; the usnīṣa, wherever preserved, is spiral; there is no ṭīrṇa and no moustache; the right hand is raised in abhaya mudrā, the left is often clenched, and rests on the thigh in seated figures, or in standing figures supports the folds of the robe, the elbow being always at some distance from the body; the breasts are curiously prominent, though the type is absolutely masculine, and the shoulders very broad; the robe leaves the right shoulder bare; the drapery moulds the flesh very closely, and is arranged in schematic folds; the seat is never a lotus, but always a lion throne (simhāsana) without miniature figures, while in the case of standing figures there is often a seated lion between the feet; the gesture and features are expressive of enormous energy, rather than of repose or sweetness, nor is there any suggestion of intended grace. The nimbus is plain or scalloped at the edge in low relief. All of these characterisations apply with equal force to the early Kuṣāṇa images of Jinas (fig. 86), and the great majority represent the contrary of what is to be found in Gandhāra.

This is in fact the type of which Vogel remarks that it “cannot be derived from any known class of images in Gandhāra”. It is obviously a product of the Indian school, and related by continuous tradition with the type of the pre-Kuṣāṇa Yakṣas. This is especially evident in the case of the great standing images.

The following list includes the more important examples of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Jina type above described, all either dated in, or dateable in or before, the reign of Kaniṣka:

Mathurā (1—6 seated, 7—9, standing): (1) Bodhisattva from the Kaṭrā mound, A 1 of the Mathurā Museum² (fig. 84), with inscription in characters like those of no. 10; (2) Buddha from Anyor, A 2 in the Mathurā Museum, headless, with similar inscription³; (3) Buddha in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 85), without inscription; (4) Buddhas in relief, of small size, not cult images, N i

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¹ Vogel, 6, 1909—10, p. 66. Only for the nimbus and robe has a western origin been suggested (Sahni and Vogel, p. 19). It is hard to believe that the nimbus can have originated outside the classic area of sun-worship. It may be of Irānian origin, or of Indian origin as suggested on p. 41. The earliest examples in India are found on coins of Hermiaos and Maues, thus about 100 B.C. As regards the robe, it is true that the Gandharān craftsman makes it look like a toga, but the actual shape and use accord with the prescriptions in the Pali canon, and must have been fixed long before the first century A.D. The stylistic handling of the drapery in Indian and Gandhāran types could hardly be more unlike; in India the fleshy form is clearly revealed, (“wet drapery”) and the folds of the material are formally arranged, in Gandhāra the body is concealed and the folds of material are loosely and naturalistically treated.

² Vogel, 13, p. 46, and pl. VII.
³ Vogel, 13, p. 48, and pl. VIII.
and J 24 in the Mathurā Museum; (5) Jina from the Kaṅkāli Ṭilā site, J 39 in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 86); (6) Jinas represented in relief on several āyāgapatās from the same site, now in the Lucknow Museum; (7) standing Buddha relief, J 18 in the Mathurā Museum; (8) A 41 in the Mathurā Museum, like nos. 9—12; (9) headless figure from the Gaṅeśa mound, like nos. 10—12, but with ornaments, now in the Lucknow Museum.

Sārnāth: (10) colossal standing Bodhisattva, B (a) 1 in the Sārnāth Museum (fig. 83) dedicated by Friar Bala in the third year of Kaniska (123 A. D.), with a richly carved umbrella, lion between the feet, and traces of original colouring, a magnificent and powerful figure, perhaps the finest of the group, and with no. 1, the most important; (11) headless Bodhisattva of similar type now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The two last similar to no. 7.

Srāvasti: (Sahēth-Mahēth): (12) standing Bodhisattva from the Jetavana site, dedicated by Friar Bala, similar to no. 10, now in the Calcutta Museum; (13) seated figure, all above the waist now missing, but evidently like nos. 1—3, made by “Sivamitra, a sculptor of Mathurā” and set up “in the Jetavana at Srāvasti” by two brothers “with special regard to the welfare of their parents”, the inscription in Kuṣāna Brāhmī script. Pāṭaliputra: (14) Bodhisattva fragment “which can only have been produced by the famous school of sculpture which flourished at Mathurā”, also referred to as “at least one large and inferentially elaborate Bodhisattva statue from Mathurā, which is to be assigned probably to about the dawn of the Christian era or a little later”. No reason is given for this early

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1 Vogel, 13, pp. 148, 166, and pls. III a and IV.
2 Smith, 1, pls. VII, XVII, CI.
3 Vogel, 13, p. 146, and pl. III c. Other very important railing pillars with Bodhisattva or similar figures are numbered B 82, B 83, B 88 in the Lucknow Museum; similar reliefs in the Pennsylvania University Museum (fig. 80). Cf. fig. 87.
4 Smith, 1, pl. LXXXVII.
5 Sahni and Vogel, pp. 18, 33—37 and pls. VII, VIII; Oertel, pl. XXVI a, b. Cf. fig. 96 (head in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The similar figure B (a) 2, Sārnāth Museum, in Chunār sandstone, is regarded by Sahni and Vogel, p. 37, as a copy of the Mathurā type by a local sculptor. Friar Bala’s name occurs also at Srāvasti and in Mathurā (Sahni and Vogel, p. 36). As regards the tendency to colossal size, it may be noted that a detached left hand found at Mathurā (Cunningham, 4, vol. I, p. 239) measured a foot across the palm, indicating a figure twenty four feet high. Cf. also the older statues from Pārkham and Baroda.
6 Smith, 2, fig. 94.
7 Oertel, pl. XXVI d; Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 180ff.; J. A. S. B., XLVII, 1, 1898, p. 278.
8 Sahni, 4. Dedications, not necessarily of images, “for the welfare of departed relatives” are mentioned in the Milinda Panha. The Sāsāci Buddha A 83 was dedicated “for the happiness of the donor’s parents and of all creatures”. Dedications were generally made atmāparabitaṁ, “for the benefit of oneself and others”.
dating. Rājaṅga: (15) fragment of a Kuśāṇa Buddha pedestal of Mathurā origin¹. Sānci: (16) Buddhas, A 82 and A 83 from Mathurā, assigned to the second century, and a Bodhisattva fragment².

In addition to these sculptures the supposed figure of Buddha, but perhaps a king, of the early Kuśāṇa type, seated cross-legged, broad shouldered, the left hand on the thigh, the elbow extended, but with some undetermined object held in the raised right hand, appears on certain coins (fig. 119) of a king Kadapha, who is probably to be identified with Kadphises I, and must have reigned near to the middle of the first century A.D.³. Certain of Kanishka’s coins bear the standing figure of Buddha in loose diaphanous robes, with nimbus and body-halo, and the legend “Boddo” (fig. 123)⁴; others a seated Buddha, apparently with curly hair and in any case of a later type than Kadapha’s, with the legend “Goboydo” (Go[tamo] Budo)⁵. Mr. Longworth Dames believed that the much earlier seated broad-shouldered cross-legged figure on the reverse of a coin of Maues (Smith, 6, p. 12, and pl. VIII, 4) was a figure of Buddha⁶. The type is at least as close to a Buddha figure as that of the Kadapha coin, and would be the earliest Buddha figure known; but the identity cannot be regarded as established beyond all doubt in either case.

None of these examples, other than the doubtful coins of Kadapha and Maues, can be proved to be older than the reign of Kanishka. It would nevertheless by very rash to assume that none of the sculptures can be older, or that any one of them is necessarily the oldest of its kind ever made. In any case Mathurā must have acquired a high reputation as the source of Buddha images before so many colossal figures would have been exported to comparatively distant sites, and this consideration certainly involves the existence of Mathurā Buddhas in the first century A.D.

It is evident from what has been said, and from the illustrations, that a type of Buddha image had been created at Mathurā independently of any Hellenistic prototype; and that this Mathurā type was transported to many other sacred sites, for at the very beginning of Kanishka’s reign we find Mathurā “sending down

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¹ Vogel, 6, 1906—07, p. 143, note.
² Marshall, 12, pp. 29, 30, and pls. II, XII. A 82 Sānci closely resembles A 45 at Mathurā (Vogel, 13, pl. X). See also A. S. I., A. R., 1912—13, Pt. 1, pl. VIII b.
³ For this coin see Whitehead, R. B., pl. XVII, 29; and Smith, V. A., in J. A. S. B., LXVII, pl. 1, 1898; also Marshall, 13, pag. 34 and pl. XXV, 18, 19.
⁴ Gardner, pl. XXVI, 8; Whitehead, R. B., pl. XX, 7; enlarged reproduction, Adam, p. 21.
⁵ Zeit. für Num., 1879, pl. IX, 1; Marshall, 13 pag. 34 and pl. XXV, 20 and Cunningham, Coins of the Kushans, pl. XVII, 12.
⁶ In J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 793.
images to the sacred sites of the Gangetic plains, thus setting examples to the sculptors of Benares and Gayā.”

These facts, taken into consideration with the subsequent continuity of the tradition, and the obvious and natural relationship of Gupta to Kuśāna types, exclude the possibility of a “Greek origin of the Buddha image” in India. That in certain directions a Hellenistic element, plastic and iconographic, was absorbed into Indian art, and that the presence of this factor is sometimes unmistakable, is all that can properly be asserted in this connection.

All the Mathurā sculptures showing traces of Hellenistic influence, taken together, constitute a very small fraction of the whole production of the school. Given the identity of theme, a greater divergence of the early Mathurā Buddha, Bodhisattva and Jina type from that of the Buddha and Bodhisattva of Gandhāra could hardly be imagined (cf. figs. 94, 96). The wide distribution of the Mathurā type and the fact that it was locally copied show that it was regarded as the orthodox model. Incidentally, this has a bearing on the question of the date of the Gandhāra school; for if the Gandhāran type had been evolved and acquired prestige long before Buddhas were made at Mathurā, the Indian sculptors, who had no prejudice against a foreign style, would surely have made use of it. The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure must have been produced simultaneously, probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the first century A.D., in Gandhāra and in Mathurā, in response to a demand created by the internal development of the Buddhism which was common ground in both areas; in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition.

Only after the local types had been established did each affect the other. Here, indeed, there is a legitimate field for discussion with a view to definition of the influence, and of the extent to which its trace can still be recognized in the Buddha type which is definitely established early in the Gupta period (figs. 98, 154, 158—161, 164). The possibility of any further Hellenistic influence having been exercised at that time is of course excluded, as it is well known that the Gandhāra

1 Vogel, 13, pp. 28, 34: “There is plenty of evidence that the Mathurā school greatly influenced Buddhist art throughout the period of its existence”. I fail to understand why Vogel regards this circumstance as “not a little curious”. A study of the literature also shows “que l’église de Mathurā eût parmi les communautés bouddhiques une situation privilégiée et qu’elle eût contribué pour une large part au rayonnement du foi” (Przybylski, p. 9). Mathurā fragments have also been found at Taxila (Marshall, 7, p. 39). The later Kuśāna type has been recognized in Central Asia (Foucher, 1, figs. 562, 563 = Grünwedel, 3, pl. IV, 1, and Stein, 4, II, pl. LXXXII); and in China (Sirén, 1, pp. 37, 38, 43, 66, 144). See also p. 17, and Coomaraswamy, 16.

2 It should not, however, be forgotten that as Le Coq (3, p. 28) remarks “Allen Asiaten erscheinen Europäergesichter (also auch die der Hellenen) sehr unschön”. Cf. Masson-Oursel.

type in Gandhāra and in Kāśmīr was then subject to Indian influence and had already been greatly Indianised.

Somewhat later than the type above described is another closely related to it, characterised by the following peculiarities: the general treatment is rather more refined; the robe is often thrown over both shoulders, and in seated figures, both feet are hidden, and more voluminously rendered; figures, probably of donors, appear on the pedestals; and above all, the head is covered with short curly hair, examples of the shaven head gradually disappearing. Amongst examples of these later Kuśāṇa figures from Mathurā may be cited:

Mathurā: (1) the Sītalā Ghāṭi image, A 21 in the Mathurā Museum1; (2) standing image A 4 in the Mathurā Museum²; (3) small standing image with shoulder flames 25. 439, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston³; (4) Mathurā relief, fig. 104.

Sāñci: no. 19, Sāñci Museum, possibly early Gupta⁴.

It is this type, though it still closely adheres to the vigorous Kaniśka formula, with prominent breasts and full features, that shows the first signs of a rapprochement with Gandhāran art, as indeed, specifically remarked by Goloubew with reference to no. 2⁵. On the other hand, a rapid Indianisation of the Hellenistic type begins in Gandhāra, in general, though not invariably accompanying a degeneration of the style, and a substitution of stucco for stone. Thus, about the end of the second or beginning of the third century some mutual influence of the two styles upon each other is traceable, and it is at this stage if at all that a Hellenistic element can be said to have entered into the constitution of the Buddha type⁶.

The exact date at which the type with curly hair appears is uncertain; Sahni⁷, restricts it to the Gupta and subsequent periods, but it certainly appears, both in Gandhāra and Mathurā before the end of the third and probably before the end of the second century. The source of the type is probably to be found in the tradition which first appears in the Nidânakathā to the effect that when the Bod-

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1 Vogel, 13, pl. XVI.
2 Vogel, 13, pl. XV a.
3 One of very few known examples, the others all Gandhāran: see A. S. I., A. R., 1921—22, p. 63; 1922—23, pl. XXV; and J. A. S. B., III, pl. XXVI, i. Figures of Siwa and of kings on Kuśāṇa coins also exhibit shoulder flames. Cf. the "essence of fire and hereditary royalty" of the Devarāja cult (see page 197).
5 Marshall, 12, pl. 11.
6 B. É. F. E. O., 1923, p. 452.
7 A conclusion quite in accordance with the fact that Gandhāran characters are rather more clearly traceable at Amarāvatī than at Mathurā.
8 Sahni and Vogel, p. 33, note 8, but contradicted, ibid. p. 75.
hisattva shore his locks, becoming a hermit, his hair “was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to his head, and so remained as long as he lived”¹. The spiral form of the early Kuśāna usṇīṣa must have a like meaning, the later type merely covering the whole head with short curls in place of the original single lock. This later type becomes the universal rule, alike in India and the Far East, only one figure with shaven head (the Māṅkuwār image fig. 62) being known of early Gupta date.

If none of the Buddha images in the round found at Mathurā can be said to be copies of Gandhāra types, and only the later Kuśāna type exhibits a few Gandhāran characteristics, the same cannot be said in the case of the rarer reliefs illustrating scenes from the Life, particularly the Eight Great Miracles. Good examples of such reliefs include H. 1 (fig. 104), H 7 and H 11 of the Mathurā Museum; here, as remarked by Vogel, the copying of Gandhāran compositions is evident². The same applies to the life-scenes of the Dhruv Tīlā stūpa-drum, N 2 of the Mathurā Museum, described by Foucher as a “caricature lamentable-ment indianisée” of the stūpa-drum of the Lahore Museum from Sikri in the Peshāwar district³. The decorative motif of garland-bearing Erotes, already indi anised at Mathurā (fig. 76), and much more so by the time it reaches Amarāvatī, is likewise of Gandhāran origin. The only example of actual Gandhāran sculpture in the well-known blue slate of the Swāt valley certainly found in Mathurā is a late image of Hāriti, the “Buddhist Madonna” and consort of Kubera as Pāncika, F 42 in the Mathurā Museum⁴. Another group of sculptures, stylistically Indian, is nevertheless strongly suggestive of the West in respect of its themes; well-known examples include the so-called Herakles and the Nemean lion, and the various Bacchanalian compositions, which are really representations of the aforesaid Pāncika and are of Buddhist significance⁵.

No complete railings have been traced in Mathurā, but parts of many different Buddhist and Jaina railings have been discovered at several sites. Of these the most important are the pillars and pillar-bases from the Jamālpur (“Jail”) mound, also the source of the water-nymph (fig. 74), most of the pillars and the nymph being now in the Lucknow Museum, the bases divided between Calcutta and

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 93.
² Vogel, 13, pl. VI; Vogel 6, 1909—10, pls. XXV, etc.
³ Smith, 1, pls. CV—CVII; Foucher, in J. A., serie X, vol. 11, 1903, p. 323; Vogel, 13, pp. 166—168. Sikri near Peshāwar should not be confused with Sikri, one source of the red sandstone used at Mathurā.
⁴ Vogel, 13, p. 118; Burgess, 8, pls. 56, 57. For the “Buddhist Madonna” and “Tutelary pair” (Hāriti and Pāncika) see Foucher, 4, and for examples from Mathurā, Vogel, 6, 1909—10.
⁵ For the Bacchanalian scenes see Smith, 4, pp. 134—139 and references there cited; Vogel, 6, 10, 13, 16; Coomaraswamy, 9, 2, pl. III; Foucher, 1, vol. II, p. 151.
Lucknow: pillar bases from the Court-house mound; pillars and cross-bars from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā site of the Jaina Yaśa-vihāra and stūpa of Vāsiṣṭha: pillars from the Bhūteśar site, divided between the Calcutta, Lucknow and Mathurā Museums: those from Jaisalghpura, and some others.

The pillars and bases from the Jamālpur mound are of three sizes; some bear dedicatory inscriptions of the reigns of Kaniṣṭha and Huviṣṭa. Those from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā are associated with inscriptions ranging from the Kuśāna years five to ninety eight. Older fragments are not unknown, one from the Arjunpura site bearing a Mauryan inscription; but those here considered appear to belong for the most part to the latter half of the first, and to the first half of the second centuries A. D., with some perhaps as late as the end of the second century. It is unfortunate that so many of the Mathurā pillars, and āyāgapatās cannot individually be more exactly dated. The Mathurā excavations were conducted solely with a view to collecting sculptures and without regard to scientific observation of the sites; and the difficulties of study have been increased by a distribution of sculptures from the same site amongst at least three different museums.

The sculptures represented in high relief on the front sides of the pillars include Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Yakṣīs (or Vṛkṣakās), toilet scenes and other genre subjects, and a few male figures; the backs of the pillars bear lotus medallions, or in a few examples, Jātaka panels. Of the Bodhisattvas or Buddhas, the standing figure from the Jamālpur site, B 83 in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 79) is identical in type with the Sārnāth Bodhisattva from Mathurā, dated in the third year of Kaniṣṭha. J 18 in the Mathurā Museum is of the same kind. B 82 in the Lucknow Museum (fig. 78) is a crowned Bodhisattva in secular costume, holding the amṛta vase in the left hand, and having the representation of a Dhyāni Buddha in the crown. This is one of the earliest examples of an Avalokiteśvara thus unmistakeably designated: for a Gandhāran example see fig. 95. B 88 in the Lucknow

1 Fa Hsien describes about twenty Buddhist monasteries with three thousand monks as existing in Mathurā at the beginning of the fifth century. Some of these are represented by the mounds from which sculptures have been extracted. Amongst the buildings for which rather more precise evidence exists may be mentioned the Jaina Guha-vihāra founded by the chief queen of the Satrap Rañjabula towards the end of the first century B. C.; the main Jaina establishment with the Vodva stūpa at the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā site, which had existed in the second century B. C. and survived into the twelfth A. D.; the Buddhist Yaśa-vihāra and stūpa at the Kaṭrā site, restored by Vāsiṣṭha, later replaced by a Brāhmaṇical temple and finally by Aurangzeb’s mosque; the Buddhist monasteries and stūpas at the Jamālpur and Court-House sites, with a monastery named for Huviṣṭa and a shrine of the Nāgarāja Dadhikāra; the Brāhmaṇical temple at Mār, mentioned in two inscriptions as a deva-kuṭa, source of the royal statues, and perhaps the particular church of the Kuśāna kings. For a general account of these sites, see Vogel, 13; for other details, Smith, 1, Cunningham, 4, vol. III, and Vogel, 6, 10, 15, 16. An inscription indicating the existence of a Vaiṣṇava shrine with a torāṇa and vedikā at or near Mathurā in the reign of Soḍāsa has been edited by Chanda, 4, pp. 169—173.
Museum is another figure in secular costume, holding a bunch of lotuses in the raised right hand, and probably represents a donor (fig. 77), or may be connected with the Dīpaṅkara legend.

The great majority of the remaining figures are female (figs. 73—75). The commonest and most characteristic type, indeed, is that of the nude or semi-nude female figures associated with trees, unmistakeable descendants of the Yakṣīs and Vṛksaṅkas of Bhārhat, Bodhgaya and Śānci, and ancestors of the Rāmeśvaram verandah brackets at Elūrā, those of the Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādāmī, and many later derivatives. What is the meaning of these sensuous figures, whose connotation and implications are by anything but Buddhist or Jaina? They are certainly not, as they used to be called, dancing girls; they are Yakṣīs, Devatās or Vṛksaṅkas, nymphs and dryads, and to be regarded as auspicious emblems of vegetative fertility, derived from popular beliefs. Trees, as we have already seen, are closely connected with fertility, and tree marriages have survived to the present day; the twining of the limbs of the dryads, as in the Bodhgaya pillar, deliberately or unconsciously expresses the same idea. It will, indeed, have been observed that there is scarcely a single female figure represented in early Indian art without erotic suggestion of some kind, implied, or explicitly expressed and emphasized; nowhere, indeed, has the vegetative sexual motif been presented with greater frankness or transparency, though in certain later phases of Indian art, as at Khajurāho and Koṇārak, more specifically. The railing types are to be connected with and perhaps derived from the early terracottas, which in their

1 Even Le Coq, 3, p. 82, makes the mistake of describing Māyādevi’s stance in the Nativity scene as “in der Tänzerinnenstellung”; No Indian representation of a dancer in this position can be cited. It may be remarked further, that no sufficient reason exists for the usual description of the female figure on the coins of Pantaleion and Agathokles as an “Indian dancing girl”. For the Bhārhat figures, however, cf. Mitra, K., Music and dance in the Vimāṇavatthu-atthakathā, J. B. O. R. S., XII, 1926.

2 The later Samuel’s speak of trees as the homes of Gandharvas and Apsaras. Vogel, 13, p. 44, quotes appositely from the Mahābhārata, “Who art thou, bending down the branch of the Kadamba tree? A Devatā, a Yakṣi, a Dānavi, an Apsaras, a Daityā, a Nāgini, or a Rakṣasi?” The Mbh. also speaks of dryads (Vṛśaṅka, Vārkiṣ) as “goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children”. The female figures associated with trees in Bhārhat reliefs are labelled as Yakṣis and as Devatās. On the other hand some of the figures standing under trees are evidently human. The special adaptations of the dryad motif (1) in the case of the Buddha Nativity in the Lumbini garden, where Māyādevi supports herself by the Sāl tree, and (2) in the poetical fancy of the Aśoka tree, which blooms only when touched by the foot of a beautiful woman, are evidently secondary, though still closely connected with the idea of fertility. For the general significance of feminine divinities worshipped through the ancient world see Glotz, J., The Aegian civilisation, 1925, pp. 243—245.

3 Cf. the tree-girl married by the ten Pracetas in Mahābhārata, I, 196, 15; and Hsüan Tsang’s story of the origin of the name Paṭaliputra, from the marriage of a student to the maiden of a Paṭalī tree, resulting in human offspring.
turn remind us of the nude goddess once worshipped throughout Western Asia, and of the gold plaque of the Earth goddess from Lāruśyā-Nandangarh. In the presence of these emblems of abundance we must not be misled by modern ideas; their meaning, if not Buddhist or Jaina, is nevertheless religious, and reveals an essential purity of spirit that has at all times preserved the East from many psychological disasters that have overtaken the West. The two polar themes of Indian, indeed, of all experience, are there presented, side by side, though not in opposition; in much later, mediaeval, Vaiśṇava art we find them unified 1.

Reference must also be made to an isolated column (fig. 74) from the Jamālpur site representing the almost nude figure of a woman or water-nymph, an *apsaras* in the etymological sense of the word, represented as standing on lotus flower springing from a globular jar 2. The conception in related to that of the Mayadevī and Lākṣmī types, and might be described as the completest possible treatment of the auspicious motif of the “full jar” (*punña-ghāta*) an auspicious symbol of abundance common in early Indian art 3. If we combine this Mathurā water-nymph with the woman and child type of J 16 (fig. 73) in the Mathurā Museum, we have the exact components of the water-sprite of the well-known eighth century fresco (fig. 283) at Dandān Uiliq, Khotān, where the erotic, or rather, fertility motif is even more evident 4.

The Yakṣis and dryads are not the only figures found on the railing pillars. Some figures are evidently those of mortal women, and the themes in favour are generally toilet scenes. Amongst others there occurs the well-known motif of a woman wringing the water from her long tresses, which is common in Rājput painting, and has received an edifying interpretation in the Buddhist art of the Farther India 5. In a Mathurā relief a crane is drinking the drops of water that fall from the hair, as though they were raindrops falling from a dark cloud. Jātaka scenes are found in some cases occupying square panels on the reverse sides of the pillars each panel complete in itself; amongst those represented being the universal

1 The subject has been ably discussed by Berstl, who traces the westward migration of both motifs, Vṛkṣakā and Yogi, via Alexandria and Syria. See also an admirable article on *Art and Love*, by Eric Gill, in Rūpam, no. 21; and remarks by Keyserling, *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, vol. 1, p. 97.
3 Cf. the Māyādevi-Lākṣmī series at Sānc, illustrated in Foucher, 3.
4 For the Dandān Uiliq fresco, see p. 150 and fig. 283. For J 16, Mathurā, see Vogel, 13, p. 146; the “dwarf, crouching at her feet” is really a child trying to grasp a rattle held in the woman’s hand.
5 For the story of the Water of Merit wrung from her hair by the Earth Goddess Vasundhāra (Burm. Wathundayā), see Duroiselle, in A. S. I., A. R., 1921—22; Salmony; Coedes in M. C. A. O., II, p. 117—22. The motif is also found at Amarāvati, Burgess, 7, pl. XI, 4.
favorite, the *Vessantara Jātaka*¹. A pillar of Mathurā stone with a Vṛksakā in typical Mathurā style has been found at Tāndwā, near Sahēth-Mahēth².

The Buddhist and Jaina sculptures above described by no means exhaust the productions of the Mathurā workshops. The portrait statues of Kuśāna kings are of very special interest; they include the well-known inscribed, but unfortunately headless statue of Kaniṣṭha found at Māt (fig. 65), several others more fragmentary from the same site, and the complete figure now worshipped in Mathurā as Gokarṇeśvara³. Similar types on coins are illustrated in figure 120, 122, 123, 124. All the figures, standing or seated, are in a purely Indian style of art, but the costume, consisting of a pointed cap, tunic, open coat, trousers and high heavy boots, is Central Asian⁴. The latter point is of interest in connection with the early Mathurā images of the Sun (Sūrya), which are represented in a similar costume, especially as regards the boots; it is by no means impossible that the Kuśāna kings, whose attachment to the cults of Fire (whether Magian or Indian) is well known, and who paid special honour to the Sun, may have set up and popularised a form of Sūrya image dressed in their own fashion⁵.

The early Brāhmanical fragments found at Mathurā have not been adequately studied; they include representations of Śiva, various forms of Devī, a slab, D 47 in the Mathurā Museum, representing Kṛṣṇa as Govardhanadhara⁶ (fig. 102), and a three-headed image, E 12 in the Mathurā Museum, not identified; and many

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¹ The method of continuous narration is highly characteristic at Bhārhat and Sānel, and it is curious that it is not found at Mathurā, and is very rare in Gandhāra, though it reappears in Khotān and is common in later Indian art, including Rājput painting. The method is familiar in late classical western art, and is supposed by Stryzgowski (I, p. 39) to have originated in the Hellenistic Near East. Della Setta regards both the method of continuous narration and the use of the three-quarter profile in early Indian art as evidences of western influence.

² “From which it would appear that Mathurā must have been the great manufactory for the supply of Buddhist sculpture in northern India” (Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, pp. 70 ff.). The Tāndwā figure is now worshipped as Sītā-māt. Another Mathurā sculpture, found at Tusāranbhār, Partabgarh District, is a group of seven or eight figures, mostly nude females, perhaps a Bacchanalian scene (Cunningham, loc. cit. p. 65). Cf. supra, pp. 57 ff., on the export of Buddha images from Mathurā.

³ For the images of Kuśāna kings see Vogel 15; and A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21, p. 23 and pl. XVIII. One of the Māt figures bears the name of the Andhra king Caṭṭana, who reigned ca. 80—110 A.D. (J. B. O. R. S., VI, 1920, pp. 51—53). Vogel, loc. cit. (15) quotes an inscription from the Morā site speaking of “images of the Five Heroes” (Pāṇḍavas) and reproduces torsos which may have belonged to the figures in question.

⁴ Another common form of the Kuśāna coat fastens at the side and is hardly distinguishable from the Mughal jāma.

⁵ Vogel, 15, p. 127.

⁶ Vaiśāpava sculptures from the mediaeval Keśava Deva temple at the Kāṭrā site, destroyed by Aurangzeb, must not be confused with those of Kuśāna date. Cf. D 26 in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, 15, p. 100.
small images of Kuśāna and early Gupta date. Siva is represented with or without the bull, two-armed and nimbate on all the coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniška’s predecessor; this Kadphises was a worshipper of Śiva and himself used the style “Maheśvara” which may indicate that he claimed to be a descent of the god. A great variety of deities appears on Kaniška’s coins, amongst them being Śiva in two- and four-armed types (fig. 122, 125, 126), the Buddha above referred to (fig. 123), the Sun and Moon, Skanda and Viśākha, a Fire-god and a Wind-god, running¹ (fig. 128). The latter, if not to be identified with Hanuman, is certainly a prototype of many later representations of the “Son of the Wind”². An early Kuśāna seal of fine quality also bears the figure of a two-armed Śiva³.

A Śiva-liṅga with a figure of Śiva, analogous to the older Guḍimallam figure described above, but four-armed, is certainly a Mathurā work of the second or third century A.D.; its present position is unknown (fig. 68). The fact is so curious as to be worth mentioning that an image of Ardhanārīśvara (the combination of Śiva and Devī in one half-male, half-female figure) is unmistakeably described by a Greek author, Stobaeus (fl. ca. 500 A.D.), quoting Bardasanes, who reports the account of an Indian who visited Syria in the time of Antoninus of Emesa, i.e., Eligabalus, who reigned 218—222 A.D.⁴.

The seated Sun images from Mathurā are of great interest. The type occurs at Bhājā in an uncanonical form, then on a railing pillar at Bodhgayā (fig. 61) where it is strictly symmetrical, and evidently follows a literary source. Probably the earliest Mathurā figure is that from the Saptasamudrī well, D 46 in the Mathurā Museum (fig. 103)⁵. Here the Sun is represented as squatting in a car drawn by four horses and holding some object in each hand; especially to be remarked is the sun-disk or nimbus behind him, quite plain except for the indication of rays around its edge; there are also small shoulder wings, peculiar to this example. In two other images, one in Boston⁶, and one in the Mathurā Museum the car and

¹ For the development of the iconography on the coins see Macdonell, 2, 3, 4; Stein, 1; and the coin catalogues of the Calcutta, Lahore, and British Museums. A three-headed figure occurring on Ujjain coins assigned to the second century B.C. has been regarded as representing Śiva, “whose temple stood in the Mahākāla forest to the north of the city” (C. H. I., p. 332, and pl. V, 119). Strong evidence would be needed to prove the existence of a polyccephalous type at that time; Cunningham (3, pl. X, fig. 6), however, also dates this coin in the second century B.C., assigning it to Śātakarni, third Āndhra king.

² Cf. Coomasawamy, 4, fig. 59.


⁴ The full reference, for which I am indebted to my colleague Mr. A. Sanborn, is Stobaeus, *Elogorum Physicorum et Ethicorum*, ed. L. Herren, Göttingen, 1792, Bk. 1, Ch. IV, Sec. 56. Ferguson quotes the “Gainsford edition”, p. 54.

⁵ Vogel, 13, p. 104. For the Bodhgayā Sūrya, see Marshall in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1096.

⁶ Coomasawamy, 9 (2), pl. 1.
horses, though the latter are still four in number, are still further reduced, and it can be seen that the costume consists of a cuirass and boots, while the attributes are a kind of club or mace and a staff or more probably a sword; in the Mathurā example the nimbus is preserved, and is marked by curved radiating rays. The two last mentioned are in a cream-coloured sandstone. These images may be compared with two others, one in the Mathurā Museum (fig. 64) representing a royal personage, apparently a Kuṣāna king in tunic and boots, with the same attributes, but without horses, and seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar; the other in purely Indian costume, torso nude, and holding in the left hand a cup, and flanked by two small figures of women, is apparently a Bacchanalian Yakṣa. Standing Sun images apparently of Kuṣāna age and the same type (with cuirass and boots) are numbered D 1 and D 3 in the Mathurā Museum but have not been published).

It is evident that a cult of Yakṣas and Nāgas continued to flourish in the Kuṣāna period, each of these classes of beings evidently partaking in some measure of the character of a genius loci or land-wight, and receiving honour as the presiding genius of a city, district, or lake or well. The Yakṣa is a massive, and often pot-bellied (kalodara) type, whose ancestors we have noticed above; the type is likewise adapted to many other purposes in this period of undeveloped and unstable iconography, and gives rise not only to the Buddhist Pāncika-Jambhala and very probably to Bodhisattva types like Friar Bala’s at Sārnāth, but also to the later Hindū Gaṇeśa. The Nāga is represented in human form, but with snake hoods attached to the shoulders and rising above the head; the finest Kuṣāna example is perhaps the life-size figure, C 13 in the Mathurā Museum, dated in the fortieth year of Huviṣka. Others in Mathurā and in local stone to be seen at Sānci are of Gupta date and over life-size. There is also a Bacchanalian type (C 15 in the Mathurā Museum). The nature and importance of the old Indian cult of Nāgas can be best realised from a study of its survivals in the Pañjab Himālayas, where snake-gods are still by far the most common objects of worship; the Nāgas are genii of lakes and springs, and worshipped as powers of the waters, alike in their beneficent and their destructive aspects.

1 Vogel, 13, p. 94.
2 Chanda, 1; Gangoly, O. C., in Modern Review, Oct. 1919.
3 Cf. Scherman. The pot-bellied type has something to do with the iconographic origins of Agastya (e. g. from Candik Bandon, Java fig. 359), Durvasa Mahārṣi (Dhenupureśvara temple, Palleśvaram, Tanjore District), and of Gaṇeśa.
5 Emerson, Historical aspects of some Himalayan customs, J. P. H. S., VIII, 2, 1921, p. 193; Hutchinson, J., and Vogel, J. Ph., History of Bhadravāt State, ibid, IV, 2, 1916, p. 123; Kangra Gazetteer, pt. 11, 1917, p. 62. The accounts of Sung Yün and Hsüan Tsang show that the Nāga cult was still flourishing in the Pañjab and Ganges valley in the fifth and seventh centuries.
It is noteworthy that an identical form surviving in modern art is worshipped as Baldeo, i.e. Balarāma. Now in the Mahābhārata, 13, 147, 54ff., Baladeva is described as having a head wreathed with snakes, as carrying a club, and as being addicted to drink, and he is identified with Seṣa-Nāga from which it would appear not unlikely that some of the old Mathurā Nāgas may really have been regarded as images of Balarāma1.

Sacrificial posts (yūpa) in stone with one of the earliest inscriptions in pure Sanskrit were set up at Īsāpur near Mathurā by Vāsiṣṭa, a son, viceroy and successor of Kaniṣka, in the Kuśāna year 24 (144 A. D.?) and wooden sacrificial posts of like date also have been preserved2.

For the Mathurā railing pillars, many and perhaps most of which may be of Kuśāna date, see above, p. 63.

Mathurā, if the most prolific, was not of course an isolated or unique centre of production in the Kuśāna period. Every excavated site which was continuously occupied during the Kuśāna period has yielded corresponding antiquites, and of these Pawāyā (= Padmāvati), Bhīṭā, Basāṛh (= Vaiśāli), Besnagar, Sārnāth and Pāṭaliputra may be mentioned. The site of the old Suratgarh fort in Bikanir has yielded late Kuśāna or early Gupta moulded bricks and terra-cottas showing Gandhāran characteristics, and others representing Brāhmānic subjects, including an Umā-Maheśvara group, a Kṛṣṇa-Govardhanadhara and a Dān-Lilā scene3. Kaśmīr was a part of Kaniṣka’s dominions and is discussed in another chapter: Kaniṣka’s influence extended to Khotān, “where India and China meet”.

South of the Vindhyās, the powerful kingdom of the Āndhras had embraced the whole of the Dekkhan from east to west long before the beginning of the Christian era: the earlier caves (caitya-halls and vihāras) have already been referred to. Of those of the later Āndhra period the most important are the excavated caitya-hall at Kaṇheṣṭi, and Cave III at Nāsik. The Kaṇheṣṭi hall is a large one, in the style of the older caitya-hall at Kārli, and like that has figures of royal donors carved on the outer screen (fig. 135). The roof inside was ornamented with wooden rafters of which the pegs are still in place; in front, as in the Nāsik, there is an elaborately decorated railing in relief, quite suggestive of the great structural railing at Amarāvati. Some of the capitals bear representations of the worship of pāduka; the Buddha figures carved above those of the donors on the screen are

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1 Vogel, 10; 13, pp. 45, 48; 15, p. 122. Some of the Bacchanalian Nāgas hold instead of a cup, a flask like Maitreyā’s; suggesting that the amṛtaflask may once have been a bottle of wine.


doubtless of later date. The hall itself and figures of donors may date about the end of the second century.  

The vihāra at Nāsik (Gautamiputra cave, Cave III) is just like the older Nāhapaṇa vihāra, Cave VIII in plan, both square halls with cells on the three inner sides, and a verandah in front; the one is evidently a later copy of the other, and may be dated about 130 A.D. A little later is the Śrī Yajña cave, No. 15, dateable about 180 A.D. and chiefly remarkable for the small shrine excavated at the farther end, probably in the Gupta period, and containing figures of Buddha, and in front, two richly carved pillars with horizontally ribbed brackets like the early Pallava forms.

The monuments of the Āndhras in the east, in Veṅgi, are more magnificent. By far the most important is the great stūpa at Amarāvati (figs. 136—141 and 144—146). A stūpa certainly existed here in the second century B.C., and some sculpture fragments from this period survive. But the sculptured casing slabs of the monument and the great railing, the most elaborate ever made: are additions of the late second century A.D., and the Buddha figures in the round of the same date or a little later. All the stone is marble, and must have been covered originally with thin plaster, coloured and gilt.

More than one of the casing slabs affords a picture of the stūpa as it must have appeared in the height of its glory (fig. 136); others are carved with scenes of worship and from the life of Buddha. The slabs were apparently arranged, in two tiers, forming a kind of wainscot on the stūpa-drum, which was about a hundred and sixty feet in diameter. The single railing was about six hundred feet in circumference and thirteen or fourteen in height. Each upright (thaba) was decorated with one full lotus disk in the centre and a half disk above and below, often with crowded figure sculpture between; or the disks themselves, in place of the full lotus, may be elaborately carved. The coping bore a long wavy floral scroll, carried by men who are really Indianised analogues of the garland-bearing Erotes of Gandhāra, which found their way into India via Mathurā. The inner face of the railing was even more elaborately treated. It has been estimated that the railing alone provided a superficial area of nearly 17,000 square feet covered with delicate reliefs, while the stūpa itself, all the lower part of which was cased in carved stone, had a diameter of 162 feet. The various stories illustrated involve the representation of abundant architectural detail; there are walled and moated cities, palace buildings, toranas, stūpas, and at least one elaborate temple of the Bodhi tree. It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the luxurious beauty.

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1 Fergusson, 2, vol. 1; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, vol. 1; Burgess, 8, pls. 24, 212.
2 Fergusson, 2, vol. 1, pp. 183 ff.; Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1.; Fergusson, 1, 2.
3 Burgess, 7, 8 (pls. 209, 210); Rea, 4.
or the technical proficiency of the Amarāvati reliefs; this is the most voluptuous and the most delicate flower of Indian sculpture. Compared with such a liveliness and chic as this, even the lovely traceries of Mt Ābu seem to be mechanical.

In the casing reliefs we find side by side the old method of representing the Buddha by symbols, and the human figure of more recent introduction. The statues of Buddha in the round (figs. 97 and 137—139), which may date from the beginning of the third century are magnificent and powerful creations, much more nearly of the Anurādhapura (Ceylon) than of the Mathurā type. The type is severe, but the features are full, the body often anything but slender, and the expression is at once aristocratic and benign. All have short curly hair.

**GUPTA PERIOD 320—600 A. D.**

A rājā of Pāṭaliputra, who assumed the name of Candragupta I and extended his dominions as far as Allahābād (Prayāg), established the Gupta era, 319—20, to commemorate his coronation. Samudragupta extended the kingdom to the Satlaj, and made conquests in Southern India. Candragupta II, the legendary Vikramāditya, annexed Mālwā and Ujjain, and dispossessed the Saka rulers of Surāṣṭra, known as the Western Satraps; he removed the capital to Ayodhyā. The White Hūns invaded northern India in the reign of Kumāragupta I, and in the time of Skandagupta, about 480, broke up the empire. In about 528 the Hūns, under Mihiragula, were defeated by Balāditya, a later Gupta, allied to a rājā of Mālwā, and those of the Hūns who were not permanently settled in Rājputāna retired to Kaśmīr. As a culture period, and for the purposes of this book, the Gupta period is taken as covering the years 320—600 A. D.

The outstanding characteristic of the art of India at this time is its classical quality. In the Kuśāna period the cult image is still a new and important conception, and there we find, quite naturally, magnificent primitives, or "clumsy and unwieldy figures", according to our choice of terms. In the Gupta period the image has taken its place in architecture; becoming necessary, it loses its importance, and enters into the general decorative scheme, and in this integration acquires delicacy and repose. At the same time technique is perfected, and used as a language without conscious effort, it becomes the medium of conscious and explicit statement of spiritual conceptions; this is equally true of sculpture, painting, and the dance. With a new beauty of definition it establishes the classical phase of Indian art, at once serene and energetic, spiritual and voluptuous. The formulae of Indian taste are now definitely crystallised and universally accepted; iconographic types, and compositions, still variable in the Kuśāna period, are now standardised in forms whose influence extended far beyond the Ganges valley,
and of which the influence was felt, not only throughout India and Ceylon, but far beyond the confines of India proper, surviving to the present day.

The period is often described as one of the revival of Brāhmaṇism and of Sanskrit learning and literature. But actually there is no evidence of any preceding lack of continuity in the development of Brāhmaṇical culture. The kāvyā style is already foreshadowed in the Rāmāyana and fairly well developed in the second century A. D. Certainly there had never existed a “Buddhist India” that was not as much and at the same time and in the same areas a Hindū India. In any case, an age of heightened aesthetic consciousness, of final redactions of the Epics and purānas, and of codifications and systematisation in the arts\(^1\) must have been preceded by centuries, not of inactivity, but of intense and creative activity. The period is thus one of culmination, of florescence, rather than of renaissance. No more than a passing allusion can be made here to the close parallels that exist at this time between the development of art and literature: the same abundance pervades the Sanskrit kāvyā literature, the Ajanṭā paintings and the decoration of the Gupta reliefs.

The rich decorative resources of Gupta art are to be understood in terms of its inheritance, indigenous, Early Asiatic, Persian and Hellenistic. The Gupta style is unified and national. Plastically, the style is derived from that of Mathurā in the Kuśāna period, by refinement and definition, tendencies destined still later, in the natural course of events, to imply attenuation. Meanwhile Gupta sculpture, though less ponderous than the ancient types, is still distinguished by its volume, its energy proceeds from within the form, and is static rather than kinetic, a condition that is reversed only in the mediaeval period. In all these respects Gupta art marks the zenith in a perfectly normal cycle of artistic evolution. In India, as elsewhere, we find a succession of primitive, classical, romantic, rococo, and finally mechanical forms; the evolution is continuous, and often, especially in the earlier periods, rapid; and wherever our knowledge is adequate, Indian works, like those of other countries, can be closely dated on stylistic evidence alone.

The school of Gandhāra, in the earlier part of the Gupta period, continues to flourish in the North West, though in more or less Indianised forms. The remains at Jauliān and Mohrā Morādu (Taxila) afford a good illustration of its character. The former consist of a main and smaller stūpas, chapels, and a monastery; the latter with an assembly hall, refectory, kitchen, store-room, bathroom and latrine, indicating a comparatively luxurious development, and that the monks no longer depended upon the begging bowl for all their food. The sculp-

\(^1\) An important piece of evidence given by Hsüen Tsang proves what might in any case have been inferred, the existence of Śīlpa-śāstras in the late Gupta period: he mentions five Viḍyās or Śāstras, of which the second is the Śīlpatthānavidyā (Beal, I, p. 78).
tures date from a little before or after 400 A.D. There is no evidence that any appreciable production in stone took place after the third century; almost all the Jaulian sculpture is executed in clay or stucco, once coloured and gilt. The style is still fairly vigorous, freer, indeed, and more animated than that of the earlier work in stone; it is at once less refined, less well-considered, and less academic. It is profoundly Indianised; but it cannot be equated in any aesthetic sense with the central productions of Gupta art, and in comparison with these is essentially provincial.

The Bhallar stūpa, of third or fourth century date, at Taxila, with an unusually high drum, stands on a rectangular basement approached by one flight of steps, illustrating the simple form from which the many-terraced types of Kāśmir and Java and Burma were later evolved.

Farther to the North West, at Chārsada and other old sites near Puṣkālāvatī, Gandhāran stucco and clay figures have been found, similar to those of Jaulian, but of finer and more pleasing quality, though likewise dating about 400.

Other stūpas of early Gupta date are found in the Sind valley, and of these the Mirpur Khās example is the most important; it is a brick structure standing on a square basement, and chiefly remarkable for the existence of three small chapels or cells within the mass of the basement on the western side, affording the only Indian instance of a type of structure combining stūpa and chapels in a way later on to be greatly elaborated in Burma. In the central chapel there is a true brick arch. The decoration consists of carved bricks, like those of Jamāl-pārhi, Bikanir, and other early Gupta sites, both Buddhist and Hindu. There are also terracotta Būddhas, with Gandhāran affinities, at the figure of a donor, still preserving its original colours, the flesh wheat-coloured, the hair or wig black, the waist-cloth red. Most of the Gandhāra sites seem to have been wrecked.

1 Marshall, 6, 7.
2 Marshall, 5, pl. XXVIII.
3 Marshall and Vogel.
4 It may be remarked here that many isolated occurrences of a true vaulted arch are found in Indian architecture of pre-Muhammadan date. E.g., Piprāwā, Peppé and Smith; Pāṭaliputra, Maurya arch stone, A. S. I., A. R., 1921—22, pl. XXXVI; Bāltārgāon, Cunningham, 4, vol. XI; Nālandā, A. S. I., E. Circle, 1916—17, p. 45; Bodhgaya, Cunningham, 3, pp. 85, 86, and 4, vol. XI, pp. 42, 43, and Mitra, pp. 104 f.; Konch, Peppé, J. A. S. B., XXXV, pt. 1, p. 54; Kāfir Koṭ, A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21, pt. 1, p. 7; Kāśmir, Sahni, 3, p. 73; Kiyul, Cunningham, 4, vol. III, p. 157; Burma, Ferguson, 2, p. 512; and at Polonnāruva, in Ceylon. All these represent true voussoirs, not merely the pointed arch form, which also occurs in monolithic and corbelled construction. As a rule in the Indian arches the bricks are placed sideways so that the thin edges are in contact. For pre-Muhammadan buttresses see A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, p. 118; for domes, Ferguson, 2, vol. 1, pp. 312—319. See also page 12 and fig. 146.

5 Cousens, 5, pl. XXXVIII; 8, pl. 14.
by the White Huns under Mihragula in the latter part of the fifth century, and this practically ended the activity of the school. The original influence, nevertheless continues to be apparent in the architecture and sculpture of Kaśmir, and that of a few related monuments, such as that at Malot (fig. 274)\(^1\), dating from the time of Kaśmirī domination in the Pañjab.

The Buddha figure in the early Gupta period is fully evolved, and this classical type is the main source of all later forms both in and beyond the Indian boundaries. The only example of the old Kuśāna type with shaven head is the Māñkuwār image, dated 448/9 A. D. (fig. 162). This figure at the same time exhibits a peculiarity rather common in the Gupta period, that of webbed fingers\(^2\). Apart from this exceptional figure, the Gupta type is characterised by its refinement, by a clear delineation and definition of the features, by curly hair, absence of ūrṇā, greater variety of mudrās, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders and extremely diaphanous, clearly revealing the figure; and by a lotus or lion pedestal, usually with figures of donors. Scarcely any trace of Hellenistic plasticity is apparent.

The leading variations are exemplified in the fine fifth century image by the colossal standing image from Mathurā (fig. 158), the beautiful but less vigorous seated figure B (b) 181 at Sārnāth (fig. 161) and others at the same site, the Sulṭangaṇj copper image of over life-size in Birmingham (fig. 160), and the figures in relief at Ajañṭā, Cave XIX (fig. 154), and those of Kārli, Kaṅheri (fig. 164) and other western caves.

All of these are executed in local material, at Sārnāth, for example, in Chhāmrī sandstone; it is obvious that by this time local ateliers existed at every sacred site. But that Mathurā still maintained a high reputation is illustrated by the existence of Buddha images in Sikri sandstone, e. g. at Kasiā (colossal Parinirvāṇa image made by Dinna of Mathurā and seen by Hsüan Tsang)\(^3\), at Bodhgayā\(^4\), Prayāg (Māñkuwār, mentioned above) and Sāñci.

In view of the wide distribution of Mathurā images in the second, third, fourth and fifth centuries, it is easy to understand the evident derivation of the Gupta from the Mathurā type, and the fact that, as Smith remarks apropos of the Sārnāth figure B (b) 181, the Gupta Buddha is “absolutely independent of the Gandhāra school”\(^5\). As Marshall too observes, “Hellenistic art never took a real and lasting

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\(^1\) Burgess, 8, pls. 237—241; A. S. L., A. R., 1918—19, p. 5, and 1920—21, pl. 11.

\(^2\) Other examples, B (b) 103 and 181 at Sārnāth, B 10 Lucknow Museum (from Mathurā), and reliefs at Cave XIX, Ajañṭā.

\(^3\) For Kasiā (= Kuśinagara, site of the Parinirvāṇa) see Sastri, H., 1; Vogel, 5, and 13, and in A. S. L., A. R., 1906—07, pp. 49ff.; and Sahni, 4.

\(^4\) Cunningham, 5.

\(^5\) Smith, 2, p. 170.
hold upon India". In fact "le buddha de Mathura, ce prototype d'inspiration et de facture indiennes et peut-être même l'authentique ancêtre de toutes les images du Bienheureux, ne s'est pas éclipsé au contact de l'art Gandharien et ... a survécu à la vogue classique sans avoir subi d'altération essentielle".

Thus the famous theory of the Greek origin of the Buddha image, propounded by Foucher, and since adopted by many scholars, proves to lack all solid foundation, and falls to the ground, and with it the implied Greek inspiration of other Indian images, Brāhmaṇical and Jaina. The fact that a Hellenistic element, plastic and iconographic, of some kind, enters into and is absorbed by Indian art, remains. Opinions may differ as to its extent and significance; its importance is slight, and perhaps rather historical than aesthetic.

Gupta architecture may be discussed under heads as follows: (1) stūpas; (2) excavated caitya-halls and vihāras; (3) structural caitya-halls and apsidal Hindu temples; (4) flat-roofed temples; (5) sikharā shrines, and exceptional types such as those at Gop, Bodhgayā, and the Maṇiṣyār Maṭṭha; (6) palace and domestic architecture and the theatre.

Only two structural stūpas of Gupta date survive outside the Gandhāra area in anything like a fair state of preservation, both of the cylindrical type, the globular dome of the monolithic caityas being, no doubt, difficult to realise constructively. The first is the well-known Dhamekh stūpa at Sārnāth, probably of sixth century date. The structure consists of a circular stone drum, resting on the ground level without the usual rectangular basement; above this drum rises a cylindrical mass of brickwork to a total height of 128 feet. Halfway up the base are four niches which must have held Buddha images; immediately below these niches is a broad course of exquisitely carved elaborate ornament, geometrical and floral, in the manner of the painted ceilings at Ajanṭā. The other stūpa is the later of the two Jarasandha-kā-Baiṭhak at Rājaṭha, a tower-like erection, rising from a substantial basement, and dateable about 500.

The caves afford numerous examples of monolithic forms; here, e. g., at Cave XIX, Ajanṭā, there is usually a high cylindrical drum, decorated with standing or seated Buddha figures between pilasters crowned by a makara-arch, richly ornamented, and supporting a globular dome (aṇḍa) with the usual pavilion (barmikā) and range of umbrellas (chatravali). This form is directly derived from that of votive stūpas of the Kuṣāṇa period such as N 1 in the Mathurā Museum. Outside Cave XIX, at Ajanṭā, on the right hand side, there is a relief apparently representing a pavilion with a globular dome and umbrellas; this is not

1 Marshall, 8, p. 649.
3 Vogel, 15, pl. IV.
really a domed pavilion but the elevation of a solid stūpa like that within the hall.

There exist many “caves” of the Gupta period. At Ajanta Caves, XVI and XVII are vihāras dating about 500 A.D., Cave XIX a caitya-hall dateable about 550; all of these contain paintings, referred to below.

The two vihāras, XVI and XVII are pillared halls with the usual cells and the addition of shrines in the back wall containing seated Buddhas in pralambapāda āsana, “European fashion”, which now appears for the first time. The beauty and variety of the pillars in these vihāras is remarkable, the types in the two caves differing, and no two of any type being exactly alike. In Cave XVI, vertically or spirally fluted pillars are characteristic, with rounded bracket capitals, sometimes with horizontal ribs like the early Pallava brackets of the South. In Cave XVII the pillars are square above and below, the centre is fluted, and the brackets are provided with squatting figures of ganas supporting the horizontal cross-beams, and this placed back to the roof and face downwards; this type of gana capital becomes almost universal in mediaeval architecture.

The caitya-hall, XIX, retains the plan of the early types, but with extensive changes in the façade and a great development of (Mahāyāna) sculpture. The façade (fig. 154) is a further development of the Nāsik type, but in place of the railing, which at Nāsik extends across the whole width of the wall from side to side, separating the doorway from the window above it, there is a double roll cornice decorated with caitya-windows framing heads, a form most likely of Āndhra origin, but already common in early Gupta work. Above these cornices, the frame of the great window stands out in relief against a many storied screen of architectural reliefs; below it is the flat-roofed entrance porch supported by four pillars, and very shallow. The aisle pillars within are richly ornamented fluted columns with pot and foliage capitals, and massive, decorated, rounded brackets, supporting an elaborate frieze of niches with Buddha figures. The stūpa is of the type already described, with a range of three heavy umbrellas, far removed from wooden forms. Outside, right and left of the façade and on the walls of the excavated court in front of the cave are many more Buddha figures in relief; the type is full-fleshed, but gracefully hanché, and the drapery is treated with the greatest possible simplicity, closely moulding the body. It is these types, or those of Sarnath, which are as nearly as can be indicated, analogues of the pre-Khmer Indianesque Buddhas of Romlok, while, as remarked elsewhere, the Kāνheri sculptured reliefs are no less closely related to the Stoclet Avalokiteśvara. In this connection it may be remarked that the Vākāṭa kings to whom Caves XVI and XVII are due, to some extent successors of the Āndhras in the Dekkhān,

1 A structural stone domed pavilion is unmistakably represented at Amārāvatī, see fig. 146.
controlled the Telugu country almost to the mouths of the Godāveri, and by this route the Gupta tradition found easy access to the East.  

Closely related to those of Ajañṭā are the vihāra and caitya caves at Bāgh, which are likewise painted, and date about 500.  

At Elūrā, the Viśvakarmā caitya-hall is internally like Cave XIX at Ajañṭā; externally, it is remarkable for its unique façade, of which the lower storey is a verandah with pot and foliage capitals and the upper (fig. 155) contains a divided window flanked by two niches in which are standing figures of Buddha. The superstructure of these niches is two-storied, with angle āmalakas, and is topped by a kirttimukha. The excavation is Gupta or early Cālukyan, dating about 600.

Of caves in Kāṭhiāwād, the most interesting and beautiful is the two-storied pillared hall in the Uparkoṭ at Junagarh. The varied fluted columns, capitals with elaborate figure groups like Ajañṭā paintings, cornices with caitya-window niches like those at Gop, the acanthus ornament of the pillar bases like the Bhumara lintel, all point to a late Gupta date. The excavation includes a bath and lacks the ordinary cells of a monastery; it would almost seem that it may have been the underground summer chamber of a palace. It is in any case one of the most elegant of all works of the Gupta period, and fully the equal of the little temple, no. 17 at Sāńcī. The important group of cave and structural temples at Udayagiri, Bhopāl, mostly Brāhmaṇical, is nearly related to the same Sāńcī type and that of the Tigowā series.

Several structural apsidal temples, planned like the caitya-caves, have survived, including one Brāhmaṇical example. At Ter (= Tagara), Sholāpur District, the structural brick caitya-hall, of fourth century or perhaps earlier date, seems once to have enshrined a stūpa, and only subsequently to have been converted to Vaiṣṇava usage. Characteristic external features are the barrel-roof, rounded at the rear end, and terminating above the entrance in a gable-end of caitya-window form, enclosing an architectural relief; roll mouldings; and walls decorated with simple pilasters. The manḍapam is perhaps a little later in date. At Chezārla, in the Kistna District, the Kapotēśvara temple (fig. 147) is similarly a structural caitya-hall, originally Buddhist and later converted to Hindū usage. Here the gable end is decorated with reliefs including both architectural forms and figures; the roll mouldings are more developed, but the wall is plain. Near this temple is a curious little rectangular cella recalling Indianesque types of Hanchei; and a number of

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1 For Ajañṭā see Fergusson, 2, vol. 1; Fergusson and Burgess; and Burgess, 4.
2 For Bagh see Haldar; Luard; Dey. A full publication by the India Society is announced.
3 Fergusson, 2, vol. 1, p. 159; Burgess, 8, pl. 275.
4 Burgess, 1.
5 Cunningham, 4, vol. IX.
6 Cousens, 1.
small monolithic votive shrines, with domed roofs decorated with single caitya-arches, like the rock-cut Pallava shrines at Bhairavakonda in the Guntur District, and the Arjuna Ratha at Mamallapuram.

The Brāhmaṇical Durgā temple at Aihole (fig. 152) is probably of sixth century date, and rather early Caḷukya than Gupta, but is connected with the types now described. Entirely of stone, it follows the plan of the apsidal caitya-halls, but the roof is flat and constructed of stone slabs, a northern stūbha rises above the garha-grha, and there is a verandah, roofed with sloping slabs, supported by massive square columns with heavy brackets. The whole stands on a high basement of several horizontal courses, of which one is fluted, another decorated with caitya-arches, and another with reliefs.

Small, flat-roofed shrines consisting of a cella with almost plain walls, generally with a shallow verandah, and often surrounded by a pillared hall, and without any kind of stūbha are typical of the early Gupta period. The beautiful little shrine at Śānci, temple 17 (fig. 151), is a good example. Here the verandah pillars exhibit a typical development; the capitals are square and very massive, with addorsed animals now separated by a tree; this form is found also at Tigowā, Erān, Garhwā, and Udayagiri. It is characteristic, too, that the line of the verandah architrave is carried round the wall of the otherwise plain cella as a string course.

At Tigowā, C. P., there is a flat-roofed Hindu shrine of identical design; the roof slabs are fitted together by overlapping grooves, as in the case of many of the flat-roofed temples at Aihole. In the case of the Patainī Devi temple near Uchahara the roof consists of a single slab. Other and simpler flat-roofed shrines are illustrated in the Goṇḍ temples of the Lalitpur District.

Two extremely interesting flat-roofed temples have been found at Bhumara in Nagodh State and at Nāchāṇa-Kutharā in Ajaigār, Bundelkhand. A description of the former will suffice for both. The Bhumara Śiva temple consists of a masonry cella (garha-grha) with a flat slab-roof and a carved doorway having representations of river-goddesses on the jambs and a fine bust of Śiva, with flying figures, on the lintel. The cella contained a Śiva-liṅgam of the type of the still finer example existing at Khoh in the same State. Around the garha-grha are the scattered remains of a larger chamber which surrounded it, providing a roofed pradaksinā patha.

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2. Cousens, 4.
4. Cunningham, 4, vol. IX.
5. Mukerji.
and of a mandapam attached to and preceding this enclosure. These remain consist of a great variety of columns which are not monolithic, of richly carved lintels that supported the roofing slabs, of caitya-window niches from the cornice, of parts of the doorway, and of carved slabs which decorated the lower part of the outer wall like a deep wainscot. Some of the gana figures have rākṣasa faces on their bellies. There is a tendency to unrestrained development of arabesque.

The most interesting flat-roofed temple in the Dekkhān is the Lād Khān at Aihole (fig. 148). This temple, dating about 450 A.D. is very low and flat, its walls consisting of stone slabs set between heavy square pilasters with bracket capitals; roll-mouldings decorated with small well-spaced caitya-arches are characteristic of the roof. On the pillars of the porch are figures of the river-goddesses, which are most characteristic of Gupta work and persists into the mediaeval period, extending also to Java. On the roof is a small square cella of slab construction, with a porch, forming an independent shrine of the Sun. The walls have central projecting niches with reliefs. The windows are stone slabs, perforated in a variety of beautiful designs. Three other temples at Aihole have either never possessed, or did not originally possess a sikhara, that of Kont Guḍi having been added as late as the tenth or eleventh century.

There are other low, massive, flat-roofed, cave-like temples, not unlike the Lād Khān, but provided with simple Nāgara sikhara above the cella; these shrines, originally Vaiṣṇava, have been later converted to Śaiva usage, and it is just possible that their sikhara, together with that of the Durgā temple, are later additions. The best examples of this group are the Hucchimallīguḍi (fig. 153), which is not at all unlike the well-known Parasurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara (fig. 216), but much more severe, and with only two courses between successive angle-āmalakas; and the temple in Field 270.

Of these pre- and early Cālukyan temples at Aihole, some (Durgā, Lād Khān, Hucchimallīguḍi, and Meguti) have shrines detached from the back wall, as at Bhumara and Gop, providing for pradakṣinā with the roofed area; others (Kont Guḍi, etc. follow the mediaeval plan, in which the cella is connected with the back wall, so that pradakṣinā is only possible outside, in the open air. Where this

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1 For Bhumara, see Banerji, 3. The rākṣasa faces are found also in the Durgā temple, Aihole, in Cave III at Aurangābād, and at Prambanan in Java. The motif seems to have originated in Gandhāra (Spooner, I, fig. 3).

2 For the Lād Khān and other Aihole temples see Cousens, 4. The resemblance of the slab cella at Hanchem to the roof shrine of the Lād Khān will be remarked in respect of the construction, with Bhumara as a very possible analogy for the surrounding building, which may have been of wood at Hanchem.

3 Cousens, 4; Fergusson, 2.
plan is followed in a cave, of course, circumambulation is altogether precluded. Both in caves and structural temples the two plans appear side by side during several centuries; the older arrangement, for example, persists at Elephanta, but it is doubtful if any later instance could be cited.

The northern sikhara, as we have already seen in the case of several temples where it is an accessory rather than an essential, begins to appear in the late Gupta period. In more characteristic examples in the Ganges valley the sikhara and cella together form a tower, which may be provided with a porch, but forms the main part of the temple. These early towers are built up of elements similar in design to the cella itself, and with straight or nearly straight edges, and are thus nearer to the type of the Dieng Caṇḍi Bhima (fig. 346) than to the fully developed curvilinear form under which the northern sikhara is most familiar. What may be regarded as a prototype of the early towers in which the reduplication of the main structure is still quite apparent, may be studied in a Kuṣāna railing pillar, J 24 in the Mathurā Museum (fig. 69)\(^1\), and still better in the “Bodhgayā plaque” (fig. 62).

The Bhitārgāon brick temple is a good example of the kind of tower referred to. The plan is square, with doubly recessed corners, double cornices, and a recessed frieze of carved brick. Above the double cornice rises the pyramidal roof with tiers of caitya-niches in horizontal courses. The walls are decorated with terracotta panels of Brāhmaṇical subjects. The general effect is not far removed from that of the early towers in Campā\(^2\).

Other brick and stone towers of similar character but more developed are found at Sona Tapan and Chinpur near Bāṅkurā, and several others at Manbhum and Dalmi, all in Bengal. In the case of the brick Kevalèsī shrine at Pujārī Pāli, Bilāspur District, the tower is provided with angle-āmalakas on each storey\(^3\).

The well-known Gupta Daśāvatāra temple at Deogārh, near Lalitpur, dating about 600, is of stone, with plain walls, except that on three sides there are recessed sculptured panels, representing the Gajendramokṣa episode, Viśṇu-anantaśayin, and a scene between two ascetics, and on the fourth a sculptured entrance with river-goddesses on the door jambs. The basement was decorated with fine panels representing Rāmāyana scenes, an almost unique instance of an arrangement quite common in Java. The tower was of several stories, with caitya-arches and angle-āmalakas\(^4\).

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\(^1\) Vogel, 13, pl. III.
\(^2\) Burgess, 8, pls. 303, 304; Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, pls. XIV—XVII; Vogel, 8.
\(^3\) Some of these illustrated in Burgess, 8, pls. 288—290, 298, 300.
\(^4\) Burgess, 8, pls. 248, 252; Mukherji.
The great Buddhist temple (fig. 210), known to archaeologists as the Mahābodhi, was most likely originally designated “Gandhakuti of the Vajrāsan”1; as it now stands it is a restoration (1880—1881) of the Burmese restorations of 1105 and 1298, and still earlier mediaeval renovations and restorations. It consists of a high straight-edged pyramidal tower of nine storeys, with an angle āmalaka at each stage, surmounted by a biti with a fluted, bulbous, āmalaka-like lower member; this tower in its lower part, over the entrance, has tall narrow lancet opening, admitting light to the sanctum, and a part of the construction clearly shown in photographs taken before the last restoration consists of true arches. There is a porch on the east side, later than the main part of the shrine; and the whole stands on a single high pradaksinā terrace. On the western edge of this terrace the Bodhi-tree was still growing until its decay and fall in 1876.

This temple was certainly standing when Hsüan Tsang visited Bodhgaya in the seventh century; he describes it rather minutely and gives its dimensions practically as they now are, quoting the height exactly and the width approximately2. Fa Hsien states that there existed a temple at each of the four sites at which the Four Great Events of the Buddha’s life had taken place; proving that some temple existed here in the fifth century. Other considerations make it probable that the present temple, substantially in its present form, but of course without the later porch, was erected in the second century A.D., at any rate not later than the very beginning of the Gupta period. These reasons include (1) the presence of a coin of Huviṣka amongst the relics deposited at the foot of the interior Vajrāsan (2) a coping inscription in Kuśāna or very early Gupta characters, referring to the “Great Gandhakuti temple (pāśada) of the Vajrāsan” (3) a Kuśāna inscription on the edge of the outer Vajrāsan placed against the back wall of the basement, on the ground level. Further, the “Bodhgaya plaque” (fig. 62) found at the Kumrāhār site, Patna (Pātaliputra), and the Kuśāna relief reproduced in fig. 69 both show that temples of this kind might very well have been built as early as the second century A.D. In all probability then the new temple was built to enshrine a Buddha image, at the time when images were coming into general use; it was built, of course, as Hsüan Tsang expressly states that it was built, on the original site, following the usual rule in such cases. The building of a roofed temple, however, involved the removal of the Bodhi-druma to its modern position on the edge of the terrace at the back of the temple; there could have been no objection to this, so long as

1 The words Vajrāsan “adamantine seat” and Bodhi-mapḍa “place of enlightenment” are both used by Hsüan Tsang to designate the seat occupied by the Bodhisattva on the occasion of the Great Enlightenment (Mahāsambodhi). The term Gandhakuti used to designate a Buddhist temple is derived from the name of a cell occupied by the Buddha in his lifetime. For descriptions of the temple, see Cunningham, 5, and Bloch, 2; the former seems the better account.

the Bodhi-maṇḍa was kept in its original place, where, indeed, Hsüan Tsang saw it. And in fact, Cunningham discovered behind the mediaeval grey sandstone Vajrāsana in the cella, another plastered throne, and behind this a polished sandstone slab resting on four pilasters exactly as represented in the Bhārhum relief (fig. 41) and undoubtedly of Aśokan age.

The one other Vajrāsana referred to above as the “outer Vajrāsana”, found by Cunningham when the late mediaeval buttress of the back wall was removed, is large and beautifully decorated⁴, on its upper surface with a simple geometrical design of circles and squares, on its sides with badaśas and palmettes like those of some of the Aśokan capitals.

The famous centre of Buddhist learning at Nālandā, South Bihār, was founded by Narasimha Balāditya (467—473). Hsüan Tsang describes the great brick temple over three hundred feet in height, erected by this king, as resembling the tower at Bodhgaya, and says that it was exquisitely decorated and magnificently furnished. Nothing survives but the massive basement²; some of the niches on this basement representing fully developed curvilinear Nāgara sikharas may be later additions. Nothing at Nālandā, the most famous of mediaeval monasteries and centres of learning, antedates the fifth century, or postdates the twelfth.

The temple at Gop in Kāthiāwād (fig. 191) is more or less unique, but evidently connected in some way with the Kāśmirī school of architecture. The square tower which is now its conspicuous feature was once surrounded by a flat-roofed hall providing for pradaksinā under cover, concealing half its height; it is surmounted by a double pent-roof of the Kāśmirī type, and decorated with large caitya-niches containing figures of deities. The basement of the outer structure, decorated with a gana frieze, still remains. The shrine is Brāhmanical, and dates about the end of the sixth century, and is thus early mediaeval rather than Gupta properly so-called³.

The hollow circular building at Rājagṛha, known as the Maniyār Maṭha is quite unique; traditionally known as a treasury, it is just possible that it represents a colossal lingam like those at Faṭehpur, near Bārāmūla, Kāśmir, and Tirupara-kuṇḍram near Madras. All that remains is the circular basement, with a small portion of the superstructure. All round the base are niches, separated by pilasters, and containing stucco images of fine and sensitive workmanship representing a lingam, Bāṇāsura, a six-armed dancing Śiva, and many Nāgas and Nāginis (fig. 176). A date between 250 and 500 A.D. has been suggested, the fifth century seeming most likely⁴.

¹ Cunningham, 3, pl. XIII. It must be of early Suṅga, if not Maurya date.
² Burgess, 8, pls. 227, 228.
³ Burgess, 2, and 8, pl. 266.
⁴ Marshall, 1.
We have already had occasion to refer to Nāgara and Drāviḍa stūbaras. Both are towers rising above the garbha-grha of a temple, the chief difference being that the Nāgara type comes to have a curvilinear form and forms a real spire, while the Drāviḍa type retains its original terraced formation, with ranges of cells at each level. Much discussion has been devoted to the question of the origin of the Nāgara curvilinear spire, which has variously been derived from the stūpa, the simple domed cell, and the bamboo processional car. For the most part these theories represent deductions drawn from appearances presented by the fully developed form, not taking into account what may be called the primitives of the type. The original view propounded by Fergusson I believe to be the correct one. This is that the Nāgara spire, however elaborately developed, really represents a piling up of many superimposed storeys or roofs, much compressed. The key to this origin is the āmalaka; properly the crowning element of a tower, its appearance at the angles of successive courses shows that each of these corresponds in nature to a roof. Thus the Nāgara and Drāviḍa towers both originate in the same way, but in the case of the former the storeys are so compressed and multiplied that at last the vertical effect completely dominates that of its horizontal components, while in the latter the storeyed principle and horizontal lines are never lost sight of. In the later northern towers, indeed, the suppression of the horizontal elements in many late examples is carried so far as to produce a smooth-surfaced pyramid with continuous outlines unbroken by any angle-āmalaka. It may be remarked that the northern tower develops convex curves, while in the southern gopuras the ultimate outlines are concave.

In both cases the aspiring aspect of the mediaeval towers contrasts most markedly with the static character of the early low flat roofed temples. Just in the same way in Burma and Siam the stūpa, originally a hemispherical dome with one umbrella and clearly differentiated division of parts, develops into soaring types like those of the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon, with a continuous convex curve from base to pinnacle. The change from horizontal and domed to vertical and pointed forms is the most conspicuous tendency represented in Indian architecture, and must reflect an emotional qualification taking place in religious psychology not unlike that which distinguishes Gothic from Romanesque. A parallel tendency in India in narrative art has been traced by Foucher, contrasting the reserve of the earlier Jātaka scenes with the emotional emphasis already so marked at Ajanṭā. The same development can be followed in the literature, and no doubt, if we knew enough about it, could be recognized in music and dancing.

1 The theories are summarised in Chanda, 2, with references.
2 Fergusson, 2, vol. II, p. 119. This view is shared by M. Parmentier (6).
3 Foucher, 4.
Indian palace architecture, with rare exceptions, mainly in Rājputāna of late date, has always been one of wooden construction, and for this reason no very ancient examples have survived. But palace architecture is very well illustrated in the sculptures of Amarāvati and in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā, and from these it is evident that a palace consisted essentially of connected groups of one or two-storeyed pillared halls with flat or pointed roofs, the wooden pillars and capitals, cornices, &c., being elaborately decorated with painting and carving. It is in fact just this kind of palace architecture that survives in Burma (Mandalay), Siam (Bangkok), Cambodia (Phnom Peñ), Java (Yogyakarta and Surakarta) and in Japan (Kyoto); from these sources a very fair idea of the planning and appearance of much older Indian palaces can be gathered.¹

The classical palace was always provided with a picture gallery (citra-śāla) and a concert-hall or theatre (saṅgītā-śāla, or nāṭya-maṇḍapa).² The former, of course, was a hall specially decorated with frescoes, such as we find it described in the Uttara-Ṛāma Carita. The latter was an open pillared hall, with a stage raised somewhat above the level of the ground, and visible to the spectators from three sides, the “head of the stage” on the fourth side being a decorated partition shutting off the green-room. There was no curtain separating the stage from the audience, but two curtained doors led from the green-room to the stage, just as in a modern Chinese theatre, and it is with reference to these doors that we have the common stage direction “Enter with a toss of the curtain”. Another constructional feature that survives in Far East is the low railing that runs round the edge of the stage platform. The outer walls were solidly built of brick, and “like a mountain cave” i. e. an excavated vibhāra, without angles or projection, to the end that the voices of the performers and the low notes of the kutapa might be adequately heard.

The general characteristics of Gupta sculpture have already been referred to. In the following paragraphs some of the more important examples are listed.

(1) Buddhas at Mathurā or of Mathurā origin include a magnificent standing Buddha from the Jamālpur (Jail) mound (fig. 158), A 5 in the Mathurā Museum, and a similar figure in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, both of the fifth century³; another with webbed fingers, from the Kāṭrā mound, B 10 in the Lucknow Museum, dated equivalent to 549/50 A. D.⁴; colossal reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāṇa shrine at Kasiā (Kuśinagara), with fifth century inscription mentioning the donor, the Abbot Haribala and the sculptor, Dinna of Mathurā⁵; seated Buddha

¹ For palaces in Burma, see Ko, 3; in Cambodia, Groslier, 3.
³ Vogel, 13, p. 49, and pl. IX; Smith, 2, fig. 117; A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, pl. XXXIX.
⁵ Vogel, 5; Cunningham, 4, vol. XVIII, p. 55, and vol. XXII, p. 16.
with shaven head (the only Gupta example) and webbed fingers (fig. 162), from Māṅkuwār near Allahābād dated equivalent to 448/49 A. D.\(^1\); seated inscribed Buddha from Bodhgaya, dated equivalent to 383 A. D.\(^2\); seated Buddha at Sāncī\(^3\). The two colossal Nāgas, in Mathurā stone, at Sāncī may also be mentioned\(^4\).

(2) Other Buddhist sculptures in stone include the wellknown seated Buddha from Sārnāth (fig. 161)\(^5\); other Sārnāth Buddhas and Bodhisattvas\(^6\); the Sārnāth lintel, with representations of Jambhala and Jātaka scenes\(^7\); Buddha figures in relief at Ajanṭā, cave XIX and Nāgarāja group at the same site\(^8\); Buddha figures of the façades at Kārli, Kanheri, &c.\(^9\); Avalokiteśvara litany groups at Kanheri (fig. 164), Ajanṭā Cave IV\(^10\), and Auraṅgābād; Bodhisattva torso from Sāncī in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, early Gupta or perhaps late Kuśāna\(^11\).

(3) Buddhist sculpture in metal: the most remarkable figure is the colossal (copper) image (fig. 160) from Sūltāṅgaṇī, Bhagalpur District, Bengal, now in the Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, date ca. 400 A. D.\(^12\). Other important examples include the richly decorated, copper and silver inlaid, brass figure (fig. 163) from Faṭehpur, Kāṅgrā\(^13\); the Boston bronze Buddha, said to have been found in Burma (fig. 159)\(^14\); the rather clumsy statuettes from the Bāndā District, Bengal\(^15\); and the fragments from Bezwādā\(^16\); small gold Buddha in the British Museum\(^17\).

(4) Brāhmaṇical, &c.: colossal Varāha Avatar relief at Udayagiri, Bhopāl, about 400 A. D. (fig. 174)\(^18\); Paurāṇik and epic panels of the Gupta temple, Deogāth,

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1 Smith, 2, p. 173 and fig. 119; Bloch in J. A. S. B., LXVI, p. I, p. 283.
3 Marshall, 4, 5 and 10 (pls. 1, 2).
4 Marshall, 10.
5 Sahni and Vogel, pl. X; Smith, 2, pl. XXXVIII; A. S. I., A. R., 1904—05, p. 81.
6 Sahni and Vogel, pl. XIII b, XX, etc.; Marshall and Konow; Vogel, 2; Hargreaves, 2, pl. LXIII.
7 Sahni and Vogel, pls. XXV—XXIX; Marshall and Konow.
8 Burgess, 8, pl. 200; Coomaraswamy, 7, pl. 72.
9 Burgess, 8, pl. 168, 212.
10 Burgess, 8, pl. 185.
11 Cunningham, 4, vol. X, pl. XXI; India Society, 1; Smith, 2, p. 64 (misdated).
12 Smith, 2, p. 171 and fig. 118; Rūpam, no. 21. A magnificent figure, seven and a half feet high and weighing over a ton.
13 Vogel, 4. The \textit{ajouré} pedestal is closely related to one found at Suwanpapura in Siam, J. S. S., vol. XIX, pl. XV.
14 Coomaraswamy, 9, 2, p. 61 and pl. XXI.
15 Smith and Hoey.
16 Sewell, R., 2. Some perhaps later: inscriptions of tenth (?) century.
17 Smith, 2, pl. LXXXIV.
18 Cunningham, 4, vol. X, pl. XVIII; Coomaraswamy, 7, pl. 99; Burgess, 8, pls. 216, 217.
early Gupta (fig. 167); Umā-Maheśvara group from Kosām (Kauśāmbi) near Allahābād, dated equivalent to 458/59 A. D., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Nativity of Mahāvira or Kṛṣṇa from Paṭhārī, in the Museum at Gwāliar (fig. 178); slab with flying Gandharvas and Apsaras from Sondani, in the Gwāliar Museum (fig. 173); pillars from Chandimau with scenes from the Kīratārjunīya of the Mahābhārata, in the Lucknow Museum; river goddess from Besnagar, in the Boston Museum (fig. 177); torana pillars at Maṇḍor, Jodhpur State, with Kṛṣṇa Lilā scenes (fig. 166); pillars and architrave from Gaṇḍhāra, in the Lucknow Museum; Narasimha from Besnagar, in the Gwāliar Museum (fig. 170); stucco reliefs of the Maṇiyār Maṭha, Rājāgrha (fig. 176); Kārttikeya belonging to the Bhārata Kalā Pariśad, Benares (fig. 175); the Bhumara and Khoh liṅgaṃs and Gaṇeśa; sculptures of the Bādāmi caves and early temples at Aihoḷe; sculptures of the Rāmeśvara cave, Elūrā, especially the verandah pillars (fig. 190); small bronze of Brahmā (fig. 168) from Miḍpur Khās, in the Karāchi Museum; upper part of a bronze Siva in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; bronze-coated iron plummet from the River Surma, Bengal, in the British Museum (fig. 169); sacrificial pillars (yūpa) of Viśṇuvardhana at Bijayagārh, 371 A. D.

A colossal Hanuman from Pārkham, D 27 in the Mathurā Museum appears from the style and fine modelling of the torso to be of Gupta age. Four colossal images and groups at Rūp Bās, Bharatpur State include an image of Baladeva with cobra hoods, over twenty seven feet in height, his wife Thākurānī, a

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1 Burgess, 8, pls. 230–252; Smith, 2, pls. XXIV, XXV.
2 Fleet, Gupta inscriptions, p. 256; Banerji, 4, pl. LXX b.
3 Smith, 2, pl. XXVI. Probably rather later in date.
4 Banerji, 2.
5 Smith, 2, fig. 112; Vogel, 18.
6 Bhandarkar, 2; Marshall and Sahni.
7 Smith, 2, figs. 114, 115; Burgess, 8, pls. 242, 243; Cunningham, 4, vol. X, pls. VI, VII. For another lintel with Mahābhārata scenes see Banerji, 1, pl. LIV. For torana pillars like those of Gaṇḍhāra, found at Bilsār, Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, pl. 13 and pls. VI, VII.
8 Smith, 2, fig. 113; Marshall, 1.
9 Rūpam, no. 21, 1923, p. 41.
10 Banerji, 3. Another fine mukha-liṅgaṃ at Ataria Khera, Nagoḍh State.
11 Burgess, 8, pls. 267–274; Cousins, 4 (the four massive roof slabs, of which three are from the temple in Field 270, Aihoḷe, reproduced in Cousins, 4, pl. LXXVI, and dating about 600 are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; the fine roof slab(fig. 169) of Cousins, 4, fig. 6, may be still in situ.
12 Coomaraswamy, 4, fig. 100. In the same volume, p. 77, there is reproduced a rubbing of a handsome Gupta seal in copper; the text should be understood as “Seal of the Warden of the Frontier of Śrīvadra”.
14 Vogel, 13, p. 100. An earlier example is illustrated in A. S. I., A. R., 1923–24, pl. XXXV, K.

86
Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī over nine feet in height, and a group supposed to represent Nārāyaṇa standing on the head of Yudhṣṭhīra, who is surrounded by the Five Pāṇḍavas. No information is available as to the style or date of these evidently important sculptures.

(5) Terracottas, mostly Brāhmaṇical: panels of Brāhmaṇical subjects, decoring the brick temple at Bhūtārgāon²; Rāmāyaṇa subjects, Saheṭṭ-Maheṭṭ (Srāvastī³); large image of Hāriti, and Buddha figures, at Kāśā (Kuśinagara)⁴; Mirpur Khas, Buddhas and donor⁵; seals and small terracottas from Baśāṭh (Vaiśāḷī⁶); seals and small terracottas from Bhīṭhā⁷; figures from Kurukṣetra, Delhi⁸; Bikanīr (more likely late Kuśāṇa)⁹; carved and moulded bricks at Bilsar¹⁰.

Indian literature of all kinds and at all periods, at any rate after the Maurya, makes incidental references to painting. It may be taken for granted that from a very early period, not only were sculptures and architectural details covered with thin plaster and coloured, but that the flat walls of temples and palaces were decorated within and without with pictures or with painted “wreaths and creepers”. In the Epics we often hear of painted halls or chambers (citra-śāla) in palaces. A whole scene of Bhavabhūti’s Uttara-Rāma-Carita, dating from the close of the Gupta period, is laid in such a gallery, where Rāma and Sītā are represented as viewing newly executed paintings of scenes from their own life, which awaken in Sītā a longing to revisit the forests, creating in her a “latent impression” (bhāvāna)¹¹. The Viṣṇudarmottaram distinguishes the kinds of painting appropriate to temples, palaces and private houses; and applies the theory of rasa to painting. Paintings are there classified as satya, vaiṣṇika, nāgara and misra, which I am inclined to render as true, lyrical, secular and mixed, mainly with reference to their themes¹². The same text devotes considerable space to the question of foreshortening as applied to the features and limbs; and lays great stress on adherence to canonical proportions. The necessity of giving expression to the move-

¹ Cunningham, 4, vol. VI, p. 21, gives only a list of the images and their dimensions.
² Vogel, 8; Cunningham, 4, vol. XI, pls. XIV—XVII.
³ Vogel, 7.
⁴ Sastri, 1; Vogel, 5. In the Lucknow Museum.
⁵ Cousens, 5.
⁶ Bloch, 1.
⁷ Marshall, 3.
⁸ Cunningham, 4, vol. XIV, pl. XXVII.
⁹ A. S. E., A. R., 1917—18, pt. 1, pl. XIII; and see page 69.
¹⁰ Cunningham, 4, vol. XI.
¹² Satya seems to mean here “true to life, realistic“, perhaps with reference to portraiture. Vaiṣṇika suggests pictures of musical modes (cf. p. 129, note 1). Nāgara perhaps = erotic; nāgarika (see p. 88) might be translated “man about town“.
ment of life (cetanā) is emphasized; he understands painting who can represent the dead without life movement, the sleeping possessed of it. Finally it is said, with good reason inasmuch as both are occupied with the exact expression of emotion, that without a knowledge of dancing (nṛtya-sāstra) it is hardly possible to understand the true skill of painting.

Painting appears in all lists of the sixty-four kalās, the fine arts or accomplishments. Portrait painting, usually from memory, and on wooden panels, is a device constantly employed in classical Sanskrit plays. The Kāmasūtra of Vatsyāyana, a work essentially of the Gupta period, mentions the drawing panel, paints and brushes as parts of the ordinary furniture of a gentleman's (nāgarika) chamber and taken in its context this throws some light on the meaning of the term nāgara as used to define a kind of painting. It is quite evident that, in the Gupta period at least, painting was not exclusively an ecclesiastical, but also a secular art, practised by amateurs as well as by professional members of gilds; it was a social accomplishment, at least among princes and ladies of the court, and in the "fast set".

Yaśodhara's commentary on the Kāmasūtra refers to the Śadāṅga, the Six Limbs or Canons of Painting, viz. Rūpa-bhedā, Pramāṇam, Bhāva, Lāvanya-yojanam, Sāḍṛṣya, and Varnika-bhaṅga. It is impossible to accept Tagore's subjective interpretation of these terms; they can be far better understood in a purely practical sense as Distinction of Types, Ideal Proportion, Expression of Mood (with reference to the theory of rasa), Embodiment of Charm, Points of View (with reference to stance, sṭhānam) and Preparation of Colours (grinding, levigation, &c.). Thus understood, moreover, these subdivisions of the art are just those which the technical treatises, Viṣṇudharmottaram and Silparatnam treat of at greater length, and they might be inserted in such works as paragraph headings. There cannot be traced here any parallel to the Chinese Six Canons of Hsieh Ho; a likeness to Chinese ideas can be much more probably recognized in connection with what is said about cetanā, the movement of life, in the Viṣṇudharmottaram.

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1 Vinatu nṛtyaśāśreṇya citrasūtram sudurvidam, Viṣṇudharmottaram, III, II, 3. The Viṣṇudharmottaram (see translation, Kramrisch) is a mediaeval composition apparently embodying older, and probably Gupta materials. A later mediaeval text by Śrī Kumāra, the Silparatna, Ch. 64, deals in a similar fashion with painting; translated by Coomaraswamy, 13. Keyserling has remarked of Indian dancing and religious images the "identity of the spirit in both appearances".

2 Venkatasubbhiah; Schmidt, 2, p. 45.

3 Saunders.

4 Schmidt, 2, p. 61.

5 Tagore, 2.

6 For a valuable discussion of pramāṇa, see Masson-Oursel.
A special kind of painting depicted the reward of good and evil deeds in the other world, and was executed on scrolls called Yamāpāta which were exhibited with accompanying explanatory monologue. This format and presentation survive in the Javanese Wayang Beber.  

Painting of the Gupta period is preserved in two of the Ajañṭā vibāras and in one caitya-hall as follows:  

Cave XVI, ca. 500 A. D.: A Buddha triad, the Sleeping Women, the Dying Princess. The Boston Museum fragment is also from this vibāra. 

Cave XVII, ca. 500 A. D.: Wheel of Causation, Seven Buddhas, “Ceylon Battle”, Return to Kapilavastu, Abhiśekha scenes, love scene (fig. 179), Gandharvas and Apsaras (fig. 180), and the Mahāhāma, Mātṛpoṣaka, Ruru, Śaddanta, Sibi (gift of eyes with inscription), Viśvantara (fig. 182), and Nālagiri Jātakas. 

Cave XIX, caitya-hall, ca. 550 A. D.: numerous Buddhas, and another Return to Kapilavastu. 

Another group of Buddhist wall-paintings, fewer in number and on the whole less well preserved is found in the excavated vibāras at Bāgh, about 375 kilometres north of Ajañṭā, and especially in Cave IV. (fig. 183)³. 

Jaina paintings of similar character, and of great interest, have lately been discovered by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil at Sittanavāsal, Pudukkottai State, near Tanjore, and assigned by him to the seventh century⁴. 

The technique of the painting at Ajañṭā, and of Indian wall-painting generally is as follows: the surface of the hard porous rock was spread over with a layer of clay, cowdung and powdered rock, sometimes mixed with rice-husks, to a thickness of from three to twenty millimetres. Over this was laid a thin coat of fine white lime-plaster which was kept moist while the colours were applied, and afterwards lightly burnished. It should be observed that practically all sculptures and sculptured surfaces were covered in the same way with a thin plaster slip and coloured. The underdrawing is in red on the white plaster surface, then comes a thinnish terraverde monochrome showing some of the red through it, then the local colour, followed by a renewed outline in brown or black, with some shading, the latter employed rather to give some impression of roundness or relief, than to indicate any effect of light and shade. The bold freedom of the brush strokes seems to show that all the work was freehand, or if any use was made of stencils,

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¹ Mudrā-rākṣasa of Viśākhadatta, act. 1; Groenevelt. See also page 211.  
² Most of the Ajañṭā paintings have been published from photographs or copies: see Burgess, 4; Griffiths; India Society, 1; Goloubew, 1; Coomaraswamy, 10, pl. 15; Dey (the frontispiece, representing the Return to Kapilavastu a monumental composition, should be especially noted); Kokka Magazine Nos. 342, 345, 374. For the earlier and later paintings see pages 59, 98.  
³ Dey; Haldar; Luard; Burgess, 4.  
⁴ Jouveau-Dubreuil, 3.
freely redrawn. It is difficult to understand how the work can have been done in such dimly lighted halls.

The best general description of the paintings has been given by Lady Herringham: "The outline is in its final state firm, but modulated and realistic, and not often like the calligraphic sweeping curves of the Chinese and Japanese. The drawing is, on the whole, like mediaeval Italian drawing... The artists had a complete command of posture. Their knowledge of the types and positions, gestures and beauties of hands is amazing. Many racial types are rendered; the features are often elaborately studied and of high breeding, and one might call it stylistic breeding. In some pictures considerable impetus of movement of different kinds is well suggested. Some of the schemes of colour composition are most remarkable and interesting, and there is great variety. There is no other really fine portrayal of a dark race by themselves... The quality of the painting varies from sublime to grotesque, from tender and graceful to quite rough and coarse. But most of it has a kind of emphatic, passionate force, a marked technical skill very difficult to suggest in copies done in a lighter medium." Mr. Dey writes: "It is impossible for anyone who has not seen them with his own eyes to realise how great and solid the paintings in the caves are; how wonderful in their simplicity and religious fervor."

It would be an error, however, to regard this appearance of "simplicity and religious fervor" as in any sense primitive or naive; a more conscious, or, indeed, more sophisticated art could scarcely be imagined. Despite its invariably religious subject matter, this is an art "of great courts charming the mind by their noble routine"; adorned with alamkāras and well acquainted with bhāva-bhedā. The familiarity with gesture is a matter of scholarship, rather than of happy inspiration; and this illustrates what the author of the Viṣṇudharmottaram has to say on the relationship of dancing (acting) and painting.

The specifically religious element is no longer insistent, no longer antisocial; it is manifested in life, and in an art that reveals life not in a mode opposition to spirituality, but as an intricate ritual fitted to the consummation of every perfect experience. The Bodhisattva is born by divine right as a prince in a world luxu-

1 For the technique generally see A. S. I., A. R., 1916—17, pt. I; India Society, 2; Dey, p. 237; and cf. Coomaraswamy, 12, 13.
2 India Society, 2.
3 India Society, 2, p. 18.
4 Dey, p. 51.
5 Bāṇa, Harṣa-carita, transl. Cowell and Thomas, 1897, p. 33. The Harṣa-carita, Kādambarī, and the works of Kālidāsa and other classic Sanskrit dramatists, and the later Ajañṭa paintings all reflect the same phase of luxurious aristocratic culture. In many matters of detail the painting and literature supply a mutual commentary.
riously refined. The sorrow of transience no longer poisons life itself; life has become an art, in which mortality inheres only as karunā-rasa in a poem whose sthayi-bhāva is śṛṅghāra. The ultimate meaning of life is not forgotten, witness the great Bodhisattva¹, and the Return to Kapilavastu²; but a culmination and a perfection have been attained in which the inner and outer life are indivisible; it is this psycho-physical identity that determines the universal quality of Gupta painting. All this is apparent, not in the themes of the pictures, which are no other than they had been for at least five centuries preceding Ājanṭā, and no other than they have remained to this day wherever specifically Buddhist art has survived, but intrinsically in the painting itself. Nor is there any stronger evidence of the profundity of recognition characteristic of this golden age, than that afforded by its extensions in south-eastern Asia and the Far East; the Stoclet Bodhisattva from Funan is fully the equal of any painting at Ājanṭā. Far-Eastern races have developed independently elements of culture no less important than those of India; but almost all that belongs to the common spiritual consciousness of Asia, the ambient in which its diversities are reconcilable, is of Indian origin in the Gupta period.

¹ Figure 181.
² Dey, Frontispiece.
PART IV:
EARLY MEDIAEVAL, MEDIAEVAL, RĀJPUT PAINTING AND LATER ARTS AND CRAFTS

EARLY MEDIAEVAL:
HARṢA OF KANAUJ; EARLY CĀĻUKYAS; RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS; AND PALLAVAS

Largely as a result of the Hun invasions of the fifth century the empire of the Guptas become reduced; the Huns, however, were definitely repulsed in 528 and a Later Gupta dynasty survived in Magadha, 535—720. Meanwhile in the first half of the seventh century, Harṣavardhana of Thānesar (= Sthāṇvīśvara) and Kanauj (606—647), revived the glories of the Gupta empire, ruling over the greater part of northern India down to the Narmadā, the boundary of the Cāḷukya dominion of his great contemporary and enemy, Pulakeśin II (608—642). From the standpoint of art history these two reigns have generally been included in the Gupta period, a position justified by the fact of the actual persistence of Gupta culture. The three deities of Harṣa’s family were Śiva, the Sun, and Buddha; he erected costly temples for the service of each. In later years he more particularly followed Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The famous monasteries and Buddhist university of Nālandā were at the zenith of their glory in the seventh century. Hsūan Tsang describes their magnificence:

“The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls standing in the middle. The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hilltops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning, and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms, and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon may be observed. And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Mangroves spread over all their shade.
All the outside courts, in which are the priests’ chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragon- (makara) projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene21.

Iching gives another, less picturesque, but hardly more explicit description. Most of the monasteries thus described may have been of late Gupta date. Hsüan Tsang, however, also describes a magnificent copper image of Buddha, eighty feet in height, enshrined in a temple of six storeys, as having been set up by Pùrṇavarman, early in the seventh century, and a great and much revered image of Tārā close by. The super-colossal bronzes of Nara must have been made in imitation of some such figures as Pùrṇavarman’s Buddha.

Very probably the two elegantly decorated reliefs, with kinnaras and lotuses, which form the facing slabs of a low cātana at the lowest level of Site I at Nalanda date from the early seventh century2. Site II is represented only by another plinth, but this is decorated with 211 sculptured panels of sixth or seventh century date; these panels represent gods, animals, mythical creatures, and geometrical ornament3.

Kings of the Valabhi dynasty had long been reigning in Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhīwāḍ), Sind and Gujarāt. Harṣa made himself master of Valabhi in 635, and in Hsüan Tsang’s time it was ruled by his son-in-law. Hsüan Tsang describes Valabhi and Western Mālāwī as centres of Buddhist learning comparable in importance with Nalanda. The city was overthrown by the Arabs in 770, and from that time Anhilāvād-Pāṭan (Gujarāt) became the leading city of Western India until in the fifteenth century, it was succeeded by Āḥmadābād.

No sharp line of division can be drawn between late Gupta art and that of the early seventh century. The brick temple of Laksmaṇa at Sirpur (fig. 186), Rāipur District4, however, one of the most beautiful in all India, may perhaps be assigned to the reign of Harṣa; the temple is unsurpassed in the richness and refinement of its ornament, and it is fairly well preserved. The cella is decorated with false windows (very like those of the Bayang tower in Cambodia) and caitya-

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1 Beal, 2, p. III. The Śaiva king Śaśānka of Central Bengal had destroyed the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya and persecuted the Buddhists and broken up monasteries throughout Bihār (an example of intolerance almost unique in India), about 600. The condition of Nalanda as described by Hsüan Tsang must have been due in the main to the benefactions of Pùrṇavarman and other local rājas of Magadha, and perhaps in part to Harṣa himself.

2 A. S. I., A. R., 1921—22, pl. VII.


4 Longhurst, 4. This temple has more recently been assigned to the ninth century in A. S. I., A. R., 1923,—24 p. 28.
window niches enclosing architectural reliefs. The roof, of which the summit is lost, consisted of several stories, of which the lowest very exactly repeats the lines of the cella below, without curvature, while those above carry large centrally placed caitya-window arches in addition to smaller niches of the same type. There seems to have been an angle āmalaka above each story, and no doubt a larger āmalaka crowned the summit. The general effect is not unlike that of Caṇḍi Bīma, but much richer. The whole was originally covered with stucco, which may have been coloured. The triangular window above the entrance is characteristic of many other late Gupta or early Mediaeval temples, including that of Bodhgayā. The lintel of the stone doorway bears a representation of the Birth of Brahmā.

Certainly falling in the reign of Harṣavardhana is the octagonal Muṇḍeśvari temple, near Bhabua in the Shāhābād District
date from the seventh century, and may well fall within the reign of Harṣa. Most of the monolithic columns of the nave, seventeen feet in height, with their architraves, are still standing. The roof was originally of wood, and covered with tiles. The apse itself was enclosed by a solid wall, broken only by windows. These remains stand on the site of three older floors and foundations, of which the lowest dates back to the Maurya period, while the uppermost is Gupta — illustrating the very common case in which an existing stone temple occupies the site of earlier wooden structures of the same type. Sixth and seventh century sculpture is represented at Sāñcī by detached images “infused with the same spirit of calm contemplation, of almost divine peace, as the images of the fourth and fifth centuries, but they have lost the beauty of definition which the earlier artists strove to preserve, and, though still graceful and elegant, tend to become stereotyped and artificial”

**EARLY CĀĻUKYA**

It would be less logical to include the early Cāļukyan and Pallava temples in a “Late Gupta” classification, inasmuch as these represent a relatively independent development mainly of southern traditions. Of pre-Cāļukyan times, in which were built the fifth-sixth century temples of Aihoṣe, already referred to, very little is known. The following are the leading events of Early Cāļukyan history:

Pulakesin I (550—566), of Rājput origin, founded the dynasty, with a capital at Bādāmi, within a few miles of Aihoṣe and Paṭṭakadal. Pulakesin II (608—642) had another capital at Nāsik. In 611 he conquered the old Āndhra and now Pal-

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2 Marshall, 4 and 5, p. 22.
lava country of Veṅgi between the Godāvarī and Kistna, and here his brother founded the Eastern Cālukya dynasty in 615. In 620 he repulsed Harṣa. In 642 he was defeated and presumably slain by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I at Bādāmi. Vikramāditya I (635—680) captured the Pallava capital Kāṇcipuram, an exploit repeated by Vikramāditya II (733—746) in 740. In 733 the dynasty was overwhelmed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Early Cālukyan structural architecture is represented by the old brick temples of Uttareśvara and Kāleśvara at Terg, and more fully by the many shrines of Aihole, Paṭṭakadal and Bādāmi. Of the temples at Aihole, those which can be dated before 600 have already been referred to; of others, the unfinished Jaina Meguti temple with the shrine isolated from the outer wall, dated 634, seems to be the earliest. Of nearly the same date (ca. 625) is the small, exquisitely proportioned and magnificently situated Mālegitti Sivālaya at Bādāmi (fig. 187)^2.

The most important of the temples at Paṭṭakadal date from the first half of the eighth century and show the strongest possible evidences of Pallava influence. The great Virūpākṣa temple (fig. 188)^3, dedicated to Siva as Lokeśvara by the queen of Vikramāditya II, and to be dated about 740, was most likely built by workmen brought from Kāṇcipuram, and in direct imitation of the Kailāsanātha at Kāṇcipuram, where an inscription of Vikramāditya engraved at the time of his conquest, ca. 740, is to be found. The main shrine is distinct from the mandapam, but has a pradaksinā passage; the pillared mandapam has solid walls, with pierced stone windows. The square sikbara consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. Caitya-window motifs are much used and there are many sculptured lintels, slabs and monolithic pillars; the sculptures include representations of Siva, Nāgas and Nāginis, and Rāmāyana scenes. Like other early Dravidian temples, it is built of very large, closely-jointed blocks of stone without mortar. The architect, Guṇḍa, received the title of Tribhuvanācārya. One of the noblest structures in India, this is the only ancient temple at Paṭṭakadal still in use. Very much in the same style, but with an open mandapam, is the neighbouring Samgavēsvara temple, perhaps forty years earlier in date^4.

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1 Cousens, 1, and for the architecture of Western India generally, Cousens, 6.
2 Fergusson, vol. 1, p. 356, and pl. VIII: Jouveu-Dubreuil, vol. 1, p. 179, note, and pl. LXII (sculptures). This masterpiece of Dravidian architecture is the only structural temple in the style of the Māmallapuram rathas now surviving; it is of pure early Pallava type, which may have first affected the Cālukya as a result of Pulakesi II's conquest of Veṅgi in 611.
3 Fergusson, 2, vol. I, p. 353; Jouveu-Dubreuil, 1, vol. 1, p. 179, and pl. LXIII — the latter regards this temple as the type of the Paṭṭakadal (early Cālukyan) style combining the Dravidian (Pallava) exterior with northern details (particularly as regards the pillars).
4 For plans and illustrations of the seventh and eighth century temples of Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭakadal above described, see Fergusson, 2; and Burgess, 1. The pre-Cālukyan shrines are illustrated and described by Cousens, 4 and 8.
The Pāpanātha temple, about 735, almost contemporary with the Virūpākṣa is in a different style, with a true Āryavārtta śikhara (of early type with angle āmalakas on every third course), and with wall niches of corresponding form; this temple may fairly be described as a cross between the Dravidian and Āryavārtta styles, a feature which is really the most obvious characteristic of the Cālukya style.

Four cave temples at Bādāmī date from the early Cālukyan period. Of these, Nr. 3 (Vaiśṇava) is of special importance, as it is exactly dated (578 A.D.), and contains some admirable reliefs (Viṣṇu seated on Ananta, and a Narasimha, both in the verandah); the pillars of the verandah are decorated with triple brackets ornamented with magnificent human figures in the full bloom of Gupta abundance. This is probably the earliest of the four caves; the Jaina cave, like another at Aihole, contains figures of Tīrthankaras, and is probably the latest.

Most of the Buddhist caves at Auraṅgābād are not apsidal caitya-halls but excavated pillared mandapams with a shrine either isolated or placed in the back wall, and containing a Buddha seated in pralambapāda āsana, “European fashion”. Caves I, II and VII may date from the end of the sixth century or the early seventh. In Cave III there are very unusual groups of male and female worshipping figures in full round sculpture, kneeling towards the image; these layfolk doubtless represent the donors. The figure sculptures in this group of caves are remarkable for the heavy and elaborate headdresses, in which curled and bulky wigs play an important part. The physical type is a little unusual, too, but in respect of the full drooping lower lip recalls the Maheśa of Elephanta. In Cave III there is a remarkable relief representing the “Litany of Avalokiteśvara” the deity being surrounded by representations of suppliants suffering from various misfortunes; the most literal visual translation of a prayer imaginable. In general the pillars, capitals and brackets, which are of great variety and beauty, resemble those of the latest caves at Ajaṅṭa (I—V and XXI—XXVI). Fergusson considers that these caves, which both in date and place are certainly Early Cālukyan rather than Gupta, may be as late as the seventh or eighth century; but the fact that in Caves III and VII we find pillar brackets with small struts adorned with human figures, like those of the Rameśvara cave at Elūrā and Cave III at Bādāmī seems to indicate a nearly contemporary date for all these excavations.

The following Brahmānical caves at Elūrā date from the early Cālukyan period, ranging between 650 and 750, if not, perhaps, a century earlier: Das

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1 The Bādāmī caves are illustrated in Burgess, 1 and 8, vol. 11, pls. 269—272.
2 The Auraṅgābād caves are illustrated in Burgess, 3. The type represents a survival of that of the Sānci toraṇa Vṛṣṭakā brackets.
Avatāra, Rāvana kā Khai, Dhumar Leṇā, and Rāmeśvara. The Rāmeśvaram verandah (fig. 190) is adorned with massive pillars with pot and foliage capitals, and magnificently decorated with bracket figures of Devatās or Vṛkṣakās, accompanied by dwarfs, under mango-trees in full fruit; at each end of the verandah are river-goddesses. One of the finest sculptures within represents a four-armed dancing Siva. The Das Avatāra, in which Saiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures appear impartially, consists of two storeys, each consisting of a large pillared hall, of which the walls are lined with niches containing the sculptures, amongst others, one of the finest of this period, the well known “Death of Hiranyakaśipu”; in this relief, Viṣṇu appears in the Narasimha Avatāra and lays his hand upon the shrinking figure of the impious king. In front of the cave a mass of the living rock has been left, in the shape of a structural mandapam.

In this connection it may be remarked that the Brāhmans did not begin to make excavated shrines, whether underground or monolithic, much before the sixth century nor continue to do so much after the eighth, and that of over twelve hundred “cave” temples in India not many more than a hundred are Brāhmaṇical, while nine hundred are Buddhist and the remainder Jaina. All cave temples are more or less direct imitations of structural buildings. But while in the course of seven or eight centuries something like a Buddhist “cave style” had been evolved, at least so far as the pillars are concerned, the Brāhmaṇical caves, temples and monoliths are imitations of structural shrines of the fully evolved types existing in the sixth century. The inference seems to be that the evolution of structural temple architecture before the late Gupta period took place mainly in connection with the necessities of Brāhmaṇical cults. The square-roofed cella with flat roof, with or without a porch, and with or without a surrounding chamber may have been a specifically Hindu type, the apsidal caitya may have been a specifically Buddhist type; but it would be very rash to assert that this must have been the case, or that the Hindu borrowed extensively from the Buddhists, in view of the fact that in all periods for which adequate evidence is available we find that architectural style is a function of time and place, not of sectarian differentiation.

The square flat-roofed cella may perhaps be derived from the “prehistoric” dolmens which are so abundant in many parts of India; in these in any case we find the most primitive form of the slab construction — sometimes a single slab covering the roof — which is so characteristic of Hindu architecture. To judge from its wide distribution in the Gupta period this may at one time have been the nearly universal form of the Hindu temple.

1 Coomaraswamy, 7, pl. XLIII.
2 For a discussion of dolmen origins see Longhurst, 4.
The next stage (e.g. Bhumara) surrounded the cella (garbha-grha) with a pillared hall, permitting circumambulation under cover; and it is this stage which we find generally reproduced in caves such as the Dumar Lenā at Elūrā and the great Śaiva shrine at Elephanta. The next step (but all these stages overlap) is to place the shrine in the back wall of the temple, with the result that in a structural temple circumambulation can only take place in an external verandah or on a terrace platform, and in a cave becomes impossible. In the meanwhile a tendency was developing to emphasize the importance of the cella by a duplication of the roof above it (as at Gop, Aihole, &c.), and this led to the development of the two śikharas, Āryavārtā and Dravidian. (Nāgara and Drāvida) Prototypes of the various roof forms which were thus, by reduplication, developed into towers, occur abundantly in the early reliefs.

At this point it will also be convenient to refer to the pillars of caves and structural temples. In the north, in the Gupta and Early Mediaeval period we find two forms fully developed; both square-based, but one having a ribbed cushion capital, the ribs divided by a plain horizontal fillet, the other characterised by the “pot- and-foliage” capital (fig. 190). The former bears some relation on the one hand to the bulbous lotus capital of Asokan pillars, and on the other to the āmalaka finials of Āryavārtā śikharas, the latter is undoubtedly developed from the lotus-decorated partially chamfered square pillars familiar in early Buddhist railings and caves. In Early Cālukyan the tendency is to employ these forms in combination with a construction in other respects Dravidian (Pallava); even the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kailāsa at Elūrā is northern in this sense. These Northern capitals, as is naturally the result of their cave development, are at first extremely massive; in mediaeval architecture the pot-and-foliage type becomes almost universal, becoming more and more slender, until we find such forms as those of the Arhāi Din kā Jhomprā at Ajmîr (a mosque constructed from the remains of Hindu shrines), or the Śūrya Temple at Osiā.

At Ajanṭā, caves I—V and XXI—XXVI (all vibāras with the exception of one caitya) date from the early seventh century. The paintings in I and II are referred to below. Caves IV and XXIV are incomplete, but would have been the most richly decorated of the whole Ajanṭā series (figs. 156, 157); the details of XXIV are so like those of Cave III at Aurangābād that they must be of similar date, and much the same applies to the others. There is a large Parinirvāṇa image in Cave XXVI. At Nāsik, Cave XVII, containing many figures of Buddha, including one colossal Parinirvāṇa image, and with pillars similar to those of Elephanta and the Brāhmaṇical caves at Elūrā, dates from about 600 or a little later.

1 It should be noted that the Āryavārtā śikharā is a late—certainly not earlier than late Kuśāna—development, and cannot be derived from Assyrian forms.
The paintings in *vihāras* I and II, at Ajañṭā, hardly to be distinguished in style from those of the Gupta period strictly defined as such, include the following subjects:

Cave I, ca. 600—650 A. D., Great Bodhisattva (fig. 181), Māra-dharsana, Bacchanalian scene (Pāncika, *not* a "Persian embassy") on ceiling, love scenes, Sibi (weighing scene) and Nāga Jātakas, and ceiling decoration (fig. 185).

Cave II, ca. 600—650 A. D., Great miracle at Srāvasti, Indra-loka scenes, palace scenes, Kṣāntivādin and Maitribala Jātakas, and decorative panels on ceiling.

Of all these, the Great Bodhisattva (to judge from the blue lotus held in the hand, Avalokiteśvara) is perhaps the most impressive, perfectly realizing the conception of one born by right of virtue to the enjoyment of all that the world can offer — and in this age the world could offer great things to an Indian prince — and yet preoccupied with the one ruling passion of compassion. Of the ceiling paintings in Cave I, representing drinking scenes, and so often described as pictures of the Persian embassy received by Pulakesin in 625 or 626, it may be remarked that as with the other paintings, the subject is Buddhist. These are really Bacchanalian scenes of the type that recurs in Buddhist art from the early Kuṣāna period onwards, the personage carousing being Pāncika.

**RĀṢṬRAKUṬAS**

The Rāṣṭrakuṭas succeeded the Cālukyas in the western Dekkhan in 753 and made their capital at Mālkhed. The Kailāsanātha at Elūrā (fig. 192) is due to Kṛṣṇa II (ca. 757—783). This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple, and may be a copy of the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭakadal. The whole consists of a linga shrine with Dravidian sikhara, a flat-roofed mandapam supported by sixteen pillars, and a separate porch for the Nandi, surrounded by a court, entered through a low gopuram; five detached shrines are found on the edge of the perambulation terrace of the vimāna proper, and in one corner of the court there is a chapel dedicated to the three river goddesses, with their images in relief. There are two dīvaṁa-stambhas or pillars bearing emblems; these, and all the columns are northern, everything else is Dravidian, thus exhibiting the combination of styles characteristic of Early Cālukyan architecture, and perpetuated by the Rāṣṭrakuṭas. The same applies to the later Jaina Indra-Sabhā, likewise a monolithic temple, and of even more Dravidian aspect (ca. 850).

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1 For reproductions see references on p. 89.
The Kailāsanātha is decorated with some of the boldest and finest sculpture compositions to be found in India. The representation of Rāvaṇa’s attempt to throw down Mt. Kailāsa, the mountain throne of Śiva, is especially noteworthy. Only a part of this grandiose design is shown in figure 193. Here the quivering of the mountain has been felt, and Pārvatī turns to Śiva and grasps his arm in fear, while her maid takes to flight: but the Great God is unmoved, and holds all fast by pressing down his foot. The lower half of the composition exhibits Rāvaṇa exerting all the force of his twenty arms against the side of his subterranean prison. In no other art have geotectonic conceptions been visually realised with any such power as here, and in the Elevation of the Earth at Udayagiri (fig. 174). Other fine relief panels at Kailāsa include a Gaṅgāvatāraṇa composition, Śiva as Tri-purāntaka, and a Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.

The Saiva shrine at Elephanta, dating probably from the second half of the eighth century, is on the other hand, an underground excavation; the two liṅga shrines are detached within the halls, permitting circumambulation, the various back and side-wall panels being occupied with magnificent sculptures, of which the so-called Trimūrti, really a representation of Śiva as Maheśa¹ (figs. 194, 195) is deservedly famous, as one of the finest reliefs in all India. Other sculptures include compositions similar to many of those found at the Kailāsa, Elūrā. Outside the cave there was formerly preserved a five-headed Sadāśiva (not Brahmā)². In this cave, too, the northern pillars with ribbed cushion capitals attain their greatest perfection³.

It has long been known that remains of frescoes are preserved at Elūrā⁴. The most important of these are found on the ceiling of the porch on the second storey of the upper temple, which is known locally as the Raṅga Mahall, probably from the coloured decoration which once covered the interior and perhaps the whole exterior of the structure. The painting is of two periods, the first contemporary with the excavation, thus of late eighth century date, the second several centuries later; in what is now preserved, the later layer overlaps and partly conceals the earlier. The earlier painting is reminiscent of Ajanṭā, but rather less sensitive; the later is decidedly inferior. The most important composition represents Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī (fig. 196) riding through the clouds, borne by Garuḍas, which are of the human type, though with very long sharp noses, bird-like lower

¹ For detailed illustrations see Rodin, Coomaraswamy and Gouloumbew. For the iconography of three-headed forms of Śiva see Rao, I, vol. II, p. 379ff.; Aiyar, i; Cousens, i (Uttarēśvara lintel); Coomaraswamy in Rāpam, 18, p. 66, and Ganguly, M., 2, p. 68 (Sadāśiva); and cf. p. 55, note 6, 67, note 1, 149, and figs. 126, 283, in this work.

² Coomaraswamy, 7, pl. XLIII; Diez, fig. 152 (not catur- but pāṇa-mukha).

³ Burgess, 8, vol. II, pl. 256—259.

⁴ For recent accounts of the Elūrā frescoes, see Thompson; Coomaraswamy, 12.
limbs, and small wings. It is of special interest to observe that, quite apart from
the special characteristics of the Garuḍa faces, the features are sharply defined, and
the long sharp nose and bulging eyes of the later Gujarātī style are unmistakable;
in other words this is already a definitely mediaeval style, and considerable re-
moved from that of Ajaṇṭā. Another composition includes a rider upon a horned
lion (tārdula) and many pairs of Gandharvas or Vidyādhāras floating amongst
clouds. The clouds have sharply defined crenellated margins, like those of the
contemporary reliefs, and those of Borobudur. They are practically the same in the
painting of both periods, and survive in the Gujarātī miniatures, but not later. The
spandrels about the lotus rosettes in the centre of the ceiling are occupied by re-
presentations of lotus pools, with elephants, fish, etc., of both periods; while the
main composition of the later layer consists of a procession of Śaiva deities.

A much later painting of a battle scene, with contemporary inscriptions gi-
ving the names of the combatants (one is “Pramārā Rāḥ”) may date from a period
not before 1200 and perhaps as late as 1500.

PALLAVA

Whatever their antecedents, the Pallavas seem to have been vassals of the
Āndhras in the Godāvari-Kistna deltas (Veṅgi) in the second century, and to
have succeeded them as rulers in the third and fourth. Several legends trace their
origin to the union of a Cola prince with a Nāga princess at Kāveripumāṭṭanam1.
Originally Buddhists, they became for the most part Śaivas by the end of the sixth
century, when Buddhism was declining in the south. From about 400 to 750 they
were the dominant power on the east coast, and constantly at war with the Cā-
lukyas on the other side of the Dekkhan. The following are the main events of
Pallava history:

Simhavarman about 437 dedicated a Buddhist image at Amaravati. Simha-
viṣṇu (575—600) lost Veṅgi to the Cālukyas, after which the Pallavas extended
their dominions southward to Tanjore, with the capital at Kāṇcipuram. Mahen-
dravarman I (600—625) seems to have been converted to Śaivism by the Śaiva
Saint Apparśvāmi. In the reign of Narasimhavarman I (625—645) surnamed Mā-
malla, Hsūn Tsang visited Kāṇcī and found there many Mahāyāna shrines;
Bādami was captured in 642. Parameśvaravarman (655—690) won a victory at
Peruvalanallūr, but lost Kāṇcī temporarily in 674. Rājasimhavarman (Narasim-
havarman II) built the Kailāsanātha at Kāṇcī. Nandivarman Pallava again lost
Kāṇcī about 740 but ruled during the greater part of the last half of the century.

1 For the great sea-port of Kāveripumāṭṭanam and early Tamil culture see Kanakasabhai.
For the Nāga story in Cambodia see p. 180. Similar stories were current in Kāśmir and Khotān.
Aparâjita, early ninth century, was the last of the ruling Pallavas and was apparently a vassal of the Râştrakûtas, who had inherited the Câlukyan enmity, and won victories in 775 and 803.

The Pallava styles may be classified as follows: Mahendra style 600—625, Mâmallâ style, 625—674, Râjasîmha and Nandivarman style 674—800, Aparâjita style, early ninth century.

Mahendra style: the very interesting cave temple inscription of Mahendravarnan I at Mançâgâpatattu, South Arcot District, together with the inscription containing his birudas found on an ancient pillar embodied in the later Ekâmbaranâthasvâmin temple at Kâncî, proves what might in any case be taken for granted, that structural temples of “bricks, timber, metals (stone) and mortar” were the rule, rather than the exception in the Pallava country, and indicates that Mahendravarnan (whose birada, Vicitrâcâtta, refers to his many accomplishments) was personally responsible for introducing the cave style, probably from the Kistna district. Mahendravarnan was “one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation”. In addition to the cave just mentioned, those of Dâlavânur, Trichinopoly and many others date from Mahendra’s reign. Characteristic features are the square pillars, the central portion being octagonal; the brackets generally plain, sometimes with horizontal fluting. There are dvârapalas leaning on heavy clubs. There is a convex roll cornice, decorated with caitya-window niches (kudâ) enclosing heads, the crest of the arch quite plain. The Buddhist railing (rare in Hindû art) is sometimes seen.

Reference may be made here to the Jaina Pallava painting recently discovered in a cave shrine at Sittanâvasal, Pudukootâi state, assigned to the reign of Mahendravarnan I.

Mâmallâ style: the greater part of the work on the cave temples, the Descent of the Ganges, and the five “rathas” at Mâmallapûram seems to have been executed early in the seventh century. Of the cave temples, the Trimûrti, Varâha, Durgâ, and “Five Pândava” are the most important. The Varâha, like the Five Pândavas, has a verandah with the slender octagonal pillars supported by a sitting lion, characteristic of Pallava architecture after Mahendra (cf. figs. 197, 199, 202); this is the prototype of the later yâli pillars of mediaeval Dravidian art. The capital is bulbous, often surmounted by a flat abacus (palagâri); the brackets as before, usually with the horizontal fluting.

1 The best account of all the Pallava monuments is given by Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1 and 2. See also Rea, 4; Longhurst, 3; Vogel, 14; and Rodin, Coomaraswamy and Goloubew.
2 Jouveau-Dubreuil, 2, and Conjeeveram inscription of Mahendravarnan I, Pondicherry, 1919; also Longhurst, 3.
3 Jouveau-Dubreuil, 3.
In the Varāha cave is a series of well-known and magnificent reliefs representing the Varāha-avatāra, Vāmana-avatāra, Sūrya, Durgā (in Pallava art always with the attributes of Viṣṇu), Gaja-Lakṣmi (fig. 205) and two fine groups of royal figures representing Sinhavasiṣṇu and Mahendravarman with their queens (fig. 204). In the Durgā shrine (Yampuri or Mahiṣa maṇḍapam) are two still better known reliefs representing Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin (fig. 209) and Durgā-Mahiṣamardini (fig. 208); the Five Pāṇḍava shrine contains reliefs representing Kṛṣṇa-dudhādhāri and Govardhanadharā.

With these sculptures must be mentioned the open-air rock-cut tīrtham commonly known as “Arjuna’s Penance” (figs. 198, 206, 207). Here a great rock wall with a median fissure, has been covered on both sides with sculptured figures of deities, human beings, Nāgas, and animals of all kinds, approaching or facing towards the fissure, and for the most part with hands joined in adoration. Immediately to the left of the fissure is a small sculptured shrine (the Dravidian temple in its simplest form) containing the standing figure of a four-armed deity, probably Siva; before this temple is bowed an emaciated yogi (Bhagiratha, fig. 198), who is also represented above with raised arms (urdhva-bāhu), practising tapas. The fissure is occupied by the Nāgas, who are beings associated with the waters; above, on either side are flying figures of gods, and below are the wild creatures of the forests, amongst which the monumental elephants may be specially mentioned. If any further evidence were needed to support the suggestion of Goloubew that the whole scene represents the Descent of the Ganges (Gaṅgāvataraṇa) it could be found in the figure of the ascetic cat standing erect as a tapasvī in urdbhavāhu pose, while trustful mice play at his feet (fig. 207); stories of false ascetic cats deluding innocent mice on the banks of the Ganges are to be found in the Hitopadesa, Mahābhārata, and elsewhere. A detached group in the round, representing a monkey family, is a masterpiece of animal sculpture. In the same style and probably of the same period are the Kapila and unfinished elephants of the Isurumuniya Vihāra at Anurādhapura in Ceylon (see page 162).

The five rathas at Māmallapuram are all monoliths, cut from a series of boulder-like granulitic outcrops on the sandy shore. All are of the same period,
the first half of the seventh century, and in the same style, though of varied form, evidently reproducing contemporary types of structural buildings; named after the Five Pāṇḍavas, they all appear to be Saiva shrines. The Sahadeva, Dharmarāja and Bhima ratḥas have characteristic pyramidal roofs of three distinct storeys, ornamented with the little pavilions called paṅcarams and with caitya-window niches; the uppermost member of the first having the form of the older structural and excavated apsidal caitya-halls, that of the second being a hexagonal dome, that of the third an elongated barrel vault of the type so often represented on the Bhārhut (fig. 45), Sāncī and Amarāvati reliefs. The Arjuna ratḥa illustrates the simplest form of the Dravidian temple, like the small rock-cut shrines at Uṇḍavalli1 and the shrine represented in the Gaṅgāvataraṇa relief (fig. 198). The Draupadi ratḥa (fig. 200) is a small square shrine with a square curvilinear roof like that of modern Bengāli thatched cottages and brick temples; the form is without doubt derived from bamboo construction, and occurs already in the small shrine represented at the left end (obverse of the Kaṭrā Mound toraṇa architrave, M 1, in the Mathurā Museum2. Characteristic details in these temples include capitals without palagai, brackets plain or horizontally fluted, roll cornices with caitya-window niches enclosing heads or figures without a crowning kūrtti-mukha (Tam. sinhamugam), and makara toraṇa lintels. Seventh century Pallava sculpture, represented in and on the shrines above described, is of a very high order; it differs chiefly from that of the Gupta period and area in the greater slenderness and freer movement of the forms, the more oval face and higher cheek bones. The divine and human figures are infinitely gracious (figs. 204), and in the representation of animals this school excels all others. Deities have four arms, Dvārapālas two only. Lingams are cylindrical, never fluted.

Rājasimha style: the structural temples at Kāṅcipuram3, with the “Shore temple” at Māmallapuram, date from the beginning of the eighth century and are due to Rājasimha, the most important of them being the famous Rājasimheshvara temple, or Kailāsanātha, of Kāṅci. The shrine (fig. 197) with its pyramidal tower and flat-roofed pillared mandapam is surrounded by a peristyle composed of a continuous series of cells resembling ratḥas. But here the Pallava style is further evolved and more elaborate; in matters of detail may be mentioned the vertical median band on the horizontally fluted brackets, the constant presence of the palagai as uppermost element of the capital, the fact that many of the lions supporting pillars are now rampant and are sometimes provided with riders, and the appear-

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1 Longhurst, 3, pl. XIII.
2 Vogel, 13, pl. XXV.
3 The fullest descriptions and illustrations in Rea, 4; see also Fergusson, 2, and Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1.
ance of kirttimukhas, as yet in very low relief, surmounting the caitya-window niches. The lingam is now prismatic. Other Rājasimha temples dateable near to 700–720 include the structural Shore temple at Māmallapuram (fig. 201), the great temple at Panamalai (fig. 203) and the Tiger (or rather “Lion”) cave at Sāluvaṅkuppam. The Vaikuntha Perumal at Kānci may date nearer to 750, the Mātāṅgeśvara at Kānci from the time of Nandivarman, the apsidal temple at Kūram from the end of the century; but all these are still in the Rājasimha style, as developed in the time of Nandivarman.

Aparājita style: at the beginning of the ninth century we find the Pallava style further evolved, and approaching the Coḷa. The lingams are again cylindrical, the abacus (palagā) above the capital more conspicuous, the kirttimukha head now in full relief. There is a shrine of this type at Bahur, near Pondicherry. Much more important is the remarkable temple of Tiruttanēśvara² built by Nambi-Appa in the reign of Aparājita, at Tiruttanī. The temple is a small square vimāna, with one door, and with a mandapam, facing east; the upper portion is apsidal like the Sahadeva ratha at Māmallapuram.

Characteristics of the developed style, beside those already mentioned include the representation of dvārapālas with four arms. It is worthy of note that the pillar brackets are still curved; in the early Coḷa style they become angular.

**MEDIAEVAL**

**FROM 900 A.D.: PĀLA, CĀLUKYA, COĻA, RĀJPUT, &c.**

The history of this period is again too complex to be treated in detail here. The outstanding feature in the North is the rise of the Rājputs, many of whom were descended from earlier foreign invaders, but were now completely hinduised, while others could trace their descent with plausibility to far earlier times. The most important kingdoms in this period included that of Kanauj or Paṅcāla ruled by the earlier Rāja Bhoja (Parihāra) in the ninth century, and extending from Magadha to the Satlaj, and including Kāthiāwād. The later Rāja Bhoja (Paramāra or Pawār) of Dhārā, r. 1018–1060 A.D., was a liberal patron of literature and art, himself the author of works on architecture; in Indian tradition his name marks the culminating age of Hindu civilisation. The Candels of Bundelkhand, with a capital at Mahobā, were at the height of their power about 1000 A.D. In the lower Ganges valley the kings of the Pāla dynasty ruled for four and a half

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¹ A feature repeated in Java, cf the Cupuvatu liṅgam, Krom, 2, pl. VIII.
² Jouveau-Dubreuil, 2, vol. II, 1918, pls. I—VIII.
³ Bhoja, 1, 2.
centuries, from about 750 to 1197 A.D. fostering the later Buddhist art of Bihār. From about 1070 onwards the kings of the Sena dynasty, Brāhmaṇical Hindūs, dispossessed the Pālas of a large part of their dominions, including Dacca and Gaur. Both were swept away by the Muḥammadans at the close of the twelfth century, when monasteries and temples were destroyed, and Buddhism practically extinguished. Orissa was governed for the most part by independent princes of the Eastern Gaṅgā dynasty.

In the Dekkhan the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings was overthrown by the first representative of the Later Cālkukya dynasty of Kalyān, descendants of the early Cālkukyas of Bādami; the kingdom was extended to include almost all the former possessions of his ancestors, and the dynasty lasted until about 1190. The Hoysala dynasty ruled in Mysore (Maisūr), attaining the zenith of their power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in 1310 the kingdom was overrun by the Muḥammadans. In the south, the Colas came into prominence about the middle of the ninth century, in succession to the Pallavas. Rājarāja-deva, the Great, r. 985—1018 A.D., made himself paramount lord of the south, ruling over almost the whole of the present Madras Presidency including on the north the Kistna-Godavēri delta and part of Orissa, part of the Cālkukya domain on the west, the Pāṇḍya kingdom of Madura in the south, and a great part of Ceylon. Rājarāja was a great builder, constructing in particular the great temple at Tanjore. Both he and his son Rājendra maintained relations with the kings of Sumatra, and though ardent Saivas, made endowments to the Sumatran Buddhist shrine at Negapatam (see p. 199). The last Coḷa king died in 1287. For a short time the Pāṇḍyans of Madura reasserted themselves but in 1310 the Muḥammadans under Malik Kāfūr broke the power of all the southern States with the exception of Malabar. Had it not been for the rapid rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom about 1370, ruled by the Rāyas, of whom the most famous was Kṛṣṇa Deva, r. 1509—29, the southern Hindū kingdoms would have been completely subverted. Vijayanagar broke up about 1565; its chief Hindū successors in the South were the Nāyyakas of Madura, of whom Tirumala reigned 1623—1659.

The nomenclature of the mediaeval architecture presents considerable difficulty. In any case, a sectarian classification, such as that which forms the main defect of Fergusson’s work, is quite misleading. For just as in the case of sculpture, there are no Buddhist, Jaina or Brāhmaṇical styles of architecture, but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmaṇical buildings in the Indian style of their period. Nor can a clear distinction of Viṣṇu and Siva temples made in the Mānasāra and followed by Havell and Diez, be recognized in mediaeval practise. The Indian temple (vimāna) is one; but there are provincial variations in its formal development, existing side by side with the secular variation in pure
style. In respect of these, the only adequate classification is geographical. The three most clearly differentiated types are the Northern, marked by the curvilinear śikhara, the Southern, with a terraced pyramidal tower, of which only the dome is called the śikhara, and the Central, combining both types with peculiarities of its own. These three types have been designated as follows in the Śiśpa-Sāstras (A) and by Fergusson (B):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern (mainly North of the Vindhya)</td>
<td>Indo-Āryan or Āryavārta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cāluḥkyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central (Western India, Dekkhan and</td>
<td>Vesara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maisūr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern (Madras Presidency and</td>
<td>Drāvida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>northern Ceylon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The classification (A) of Śrī Kumāra and the Maṇḍarā is only unsatisfactory insofar as it partly involves a definition by ground plan which does not altogether fit the facts; that of Fergusson, on account of its ethnic implications. In the present work both sets of terms are used, but strictly with a geographical connotation and without reference to plans or races.

The great abundance of mediaeval Nāgarā shrines in the Pañjab, Rājputāna, Western India, the Ganges valley, Central Provinces, and Orīssā makes a consecutive historical treatment almost impossible in a work of the present dimensions. All that can be done is to describe the more important buildings, dating for the most part after 900 and before 1300 A. D. under the headings of the various sites at which they are found, and with some account of the sculpture.

A considerable series of Nāgarā temples is found in the Pañjab Himālayas. The most important of these is the eight or ninth century monolithic group at Māsrūr, Kāṅγrā. Structural temples apparently of the ninth century are found at Bāijnāth, where the maṇḍapam has an interesting balcony window, and the porch is provided with elegant columns having cylindrical shafts and pot and foliage capitals. Bāijnāth is equivalent to Vaidyānātha, a name of Śiva as Lord of Physicians, and may be possibly connected with an early cult of Lokesvara. The Viśvesvarā temple at Hāṭ, Bājaurā, Kuḷū has three projecting side chapels containing fine relief sculptures of Gaṇeṣa, Viṣṇu and Durgā; there are river-goddesses at

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1 But see Acharya, p. 19, and Thesis V. "The technical names of the three styles of Indian architecture are geographical, in the same sense as those of the four Graeco-Roman orders."

2 Hargreaves, 3; also A. S. I., A. R., 1912—13, pt. 1, pl. XIII, and 1914—15, pt. 1, pl. III. Amongst the sculptures is a representation of Varuṇa on a makara.

3 Vogel, 22.
the sides of the porch; the decorative motifs include caitya-arches enclosing heads and makaras almost dissolved in arabesque. Thus the ensemble presents an appearance analogous to that of later Javanese architecture. The shrine is undated, but may be assigned to the tenth century¹.

In Cambā there are extant in temples at Brahmaur and Chatrārhi large brass images of Laksana Devi (Mahisasura-mardini), Sakti-devi, Ganeshā, and Nandi with inscriptions showing that they were to the order of a king Meruvarman by a craftsman (kammini) of the name of Gugga; assigned on palaeographic grounds to the eighth century, the images themselves are mechanically conceived, and apart from the inscriptions would be assigned to a later date². More interesting is the Nirmanḍ mask of Mujuni-devi (fig. 273), queen or goddess of a Rāja Hemaprakāśa of Kulū, of ninth or tenth century date³. Many temples of great interest are preserved in the Kumāon and Almora tracts of the Himalayas⁴.

The only monolithic Nāgara temple, other than that of Masrūr, Kāṅgrā, is the excavated Vaiṣṇava Dharmanātha temple at Dhammār in Rājputāna, dating about 800 A.D. This shrine stands in the pit in the side of the hill in which it was excavated. The chief peculiarity is the arrangement of six or seven smaller cells round the main shrine, which consists of a garbha-grha and mandapam⁵. At the same site there is an extensive series of older Buddhist excavations.

Of numerous brick towers in the Paṅjab and Ganges valley, the following are amongst the most important: the temple at Kālar, near the junction of the Sawān and Indus in the Jhelam District⁶; smaller shrines at Āmb in the Shāhpur District: temples at Kāfir Kot⁷; Malot (see p. 143 and fig. 274); Dalni, Manbhums, Bengal⁸; Sona Tapan and Bahulara (fig. 213) in the Bāṅkurā District, Bengal⁹; Parauli (with a circular cella) and Sinbua in the Cawnpore District, and Tinduli, Bahua, Œñhaurā, Kurā, &c., in the Faţehpur District¹⁰. Most of these date between the eighth and twelfth centuries, and continue the series represented by the earlier Gupta and early mediaeval temples of Bhitargao, Sirpur and Nālandā.

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¹ Vogel, 11.
² Vogel, 1.
³ Shuttleworth; Vogel, 19. Tho the former I am indebted for the photograph reproduced in fig. 273 and for a manuscript copy of a note on the inscriptions by Vogel.
⁴ A. S. I., A. R., 1913—14, pl. 1; 1921—22, pp. 50ff.
⁵ Cousens, 7; Burgess, 8, pl. 286.
⁶ Talbot.
⁷ Cunningham, 4, vol. XIV; A. S. I., A. R., 1914—15; pt. 1, pl. III; Codrington, K. de B., pl. XLIII, c, d.
⁸ Burgess, 8, pl. 290; Cunningham, 4, vol. VIII.
⁹ Burgess, 8, pl. 298, 299; A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, pp. 58, 59, 112, and pl. XII.
¹⁰ Vogel 8.
Amongst the more important stone temples in Nāgara style not elsewhere referred to may be mentioned the circular tower at Candrehe, Rewā State, where there is also a well preserved Brāhmanical monastery; the shrine at Sohāgpur, recalling Khajurāho, but with even finer sculptures; columns of an eleventh century Buddhist temple at Bihār, Narsiṅghpur State; and the Siddheśvara or Siddhanātha temple at Nemawār, Indore State, the finest in Mālwa.

The groups of Hindū and Jaina temples at the old Candela capital of Khajurāho in Bundelkhaṇḍ are second in importance and magnificence only to the mediaeval temples at Orissā. All appear to have been erected between 950 and 1050. Of the Hindū temples the finest is the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva (fig. 214); the effect of height, actually 116 feet over all, is greatly increased by the deep basement and by the vertical lines of the reduplications of the tower upon itself. The pradaksīṇā path is included in the whole mass of the structure, and is provided with shaded balcony windows. All parts except the tower are covered with elaborate figure and floral sculptures, and amongst this are some remarkable erotic friezes, a feature by no means usual in Saiva shrines. The Vaiṣṇava Caturbhujā and the Jaina Adinātha temples are in exactly the same style, to be distinguished only by the details of their sculpture.

At Gwāliar, within the area of the fort there is preserved the porch of an important Vaiṣṇava temple erected in 1093 and known as the Śaś-Bahū. Of more unusual form is the Vaiṣṇava Teli-kā-Mandir (fig. 212) which although in northern style, seems to have been crowned by a barrel-vaulted roof like that of the Vaitāl Deul at Puri in Orissā. The finest and best preserved temple in Gwāliar State is the Nilakaṇṭha or Udayeśvara at Udayapur, built by Udayāditya Paramāra between 1059 and 1080. The ṣikhara is ornamented with four narrow flat bands running from base to summit, the intervening spaces being occupied with repeated ornament consisting of reduplications in miniature of the main tower; the whole is carved with particular precision and delicacy, and both tower and mandapa are in perfect preservation.

Remains of once magnificent Vaiṣṇava temples survive in the Lalitpur District at Candpur, Dudhahi, and Madanpur. Frescoes which seem to illustrate fables are preserved on the ceiling of the Vaiṣṇava temple known as the Choti Kācāri at the latter place, and have been assigned by Mukerji to the twelfth century or earlier, but need reexamination.

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1 For all these see A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21.
2 A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, pls. XXIV—XXVI. See also p. 110.
4 Fergusson, 2, pp. 137, 147.
5 Mukerji, 1, pls. 29, 30, 35—38, 45—48, and Diagram 11.
As may have been gathered from the foregoing descriptions, the culture of the Candels in Central India was predominantly Brāhmaṇical, and most of the temples and sculptures are of a corresponding character (cf. fig. 222). But a number of fine Buddhist sculptures found at Mahobā, and now for the most part in the Lucknow Museum show that Buddhism was still followed. These sculptures, which are executed with faultless mechanical perfection and considerable grace, are in the local buff sandstone, and several inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions by various relatives of an accomplished artist (cittraṅkāra) of the name of Sātana, were probably made in his workshops. The figures may be dated approximately in the latter part of the eleventh century, in the reign, perhaps, of Kirttivarman, the greatest of the Candela rājas. An image of Lokanātha (Avalokiteśvara) is illustrated in fig. 223; the other images included a Buddha, a Tārā, and a Sīmhanāda Avalokiteśvara.1

An unusual temple type, perhaps in essentials of great antiquity, is that of the circular colonnaded enclosures dedicated to the Cauṁsat Joginis, or sixty-four goddesses associated with Durgā. The ninth or tenth century or possibly much older example at Bherāghat, near Jabalpur, a hundred and sixteen feet in internal diameter, with eighty-one peripheral chapels, was probably provided with a main central shrine containing an Umā-Maheśvara group.2 The temple at Mitauli, near Padhau, of eleventh century date, was a hundred and twenty feet in diameter, with sixty-five peripheral chapels, and a central round shrine provided with a mandapa.3 Other circular Jogini temples are found in Coimbatore, at Rāṇipur-Jhariā near Sambhalpur, at Dudhahi in the Lalitpur District, and in the Kālāhandi District.4 The Jogini temple at Khajurāho, is by exception rectangular, measuring a hundred and two by fifty-nine and a half feet, with sixty-four small peripheral cells and one larger one, all surmounted by spires; like all the others, the court is open to the sky, only the cells having roofs.5 It may be remarked that early examples of similar plans, based no doubt on still earlier Indian prototypes, can be recognized in the case of more than one Gāndhāran monastery shrine, e. g. at Jamālgarhi and Takṣht-i-Bāhi,6 and so far as the rectangular type is concerned can be paralleled in the cloistered courts of the Kāśmīrī shrines, and those of some Jaina temples at Girnar and Śravaṇa Belgola (bètta type, see p. 118), and of the Cālukya Keśava temple at Somnāthpur in Maisūr (see p. 117).

2 Cunningham, 4, vol. IX, pp. 60—74, and pls. 12—15.
4 Mukerji, 1, pl. 39.
6 Fergusson, 2, vol. 11, p. 51, and fig. 291.
7 Fergusson, 2, vol. 1, figs. 119, 120.
Another important group of mediaeval temples is found at Osiā1.

The old Hindū and Jaina temples of Gujarāt have been almost entirely destroyed by the Muḥammadans, who nevertheless in their turn employed the Indian architects to construct the beautiful mosques of Aḥmadābād, which are in a purely Hindū style, only adapted to the requirements of Musalmān worshippers. Probably the greatest of the older temples is the Rudramālā, at Siddhapur, a city named from the great royal builder Siddha Rāj (1093—1143), one of the kings of Anhillavāḍa-Pāṭan, and connected by marriage with the Cālukyas. Another great shrine stood at Vāḍnagar; still another imposing ruin is that of the temple of the Sun at Mudhera. Little remains at Anhillavāḍa-Pāṭan, but at Somanātha-Pāṭan in Kāṭhiāwāḍ are the ruins of the famous Somanātha temple, destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 1025, rebuilt by Kumārapāla (1143—1174), and later again sacked and converted into a mosque2. All these temples connected with the Solanki (Cālukya) rulers of Gujarāt are in a local variety of the Cālukyan (Vesara) style; they are further specially characterised by the presence of kirttistambhas or decorative storied “Towers of Fame”. The finest example of such a tower, however, is that of the Chitor Fort, the capital of Mewāṛ before Udaipur. This tower (fig. 251) was constructed in the eight years following 1440, and restored in 1906, to commemorate the building of the Kumbhasvāmi Vaiṣṇava temple, consecrated in 1440. In the fifth storey are effigies of the architect Jaita and his two sons3. The similar, but smaller Jaina tower at Chitor dates probably from the twelfth century4.

The Jaina temples at Mount Ābū are deservedly famous5. These take their name of Dilvāṭa from the adjoining village, situated at a height of 4000 feet on an isolated hill in Southern Rājputāna; the group consists of four temples, of which the most important are those of Vimala Shā and Tejaphāla, respectively ca. 1032 and 1232. They are constructed entirely of white marble, quarried in the plains below, and carried up the steep hill by infinite labour. These are domed shrines with pillared halls. As Cousens remarks “the amount of beautiful ornamental detail spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels, and niches is simply marvellous; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiselling would have been disastrous. It is said that much of it

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1 Bhandarkar, D. R., 4; Burgess, 8, pls. 307—310. The Sūrya temple is the finest.
2 Cousens, 8, pp. 33ff.; Ferguson, 2.
3 A. S. I., A. R., 1920—21, p. 54; Cunningham, 4, vol. XXIII.
4 Ferguson, 2, fig. 295.
5 Bhandarkar, D. R., 8; Cousens, 8.
was produced by scraping the marble away, and that the masons were paid by the amount of marble dust so removed". The two great domical ceilings are the most remarkable feature (fig. 221); all the fretted marble is deeply undercut, and in the centre there hangs a great carved pendant. It must not be supposed that all this work is overwrought; this is rather one of those cases where exuberance is beauty. It will be understood, of course, that all the figure sculpture is necessarily in the same key, each individual figure being but a note in the whole scheme, not a profound invention to be separately studied. The same applies even to the images of the Jinas in this period; each is severely simple, but all are alike in representing nothing more than the skilled realisation of a fixed formula. Just a millennium had passed since the setting up of Friar Bala’s Bodhisattva at Sārnāth: not one of the mediaeval craftsmen could have created a work of like intensity, but had such a thing been possible, such a figure would have completely destroyed the unity of any mediaeval shrine. Under these circumstances it is not a fault, but a virtue in the craftsman that he could not, if he would, have achieved what have been utterly inappropriate to his design.

There is another and even more picturesque Jaina tīrtha or place of pilgrimage at Taraṅga, not far from Siddhapur, with a temple of Ajīnatātha, built by Kumārapāla. The most remarkable of such tīrthas however, are the great temple cities — cities not built for human habitation, but consisting of temples alone — picturesquely situated on the hills of Girnār in Kāṭhiawāḍ and Satruṇjaya or Pālītāna in Gujārāt1. At Girnār the great temple of Neminātha is certainly older than 1278 when it was repaired; another, built by the brothers Tejahpāla and Vastupāla, founders of the second temple at Mt. Ābū above referred to, dates about 1230. The former stands in a colonnaded court of some seventy cells, the latter is a triple shrine arranged in Cādūkyaṇ fashion about a central hall. At Satruṇjaya the total number of shrines, in eleven separate enclosures, exceeds five hundred. Some date back to the eleventh century, the majority range from 1500 to the present day. One of the largest is the temple of Adinātha in the Khara-
taravāsi Tuk, built by a banker of Aḥmadābād in 1618; this is a shrine of two storeys, with a well proportioned sikbara, and with a verandah of which the pillars bear capitals richly carved with figures of musicians and dancers. A small shrine built by the Nagar Seth, or Head of the Gilds of Aḥmadābād in 1840, is a pillared hall of unique design, with external verandahs; the floor is divided by twelve piers into nine smaller squares, those of the angles having domed roofs, those of the centre and sides being crowned by towers; the five principal icons represent sacred mountains. Other picturesquely situated Jaina temple groups

1 For Girnār and Satruṇjaya, &c., see Fergusson, 2; Cousens, 8, p. 44.
are found at Rānpur (especially the Gaumukha temple, A. D. 1438) in Jodhpur State, and Parasnāth in Bengal.

Probably the best preserved remains of any mediaeval Indian city are those of Dabhoi, twenty miles south east of Baroda, and Jhinjūvāḍ in the northern angle of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Both of these cities were provided with powerful defensive walls in the time of the Solanki kings of Gujarāt, probably about 1100. They were partially destroyed by the Muḥammadans in the thirteenth century, but at least two of the great gates and parts of the massive walls are still preserved. The Jhinjūvāḍ wall is decorated with three string courses, interrupted at intervals by sculptured panels with figures of gods. The gates of Dabhoi (fig. 250) are more elaborate; like all Hindu gates, the arch is formed of overlapping (corbelled) horizontal brackets, covered by a massive lintel. These gates, and those of Gwāliār are the finest now standing in India.¹

The development of the Pāla school of architecture and sculpture, the “Eastern school” of Tāranātha, is typically illustrated at Nālandā, of which the importance as a centre of Buddhist learning continued undiminished by the political decadence of Magadha, until the destruction of the monasteries by the Muḥammadans about 1197. Nālandā has been the richest source of the well-known smooth black slate images of the Pāla school, and has also yielded a very extensive series of Buddhist bronzes (fig. 232). It may well have been here that the famous artists Dhīmān and Bitpālo, painters and sculptors mentioned by Tāranātha, worked in the latter part of the ninth century.² The importance of Nālandā as a centre of Buddhist culture and a source of iconographic and stylistic influences throughout the Buddhist east is well illustrated by the close relations existing between it and Sumatra-Java in the ninth century, as revealed by the copper plate of Devapāla-deva, in which reference is made to the important monastery built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇādvipa, ca. 860.³ Traces have been found of what may have been a statue of the founder.⁴ Nepāl and Burma, too, had close connections with Nālandā.

A general analysis of all the finds at Nālandā tends to show three stages in the later development of Magadhan art, first early Mahāyāna types, with Buddha and Bodhisattva images and votive stūpas; then, marking the development of the Tantrayāna on the basis of the older Yogācāra doctrines, the appearance of Saiva influences and images; and finally the introduction of the Kālacakra system with Vaiṣṇava figures. Moreover, throughout the period of this development, the

¹ Cousens, 8.
² Schiefner 2. For a good discussion of Tāranātha’s remarks on the history of Buddhist art see Smith, 2, pp. 304—07, Goetz, 8.
³ Hirananda Sastri, in Epigraphica Indica, XVII, pt. VII; Bosch, 4 (with a valuable summary of the history of Nālandā). See also p. 199.
later Magadhan schools exerted a powerful iconographic and to some extent a stylistic influence upon the arts of Nepāl in the north, and of Burma, Sumatra and Java beyond the seas. Even in Ceylon, certain identities of design with Nālandā types can be recognized.

Stone sculptures of the Pāla school are found not only at Nālandā, but elsewhere in Magadha, as for example at Rājaṛigha, Bodhgayā, Kurkihār, Dinājpur, Bhagalpur, Rājshāhi (fig. 227), Candimau, Kichang in Mayurabhaṅga, &c., and are represented in almost all large Museums, in India more especially at Lucknow, Calcutta and Rājshāhi; in Europe, London, Paris and Berlin, in America, Boston (fig. 228) and New York (fig. 229).1

Another large series of Pāla “bronzes”, perhaps of Nālandā origin, has been found at Chittagong (Catisgāoñā), and appears to date from the ninth to the thirteenth century2. Some others now in Kaśmir are evidently of the same type (fig. 232).3

Vaiṣṇava images in the same style, and of beautiful workmanship have been found at Rangpur4, and others are represented in the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad in Calcutta (fig. 231).5 Other Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saiva (fig. 230) images are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston .6

Stylistically, the art of the Pāla school is of high technical accomplishment, elegant and even modish in design. But even the stone sculpture approximates to metal work; everything is conceived in clear cut outlines, and there is no true modelling to be compared with that of earlier schools.

Almost the only surviving documents of Indian painting of the Pāla school are the illustrations in the two palm leaf Mss. Add. 1464 (Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā) and 1688 (Pañcarakṣa) in the Cambridge University Library, the former dating from the beginning, the latter from the middle of the eleventh century, and containing between them fifty-one miniatures, forming square panels of the height of the page.7 All the illustrations represent Buddhist divinities or scenes from the life of Buddha; their general character is Tāntrik, but not to any exaggerated extent. They are very closely related to the contemporary painting of

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1 Burgess, 8, pls. 224—235; Ganguly, M., 2; Coomaraswamy, 9 (2). For related but somewhat earlier sculpture in the Manbhumi and Singhbhumi Districts, Bengal, see Burgess, 8, pls. 291—295. For other dated Pāla sculptures from the Bodhgaya district in Bengal see A. S. I., A. R., 1923—24, pp. 102, 103.
3 Kak, 1, p. 72.
4 Spooner, 6.
5 Ganguly, M., 2, pp. 137ff.
6 Coomaraswamy, 9 (2).
7 Bendall, 2; Foucher, 2, vol. 1, pls. IX, X, and pp. 30 ff.
Nepāl (see p. 146) on the one hand, and that of Burma (see p. 172) on the other. Like the paintings in Jaina manuscripts from Gujārāt these illustrations are evidently replicas of traditional compositions; as justly remarked by Foucher, "nous devons supposer derrière ces miniatures une période de transmission vraisemblamment assez longue... productions d'un art dès longtemps stéréotypé". On the other hand, their intrinsic quality is essentially late mediaeval; all the features are defined by delicate, somewhat tormented outlines, with an expression at once nervous and sensual. The eyes and eyebrows are almost always doubly curved, and the nose very sharp; but there is a distinction from the Gujarāti types in that a large part of the farther cheek is always seen in the three-quarter profile, and the nose never projects beyond its outline, though in some cases the further eye is noticeably bulging. The work is that of accomplished craftsmen, and is marked by considerable facility of execution, though it has scarcely the lightness of touch of the Gujarāti paintings.

The most complete series illustrating the development of the Nāgara temple from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries is found in Orīssā, at Bhuvanesvara, Purī, and Koṇārak. The following are the approximate dates of the more important of the vast series of temples found in this Kāṭak District of Orīssā (at Bhuvanesvara except where specified): Paraśurāmeśvara, ca. 750; Muktesvara, 950; Liṅgarāja, 1000; Rājrāni, and the Jagannātha at Purī, ca. 1150; Megheśvara, ca. 1200; Koṇārak Sun temple (Sūrya Deul), and Liṅgarāja nāṭya maṇḍapa, thirteenth century.

The first (fig. 216) is a small, exquisitely and richly decorated Śaiva shrine, the low double-roofed maṇḍapa, with solid walls lighted by openings between the roofs forming a kind of clerestory. The Muktesvara temple has a maṇḍapa already in the typical Orīssan style, that is, with a pyramidal roof of many closely approximated cornices. The Liṅgarāja is perhaps the most majestic Indian temple now standing, giving an impression of great height, despite the many buildings clustered round it. The illustration (fig. 215) shows it from the side, with the original maṇḍapa on the left; in the latter the superimposed cornices are divided into two storeys. The effect of height of the sikhara is greatly enhanced by the vertical lines of the strongly emphasized ribs, of which two on each side bear reduced replicas of the whole. As usual, the sikhara is crowned by an immense ribbed āmulaka, above which there is a pot-shaped finial (kalasa). The temple of Jagannātha, which dominates the cathedral town of Purī and has become famous as "Juggernaut"1 throughout the world, is somewhat inferior in design and detail.

1 The Jagannātha car festival is in no way different in principle from that of most other Hindū temples, and in any case human sacrifice would be unthinkable in connection with a Vaiśṇava shrine. It is possible that the site was once Buddhist; the crude Vaiśṇava trinity which forms the principal icon bears a strong resemblance to a modified triratna symbol.
Almost as famous is the much more beautiful, though sadly ruined Sūrya Deul (Sun temple, or “Black Pagoda”) at Koṇārak, built between 1238 and 1264. This temple of the Sun differs in no structural essential from those already described, the most remarkable feature of what now survives being the roof of the mandapa, or jaga-mohana as it is called in Orissā; this roof (fig. 217) is divided into three stages, instead of the two of the Līṅgarāja, and this arrangement, combined with the reduction of the number of cornices in the upper stage, at once lightens and ennobles the design. The sikbara is no longer standing; the base is represented as resting upon immense richly carved wheels and as drawn by galloping horses.

Most of the Orissan temples are adorned with decorative sculptures, the finest probably those of the Mukteśvara where the figures of Nāgas and Nāginis are (particularly charming (fig. 219). Larger and more magnificent Nāgas and Nāginīs embrace the pillars of the Āṭārāṇī porch. The great horse and the elephants that stand near the Koṇārak shrine are monumental and so too are the colossal human figures that stand on the upper stages of the jaganmohana; the sikbara, or what remains of it, is covered with erotic sculptures of the most explicit character, illustrating all the bandhas known to the Kāma Sāstra. Some of the last mentioned sculpture is very beautiful, but the figure work here, and even that of the older Āṭārāṇī has passed its zenith, and is often overstrained. That of the Vaitāl Deul at Puri has a decided elegance (fig. 218).

A group of brick temples at Viśnupur, Bāṅkurā District, Bengal, due to the Vaiṣṇava rājas of Mallabhūm, and dating between 1622—1758 is characterised by the use of a simple curved roof reproducing the form of the bamboo and thatch roofs of Bengāli and Orissan cottages, and recalling that of the Draupadi Ratha at Māmallapuram; and further, by an abundance of fine moulded brickwork.

As good examples of quite modern temples in the Nāgara style may be cited that built by the rāja of Benares at Rāmnagar about 1800; the Viśvesvāra temple in Benares, rebuilt from the foundations in the eighteenth century; the temple of Scindia’s Mother, and others associated with the cenotaphs at Gwāliar, built in the nineteenth century; the seventeenth century Jugal Kiṣor and Madan Mohan temples at Bṛndāban; the nineteenth century Dharmānātha (Jaina) temple at Aḥmadābād; the groups of sixteenth and seventeenth century Jaina temples at Sonāgar in Bundelkhaṇḍ and Muktagiri in Berā; and amongst the many temples, dharmālās, gbāts, and wells built by Ahalyā Bāī (1765—95), the Gristanesvāra temple at Elūrā. In all of these there is a tendency for the form of the sikbara to

1 A. S. I., A. R., 1921—22, p. 25. Moulded bricks from this and many other localities such as Hūgilī, Dīnājpur, Paṇḍuṣā, &c., are well represented in the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta, see Ganguly, M., 2. For a temple of this kind at Kāntanagar, see Fergusson, 2, vol. II, p. 160.
become smooth and straight-sided, with abundant reduplication of the main form on a smaller scale.

The Golden Temple begun by the Sikhs at Amritsar in the reign of Akbar, and rebuilt in 1766 is a square two-storied building in an eclectic style, decorated largely with marbles taken from the tomb of Jahāṅgīr. Much of the interior woodwork is admirably ornamented with ivory inlay, in a manner still extensively practised at Amritsar and Hoshiārpur1.

The temples of the Vesara or later Cālukyan style2 are widely distributed in Dharwār, Maisūr (Mysore) and the Dekkhan, and as their geographical position might lead us to expect, are to a large extent intermediate in character, combining Nāgara and Drāviḍa elements, and with peculiarities of their own. In the fully developed type the conspicuous features are the relatively low elevation and wide extension, star-shaped plan, the grouping of three shrines about a central hall, pyramidal towers not distinctively storeyed as in typical Drāviḍa temples but carrying upward the indentations of the shrine below, elaborate pierced windows, cylindrical polished pillars, elevated basement in several richly decorated tiers, and very great elaboration of the sculptured decoration.

The Vesara style developed in the Dharwār District and is there exemplified in the fine Śaiva shrines at or near Ittagi and Gadag dating in the tenth and eleventh centuries. One of the latest twelfth century examples is that of Doḍḍa Basavanna, consisting of a shrine and mandapa, both star-shaped in plan, the rectangular projections in the one case representing the corners of six, in the other of eight intersecting squares; the architectural design is of exceptional beauty, and the carving the richest and most elaborate of any building in Western India3.

The style attained its fullest development in Maisūr under the Hōyāsalas. The most famous temples are those at Doḍḍa Gadāvālḷi, Somnāthpur, Belūr, and Halebid4.

The Keśava temple at Somnāthpur is a triple shrine attached to a central pillared hall, the whole enclosed in a square cloistered court. At Belūr there is a complex of five or six temples and subordinate buildings surrounded by a high wall with two fine gopurams on the east. The decoration of the pierced windows of the main mandapa is especially rich and varied. The Kedareśvara shrines at Balagāmi and Halebid are equally richly ornamented. The extreme limit of abundant and

2 For Cālukyan temples see especially Fergusson, 2, vol I; Cousins, 6, 8, 9; Havell, 4; Yazdani; Kramrisch, 2, pls. 35—37; Workman, in J. R. A. S., 1904; Burgess, 8, pls. 311 to 314; A. S. I., A. R., pt. 1, 1914—15, p. 9.
3 A. S. I., A. R., 1914—15, pt. 1, p. 9, and pl. VIII.
4 Narasimachar, 1, 2, 3; Cousins, 8, &c.
elaborate ornament is reached in the unfinished Hoyôaleswara temple at Halebid where the unstinted labour expended in carving a stone that is soft when quarried but hardens on exposure has clothed the entire building in an almost incredibly abundant parure. The basement exhibits a succession of animal friezes following all its indentations, representing elephants, horsemen, särdu paras or vyâlas, and scenes from the Râmâyana, above this a deep frieze of gods and ápsarases in niches in high relief, interrupted by pierced windows and turned pillars. Yet in spite of all this richness of detail, the decoration does not obscure the main structural lines (fig. 211).

Câlukyan sculpture exhibits the same characteristics; most of it is in very high relief, deeply undercut, and most elaborately decorated (fig. 224, 225). The bracket figures of many temples afford typical examples; they reproduce the ancient motif of the woman and tree; they are unmistakable descendants of the oldest Kuśâna and pre-Kuśâna forms, with the dwarf bearer now detached to form an abacus support below the main figure. The intention is sensuous, but the treatment is wiry, and lacks the true volupté of the Sānci dryads. An example at Nârâyanpur is nude. At Palampet the tree-women are replaced by danseuses or ápsarases, in technical dance poses, in one case nude.

The chief seat of the Jainas in Southern India, Sravana Belgola, Häsan District, Maisûr, contains innumerable shrines, some being situated in the village itself, others on the two hills, the Cikka and Doṭṭa Beṭṭas. The term beṭṭa is applied to a special form of shrine consisting of a courtyard open to the sky, with cloisters round about and in the centre a colossal image, not of a Tirthaṁkara, but of a saint. By far the most remarkable of these is the great image of Gommaṭeswara on the Doḍḍa-beṭṭa hill, fifty-seven feet in height, thus one of the largest freestanding images in the world. It was set up, or rather, carved in situ, for Câmuṇḍa Râja about 983 A.D. The saint, who was the son of the first Tirthaṁkara, and resigned his kingdom to become an ascetic, is represented in the immovable serenity of one practising the kâyotsarga austerity, undisturbed by the serpents about his feet, the ant-hills rising to his thighs, or the growing creeper that has already reached his shoulders. Another figure at Ilivâlâ is over twenty feet in height. There exist also statues to Bharadeśvâra, the saint's brother. The treatment is very formal.

Ordinary temples known as bastis and containing images of Jinas are likewise abundant at Sravana Belgola, most of them being in Cola-Drâviḍa style and dating from the eleventh or twelfth century. At least two metal images of about the same date are still in private possession in the village; an example from the

1 Cousens, 8, pl. 29; Yazdani; Smith, 2, fig. 156; Kramrisch, in Jahrb. as. Kunst, 1, 1924, pl. 52.
same district is illustrated in fig. 234. The Jaina *matha* or monastery in the village is decorated with paintings of scenes from the life of certain Tirthamkaras and Jaina kings\(^1\).

A more peculiar type of Jaina temple is represented in the Kannada (Kanara) country below the ghāts, especially at Mūdadibdi near Mangalore. The style belongs to the time of the kings of Vijayanagar, and is characterised by its sloping roofs of flat overlapping slabs, and a peculiar kind of stone screen enclosing the sides, recalling a Buddhist railing. The nearest analogy for the sloping roofs is found in the Himālayan forms, and some authors have assumed a connection of style between Kannada and Nepāl; more likely similar conditions have produced similar forms, the Kannada roofs being well adapted to the excessive rainfall below the ghāts\(^2\).

Figures of Gommatesvara are not found in northern India. But there is a series of rock cut temples, and colossal images at Gwāliar. Most of the excavated shrines are mere niches containing the statues, all of which represent Tirthamkaras, the largest being fifty-seven feet in height\(^3\).

Strictly analogous to the mediaeval painting of Bengal and Nepāl is that of the illustrated manuscripts of the Gujarāti school. Here too we have a series of constantly repeated compositions, varying only in unimportant details, and clearly indicating a long precedent tradition. As before, the pictures form square panels of the height of the page, occupying spaces left for them in advance by the scribe, and in many cases the subjects are identified by brief legends. In accomplishment, and in detachment from all preoccupation with effect or with emotion, they rank indeed, although represented by examples of later date, above the works of the Eastern school. With one exception, to be referred to below, all the Gujarāti works are illustrations of Jaina texts, and in almost all cases of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a work dealing with the life of Mahāvīra and certain other Tirthamkaras, and another poem, the *Kālikācārya Kathā*, which is an edifying tale describing the faithful dealings of the holy monk Kālika with the wicked king Gardabhilla\(^4\).

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\(^1\) For Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa see Narasimachar, 4. The Jaina image, fig. 234 has been published by Hadaway in Rūpam, 17, 1924. Other early Jaina bronzes include one published by Nahar and Ghose, *Epitome of Jainism*, and one in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar, examples of later date are common, cf. Coomaraswamy, 9 (2), pp. 142–5; Hadaway, 4; Luard, in J. I. A., vol. XXI; Rivett-Carnac, in J. I. A., vol. IX; Hendley, T. H., in J. I. A., vol. XVII, 1916; Narasimachar, loc. cir., &c. The painting in the Jaina *matha* at Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa is illustrated by Narasimachar, pl. XLVIII. Another example of a southern Jaina painting, of uncertain date is preserved on the ceiling of a Jaina temple at Kāṇḍipuram (fig. 236); another, ascribed to the eleventh century at Tirumalai, N. Arcot District (Epigraphia Indica, IX, 229).

\(^2\) Cousens, 8 (p. 34) and 9; Ferguson, 2, vol. II, pp. 75ff.; A.S.I., A.R., 1914–15, pt. 1, d. 9.

\(^3\) Ferguson, 2, vol. II, p. 48.

\(^4\) For full descriptions and illustration of paintings in Jaina manuscripts see Hüttemann; Coomaraswamy, 9 (4); and Gladshepp.
Only one example of an illustrated Kalpa Sūtra on palm leaf is known, dated equivalent to 1237 A.D. and now preserved in a bhandar at Pārṣan. Several examples on paper, dated in the fifteenth century are known, others undated, and others of later date. The paper manuscripts reproduce the form of the old palm leaves, the illustrations being arranged in the same way (fig. 255). It is indeed characteristic of the illustrated manuscript in India, that the picture bears no organic relation to the page, and merely occupies a space (ālekhyā sthāna) left unfilled by the scribe for the purpose; in all probability scribe and painter were always different persons. The style is one of pure draughtsmanship; the colour is indeed brilliant, but it is the outline that establishes the facts, and this outline, though exceedingly facile and almost careless, is very accomplished, and very legible. In many cases the execution might well be called brilliant, and this applies as much to the tiny thumb-nail indicatory sketches in the margins as to the finished miniatures. The variety of scenes and circumstances represented is very considerable, and the pictures afford valuable information on contemporary, or more probably, considering the conservatism of the style, earlier than fifteenth century manners, customs and costumes.

Another document of the same school is a manuscript of the Gujarāṭī poem, Vasantā Vilāsa (fig. 257), now in the possession of Mr. N. C. Mehta. Quite exceptionally, this manuscript is in the form of a scroll, verses of the text alternating with the painted panels, seventy-nine in number, by which it is fully illustrated. The poem describes the pomp and glories of the Spring, and the paintings, in consequence are all of a lyrical character, and as such unique in the Gujarāṭī school. In point of style, they are absolutely identical with those of the religious manuscripts, and may have been executed by some of the very same artists. The Vasantā Vilāsa was written, according to the colophon, at Aḥmadābād in the year 1415 A. D.3.

It may be remarked that all the Gujarāṭī painting exhibits marked peculiarities in the delineation of the human form, the most conspicuous being those of the three-quarter profile position, in which the further eye protrudes unnaturally, and the long pointed nose projects beyond the outline of the cheek. The expansion of the chest, moreover, is so much exaggerated, that it is often difficult to distinguish a man from a woman. Of these peculiarities the bulging eye and projecting pointed nose are met with already in the eighth century frescoes of

1 Nahar and Ghose, pp. 696, 706.
3 Mehta, 1; Gangoly, 3.
Elurā (fig. 196); Gujarāti painting is no doubt a continuation of the early western style, referred to by Tāranātha as that of the “Ancient West”, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and perhaps Paramāra frescoes of Elurā representing an intermediate stage in the development. The wall paintings of Sravana Belgola and Kāṇḍīpuram referred to above, are of course, in another and southern (Drāviḍa) style.

In the later mediaeval period, from the fifteenth century onwards, but more especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the use of stone for palace and domestic architecture became general in Rājputānā and Bundelkhand; twenty or thirty royal residences in Central India, and numerous cities are remarkable for their interest or beauty, nor are the traditions of civil architecture of this kind by any means yet altogether lost¹.

The immense palace at Gwalior (fig. 252), which extends along a great part of the edge of the vertical cliff of the ancient fort is due in part to Mān Siṅgh (1486—1518), his successor Vikrama Sāhi, and in part to Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān in the time of Mughal occupation. Along the outer walls tall towers alternate with flat surfaces, the domes of the towers formerly covered with gilt copper, the walls still preserving much of their inlay of enamelled tiles representing conventional trees, men, elephants, tigers, and ducks. The two great gates, the Hīṇḍola and Hāthi Paur guarding the steep road leading to the summit, the latter an integral part of the façade, date from the fifteenth century, and are in the same grand style as the palace itself; the same applies to the Gujari Mahal at the foot of the hill, now used as the Museum.

The magnificent palaces at Datiā (fig. 254) and Orchā built by Bir Siṅgh Deva in the seventeenth century, the former a large architectural block over a hundred yards square; the garden and water palace at Dīg (fig. 253) with its great double cornices, built by Sūraj Mall in the second quarter of the eighteenth century; the palace at Amber, the former capital of Jaipur State, built by another Mān Siṅgh and by Jaisiṅgh I in the seventeenth century; the imposing palace at Udaipur, the capital of Mewār since 1568, of various dates (Baṛī Pol, 1600; Tripulia Gate, 1725; Rāi Anāgan, 1571; Chīnī ki Citra Mahal, 1725—34; Baṛī Mahal or Āmar Vilās, 1699—1711; Karan Vilās, 1620—1628, exhibiting nevertheless a real unity of style, and the Gul Mahal, 1640, on the Jagmandir island, and Jagnīvās, 1740, on another island in the lake, composing an ensemble of the most romantic beauty); and the Jodhpur fort with its tremendous bastions, and the fairylike Old Palace on its summit, dating from the seventeenth century, are the most important examples of Rājput civil architecture. Many of the Rājput princes built or still possess palaces along the river edge (gbāts) at Benares, and some

¹ Cf. Sanderson and Begg; Growse. The best work of the present century is the Mahārājā’s private railway station at Jaipur. For modern religious building see p. 125.
of these, built as late as the nineteenth century are very noble structures; the best is perhaps that of the Rāja of Nāgpur, at the Ghōslā Ghāṭ. Other fine ghāṭs are those of Ahalyā Bāi at Māheśvar on the Narmadā, and those at Ujjain.

During the last three centuries Rājput princes have erected near most of the great capitals beautiful pillared cenotaphs (chatri) marking the cremation sites of successive rulers. The most picturesque group of such buildings, with types ranging from little domed canopies with four pillars to large octagonal domes with as many as fifty six pillars. At first sight tombs of this kind have a Muḥammadan air, but in fact all their details are Hindu, and in principal the construction does not differ from that of the earliest pavilion of the same type represented at Amarāvati (fig. 146). The best examples are those at Udaipur, of seventeenth and eighteenth century date, and those of Jodhpur, Chandōr, and Jaipur.

The later development of Dravidian art must be considered more briefly. We can distinguish the following styles: 1. Pallava, already discussed, the only one in which cave temples appear, 2. Coḷa (850—1100), 3. Pāṇḍya (1100—1350), 4. Vijayanagar (1350—1600) 5. Madura (1600 to present day).

Coḷa: the classic examples are the great vimānas at Tanjore built by Rājarājadeva Coḷa about 1000 A. D., and at Gangaikondaṉapuram, built by his son Rājendra Coḷa about 1025. The former (fig. 235) consists of the temple proper, two gopuraṁs and another small shrine; everything else, and particularly the Subrahmaṇiya shrine, is later. The vimāna, is actually as well as relatively to the temple adjuncts, of enormous size; grandeur is achieved with very little loss of simplicity. The straightsided square pyramid of the tower rises in fourteen storeys, each decorated with paṅcarams, and the whole is surmounted by a dome; the lowest storey and the body of the temple are of almost equal elevation. All the decoration is subordinate to the outline of the main form. Another very important vimāna of the Coḷa period is the Koraṅganātha temple at Sṛṇivāsanalur, nearly a century older than the two last mentioned.

Peculiarities characteristic of this stage in the Dravidian evolution include the very large abacus of the capital, the simple angular form of the bracket (no hint as yet of the pendent lotus), the decorative pilaster between the niches, the development of the old niche-reliefs into full-round statues, and the development of the makara torana (the makaras still with pendent floriated tails) towards the later circular glory (tiruvāsī).

Pāṇḍya: examples of the great gopuras of this period are to be found at Sṛiraṅgam, Cidambaram, Kumbakonam, Tiruvannamalai (fig. 237); these gate towers are themselves as large as the Coḷa vimānas, and from this period onwards we find the actual shrines dwarfed by the enclosing walls and gates. The vertical band of the old Pallava bracket has now developed into a small pendent, without
as yet approaching the lotus in form; in the fourteenth century, however, the vertical face of the bracket bears a lotus in low relief.

Vijayanagar: examples of the great pillared *mandapams* of this period are to be found at Kāncipuram (Ekāmranātha temple), Vijayanagar (Vīṭhalasvāmin temple), Auvaḍaiyar Kovil (fig. 239), and Vellūr ("Kalyāṇa mandapam"). The great city of Vijayanagar, which contains so many magnificent deserted shrines was founded about 1379 by Hari-hara II, who repulsed the Musalmāns, who had invaded the south between 1311 and 1319, and controlled the Dēkkhān. In this way the south was for a long time protected from further inroads. The Vijayanagar power reached its zenith under Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509—1529) and Acyuta Rāya (1529—1542). Kṛṣṇa Deva was not only a great warrior, but a man of the highest cultivation, an impartial and lavish patron of all sects alike, a great builder and patron of literature. The magnificence of Vijayanagar has been described by contemporary Arab and Portuguese writers. Abdur-Razzak remarks that "all the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers": he describes, too, an avenue with figures of lions, tigers, panthers and other animals on each side "so well painted as to seem alive". Paes describes a room in the palace (ca. 1522) "all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory and all well-executed, so that there could not be better". Only a few of the many Vijayanagar temples, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina, can be referred to here. The finest of all is the Vīṭhala or Vīṭhoba begun by Kṛṣṇa Deva in 1513 and still unfinished when the Vijayanagar empire was destroyed and the city sacked by the forces of the allied Dakhani Sultāns in 1565. The pillared *mandapas* of the shrine, the Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapam, and the stone car are especially noteworthy; the latter is composed of stone blocks so finely wrought that it has often been regarded as a monolithic. The Kadalaikallu Gāṇeśa temple is one of the most elegant in southern India; the plain walls and flat roof line of the cela, and the unusually tall pillars of the *mandapam* produce an effect of simplicity and restraint rare at this time. The same plain cela walls, however appear in the curious oblong Anantaśayin temple at Hospet, of which the archaic-looking vaulted roof is apsidal at both ends. The Hazāra Rāma temple, probably Kṛṣṇa Deva's private chapel, is contemporary with and similar to the Vīṭhalasvāmin, and equally typical of the period. The outer enclosure walls in both cases are covered with reliefs; the inner walls of the Hazāra Rāma with relief scenes from the Rāmāyana. The remains of palaces and connected buildings consist partly of Indo-Saracenic structures, of which the Lotus Mahal is the best

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1 Sewell, A.; Longhurst, 2; Smith, 3 (quotations from Abdu'r-Razzak and Paes).
example, combining Hindū roof and cornices with Muḥammadan arches; and the massive stone platforms or basements which once supported elaborate wooden superstructures covered with gilt copper plates. Of these basements, Kṛṣṇa Deva’s “Dasara Dibba”, decorated with friezes representing Daśahrā and Holi festival scenes, is the best example. Much of the stone architecture evidently reproduces contemporary wooden and metal forms. The great temples of the Vijayanagar period at Tādpatri are remarkable for most elaborate but unfinished gopuras (detail, fig. 247).

The chief peculiarities of the style are as follows: the full evolution of the pendent lotus bracket takes place; the monolithic columns unite to the main straight-sided shaft a number of slender cylindrical “columnnettes” with bulbous capitals (fig. 239); the roll cornice is doubly curved, the corners having upward pointing projections, the under side repeating the details of wooden construction. The pillar caryatides, whether rearing lions or yālis (gaja-simhas) are products of a wild phantasy; at the end of the sixteenth century rearing horses are also found, provided with fighting riders and groups of soldiers below (fig. 240), but these are more especially a feature of the Madura style. Enclosing walls and basements are decorated with continuous reliefs representing epic and festival themes.

Madura: after the fall of Vijayanagar the Nāyyaks of Madura established an independent kingdom, the most important king and builder being Tirumala Nāyyak (1623—1659). As before, and as at the present day, the temples are in the purely Dravidian tradition, unaffected by any outside influences, while the palaces are half Hindū, half Muḥammadan in style. The well known Vasanta or Puḍu Maṇḍapam in front of the great Mīnākṣī temple is strictly speaking neither a maṇḍapam nor a “choultry” (travellers resting place), but a flat-roofed corridor with three aisles; it illustrates extremely well the most obvious feature of the style, appearing also in the 1000-pillared maṇḍapam of the great temple, viz. the pillar caryatides in full-round sculpture, representing deities, and in the case of one of the Puḍu Maṇḍapam pillars, Tirumala Nāyyak himself with his wives.

For the rest, the peculiar character of the style, so evident in the great temple at Madura, which for most tourists establishes the type of Dravidian architecture, is rather due to an exaggeration of already developed shapes than to any new development; it may be remarked however that the decorative pilaster has now become a kumbha-paṇcaram i. e. it rises from a pot, and bears aloft a little pavilion, and that the pendent lotus bracket is so elongated as to touch the abacus of the capital.

The Subraḥmaṇiya shrine at Tanjore, close to the great Coḷa vimāna is a simple

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1 This temple is evidently a later development of the Gupta type of temple 17 at Sānci; note especially the continuation of the porch roof as a moulding round the cella wall. The same applies to the little Dravidian shrine at Ridi Vihāra in Ceylon.
example of the style, so far as the general form is concerned, but with characteristic and very elaborate decoration (fig. 238); it has been aptly compared to the work of the goldsmith executed in stone. The Drāviḍian tradition of temple building is very far from being extinct at the present day; the hereditary *śilpins* or *śhapatis* of the Kammālar caste, who, in their own estimation, rank with Brahmans and are indeed the descendants of men who received great honour and high-sounding titles from builder kings, can still be seen at work (fig. 241), still making use of the *śilpa-śāstras*, either in Sanskrit versions or vernacular abstracts. The craftsman’s methods and psychology survive unchanged and unmodified; for this reason a detailed study of the building of a modern temple, which no one has yet undertaken, is a very great desideratum; and indeed, it is only from the living craftsman that Jouveau-Dubreuil\(^1\) who illustrates and briefly describes the twentieth century temple buildings at Tiruppāppuliyūr, was able to obtain the technical information which enabled him to prepare his masterly account of the development of Drāviḍian architecture. Here we can only refer briefly to the Ponambalavāneśvaran Kovil, still in process of construction near Colombo in Ceylon. The following data, for which I am indebted to my cousin, Sir Ponambalam Ramanāthan, are of interest: “The name of the temple I am rebuilding is Ponambala-vāna-IŚvaram, spoken of as “Ponambalavāneśvaran Kovil”. Pon-ambalam in Tamil stands for the Sanskrit Kanakasabai. Since the beginning of the rebuilding, two śilpis or architects have come and gone. The third one’s name is Sornakkālai Āśāri, which means “golden field artisan” (in building works). He is a Tamil man from South India, whose ancestors have followed the same profession. There are about 100 men working at the temple side and at the quarry side, all of them Tamil men from South India. The *śilpa-śāstras* he uses are Kāśipam, Manusāram, Viśvakarmayam and Mayamatam, but, of course, the traditions which every workman is bound to remember and reproduce, according to the directions of the artist (*śilpi*), are the very life of the written books\(^2\). “It is commonly supposed that our ancient architecture is a laboured creation of men according to their respective fancies and abilities, but our Saiva Āgamas teach that the architecture of our Temples is all Kailāśa-bhāvana, that is, of forms (*bhāvanas*) prevailing in Kailāsa, which is on the summit of Mahāmeru far beyond the stratas of existence known as Bhuvar-loka and Svar-loka” (letter dated August 6, 1925).

The conception last indicated recurs many times in Indian literature whenever the work of the architect is mentioned; either he is inspired by Viśvakarmā, or

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\(^2\) For these and related books see Acharya; Coomaraswamy, 1, 13; Kramrisch, 1; Ram Raz; Rao, 1, 3. For printed texts, Bhoja; Kumāra; Mayamuni; *Viṣṇudharmottaram.*

125
he visits the heaven of Indra to bring back with him the design of some palace or temple there existing. In the same way the other arts, such as dancing, are practised on earth after a divine model.

The importation of craftsmen and labourers, including quarrymen, who have their own methods of obtaining the large stone beams required, is of interest in connection with the vexed question of the construction of Hindu temples in Farther India and Indonesia. In my own view, it is far from unlikely that in some cases the whole of the work may have been done by workmen of Indian birth under the guidance of a śilpin using Indian śilpa-śāstras. Such workmen have moved from India to Ceylon in large numbers at various periods; the Mahāvamsa mentioned "craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen gilds" sent by a Pāṇḍya king from Madura to Ceylon in the time of Vijaya. Twenty-three hundred centuries later the same process was going on in the reign of Kirti Śri; and these eighteenth century Tamil kammālars are already indistinguishable in language and appearance from true Sinhalese.

Fuller reference must be made to the later medieval southern school of bronze, more usually copper, rarely brass, founding. This art was already practised under the Āndhras in the Kistna-Godāvari District (Vēngi) and the Śaiva and Vaiśṇava development must have been a continuation of the same tradition. We know from inscriptions that (presumably metal) images of Śaiva saints were set up in temples by Rājarājadeva Coḷa in 1014, and Vaiśṇava images at least as early as the thirteenth century. The great series of metal images in South-Indian style found at Poḷonnāruva in Ceylon cannot be later than the thirteenth century. A Naṭārāja from Belūr is dated, but the reading is uncertain, either 910 or 1511. The two great collections are those of the Colombo and Madras Museums, and there are important examples in Boston. The main types represented are the various forms of Śiva, especially the Naṭārāja (fig. 242); Pārvati (fig. 244); the Śaiva

1 Mahāvamsa, XVII, 24, XXVII, 18, and XXXIII, 10, 18; Coomaraswamy, 2, Ch. V, and 14, p. 79. As remarked in the Bṛhat Samhitā "the science of house-building has come down to us from the rjis, who had it from Brahamā".
2 Bosch; Schoemaker; Groslier, 3, Ch. XIX.
3 Coomaraswamy, 1, Ch. III. Cf. page 164, note 2.
4 Sewell, R.; Rea, 4, 1908—09.
5 Aiyangar, Essay XI.
6 Coomaraswamy, 6; Arunachalam, 2.
7 Hadaway, 2, the latter date more probable. The Naṭārāja type appears in stone sculpture, at Tanjore and Gaṅgaikōṇḍapuram, only in the eleventh century; cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, vol. II, pp. 28—30. The still older representations of Śiva dancing are of other, and usually six-armed types.
8 Coomaraswamy, 6 and 9 (2); Rodin, Coomaraswamy and Goloubew. For others in English collections, India Society, 1. There is a fine stone fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
saints, Māṇikka-Vāsagar, Tirujñānasambandha-Svāmi, Appar-Svāmi, and Sundaramūrti-Svāmi (fig. 243), all of whom lived before the tenth century; Viṣṇu (fig. 246) and Lakṣmi; Kṛṣṇa; Rāma; the Vaiṣṇava saints called Ālvārs; and figures of royal donors (fig. 245). The art is still practised by Kammālar sthapatis in the Madras Presidency, and some modern productions are very nearly as good as those of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. But the earlier work has full and rounded forms, the later is relatively attenuated and sharply outlined.

The Naṭarāja type is one of the great creations of Indian art, a perfect visual image of Becoming adequate complement and contrast to the Buddha type of pure Being. As remarked by Kramrisch, its finest realisations exhibit a “sinnlich reifste Körperlichkeit voll plastischer Bewegung mit geometrischer Allgemeingültigkeit verschmolzen”. The movement of the dancing figure is so admirably balanced that while it fills all space, it seems nevertheless to be at rest, in the sense that a spinning top or a gyrostat is at rest; thus realising the unity and simultaneity of the Five Activities (Pañcakṛtya, viz. Production, Maintenance, Destruction, Embodiment and Release) which the symbolism specifically designates. Apparently the type appeared in the Coḷa period; it is now very widely distributed in the South, in innumerable examples still in pājā.

RAJPUT PAINTING

Rājput painting is the painting of Rājputāna and Bundelkhand, and the Pañjab Himālayas. The known examples ranging from the latter part of the sixteenth into the nineteenth century fall into two main groups, a Rājasthāni (Rājputāna and Bundelkhand), and a Pahāri. The latter group is again divisible into a school of Jammū, with reference to all the Hill States west of the Satlaj, and a school of Kāŋṛā, with reference to all the Hill States of the Jālandhar group, east of the same river. With Kāŋṛā is included Gārhwāl, a Hill State east of Simla, which derived its style directly from Kāŋṛā at the end of the eighteenth century. Sikh painting, mainly done in Lahore and Amritsar in the time of Ranjīt Singh and Sher Singh (together about 1790 to 1843), is also an immediate derivative of the Kāŋṛā school.

It is important to understand the relation of Rājput to Mughal painting. Pure types of either can be distinguished at a glance, usually by their themes, always by their style. Thus Mughal painting, like the contemporary Memoirs of

1 For the symbolism, &c., see Coomaraswamy, 9 (2), pp. 87 ff., and 14; Rodin, Coomaraswamy and Goloubew; Kramrisch, 2, pp. 71, 83, 87; Jouveaudubreuil, t, vol. II, p. 28. The śastric prescription is given in full by Rao, t. Further details in A. S. I., A. R., 1922—23, p. 143. The linear composition has been discussed by Hadayaw, 5.

2 Coomaraswamy, 8, and 9 (1), the latter with full Bibliography; Diez; Goetz, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8; Mehta, 2; Gangoly, 2; a large work on Rājput painting is announced by Gangoly.
the Great Mughals, reflects an interest that is exclusively in persons and events; is essentially an art of portraiture and chronicle. The attitude even of the painters to their work is personal; the names of at least a hundred Mughal painters are known from their signatures, while of Rājput painters it would be hard to mention the names of half a dozen, and I know of only two signed and dated examples. Mughal painting is academic, dramatic, objective, and eclectic; Rājput painting is essentially an aristocratic folk art, appealing to all classes alike, static, lyrical, and inconceivable apart from the life it reflects. After Akbar, Mughal painting is almost devoid of any poetical background; in the words of Jahāṅgīr (when still Prince Daniyāl) “The old songs weary my heart... the love-story of Farhād and Shirin has grown old and lost its savour... if we read at all, let it be what we have seen and beheld ourselves”1; Rājput painting, on the other hand, illustrates every phase of mediaeval Hindi literature, and indeed, its themes cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of the Indian epics, the Kṛṣṇa Lilā literature, music, and erotics.

Technically and stylistically the differences are equally clear, most of all perhaps when Mughal painting deals with Hindu themes, as in the Razm Nāmah and Rasikapriyā. Apart from the illustration of manuscripts, in direct continuation of Persian tradition, Mughal painting is essentially an art of miniature painting, and when enlarged, becomes an easel picture; Indian manuscript illustrations are very rare, and in a totally different tradition (see p. 120), and Rājput painting enlarged, becomes a mural fresco, historically, indeed, is a reduced wall painting. Mughal painting uses soft tonalities and atmospheric effects; Rājput colour suggests enamel or stained glass, and while it may be used to establish the planes, is never blended to produce effects. Mughal outline is precise and patient, Rājput interrupted and allusive or fluent and definitive, but always swift and facile. Relief effect is sought and obtained in Mughal painting by means of shading, and Rembrandt-like chiaroscuro is often introduced; Rājput colour is always flat, and a night scene is lighted as evenly as one in full sunlight, the conditions being indicated by accessories (such as candles or torches), rather than represented. Thus, in spirit, Mughal painting is modern, Rājput still mediaeval2.

1 Burning and Melting, being the Sāz u Gadž of Nau'ī, translated into English by Dawud and Coomaraswamy, London, 1912, pp. 24, 25.

2 It is unnecessary here to discuss in detail the Rājpute elements present in true Mughal painting. These Indian elements are apparent in several directions, (1) the illustration of Hindu themes in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, (2) the adoption of Hindu costume at the courts of Akbar and Jahāṅgīr in the “Rājput period”, (3) the fusion of themes and styles in the eighteenth century, especially in Oudh, producing mixed types, and (4) the fact that more than half of the Mughal painters were native Hindus. All these conditions create resemblances between Mughal and Rājput painting, quite superficial in the case of 1 and 2, more fundamental in the case of 3 and 4.
One of the oldest Rājput paintings is probably the Kṛṣṇa Lilā theme illustrated in fig. 258, which, in style, lyrical theme and the representation of bees, and in the language of the superscription shows a relation to the Gujarātī painting of the fifteenth century.

More typical are the several series of Rāgmālā pictures (figs. 259, 260), known as S. 1., S. 2, etc.¹ S. 1 and S. 2 may be dated in the latter part of the sixteenth century, certainly not later than 1600; these with four in the Ghose collection Calcutta, represent the purest Rājput style in its most vigorous form. Their most obvious features are the great vitality of the drawing and colour; the former analytic, or abstract, not so much representing forms as designating them with a maximum economy of means, the latter glowing like enamel, and used with organised skill to establish the planes. The painter is not concerned to create picturesque effects, but to state all the facts clearly, leaving these to evoke their appropriate and inevitable emotional reactions; he knows his audience and does not need to cross his i's and dot his i's and so proceeds in the boldest and broadest manner. The style itself is passionate rather than sentimental.

A little later, in another group, S. 3 (fig. 261) we can trace apparently a Mughal influence in the softer tonality. More often the colour retains much of its strength, but loses in coordination. The old compositions are copied again and again in the eighteenth century; the colour is brilliant, but not so deep as before, nor is it used with any plastic sense of space which is partially rendered by a semi-European perspective derived from Mughal art. Many popular works illustrating all kinds of subjects, and for the most part in a pure Rājput idiom have been produced in Jaipur throughout the nineteenth century, and in spite of the best efforts made by the local “School of Art”, the old traditions still survive; even in the nineteenth or twentieth century a work like the “Pig-sticking” of fig. 263 could be produced, in which there are recognizable at once a force and a sense of beauty — note especially the horses’ heads — worthy of a classic age.

On a much larger scale, in the eighteenth or at the beginning of the nineteenth century there still flourished a school of design on a larger scale to which are due the fine Rās Lilā paintings in the Jaipur Palace Library, and the cartoons from which they were prepared, now scattered amongst various museums (fig. 265)². Actual mural decorations survive in a number of Rājput palaces (Datiā, Orchā, Udaipur, Bikanir, and as external decoration in the case of even quite modern buildings (fig. 262).

¹ Rāgmālā pictures illustrate the thirty-six Rāgas and Rāginīs, musical modes, that is to say they depict the situations appropriate to the various moods expressed and evoked by the different modes. They are usually inscribed with the Hindi poems which describe the same situations, often in highly poetical and graphic fashion. For the different series and fuller details see Coomaraswamy, 8 and 9 (5) and references there listed.

² Mehta, 2, assigns these to the reign of Sawai Jai Siāgh II (1693—1743).
Portraiture is not the typical expression of Rājput art, nor on the other hand can its practise be ascribed wholly to Mughal influence. Such relatively early examples as exist (fig. 264) are of a rather more monumental character than is the case in even the best Mughal portraits; the Rājput manner is more abstract and flatter, more “ideal” and less intensely personal. These features are well seen to in some of the large portrait heads from Jaipur, seen at the Lucknow Exhibition in 1921; and this quality is transmitted to Mughal art when Rājput types are copied, of which the beautiful Head of a Girl in the Bodleian¹ affords a good instance.

The Rājasthāni physical type and even the manner of representation are indeed sometimes carried over into works that must have been done under Mughal auspices, such as the very lovely group of girls on a terrace also in the Bodleian.² On the other hand, in the eighteenth century there developed at the court of Oudh a mixed style (“Late Mughal”) in which Rājput composition and elements of design are frequent, but where the treatment is generally inferior. In any case, when Rājput themes are taken over into Mughal art, it is for their picturesque and romantic character, rather than in their true significance; this is especially the case with the humorous Mughal treatments of Rāglmāls subjects.

A group of paintings in a somewhat different style emanating from the Panjāb Himālayas, and especially from the Dogra Hill States, of which Jammū was the wealthiest and most powerful, dates mainly from the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Apart from their style, many of these paintings (which are generally known to Amritsar dealers as “Tibati” pictures) are recognizable by their inscriptions in Tākri³ characters, the peculiar illegibility of which often baffles the most ardent student. Characteristic examples of the Jammū school are illustrated in figs. 266, 267. The former belongs to a well-known series of unusually large Rāmāyana pictures, dealing with the Siege of Laṅkā; here the drawing is not especially sensitive, but the whole design, the sense of space, and the glowing colour are all to be admired. An even more mural character is apparent in the Kṛṣṇa welcoming Sudāma (fig. 267). Other subjects commonly found in works of this school include Rāglmāls pictures with classifications and compositions different from those of Rājasthān, and series illustrating Nāyaka-nāyakā-bheda, or classification of heroines in accordance with their temperament, age and circumstances, following the works of the rhetoricians. Miscellaneous mythological subjects, other themes from the Kṛṣṇa cycle, and finally a series of portraits make up a

¹ Coomaraswamy, 3, 1910, pl. XV.
² Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. XX.
considerable total. The portraits are mostly of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century; rather splendidly composed, they present a strongly marked local physical type with a retreating forehead; almost always we find fresh flowers worn in the turbans, which is a practise confined to the hills.

The other Pahāri school, that of Kāṅgrā, with its offshoot in Gaṅwhāl, and another derivative in the Sikh school of the Paṅjāb, belongs essentially to the last quarter of the eighteenth century and earliest years of the nineteenth. A few of the pictures in which the colour is soft and powdery in effect may date from the earlier part of the eighteenth century, but the main development is due to the patronage of Rāja Samsār Cand, the last great Kātoch ruler of Kāṅgrā (1774 to 1823). Most of the work seems to reflect the periods of his residence at Sujānpur near Nādaun on the Biās where he constructed lovely palaces and gardens, and spent his days in the intervals between his many wars in listening to the recitations of poets and the songs of musicians. Moorcroft records that he had in his possession many paintings of “the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahābhārata”.

This Kāṅgrā, or Kātoch school as it might well be called, is the third and latest of the three clearly defined groups of Rājput painting, and one of the most productive, despite its rapid development and comparatively short duration. Its favorite themes are the Kṛṣṇa Līlā, Nāyaka-nāyakā-bheda, especially sets of the Aṣṭa-nāyakā, Sākta subjects, romances taken from the epics, such as Nāla and Damayantī, and others of later origin such as the Hamār-bāth, genre and portraiture; Rāgmālā series are altogether absent. The inscriptions are always in Nāgarī characters and for the most part represent texts of well-known Hindi poets, especially Keśava Dās. The scenes are laid for the most part in the fairy palaces and gardens of Nādaun, with the river Biās flowing amongst low hills in the background, more rarely amongst the snow-clad peaks of the Himālayas, and in one or two examples we find representations of the deodār. The narrative and erotic themes provide, incidentally, a precious picture of intimate daily life at a Rājput court; this is especially the case with the Nāla and Damayantī series, where marriage ceremonies, official duties, athletic exercises, daily prayers, meals, and love scenes are all represented. In addition to the costumes found elsewhere, there appears as a highly characteristic feature the jagalī, worn by women, a sort of empire gown fastening at neck and waist, opening between the fastenings and permitting a glimpse of the breasts, and with long tight wrinkled sleeves and a long flowing skirt. Examples of the Kāṅgrā school are illustrated in figs. 268—271.

The style has completely changed. The intention is more realistic; Mughal and even European influences are not wholly absent, and to these must be ascribed the occasional rendering of dramatic night effects, in which deep shadows are
cast by torches, or the golden rain of fireworks stands out against a dark ground. But the great work of the school was to create a feminine type peculiar to itself, and of infinite charm; not robust, like the Rājasthani types, but slender, and moving with an irresistible grace, intentionally accentuated by the long flowing lines of the drapery (fig. 271). Nothing, indeed, is more characteristic of the style than its use of flowing, unbroken lines, not ingeniously calligraphic like late Persian, nor boldly allusive like those of the early Rājasthani school, but creating a pure melody. The painter uses this flowing outline unwearingly to define and repeat the forms to which he is attached; thus the aesthetic purity of the work is less than that of earlier schools, much less than that of the Gujarati manuscript illustrations, but the charm of the result is all-compelling and almost personal, like the grace of an individual woman. The Kāṅgrā qalm is indeed a feminine art, contrasted with the masculine force of the early Rāgmālas; intrinsically an art of sentiment, rather than of passion. The same quality appears in the colour, which is pure and cool; it is used in a quite different way, not to establish the planes but to fill in the areas defined by outline, so that we have to do now with coloured drawings rather than with paintings. And in fact many of the most charming works of the school are those unfinished pictures and sketches in which the figures are still represented in outline, only the colouring of the background being partly completed (fig. 271).

A minor provincial school of painting appears in the Hill State of Garhwāl about the close of the eighteenth century. Here already there lived the descendants of a family of Hindū painters, who had originally worked at the Mughal court, but had followed Prince Salīm, Aurangzib's nephew, in his flight to the hills. Of these, Mola Rām, fifth in descent, b. 1760 and d. 1833, is the best known; and some signed and other attributed works, some in a late Mughal, but for the most part in the current style are undoubtedly from his hand1. On the whole, the work of the Garhwāl school bears the closest possible relation to that of Kāṅgrā; we may safely assume in this connection that as conditions in Kāṅgrā became more and more unsettled, Kāṅgrā painters sought elsewhere a patronage that could no longer be extended to them at home, and it is highly probable that some accompanied the two sisters of Anirudh (son of Sarhsār Cand, d. 1828) who were married to the Rāja of Garhwāl.

In the Paňjab the Sikh style covers the period approximately 1775—1850. As the Sikh culture was based on personal achievement, and lacked an aristocratic tradition, and as the Sikh religion has no mythology and no images, it was natural that the Sikh paintings should be mainly portraits, representations of the

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1 Coomaraswamy, 8, p. 23; Mukandi Lal, Notes on Mola Ram, Rūpam, 8, 1921; Guleri. The work of two other Garhwāl painters, Mānakū and Caitu, has been described by Mehta (2).
Gurus, and of chiefs and courtiers singly or in darbār. In this respect the Sikh school was determined by conditions analogous to those which find expression in Mughal painting; but unlike Mughal art, it is derived directly from the formal, fluent style of the hills. It was not an original art, but one created by selection, that is to say by the omission of religious and emphasis on personal motifs; it owes its special aspect more to the fact of its representation of Sikh types and costumes than to any new design. The best of the Sikh portraits are sensitively drawn and finely composed.

**INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS**

To give any adequate account of Indian arts and crafts, even as practised during the last three centuries, would require a volume scarcely smaller than the whole of the present work. Under these circumstances it seems desirable merely to indicate in tabular form, with occasional comment, the leading types of technique. For this purpose a scheme is adopted similar to that used in Sir George Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi*, which embodies the very valuable and too little known results of Mr. Percy Brown's researches undertaken in connection with the great exhibition of Indian art held at Delhi in 1903. The best detailed account of the crafts practised in a single area will be found in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*.

**Metal work.** (1) Iron and steel. The early knowledge of iron and steel has been referred to above, p. 34. The finest work in engraved steel is found in the weapons of Southern India. Good work, but more like Persian is found in Rājputāna. There exist many elegant types of iron writing styles.

(2) Brass. Brass and to a less extent copper are widely used amongst Hindūs for domestic utensils and ceremonial implements. The commonest form is the small water vessel known as the *loṭā*, spouted forms of the same type likewise

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1 Gupta, S. N., *The Sikh school of painting*, Rūpam, 12, 1922; Coomaraswamy, 9 (5).
3 Watt, pls. 4, 66; Clarke, S. C., *Dravidian (Sivaganga) swords*, Burlington Mag. 29, 1916.
dating from the remotest antiquity; the large South Indian type used for fetching water, and carried on the hip is especially handsome, and often decorated with engraved designs. The surāhi is an elegant vessel with a very long neck used for carrying Ganges water. The introduction of smoking at the beginning of the seventeenth century led to the development of handsome hugga furniture, of which the main forms are the globular (seventeenth century, fig. 383) and inverted bell-shaped (eighteenth century) bowls, and the fine copper fire-bowl covers, often ajouré and silver inlaid, formerly made at Purnea near Murshidabād, Bengāl. The ceremonial vessels (paṅcatr, acmani, dbāpdān &c.) and lamps (dipdān, artī, &c.) used in temple and personal ritual are found in an endless variety of fine and sometimes elaborately decorated forms

(3) Gold and silver. Vessels and dishes of gold are naturally found only in royal use or as votive offerings; those of silver being more usual. The finest examples of gold known to me are the votive dalamurā tātumā and ran-watapa-pata in the Daḷādā Māligāwa, Kandy, Ceylon (figs. 381, 385), both decorated in exquisite taste with encrusted cabochon sapphires.

(4) Other alloys. The most important of these is bidri, so called from Bidār in Ḥaidarābād State. The colour is black, the basis of the alloy zinc, with the additional metals lead, tin, and copper. Boxes, hugga bowls, and trays and basins are made of it, and almost invariably decorated with silver encrustation (fig. 382). The chief places of manufacture in the eighteenth century were in Lucknow, under late Mughal patronage, and in Ḥaidarābād; and as remarked by Brown, it would require the production of a special treatise to give anything like a satisfactory conception of the many beautiful designs met with; the poppy, which occurs in design throughout India, may be specially mentioned.

(5) Applied decoration of metal. The principal forms are inlay and overlay of one metal upon another. In inlay and incrustation (damascening, koštārī) a groove is made, and silver or gold wire inserted, and then hammered down; or an area is excavated, and undercut at the edges, a thin plate of silver or gold in the required shape applied, and the edges hammered down, holding it fast (figs. 384, 386). The best work was done in the Pañjāb in connection with the decoration of weapons in the Sikh period. A cheaper form of koštārī known as devālī the surface of the metal is not engraved, but merely roughened, and then silver or gold wire is beaten on in the required designs. Both forms are practised all over India and in Ceylon.

Similar decoration is applied to brass, as in the mounting of the Sinhalese bak-gediya of fig. 390. Niello is rarely applied to brass (fig. 384) more often to

1 For temple lamps see especially Gangoly, O. C., South Indian lamps, J. I. A., 17, and Burlington Mag., July 1916; Watt, pl. 12. For Nepalese incense burners, Gangoly, 5.
silver. Enamel is applied to gold and silver objects of some size, such as scent sprinklers and huqqa bowls (fig. 379), and to the handles of weapons, of which there are superb examples in the collection of the Mahārāja of Cambā. In imitation enamel, good effects are still obtained by the craftsmen of Morādābād; the surface of the metal is excavated in champlevé style, and filled in with hot wax and when the whole surface is rubbed down and polished, the design stands out in metal on a coloured surface. Copper, brass, gold and silver are also commonly decorated by repoussé or chasing. Thin objects such as trays are of course beaten, heavier ones are cast by the cire perdue process, and turned on the lathe.

Jewellery. Jewellery is made and worn in quantity and great variety by all classes throughout India and Ceylon; the materials range from real flowers, to base metal, silver, and gold. Many, perhaps most, of the metal forms bear the names of, and approximate in form to floral prototypes. Space will not permit of a description of the forms, and only the leading technical process can be referred to. No finer effects are produced than in gold enamelling; a cream ground, with designs in bright red and green are usual (figs. 370, 371, 372), the metal being excavated (champlevé) and the colour filled in and fired. The art is typically North Indian; it is especially associated with Jaipur, where the best work has been done, but seems to have originated in Lahore, still the source of the raw material. Cheaper work is applied to silver, in this case the colours being usually blue and green. The use of enamel in Siam is presumably of Indian origin; the art is unknown in southern India and Ceylon, and in the Indonesian islands. Typically Indian is the incrustation of gold and silver with gems (fig. 376), by the process of gold-embedding; each stone rests in a separate cell, and is held in place by a bezel of soft gold shaped and pressed into shape by a steel tool. It should be observed that all gems used in this way are cabochon cut, the object of the Indian jeweller being to produce, not a flashing, but a fully coloured effect; this use of gems as colour, rather than as light, is one of the chief virtues of Indian jewellery, modern facetted European jewellery always seeming vulgar by contrast. Another typical and very ancient technique is that of filigree or wire and pip, the wire and tiny balls of gold being applied to the surface of the object to be decorated (figs. 368, 375). Other objects are made in a similar way, many small shaped pieces of gold being first prepared, and then joined together to make an elaborate design (fig. 369).

1 Watt, pl. 68.
3 Hendley, in J. I. A., vol. 1 (staff of Mahārāja Mān Singh); Jeypore enamels; Birdwood.
4 Method described, Coomaraswamy, in Spolia Zeylanica, 6, 1909.
Other jewels are made in finely chased or repoussé metal. A very fine example of a gold bead worn by a South Indian Brāhman is illustrated in fig. 374; here the whole bead is covered with figures of deities, in minutest detail.

The cire-perdue process is well illustrated in the Bündi (Rājputāna) method of casting flexible anklets (sānt) of base metal in a single mould. A composition of wax, resin, and oil is prepared in a long string, and twisted spirally round a stick of the diameter of the proposed links. One cut along the stick separates the links, which are then interlaced every one into two others, and each joined up by the application of a hot knife edge. When sixty or seventy rings are thus united, the ends of the chain are joined, and the whole gently manipulated and flattened until it forms a perfectly flexible model of the future anklet. It is then dipped into a paste of clay and cowdung, and finally enclosed in an outer layer of clay; when dry, the mould is scraped until a small piece of each link is just visible, then a wax leading line is attached all round, and the whole again covered. Two such moulds are cast at once side by side, the two leading lines being brought up into a hollow at the top of the mould; this hollow is filled with metal and borax, and then covered with clay, leaving only a small blow-hole. When this mould is placed in a furnace and fired, the wax melts and the metal takes its place; and when the mould is afterwards opened, it is only necessary to remove the leading lines and file down irregularities, to have a flexible anklet ready for use.

Ivory. The use of ivory, which dates from the earliest times, must necessarily belong to the large group of crafts of non-Āryan origin in India. It has been used for an enormous range of purposes, from sacred images to dice, but never more successfully than in the form of carved or pierced plaques applied to architectural and other woodwork. Good examples of inlaid doors are found in Rājputāna (Bikanīr); at the Ridi Vihāra, in Ceylon, the combination of pierced carved ivory with the ebony of the door frame is especially admirable (cf. fig. 388). Engraved and carved plaques applied to small two-wheeled carriages are illustrated in figs, 387, 389; musical instruments, especially in Rājputāna and Southern India are often beautifully decorated in a similar way. The turning of ivory has also been developed in great perfection, especially in Ceylon, where large scent sprays are made, so thin that the ivory container can be as easily compressed as a metal oil-cam.

The very early use of conch or chank (śāṅkha) of which bracelets are made has been alluded to above. It need only be remarked that the whole shell, used

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136
as a trumpet, is often elaborately decorated with metal mountings, and may be
decorated with engraved designs, filled with wax (fig. 390).

Textiles. Indian textiles are deservedly famous, and have been articles of
export to Europe since the Roman period, and probably earlier. The following
classification based entirely on the technical means employed in producing the
design will give an idea of their range and interest:

The only process by which the design is, so to speak, created before the
weaving is begun, is the very interesting one employed in the patola silk of
Gujarat. Here each of the warp, and usually also of the weft threads, is separately
dyed in various colours along its length according to precalculated measurements,
and arranged on the loom, so that as the weaving progresses, the design
appears, and is the same on both sides of the material. The process is most labo-
rrious, but no other can produce the same effect. The same technique (but the
warp threads only are tie-dyed) is employed in the preparation of striped mashrus
used mainly for patījāmas by Hindū and Sikh women; some of the finest of these are
made in Cambā (gold and cotton thread, the former tie-dyed); others at Ayyampet
in the Tanjore District. Not only is the technique thus widely distributed in India,
but it occurs sporadically over the entire area extending from Turkestan and
Persia (daryāā silks and velvets of Bokhara, &c.) on the one hand and on the other
to Burma (Kāchīn skirts), Cambodia, Malaya (Tringannu), Sumatra (Palembang),
Java, Bali, Sumba (fig. 400) and other islands, and in a simple form (kasuri) to Japan.
It is unknown in Ceylon. In the islands, the double dyeing (warp and weft) is
practised only in the case of the cotton cloths made in Tengānan (Bali); in all
other cases only the warp threads are dyed; but Indian patola silk has also reached
Bali by way of trade. In the islands the technique is known as ikat, as mentioned
on p. 212. In the case of the most elaborate work (Gujarat) designs with
flowers, elephants or birds enclosed in a geometrical trellis are produced

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1 For Indian textiles, see South Kensington Museum, Illustrations of the textile manufactures
of India, London, 1881; Baker, G. P., Calico painting and printing in the East Indies... London, 1921;
Coomaraswamy, A.; Hadaway, S., Cotton painting and printing in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1917;
Hunter, S. L., Decorative textiles, Philadelphia, 1918; Jasper en Pirngadie; Lewis, A. B., Block
prints from India, Chicago, 1924; Perera; Ray, J. C., Textile industry in ancient India, J. B. O. R. S.,
III, 1917; Riefstahl, R. M., Persian and Indian textiles, New York, 1923; Rouffaer en Juynboll;
Scherman, E., Bretzchen-Webereien... Münch. Jahrb. der bild. Kunst, 1913; Watson, J. F., and
Kaye, J. W., Textile manufactures and costumes of the people of India, London, 1886; Watt (the best
account); also Banerji, Brandon, Das, Edwards, Entthoven, Gupta, Hailey, Hardiman, Havell,
Kipling, Ravenshaw, Samman, Silberrad, Steel, Thurston, and Wardle, in different vols. of
J. I. A. For Indian rugs, the usual books on rugs, and Andrews, F. H., in J. I. A., 11, 1912;
Hendley, T. H., Asian carpets... from the Jaipur palaces, London, 1903; Watt.
Pirngadie, vol. II.
(fig. 393); extremely complex designs are found also in Cambodia and Sumatra; but the technique in its simplest form produces a characteristic multiple zigzag pattern (khañjarā) or if in narrow bands, a succession of v-shaped points, the colour being always the same on both sides of the material, which is not the case in the imitation khañjarā mastrus made at Azamgarh. The wide distribution of the technique indicates for it a high antiquity; and it may be remarked that the characteristic v-forms can be unmistakeably recognized in some of the Ajañtā paintings.

In the second and largest group of textiles, the design is produced by the use of warp and weft threads of different colours and materials, suitably woven; the design here presenting a different appearance on the front and back of the material. A vast series of brocades made in Murshidabād, Benares, Gujarāt, Auranāgābād, Ḥaidarābād, Madras and Tanjore, &c., range from the types in which gold thread is lavishly employed (kimkhwāb, fig. 394) to the himrus made of mixed silk and cotton, and the all-figured muslins (jamānā) of Bengal, and heavy cotton etirili of Ceylon. For a detailed account of the Indian types the descriptions by Percy Brown in Watt’s book should be consulted. There is, of course, also an immense variety of goods with patterns in stripes or checks, produced by direct weaving, and not of brocade character. Kaśmir shawls of the woven type are made of fine wool, woven in small strips by a kind of tapestry method on small looms, and afterwards so skillfully joined together as to appear to consist of a single fabric.

A third type of designed goods is produced by processes applied to the material after the weaving is completed. The simplest of these are dyed in one plain colour. Of more elaborate processes, the most important are those of tie-dyeing and of printing or dye-painting, or a combination of the two; and block printing.

Tie-dyeing (cunari) extensively practised in Rājputāna and at Mathurā, but rarely elsewhere, results in patterns made up of small dots, or in designs of zigzag lines and larger patches of colour. In the first case, the cloth is laid over a wooden block having blunt nails projecting from it in the required pattern; the operator presses the material, usually cotton, sometimes silk, unto this, and rapidly taking hold of each portion of the material pressed upwards by a nail, ties it tightly; or may dispense with the guide altogether, having the design, so to speak, at his or her fingers’ ends. When all the required points have been tied, the cloth is immersed in dye, the tied points remaining unaffected. In case several colours are required, the whole process must be repeated without removing the first ties. Zigzag patterns are produced by first folding the cloth in four, and then tieing. This, too is a very ancient technique, and though rare in the south and unknown in Ceylon, is commonly found in the Indonesian area, especially in Bali. Woven goods may also be decorated by means of printing and dye-painting, with or
without the use of a wax resist. In ordinary cotton printing wood blocks are employed; almost every part of India has local types, but Sanganir near Jaipur in Rājputāna may be mentioned as the source of some of the best work. The most exquisite effects are obtained in the tinsel printing of floral designs on delicate muslins at Nāsik and in Rājputāna. Very fine results in the block printing of gold leaf are obtained in Bali (fig. 399).

The great centres of dye-painting, or more correctly, wax-resist drawing known as galmār, and equivalent to the Javanese batik technique, are Masulipatam, Coconada, North Arcot, Kalahastri and Madura in Southern India. The designs are drawn with a thick pencil, dipped in hot wax, and not, as in Java, with a chainting. Block printings may be used in combination with the drawn designs. The curtains known as palampores, in which the typical design is a “tree of life” growing on a mountain, are the best known types. Masulipatam worked not only for the local market, but in special designs for export, mainly to Persia, and also to Siam; many of the so-called Persian prints on the market, with prayermat designs and Arabic texts are really of Indian origin, and perhaps none of them are really Persian.

Block printing is of high antiquity in India, and may have originated there. No early Indian textiles have survived, but indications can be found in some sculptures and paintings, and Egyptian printed cottons and textiles dating from the Roman period seem to show Indian influence. It is rather surprising that the use of blocks for textile printing never led to the production of woodcut illustrations or block printed books, though the latter are known in Tibet, doubtless as a result of Chinese influence there. The Indian word chop, used also in Java, designating a wood or metal block used for textile printing, seems to be of Chinese origin.

Embroidery. Only the leading types of the many fine styles of embroidery practised in India can be referred to. The term phālkārī is applied to the heavy cādars or veils worn by the Jāt women of the Pañjāb. The work is done in darn stitch in silk on a coarse red cotton ground. In one type the motifs are floral, scattered over the whole field; in another, geometrical, covering almost the whole field, leaving only small areas of ground colour between the embroidered parts. In the latter case, to produce a perfect result, the threads of the field are used as guides, and must be minutely counted.

Another fine type (stiśadār) of embroidery used for large cādars, and also for skirts and colīs, especially in Kāthiāwād, uses the same red cotton material, but is carried out in floral motifs with birds, in wide chain stitch, with small circular pieces of dull mirror glass bound down in suitable places, such as flower centres,

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1 For these techniques see Watt, pp. 259 ff.; Hadaway, and Baker, loc. cit.
2 The only satisfactory works on this subject are Mrs. F. A. Steel’s Phālkārī work in the Pañjāb, J. I. A., 2, 1888; Watt; and Coomaraswamy, 1.
by means of a chain stitch frame. Cādars embroidered in cross stitch in white on a similar ground are characteristic of central Rājputāna and Central India.

Kaśmīr shawl embroidery, mainly applied to cādars, is a darn stitch, carried out in the same designs as the woven goods, and superficially similar in effect, though the distinction is always evident when the back of the material is examined, the embroidered threads running irregularly, the woven ones in straight lines like those of a brocade. Cambā (and Kāṅgrā) rumāls (kerchiefs) are embroidered in double satin-stitch alike on both sides with brightly coloured flowers and animals and mythological groups like those of Rājput paintings, scenes from the Rās Līlā being a favorite theme.

The finest types of all Indian embroidery are perhaps those of Kāθiāwād, and of Bhūj in Kach, especially those carried out in chain stitch. The work is chiefly applied to skirts, colīs and the caps (nātīs) with a long back flap worn by children. In a well known type, the skirt is covered with peacocks and flowers in alternating diagonals, and there is an elaborate floral border of lotus rosettes alternating with brilliant parrots; the ground is often a black or dark blue satin. Other types (fig. 397) are striped. Small pieces of mirror glass are often worked into the design. In Rājputāna, very exquisite embroideries in silk and gold on muslin are done on fine muslins intended for use as turbans (fig. 395). Admirable chain stitch is done on cotton in Jaipur, especially in connection with tent hangings, floor coverings, gaddis for shields, and gaumukhs. At Dacca, in eastern Bengal, centre of a weaving industry already alluded to, fine darn and satin stitch work (kasida) is done in old gold and wheat coloured silk on muslin. The embroidered satin stitch kamarbands of Azamgañj are so minutely worked as to look more like paintings than needlework. Cikān is a type of embroidery done on white washing material, usually calico or muslin in many centres, and often for European use, but above all in Lucknow, where it is applied to the coats and caps worn by the people of the country, and may be described as the most refined form of purely indigenous needle-craft. A good account of it is given by Brown in Watt. Embroidery is less widely practised in Southern India, but reappears in Ceylon, usually in the form of chain stitch in white and red on a blue cotton ground.

Theatre. The classical Sanskrit theatre scarcely survives, unless in Malabar. But acting and dancing are alike in principle and practise, both consisting in the rhythmic presentation of formal gestures, accompanied by instrumental music and singing. Much of this technique survives in the religious folk plays, such as the yātras of Mathurā and Bengal; still more in the dramatic dances presented by devadāsīs in temples and on occasions of festivity.

1 Coomaraswamy and Duggirala; Lévi, S., Le théâtre indien; Keith, A. B., The Sanskrit drama.
PART V:
KAŚMĪR, NEPĀL, TIBET, CHINESE TURKISTĀN,
AND THE FAR EAST

KAŚMĪR

Kaśmīr formed a part of the dominions of Aśoka and of Kaniṣka and Huviśka, was for a time tributary to the Guptas, but by the time of Harṣa was an independent power controlling Taxila, much of the Sind valley, and the Pañjāb Himālayan. The eighth and ninth centuries are the classic period of Kāśmīrī culture. In about 431 Guṇavarman, a prince of Kaśmīr, travelled as a Buddhist missionary to Sumatra and China. Lalitāditya (733) and another king in the eighth century received investiture from the Emperor of China. Avantivarman (855—883), was a patron of literature and the builder of many shrines. A local Muḥammadan dynasty came to the throne in 1339, and during the fourteenth century Islām spread throughout the valley, though never to the exclusion of Hinduism, before which the early Buddhism had long since declined. In 1587 Akbar included Kaśmīr in the Mughal empire.

At Uškur (Huviśkapura) near Bārāmūla have been found remains of a stūpa and terracottas and stucco fragments in the Indianised late Gandhāra style, and on the whole superior to those of Jauliāna. Very interesting remains at Harvan (Sadarhadvāna) dating ca. 400—500 A.D. include a unique tiled cock-pit of considerable size. The devices on the moulded tiles represent men seated, and in balconies; horseman archers in chain armour, Tātar caps and Turkī cloaks; deer; fighting cocks, lotuses, and a fleur-de-lys motif corresponding to the later Kāśmīrī iris. The technique of these tiles resembles that of the so-called Han but probably later grave-tiles of China. Not far from the same site have been found remains of a stūpa and of an apsidal caitya-hall.

The old town of Vijabar has yielded a number of early sculptures amongst which the most interesting are those representing the goddess Lakṣmī. A series

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1 Kak, 1.
2 Kak, 1 and 3. In India proper, a representation of fighting cocks is found at Ajañṭā, Cave XVII (Griffiths, pl. 142).
of types, indeed, can be traced in Kaśmīr, ranging from characteristically late Gandhāran forms, to thoroughly Indianised types of the ninth or tenth century. Even in the latest examples the Gandhāran cornucopias and suggestions of Hellenistic drapery are preserved⁴.

The old capital of Pāṇḍreṇthān (Purāṇādhishṭhāna) near Sṛṅagar has yielded Buddhist remains, chiefly sculptures, amongst which may be mentioned standing and seated Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara, and a Lumbini garden Nativity in Sārnāth style². In the first half of the eighth century Lalitāditya founded a new capital at Parihāsapura, nearly halfway between Sṛṅagar and Bārmūla and raised a series of magnificent Buddhist and Brāhmanical temples. The former include a large stūpa with double platform, a stairway on each side, and probably indented corners as at Borobuḍur, a monastery, temple, seated Buddha figures, and two crowned Buddhas, or Bodhisattvas in monastic robes; the latter a Siva-lingam in temple E.³. Extraordinarily massive stones are employed; the floor of the Buddhist temple consists of a single block approximately 14 by 12 by 6 feet.

A number of interesting Buddhist bronzes have been found in Kaśmīr, and like many of the sculptures above described are now in the Śrī Pratāp Museum in Kaśmīr. A standing Buddha, which cannot be later than the sixth century is a clumsy figure like that from Bāndā in Bengal. Much more elegant is a fine group representing Padmapāni accompanied by two Saktis, with an inscription of the reign of Queen Diddā (983—1003), showing that Buddhism survived at least until the eleventh century. Another in typical Pāla style (C 3 in the Śrī Pratāp Museum) must be of Magadhan origin (fig. 233)⁴. For an inlaid brass Buddha from Kāṅgrā see p. 85 and fig. 163.

When Avantivarman in the latter half of the ninth century founded a new capital at Avantipur, the modern Vāntipor, Buddhism had already lost its predominant position, giving place to Hinduism; the character of the art, too, has changed, becoming definitely mediaeval, though still showing both Gandhāran and Gupta reminiscences. Avantivarman's temples are not equal in size to those of Lalitāditya, but yet "rank amongst the most imposing monuments of the ancient Kaśmīr architecture, and sufficiently attest the resources of their builder."⁵.

¹ Examples from an unknown source and from Vijabror illustrated in Foucher, 3; another from Vijabror of about the sixth century in Kak, I, p. 59; a later example, Kak, I, p. 64. Another evidently Kaśmīrī, of about the ninth century is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M. F. A., 25. 470 [unpublished]).
² Kak, 1; Sahni, 2, 3.
³ Sahni, 3.
⁴ Kak, 1.
The typical Brāhmanical temple of Kaśmīr from about 750–1250 A. D. has a special character of its own, and in some cases a curiously European aspect, due in part to a Gandhāran inheritance of certain elements, though all the details are Indian. The special forms include a double pyramidal roof; triangular pediment enclosing a trefoil niche; fluted columns with Doric or Ionic capitals; a wood or stone “lantern” ceiling of superimposed intersecting squares; and cloistered courts or colonnaded peristyles surrounding the main shrine. Temples of this type, in limestone with two exceptions, are found at Laduv (the earliest, perhaps fifth or sixth century), Mārtāṇḍa and Vāṅgath (both due to Lalitāditya, the latter in granite), Paṭan, Pāyār, Bunīār (in granite, the best preserved), Pān-dreṇṭhān (fig. 275), and at Paṅjāra in Jammu. The temple of Paṅḍu-kūṇḍ at the last mentioned site was once a magnificent structure, with a central shrine with a double basement, and a peristyle of fifty-three cells, the whole court measuring 191 by 121 feet. But of all those mentioned, the Mārtāṇḍa, in size and situation, is by far the most imposing, even in its now ruined state. Wooden architecture of the same character is found in Cambā and Kulū. In India proper, the typical Kaśmīr roof is found only at Gop in Kāṭhiāwād; the trefoil arch as an integral architectural form only in parts of the Paṅjab which were subject to Kaśmīr in the eighth and ninth centuries, particularly at Malot (fig. 274) and Kāfīr Kot.

Amongst the numerous small sculptures from the Avantipur sites are a number of very interesting Viṣṇu groups in a style peculiar to Kaśmīr and its then tributary States of Cambā and Kulū. The workmanship is very accomplished, while the modelling preserves reminiscences both of western and of Gupta tradition. The general type (fig. 272) is that of a four-armed Viṣṇu, with elaborate jewellery, crown and dagger, the latter an unique feature, standing between attendants, and with the Earth goddess rising from the pedestal, between his feet. In some the deity is three-headed, the additional heads being those of a lion and a boar. Saiva sculptures of the same type include an Ardhanarīśvara and more than one example of the three-headed Mahesāmūrti form commonly but erroneously called Trimūrti. An example of the Viṣṇu image in Avantipur style but in brass inlaid with silver has been found in Kāṅḍrā.

1 For the Kaśmīr temples generally see Sahni, 3; Kak, 4, 5; Cole. Fergusson, 2, is quite inadequate. For lantern ceilings cf. Le Coq, 3, p. 31.
2 For Cambā, see Vogel, 1, pl. XXXIV; for Kulū, Longhurst, 6.
3 For Malot see Burgess, 8, pls. 237–214; A. S. I., A. R., 1918–19, p. 5, and 1920–21, pl. III. For Kāfīr Cot., ibid., 1914–15, pt. 1, pl. III; Codrington, K. de B., pl. XLIII.
4 Sahni, 2; Kak, 1. Cf. three-headed Viṣṇu from Cambā, Vogel, 20, p. 248, and pl. XXXIX a. For a late Gupta example in Mathurā stone see Coomaraswamy, 9 (2), pl. XIX. For Viṣṇu statuettes probably from Avantipur, now in the Pennsylvania University Museum, see Coomaraswamy, 18. Also p. 55, note 6; and A. S. I., A. R., 1903–04, p. 218.
5 For literature on this subject see pages 55, 100.
6 Vogel, 4.
NEPĀL

The isolated and rather inaccessible Himalayan valley of Nepāl was occupied in prehistoric times by a people of Tibetan origin, relatives of the Sino-Tibetan races who were at the same time finding their way into Indo-China. In the second century A. D. the Indian Licchavis founded a dynasty in Nepāl, taking with them from Vaiśāli all the elements of Indian civilization. Mānadeva in the sixth century erected a Garuḍa — crowned dhvajastambha in the Vaiṣṇava temple of Changu Nārāyaṇ. A sculpture of the same reign is a bas-relief representing Viṣṇu as Trivikrama dedicated to the queen-mother Rājyavati. This work, which has now been lost, is described by Lévi as follows “one of the oldest pieces of Indian sculpture (but this is an exaggeration by nearly a thousand years!), properly Indian; it brings us into the presence of a definitely formed art, master of its means, of free and sure inspiration; the sculptor utilizes the traditional methods of Indian art by grouping in one frame the stages of the story . . . It is a great work, almost a masterpiece”[1]. An Umā-Mahēśvara group, dated in the reign of Gunga-kāmādeva, the founder of K āthmaṇḍū in the tenth century; an image of Sūrya of the eleventh century[2]; images of Sūrya and Candra, dated in the thirteenth century are still extant. Chinese authors in the seventh century describe admiringly the splendours of Nepalese architecture: for example, “in the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys, covered with copper tiles. Railings, grilles, columns, beams — everything is ornamented with precious stones and jewels . . . On the top of the tower, water plays into basins; from the mouth of the dragons the water spurts out as from a fountain . . ., the houses are built of wood; the walls are sculptured and painted”[3]. The features of this account, as Lévi adds, are always true in Nepāl; the taste for wooden houses sculptured and painted has lasted under all the Nevārī dynasties. Some idea of the style can be gathered, by the student who cannot visit Nepāl, from the Nepalese temple in Benares. These wooden edifices preserve the elements of much older styles, of which the monuments are no longer preserved in India; they illustrate too a half-way stage between Indian prototypes and Chinese derivatives.

Great antiquity is ascribed to the Nepalese stūpas, four at Pāṭan having been founded, according to tradition, by Aśoka; these four are still intact, and in any case are of the old Indian hemispherical type. The chief characteristics of the later types is the exaggeration of the chatravali or range of umbrellas; the same feature is characteristic of the modern Tibetan form (known as mchod-rt'en); and this development certainly had a share in that of the Far Eastern pagoda. The Nepalese

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1 Lévi, 4. For Nepāl generally, see Lévi, 2, 4; and Hackin.
2 Bendall, pl. II.
3 Lévi, 1, 4.
temple is typically provided with a succession of sloping roofs. One of the most
elegant is that of Bhavānī at Bhatgāon, built in 1703; it stands on a pyramidal
basement of five stages, recalling the basements of Burmese stūpas and Cambodian
temples. The most venerated Śaiva shrine in Nepal is that of Paśupatinātha, near
Kāthmanḍu, but here too most of the buildings date from the seventeenth century.

It may be remarked that during the middle ages Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism,
or rather a Tāntrik combination of the two, are equally prevalent, and images of
Hindū deities and those of the Buddhist Tāntrik pantheon occur in equal num-
bers and side by side. For a time, in the eleventh century, Indian princes from
Tirhut controlled the valley, and at this time very much the same religious
conditions must have prevailed in a large area extending from Nepal through
the Ganges valley on to Burma and Indo-China.

Nepalese art is best known by the metal images, usually copper or brass, and
of fine workmanship, which have found their way into India and thence into
European and Indian museums. Many of these are often wrongly described as
Tibetan; but there is, notwithstanding the close relation of the schools, and in
spite of the Nepalese origin of most of the Tibetan craftsmen\(^1\), a real difference of
style that can be easily recognized in the best examples, though it disappears in the
inferior specimens. On the whole the Nepalese "bronzes" are more Indian in char-
acter, and better executed, and somewhat milder in the prevailing types, than
those of Tibet.

Some of the best and earliest examples, which can hardly be dated later than
the tenth century, are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (figs. 276—278)\(^2\).
The standing Avalokiteśvara (fig. 276), of copper gilt, is perhaps the best of all
known bronzes that can be definitely classed as Nepalese; it illustrates a Nepalese
peculiarity rarely seen in Indian works, that of inlay with precious stones, garnet
and turquoise, but in style it is very near to Indian types, and is more suggestive
of a late Gupta than of the contemporary Pāla styles of the Ganges valley. On
the whole the art of Nepal may be described as having retardataire tendencies,
and thus at any given moment, likely to be superior to that of the plains. Metal
figures of considerably later date are often of high merit, and even up to quite
recent times good work has been done\(^2\).

Side by side with the later and specifically Lamaistic development which Nepal
shares with Tibet, Nepal possesses an important school of painting, which in the

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\(^{1}\) "Lhasa is, to a great extent, a Nepalese colony. And it was chiefly Newaris who
built temples there, cast statues, painted images; their reputation spread all over Central Asia,
and they were called from far away, at great expense, even in more recent times, for decorating
religious buildings" (Lévi, 4, p. 63. Cf. the mention of A-ni-ko, ibid., pp. 63—65, and in the
present work, p. 147).

\(^{2}\) For later examples cf. Havell, 2; and Rūpam, nos. 7, 1921, and 19—20, 1924.
same way as the bronzes reflects Indian forms, and has preserved even up to modern times a hieratic style, comparable to that of the Pāla and Gujārātī schools. In the eleventh century indeed, the distinction of style as between the Bengāli and the Naipāli illustrated manuscripts, is so slight as to be scarcely definable in few words. Amongst the more important Nepalese manuscripts of this date may be cited the palm leaf Mss. Add. 1643 and A 15, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, both of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, both of the eleventh century and containing respectively eighty-five and thirty-one miniatures¹; a manuscript of the same text in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 20. 589, dated apparently equivalent to 1136 A.D. with eighteen miniatures and contemporary painted wooden panel covers² (figs. 280, 281); a manuscript of the same text dated 1019, formerly in the collection of E. Vredenbergh and probably the finest known example³; a manuscript of the same text, probably of twelfth or thirteenth century date, belonging to Professor A. N. Tagore, Calcutta, with contemporary painted covers, one of which bears extremely interesting representations of four episodes of the Vessantara Jātaka (fig. 279); a manuscript of the same text and age, with eighteen miniatures in the possession of Mr. Jackson Higges, New York, with later painted covers; and one in the possession of Professor S. Sawamura of Kyoto.

Nepāl has also been at all times productive of temple banners (taṅka). Very early examples have been found at Tun Huang⁴. Even in the eighteenth century the paintings of this type preserve high qualities in colour and design. A good example is afforded by a banner illustrating the Kapīśa and Pinḍapātra Avadānas, dated in Nevārī script equivalent to 1716 A. D.⁵ An example of a Vaiśṇava painting of Naipāli origin is afforded by the Gajendra-mokṣa picture in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which I formerly regarded as Rājput⁶.

**TIBET**

A type of animistic religion known as Bon-po originally prevailed in Tibet, and has left its traces on the later Buddhist developments⁷. The first king of Tibet “who was the maker of the Tibetan nation ... married a Nepalese princess about

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¹ Fully illustrated and described in Foucher, 2.
² Coomaraswamy, io, pls. XXXII—XXXV.
³ Vredenbergh, E., Continuity of pictorial tradition in the art of India, Rūpam, 1 and 2, 1920.
⁴ Stein, 7, pp. 1428, 1429, and pl. LXXXVII.
⁵ Coomaraswamy, 10, pl. XXXVI. For Nepalese and Tibetan paintings the following may also be consulted: Foucher, 8; Smith, 2, pp. 314—325; Francke; M. F. A. Bull., nos. 106, 144; and Hackin (Bibliography, p. 125).
⁶ Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. XVI.
the year 630; the young bride brought with her, her Gods and priests; she converted her husband, and after her death she was given a place in the Tibetan pantheon as an incarnation of the Goddess Tara.

The same king married a daughter of the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsong, and she, likewise a Buddhist, was deified in the same way. Lying on one of the highways from India to China, through Nepal, Tibet was thus naturally and from the beginning open to Indian and to Chinese influences, and these are always recognizable in Tibetan art. In the eighth century the magician Padmasambhava was summoned to Tibet from Udyâna (Kâfîristân). In the eleventh century the paññita Atiśa, after his ten years of study in Sumatra, introduced reforms in what must have been a strange admixture of Buddhism magic and animism. Atiśa died in 1058. In the meanwhile, in the ninth century Tibet attained the zenith of its military and political power, extending its rule even to Tun Huang, on the western Chinese border, where the oldest known remains of Tibetan painting have been found. By the thirteenth century, political power had declined, but Buddhism was at the height of its power, the Mongols receiving the religion and a new script from the Tibetans. A-ni-ko worked for Tibetan kings on his way to the court of Kublai Khân, who bestowed various honours on Lamaistic priests from Tibet. With the fall of the Mongols Buddhism fell into disfavour in China; in the sixteenth century under the Mings, it again flourished, and to this period must be attributed a majority of the Sino-Tibetan brass images so common in various collections. In the sixteenth century the Dalai-Lama took up residence in the palace of the Tibetan kings on the Mar-po-ri (Lhasa); to this residence of the head of the Tibetan church, regarded as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara was given the name of Potala, the mountain on which this Bodhisattva has his seat. The Manchu emperors gradually assumed control of Tibetan affairs, and the country is still partially subject to Chinese suzerainty.

Tibetan art consists chiefly in the palace and monastery architecture and in the Buddhist paintings and bronzes. The palace-monastery at Lhasa is a noble pile of successive stages, dominating the whole city. The paintings are for the most part votive temple banners. Of two groups, the first, dealing with scenes from the life of Buddha, is devoid of Tántrik elements; this group is directly based on Indian tradition, derived from Bengal and Nepal, and to be connected with the ministry of Atiśa, who exercised a direct influence on Tibetan art up to the end of the twelfth century. In a second group of later origin, dealing in a different way with the life of Buddha, the Master occupies the centre of the picture,

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1 Levi, 4, p. 63.
while grouped around him are other scenes, separated from each other by winding rivers, clouds or trees, these subsidiary compositions being often in a quite Chinese manner. Another series represents the Dhyāni Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas and Tārās, and the fierce World Guardians. Another group represents, so to say, a vast series of local saints and spiritual heroes, amongst whom will be found such as Padmasambhava, Mi-la-ras-pa the wandering poet, monk and magician, and sainted Lamas. Another series deals with Bon-po themes. In these works, the iconographic conceptions range from the most peaceful Buddhas to the most violent and terrifying Tāntrik forms of the Lokapālas; as art they maintain a satisfactory tradition of colour, while the drawing is generally accomplished, though scarcely ever sensitive.1

CHINESE TURKISTĀN

There exists some foundation in historical fact for the tradition recorded by Hsüan Tsang, asserting a partial occupation of Khotān by Indian immigrants from the region of ancient Taxila.2 A Prākrit language was spoken in the oasis, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts were in use, a cult of Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) was widespread, and coins of Kadphises and Kaniška are met with in some quantity. The ruling class in Khotān was of Indian origin and remained predominant up to the time of the Uigur Turkish invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries; thus, during the first seven centuries of the Christian era the name “Turkistān” is really an anachronism. Beyond Khotān, the principal remains of stūpas and monasteries, constructional or excavated, have been met with at Mirān and Endere, further north at Kuca and Turfân, and in the east at Tun Huang on the western border of Chinese territory, these various settlements representing stations on the old silk trade route from China to the west, and revealing a mixed culture and art in which Hellenistic, Indian, Ṣrāvastīan and Chinese elements are all more or less clearly to be distinguished.3 A few of the more striking examples of the Indian forms will be noticed in the following paragraphs.


2 Stein, 4, Ch. VII, sec. 2.

3 The literature of Central Asian art is conveniently listed by Le Coq, 3, pp. 34, 35, and by Hackin, pp. 122—123; The most important works include Grünwedel, 3, 4, 5; Le Coq, 1, 2, 3; Stein, 3, 4, 6, 7 (see “India”, “Indian”, in index); Stein and Binyon.
The two ruined temples at Mirān are of special interest, both on account of their form, and for the frescoes there preserved. Temple M V is a hollow domed circular shrine containing a solid stūpa, thus a constructional example of a form known in India only in rock-cut halls (see pp. 18, 38). This form, as Stein (7, p. 532, note 16) suggests, may have played a part in connection with the origins of Christian rotundas; the dissemination of Buddhism in eastern Iran about the beginning of the Christian era may well have carried with it Indian architectural forms, with circular or apsidal plans. Equally interesting, the inner wall of the same shrine is decorated with a fresco frieze and dado, the former illustrating the familiar Vessantara Jātaka (fig. 284) in exact accordance with the formula already established at Bhārhat and followed in Gandhāra (cf. figs. 47, 93 and 279). The dado consists of garland-bearing figures, and like the winged cherubs of another part of the decoration, presents a much more western aspect than the frieze. A short inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters states "This fresco is the work of Tita, who has received 3000 bhāmakas for it". As pointed out by Stein, Tita may represent Titus, who may have been of Western Asiatic origin, adhering to the Indian formulae in the definitely religious representation, and working in a more definitely western manner in the secular decorations. The work may be dated about the fourth century.

Of somewhat later date are the various wooden panels and a fresco found at Dandān Uiliq, and other panels and part of a birch bark manuscript, doubtless of Kaśmirī origin, found at Khādāliq. These works appear to date from the seventh or eighth century, and afford illustrations of Indian painting of that period, subject to Persian and Chinese influences, the Indian element predominating. One of the panels bears on one side a representation of the three-headed Maheśa or Sadāśiva, seated on a pair of bulls (fig. 285), a form which in this environment may have had a Buddhist significance (Lokeśvara?). The type, which already occurs in Gandhāra and on coins of Vāsudeva, could easily have reached Khotân through Kaśmir in the second century; it extended later even to China (Yun Kang) and appears in Japan as Dai Itoiku, usually rendered as Yamantāka. The reverse of the same panel shows a seated four-armed figure (Bodhisattva or Bacchanalian Pāṇcika?) bearded, and wearing a tight-fitting coat and boots. Another panel represents two mounted saintly or princely personages, nimbate, holding cups; another, a four-armed Gaṇeśa. Of even greater interest is the well-known fresco representing a nymph, nude but for girdle and transparent "fig-leaf", standing in a lotus tank, with a nude boy beside her, stretching out his

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1 Stein, 7, pp. 516—532 and figs. 134—138.
2 Chavannes, 2, pl. 224.
3 Stein, 4, pls. LX, LXI.
arms (fig. 283). This group of erotic, that is to say, auspicious significance, is strongly reminiscent of various Indian Yakṣīṇīs or Devatās, in particular of the lotus lady of the Kuṣāṇa pillar, B. 89 in the Lucknow Museum (see p. 65 and fig. 74).

As Foucher has pointed out with unusual perception, certain Buddha figures from these areas are more nearly related to Mathurā Kuṣāṇa types than to Gandhāran; examples are afforded by a stucco figure from the Rawak stūpa court (Stein 4, pl. LXXXII) and by a seated Buddha with shaven head from Idikucari, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

In the Kuca area, and for the most part at Ming Oi various Indian elements are easily recognizable amongst the vast series of paintings in the caves. We find, for example, figures of Brahmā, Indra, and Siva, the latter four-armed, accompanied by Pārvati and Nandi. An interesting and unmistakeably Indian motif is found in a ceiling painting in the Hippokampenhöhle, a decoration representing cātakas drinking drops of water falling from the clouds, in which flashes of lightning are represented in the form of snakes: the elements of this representation are commonplaces of Indian rhetoric, and are well preserved in various Rājput paintings, particularly those of the old palace at Bikanir. At Tun Huang, even more than in Kuca, we are in the domain of Chinese art properly so-called, and while Indian peculiarities are still traceable, and some few works of Nepalese and Tibetan origin are actually met with, the foreign elements are in the main confined to the iconography. That Chinese Buddhist works of art could not have existed without their Indo-Gandhāran prototypes does not make them anything but Chinese; as Binyon justly remarks “all that derives from Gandhara in subject matter and form is subduced to the creative instinct of design by which the Chinese genius makes them its own.”

THE FAR EAST

Indian influence extended to China, Korea and Japan, with Indian ideas generally and Buddhist forms of art specifically, by direct and indirect routes; overland through Khotān, and by the southern sea route and through Cambodia and Campā. In China, however, where an ancient civilisation had long previously attained to a high stage of consciousness, and had found expression in a solemn and cultivated art dating back to the second millennium B. C., and where,

1 Grünewedel, Idikutsebari, IV, I (= Foucher, 1, fig. 563).
2 Grünewedel, 5; and 4, figs. 106, 208, 210, 241, 373, 410, 538, 543.
4 Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. VIII, and 9 (5), p. 201.
despite the settlement of Indian traders and priests, especially at Loyang, there was never any question of Indian social or political domination, the situation was far other than that of Farther India and Indonesia. The Indian element in the art of the Far East is nevertheless a considerable one; for here there was not merely the acceptance of an iconography and of formulae, but the assimilation of a mode of thought; so that we have to take into account effects both of the outer form of Indian art and of an inner emotional working of Indian thought.  

A Chinese contact with Indian Buddhism was made in the first century, 67 A.D. and probably earlier. Our knowledge of Chinese painting and sculpture in the third, fourth, and early fifth centuries is, however, so slight that we cannot seriously discuss the Indian, Irânian, and Hellenistic influences that may have been exerted at this time, except to point out that all are apparent in Central Asia. Between 357 and 371, however, we read of no less than ten embassies sent from India to China; and amongst Indians settled in China may be mentioned the priest Kumârajâva (383), and Prince Gunavarman of Kâsmîr, who is credited with Buddhist converts in Sumatra, is said to have painted a Jâtaka scene in Canton, and to have died in Nankin in 431. In the contrary direction Fa Hsien, travelling in 399–413 across Central Asia and entering India through the Pañjâb, spent six years in Magadha and Bengal, and returned home via Ceylon and Sumatra. It is certain that from at least the middle of the fourth century A.D., probably a good deal earlier, there was constant intercourse between India and China by the sea route; perhaps also by a southern land route through Burma, whereby the Indian water-buffalo was introduced to Chinese agriculture. Taking these facts into consideration with the difficulty of the northern land route, we might expect to find unmistakeable evidences of Indian influences in Southern China, as we do in Campâ. Unfortunately we know very little about Chinese art in the third, fourth, and early fifth centuries. Some of the so-called Han tiles may date from this period, and it is interesting to find that while their decoration is not in general suggestive of India, some bear numerous representations of what would be called in India caitya-vrksas, not indeed raised, but rising from pedestals marked with diagonal lines; and still more curious, other representations of trees enclosed by and rising above the double roof of a surrounding building, just as in the numerous examples of Indian reliefs depicting temples of the Bodhi-druma. But if these forms are of Indian origin, it seems probable that they can only have been borrowed as decoration, and not as Buddhist symbols. There are really no tangible evidences of Buddhist influences in Chinese art before the fifth century.

1 Okakura; Visser; Warner, Introduction, p. 13; Waley. Full references in Visser.
2 Coomaraswamy, 17.
From the period of the Six Dynasties, Southern China has yielded a few Buddhist bronzes, of which the earliest, dated equivalent to 435 A.D. has been described as quite in an Indian style¹. The oldest known Chinese Buddhist stone sculpture, of 457 A.D., and unknown provenience, is regarded by Sirén as derived from the early Kuśāna type, Mathurā Museum Nos. A 1 and A 2 (see p. 59)².

According to some, too, the Chinese pagoda is nothing but a transformed Indian stūpa. More likely the pagoda has been developed from indigenous forms, though under the strong influence of Indian models of the type of Kanishka’s “stūpa” at Peshāwar, which made so great an impression on all the Chinese pilgrims³.

In the meanwhile had developed the art of the Northern Wei dynasty, best exemplified by the well-known sculptured caves of Yun Kang near Ta-Tung-fu. This is a highly original art, Chinese more than Indian or Gandhāran in feeling, and no more Indian in detail than must inevitably be the case with an art representing an Indian religion. This art and its more immediate offshoots represent the flower of Buddhist sculpture in the Far East. Its formal sources cannot be directly traced, but must be in the main Gandhāran, Irānian and Indian; it is most nearly related to the earlier mural painting of Tun Huang⁴.

In the transition period, sculptures at T’ien Lung Shan are compared by Sirén with Mathurā types of the fifth and sixth centuries, and he suggests that some may have been the work of an Indian artist “well acquainted with the products of the great Mathurā school”⁵. In the Sui period there is clear evidence of Indian, or perhaps rather, Indonesian design in the pedestals of Buddhist figures at Mien-Cheu, Sze-Chwan⁶.

With the establishment of Chinese unity under the short-lived Sui dynasty, and their immediate successors the T’angs (618—906), with the development of a cosmopolitan capital at Loyang, where resided a considerable colony of Indian merchants and priests, and with the active development, from the sixth century onwards, of the trade route across Central Asia, there was established a closer connection with India and the West by land. Fa Hsien, the first Chinese pilgrim,

¹ Ashton, introduction, p. 79.
² Sirén, I, pp. XXXVII—XXXVIII, and pls. 116—117.
³ See p. 54. Also Longhurst, 6; Simpson, 3; Visser. For the Chinese forms, Boerschmann, 1, 2; Sirén, pls. 422, 425a, 425; Finot and Goloubew, Le Fan-Ts’u T’a de Yunnan-fou, B. É. F. E. O., 1925.
⁴ Mission Pelliot, Paris, 1920, 1921. Sirén, I, p. XLI, describes the Yun Kang figures as related to Mathurā types but considers the Indian element came through Tun Huang. The two polycephalous figures are „of purely Indian origin“; but the five-headed image cannot be, as suggested, a „Garuḍa-raja“, and must be derived from some form of Viśṇu.
⁵ Sirén, 1, p. LXVI; 2, pl. XLIX.
⁶ Visser, fig. 4, after Segalén.
had reached India about 399; Sung Yün about 518; Hsuan Tsang travelled extensively in India between 630 and 644, and is recorded to have taken back with him to China not only books, but also images and relics; I Ching travelled in India and returned to China via Indonesia ca. 671—695. In the contrary direction, Guna Varman of Kasmir, ca. 431, Bodhidharma of Southern India, ca. 529—36, and Paramārtha of Magadha, ca. 545, reached China and there spread the doctrines of Buddhism in various Mahāyāna forms. In the eighth century China had direct political relations with Kasmir.

It is not surprising, then, that we find in the T'ang period a more mixed and less purely Chinese art developing, Indian (Gupta) and late Hellenistic elements crossing and intercrossing with the Chinese idioms of the Six Dynasties. There exist Chinese works of the T'ang period that could almost be thought to be Indian\(^1\); just as there exist Indian (fig. 171) and Cambodian (fig. 100) works of late Gupta or early mediaeval date that seem to foreshadow Far-Eastern types.

Still more eclectic is the mixed Central Asian art of Tun Huang in the far west of China; this Central-Asiatic-Indian art, though its actual examples are the work of artisans rather than of great artists, forms the foundation of Chinese Buddhist art in the T'ang period; and is almost our only source of knowledge for T'ang painting.

Towards the close of the T'ang period the vitality of Chinese Buddhist art is on the wane; specifically Buddhist art is becoming exquisite, over-refined, and finally lifeless. But there comes into being in the Yüan and Sung periods another kind of painting, philosophical and poetic, which is essentially a product of a fusion of Taoist and Ch'ān ideas.

In the meantime Chinese influence was extending westwards (Mongol period of Persian art) and in the contrary direction Tibetan Lamaism was spreading through Mongolia and China carrying with it all its apparatus of elaborate iconography, and ritual mysteries. M. Pelliot, indeed, has remarked that “a monograph ought to be prepared, dealing with the religious art in Hindu style which was favoured in China from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century”.

A specific instance of the migration of a Nepalese artist is afforded in the case of A-ni-ko, who became Controller of Imperial Manufactures at the court of Kublai Khan in 1279, and made large numbers of images and paintings for his Chinese patron. One Yi Yuan became his pupil, “studying under him the making of Hindu images”, and this Yi Yuan or Lieu Yuan in turn became the author of innumerable Buddhist figures set up in all the celebrated sanctuaries of the two capitals,

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\(^1\) A definitely Indian character is present in the British Museum T'ang wooden stele, Binyon, L., *Asiatic art at the British Museum*, pl. IX, 4.
Shang-tu and Pekin. Nepalese artists, too, settled in Tibet, and there produced the bronzes and temple banners which are familiar to collectors. There is in fact a common Lamaistic art which extends, from the thirteenth century onwards, from Nepal through Tibet into China, of which the creations are iconographically similar, and only to be distinguished by the gradual change of style which corresponds to the local ethnic conditions. As remarked by Hackin “La Chine reste, tout compte fait, nettement tributaire de l’art bouddhique népal-tibetain. Le XIIIe et XIVe siècles marquent l’apogée de cette influence... si proches de l’ancien tradition indienne”.

The North Wei types passed directly into Korea, and thence, through the energy of Shōtoku Taishi, to Japan, to form the models of the art of the Suiko period in the Yamato valley (ca. 645 A.D.). No great antecedent civilisation had preceded these developments in Japan; Japanese culture and unity were developed in the seventh century under Chinese influence; Buddhism and Buddhist art and learning, though coming for the most part indirectly through Korea and China, brought Japan for the first time into contact with the outer world and with India; and as Okakura points out it was not merely the doctrine of the Buddha as an individual, but a whole new mode of thought that affected Japanese life.

Chinese influence continued to predominate in the T’ang age, and is reflected in the art of the Hakuhō and Nara periods in Japan. Long before the Northern Wei art had been assimilated or an adequate understanding of Buddhist thought reached, Japanese pilgrims or ambassadors, successors of Shōtoku Taishi, came into contact not merely with the Chinese aspect of T’ang art, but with its remoter sources in India and the West (Khotān). The famous paintings on the Hōryūji walls, assignable to the eighth century, have been much discussed; I am inclined to agree, like Visser, with most of those who have seen both Hōryūji and Ajanṭā, that there exists no very close connection between the two, and that the sources of the Japanese work are to be sought rather in Khotān than in India. But it seems as though the Japanese must have depended in some degree directly upon Indian sources; it would be impossible otherwise to explain such remarkable iconographic parallels as that of the Jikoku Ten (= Dhṛtarāṣṭra) of the Kondō, standing on a crouching demon, with the Kubera Yakṣa of Bhārhat; and difficult to account for the great admixture of Brāhmaṇical, especially many-armed, forms

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1 Lévi, 1, 2, 4. The Tsao hsiau liang tu Ching is a Japanese edition of a Tibetan canon of proportions for images, with diagrams. There are illustrated Chinese and Mongol Lamaist iconographic texts in the Musée Guimet (Hackin, pp. 114, 115).

2 Hackin, p. 68.

3 Cf. Warner, fig. 55 or Nara Hōryūji Okagami, vol. 38, pl. 7, with Cunningham, pl. XXII (Kuvera).
that is so characteristic of the mixed Shintō-Buddhist pantheon. The Japanese *torii* may be related to the Indian *torana*.

Japanese Buddhism on the ritualistic side elaborated the cult of Amida and the Western Paradise\(^1\), and on the mystical side the practise of the Ch’an Buddhists of China, which had been established, ca. 527—536, by the Indian monk Bodhidharma, and derived in the last analysis from the Indian Yoga\(^2\). Dhyāna (meditation) = Jhāna = Ch’an = Zen. The external influence of Indian thought created a theology and forms of art resembling those of India; the more fundamentally stimulating influence of a method, acting inwardly, enabled the Japanese genius to realise itself in an attitude of aesthetic appreciation of natural beauty and an art which bear no evident resemblance to anything Indian.

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\(^1\) Cf. Lodge, J. E., In Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, 141, 1925.

\(^2\) For an admirable short account of Zen Buddhism see Waley.
PART VI:
FARThER INDIa, INDONESIA
AND CEYlON

FARThER INDIa AND INDONESIA

The main element of the population of this area may be described as Malay-
Polynesian. Probably a thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era
northern races were moving southwards from Tibet and Yunnan and settling
in the Irawadi, Menam and Mekong valleys and the Malay Peninsula; where they
are afterwards known as Pyus, Mon-Khmers, and Malays. Most likely by 500
B.C. they were also reaching and occupying the islands of the Indonesian archi-
pelago, driving out and replacing the aboriginal Negritos. Previous to their
contact with India, these northern races probably possessed a knowledge of the
terrace-cultivation of rice, metal-work and carpentry, weaving, ship-building,
some forms of musical and dramatic art, and locally differentiated but related
languages. Apart from certain dolmens and other so-called Polynesian antiquities,
these races have left no monuments; but they are nevertheless of importance as
representing the local psychological factor in each of the great national cultures,
Indo-Khmer, Indo-Javanese, etc.

Indian contacts may have been made some centuries before the beginning
of the Christian era; Suvarṇabhūmi (Sumatra) is mentioned in the Jātakas,
Epics, and Mahāvaṃsa and the sea-route must have been familiar, before the
commencement of the general eastward extension of Indian culture. What is
probably the oldest positive evidence of this Indian movement eastwards occurs
in the remotest area, in the Sanskrit inscription of Vocanī in Annam, dateable
about 200 A.D. Before the fifth century the greater part of the area, so far as
accessible by sea, had been more or less thoroughly Hinduisèd, and rulers with
Indian names ending in the patronymic varman, and using an Indian alphabet,
were established in Campā, Cambodia, Sumatra, and even Borneo. Traces of
Indian culture have been found in the Philippines, and some scholars believe that
the Maya culture of Central America has an Indo-Polynesian background.

According to Ptolemy, the principal Indian port of departure for the Land
of Gold, locus unde solunt in Chrysēn, was Gūḍūrū, undoubtedly the modern Kod-
dura at the mouth of the Godāverī, and thus on the Āndhra coast, and giving access to the west. This agrees well with the fact that it is really the art and culture of the Dekkhan, rather than those of Southern India, of which the traces are most apparent in the earlier art of Cambodia, Campā and Java. The early Cām Sanskrit inscription of Vocanh, for example, is in an alphabet closely resembling that of Rudradāman’s inscription at Gīrṇār, and facts such as these at one time led to the view that the colonists of the East had sailed from western India, which is not likely to have been the case, nor do the facts require this explanation. In the same way, the Indianesque of Funan is much nearer to the Gupta art of the western caves and of Bādāmi, than to anything further south, and parallels between the architecture of the Dieng Plateau and that of the early Cālukyas have been drawn by Dutch scholars. That Indian immigrants in the Malay Archipelago are still called Orang Kling is a survival of the name Kaliṅga, by which the inhabitants of Orissā were once known. It cannot be doubted that long before the time of the Pallavas at Kānci, the Kaliṅgas and Āndhras of Orissā and Veṅgi had laid the foundations of Indian or Indianised states “beyond the moving seas”. Ceylon in the same way as the more distant islands, but probably at an earlier date, received its Buddhist culture by sea from northern India; the later development is similar in principal to that of the more distant islands of the Indian archipelago, subject to the condition of much greater proximity to the mainland.

Broadly speaking we can trace in each area, first of all, an Indianesque period, when the local art constitutes to all intents and purposes a province of Indian art, so that the art of Funan in the sixth and seventh century, may indeed be said to complete and fulfil our knowledge of Gupta and Pallava art; then a classical period (800—1200 A. D.), in which a local national formula is evolved and crystallised; and finally a local national phase no longer in direct contact with India and passing into an age of folk art which has generally survived up to the present day.

To apply the name of “Indian colonial” to the several national schools, after the end of the eighth century, is an injustice to the vigor and originality of the local cultures. There is scarcely any monument of Farther Indian or Indonesian art which, however nearly it may approach an Indian type, could be imagined as existing on Indian soil; equally in architecture, sculpture and in the drama and minor arts, each country develops its own formula, freely modifying, adding to, or rejecting older Indian forms. India, indeed, provided the material of a higher culture, and perhaps a ruling aristocracy, to less developed and less conscious races; but the culture of these races, plastic, musical, dramatic and literary, as it flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and still survives in Java and Bali, may justly be called native. Japan, which owes more than is generally realised to direct Indian influences, is but a more obvious example of the same condition.
Thus the history of Indian and Indonesian art deserves in the general history of art a higher place than can be denoted by the term colonial. It is true that like much of Chinese and Japanese art it can only be understood in the light of Indian studies; but it derives its energy from indigenous sources.

It is only within the last twenty years that Farther Indian and Indonesian art have been seriously studied. Much has already been accomplished by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, the Archaeological Survey of Burma, the École française d’Extrême-Orient, at Hanoi, the Oudheidkundige Dienst in Java, and more recently by the Service archéologique du Siam. But only the broad outlines have been deciphered, and there remain to be investigated innumerable undescribed monuments, and unsolved problems of more than local interest.

CEYLAN

The earliest inhabitants of Ceylon are spoken of as Yakkhas (Yakṣas) and Nāgas. Tradition¹ asserts the settlement at an early date of a prince from the Ganges Valley, by name Vijaya, who founded a city at Tambapaṇṭi in the southern part of the island near Hambantota in the fifth century B. C. Vijaya allied himself with a native princess, Kuvēnī, and acquired power. About a hundred years later, with the foundation of Anurādhapura, the whole island was brought under one rule. In the reign of Devānāma-piya Tissa (247—207 B. C.) Aṣoka sent his son Mahinda, and later his daughter Saṅghamittā to Ceylon as apostles of Buddhism; a branch of the Bodhi-tree of Gayā was brought to Ceylon and planted at Anurādhapura². A little later the South Indian Tamils made incursions, usurping the throne for several decades. Duṭṭha-Gāmanī (101—77 B. C.) recovered the sovereignty and reoccupied Anurādhapura; he holds a place in Sinhalese history analogous to that of Aṣoka in Indian. In succeeding centuries and during the whole of the mediaeval period the Tamils and Sinhalese were constantly at war, with varying success, only the south of Ceylon and the mountains remaining continuously in Sinhalese possession. In the fifth century A. D. Fa Hsien visited Ceylon; the Mahāvamsa chronicle was composed; and the parricide king Kassapa retired to Sīgiriya and made a fortress of that isolated rock. In the latter part of the eighth century Anurādhapura was abandoned to the Tamils, but later restorations were effected on various occasions up to 1290 by the kings of Polonnaruva.

¹ For Sinhalese history see Arunachalam, 1 (early dates uncritical); Geiger; Turnour and Wijesinha; Parker, 2; Codrington; A. S. C. Reports, passim; Epigraphia Zeylanica; C. H. I., Ch. XXV, and Bibliography, pp. 663, 690.
² A pious Sinhalese Buddhist visited Bodhgayā in the second century B. C. and recorded a donation in the following terms “Bodhi rakhtī Ta(rī)bap(a)ṁ nakasā dānam”.

158
to which city the seat of government was now transferred. But before long this city too was taken by the Tamils, and Ceylon became a viceroyalty of the Coṭa kings of Southern India. Sinhalese rule was re-established by degrees. In the twelfth century the greatest of Sinhalese kings, Parākrama Bāhu I (1164—1197), the Great, recovered possession of the whole island, invaded Southern India, and maintained relations with the transmarine kingdoms in Siam and Sumatra. Renewed Tamil invasions again wasted the country, and although in the thirteenth century under Vijaya Bāhu IV, Bhuvaneka Bāhu I, and Parākrama Bāhu III Polonnāruva was again occupied, and in 1361 Ceylon was still in a position to respond to a Siamese request for a Buddhist mission (see p. 177), the capital had to be shifted successively to Dambadeniya, Kurunēgala, Gampola, Kotte, Sitāvaka, and finally in 1592 to Kandy, where the Sinhalese maintained their independence until 1815. By this time the ancient seats of population in the north, at Anurādhapura and Polonnāruva had long been deserted, and that once most populous and best irrigated part of the island reverted to forest; and Sinhalese culture and art had acquired a provincial and "folk" character. The last great Buddhist king, builder and patron of religion and the arts ruled in Kandy from 1747 to 1780, and to him the surviving beauty of the city is largely due.

The remains of earlier architecture in their present aspect, though often of earlier foundation, date mainly from the late Kuśāna, Gupta and early mediaeval periods. The extant remains of Sinhalese art thus fall broadly into three groups, a classical period (before the eighth century), a mediaeval period (ninth to fourteenth century) and a late mediaeval period (fifteenth century to 1815).  

The earliest surviving structures are stūpas, or dāgabas as they are called in Ceylon. At Tissamahārāma in the Southern Province, near the probable landing place of the first settlers at the mouth of the Kirindi River, there are remains of several which must have been built in the third or second century B.C.; the Mahānāga Dāgaba was repaired in the first and third centuries A.D. and again about 1100, and has not been restored since the thirteenth century. The Yaṭṭhāḷa Dāgaba dating from the third or second century B.C. was repaired in 1883, and on this occasion many important finds were made, amongst which the inscribed bricks, silver square coins without marks, crystal and amethyst relic caskets, and a very fine carnelian seal, representing a seated king (fig. 133).  

1 For Sinhalese art generally see A. S. C. Reports and Bell, 2; Coomaraswamy, 1, 4, 6 and 15 and in J. I. A., vol. XVI; Arunachalam; Perera; Smith, 2 and 7; Smith; Parker, 2; Cave, H. W., Ruined cities of Ceylon, Colombo, 1897 (good illustrations); Burrows, Buried cities of Ceylon, various editions; an essay on Kandyen Architecture by Lewis, J. P., in Cave, H. W., The book of Ceylon; the Ceylon National Review; the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register; Spolia Zeylanica; Ceylon Journal of Science; Kramrisch, S., Wandmalereien zu Kelaniya, Jahrb. as. Kunst, 1, 1924.

2 For the Yaṭṭhāḷa Dāgaba see Parker, 1, 2; and Mahāvamiśa, Ch. XXII, v. 7.
Few of the early dāgabas at Anurādhapura exist exactly in the form in which they were first constructed, but most of them nevertheless preserve the early Indian hemispherical stūpa type. The typical Sinhalese dagaba consists of a hemispherical dome rising from three low circular courses, which rest directly on the ground on a single square basement approached by four stairways; above the dome is a small square enclosure and a railed pavilion, the Indian bar-mikā, here called devatā kouwa or "citadel of the gods", and above thus rises the tee, in all extant examples a pointed ringed spire representing an earlier chatravali; the relic chamber was often a relatively large cell contained in the mass of the dome. The first dāgaba to be founded was the Thūpārāma (244 B. C.), which stood on a circular paved basement and was surrounded by a quadruple ring of tall slender pillars, of which the two inner rows bore tenons, and most of which are still standing. The main purpose of these pillars was to support festoons of lamps. This dāgaba was preserved and adorned throughout the classical period, the last restorations being made by Parākrama Bāhu II in the thirteenth century.

The third dāgaba, the much larger Maha Śeyā, was likewise erected in the reign of Devānam-piya Tissa ca. 243 B. C., at Mihintale, about eight miles from Anurādhapura, a place deriving its name from the apostle Mahinda, whose stone couch, affording a magnificent view over wide stretches of forest, then populous and cultivated, can still be seen. It has probably been rebuilt by Parākrama Bāhu I after the Tamil invasion, in the twelfth century.

The famous king Duṣṭha-Gāmaṇi built two large dāgabas at Anurādhapura. One of these, the Ruanweli, was of very great importance, and we possess a much more complete history of it and of its construction than of any other early building either in Ceylon or India. It is said to have been completed by his successor Sadhā-Tissa (77—59 B. C.); its long history ends with the restorations begun in 1873 and not yet completed. Undoubtedly the original dāgaba has been enclosed in a later addition; but the whole is of brick, as are all the Ceylon examples, and the enlargement was probably made before the beginning of the Christian era. According to the Mahāvanisa, the relic chamber was adorned with paintings ("rows of animals and hanśas), and contained a Bodhi-tree with a silver stem and leaves of gold, relics of Buddha, jewellery, a gold image of Buddha and a representation (painting) of the Vessantara jātaka. As regards the image, some doubt may be entertained as to the existence of a Buddha figure in the first century B. C., but it is not impossible that images of precious metal were made long before any in stone. The dome is 254 feet in diameter, and this is but one of several

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2 Mahāvanisa, Chs. XXVIII—XXXI.
Siṃhalese dāgabas that are as large as all but the largest of the Egyptian pyramids; the paved platform measures 475 by 473 feet. Facing each of the four cardinal points and attached to the dome there is a kind of frontispiece (wāhalkada) consisting of superimposed horizontal stone courses, flanked by pillars, decorated in a style recalling that of the Sāncl torana posts. On the platform of the Ruanweli Dāgaba there were formerly preserved colossal dolomite standing figures, two of Buddhas and one of a king (traditionally known as Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī) or Bodhisattva, in a severe and very grand style (figs. 293, 294), related to that of the Amarāvati images. The probable date of these images is the latter part of the second century A.D.; together with the well-known seated Buddha (fig. 295) in the forest near the circular Road, Anurādhapura, these images were until lately the noblest and at the same time historically by far the most important monuments of Siṃhalese sculpture extant; quite recently the misplaced zeal of pious but ignorant and insensitive Buddhists has resulted in their ruthless restoration, and a complete destruction of all their original qualities; it is devoutly to be hoped that the seated Buddha will escape a like fate. Two early heads (figs. 289, 290) and a standing image in the same style are preserved in the Colombo Museum; another standing image at Wūṭ Binchamopit, Bangkok, Siam.

The description of the Ruanweli Dāgaba applies in a general way to the second great dāgaba erected by Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī, the Miriswetiya, Maricavaṭṭi, but here the decoration of the wāhalkaḍ with processions of animals — horses, bulls, lions, horned lions, and elephants — is more elaborate; the flanking pillars have lion capitals, and are ornamented with elaborate trees, with pāduka below and a dhamma cakkha above. On the stylistic effect of these two buildings Parker remarks that “Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī and his brother Sadhā-Tissa may claim the credit of being the first rulers to appreciate the grandeur of the effect of an enormous white dome, far greater than anything of the kind previously erected in Ceylon or India, and admirably adapted to be an expression of stability, and permanence, and inaccessibility, such as the purpose of its construction demanded”.

The Jetavana Vihāra and Dāgaba were built by Mahāsena (277—304 A.D.). The present dāgaba, so called, seems to be wrongly identified. Wūṭha-Gāmaṇī Abhaya (ca. 100—76 B.C.) had meanwhile built the Abhaya-giri Dāgaba, and this structure has since been confused with the Jetavana. The latter, properly so called is the largest in Ceylon, the diameter of the dome at its base, that is to say above the three basal cylinders called “bracelets” (and corresponding to the Indian stūpa “drum”) being 325 feet, that of the lowest “bracelet” 367 feet. Beside the

1 Parker, 2, p. 296.
wāhalkaḍ of the Jetavana stand finely carved pillars (fig. 286) with figures of Nāgas and Nāginis and decorative motifs reminiscent of Sānci.

The Nikawē Kande Dāgaba, in the North Western Province, has yielded crystal and blue glass beads of very early types, ten relic cases of crystal, and two of green glass.

The Lohā Mahāpeya, Lohā-pāsāda or “Brazen Palace”, constructed by Duṭṭha-Gāmanī, and so called from the gilt bronze dome with which it was once crowned, must have been a magnificent building. It was a monastery, and originally consisted of nine storeys; destroyed by fire in the fourth century A.D. it was rebuilt with five. All that now remains is the foundation, consisting of 1600 granulite monoliths twelve feet in height covering an area 250 feet square; the superstructure was always of wood. The best idea of the general appearance of such a building may be gained from some of the ratbas at Māmallapuram, and from Akbar’s five-storeyed pavilion, which is in a thoroughly Hindu style, at Faṭhpur Sikrī.

At what is now the Isurumuniya Vihāra near Anurādhapura there is an outcrop of enormous granulite boulders, divided by a fissure and having before them a partly artificial pool. This site, no doubt in the seventh century, has been treated very much in the manner of the Gaṅgāvataraṇa tīrtham at Māmallapuram, though less elaborately. A niche cut in the face of the rock contains a seated figure in relief, accompanied by a horse; apparently representing the sage Kapila, it is in pure Pallava style, and one of the finest sculptures in Ceylon; the rock surface below, down to the water level, is carved on each side with beautiful but unfinished groups of elephants amongst lotuses. The effect is to increase the apparent dimensions of the pool, in the same way that the painted scenery at the back of a modern stage apparently extends its actually limited area.

Similar in style are the groups of elephants amongst lotus and fish, carved in low relief on the rock slopes bordering a pokuma (tank) near the Tissawēwa lake bund, not far from Isurumuniya. More remarkable on account of its extraordinary realism is the elephant carved in the full round from a boulder in the bed of a stream at Kaṭupilana in the North West Province; when partly covered by water, this could easily be mistaken for a real elephant.

The natural fortress of Sigiriya (“Lion Rock”) was occupied by Kassapa I

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1 For the Abhayagiriya, see A. S. C., A. R., 1894, p. 2: Jetavanārāma, 1910—11, p. 11, and both, Parker, 2, pp. 304ff.
2 The Lohāpāsāda is described at length in Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXVII (Geiger).
3 Coomaraswamy, 7, pl. 52; Smith, 2, pl. XXIII. The figure is certainly not, as suggested by Parker, 2, p. 548, a soldier in helmet and plume.
4 Smith, 7. The pokuma groups recall the spandrel paintings at Elūrā.
(479—497 A. D.) during a great part of his reign. On the summit of the rock he constructed a palace, of which the foundations survive, and as a means of access built a remarkable walled gallery, with a façade in the form of an enormous seated lion, which may have given its name to the rock. In the vertical wall of the cliff above the gallery are two sheltered rock pockets, not deep enough to be called caves, but in which are still preserved frescoes of the fifth century (fig. 184), in a style closely related to that of Ajañțā, and representing celestial women, with their attendant maids, casting down a rain of flowers; the fact that the figures are all cut off by clouds a little below the waist proves that the persons represented cannot have been regarded as human beings. These paintings combine a great elegance of manner with a penetrating sensuality. The colours used are reds, yellow, green and black. The perfect preservation of these paintings is extraordinary, considering that they have been exposed to the open air for fourteen hundred years. It may be noted that many of the figures wear a colī, quite unmistakably indicated.

Another painting, in the Pulligoda Galkande, Tamankaḍuwa, near Polonnāruva represents five seated male persons, all nimbate, and may date from the seventh century. Many of the dāgabas at Anurādhapura, wherever plastered surfaces are preserved, show traces of decorative colouring. Rock paintings at Hiṅdagala, near Kandy, representing Buddha in the Trayāstrīmśa Heavens, have been assigned to the seventh century, but are probably of later date. Those at the Ridi Viha ra do not seem to be very old.

All of the buildings at Polonnāruva (Pulatthipura) must date between 781 and 1290, including the periods of Tamil (Cola) occupation from about 1049 to 1059 and one of a few days in 1198. What survives even to the present day constitutes a veritable museum of mediaeval styles, but only a few of the most important buildings can be referred to in detail. There is a large series of dāgabas, of the usual hemispherical type, amongst which the Rankot Vehera or Ruanweli-seya, and the Kiri, and Laṅkāṭilaka dāgabas, all of the “bubble” type, are the largest. Of the many works ascribed to Parākrama Bāhu I (1164—1197) may be mentioned the Gal Viha ra, consisting of an apsidal cave shrine, containing a seated rock-cut Buddha and traces of ancient painting, and with a seated Buddha over fifteen feet in height to the right of the entrance; and a rock-cut Parinirvāṇa image over forty-six feet in length, with a standing figure of Ānanda, with arms

2 Smith, 2, fig. 213.
3 Smith, pp. 21, 27, 31 and pl. XXXII.

11* 163
crossed, beside it, nearly twenty-three feet in height\(^1\). The Thūpārāma is a rectangular brick temple in Dravidian style\(^2\), but with vaulted arches and narrow triangular windows like those of Bodhgaya and other brick temples in the Ganges valley. The roof is flat, with a low pyramidal tower of successively reduced storeys; the inner walls were plastered and painted, the outer decorated with architectural façades. The whole structure recalls the "cubic" architecture of Campā\(^3\). The Northern Temple, formerly but incorrectly designated Demaṇa Mahā-ṣeṇya, has plaster covered brick relief figures in the niches of the external decoration (fig. 302); when the interior was cleared much of the plastered surface covered with paintings (fig. 291) of Jātakas, the Vessantarā and Maitribhāla amongst others, was found in a fair state of preservation, but as a result of some twenty years exposure and neglect, these paintings, which formed by far the most extensive remains of their kind anywhere in India or Ceylon, have almost disappeared. Both temples contained large standing Buddha figures of brick\(^4\).

The Jetavanā monastery at the other end of the city consists of a group of buildings, amongst which the Laṅkātilaka, containing a gigantic standing Buddha of brick, is the largest Buddhist temple in Ceylon. The roof was probably a storied structure like that of the Thūpārāma. Remains of frescoes include a nāri latā design on the ceiling\(^5\).

Still another building due to Parākrama Bāhu I is the Potgul Vihaṇa, the "delightful circular house" where he was accustomed to sit and listen to the reading of the Jātakas by the learned priest who dwelt there\(^6\). The building consists of a circular cella, originally painted, now roofless, with a small antarāla, and a mandapa added later by Candravati, while at each angle of the outer platform are small dāgabas\(^7\).

The colossal rock-cut statue (fig. 301), eleven and a half feet in height, carved in high relief from a granulite boulder to the east of the Tōpawewa bund, is traditionally regarded as a representation of Parākrama Bāhu himself. One of the finest sculptures in Ceylon, it represents a dignified bearded sage reading from

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1 For the Gal Vihaṇa, and similar rock-cut images at Tantrimalai, see A. S. C., A. R., 1907, p. 34; for the painting, ibid., 1909, p. 34. The image of Ānanda carried in procession in the reign of Sena II (886–901), Mahāvamsa, Ch. LI, v. 86, was probably of metal.

2 The Mahāvamsa states casually that Parākrama Bāhu brought "Damilo" artisans from India to decorate Polonnaruva. Even at the present day the Sinhalese masons (galvadāwā) and some of the higher craftsmen are of acknowledged Tamil descent. Cf. page 126.

3 For the Thūpārāma, see fig. 303, and A. S. C., A. R., 1903, pp. 30ff.

4 For the Northern Temple frescoes see A. S. C., A. R., 1909, pls. XXV–XXVII and A–P: and ibid, 1922–23, figs. 12, 13. There are poor copies in the Colombo Museum.


6 Mahavamsa, ch. LXXIII.

a palm-leaf book; the identification has been doubted, but it does not seem at all impossible that the pious king should have wished to be represented in this fashion1.

The Sat Mahal Pāśāda is a solid seven storied building, more like a traditional Mt. Meru than any other building in India or Ceylon. Bell has called attention to the Cambodian affinities of this and other buildings, calling this the “Cambodian quarter of the city”².

To Nissaṅka Malla (1198—1207) is attributed the beautiful Nissaṅka Lata Maṇḍapaya, a railed enclosure containing eight curvilinear lotus pillars which once supported a roof³. Credit is given to the same king for the Waṭa-dā-gē (fig. 304), a building quite unique, but for the similar circular shrine at Mēḍagiriya twenty miles distant. Bell calls it the “most beautiful specimen of Buddhistic stone architecture in Ceylon”. It consists of a circular terrace, 375 feet in circumference, stone faced and paved; upon this a circular pedestal, elaborately ornamented and supporting a low railing of stone slabs divided by octagonal pillars twice their height; a narrow circular passage separating this pillared railing from a high brick wall; and within this a small dāgaba, with two circles of pillars round it, and seated Buddhas facing each of the four entrance stairways, which are provided with Nāga dvārapālas of the usual Siṃhalese type. Quite possibly this was the shrine erected by Parākrama Bāhu I as a “round temple of the Tooth-relic”, and Nissaṅka Malla merely restored it⁴.

Also ascribed to the twelfth century are the colossal standing Buddha at Śeṣēruwa, N. W. P., 16' 2" in height, that at Āwkana, 46' in height, and the seated Buddha protected by the Nāga Mucalinda at Kon Wēwa, N. C. P.⁵.

There is also at Poḷonnaruwa a series of Hindu temples (devāles) built in the time of Cola occupation and in Cola style⁶. The Śiva Devāle, No. I, miscalled the Daḷadā Māligāwa, is the finest Hindu shrine in Ceylon. The Śiva Devāle no. 2 is of granulite and limestone, and consists of garbha-grha, antarāla, ardha-maṇḍapa and maṇḍapa, with a four-storeyed vimāna; the exterior was originally plastered and painted, traces of a lattice pattern in red and white remaining on the façade of the second storey. Originally known as the Vaṭuvaṃsā-devī Iśvaramuḍaiyār, it has inscriptions of Adhirājendra Coḷadeva, ca. 1070 and Rā-

4 A. S. C., A. R., 1903, pp. 22—26; 1904, p. 5; Mahāvamsa, ch. LXXVII, translation, pp. 40, 41.
5 Smith, 7.
jendracola I (1020—1042), and like most of the devālēs at Polonnaruva, seems to have been desecrated by Parākrama Bāhu II of Dambadeniya in the thirteenth century, a fact which affords a terminus ante quem for the date of the bronzes, found in the course of excavations. Five other devālēs are found outside the old city walls, three of these being Vaiṣṇava; with the exception of No. 2, described above, all are of brick, or brick and stone, and have enclosing walls (prakāra) of brick.

Another fine temple of the Cola period, known as the Gedige, is found at Nālandā. This temple which may be dated about 1040, has a barrel roof and caitya-window gable, and was of mixed Hindu and Buddhist dedication. Later, probably of sixteenth century date, is the beautiful, but unfinished Bēreṇḍi Kovil at Sitāwaka. There is also an elegant early Hindu shrine at Ridi Vihāra, consisting of a stone mandapam in front of a cella situated beneath an overhanging rock. Smaller Hindu shrines (kōvils and devālēs) are numerous (e. g. Kataragama, Kandy and Ratnapura), and in many cases these are associated with or even form a part of Buddhist temples, as at the beautiful Buddhist temple of Laṅkātilaka, near Gadalādeniya, a fine building partly of stone, in a Dravidian style with Kandyan roofs.

A fair number of Sinhalese bronzes, actually in most cases of copper, and ranging in date from about the fifth to the eleventh century A. D. have been recovered and published, mainly by myself. A purely Gupta type is represented by the fine example from Badullā, in the Colombo Museum (fig. 296). Two of the finest small figures known from any site in India or Ceylon are the bronze Avalokiteśvara (fig. 297) and Kuyera (Jambhala) (fig. 298), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the former a spiritual type in style and movement like the rock-cut Siva of the Kailāsanātha at Elūrā (fig. 193), the latter wonderfully realising an ideal of material well-being, and very like the Sinhala-dvīpa Jambhala of a Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century. Both of these may be assigned to the eighth century. Probably of the ninth century, and not quite equal in conception to these, is the Vaiṣrapāni of fig. 299; the pedestal shows marked analogies with early Pala and Javanese forms. There are other good examples of Mahāyāna bronzes from Ceylon in the British Museum. In this connection it may be pointed out that while Sinhalese Buddhism has remained predominantly Hinayāna, there existed a Mahāyāna monastery of the eighth or ninth century at Anurādhapura, known as the Vijayaratāma Sāmghārāma.

2 Bell, z, p. 63.
3 Coomaraswamy, 1, pl. VII, 1.
4 Coomaraswamy, 6, 7, 9 (2) and 15.
5 Foucher, 1, pl. IX, 2 (Cambridge Ms. Add. 643). The manuscript illustrations, as pointed out by Foucher, evidently repeat older types.
and a scroll has been found, inscribed with a hymn to Tārā. On the other hand, no characteristic example of Tāntrik Buddhist art has been found in Ceylon.

A standing Bodhisattva from Anurādhapura, of adequate workmanship, but scarcely a masterpiece, may also be assigned to the close of the classic period. Much finer was the copper figure of a Bodhisattva, heavily gilt, but greatly corroded, purchased for the Boston Museum, but stolen in transit. This figure was clearly related stylistically to the colossal statue known as Parākrama Bāhu I at Poḷonnāruva above referred to.

The British Museum has possessed since 1830 a very splendid brass or pale bronze image of nearly life size (fig. 300), from somewhere between Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and traditionally identified as a representation of Pattini Devi. The drapery, below the waist, is very sensitively realised, the material clinging closely to the limbs in Gupta style. It is difficult to date the figure exactly; the angularity of the elbows may perhaps relate it to the Poḷonnāruva Parākrama Bāhu and the copper figure above referred to; but it compares well in aesthetic value with the Indian Sulṭāngaṅīj Buddha and is far superior to the twelfth century sculptures of the Gal Vihāra, with which the figure of Parākrama Bāhu is supposed to be contemporary.

Another bronze of great beauty is a panel, which once formed part of a door jamb, from Anurādhapura, now in the Colombo Museum; the floral scroll and pāla-peti band have all the decorative abundance of the Gupta style at its best.

Very different from the bronzes described above are the Hindu bronzes excavated at the Siva Devālēs in Poḷonnāruva. These include copper images of Śiva in various forms (Naṭarāja, etc.), Pārvati, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, the Saiva saints Sundara-mūrti, Svāmī, Māṇikka Vāsagar, Tirujñāna Sambandha Svāmī, Appar Svāmī; Viṣṇu, Lākṣmi, Bāla Kṛṣṇa, Hanuman; and Śūrya. Some of the Saiva saints, especially the Sundara-mūrti Svāmī (fig. 243) and Māṇikka Vāsagar are superior to any South Indian examples, but all the figures are in Dravidian style, and though probably cast in Poḷonnāruva, must have been made by South Indian sthapatis. They are further of interest as being necessarily to be dated before 1300; it is certain that metal images were made at Tanjore in the eleventh century, but no positive evidence exists enabling us to date any of the known Indian examples so far back.

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2 Coomaraswamy, 6, fig. 9.
3 M. F. A. Bull., no. 120, fig. 13.
4 For the legend of Pattini Devi see Coomaraswamy, 15, p. 293; Parker, 2, p. 631 ff. The full story is related in the Tamil Silappatikāram.
5 Coomaraswamy, 6, fig. 90.
6 Coomaraswamy, 6; Arunachalam, 2.
By the eighteenth century, Sinhalese art had become a provincial, and practically a folk art, and as such is extraordinarily rich and varied. We possess, too, a more detailed account and knowledge of it than is the case with any similar area in India. What survives of it is to be found mainly in the Colombo and Kandy Museums in Ceylon and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It is more adequately represented in the architecture and painted decoration of the countless Buddhist temples and monasteries of Kandy (Maha Nuwara) and the Kandy district. These, as they stand are mainly due to the patronage of the last great king of Ceylon, Kirti Sārāja Sinhā (1747–1780). The finest temples are the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy, where the tooth-relic is preserved, and the Gadalādeniya, Laṅkātilaka and Ridi Vihāra temples; the best preserved monastery, the Malwatte Pansala in Kandy. Admirable paintings, in the formal style of the period, are preserved at Degaldoruwa, executed between 1771 and 1786 in part by Devaragampala Silvateṇna Unnāṇse, an “unordained” Buddhist priest who worked also at the Ridi Vihāra; at the Daṇagirigala, Laṅkātilaka, Doṇantale and Gaṇegoḍa temples; and at the Kelaṇiya Vihāra near Colombo, though in the latter case affected by European influences. The paintings at the Dambulla Gal Vihāra, and at Aluvihāra, while not ancient in their present state, to a large extent preserve ancient designs. A few illustrated Buddhist manuscripts on paper, of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century date are known. The Kandyan craftsman of the superior class practised several arts, as painting, ivory- and wood-carving, metal work and jewellery; the blacksmiths, potters, ivory-turners, and potters belonging to lower groups. In jewellery, two techniques are of special interest, the one that of decoration of surfaces with rounded grains and wire (fig. 375), the other that of “gold-embedding” or incrustation, in which a surface is covered with thin rounded stones set in soft gold shaped with a hard tool; the variety and beauty of the beads (fig. 373) is remarkable. Probably the finest as well as the largest collection of jewellery and encrusted gold plate (figs. 381, 385) and silver ware is that of the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy, the jewellery for the most part representing personal adornments dedicated by royal benefactors. Purely Kandyan weaving is always in cotton, the decoration being added while the work is in progress in tapestry technique; textiles of finer quality were imported from Southern India. In pattern almost all of the oldest Indian motifs are to be met with (fig. 396). Broadly speaking the Kandyan style is closely related to that of Southern India; many of the higher craftsmen, indeed, are of south Indian extraction.

1 Bell, 2; Coomaraswamy, 1; Lewis, J. P., in Cave, H. W., *The book of Ceylon.*
2 Coomaraswamy, 1.
although so completely adapted to their environment that this would never be guessed from their appearance, language or workmanship. Descendants of the higher craftsmen are still able to carry out difficult tasks with conspicuous ability, and suffer more from lack of patronage than lack of skill. But the taste of “educated” Sinhalese has degenerated beyond recovery, and some modern Buddhist constructions are not surpassed for incongruity and ugliness by any buildings in the world.

**BURMA**

At an early period, probably by 500 B.C., the dominant races of Burma were the Pyus, of Central Asian origin, in the north (Arakan and as far south as Prome), and the Talaings in the south (Thaton, and after 573 A.D. also Pegu). The latter belong to the Mon-Khmer family, which embraces the Khmers in the east, and the Bhils and Goṇḍs in India proper. Contact with India both by land and sea had been established perhaps already in the Maurya period. In all probability by the first century A.D., Tagaung in the north, Old Prome (Śrīkṣetra and Pisuanu Myo or City of Viṣṇu) on the Irawadi, and Thaton on the sea coast possessed Indian colonies or at least were strongly subject to Indian influence. From the fifth century onwards Prome and Thaton were certainly important centres of Buddhist and Hindū culture: Viṣṇava and Saiva sculptures, Buddhist stūpas, brick buildings and terracottas in or closely related to the Gupta tradition have been found at Tagaung, Prome, Thaton and other places. The Buddhism of Prome, source of the oldest and indeed the only Burmese Sanskrit inscription, was Mahāyāna, that of Thaton, where the inscriptions are in Pali in a South Indian alphabet, Hinayāna. The Saka era was in use; a later Burmese era was established in 639. Buddhaghosa is said to have visited Thaton about 450 A.D. bringing with him the books of the Pāli canon, and from this time onwards Burma has been more exclusively a Buddhist country than was the case in any other part of Further India or Indonesia. Northern Burmese Buddhism on the other hand at an early date acquired a Tāntrik character and had close connections with Nepal.

In the eighth century the Talaings of Pegu conquered Prome and a new northern capital was established at Old Pagān. The walled city, of which the southern gateway still survives, dates from 847. The eighth and ninth centuries were marked by Shān-Thai invasions from the north, bringing in a fresh influx of Tibeto-Burman blood, and introducing the Burmese proper who have gradually replaced the old Pyus and absorbed the Talaings.

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1 Duroiselle; Ko (also many shorter notes by the same authors in A. S. I., A. R.); Harvey.
Only a few of the Pagān temples and stūpas date from the tenth century. The Vaiśṇava Nat Hlaung Gyaung (fig. 305), traditionally dated 931, is the only surviving Hindū building.¹ The Ngakywe Nadaung (fig. 306) is a cylindrical or more accurately bulbous stūpa, recalling the Dhāmekh at Sārnāth. The Pawdawmu too has evident Indian affinities; the Pebin Gyaung is of the Simhalese type.

The unification of Burma was first accomplished by Anawratā (Aniruddha) of Pagān (1040—1077). Anawratā invaded and conquered Thaton, and brought back with the Talaing king (Manuha) Hinayāna books and priests to Pagān; he attempted to drive out the Tāṇṭrik Aris; he established connections with foreign countries, obtained relics, and initiated a great era of building. Remains of more than 5000 “pagodas” can still be traced in and near Pagān. The following are the names and dates of some of the most important:

eleventh century — Kyanzittha cave temple (1057—1059); Shwezigon (1059, enlarged 1083—1112), Ananda, (1082—1090), Nanpaya, Seinnyet, the two Petleik pagodas, and the library (Bidagat Taik);
twelfth century — Sapada, Thatbinnyu and Shwegugyi pagodas;
thirteenth century — Mahābodhi, Kondawgyi, Mingalazedi (1274) and Tilominlo pagodas.

With the exception of the Kyanzittha and Nanpaya these are all brick structures, and were decorated with carved stucco. The Nanpaya is of stone. The Nat Hlaung Gyaung and Ananda pagodas are remarkable for their contemporary sculpture (fig. 316, 317), the Kyanzittha, Kondawgyi and others for their mural paintings, the Shwezigon, Ananda, Petleik and some others for their glazed terracotta bricks illustrating the Jātakas. The Tilominlo is unique in its decoration of green glazed sandstone.

The architectural forms are very varied and reflect a contact with many countries. The bulbous (fig. 306) and cylindrical forms recall Sārnāth and the votive stūpas of the Pāla period; the Pebin Gyaung and Sapada are of the old Simhalese hemispherical type; several others are crowned by a kind of Āryavārtta sikhara shrine; the Mingalazedi (fig. 313) and Shwesandaw have truncated pyramidal terraced bases with angle towers, and a central stairway on each side, recalling Cambodian terraced prangs and the older Borobudur; the Mahābodhi (fig. 309), with its high straight-edged sikhara, is modelled on the older shrine at Bodhgayā (fig. 210); the library (fig. 308) is surmounted by a five-fold roof with angle points suggesting the wooden forms of the Mandalay palace, and the prison-palace of King Manuha is in the same style; the decoration of the Seinnyet shows Chinese peculiarities.

In the most distinctively Burmese types (Ananda, Thatbinnyu, Shwegugyi, Gawdawpalin, etc., and the Hindu temple of 931) one of the lower terraces is independently developed to a great height, giving a cubic aspect to the main part of the building, and chapels and galleries are opened in the solid mass thus made available. An Indian parallel can be cited at Mirpur Khās, Sind, where a brick stūpa, which cannot be later than 400 A.D. has a deep square base containing within its wall mass, though only on one side, three small shrines.1

The modern Burmese pagodas of the Shwedagon type (fig. 310), like many in Siam, slope almost smoothly upwards from the broad base, thus without a marked distinction of the separate elements, and presenting a very different appearance from the old Indian and Sinhalese bell and domed types, as well as from the mediaeval cylindrical forms of Sārnāth, Pagan and Hmawza; the later type is more picturesque, but architecturally over-refined, and aspiring, but unsubstantial. Many such pagodas are built over and conceal much older structures.

Materials for the study of Burmese sculpture are rather scanty. The older fragments of the seventh or eighth century reflect Gupta tradition; the typically Gupta bronze of figure 159 said to have been found in Burma, is probably of Indian origin. The Das Avatāra sculptures of the Nat Hlaung Gyaung are still markedly Indian, so too the Nanpaya reliefs (fig. 314), and most of the small bronzes and stone reliefs of the eleventh century; many of the latter may be imports from Bihār or Bengāl. Classical Burmese sculpture is best represented by the eighty-one reliefs of the Ananda pagoda2 (figs. 316, 317), which represent scenes from the life of Buddha according to the Avidura-Nidāna, with one panel perhaps referable to the Lalita-Vistara; a figure of Kyanzitthe, warrior-king and founder of the Ananda temple, is included in the scenes. These reliefs are remarkable for their clarity, animation and grace. Each is inserted in a niche of its own; thus there are no continuous relief surfaces like those of Borobudur or Ankor Wat. Very much in the same style, but rather nearer to old Indian terracottas and to reliefs like those of the Chandimau pillars3 are the glazed Jātaka bricks of the Peteik, Ananda, Shwezigon, Mingalazedhi and other pagodas; the earliest and best are those of the western Peteik.4

Several of the Pagan pagodas contain contemporary frescoes. The Jātaka paintings of the Kubeza-paya (11th—12th century) and Kubyaukkyi consist of small square panels closely grouped and collectively covering a large area. Separate figures of

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1 Cousens, 5.
2 Duroiselle, 2; and Seidenstücker.
3 Banerji, 2.
4 Duroiselle, 1; Ko, 1. References listed, Coomaraswamy, Burmese glazed tiles, in M. F. A. Bulletin No. 98; and Duroiselle, 1.
5 Thomann; Duroiselle, 1.

171
Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are on a larger scale. Other frescoes are found in the Nandamannya pagoda (fig. 311). Those of the Payathonzu triple temple at Minnanthu near Pagān (fig. 312) illustrate the Tāntrik Buddhism of the Burmese Arā sects, a mixture of Buddhism, Hinduism and local elements, often highly erotic. Frescoes in the Kyawzinthu cave temple, dateable about 1287, represent unmistakable Mongols. Those of the small brick monastery near the Ananda temple are quite modern, and show European influence. A pair of carved wooden door panels of the Pagān period is preserved in a temple near the Shwezigon.

The stylistic affinities of the frescoes are with Bengāl and Nepāl as illustrated in Cambridge Ms. Add. 1643 (Nepalese of 1015 A.D.), Ms. A. 15 Calcutta, (Nepalese of 1071 A.D.), Mss. Cambridge Add. 1464 and 1688, (Bengāli of the eleventh century); the Boston manuscript 20. 589, Nepalese of 1136 A.D. (figs. 280, 281), and more remotely with Elūrā. The wiry nervous outline is characteristic. The hair line above the brow descends in a central point, the eyebrows and eyelids are doubly curved, the round chin clearly indicated, the whole pose has conscious aesthetic intention. The three-quarter face is often shown, and in this case the further eye is made to project; this peculiarity, in conjunction with the long very pointed nose presents a rather close parallel to the Gujarāti (Jaina, etc.) painting of the 12th—16th centuries. Thus from Elūrā, Nepāl-Bengāl, Gujarāt, Polonnāruva, and Pagān we can obtain a fairly clear idea of medieval Indian painting.

Another extensive series of remains is to be found at and around Prome (Yathemyo and Hmawza). Urns with Pyu legends may date from the fourth century. Inscriptions on gold scrolls in Eastern Cālukya characters date from the seventh century or slightly later. Of ancient cylindrical stūpas the best preserved is the Bawbawgyi, a hundred and fifty feet in height, and supported by five low receding terraces; dating perhaps from the eighth century. Sculptures representing the Buddha with cauri-bearers as attendants are of Kuśāna-Gupta derivation. At Yathemyo there are very extensive remains of walled cities, burial grounds, sculptures and pagodas, mostly perhaps of the eleventh century.

At Tagaung, the earliest seat of Burmese rule, and receiving its Indian culture rather through Assam and Manipur than from the south, nothing has so far been found but terracotta plaques of the Gupta period.

Pegu, Talaing capital from 573 to 781 and again from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, attained the zenith of its development in the latter period. The remains include a number of stūpas, of which the Shwemawdaw has grown by successive additions from an original height of 75 feet to one of 288, with a base

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1 Duroiselle, 3.
3 Foucher, 2.

172
circumference of 1350. On the west side of the town there is a Parinirvāṇa Buddha image 181 feet in length.

At Thaton in the south, the Shwezaya and Thagypaya may date from the classical period; the latter contains terracotta panels like the glazed bricks of Pagan, but with Saiva subjects.

After the twelfth century, when direct Indian influence is no longer strongly felt, the quality of Burmese sculpture rapidly declines; as the art grows more provincial the element of local colour becomes more evident. Some of the postclassical lacquered wooden figures of standing Buddhas are not lacking in nobility and grace, and much of the older architectural woodcarving, or that seen on the decorated sterns of the river boats is altogether delightful. After the eighteenth century taste becomes increasingly rococo. The characteristic seated and reclining alabaster Buddhas which have often been regarded as typical of Burmese art are quite modern, and usually sentimental and inefficiently realistic.

The great expenditure of resources during the Pagan period prepared the way for the northern invader — “the pagoda ready, the people destroyed”. In 1287 Kublai Khan sacked Pagan; after this followed Shan-Thai incursions. The Shans then built a capital at Ava and pushed down the Irawadi to Prome. Later history has mainly to do with the struggle between the northern Shan (Burmese) kingdom, and the Talangs of Pegu, who were finally dispersed by Alaungpaya in 1760. Bawdawpaya (1781–1819) planned the Mingun Pagoda, which was to have been the largest in Burma; still over a hundred and forty-three feet in height, this represents only a third of the originally intended dimension. The great bell mentioned below was intended for this shrine.

A series of painted alabaster plaques, illustrating Jātakas, in imitation of the old terracottas, was made for the Pathodawgyi, Amarapura, in 1820.

Mandalay was founded only in 1857 and occupied two years later by Mindon Min, the last great patron of Burmese art, to whom we owe the Mandalay palace, as well as innumerable beautifully illuminated Buddhist texts prepared for him and presented to the monasteries as an act of pious devotion. The palace buildings and several groups of monasteries, e. g. the Myadaung Kyaung of Queen Supalayat, and the Sangyaung monasteries at Amarapura, are magnificent examples of richly decorated wooden architecture, and in scale and plan, afford some idea of the magnificence of older Indian palaces in wood of which no trace remains. The main features of the style are the use of immense teak columns, finely lacquered and gilt, the multiple roofs and spires with flamboyant crockets, and the interior decoration with glass mosaic inlay.

Of the minor arts, Burma is famous for its lacquer, which is applied both architecturally and to small objects designed for personal or monastic use; thus wooden columns, boxes of all sizes, and book covers are typically so decorated. The chief centres of modern work are Nyaung-u near Pagan, Prome, and Laikha. In the case of small objects the framework is made of very finely plaited bamboo or of plaited horse-hair; the interstices are filled, and the whole varnished black. Other colours, red, green, and yellow are then successively applied, engraving of the design and polishing of the surface being necessary after each coat of colour is applied. A good deal of the work is restricted to black and gold, in other and coloured examples the design may be extremely elaborate, including figures of Buddhist divinities and illustrations of Jatakas. Three or four months are required for all the stages of manufacture. The lacquered Buddhist texts alluded to above are written in black on a surface richly decorated in red and gold. The basis is palm leaf of the usual form. Here as elsewhere in Indo-China a decline in the quality of the minor arts is apparent only after the middle of the nineteenth century. Repoussé silver-work, niello and cloisonné, and gold and silver jewelry have all been made in fine designs and with admirable technical skill; but most of the modern production is designed for European buyers, and is often nothing but an imitation of the “swami-work” of Madras. The Burmese have always been expert founders, especially of images and bells, and makers of fine gongs. The great bell cast for Bawdawpaya in 1790, the second largest in the world, weighs eighty tons; such works as this are undertaken, of course, with what would now be regarded as totally inadequate apparatus. Burmese shot silks, still made at Amarapura, are deservedly famous. Thekat technique is found only in narrow bands of V-shaped elements in lengthwise succession in the skirts woven by the Kachin tribes. Embroidery, too, with the exception of the well-known Burmese appliqué curtains, is mainly the work of hill tribes.

The Burmese theatre (pwe) is well developed. Plays are performed at temple fairs, occasions of domestic celebration, dedications and as an honour paid to the dead. The stage is a temporary thatched or mat covered pavilion open at the sides; but the Mandalay palace has a regular dancing hall, where performances took place for the entertainment of the royal family. The favourite themes are drawn from the Jatakas (Zār) and from romantic legends. There exists too an elaborate marionette (zotthe) theatre, the puppets being worked by strings from above. There appears to exist also a shadow play, in which large cut-leather scenes from the Rāmāyana are employed, without any moveable parts.

1 Lacquer dating from the 12th or 13th century has been found at Pagan (A. S. I., A. R., 1922–23, p. 193).
SIAM

Siam was by no means a unified kingdom before the fourteenth century. The simplest possible statement of Siamese history would be to the effect that at the beginning of the Christian era the greater part of the Menam valley was in the hands of the Mon-Khmers, whose sway extended from Cambodia to Southern Burma, and that gradually the Sino-Tibetan Lao-Thai, ancestors of the modern Siamese, pressed downwards from the north until they obtained possession of the whole delta, Cambodia, and the greater part of the Malay peninsula.

An early Thai capital was established at Lamphun about 575. A little further south, from the combination of Lao-Thai-Khmer races developed the powerful kingdom of Sukhotai-Sawankalok (twin capitals also called Sukhodaya and Sajjanālāya), and here Indian culture, Brahmanical and Buddhist, derived from the south through the Khmers, prevailed. This kingdom attained the zenith of its power in the eleventh century.

Meanwhile the southern kingdom of Lopburi (Lapapuri) formed a part of the Cambodian hegemony known to the Chinese as Fu Nan and Kan To Li, and embraced, at any rate nominally, a part of Southern Burma (Thaton-Pegu) and the northern part of the Malay Peninsula as far as Kedah and Ligor (Sithammarat = Sri Nakon Thamarat = Sri Dharmarāja Nagarā) in Jaiyā. The chief city of this southern kingdom was Dvāravatī, afterwards Sano, later the site of Ayuthiā. Indian influences were here strongly felt; remains of the Gupta and Pallava periods have been found at Rājāburi, Prapathom, Chantaburi, Kedah, Takua Pa and Ligor. From the sixth to the thirteenth century Lopburi was politically, and culturally a part of Cambodia. It is therefore not at all surprising that just as in Southern Cambodia (Funan) so in Southern Siam we find unmistakeable remains of an Indianesque art of Gupta character. Amongst the more important examples of this type may be mentioned the Viśṇu from Vieñ Srañ, and a Lokesvara from Jaiyā, both in the National Library, Bangkok; a pre-Khmer Buddha of the Romlok kind in the Museum at Ayuthiā; Buddhas from Dvāravatī in the Museum at Lopburi; a bronze ajouré pedestal in the manner of the Kāṅgrā brass (fig. 163) and a Dhamma-cakra at Prapathom (fig. 318).

About 1100 the northern Lao-Thais established another capital at Pitsanulok in what had hitherto been Khmer territory. Sukhotai-Sawankalok maintained a diminished power for several centuries, but its cities were certainly abandoned by

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1 Aymonier, 1; Coedès, 5, 6; Döhring, 1, 2; Fournereau, 2; Gerini, 1, 2; Graham 1, 2; Lajonquiére; Salmony 1, 2; Seidenfaden; Voretsch, 1, 2.
2 Some of these types are illustrated in Salmony 1, 2; others in J. S. S., vol. XIX, pt. I, pls. IV, XIII, XV.
the end of the fifteenth. Pitsanulok became the main centre of power, under princes of mixed Thai-Khmer blood. Meanwhile Cambodia and Pegu attempted with varying success to assert or maintain their supremacy. About 1280 a new Khmer capital was founded at Sano.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a new Thai invasion resulted from the Mongol pressure, exerted by Kublai Khan in Southern China. The Thais soon occupied the whole Menam valley, and in 1296 ravaged Cambodia. They gradually wrested the Peninsular provinces from Srívijaya, and about 1400, after a long struggle with Malacca (Malayu) reached the Straits. In the same century a Siamese army reached Ankor, and the Cambodians never recovered their independence. The building of Ayuthia on the site of Sano, taken from the Khmers, is dated 1350 according to the Annals, but most likely a date nearer to 1460 would be more correct. Siam could now at last be regarded as one country, Ayuthia remaining the capital for four centuries; even Chienmai in the north, which had replaced Lamphun as the Lao capital, owed allegiance to Ayuthia. Wars with Burma met with varying success. About 1600 Siam was the dominant power in Southern Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia, and an active trade developed with India, China and Europe. In 1757, however, the Burmese captured and destroyed Ayuthia, and the capital was transferred to Bangkok.

Little is known of the beginnings of Indo-Thai art at Lamphun and Sukhotai Sawankalok. Buried in the jungle and yet unstudied there may well exist some traces of an Indianesque period, dependent like that of the south¹ on Gupta tradition. Before the eleventh century all the northern building is in laterite, contrasting with the brick of the Indo-Khmer south. Bronzes have been found that may have come from Ceylon². Later, and quite definitely by the tenth and eleventh centuries the classical Siamese (Thai) type emerges and asserts itself. In spite of occasional Khmerisms recognizable even at Sukhotai, and the use of the Khmer language in inscriptions up to the end of the thirteenth century the northern Thais remained artistically independent; even in the south we find occasional bronzes of Thai character, and the stucco modelling in Lopburi is by no means so purely Khmer as the stone sculpture. The Thai type evolved in the north is characterised by the curved elevated eyebrows, doubly curved upward sloping eyelids (almond eyes), aquiline and even hooked nose, and delicate sharply moulded lips and a general nervous refinement contrasting strongly with the straight brows and level eyes, large mouth and impassable serenity of the classic Khmer formula. The Buddha heads referable to the classic Thai period, as well as the earliest of those from Pitsanulok, dating from about 1000 A. D.

¹ Figs. 318, 319; Salmony, 1, pls. 1 to 6.
² Salmony, 1, Pl. 1o, cf. Coomaraswamy, 6, pl. XXVII, fig. 180 etc.
are the supreme achievement of the Thai genius. Almost equally fine examples have been found even at Lopburi (fig. 321 and probably 322).

In the meantime, in the south, at Lopburi (fig. 323) and Prapathom, and in the east (Korat), there developed a stone architecture and sculpture in stone and bronze in a purely Khmer style; so much so that the early mediaeval art of the “Siamese provinces” belongs rather to the study of Cambodian than of Siamese archaeology.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the classic type is already becoming a matter of routine; all the features are defined by outlines, and there is a general attenuation of the form and the modelling is less sensitive. Meanwhile the north, including Chieñmai, remains superficially nearer to the Gupta tradition; but the curiously heavy rounded forms are not true volumes corresponding to an inner concentration, they are rather inflated than modelled.

Perhaps the most pleasing work of the later period at Sukhotai is the series of Jātaka (Pali canon) engravings of Wāt Si Jum (fig. 320), dateable with some exactitude in the reign of Suryavarmasa Mahādharīrājā (1357—1388), the script being identical with that of the inscriptions of 1357 and 1361. These engravings are essentially outline drawings on stone, rather than sculpture. The draughtsmanship shows no Siamese peculiarities, on the other hand it exhibits a very close affinity with that of the Jātaka frescoes of the Northern temple at Poḷonnarūva in Ceylon, dateable in the twelfth or thirteenth century (fig. 291). Intimate relations had long been maintained between Ceylon and Rāmañña; and Mahādharīrājā’s long inscription of 1361 states that in that year a very learned Saṅgharāja (Buddhist priest of the highest rank) came by invitation from Ceylon to Sukhotai, that he was received with great honour, and that in connection with his arrival temples were built “in the mango garden west of Sukhodaya”. So that there exists every possibility that the engravings, which in any case appear to have been executed after the completion of the building in which they are found, may be from the hand of a Sinhalese artist, perhaps a priest who accompanied the Saṅgharāja.

Much less interesting from an artistic point of view are the large bronze statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu, cast, according to the inscription, in 1354 and 1361 and erected by a later king at Kampeñ Phet, when Sukhotai was already in ruins. Only their large size, perfect preservation, and the romantic circumstances of their discovery have given to these figures, now in the Museum at Bangkok, a fictitious value. Here too may be mentioned a Buddha figure from Grahi, in

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1 Coedès, 4; Gerini; Lajonquières; and especially Seidenfaden.
2 Fournereau, 2.
3 Fournereau, 2, pls. XLIX, L.

177
Jaiyá, likewise now in Bangkok, of which the pedestal bears a Khmer inscription in which it is stated that it was made by order of a Malayu king, through his Viceroy; this inscription is dateable about 1250. The first inscription in Siamese, that of Rāma Khamheñ, about 1292, records the Siamese advance as far as Sithamarat, or Ligor.

When the Khmers were finally expelled from Lopburi, or at least reduced to impotence, and a new capital at Ayutthiá inaugurated the later political development of the Thais, Siamese art was already decadent. Only occasional pieces, hardly to be dated after the fifteenth century reflect the former perfection. The general tendency is to a simplification of the formula; where art and craft were once indivisible, the craft now predominates. This kind of simplification, accompanying the transition from classic to folk art must be clearly distinguished from the abstraction of primitive art, whose tendency is always toward fuller expression. Here, the simplification is the effect of exhaustion, there of concentration; and the resemblance is altogether superficial. In late Ayutthiá art we find not merely the linear definition of the features accentuated, but that the area between the eye and eyebrow is modelled continuously with the side of the nose, and that the elongated fingers become first languid, then unbending, and finally of equal length. On the other hand the decorative emphasis is heightened; the jewellery is overwrought and the drapery is covered with restless excrescences representing heavy gold embroidery. Thus at the same time that the art declines it travels further and further from obedience to canonical prescription. Thus a formula is exhausted; there is nothing more to be said, because everything has been said, and only the phrase remains. The only possible "development" of an art in this stage is in the direction of a sentimental realism (Raphael), or an equally sentimental archaism (Pre-Raphaelites); both of these tendencies already exist in the East. Only a new experience can lead to another creation of living form.

Siamese painting exists mainly in illuminated manuscripts, also on temple walls, and banners with figures of Buddha and Jātaka scenes in late Ayutthiá style. Lacquer painting on wood attained a high state of perfection; it is found chiefly on temple doors and windows, book covers, and book chests.

A Siamese manufacture of porcelain attained importance at two different periods. At Sawankalok, where the art was introduced from China in the eleventh or twelfth century, monochrome crackled wares and "celadon" were made in considerable quantity and even exported; the fine "Siamese jars" of the Borneo Dyaks may be instanced. The remains of ancient kilns are extensive; the manu-

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² Döhring, z; Yamanaka, Exhibition catalogue, Feb. 1926.
³ Döhring, 1; Coedès, 5 (describes also the making of books).
facture persisted for six or seven centuries but declined in quality. A later attempt to imitate Chinese porcelain was less successful.

Nearly all the later porcelain called Siamese was imported from China; the same is true of the fine blue, yellow, and red glazed tiles used for temple, monastery and palace roofs. That is to say, the porcelain was made in China, but in Siamese designs as regards form and decoration. The period covered by these wares ranges from the sixteenth century to about 1868. They consist of coarse white porcelain in shapes designed for practical use, such as rice-bowls, enamelled in five vivid colours, often with a black ground. The quality of the base continuously improved. Before the fall of Ayuthia the favourite decoration included lotus ("flame") motifs, and very often the whole bowl represented a lotus flower; figures of praying devatās (tayponam) and mythical animals such as the man-lion (nora-singh) are also characteristic. Afterwards, the figure motifs are replaced by diapers, and bird and flower designs on a gold ground come in; finally the latter are still more general, and at the same time the old figure motifs reappear, but in a thinner enamel. Most of the porcelain now in use is of modern European or Chinese origin.

Weaving and embroidery have been highly developed. Beautiful shot silks are characteristic; ikat technique occurs only to a limited extent, and may be essentially Khmer. Cotton prints were especially printed in Masulipatam, and exported to Siam. The principal garment, worn by men and women alike is the pha-nung, a form of the Indian dhoti, but with both ends twisted together and passed between the legs. Country women still wear above this a breast cloth (pha-bom) corresponding to the Javanese slendang and old Indian kuca-bandha; but tight and loose bodices are coming into general use. Silver work and jewellery of a very fine quality have been made until about the end of the last century. The former (tompat) is decorated in niello in lotus and arabesque forms, and often with the mythical lion (rachi si). The art is supposed to have originated in Ligor, and may have come from India, where it was certainly practised at Lucknow in the eighteenth century. Excellent silver filigree is also made. All the silverwork, like the porcelain, appears in forms adapted to practical use. In Siam, as in India, the production of objects whose only use is ornament is a modern development.

Of the jewellery, the finger-rings are perhaps the best examples; some of those not older than the late nineteenth century are comparable with the best classical productions. A common type is enamelled in bright colours and set with cabochon rubies. The enamel resembles that of Jaipur, and here again the technique is probably of Indian origin, though the forms are characteristically Siamese. Good examples of damascening on steel are also met with. A highly developed

1 For the porcelain of Siam see Graham, 1, 2; le May; and Silice and Groslier.
art peculiar to Siam is the making of fresh artificial flowers by recombining the separate parts of living blossoms.

The regular Siamese theatre is known as lakbon, which is the Siamese form of Malay Ligor (Sithammarat), and is held to indicate an indirect Indian origin of the drama. In form the Siamese theatre resembles the Cambodian, or rather, the Cambodian theatre in its modern form is essentially Siamese. The dresses are gorgeous; there is no scenery. The gesture is abstract. Pas seul dances of love, triumph, defiance, etc., are characteristic; morceaux de ballet represent the array of armies, flight of āpsaras or wanderings of princesses accompanied by their maids of honor. All parts except those of clowns, are take by women; masks are worn only by divinities, demons and monkeys. There exists also an ancient masked play, called kboy, always representing Rāmāyaṇa themes, in which all the parts are taken by men. A special form of the theatre known as Lakhon Nora or Lakhon Chatri is again played entirely by men, and to it attaches a miraculous legend recalling the origins of drama related in the Indian Bhāratīya Nāṭya-sāstra. In the puppet-plays, the figures are manipulated from below by means of concealed strings. In the shadow plays, Nang Talung (from Patalung, the supposed place of origin) the leather figures are supported from below, and as in Java may be stuck in a banana stem if the scene is long and movement is not required. The themes are mythological, and the performances are sometimes used to exorcise evil spirits, and in this case the ritualistic character of the performance is strongly emphasized.

**CAMBODIA**

The Khmers, Mon-Khmers, or Kāmbujas (= Cambodians) are of Sino-Tibetan origin, and at the beginning of the Christian era had already occupied the Mekong and Menam deltas as well as Southern Burma (Talaings). Most of our information about the early period is derived from Chinese sources. The kingdom or group of kingdoms including Cambodia, Cochin China and Southern Siam is spoken of as Funan. We hear of an Indian Brāhmaṇ, Kaundinya, who probably in the first century A. D. landed in Funan from a merchant vessel, married a princess who had or received the name of Somā, and so became master of the country. The story is again referred to in a Cām inscription of 659 where the

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1 For the minor arts of Siam see Gerini, 2; Graham, 2.
2 Gerini, 2; Graham, 2; Damrong, Prince R., Tamrā Fon Rām, Bangkok, 1923; Nicolas, R., Le Lakhon Nora ou Lakhon Chatri et les origines du théâtre classique siamois, J. S. S., XVIII, 2, 1924.
3 Aymonier, 1, 2; Coedès, 1, 2, 4; Finot, 1, 2; Foucher, 6; Fourmnerau, 1; Goloubew, 3, 4; Groslier, 1—8; Parmentier, 4; Pelliot; Seidenfaden.

180
princess is called a Nāgini. The name Nāga is applied in India both to certain actual races and to half-human, half-serpentine beings who inhabit the waters, are guardians of treasure, are renowned for their beauty, and are the first inhabitants of the country. These Nāgas were long the object of a cult, which is not yet extinct even in India; in general, however, they have become attached as guardians and worshippers to the higher beings of more developed cults, e. g., to Buddha and Viṣṇu. The Kaundinya-Somā story is probably of Indian origin, where the Pallavas are derived from the union of a Cola king with a Nāgini.

Srutavarman, under whom Cambodia (Funan) seems to have become for the first time fully organised on the lines of Hindu civilisation, ruled about 400 A.D. He was followed by other kings, direct descendants, having the same Pallava patronymic, -varman; this was a Lunar dynasty.

The Indianesque, pre-Khmer (Indo-Khmer of some authors) art of Funan in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries differs radically from the classic Khmer of the ninth to twelfth, chiefly in its greater concentration and more definitely Indian character. Bilingual inscriptions in the South Indian (Pallava) script, revealing a knowledge of the Vedas, Purāṇas and Epics, appear; the Sanskrit is very correct, the lettering magnificent, fully equal to anything of the sort to be found in India proper. Buddhist influences seem to have predominated in the fifth, Brāhmanical in the sixth and seventh centuries, but neither exclusively. That wooden architecture was well developed may be taken for granted.

At the old capital Vyādhapur there survive remains of laterite ramparts over a kilometre and a half along each side, and a monolithic column with a bull capital. In other localities in the delta area there are found numerous shrines in brick, one in laterite and a few in stone, of sixth and seventh century date, in a style that may in a general way be spoken of as Gupta. Thus at Hanchey, near Sambuor there is an elegant rectangular cell built of slabs of sandstone, the lintel of the porch bearing a four-armed Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin, the roof flat and likewise of slab construction; there is a close resemblance to the little shrine on the roof of the Lāḍ Khān temple at Aïhole (p. 79 and fig. 148). The Hanchey cella may

1 The Nāgas, nevertheless, have all the appearance of being native on Cambodian soil. The kings of Aṅkor, we are told, slept with a Nāgini, the guardian of the land, in the first watch of every night. An ancient and impressive musical composition, to be heard even to-day, refers to Kaundinya and Somā — “played as a part of the ritual office, and reverently heard, it provokes a profound emotion, which often finds expression in tears” (Aymonier, 1, vol. I, p. 43).
2 It should not, however, be overlooked that the use of the patronymic -varman in India is by no means exclusive to the Pallavas. The word means “protector”.
3 For the whole period see Groslier 3 (Ch. 24), 6, 7; Finot, 2; Goloubew, 3, 4; Aymonier, 2.
4 Aymonier, 2, p. 35.
5 For the remains at Hanchey see Groslier, 3, ch. 24.
well have been the *garbha-grha* of a Brāhmaṇical shrine like that of Bhumara (p. 78), but with a surrounding wooden *mandapam* now lost; it certainly cannot have been, as Groslier suggests, the relic chamber of a *stūpa*. At the same site are found two small shrines with pyramidal towers, one in brick, the other in laterite, both having stone doorways and *makara* lintels, and as decorative motifs, *bāmśas* with extended wings and *caitya*-arches enclosing heads. The tower of the brick temple consists of successive stages repeating the form of the cella, that of the laterite tower by diminishing repetitions of the roll cornice; an inscription of the first half of the seventh century dates the former.

Another and even more elegant rectangular sandstone cell (fig. 324), is found at Prēi Kuk, Kompoñ Thom¹, but here there is no porch; there are delicately ornamented narrow corner pilasters, between which the wall is perfectly plain; the roll cornice and pedestal are decorated with the usual arches enclosing heads. Here too there is a group of fifty or more brick tower shrines, of which some are polygonal; the walls are decorated with architectural reliefs, the stone doorways with *makara*-lintels. The whole group is even more conspicuously Indian than Hanchai, and affords a substantial addition to our knowledge of late Gupta art.

Somewhat further south are the Bayang tower (fig. 325), of the same type, and the unique granite temple, Aśrām Mahā Rosĕi². The latter may have been dedicated to Harihara; the cella is square, the roof a blunt pyramidal tower with deep horizontal mouldings, in all three cornices with *caitya*-window ornaments, the lowest and projecting cornice bearing the largest of these; the whole effect is remarkably like that of the Pallava temple on the hill at Paṇamalai in Southern India (fig. 203). Other early brick temples, of Gupta character, are found on the summit of Mt. Kulen, together with monolithic elephants carved in situ in the round³.

The contemporary stone sculptures of deities form a group of great importance, not merely for the history of local stylistic development, but for the general history of art; more than one is at least as fine as anything to be found in India proper at any period. A standing female figure from Phnom Da, with some others, may date from the fourth century⁴. More surely of fifth or early sixth century date are the characteristic standing Buddha figures from Romlok, Ta Kêo⁵; in the simplicity of the form, the *banchê* (*ābhaṅga*) stance, and the complete transparency of the drapery they are very closely related to the rock-cut Buddhas in the precinct of Cave XIX at Ajañṭā, and to some Gupta types from Sārnāth. From

¹ Groslier, 6, 7.
² Groslier, 6.
³ Goloubew, 5.
⁴ Groslier, 7.
⁵ Groslier, 6.
the same site is a very fine Buddha head (fig. 100), of Indian character with Chinese affinities; not that it shows Chinese influence, but that it may be taken as an indication of the kind of Buddhist art that reached Southern China in the time of the Six Dynasties\(^1\).

A beautiful and well preserved standing figure of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) from Rach Gia, now in private possession in Saïgon, is probably of sixth or early seventh century date\(^2\). A superb Lokeśvara (fig. 332) now in the Stoclet collection, Brussels, exhibits the Indianesque school of Funan at its highest level of achievement. To judge from the costume and wig-like ringlets it cannot be a Buddha, as the absence of ornaments might otherwise suggest; the absence of ornaments, as in the case of the Harihara of Prasāt Andēt, must be regarded as a characteristic of the style and not iconographically significant. A close parallel to the treatment of the hair may be found at Kanheri, Cave LXVI, in the Tārā of the Avalokiteśvara litany group (fig. 164), on the right, from which it is evident that the projection on the head is not an ṣāṭa.

The Cambodian figure exhibits a miraculous concentration of energy combined with the subtlest and most voluptuous modelling. Works of this kind are individual creations — not, that is to say, creations of personal genius unrelated to the racial imagination, but creations of a unique moment. It is as though the whole of life had been focussed in one body. In classic Khmer art the situation is different; there the whole of life is represented in all its multiplicity, and in such abundance it is impossible that individual works should possess the same insistent and poignant intensity. The Bayon towers in terms of like concentration would be unthinkable. In other words, the classic art can only be compared in its cumulative effect with individual sculptures of the earlier school of Funan; and it is in this sense that Aṅkor Wät, exhibiting a lesser profundity only in detail, should be regarded as an extension rather than as a decadence of Khmer art. Perfection is only possible where, as in the figure under discussion, the coexistence of infinite potentialities is realised; where these potentialities are severally manifested in detail and infinite variety, perfection is present in every part only in so far as each part presupposes every other part. Pre-Khmer sculpture is complete in itself, and needs no architectural background.

An almost equally impressive example of pre-Khmer Brāhmanical art is presented in the Harihara of Prasāt Andēt, Kompoñ Thom (fig. 333) now in the Musée Sarrault at Phnom Penh\(^3\). Here the ornament is restricted to the narrow

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\(^1\) For another example of Indian art anticipating the plastic qualities of Far-Eastern art, see the Sārnāth head, fig. 171.

\(^2\) Finot, 2; Parmentier, in B. É. F. E. O., 1923, p. 292 and pl. XVI.

\(^3\) Groslier, 7.
jewelled girdle; but the ears are pierced for the reception of earrings, a feature characteristic of Pallava art of the same period in India (Kailâsanâtha of Kânchipuram, ca. 700 A.D.). The cylindrical headdress occurs likewise in India, in works of late Andhra, Gupta and Pallava date at Amarâvati, Deoârâh, and Mâmallapuram. Another figure of Harihara, from Phnom Da, now in the Musée Guimet, is of similar type. Both figures may be dated early in the seventh century; the latter should perhaps be associated with the Aśrâm Mahâ Roséï temple above referred to.

After the seventh century the Chinese begin to speak of Chenla rather than Funan. The history of the seventh and eighth centuries is obscure. This much is clear, that it was a period of unrest and of continual warfare, and here lies the explanation of the absence of monuments and rarity of inscriptions. The name Khmer (Kihmich, Kmîr, Qimara, respectively in Chinese, Javanese and Arabic) likewise appears. At the same time Funan or Chenla was apparently subject in some degree to Java (Srivijaya).

The best explanation of these facts, and of the artistic revolution revealed in the ninth century, is to be found in the view that Chenla was originally a northern kingdom centering in or near the Dangrek range, and that here lived the Kâmbujas, "born of Kambu", the legendary founder (with the nymph Merâ) of the Cambodian Solar dynasty; the wars of the eighth century resulting in the establishment of a Khmer autonomy, the original Chenla becoming Chenla of the Land, and the former Funan becoming Chenla of the Sea.

Purely Indian art in Cambodia disappears just at the time when permanent building materials, which are quite exceptional before the classic period, are first found. Classic Khmer art is on the other hand, a unified style and fully developed when it appears for the first time in the sandstone buildings of the Pra khâ Khan and Bântâiâ Chhmar; and it preserves its essential character, though with internal development, for at least three centuries. Classic Khmer architecture seems to be derived mainly from northern indigenous wooden types; there is no direct continuity with the older Indianesque of the south, described above, but only a general parallel with the evolution of the Indian vihāra by the reduplication of similar elements. We must not forget too that other than Indian sources of culture, the Chinese above all, were always available to Cambodia as to Campâ: the appearance of glazed tiles, and of imitations of tiles in stone construction are a case in point. Classic Khmer rejects the characteristic Pallava motifs the makara torâûa lintel, the caitya-window, and the use of banâsa with extended wings as abacus supports; its round and square columns are un-Indian; and new and quite

1 Goloubew, 4.
2 See Groslier, 7, Map, fig. 37.
un-Indian elements such as the towers with human faces, Garuḍa caryatides and Nāga balustrades are introduced. In sculpture, too, a national formula is evolved (figs. 335, 337, 338); this type is characterised by the straight line of the hair, the level brows, the scarcely sloping eyes, full and wide lips and impassible serenity, often, especially in the case of the beautiful faces of the apsarases, by an exotic smile and a peculiar sweetness. This type, again, has practically nothing in common with the older Indianesque sculpture of the south above referred to; it persists throughout the classical period, only gradually acquiring a mechanical facility of execution and only after the thirteenth century modified by Siamese contacts (fig. 336). All that has been said applies of course equally to the classic art of Cambodia as now delimited and to the old Cambodian provinces of Southern Siam.

Mythology and cult on the other hand remained Indian in all essentials, though not without special local developments. Śaivism at first predominates, later on with an increasing mixture of Tāntrik Mahāyāna Buddhism; but specific dedications are to be found in all reigns, and almost all the deities of the Hindū and Mahāyāna pantheons are represented. Two cults must be specially referred to. The first, the deification of royal ancestors; identified after death with the deity of their allegiance, under corresponding posthumous names, their images, in the outward form of these same deities, were set up by their descendants in memorial temples. The same custom existed in Java, cf. the portrait of King Erlāngga as Viṣṇu (fig. 360). In India, royal images were indeed often set up in temples, but so far as we know always in human form; that temples were sometimes specially erected for this purpose is indicated in Bhāṣa’s Pratimānāṭika where the scene is laid in a temple of royal images in Ayodhyā. In Cambodia it is mainly in connection with temples of this ancestor cult that the old type of brick tower survives in the classical period, e. g. the Ruluos group near Ankor. Still more abstract is the other cult, that of the Devarāja or King-god, founded by Jayavarman II at Mahendraparvata, and served by the great Brāhmaṇ Śivakaivalya, the king’s chaplain, and his descendants for many generations. The King-god, always represented by a lingam, did not appertain to any particular king, but embodied the divine fiery essence incarnate in every king and essential to the welfare of the kingdom. The famous inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (1042) states that the Devarāja was first set up and the cult initiated by Jayavarman expressly to the end that Cambodian independence of Java (Śrivijaya) should be secured.

1 M. Groslier cites the characteristic Khmer half-vaulted galleries as un-Indian. In principle, however, they recall the half-vaulted aisles of Indian caitya-halls, and wooden examples of these may well have existed in Cambodia in the pre-Khmer period, providing a model for stone building. In India a stone half-vaulted verandah appears in what is perhaps the unique case of the Harīhara temple, No. 3, at Osia (Bhandarkar, 4 and Codrington, K. de B., XLIII, B). Cf. the Bhājā verandah (pp. 24, 25).
We must now discuss in greater detail the more important monuments of the classic period (802 to the end of the twelfth century). Jayavarman II (802—869) who, according to the last mentioned inscription came from "Java" and at first ruled at Indrapura, perhaps a pre-existing capital near Phnom Peñ, appears to have founded three other capitals, Amarendrapura, Harivarālaya, and Mahendraparvata. These have been identified with Banteai Chhmar in the Battambang district, the temple and city of Prâh Khân near Ankor Thom, and Beng Méléa at the foot of Mt. Kulen; but some scholars regard the two last as of later date. Banteai Chhmar is a great temple and fortress city in the north-west, in the Khmer hills. Here the Khmers for the first time, and with extraordinary boldness, considering their lack of experience, undertook to create a permanent fortress city and temple in stone. That they did this without regard to the foreign style of the south involved the copying of the pre-existing national wooden architecture in the new material; and in fact, these imitations of wooden forms and tiled roofs, reproduced in stone, are characteristic of the classic style from first to last. The main features of the Khmer city and temple are already fully evolved — the moats crossed by causeways with Devas and Asuras supporting Nāga parapets, triple gateways, Garuḍa caryatides, vaulted and half-vaulted roofs, high towers, ogee tympanum framed by Nāgas, and long galleries covered with bas-reliefs.

Hariharālaya repeats the Banteai Chhmar formula on a smaller scale. The city lies in the fertile plains; it was surrounded by a moat, 40 metres wide, crossed by superb causeways with parapets of giants supporting many-headed Nāgas. Next came the city wall of laterite, measuring 830 by 750 metres, in which were four triple gates crowned by towers with human masks representing Śiva or possibly Lokesvāra; the giant Garuḍa caryatides are a striking feature of this wall. An inner enclosure surrounded the temple proper, now a ruin, overgrown with rank vegetation, a complicated and almost indecipherable maze of buildings, minor chapels, and galleries, of which the four largest lead to the central sanctuary, a high sandstone tower. It cannot now be determined whether or not the sanctuary towers had masks. East of the city and forming part of the whole plan lay an artificial lake, 3000 by 1000 metres in area, now dry, in the centre of which is the beautiful shrine called Néak Péan, laid out on a square, partly artificial island. On this island, at the corners, are four basins, and within these, four others surrounding a central pool, in the centre of which is the actual shrine, facing east, circular in plan and girt by many-headed Nāgas. Some scholars find in this shrine and in the similar shrines of the great lakes at Banteai Chhmar and Beng Méléa, temples dedicated to the Nāgini Somā, the legendary ancestress; more recently Goloubew

An analogous situation existed in India at the close of the Kuṣan period: here too a fully developed stone architecture appears unannounced.
has plausibly suggested that these were shrines of Lokeśvara, the Buddhist divinity of healing powers, whose cult, in Cambodia, may have been combined with that of the lingam. Magnificently conceived, the Praḥ Khān must have been a royal residence of the first importance, and the centre of a large population. It is surrounded by fertile lands. Its eastern wall lies very close to the outer boundary of the future capital, Anckor Thom; and here, at the close of his long reign the first of the great Khmer builders returned to spend his last days.

Aymonier identifies Beng Méaléa with Mahendraparvata. On the other hand, Goloubew, mainly because of the high sense of order in the planning and the fineness of the workmanship, and also Parmentier, regard the city as contemporary with Anckor Wāt or even later. Goloubew (3) is inclined to recognize the remains of Jayavarman’s capital rather in some of the ruined temples on the summit of Mt. Kulen, and in fact, as he suggests, the great laterite stairway on the western ascent is evidence of the importance of the site. The question is still unresolved.

Indravarman I (877—889), who married the famous Indradevi, claimed descent from an Indian Brāhman named Agastyā, suggestive of South Indian origins. Indravarman must be credited with the planning and initial construction of Anckor Thom; and with the building of the Bakong temple, a shrine of six brick towers dedicated to his grandparents, and also of the important Śaiva foundation of Bakong, which together with the later Lolei towers constitute what is now called the Rulos group, from the village of that name. The Bakong is a construction of the prāng type with a pyramidal base in five receding stages, doubtless originally crowned by a lingam shrine. Forty lions adorn the four median stairways, and huge stone elephants stand at the corner of the terraces. Around this structure and below it are eight brick towers (fig. 326); the whole is enclosed by a wall and moat, with bridges guarded by many-headed Nāgas on two sides. A whole treatise has been devoted to the “Art of Indravarman”, regarded as a distinct and well-defined style: Parmentier emphasizes the stylistic succession and development in classic Cambodian art, while Groslier maintains its essential unity.

The building of Anckor Thom and its central temple the Bayon belongs to the last quarter of the ninth century, Yaśovarman removing from the Praḥ Khān and taking up his official residence in the new capital about 900. The city is walled and moated, measuring over three thousand metres along each side of its square plan. The moat is 100 metres in width, and crossed by five bridges with parapets of Devas and Asuras, fifty-four an each side of each bridge, supporting the bodies of many-headed Nāgas. The five bridges lead to as many triple gateways, surmounted by towers over twenty metres in height, with human masks, and flanked by three-headed elephants. The high wall encircling the city is of laterite, inter-
rupted only by the five gates. From the four symmetrically placed gates straight paved streets lead to the Bayon, whose central tower is precisely the centre of the city. The fifth street, parallel to one of the four, leads directly to the main square in front of the palace. This palace, with the royal temple, Phiméanakas, must have been the main feature of the city, after the Bayon.

The palace occupied a relatively restricted area behind the great terrace; it was protected on three sides by a double wall and moat, and on the fourth, the eastern side, next the terrace, by an elegant gateway of later date. The plan of the palace, which must have been of wood, is irrecoverable¹, but the Phiméanakas² (fig. 331), a Vaiṣṇava foundation occupying the court between the palace and the terrace is still in a fair state of preservation. As it now stands it consists of a three storied pyramid with central stairways on each side, and a fenestrated stone gallery above; here it was that the king slept each night with the legendary foundress of the race. The terrace itself, three or four metres in height, stretched before the palace for some three hundred and fifty metres, and was provided with five projecting stairways leading to the street level; along its edge ran a Nāga parapet. The long panels between the projecting stairways were treated as a continuous frieze representing lions, Garuḍas, elephants, horses, warriors mounted and on foot, hunting scenes, games and combats, and this long series of reliefs still presents a magnificent spectacle. A belvedere at the north end of the terrace projects beyond it and rises higher; the retaining wall is richly decorated with superimposed rows of high relief sculpture representing kings, queens and apsarases. This was perhaps a place of honour reserved for the King’s own person on state occasions, such as the review of armies or public festivals. On this belvedere is still to be found a nude male statue, traditionally known as the Leper King, who may have been Yasóvarman himself. North east of the belvedere on the other side of the square are the remains of the Praḥ Pithu, an elegant and richly sculptured temple or monastery, perhaps of later date.

South of the palace, but further east, and as has already been remarked, in the exact centre of the city, is the Bayon temple (fig. 327, 330) originally approached by the eastern street, but now generally from the south. Within the main eastern entrance we find a paved platform with Nāga parapets; inner gateways led on to the first galleries, about a hundred and sixty metres long on two sides and a hundred and forty on the two other sides. These galleries had a vaulted roof, with a half-vaulted roof in addition on the outer side, supported by square pillars, an arrangement quite un-Indian but highly characteristic of classic Khmer design. Within, on the second level, is another series of galleries. The inner walls of both series are richly decorated with low-relief representations of divinities, epic

¹ But cf. Groslier, 3, fig. 166. — ² Sanscrit, Ākāśa-vimāna.
legends. Brähmans, ascetics, kings, princesses, palaces, processions of soldiers and elephants, horses, chariots, naval combats, fisheries, markets and other scenes of daily life (including the transport of heavy stones), and animals and trees; as though the royal founders of Ańkor had desired to perpetuate for ever a picture of their glory¹. These reliefs are naively executed, rather drawn than modelled, and lack the technical assurance of the Ańkor Wät series, though their vitality and interest are abundant. Not only the galleries, but the whole surface of the great structure is decorated; apart from the galleries, mainly with foliage and with standing or dancing apsarasas. A bronze apsaras (fig. 365) dancing on a lotus flower, now in Boston, is almost certainly of Bayon origin.

The lateral porches of the great gallery entrances lead to the interior of the temple by narrow openings, only wide enough for the passage of men in single file. These narrow doors lead to a third system of smaller inner galleries surrounding the enormous base of the central tower. All the great gallery gateways and gallery transepts of the second stage are surmounted by towers with four human masks. The central tower rises from a terrace which forms the upper part of the base just mentioned, and on this terrace are other towers, all with masks; it is possible that a fifth head once crowned the central tower. In the lower part of the tower are a dozen small cells or chapels opening on the terrace, and beneath the tower itself a central chamber which probably held the Devarāja lingam, the smaller chapels holding the “portrait” statues of deified kings and queens. As regards the towers (figs. 327, 334), it is most probable that they represent four-faced mukha-lingams, emblems of Śiva. It is just possible, however, that Lokeśvara, whose cult is closely associated with that of the lingam, may have been intended.

The Bayon enshrined many other images, beside the Devarāja lingam. Thirty four are mentioned in inscriptions, and these fall into four classes as follows: (1.) Hindū deities (Śiva, Viśṇu and Devi in various forms), (2.) Buddhas (including Bhaïṣajyaguru Vaidurya Prabhārāja, the Buddha of healing, whose cult was much favoured in the time of Jayavarman VI) having the character of (3.) patron deities of particular places, especially the chief cities of Cambodia, and (4.) the majority, representing deified human beings in two forms, one that of a “portrait”, the other, that of the deity from whom their posthumous name derived. The Bayon was thus a veritable gallery of historical portraits and a national pantheon.

So far as we can tell, all the great buildings of the Ańkor Thom construction period were Brähmanical; the Buddhist foundations within the city are all on a much smaller scale. But the two cults were closely assimilated, and no doubt every great temple contained chapels where the image of Buddha was enshrined and worshipped, just as the modern Buddhist vibāras of Ceylon all contain Brähmanical images.

¹ Dufour at Carpeaux.
A little to the south of Ankor Thom lies the three-storied pyramid known as Preah Keo, a typical prang, with its pyramidal base consisting of three diminishing stages, with a stairway in the middle of each, and angle-towers at the corners. The shrine can no longer be made out, but a lingam has been found with an inscription speaking of “Yaśodheśvara” showing, perhaps that this was Yaśavarman’s funeral shrine. The two large temples of Banteay Kdei and Ta Prohm, east of Ankor, belong to the same period. Further away, at Ruluoos, not far from Indravarman’s two foundations, Yaśavarman erected the Lolei temple, consisting of four brick towers with stone doorways; the inscriptions show that these towers were dedicated to Śiva and Pārvati, by Yaśavarman “for the well-being of his parents and grand-parents”, whose images, indistinguishable from those of the deities, doubtless once occupied the shrines.

By this time the old South Indian script had been considerably modified. Yaśavarman made use of one nearly identical with the Śrīvijayan script of Kalasan. The reign affords many magnificent examples of bilingual stelae.

A new capital, Liṅgapura, was built by Jayavarman V and occupied by himself and by his son Harṣavarman II, whose combined reigns extended from 928 to 944. The construction is referred to in an inscription of 948. The site is now known as Koh Ker (Kompong Swoy), and lies far from Ankor, beyond Mt. Kulen, in the midst of wild and inhospitable forests. The principal temple lies to the west of a group of liṅgams, which are monoliths hewn from masses of rock lying in situ along a line running twenty degrees south of east, and this alignment seems to have determined the unusual orientation of the town and all its buildings. The temple is moated, as usual with bridges guarded by Nāga balustrades. The park within contains a dozen brick shrines, and beyond this is another enclosed park within which is a pyramidal structure of the prang type, faced with sandstone.

Rajendravarman (944–968) returned with the Devarāja to Ankor Thom, and restored and beautified the city. Though himself a Saiva, numerous Buddhist foundations were dedicated in his reign. Two important Brāhmanical constructions of the reign are those of Pre Rup, and the “Mebun” or island-temple in the middle of the great lake excavated by Yaśavarman fifty years earlier. The latter consisted of five brick towers dedicated to Brahmā, Śiva, Pārvati, Viṣṇu, and a Śiva-liṅgam. This was perhaps the latest survival of the old brick tower type.

Jayavarman VI constructed the Baphuon, a temple of the prang type, of enormous bulk, situated north west of the Bayon and south of the palace. The present remains consist of the usual pyramid of three receding terraces (the two

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1 Cf. the dedication of an early Kuśāna image of Buddha set up at Śrāvastī by two brothers “with special regard to the welfare of their parents” (Sahni, 4): and Milinda Panha, IV, 8, 29 (S. B. E., XXXVI, p. 151). See also p. 58, note 8.
upper with Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa reliefs) with steep median stairways, and above this a fenestrated stone gallery. The temple was approached from a triple gateway on the line of the great terrace, by a causeway two hundred metres in length, guarded by Nāga balustrades, and resting on circular pillars where it crosses the temple moat. It is no doubt this temple, which probably carried a tall śikharā shrine, that Chou Ta Kuan in the twelfth century refers to when he says "about one li north of the Tower of Gold (Bayon) is a copper tower still higher, and its appearance is indeed impressive". The shrine was called, in fact, the "Horn of Gold". Pyramidal shrines of this kind generally represented such mythical mountains as Mt. Meru, the habitation of gods; the older Phnom Baken had been called the "Resting Place of Indra". The name of the architect of the "Horn of Gold" and of the Jayendragiri palace has been preserved; he was a certain Vap Sivabrahma (presumably he would have been called a silpin and sthapati), and he earned by his labour the price of seven slaves.

In this reign the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical rites were assimilated so that the priests of the Devarāja could officiate in both rituals. All that we know of the next reign is that the king in the year 1001 dedicated to Viṣṇu a golden statue "which was his own future effigy", which proves that the deified portrait figures were not always posthumous.

Sūryavarman I (1002—1050) seems to have been especially devout, to judge by the long list of the foundations by himself and his ministers. Buddhist and Hindu deities were equally favoured, but the king's posthumous name Nirvāṇapada indicates that he died a Buddhist. One of the largest temples of the reign is the Ta Kéo (not to be confused with the province of the same name) lying east of Ankor and north of Ta Prohm; a rather severe pyramidal structure of the usual type, faced with sandstone and surmounted by stone towers, dedicated by the king's Guru, Paṇḍit Yogośvara, to Siva Kapāleśvara, it originally held images of Śiva and Durgā.

Thirty leagues east of Ankor, Sūryavarman constructed a temple and residence of some importance, known as Praḥ Khān (Kompoń Sway), not to be confused with Jayavarman's Hariharālaya of the ninth century. In the principal temple, which was provided with the usual moats, causeways, gateways, terraces and cells, Buddhist and Saiva deities were associated, the inscriptions honouring both in their ascetic aspect. It will be recalled that even in India (Elephanta) the figure of Śiva as Mahāyogi is practically indistinguishable from that of a Buddha.

Praḥ Vihēar, built on a spur of the Dangrek mountains, is not only nobly designed and soberly but exquisitely decorated, but its situation is uniquely dramatic. From the north the approach is gradual, and it is quite suddenly that one

1 Pelliot, 1.
reaches the edge of a dizzy cliff four or five hundred metres above the low country. The view is magnificent; on either hand extends the escarpment of the Laos hills, and to the south there is an endless undulating tropical forest. The temple is situated at the edge of the cliff, and was dedicated to Śiva Śikhareśvara, the “Lord of the Peak”.

Phnom Chisor, “Ancestral Sun”, is the name of a hill near the old capital of Aṅkor Baurei. Near the summit is a temple, whose situation, though less remarkable, nevertheless recalls that of Praḥ Vihéar. A laterite stairway leads to the monumental gate of the narrow outer gallery; within is a brick sanctuary with a vaulted roof, which once held the figure of a seated king, perhaps Sūryavarman himself. The temple was built by a courtier, the Brāhmaṇ Sivācārya, between 1015 and 1019.

Sūryavarman’s successor is one of those who laid claim to having erected the Horn of Gold, more probably he added to or embellished it. In this reign a victorious general set up a golden lingam in which to worship the king’s “invisible personality”.

Sūryavarman II (1112 — ca. 1152) is in all likelihood the Paramaviśṇuloka of Aṅkor Wāt (figs. 328, 329, 339, 340), and to him must be attributed its building, though the work may have begun in a previous reign. The planning is spacious and generous to a degree; everything is on a huge scale, and all in proportion. The moat, a hundred and ninety metres in width and eight in depth requires a walk of nearly twenty kilometres to complete its perambulation. It is crossed on the west side by a paved bridge, guarded by Nāga parapets, leading to the central gate of the western enclosing wall, a gate in itself to be regarded as one of the great monuments of Khmer art. To right and left extends a double gallery; the gate has triple openings surmounted by towers, and is decorated both within and without with richly carved porticos and pediments. The porches at the remote ends of the gallery, east and west, large enough to admit both elephants and chariots, balance the whole design of the main western approach.

From within this main entrance a paved causeway, raised above the ground level and protected by a Nāga balustrade, leads between two small and elegant buildings which were probably libraries (puṣṭakāśrama), to a cruciform platform immediately in front of the main entrance of the temple proper. This entrance is one of four, situated in the middle of each of the four sides of the great double gallery, vaulted and half-vaulted, which encloses the inner terraces. The inner wall of this gallery, to a height of some three metres and along a length of, in all,

1 Formerly in the Moura collection (Foucher, 6, 1915, pl. IV, 2), now in the Chicago Art Institute. Aymonier, 2, pp. 134, 135.
about eight hundred metres, is covered with low reliefs illustrating Hindu epic mythology, as follows:

On the west side, left, battle scenes from the Rāmāyana; north side, right, battles of Devas and Asuras; left, legend of Garuḍa and Banāsura; east side, right, apparently Viṣṇu’s battle with the Dānavas, for the rescue of Nārada; left, the Churning of the Ocean, perhaps the most magnificent composition of all, the Devas and Asuras using Śeṣa Nāga as the churning rope and Mt. Meru as the churning post; south side, right, a double register, representing, above, the delights of Paradise, and below, the pains of Purgatory; left, promenade of queens and princesses, and a royal darbār (here the king is named in the accompanying inscription as Paramaviṣṇuloka), followed by the march past of an army (fig. 340), wonderfully realising Chou Ta Kuan’s descriptions1; west side, right, Mahābhārata scenes. Other themes of Vaiṣṇava and Saiva mythology are represented on the walls of the vestibules at the four corners, where the galleries intersect. In these gallery reliefs are combined a superb vitality and a complete preoccupation with the heroic themes, as correlated and inseparable conditions; technically superior to those of the Bayon, the Ankor Wat reliefs are thus spiritually greater than those of Borobuḍur, where the craftsman has deliberately devoted a part of his energies to the successful pursuit of tangible graces.

Four entrances lead from these galleries to an inner court on a higher level, and this court, on the western side, encloses a smaller court of richly sculptured galleries (fig. 339) surrounding four shallow reservoirs; passing through this, we reach the outer wall of the innermost gallery, and again ascending, reach the innermost court, in the centre of which stands the enormous pyramidal basement supporting the five ultimate towers, reached by very steep stone stairways (fig. 328). The platform at the top is occupied by the five towers (ṣikhara shrines) and the rectangular and cruciform galleries connecting them together. The total height of the central tower above ground level is sixty-five metres.

Thus the last and greatest of Khmer temples adheres to the already well known scheme of moat, outer wall, paved causeways, inner concentric galleries forming a terraced pyramid, and central shrine surmounted by a high tower, with rich decoration of all the wall surfaces. During a period of some three centuries the fundamental elements of the design, like the methods of the workmen, have not changed. Nevertheless, a very distinct evolution has taken place: the towers with masks have altogether disappeared, the whole conception is clarified and ordered, the decoration more brilliant and more sophisticated, without any loss of vitality. Even though the plastic elements of twelfth century architecture are perhaps a little less monumental than those of the ninth, e. g. the great terrace

1 Pelliot, 1.
of Aṅkor Thom, and though the sculpture in the round has by this time acquired a rather mechanical perfection, it is still true that on the whole the movement has been a forward one, and the last great monument of Khmer architecture may well be considered the finest.

No inscription has been found that certainly dates or refers to Aṅkor Wät. We do know, however, that a great temple of Siva Bhadresvara was in process of building between 1090 and 1108 and was still receiving dedications in 1146. This may have been Aṅkor Wät; and it is not unlikely that its architect was the powerful and learned Divakara, Sūryavarman’s Guru, and master of the coronation ceremonies for Sūryavarman and two predecessors. In any case the name Aṅkor (= Nagara) Wät is of much later origin, and the temple can only have been adapted to Buddhist usages in the Siamese period; the Buddhist sculptures now found in the temple are all of post-fifteenth century date.

With Aṅkor Wät the history of Cambodian art is almost at an end; the very succession of the later twelfth century kings is doubtful. To Jayavarman IX (1182—1201) may be attributed the main sanctuary at Phimai, Korat, now a part of Siam; this is a Buddhist foundation, with towers like those of Aṅkor Wät. In 1195 the same king carried his conquests as far west as Pegu, and we find the Khmer language still in use at Jayā about 1250. The Siamese, however, were growing in strength; Chou Ta Kuan describes Cambodia in 1296 as having been laid waste.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth century however are to be attributed a good number of Buddhist sculptures which show the influence of the Thai formula in the now more elongated usuṣa, and almond eyes. Some scholars, as we have mentioned, regard Beng Méaléa as of later date than Aṅkor Wät.

By the fifteenth century, however, Aṅkor Thom was deserted. When another series of inscriptions begins at Aṅkor Wät, ancient Cambodia is no more, and we are introduced to a comparatively modern world of Hinayāna Buddhism, the only survivals of the ancient Brāhmaṇism being traceable in the sacerdotal functions of a group of descendants of Brāhmaṇs, still exercised at the court of Phnom Peñ.

On the other hand, the theatre (dramatic dances), music and minor art (textiles, metal work, jewellery) have survived almost in their former perfection up to the present day. The theatre¹ is precariously protected by the patronage of the court at Phnom Peñ, and a local troupe at Siem Réap presents the legends of Prince Préa Samuth and of Prince Chey Cheth for the benefit of visitors to Aṅkor. The remnant of the other arts is protected and fostered at Phnom Peñ by the Direction

¹ Groslier, 1; Leclère, A., Le théâtre cambodgien, Rev. d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie, 1910, pp. 257—282; Laloy, L., Les principes de la danse cambodgienne, Rev. musicale, III, 9, 1922; Marchal, S., Danses Cambodgiennes, Saigon, 1926.
des Arts Cambodgiens. The silk weaving is mainly of sampots, the Cambodian garment corresponding to the Indian dhoti and Siamese pha-muang. Of sampot weaves, those of shot silk are called sampot pha-muang, those with designs produced by the dyeing of the warp threads before weaving, sampot bol¹. The latter are probably the finest of all the textiles that are still actually produced anywhere in India, Further India and Indonesia.

CAMPĀ²

Campā, the land of the Cams and of Indo-Cam civilisation during a period of about a thousand years, corresponds with the modern Annam, the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Before the beginning of the Christian era the country was under Chinese rule as far south as Binh-dinh; Chinese culture again predominated after the fourteenth century, by which time the Annamites, advancing southwards, had made themselves masters of almost the whole country.

The oldest Hindū monument is the Sanskrit inscription of Vo-canḥ, in an early South Indian script recording the name of a king of the Śrī-Māra dynasty and dating from the third or second century A. D. At this time there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindū kingdom known as Kauṭhāra, succeeded a little later by that of Pāṇḍuraṅga at Phanræng. Indo-Cam rulers of Cambodian, and ultimately of Pallava origin, gradually extended their power to the north and established a capital at Tra-kieū (Sīṃhapura or Indrapura) with a citadel at Kiu-su and temple cities at Mi-son and Dong-duong. In the tenth century the Tonkinese Annamites began their advance, and the Cams were slowly but surely forced to retrace their steps; a new capital was set up at Binh-dinh (Vijaya), guarded by the great fortresses of Chamban and Bin-lam, and under Jaya Harivarman the country enjoyed a brief respite. Forced to retire again, they erected citadels at Thanh Ho and Song Luy. In the thirteenth century they were able to repulse the forces of Kublai Khān, but very soon they were no longer able to build or to utilise fortresses; their few survivors, of whom some have been converted to Islām, live in isolated groups under Annamite domination, and have lost almost all of their ancient culture.

The ancient art of Campā is closely related to that of Cambodia, but almost all the temples are isolated sikbaru shrines of brick, with stone doorways, or groups of such towers with their related structures. Wood remained in use as a building material throughout the classical period, so that many buildings are known only

¹ The usual sizes are 1 × 3 m for men, 0,95 × 2,5 m for women. Sarongs are also worn.
² For the art of Campā see Parmentier, 1, 3 and 5; Leuba; Bose, 2.
by their foundations. The existing remains fall into two main divisions, those of a Classic period (Mi-son and Dong-duong, seventh to tenth century) and those of the Decadence (from Binh-dinh, about 1100, to the seventeenth century)¹. The earliest sculptures, of the seventh century are magnificent, but already formulated in a local sense, and there is no trace of a pre-Cam or Indianesque style comparable with that of Cambodia.

The sacred city of Mi-son was founded by Bhadravarman I about 400 A.D. when the Bhadravara lingam was set up. The great shrine now existing (fig. 341) was built by Bhadravarman’s second successor on the site of the original wooden temple, soon after 600. As Leuba remarks, this great tower “par ses nobles lignes et son exquise ornamentation, peut être considéré comme le chef d’oeuvre d’architecture chame”. The main body of the temple is almost cubic, but higher than it is wide, and this effect of height is greatly enhanced by the narrow decorated pilasters that emphasize the perpendicular aspect of the construction, reminding us of the great shrine at Malot in the Paññāb. Between the pilasters are false porches or niches, with figures carved in relief in the brick surface. The pyramidal roof consists of three diminishing stories, repeating the main design on a smaller scale, and the summit was crowned by a flame-like or lotus-bud finial. The decorative motifs included makara torana niches, bāmsas with extended wings, and pièces d’accent such as apsarasas whose outlines are silhouetted against the sky. These ornaments, like the door frame, are of grey sandstone, and stand out clearly against the ochre red of the brick surface, which, however, would originally have been covered with white plaster. The interior is plain, and was separated from the hollow pyramidal vault of the roof, if at all, only by an awning. Later kings added successive temples of brick or wood, pilgrim shelters, and royal pavilions. Of these later structures, those of group D, essentially horizontal, recall the Northern temple (fig. 302) and similar buildings at Polonnaruva in Ceylon. The latest Mi-son buildings, of the tenth century, have terracotta plaques in place of stone ornaments.

The sculpture of Mi-son, largely of the seventh century, is now collected in the Museum at Tourane²; it is almost all of Śaiva character, and includes representations of Siva (fig. 344), Skanda and Gañēsa. The style cannot be called primitive, but is still creative; unequal in quality, the finest pieces are marvels of powerful modelling or grace of conception.

¹ Art Primaire and Art Secondaire of Parmentier, 3, who restricts the term “Classic” to the art of the eleventh century.
² Parmentier, 5; Leuba; Bosch, 3. The “doctrine of the passing on from ruler to ruler and from saint to saint of the divine, sacerdotal, and kingly glory” is also Avestan as remarked by Spooner, 11, p. 445. See also pp. 61, 200.
At Dong-duong, even nearer to Tra-kiêu, has been found the important inscription of Indravarman, dated 875, praising the virtues of the Sambhu-Bhadreśvara lingam “filled with the essence of fire and hereditary royalty”, proving the existence of the Devarāja cult. The inscription identifies this lingam with the original (Haṭakeśvara) lingam which “fell from Śiva”, as related in the Indian Devadāru Mahātmaya, which may be the ultimate source of the cult of the King-god. We hear too of a Bhadrapatiśvara lingam in the south, desecrated by (Sumatran) Malays in the eighth century. Incidentally we may remark that the Sūrya Siddhānta speaks of Yavakoṭi (in Sumatra) as a famous city in the land of the Bhadreśvas, again suggestive of a Sumatro-Javanese source.

The same king, who was an usurper and apparently a Buddhist, founded the great Buddhist shrine at Dong-duong, in honour of Lokeśvara, about 900; this is the only Buddhist site in Campā, but it is scarcely inferior to Mi-son in richness and aesthetic importance. Moreover the buildings are related in accordance with a dominating plan, and all of one period, not as at Mi-son, independantly erected at various dates. A noteworthy discovery here was that of a bronze standing Buddha (fig. 342) in style very near that of Amarāvati and Anurādhapura; this figure, indeed, is very probably of Indian or Sinhalese origin, and may date from the third or fourth century. This solitary trace of purely Indian art may perhaps be referable to an early Hinayāna period in Campā, more likely it was brought thither long after the date of its manufacture.

The Dong-duong shrines were soon ravaged by the Annamites in search of treasure and new sanctuaries were erected at Binh-dinh at the close of the tenth and in the eleventh centuries. Conditions no longer permitted the erection of great temple cities, and we find only separate kolams, hastily built and with inferior decoration, though still in large numbers. The main groups are those of Hung-thanh and Binh-lam, the colossal towers of Duong-long, and those known as the Tower of Gold, the Tower of Silver, and the Tower of Copper.

Meanwhile, still further south, in the cradle of Cam power, the legendary king Vicitarāgāra had erected the wooden temple of Po Nagar, the “Lady of the Land”, and in the eighth or ninth century followed the first brick building, near which still later temples were added. The main sanctuary contains an image of Bhagavati = Pārvati, which has replaced an original lingam. The linga temple of Po Klaun Garai on the other hand, founded by Simhavarman III contains the original Simhavarmalīṅgeśvara, still worshipped by a residue of Cams. It is not clear whether this mukha-lingam is an icon of Śiva, a Devarāja, or a posthumous

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1 Amongst the sculptures of the Kailāsa temple at Kāñcī (see p. 104) is one representing Śiva as mendicant in the Tāraka-daṇḍa (Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, vol. I. pl. XXVI).
2 Rougier; Leuba. Cf. the figure from E. Java reproduced in Cohn, pl. 29.
“portrait” of the king. The last remains of Cam architecture are found at Po Rome.

Important treasures have been found on ancient Cam sites. That of Po Nagar, dating probably from the eighth century, consists of silver ritual vessels, gold jewellery and pearls, while at Mi-son a sealed earthen vessel contained all the wrought gold ornaments (crown, collar, bracelets and girdle) belonging to an image of half human size. Other treasures, like that of Lovang, consisting of golden vessels and jewellery, ancient inlaid arms and ceremonial robes, are still in use.

SUMATRA

Scarcely anything survives of the ancient art of Sumatra, unless we define the art of middle Java in the Sailendra period as such; and yet the great Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya, with its capital at Palembang, can by no means be left out of consideration in any discussion of the art of Indonesia.

Sumatra appears to have received Indian colonists at a very early date, probably well before the beginning of the Christian era. The Land of Gold (and this name is really applicable to Sumatra, and not to Java) is referred to already in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa as Suvaṇṇadvīpa and Suvaṇṇabhūmi, and when the same text speaks of Yavadvīpa suvaṇṇakaramandita, it is Sumatra that is to be understood. Sumatra is the Zabadion of Ptolemy, the Zabag and Zabej of later Arabic writers. Madagascar seems to have been colonised by Hinduised Sumatran Malays early in the Christian era. Fa Hsien visited Sumatra about 414 A.D. and found there few or no Buddhists. A few years later Guṇavarman of the royal house of Kaśmīr landed in Yavadvīpa; he converted first the queen, and she in turn her son, to (Mahāyāna) Buddhism, which thus became the official cult. At this time the land was already known to the Chinese as Chò-po = Vijaya = Srivijaya (later Arab Sribuza), which was the name of the Palembang kingdom ruled by the kings of the Sailendra dynasty, who originated in Malayu = Malaka = Minaṅkabaw, and asserted their independence perhaps before the seventh century. The name Mo lo yeu, the aforesaid Malayu, also appears in Chinese texts. I-ching, who visited Sumatra about 690, states that Malayu had then become subject to Srivijaya; he studied Sanskrit grammar as well as the old Malay language, and Buddhist texts and commentaries. All this evidence of a high state of culture existing

1 Coedès, 3; Ferrand (bibliography, pp. 1, 2); Krom, 3, Ch. 111; Bosch, 4.
3 Ferrand, pp. 150, 151.

198
in Sumatra in the seventh century prepares us to appreciate its secular power and wealth; Palembang, the most important port between India and China, must have been truly a cosmopolitan city. The foundations of a great maritime empire had already been established.

We reach now the sure ground of inscriptions. That of Kota Kapur in Bânka records the despatch of a military force to Java, which did not at this time acknowledge Sumatran suzerainty. The inscription of Viên Srah in the Malay Peninsular, 778, speaks again of Śrīvijaya and records the erection by its king of two fair brick buildings in which were honoured Vajrapâni, Padmapâni and the Buddha and of the erection of stûpas by the king’s chaplain Jayanta and his disciple. About this time must be placed the expedition to Cambodia, which resulted in the acknowledgement of Sumatran overlordship. The Sailendra power seems to have been established in Central Java by the middle of the eighth century. About the same time Sumatran Malays invaded Campâ. The Kalasan inscription of 778 suggests that at this time Prambanam may have been the virtual capital of Śrīvijaya, and as we have seen, this state of affairs lasted until about 860. The great Buddhist monuments of this period are described in the chapter dealing with Java.

At the beginning of the ninth century Jayavarman II of Cambodia, “who came from Java”, asserted his independence. From this time onwards the power of Śrīvijaya very slowly declined. Relations with India, however, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, were long maintained. The Nâlandâ copper plate of about 860 shows King Devapâla building a monastery and granting villages on behalf of King Bâlaputradeva of Suvarṇadvipa, grandson of a king of Javabhûmi. The names of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭâha (?) = Kedah in the Malay Peninsular, more likely an unknown city in Sumatra) are found in the Nepalese Ms. Camb. Add. 1643. The Tanjore Cola inscriptions of Râjendraçola and Râjarâja Râjakesârivarman, 1030 and 1044—46, refer to a king of Kaṭâha and Śrî Viśaya (sic); this Sailendra king Cuḍâmaṇivarman endowed and supported a Buddhist temple at Negapatam (Nâgipatlanam). Râjendraçola on the other hand claims to have conquered Kaṭâha and Śrî Viśaya “beyond the moving seas”. At this time Kaṭâha was evidently a part of Śrīvijaya. In 1084, Kullotuṅgacola dedicated a village to the above mentioned Buddhist temple, which is spoken of in the inscription as the Sailendra-cuḍâmaṇi-varma-vihâra. These evidences, confirmed by others in the Mahâvamsa, prove a comparatively late survival of Buddhism in Southern India; this is of interest in connection with the occurrence at Kânci-

2 Foucher, 2.
3 Ferrand, pp. 44—48. Ruins of this vihâra seem to have survived until 1867.
puram of Buddha images of a late type, showing the flame-like projection above the usnīsa, an iconographical peculiarity probably of Farther Indian origin.

In the eleventh century the famous Indian monk Atiśa (Dīpankaraśriyāna of the Vikramaśila monastery) spent ten years in Sumatra, completing his religious education in the study of the pure Sarvastivādin Buddhist doctrine\(^1\).

In the thirteenth century the Sumatrans raided Ceylon on two occasions, being allied with the Tamils of Southern India in the second attack. On the other hand, about 1275 the East Javanese king Kertanagara sent an expedition against Malaya (= Sumatra, and to be distinguished from Malayu = Minañ-kabaw = Malacca, the original home of the Malays on the Malay Peninsular) and brought back two princesses. A little later the kings of Majapahit established their suzerainty over Palembang and Pahang in Sumatra, and over Malayu from Singapore to Kedah and Triṅgānu. After 1400 the Sailendra dynasty cannot be traced.

Islām was introduced into Sumatra by Indian missionaries and traders. The first converted ruler, Maliku-š-Sāliḥ of Pasai in Sumatra, died in 1397. Muslim traders spread the faith throughout the eastern ports. Musalmān Sultanāns in the Malay Peninsular threw off the Siamese or Javanese yoke and set up independent kingdoms. By the end of the fifteenth century Islām had spread all over Java, and the Hindūs and Buddhists were forced to retire to Bali. Of the ancient civilisation of Sumatra hardly any trace remains.

**JAVA**\(^2\)

With the exception of certain dolmens and other so-called Polynesian antiquities, the Malay-Polynesian (Indonesian) races of Java, who form the bulk of the population, have left few monuments; nevertheless they are of great importance as representing the Javanese element in Indo-Javanese art, a factor of increasing importance after the classical period, and, in Bali, the dominating factor.

Early Indian settlements in Western Java probably date back to the beginning of the Christian era. Of the old Hindū kingdom of Tārumā, and a king named Purṇavarman we learn something from the Sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava script, of the fourth or fifth century A. D. Hindū rule in Western Java, however, did not persist much later than the sixth century, and has left few traces. Subsequently Western Java seems to have remained independent, under native rule, even in the time of the kings of Majapahit.

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2 Fruin-Mees; Bosch, 1, 3; Foucher, 4, 9; Groeneveldt; Juynbool; Yzerman; Krom, 2, 3; Krom and Erp; Kern; Stutterheim; Kats; Vogel, 20; Oudheidkundige Dienst.
More extensive evidences of Indian culture are found in Middle Java in the seventh century. This development may have been the result of long-continued or of renewed immigration from Southern India. The oldest dated inscription, that of Caṅgala in Keḍu, 732 A. D., refers to the original home of the Hindū immigrants as Kuṇjarakuṇja-deśa, evidently the Kuṇjara of Varāhamihira’s Brhat Samhitā in the far south of India, and probably the source of the cult of the sage Agastya, which is well developed in Java
1. The inscription further refers to a miraculous radiant lingam brought over from Kuṇjarakuṇja. The Dinaya inscription of 760 (Eastern Java) similarly speaks of a fiery “Pūtikeśvara” closely connected with the ruling house. From these data has been inferred a Javanese origin of the Devarāja cult of Cambodia and Campā
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Indo-Javanese civilisation was by this time a harmonised unity; but while the official cults were of Indian origin, the real basis of popular belief remained, as it still remains, animistic. The Brāhmaṇism of the Javanese courts was throughout predominantly though not exclusively Śaiva. No traces remain of any early Hinayāna Buddhism in Java. The Mahāyāna as a separate and integral cult belongs mainly to the period of Sumatran rule in Central Java; even at this time it is of a Tāntrik character, later it becomes increasingly so, and as in Nepāl, in Cambodia, and in Bali at the present day, Buddhism and Śaiva Hinduism are inseparably combined: Kertanagara received the posthumous name of Sivabuddha!

The architectural remains and sculpture of the Dieng (Dihyang) plateau, where stone construction is for the first time employed in Java, date from the seventh or early eighth century. Whether developed from the older school of Western Java, of which nothing survives, or in connection with renewed immigration, the architectural forms show clear analogies with those of the Gupta, Pallava and early Cālukya of the Indian mainland. Architecture and ornament are reserved, and in perfect correlation; and though we could not imagine these monuments in India proper, nevertheless they are more Indian than Javanese, and the local factor is only apparent, if at all, in a certain free development of the ornament itself, not in its motifs or application.

The Dieng plateau represented, not a civil capital, but a place of pilgrimage comparable with the Jaina temple cities of Palitāna and Gīrnār in Western India; permanently inhabited only by priests and temple servants, and for the rest providing only temporary accommodation for pilgrims, amongst others for the king, who visited the plateau once a year. The temples are small and mutually independent. Out of a much larger number, only eight are now standing. The leading characteristic of the style is a generally box-like or cubic construction with ver-

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1 Gangoly, 4; Bosch, 3.
2 Bosch, 3, and cf. p. 196.
tical and horizontal lines strongly emphasized. Each temple consists of a single cell, approached by a porch or vestibule projecting from one face of the outer wall, the three other wall surfaces being divided by pilasters into three parts occupied by projecting niches or sculptured panels. The roof repeats the form of the main cell; the interior is a plain hollow cube below the hollow pyramid of the roof, whose inner walls approach until the remaining space can be covered by a single stone. A grotesque kirttimukha (kāla makara and banaspati of Dutch authors) crowns the doorways and niches; the makara itself is already developed into floriated ornament and scarcely recognizable.

This description applies to the four temples of the Arjuna group, Caṇḍis Arjuna, Śrikanḍi, Pundadeva (fig. 345), and Sembhadra, and to Caṇḍi Ghaṭotkaca, but not of course, to Caṇḍi Semar, a small and elegant rectangular building, perhaps originally a treasury, which forms a part of the Arjuna group. The isolated and unique Caṇḍi Bima (fig. 346) presents a very different appearance. The lower part of the building is similar to the buildings already described, but the roof is definitely pyramidal in effect; it consists of diminishing horizontal stages, of which the first repeats the form of the basement with pilasters, the others being decorated with caitya-window motifs enclosing heads or symbols in high relief, while the angles of the fourth and sixth stages are occupied by three-quarter ribbed āmalakas. In all probability a complete āmalaka crowned the summit. Thus the roof structure corresponds exactly with that of a typical Indo-Āryan stūbara, such as that of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvanesvara, the more developed form of the latter differing only in that the stages are more numerous and more closely compressed.

The Diēng affords many examples of sculpture. Of that applied to architectural surfaces the best instance is afforded by the Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu panels of Caṇḍi Śrikanḍi. The forms are in general slender, with the leading lines clearly developed. The separate heads from the caitya-window niches of Caṇḍi Bima present a variety of interesting forms, which suggest a more or less personal effort on the part of the sculptor (fig. 355); exhibiting an individuality not yet completely attuned to purely symbolic and decorative ends, these heads are the nearest to primitives that Javanese art affords.

1 It need hardly be remarked that the nomenclature of the Diēng temples, taken from the Bharatayuddha, is of later origin, and gives no indication of their original dedication, which was in all cases Śaiva. Stutterheim, in Djawa, V, 1925, p. 346, shows that the “wayang” names were probably applied to the Diēng temples by the Javanese from Kediri in the thirteenth century. Just in the same way the Śaiva rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram have been popularly named after the heroes of the Rāmāyana (see Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, pp. 75—77), and so also those of Marsir, all in India proper.

2 Cf. Yzerman.
East and south of the Dieng plateau are to be found a number of small temples fundamentally in the same style, but rather more freely, and often exquisitely, decorated. Examples may be cited in the Saiva Caṇḍi Pringapus dateable about 850, and Caṇḍi Selagriya near Mt. Sumbing. The most important series, however, is that of the temple complex of Mt. Ungaran, known as Geḍong Saṅga, which includes nine small groups of temples situated on hill-tops probably along a pilgrim route.

We must now consider the many important monuments of the Sailendra period, i.e. under Sumatran rule in Middle Java (ca. 732 to 860). Caṇḍi Kalasan, dated 778, is an invaluable landmark, in which, for the first time we meet with a Buddhist monument on Javanese soil, and erected, as the inscription informs us, by a Sailendra king, and dedicated to Tārā, whose image must once have occupied the central chamber. The temple is situated on the west side of the Prambanan plain, a richly populated area and the site of an important capital or capitals throughout the Middle Javanese period, both before and after the restoration. Caṇḍi Kalasan is of the Dieng type, but having the lateral projecting niches developed into side-chapels with separate entrances. Enormous kirttimukhas crown the main entrance and the niches, while the makara toraṇa arches below are completely transformed into arabesque; the walls are decorated with delicate strips of floriated tracery between plain vertical pilasters.

A little to the north is another and contemporary Sailendra building known as Caṇḍi Sāri, a large building of the storeyed vibāra type containing shrines and monastic apartments, and probably the monastery attached to Caṇḍi Kalasan.

Further east, beyond the later Caṇḍi Loro Jōngrang lies the great Buddhist temple complex of Caṇḍi Sewu of early ninth century date. Here there is a large central temple, a further development of the Kalasan design, with side chapels open to the exterior and lavishly decorated with arches and niches originally containing images; most likely the main cell held a sedent bronze Buddha. Around this central temple and at some distance from it within the large area delimited by the enclosing wall are two double series of small independent chapels, some two hundred and fifty in number. The order and beauty of the whole design are no less apparent than the variety and beauty of the decoration.

Caṇḍi Borobudur (figs. 101, 347, 349, 353), with the related and contemporary Caṇḍis Mendut and Pawon in Kejlu, is the greatest and by far the most famous of Javanese monuments. Caṇḍi Mendut (fig. 350) follows the general plan of the temples already described, but there are no side chapels, and the inner walls of the large open vestibule are decorated with reliefs representing Hāritī (fig. 354) and Pāñcika.

1 It should be observed that the term "Prambanan group" is of wide application covering more than thirty temples of differing periods and types, and both Buddhist and Śaiva.
The triple panels of the three other sides of the cella are richly decorated with reliefs representing Bodhisattvas and Tārās. The original stone images, a sedent Buddha (fig. 357) and two Bodhisattvas are still in place within; serenely beautiful, they represent the highest level of classic Indo-Javanese art.

Borobudur is wonderfully situated in the Kedu plain, on an eminence commanding an extensive view of green rice fields and more distant towering conical volcanoes, comparable in grandeur with Fujisān. Architecturally it is unlike any other monument of the period. A rounded hill has been terraced and clothed with stone; the result is a truncated terraced pyramid supporting a relatively small central stūpa surrounded by seventy two much smaller perforated stūpas arranged in three concentric circles; a stairway in the middle of each side of the pyramid leads directly to the upper platforms with the stūpas. The ground plan of the six lower terraces is square with reentrant corners, that of the three upper terraces is circular; in vertical section the whole structure fills, not a semicircle, but the segment of a circle. Each of the lower terraces is a perambulation gallery whose walls are occupied by long series of reliefs (fig. 353) illustrating the life of Buddha according to the Lalīta Vistara, and stories from the Divyāvadāna, Jātakamālā of Śūra, and the Gāndavyūha and other sources. The rich and gracious forms of these reliefs, which if placed end to end would extend for over five kilometers, bespeak an infinitely luxurious rather than a profoundly spiritual or energized experience. There is here no nervous tension, no concentration of force to be compared with that which so impresses the observer at Ankor Wät. Borobudur is like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air; the fullness of its forms is an expression of static wealth, rather than the volume that denotes the outward radiation of power. The Sumatran empire was now in the very height of its glory, and in intimate contact with the whole of the then civilized world; in the last analysis Borobudur is a monument of Sailendra culture, rather than of Buddhist devotion. It is only curious, in the light of our limited knowledge of historical details, that we should find such a monument in Java, and not in Sumatra; probably at this time (7th to 8th century) Middle Java was the real centre of the Sumatran empire, and here the Sailendra kings resided.

We must, however, return to the specific architectural problem which Borobudur presents. The lowest terrace is concealed beneath a heavy outer plinth, not part of the original plan, but added while the work was in progress to overcome a dangerous weakness which was only revealed as the weight of heavy masonry accumulated above; it is not unlikely that the same causes provoked a radical

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1 Foucher, 4; Hoenig; Krom, 2, 3; Krom and Erp (with illustrations of all the sculptures).
2 The nearest Indian parallels to the Borobudur and Prambanan reliefs are to be found in the Gupta reliefs of the basement (Rāmāyana and dancing scenes) at Deogarh (fig. 167).
change in the design of the whole superstructure. For many years, in accordance with the suggestion of Foucher (4) the whole building as it stands has been regarded as a stūpa. Various considerations invalidate this theory: in the first place no example of a segment stūpa is anywhere known in India or Indo-China, and secondly, a structure supporting seventy complete stūpas can hardly with logic be called a stūpa. No other stūpa of any kind, except as an architectural ornament, or as represented in the Borobudur reliefs, has been found in Java, and practically none are known in Cambodia before the Siamese period. On the other hand, the terraced pyramid supporting a temple is highly characteristic in Java and in Cambodia during many centuries (Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Jāgo, Jābung, and Panataran, and Phnom Baken and the Phiméanakas), and terraced pyramids are typically found in Burma, though at a later period (Mingalazed, Shwesandaw, and others at Pagan). Moreover, contemporary Indian parallels can be cited from Kaśmir, which was presumably the source, through Guṇavarman, of Sumatran Mahāyāna Buddhism. The large stūpa founded by Lalitāditya’s minister Caṇḍakūṇa at Parihāsapura in the first half of the eighth century rises above a double platform with recessed corners, having stairways in the centre of each side, while in the same way the basements of the central shrines of the Hindū temples exhibit a double platform, providing two pradaksinā paths, one above the other1. Many earlier Indian stūpas such as those of Bhallaṭ (Taxila), Shpola (Khyber) and Mīrpur Khas (Sind), and others in Afghānistān stand on a single square or rectangular platform with axial approaches on one or four sides. The many-terraced pyramids of Java, Cambodia and Burma are thus merely the elaboration of a simpler prototype.

The very plausible theory of Hoenig, based on such considerations, is that Caṇḍi Borobudur was at first intended to be a pyramid of nine stories, with a relatively small upper platform supporting, not a stūpa, but a temple, the existing design having been substituted for the original when in the course of building it became necessary to reduce the weight of the superincumbent masonry. And in the galleries as originally planned would have been continued the reliefs illustrating the life of Buddha, which now for some otherwise inexplicable reason end with the First Sermon.

The date of the monument can only be inferred from the stylistic and paleographic evidence. The latter indicates a date certainly between 760 and 878 A. D. probably between 760 and 847, and most likely in the latter part of the eighth century2. The style of the reliefs suggests rather the eighth century.

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1 Sahni, 3, 4. Cf. seals from Ladakh, Kak, 1, p. 103; and one of unknown origin, Coomaraswamy, 9 (2), pl. XXXIX.
2 Krom, 2, p. 257.
A Śaiva temple of the Sailendra period may be instanced in Cāndi Banon; the fine images of Agastya, formerly known as Śiva-Guru (fig. 359), and of Viṣṇu, from this temple, are now in Batavia.

Central Java has proved a prolific source of small Buddhist and Tāntrik Buddhist metal images, some of gold (figs. 361, 362) others of copper (fig. 363); the best examples are of admirable workmanship, many others quite crude. Later Brāhmaṇical examples from Eastern Java are also known. The various types exhibit a relationship with those of Magadha and Ceylon.

The Sumatran governance seems to have ended about 860, the Javanese kings returning at this time from East Java to take up their residence at Prambanam. While Buddhism and Hinduism continued to exist side by side in friendly relation, the official religion of the court was now again Śaiva. Of numerous small temples of the restoration period (860—915) may be mentioned the Hindū Cāṇḍi Asu and the Buddhist Cāṇḍi Plaosan. The great Cāṇḍi Loro Jongrang, the greatest Hindū monument in Java, and comparable in scale with Borobudur and Cāṇḍi Sewu, must be described more fully. The complex consists of eight temples situated on a walled terrace surrounded by smaller chapels and two outer walls. The three largest of the inner temples are dedicated respectively to Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The largest is the central temple of Śiva (fig. 348); in principle it resembles the prāngs of Cambodia and the supposed original design of Borobudur, i. e. it consists of a temple occupying the summit of a steep truncated terraced pyramid, square in plan, with stairways in the middle of each of its three sides, leading respectively to the main entrance and to those of the side chapels. The temple itself, raised above the upper terrace by a richly decorated plinth, contains a standing image of Śiva. The terrace below is surrounded by an even more richly sculptured balustrade, the continuous series of reliefs (fig. 356) on the inner side illustrating the earlier part of the Rāmāyana, of which the continuation was probably to be found on the corresponding terrace of the now ruined Brahmā shrine on the right; the reliefs of the Viṣṇu temple illustrate the Kṛṣṇa cycle. The Prambanan reliefs are if anything superior to those of Borobudur, and certainly more dramatically conceived, and the aspect of the shrines, despite their rich ornament, is more masculine. It is possible that the complex served as a royal mausoleum as well as a temple.

These temples were no sooner completed than abandoned. About the year 915 the whole of Middle Java was suddenly deserted, evidently as the result of some great natural catastrophe, whether pestilence or earthquake, and we have to trace the later development of Indo-Javanese art in the east. It is of great im-

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1 Coomaraswamy, 15; Juynboll, 2; Krom, 15; Pleyte; With, 15; Heine-Geldern.
2 Stutterheim, 1; Krom, 4.
portance to recognize, however, that the breach in continuity is purely geographical, and not at all stylistic. The art of Prambanan, though it adheres to the principles established on the Dieng plateau, and still shows unity of plan and harmony of construction and ornament, is already advanced in its conception of the inner relations of the fundamental elements, and any further development could only lead to what we actually find in East Java. On the other hand the early eastern monuments Gunung Gañsir (977 A. D.), the Belahan gateways, Canḍi Sumber Nanas and Canḍi Sangariti are distinctly of Middle Javanese character 1.

Canḍi Lalatunda, tomb and bathing place, are due to Udayana, father of the great Erlaṅga. Near to Belahan is another bathing place ascribed to Erlaṅga himself (1010—1042), and this site is the source of a portrait statue in which he is represented as Viṣṇu riding upon Garuḍa (fig. 360), “een prachtstuk als kunstwerk, tevens bepaaldelijk een portretbeeld” 2; recalling, and yet very different from an Indian treatment of the same subject found near Nālandā 3.

Java was now becoming a great maritime power, destined soon to occupy the old position of Sumatra. The eastern Javanese kings had already made their power felt in Palembang; the Arab and Chinese trade were flourishing, and the island of Bali was dependent on Java. And what is more important, a national Javanese culture had developed, based indeed on the old Indian tradition, but Indonesian in essence, idiomatic in expression, and in the truest sense of the word, original. The Javanese language (Kawi) had become a fitting vehicle of classic epic literature. Javanese versions of the Indian epics, and the classic Arjuna-vivāha in which the shadow-play is mentioned for the first time, date from Erlaṅga’s reign.

Unfortunately we know practically nothing of the monuments of Erlaṅga’s reign, and very little of those of the next century. Nevertheless, the twelfth century in Java, like the thirteenth in Europe, was the “greatest of centuries” and more than any other moment stands for the living past in Javanese consciousness. This was an age of chivalry and romantic love. A twelfth century king, Kāmesvara, may be, in part, the prototype of Rāden Pāṇji, the hero of the Pāṇji cycle and the most romantic figure in Javanese tradition. Much of the Pāṇji literature may have been composed before the end of the century. And this development, which is reflected in the art of the succeeding centuries, naturally accompanied an immense extension of secular power; the Javanese kings now held Baṅka, over against Palembang, and their traders sailed to the eastern coast

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1 Remains of a temple, Canḍi Badut, near Malang in East Java, are apparently in the Dieng style, but have not yet been studied (Bosch, 5, p. 284).
2 Krom, 3, p. 150. Cf. Krom, 1, p. 410 and pl. 42.
3 Burgess, 8, pl. 235.
of Africa on the one hand and to China on the other. Only with the accession of a new dynasty, ruling in Siṁgasāri (1280—1292) and Majapahit (1294—1478) are we able to take up again the history of Javanese art. The whole period, however, forms from this point of view a unity, a kind of post-classical romantic style in which the purely Indian tradition is almost submerged, and the Indonesian factor comes increasingly to the fore. There is a loss of balance as between construction and ornament, and the ornament itself grows more exuberant. In all this embroidery, nevertheless, there is infinite charm.

The chief monuments of Siṁgasāri\(^1\) include Caṇḍi Kidal (Saiva), distinctively East Javanese in respect of its heavy pyramidal roof with conspicuous horizontal courses, overshadowing the whole building. Even more definitely East Javanese is Caṇḍi Jāgo, with its wayang-like reliefs, illustrating the Javanese Krṣṇāyana, which seems strange in a Buddhist temple; the separate images are still, however, of Middle Javanese character. Saiva-Buddhist syncretism is well seen in Caṇḍi Jawi, where the main cell enshrines a Śiva image with a Buddha above it. Caṇḍi Siṁgasāri itself has yielded many large Saiva images, especially the well known Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī and Gaṇeśa of Leiden. From another Siṁgasāri shrine come the even more famous Leiden Prajñāpāramitā, superficially lovely and exquisitely ornamented, but without vitality, and also the more vigorous Arapačana Maṇjuśrī, dated 1343 (fig. 358).

The remarkable Saiva temple of Caṇḍi Jābung (fig. 366)\(^2\) is “relatively old”\(^3\). The shrine is circular (unique in Java) and must have been very high, and stands on the usual terraced base. This basement too is unusually high. The transition from the rectangular base to the circular tower is admirably managed, and the rich decoration is well subordinated to the main outlines. This temple may well be regarded as the finest example of East Javanese art.

The power and prosperity of East Java attained their zenith under the kings of Majapahit. Four great rulers, including Kertanagara and Hayam Wuruk, occupied the throne in succession from 1294 to 1389. Western Java remained independent, and little is known of Central Java, but Majapahit controlled all the eastern islands, the coastlands of Borneo, the coastlands of Sumatra including Palembang, and the Malay Peninsula. Trade with China in Indian and Javanese products, chiefly silk and cotton goods, continued to flourish. In the Nāgarakértāgama, Prapaṇca\(^4\) presents a vivid picture of the walled city of Majapahit with

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1. Melville, Knebel and Brandes.
2. Fergusson, 2, pl. LII; but the temple is situated in the far east of Java, beyond Pasuruhan, not as Fergusson states, near Borobudur.

208
its streets and palaces, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. Entertainments are mentioned, amongst others the Wayang Beber (exhibition of scroll paintings with spoken text, and equivalent of the old Indian Yamapata exhibition as described in the Mudrarakṣasa) and Wayang Topeng, or masked dance, in which the king himself took part on the occasion of a śrāddha for the queen mother¹.

Amongst the numerous monuments of this golden age of East Java the finest and most important is the Śaiva temple complex of Panataran near Blitar. Here we are far removed from the unity of conception and organic relation of parts characteristic of Middle Java; the temple complexes of East Java, like those of Bali, consist of groups of unrelated buildings of various dates, ranging in the case of Panataran (fig. 352) over the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century. Of the main temple only the basement remains; it is square with recessed corners; the lower of the terraces is decorated with alternate medallions and reliefs illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa, the upper with a continuous frieze illustrating the Kṛṣṇāyaṇa. All these reliefs are designed in a heroic and grotesque wayang-like style and form a sort of popular theatre. The reliefs of the shrine walls represented Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva. The richness of all the ornament is overwhelming; even the backs of the dvārapālas, in a style we should now call Balinese, are decorated with reliefs.

Other Hindū monuments of the fifteenth century are mostly of laterite and built on terraced hill slopes. Here the worship of Śiva as a mountain god facilitated a combination of Hinduism with old Indonesian terrace cults; in the resulting mixture of Indo-Javanese and Indonesian elements and a new combination of both there appeared for a brief period a definite style not lacking in vitality. Selakelir (1434—1442), Penampikan, Sukul and Lewu are amongst the main sites. In completing the above account of Javanese architecture it may be remarked that no pier or column is found in any Javanese temple, and mortar is never employed.

Nothing is known of Javanese paintings, except in manuscript illustrations, but there exists a Central Javanese engraved copper plate, essentially a drawing on copper, representing the figure of a woman with a child, in a style reminiscent of Ajanṭā². This beautiful figure gives at least a suggestion of the style of the mural paintings that must have once existed. In Bali, on the other hand, very interesting mural paintings and tablets, as well as book illustrations and scrolls of seventeenth or eighteenth century date are still extant. Even the scrolls that are still made are in a style absolutely unaffected by foreign influences, and possess considerable distinction; the subjects are generally epic, sometimes erotic³.

¹ Kern and Krom, p. 200.
² Stutterheim, 2; Juynboll, 1, 2.
³ Bastian; Nieuwenkamp, figs. 139, 140; Juynboll, 1, 2.
The architecture of Islām in Java is of comparatively little importance. Amongst the oldest monuments are the minaret of the mosque at Kadua, really a modified Caṇḍī without images, and the neighbouring gateway. The situation, in fact, is similar to that of Gujarāt at the same period: the local architectural tradition constituted a national style, of which Islām naturally made use with only such necessary modifications as the change of faith demanded. The same is true of the theatre, despite its fundamentally Hindu themes. The followers of Islām were conscious of no hostility to the national culture; the Javanese remained Javanese. The decline of Javanese art is to be ascribed only to natural and inherent causes. The will and the power to create great works, imaginatively or dimensionally great, had departed, and just as in Ceylon, there remained only the rich inheritance of tradition embodied in the folk arts. Only in the theatre and music and in the field of textiles, where aristocratic influences have been continuously at work, the spirit of classical art has survived.

A few words on Bali. In all probability Bali was originally directly Hinduised, and only came under Javanese influence and rule after the twelfth century, and this Javanese influence was never so overpowering as to prevent the development of a distinctive national civilisation. This unique culture, as it survives to the present day nevertheless presents us with a marvellous miniature picture of the conditions that prevailed in Eastern Java during the last centuries of Hindu rule — “ritual offerings, festivals, feudal relations, all appear in Bali still to correspond with the old descriptions” (of the Nāgarakertāgama). It is only in Bali that there survive that mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism which we have so constantly observed in classic and post-classic Further Indian and Indonesian art; and in costume, that nudity of the upper part of the body, which was characteristic both of India and Further India until the end of the classic ages.

The only really ancient remains are those of Tampaksiring, a royal burial place of eleventh or twelfth century date; here niches with temple façades have been cut in the wall of a deep ravine. These help to bridge the gaps in our knowledge of East Javanese art: the form of the roof is intermediate between the Middle Javanese type with turrets and the later East Javanese and Balinese type in which the roof is formed of closely compressed horizontal courses, of which the turrets are suppressed. The Pura ye Ganga temple of fourteenth or fifteenth century date resembles Panataran. Sculptures at Pejeng date from the same period. The more modern temples of Sangsit, Bangli, Batur (fig. 351), Kesiman, etc., consist of groups of small unrelated shrines enclosed in a ring-wall with high roofed gateways; the decoration is wild and free, quite

1 Krom, 3, p. 206.
without relation to the structural forms. The material generally employed is limestone.

As we have remarked (p. 139), the ancient culture of Java and Bali has survived to the present day mainly in the theatre (wayang) and in textiles (kain). With the theatre are inseparably associated music and dancing, both developed to a high degree of perfection.

The theatre embraces a number of forms, of which the oldest may be the Wayang Beber\(^1\) already mentioned. The Wayang Purwa, Wayang Gedog and Wayang Klitik, together embracing Javanese history beginning with the Indian epics and ending with the last kings of Majapahit, constitute the shadow play; this cannot with certainty be traced further back than the Arjunavivāha and may by either of local or of Chinese origin; we have no positive proof of the early existence of shadow plays in India\(^2\). The Javanese shadow figures are cut in leather and have moveable arms, but they are not translucent like those of China. Those of Burma and Siam on the other hand are combined with landscape in whole scenes and are not moveable. The Javanese shadow figures are handled with reverence, and, indeed, the shadow play is much more than an amusement, it is a ritual performed in honour of the ancestors of the race, whose spirits are represented by the leather puppets. A true puppet play (Wayang Golek) is also known, in which the figures are in the same way manipulated from below, unlike those of Burma, which have moveable legs as well as arms\(^3\).

Finally we have plays in which living actors take part: the masked play (Wayang Topeng)\(^4\) of high antiquity, and the regular theatrical performances (Wayang Wong) in imitation of shadow plays. This human theatre is mainly an eighteenth century creation of aristocratic origin, but the themes are invariably drawn from the ancient sources, and the noble costumes, absence of scenery, and traditional dances and gestures lend to the whole performance an air of antiquity. And this antiquity if not historically true, is certainly psychologically true; the Javanese theatre presents a living and emotionally convincing picture of a heroic and romantic past. Permanent troupes of actors are supported at the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts, and it is by no means unknown for some member of the royal family to play. On great occasions hundreds of actors are trained for months in advance and no expense is spared. The Javanese theatre embodies spiritual and cultural values of deep significance; only the No-gaku of

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1 An example illustrated in Krom, 4, pl. LIX.
3 Kats, 1; Serrurier; Grönenman; Helsdingen, R. van B. van, The Javanese theatre: Wayang Purwa and Wayang Gedog, in Straits Branch R. A. S., 65, 1915.
4 For Javanese masks, see Hidenosuke; and fig. 367.
Japan can be compared with it, and even so the Javanese has a wider range of theme and is far more than an exquisite survival.

Closely connected with the theatre are the dances, especially the character dances of the actors, given when they first appear upon the stage. Beside these there are the ritualistic dances of the Bedoyo and Serimpis, who are court ladies; and also many court dances of a purely decorative type. The gesture shows in a general way reminiscences of Indian tradition, but less specifically so than in the case of the dances represented in the ancient sculptures.

The typical Javanese textile is cotton batik (fig. 398), the material of all ordinary garments. The technique of batik, of South Indian origin, consists in painting and repainting the cotton ground with wax in such a manner as to reserve all those parts of the cloth which are not to take up colour at the next dipping in the dye vat. Many of the designs in use date from the earlier part of the Muḥammadan period in Java, others, especially the medallion types, recall such decorated wall surfaces as those of the Caṇḍi Sewu. In Middle Java only two colours, brown and blue, are employed, elsewhere combined with red and green. The material as sold is ready to wear without tailoring: the ordinary pieces are kain panjang corresponding to the Indian dhoti, kain slendang, the long breast cloth worn by women, and kain kapāla the square head piece, folded like a turban. This turban is small and closely fitting in Java, but in Bali the ends are left loose in a more coquettish fashion. The sārong, a piece of material sewn up to form a skirt, is more usual in Western Java and the Malay Peninsula. In Bali very gorgeous materials (kain prāda) worn by princesses and dancers are prepared by stamping Javanese batiks with designs in gold (fig. 399); the technique is probably Indian, but some of the designs show Chinese influence. Silk is only very rarely employed as a material for batik.

Of extraordinary interest and beauty are the ikat silks and cottons, the former in some cases combined with gold and silver, and woven in Sumatra, Java, Bali, Sumbawa (fig. 400) and other islands. In this technique the warp or woof threads are individually coloured by the tie dye process, each thread exhibiting different colours along its length in such a way that only when the cloth is woven on the loom does the pattern appear. Double ikat, in which both warp and woof threads are thus treated occurs only in Bali where the very handsome kain tengānan are used

1 For a good account of a court performance see Kats, 2. Also Coomaraswamy Notes on the Javanese theatre, in Rūpam, 7, 1921.
3 For batik see Rouffaer and Juynboll; Loebèr; for batik and all other Indonesian textiles, especially ikat, see Jasper and Pirngadie.
as covering for temple offerings. In Bali we also find a double silk *ikat* known as *patola*, but whether this is of local manufacture or an importation from Surat it would be hard to say. In any case the *ikat* technique, which is widely distributed both in Further India and Indonesia, is certainly of Indian origin and probably of high antiquity. Needless to remark that *ikat* weaving requires the most elaborate precalculation and measurement.

The beautiful cottons woven by the more primitive races in the Toba-batak lands of Sumatra, by the Dyaks of Borneo, and in other islands in brilliant geometrical designs, belong rather to the Malay-Polynesian than to the Indian tradition.
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217
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DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE I.

PLATE II.
3. with humped Indian bull;
4. with bull or "unicorn";
5. with elephant;
6. sacred tree (pippala, Ficus religiosa), with animal heads with long necks attached to the stem. See page 47 note 2.
7. Four deer with one head, Ajañṭā, Cave 1, capital relief in situ. Early seventh century A.D. but a very ancient motif. See page 11.

PLATE III.
8. Yakṣi, from Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Sandstone, 6' 7". Mauryan or older. See page 16.
9. Yakṣa, from Pārkham, now C 1 in the Mathurā Museum. Polished sandstone, 8' 8". Maurya or older. See pages 5, 16.

PLATE IV.
10. A banyan tree represented as a kalpa-vṛkṣa yielding abundance, enclosed by a plaited rail and rising from a square railed base, and probably the capital of a monolithic pillar. From Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Sandstone, 5' 8". Maurya or older. See pages 17, 41, 47.
11. Elephant, monolithic, forming part of the rock at Dhauli, Kaḷaṭak District, Orissa. The rock is engraved with one of Aśoka’s Fourteen rock-edicts. Maurya, ca. 257 B.C.
12. Lion-capital (originally surmounted by a Wheel of the Law [Dhamma-cakka], from the Aśoka column at Sārnāth, erected to commemorate the Preaching of the First Sermon, now A 1 in the Sārnāth Museum. Polished Chunār sandstone, 7' by 2' 10". Maurya, between 242 and 232 B.C. See page 17.

PLATE V.
15. Fragment of a colossal male figure, Yakṣa or king, from the back, from Barodiā, near Pārkham, now C 23 in the Mathurā Museum. Sandstone, 4' 2" (the height of the complete figure would have been about twelve feet). Maurya or older. See page 17.

1 Measurements are given in feet and inches. Where only one dimension is given, it represents the height of the object.
16. Winged goddess, standing on a lotus, from Basār. Moulded terracotta. Mauryan or older. Compare the pearl-fringed bracelet and 27, the triple armlet with figures 25, 38. See pages 12, 20, 21, 31 note 3.


PLATE VI.

18. Male head from Sārnāth, now in the Sārnāth Museum. Polished Chunār sandstone, 8''. Maurya or Śuṅga. See page 19.

19. Male head from Sārnāth, now in the Sārnāth Museum. Polished Chunār sandstone, 5 1/2''. Maurya or Śuṅga. See page 19.


PLATE VII.


25. Guardian or royal figure, relief in situ, Bhājā, on screen wall of verandah; pilaster on the left. Early Śuṅga. See page 25.

26. Frieze with a winged horse, horse and female rider using stirrup, other figures, and bulls, relief in situ, Bhājā, east end of verandah, below the pilaster, continuous with lower left hand portion of figure 25. Early Śuṅga. See page 25.

PLATE VIII.

27. Indra, relief in situ, Bhājā, west end of verandah, right of cell door, facing figure 24. Early Śuṅga. See pages 25—28, 41.

PLATE IX.


29. Façade of caitya-hall, Bhājā, showing the monolithic stūpa within. Śuṅga. See page 28.


PLATE X.

32—35. Caitya-halls, at Beḍsā and Kārli:

32. Interior of caitya-hall, Beḍsā. Śuṅga, ca. 175 B. C. See page 28.

33. Façade and great pilaster at the south end of the verandah, Beḍsā. Compare the bull with figure 14. Śuṅga, ca. 175 B. C. See page 28.

34. Interior of caitya-hall, Kārli, showing original wooden chatta above the monolithic stūpa. Late first century B. C. See pages 28, 29.

35. Part of screen, and façade in the verandah, Kārli. Late first century B. C. See page 29.

PLATE XI.


37. Yakṣi, Batamārā.
38. Kuvera Yakṣa, Bhārhat.


40. Indra in the form of the Brāhmaṇ Śanti, railing pillar dedicated by a king Nāgadeva or queen Nāgadevā, Bodhgaya. Ca. 100 B.C. See pages 8, 32.

PLATE XII.


41. Bodhi-shrine of Śākya Muni (Gautama Buddha), with inscription in Brāhmi characters “Bhagavato Sākya Muni Bhadbo”.

42. A stūpa with a lion pillar, worshippers, Pushpāni Devāni raining flowers, and two fan palms.

43. The Turban-relic of the Buddha enshrined in the temple of the gods (inscription, “Śuddhamma Deva-Sassā”) in the heaven of Indra, beside the palace of the gods (inscription “Vijayanta Pasāde”), with dancers in the foreground.

44. Donors or worshippers.

PLATE XIII.


45. A two-storied dhamma-takka shrine.

46. Bodhi-shrine, perhaps that of the previous Buddha, Krakucanda, with an elephant pillar, and worshippers.

47. Fragment of railing, with an episode of the Vessantara Jātaka, viz. the giving away of the sacred elephant Jettatura.

48. Pillar with king on an elephant, with attendants, like the Indra group of figure 27.

49. Lotus medallion enclosing a royal head, from a railing cross-bar.

PLATE XIV.

50. The great Stūpa, No. 1 at Sānci, as enlarged in the second and first centuries B.C., and now restored. See pages 34 ff.

51. Reliefs on one of the early railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2, second century B.C. See p. 35.

52. Reliefs on one of the later railing pillars of Stūpa No. 2, first century B.C. See page 35.

PLATE XV.


PLATE XVI.


54. The east toraṇa, Sānci, detail showing woman-and-tree bracket.

55. Bodhi-shrine, detail from east toraṇa, Sānci. With dedicatory inscription in Brāhmi characters.

56. Worshippers at shrines, Sānci. Part of a two-storied pavilion seen below.

PLATE XVII.

57. Goddess, wearing tunic and dhoti, with emblem of two fish at the side. Stated to be from Mathurā; now 25, 448 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Moulded red terracotta, 6’. Maurya or Śuṅga. See page 20.

58. Monolithic pillar, with the figure of a Yakṣi or woman wearing girdle and dhoti, at Rājāsana, Muzaffarpur District. Śuṅga. See page 32. Cf. Marshall, 8, fig. 32.

59. Monolithic railing pillar, with a figure of a Yakṣi wearing girdle and dhoti, supported by a dwarf Yakṣa, from Mathurā, now J 2 in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone, 6’ 5”. First century B.C. (?) Cf. page 63.

60. Goddess, radiate (?), wearing tunic and dhoti. From Kosām. Terracotta, 2 ¾”. Maurya. or Śuṅga. See page 20.
61. Detail from a railing pillar, showing the Sun in a four-horsed chariot, with female archers dispelling the powers of darkness; above, the lower part of a shrine, with triratna symbol on the altar, supported by three Yakṣas (so-called Atlantes). Bodhgayā. Sandstone. Ca. 100 B.C. See pages 33, 67.

62. So-called "Bodhgayā plaque", found at the Kumrāhār site, Patna (Pāṭaliputra), representing a straight-edged śikharā temple; with Kharoṣṭhī inscription. Patna Museum. Probably of Pañjab origin, and first or second century A.D. date. See pages 48, 62, 80, 81; and Spooner, 12; and Konow, 2.

PLATE XVIII.


64. Kuṣāna king, seated on a lion-throne, with a fire-altar engraved on the front of the pedestal. From Mathurā, now in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone. Second century A.D. See page 68.


PLATE XIX.

69. Representation of a śikharā-temple, detail from a railing pillar. From Mathurā, now J 24 in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone, ca. 8" by 9". First or second century A.D. See pages 48, 53, 80, 81.

69 A. Representation of a wooden śikharā-temple, detail from a toraṇa architrave. From Mathurā, now M 3 in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone, 7½". First or second century A.D. See pages 53, 205.

70. Medallion of a railing cross-bar, showing a Bodhi-temple of unique type, but like the stūpā bārmikā from Bhārhat, figure 42. From Mathurā, now 26. 96 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Red sandstone, 9". Second century B.C. See page 33.

71. Jaina āyāgapatā, a stone votive plaque. In the centre a seated Jina, surrounded by four triratna symbols; above and below the Eight Auspicious Symbols (Aṣṭamaṅgala); on the left a pillar with a dhamma-cakka capital, on the right a pillar with an elephant capital. Brāhma inscription not dated. From the Kaṅkali Tīlā, Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Museum. Mottled red sandstone, probably first century A.D. See pages 37, 70.

72. Jaina āyāgapatā dedicated by the courtesan (gaṇikā) Loṇāśobhikā at the "Nigathānām Arahatāyatana", or shrine of the Nirgrantha Saints; with Brāhma inscription not dated. The slab represents a stūpā with high cylindrical drum, standing on a high basement and approached by steps leading under a toraṇa to the circumambulation platform. On the side of the basement are represented two niches enclosing a male figure with a child, and a female. Leaning against the drum are Yakṣis, like those of the Mathurā railing pillars. Above, two nude flying figures (siddhas?) bearing an alms-bowl and a cloth, and worshipping, and two suparnas, winged, and with bird feet, offering flowers and a garland; dhamma-cakka and lion pillars at the sides. From Mathurā, now Q 2 in the Mathurā Museum. Mottled red sandstone, 2' 4" by 1' 9½". End of the first century B.C. See pages 37, 44 note 2.
PLATE XX.

73. Railing pillar, woman and child, another woman peering over a curtain behind; the child is reaching for the rattle which the woman holds. From Mathurā, now J 16 in the Mathurā Museum. Sandstone, 2' 2". First or second century A. D. or slightly earlier. See pages 64, 65.

74. Pillar, in the round, consisting of the figure of a female figure, probably representing Abundance standing on lotus flowers springing from a globular jar; at the back, sprays of lotus rise to the full height of the pillar. From the Jamālpur mound, Mathurā, now B 89 in the Lucknow Museum. Mottled red sandstone, 3' 10½" × 10" × 10½". First or early second century A. D. See pages 31 note 3, 64, 65, 150.

75. Torana bracket, Yakṣi, Devatā or Vṛksākā beneath a tree, and supported by an elephant. The figure wears a dhotī, the usual metal girdle, and sash. Compare with the figure inscribed with the name Culakoka Devatā at Bhārhat, figure 39. From the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā, now J 595 in the Lucknow Museum. Red sandstone, 4' 3" × 8' 5" × 10". First or second century B. C. See page 64.

76. Relief fragment. Above, male figures carrying a heavy ornamented roll, a motif of Gandhāran origin; below, two scenes, probably from a Jātaka, but not identified. From left to right, apparently a cobra, an bearded long-haired ascetic, a man with two baskets attached to a yoke, a fire altar, and a water-vessel (kamaṇḍalau), then a domed round ascetic's hut (pamā-Tāla) of post and thatch dividing the scenes, then a group of deer in a rocky landscape with two trees; then another hut, and the beginning of a third scene, with the same or another bearded man. Probably from the basement of a small stūpa. Now I 4 in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone, 11" by 5'. First or second century A. D. See page 62.

PLATE XXI.

77. Railing pillar representing a lay worshipper or donor, with lotus flowers in the raised right hand. Mottled red sandstone. From Mathurā, now B 88 in the Lucknow Museum. First or early second century A. D. See pages 57, 64.

78. Railing pillar. Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara); the right hand in abbaya mudrā, the left holding the amṛta vase, the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha in the headdress, probably the earliest known example of this iconographic feature. From Mathurā, now B 82 in the Lucknow Museum. Mottled red sandstone. First or early second century A. D. See pages 57, 63 and cf. fig. 87. 2' 6" × 10" × 10".

79. Railing pillar. Bodhisattva (Maitreyā?), with shaven head and wearing a necklace and dhotī; scollopated halo and umbrella; the right hand in abbaya mudrā, the left holding the amṛta vase. From Mathurā, now B 83 in the Lucknow Museum. Mottled red sandstone. First or early second century A. D. See pages 56, 63.

80. Pillar. Bodhisattva (Maitreyā?), wearing crown, jewels, scarf and dhotī, the right hand in abbaya mudrā, the left resting on the hip. Defaced Brāhma inscription. From Mathurā, now in the Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia. Mottled red sandstone. First or second century A. D.

81. Fragment of a railing pillar, woman under aśoka tree, a child at her breast, a rattle in her left hand. Mathurā, now F 16 in the Mathurā Museum. Mottled red sandstone, 1' 3½".

82. Back of a part of a multiple image of a Nāginī or snake goddess, carved in low relief with an aśoka tree in flower, with a squirrel on the stem. From Mathurā, now F 2 in the Mathurā Museum. Red sandstone, 2' 3½". Second century A. D. (?)
PLATE XXII.

83. Bodhisattva (so designated in the inscription), presumably Śākya Muni, the Buddha, in monastic robes; shaven head, the uṣṇīṣa apparently broken away, no ūrṇā; fragments show that the right hand was raised in abhaya mudrā the left as usual clenched on the hip, supporting but not holding the robe; a sitting lion between the feet. The head is of the same type as the illustrated in figures 9, 86, 96, and many other Mathurā sculptures, including railing pillars and Jinas. Dedicated by Friar Bala. Mathurā manufacture, set up at Sārnāth 123 A. D., now B (a) 1 in the Sārnāth Museum. Red sandstone, 8' 1½". See pages 56, 58.

PLATE XXIII.

84. Bodhisattva (so designated in the inscription) presumably Śākya Muni, the Buddha, with shaven head, spiral uṣṇīṣa, scalloped halo. Bodhi tree, puṣpāni dirvāni raining flowers, seated on a lion throne; two attendants with cauris; inscription in Brāhmi characters not dated, but similar to that of figure 83. The right hand in abhaya mudrā, the left on the knee, not clenched. From the Kaṭpā mound, Mathurā, now A 1 in the Mathurā Museum. Early second century A. D. Red sandstone, 2' 3½". See pages 46, 56, 57.

85. Buddha or “Bodhisattva” similar to figure 83, but less perfectly preserved. The attendant on the proper right holds a vajra and must represent Indra. The right hand in abhaya mudrā, the left on the knee, clenched. From Mathurā, now 25437 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mottled red sandstone, 2' 4½". Early second century A. D. See pages 50, 56, 57.

86. The Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha protected by the Nāga Dharāṇendra. Type the same as that of figures 84, 85. From the Kaśkālī Tīlā, Mathurā, now J 39 in the Lucknow Museum. Mottled red sandstone, 3' 4" × 1' 10½" × 8' 5½". Date first or early second century A. D. See pages 37, 50, 57, 58.

87. Bodhisattva or crowned Buddha, seated, the right hand in abhaya mudrā, the left on the knee. One of two puṣpāni dirvāni preserved above, part of a group of standing figures in monastic robes on the proper right, each with right hand raised and some object held in the left. Relief, probably from the square basement of a stūpa. Evidently from Mathurā, at present in the possession of Messrs Yamanaka, New York. Mottled red sandstone, height about 1' 4". Early second century A. D. Cf. pages 50, 56 note 5, 58 note 3, and fig. 78.

PLATE XXIV.

88. The Bimārān reliquary. Figure of Buddha on the left, two worshippers centre and right. Gold, set with gems. From Bimārān, Afgānūstān, now in the British Museum. Early first century A. D.? See pages 50, 51.

89. The Kaniṣṭha reliquary. Seated nimbatte Buddha above with two worshippers; band of bánśas round the flange of the lid; Erotes bearing a garland below, with a seated Buddha in the centre; incised inscription. Metal, 7½". From Kaniṣṭha’s reliquary tower at Śāhā-ji-ki-Dherī, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Second quarter of second century A. D. See pages 50, 52, 54.


PLATE XXV.

91. Relief slab from the base of a stūpa, with scenes from the Buddha’s life. Above, niche representing the section of a caitya-hall, with the Buddha preaching the first sermon represented in the pediment; below, various other scenes; at the base, left, the Gift of Bowls, and the Parinirvāṇa. Blue slate, Gandhāra, now in the Art Institute, Detroit. Late first century A. D.? See page 50.
PLATE XXVI.
92. Dipāṅkara jātaka. On the left a youth with a purse in his right, a water vessel in his left hand, purchasing lotus flowers from a girl, who has a jar under her left arm; in the centre the same youth prepared to cast the flowers at Dipāṅkara Buddha; right, the same youth prostrate offering his hair as a carpet for the Buddha’s feet; Dipāṅkara Buddha on the right. The use of continuous narration is unusual in Gandhāran art. Gandhāra, present situation unknown. Blue slate, 1' 4". Gandhāra, somewhat Indianised, second century A.D. See pages 50 ff., cf. fig. 49.
93. Vessantara jātaka, the gift of the sacred elephant of Jettatara. The elephant with an attendant holding an anāhuṭa in his left hand and raising his right in a gesture of respect, is emerging from the city gate. The Bodhisattva, nimbate, with thick curly hair holds its trunk in his left hand (as in figure 47 from Bhārhat); the right hand, which should hold the water vessel from which water is poured in ratification of gift, is missing, and only the foot of the Brāhmaṇ recipient appears on the extreme left. On the right a Corinthian pilaster with a seated Buddha. From Gandhāra, unknown site, now 25. 467 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Blue slate, 11". Gandhāran, Indianised, second century A.D. See pages 50, 51 note 1, 149. Cf. fig. 49.

PLATE XXVII.
94—97 Four Buddha types.
94. Head of Buddha, wavy flowing locks, urpaña prominent, pure Hellenistic style. Source unknown, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Blue slate, 9 ¼". First century A.D. Cf. fig. 49. See pages 50, 52, 69
96. Head of Buddha, type of Friar Bala’s Sārṇāth Bodhisattva (fig. 85). From Mathurā, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 3120. Mottled red sandstone, 11". Early second century A.D. See pages 58 note 5, 60.
97. Head of Buddha, the hair in curls. From Amarāvatī, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1520. White marble, 8 ½". End of second or beginning of third century A.D. See page 71.

PLATE XXVIII.
98—101 Four Buddha types.
98. Head of Buddha, the hair in curls. From Mathurā, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 2230. Mottled red sandstone, 12 3/4". Gupta, fifth century. See page 60.
99. Head of Bodhisattva, with elaborate crown. From Mathurā, now in the possession of Mr. C. T. Loo, New York. Mottled red sandstone. Gupta, fifth century.
100. Head of Buddha, the hair in curls. From Romlok, Ta Keo, Funan (Southern Cambodia). “Indianesque” or “pre-Khmer”, sixth century A.D. See pages 153, 183.
101. Head of Buddha, the hair in curls. From Borobudur, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Basalt, 1' 4". See page 203.

PLATE XXIX.
103. Śārīra, seated in a chariot drawn by four horses; indistinct objects held in the hands, perhaps a lotus and a sword. The deity is provided with small shoulder wings, and a large, semicircular halo, radiate at the edge. From the Śāptasamudrī well, Mathurā, now D 46 in the Mathurā Museum. Mottled red sandstone, 2' 9". About 100 A.D.? See pages 12, 67.
104. Five scenes from the life of Buddha, relief, probably from a stūpa base. From left to right in the reproduction: 1. Parinirvāṇa, 2. First Sermon, 3. Descent from the Tuṣita Heavens, 4. Māra Dharsana, 5. Nativity. In the lower rank, below no. 4, Māra shooting an arrow at the Bodhisattva, the latter with right hand in bhūmisparsa mudrā, calling the Earth to witness, the earliest instance of this mudrā; one of the daughters of Māra at the Bodhisattva’s side. In the lower right hand corner, the infant Bodhisattva standing between the two Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda, issuing from masonry wells. From the Rāj Ghat, Mathūrā, now H 1 in the Mathūrā Museum. Red sandstone, 2' 2''. Second century A. D. See page 62.

PLATE XXX.

105. Plaque, representing a nude goddess, probably the Earth. From the Vedic burial mound at Lauriṣyā-Nandangarh, seventh or eighth century B. C. Gold. See page 10.


107. Punch-marked coin, unknown source, now Asiatic Society, Bengal. Silver, 51.3 gr., 1.17" by 0.7". Symbols: two solar, square tank with fishes, one-horned rhinoceros. One of the solar symbols like the sun on fig. 112, the other of the “Taxila” type, with crescents and broad arrows alternating round a central ring. Smith, 6, p. 119, and pl. XIX, 3. See pages 43, 45.

108. Punch-marked coin, unknown source, now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Silver, 52.3 gr., 0.65" by 3". Symbols: three human figures (man and two women, mountain of five peaks with a peacock upon it, and square. (The reverse has a mountain only.) Smith, 6, p. 138, and pl. XIX, 3. See pages 43, 45.

109. Coin of Apollodotos, ca. 156—140 B. C., now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22. 56. Silver, 30.8 gr. Reverse, with humped bull, probably of Śaiva significance, and Kharoṣṭhī legend. (The obverse has an elephant and Greek legend.) See page 45.

110. Coin of Pavata (Pārvata) of Kosām, second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Copper, die-struck on cast blank, 26.3 gr., .65" by .17". Obverse with caitya-vṛka, mountain of three peaks, and snake, and Brāhmi legend Pavata. (Reverse has a humped bull.) Smith, 6, p. 155, and pl. XX, 4. See pages 44, 45.

111. Anonymous coin, Kosām, second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Copper, 102.3 gr., 1.01". Obverse with caitya-vṛka, mountain of six peaks, eight-rayed wheel, svastika, cross and balls (near to “Ujjain” symbols). (Reverse has a lanky humped bull.) Smith, 6, p. 155, and pl. XX, 5. See pages 44, 45.

112. Coin of Avanti, probably Ujjain. Asiatic Society, Bengal. Copper, 128.2 gr., .72". Obverse, king standing, svastika, taurine, “Taxila”, solar symbol, as in fig. 107, sun on pillar. (Reverse has “Ujjain” symbol with inner circle and dot in each orb.) Smith, 6, p. 153, and pl. XX, 2. See pages 44, 45.

113. Coin of Taxila, fourth or third century. B. C. 145 gr., .8". Indian Museum, Calcutta. Obverse with mountain of three peaks, surmounted by a crescent, pyramid of balls, svastika, and snake, all in incuse. (Reverse is blank.) Smith, 6, p. 156, and pl. XX, 6. See pages 44, 45.

114. Southern India, Pāṇḍyan coin, before 300 A. D. From Kantarōdai, Ceylon, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1000. Copper, 138.1 gr. Obverse, with elephant, two caitya-vṛkas, mountain of three arches, raised frame. (Reverse has indistinct symbol within similar raised lines.) See pages 44, 45.
115. Coin of Amoghabhūti, Kuṃṇḍa, of Kāṅgrā, &c. second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Silver, 33.8 gr., .67". Obverse, woman with a lotus in r. hand, stag with symbol between horns, railed umbrella caitya (not a stūpa, see page 45), and circle surrounded by dots; Brāhmī legend. (Reverse with other symbols and Kharoṣṭhī legend.) Smith, 6, p. 167 and pl. XX, 11. See pages 44, 45 note 2.


117. Audumbara coin, Paṭhāṅkot or Kāṅgrā, Early first century A. D. Copper, 34 gr., .65". Obverse with a railed (circular?) pavilion with five pillars and domed (thatched?) roof with projecting eaves, and small finial; three Brāhmī letters. Smith, V. A., ibid. See pages 45 note 2, 48.

Another building appears on a coin of Dhara Ghoṣa, Audumbara. Cunningham, 5, p. 68, and pl. IV, 2, calls it "a pointed-roofed temple of two or three storeys, with pillars". Fine square coins from Kantarōdai, Ceylon, probably early Pāṇḍyan (Korkai), bear very clear representations of railed circular pavilions with pillars and domed roof, closely resembling figs. 116, 117 (Pieris, p. 50 and pl. XIII, 7, 8, 11, 12).

118. Kṣatrapa coin, first century A. D.? Silver, 98.5 gr., .65". Obverse, woman or goddess, r. hand raised, l. hand on hip, standing under a torana, of which the base of the right hand post is railed. The figure is presumably the goddess of Abundance, Ardhoṣho-Laṅkṣmi. (Obverse has horse and Brāhmī legend.) Smith, ibid.

119. Coin of Kadaphes (Kadapha, Kadphises I, ca. 40—78 A. D.). Copper or bronze, 24 gr., .62". Reverse with seated king or Buddha cross-legged, with broad shoulders, r. hand raised holding some object, l. hand on hip, the elbow extended; triangle under elbow of r. arm. Smith, V. A., in J. A. S. B., LXVII, pt. 1, 1898, coin no. VI. Another example of this rare and interesting type is reproduced by Whitehead, R. B., pl. XVII, no. 29. Another example is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See page 59.


121. Coin or token from Ceylon, first or second century A. D. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1040. Lead-alloy, 94. 4 gr. Obverse with standing figure of Maṅgev-i-Laṅkṣmi, nude except for girdle, holding the stems of lotuses in each hand, each lotus flower, at the level of the head, supporting an elephant with inverted water-jar. (The reverse has an elevated railed svastika.) The composition occurs in the oldest Indian Buddhist sculptures, and on the coins of Agilises. See Codrington, H. W.

122. Coin of Kaniṣka, 120—160 A. D. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22. Gold, 23 gr. Obverse, king standing nimbrate, with pointed helmet and diadem, r. hand dropping grains on fire altar, l. hand with trident, flame on shoulder; reverse, Śiva standing before the bull Nandi, r. hand with pāla, left with triśūla, flaming nimbus, Greek legend Oesbo. See pages 45, 66, 67.

123. Coin of Kaniṣka, British Museum. Gold, 109.2 gr., .8". Obverse, king standing as before but with elephant goad in r. hand over fire altar, and Greek legend better preserved, Shānano Kamerni Shahano; reverse, Buddha standing facing, nimbate, r. hand raised, l. hand holding robe (not a wallet, as Gardner says), Greek legend Boddo. Gardner, p. 130 and pl. XXVI, 8. See pages 59, 66, 67.
124. Coin of Kadphises II, 78—120 A. D. British Museum. Gold, 244.2 gr., .95"'. Obverse, king seated on throne, flames rising from shoulders, in r. hand a branch, footstool under feet, Greek inscription. (Reverse has two-armed Śiva with bull, flames rising from head, Kharoṣṭhī inscription.) Gardner, p. 124 and pl. XXV, 6. See page 66.

125. Coin of Kaniška. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22. 58. Gold, 120 gr. Reverse, Śiva standing, four-armed, l. r. hand with inverted vase u. r. hand with drum (?), u. l. hand with trisūla, l. l. hand on hip, a goat prancing in r. field, Greek legend Oesho. (Obverse has king standing at altar.) See pages 45, 67.

126. Coin of Vāsudeva, ca. 185—220 A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 25. 469. Gold, .75"'. Reverse, Śiva, standing, three-faced, four-armed, wearing dhoti and yajnopavīṭa, l. r. hand in abhaya hasta, u. r. hand with pāsa, u. l. hand with trisūla, l. l. hand with kamanjala (water-vessel). (Obverse has king standing at altar.) See pages 45, 55, 67, 100 note 1.


The Prākrit form Ardoṣho has been interpreted (1) as Ardha-Ugra = half of Śiva = Pārvatī, and (2) as referring to the Persian Ashis, a goddess of fortune, daughter of Ahuro.


131. Coin of Kumāragupta I, 415—455 A. D. In Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 2587. Gold, 126.3 gr. Obverse, king riding a caparisoned horse. (Reverse has goddess, Lakṣmī, seated on a wicker stool, feeding a peacock.)

132. Coin of Candragupta II. Lucknow Museum. Gold, 1.20.6 gr., .85". Obverse, king standing nimbate, r. hand drawing an arrow from the quiver at his feet, l. hand holding bow, Garuḍa standard in l. field. Reverse, goddess nimbate, seated on lotus, holding noose (pāśa) in r. hand, lotus in l. hand. Allan, p. 26 and pl. VI, 10.


PLATE XXXI.

135. Part of the façade of the caitya-hall at Kaṇhēri, with figures of donors. Evidently based on the Kārīṇī model. Second century A. D. See page 69.
PLATE XXXII.
136. Casing slab from the Amarāvatī stūpa, now in the Madras Museum. Marble, 6' 2"; late second century A. D. See page 70.

This relief affords a good idea of what must have been the appearance of the Amarāvatī stūpa at the height of its glory (nothing now remains in situ). The edges of the frame, r. and l., represent very elaborate stambhas carrying dharmas-cakkhas. The centre of the frieze above represents the Assault of Māra and the Temptation by the Daughters of Māra; here the Buddha is visibly represented, but in the panels to r. and l. he is represented only by an empty throne.

PLATE XXXIII.
137. Standing figure of Buddha of a very massive type, Amarāvatī, now in the Madras Museum. Marble. End of second or very early third century A. D. See pages 70, 71.
138. Two standing Buddhas, Amarāvatī, now in the Madras Museum. Marble, 6' 4". End of second or very early third century A. D. See pages 70, 71.
140. Stele representing Four Great Events of the Buddha’s life, from Amarāvatī, now in the Madras Museum, 4' 5". Marble. Late second century A. D. See page 70.

Below, the Great Renunciation; second, the Great Enlightenment, represented by the Temptation by the Daughters of Māra; third, the First Sermon; fourth, the Parinirvāṇa.

141. Slab with a scene from the Buddha’s life, from Amarāvatī, now in the Madras Museum. Late second century A. D. Marble, ca. 1'. See page 70.

PLATE XXXIV.
142. Slab of ṣāga-patā type with a representation of a two-storeyed shrine, like the so-called puṇya-tālas at Bhārhat. Women with offerings within, a figure probably representing the donor standing without. A wild date palm to left. From Jaggayyapeṭa, now in the Madras Museum. Marble. First or second century B. C. See page 38.
143. Pilaster, with lotus capital and adorned monsters, in Bhārhat style, and figure or a Yakṣī or river goddess standing on a makara. From Jaggayyapeṭa, now in the Madras Museum. Marble. First or second century B. C. See page 38.
144, 145. Two sides of a votive column (ṣītā-laṁka, according to the inscription). The first showing a dharmas-cakkha with an empty āsana in front of it, probably representing the First Sermon; the second a domed shrine, containing a reliquary on an altar. The two other sides have representations respectively of a tree and āsana (Great Enlightenment), and of a stūpa (Parinirvāṇa). From this it would appear as though the Four Great Events were represented; but the reliquary is not a usual symbol of the Nativity. In fig. 145 it is clearly indicated that the dome, which tends to the globular form, is of corbelled construction. Ferguson, 2, vol. I, p. 312, has a good discussion of Indian domes, but overlooks this important example. As he points out, only the horizontal, corbelled construction permits the support of a heavy dome by pillars alone.

Marble, 4' 3"; probably first or second century B. C.; the column is grouped by Burgess (7, p. 86 and Pl. XLV, 1—4) amongst the older sculptures from Amarāvatī. Now in the Madras Museum. See pages 38, 70.

146. Lower part of a pillar, with representation of a Nāga stūpa, with elaborate range of umbrellas. Marble, ca. 5'; now in the Madras Museum. Perhaps first century B. C. See pages 38, 70, 73 note 4, 76 note 1, 122 and Burgess, 7, page 85 and Pl. XLIV, 2).
PLATE XXXV.

PLATE XXXVI.
149. Cāitya-hall (temple 18) at Sānci; the foundation Aśokan, the stone pillars replacing earlier wooden structures about the seventh century. See page 94.
150. The iron pillar at Delhi, originally set up about A.D. 415 by Kumāragupta I in honour of his father Candragupta II, probably at Mathūrā. A statue originally crowned the capital. Height 23' 8".
151. Temple 17 at Sānci. Early fifth century. See page 78.

PLATE XXXVII.
152. The Durgā temple, Aihoje, Bijāpur District. Sixth century. See page 78.

PLATE XXXVIII.
154. Façade of the cāitya-hall, Cave XIX at Ajañṭā. Sixth century. See pages 60, 74, 76.

PLATE XXXIX.
155. Upper part of the façade of the Viśvakarmā cāitya-hall, Elūrā. Ca. 600 A. D. See page 77.
156. Pillars and architrave, verandah of vibhūra, Cave II at Ajañṭā. Ca. 600—650 A. D. See page 98.

PLATE XL.
158. Buddha, from the Jamālpur (jail) mound, Mathūrā, now A 5 in the Mathūrā Museum. Fifth century. Red sandstone, 7' 2". See pages 60, 74, 84.
159. Buddha, said to have been found in Burma, but probably made in India, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1504. Bronze, 1' 8". See pages 60, 85, 171.

PLATE XLI.

The figure is cast in two layers, the inner of which was moulded on an earthly, cinder-like core, composed of a mixture of sand, clay, charcoal, and rice husks. The segments of this inner layer were held together by much corroded iron bands, originally three quarters of an inch thick. The outer layer of copper seems to have been cast over the inner one, presumably by the cire perdue process; it was made in several sections, one of which consisted of the face and connected parts down to the breast. The whole weighs nearly a ton. Cf. Smith, 2, p. 172 and references there quoted.

PLATE XLII.
161. Buddha, from Sārnāth, now B(b) 181 in the Sārnāth Museum. The position of the hands (dharma-cakra mudrā) and the wheel on the pedestal indicate the preaching of the First Sermon; the five figures with shaven heads on the pedestal are probably the Five Companions who deserted the Bodhisattva at Gayā but afterwards became his first followers; the woman and child probably represent donors. Fifth century. Chunār sandstone, 3' 5". See pages 60, 74, 85.
PLATE XLIII.
162. Buddha from Māpunkūr, Allahābād District, dated 448/9 A. D. The only Gupta example of the old Kuśāna type with shaven head; the body is nude to the waist. The fingers are webbed, as in several other early Gupta examples. Sandstone. See pages 74, 83.
163. Buddha from Faṭhpur, Kāngrā District, now in the Lahore Museum. Sixth century inscription. Brass, the eyes and ānugṛha and some other details in silver, other details in copper, 11.8". Cf. Vogel, 4. See pages 85, 142, 175.
164. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, and Buddhas, &c., in situ, Kanheri, Cave LXVI. The “Litany” on the right, shows Avalokiteśvara standing between two Tārās, a monastic figure at his feet, with four panels on either side representing persons in distress praying for aid. It should be noticed that the roughness of the porous rock surface was originally covered with a fine plaster finish, and coloured. The type and various details suggest a comparison with Cambodian “pre-Khmer” work. See pages 60, 74, 85, 183.

PLATE XLIV.
165. Ceiling slab from the old temple known as Haccappya’s at Aihoče (= A. S. I., A. R., 1907–08, p. 203, fig. 6), representing Viṣṇu seated upon Ananta Nāga. The deity holds the discus and conch in the upper right and left hands. Sixth century. Stone.
166. Detail of toraṇa pillar representing Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhara; Mt. Govardhana is shown with many peaks, amongst which are seen two cobras, a lion, and a horse-headed fairy; Kṛṣṇa, gopas and gopīs, and cattle below. Maṇḍor, Jodhpur State. Sandstone. Fifth century. See pages 26 note 3, 86.
167. Rāmâyana panel; Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā at the hermitage of Savari, from the Gupta temple at Deogarh. Sandstone, 2' 10". Ca. 600 A. D. See pages 79, 86, 204 note 2.

PLATE XLV.
168. Standing figure of Brahmā, found near Mirpur Kūhs, now in the Museum at Karāchi. Bronze. Probably sixth century. See page 86.
169. Architect’s plummet, with a Bacchanalian dancing scene on the neck. From the river Surma, East Bengal, now in the British Museum. Iron, coated with bronze, 6¾". Sixth century. See page 86.
171. Head of Lokeśvara or Śiva, from an attendant figure at the vase of an image of Trilokakyavijaya, Sārnāth, now in the Sārnāth Museum. Sandstone. Sixth or seventh century. See pages 153, 183 note 1.

In a remarkable way this head anticipates the characteristic appearance of many Far Eastern, especially Japanese, works.

PLATE XLVI.
172. Nāgarāja and Rāni, in a rock-cut niche outside Cave XIX at Ajañṭā. Sixth century.
173. Detail from a group representing a Gandharva and Apsaras, from Sondani, now in the Gwāliar Museum. Fifth or sixth century. See page 86.
174. The Varāha Avatār of Viṣṇu raising the Earth from the Waters at the commencement of a cycle of creation. At Udayagiri, Bhopal State. Ca. 400 A. D. See pages 85, 100.

PLATE XLVII.

This panel was originally the base of a door jamb. The type appears already at Bihārutt (Cunningham, 2, pl. XXIII, 2) where the nymph is named in the inscription as Sudarsanā Yakṣi; the name of Gangā Devi seems to be of later usage. Cf. Vogel, 18.

178. Nativity of Mahāvīra or of Krisṇa. From Paṭhāri, now in the Gwāliar Museum. Sandstone, about life size. Seventh century or later. See page 86.

PLATE XLVIII.
179. A prince and a princess walking, with attendants, and a love scene, not identified. Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII, over left side door and window. Ca. 500 A. D. See page 89.

PLATE XLIX.
182. Head of a beggar, detail from the Vessantara Jātaka. Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII, left side of hall, right corner. Ca. 500 A. D. See page 89.

PLATE L.
184. Apsaras and attendant. In the rock pocket at Sigiriya, Ceylon. Ca. 479—497 A. D. See page 163.

PLATE LI.
186. Lākṣmaṇa temple, Sirpur. Brick. Seventh century or later. See page 93.

PLATE LII.

PLATE LIII.
189. Cāitya-hall, Cave XXVI, Ajaṇṭā, interior, showing the stūpa, roof and pillars dividing the nave from the side-aisle. Early seventh century.

PLATE LV.
191. The old temple at Gop, Kāṭhiawād. Sixth or seventh century. See page 82.
192. The Kailāsa, Elūrā. The tower of the main shrine is at the far end. In the middle, on the left, one of the two dīvaja-stambhas, the other in the corresponding position on the right. The roof of the porch in which is preserved the ceiling painting of fig. 196 appears immediately to the right of the capital of the first dīvaja-stambha. Eighty centuries. See page 99.

PLATE LV.
193. Upper part of the Mt. Kailāsa relief, Kailāsa, Elūrā. Pārvatī turning to Śiva, who presses down the mountain with his foot. Eighth century. See pages 100, 166, 193.

PLATE LVI.
PLATE LVII.

PLATE LVIII.
197. The Kailāsanātha temple, Kānchipuram: outer façade of the peristyle, entrance gopuram (centre) and vimāna (right). See pages 102, 104.
198. Plain double-roofed shrine, the fundamental unit of Drāviḍa architecture, corresponding to the Bhārhut Sudhamma Deva-Sabhā (fig. 43) but square, and with small caitya-window (kaṇḍī) ornaments on the cornice and dome. Bhagiratha is represented as worshipping Śiva, seen in relief in the open door of the shrine. Part of the Gaṅgāvata-raṇa, Māmallapuram. Early seventh century. See pages 103, 104.

PLATE LIX.
200. The “Draupadī Ratha”, Māmallapuram. This is a shrine of Durgā, but with the attributes of Lākṣmi. The curved four-angled roof does not differ fundamentally from that of other four-, six-, or eight-angled domes, but being single and almost without decoration more clearly reveals its bent bamboo origins. Height about 18’. First half of seventh century. See page 104.

PLATE LX.
204. Effigies of Mahendravarmman and his two queens, in the Ādi-Varāha cave, Māmallapuram. First half of seventh century. See pages 103, 104.
206. Bhagiratha at the shrine of Śiva (see fig. 198).
207. Nāgas and Nāginīs; cat and mice.

PLATE LXI.
208. Durgā-Mahiṣamardini, relief in the Yamapuri or Mahiṣa-maṇḍapam at Māmallapuram. First half of seventh century. See page 103.
209. Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin, relief in the Yamapuri or Mahiṣa-maṇḍapam at Māmallapuram. First half of seventh century. See page 103.

PLATE LXII.
210. The great temple at Bodhgayā, commonly called Mahābodhi, as now restored. A temple of this type existed in the time of Hsūn Tsang, and probably already in the Kuśāna period. See pages 81, 170. Cf. figs. 62, 69, 309.

PLATE LXIII.
211. Hoysaleśvara temple, Halebid. Left unfinished in 1311 A. D. See page 118.
212. The Teli-kā-Mandir, Gwāliar Fort. The uppermost storey is a simplified restoration; the roof was probably like that of the Vaitāl Deul at Puri. Eleventh century. See page 109.
213. Brick temple of Siddheśvara, Bāṅkurā (Bahulara), Bengal. See page 108.

PLATE LXIV.
PLATE LXV.

PLATE LXVI.

PLATE LXVII.
220. Surya Deul, Konāraka, detail from a spoke of one of the decorated wheels of the basement of the temple; representing a horseman slaying a panther. Thirteenth century. See page 116.

PLATE LXVIII.
221. Ceiling of Tejāhpāla’s temple, Dilwāra, Mt. Ābū. 1232 A. D. Marble. See page 112.

PLATE LXIX.
222. Viṣṇu, from Sulṭānpur, now in the Lucknow Museum. Buff sandstone, 3' 5". Tenth or eleventh century. See page 110.
224. Viṣṇu, from the Dēkkhan or Maisūr, now in the Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia. Polished granulite, 6'. Ninth or tenth century. See page 118.

Inscription recording the maker’s name, Cāvunḍoja of the Tailokya-malleśvara temple (the present Mallikārjuna) at Kuruvatti. See Rūpam, no. 18, p. 66.

PLATE LXX.

PLATE LXXI.
228. The Eight Great Events of the Buddha’s life, the main figure representing the Bodhisattva seated under the Bodh tree, with right hand in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā “calling the earth to witness” on the occasion of Māra’s challenge, previous to the Great Enlightenment. As a Bodhisattva, Gautama is represented with crown and jewels, though otherwise in the monastic robes of a Buddha. From Bengal or Bihār, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1835. Black slate, 17 3/4". Pāla school of Bengal-Bihār-Orissā, eleventh century. See page 114. See Coomaraswamy 9 (2), p. 75.
229. Arapacana Maṇiṣūrī, from Bengal or Bihār, now in the collection of Mrs. Burnet (Miss Cota Timken), New York, and exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Black slate, 5' 9 3/4". Pāla school of Bengal-Bihār-Orissā, tenth or eleventh century. See page 114.
230. Umā-Mahiṣāsvara group, from Bengal or Bihār, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1651. Copper, 6 1/4". Pāla school of Bengal-Bihār-Orissā, eleventh or twelfth century. See page 114.
PLATE LXXII.


For this and two other figures in the same style see Ganguly, M., 2, pp. 137—141, where detailed iconographic descriptions are given. For other figures in similar style see Spooner, 6, and Coomaraswamy 9 (2), pp. 67, 78 (21. 1652 and 1653).

232. Bodhisattva, now in the Śrī Partāp Singh Museum, Śrīnagar, Kaśmir. Pāla school of Bihār (Nālandā), ninth or tenth century. See pages 113, 142.

233. Buddha, seated under the Bodhi tree on the occasion of the Great Enlightenment, the right hand in bhūmi-spṛśa mudrā, “Calling the Earth to witness”. With inscription. From Nālandā, in the Museum at Nālandā. Bronze or copper, 9”. See pages 114, 142.

234. The Tīrthāṅkara Pārśvanāthā, a Jaina image from Kannaḍa, now in the possession of Mr. K. Kay. With inscription in Kanarese characters of the tenth or eleventh century naming the donor, “The illustrious Maldaiya of Pṛthvi-Gollarajjas, follower of Guṇasena, pupil of Malliṣena Bhaṭṭāra of the Mata ... gana”. Copper, 13¾”. See page 119.

PLATE LXXIII.


237. The great temple at Tīruvannāmalai. All of the conspicuous tall structures are gopuras; the principal shrines are small vimānas scarcely distinguishable in the centre of the right hand part of the enclosure. The gopuras are of the Coḷa and later periods. See page 122.

PLATE LXXIV.


239. Part of a maṇḍapam at Auvāḍaiyar Kovil. Observe the elaborated corner of the roll cornice, and imitation of wooden forms beneath it, also the columnettes of the corner pillar. Typical Vijayanagar style, fourteenth century. See pages 123, 124.


241. A sthopati, in charge of the erection of a temple at Auvāḍaiyar Kovil, 1907 A. D., with the elevation of a pillar and superstructure drawn on a wall according to jātraic rules. See page 124.

PLATE LXXV.

242. Naṭarāja, from Southern India, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1829. The deity is three-eyed and four-armed, the l. r. hand in abhaya mudrā, the u. r. hand holding the drum (damaru), the u. l. hand holding a flame, the l. l. hand and arm in the danta or gaia bhasha position. In his spreading locks can be seen the figures of Gaṅgā and the digit of the moon. He dances on a prostrate dwarf, a survival of the old Yakṣa vābanam, here representing Mala, “ignorance” or illusion. The encircling fiery halo (tiruvāṭi) is lacking. Copper, 2’ 5½”. Seventeenth century. See page 126.

PLATE LXXVI.

244. Devī (Umā, Pārvatī, Śivakāmī), seated at ease, the r. hand in kāṣṭaka bāsta as if holding a flower. From Southern India, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1827. Copper, 1' 4 3/8". Fourteenth century? See page 126.


247. River-goddess or Vṛkṣaṅkā (the two motifs are combined, the tree proceeding from the mouth of the makara vāhanam, and being prolonged into a decorative scroll). Door jamb, north gopuram, Rāmasvāmi temple, Tāḍapātri, Anantapur District. See page 124.

248. Śiva, Gajaseṅāhārā-mūrti, part of a monolithic pillar in the Śiva temple at Perūr, Coimbatore District. The deity is eight-armed and stands in a dance pose on the head of the elephant of which the skin forms the oval frame within which the figure is enclosed. Seventeenth century. See page 126.

PLATE LXXVII.

249. Horizontal makara toraṇa, a gateway lintel, Bījāpur. Ca. 1100.


251. Jaina kārttistambha at Chitor (Cītaurgār), Mewār. 1440—1448 A.D. See page 111.

PLATE LXXVIII.

252. Gwāliar fort and palace; palace of Mān Siṅgh, ca. 1500 and Hāthī Pol on the left. See page 121.


PLATE LXXIX.


PLATE LXXX.

255. a and b. Two leaves of a Gujarātī Jaina manuscript of the Kalpa Sūtra. Above, left, the Rāgī Triśalā (afterwards mother of Mahāvīra) reclining behind the pardah (hence the separation of the two parts of the composition) listening to, right, the Interpretation of Dreams, with Rāja Siddhārtha enthroned and a Brāhmaṇ consulting a book; above, left, text in Jaina Nāgarī characters, and right, the Dikṣā of Mahāvīra, with Indra in attendance, in landscape. Indicatory marginal sketches in margins. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 2276. Paper, size of leaves 11" by 3 3/4". Fifteenth century. See page 119, and Coomaraswamy, 9 (4).


PLATE LXXXI.

257. Two pictures from Mr. N C. Mehta's Gujarātī manuscript of the Vasantā Vilāsa. Manuscript in scroll form on cotton. Width of manuscript 7 7/8". Dated equivalent to 1431 A.D. See page 120; also Mehta, I, and Gangoly in O. Z., N. F., II, 1925.
PLATE LXXXII.

258. Kṛṣṇa expecting Rādhā, southern Rājput or Gujarāti painting, with Gujarāti text; “One of her companions is leading Rādhā forward, the slender Rādhā, branch of love, and many of her friends are with her, creeper and vine side by side; before them is a garden full of trees, and there is Kṛṣṇa, expectant of her coming”. Features unusual or unknown in Rājput painting and of Gujarāti character are the representation of the eye in profile as if seen from the front, and the representation of bees, here of special significance both as designating Rādhā’s lotus-face, and suggesting her glances making a “bee-line” for Kṛṣṇa, as in Karpura-mañjarī, II, 6. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 25. 426. Paper, 7” by 9 3/4”. Sixteenth century. See page 129, and colour reproduction, Coomaraswamy 9 (5).

PLATE LXXXIII.


PLATE LXXXIV.

260. Lalitā Rāginī, detail enlarged, a woman sleeping on a bed in a room. Costume: skirt, colī, and sārī, jewellery and large pompoms. From the same Rāgmālā series as fig. 258 and by the same hand. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 2384. Paper, 2 1/8” by 3 1/4”. Late sixteenth century, or ca. 1600; pure Rājput (Rājasthānī) style. See page 129.

PLATE LXXXV.

261. Madhu-mādhavī Rāginī, with superscribed Hindī verses alluding to the storm clouds and the “sweet, sweet rumbling of thunder”, and their effect on the peacocks and on the lady’s heart and desires. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 15. 53. Paper, 7” by 9 7/8”. Early seventeenth century. See page 129, and Coomaraswamy, 9 (5) and 10 (coloured reproduction).

PLATE LXXXVI.

265. Head of Kṛṣṇa, coloured cartoon for a Rāś Lilā composition. The complete work in the Mahārāja’s Library, Jaipur; the cartoon now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Paper, 18” by 26”. See page 129, and Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. IX (coloured reproduction).

PLATE LXXXVII.

266. Scene from the Rāmāyaṇa, Siege of Lāṅkā; Rāma, Lakṣmanama, and Vibhīṣaṇa seated with Hanuman and Jambavān surrounded by the army of monkeys and bears, two Rākṣasa spies being brought in. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 2743. Rājput, Pahāṛi, Jammū. Paper, 23 1/2” by 33”. First half of nineteenth century. See page 130.
Plate LXXXVIII.


269. Gītā Govinda. The scene is laid amongst low hills in the Vṛndāvana the Jamunā flowing in the foreground. On the left is Kṛṣṇa dallying with a bevy of gopīs; on the right, Rādhā, with the messenger (dātika) addressing her, and pointing to Kṛṣṇa. Rājput, Pahāri, Kāṅgrā. In the collection of the author. Paper, 14 1/4” by 10 1/4”. Middle or early eighteenth century. See page 151.

PLATE LXXXIX.

270. “Cowdust” (Godhālī); Kṛṣṇa returning with the herds to Gokula at sundown, accompanied by other gopas, and by gopīs returning from Jamunā Ghāṭ; other gopīs looking down from balcony windows (jharokhā). Nanda seated with friends in a harādārī above. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22. 683. Rājput, Pahāri, Kāṅgrā. Paper, 8 1/4” by 10 1/4”. Late eighteenth century. See page 151, and Coomaraswamy, 8, pl. LI (colour reproduction).

PLATE XC.


PLATE XCI.


PLATE XCII.

276–278. Copper images from Nepāl: see page 145.


277. Viṣṇu: l. r. h. with fruit, u. l. h. with gada, l. l. h. with Saṅkha. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 2319. Copper, gilt and jewelled, 8 1/4”. Ninth or tenth century. Cf. B. E. F. E. O., 1922, pl. XXV.

278. Buddha, seated, the hands in dbar-ma-cakra mudrā. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 17. 2317. Copper, gilt, 3 1/4”.

PLATE XCIII.

279. Painted cover of a Nepalese manuscript, detail showing two episodes of the Vessantara Jātaka, viz. the Gift of the White Elephant, and Madrī Devī with the two children in the carriage. In the collection of Professor Abanindronath Tagore, Calcutta. Wood, with tempera painting, length about 5 3/4”, Twelfth or thirteenth century. See pages 146, 149, and cf. Vessantara Jātaka illustrations from Bhārhat (fig. 47), Gandhāra (fig. 93), Amārāvatī, Mīran (fig. 284), Ceylon (Coomaraswamy, 1, pl. I).

281. Painted cover of the manuscript of fig. 280, detail enlarged, showing the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, riding on a horned lion (jārūḍa), with attendants. Wood, with tempera painting, area shown 2 1/4" by 2 3/4". 1136 A.D. See pages 146, 172, and M. F. A. Bull, no. 114.

282. Painted cover of a Bengāli manuscript, representing Kṛṣṇa with the flute, under a kadamba tree, with gopīs, and wild deer attracted by the sound. Wood, with tempera painting. About 12" by 5 1/4". Eighteenth century.

PLATE XCIV.

283—285. Khotān paintings of Indian character:


284. Vessantara Jātaka, gift of the White Elephant. Fresco at Mitān. About the fourth century. Stein, 7, fig. 137. See pages 55, 149; cf. figs. 47, 95, 279.


PLATE XCV.

286. Stele with two elaborated forms of the puspaghatā or "full-vessel" motif, and a Nāga and Nāginī. Abhayagiriya Dāgaba, so-called, Anurādhapura, Ceylon. Dolomite. Ca. 300 A. D. See page 162.


PLATE XCVI.


292. Model dāgaba, showing the basement, protected by guardian elephants, and dāgaba proper, consisting of "three-tier ornaments" or "bracelets" (tun-māl pēśāwa or pēśāwa-lūla), dome (gēha = garbha, "womb"), square enclosure (batares kotwa) and pavilion of the deities (duṇtā kotwa = barmikā), spire (koṭa) consisting of a solid condensed range of umbrellas (sati = chaṭra) and finial (koṭa kereḷa). The form is that known as Bubbulu (bubble), most usual in Ceylon. On the platform of the Ruanweli Dāgaba, Anurādhapura, Ceylon. Dolomite. Second century B. C. (?). See pages 12 note 3, 30, and Parker, 2, pp. 356ff.

This is perhaps the actual "little silāthupaka" built by Laṅjatissas, 59—50 B. C. (Mahāvamsa, XXXIII, 24).

PLATE XCVII.


PLATE XC VIII.

PLATE XC IX.
296. Buddha seated, teaching, r. hand in vyākhya mudrā, left holding robe. Bronze, height 3' 7". From Badullā, now in the Colombo Museum, no. 13, 118, 289. Fifth or sixth century A. D. See page 166.
297. Avalokiteśvara, seated, teaching, the right hand in vyākhya mudrā. Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha in the headdress. Bronze, height 5 1/4". Eighth century. See page 166, and Coomaraswamy, 6 and 9 (4).
298. Jambhala (Kubera), seated, r. hand with a citron (jambara), l. hand holding a mongoose (nakula) vomiting coins which fall into a pot; under the r. foot an overturned pot with more coins. Bronze, height 3 1/4". Eighth century. See page 166, and Coomaraswamy, 6 and 9 (4).
299. Vajrapāni, r. hand holding a vajra, l. hand on thigh, elbow extended as in the early Kuśāna images. Copper, height 4 1/4". See page 166, and Coomaraswamy, 6 and 9 (4).

PLATE C.

PLATE CI.

PLATE CII.

PLATE CIII.

PLATE CIV.

PLATE CV.
321. Head of Buddha, from Lopburi, Siam, now in the Samson Collection, Hamburg. Bronze, 4 ¾". End of the twelfth century. See page 177; and Salmony, p. 22.

PLATE CVI.
322. Head of Buddha, from Siam, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 25. 495. Stone, lacquered and gilt, 1' 1 ¾". Eleventh century. See page 177.

PLATE CVII.

PLATE CVIII.
324. Sandstone cella of slab construction, Préi Kuk, Kompong Thom, Cambodia. Indianesque or pre-Khmer, seventh century. See page 182, and Groslier, 6, 7.
325. Façade of brick temple, from the south, at Phnom Bayang, Trêang, Ta Kêo Province, Cambodia. Indianesque or pre-Khmer, seventh century. See page 182, and Groslier, 6.

PLATE CIX.
329. Añkor Wät, general view from the west from the causeway, within the outer wall, showing the galleries, and three of the five towers of the upper terrace. Stone. First half of twelfth century. See page 192.
330. The Bayon, Añkor Thom, general view from the south, showing the central and surrounding towers. Stone. End of the ninth century. See page 188, and Dufour and Carpeaux.

PLATE CX.
332. Lokeśvara, Cambodian, now in the Stoclet Collection, Brussels. Black stone, 3' 11". Indianesque or pre-Khmer, sixth or early seventh century. See page 183.
333. Harihara, from Prasât Andet, Cambodia, now in the Museum at Phnom Peñ. Stone, 6' 3". Indianesque or pre-Khmer, early seventh century. See page 183.

PLATE CXI.
334. One of the four masks, probably of Śiva, from a tower of the Bayon, Añkor Thom, Cambodia. Masonry in situ. Late ninth century. See page 189.

PLATE CXII.
335-338. Four Cambodian heads; see page 185:
335. Head of Buddha, Cambodian, now in the Sachs Collection, Cambridge, U. S. A. Sandstone, 9 ½". Ninth century.

337. Head of Śiva or a deified king, Cambodian, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21. 1072. Stone, 10'/8". Ninth or tenth century.

338. Head of a king, Cambodian, from the Moura collection, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Stone, 14'/4". Eleventh century.

PLATE CXIII.


340. Part of the procession of an army, southern gallery, left side, Ankor Wat, Cambodia. Middle twelfth century. See page 192.

PLATE CXIV.


343. Crowned Buddha sheltered by the Nāga Mucalinda, from the Tours d'Argent, Binh Dinh, Campā. Bronze. See page 197.

344. Śiva, from Tra-Kiēu, Quang-Nam, Campā, now in the Museum at Tourane. Seventh century. Stone, 3'/11'/4". See page 196.

PLATE CXV.


348. Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Prambanam, Java; the Śiva temple. Stone. Late ninth century. See page 206.

PLATE CXVI.


352. Panataran, Java; the main shrine (triple basement only) is in the rear. Fourteenth to fifteenth century. See page 209.

PLATE CXVII.

353. Buddha tempted by the daughters of Māra, Borobōdur, Java. Probably late eighth century. See pages 203, 204.

354. Hāritī (“the Buddhist Madonna”), Caṇḍi Mendut. Late eighth century. See page 204.


356. Rāmaśana frieze, Śiva temple, Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Prambanam, Java. Late ninth century. See page 206.

PLATE CXVIII.


PLATE CXIX.
364. Hevajra, dancing, from Bantéai Kedei, now in the Museum at Phnom Peñ, no. E 329. Bronze, 1 1/4". Ca. tenth century. See A. A. K., 1, pl. XXXV.
365. Apsaras, dancing, probably from the Bayon, Ankor Thom, Cambodia, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22. 686. Bronze, 15 1/2". Late ninth or early tenth century. See page 189.

PLATE CXX.

PLATE CXXI.

PLATE CXXII.
374. Gold bead with figures of deities, attached to a Rudrākṣa-mālā, worn by a Brāhmaṇ priest in Southern India. See page 136.

PLATE CXXIII.
377. Comb (ırkoḷḷi), with handle composed of four deer with two heads, south Indian, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Brass, 8 3/8". Seventeenth or eighteenth century.
378. Part of a knife (kēta), Kandyen Sinhalese, owned by A. R. Casse Lebe, Kandy. Silver pierced and repoussé, liya pata, liya vēla, sīnala and ūramadiluva motifs. Eighteenth century.
PLATE CXXIV.

381. Dalamara tattawa, ceremonial betel tray, in the Daladá Mágáwa, Kandy, Ceylon. Gold, set with cabochon sapphires, dia. 13 3/4". Said to have been dedicated by the mother of Kirti Śri Rājā Simha. Eighteenth century. See pages 134, 168.


386. Killolaya ("betel-box") for lime, from Kandy, Ceylon, now in the Colombo Museum. Copper, inlaid with silver, dia. 2". See page 134.

PLATE CXXV.


390. Hāk-gediya, a conch, engraved and inlaid with lac, brass mounting with gold and silver inlay, terminating in a śērapēndiya. Said to have been made for Narendra Simha and dedicated by him to a devale in Udānuwara, Ceylon. Collection of Leslie de Saram, Colombo. Eighteenth century. See pages 134, 137.


PLATE CXXVI.


PLATE CXXVII.


396. Part of a patiyā, a belt, with archaic designs; in the possession of Tiboquvava Maha Nayaka, Malvaṭte, Kandy, Ceylon. Cotton, width 8 1/2" (total length 6' 3 1/2''). Eighteenth century. See page 168.


PLATE CXXVIII.


399. Kain prāda, batik with gold design impressed, from Bali, detail, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Nineteenth or twentieth century. See page 139.

400. Siunggi kombu, garment from Sumba, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21.1659. Ikat-woven cotton, 6' 3" by 3' 9 1/2". Twentieth century. See page 137.
GENERAL INDEX

As a rule names of authors have been mentioned only when they occur in the text itself, mere references made to them in the foot-notes being omitted.

Abdu'r-Razzak, Arab writer 123

abhāga, stance 182

abhaya mudrā, see mudrā

Abhayagiriya Dāgaba, Anurādhapura 161; fig. 286

Abhisekha scenes 89; fig. 179

Abū, Mt. 71, 111, 112; fig. 221

Abundance, see Fertility

Achaemenid influences 13, 19

Acharya, P. K. 107

Acyuta Rāya, king of Vijayanagar 123

Adhirājendra Coḷadeva, king of Ceylon 165

Ādīnātha, temple, Girnar 112

Aesthetic (I) appreciation:

bbānaya, cetanā 87, 88

— ideal form is created before it is seen 8, 85, 88

— ideal forms supermundane 49, 125

— nature, observation 27, 55

— Pramāṇam 88

— primitives 16, 27, 57

— style and content 27, 31, 32, 36, 46,

64, 71, 72, 90—92, 94, 111, 112, 114,

115, 119, 126—133, 135, 145, 162,

176, 177, 183, 185, 192, 193, 194,

204, 210, 212

— theory of beauty, rasa, rasāsvādāna 36

— see also Symbols

Aesthetic (II) methods:

continuous narration 45, 65, 80

— frontality 16

— overrunning borders 27

— vertical projection 27

— volume, relief, attenuation 16, 27, 109,

127, 176, 204

Afganisthān 7, 13, 24, 49, 51, 52, 105

Agāstyā, South Indian ṃsi 68, 187, 201, 206; fig. 339

Agastyaśvara temple, Melapaluvur 102;

fig. 199

Agathokles, see Coins

Agišala, see Craftsman

Agni: horse as symbol of 41, 42

Agniśayana 42

Ahalyā Bāi, queen, buildings 116, 122

Aḥmadābād, Western-India 93, 111, 112,

116, 120

Ahura-Mazda 8

Aḷihol (Aīvalī), Bijāpur Dist. 78, 79, 86, 87,

94, 95, 96, 98, 181; figs. 148, 152, 153,

165

Airāvata, elephant, vehicle of Indra, and

equivalent of clouds 25, 26; fig. 27; see

also Animals, elephant

Ajāntā, Buddha, see Buddha

— early caves 11, 28; fig. 7

— latest caves 11, 96; fig. 189

— Gupta caves 74—76, 85, 98, 101;

figs. 154, 156, 157, 172

— early painting 8, 39

— Gupta painting 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 98, 99;

figs. 179—182, 185

— latest painting 102

— textiles 138

Ajāṭhasatru, king, see Kujika

Ājīvika 18

Ajmīr 98

Akbār 117, 127, 162

Akhun Dheri: winged bronze goddess 12

Alakāpurī caves 38

āلامbāna, see Architecture

Alaungpaya, Burmese king 173

ālekṣyā sthāna, see Painting

Alexander 9, 12, 34, 42

Aluvihāra, Ceylon 168

āmalaka, see Architecture
Amarapura, Burma 173, 174
Amaravati 23, 33, 38, 46, 62, 65, 69—72, 84, 101, 104, 122, 161; figs. 97, 136—141, 144—146
Amarendraapura, Cambodia 186
Amb, Shāhpur Dist. 108
Amber palace 211
Amida, Japanese Buddha 533
Amin, Karnal District, Śuṅga remains 32
Amoghabhūti, Kuṇinda, of Kaṅgara 44, 45; fig. 115; see also Coins
Amohinī 57
Amrith (Marath), North Syria 12
Amritsar 117, 127
Ananda, disciple of Buddha 34
Ānanda, statues of 163, 164
Ānanda (pagoda), Pagān 170—172; figs. 316, 317
Ananta Gumphā 37
ānāśab = noseless, designating Dravidians? 5
Anawratā (Aniruddha), Burmese king 170
Ancestors, honoured by dedications 189
— deification 19, 23, 30, 185
— portrait statues 43, 185, 207
— portrait statues of royal ancestors 48, 67, 185, 189
āṇḍa, see Architecture
Andhra period 6, 11, 15, 23, 30, 35, 38, 49, 67, 69, 70, 76, 101, 126; figs.: Early Andhra 30, 31, 34, 35, 31—36, 63, 72, 75, 142—146; Later Andhra 94—97, 135 to 141
Anhillavāda-Pātan (Gujarat) 93, 111
A-ni-ko, Nepalese artist in Tibetan 147, 153
Animals, actual or mythical:
— Avatārs of Prajāpati 41
— birds 12, 42, 45, 55, 137, 139; see also Garuda
— bull 4, 17, 18, 23, 26, 29, 31, 41, 44, 45, 49, 50, 67, 103, 118, 137, 161, 162, 187, 188; figs. 2—4, 14, 26, 33, 105, 109, 122, 288
— cat 103
— catakas 150
— camel 45
— centaurs 11, 50
— chank 4, 6, 7, 136
— cobra 45; figs. 76, 166
— conch 4, 6, 134, 136; figs. 165, 390
— Animals, deer 11, 31, 38; fig. 7
— dog 45
— duck 121
— eagle, see Symbols
— elephant (bāțka, nāga, goja) 4, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 29, 31, 38, 43, 49, 50, 101, 105, 116, 118, 121, 137, 161, 162, 182, 187, 188, 189, 192; figs. 5, 11, 27, 28, 30, 33, 46, 47, 54, 71, 75, 79, 93, 114, 248, 279, 284, 288, 292, 392; see also Airāvata, Gaja Lakṣmī
— fantastic, Sumerian and Mesopotamian relations 4, 11
— fish 36, 45, 101, 162; figs. 57, 106, 107
— Garuda, mythical bird and semi-human vehicle of Viṣṇu 45, 50, 100, 101, 144, 186, 188, 207; figs. 196, 360
— griffons 11
— hānisa, sacred goose or swan 18, 50, 54, 160, 184; figs. 89, 288
— horse 4, 7, 11, 17, 18, 25, 33, 41, 44, 45, 50, 67, 68, 116, 124, 161, 162, 188, 189; figs. 26, 61, 103, 131, 220, 240, 279, 288
— kārttimukha, grotesque mask 77, 104, 105, 202, 203
— lion (śimha, rachi si) 11, 17, 18, 29, 36, 37, 45, 50, 57, 58, 68, 102, 104, 123, 124, 161—163, 179, 187, 188; figs. 12, 42, 83, 84, 129, 166, 288, 363; see also Jārādula, śimkaṇumagam
— makara, crocodile 34, 45, 50; figs. 177, 247
— mice 103
— monkey 31, 103
— nora-singh, man-lion 179
— on toraṇa 55
— panther 116, 123; fig. 220
— peacock 45, 140; figs. 108, 175, 259, 261
— rhinoceros 3, 45; fig. 107
— Jārādula, horned lion 101, 118, 161; fig. 281
— Scythian animal style 24
— śimhaṇumagam, lion-face 104
— snake 43, 68, 69, 150; figs. 110, 113; see also Nāga
— squirrel fig. 82
— tiger 4, 44, 121, 123
— tritons 11
— yāli, yāla 102, 118, 124
— with interlocking necks, of Sumerian kinship 11
Architecture, “cave-styles” 97
— ceilings 112; fig. 221
— circumabulation (pradaksinya), provision for 18, 19, 28, 78, 79, 95, 98, 100, 109, 205
— chapels in stūpa basement 72, 171
— cātri, cenotaph 122
— citra-sāla 84, 87
— cloistered courts, peristyles, bēṭha type, etc. 104, 110, 117, 118
— Coḷa, see Cauḍukya
— corbelled construction 113
— “cubic” 164
— dagaba 160
— discussed 160, 205
— dolmens 6, 47, 49, 97, 159, 200
— dome, pre-Muhammadan 19, 29, 49, 74, 75, 121
— Dārviḍa style defined 83, 107
— early circular buildings 10, 19, 29, 48, 149
— examples 25, 26, 48, 50, 51, 69, 70
— Gandhakūṭi 81
— garbha, grha, sanctuary, inner room of a temple, etc.; garbha, grha, dome of a stūpa 18, 30, 75, 78, 83, 98, 182; fig. 292
— Gupta, see Gupta
— half-vaulted galleries 185, 186
— barmika, pavilion 30, 33, 75, 160; figs. 42, 292
— hero-shrines 47
— Indian elements in early Christian art 19
— Indian influence on Far East 53 (refs.), 152 (refs.)
— Kāniska’s tower 30, 53, 152; fig. 89
— Kānḍara (Kanara) 119; fig. 234
— kārīti-stambha 111; fig. 251
— kudurru 12
— late circular buildings 82, 108, 109, 110
— makara toraṇa 38, 40, 75, 104, 122, 196, 203; figs. 143, 249
— maṇḍapa, porch 19, 77, 79, 95, 97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 115; figs. 217, 239, 240
— Maurya, see Maurya
— mediaeval nomenclature 106
— monasteries (vihāra, maṭha) 24, 27, 39; see also vihāra
— Nāgara (Āryavārta) style defined 83, 96, 98, 107
— nāṭya-sāla, nāṭya maṇḍapa, dancing hall, theatre 84
Architecture, origins and early types and sites 3, 5, 13, 19, 21, 34, 42, 46-48, 63, 66, 83, 97, 98, 135, 184, 186
— palaces 19, 54, 55, 70, 75, 84, 121-124, 129, 147, 165, 188, 190; figs. 252-254
— Pancha 122-123
— pāśāda 33, 81, 162
— Pillars (stambha, lāṭ), railing pillar 10, 11, 17, 19, 25, 29, 34, 37, 38, 65, 99; figs. 37-40, 48, 54, 58-60, 71, 73, 74, 77-81, 136, 145-146, 149, 150, 156, 157, 166, 189, 190, 199, 240, 241, 248
— prakāsa, pūjā-sālā-prakāsa, enclosure 22, 34, 48, 166
— punya-sālā 38
— Raipur, see Rajput
— ratha, temple, car 95, 102-105, 116, 117, 162; figs. 200, 202
— reproduces wooden forms 5, 28, 117
— saṅgīta-sālā, theatre 84
— severity of early Buddhist 35, 160, 161
— sikara (spire, tower, temple), origins indicated 6, 75, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 95, 96, 98, 99, 106, 109, 112, 113, 202; figs. 62, 69, 69A, 219
— Slabs 6, 48, 66, 70, 78, 79, 86, 97, 118; figs. 72, 91, 136, 141, 142, 165, 324
— supāna, stairs 30, 37
— stambha, see pillars
— stūpa defined and described 12, 50, 47, 50, 75, 76, 85, 160, 205; see also stūpa
— śuci 30
— Sudhamma-Hall of Indra-loka 19, 29, 40
— terraces (medhi) and pyramidal basements, prang type, etc. 30, 33, 37, 170, 190, 204-206, 209
— thābā 30, 70
— torana, gateway, arch 31, 32, 34, 35, 155; figs. 53, 54, 55, 69A, 72, 250
— towers 48, 53, 55, 80, 108, 185, 189, 190; figs. 326-329
— Vedic 9
— vedika, defined 30
— Vesara (Cālukya) style defined 96, 107, 117

Architecture, vibhāra, see vibhāra
— Vijayanagar 123, 124; figs. 239, 245
— wāhāka-kāda 161, 162
— Yaksha-setiya 47, 48, 123
— yasti, a metal mast 30
Arcot, North 139
Ardhanārisvara, see Śiva
Ardanāro, see Fertility
Ari, Tantrik Buddhists in Burma 170, 172
Arjuna, Caṇḍi, Java 202
“Arjuna’s Penance” 103
Arjuna-vibhāra, see Texts
Arjunpura site 63
Arthasastra, see Texts
Arts and crafts in India and Indonesia
— in India 9, 10, 133-168
— in Ceylon 168
— in Burma 174
— in Siam 179
— in Cambodia 193
— in Java 212, 213
Āryans, appearance in India 7
— in relation to Dravidian, see Dravidian and Āryan
Āryavārta style, see Architecture, Nāgara
āsana, seat, mode of sitting, should be sthira-sukha, firm and easy 52, 76; figs. 144-145
āsana; moṛbha, bhadrasana, wicker seats or thrones 26
— padmasana, lotus seat in either sense, earlier usage 21, 41, 43, 50; fig. 16
— pralambapāda 76, 96
— Gandhāra 52
Asiatic style, early 11-14, 48; fig. 7
Aśoka, Mauryan king 13, 16-19, 21-23, 32-34, 48, 82, 98, 141, 144, 158
aśoka tree 64; figs. 81, 82
Ašokāvadāna, see Texts
Aṣrām Mahā Rosē, Cambodia 182, 184
Assamukhi 26 (refs.), 33; see also Yāka
Assyrian origins, palaces, design 54
aṣṭamaṅgala, see Symbols
Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñapāramitā, see Texts
Ataria Khera, Nagold State 86
Athara Veda, see Texts
Atīśa, Tibetan pandit 147, 200
Audehmarā dynasty, Paṭhāṅkoṭ 45, 48;
figs. 116, 117; see also Coins
Aurangābād 79, 85, 96, 98, 138
Aurangzeb 63, 66
Auvaḍaiyar Kovil 123; figs. 239, 241
Ava, Burma 173
Avalokiteśvara, see Bodhisattva
Avantipur, Vāntipur 142, 143; fig. 272
Avantivarman, king of Kaśmīr 141, 142
Avatārs of Prajāpāti, see Animals
Avidura-Nidāna, see Texts
Ākana, Ceylon 165
Āyāgapatās, votive slabs 37, 58, 63; figs. 71, 72, 142
Ayyampet 137
Ayas, probably copper 7, 8, 9
āyatana, see Architecture
Aymonier, E. 175, 180, 187
Ayodhyā, Cambodia 15, 31, 183
Ayuthiā, Siam 176—179
Azamgānī 140
Azes I, Greek king in Pañjab 24, 50, 51; see also Coins
Azes II, Greek king in Pañjab 24
Bacchanalian motifs 62, 66, 68, 69, 77, 99; fig. 169; see also Yakṣa
Bachhofer, L. 51
Bactria 23, 24, 35, 49
Bādamī 64, 86, 94—96, 101; fig. 187
Badullā, Ceylon 166; fig. 296
Badut, Caṇḍi, Java 207
Bāgh 77, 89; fig. 183
Bahulara 108
Bahir, near Pondicherry 105
Baijnātha, Kāṅgārā 107
Bajaurā, Kuṭal 107
Bakong, Cambodia 187; fig. 326
Baku, temple, Cambodia 187
Bala, Friar 58, 68, 112; fig. 96
Balā, Hiṣar, see Puṣkalavatī
Baladeva, see Balarāma
Balāditya Narasimha, Rāja 71, 82
Balagama 117
Balaputra, king 113
Balaputradeva, Sāilendrā 199
Balarāma (Baladeva, Baldeo, Saṅkarṣana) 21, 48, 69, 86, 131; see also Viṣṇu
Bali 137—139, 200, 201, 207, 209—213; fig. 199
Baluchistān 4
Bāmiyān, Afghānistān 53

bandha, knot, enlacement 116
Bangkok, Siam 84
Banglī, Bali, temple 210
Baṅkā, Sumatra 199, 207
Baṅkurā Dist., Bengal 108, 116; fig. 213
Banon, Caṇḍi, Java 68, 206; fig. 359
Bantéi Chhmar, Cambodia 184, 186
Bantéi Kedéi, Ankor Thom 190; fig. 364
Baphuon, Ankor Thom 48, 190
Barābar hills, Caves 18, 38; fig. 28
Bardasanes 67
Barodā, colossal image 17, 58; fig. 15
Basārh (Vaiśālī) 5, 10, 21, 44, 69, 87; fig. 16
Batik 213
Batannārā, Nagodh State, fig. 37
Batik, see Textiles
Batur, temple, Bali 210; fig. 351
Bawbawgyi, Pagan 172
Bawdawpaya, Burmese king 173
Bay wreath 11, 19
Bayang, Cambodia 93, 182; fig. 325
Bayon, Ankor Thom, Cambodia 183, 187 to 190; figs. 327, 330, 334, 365
Bead bags, fig. 392
Bedoyo, Javanese court dancers 212
Bedṣā 12, 28, 29, 40, 50; figs. 32, 33
Bejavāda, see Bezvāda
Belahan, Java 207; fig. 360
Bell, H. C. B. 165
Belur 117
Benares sculptors 60, 86; fig. 175
— modern temples 116, 121, 144
— textiles 138; fig. 394
Beng Méaléa, Cambodia 186, 187, 194, 199
Bengal 114, 119, 146; figs. 228, 229, 230, 282
Bherupāi Koviā, Ceylon 166
Berstl, H. 52, 65
Besnagar (Vidiṣā) 15—17, 24, 32, 34, 47, 49, 56, 69, 86; figs. 8, 10, 170, 177
beffta-type, see Architecture, cloistered courts
Bezvāda, Bejavāda 83
Bhadrapatiśvara, see Śiva, liṅgam
bhadrāśana, see āsana
Bhadarvarman I, Campā 196
Bhadreśvara, see Śiva and Śiva, liṅgam
Bhadreśvas, Canṭār 196
Bhagavad Gitā, see Texts
Bhagavata, Bhaktā, “worshipful”, “Lord”, designating deities generally 16, 24, 46, 50
Bhagavata, Buddha 33, 42, 44; fig. 41
— a Nāga 46
— Viśnu 49
— a Yakṣa 46
— see also Heliodora
Bhagiratha 103; figs. 198, 206
Bhairavakoṇda, Pallava site 78
Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaidurya Prabhārāja 189, see also Buddha
Bhājā 18, 24—28, 37, 67; figs. 24—27, 29; see also Costume
bhakti, devotion to a deity, source of theistic development and imagery 5, 8, 16, 42, 61
Bhallāra stūpa, Taxila 73, 205
bhāyāṅa, Jaina library 120, see also Libraries
Bharatayuddha, see Texts
Bharatēśvara, Jaina saint 118
Bhāratīya Nātyaśāstra, see Texts
Bhārhatu 8, 11, 12, 18, 19, 25—27, 29—31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 56, 65, 66, 82, 104, 149, 154; figs. 38, 39, 41—49
Bhārgoṇa, temple 145
Bhāṭiprulū, early Buddhist site 23
bhūabheda, classification of moods 90
bhūvana 47, 48, 87, 88, 125; see Aesthetic, Architecture, Painting, Yakṣa
Bheragāhā, Joginī temple 110
Bhilsā 34, 36
Bhima, Caṇḍi, Java 80
Bhir mound, Taxila 5, 10, 20, 54
Bhitā 10, 20, 32, 36, 44, 69, 87; fig. 13
Bhūtggāoṇa, Gupta brick temples 80, 87, 108
Bhoja, Rājā of Kanauj 105
Bhūj in Kach 140
Bhumara, Nagodh State 77, 78, 79, 86, 87, 98, 182
bhūmi-spāra mudrā, see mudrā
Bhūtesār site 63
Bhuvanesvara, Orissā 79, 113, 202; figs. 215, 216, 218, 219
Bibliography 214—228
Bidagat Taik, Burma 170; fig. 308
Bidār (bidrā), Haidarabād State 134; fig. 382
Bihār, Narsinghpur State 18, 93, 106, 109
Bijāpur fig. 249
Bijayagarh 89
Bikanīr 69, 75, 87, 129, 136, 150
Bilsar 87

Bima (Bhima), Caṇḍi, Java 80, 94, 202; figs. 346, 355
Bimarān, Afghānistān, reliquary 51; fig. 88
Bimbisāra 9
Binh-dinh, Campā 195, 196, 197; fig. 343
Binyon, L. 150
Bīr Śīngh Deva, Bundela 21; fig. 254
Birds, see Animals
biruda, secondary royal title 102
Bitpālo, see Craftsman
Black Pagoda, see Surya Deul
Bloch, Th. 47
Block printing 139
Boat designs 4, 7
Bodhgāya 8, 18, 26, 32, 33, 48, 51, 52, 60, 65, 67, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 93, 94, 115, 170; figs. 40, 61, 62, 210, 309
— Bodhi-maṇḍa, Vājrāsana 18, 81, 82; see also Bodhi-maṇḍa, vajrāsana
— Bodhi-tree 32, 33, 93, 115; see also Bodhi-tree
— Mahābodhi temple (Gandhakuti) 81, 170; figs. 210, 309; see also Mahābodhi temple
— plaque 80, 81; fig. 62
— railing pillar 32, 33, 64; fig. 61
— Surya 67; fig. 61; see also Surya
Bodhidharma 153, 155
Bodhi-druma, see Bodhi-tree

— litany 85, 96, 99; fig. 164
— confusion with Buddha 56; figs. 83—85, 87, 96
— Maitreya 161; fig. 290
— Maṇjuśrī 146, 172, 208; fig. 281
— Mathurā types 57, 58; fig. 99
— origins of type 46, 47, 51, 68
— Siddhārtha 33
— Vajrapāṇi 166; fig. 299
Bodhi-maṇḍa, the Place of the Enlightenment 18, 31, 33, 47, 48, 81, 82
Buddha, Bengal 114; fig. 228
— Bezwaḍā (Bejavāḍā) 83
— Bhagavato 33, 42, 44, 45; fig. 41
— Bhaisajyaguru 189
— Bimarān 50, 51; fig. 88
— Boroboḍur 203; figs. 101, 333
— Burmen wooden and alabaster 173
— Cambodian, early 181, 183, 185, 189; fig. 335
— colossal 53, 57, 58, 74, 84, 85, 98, 161, 164, 165, 172; fig. 160
— crowned type 56, 63; figs. 78, 79, 87, 343
— curls 60, 61, 71, 73
— Dhyāni, earliest in Bodhisattva headdress 65, 148; fig. 78
— Dong Duong 197; fig. 342
— Elurā 77; fig. 155
— Four and eight great events of the life 31, 35, 51, 62, 69, 70, 81, 148, 204, 205
— Gandhāran type and examples 49–62, 74, 75; figs. 85, 87–95
— gold image, Ruanweli Dāgaba 161; fig. 293
— Gupta type and figures listed 8, 71, 74, 85, 171; figs. 158–163
— Iconography, see Iconography, development
— Images, see Images
— Java 204; fig. 357
— Kaṇḍipuram 103
— Kaṅgrā 83; fig. 163
— Kap herni 70, 74, 83; fig. 164
— Kaniska’s reliquary 53, 54; fig. 89
— Kārli 83
— Kaśmir 142
— Kuṣana type 46, 50, 52, 56, 57, 58, 60–65, 71; figs. 79, 83, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 104
— Kasi 74
— on coins of Kaniska 59, 67; fig. 123
— on coins of Maues and Kadapha 59; fig. 119
— origin of type 50–65, 75; see also Mathurā, Buddha type
— Mahobā 110; fig. 223
— Mānkuwar 62, 74, 83; fig. 162
— Mathurā type 57–62, 64; figs. 96, 98, 104, 128
— in Central Asia and China 59, 60, 152
— in Taxila 60

Bodhi-tree, Bodhi-druma, of Gautama Buddha
31, 33, 34, 41, 42, 46, 47, 81, 153. figs. 41, 46, 55, 70, 84, 160, 228, 233; see also Bodhgaya
Bodhi-tree temples 33, 81; see also Architecture
Boghaz Koi 7, 12
Bokhara 137
Bollensn 42
Boroboḍur, Caṇḍi, Java 101, 193, 203–206; figs. 101, 347, 349, 353
Bosch, F. D. K. 201
Brahmā 43, 50, 86, 202, 206, 209; figs. 168, 225, 314
Brahmā, Kuca 150
Brāhmaṇas, see Vedic literature
Brahmaṇūr, Camba 108
Brahui, Dravidian language in Baluchistan 4
Brass 133, 134, 145, 147, 167; figs. 300, 383, 384
Brhat Samhita, see Texts
Bṛhataratha dynasty 44
Brndāban, temple at 116
Brown, Percy 133, 134, 138, 140
Bucolic deities 43
Buddha, mentioned 8, 22, 29, 31, 33, 35 to
205, 208; figs. 41, 46, 78, 79, 83–85, 87 to
— Ajanta 75, 76, 85, 98, 99, 182, 183
— Amaravati 71, 72; figs. 97, 136–141
— and Bodhisattva, early confusion 56; figs. 85–87, 87
— Anurādhapura, Ceylon 161; figs. 293, 295
— approach to Bodhi-tree 33, 46; figs. 41, 46
— as patron deities 109
— Badullā 166; fig. 296
— at first represented by symbols 31, 33, 36, 41, 45
— Bāmiyān 53
Buddha, Nalanda 113; fig. 233
- Nara 93
- Nāsik 28, 98
- Nepal 145; fig. 278
- Pagan 170, 171; figs. 315, 317
- Parinirvāṇa images 74, 98, 173
- Pātaliputra 58
- Rājagṛha 59
- Romlok, Cambodia 76, 182; fig. 100
- Sahețh-Mahēțh 58
- Śāñci 85
- Samāth 85; fig. 161
- shaven head 37, 61, 74, 150; fig. 162
- Siam 177; figs. 321, 322
- Sulṣāngaṇij 74, 85, 167; fig. 160
- supposed early anthropomorphic representations 33, 43, 59, 60, 161
- with shoulder flames 22, 60
- see also Bodhisattva, Bodhi-tree, Graeco-Buddhist art, Mathurā, mudrā, urṇā, utsūṣa
Buddhaghoṣa 169
Buddha-tree, see Bodhi-tree
Buddhisme; "Buddhist India" a fallacy 72
- Mahāyāṇa 113
- in relation to Saivism 113, 190
- Tāntrik 113, 114, 148
Bull, see Animals
Bundelkhaṇḍ 121, 127-133; see also Rajputāna
Buniār, Kashmir, temple 143
Burgess, J. 39
Burma 169-174; figs. 305-317

cābutra, see Architecture
cādar, see Costume, Textiles
Caitu, see Craftsman
Caițya, cetița, a sanctuary, holystead or shrine such as a sacred tree, a tower, or stilpā 47
caițya-ball, mentioned 6, 12, 18, 21, 28-30, 36, 38, 39, 40, 48, 69, 75-77, 89, 96, 104, 141, 185; figs. 29-33, 91, 133, 143, 146, 149, 154, 155, 189; see Architecture
caițya-stūpa, sacred tree 26, 30, 41, 45, 47, 151; figs. 10, 27, 110, 111, 114, 115; see also Architecture, Symbols
- Yakkha-cetīța 47, 48, 125
cakra, see Symbols, dharmā-cakra
Cakravārtin 41

Calukya dynasty 94-99
- early 77-79, 94-99, 157, 201; figs. 156 to 177, 185-188; see also Costume
- style 116, 121
- later (Cola) 103ff., 165, 166; figs. 233 to 235, 237
Camel, see Animals
Cambodia 180-195; figs. 300, 324-340, 364, 365
Campā 195-198; figs. 341-344
campākāti, jasmine-bud necklace 20
Cāmuṇḍa Rāja, Hōysala 118
Candela 105, 109, 110
Cāḍi, Javanese designation of temples
Candraverti, Gupta king 24, 71; figs. 129, 132; see also Coins
Candravati, queen 164
Candrehe, Rewā 109
cākrama, see Architecture
Caṇṭkuṇa, minister of Lalitāditya 205
Caṇḍyalu, Java 201
Carnelian 4, 159
Caṇṭana, Āndhra king; portrait statue 66
Cat, see Animals
cātaka, see Animals
Catisgāoṇ, see Chittagong
Caucasus, Northern 3
Cauṇḍat, Jogīṇi temples 110
caurī-bearer 17, 25, 26, 46, 172; figs. 10, 17, 24, 84
Centaur, see Animals
cetanā see Aesthetic, Painting
Ceylon 156-169; figs. 286-304
Chakdana 19
Chalcolithic, culture 3
Chanda, R. 34
Chandimau 86
Chandor tombs 122
Changu Nārāyan, Vaiṣṇava temple at 144
Chank, see Animals
Chapels, see Architecture
Chapra, Rājshāhi Dist. 114; fig. 227
Chārsada (Haṇḍāgar) 12, 52, 55, 73
chatra, chatta, see Symbols
chatrī, see Architecture
Chatrāṭhi, Cambā 108
Chenla = Cambodia 184
Chezāra, Kistna dist., caițya-hall 77; fig. 147
Chieńmai, N. Siam 176, 177
China 150—155
Chinpur, near Bānkurā 80
Chitor (Citārghaṭ), Mewār 111; fig. 251
Chittagong (Cātisgōṇ), Pāla bronzes 114
Chō-po = Sumatra 198
Chou Ta Kuan, on Cambodia 191, 193, 194
Gīdambaram, āṭopūrams 122
cībra = Symbols
cikān, see Textiles
Cikka Beṭṭa, Śrāvāṇa Belgoḷa 118
Circular plaques, early stone 10, 20
cīre-perdue process 136
Citārghaṭ, Mewār, see Chitor
citrakara, cittakara, see Craftsman
citra-sāla 84, 87; see Architecture, Painting
Clouds, rain, lightning 25, 26, 65, 150;
figs. 180, 259, 261; see also Airāvata
Cobra, see Animals
Cock-fighting 141
Coconade 139
Coconut, Pacific origin 7
Coins, figs. 106—132; see also Images
— Agathokles 44, 49, 64
— Andhra 67
— Amoghābūti 45; fig. 115
— Apollodotos 45; fig. 109
— Audumbara 45, 48; figs. 116, 117
— Azes 50, 51
— Candragupta II 24, 71; figs. 129, 132
— of Ceylon, fig. 121
— Hermiaios 57
— Huviska 22, 43, 48, 66, 81; figs. 120, 126A
— Indo-Greek 24, 42
— Indo-Sumerian 4; fig. 2
— Kadaphes = Kadphises I 59; fig. 119
— Kadphises II 50, 67, 148; fig. 124
— Kaniska 22, 45, 50, 59, 67, 148; figs. 122, 125, 127, 128
— Kumara Gupta 71; fig. 131
— Kuśāna 61
— Maues 57, 59
— Pāṇḍyan 44, 45, 48; fig. 114
— Pantacleon, Sātakaraṇi 64, 66
— punch-marked (kāsāpana, purāṇa, dba-rāṇa, kahi-pāna) 8, 11, 43, 44, 48, 49, 72; figs. 106—108
— Samudragupta 71; fig. 130
— Sātakaraṇi 67

Coins, Śiva, see Śiva, development of type on coins
— Vāsiṣṭha, Vāsudeva 55; fig. 126; see also Buddha, Śiva, Symbols
Cola, see Calukya
coli, see Costume
Colossal images and statues 16, 17, 53, 57, 58, 74, 82, 84—86, 93, 98, 118, 119, 161, 164, 167, 172, 173; figs. 8, 9, 15, 160, 161, 174; see also Barodā, Buddha, Śiva liṅgām, Yākaṣa
Conch, see Animals
Copper age 3, 6, 7
Costume; cādar 139, 140
— colī, bodice 139, 140, 163; fig. 260
— dohti 2, 51, 79, 212; figs. 57—60, 75, 79
— jagoli 80, 126, 131
— jāma 66
— kamarband, belt 140
— nāṭī 140
— pājāma, trousers 137
— uṣṇīṣa, see uṣṇīṣa
— Bhāja 26
— Buddha 57
— early Cālukya 96
— pre-Gandharan 51
— Gupta 39
— Kuśāna 66, 67
Cousens, H. 111, 112
Craftsman, architect, imager, painter, etc.: citrakāra, cittakāra 40, 110
— devalaka 42
— kammāra 10, 15
— sīlpi 125—127, 167, 191
— sthapati 125—127, 167, 191; fig. 241
— by name, Agiśāla 54
— gilds (śreni, seṇi) 10, 15, 88, 112, 125
— Nagar Seṭh (=Senapati) 112
— Bitpālō 113
— Caitu 132
— Devaragampala Sīlaṭennā 168
— Dhīmān 113
— Dinna 74, 84
— Divakara 194
— Gandhāra 57
— Gugga 108
— Guṇḍa (Trībhuvanācārya) 95
— Jaita 111
— Mānaku 132

271
Craftsman, Mola Rām 132
— Persian 13
— Sātanā 110
— Śivabrāhmaṇa 192
— Śivamitra 58
— Sṛṣṭakālai Āśā 125
Cuḍāmaṇi-varman, Śailendra king 199
Emar, see Textiles
Cunningham, A. 20, 33, 65, 66, 82
Cupuvatu, Java 105

devalaka, see Craftsman
Devānām-Piyātiss, king of Ceylon 34, 158—160
Devapāla of Nālandā 199
Devapāladeva, Pāla king 113
Devaragampala, see Craftsman
Devārāja cult, worship of a divine fiery essence incarnate in royalty, symbolised by a liṅgam 22, 60, 183—191, 197, 201
— in Cambodia 185, 189—191
— in Campā 197
— in Java 201
— Indian or Avestan sources and parallels 22
— see also “Fire”, “Flame”
devatā-āyatana see Architecture, āyatana
devata-pratimā, see Images
Devī (Durgā, Kāli, Liṅgisā, Minaksi, Pārvati, Umā, etc.) 66, 67, 100, 102, 103, 110, 126, 167, 189, 191, 197; figs. 193, 200, 244
— Mahiṣa-mardini 108, 208; figs. 208, 218
Dey, M. 39, 90
Dhāmekh stūpa, Sārnāth 75, 170
Dhammār 108
dharma-cakrā, dharma-cakka, see Symbols
dharma-cakrā-mudrā, see mudrā
Dharmanātha, monolithic temple 108
Dharmarājikā stūpa, Chire tope, Taxila 52, 54
Dhārāvāra, mediaeval temples 117
Dhauki, Kāṭāk District, Orissa fig. 11
Dhmān, see Craftsman
dboti, see Costume
Dhṛtarāṣṭra 114
Dhruv Tīlā 62
Dhunār Lēṇā, Elūrā 97, 98
dvaja-stambhas 29, 99; fig. 192; see also Architecture, pillars
dhyāna mudrā, see mudrā
Dhyāni Buddhas, see Buddha Dhyāni
Dīrgaṇī, Patna, image 17; fig. 17
Dīng (Dihyang) Plateau, Java 157, 201—203;
figs. 345, 346
Diz, E. 106
Dīg, Rājputāna palace 121; fig. 253
Dilwāra, Abū 111; fig. 221
Dinaya (Dinajā), Java 201
Dinna, see Craftsman
Dipākāra legend, see Texts
Discus, see Symbols, dharma-cakra
Diyavaddana, see Texts
Doj\da Basavanna, Dharw\ar Dist. 117
Doj\da Be\tta, Sravana Belgo\a 118
Doj\da Gadaval\ji 117
Dog, see Animals
dolmens, see Architecture
Dong-duong, Camp\ 196–197; fig. 342
Donors; statues 19, 29, 30, 30, 61, 64, 69,
70, 73, 74, 74, 113, 127; figs. 77, 135,
142, 245
Draupadi ratha, M\mallapuram 104; fig. 200
Dr\v\a\da, Southern or Dravidian style of
architecture 95, 107, 117; fig. 187, 198
Dravidians and \ryans 4–9, 16, 46, 96
drum, see Symbols, damaru
Dryads, see Fertility
Dudhadi, Jogini temple at 110
Duong-long, C\m\a 197
Dulva, see Texts
Durg\, see Devi
— temple, Aihoje 78, 79; fig. 152
Durvasa Mah\ar\i 68
Du\tha G\ma\ni, Ceylon, king 158, 160, 161,
162; fig. 294
Dv\ravati, Siam 173
Earth goddess 10, 17, 20, 21, 46, 65, 143;
fig. 105; see also Vasundhar\, Mother-
goddesses, Fertility, Nude
East, the Far 150–153
Ecbatana 19
Egypt 3, 5
Ek\m\ran\\thas\mi temple, K\\ci 102
Elagabalus 67
Elam 3
El\patra, N\ga king 31
Elephant, see Animals
Elephanta 8, 80, 96, 98, 100; figs. 194, 195
Elur\ 64, 77, 77, 96—100, 116, 121; figs. 155,
190, 192, 193, 195
— Brahmanical caves 96, 98
— Buddhist caves 77; fig. 155
— Indra Sabh\ 99
— Kail\san\tha temple 99; fig. 192, 193
— painting 100, 121; fig. 196
— R\m\\var\a cave 88, 97; fig. 190
Embroidery, see Textiles
Enlightenment place, see Boddhi-ma\a
Er\\ 78
Erl\\ga, East Javanese king 185, 207;
fig. 360
Erotes, garland-bearing 51, 54, 62, 70, 149;
figs. 76, 89
Erotic motifs 64, 65, 109, 116, 131, 150, 172,
209; see also Earth goddess, Fertility,
li\gam, Mother goddesses, Nude, Pa\\ica,
Phallus
\titili, see Textiles
Eucl
tides, Bactrian king 23
Euthydemos, Bactrian king 23
Fa Hsien 19, 63, 81, 151–153, 158, 198
Faience 3, 4; figs. 2–6
Fat\hpur, K\\gr\ 85; fig. 163
Fa\hpur Sikri, Ceylon 162
Fergusson, J. 29, 31, 32, 83, 95, 96, 99, 106,
107
Fertility, abundance, wealth, mother-goddesses,
Dryads, etc. 3, 5, 20, 21, 26,
31, 36, 41, 46, 64, 65, 108, 116, 118, 150;
figs. 74, 118, 129, 334
— in connection with lotus, pu\ga-\h\a, etc.
20, 21, 29, 31, 43, 65, 150
— Ardoch\, Lak\m\, M\\y\ Devi 21, 25,
26, 29, 31, 38, 45, 65, 100, 105, 121, 141;
figs. 30, 118, 121, 127, 129, 196, 200, 205
— see also H\rti, Jambhala, P\\ica, Earth-
goddess, Nude, Erotic
Ficus religiosa, see pippala
Fire, flame, fire-altar, shoulder-flames 16, 22,
41, 42, 45, 55, 60, 61, 66, 68, 185–191,
197, 201; figs. 64, 76, 122, 123; see also
Buddha with shoulder-flames; Devar\a
cult; Symbols, fire-altars
Fish, see Animals
Flame, see Fire
Folk-art 8, 11, 12, 16, 44, 128, 159, 168, 178
Foucher, A. 50, 53, 55, 62, 73, 83, 115, 150,
166, 204, 205
Friar Bala, see Bala
Fujis\, Japanese mountain 204
Fu Nan, Funan 91, 157, 175, 180, 181, 185,
184; see also Cambod\a
Gadag, Dharwar Dist. 117
G\dal\deniya, Ceylon 166, 168
gaddi, see Textiles
gaja, see also Animals, elephant

273
Gaja-Lakṣmi, see Lakṣmi
Gajendramoksha 80
Gal Vihāra, Dambulla 168
Gal Vihāra, Polonnaruva 163, 167
gâna, see Architecture, capitals
Gaṅgâyaśana, see Texts
Gandhakuti, Buddhist temple 81, see also Architecture
Gandhâran art 11, 24, 33, 49–57, 59–63, 66, 69, 70, 72–75, 79, 141, 142, 143, 150–152; figs. 85, 87–95; see also Graeco-Buddhist art Hellenistic influences
Gandharvas 86, 89, 101; figs. 173, 180
Gaṇḍaśa 37, 38, 68, 86, 107, 108, 149, 167, 196, 208; fig. 202
— Gumphas 37, 38
— in Khotân 149
Gaṅgâ Devi (Sudarsanâ Yakṣī), river goddess 86; fig. 177
Gaṅgaikondaçapura 122, 126
Gaṅgâvataraṇya, Mâmallapuram 100, 103, 104, 162, 165; figs. 198, 206, 207
Ganges valley 3, 7, 13, 16, 49, 68, 71, 80, 103, 105, 107, 108, 145, 158, 164
garbha, gṛha, see Architecture, garbha
Gardabhillâ, king 119
Garde, M. B. 34
Gaṛhâ 11, 32, 78, 86
Gaṛhâval 127, 131, 132
Garuda, see Animals
Gaṭotkaca, Caṇḍi, Java 204
gauṭumkha, see Textiles
Gawdawpalin 171
Gayâ, see Bodhâyā
gebha, see Architecture, garbha
Gedi-ge, Nâlandâ, Ceylon 166
Geḍong Saṅga, temples, Java 203
genii, see Yakṣa
Ghanṭâśāla, early Buddhist site 23
gbhâs; mountains, Western gbhâs 119
— river bank, buildings, especially steps, on river bank 116, 119, 121, 122
Ghâz Dheri 55
gbôsilâ Gbât 122
Glds, see Craftsman
Gînâr, Jaina temple 110, 112
Gîta Govinda, see Texts
Glass 10, 12, 13, 162
Gokarṇâśvara, really a Kuṣâna king 66
Gold, granulation of 12
Golden Horn, Ânkor Thom 48
Golden Temple, Amritsar 117
Goloubew, V. 51, 61, 103, 187
Gommâṭâśvara, Jaina saint 118, 119
Goṇḍ temples, Lalitpur dist. 78
Gondophares, Greek king in Pañjâb 24, 50, 53
Gop, Kâthiawâd 75, 77, 79, 82, 98, 143; fig. 191
Govardhana, Mt. 26; fig. 166
Graeco-Buddhist (Gandhâra, Indo-Hellenistic) art, and problem of the Buddha images, see Gandhâran art
Grahi, Siam 177
Greek kings in the Pañjâb, etc. 23, 49
Gṛhya Parîśîṣṭa, see Texts
Gṛhya Śûtra, see Texts
Griffiths, J. 39
Griffon, see Animals
Groslier, G. 182, 185, 187
Gudîmullam 32, 39, 67; fig. 66
Gûḍârû (Kodura), Godâveri Dist. 156
Gugga, see Craftsman
Gujarat 95, 137, 138
Gujaratî, see Jaina
Gujari Mahal, Gwâliar 121
Guṇakâmadeva, king of Nepal 144
Guṇavarman 141, 151, 153, 198, 205
Gunda, see Craftsman
Gungeria, copper weapons 6
Guṇṭupalle 18, 23, 38
Gunung Gaṅsir, Java 207
Gwâliar 109, 113, 116, 119, 121; figs. 212, 259

Hackin, J. 154
Hadda, Afghânistân 53
Haidarâbâd 134, 138
Hakuho period, Japan 154
Halebid, Mysore 117, 118; fig. 211
Hamir-bâth, see Texts
Hanchei, Cambodia 77, 79, 181, 182
Han tiles 131
hamsa, see Animals
Hanotô, Japan 53
Hanuman 67, 86, 167
Harappa, Pañjab 3
Haribala, Abbot 84
Hariraha, combined Śiva and Viṣṇu 182—184; fig. 333
Hariraha II, of Vijayanagar 123
Harirharālaya, Cambodi 186, 191
Harihāgenesā, Jaina divinity 37
Hāriti, see Yakṣa and Fertility
Harirvāna, see Texts
barmikā, see Architecture
Hāṣa 92—95, 141
Hāṣācarita, see Texts
Hāṣāvardhana of Kanauj 92—94
Hāṣāvarman II of Cambodi 190
Harvan (Sadarhadvāna) 141
Hāṣṭāgan, see Chārsada
Hāț, Kulū 107
Hāṭkēśvara, see Śiva, lingam
bāthī, see Animals, elephant
Hāṭhī Bāda, Nagarī 22
Hāṭhī Gumphā 37
Havell, E. B. 106
Hayam Wuruk, Java, king 208
Hāzāra Rāma temple 123
Heliodora, ambassador of Antialkidas 24, 34, 48, 49
Hellenistic influences 11, 24, 35, 60, 61, 66, 74, 75, 153; see also Gandhāran art
Hemaprabāśa, king 108
Heraclès, Herakles 42, 62
Hermajios, Greek king of Pañjab 57, see also Coins
Herringham, Lady 90
Hertel, J. 22
Hevajra, dancing fig. 364
Higgs, J. 146
Himru, see Textiles
Hindagala, Ceylon 163
Hindu Kush 7
Hippokampenhschle, Turkistān 150
Hirayakaśipu 97
Hitopadeśa, see Texts
Hittites 7, 11, 12
Hmawza, Burma 172
Hoenig, H. 36, 205
Hornell, J. 7
Horse, see Animals
Hōryuji, Japan 53, 154
Hospet, Vijayanagar 123
Hoysala dynasty 106, 117
Hoysalesvara temple, Halebid 118; fig. 211
Hsieh Ho 88
Hsuan Tsang 18, 19, 46, 64, 68, 72, 74, 81, 82, 92, 93, 101, 148, 153
Hucchimalliguḍi, temple, Aihoje 79; fig. 153
Human sacrifice 26
Hūns 71, 74, 92
Huviṣka, Kuṣāna king 22, 43, 48, 63, 68, 81, figs. 120, 126A; see also Coins
Hvarena 8

I Ching 93, 153, 198
Iconography, anthropomorphic 5
— development 21, 41, 45, 46, 50, 56, 58, 59, 66, 67, 71, 113; fig. 78; see also Buddha, Śiva, Symbols, Images
Idikucari 150
ikat, see Textiles
Ilīvalā 118
Images = daivata, pratīmā, pratikēti, mūrti, piṭha, devatā-pratīmā 7, 41, 42, 46
— pre-Kušāna 41—43
— sāttvik 8
— see also Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha, etc., Iconography, Coins, Bhakti
Indo-Persian period, see Kṣatrapa period
Indo-Sumerian art 3—5; figs. 1—6
Indra (Sakra,Sakka) 8, 25, 26, 32, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 51, 99, 150, 191; figs. 27, 40, 85, 255
— Kuca area 150
— Sabhā, Elūrā 99
— as Śānti 8, 32; fig. 40
— Vedāc description 25
— vehicle, see Airāvata
Indravarman I of Cambodia 187, 190
Indravarman, Campā 197
Indus valley 3, 5, 7, 9, 22, 23
Inscriptions; Aramaic, Taxila 22
— Aṣoka’s 17, 18
— Baṅka 199
— Bhārhatuḥ 33; figs. 41, 43
— Bodhgyā plaque 81; fig. 62
— railing pillar 32, 33; fig. 61
— Cām, referring to Nāgini Somā 180
— Cambodian, early 181
— Cangala 201
Inscriptions; Cola, referring to Sumatra 199
— Dedications 58, 190; see also Dedications
— Dinaya, referring to Devarāja 201
— Dong Duong, referring to Devarāja 197
— Javanese, oldest 201
— Kālasan 190, 199, 203
— Khāravela: Ḥathī-gumpha 37, 43
— Kharoṣṭhi script 18, 22, 36, 148, 149; figs. 62, 90, 109
— Mahendravaranman I 101
— Māncapurī (Vaikuṇṭha, Pāṭālapuri) 37
— Māṇiphadra 34
— Mathurā 18, 37, 66; fig. 84
— — lion-capital 37, 50
— Miran 148
— Nagari 21, 48
— Nālandā, Bihār 199
— Nāṅgāḥat 23, 30, 43
— on bricks, early 18
— Pārkham image 16
— Prome 172
— Śaka satraps 49
— Sdok Kak Thom, referring to Devarāja 185
— Siamese, first 178
— Sihadee pilgrim at Bodhgayā 158
— Tākri 130
— Vaiṣṇava, early 64
— Viṣṇu Śraṅg 199
— Vikramādiya I, Cālukya 95
— Vocanh, earliest Cām Sanscrit 117, 195
Irawadi valley 7
Iron and steel 4, 6, 7, 9, 34, 133, 179
Isāpur 69
Islam, in Gujarat 111, 113, 210
— in Java 210
— in Sumatra 200
Isurumuniya Vihāra, Anurādhapura 103, 162
Iśvara, supreme deity, generally Śiva, in compounds, e. g. Parāśurāmēśvara; see Śiva, Parāśurāmēśvara
Itagi, Dhārāwār Dist. 117
Ivory 4, 10, 13, 36, 117, 123, 136, 168; figs. 387—389
Jābung, Cāndi, Java 205, 208; fig. 366
Jagannātha (Juggernaut) 115
Jaggayapeta 38; figs. 142—143
Jāgo, Cāndi, Java 205, 208
jagulī, see Costume
Jahāngir, king 117, 121, 128
Jai Siṅgh I, Kachwāhā 121
Jaina art 31, 37, 44, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64—66, 75, 89, 96, 97, 99, 106, 111; fig. 71; see also Mathurā
— bronzes 119
— paintings 89, 101, 115, 119—121, 129, 132, 172; figs. 215—258
— temple at Mt. Ābū 111
— at Gîrṇā 112
— at Kāñcipuram 119; fig. 256
— at Khajurāho 109
— at Rānpur 113
— at Śatruṇjaya (Palînā) 112
— at Taranâga 112
— at Tirumalai 119
Jaipur 122, 129, 135, 140; figs. 263, 370—372
Jaisīnghpura 63
Jaita, see Craftsman
Jaiyā, Old Siam 175, 194
Jalālābād, Afgānīstān 55
Jālandhar 23
jāma, see Costume
Jamālgarhi 73, 110
Jambhalā, see Kuvera and Yakṣa
jamānī, see Textiles
Jammū 127, 130; figs. 266, 267
Jamnā, south of Mathurā 36
Jandīāl, Taxila 55
Japan 39, 53, 55, 84, 93, 137, 149, 154, 155, 157, 212
Jātakamālā, see Texts
Jātakas = zār, mentioned 9, 10, 15, 26, 31, 33, 38—40, 47, 50—52, 63—65, 67, 83, 85, 89, 99, 149, 156, 160, 164, 170, 171, 174, 177, 198; figs. 47, 76, 92, 93, 279, 284, 320
— by name Dipāṅkara 52, 64, fig. 92
— Kaśāntvādī 99
— Mahābhārata 89
— Maitribala 99, 164
— Mātṛpātaka 89
— Nāga 99
— Nālagiri 89
— Padukusūlamāṇava 26
— Ruru 89
— Saddanta (Chaddanta) 39, 89
— Śibi 89, 99
— Sutasoma 26
Jātakas = zārī, by name Ummaga 40
— — Vessantara (Viśvantara) 31, 50, 51, 65, 89, 146, 149, 160, 164; figs. 47, 93, 279, 284
— Burmese painting, lacquer and theatre 171, 174
— on Burmese glazed bricks 170, 171
— Siamese engravings 177; fig. 320
Jaṭṭhāla Dāgaba, Ceylon 159
Jaulīṇā, Taxila 72, 73, 141
Java 200—213; figs. 101, 345—363, 366, 367, 398
Jawi, Cândī, Java 208
Jaiyā, Siam 175, 178
Jaya Hariwarman, King of Câmpa 195
Jayaswal, K. 16, 17, 43
Jayavarman II of Cambodia 185, 186, 191, 199
Jayavarman V of Cambodia 190
Jayavarman VI of Cambodia 189
Jayavarman IX of Cambodia 194
Jayavijaya caves 38
Jelâlâbad (Nagarahara), Afghanistān 33
Jetavana Vihāra, Ceylon 161, 164
Jewellery 3, 8, 9, 12, 26, 133, 143, 160, 168, 174, 178, 179, 194; figs. 368—376, 378
Jhinnuvād 113
Jikoku Ten 154
Jodhpur tombs 122
Jogiṃrā 40
Jouveau-Dubreuil 10, 89, 125
Juggernaut, see Jagannātha
Junagârh, Kâthiâwâd 77
Junnâr 18, 29, 38

Kâbul, Afghanistān 23
Kâchin, Burmese border tribe 137, 174
Kadallakâlû, Gâṇeśa temple, Vijayanagar 123
Kâdambari, see Texts
Kadphises I (Kadapha) 49, 59; see also Coins
Kadphises II, Wima Kadphises, “Maheśvara” 22, 50, 67, 140; fig. 124; see also Coins
Kadua, Java 210
Kâfir, Kôt 108, 143
kābāpākas, punch-marked coins, see Coins, punch-marked
Kailâsâ, Mt. 100, 125, 166, 193; fig. 193
Kailâsanâtha temple, Elârâ 99, 100, 104, 166; figs. 192, 193, 196
— — Kâñci 95, 100, 101, 104, 184; fig. 197
kain, see Textiles
Kalâhastri 139
Kalânâvârya 23
Kâlar, temple at 108
kalâsa (corresp. to the vârštâbâla) 30, 115
Kalasan, Cândī, Java 190, 199, 203
Kâléśvara temple, Ter 93
Kâli, see Devī
Kâlikâ, holy monk 119
Kâlikâsârya Kathâ, see Texts
Kalîga 23, 43, 157; see also Orīssa
Kâliya Damana, see Texts
Kalpa Sûtras, see Texts
kalpa vrksâ 17; fig. 10
Kâmâ Sûtra, Kâma-Sûstra, see Texts
kâma-hâlû 55; figs. 76, 126
kâmaravad, see Costume
Kâmeśvara = Râden Pânji, Java king 207
kamâmâra, see Craftsman
Kampeñ Phet, Siam 177
Kan To Li 175
Kanauj (Pañčîla) 92, 103
Kâñci puram, Kâñci 95, 101—105, 121, 123, 197, 199; figs. 197, 236
Kândârâya Mahâdeva, temple, Khajurâho 109; fig. 214
Kandy, Ceylon 159, 168; figs. 373, 375, 378, 381, 385, 386, 391
Kâňgra 48, 85, 127, 131, 132, 145, 175; figs. 115—117, 163, 268—271
Kâphera, cave and caitâya-hall 38, 69, 74, 76, 85, 183; figs. 135, 164
Kaniśka, Kuṣâna king 49, 52—54, 56—59, 61, 63, 66, 69, 148
— Bodhi-tree at Peshâwar 34
— coins, see Coins
— portrait statues 48, 67; fig. 65
— reliquary 53, 54; fig. 89
— stûpa or tower at Śâhâ-jî-ki-Dherâ, near Peshâwar 30, 53, 152; see also Architecture
Kannâda, near Śrâvana Belgoa 119; fig. 234
Kântanagar 116
Kantarōdai, Ceylon 45; fig. 114
Kâñvas dynasty 23
Kapaleśvara, see Śiva and Śiva, liṅgam

Kailâsanâtha temple, Elârâ 99, 100, 104, 166; figs. 192, 193, 196
— — Kâñci 95, 100, 101, 104, 184; fig. 197
kain, see Textiles
Kalâhastri 139
Kalânâvârya 23
Kâlar, temple at 108
kalâsa (corresp. to the vârštâbâla) 30, 115
Kalasan, Cândī, Java 190, 199, 203
Kâléśvara temple, Ter 93
Kâli, see Devī
Kâlikâ, holy monk 119
Kâlikâsârya Kathâ, see Texts
Kalîga 23, 43, 157; see also Orīssa
Kâliya Damana, see Texts
Kalpa Sûtras, see Texts
kalpa vrksâ 17; fig. 10
Kâmâ Sûtra, Kâma-Sûstra, see Texts
kâma-hâlû 55; figs. 76, 126
kâmaravad, see Costume
Kâmeśvara = Râden Pânji, Java king 207
kamâmâra, see Craftsman
Kampeñ Phet, Siam 177
Kan To Li 175
Kanauj (Pañčîla) 92, 103
Kâñci puram, Kâñci 95, 101—105, 121, 123, 197, 199; figs. 197, 236
Kândârâya Mahâdeva, temple, Khajurâho 109; fig. 214
Kandy, Ceylon 159, 168; figs. 373, 375, 378, 381, 385, 386, 391
Kâňgra 48, 85, 127, 131, 132, 145, 175; figs. 115—117, 163, 268—271
Kâphera, cave and caitâya-hall 38, 69, 74, 76, 85, 183; figs. 135, 164
Kaniśka, Kuṣâna king 49, 52—54, 56—59, 61, 63, 66, 69, 148
— Bodhi-tree at Peshâwar 34
— coins, see Coins
— portrait statues 48, 67; fig. 65
— reliquary 53, 54; fig. 89
— stûpa or tower at Śâhâ-jî-ki-Dherâ, near Peshâwar 30, 53, 152; see also Architecture
Kannâda, near Śrâvana Belgoa 119; fig. 234
Kântanagar 116
Kantarōdai, Ceylon 45; fig. 114
Kâñvas dynasty 23
Kapaleśvara, see Śiva and Śiva, liṅgam
Kapila, Ceylon sage 162
Kapilavastu 89, 91; fig. 179
Kapiśa, Afghānistān 49
Kapīśa Asvādana, see Texts
Kapoteśvarā temple, Chezūra 77; fig. 147
Kārīli; caitya hall 28, 29, 69, 74, 83; figs. 34, 35
kāraśāpāna, see Coins, punch-marked
Kārttikēyā, see Skanda
karaṇā-rasa 91
Kasī (Kuśāṅgara) 74, 84, 87
kasīda, see Textiles
Kasmir 15, 49, 52, 55, 61, 69, 73, 74, 82, 141—143, 149, 153; figs. 272, 273, 275
— Pāla bronze 114; fig. 232
Kassapa I, Ceylon 162, 163
Kassites 7
kasūrī, see Textiles
Kātāha (Kīṭāra, etc.) 199
Kathāsāra-Sāgara, see Texts
Kathīawād, caves 77; figs. 392, 397
— textiles 139, 140; fig. 397
Kāṭočh dynasty of Kāṯgṛā 131
Katpuliana 162
Kaundinya 180, 181
Kausāmibī, see Kosām
Kauṭhāra, Campā 195
Kāveripumpāṭṭanam 44, 101
kāyotsargā 118
Kedah, Malayu 175, 200
Keḷaṇṭa Vihāra 168
Kerālā (Malabar) 10
Kertanagara, “Sivabuddha”, East Javanese king 200, 201, 208
Kesāva Dās 131
— temple, Somnāthpur 110, 117
Kesimāna, Bali, temple 210
Ketu 43
Khadāliq, Khotān 149
Kharjavāho, Bundelkhaṇḍ 64, 109, 110; fig. 214
Khalybes 7
Khaṇḍagītī, Oriissa 37, 38; fig. 36
khaṇḍīrī, see Textiles
Khāravela, Kalinga king 23, 30, 37, 43
Khavroṣṭhi, see Inscriptions
Khmer and pre-Khmer type 7, 76, 175—177; fig. 100
Khmer, Origins 180, 184, 188
— see Cambodia
Khoh, Nagodh State 78, 86

kbon, see Theatre
Khotān 66, 69, 148, 150, 154; figs. 283—285
Kīdal, Caṇḍī, Java 208
kimkhāvā, see Textiles
Kīrtī Śrī Rājasimha 168
kīrtittamukhā, see Animals
kīrtistambhā, Chitor 111; fig. 251; see also Architecture
Kīrattivarma, Pala king 110
Kīsh, Sumerian faience seals 4
Kistna-Godāveri delta (later Veṅgi) 21, 23, 38, 106; see also Veṅgi
Kiu-su, Campā 195
Kiyul, arch 77
Koh Ker, Cambodia 190
kolaṇ, Cam wooden temple type 197
Kompoṭ Sway 191
Kopāraka 64, 79, 115, 116; figs. 217, 220
Kon Wēwa 165
Kondāne 28
Kondawgyi, Pagān 170
Kondivte, Western India 18, 19, 38
Kont Guḍi, Aihole 79
Koraṅganāṭha temple 122
Korat, Siam 177, 194
Korea 154
Korkai 6
Kosām (Kauśāmbī) 21, 32, 37, 86; figs. 60, 110, 111
Kramrisch, St. 127
Krom, N. J. 207

Krṣṇa, mentioned 66, 69, 86, 103, 106, 123, 124, 127—129, 131, 206; figs. 102, 166, 178, 245, 258, 265, 267—270, 282
— Dān Līlā 69
— Dēva Rāja 106, 123, 124; figs. 245, 258
— Čudhādhaṅār 103
— Govardhanadhāra 66, 69, 103; figs. 102, 166
— incarnation of Viṣṇu 127, 167
— Līlā 66, 69, 86, 128, 129, 131; figs. 265, 267—270
— nativity 86; fig. 178
— with the flute 131; figs. 270, 282
— and Rādhā, see Krṣṇa Līlā
— see also Viṣṇu
— II, Rāḍrakṣā king 99
Krṣṇāyana, see Texts
Kṣatrapa (Indo-Persian or Scytho-Parthian) period 37, 54, 55, 56
Kubera, see Kuvera and Yakṣa
Kubezatpaya, Pagān 171
Kublai Khān 147, 153, 173, 195
Kuhbākkui, Pagān 171
Kuca (Kutscha, Alt-Kutscha) 150
kuva-bandha, see Textiles
kadurru, see Architecture
Kulen, Mt., Cambodia 182, 186, 187, 190
Kulotthuṅga-colā 199
Kumāragupta I, Gupta king 71; fig. 131; see also Coins
Kumārajiva 151
Kumārapāla king 111, 117
Kumbakonam, gopuraṇams 122
Kunipīka, Ajātaśatrū, Śāsiṇāngā king 9, 16, 31
Kuṇjarakunji-deva, Javanese source in South India 201
Kūram, apsidal Pallava temple 105
Kurukṣetra, Delhi 87
Kuruuvatti, Bellary Dist. fig. 225
Kušāna and pre-Kuśāna art 3, 8, 12, 16, 21, 25, 30, 34, 37, 39—45, 48—50, 54, 56, 57, 59—63, 66—69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 80, 81, 83, 87, 99, 150, 152, 172, 190; figs. 59, 62, 64—66, 69, 69Ā, 71, 73, 74, 76—88, 90—97, 102—104, 162
kutapā, musical instrument 84
Kuvera (Jamhala) bronzes, Ceylon 166; fig. 298; see Yakṣa
Kyanzittha, Pagān, figure of king 170—172

Lacquer, Burmese 173, 174
— Siamese 177; fig. 322
Lāḏ Khān, Aihole 79, 181; fig. 148
Laduv, Kāśmir, temple 143
Lahore 127, 135
Laiṭhka, Burma 174
lakhaon, see Theatre
Lakṣāṇi, see Devī
Lakṣamana, see Rāmāyana
Lakṣamana temple, Sīrpur 93; fig. 186
Lakṣmī, Gaja-Lakṣmī 26, 38, 65, 87, 103, 127, 167; fig. 205
— mediaeval examples 100, 121; figs. 196, 200
Lalatmāṇa, Caṇḍī, Java 207
Lalitāditya, king of Kāśmir 141, 142, 143, 205
Lalita Vistara, see Texts
Lalitpur District, Candela frescoes 109
— Jogini temple 110
Lamaism 153, 154
Lamphun, N. Siam 175, 176
Lāṅkāṭilaka, Polonnāruva, temple 164, 166, 168
Lao, Laos, Sino-Tibetan border races 176
lāt, see Architecture, pillars
Laurīyā-Nanda-gaṛth, 10, 42, 65; fig. 105
Le Coq, von 60, 64
Leper king 188, see also Yaśovarman
Lévi, S. 7, 144
Lewu, Java 209
Lhāsa 147
Libraries (bhauḍār, pastakāṭārāma) 120, 170, 192; fig. 308; see also Bidadag Taik
Licchavis 22
Lightning, clouds, rain, see Clounds
Ligor, Old Siam, Malay Peninsula 175, 178, 179
Limestone figures 3, 4; fig. 1
liṅga, see Mathurā, Paraśurāmesvara, Śiva, Phallus
Liṅgapura, Cambodia 190
Liṅgarāja, temple, Orissā 115, 116; fig. 215
Lion, see Animals
Logan, W. 10
Lokanatha, see Boddhisattva
Lohapāśāda, Anurādhapura 162
Lokapalas, see Yakṣa
Lokeśvara, see Boddhisattva, Śiva
Lolei, Cambodia 187, 190
Lomas Ṛṣi cave, Barābar hills 18, 38; fig. 28
Lopaśobhikā 37; fig. 72
Longhurst, A. H. 10
Lopburi, Siam 175—178, 181; figs. 321, 323
Lotiyān Tāṅgai, Gandhāra, dated figure from 52
Loro Jongrang, Caṇḍī, Java 205, 206; figs. 348, 336
Lotus, see Symbols
Lotus pedestal (padmāśana), see āsana
Lovang, Campā 198
Loyang, China 151, 152
Lucknow 134, 140, 179; figs. 379
Lumbini garden 64, 142
Lydian tombs 12

279
Madagaskar 198
Madras, textiles 138
Madura 124, 139; figs. 236, 242
Magadha 9, 23, 114
Mahābhārata, see Texts
Mahābhāṣya, see Texts, Patanjali
Mahābhodi temple, Bodhgaya 81, 170; fig. 210
— Pagan 170; fig. 309
Mahādeva, see Śiva
Mahādharmarājādhīrāja, Siamese king 177
Mahānāga Dāgaba 159
Mahāsena 22, 48, 161
Mahā Śeṣa Dagaba 160
Mahāvaṃśa, see Texts
Mahāvīra, Jina 9, 37, 38, 86, 119; fig. 178
Mahāyāna Buddhism in Ceylon 113
Mahāyogi, see Śiva
Mahendraparvata, Cambodia 185, 187
Mahendravarman I, Vicitracitta, Pallava king 101, 102
— image 103; fig. 204
— style 102
Mahēśa, see Śiva
Mahēśvar 122
Mahēśvara (-mūrti), see Śiva
Mahinda, apostle in Ceylon 160
Mahobā 105, 110; fig. 223
Maitreya: Nāga as prototype of 69, see also
Boddhisattva
Majapahit, Java 208, 211
makara, see Animals
— toraṇa, see Architecture
Makatama 55
Malaya (= Malayu, Mo lo yen, Malacca, Minankabaw), Malay Peninsular 176, 178, 198, 200
Malaya = Sumatra 200
Māleagatti Śivālaya, Bādanī 95; fig. 187
Maliku-ṣ-Saliḥ 200
Malot, Paṇjab 74, 108, 143, 196; fig. 274
Mālwa, temple in 109
Māmallapuram 78, 101—105, 116, 162, 202; figs. 198, 200—202, 204—209
Mānadeva, Nepal king 144
Manaku, see Craftsman
Manasā Devī, an early Yakṣī, Mathurā 17
Mānbhum, Bengal 80
Māñcapuri, see Inscriptions
Māṇḍagapattu, South Arcot Dist. 102

Mandalay, Burma 84, 173, 174
mandapa, see Architecture
Māṇḍor, Jodhpur State 26, 86; fig. 166
Māṇibhadra, see Yakṣa and Inscriptions
Māṇikkā-Vāsagar 127, 167
Māṇikyāla, stūpa 54, 56
Māṇiyār Maṭha, Rājagṛha 75, 82, 86; fig. 176
Māṇjuśrī (Boddhisattva) 146, 172, 208; fig. 281
Māṇkuwār, near Allahābād, Buddha figure 62, 74, 85; fig. 162
Māṇmoda, caitya-hall 29; fig. 30
Mān Śīgha, Kachwāha 121; fig. 252
Manuha, Burmese king 170
Maps 255—262
Māra-dhārasya 99
Marshalls, Sir John 5, 20, 21, 27, 33, 56, 49, 51, 54, 74, 94
Mārtanda, Kaśmir, temple 143
masbru, see Textiles
Masks, see Theatre
Masonry 3, 54, 78, 205
Marsur, Kāṅgrā 107
Masulipatam 139, 179
Māt, temple and sculptures at 48, 63, 66
Mātāṅgeśvara temple, Kāṇcl 105
martba, see Architecture, monasteries
Mathurā art 18—21, 23, 24, 32, 33, 37, 43, 44, 46—48, 50, 56—72, 74, 75, 84, 85, 104, 138, 149, 152; figs. 20, 21, 23, 37, 59, 64, 65, 68, 69, 69A, 70—87, 96, 98, 99, 102—104, 158
— Brahmanical fragments, Kuṣāṇa 66—68
— Buddha and Jina type, listed 58, 62, 64; figs. 96, 98, 104, 158
— copied at Sārnāth 58
— discussed 57—62
— Gupta sculptures listed 84, 85
— importance in Buddhist history 60
— inscriptions 18, 37, 50, 66
— śīlāgam 67
— lion capital 37, 50
— railing pillars 46, 62
— sites 63
— textiles 138
— type in Turkistan and China 60, 149, 152
— wide distribution in N. India 58, 59, 65, 74
— Yakṣas and Nagas 68
Mau, king 24, 57, 59; see also Coins

280
Maurya and pre-Maurya period 3, 10, 11, 13, 15, 22, 23, 24, 30, 34, 43, 44, 54, 87, 94, 169; figs. 8—23, 28, 30, 57, 60, 134
Māya Devi 26, 29, 31, 65; figs. 30, 121; see also Fertility
Mazdean art 8
Mebun, Āṇkor Thori 190
Medagiriya, Ceylon 165
medhi, see Architecture, terraces
Mediaeval art: Early 11; figs. 7, 181, 186—209, 211—237, 249—251, 272—273, 279—281; see also Cāḷukya, Pallava, Rāṣṭrakūṭa
— Late, figs. 238—248, 252—261, 266 to 267; see also Cāḷukya Cola, Madhura, Rājput, Pāla, Vijayanagar
Megasthenes 13, 19
Meghesvara temple, Orissā 115
Meguti, Aiho 79, 95
Mehta, N. C. 120
Mekong valley 7
Melapalavur, Trichinopoly Dist. 102; fig. 199
Menam valley 7
Menander (Milinda), Greek king of Kābul 23, 24
Mendut, Candi, Java 203; figs. 350, 354, 357
Meru, Mt., Ceylon 40, 161, 191, 193
Meruvardhanasvānim temple, Pāṇḍarenṭhān 143; fig. 275
Meruvanman, Pala king 108
Mesopotamia 3, 4, 5
Mice, mouse, see Animals
Mihintale, Ceylon 160
Mihiragula 71, 74
Mi la ra spa 148
Milinda Panha, see Text
Minaksi, see Devī
Minākshi temple, Madura 124
Minakabab, see Malayu
Mindo Minur, Burmese king 173
Mingalazedi, Pagān 170, 171, 205; fig. 313
Ming Oi 150
Mingun 173
Miniatures, see Paintings
Mīrān, Khotān 148; fig. 284
Mirisweṭiya (Maricavatthi) Dāgaba 161
Mirpur Khas, Sind 56, 73, 86, 87, 171, 205; fig. 168
— — stūpa 56, 171, 205
Mīr Ziyarāt, see Puṣkālavati
Mi-son, Campā 195—197; fig. 341
Mitani, Āryan gods in Cappadocia 7
Mitali, Jogini temple 110
mīthuna, amorous couples in art 21
Modern Himālayan cult 68
Mohenjo-Daro, Sind 3—6, 21, 36; figs. 1—6
Mohpū Morādu, Taxila 72
Mola Ram, see Craftsman
Mo lo yen, see Malayu
Momand image, Gandhara 55
Monkey, see Animals
morpha, see āśana
Morin-Jean 11
Mother goddesses 3, 5, 21, 36, 41, 46, fig. 354; see also Fertility
Mountain, so-called stūpa, see Symbols
Mūdāvedi 119
Mudhera, temple at 111
Mudrā, “seal”, and hasta “hand”, significant positions of the hands and fingers
— abhaya “do not fear”, commonest early pose 32, 52, 56, 57, 74; figs. 78—80, 83—85, 87, 126, 242
— dhyāna, meditation 32, 161; fig. 295
— dharma-cakra mudrā, preaching 60, 74, 85, 145; figs. 161, 278
— vyākhyāna, exposition 166; figs. 296, 297
— bhūmi-sparśa 62, 114, 142; figs. 104, 228, 233
Mūḍāratākṣasa, see Texts
Mughal, see Painting
Mujjuncte, queen 108; fig. 273
Mukerji, P. C. 109
mukha-liṅgam, see Śiva-liṅgam
Muktesvara, temple, Orissā 115, 116; fig. 219
Munḍeswarī temple, Shāhābād Dist. 94
Mural crown 11, 19, 37
— decoration 8
Murshidābād, textiles 158
mūrti, see Images
Myadaung Kyaung, Burma 173
Mysore (Maiśīr) 106, 107, 117; fig. 224
Nāchnā-Kutharā, Ajaigarh State 78
Nādaun, Kāṅgara 131
Nāga, Ajanta 85; fig. 286
— Anurādhapura 162
— Bacchanalian 69, 77
— Bādāmi 94
— may represent Balarāma 69, 86
— ballustrades 185—187, 190, 191, 192, 195, 197
— called Bhāgavata 46
— cult 42, 68
— by name Dharaṇendra 165; fig. 86
— as guardians 51, 165, 181; fig. 39
— Indo-Sumerian 4
— Mahānāga Dāgaba 159
— Māmallapuram 103; fig. 207
— Maniyār Mahā 82; fig. 176
— Mānmoda 29; fig. 30
— Mathurā 68
— by name Mucalinda 165; fig. 343
— Nāga-bali 43
— by name Nālandā 46
— Orissā 38, 116; fig. 219
— Pallava ancestress 101, 181
— Paṭṭakadal 95
— perhaps a prototype of Maitreya 69
— race 158, 181
— Śānci 85
— by name Śeṣa 69, 193
— by name Somā 180, 181, 186
— three-headed 38
nāga, see also Animals, elephant
Nagar Seth, see Craftsman
Nagara = city, capital, corrupted in vernaculars to Ankor, Nuwara, etc.
— Northern or Āryāvārta style of architecture 79, 83, 107, 109, 117; see also Architecture
nāgara defined 87, 88
Nāgarāja 85; fig. 172
Nāgarakattāgana, see Texts
Nagari (= Madhyamikā, Chitor) 10, 21, 24, 48
nāgarika, gentleman, "man about town" 87, 88
Nāginī, see Nāga
Nahapāna cave 28, 70
Nahapāna Vihāra, Nāsik 28; figs. 31, 34
Nala and Damayanti, see Texts
Nālandā, Bihār 82, 92, 93, 108, 113, 199, 207; figs. 232, 233
— Ceylon 144, 166
— = Nāga, defined 46

Nambi Appa 105
Nānāghāt 23, 30, 43
Nanda king and dynasty 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 22, 43; fig. 104
Nandamannya, Pagān 172; fig. 311
Nandi, Siva’s bull 55, 99, 100; fig. 122; see also Animals, bull
— bull vehicle of Siva 45
— at Kuca 150
— and Vardhana, see Yakṣa
nandipada, see Symbols
Nandivardhā, seal 36
Nandivardhana, city 17
Nandivarma, Pallava 103, 105
Nanpayā, Pagān 170, 171; fig. 314
Nara, Japan 93, 114
Narasimha 86, 96, 97; fig. 170
Narasinhavarman I, Pallava king 93, 101
Narasinhavarman II, Rajasinhavarman, Pallava king 101
Nārāyaṇa, see Viṣṇu
Nārāyaṇapur 118
Narbadā 7
Nāsik 23, 38, 94
— Caitya-hall 28, 29, 76; fig. 31
— Cave XVII 98
— Gautamiputra, Cave III (vibhāra) 69, 70
— Nahapāna vibhāra 28
— Śri Yajña Cave 70
— textiles 139
Nat Haung Gyaung 170, 171; fig. 305
Naṭṭāḷa, see Śiva
nāṭi, see Costume
nāṭyā-manḍapa, see Architecture
nāṭyā-dāla, see Architecture
nāṭyā-lastra, see Texts, Bhāratiya
Nāṭyāyaks of Madura 124
Nāṭkān Peān, Añkōr Thom 186
Negapatañ (Nāgāptānam) 106, 199
Nemawar, Indore, Siddhkeśvara temple 109
Nemean lion 62
Neminātha, temple, Gīrīnā 112
Nepāl 144—146; figs. 276—281
Ngakya-whe Nadaung, Pagān 170; fig. 306
Nidānakathā, see Texts
Nikawē Kande Dāgaba 162
Nimbus (śira-śakra, prabhāmanḍala, tirṇwāsi, sun-disk) 22, 41, 42, 51, 57, 67, 68, 74, 122; figs. 90, 122, 123, 130, 132
Nirmand, Kušā 108; fig. 275
Nissaśka Lata Maṇḍapaya, Ceylon 165
No-gaku, classic Japanese drama 211
Nokhas, Ethah Dist. fig. 226
nora-singh, see Animals
Northern temple, Pojjonnaruva 164, 177, 196; fig. 261, 291, 302
Nṛtya-lāitra, see Texts, Bhāratiya
Nude, nudity 10, 21, 25, 36, 57, 64, 65, 66, 118, 149, 188; figs. 24, 52—54, 66, 72—75, 81, 105, 121, 164, 165, 173, 176—179, 184, 193, 196, 204, 205, 207, 218, 219, 226, 247, 255, 256, 257, 283, 333, 354
— see also Earth goddess, Erotic motifs, Fertility, Mother goddesses, Pañcika nyagrodha, banyan, ficus indica, confusion with pippala 47
Nyaung-u, Burma 174
Nymphs 41, 62, 64, 65, 149; figs. 177, 283
Okakura, K. 14, 154
Orchā 129
— palace 121
Orissā 11, 44, 106, 107, 109
— early caves 27
— mediaeval temples 37
— ports of departure for Sumatra and Java 157
Osiā 98, 111
Padmapāni, see Bodhisattva
Padmasambhava, Tibetan saint 147, 148
padmāsana, see āsana
paduka-altar 31, 44; see also Symbols
Paes, Portuguese writer 123
Pagān, Burma 169—174, 205; figs. 305—309, 311—317
Pahang, Sumatra 200
Pahārī paintings 127, 131
paśājana, see Costume and Textiles
Painting; Ajañṭā 8, 39, 40, 72, 75, 77, 89—91, 98, 99, 163; figs. 179—182, 185
— ālekhyā śibāna 120
— Anurādhapura, Ceylon 160, 163
— Bāgh 89; fig. 183
— Bali 209
— Bāmiyān 53
— Bengal 119, 146; fig. 282
— bhāvana 87
Painting; Burma 115, 172
— Cāḷukya, early 98—99
— Candela 110
— cetanā 88
— citrā-jāla 84, 87
— classification 87
— Degaldoruwa 168
— Elūrā, Kailāsā 100, 121; fig. 196
— Gujarāṭī (Jaina, etc.) 89, 101, 115, 119—121, 129, 132, 172; figs. 235—258
— Gupta 39, 87—91; figs. 179, 180, 182—184
— Hindagala, Ceylon 163
— Jaina, see Gujarati
— Javanese 209
— Kandyān Sinhalese 26, 168
— Khotan 66, 148, 150; figs. 283—285
— Kuṣāṇa 56
— Mirpur Kāś 56
— Mohenjo Daro 56
— Mughal 127—133
— Nepāl 115, 119, 145, 146; figs. 279—281
— Pahārī 127, 131
— Pāla 114, 115
— Pallava 102
— Pojjonnaruva 163, 164, 177
— pre-Kuṣāṇa 39, 40
— Rāgmāla 129, 130, 131; figs. 259, 260
— Rajput 8, 11, 16, 61, 66, 127—133, 140; figs. 258—271
— Rāṣṭrakūṭa 100; fig. 196
— Ridi Vihāra 163
— Siām 177, 178
— Sigiriya, Ceylon 162; fig. 184
— Sīkhi 127, 131—133
— Sittanāvīsāl 89
— Śravaṇa Belgoḷa 121
— Tamankāḍuwa, Ceylon 163
— Tibetan 147
— Turkistān 148—150; figs. 283—285
— Vedic 42
— Yamāṣṭa, Wayang Beber 89
— and dancing 71, 88, 211
Pāla dynasty 105, 106
Pāla school and period 113—115; figs. 227 to 232
Palaces, see Architecture, Amber p., Aśoka, Assyrian, Dig
Palampet, Mysore 118
palampore, see Textiles
Pāḷātū Ḍheri 55
Palembang, Sumatra 198—200, 205, 207, 208
Pāḷiṅṭaṇa, Jain temple city 112
Pallas Athene 51
Pallava dynasty 23, 39, 101—105
— style 70, 95, 101—105, 157, 162, 175, 184; figs. 197—209
— Aparājita style 105
— Mahendra style 102
— Māmalla style 102—104
— Rājasimha and Nandivarman style 104 to 105
— elements in pre-Khmer art 8
Paṇamalai, Pallava temple 105, 182; fig. 203
Panataran, Caṇḍi, Java 205, 209, 210; fig. 352
paṇaṃkṛtya, see Siva
paṇaṃkṛtya type 32
Pāncika 62, 68, 99, 149, 203; see also Fertility and Yakṣa
Pāṇḍavas, statues 66, 87
— temple names 87, 102—104
Pāṇḍrenṭhān (Purṇāḍhiṇḍhānā) near Srinagar 142, 143; fig. 275
Pāṇḍu-kuppa, Kaśmir, temple 143
Pāṇḍuraṅga, Campā 193
Pāṇḍya dynasty 6, 106
— see also Architecture
Paṇñjab 9, 22, 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 49, 52, 56, 68, 74, 107, 108, 134; figs. 62, 274
Pāṇjī, Rāden 207
Paṇjīnāra, Jammū 143
Paṇkaraṇa, see Texts
Pantaleon 64, 66; see also Coins
Panther, see Animals
Paṇṇanātha temple, Pattakadal 95, 99
Parākrama Bhāhu I, Ceylon 159, 160, 163, 164, 165, 167; fig. 301
Parākrama Bhāhu II, Ceylon 160, 166
Paramāṭha, pilgrim 153
Paramēśvaravarman, Pallava 101
Parasnāth, Bengal 113
paraśu, see Symbols
Paraśurāmeśvara; liṅgam, Gudimallam 39;
— temple, Bhuvanesvara 79, 115, 202; fig. 216
Paraulli, Cawnpore Dist. 108
Parigir 16
Parīśhapura, near Srinagar 142, 205
Parker, H. 161
Pārkhām, Kuṇika image 16, 28, 58, 86; fig. 9
Parmentier, H. 83, 187, 195, 196, 200
Pārśvanātha, Tirthaṅkara, Jina 57; figs. 86, 234
Parthia, satraps 24
Pārvati, see Devi
pārśāda, see Architecture
Paśupatinātha, Nepālese shrine at 145
Pataiṇī Devitemple, Uchahara 78
Paṭālapuri, see Inscriptions
Paṭaliputra (Patna) 5, 9, 10, 15—21, 23, 24, 26, 32, 43, 44, 55, 58, 64, 69, 71, 73, 81;
— figs. 17, 22, 62, 67
Pāṭan, Anhilavāḍa 111
Pāṭan, Kaśmir, temple 143, 144
— Somanātha 111
Patañjali, see Texts
Paṭāhāṅkot 48; fig. 116, 117
Pathaora, near Bhārhat 25
Paṭāhāri 86; fig. 178
Pathodawgyi, Burma 173
Patna, see Pataliputra
patola, see Textiles
Paṭṭakadal 95, 99; fig. 188
Paṭṭinappalai, see Texts
Paṭṭinī Devī, Ceylon 167; fig. 300
Pawāyā (Padmāvatī), Gwalior 34, 69; fig. 63
Pawdawmu, Pagān 170
Pawon, Kedu, Java 203
Pāyār, Kaśmir, temple 143
Peacock, see Animals
Pehin Gyaung 170
Pegu, Burma 169, 172, 194
Pejeng, Bali 210
Pelliot, P. 153
Penampikan, Java 209
Persepolis 19
Persia; bounded by Indus 9, 22
Persian influences 11—14, 22, 24, 57
Perūr, Coimbatore Dist. 126; fig. 248
Peruvalanallur 101
Peshāwar (Purūṣapura), Afgānīstān 30, 34, 49, 53, 152
Petleik, Pagān 170, 171
Phallus 5, 39, 41, 45, 86, 185, 187, 190, 192, 197; figs. 66, 68; see also liṅgam, Śiva-liṅgam
Phimēanakas, Aṉkor Thon, Cambodia 188, 205; fig. 331
Phnom Bâkeñ, Cambodia 190, 191, 205
— Chisor, Cambodia 192
— Da, Cambodia 182, 184
— Peñ, Cambodia 84, 186, 194
Phoenizian tombs 12
Phulêkâri, see Textiles
Phupûpāṭāra Arâdāna, see Texts
Pippala, aśvattha, sacred fig, ficus religiosa
4, 31, 47, fig. 6
— see also Bodhi-tree, nyâgrodha
Piprâwâ 12, 73
Pîtalhorâ 28, 29
Pîtha, pedestal 41; see also Images
— simhâsana, lion throne 37
Pitsanu, see Viśṇu
Pitsanulok, Siam 175, 176
Płasen, Caṇḍi, Java 206
Plaques 10, 20, 21, 37, 42, 65, 80, 81, 136,
172, 173, 196; figs. 2—6, 62, 71, 105, 388
Po Klau Garai, Campâ 197
Polonnâruva (Pulattihipura), Ceylon 73, 126,
159, 163—167, 196; figs. 243, 287, 291,
301—304
Polynesia, see Furniture, capitals
Po Nagar, Campâ 197, 198
Ponambalâvânesvaran Kovil, Colombo 125
Porcelain 178—179, see also Porcelain
Por Po Rome, Campâ 198
Poros 42
“Pot and foliage”, see Architecture, capitals
Potâla, Mt. 147
Pottery 4, 6, 8, 12, 15, 168; see also Faience, Porcelain
Potter, E. 14
prabhâ-mañḍala, see Nimbus
pradaksìṇâ, see Architecture, circumambulation
Prâh Khân, Ânkor Thom 184, 186, 187
— Pîthu, Ânkor Thom 188
— Vihéar, Cambodia 191, 192
Prajâpati 43
Prajñâpâramitâ (Târâ) 208
Prakâra, see Architecture
pralambhapatâ, see aṣâna
Pramânam, see Aesthetic, appreciation
Prambanam, Java 79, 199, 203—207; fig. 348
prâing-type, see Architecture, terraces
Prâpathom, Siam 175, 177; figs. 318, 319
Prasât Andet, Cambodia 183; fig. 333
pratikëti, see Images
pratima, see Images
Pratimânâṭika, see Texts
Prê Kuk, Cambodia 182; fig. 324
Prê Rup, Cambodia 190
Primitives 71
Pringapus, Candi, Java 205
Prome (Pisau Myo, Śrîksetra), Burma 169,
172, 174
Przybelski, J. 60
Prthvi 42
Puḍû Maṇḍapam, Madura 124
pujâ, ritual of devotional service 5, 17, 39,
127; fig. 66
pujâ-lîla-prakâra, railed enclosure 22; see also
Architecture, prakâra
Pûjârî Pâli, Bilâspur Dist. 80
Pulakeśin I, Câḻukya 94, 99
Pulakeśin II, Câḻukya 92, 94, 95
puṣâṇa-gaṭa, full vessel, fertility emblem 65;
fig. 286; see also Fertility and Symbols
Puntadeva, Candi, Java 202; fig. 345
puṣyâ-sâla, see Architecture
Puppets 174, 211
Pa, city 5
Pura ye Ganga, temple, Bali 210
purâṇa, see Coins, punch-marked
Puṇâgâdiśthâna, see Pândrenthân
Pûrist, Orissa 109, 115; fig. 218
Puśtanâ, see Libraries
Pusânyâ, Śûngâ 23
Pyathonzu 172
Pyus, Burmese proper 169, 172
Qalm, pen, style; see Textiles
Qalmdar, see Textiles
Quintus Curtius 34, 42
Rach Gia, S. Cambodia 183
râchi si, see Animals, lion
Râdên Pânji, see Kâmeśvara
Râdha and Krṣna, see Krṣna Lilâ
Radha Krishna, Pandit 56

285
Rāgas and rāginīs, musical modes; see Rāgāmālā
Rāgāmālā 129—132; figs. 259—261; see also Texts
Rain, clouds, lightning; see Clouds
Rāja Bhoja, Paramāra, Pawār 105
Rājagṛha 9, 10, 59, 75, 82, 86; fig. 176
Rājapāśāda 33
Rājarāja 199
Rājarājadeva Coḷa 106, 122, 126
Rājasan, Śungha figure and column 32; fig. 58
Rājasimhēvara temple, Kaṇci 104; fig. 197
Rājasthānī, paintings 127, 129; figs. 259—261
Rājasuja ceremony 9
Rajendracoḷa I, King of Ceylon 106, 122, 166, 199
Rajendravarman of Cambodia 190
Rājputāna 22, 84, 107, 121, 127—133, 136, 138—140; fig. 395
Rājput dynasty 105, 106, 122
Rājput painting 8, 127—133; figs. 254, 258—271
Rājārājesvara temple, Tanjore 122; fig. 235
Rājārāni, temple, Orīssā 115, 116
Rajshāhi 114
rākṣasas 79
Rāma, see Rāmāyana
Rāma Khamheng, Siamese king 178
Ramanāthan, Sir P. 125
Rāmatirtham 39
Rāmāyana (Rāma, Lakṣmanā, Sitā) 31, 87, 127, 133, 204; figs. 167, 266, 356, 371
Rāmāyana, see Texts
Rāmēśvara cave, Ellūr 64, 96, 97; fig. 190
Rāmāiagar, temple at 116
Rāmpurvā, Tirhūt fig. 14
Rangoon, Burma 171; fig. 310
Rāni Gumphā 37; fig. 36
Rālpur, Jhariā, Jogini temple 110
Rānjubula, Rājula, satrap 37, 63
Rankot vehera, Polonnāruva 163
Rānpur, Jaina temples 113
Rao, T. A. G. 39
Rapson, E. J. 49
rāsa, see Aesthetic, appreciation
rāsaśvādana, see Architecture, appreciation
Rāṣṭrakûṭa, art 99—101, 121; figs. 193—196
— dynasty 95, 99
ratha, see Architecture
Rāvaṇa kā Khai, Elūrā 97, 100
Rawak, sūpa, Khotān 150
Ṛgyveda Saṁhitā 9
Rhinoceros, see Animals
Ridi Vihāra, Ceylon 124, 136, 163, 166, 168; fig. 388
Romłok, Ta Keo, Funan 76, 153, 182; fig. 100
Rostovtzeff, M. 3, 13
Ruanwēlī Dāgabā, Anurādhapura 161, 163; figs. 292—294
Rugs, see Textiles
“Rukmini”, stone sculpture, Nokhas, fig. 226
Ruluos, Cambodia 185, 187, 190
rumāl, see Textiles
Rūp Bās, Bharatpur 86
— — — mathurā 57
rūpa = Symbols
Sacrifices (yajña) 3, 9, 21, 23, 41, 42; see yupa
Sadānandavāna, see Harvan
Sadāśīva, see Śiva
Sadhā-Tissa, king of Ceylon 160, 161
Sagardighi, Murshidābād Dist. 114; fig. 231
Saḥēth Maheṭth (= Śrāvasti) 34, 58, 61, 87, 99
Saḥitya-Darpaṇa, see Texts
Sahni, D. R. 61
Saldpur 56
Śailendra dynasty in Java 203—206
Śailendra dynasty of Sumatra 113, 199
Śaisūnāga dynasty 9, 10, 16
Śaisūnāga-Nanda period (642—320 b. C.) 9—10
Śaiva, adjective, formed from Śiva
Śaiva saints, images 126, 167
Sakas (Scythians) 23, 24, 49
Sakka, Sakra, see Indra
Śākya-vardhana, see Yuka
Śālavanakuppar, Pallava cave 105
Samaṇñabhala Sutta, see Texts
Śaṁbhhu-Bhadrēśvara, see Śiva, liṅgam
Śaṁbüor, Cambodia 181
Śaṁgameśvara temple, near Pāṭṭakadal 93
sankītā-tāla, see Architecture
Saṁhitās 64
Saṁkarśana, see Balarāma
Saṁśār Cand, Rāja 131
Samudragupta, Gupta king 71; fig. 130; see also Coins
Sahaṣyutta Nikāya, see Texts
Sanborn, A. 67
Saṃcī 8, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24—27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 43—45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 59, 61, 64—66, 68, 74, 78, 85, 94, 96, 104, 161; figs. 50—56, 149, 151
Sanganir, textiles 139
Sangariti, Caṇḍi, Java 207
Sangsit, Bali, temple 210
Sangsyaung monasteries 173
Saṅkara Vaidyanātha, see Śiva
Saṅkarām hills 39
Saṅkṣāra, soapstone 20; fig. 134
Sano, Siam 175
sānta, flexible anklets 136
Sānti, Indra as, see Indra
Sapada 171
Śaptamudrī well 67
śārīrula, see Animals
Sāri, Caṇḍi, Java 203
Śārnāth 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 36, 38, 63, 69, 74, 76, 83, 112, 182; figs. 12, 18, 19, 83, 161, 171; see also Mathurā
tsārung, see Textiles
Śaṅka, king 93
Śatākārṇi, third Andhra king, coin 67
— portrait statue 23, 30, 43
Sat Mahal Pāśāda, Pojjonāruva 165; fig. 287
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, see Texts
Satruṇyāya, Jain temple city 112
śātvik, see Images
Sawamura, S. 146
Sawankolok, Siam 178
Sayce, A. H. 7
Sdok Kash Tamor 185
Seals, Bhīṣa 36
— Gupta 45, 55, 86
— Indo-Sumerian 4; figs. 2—6
— Kuśāna, early 67
— Nandivardha 36
— Śiva, see Śiva
— Śrīvadra 86
— Yaṭṭhāla Dāgaba, Ceylon 159; fig. 133
Seinnyet 170
Selagriya, Caṇḍi, Java 203
Selakeler, Java 209
Semar, Caṇḍi, Java 202
Sembhadra, Caṇḍi, Java 202
Sena dynasty 106
Sena II, king of Ceylon 164
Senapati, see Craftsman, Nagar Seth
seni, see Craftsman, gilds
Serimpis, Javanese court dancers 212
Seṣeṇuva 165
Sewu, Caṇḍi, Java 203, 206, 212
Śāh Jahan 121
Shadow plays in Java 211; in Burma 174
— in Siam 180; sources 211
Śāh-jī-ki-Dheri, near Peshāwar, site of Kaniska’s tower 30, 53, 152; fig. 89
Shāhpur 108
Shāns, Sino-Tibetan border races in Siam, Burma 169, 173
Shore temple, Māmalla puram 105; fig. 201
Shōtoku Taishi, Japanese prince 154
Shoulder wings 12, 20, 21, 67; figs. 16, 103
Shpola stūpa, Khyber 205
Shwedagon, Rangoon 83, 171; fig. 310
Shwegugyi, Pagān 170, 171
Shwemawdaw, Pagān 172
Shwesandaw 170, 205
Shwezaya, Pagān 173
Shwezigon, Pagān 170—172
Siam 175—180; figs. 318—323
Siddhapur, Rudramalā, temple at 111
Siddha Rāj, Solaṅki 111
Siddhārtha 33, 171; fig. 316
Siddheśvara temple, Bāṅkurā 108; fig. 213
Siem Reap, Cambodian theatre 194
Sigiriya, Ceylon 158, 162; fig. 184
Sikh 127, 131—133
śīkharā, see Architecture
Śīkharēśvara, see Śiva
Sikri, near Mathurā 57
— near Peshāwar 62
Silapattikāram, see Texts
Śīlparaṇam, see Texts
Śīlpa-sāstras, text-book of architecture, etc. 45, 72, 107, 125, 126
— Mānumāya 106, 125
— Mayamata 125
— Śīlparatna 88, 115
— Śīlpaṭhānavidyā mentioned by Hsüen Tsang 72
— Viśnudharmottaram 87, 88, 125
Śīlpaṭhānavidyā, see Texts
śilpi, see Craftsman
Silvāṭennā, see Craftsman
Siṁba, see Animals, lion
Siṁhamugam, see Animals
Siṁhasāna = lion-pedestal, see Animals, lion
and piṭha
Siṁhavarmalīṅgēśvara, see Śiva, liṅgam
Siṁhavarman, Pallava king 101
Siṁhavīṣṇu, Pallava king 101, 103
Simuka, Āndra king; portrait statue 23
Siṁhula, Cawnpore Dist. 108
Siṅh valley 9, 73, 93
Siṅgasāri, Java 208
Sino-Tibetan migrations 7
Śīraś-cakra, see Nimbus
Sīrén, O. 152
Sīrkap, Taxila 52, 54
Sīrput, medieval temples 93, 108; fig. 186
Sirsukh, Taxila 54
Śīśādār, see Textiles
Śīśā, see Śiva liṅgam
Śītā 135; fig. 371; see also Rāmāyanā
Śītāvaka 166
Sīthammarat, Siam 178
Sīttanavasāl 89, 102
Śiva (Maheśa, Maheśvara, Mahadēva, Naṭa-
rāja, Sādāśiva, Saṅkara, Vaidyanātha)
mentioned 3, 5, 8, 21, 22, 32, 39, 41 to
43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55, 61, 66—69,
78, 82, 86, 92, 95—100, 103—105, 107,
110, 114, 126, 127, 142, 143, 144, 148 to
150, 166, 167, 177, 186, 189—192, 194,
196, 197, 201, 202, 206, 208, 209; figs.
66, 68, 122, 125, 126, 171, 195—199,
198, 230, 242, 248, 285, 334, 337, 344,
356
— Ardhanaṛiśvara 67, 143
— attributes 43, 45
— Bhadreśvara 194
— bull deity of Puṣkalāvati 49, see also
Animals, bull, Nandi, Puṣkalāvati
— development of type on coins and seals
45, 67, 68
— Harīhara, see Harīhara
— Iconography, see Iconography, develop-
ment
— images mentioned, Pataṇjali 43; see also
Images
— Kadphises II 67
— Kapaleśvara 191
Śiva liṅgam, śīśa, mukha-liṅgam, phallic-
symbol 5, 32, 41, 67, 78, 86, 104, 105,
142, 189, 197; figs. 66, 68
— colossal 82
— prehistoric 5
— mentioned by name:
Bhadrapatisvāra 197
Bhadreśvara 196
Haṭakeśvara 197
Kapaleśvara 191
Parasuramesvāra 39; fig. 66
Śambhu-Bhadreśvara 197
Siṁhavarmalīṅgēśvara 197
Yaśodhēśvara 190
— from particular sites:
Bhitā 32
Cupuvatu 105
Elūrā 99
Gujimallam 39; fig. 66
Kuṃjaraṇī 201
Mathūra 67; fig. 68
Pallava 104, 105
— connected with Lokeśvara 55, 95, 107,
149, 186, 189; figs. 171, 285
— Mahāyogī 191
— Maheśa, Sādāśiva: three-headed form,
miscalled Trimūrti
— References 55, 100, 103, 143
— at Elephanta 8, 96, 100; figs. 194, 195
— in Gandhāra 55
— in Kaśmir 142, 143
— in Khotān and Far East 55, 148, 149
— on coins:
at Elephanta 100
in Gandhāra 55
in Kaśmir 143
in Khotan 55, 98
of Śatakarni, Āndra 67
of Vāsudeva 55; fig. 126
— Naṭarāja, four-armed dancing image 3, 39,
97, 126, 167; figs. 126, 242
— type described 126, 127
— his paṭācakṛtya 127
— seals 67;
— Sikkhareśvara, the “Lord of the Peak”
192
— temples, early 48, 66
— Umā-Maheśvara groups 21, 69, 86, 110,
114, 144; fig. 230

288
Siva Vaidyanatha, “Lord of Physicians” 107
— with shoulder flames 61
Siva adj. = Saiva
Sivabhuddha, see Kertanagara
Sivacarya, Brähman 192, see also Craftsman
Sivamitra, see Craftsman
Six dynasties, China 152, 183
Skanda (Kárttikeya) 22, 43, 48, 67, 86, 167, 196; fig. 175
Skandagupta 71
slendang, see Textiles, kain
Smith, V. A. 49, 51, 74
Snake, see Animals
Sođasa, satrap 24, 37
Sohāgpur 108, 109
Solanki (Cālukya) 111—113
Somā, Cambodian Nāginī 180, 181
Somānātha-Pātain, Kaṭhiaward 111
Somnāthpur, Mysore 110, 117
Sonāgar, Jaina temples 116
Sona Tapan, near Bānkurā, Bengal 80, 108
Sonārī 18, 21
Sondani, Gwāliar 86; fig. 173
Song Luy, citadel, Campā 195
sopāna, see Architecture
Sornakkālai Āsāri, see Craftsman
Spencer, D. B. 51, 58
Śravaṇa Begola 110, 118, 121
Śravasti 34, 58, 61, 87, 99, 190
śrīni, see Craftsman, gilds
Śrī, Hindu goddess 31
Śrī Māra dynasty, Campā 195
Śrīkapţi, Čaṇḍi, Java 202
Śrīnāgams, gopuras 122; fig. 240
Śrīnivāsanalur 122
Śrīvadra, seal 86
Śrīvijaya = Sumatra 198, 199
Śrutavarman of Cambodia 181
stambha, see Architecture, pillars
Stede, W. 47
Steel, see Iron and steel
Stein M. A. 149
sthapati, see Craftsman
sthabhi-bhāva 91
sthirā-sukha, see āsana
Stirrups, earliest known representation 25
Stobaeus 67
Stone age 3, 7, 13
Strzygowski, J. 5, 8, 66
stpāpas (dāgabas) 10, 12, 15, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 83, 113, 141, 142, 144, 145, 148, 149, 152, 159—163, 169, 170, 171, 172, 182, 199, 204, 205; figs. 29, 32, 34, 42, 50—56, 72, 136, 189, 292
— defined, see Architecture
Subrahaṭṭaṇiya temple, Tanjore 122, 124; fig. 238
śūci, see Architecture
Sūciloma Sutta, see Texts
Sudāma cave, Barābar hills 18, 20
Sudhamma Sabhā 19, 29, 40; fig. 43; see also Architecture
Suiko period, Japan 154
Suikerpur, near Nādaun 131
Sujāṭā 47
Sukhotai-Sawankalok (Sukhodaya-Saijanālaya), Siam 175—178; fig. 320
Sukul, Java 209
Sulatangaṇj 85; fig. 160
Sūlānpur 110; fig. 222
Sīlva-Sōtrás, see Texts
Sumatra 198—200, 212
Sumba, textiles 137, 212; fig. 400
Sumber Nanas, Čaṇḍi, Java 207
Sumbing, Mt., Java 203
Sumeru, Mt., see Meru, Mt.
Sun, see Sūrya, Symbols
Sundara-mūrti-Svāmi 127, 167; fig. 243
Sung period, China 153
Sung Yün 153
Śūṅga art 11, 13, 19, 20, 31, 32, 35, 43, 44, 56, figs. 15, 17—21, 24—27, 29, 32—33, 36—32, 57—61, 67, 70
Śūṅga dynasty 15, 23, 24
Supalayat, Burmese queen 173
SurākND, Ṭhākurī temple 32
Suraj Mahall, Raja 121; fig. 253
Surakarta (Soerakarta), Java 84, 211
Surāśtra (Kaṭhiaward) 93
Surāṭ 138; fig. 393
Suratgarh 69
Śūrya, Sun 23, 41, 66—68, 92, 103, 144, 167, 169; figs. 24, 61, 106, 227
— with wings 67; figs. 61, 103
— Deul, Koḍāraka 113, 116; figs. 217, 220
— temple, Osiā 98, 111
Symbols, taurine 20, 45; figs. 106, 112
— Taxila mark 45; fig. 112
— trident, triśula, Śaiva and royal emblem 25, 26, 44, 48, 55; figs. 122, 125, 126
— triratna 31, 38, 45, 50; figs. 61, 71
— “Troy” mark 11, 45
— vajra, thunderbolt 25, 41, 43; figs. 27, 85, 299
— wheel, see dhāma-cakra
Sze-Chwan, China 132

Tādpatry, Anantapur Dist. 124; fig. 247
Tagaung, Burma 169, 172
Tagore, A. N. 88, 146
Ta Kéo, temple, Cambodia 191
Takht-i-Bāhī, Gandhāra 53, 110
Taki 39
Talaings, Mon-Khmer races in Southern Burma 169, 173
Tamankaḍ launcha, Ceylon 163
Tambapāṇi, Ceylon 158
Tamil invasions in Ceylon 158—160, 163, 164, 200
Tampaksiring, burial place, Bali 210
Tāndwa, near Saheṭh Mahaṭh, Mathurā sculpture 66
T’ang period, China 153, 154
Tanjore 101, 106, 122, 126, 138, 167; figs. 235, 238, 387, 389
tanka, Tibetan painted banner 146
Tantrimalai, Ceylon 164
Ta Prohm, Cambodia 190
Tārā, goddess 95, 110, 147, 148, 167, 183, 203, 204; figs. 164, 280, 300
Tāranātha 113, 121
Taraṇa 112
Tārumā, early Javanese kingdom 200
Taurine, see Symbols
Taxila (Takṣaśila) 5, 10, 12, 15, 20—22, 24, 30, 37, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 72, 73; figs. 112, 113
“Taxila” mark, see Symbols
Teak 4, 173
Tejahpāla’s temple, Dilwatā 111, 112; fig. 221
Teli-kā-Mandir, Gwāliar 109; fig. 212
Tengānāna, textiles 137, 218
Ter (Tagara), caitya-hall 77, 95
Terracottas 3, 4, 10, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 36, 43, 46, 48, 64, 69, 73, 80, 87, 141, 169, 172, 173, 196; figs. 16, 22, 23, 27, 60
Textiles at Ajaṇ̃tā 138
— batik, wax-resist pattern dyeing 16, 139, 212; figs. 398, 399
— brocades 138; fig. 394
— cādār 139, 140
— cānari 138
— cikān 140
— daryāl 137
— early 9, 13, 16
— embroidery 9, 26, 139—140, 174, 179, 208; figs. 395, 397
— ētirīli 138
— gaddī, shield cushion 140
— gaṇmukh, ritual glove 140
— ikat 137, 174, 179, 212, 213; fig. 400
— jamānī 138
— kain, kapāla, -panjang, -prada, -slendang, tengānān 179, 212; fig. 399
— kasida 140
— kāsori (Japan) 137
— khañjari, khañjari masbrus 138
— kimkhwāb 138; fig. 394
— kuca-bandha 179
— masbrus 137
— pañjāma 137
— palampore 139
— potola 137, 213; fig. 393
— phālkārī 139
— printed 16, 138, 139
— qalm, qalmdar 139
— rugs 137
— rumāl 140
— sañjā 139
— siñādār 139
— sources:
Ajaṇ̃tā 138
Auranjābād 138
Ayyampet 137
Azamgāñj 140
Azamgāñrah 138
Bali 137, 138, 212, 213; fig. 399
Batak 213
Benares 138; fig. 394
Bokhāra 137
Bura 137
Cambā 137, 140
Cambodīā 194
Ceylon 137, 138, 140, 168; fig. 396
Dacca 140

Textiles sources: Gujarāt 137, 138
Haidarābād 138
Jaipur 140
Java 137, 210—212; fig. 398
Kāchīn 137
Kañmīr 138, 140
Kātihāwād 139, 140; fig. 397
Lucknow 140
Madras 138
Masulipatam 139, 179
Mathurā 138
Murshidābād 138
Nāsīk 139
Peria 137
Rājputāna 139; fig. 395
Sanganīr 139
Sumatra 137, 212, 213
Sumba 137, 212; fig. 400
Tanjore 138
Tengānān 137, 218
Tringānau 137
Turkestan 137
— trade 137

Texts cited or illustrated:
— Arjñavāvaḥa 207, 211
— Arthaśāstra 15
— Astokāvadāna 33
— Aśvaśaśisrikā-prajñāparamitā 114, 146; figs. 280—281
— Abharavā Veda 41
— Avidura-Nidāna 171
— Bhagavad Gītā 52
— Bharatayuddha 202
— Bhāraitvā Nātya-śāstra 84, 88, 180
— Brhat Sambitā 126, 201
— Devadūra Mahātmya 197
— Dipakhara legend 64
Dīvīvādāna 30, 204
— Dhūva 46
— Gaṇḍāruvā 204
— Gītā Govinda 131; fig. 269
— Gṛhya Pariśīṣṭā 43
— Gṛhya Sūtra 42, 43
— Hamr-bāth 131
— Harivamśa 42
— Harṣacakrīta 90
— Hitopadeśa 103
— Jātakamāla 204
— Jātakas, sec Jātaka

19°
Thānesar (Sthānviśvara) 92
Thanh Ho, citadel, Campā 193
Thaton, Burma 169, 170, 173
Thatbinnyu, Burma 170, 171; fig. 307
Theatre in India 84, 140
— in Bali 211, 212
— in Burma 174
— in Cambodia 194
— in Java 209, 210
— in Siam 180
— kbon, ancient masked play in Siam 180
— lakbon = Siamese theatre 180
— masks 209; fig. 367
— pwe = Burmese theatre 174
— wayang Beber 40, 89, 211
— wayang types in Java and Bali 209—212
— jātrās, religious folk plays 140
— see also Shadow plays
Tberā-Tberī-Gaṭhā, see Texts
Thūl Mir Rukhān nr. Daulatpor 36
Thunderbolt, see Symbols, vajra
Thupārāma dāgaba, Anurādhapura 160, 164
Thupārāma Viṅgāra, Polonnāruva 164; fig. 303
Tibet 146—148
T`ien Lung Shan, China 152
Tiger, see Animals
Tigowā, nr. Jabalpur 77, 78
Tilominlo, Pagān 170
Tīrthaṅkaras, figures and paintings 96, 118, 119; figs. 234, 256
Tīrthas 44, 112, 162
Tīrūjñāsambandha-Svāmī 127, 167
Tīrnumala Nayyak, Madura 106, 124
Tīrnumalai (Tīrūvannāmalai), Tirupati 122; figs. 237, 245
Tīrupāppuliśur, modern temple 125
Tīrūṭanēśvara, temple of 105
Tīrūṭāni 105
tirvāśi, see Nimbus
Tisaihārāma, Ceylon 18, 159
Tissawewa lake, Ceylon 162
Tita, Tīrīs 149
īō, stūpa, Japanese 53
Toda hut 6, 49
tomoe-o-form 55
torāgas, see Architecture
Torōder 12
torii, arch, gateway, like Indian toraṇa 55

Thai, Siamese race properly so-called 173 to 177
Thākur Rāṇī 86
Tra-kiêu (= Simhapura, Indrapura), Campã 195, 197; fig. 344
Trihuvanäçaryya, see Craftsman, Guṇḍa
Trichinopoly 102
Trident, see Symbols
Trimagha, see Śiva, Maheśa, three-headed
Trięgaññu, Malay 137, 200
triratna, see Symbols
triśūla, see Symbols, trident
Tritions, see Animals
Trivikrama, see Viśṇu
"Troy" mark, see Symbols
Tun Huang 146—148, 150, 152
Turkistan, Chinese 148—150; figs. 283—285
Tusāran-Bihār, near Partabgarh, Mathurā sculpture 66

Uchahara 78
Udaipur, Mewār, see Udayapur
Udayaditya Paramārā 109
Udayagiri, Bhopal 77, 78, 85, 100, 103; fig. 174
Udayagiri, Orissā 37
Udayana, Javanese king 207
Udayapura, Gwāliar 109, 121, 122, 129; fig. 262
Udāyana 53, 62; see also Svāt valley
Ujjain 15, 23, 67, 122; fig. 112
Umā, see Devī
Umā-Mahēśvara groups, see Śiva
Upādvalī 104
Ungaran, Mt., site, Java 203
Upaniṣads, see Vedic literature
Ur 12
urdvā-bāhu, arms raised 103
ūrṇa, mole, tuft of hair on the brow 57, 74; fig. 163
Uṣkur (Huvıśkapura), near Bārāmūla 141
uṣṇīsa (1) turban 39, 194, 200
— (2) prominence on the Buddha’s head 32, 39, 52, 57, 62; figs. 83, 84, 94
— (3) copying of a vedika 30
Uttara-Rāma-Carita, see Texts
Uttarēśvara temple, Ter 95
vābanam, vehicle of a deity 45; fig. 175
vābanam, see Viṣṇa
Vaidyanātha, see Śiva
Vaikuṇṭha, see Inscriptions

Vaikuṇṭha Perumal, Kāñci 105
Vaiśāli, see Basārth
Vaiṣṇava cave, Bādāmi 64
— temple, Nepal 144, 146
— — Besnagar, 48
Vaiśravaṇa, see Yakṣa
Vaital Deul, Purí 109, 116; fig. 218
vajra, see Symbols
Vajrapāni 50, 166, 199; fig. 299
vajrāṣaṇa, adamantine throne of the Great Enlightenment 31, 47, 81
Vajrāsana, see Bodhgaya, Bodhi-mañḍa
Vākāṭaka dynasty 76
Valabhi 93
Vāmana-avatāra 103
Vāṅgath, Kaśmīr, temple 143
Varāha-avatāra cave 85, 102, 103; fig. 174
Vardhana, see Yakṣa, Nandi and Vardhana
varman, patronymic 156, 181
varṣa-sthala, a rain-vase 30
Vasanta Vīlāsa, see Texts
Vāśīka, Kuṣāna king 55, 63, 69
Vastupāla 112
Vāsudēva, Kuśāna king; coins 53
Vāsudeva, see Viṣṇu
Vasundhārā (Wathundaya), Earth Goddess 65
Vedas, early culture 5, 7
— later culture 9
Vedic literature (Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Sūtras) 9, 15, 36, 41; see also Texts
vedikā, see Architecture
Vellūr 123
Ven gł (Kistna-Godaveri Dist.) 70, 95, 101, 126, 157
Vesara, Dekhani or Cāḷukya style of architecture 107
Vicitrasagara, legendary king of Campā 197
Vidīśa, see Besnagar
Vidyādharapuram 38
Vieñ Srañ, Old Siam, Malay Peninsular 175, 199
vihāras 27, 28, 37, 38, 48, 50, 63, 69, 70, 75—77, 84, 89, 96, 98, 99, 189, 199, 203; figs. 156, 157; see also Architecture, monasteries
Vijabror, town of Kaśmīr 141, 142
Vijaya, first Indian settler in Ceylon 158
Vijayanagar art 123, 124; figs. 239, 245; see also Architecture
Vijayanagar dynasty 106, 119

293
Vijayarāma Saṅghārāma monastery, Ceylon 166
Vikrāmā Śāhi, Scindia 121
Vikramādiya I, Cālukya 95
Vikramādiya II, Cālukya 95
Vimala Shā 111
Vinaya Pījaka, see Texts
Virūpākṣa temple, Paṭākadal 93, 96; fig. 188
Viśākhā 22, 43, 48, 67
Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa, Pītsanu, Trivikrama, Vāsudeva), mentioned 21, 24, 34, 41, 43, 48, 49, 55, 80, 86, 97, 100, 103, 110, 114, 127, 143, 144, 152, 167, 175, 181, 185, 189, 191, 202, 206, 207, 209; figs. 165, 174, 209, 222, 224, 231, 246, 272, 273, 360
— Anantaśayin 80, 103, 181; fig. 209
— attributes 43
— early worship 21, 24, 34, 48, 49
— three-headed type 55, 143
— see also Balarama, Bhāgavata, Harihara, Kṛṣṇa, Varaha
— vehicle of, see Animals, Garuda
Viṣṇudārmottaram, see Texts
Viśṇupur, Bāṅkurā Dist., Bengal 116
Visser, H. F. E. 154
Visuddhimagga, see Texts
Viśvakarma-caitya-hall, Ellurā 77; fig. 155
Viśvakarmayam 125
Viśvesvara temple, Hāṭ 107, 116
Viṭṭhala (Viṭṭhoba) temple, Vijayanagar 123
Vocanh, Campā 157, 195
Vogel, J. Ph. 52, 57, 60, 62
Vredenberg, E. 146
Vṛśakā, dryad, see Woman and tree
Vyādhapura, Cambodh 181
vyākhyaṁ mudrā, see mudrā
vyāla, see Animals

wābalkāda, see Architecture
Wāt Binchamopit, Bangkok, Siam 161
— Si Jum, Siamese wāt 177; fig. 320
Wātā-dā-gē, Polonnāruva 165; fig. 304
Watt, Sir G. 133, 138, 140
Wāṭṭha-Gāmaṇi Abhayā, king of Ceylon 161
Wayang, see Theatre
Wayang Beber, see Theatre
Wealth, see Fertility
Wei period, China 152, 154

Wheel, see Symbols, dharmacakrā
Wilson, H. 51
Woman and tree, vṛśakā 25, 33, 46, 50, 63 to 66, 97, 118; figs. 75, 247
Writing 9, 18

yajñā, see Sacrifices
Yakṣa, Yakṣha, Yakṣi, Yakṣhīṇī, gen. 5, 16, 17, 19, 26, 32, 31, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42, 46—48, 50—52, 57, 62—64, 68, 69, 85
99, 125, 148—150, 154, 155, 158, 166, 203; figs. 8, 9, 15, 31, 37, 38, 33, 34, 38, 59, 61, 63, 67, 68, 72, 75, 143, 242
— as Atlantes 50; fig. 61
— as Boddhisattva and Śiva prototypes 39, 46, 47, 50, 52, 57, 68
— as tutelary deities 46
— Bacchanalian 62, 68
— by name Assamukhī 26, 33
— by name Dadhikārā 48, 65, 64
— by name Hāriti 51, 62, 203
— by name Manjibhadra 34, 48; fig. 63
— by name Nandi and Vardhana 17, 34; figs. 15, 67
— by name Rāṇicika 62, 99, 149, 203
— by name Śākya-vardhana 46
— by name Vaiśravaṇa, Kubera, Jambhala 62, 85, 148, 154, 166; fig. 38
— Yakṣha-caitya, Caitya, bhavana 47, 48, 125; see also Architecture
— colossal 16; figs. 8, 9
— cult 42
— guardians of buildings 28, 31, 36; figs. 31, 37, 38, 53, 54
— Mathurā, early Yakṣi, see Mathurā and Manasā Devī
— pot-bellied 68
— race 5, 17, 150, 158
— the four great kings, Lokapalas 40
— type reached Japan 155
— as vābanam, representing Māla 39; fig. 242
yāli, see Animals
Yamāntaka 149
Yamāpata, see Painting
Yaśodheṣvara, see Śiva lingam
Yaśōvarman of Cambodia 187, 188, 190
yaṣṭi, see Architecture
Yathemyo, Burma 172
yātras, see Theatre
Yaśthala Dāgaba, Ceylon 159; fig. 133
Yavadvīpa, see Suvarṇabhūmi
Yavana, “Greek”, transmontane 23
Yi Yuan, pupil of A-ni-ko 153
Yogi motif 3, 32, 33, 51, 52, 58, 65
Yogyakarta (Djokjakarta), Java 84, 211
Yue-Chi 49

Yüan period, China 153
Yudhśthira 87
Yun Kang, China 149, 152
yüpa, sacrificial post 69, 86; see Sacrifices
zāt, see Jatakas
Zen Buddhism 154
zigurat 55
1. Limestone statue, Mohenjo-Daro; ca. 2000—3000 B.C.

Indo-Sumerian.

7. Four deer. Early Mediaeval. Ajanța, Cave I; ca. 600–650 A.D.

Indo-Sumerian and Early Mediaeval.


Maurya.

11. Elephant, Dhauli; ca. 257 B.C.


Maurya.
15. Yakṣa or king, Barodā. Mathurā Museum.

16. Winged goddess, terra-cotta, Basāṅh.


Maurya.
Stone and terra-cotta heads.

Maurya and Suṅga.

25. Guardian or royal figure.

26. Frieze.

Reliefs in verandah, Bhājā vibāra.

Late Maurya or Early Śuṅga.
27. Indra, relief in the verandah, Bhājā vibhāra.

Late Maurya or Early Śuṅga.
28. Lomas Rṣi cave, Barābar; third century B.C.

29. Bhājā caitya-hall; second century B.C.

30. Mānmoda caitya-hall; first century B.C.

31. Nāsik caitya-hall; first century B.C.

Maurya, Suṅga and Early Andhra.
32. Bedsā, chaitya-halls; ca. 175 B.C.

33. Bedsā, verandah.

34. Kārli, chaitya-hall; first century B.C.

35. Kārli, verandah.

Suṇga and Early Āndhra.
36. Rāni Gumphā, Khaṇḍagiri; ca. 100 B.C.

37. Yakṣi, Batanmārā.
38. Kuvera, Bhārhuṭ.
39. Culakoka Devata, 40. Indra as Śānti, Bodhgaya.

Suṅga.
41. Bodhi-tree shrine.

42. Stūpa.

43. Devadhamma Sabha.

44. Figures of donors.

Reliefs from Bhārhat. Calcutta Museum.

Sungā.
45. Dhamma-takka shrine.

46. Bodhi-tree shrine.

47. Vessantara Jātaka.
Reliefs from Bharhut. Calcutta Museum.
Sunga.

48. Railing pillar.

49. Railing medallion.
50. Sānci, Stupa I; third to first century B.C.

51-52. Sānci, Stupa 2, railing details, primitive and advanced.

Suṅga and Early Andhra.
33. Sāñci, Stupa I, North torana; early first century B.C.

Early Andhra
54. Torana pillar and bracket with Yakṣi or Vṛksakā.

55. Bodhi-tree shrine.

56. Worshippers at shrines.

Sāñci, Stūpa I, torana details.

Early Āndhra.
Maurya, Śunga and Early Kuśāna
Suṇga, Early Āndhra, and Early Kuśāṇa.
71. Āyāgapata with Jina, Mathurā; first century A.D.
    Lucknow Museum.

69—69 A. Two shrines, Mathurā;
    ca. 100—150 A.D. Mathurā Museum.

70. Bodhi-tree shrine, Mathurā; second century B.C.
    Boston.

72. Āyāgapata of Loṇāsobhikā, Mathurā;
    late first century B.C. Mathurā Museum.

Suṅga and Early Kuśāna.
73. Woman and child. Mathurā Museum.
75. Yākṣī or Vṛksakā. Lucknow Museum.
76. Jātaka scenes (?). Mathurā Museum.

Two pillars, bracket, and relief, from Mathurā.

Early Andhra and Kuṣāna.
77. Donor (?)  
Three railing pillars, Lucknow Museum.

78. Bodhisattva.

79. Buddha.

80. Bodhisattva, Philadelphia.

81. Pillar fragment.  
Mathura Museum.

82. Ashoka tree, reverse of Nagini image.  
Mathura Museum.

Sculptures from Mathura.

Early Kusana.
85. "Bodhisattva" (Buddha) of Friar Bala, Sārnāth; 123 A.D. Sārnāth Museum.

Early Kuṣāṇa.
84. "Bodhisattva" (Buddha), Mathurā. Mathurā Museum.


86. Pārśvanātha, Mathurā. Lucknow Museum.

87. Bodhisattva or Buddha, Mathurā. Yamanaka.

Early Kuṣāna.

89. Kanîška casket, Shâh-ji-kî-Dheri.
Calcutta Museum.

Gandhāra; mainly early Kuśāna.

90. Buddha.
Lahore Museum.
92. Dipankara Jātaka.

Gandhāra reliefs.
Kuśāna.
Buddha types.
Kuśāna and Later Āndhra.


100. Buddha, Romlok. Phnom Peñ.


Buddha types.

Gupta, Cambodian, Javanese.


104. Scenes from the life of Buddha, Mathurā. Mathurā Museum.

Kuśāna.
105—134. Plaques, coins, and seals.

Fourth century B.C. to fifth century A.D.
133. Figures of donors, Kanheri, caitya-hall, verandah.
Second century A.D.

Later Andhra.
136. Casing slab, Amaravati stupa; late second century A. D.
Madras Museum.

Later Andhra.
137. Buddha.

138. Two Buddhas.

139. Buddha.

140. Life of Buddha.

141. Scene from Buddha’s life.

Sculptures from Amarāvati; late second century A.D.; Madras Museum.

Later Āndhra.
142. Two-storeyed shrine
(reliefs, Jaggayapeta; first or second century B.C.).

143. Pilaster

144. Dhamma-cakka
(two sides of one square pillar).

145. Domed shrine

Amaravati, probably first century B.C. Madras Museum.

146. Stupa with Naga
(base of a pillar).

Early Andhra.
147. Kapoteśvara temple, Chezārla; ca. fourth century A. D.

148. Lād Khān temple, Aihole; ca. 450 A. D.
149. Cāitya-hall, Sāñcī; seventh century, on older foundations.

150. Iron pillar, Delhi. 415 A. D.

151. Temple 17, Sāñcī; early fifth century.

Gupta.
152. Durgā temple, Aihole; sixth century.

153. Hucchimalligudi temple, Aihole; sixth century.

Gupta.
154. Façade of cāitya-hall, Cave XIX, Ajanta; sixth century.

Gupta.
155. Viśvakarmā caitya-hall, Elūrā; ca. 600 A.D.

156. Pillars and architrave, Ajañṭā, Cave II; ca. 600—650 A.D.

157. Capital, Ajañṭā, Cave XXIV.

Gupta and Early Cāḷukya.


Gupta.
160. Buddha, copper, colossal, Sulţângañj; early fifth century.
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

Gupta.
161. Buddha, stone, Sārnāth; fifth century.
Sārnāth Museum.

Gupta.
162. Buddha, stone, Mañjuwār; 448–49 A.D.

163. Buddha, brass, Kāñgrā; sixth century.

164. Avalokiteśvara, litany, Kaññeri, Cave LXVI; sixth century.

Gupta.
165. Viṣṇu, ceiling slab, Aihoje; sixth century.

166. Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhara, Maṇḍor. 4th—5th century.

167. Rāmāyaṇa panel, Deogarh; ca. 600 A.D.

Gupta.


171. Lokesvara or Śiva, Sārnāth. Sārnāth Museum.

Gupta.
172. Nāgarājā and queen, Ajantā, Cave XIX; sixth century.

173. Apsaras (detail), Gwāliar Museum.

174. Varāha Avatār, Udayagiri (Bhopāl); ca. 400 A.D.

175. Kārttikeya; Bharata Kālā Parisad, Benares.

Gupta.
176. Nāginī, stucco, Maniyār Matha; fifth century.

177. Gaṅgā Devi, Besnagar; ca. 500 A.D. Boston.


Gupta.
179. Prince and princess with attendants, and love scene, Cave XVII; ca. 500 A.D.

180. Gandharvas, Cave XVII; ca. 500 A.D.

181. Avalokiteśvara, Cave I; ca. 600—650 A.D.

Painting, Ajaññā.

Gupta and Early Mediaeval.
182. Head of a beggar, Vessantara Jātaka, detail, Ajañṭā, Cave XVII; ca. 500 A.D.

Gupta.
183. Dance, wall painting, Bâgh; sixth century.

184. Apsaras and attendant, Sigiriya, Ceylon; fifth century.

185. Ceiling painting, Cave I, Ajaññā, detail; ca. 600—650 A. D.

Gupta and Early Câlukya.
186. Lakṣmaṇa temple, brick, Sirpur; seventh century.

Early Mediaeval
187. Mālegitti temple, Bādāmi; ca. 625 A.D.

188. Virūpākṣa temple, Paṭṭakadal; ca. 740 A.D.

Early Mediaeval (Cālundya).
189. Caitya-hall, interior, Cave XXVI, Ajanta; early seventh century.

190. Verandah, Ramesvara cave, Elura; seventh century.

Early Mediaeval.
191. Temple at Gop; sixth or seventh century.


Early Mediaeval.
193. Śiva and Pārvatī, Kailāsa, Elūrā; eighth century.

194. Maheśvara-mūrti, Elephanta; eighth century.

Early Mediaeval (Rāṣṭrakūṭa).

Early Mediaeval (Rāṣṭrakūṭa).
196. Lakṣmi, ceiling painting, Kailāsa, Elūrā, detail; eighth century.

Early Mediaeval (Rāṣṭrakūṭa).

198. Temple, Gaṅgāvataṛaṇa, Māmallapuram, detail; seventh century.

199. Agastyeśvara temple, Melapaljuvur; eighth century.

Early Mediaeval (Pallava).
200. Draupadi ratha, Māmallapuram.

201. “Shore” temple, Māmallapuram.


203. Central shrine, Panamalai.

Early Mediaeval (Pallava).
204. Mahendravarman and queens, Adi Varāha.


206. Bhagiratha,
Gaṅgāvataraṇa, detail.

207. Nāgas and cat and mice,
Gaṅgāvataraṇa, detail.

Māmallapuram, early seventh century.
Early Mediaeval (Pallava).
208. Durgā-Mahiṣamardini.

209. Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin.

Reliefs in Mahiṣa-mañḍapam, Māmallapuram; seventh century.

Early Mediaeval (Pallava).
210. Bodhgaya temple ("Mahabodhi"); as restored.

Early Gupta.
211. Hōyāleśvara temple, Halebād; early twelfth century.

212. Teli-kā-Māndir, Gwāliar; eleventh century.

213. Siddheśvara, Bānkurā; tenth century.

Mediaeval.
214. Kandārya Mahādeva temple, Khajurāho; ca. 1000 A.D.

Mediaeval.
215. Liṅgaraja temple, Bhubanesvara; ca. 1000 A.D.

Mediaeval.
216. Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhubanesvara; ca. 750 A.D.

217. Maṇḍapa (jagamohana) of the Sūrya Deul, Konarak.

Mediaeval.
218. Durgā-Mahiṣamardini, Vaitāl Deul, Puri; ca. 1000 A.D.

219. Nāginī, Mukteśvara, Bhuvanesvara; ca. 950 A.D.

220. Sūrya Deul, Koṇāraka, wheel detail; thirteenth century.

Medieval.
221. Tejapala’s temple, Dilwara, Mt. Abû, ceiling; 1252 A. D.

Mediaeval.
222. Viṣṇu, Sultānpur; ca. tenth century. Lucknow Museum.

223. Padmapāni, Mahobā; ca. eleventh century. Lucknow Museum.


Mediaeval.


230. Umā-Maheśvara group. bronze, Bengal, Boston.

Mediaeval (Pāla).


234. Pārśvanātha, Kannāda; tenth century. Kay Collection, Madras.

Mediaeval (Pāla and Cālukya).
235. Rājrājeśvara temple, Tanjore; ca. 1000 A.D.

236. Gopuram, Madura; seventeenth century.

237. Temple at Tiruvannāmalai; gopurams, Cola and later.

Mediaeval (Cola and Madura).
238. Subrahmaniya temple, Tanjore, detail; eighteenth century.


240. Maṇḍapa, Śrīraṅgam; seventeenth century.

241. Architect (sthapati), Auvaḍaiyar Kovil, 1907 A. D.

Late Mediaeval (Vijayanagar and Madura).

Late Mediaeval (Madura).
Late Mediaeval (Vijayanagar and Madura).


244. Umā, S. India. Boston.

245. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and queens. Tirupati; 1509–1529 A. D.

246. Viṣṇu, South India. Boston.


248. Śiva, Perūr; seventeenth century.
249. Makara torana lintel, Bijapur; ca. 1100 A.D.

250. City gateway, Dabhoi; ca 1100 A.D.

251. Kirtistambha, Chitor; 1440—1448 A.D.

Mediaeval.
252. Palace of Mán Singh, Gwāliar; ca. 1500 A.D.

253. Suraj Mahall's palace, Dig; latter eighteenth century.
Late Mediaeval (Rājput).
254. Bir Singh Dev's palace, Datiā; early seventeenth century.

Late Mediaeval (Rājput).
255 a and b. Two leaves of a manuscript of the Kalpa Sūtra, Gujarāṭī; fifteenth century. Boston.

256. Jaina ceiling painting, Kāñcipuram; eighteenth century.

Late Mediaeval.
237. Part of a manuscript of the *Vasanta Vilasa*, Gujarati; 1451 A.D.
N. C. Mehta Collection.

Late Mediaeval.
258. Kṛṣṇa expecting Rādhā, Rājasthān or Gujārāt; sixteenth century. Boston.

Late Mediaeval (Rājput).

Late Mediaeval (Rājput).

Late Mediaeval (Rājput).
261. Madhu-mādhavī Rāgīnī, Rājasthānī; early seventeenth century.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Late Mediaeval (Early Rājput).
262. Modern wall-painting, Udaipur.

263. Pig-sticking, Jaipur; modern. Author's Collection.


Late and modern Rājput.
266. Rāmāyaṇa, Siege of Laṅkā, Jammū; ca. 1640 A. D. Boston.

267.  Keśa welcoming Sudāma, Jammū; ca. 1625 A. D. Author's Collection.

Late Mediaeval (Early Rājput).
268. Kāliya Damana, Kangra; late eighteenth century. Author's Collection.

269. Gītā Govinda, Kangra; early eighteenth century. Author's Collection.

Late Rājput.
270. “Hour of Cowdust”, Kangra; late eighteenth century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Late Rajput.
271. Rās Līlā, enlarged detail, Kāŋrä; late eighteenth century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Late Rājput.
272. Viṣṇu, Kāśmīr; ninth century.
Philadelphia.

273. Muṇḍikādevī, mask, Kuḷū; ninth or tenth century.

274. Temple, Malot; eighth century.

275. Meruwardhana-svāmin temple, Pāṇḍrethān.
Early tenth century.

Mediaeval (Kāśmīr and Pañjāb).
276. Padmapāṇi.
Copper, ninth and tenth century.

277. Viṣṇu.

278. Buddha.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Nepāl.
279. Vessantara Jātaka, Ms. cover, Nepal; thirteenth century. Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

280. Green Tārā, Ms. cover, Nepal; twelfth century. Boston.

281. Mañjuśrī, from the same.

282. Kṛṣṇa with the Flute, Ms. cover, Bengal; late eighteenth century. Ghose Collection, Calcutta.

Mediaeval and Modern.
283. Water-nymph, Dandân Uiliq; before the eighth century.

284. Vessantara Jātaka, Mirān; fourth century.

285. Maheśa or Lokeśvara, Dandân Uiliq; before eighth century.

Turkistān.
286. Stele, Anuradhapura; ca. 300 A.D.
287. Sat Mahal Pasada, Polonnaruva; twelfth century.
288. Irihaya-gala, “moonstone” door-step, Anuradhapura; fifth century?

Ceylon.


291. Deities, fresco, Polonnaruva; twelfth century.

292. Model dagaba, Anurādhapura; second century B. C.?

Ceylon.
293. Buddha, Anurādhapura; ca. 200 A.D.

294. Bodhisattva or king Duṣṭha Gāmani, Anurādhapura; ca. 200 A.D.? 

Ceylon.
295. Buddha, Anurādhapura; third or fourth century A. D.

Ceylon.
296. Buddha, Badulla; fifth or sixth century. Colombo Museum.


Ceylon.
300. Pattini Devi; tenth century?

301. Parākrama Bāhu I, Poḷonnāruva; twelfth century.

Ceylon.
302. Northern temple, Polonnaruwa; twelfth century.

303. Thūpārāma Vihāra, Polonnaruwa; twelfth century.

304. Wāṭa-dā-gē, Polonnaruwa; twelfth century.

Ceylon.
305. Nat Hlaung Gyaung, Pagān; 931 A.D.

306. Ngakye Nadaun, Pagān; tenth century.

307. Thatbinnyu, Pagān; twelfth century.

308. Bidagat Taik, Pagān; eleventh century.

309. Mahābodhi, Pagān; 1215 A.D.

310. Shwe Dagon, Rangoon; modern.

Burma.
311. Padmapāñji, fresco, Pagān; thirteenth century.

312. Devatā, fresco, Pagān; thirteenth century.

313. Mingalazedi, Pagān; 1274 A.D.

Burma.
314. Brahmā, Nanpaya, Pagān; eleventh century.

315. Buddha, Pagān Museum; twelfth century.

316. Siddhārtha, Ānanda, Pagān; late eleventh century.

317. Buddha, Ānanda, Pagān; late eleventh century.

Burma.
318. Dhamma-cakra, Prapatom; fifth or sixth century.


320. Devadharma Jātaka, Wät Si Jum; ca. 1361 A.D.


Siam.

Siam.
323. Temple at Lopburi; eleventh century.

Siam.
324. Cellà, Prêi Kuk; seventh century.

325. Brick temple, Bayang; seventh century.

326. Brick tower, Bakong; ninth century.

327. Tower, Bayon; late ninth century.

328. Tower, Ankor Wàt; early twelfth century.

Cambodia.
329. Ankor Wat; early twelfth century.

330. Bayon; late ninth century.

331. Phiméanakas; late ninth century.

Cambodia.


337. Śiva or king; ninth or tenth century. Boston.


Cambodia.
339. Apsarases, inner court, Ańkor Wät; early twelfth century.

340. Army, gallery relief, Ańkor Wät; middle-twelth century.

Cambodia.
341. Brick temple, Mi-son; early seventh century.

342. Buddha, Dong-duong; third century.

343. Buddha, Binh Dinh; twelfth century.

344. Śiva, Quang-Nam; seventh century.

Campā.
345. Candi Puntadewa, Dieng; 
seventh or early eighth century.

346. Candi Bima, Dieng;

347. Borobudur, from the air; 
late eighth century.

348. Candi Loro Jongrang, Prambanan; 
late ninth century.

Java.
349. Candi Borobudur; late eighth century.

350. Candi Mendut; late eighth century.

351. Temple, Bali; modern.

352. Temple ruins, Panataran; fourteenth to fifteenth century.

Java and Bali.
353. Temptation of Buddha, Borobudur; late eighth century.

354. Hārīti, Caṇḍi Mendut; late eighth century.

355. Head from Caṇḍi Bima, Dieng; seventh or early eighth century.

356. Rāmāyaṇa frieze, Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Prambanan; late ninth century.

Java.
357. Buddha, Candi Mendut; late eighth century

358. Arapacana Manjuśri; 1345 A. D. Berlin.


360. Erlaṅga as Viṣṇu, Belahan; ca. 1045 A. D.

Java
361. 362. Bodhisattva, gold, Java; eighth or ninth century. Batavia.

363. Padmapani, copper, Java; tenth century. London.


Java and Cambodia.
366. Candi Jābung; ca. tenth century.

Java.
367. Actor's mask; early nineteenth century. Author's Collection.

Java.
Jewellery, seventeenth to eighteenth century.
376. Pendant, Kandy; eighteenth century. Dambewinne.


378. Knife, Kandy 18th century.

379. Hnaga bowl, enamel on silver; early eighteenth century.


Metal work and Jewellery.
Metal work, seventeenth and eighteenth century.
387. Ivory veneer, Tanjore; eighteenth century.

389. Ivory, Tanjore; eighteenth century.


391. Painted book cover, Kandy; eighteenth century.

388. Ivory plaque, Ceylon; seventeenth century.

392. Bead bags, Kāthiāwād; nineteenth century.

Ivory etc.
393. Patola silk sari, Surat; ca. 1800. Boston.


Textiles.
393. Embroidered turban material, Rājputānas; eighteenth century. Boston.

396. Woven cotton belt, Ceylon; eighteenth century. Kandy.

397. Embroidered skirt, Kathiawād; ca. 1800. Boston.

Textiles.


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**Quote:**

“A book that is shut is but a block.”

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