THE ART OF
NĀGĀRJUNIKONDĀ

Nāgārjunikonda: Panel from Palace Pillar
BY THE SAME AUTHOR

MODERN INDIAN PAINTING
THE ART OF
NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

By
P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

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DEDICATED TO
ĀCĀRYA NĀGĀRJUNA

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PRONUNCIATION

In the spelling of Sanskrit words, the international system of transliteration has been adopted.
The vowels are pronounced as in Italian, phonetically : e and o are always long and the rest, where long, are marked diacritically. C is pronounced like ch in ‘church’ and ʃ like sh ; ʃ is sibilant. A dot (.) under a consonant indicates a palatal ; r is rolled ; nh and ñ have half their values, and consonants with h are aspirated.
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PREFACE

When the Kṛṣṇa river valley project at Nandikoṇḍa in Āndhra State of India goes through, in less than five years, the most extensive remains, anywhere, of the international heritage of Buddhism at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa will have been irretrievably lost to the world. Because, the project, in its fulfilment, will completely inundate the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, transforming it into one hopeless reservoir of water, a three-mile stretch from hill to hill.

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the focus, at its height some seventeen hundred years ago, of the votaries of Buddhism from the entire arc of countries from Ceylon, through Burma, the Indonesian archipelago, Thailand and Indo-China to China. The art of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the farthest amplitude in India of the classical Āndhra art of Amarāvati, and it was from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in the main, that this gloriously indigenous art sailed forth to inspire the national arts of East Asia.

I have striven in this undertaking to present some measure of this inestimable heritage, its perspective and import. In the process, I have essayed a re-valuation of the facts of history, because, as regards Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, they are largely unsettled; for this excursion, not strictly germane to the business of the student of art, I must apologise. But I conceive the notes to be integral to my text, making for a full understanding of the subject; I request that they may be studied accordingly.
I am grateful to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to study the excavations at Nāgārjunikonda and photograph its sculptures; the plates and plans are published by his courtesy. To Dr. R. Subrahmanyan, Superintendent, Nāgārjunikonda Excavation Project, I am especially obliged for advice and assistance.

I must accept full responsibility for the making of this book, inclusive of the photographs and the drawings. I shall have been amply rewarded if this modest effort promotes a wide appreciation of the international consequence of Nāgārjunikonda, which it should have been the sacred duty of India to preserve for posterity.

Guntur:
April, 1956.
CENTRES OF ĀNDHRA ART
NĀGĀRJUNIKŌṆDA

Plan of Monuments

KEY

INTRODUCTION

The river Kṛṣṇa, in its passage to the sea, drops into a magnificent bowl of hills at Nāgarjunikonda ('Hill of Nāgarjuna'); an offshoot of the Nallamala range of the Eastern Ghats, flanking the Deccan plateau, the hills enclose the valley in a formidable natural fortification. Here the river, issuing from a gorge, hurries through rocks and shoals, a bare half-mile wide; but when the rains come it swells from hill to hill, a mighty flow, navigable by lesser craft right down to the sea. Two bastions of massive rock, jutting from the ring of hills, guard the river front and command its approaches; the hills themselves were fortified in an earlier age by ramparts of brick and stone. The mountains slope to-day into an arid wilderness of pathless jungle, very sparsely settled for cultivation; but the still uncharted valley is dotted everywhere with countless mounds which entomb the glorious Buddhist monuments of some 1,700 years ago—stūpas (tumuli), caityas (temples) and vihāras (monasteries).
For, in this mountain-fastness flourished, in the third century A.D., Vijayapuri (‘City of victory’), the capital of the Ikṣvāku kings, feudatories first, and successors afterwards, to the imperial Sātavāhanas.

On the death of Asoka in 232 B.C. the empire of the Mauryas tottered to a fall; the Sātavāhanas, a semi-autonomous dynasty of the powerful Andhra race, were quick to seize the south-western territories of the collapsing empire. At the height of their dominion of 440 years, the Sātavāhanas ruled from sea to sea, girdling the Deccan, from Ujjain in Central India to Cuddalore in the far south and Mysore in the south-west. It was under this dynasty that the classical art of India became a truly national expression, rooted in the faiths of the people, and reached its summit. On the perimeter of their extensive domains the Sātavāhanas raised a monumental progression of brilliant sculptures, all the way from Sāñcī, in Bhopal State, to their capital of Dhānyakaṭaka (Amaravati—today) on the Krṣṇa by the eastern coast. The Ikṣvākus were Mahāśālavaras, a feudatory nobility, under the Sātavāhanas and were certainly affiliated to them by ties of marriage; when the Sātavāhanas faded out of history, crippled by the rising Scythian power of western India, the Ikṣvākus succeeded to the eastern dominions of the dismembered Sātavāhana empire.

The ancient city of Vijayapuri, contemporaneous with Dhānyakaṭaka by its inscription, lay to the west of the hill Siripavata (Skrt. Śrīparvata), and it is from this hill that the Purānic synonym ‘Śrīparvatiyas’ for the Ikṣvākus is derived.

NOTES

1. In Guntur district of Andhra State, sixteen miles west of Macherla railway station.

2. Mentioned first in the Aśoka Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18), a commentary on the Ryveda of about 500 B.C., as an outcast (non-Āryan) tribe. By the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.), the Greek ambassador at the Maurya Court, (quoted by Pliny, the Roman encyclopaedist, A.D. 77), the Andhras had become a powerful race, with a great many villages and thirty fortified towns, and the command of “1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants”. But, by 256 B.C., the date of Asoka’s thirteenth Rock Edict, the Andhras were rendering homage to the imperial Mauryan power, having been presumably subjugated by one of Asoka’s predecessors, either Bīndusāra or his father, Candra-gupta.

3. Eighteen miles off Guntur.

4. Which records the erection of a coping-stone (unāja) by the merchant’s wife (unājiṇī) Sidhi (Skrt. Siddhi), daughter of Cada (Skrt. Canden) who lived at Vijayapura; H. Lüders: ‘List of Brāhmi Inscriptions,’ No. 1285, Epigraphia Indica, X, Appendix; Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, p. 85.

5. Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puro-dhā-bhāge (at Śrīparvata on the east side of Vijayapuri): Epigraphia Indica, XX, Inscription F, pp. 22-23. There is no warrant for identifying Siripavata with the Nallamala range in its entirety, as K. Gopalachari (Early History of the Andhra Country, p. 125) and B. V. Krishna Rao (Early Dynasties of Andhra, pp. 85, 87) would.
NĀGĀRJUNA

IT was on Siripavata in a monastery, by an ancient Tibetan tradition, that Nāgārjuna, the greatest of Buddhist philosophers, lived toward the evening of his life and was interred.

A prodigious figure of encyclopaedic scholarship, he was the celebrated founder of the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy and the greatest apostle of the Mahāyāna (‘Great Vehicle’). This schismatic doctrine of devotional pantheism and sophistic nihilism, imbued with the dialectic of returning Brāhmaṇism, broke away, in the time of Aśoka, from the agnostic idealism and negative morality of the earlier Hinayāna (‘Small Vehicle’) school of Buddhism. The Mahāyāna admitted into its theistic pantheon a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas and archangels, the popular divinities of ancient India masquerading under new names and invested with the symbolism of the nascent doctrine. The Mahāyāna ritual, in an unfettered veneration of anthropomorphic deities, harnessed the painter and sculptor to the expansive cult of image worship, and thereafter Buddhist art, become the handmaid of the new canon, voyaged forth in sheer fulfilment. For the Mahāyāna was soon to become a world religion and the greatest single factor which profoundly influenced the history of mankind; the ideal of the Bodhisattva, projected as the Saviour of humanity, postulated his active compassion (karuna) for everyone and generated, as its counterpart, the fervent devotion (bhakti) of all to the personified ideal. Thus the austere Hinayāna philosophy of the enlightenment of the Arhat by strenuous effort, open only to the few, became in the Mahāyāna the exciting religion of millions of people everywhere, by a formula of salvation by simple faith.

Nāgārjuna formulated the Mādhyamika, as the middle path of reconciliation between the tenets of realism and nihilism; in a reversion to the scholastic Vedānta, he taught that the phenomenal world (which he defined as an aggregate of the illusive conceptions of origination and cessation) had merely a conditional existence, neither absolutely real nor unreal. This idea of illusion, carrying it to its logical conclusion, he developed into the doctrine of Śūnyatā (‘Void’), the absolute state where no conditions exist and all contradictions are reconciled, in a precocious anticipation of the great Hindu philosopher Śaṅkara. This interfusion of Brāhmaṇical metaphysics and Buddhist thought led, in the main, to a harmonised philosophy and a broadly accepted culture and evoked that tolerant understanding of Buddhism, so nobly exemplified by the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku emperors, very fervent adherents of the Brāhmaṇical faith themselves.

By the testimony of Hsiian-Tsang, the Chinese Master of the Law, who visited Dhānyakaṭṭaka (circa A.D. 639), Nāgārjuna, a Brahmin youth from South India, rose to become “one of the four suns which light the world” along with Āryadeva, Kumāralabdha and Aśvaghoṣa, three famed philosophers of the time.
By the Tibetan tradition, Áčārya Nāgārjuna ruled the Buddhist Church for some fifty-seven years after A.D. 137 and may, therefore, have been contemporaneous with five successive Sātavāhanas, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulomāvi II (A.D. 123), Śiśaśri Pulomāvi III (A.D. 156), Śivaskandha Sātakarni (A.D. 163), Yajñāsri Sātakarni (A.D. 166) and Vijaya (A.D. 195). Nāgārjuna is credited by Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, with procuring the erection, by the Sātavāhana (who might have been Pulomāvi III rather than Yajñāsri), of the sculptured railing of the great Amarāvati stūpa; and his royal benefactor is very likely, by Huien-Tsang’s account, to have built a saṅghārāma (monastery) for Nāgārjuna, tunnelling Śriparvata, although the Chinese pilgrim, by the direction of his itinerary, makes the Sātavāhana the king (which also undoubtedly he was) of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Chattisgarh today.

Huien-Tsang’s description of the monastery, confirming Fa-hien’s (circa A.D. 401) earlier report of it, is memorable.

To the south-west of this country (Dakṣiṇa Kośala) above 300 li from the capital was a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Skr. Bhramarāgiri), which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king Sudvisha (Sātavāhana) had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten li. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls; these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king’s treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold. In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha, and the writings of the Ājīvacar. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brothers. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine kōṭi (crores) of gold coins.

Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamyika, is not to be confounded with his namesake of some three centuries later, the Tantric Siddha and master of Mayūri-vidyā (alchemy); this Nāgārjuna was born at Kahora, a part of the city of Kānchi in the south, and educated at the renowned university of Nālandā where he stayed to practise the siddhis (occult powers); eventually he also gravitated—and hence the confusion—to Śriparvata from Jaggayyapeṭa, another Buddhist settlement by the Kṛṣṇa.

NOTES

1. Tārānātha: History of Buddhism, pp. 85, 301 and 303. The Tibetan tradition was obviously based on the Landavatara Sūtra (edited by Bunyu Nafu, p. 256): Dakṣiṇapatha Vedāyīm bhikṣuḥ Sṛṅgānāmadhyamikā Nāgārjunaḥ sa nāmāmi tu sadanant-puṇaḥ-dvāraḥ (at Vedā in Dakṣiṇapatha there will be a renowned monk known by the name of Nāgārjuna—synonymous with Nāgārjuna—the supporter of the doctrine of both existence and non-existence, i.e., the Mādhyamika or Middle Path).
2. W. Wasilewski: Der Buddhismus, I, pp. 220 ff.; Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, p. 7. However, inscriptive testimony of Nāgarjuna’s residence at Śrīparvata is still to come.

3. Or Theravāda (Skt. Sāvīvaravāda), the Doctrine of the ‘Elders’ of the Buddhist monastic order.

4. One who has attained Nirvāṇa, “the going out” of the three fires of lust, ill-will and dullness, the state of supreme Enlightenment.

5. In a veritable encyclopaedia of writings known as the Prajñā-pāramitā.


7. Originally from Ceylon and the most eminent of Nāgarjuna’s disciples, Āryadeva was a renowned scholar and a dialectician of devastating ability. His relics have been discovered at Buddhāni, eighteen miles from Repalle in Guntur district (Journal of Oriental Research, IX, pp. 13, 96 ff.).

8. The founder of the Sautrāntika system, a philosophical school of the Hinayāna, which affirmed the real existence of the phenomenal world.

9. One of the greatest poets of India and an ornament of the Court of the emperor Kaniska, Asvaghosa was the “Father of Mahāyāna Buddhism”. He was the author of the sublime epic, Buddha-carita (‘Life of the Buddha’) and its companion piece, the exquisite Saṃśāranaṁda-kāvyā, which, in their very extensive vogue from Amaravati to Borobudur in Java, inspired some of the finest Buddhist art.

10. However, the indigenous Līlitāvati, a Prākṛti poem of the romance of a Ceylonese princess and Hāla Śātakarnī (A.D. 19-24), would make Nāgarjuna, ante-dating him, minister to the king. But the tradition, chronicled by the poet Kalhaṇa, by which Nāgarjuna was “the sole lord” of Kashmir at the time of the fourth General Council of Buddhists (A.D. 78), convened by Kaniska (Rājavarmanī, translated by Sir M. A. Stein, I, p. 173) is doubtless apocryphal.


15. The Sātavāhanas repaired and added to this under the influence of Nāgarjuna (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, pp. 100, 112).


17. Called by Hien-Tsang Po-lo-mo-lo-kî-li, the ‘hill of the black bee’ or ‘black hill’ simply, of which the name Nallamala, applied to the entire range, is a literal translation.

18. The pilgrim obviously heard of the famed monastery while he was still in Dakṣiṇa Kośala, itself a domain of the Sātavāhana empire, even before he proceeded to visit Śrīparvata in the contiguous Andhra territory to the south. (It is worthy of note that no remains of any monastery, at Bhandak in the Chanda district or anywhere else about Chaitisgarh, answer to the description by Hien-Tsang).

19. J. Legge: A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, pp. 96-97; H. A. Giles: The Travels of Fa-hsien, pp. 62-63; “... there is a country named Dakṣiṇa (Deccan) where there is a monastery (dedicated to) the bygone Kaśyapa Buddha, and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consists in all of five storeys; — the lowest, having the form of an elephant, with 500 apartments in the rock; the second, having the form of a lion, with 400 apartments; the third, having the form of a horse, with 300 apartments; the fourth, having the form of an ox, with 200 apartments, and the fifth, having the form of a pigeon, with 100 apartments. At the very top there is a spring, the water of which, always in front of the apartments in the rock, goes round among the rooms, now circling, now curving, till in this way it arrives at the lowest story, having followed the shape of the structure, and flows out there at the door. Everywhere in the apartments of the monks, the rock has been pierced so as to form windows for the admission of light, so that they are all bright, without any being left in darkness. At the four corners of the (tiers of) apartments, the rock has been hewn so as to form steps
for ascending to the top (of each). The men of the present day, being of small size, and going up step by step, manage to get to the top, but in a former age they did so at one step. Because of this, the monastery is called Pārvatā, that being the Indian name for a pigeon. There are always Arhats residing in it". However, Fa-hien merely stated what he had heard from the natives, being unable to go to the Deccan which he found difficult of access. It is, therefore, more than likely that he quaintly rendered Śrī-parvata into a pigeon, by a mishearing of its component as pā[r]jusa (T. Watters: On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, p. 208).

20. Roughly five li make a mile.

21. J. Burgess (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, p. 7) erroneously identifies Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with the Hindu shrine of Śrīśailam, which is also known in Sanskrit literature as Śrīparvata and by a further coincidence, is situate by the Kṛṣṇa in the Nallamala range in Kurnool district of Andhra State, some fifty miles from Nāgārjunikonda. But, there is no evidence of Śrīśailam having ever been a Buddhist establishment (T. Watters: On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, II, p. 208).

22. Ibid., II, p. 201.

23. As Tārānāthā did (Indian Historical Quarterly, VII, p. 638, n.i.), basing his account on the Mahājñāna-mālakaipa (edited by Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana), section 9, verses 490-493.

24. The disciple of Saraha and one of the eighty-four Mahāāst dhāraṇas, seers with occult powers (B. Bhattacharyya: Siddhāntavāya, II, Introduction, p. xli f.).

today. By the Dharmāṁrta,9 the Kannada poetical work, Yaśodhara, the Iksvāku king of Áṅga, had settled himself, before the third century B.C., in Veṅgideśa (synonymous at the time with the Ándhra country), founding the town of Pratīpālapura by the Kṛṣṇa, and the Iksvākus rapidly became, by domicile and merger, very much a part of Ándhra history. Precisely when they were overcome10 in the Ándhra country by the succeeding Sātavāhana power is still to be established, but the Iksvāku king had surely been reduced, at least by the second century A.D., to the position of a viceroy, Mahāsalavatara,11 in the eastern dominion of the Sātavāhana empire. On its dismemberment, with the passing about A.D. 218 of Pulōmāvi IV, the last of the Sātavāhanas, the Iksvākus eventually became their natural successors in the viceregal territory, heirs to the political and religious traditions of the imperial power.

The Brāhmī12 inscriptions of the Iksvākus, in a language13 described archaically as “a normalised semi-literary Prākrit, used by a people whose home-tongue was Dravidian”,14 are limited as yet to Nāgarjunikoṇda,15 Jaggayapeṭa,16 Rāmireddipalli,17 Gōli18 and Guraṇāla19; the inscriptions spell out a very tentative table of the Iksvāku dynasty at Vijayapuri, liable to be upset by any chance epigraphic discovery yielding still another king. The established kings are, in the line of succession, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri-Cāṁtamūla (Skṛt. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Kṣāntimula),20 Māḍhariputra Śri-Virapurisadata (Skṛt. Māṭhariputra Śri Virapurusa-datta), Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri-Bahuvala21 Cāṁtamūla (Skṛt. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Bahubala Kṣāntimula) and Śri-Ruthrapurisadata22 (Skṛt. Rudrapurusadatta).

Of these, the first, Ikhākusa sāmi23 Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra24 Śri-Cāṁtamūla25 would seem to have risen to sovereign power, overthrowing the effete Sātavāhana, Pulōmāvi IV, at Amarāvati, less than sixty miles by the flight of a crow from Vijayapuri. The aspiring Iksvāku promptly affirmed his lordship of his outlying domains by the performance of the Brāhmanical sacrifices, the Agnihōtra,26 Agniṣṭoma, Vājaṇēya27 and Āsāṃvedīna,28 which he revived after more than a century of disuse. He was, by a conventional panegyric recurring in most of the inscriptions at Nāgarjunikoṇda, of unimpeded purpose in all his aims (savathesu apatihaṇa sampakasa)29, the giver of many crores of gold, of a hundred thousand kine and a hundred thousand ploughs30 of land (aneka-hirana-koti-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahas-paddaiva).31 He was, reputedly, a devotee of the god Mahāśena32 or Skanda (Virapakhapati-Mahāśena-parigahatisa).33

The successors of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri-Cāṁtamūla were, following him, protagonists of Vedic Brāhmanism; but, such was the spacious catholicity of the times that the royal ladies—among them, principally, his sister Cāṁtisiri (Skṛt. Kṣāntisiri)—were, surprisingly, very devout votaries of the Buddhist faith. To their benevolence, and especially to that of another outstanding benefactress though not of the ruling house, Bodhisiri (Skṛt. Bodhisiri), the notable monuments of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa are almost entirely due.

Māḍhariputra Śri-Virapurisadata succeeded to an established and manifestly prosperous empire; he further consolidated it by regions of influence, promoted by matrimonial alliances. He married the Ujendikā mahārājabālikā(?)34 Mahādevī
Rudradharbhatārikā, daughter of the Scythian ruler of Ujjain, his own daughter, Kodabalisi, and his daughter, Virapuri was married to the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa (or Vaijayanti). He forestalled domestic rivalries to the throne; his sister, Mahāśālavarī, Adāvī Cāṇṭisirī, became the wife of Mahāśālavarī. Cāṇṭisirī, became the wife of Mahāśālavarī. Cāṇṭisirī, had married Mahāśēnāpatī Mahāśālavarī Vāsiṭhiputa Mahākaraṇḍasirī of the Pūkya clan.

Of the five queens of Vāsiṭhiputa, the chief, Mahādevī Bhātiyevī (Skr. Bhatiyadevi), a Vāsiṭhi princess, was the mother of his successor, Vāsiṭhiputa Sīra-Bhauvāla Cāṇṭamūla; three were his own cousins, daughters of his father’s sisters—of Harināmisirī, Chaṭhāsirī (Skr. Saṭṭhāsirī) and Bāpiśirīpiṇikā, and of Cāṇṭisirī an unnamed daughter; the fifth was Rudradharbhatārikā, the so-called Scythian princess. The imperial consorts achieved renown by their monumental benefactions to the Buddhist Church, taking it to its heyday in Ikṣvāku history.

In the succeeding reign of Mahārāya Vāsiṭhiputa Sīra-Bhauvāla Cāṇṭamūla, the faith burned indeed with an undimmed glow, but Sīra-Ruthrapurisdata, the last king of the Ikṣvāku line known, was obliged, under the advancing might of two fiercely Brāhmaṇical dynasties, the Brhatphalayanas and the Pallavas, to retreat, in a defensive action, from Vijayapuri to found his rear-guard capital of Halapura. Buddhism rapidly declined and Huien-Tsang, visiting them in a later day (circa A.D. 639), found the numerous monasteries mostly deserted and ruined. For the rise of many sects obscured the core of Buddhist teaching and, thanks largely to the Mahāyāna, its cult of divine compassion and image worship, Buddhism was soon absorbed by the resurgent Brāhmaṇism. In a crowning assimilation the Buddha himself, admitted into the Hindu pantheon, became one of the ten incarnations (dasi avarātras) of the supreme God, Viṣṇu.

NOTES

1. Mentioned in the Rg (X, 60, 4) and Atharva (XIV, 29, 9) Vedas and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 5), a prose commentary on the Yajur-veda and a very important source-book on ancient India.

2. Rāmāyana, I, 70, 20-21; Mahābhārata, I, 75, 31-40; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, chapter 88, 8 f.

3. Ikṣukrājya-pavara-risi-sata-pobhasa-varhina-sanbhavasa (born of a race which is sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of the Ikṣvāku lineage): Epigraphia Indica, XX, Inscription F, I, 1, p. 22. See also Majhiṃa Nākaye, II, 124 (a compilation of the Sutta-piṭaka, the Buddhist Pali canon) and Āṣṭagaṇa: Saundarananda-kāvyā, I, 24.


7. Padma-purāṇa, VI, 271, 5-4-55; Vāyu-purāṇa, 99, 199; Kālidāsa: Raghuvamśa, XVI, 34.


11. According to a notable inscription, of about the second century A.D., at Allāru (part of the Iksvāku territory, as proved by the votive inscriptions of Jaggayapaṇṭa in the vicinity) in Kṛṣṇa district of Śatavahana State (Annual Report of the Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy, 1924, p. 97; Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1923-4, p. 93; Calcutta Review, July 1925). The inscription itself does not name the Mahātalavara, but this title of nobility was distinctively characteristic of the Iksvāku epoch.

12. The earliest Indian alphabet known.

13. Similar to the dialect of the inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga (183 B.C.), in the Hāthi-gumpha cave of the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvanesvar (Orissa State).

14. By Sten Konow (Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 25) who thought that the dialect of the inscriptions had a Kannada substratum, on an erroneous rendering of words such as Calikirenmaṇḍakā. This word is clearly Caliki-ramaṇaka (of the husband of Calikī), and not, as the Professor would make it in an unaccountable ellipsis, Cali-kiraṇaka, translating it into somewhat fanciful Kannada—'
of cool rays' to signify the Moon. And, incidentally, cāt in Kannada is not an adjective but a noun meaning 'chilly weather'.


19. The town of the sub-division named after it.


21. Understandably, as read by K. P. Jayaswal, following Hiramanda Sastri (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1933, p. 173, n.1), and not Ehrhard according to J. Ph. Vogel (Epigraphica Indica, XX, p. 5).

22. Mentioned in an unpublished inscription recently discovered at Gurazāla: "... Halapirava-śānam tam apagā atirmatīnakāt Ikahitram Duka-siri sataye sampadātim Mahārajaśa Siri-Rathrapo-Pārśu-devāsya ..." By the Iksvāku custom of naming the grandson after his grandfather, Siri-Rathrapurisadata was not improbably the grandson of Siri-Virapurusadatā, and therefore, the next in succession to Siri-Bahuvala Cāntamula, as his son.


24. This Iksvāku custom of prefixing metronymics, such as Vasiṣṭhiputra (son of Vasiṣṭhi) and Mādhava-putra (son of Māhātri), to the personal names of kings is evidently modelled on the practice of the Śatavāhanas—to instance two famous examples, Gautami-putra Sātakarni and Vasiṣṭhi-putra Śrī Pulomāvī.
25. Although no inscription of his reign has yet been discovered the inscriptions of the time of his son and grandson, in copious and nearly identical accounts, proclaim his majesty and prowess.


27. By the *Sâsaptihâ-Bráhmvana* (V. 1.1.13), th: *Vâjaqept* postulated a superior kingship, *sâmrâja* (distinguished from *râja*, the regal dignity *simpliciter*) in the performer.

28. According to the *Äpastaamba Śrauta-sūtra*, ( XV, 1.1.2), only a *Sârvabhauma* (sovereign) could accomplish the *Asvamedha*—a pointer to Sri-Cântamûla's vanquishment of his Sâtvâhana overlord.

29. Skt. *sûrâvärthajup apratihata suhkalîpa*.

30. Probably signifying a schematic reclamation of cultivable land, a 'plough' of land being a measure of it which a ploughshare could till.

31. Skt., *auka-hiranyo-koti-go-istasahestra-halo-istasahestra-pradânaḥ (?)*, among the *mahâdânas* (great charities) recounted by the *Matsya-purâṇa*.

32. Like the Kadambas and Câlukyas, other distinguished Brâhmanical South Indian dynasties.


34. The Nâgarjuniâkoḍa inscription B 5 (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 19) has, however, *Ujênika mahârâbalkâ*, which J. Ph. Vogel would eke out to read *Ujênika mahârâbalkâ*, meaning 'daughter of the Mahârâja of Ujjain'. Should an interpretation of *mahârâbalkâ* itself be forthcoming, the conjecture would naturally be shaken. And, it is necessary to add, the orthography of this inscription is not otherwise erroneous.

35. As J. Ph. Vogel reads *Rudradhárahañjûrika* of the inscription B 5. She does not, however, state her relation to the king in the epigraph, unlike his other queens in theirs. And, although *Rudra* is a frequent component of the names of the kings of Ujjain (such as Rudra-dâman, Rudra-sena and Rudra-sîthita), there is no Rudra-dhâra among them, of whom she could possibly have been a sister. *En passant*, could Rudradhara, synonymous with Mahâsena (the patron god of the Iksvâkus) be a name—in the context of Ruthâparasûdatâ—indigenous to their territory?

36. Ptolemy's *Oczâne* (J. W. McCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemys*, section 63, pp. 154-155), the capital of Tiastanes (Caśâna), of the Scythian dynasty of Western Satraps who styled themselves Mahârâjas (E. J. Rapson: *Cols of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, p. 190).

37. (A.D. 198-222), rather than his brothers Sâtvâhadâman (A.D. 222-223) and Dâmasena (A.D. 223-236).


39. Not named in the inscription.

40. Modern Banâvasi in the Srisri division of North Kanara district of Bombay State and not, as J. Ph. Vogel places it (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 8) in Shimoga district of Mysore State.

41. The capital of the Cutu Sâatakarsis (the Purânic *Andûra-bhätas* or *servants of the Andhras*) a dynasty feudatory at first and later successor to the Sâtvâhanas in their south-western dominions.

42. The feminine of *Mahâdânâvarâra*—his consort.

43. According to J. Ph. Vogel (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 26); or could it be *Prithvi*, understandable as a feminine name, meaning the 'earth'?

44. Defined by the *Subodhîkâ*, (leaf 60, 11.6, 7), a Sanskrit commentary by Vinayavijaya on the Jain canonical treatise *Kalpa-pâtra*, as 'an officer of the king' (*nasta-bhâpala-pradatta-puṣtabandha-vibhûja-râjasthânâlobh*). This title of viceregal dignity, of the epoch of the Sâtvâhanas, has been
debased in its present variant of talavari in Telugu (Tamil tālāyāri and Kannada tālavarā) to denote a 'village watchman'.

45. 'Great Chief of the Army', Generalissimo; by the Myakadoni inscription of Pulomāvi II (Epigraphia Indica, XIV, pp. 155, 160), a feudatory chieftain in the times of the Satavāhanas.

46. A high judicial dignitary, from dānaka, 'rod of justice', rather than 'Commander of the Army' (suggested by the alternative meaning of dānaka as 'army'), which would be redundant beside the title of Mahāsēṇāpati already borne by him.

47. Skrt. Skanda-viśākha; by his offices, the foremost nobleman of the realm.


49. Skrt. Ṣharmaśyasi?

50. Cāṁtisiri who calls herself merely the paternal aunt (pitrūḍa) of Siri-Virapurisadatta in the sixth year of his reign (Epigraphia Indica, XX, Inscription C 3. p. 16) refers to him, twelve years later (Ibid., XX, Inscription E, p. 21) as her son-in-law (aparapā janaśyaka).

51. The fanciful theory (B. V. Krishna Rao: Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, pp. 57 f.), crediting them with converting their Brahmanical lord to the Buddhist faith, rests upon a misreading of isolated sculptures at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa. These sculptures (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjuna koṇḍa, p. 32, plates (c) and (a)) certainly represent the Māndhātā Jātaka and not, as theorised, Siri-Virapurisadatta stamping on the ālāga, the supreme symbol of Brahmānism, in the bigotry of the neo-Buddhism. A recently discovered (unpublished) inscription which refers to his catholic patronage of other religions besides Buddhism (Saka-samayasa-parā-samayasa) completely belies this theory.

52. Not, as S. N. Dikshit (in a paper to the Indian Historical Congress, 1953) thinks, the first of the Iksvakus, which undoubtedly Siri-Cāṁtamula was—Ikkāku-stāmi, the founder of the line, by the recurring panegyric of the inscriptions.

53. Literally, 'Town of the plough', preserved in its Telugu variant of Nāgalī-varaṁ, the present village between Nāgarjunakoṇḍa and Macherla.


THE BENEFACTRESSES

Of the royal benefactresses, the foremost was Mahātalavari Cāṁtisiri, sister1 to Vāsithiputa Siri-Cāṁtamula; in the florid testament of the inscriptions, she was "the great mistress of munificence (mahādānapatini), devoted to all the virtuous", and "out of compassion for śramaṇas (ascetics), Brahmānas and the miserable, poor and destitute", she was "wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of Velāmīc5 gifts" towards "the longevity and victory of her son-in-law, Mādhari putra Siri-Virapurisadatta, for the sake of her own welfare in both the worlds, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, and for the past, future and present bliss of the great community of Buddhist monks, all the holy men who have renounced the world and penetrated into various countries ".

Nāgarjunakoṇḍa: Detail from Dastaratha Jātaka
Most important of all, she reconstructed the Mahācetiya (Skr. Mahācetiya), embellishing it with āyaka (Skr. āryaka) khanbhās (votive pillars) in groups of five at the four cardinal points. It is on these pillars that the inscriptions are chiefly engraved; they constitute the principal source-book on the Iksvākus at Nāgarjunikonda. The Mahācetiya was dedicated to the ācāryas (Masters) of the Apara-mahāvinasalīya sect of Buddhism, for whose benefit Cāntisiri also established, at the foot of the Mahācetiya, a cetiya-ghara (Skr. caitya-grha) or apsidal temple, a pillared hall (sela-marāṇḍava) surrounded by a cloister cātuśala and "provided with everything".

Other royal votaries were Mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭārikā who gave, towards the raising of the Mahācetiya, 170 dinārī-11-māsakas,12 and a votive pillar;13 Mahātalavari Ādavī Cāntisiri,14 Mahāsēṇapattini Cula-Cāntisirinikā,15 Mahādevi Bapi-sirinikā,16 Mahādevi Chaṭhisiri17 and an unnamed wife18 of Mahāsēṇapati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhiputa Mahākaṃdasiri of the Pākiyas, who set up each a stone pillar to the Mahācetiya for their "welfare and happiness in both the worlds";19 Mahādevi Bhajidevi19 who erected a monastery (vihāra), "with all essentials", for the ācāryas of the Bahusutiya sect,21 and Mahādevi Kodabalisiri21 who rendered for the ācāryas of the Mahisāsakas21 a like service, executed by Dhaṃmaghosa (Skr. Dharmaghoṣa), "the great teacher of the Law".

But the most memorable of all the benefactions at Nāgarjunikonda were by the lay votress (uvāśikā)20 of Govagāma,20 Bodhisiri, wife of Budhirinakka and niece of the royal treasurer (kothākārika);21 "for the benefit of the venerable ācārya of Acaṇṭa (Ajanta) and for the acceptance (suparigāhe) especially of the fraternities of the monks of Tānābaparṇi (Ceylon) whose faith is shared by the people of Kasmirī (Skr. Kaśmirī), Gandhāra (Skr. Gandhāra), Cīna (China), Cilātā (Skr. Kārītā), Tosalī,21 Avarānta (Skr. Aparānta), Vāriṅa (Bengal), Vana-vāsi,22 Yavana,24 Damila25 and Palura,26 she caused to be made at the vihāra on the Cula (Small) Dhaṃmagiri (Skr. Kṣudra Dharmagiri) a caitya-hall with a flooring of slabs and a caitya, provided with all the necessaries", for the merit of her long-listed relations. And, likewise, she dedicated a caitya-hall at the Kulaha-viḥāra,27 a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sihala29 (Simhala)-viḥāra, a cell (ovāraka) at the Mahā (Great) Dharmagiri, a maṇḍava-pillar at the Mahāviḥāra,29 a hall for religious practice (padhāna-sālā)41 at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah (alaṇḍa) and maṇḍava at Puvasela42 (Skr. Pūrva-sāla), a stone maṇḍava at Kaṇṭakasela42 (Skr. Kaṇṭakāsāla), three cells at Hirumuthuva, seven cells at Papīḷa, a stone maṇḍava at Puphagiri44 (Skr. Pupagiri) and another at a viḥāra, of which the name has been lost, "for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and of the whole world", executed by the stone mason (sela-vadāṭhi) Vīdhika under the superintendents of works (nava-kārīnikās), the theras Čanda-mukha (Skr. Candramukha), Dhaṃmanamdi (Skr. Dharmamandi) and Nāga.

These names are important, for Nāgarjunikonda had not only become the focus of the votaries of Buddhism from all over India, but such was its vast renown as a centre of enlightenment that ācāryas and fraternities of monks were also drawn to it, in a pilgrimage through history, all the way from Ceylon to China.
NOTES

1. And also mother of Khaṇḍasāgaraṇāsaka (Skrī. Skandaśāgara).

2. Vellāmikā, 'of Vellāmā', a legendary figure renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence (Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 33).

3. Ibid., XX, Inscription C 2, pp. 16-17.

4. Ibid., XX, Inscription E, pp. 21-22.


6. But J. Ph. Vogel renders samuhasāpyāmāna (Skrī. samuhasāpyāmāna), as applied to the Mahācetiya, into 'founded' or 'originated' (Epigraphia Indica, XX, Inscription B 5, pp. 19, 34). The Mahācetiya was completed (maḥācetiyā) by a disciple of the ācāryas of the Avira-hariṇīya (Skrī. Avira-hariṇīya) or Thērávāda, the Reverend Ananda "who knew by heart" the Dīgha- and the Mahāvīma-silākhyas, compilations of the Sutta-piṭaka, the Pāli Buddhist canon (Ibid., XX, Inscriptions C 1, p. 17 and C 2, p. 20).

7. Identified by J. Ph. Vogel (Epigraphia Indica, XX, pp. 10-11) with the Apara-seṭkas, a subdivision with the Purba (Skrī. Pūrba)-ṣeṭkas, of the Mahāvīmaḥkās, of the schismatic "progressives" who seceded from the orthodox Buddhist Church in 390 B.C., mentioned by the Ceylonese Pili chronicles, Dipavānasa (V, 54) and Mahāvīmaṇa (V, 12). These sects were probably so-called after the monasteries Purvaṭalla (Pu-po-shih-lo) and Aparaṭalla (A-fa-lo-shii-lo), to the east and west of Dhānyakāta, described by Hiuen-Tsang (T. Watters: On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, pp. 214-215, 217-219).

8. Skrt. Śaḷa-maṇḍapa.


10. Ibid., XX, Inscription E, pp. 21-22.

11. Skrt. dināra, a gold coin of about 124 grains, first struck by the Kusāṇa dynasty (c. 78 A.D.) in imitation of the Roman denarius (D. R. Bhandarkar: Carminicel Lectures, 1921, p. 181). The dināras certainly owed their currency in the Ikṣvakū territory to the very considerable maritime traffic of the time with Rome (attested by the find of the coins of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-38, at Nāgajirunikaṇḍa) and not, on the hypothesis of the Scythian origin of Rudradharaḥhatikā, to the Western Satraps, feudatories of the Kusāṇas (per D. C. Sircar: Successors of the Sātavānās, p. 27). That the Andhra poet Śrīmadha should refer, so late as A.D. 1450, to gifts of dināras as proof that the word had long become synonymous in the Telugu language with a gold coin.

12. Skrt. māyaka, a sixteenth part of the standard dināra (D. C. Sircar: Successors of the Sātavānās, p. 27, n. 1).


17. Ibid., XX, Inscription C 4, p. 20.

18. Obiously a co-wife of Mahātāvala Cāṁtiṇī, and the mother of the Mahāśenāpati Mahātāvala Vīpūṣṇī (Skrī. Viṣṇūrī).


23. Skrt. upāstka.


27. Skrt. Tāmraparṇa, the Taprobane of Greek writers (J. W. McCrindle: Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p. 144; Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 247, 251-253).


29. The ancient kingdom on both sides of the river Indus (Śimhāsūbhayaṭṭh pārāvī, Rāmāyaṇa, VII, 113.11; 114.11), comprising roughly the Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts of West Pakistan.

30. The Kirthadai of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (J. W. McCrindle's translation, p. 145), a Mongolian tribe of man-eating savages " whose noses are flattened to the face ", synonymous with Ptolemy's Kirthadai (J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 192 f) and located by him around the river Brahmaputra, in the region of Sylhet in East Pakistan (G. E. Gerini: Researches on Ptolemy's Geography etc., pp. 51-53, 829; N. L. Dey: Geographical Dictionary, p. 54). By the Mahābhārata (V. 19.15), the peoples of Cina and Ciliāta were led to the battle of Kurukṣetra by Bhagadutta, king of Prāgijotiṣa (Assam), and among the countries visited by trading merchants the Mūndā paṇha (edited by V. Trenckner, pp. 327; 331) mentions Cina and Ciliāta with Yavana.

31. Modern Dhauli in Puri district (ancient Kalinga) of Orissa State, where a set of the Fourteenth Rock Edicts of Ašoka, addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (mahānātrīs) of Tosali, have been discovered.

32. Corresponding to North Konkan on the west coast, with its capital at Śūrpirāka, Separa today in Thana district of Bombay State, mentioned in Aśoka's Fifth Rock Edict and in the Nasik Cave III inscription among the dominions of Gautamiputra Satakarnī (Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p. 60). By the Ceylonese chronicles (Dipavamsa, viii, 7 and Mahāvamsa, xii, 4, 34), Apartinta was converted to Buddhism by the Greek (Tomaka) Dhammarakkha (Skt. Dr̥maṁrakṣita).

33. The present town of Banavasi in North Kanara district of Bombay State.

34. Strictly, the country of the Ionians (Greeks), but here probably, the territory of the ancient Indo-Greek kingdoms, Bactria and Parthia, about and beyond Afghanistan. By the Ceylonese chronicles (Dipavamsa, viii, 9 and Mahāvamsa, xii, 5, 39-40), Yavana was converted to Buddhism by Mahārakkha (Skt. Mahārakṣita).

35. Of uncertain reading, Damila corresponds to Skrt. Dravīḍa, the Tamil country.

36. The first syllable, Pa, is conjectural. By assuming the etymology of the word to be Pāl (tooth)-īra (town), Sylvain Lévi (Indian Antiquity, LV, pp. 94 f.) would identify it with Dantapura ("town of the tooth"), the ancient capital of Kalinga; but, this derivation of Pālura is questionable. It was apparently the Pālura of Ptolemy, the village some six miles north-east of the ancient port of
Ganjam in Orissa State (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXII, p. 1 f.), although he places the town, erroneously, at the extremity of an imaginary peninsula, marking the beginning of the Gangetic Gulf (J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 63, 69).

37. The monastery due to the Kulahaka family?

38. Bodhi-rukha-pāśūḍa (Skr. Bodhi-vrksa-prasūḍa), a common adjunct to this day of vihāras in Ceylon.

39. Founded for the accommodation of Sinhalese monks, not erected by a Ceylonese.


41. Skrt. prārthana-sālā.

42. The monastery described by Hiuen-Tsang as having been erected, along with Aparasīila, by a former king of Dhānyakaṭaka, for the use of Buddhist monks who went there, in a thousand, every year to spend the retreat of the rainy season (T. Watters: On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, pp. 214-215; 217-221). Pūrṇāsīila was probably the Vākunṭhapuraṇa hill, three miles east of Amarāvati, which contains structural remains of unexplored stūpas and vihāras.

43. 'The hill of thorns', Ptolemy's Kontakoszyka, (J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 66, 68), place him near the mouth of the river Maisolos (Krṣṇa) and represented by the modern village of Ghanāsālā, thirteen miles west of Masulipatnam.

44. 'The hill of flowers'.

HERITAGE OF AMARĀVATI

The impulses of the culture of Amarāvati1 voyaged, in the wake of the prosperous maritime traffic2 of the Sātavāhanas, to the countries east and west; the flourishing commercial class, turned Buddhist, helped raise the stupendous monuments of the faith; and in going forth, sometimes to settle, they truly laid the foundations of art in Farther India.

The river Krṣṇa, known to the Greek geographer Ptolemy3 as Maisolos,4 was certainly navigable, at high tide, a long way inland, as the Buddhist settlements by the river—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Gōli,5 Amarāvati, Jaggayapeta,6 Vişajavāda,7 Bhaṭṭīprōla8 and Ghanāsālā9—doubtless testify. The river was the main artery of the foreign trade; its principal emporium10 was Ghanāsālā and the earliest Āndhra emigrants chiefly embarked11 about Gūḍūru (Ptolemy's Koppoura)12 at the mouth of the Krṣṇa, although alternative points of departure might also have existed at the estuaries of the Gōḍāvari and the Varnāsadāra (at Śālīhuṇḍam).13 The seaward basin of the Krṣṇa was, as G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out,14 certainly fortunate in the confluence of the highways of Āndhra history in Veṇgi,15 the meeting-place of the ancient roads from the kingdoms of Kaliṅga, Dravīḍa, Karnāṭaka, Mahārāṣṭra and Kośala. The early colonists, sailing from the
Andhra coast, would seem to have landed at the port of Martaban in Burma and settled, at first, in the region of Thaton and then in the deltas of the Salween and Irrawaddy rivers, round about Pegu; later, pushing south, they probably arrived in Thailand and fanned out, eventually, into Indonesia, and the ancient kingdoms of present-day Indo-China and thence, in a final stretch of migration, to China. Naturally, the settlers carried with them their own culture and religion and images for worship.

Other waves of emigration were later; one, in Gupta times, from the port of Tāmralipti (modern Tamulk) on the river Hooghly in Bengal; traders and missionaries set out from the imperial capital of Pātaliputra and chiefly followed the well-known route of the Andhra settlers via Martaban, except perhaps for an occasional detour to Akyab and Arakan on the Burma coast. Another, and very important, route was opened out in the times of the Pallavas (successors to the Ikṣvakus in their territories) from Māmallapuram, the illustrious port of metropolitan Kāñc; the way lay straight across the Bay of Bengal to Mergui on the coast of Burma; then, dipping southwards via Tenasserim to Takuapa and the Straits of Malacca, it coursed onward to Sumatra, Java or Borneo. A fourth, but infrequent, route went the entire sea-way round the island of Singapore to the Gulf of Siam, for radiating settlements south-eastwards to Indonesia as well as northwards to Indo-China.

In time, the voyages were reversed and, with the rise of Nāgarjunikōṇḍa as an international seat of Buddhist culture, the ācāryas and sthaviras from the arc of countries from Ceylon to China, took up their abode at Siripavata, seeking light. The heritage of Amaravati, radiated from Nāgarjunikōṇḍa in the Mahāyāna phase of Buddhism, passed into the national cultures of East Asia, manifested in their inscriptions and especially in their nascent styles of art; from Dong-duong in Campā (Annam); from the village of P’ong Tuk in the province of Ratburi and Srīdeva in the valley of the Pa-Sak river in Thailand; from South Djember in Java, Sempaga in Celebes, Palembang in Sumatra, Kota Bangoen in Borneo, and Anurādhapura in Ceylon has issued Buddhist statuary which is indelibly impressed with the sculptural style of Amaravati.

NOTES

1. From the characters of its earliest Brāhmī inscriptions, the Amaravati stūpa was certainly constructed before 200 B.C., its grand sculptured railing erected by Nāgarjuna about A.D. 150 and the stūpa further enlarged and embellished with great richness right up to A.D. 250 (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, pp. 122-123).

2. To which the coins of sāmi Pulumāvi, with the device of a ship with masts, picked up between Madras and Cuddalore on the Coromandel coast bear witness (E. J. Rapseon: Catalogue of the
Coins of the Āṇḍhra dynasty etc., p. 24) and also attested by the finds of large numbers of Roman coins at Vinukonda in Guntur district and in Nellore and Cuddapah districts of Āṇḍhra state (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1904, pp. 299 f.).

3. Klaudivs Ptolemaios (A.D. 140), the great Alexandrian geographer, mathematician and astronomer.

4. Not the river Gōḍāvari, as Sylvain Lévi (Indian Antiquary, LV, pp. 146-147) would have it. Ptolemy's Matsoīla (the Masalia of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, "the sea-board of a country extending far inland" where immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured) was the coast between the Matsoīlos (Kṛṣṇa) and the Gōḍāvari and onward thence to the neighbourhood of Pulara (J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 66, 68). The name of Matsoīla, the greatest market of the Āṇḍhra empire, is probably preserved in the modern port of Masulipatam.

5. From the consonances of its sculptures with the contemporary style of Amarāvati, the stūpa of Gōlī was evidently constructed about A.D. 250.

6. Assigned to circa 200 b.c., the Mahāśeṣa of Jaggayaṣṭēṣa stood on the bank of the Kṛṣṇa nearly opposite to Amarāvati, with which it was contemporaneous. At the eastern gate of the stūpa were discovered (by J. Burgess in 1882) three inscribed pillars, recording, in identical epitaphs, the gift of five āyaka-kaṇṭhharas by the artisan (āvesani) Siddhātha (Skr. Siddhārtha) in the twentieth regnal year of Mādhavāpita Śrī-Śrīpurisadatta (J. Burgess: The Buddhists Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayaṣṭēṣa, pp. 110 f., plates LXII, LXIII; H. Luders: 'List of Brāhma Inscriptions', Nos. 1202-1204, Epigraphia Indica, X, pp. 139 f.).

7. At Vidyādharapuram in Vijayawāda (Bezwada) in the Kṛṣṇa district of Āṇḍhra state, where the remains of a caitya and marble figures of the Buddha, in the Amarāvati style, have been recovered.

8. In the Regalle sub-division of Guntur district, twenty-four miles south-west of Masulipatam. One of the earliest stūpas constructed, it is dated, by its variety of the Brāhma alphabet, the third century B.C., of the time of Asoka, and, according to its inscriptions, was built over a relic of the Buddha (Epigraphia Indica, II, pp. 322-329).

9. An important Buddhist centre contemporaneous with Amarāvati and Jaggayaṣṭēṣa.

10. The other mart of Matsoīla, mentioned by Ptolemy, was Allosyne or Koringa (Korangi), a port a little beyond Point Gōḍāvari (J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 67). And, market towns (nīgānas) of this region specified in the inscriptions are Dhaḥaṅkaṭeka (Epigraphia Indica, XV, Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 262-263), Kevurā and Nārasala (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, No. 17, plate LVII and Epigraphia Indica XV, No. 56, p. 274) and Vijayapura (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, I, No. 30, plate LVIII, p. 85).

11. Ptolemy mentions, without naming, a point of departure (apheterion) in Matsoīla, north of Allosyne, for ships bound for Khraye (the Golden Chryse, i.e., the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago): J. W. McCrindle: Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 66, 69.

12. The Kūḍūra of an Amarāvati inscription of the second century A.D. (H. Luders: 'List of Brāhma Inscriptions', No. 1295, Epigraphia Indica, X, Appendix) also mentioned as the name of an āhara or district, Kūḍūraḥara, in a copper-plate grant of the third century A.D. of Kōṇḍaṇuḍi (in the Tenali sub-division of Guntur district) by Mahāṭhāja Jayavarman of the Brhatphalāyanas, successors to the Ikalvāku (Epigraphia Indica, VI, p. 315 f.).

13. Six miles west of the port of Kaliṅgaṣṭēṣa, in Śrīkākulam district of Āṇḍhra state where the remains of a Buddhist caitya have been excavated.


15. Or Veṣaṅgādu, the doab between the Kṛṣṇa and the Gōḍāvari rivers, the historic core of the Āṇḍhra country.

16. Burmese traditions credit the Āṇḍhras (or Telugus, echoed in the Talings of Burma) with settlements at Pegu (Phayre: History of Burma, p. 24; J. G. Scott: Burma from the earliest times to the present day, p. 12).
17. Campā, comprising modern Annam, and Funan, west of Campā, including Cochin-China, Cambodia, Thailand and parts of Malaya.

18. Ptolemy’s Tamalitex, the present town of Tamluk in Midnapore district of West Bengal, in ancient times a great emporium of trade on the Ganges (J. W. McCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 167, 168, 169, 170). It was from Tāmralipti that Fa-hien re-embarked for China in a.d. 414.

19. Correctly Mahāmahlapuram (corrupted into modern Mahabalipuram), celebrated for its magnificent rock-cut reliefs, cave temples and monolithic ratha or chariots.

20. The Takola of Ptolemy, a mart of the Golden Chryse (J. W. McCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 197, 198, 199).

21. Because the shortcut across the Siamese portion of the Malay peninsula, from Takuapā to the Bay of Bandon on the east coast, was more frequently traversed (Reginald le May: ‘A General Survey of Art in South-Eastern Asia’, *Art and Letters*, XXIII, No. 1, p. 4).

22. Of a king of the śrī Māra dynasty from Vo-Canh in Campā (Bergaigne: *Inscriptions Sanskrītīes du Campā et Cambodge*, XX) ; of king Mālavarmān at Kuti and Moera Kaman in Borneo on yāpas or sacrificial posts (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, XII, pp. 14-17), and of king Pūrṇāvarman from West Java (J. Ph. Vogel: *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, pp. 15-25). These inscriptions are in Sanskrit, in a script called by epigraphists differently ‘Vengl’ and ‘Pallava-Grāhatha’, corresponding closely with that employed in the Sātavāhana inscriptions of the second century a.d. at Kanheri near Bombay.

23. In the province of Quang-Nam. The bronze standing Buddha (in the Hanoi Museum), from the shrine of Lokeśvara at Dong-duong, by the treatment of the monastic robe or saṅghāti, is unmistakably derived from Amarāvati.

24. On the right bank of the Meklong or Kanburi river, by the ancient highway of commerce across Burma to the Far East. P‘ong Tuk’s bronze statuette of the Buddha, of not much later than the second century a.d., from its distinctive style of drapery, is clearly of Amarāvati. Further evidence of the early intercourse of Thailand with the Krṣṇa valley is furnished by other discoveries at P‘ong Tuk (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1927, pp. 16-20 ; Reginald le May: ‘A General Survey of Art in South-Eastern Asia’, *Art and Letters*, XXIII, No. 1, p. 5), of a stūpa, the style of the plinth of which is doubtless owed to Amarāvati (even if mediately through Anurādhapura in Ceylon), and of a fish-shaped Greco-Roman lamp of Pompeian style of the second century a.d., probably a copy of its like mentioned in the Allīru Brāhma inscription—vaddībhikāraṇaṁ yonaka divikayo (*Annual Report of the Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-4, p. 93 ; *Calcutta Review*, July 1925) rather than an importation from the Mediterranean.

25. An ancient city, discovered in the heart of Thailand, north of the modern town of Petchaburi (Bullettin de l’Ecole Française d’Extreme-Orient, XXXI, p. 402 ; G. Coedes: *Melanges Linossier* pp. 159-164). The statuary of the temples of Śrīdeva includes magnificent sandstone torsos of a yakṣīṇī or fertility spirit (in the National Museum at Bangkok), a masterpiece of conception and execution, and of Brāhmaṇical gods, evidencing a complete mastery of form. Dateable by the inscriptions discovered at the site to the fifth century a.d., the torsos are in a transitional style from Amarāvati to Pallava sculpture.

26. Where a bronze statuette of the Buddha, in the authentic tradition of Amarāvati, has been unearthed.

27. A fragmentary Buddha in bronze, probably imported from Amarāvati, rather than a local rendering (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1933, plate viii).

28. The colossal stone Buddha of Bukit Seguntung at Palembang, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, has stylistic affinities with the earlier phase of Amarāvati sculpture of the second century a.d.

29. The bronze Buddha from Kota Bangoen, in the distinctive style of Amarāvati, was unfortunately destroyed by fire in the Paris exhibition of 1931 (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1926, plate xi; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1935, I, p. 38).
The manifest derivation of the sculpture of Anurâdhapura from Amarâvati is proclaimed by dolomite statues of two standing Buddhas and a Bodhisattva (rather than Dutta Gaminī as traditionally identified), arranged originally around the base of the Ruwanwelī dāgaba (stūpa) at Anurâdhapura, and by guardians of the gates (dvârapalas) with many-headed cobra-hoods as at Amarâvati. The sculptured platforms (vâhâkikadasa) of the dāgaba itself derive, architecturally, from the original offshoots on the stūpas of Amarâvati and Nâgârjunikonda, although their âyaka-khanbhânas have been omitted in the Ceylonese adaptations. And, incidentally, the graceful portraits in the Sîsirya (Sinha-giri or 'Lion Rock ') frescoes of the queens of the Ceylonese king Kassapa I (A.D. 479-497) are clearly drawn from the maidens of the Amarâvati reliefs and their coeval Andhra paintings in Cave X of the renowned caves of Ajañṭâ.

ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of Nâgârjunikondâ is really in the process of discovery; but the excavated remains fall into typical structures, of which the evolution has been uncovered by the diggings in progress.

Of these, the caityas are oblong, 3 apsidal temples of thick high walls, but without a window ; 2 a brick roof, shaped like a barrel-vault, runs the whole length from the apse at one end to the entrance at the other ; the threshold is embellished by a carved step of semi-circular stone, carried in the dâgabas 4 of Anurâdhapura 5 and Polonnâruva in Ceylon to further decorative refinements. The walls themselves, except for a few rows of simple mouldings along the plinth and cornice of the caitya, are bare of exterior ornament, but the barrel-vaulted roof is crowned with a line of towering finials (stûplis) of pottery. In the apse is a stûpa, usually of stone, for worship, but not invariably ; statues of the Buddha, reflecting the contemporary revolution in iconography, 9 are not uncommon.

The more outstanding caityas (like the Mahâcetiya which enshrined a relic of the Buddha himself) probably stood by themselves, close to the monasteries, for the worship of vast congregations ; but a caitya was also a constant component of each monastic establishment. This was conceived with a rare economy of religious purpose ; in the forefront was a caitya, or sometimes two, with a stûpa and a passage for the circumambulation (pradaksinâ) of the monks ; then, facing the caitya, was the vihâra or monastery, a rectangular open courtyard, enclosed by a wall of brick ; and, in the centre, a square prayer-hall of stone columns, flanked on three sides of the rectangle by rows of unadorned cells—shrines and dormitories for the resident monks, stores and a refectory.

The stûpas, 8 of many sizes 6 from little mounds to the Mahâcetiya, were nearly all of one essential design—in horizontal section, a wheel (cukra) of large uniform
bricks, with a tyre and diversified spokes radiating from a central hub, square in the smaller and circular in the larger stūpas; the segments of spokes and tyre were filled in with earth to make up, in vertical section, a brick casing of a drum or vedikā, covered by an umbrella of a dome (aṇḍa); at the four cardinal points were projecting rectangular altars, distinctive of the stūpas of the Andhra country; and, in the more outstanding ones, each altar was adorned by a group of five votive pillars (āyaka-khaṁbhas), symbolising the five principal incidents in the life of the Buddha—the Nativity (Janana), the Renunciation (Mahā-bhiṁṣikramaṇa), the Enlightenment (Sanyaksanbhodhi) the First Sermon (Dharma-cakra-pravartana) and the Death (Mahāparinirvāṇa). The dome of the stūpa was probably topped by a rectangular coffer (harmikā) for precious offerings, and surmounted, in a crowning piece of the architecture, by an honorific parasol or chakra, the symbol of sovereignty.

From the absence of any remains, it has been surmised that the railing of the Mahācetiya, enclosing the processional path at its base, might have been of carved wood, lost to us by the ravages of time and climate. But, it is difficult to think that the developed architecture of Nāgarjunikonda should have reverted to wood as a decorative medium when, in point of sculptural evolution, stone had long ago supplanted wood. It is more probable that the stone railing (evidenced by socketed pillars from the site), as the outermost member of the Mahācetiya, was the first target for iconoclasm or depredation, and has been irrecoverably lost.

The ornamentation of the stūpa was in stone and stucco; the sculptured stone encased the brick-work, firmly fixed to it in mortar, from the plinth to the springing of the dome; above this line, all decoration was in stucco, as the stone could not be moulded to the curvature of the dome. This supremely glyptic stone of greenish grey (which also composed the famous carvings at Amarāvati) was quarried from Dachepalli in the vicinity and transported to Nāgarjunikonda on the river to a stone-warehouse, the remains of which still exist. The stone was of exquisite texture, capable of rendering the delicate inflexions of life and movement, as well as the patterns of intricate decorative forms. The sculpturing was in bas-relief, on the several parts of the architecture, on uprights and pillars, beams and cornices, sometimes in synoptic panels of illustration, of incidents from the life of the Buddha or renderings of his previous births or Jātakas, drawn from a plenitude of Buddhist literary sources—the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Niṭānakathā, Buddhaghoṣa’s Sumangalavilāsinī and his celebrated commentaries on the Dharmapada, the Mahāvastu, the Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna, and the Buddha-carita and the Saundarananda-kāvyā of Āśvaghosa. The ornamental motifs comprise sheer geometrical designs such as the svastiṣka; the lotus and the acanthus, budded or in bloom; friezes of geese or makraś (crocodiles); the triratna, the pūrṇaghaṭa and the stūpa itself, singly or repeated; rows of processional lions, tigers, elephants, bears, horses, bulls or deer in repetitive assortments, and garland-bearing erotes. After the decoration had been done and the joints plastered up, the structure was probably white-washed in its entirety and coloured and gilded.
NOTES

1. Barring a few little shrines in some of the monasteries, which are square in plan.

2. Other than a small opening over the doorway.

3. Called, from its shape, a 'moon-stone'. This architectural piece, with a solitary exception at the University site, is singularly plain at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; the exception features a procession of lions, horses and bulls in bas-relief in an outer border.

4. Dāgaba from Skrt. dhātu (relic) - gārha (womb, chamber or receptacle); Pāli dhāgāvābho- Therefore, strictly, a tumulus enshrining a relic, but used synonymously with stūpa for any kind of sepulchre.

5. Where the moon-stone at the threshold of the so-called ‘Queen’s Pavilion’ is well-known. It consists of concentric zones of ornament: of a repetitive motif of lions, elephants, horses and bulls in procession; then a row of hamsas (swans) arched over a semi-lotus.

6. Necessitated by the portrayal of the several Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna pantheon. The anthropomorphic image of the Buddha was evidently created at the great sculptural centre of Mathurā, in Uttar Pradesh, independently of the coincidental realisation of the icon by the contemporary school of Gandhāra (first to third centuries A.D.), inspired by Greco-Roman prototypes (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 50 f, 59, 60). The art of Amarāvati (which reached its amplitude at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) obviously owed the Buddha image to its introduction from Mathurā.

7. Sarimma-sambudhāsa dhātuvara-parigabhāsa māhācetiyā (the Mahācetiya, protected by the corporereal remains of the supreme Buddha): Inscriptions B 2, B 4, Epigraphia Indica, XX, pp. 18.

8. Originally a heap or mound, a stūpa (synonymous with the word caitya) came to connote, in the practice of Buddhism, any funerary memorial to a Buddhist divinity or personage (H. Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 44). Stūpas were śālirakas (corporereal) if erected over relics; uddesikās, commemorative of the principal events in the life of the Buddha; or paribhogikas when raised over the articles of his use (C. Sivaramamurti: Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, p. 20). Two types of stūpas have been uncovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: a simple one of brick and plaster, and a second, elaborately decorated over its every part.

9. Ranging in diameter from twenty feet in the smallest stūpa to 106 feet in the Mahācetiya.

10. Of 20 x 10 x 3 inches in size, identical with some of the bricks discovered at Bulandiabgh (near Patna), the site of Asoka's capital of Pāṭaliputra.

11. From the usual four to the ten spikes of a large monastic caitya, forty-eight feet in diameter, unearthed by R. Subrahmanyam in Site VI of the present series of excavations.

12. The precise meaning of āyaka is unsettled. J. Burgess renders the expression as 'gate' or 'entrance' (The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagjayaveṇa, pp. 86, 93), but the word for 'gate' in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription (F. Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 22) is dāra (Skrt. dvāra). J. Ph. Vogel (ibid., p. 2, n), therefore, thinks that the projecting altar of the stūpa is indicated by āyaka, which is not unlikely, as it is to the altar, on which they stand, that the group of khānīkas are related. These octagonal pillars, on square bases, opposite the four entrances of the stūpa, however, fulfil no architectural purpose, as they do not support any capital or other crowning member, but are merely free-standing columns of symbolic or dedicatory significance.

13. Commonly known as the tee, corrupted from the Burmese hti.


15. This served to enclose the processional path, encircling the base of the stūpa. But no traces of any gateways (toranās) to the railing exist at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.
16. The railings of the contemporary Mahāciṭṭiya of Amarāvati and of the earlier stūpas of Bhārhuṭ (circa 125 B.C.) and Śāhīl (first century B.C.), it is well-known, are in stone, which was, however, in literal imitation of the pattern of their earlier timbered constructions. And the coeval rock-cut caiṭṭya-halls of early Andhra art, such as Beḍā, Kondānē, Nāśik and Kārl in Bombay State are excavated replicas of preceding buildings in wood.

17. Served by Nadikude railway station on the Guntur-Macherla line.

18. Measuring 250 × 50 × 6 feet along the river front and marked by three rows of stone pillars which evidently supported a customs house.

19. The method of ‘continuous narrative’, common in early Indian sculpture, by which the successive incidents of a story are carved sequentially in the same panel.

20. A collection of 550 fables, mostly adapted from earlier folklore, which purport to recount the events in the principal earlier incarnations (a reputed 84,000), in animal or human form, of Gautama, before he finally attained Buddhahood on earth by the accumulated merit of his good deeds in former lives.


22. The most famous of the thirty-four sutta-s (Skr. sūtras) or themes of the Dīgha-nikkāya, detailing the last days of the Buddha, his passing and cremation.

23. An attempted reconstruction of a comprehensive life of the Buddha from accounts scattered in the three pīṭkas (baskets) of the Pāli Buddhist canon.


25. The well-known Bible of Buddhism, a superb exposition of its ethical teaching in 423 verses, venerated by millions of the faith for over 2,000 years.

26. A treatise of the Vinaya-pīṭaka sacred to the Lokottaravādins, a sub-division of the Mahāsāṃghikas, the Mahāvīraśuṭu is really a repertory of many Jātaka tales and other Buddhist legends.

27. One of the earliest and most celebrated Sanskrit works of the Mahāyāna school, the Lalitavīṣṇu is a graceful story of the life of the Buddha.

28. A compilation of Buddhist legends of the Mahāyāna, translated into Chinese in the third century A.D.

29. The trident emblem of the ‘three jewels’: the Buddha, the Law and the Order.

30. ‘Vase of plenty’, also called mangala-ghata, an auspicious symbol of abundance.

31. Belonging to the common Indo-Iranian heritage of early Asian art, the erotes were, in the sculpture of Amarāvati, an importation from the school of Gandhāra.

THE MONUMENTS

The monuments of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa disclose structural activity of more than one period: the first was coeval with the fortunes of the Sātavāhana power of the first and second centuries A.D.; the second, stretching from the middle of the third century, manifestly belonged to the succeeding Ikṣvākus, while there might
yet have been a third period, attested by the most recent finds of carved limestone and terracotta, which range right down to the fifth century A.D.\(^3\)

Of the architectural remains, the primal monument is the Mahācetiya\(^2\) "of the Lord, the supreme Buddha", a veritable dhātu-garbha; the relic, a fragment of bone, was discovered in a tiny gold reliquary, placed amidst flowers of gold in a small silver stūpa, which received a further encasement of pottery with votive pearls and garnets and crystals. At its inception, certainly anterior to the Iksvāku dynasty at Vijayapuri, the Mahācetiya was quite unadorned; its donative pillars (āyaka-khañhābas) were, like those of the contemporary stūpas of Amarāvati, Jaggayyapēta and Ghanṭasāla, a very much later embellishment, after Čāntisiri's notable reconstruction of the monument.\(^4\)

At the foot of the Mahācetiya, opposite its eastern or principal side, is the Aparamahāvīnaseliya Vihāra, built by Čāntisiri\(^5\) for the masters of that sect; it consists of a caitya-grha or apsidal shrine, and appertaining it, a stone-pillared hall or maṇḍapa, surrounded by a cloister, in rows of nine dormitories, nine feet by seven, on three sides of the open rectangular courtyard of brick which encloses the vihāra.

The sister establishment of the Bahusrutiya Vihāra\(^6\) was erected a little later, some 300 yards to the north-west of the Mahācetiya by Mahādevī Bhāṭīdevī;\(^7\) the monastery adjoins a main large stūpa, with two apsidal temples, facing each other; of the maṇḍapa, the roofless pillars of limestone, socketed at the top for the lodgment of the beams, are ornamented with semi-circular lotus medallions in the upper and lower portions, square in section, of octagonal shafts. This vihāra may prove invaluable as furnishing a missing link in the history of south Indian temple architecture,\(^8\) because the site has yielded, at the four cardinal points, miniature maṇḍapas which forecast the entrance-towers (gopurams) of the temple that came to be.

On the hillock\(^9\) Siripavata, a little distance to the east of the Mahācetiya, is the Culadhammagiri\(^10\) Vihāra, established by Bodhisiri; it comprises a stūpa, an apsidal temple and cells for monks, without any traces of a pillared hall, however; on the walls of brick, along their plinth, the simple mouldings are of plaster. In one of the cells of the monastery were discovered numerous lead coins of the Sāvatvāhanas about the second century A.D., and an earthen die\(^11\) for their manufacture, together with a lump of lead; other finds include a broken limestone statuette of the Buddha, terracotta figurines and some ornamental pottery. It is on the flooring slabs of this vihāra that the famous inscription (F)\(^12\) of Bodhisiri is engraved in a cursive script of great beauty. At the eastern end of Siripavata, on its lower stretch, the Sihala Vihāra was built by an unknown donor for the accommodation of monks from Ceylon;\(^13\) this establishment is made up of a jārāraka stūpa on a rising platform, enclosing the remains, evidently, of some outstanding ācārya;\(^14\) of two barrel-vaulted apsidal shrines, in one of which is an image of the Buddha and a votive stūpa in the other; and, a central hall of stone columns and monastic cells, prefaced by decorative balusters and moon-stones, around an open courtyard. In an adjunct, to the east of the vihāra,
were discovered, in a second enclosure, a refectory—a stone seat all round a long hall, with a dining table of stone, a kitchen, two store-rooms and a closet, very well preserved.

On the top of a rocky eminence, at the southern limit of the hill of Nāgārjuna, stands the Mahāsāsaka Vihāra, established by Mahādevī Kodabalisiri for the masters of that creed; of the two monastic stūpas, one is ruined utterly, but, a little further up the hill, the other, for all its spoliation, has produced perhaps the finest relics at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, painstakingly insured against decay. For the bone, amidst flowers of gold and beads of coral and pearl, was contained in a beautiful little gold reliquary, shaped like a stūpa, a bare one-and-a-half inches high; this received successive encomencements, similarly devised, of tiny caskets, one over another, of silver, copper and glazed pottery, of two and four and six inches high, complete with the harmikā and the crowning chatra, and ornamented over the dome with a garland device in relief. Such elaborate casings doubtless treasured the relics of a personage of consequence. And the roofless pillared hall of the vihāra was flanked around by a row of twenty cells. At the wooded north-eastern extremity of the valley, near the foot of a spur of the Nallamala range, are two hopelessly destroyed stūpas, which nevertheless have yielded the most beautiful sculptures of all at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, engraven in every component part, from the aṇḍa to the āyaka-cornice stones. Another decorated stūpa, less than a half-mile to the south-west of the Mahādevīya and away from the monastic sites, is sculptured chiefly in the base of the central pillar of each group of āyaka-khanbhās, with the Dharmacakra-pravartana in bas-relief, but the pieces are sadly damaged. This stūpa carried in its gold reliquary, besides the dhātu and the offerings of pearl and coral, two little gold medallions, probably used as pendants, with effigies influenced by Roman examples.

But the more notable classical portraiture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa comes from five very fine stone pillars, which, by their distinctively elaborate ornamentation, obviously belonged to a royal palace of Vijayapuri, in the centre of the valley; these figures are of two bearded sentries (kaṇcukins), in a 'Roman' helmet and a long quilted tunic and pantaloons, supposed to be Scythian, but very likely copied, like a third figure of Dionysus (portrayed naked to the waist, with a rhyton or drinking-vase in hand), from some classical cameos which the sea-borne trade with Rome had brought to the Ikṣvāku capital.

These monuments were unearthed by A. H. Longhurst (from 1926 to 1931); in a resumption of the excavations (from 1938 to 1940), T. N. Ramachandran brought to light what was perhaps the University, at a site by far the largest opened up at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. In the campus is a large principal stūpa, about forty-one feet in diameter, with ten-foot long āyaka-khanbhās projecting from the drum, and adorned by some very intricate carvings of the life of the Buddha; to the east of the stūpa lies the monastic establishment with two apsidal caityas facing each other, of which one is merely uddesika; the other is a barrel-vaulted shrine about thirty-nine feet long, featuring on its threshold a moon-stone, the solitary ornamented find at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, with an eight-inch frieze of animals in parade;
in this shrine is a limestone statuette of a standing Buddha on a lotus base (padmāsana), enshrining, in a socket drilled between the legs, a tiny tube of gold, with numerous pearls and bone-ash;\textsuperscript{50} to the east of this caitya, in a cell of the northern wing of a monastery\textsuperscript{51} (which is disposed in three flanks of five cells each) was found a pūrṇaghatā in limestone, carefully sealed to support an honorific chatra, and containing two relics of tooth, credited by local tradition (neither proved nor disproved) to belong to Ācārya Nāgārjuna; and in the centre of the courtyard is a maṇḍapa, fifty-five feet square, with stone pillars in five bays.

Adjacent to the vihāra, to the north, is a large hall, square on the outside but round within, of three chambers, symbolising the Buddhist tri-ratna; abutting the hall on the north is a monastic unit, of which the central hall was walled off, presumably, to serve as a hospital (vinirgata iva rālaya);\textsuperscript{52} and to the east of the vihāra is a rectangular courtyard with pillared maṇḍapas, from which a passage leads into a closed court of residential cells (judging by their lay-out in a high walled enclosure) for the nuns (bhikkunīs) of the monastery.

In the monastic establishment to the north of the caityas, is a small room which has yielded many spouted vessels and terracotta figurines, some with lamps on their heads, and, chiefly, a kumbha-hārati, a pot with a row of lamps fixed at its mouth, a device which still survives in Indian ritual. Adjoining this room is the equivalent of a modern school of art, in which numerous stone slabs, in various stages from the incised drawing to the finished sculpture have been located; among these is a beautiful outline sketch of a sālabhāṇijākā,\textsuperscript{53} arm akimbo, very gracefully rendered.

Among the present excavations\textsuperscript{57} by R. Subrahmanyam, against their submersion in 1961, the most important is the TEMPLE OF HĀRITĪ,\textsuperscript{58} the Buddhist mother-goddess, on the slope of a hill away south-east in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda. The way to the shrine lies through a large quadrangular stadium of bricks, about fifty-five feet by forty-five, with the circular abacus of a column right in the centre, which might have carried a votive stūpa. At the south-western end of the gallery are stone benches for the devotees, and, for the more outstanding broader rows in front than those in the rear for the lesser occupants; on the benches are engraved sometimes the names of habitual worshippers, or the mark of the bow and arrow, the exclusive imprint of the guild of architects at Nāgārjunikonda, or the arrow of love (Kāma śara), or the emblem of the tri-ratna.

From this stadium a flight of steps leads up to the temple of Hārīti on the pinnacle of the hill; in the shrine, flanked by two liberal chambers, is a limestone torso of the seated goddess, some two-and-a-half feet in height, dateable by its features as late as the fifth century A.D., and on a pillar in the shrine an inscription refers to an akhayonivikā or perpetual lamp. The goddess was, by leave of the Buddha, worshipped by childless women whose bangle-offerings, in propitiation of the deity, have come out in large quantities in the diggings. The discovery of the temple is of great moment to early Āndhra history, because it fixes, with near certainty, the vexed origin of the Cālukya dynasty, described in their inscriptions as Hārtīputras (sons of Hārīti), who, allied to the Ikṣvākus by marital ties, were certainly their presumptive successors.
Behind this temple was another shrine of great proportions, a structure in two phases, subsequent to the Iśvākus; the earlier construction was the sanctum of the image, marked by a drain for the outflow of the sacramental (abhisēka) water; this early shrine was in later times enlarged into a mandapa with steps in front, the image in an orientation eastwards instead of west as before, and a pradaksīnā-patha round the sanctum, in an outer wall in which were provided niches for the location of the images.

At other sites, exposed by the current excavations, are a monastery,30 with an open courtyard, described by an inscribed potsherid found in it as nakatara ('superior to Heaven'); a wheel-shaped caitya31 twenty-seven feet in diameter, with four spokes from a central hub, and seemingly superimposed on an earlier abandoned construction, and, in the vicinity, an inscribed pillar recording the gift by a śramaṇa of high descent for all Brāhmaṇas, testifying to a revealing catholicity of religious co-existence; a monastic establishment,31 with a large chief caitya in the west, made up of chipped stone and rubble, and in the east two votive stūpas and a vihāra, with wings of four cells, containing many broken statuettes of the Buddha and jars and bowls; and, adjoining this monastery is a great caitya, forty-eight feet in transverse, with the distinctive ten spokes and a complement of āyaka platforms.

This, in the main, is the archaeological promise of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, revealed as yet only in a broken arc of its magnificent heritage.

NOTES

2. *Stūpa 1* of A. H. Longhurst (*The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*, p. 16 f.).
3. Worshipped today in the Mulagandhakuti vihāra at Sārnāth (near Banāras).
4. The significant circumstance, that the inscriptions recording the donations of Cāntisiri to the Mahācetiya are silent as to its founding, strengthens the likelihood of its antecedent construction, because the records would hardly have omitted to mention an event so momentous if she were herself the foundress. The inscriptions of the contemporary Mahācetiya of Amarāvati (and of the earlier stūpa at Sālhā) do not, likewise, advert to the establishment of the dhūru-garbhā, which, indeed, was hardly necessary, as its origins were doubtless within the common knowledge of the Buddhist world of the day. All these stūpas, it must be remembered, were reconstructed after their inception (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*, p. 17 f.).
5. In the eighteenth regnal year of Siri-Virapurisadatta (Inscription E, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 21, 22).
8. This is derived basically from the primeval thatched hut of curved bamboo, frequently reproduced in the carvings of Amarnath, and of which the smallest of the later monolithic Pallava temples of Mamallapuram, the Draupadi rastra, is an exact sculptural replica. The pyramidal śikhara or tower of the Dravidian shrine itself is an adaptation of the Buddhist vihāra in a diminishing succession of storeys, of maṇḍapas surrounded by cells for the monks.

9. Known locally as Nallarāṭṭabodu ('the mound of black stones'), and not, as erroneously recorded by A. H. Longhurst, 'Naharāṭṭabodu' ('The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakoṭa, pp. 4, 5, 7, 9).

10. The large four-spoke caitya discovered in the very centre of the Nāgarjunakoṭa valley (Site V of the present series of excavations), and described as a Dharmacakra from its precise geometrical orientation of concentric brick arrangements, stands on a hill which might have been the Mahā (Great)-dhammaṅgiri as distinguished from the lesser or Culadhamaṅgiri. (R. Subrahmanyaṃ: 'Nāgarjunakoṭa—its archaeological wealth', Nāgarjunakoṭa Souvenir, 1955, p. 61).

11. Suggesting that the monks minted their own coins.

12. Epigrapha Indica, XX, pp. 22, 23.

13. Between which and the great emporium of Kanṭakasela (Ghanṭaḍāla) on the Kṛṣṇa existed a flourishing maritime traffic.

14. The relics, in successive gold and silver encasements, were contained in a distinctive globular pot, marked out from twelve other earthen receptacles, probably enclosing the remains of the principal disciples of the Master. Symbolic of the interim of each was the placing over his grave of his earthly possessions, comprising a water-pot, a food-bowl and a begging-bowl.

15. A large oblique hill of rock at the north-western extremity of the valley, guarding its approaches and overhanging the river.

16. In the eleventh year of the reign of Śrī-Bahuvala Cāntamāla (Inscription H, Epiographa Indica, XX, pp. 24, 25). The establishment of a vihāra to the orthodox Buddhist sect of Mahāśākas (of the third century A.D.), in the vicinity of a parallel benefaction to the unorthodox Bahuvalaṇyas, argues a religious co-existence at Nāgarjunakoṭa, which, if the centre had not declined, might surely have led to a catholic re-orientation of the Buddhist faith.

17. Probably Śrī-Bahuvalaṇyas, from the location of the stūpa in proximity to the royal palace.


20. Of a high-ranking woman in the one and a young man with a classical countenance in the other.

21. By A. H. Longhurst (The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakoṭa, pp. 11, 24), who thinks that the sculptures represent members of the Scythian (or Šaka) royal bodyguard, of whom a colony might have existed at Vījayapuri in the second and third centuries A.D. He derives support for his theory from a Nāgarjunakoṭa inscription (Epigrapha Indica, XX, p. 37) which mentions the gift of a pratīpada (Skr. pratīpāda) or foot-print slab by Buddhī, the sister of Moḍa, the Scythian.

22. Site 6 of T. N. Ramachandran (Nāgarjunakoṭa, p. 8 f.).

23. The find may relate to the ceremony of the installation (pratīṣṭhāpana) of the image, a ritual which has survived in Hinduism on much the same lines (Ibid., p. 14).

24. In the southern wing of which is a singular sanitary device of a rectangular sloping trough of stone, from which the water flowed out by a subterranean drain to a distance southwards of some twenty-two feet and was emptied into a septic tank, 10 × 8 × 6 feet, of alternating rubble, sand and lime.

25. As R. Subrahmanyaṃ reads the words vigata jvarālaya of an unpublished inscription on a pillar in situ ('Nāgarjunakoṭa—its archaeological wealth', Nāgarjunakoṭa Souvenir, p. 59).

26. The game of breaking the branch of a sīlā, an Indian timber tree with red flowers (Vatica robusta). The mother of the Buddha, Māyādevī, was delivered of the child as she was holding on to a sīlā branch during her participation in the game in the gardens at Lumbini (Mahāvastu, II, 18, 19).
PERSPECTIVE

The beginnings of Indian art are explicable only on the hypothesis that it was the inheritor, perhaps millenniums before Christ, of a common culture which extended from the Mediterranean to the Indo-Gangetic basin. The civilisation of the Indus valley of 5,000 years ago, discovered as yet inchoately in the three city sites of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Chanhu-daro in Sind, was part of this common heritage, but (from the existence of still lower strata) it was certainly indigenous to the locations and by no means provincial to the contemporaneous culture of Mesopotamia. It would be difficult, however, on the present imperfect stratigraphic evidence, to consider the Indus valley itself as the cradle of the cultural movements of the ancient Near East—of Babylon, Sumer and Egypt.

Of the Indus discoveries in unexceptionable archaeological contexts the steatite bust of a bearded priest (?) from Mohenjo-daro is famous, and his trefoil patterned shawl is not improbably the sartorial ancestor of the Buddhist saṅghārīṭi or monastic robe of subsequent times; another authentic sculpture, also from Mohenjo-daro, of a bronze figurine of a dancing girl, is palpably Dravidian in its attenuated anatomy and the tremulous lower lip. But the finds of greater consequence to later Indian iconography are the so-called seals or amulets of steatite, inscribed with an undeciphered pictographic script and engraved with figures: of a horned deity with a trident forecasting the Buddhist triratna; horned female figures, the forerunners of the yakṣīs or fertility spirits of later Buddhist art; animals, especially bulls of various types, elephants, tigers, buffaloes and crocodiles. And other notable anticipations of Buddhist sculpture in the Indus valley pieces are a cross-legged figure with kneeling devotees and a nāga, on a blue faience tablet, and terracotta figurines of a mother-goddess sprung from an autochthonous folklore.

That this culture which came to an end about the middle of the second millennium B.C. did not vanish utterly the recent excavations at Rupar in Ambala district of the Punjab, have more than established, bridging the hiatus of some two thousand years to the historic traditions of the art of the Mauryan
empire. Indeed, the Rupar diggings have revealed an almost continuous sequence of cultures from the limit of the Indus valley civilisation right down to medieval times; in courses distinctly traceable, the peoples of Harappā are shown to have moved up the basin of the upper Sutlej towards the close of the third millennium B.C.; then they populated the Bikaner desert along the now dried-up beds of the Sarasvati and Dr̥ṣadvatī rivers, establishing towns and villages in their marches; about 1500 B.C., however, they were succeeded at Rupar, after a short interregnum, by people of another stock—the intruding Āryans whose origins still remain a mystery.

From their first occupation, except for a break of a century after 700 B.C., the Rupar excavations have traced the Āryans in a continuous course through known history; in significant strides through civilisation, they mastered its primary technological processes, in iron in addition to bronze; the so-called punch-marked coins of ancient Indian history, from 2000 to 600 B.C., now begin to appear; a superbly carved stone disc featuring the goddess of fertility attests the Mauryan epoch, besides figurines of baked clay and styluli; and, in an unbroken historical succession of finds are terracotta cult images of the yakṣas and yakṣīs of the succeeding Śunga period (circa 200 B.C.); next, Indo-Greek coins and other mints of the following Kuśāna and Gupta dynasties; a number of clay sealings of the fifth or sixth centuries A.D.; Gupta terracottas, especially an exquisite piece of a maiden playing the vīna,11 and silver utensils for rituals; after a short break in chronology, well-built houses of brick of the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D., and, in a final span of habitation of three centuries later, the multi-coloured glazed ware typical of the Muslim period and the characteristic ḍ lakhaḍi’ bricks and coins of the Moghul dynasty.

The Dravidians, whom the coursing Āryans vanquished, were evidently an aboriginal people coeval with those of the Indus valley and probably sprung from a common stock, as the survival in Baluchistan today of Brahui, an isolated island of a Dravidian language, would signify. The primal impulses and concepts of early Indian art are clearly due to the Dravidians, including the cults of the mother-goddesses and of many nature spirits, such as the nāgas and yakṣas and yakṣīs (elevated to the Buddhist pantheon in an absorption of the popular beliefs); the abstract symbolism of the metaphysical Āryans rapidly gave in, by an irony of history, to the anthropomorphic imagery of the primitive Dravidians whose system of worship triumphed over the Āryan sacrifice or yajña. To the Dravidians are also due the basic types of Buddhist architecture and, in turn, their further refinements in later Hindu styles; the barrel-vaulted caitya-hall is the distinct offspring of the Dravidian hut of bamboo and thatch; and so persistent was the impress of this prototype that centuries later, when stone superseded wood as the medium of architecture in the Andhra caitya-halls of Beda12 and Kārli13, even the wooden ribbing was meticulously copied in their domical roofs of stone.

And, the Buddhist stūpa itself probably derives from the original Dravidian tumulus, a low circular mound of earth, containing relics and offerings, surrounded by a ring of protective stones; the sepulchre was chambered in a later day, secured with slabs of granite. From this primordial cairn, the transition to the
stūpa was achieved in evident stages; first, the mound of earth received a casing of brick, as at Piprāwā on the frontier of Nepal in the Mauryan period, and the ring of stones was replaced by a railing, first of wood and then of stone, with gateways or torāṇas at the four cardinal points; the enclosed passage around the tumulus became a processional path, raised gradually to a platform served by a flight of steps; then the drum of brick was plastered and ornamented with mouldings of festoons, which, in their origin, were doubtless of fresh flowers; the rectangular harmikā, simulating a wooden coffer, was added later for the receiving of precious offerings; and, last of all, the emblem of sovereignty, the royal umbrella or chattra, singly or in groups, went up in a crowning finial in the time of Aśoka.

In time, the plainer architecture of the early stūpa received progressive embellishments of figure sculpture, of guarding leoglyphs, votaries and sportive ganas or dwarfs; the Buddha, represented heretofore symbolically in the carvings, became the object of worship in human form, and the image was at first located in niches at the base of the stūpa, but eventually in a shrine adjoining it. Meanwhile, the stūpa itself was in a process of structural evolution; the circular base became square in plan, the drum was elongated, and the low hemisphere of the age of Aśoka was transformed into a lofty ornamental tower, decorated with mouldings and figures, until at last, towards the decline of Buddhism in India about the seventh century A.D., the stūpa had assumed the architectural proportions of the later temple. And when the resurgent Brāhmanism sought to erect temples of its own, it was to the descendents of the master builders of Buddhist architecture that it turned naturally, and the stūpa, become in its ultimate phase an exalted structure of brick, square in plan, with a shrine-chamber in front for the reception of the image of the Buddha, was the evident inspiration for the towering temples of the succeeding Hinduism.

If the rock-cut hollow stūpas of Mennapuram and Kozhikode (Calicut) in Malabar be excepted, because their Vedic antiquity is open to question, the earliest traditional precursors of the Buddhist stūpa are the enormous mounds at Lauṭiyā-Nandangarh in Bihar, sites perhaps of royal burials. These have yielded gold repoussé figures, nude goddesses with explicit attributes of fecundity matched by pre-Mauryan terracottas of moulded plaques and heads of female divinities, discovered at sites extending from Taxila to Pātaliputra, in the direct lineage of the Indus figurines.

Of the Mauryan epoch itself, only the core of the Mahācesa at Sāñel survives as a Buddhist foundation; but the art of Aśoka was manifested rather in the towering, free-standing, monolithic columns of polished sandstone, inscribed with the imperial edicts and supporting a so-called Persepolitan bell (from a supposed Iranian prototype) and mounted by a decorated abacus and a topping finial in the round, of the lion, bull or elephant, singly at first (like the majestic bull from Rāmpurvā in Champaran district of Bihar), but grouped later in an organic structural arrangement. The authentic indigenous sculpture of the Mauryan period is limited to statues in grey sandstone from Patna, Pārkham and Besnagar, informed by a massive simplicity of design; the colossal
sculptures, essays in the affirmation of sheer physical energy, are doubtless
descended from the nature spirits of Dravidian ancestry. Among architectural
remains of the reign of Aśoka, the most significant are the caitya-halls, with
carved façades in imitation of Vedic forms, in the Barabar hills near Gayā in Bihar
State; of these, the Sudāma and Lomas Rṣi caves (not of the Buddhists but of
the Aśvinkīta sect), exquisitely finished and polished like glass within, feature a
circular shrine preceded by a hall of assembly; this is repeated with structural
refinements in the later Buddhist caves of the Sātavāhana period, at Kṣenavāne 32
in Bombay State and, in the largest of all caitya-halls, at Guṇḍupali, 24 at Vīḍa-
yādharamapum near Vijayawada, and Saṅkara 25 (Saṅghārāma) in Vis-
akhapatnam district of Andhra State.

But it is at Bhārhat 30 that the stūpa becomes a work of art, its railing engraved
in low relief with a conglomeration of geometrical and floral motifs, Dravidian
nature spirits (appropriated by the exigencies of Mahāyāna Buddhism), synoptic
illustrations of Jātaka tales and events from the life of the Buddha. In an en-
noblement of the traditional cults of the soil, the art of Bhārhat breathes an acute
enchantment in the joys of nature, its fruit, flowers and foliage, and of the animal
world; but the sculpture, consciously flattened to the matrix of the stone, is
conceptual rather than realistic, and the unequal compositions, for all their
palpable archaism, achieve a plastic quality.

In the four carved gateways to the Mahācaitya at Saṅcī, 27 erected by the
Sātavāhanas, the art of Andhra makes a resplendent entry in a marked sculptural
advance; the relief is deeper than at Bhārhat, the decorative narrative more
variegated and invested with greater movement; the accent is on the whole and
not on the parts, and the encyclopaedic pageant of gods and godlings, men and
women and animals, assumes an epic grandeur, with a vibrant tautness in the
patternning. Roughly contemporary with Saṅcī are the rock-cut caitya-halls of the
early Andhra period in western India, reproductions of former constructions
in wood—the earliest, at Bhājā 30 and, in its vicinity, at Beḍā, Kondāne, 29 Pithal-
kora 30, Ajanṭā (Cave X) and Nāṣik, 31 and, the largest, at Kālī, (in which the
stūpa still preserves its wooden umbrella), besides the caitya-halls at the groups
of caves at Junnar 32, near Poona, and at Nānagāhā 33 where the relief features
a famous portrait of a Sātakarṇi. And, about the second century B.C., in the
eastern reaches of the Sātavāhana empire, the foundations of the great stūpas
of Bhājīpulū, Amarāvati, Jaggāyyāpēṭa and Ghanṭāsūla had been laid, studding
the Kṛṣṇa valley.

The carvings on the stone balustrade at Bodh Gayā, 34 enclosing the pro-
menade sanctified by the Buddha, are of a style historically intermediate between
Bhārhat and the school of Mathurā (first to third centuries A.D.); the sculpture,
mainly of uprights and railing medallions, comprises many fanciful animal-
monsters paralleled in the ancient arts of Iran and Greece, and fine reliefs of the
Sun-god Sūrya in a horse-driven chariot and of Indra, god of thunder.

The school of Mathurā, coincident with the great Kusāna era of prosperity
and floreence in literature, is related stylistically to Bhārhat rather than to
Sāñci and developed independently of the coterminal but exotic Greco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhāra, with which it shared a parallel orientation of the image of the Buddha. But the two types are distinct; the benign and radiant Buddhas of Mathurā, their schematic drapery moulded to the warm, firm flesh, achieve a powerful realisation of life, not attained by the stylised and vapid types of Gandhāra, matching an Apollo head to the deep-pleated togas of the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The portrait sculptures of Mathurā, represented by the well-known torso of "the great King, the King of kings, His Majesty Kaniṣka", his predecessor Wima Kadphises and the Scythian satrap Caṣṭana, are massive essays in the conveyance of royalty; they are cast in the expansive volume and heroic mould of the Buddha images, but the costumes, of long tunics and high boots, are typically Central Asian. In a signal innovation, the narrative reliefs of the Mathurā railings, in mottled red sandstone, are serial, in abbreviated sequences of time and place, and no longer synoptic; the sinuous yakṣīs are more voluptuous than ever before in draperies transparent to the point of nudity.

And finally, the school of Amarāvati. In its dominant Indian phase this sculpture spans nearly 500 years from 200 B.C.; first, the archaic and flattened-out figures from the stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapaṭa in the low relief of the contemporaneous Bhārhat tradition; then, in a second period of the first century A.D., very elaborate casing-slabs to the drums of the stūpas, with carvings of the cardinal events from the life of the Buddha, represented symbolically at first but later in human form under the influence of the school of Mathurā; thirdly, the period of the great railings of Amarāvati, Jaggayapaṭa and Ghanṭāsāla (of the second century A.D.), decorated on the outside with exquisite lotuses and garland-bearing erotes from Gandhāra in the copings, and on the inside, facing the devotees as they paced the pradakṣinapatha, with scenes from the life of the Buddha and Jātaka tales in the unique circular medallions and in the copings, a brilliant blend of story-telling, drama and criticism of contemporary social life; and, finally, the vivid narrative sculpture of the third century A.D., of Gōli and Nāgārjunikonda, in the amplitude of the Amarāvati tradition, characterised by a dynamic vitality in the designing and a rare conciseness in iconography.

From the school of Amarāvati are sprung the great sculptural styles of the Pallavas, successors to the Sātavāhanas in the Andhra territory, and, mediately through the Pallavas at Kāñci, the architectural refinements of the Colas (circa A.D. 850) further south; in a western extension, the Cāḷukyas (A.D. 500-1100), succeeding to the heritage of Amarāvati at Veṇgi, carried its impulses forward in their structural temples at Bādāmi 57 and Paṭṭadakal,58 followed by the rich sculptural achievements of their feudatories—the celebrated cave temples of Ellora 59 of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (circa A.D. 784); and it is to Amarāvati that the impulses of the artistic styles of South-East Asia, of Ceylon, the Indonesian archipelago, Thailand and Indo-China, are manifestly owed. But a discussion of these developments is outside the scope of the present undertaking.

2. Fifteen miles from Montgomery station on the Lahore-Karachi railway.

3. Nine miles east of Dokri railway station in the Larkhana district of Sind.

4. The theory of the Sumerian origin of the Indus culture is based on the discovery of its seals at Mesopotamian sites roughly contemporaneous with the Early Dynastic period of Babylonia (circa 2500 B.C.).


6. The two mutilated but sophisticated torsos, of a naked man and a male dancer, found at Harappa are extremely problematic, as their mature and meticulous sculpture suggests a dating of some 2,500 years later, to the Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra.

7. The prototype of the Hindu god, Śiva?

8. Probably the iconographic precursors of Nandi, the invariable attribute of Śiva.


10. Sixty miles north of Ambala in the Punjab. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1953-54, pp. 6, 7; *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 9. The southern extension of the culture of Harappa, in a continuous sequence through Saurashtra to Ahmedabad district of Bombay State, has also been distinctly established by the discovery of Indus seals and sealings in the recent excavations at Rangpur in Jhalawar district of Saurashtra and at Lothal, thirty miles away north-east (*Ibid.*, 1953-54, p. 8; 1954-55, pp. 11, 12).

11. A stringed musical instrument.

12. Some six miles east of Bhājā near Malavli station on the Poona-Bombay railway.

13. Four miles from Malavli. The great Kārli caitya (124 × 45 × 45 feet) is of all the monuments of Hinayāna Buddhism the largest and the most imposing; its high cylindrical stūpa is encircled by two rail courses and the richly carved façade is in two storeys, prefaced by two massive, free-standing columns with lotiform capitals, in an extension of the Mauryan tradition.


15. Introduced, with other members of Buddhist architecture, into China by the name of pačheo, and into Japan, in the seventh century A.D. by way of Korea, and called toris (*Ibid.*, p. 17).

16. By the Wheel (*Dharma-cakra*), the *triratna*, the throne (*vajrāsana*), the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the *stūpa*, the *chakra* or the footprints (*padukā*).

17. Exemplified by a structural *caitya* discovered at the famous centre of Buddhist learning at Nālandā in Bihar (A. H. Longhurst: *The Story of the Stūpas*, p. 27).

18. These rock-cut chambered tombs, with a monolithic central pole, are believed by G. Joyeau-Dubreuil (*Vedānt Antiquités*, figures 3-5) to be translations into stone of Vedī huts in the round, but this dating has been questioned by Hirananda Sastri (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-23, p. 123).


20. From its correspondence with the decorative member from the palace columns of Persepolis of the Achaemenid empire (538 to 331 B.C.) of Iran, a borrowing of the motif from the art of Persia has been inferred too readily, but the bell capital was doubtless part of the common artistic
heritage of the cognate cultures of the ancient Near East and of India, including a variety of motifs such as winged lions, centaurs, griffons, tritons, addorsed animals, the tree of life, the palmette, the honeysuckle and the acanthus (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 11, 13, 17).

22. Near Bilhā in Madhya Bharat; ancient Vidishā.
23. In the island of Salsette, Bombay.
24. An early centre of Buddhism in Kṛṣṇa district, containing rock-cut vihāra and monolithic stūpas and a circular caitya-hall, of which the façade is structurally identical with that of the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar hills of Bihar.
25. On two isolated hills to the north of this village, which lies a mile to the east of Anakapalli, are numerous monolithic and structural remains of early Buddhist monuments, including pottery and terracotta seals.

26. Six miles to the north-east of Unchera near Satna railway station on the Jubbulpore-Allahabad section. The retrieved portions of the great railing and the eastern gateway of the Bhārhat stūpa are lodged in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.
27. In Bhopal State, near Vidiṣa, the ancient capital of the Śunga king, Agnimitra (148 B.C.). Of the four toranas, the southern was probably the earliest, and then successively the northern, eastern (the most notable artistically) and western gateways.
28. Less than a mile from Malavī railway station, the Bhājā vihāra, among the earliest of sculptured caitya-halls, consists of a barrel-vaulted nave, parted by rows of columns from lesser aisles, ending in a semi-circular apse which contains a rock-cut stūpa. The cathedral is remarkable for its unique reliefs (parallelled at Bodh Gayā), of Śūrya borne, with his two wives, in a four-horsed chariot, and a stately Indra, riding his elephant Airāvata.
29. Four miles from Karjat railway station on the Poona-Bombay line.
30. The Buddhist caityas and vihāras of Pithalkora are in a picturesque ravine of the Kannad subdivision of Aurangabad district in Hyderabad State.
31. Of the Buddhist caves of Nasik (the *Nāsika* of Ptolemy) in Bombay State, only the caitya-hall, with a façade divided horizontally into two storeys and guarded by a yakṣa, and the Nahapāna vihāra (Cave VIII), with pillars crowned by bell capitals supporting addorsed bulls, belong to early Andhra art of the first century B.C.
32. Forty-eight miles north of Poona.
33. Seven miles from Junnar. The Nānāgunta relief is of the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Śatakarnī I, "Lord of Dakṣināpatha" and contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga.
34. Or Buddha Gayā, seven miles south of Gayā in Bihar. The towering Mahābodhi temple itself is a Kusāna foundation, superceding the simple shrine erected by Asoka to enclose the bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.
35. But the influences of Gandhāra sculpture are more properly fixed in the art of Rome in its late eastern extension than in Greek art as such.
36. Including a stiff, free-standing figure from Amarāvati and the well-known elegant rendering of *Cakrasamudrā from Jaggayanapeta*.
38. Ten miles north-east of Bādāmī. The great temples of Paṭṭadakal, of Virupākṣa and Saṅgamaśvara (*circa* 735 A.D.), are manifestly influenced by the Pallava architectural tradition, but the contemporary shrine of Pāpanātha marks the dawning union of the southern and northern styles, the Dravidian and the Āryan.
39. Nineteen miles from Aurangabad in Hyderabad State. The climax of Ellora sculpture, the stupendous Kailāsa temple (*circa* A.D. 729), is essentially a duplicate of the shrines of Paṭṭadakal, fashioned by the same tradition of Pallava craftsmanship enlisted by the conquering Cālukyas.
Mohenjo-daro: Bearded Priest

PLATES
PLATE I

Mahācetiya

The Mahācetiya, with a diameter of 106 feet, probably rose to a sheer eighty feet to the finial; a path seven feet wide encircles the base of the drum, five feet in height and reached by a flight of steps on the south; projecting from the drum, at the four cardinal points, are āyaka platforms, twenty-two feet by five; and a pradaksinapatha, of some thirteen feet, separated the stūpa from a railing, of which only the brick foundations exist.

In the plan below the cross marks the find spot of the relics of the Buddha.
PLATE II
Caitya Slab
Early Andhra Stūpa

This caitya slab portrays an early stūpa, a simple structure encircled over the dome by a festoon ornament; the drum is enclosed by a railing featuring scenes from the Jātakas, and floral medallions; from the projecting altar the byaka pillars, with rounded tops, tower in a group of five; on the top of the dome is a heavy-lidded harmika, surmounted by a conglomerate of chatras. Flanking the dome, two flying angels bring garland offerings, and below them stand two human worshippers on either side of the decorative relief (below the railing) unconnected with the stūpa above it. Its panels are of the Buddha still represented symbolically, left to right, by the Bodhi tree and thrones with a flaming tiratana and the 'wheel of the Law'.
PLATE III
Caitya Slab

Drona Dividing the Buddha’s Relics

The stūpa is carried to a further stage in its progressive sculptural ornamentation, with guarding lions at the base and friezes and panels all over the dome, but the Buddha continues to be represented symbolically by the cakrā. In its lower part, the relief depicts the Brāhmaṇa, Drona, dividing the relics of the Buddha among the clans competing for their possession (H. Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 45, 46). The figures, no longer flattened, are cut deep and stand out from the matrix of the stone; in the foreground, on either side of the gateway of the stūpa, indicative of its importance, are two lofty pillars, topped by Buddhist symbols.
PLATE IV

Caitya Slab

Decorated Āndhra Stūpa

Here, marking a signal revolution in iconography prompted by the school of Mathurā, the Buddha appears in human form, the panelling is more ornate and the groups of worshippers richer and more variegated than ever before, with a litheness in their designing.
PLATE V

Caitya Slab

Dharmacakra-pravartana

The exquisite quality of the stone imparts a plastic fullness to this beautiful relief of the Buddha in the Deer Park* near Banaras, delivering his first sermon, or in the technical phrase of the Buddhists, in Dharmacakra-pravartana, 'the turning of the wheel of the Law'. Above this relief the representation of the stupa is damaged irretrievably.

* Indicated by the deer at the base of the seat of the Buddha.
PLATE VI

Caitya Slab

The Buddha’s Descent from the Tusita Heaven

This deep-cut relief of the Buddha descending from the Tusita heaven (where he had been born in the last of his previous existences), with Vajrapāṇi, the bearer of the thunder-bolt, by his side, is, of all the caitya slabs recovered at Nāgarjunikonda, the most superbly carved, with a sense of artistry transcending similar reliefs at Amarāvati. The mutilated slab preserves, in its upper part, only the sitting lions at the sculptured altar-piece.
PLATE VII

_Caitya_ Slab

_Fully Decorated _Stūpa_

The embellishment of the _stūpa_, on every part from the drum and the railing to the summit of the dome, attains a sculptural fullness; the central altar-front, decorated usually with a portrait of the Buddha or some vital event in his life, carries a panel of the worship of the _Bodhi_ tree; and the _śvaka_ pillars (of a type not encountered in the excavations) support capitals of Buddhist emblems, a towering _stūpa_ in the centre and the _trikūla_ (trident) in the remaining four. The standing Buddha, in the lower part of the slab, is purely decorative, separate from the _stūpa_ depicted above it.
PLATE VIII

Caitya Slab

The Stūpa, Final Stage

In its ultimate phase, the stūpa is profusely decorated from its base to the crowning chattrā, on either side of which the grouped worshippers attain a culminating elegance. The slab, in its lower part, centres a seated Buddha, canopied by a multi-headed nāga and flanked by devotees rendered with delicacy.
PLATE IX
Caitya Slab

Siddhārtha Renounces His Jewels

The 'Great Renunciation' (Mahābhātyikramana) made, Siddhārtha rides forth at night, a host of gods attending him, to the river Anoma. There he bids his groom Cāţākā:

"Lead back my horse and take my crest-pearl here, 
My princely robe, which henceforth stead me not, 
My jewelled sword-belt and my sword ".

(Edwin Arnold: The Light of Asia, Book the Fourth).

The kneeling groom receives his heavy trust, while the coursers Kaţhaka looks disconsolate; to the right of Siddhārtha is the angel Ghatţkārā, disguised as a hunter, with the garments he exchanged with the prince; and, above, the adoring gods are ready to transport his head-dress to Heaven.
PLATE X
Torso of the Buddha

By the apparent consonance of the drapery, in its design of incised lines and overlapping ridges, this torso echoes the Buddhist saṅghāṭī of the Gandhāra school; but the lines of the statue are organised into a schematic rhythm, attuned to the movement of the body beneath—a refinement to which the mechanical Kuśāna Bodhisattvas did not attain. The heavy, billowing fold at the bottom of the saṅghāṭi is a feature distinctive of the Buddhas of the school of Amarāvati, meticulously reproduced in the bronze Buddha from Dong-duong in Campā.
PLATE XI

Fragment

Nāgarāja

This statue, imposing even in its mutilated state, is that of a Nāgarāja, attested by the cobra-hood; aslant the majestic torso, the yajñapavita or sacred thread reaches to the girdle in a decisive sweep; the right hand holds aloft a lotus balancing the left akimbo.
PLATE XII

Āyaka Slab

The Gods Exhort the Buddha to Proclaim the Dharma

Attaining enlightenment, the Buddha fasted for forty-nine days, debating with himself if it might not be utterly futile to try and make known to others the profound truths which he himself had realised; then the gods, led by Indra, (by his cylindrical head-gear) came and entreated the Buddha, for pity of mankind, to go forth and proclaim the Dharma to the world (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, pp. 28, 29). This was the adhyēsana, depicted here with a richness of floral motif and decorative sculpture, climaxed in the central figure of the enlightened Buddha.
PLATE XIII

Āyaka Slab

Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven

This pulsating sculpture is paralleled in its composition of dancing gods and goddesses, clustering around a transporting central figure, by a well-known relief of the translation of the alms-bowl of the Buddha to Heaven in a railing medallion of the Amārāvati stūpa, but the subject of carriage in the Nāgārjunikonda sculpture is unfortunately lost. In the dynamic patterning of its crowded pageant and in the communication of rhythmic movement, this relief is the undoubted precursor of the famous open-air rock-cut composition of Māmallapuram, "The Penance of Arjuna".
PLATE XIV
Ayaka Cornice-stone
Pūrṇaghaṭa

The suspicious motif, common in early Indian art, of the 'vase of plenty' (the water nourishing the florescent plant issuing from its brim), carried into the arts of South-East Asia.
PLATE XV

Āyaka Cornice-stone

The Buddha Protected by the Nāga, Mucalinda

The meticulous relief probably is of the protection of the Buddha, from a great storm which raged at Gayā in the fifth week of his enlightenment, by the nāga king, Mucalinda (with a suggestion of the lake he lived in by the wavy lines over the hood) to the great amazement of the inhabitants next door (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṭṭa, pp. 28, 32, 62).
PLATE XVI
Āyaka Cornice-stone
Māndhātā Causing a Shower of Gold

The panel is one of eighteen at Nāgārjunakonda devoted to the main episodes of the popular Māndhātā Jataka—the story, with a moral, of the rocketing rise to partnership of the heaven of the thirty-three (trayastrimśa) gods and the abysmal fall to earth, due to overweening pride and avarice, of cakravartin Māndhātā. He is seen here in the boastful act of causing a shower of gold, surrounded by the seven jewels of sovereignty—the wheel, the elephant, the steed, the pearl, the wife, the general and the minister (T. N. Ramachandran: Nāgārjunakonda, p. 32).
PLATE XVII
Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The mithuna or men and women in erotic embrace, originating in agricultural fertility rites and symbolising in their rapture the ultimate union of the soul with the divine, is a recurrent motif in Indian art, designed not as a secular foil to the religious sculpture but rather as an integral part of it. The mithunas of Nāgarjunakonda, not debased into illustrations of the sexual union, are rendered in the subtle inflections of the amorous approach, with tenderness and naivety, and punctuate the gallery of the reliefs of Buddhist story and event.
PLATE XVIII
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Conversion of the Yakṣa, Ālavaka

In this exquisite relief is narrated the conversion to the faith of the cannibal yakṣa, Ālavaka; seated serenely on a throne in the wilderness (signified by the cluster of trees and goblins to the left) is the preaching Buddha, with adoring figures of the yakṣa’s household, while the infuriated Ālavaka, returning home, is restrained by one of his women-folk, of whom two others in quiescent attitudes complete the sculpture (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 32, 58, 59, 60).
PLATE XIX

Ayaka Cornice-stone

Māndhātu Jātaka

Māndhātu, with the honorific parasol, is displayed overwhelming one of the aukstic (sukastūṭrī) nāgas who formed the first of the defences to the cakravartin's conquest of the heaven of the thirty-three gods. The hooded nāga writhes while the flattering host of the monarch hail its subjugation (T. N. Ramachandra: Nagārjunakonda, pp. 32, 33).
PLATE XX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Māndhātu Tātaka (?)

The identification of this sculpture is unsettled; while it may not improbably be the cakravarthi Māndhāta (by the context of the panelling) in the privacy of his guarded harem, A. H. Longhurst (The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakonda, p. 31) reads it doubtfully to represent Siddhārtha in the palace before his Mahābhiṣakāyana.

The reliefs on the āyaka cornice-stone (of a grained variety different from the rest), concluding with this plate, are distinguished by a stockiness in the figures and an excessive attention to textural detail, and evidently belong to the same group of sculptors,
PLATE XXI

Ayaka Cornice-stone

War Scene

The tumult of a scene of war is strikingly realised in the intensity of its attacking figures; a study in violent action, the piece is informed by a certain grace in the massed combatants and in the charging animals.
PLATE XXII

Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The lover caresses the tresses of his sweetheart.
PLATE XXIII

Ayaka Cornice-stone

Siddhārtha Rescues a Sacrificial Lamb

The incident, illustrative of the abounding compassion of the future Buddha, is portrayed with deep sympathy and a fondness for the decorative figures, effectively grouped around the focal Siddhārtha feeding the hungry mouth which looks up.
PLATE XXIV
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The motif of the proffered cup of wine occurs frequently in the mithunas of Nāgārjunaṇḍa.
PLATE XXV

Ayaka Cornice-stone

The Buddha's Nativity

In this relief is sculptured the 'Nativity and the Seven Steps': on the right, grasping the branch of a šāla tree, in the Lumbini garden near Kapilavastu, is the graceful queen Māyā with her attendant maids; at top centre the Bodhisattva, represented symbolically by the royal chātra, and, straight below, the water-pot from which the infant received his first bath; and, to the left of the queen, the guardian deities of the four quarters trail a cloth marked with the steps of the child who, being born, proclaimed "I am the foremost of the world!", while the gods in Heaven witness the spectacle with evident reverence.
PLATE XXVI

Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

This mithuna, forming the bracket of the cornice-stone, realises in its repetitive oval forms a stately quality, emphasised by the decorative animal motif, of a combined lion and makara, sustaining the amorous pair.
PLATE XXVII
Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The arched lady, watched by her lover, arranges her coiffure in the mirror which she sports.
PLATE XXVIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Siddhārtha and the Mighty Bow

The prince Siddhārtha examines the mighty bow, a heirloom, which he wielded with amazing expertness to win the beautiful Yasodhara for his bride. Around the central figure of the confident prince the ladies of the Court are grouped in dramatic suspense, while the three dwarfs below provide an impish touch (A. H. Loughurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakonda, p. 32).
PLATE XXIX
Ayaka Cornice-stone
Mithuna
PLATE XXX
Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

A bracket mithuna, of which the voluptuous woman is realised in a tribhanga (thrice-bent) attitude of utter gracefulness.
PLATE XXXI
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Conversion of the Nāga Apalāla

In this vivid relief is presented the subjugation and eventual conversion to Buddhism of the turbulent nāga king, Apalāla, discovered amidst the pleasures of his harem; the fearful Vajrapāṇi, having smitten the mountain-side with his thunder-bolt (visible through a cleft) stands akimbo, challengingly; the Buddha, a picture of serenity, is ready to accept the repentant nāga.
PLATE XXXII

Äyaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

Of all the mithunas of Nāgarjunikonda, this is the most impeccably sculptured; for sheer voluptuousness, the bashful lady, poised on the edge of surrender, is hard to match.
PLATE XXXIII
Ayaka Cornice-stone

Sibi Jātaka

The king Sibi holds the dove for the redemption of which he gave up his own flesh of equal weight; then, in the synoptic mode of illustration, the monarch is repeated, seated under the throne, slicing his thighs, while the dismayed ladies of the Court beg of him to desist; to his right, an unrelenting person holds the scale to weigh the flesh in; in yet another panel, on top left, in a concession to the Pāli version of the legend, is the god Sakka (Indra), come to restore the limbs of the king whose hands are raised in grateful adoration (A. H. Longhurst: *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakośa*, p. 46).
PLATE XXXIV

Ayaka Cornice-stone

Mithuna

The cup of wine is charmingly declined.
PLATE XXXV
Ayaka Cornice-stone
Mithuna

The mutilated bracket preserves this sensitive essay of petite womanhood, faultlessly organised into the expansive framework of the sculpture.
PLATE XXXVI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Dohada

A recurring motif in classical Indian sculpture, exemplified by the famous relief of the Culthoka devata on the Bhārhat railing, is the dohada—a woman embracing the flowering śāla tree. This symbolism is fetched from ancient fertility rites, the touch of the woman supposedly quickening the tree into immediate florescence, emblematic of the creative process. In this rich, full-bodied sculpture is typified Andhra womanhood at its best; the piece is a brilliant organisation of oval forms, sustained by the decorative pedestal of animal motif.
PLATE XXXVII
Āyaka Cornice-stone
*Mithuna*
PLATE XXXVIII
Āyaka Cornice-stone

*Mithuna*

The saucy woman holds communion with the parrot, while her expectant lover waits; another sensitive *mithuna.*
PLATE XXXIX

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Admission of the Śākya Princes to the Sangha

The sculpture discovers the barber Upāli tonsuring one of the six Śākya princes (around him) who begged of the Buddha, on his first visit to Kapilavastu after his enlightenment, to be admitted to the Sangha. The princes gave Upāli their garments to keep, but (the story proceeds) the barber, lest he be suspected, decided to enter the Order himself (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, p. 36). In its effective balancing of animated groups, this relief is sustained by the serene figure of the Buddha seated in the centre.
PLATE XL

*Ayaka* Cornice-stone

*Mithuna*

The mere male held prisoner by his pert sweetheart: a provoca-
tive *mithuna*.
PLATE XLI

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mahāparinirvāṇa

The Death or Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha is represented symbolically by his stūpa, attended by worshippers, human as well as divine, with votive offerings. The cornice-stone has a natural softness, a marble quality, which comes out in the decorative sculpture.
PLATE XLII
Āyaka Cornice-stone

Mahābhīnīskramaṇa

On his courser Kanṭhaka, Siddhārtha rides forth at night from Kapilavastu in the ‘Great Renunciation’, escorted by the gods who silence the neighing of the steed and hold up its hoofs, lest the city be awakened. Of all the reliefs of the Mahābhīnīskramaṇa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, this is the noblest; it excels in the conveyance of motion and the plastic figures spring with the freshness of life.
PLATE XLIII

Āyaka Cornice-stone

Campeya Jātaka

The bas-relief depicts the dramatic point in the Campeya Jātaka when a certain Brāhmaṇa, by a charm vouchsafed to him, catches a nāga king of glory of the name of Campeya, which the Buddha was in a previous existence. The story proceeds to the redemption of the nāga, contrived by his wife Sumanā, at the Court of the king of Bārās and the discomfiture of the Brāhmaṇa (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjuna, pp. 43, 44).
PLATE XLIV

Aśoka Slab

Queen Māyā's Dream

The future Buddha was conceived by his mother in a dream, in which she saw him descending from the Tusita heaven in the form of a white elephant (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunaśāstra, p. 25).
PLATE XLV

Aṅga Slab

Siddhārtha Giving His Jewels Away

The sculpture renders, with elaboration and grace, the subject treated in Plate IX; the figure of Siddhārtha is a study in stately manliness.
PLATE XLVI

Anda Slab

Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven

A concise and finely balanced portrayal of the event described with crowded richness in Plate XIII.
PLATE XLVII

Aṇḍa Slab

Candaka Relates Siddhārtha’s
Abhinīśkrāmaṇa

Bidden by Siddhārtha to go back with his salutations to his parents, Candaka returns with the horse to king Suddhodhana. The messenger of grief kneels by the inconsolable king; the broken-hearted steed lays its head at the feet of its stunned mistress, Yasodhara, supported by the attendant maid; the situation is too deep for tears.
PLATE XLVIII

Aṭṭha Slab

King Ajātaśatru Visits the Buddha

Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, stricken with remorse on slaying his father Bimbisāra, seeks the Buddha for spiritual solace, becoming a convert to the faith. The scene is the garden of Jivaka, physician to the parriśad; the sword is laid low as the monarch joins his retinue in doing obeisance to the Master.
PLATE XLIX

Aṣṭa Slab

The Buddha Preaching to the Four Monks

At the Deer Park at Isipatana (Ṛṣipatna), where he delivered the first sermon, the Buddha, seated on a simhāsana, preaches to the four friends of the householder, Yaśas ("the rich"), after their admission to the Sāṅgha. (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagārjunakoṇḍa, pp. 54, 55). The groups of joined hands, on either side of the sculpture, converge on the focal figure of the Buddha in a telling emphasis.
PLATE L

Anda Slab

Māndhātu Jātaka

This relief discovers Māndhātu, in a repetition of Plate XIX, worsting the aquatic nāga, defending the heaven of the thirty-three gods, and not, as supposed (by B. V. Krishna Rao: Early Dynasties of Indic India, p. 59), Śrī-Vīrapurisadata denouncing Brāhmaṇism (which the serpent is thought to symbolise) in the bigotry of the new convert to Buddhism.
PLATE LI

Anda Slab

Māndhātu Jātaka

Cakravartī Māndhātu shares the throne with Indra, lord of the trayastriṃśa heaven. Of the attendant nymphs, the two, flanking the relief, are extremely voluptuous—the torso, for all its mutilation, is a triumph of graceful modelling.
PLATE LII

Anda Slab

King Kappina's Conversion

At the city of Sāvatthi (Sravasti), Kappina, king of Kukkuṭavatī, is converted to the faith by the Buddha who is disclosed seated under a tree, moulded to his halo, and attended by Vajrapāṇi and two other deities on his left; to the right are two adoring monks and the king, on an elephant, in the ritual of tonsure preceding his admission to the Sāṅgha, with his following. An essay in significant suggestion, the relief is completed by the peeping heads of the waiting horses and a touch of nature (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda, pp. 60, 61).
PLATE LIII

Aniga Slab

The Story of Sumana

The novitiate Sumana, charged with fetching water to cure his Master Anuruddha from the Anotta lake in the Himalayas, is challenged by its resident naga king, Pantha. His henchman, club in hand, strides against the defying Sumana, while the king chafes, surprised with his dismayed entourage in the music and the mirth of the Court (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagārjunakonda, pp. 39-41).
PLATE LIV

Aṇḍa Slab

Ghaṭa Jātaka

This mutilated sculpture probably relates to an episode of the Ghaṭa Jātaka—the clandestine tryst of Upasāgara, prince of Mathurā, and the princess Devagabhā (Devagarbha) of Kaima, held prisoner by her brothers, lest, by an evil prediction, her issue should destroy their country. The rest of the story, the fulfilment of the prophecy, is lost in the sculpture; what remains is an exquisite study in portraiture, of the daring prince and his surrendering sweetheart, abetted in their perilous liaison by her obliging maids of honour (A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakośa, pp. 53, 54).
PLATE LV

Pillar from Palace

The ornate sculpturing of the palace pillars is in marked contrast to the architectural severity of the columns of the mandapas, which are bare of ornament except for an occasional lotus medallion in the cubical ends of their shafts.
PLATE LVI
Bracket
Sketch of Śalabhaṇjikā

The sketch is of a charming śalabhaṇjikā, right arm on hip, holding the branch of an inschoute tree; beside her is a maid with a box of toiletry; atop, the lintel over the pillar is finished with a lioness issuing from the jaws of a makara with an upturned snout, held by an impish dwarf.
Plan of Śīhala Vihāra

The two barrel-vaulted apsidal shrines preface a central hall of stone columns, flanked on three sides by rows of monastic cells. In the adjunct to the east of the vihāra is the refectory, with a dining table of stone, a kitchen, two store-rooms and a closet.
Plan of University

The two apsidal caityas, facing each other, look out on the core of the monastic unit of a stone-pillared mandapa with three flanks of cubicles; to the north of the caityas is the small room which has yielded spouted vessels and terracotta figurines, and alongside it, what was perhaps, the school of art.