

Nālandā Mahāvihāra: An Historiographic Study
of Its Art and Archæology, 1812-1938

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*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ hētum tēṣāṃ Tathāgato
hyavadattēṣāñca yo nirodha
ēvamvādī mahāśramaṇah*

The Tathāgata has revealed the cause of those phenomena which proceed from a cause as well as the means of their stopping. This is the doctrine of the Great Śramaṇa.



Abstract

The art historical and archæological literature on Nālandā Mahāvihāra maintains that it was a centre of intellectual, cultural and artistic activity in the Gupta and Pāla periods, spreading its influence beyond the borders of India. It was investigated and excavated under the British administration of the Archæological Survey of India from 1861 to 1938. Yet in that period there appeared no western comprehensive study of Nālandā, its architecture and artefacts to bear out these claims.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine western literature and archæological records to determine how Nālandā's reputation was established and why an extensive analysis was not done during that period. The Nālandā material is presented within the intellectual context for the study of Indian Buddhism and art history in the early 20th century.

The thesis is divided into four parts: (1) An overview of the intellectual context for Indian Buddhism, its art and architecture; (2) an analysis of the accounts of Nālandā of the early antiquarians; (3) an examination of the reports of the Archæological Surveys of India, 1861-1938, and (4) an analysis of the French and English translations of the accounts of Nālandā of visiting Chinese monks.

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Abbreviations

ASI	Archæological Survey of India
<u>ASIAR</u>	<u>Archæological Survey of India Annual Report</u>
<u>BSOS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</u>
<u>EI</u>	<u>Epigraphica Indica</u>
<u>E.H.</u>	Smith, <u>Early History of India</u>
<u>Étude</u>	Foucher, <u>Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique</u>
<u>Histoire</u>	Julien, <u>Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang</u>
<u>IA</u>	<u>Indian Antiquary</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
<u>Intro</u>	Burnouf, <u>L'introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JASB</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Bengal</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
<u>JBORS</u>	<u>Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society</u>
<u>Life</u>	Beal, <u>The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Hwui Li</u>
<u>Lotus</u>	Burnouf, <u>Le lotus de la bonne loi</u>
<u>Manual</u>	Kern, <u>Manual of Indian Buddhism</u>
MASI	Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India
<u>Mémoire</u>	Chavannes, <u>Mémoire . . . sur les religieux éminents</u>
<u>Mémoires</u>	Julien <u>Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales</u>
<u>Record</u>	Legge, <u>Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms</u>
<u>Records</u>	Beal, <u>Buddhist Records of the Western World</u>
<u>Relation</u>	Rémusat, <u>Relation des royaumes bouddhiques</u>
<u>Travels</u>	Beal, <u>Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-Yung</u>
<u>Yüan Chwang</u>	Watters, <u>On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India</u>

List of Sanskrit Words

The Sanskrit spelling system used throughout the thesis is that of Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, II, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. All Sanskrit terms, except proper names, are underlined in the text. However, because orthographies over the time period covered adhere not to one but reflect a number of different systems used by translators, and/or printers -- and allowing for printer's errors -- any Sanskrit word used in a title or a quotation stands as written. All other foreign words are given in italics.

For the spelling of the Chinese names, see Note 1, Chapter I.

Āndhra
Asaṅga
Aśoka
Avalokiteśvara
Bālāditya
Bhaiṣajyaguru
Bihār
Bodh-Gayā
bhūmiśparsamudrā
caitya
dharmakāya
dharaṇī
dhyāna
Gurjara-Pratihāra
Hārīti
Hīnayāna
Mādhyamika
Mahāvastu
mahāvihāra
Mahāyāna
mantrā
maṇḍala
Maudgalyāyana
mudrā
Nāgārjuna
nirvāṇa
Pāla
pradakṣiṇā
Pāṭaliputra
praiñāpāramitā
prañidhāna
praṭītyasamutpāda
pūjā
puṇya
Rājgir
Rājagṛha
rūpa
sādhāna
samādhi
saṃghārāma
saṃgha

samghāti

Śākyamuni

Śāriputra

Sarvāstivāda

śāstra

śilā

Śilabhadra

Śilāditya

śilpa-śāstrā

śrāmaṇa

śrāvaka

stūpa

śūnya

śūnyatā

sūtra

Tārā

Tāranātha

Vajrapāṇi

Valabhī

varṣa

vihāra

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa

Tathāgata

Uddaṅṭapura

Yogācāra

Yaśodharman

Chapter I

Introduction

General Background

Nālandā Mahāvihāra is situated 47 miles south of Patna (ancient Pāṭaliputra) and seven miles north of Rājgir (ancient Rājgṛha) in the state of Bihār. Bodh-Gayā is further south, and Bihār-Śarīf (ancient Uddanāpura) is to the east. In 1812 Dr. Francis Buchanan, surveying the area for the East India Company, noted an extensive ruin near to a village called Bargaon -- "Baragang" by Buchanan -- which he identified as the remains of a royal palace in accordance with the native tradition of that time.

Nālandā first attracted scholarly notice following the publication in 1836 of a translation of the travels to India of the Chinese Buddhist monk, Fa-hien. The original translator was the French sinologist, J.-P. Abel-Rémusat. The text included fragments of the travel accounts of another Chinese monk, Hiuen Tsiang, who resided at Nālandā in the 7th century. In the 1850's, Rémusat's colleague and successor, Stanislas Julien, translated the manuscripts of Hiuen Tsiang and his biographer, Hwui Li. Their writings enabled early investigators to identify a vast number of Buddhist sites and monuments, Nālandā among them. It was on the basis of the Chinese manuscripts that Buchanan's royal palace at Bargaon was recognised as Nālandā.

In the last decade of the 19th century two manuscripts of the Chinese monk, I-tsing, who was also a resident at Nālandā for some time, were translated, one into French by Édouard Chavannes, and the other into English by the

Japanese scholar, Junjiro Takakusu. While I-tsing's accounts expand on Hiuen Tsiang's and Hwui Li's descriptions of Nālandā and provide additional information about monastic life in the 7th century, they were not used to the same extent as the earlier translations.

The first archæological identification took place following the establishment of the Archæological Survey of India (ASI) by the British Government in India in 1861. At this time the director, General Alexander Cunningham surveyed the site using Julien's translation of Hiuen Tsiang as his guide. But the ASI did not officially excavate at Nālandā until 1916. The ASI work under British direction came to an end in 1938. Extensive as the excavations were, however, they may have revealed only a part of the entire Mahāvihāra.

Early Textual References

Literary evidence of Nālandā's place in Buddhist history appeared in the middle to late 19th century as Pali and Tibetan books were translated into European languages. Mention of Nālandā in a number of suttas of the Pali Canon of the Theravāda school indicate that it had a sanctity and a tradition dating back far beyond its surviving buildings. Nālandā is referred to in the Brahmajālasutta, the Mahāparinibbānasutta of the Dīghanikāya; the Kassapa Saṃyutta, Salayantana Saṃyutta, Gamani Saṃyutta and the Satipatthana Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya; the Chullavagga of the Vinaya Nikāya; the Kevaddhasutta of the Dīghanikāya, and the Upālisutta of the Majjhima Nikāya. (Sastri, "Nālandā in Ancient Literature", Fifth Oriental

Congress Proceedings, I, Lahore, 1930, 393-98)* Jain texts relate that the Buddha spent varṣa (the rainy season) at Nālandā on 14 occasions. (392) Hiuen Tsiang, Hwui Li and I-tsing noted a number of stūpas and vihāras erected to commemorate his teaching.

Buddhist monks from China, Korea, Tibet and Java came to Nālandā to learn Sanskrit and/or to study with renowned teachers and to copy -- or have copies made -- of relevant texts to be taken to their respective countries and translated into their languages. As well as the Chinese accounts there were Tibetan books which mention Nālandā in its later stages. The 17th century Tibetan historian, Tāranātha, wrote a history of Buddhism, translated into Russian, Latin and German in the mid-19th century, but not into English until the 1930's. Cunningham was familiar with the German version, and referred to it only in passing. Sastri used an English translation in his epigraphical memoir. Tāranātha wrote:

It was Nālandā which was formerly the birthplace of the venerable Śāriputra and it was also the place where he finally vanished from existence with 80,000 Arhats. In the meanwhile the Brāhmaṇa village became deserted and there remained only the Chaitya of the venerable Śāriputra to which King Aśōka made large offerings and built a great Buddha temple; when later on the first 500 Mahāyāna bhikshus counselled together and came to know that they had delivered the Mahāyāna teaching at the place of Śāriputra they took it to be a sign that the teachings would be spread widely; but when they further learnt that the same was also the place of Maudgalyāyana [another of the Buddha's disciples], they took it to be a sign that the teaching would be very powerful; but the teaching did not prosper very well. Both the Brāhmaṇa brothers and the teachers erected 8 Vihāras and placed there the works of the whole Mahāyāna teaching. (Sastri, Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Material, MASI No. 66, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1942, 6. The reference is to U.N.

Ghoshal and N. Dutt, "Tāranātha's History of Indian Buddhism, IHQ, X, 3 1934, 556.)

Sastri sums up Tāranātha as follows: " . . . The first founder of Nālandā Vihāra was Aśōka, the developers of the place of learning were 500 acharyas, [the Brahmins] Mugaragomin and his brother, the enlarger was Rāhulabadhra and the greatest expander was Nāgārjuna". (idem.)

Using another Tibetan source, the Pag-sam lon-zang, Sastri provides the following information:

According to Tibetan accounts the quarter in which the Nālandā University, with its grand library, was located, was called Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnōdadhī and Ratnarañjaka, respectively. In the Ratnōdadhī, which was nine-storeyed, there were the sacred scripts called Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the Tāntrik works such as Samājaguhya, etc. After the Turuska raiders had made incursions in Nālandā, the temples and Caityas were there repaired by a sage named Mudita Badhra. Soon after this, Kukutasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā, and, while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tīrthika mendicants appeared. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing-water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for 12 years, they performed a yajña, fire-sacrifice, and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples, etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnōdadhī. It is, however, said that many of the Buddhist scriptures were saved by water which leaked through the sacred volumes of Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra and Tantra. (7. Sastri is quoting from S.B.Vidyabhusana, A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, Calcutta University Press, 1921, Appendix C, 514)

Nālandā was finally destroyed in the 12th century by soldiers of the Muslim invader, Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyar.

Purpose of the Thesis

In spite of its reputation and the 23 years devoted to digging out 11 monasteries, three vihāras (called in the

Survey Reports, "chaityas"), and other sizeable edifices, to recovering thousands of artefacts including seals and coins, and restoring the site, no detailed, comprehensive scholarly archæological or art historical analysis of Nālandā was ever written by the British or any of the other Europeans connected with the ASI and familiar with the site. It is the purpose of this thesis to provide a critique of the literature on Nālandā within the early 20th century intellectual context for the study of Buddhism, Buddhist art and architecture to discover possible reasons for the absence of such an analysis.

As philologists, whose primary interest was etymology, dominated the field of Buddhism, the religious and philosophical technical language was more often than not misunderstood and misinterpreted. The misunderstandings in this area were passed on initially to antiquarians -- as the early investigators were called -- and then to art historians and archæologists. Indian art history was in its earliest stages indistinguishable from archæology, also a newly emerging occupation. As both were conducted by Europeans, they projected European art historical values and methods on Indian art and architecture. The extent to which this approach was valid, providing accurate criteria for the creation of a Buddhist art history, was never questioned by those directly concerned with the archæology.

The primary source, then, is the relevant literature. Secondary sources are the works to which the antiquarians and archæologists themselves referred. These include books or articles setting the intellectual context as well as the

translations they used in their research. Tertiary sources are articles and books contemporaneous with the survey and archæology that may or may not have entered their purview. To this category belong reviews and biographical notices. The biographical material of those concerned with Buddhist India provides additional insight into their attitudes and methods.

Nālandā is often mentioned in connection with Java, both religiously and artistically. But as most of the literature on that subject has not been translated from the Dutch into either English or French, it is not accessible except to those who have studied Dutch. However, we will mention briefly, where appropriate, Dutch work which has been translated into English as it will be seen to bear the same hallmarks of the methods we are examining. How close Nālandā's connections with Java were would require yet another thesis. The subject, as far as we know, has not yet been fully explored.

With a few exceptions, the scholars and archæologists involved in the history of Nālandā's discovery were American or European, the majority British. They all looked at their material through European eyes, applying European methods and solutions to Indian Buddhist problems. The exceptions, D.T. Suzuki, Ryukan Kimura and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, brought their special Buddhist and/or Asian wisdom to bear on the western intellectual milieu. Suzuki was possibly the first Buddhist to write for an English-speaking audience. Kimura taught courses in Buddhism in the 1920's at the University of Calcutta. Coomaraswamy, himself half English,

tried to transcend the limitations of any one culture to synthesize the spirit of religious art as a universal concept. He was for many years curator of Indian Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Although these scholars belonged to the early 20th century western intellectual milieu, they were never fully appreciated by those working at Nālandā.

We also briefly refer to the work in the 1920's of the Dutch scholar of Japanese, M.W. de Visser. His translations of the 7th century Japanese court records of Buddhist ceremonies provided an actual record of Buddhist ritual practices as described in tantras, whereas the first Indian or Tibetan Buddhist tantras translated into English or French were themselves very late in date and were translated without a Buddhist context. Visser's work is introduced to suggest another dimension of the contemporary intellectual context.

Where Indian authors are mentioned, it will be immediately apparent that these scholars were trained by the British and reflected the mainstream of European thinking about Buddhist India. Their work is examined to show to what extent they reflect their training and/or provide a critique of their own methods.

The Method of the Thesis

The method we have chosen to use in this thesis is descriptive and analytical. It is concerned with the way in which non-Buddhist scholars view Indian Buddhist art and archæology. We are trying to discover their stated purposes, the criteria by which they evaluate their data, and how they carried out their projects. Our ultimate objective is not an

exercise in historical revisionism, but an objective presentation of what was said at a given time, in terms of the conventions and traditions of that time. While by today's standards the views expressed by these scholars may seem naive, simplistic and biased, often these views have been accepted uncritically, forming what is today the basis for an understanding of Buddhist art and archæology. By methodically analysing these views the sources of some of the confusions of early investigations and scholarly biases can be identified.

The method we have chosen might also be described as Buddhistic in that the main criteria for the practice of Buddhadharma is experiential verification. The question we are constantly asking is: Do certain statements stand up to critical analysis of their own structures? What is required is a long and steady look at what is already there, to see it for what it really is. It is a methodology that was available to any one of the individuals we are writing about, but which only a few chose. The reasons will, no doubt, become apparent in the course of the thesis.

In the winter of 1984 we visited the site, the ASI and the National Museum in New Delhi, Buddhist sites and museums at Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā, Rājgir and Patna, and the American Institute in Varanasi. Apart from the library at SOAS, we have made use of the India Office Library, the Indian Institute at the Bodleian, Oxford University, the British Library and the British Museum Department of Oriental Manuscripts.

The thesis is organised into nine chapters: Chapter I is the introduction; Chapter II provides the religious study context for the archæology; Chapter III presents the art history context; Chapters IV-VII relate the early surveys and the archæology; Chapter VIII is devoted to the translations into English and French of the Chinese accounts of Nālandā, and Chapter IX presents the conclusion.

Chapter I

Notes

1. The spellings in the translations of the names of the Chinese monks vary widely according to the language used and to the form of transliteration employed. To simplify matters, we shall use Beal's Romanised spellings throughout, except when giving a direct quotation from another writer, in which case his own orthography will appear as is: Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang, I-tsing, Hwui Li.

2. Sastri gives only Romanised Sanskrit. A few of the English translations are to be found in T.W. Rhys Davids' translations from selected Pali texts in Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1881. XI, 12; 238.

Rhys-Davids' translation of the Mahāśudassana Jātaka provides another reference to Nālandā which reads as follows:

When the Tathāgata was at Jētavana, he thought the thēra Sāriputta who was born at Nālagrāma, has died, on the day of the full moon in the month of Kattika, in that very village * [Rhys-Davids' note]; and Mahā Moggallāna [Maudgalyāyana] in the latter, the dark half of that same month".

Rhys-Davids says in his note "Or perhaps 'at Varcha'. . . . The modern name of the village, afterwards the site of the famous Buddhist university of Nālanda, is Baragaon [Bargaon]". (idem.)

Chapter II

Religious Context

Early Translators

The essential characteristic of Buddhist studies in the 19th century was their philological rather than theological or philosophical orientation. The primary aim of scholars was to translate manuscripts in order to study the etymology and render them grammatically technically correct. No real effort was made to understand Buddhist technical terms within the Buddhist context, even when translators had access to practising Buddhists in Ceylon (Śri Lanka), Nepal or Tibet.

The earliest translators of Hīnayāna, or Southern, Buddhist texts were a Ceylon civil servant, the Hon. George Turnour and a Methodist Missionary, the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy, both in Ceylon from the 1820's. Turnour found and translated a number of contemporary versions of early Buddhist Pali texts, including the Mahāvamsa. Some of these he contributed as "An Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals". (JASB, IV, 11, 1837, 510-27; 713-36) Spence Hardy studied Theravada Buddhism for the express purpose of acquainting fellow missionaries with their competition. On his return to England he published Eastern Monachism (1850) and Manual of Buddhism (1853) Early investigators used Turnour's articles and Spence Hardy's books as source material for their basic understanding of Buddhism.

These scholars assumed that the Pali texts represented "pure" or "original" Buddhism, as contrasted with the later

Northern, Mahāyāna Buddhism as discovered in Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan books. By virtue of its distance in time alone, they assumed Mahāyāna to be an impure and corrupt form of Buddhism. The assumption of such a strict division pervaded later research without ever being questioned.

Brian Hodgson, the English Resident at Kathmandu in the 1820's provided the catalyst for Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist studies.' In 1824, he discovered a collection of manuscripts and texts, and had at his own expense more than 400 of these copied and sent to the Asiatic societies of London and Paris. (R. N. Cust, "Brian Houghton Hodgson", JRAS, 1894, 844) The French were quick to recognize the value of his gift. He was awarded the Legion d'Honneur in 1838. The Sanskrit scholar, Eugène Burnouf, dedicated his Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhism [sic.] indien (Paris, 1844) to him, as did St. Hilaire his Life of the Buddha (Paris, 1860). (846-48) Hodgson never received a similar honour in England, although his gifts were equally generous and considerable. In 1835 when the Dalai Lama gave him two complete copies of the Kanjur and the Tanjur, which had been printed in 1731, he presented them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and to the East India Company. (845)

The Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan books were late in date, often poor copies of earlier texts. They were full of unfamiliar technical concepts and terms. Translations were made at the expense of comprehension of the technicalities. In lieu of a Buddhist context, Sanskritic Buddhist terms were left untranslated, or given Hindu readings, and Hindu

or Christian meanings. Burnouf's Introduction and his Lotus (Paris, 1852) proceed in this manner. Even, as in the case of Hodgson and Körös, when translators had access to Buddhist monks, the expediency of making a translation superseded any instruction in Buddhist teaching and practice that might have made unfamiliar terms intelligible.

That the translator might not be entirely accurate in his interpretations was not of major interest. This is illustrated by the notes to Hodgson's translation of a single Tibetan text. It contains his own commentary as well as that of Buddhist monks without any differentiation between the two, nor any explanation of the terminology.

Neither Burnouf's Lotus on its own or Hodgson's translation with his ideas could begin to represent Mahāyāna Buddhism in direct contrast to Hīnayāna, or "Southern Buddhism", let alone Buddhism as a whole. But the absence of a context led all concerned to assume that the translators' assumptions and the context they created were correct. The lack of any discernable systematic relationship between Mahāyāna texts, the impurity of the languages and incomprehensibility of technical terms fortified the assumption that far from being a vital and meaningful system having close affinities to Hīnayāna Buddhism, Mahāyāna was decadent, corrupt and impure.

Burnouf was credited by fellow scholars with producing the first systematic, "scientific" study in the west of Buddhism with his Introduction. (Paris, 1844)²⁸ His work was a primary source for understanding Mahāyāna Buddhism. His interpretations and opinions were accepted as authoritative.

His Lotus de la Bonne Loi, a translation of the Saddharmapundarika, which appeared in 1852, did little to clarify the confusion, as we will see when we come to Kern's 1884 translation of the same text.

Alexander Csoma de Körös and Ādi-Buddha

Contemporary to Hodgson in working with Tibetan and Sanskrit texts was the Hungarian linguist, Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784-1842).³ His treatment of the concept of Ādi-Buddha is an excellent example of how early western scholars worked. This is a notion he associates with Nālandā.

Körös wrote an article about "the peculiar religious system entitled the *Kāla-Chakra*. ("Note on the Origin of the Kāla-Chakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems", JASB, II, 1833, 57) It appeared in Central India (from where we are not told) at the end of the 10th century, by way of "a certain pandit called Tsilu or Chilu". (idem.) Körös' source is a 16th century Tibetan, Padma Karpo. According to Padma Karpo, Tsilu arrived at Nālandā and designed ". . . over the door of the *Bihar* [viḥāra] the ten guardians (of the world), [and] he wrote below them thus: "He, that does not know the chief first Buddha (*Adi-Buddha*), knows not the *circle of time*". (idem.) Tsilu's action engendered a debate with the Mahāvihāra principal, one Nārotapa, and "five hundred pandits" which Tsilu won, thus entitling him to teach "Kālachakra" at Nālandā.

The impression given is that Körös has found a Buddha analogous to the Christian God. Körös' article may have prompted Hodgson to publish his account, "Quotations from Original Sanscrit [sic.] Authorities in proof and

illustration of Mr. Hodgson's sketch of Buddhism". (JASB, V, 1836, 28-38; 71-96). According to Hodgson, an inaccurate account of the same piece appeared earlier in another publication. (JRAS, II, 1st series, 1835, 288-323.) Hodgson says his authorities "are original and in a higher and far better sense than those of de Körös" (29) But, alas, they do not appear to be any clearer. Nor do Hodgson's copious notes add any clarity to the situation.

Ādi-Buddha in Hodgson's translation is the subject of a panegyric, this figure having for "himself" all the attributes of omnipotence and eternity. "He is the creator of all the *Buddhas: the chief of the Bodhisattvas* [sic.] are cherished by him. . . ." (85) But Hodgson does not stop here. He continues with hymns to *Ādi-Prajñā* (85-8) and *Ādi-Sangha*. (88-91) He also provides an appendix listing the "principle objects of Bauddha Worship", these being most probably image dispositions in a maṇḍala for different initiations or meditations. However, there is no indication as to what the list of names refer to or how the images might be used. (94)

The notion of Ādi-Buddha as a separate "God", creator of other "Gods" (Buddhas), who in turn create Bodhisattvas, was picked up literally by many other Buddhist scholars either from Körös or Hodgson. But Hodgson's parallel Ādi-Prajna and Ādi-Dharma disappear in later accounts.

The notion of Ādi-Buddha was taken directly into the vocabulary of the early investigators. For example, Cunningham defines a stūpa as " . . . A religious edifice dedicated emphatically to Buddha; that is either to the

celestial Adi Buddha, the great First Cause of all things, or to one of his emanations, the Mānūshi or "Mortal" Buddhas, of whom the most celebrated, and the only historical one, is Sākya Muni, who died in B.C. 543".

(Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes; Buddhist Monuments of Central India, London, 1854, 7-8) Hodgson and Burnouf had tied the notion of Ādi-Buddha to Nepalese stūpas where the eyes are painted on the sides of the stūpa. Cunningham goes on to suggest that a caitya is the equivalent of the Ādi-Buddha edifice, "as well as any monument raised on the site of a funeral pile, as a mound or pillar: . . . therefore, perhaps, only a general term . . ." (idem.)

Later T.W. Rhys-Davids refers to Körös' dates for Ādi-Buddha's appearance in the 10th century:

He is held to have evolved out of himself the five Dhyani Buddhas by the exercise of the five meditations; while each of these evolved out of himself by wisdom and contemplation the corresponding Bodhisattvas, and each of them evolved out of his immaterial essence a kosmos [sic.], a material world. (T.W. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, London, 1894, 206.)^a

T. W. Rhys-Davids on Mahāyāna Buddhism

Studies in Hīnayāna Buddhism, the texts for which are written not in Sanskrit but in Pali, began in earnest in the 1870's. Pali scholars, such as Prof. Thomas W. Rhys-Davids (1843-1922), who founded the Pali Text Society in 1882, actively supported the assumption that Mahāyāna Buddhism was a departure from "pure" Buddhism, a representation of Buddhism in decay and decline.⁵ He had already written Buddhism for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge's Non-Christian Religious Systems series in 1877. A second edition appeared in 1894. Just as Vincent A. Smith's Early History of India (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904) was thought to be the definitive work on Indian political history, Buddhism came to be regarded as the standard work in English on the subject. In it he attempts to provide "a consideration of Buddhism as it appears in its earliest record; with a rapid summary of the principal lines along which in after-times the most vital changes, and the most essential developments took place". (8) According to Rhys-Davids, one of the differences between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna is the fact that:

The earlier Buddhism teaches that above the worlds of the gods are the sixteen worlds of Brahma (*Brahma-lokas*), one above the other. . . . Those who attain the fourth Dhyana enter the tenth or eleventh Brahma-lokas; the remaining five being occupied by those who attain to the third path here on earth, and who will reach Nirvana in this new existence. To each of these five groups of worlds the Great Vehicle [i.e., Mahāyāna] assigns a special Buddha, called Dhyani Buddha; these five Buddhas corresponding to the last four Buddhas, including Gautama, and the future Buddha Maitreya -- the five Buddhas, that is, who belong to the

present Kalpa, the age since the Kosmos was last destroyed. . . .

The idea seems to be that every earthly mortal Buddha has his pure and glorious counterpart in the mystic world, free from the debasing conditions of this material life; or rather that the Buddha under material conditions is only an appearance, the reflection, or emanation, or type of a Dhyana Buddha living in the ethereal mansions of those worlds of idea and mystic trance. (204)

As regards the "Dhyana Buddhas", Rhys-Davids states: "Among these hypothetical beings, -- the creations of a sickly scholasticism, hollow abstractions without life or reality, -- the fourth, Amitabha, 'Immeasurable Light', whose Bodhsatwa [sic.] is Avalokiteśvara, and whose emanation is Gautama, occupies, of course, the highest and most important rank". (<idem>) This is his personal opinion, following in the methodological tradition of Hodgson, Burnouf, and Körös.

In the same vein was the 19th century appreciation of tantras, which were found in the Sanskrit and Tibetan collections. The Kālacakra teachings belong to this category. They were often written in a colourful metaphorical language, and it seems that 19th century Buddhist scholars were offended by these texts. Burnouf wrote, "the pen refused to transcribe doctrines as miserable in respect of form, as they are odious and degrading in respect to meaning". (<Intro, 558>) Rhys-Davids says that the "debasing belief in rites and ceremonies, and charms, and incantations" enters and obscures "the moral teaching of Gautama [Buddha] . . . so as pure Buddhism died away in the north, *the Tantra system*, a mixture of magic

and witchcraft and śiva-worship, was incorporated into the corrupted Buddhism". (207-08)

Rhys Davids equates this downfall with Asaṅga and the Yogācāra doctrine: "He [Asaṅga] managed with great dexterity to reconcile the two opposing systems by placing a number of Saivite gods or devils, both male and female, in the inferior heavens of the then prevalent Buddhism; and by representing them as worshippers and supporters of the Buddha, and of Avalokiteśvara". (208) Thus, according to Rhys Davids, Buddhists at the time were concerned "almost wholly with obtaining magic powers (Siddhi), by means of magic phrases (Dharani), and magic circles (Mandala)". (idem.)⁶

He continues: "It seems also certain that Buddhism had in the eighth and ninth centuries become so corrupt that it no longer attracted the people, and when it lost the favour of the kings, it has no power to stand against the opposition of the priests". (246) However, he claims that many Buddhists still in India after the 12th century joined the Jain sects. For this last statement Rhys-Davids gives no source.

Max Müller on Mahāyāna Buddhism

Another philologist shaping the western interpretation of Buddhism was Prof. F. Max Müller. (1823-1900)⁷ Trained as a Sanskrit scholar, he settled in Oxford after the 1848 revolution in France. Following the death of H.H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, in 1860, Müller was in contention with Monier Monier-Williams to be named as Wilson's successor. "His broad theological views, as well as

the fact of his being a foreigner, told against Max Müller, especially in the eyes of the country clergy who came up to Oxford in large numbers to record their votes". (A.A. MacDonell, "Friedrich Max Müller", JRAS, 1901, 366-67)

Having failed to succeed Wilson, Müller turned his attention to the untried field of comparative philology -- for which a chair was especially created for him in 1865 -- and then to comparative mythology, using a method "based on linguistic equations". (368) He retired in 1875 and devoted the last 30 years of his life to the study of religions, founding in that year the Oxford University Press series, Sacred Books of the East, "a series of English translations by leading scholars, of important non-Christian oriental works of a religious character". (idem.) The series consisted of 51 volumes. Müller was responsible for three. However, for many he contributed introductions. He also initiated, with his pupils, a Sanskrit series, Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1881-85.

Müller as a Sanskrit philologist was a champion of Hindu culture insofar as he found in its literature a profoundly rational ethic. He placed Buddhism squarely in the Brahmanic context. His method of interpreting the Buddhist texts was to compare any Buddhist terms he wanted to define to what he felt are Brahmanic equivalents.

At one point Müller confesses: "The historical relation between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism is to me as great a puzzle as ever". (Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, SBE, XXI, 1884, vii) At another, he questions the validity and the appeal of the repetitive style of another text, the Vajrakkhedikāsūtra:

This philosophy, or, at least, its underlying doctrine, is not unknown to us in the history of Western philosophy. It is simply the denial of the reality of the phenomenal world. Considering how firmly a belief in phenomenal objects is established in the ordinary mind, its might well have seemed that such a belief could not be eradicated except by determined repetition. (xiv)

He then proceeds to define the term, dharma, not in its metaphysical (śūnyatā) context, but renders it "form", followed by what he assumes to be the equivalent *Greek* term. Nor is his subsequent recital of what he considers the meat of the sūtra explained in its own Indian metaphysical framework of paradox and contradiction.

Heindrik Kern on Mahāyāna Buddhism

Müller's colleague, Prof. Heindrik Kern (1833-1917) of Leiden University, Netherlands, translated the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (Lotus of the True Law) for Müller's series.²³ In his introduction Kern states, after Hodgson, that this text is one of nine "Dharmas . . . to which divine worship is offered". (ix) In the tradition of Hodgson and Burnouf, he does not explain the meaning of this statement. He seems more concerned with attempting to establish the age of the sūtra in relation to Pali texts by using linguistic comparisons. He asks the question but does not provide an answer as to "whether the system of the Lotus can be said to agree with what is supposed to be 'genuine' [i.e., Hīnayāna] Buddhism" (xxvii) And while he says, with regard to the arrangement of the Lotus, it is capable of "an exoterical and an esoterical interpretation", he does not explain what he means by these terms. (xxxii) Further on he states: "The Lotus being one of the standard works of the

Mahāyāna, the study of it cannot but be useful for the right appreciation of that remarkable system". (xxxiii)

But it is never clear that Kern understands "that remarkable system" any more than Burnouf et. al. did. This he proceeds to demonstrate in the following manner. He quotes Hodgson's equation of Bodhisattva with Saṃgha (xxxv); states that the role of Bodhisattvas, as opposed to "mendicant monks" was to preach (idem.); distinguishes these preaching Bodhisattvas as "human" from "superhuman" Bodhisattvas, without any explanation for such a distinction or qualification for the latter category -- even though the Lotus is replete with them; assumes that the distinction between Arhat and Bodhisattva is that the former are dead "canonized saints", whereas the latter are "wise men of the present . . . who, however sanctimonious, are not acknowledged saints" (xxxvii), and quotes Rhys-Davids to the effect that Bodhisattvas "represent the ideal of spiritual activity, the Arhats of inactivity". (idem.) In short, there is only previous western scholarship as a context for Kern's interpretations; his translation was heavily dependent on Burnouf and his contemporaries.

Following along these lines Kern says of the Lotus:

There are in the book many indications that the art of preaching was made much of and highly developed, and it may be supposed that a greater proficiency in hermeneutics combined with superior mental activity has enabled the Mahāyāna to supplant its rival, the Hīnayāna, and to extend its spiritual conquests once from the snows of Siberia to the luxuriant islands of the Indian Archipelago". (idem.)

Kern's widely-used Manual of Buddhism (Strassburg, 1896) was written along the same lines. With regard to Mahāyāna teachings, Kern is relying on the Tibetan historian, Tāranātha, and other Tibetan sources. He treats Mahāyāna as a uniform "school", having a "canon", which departs from orthodoxy, that is, from the Hīnayāna Pāli Canon. (123) However, it is never clear if his personal textual experience extends beyond the Lotus:

Mahayanism [rather than this one manuscript] lays great stress on devotion, in this respect as in many others harmonising with the current feeling in India which led to the growing importance of bhakti. It is by that feeling of fervent devotion, combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people and has become a factor in the history of mankind of much greater importance than orthodox [Hīnayāna] Buddhism. It is by its more progressive spirit that it has succeeded finally to absorb all the old sects, barring S[outhern] Buddhists. (124)

On the subject of Nālandā and archæology, however, having relied on Tāranātha's translation in one respect, he now rejects it. He accepts rather the Rev. Samuel Beal's equation of Nālandā with Nalo by concluding that Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva could not have been there, in spite of Tāranātha's suggestion that they were, as Fa-hien does not mention a Mahāvihāra at Nalo. It is never clear what Kern's criteria are for accepting Tāranātha in one instance and not in another. (idem. See Chapter VIII in regard to Beal.)

Kern says of tantras, which by this time in the western mind have evolved into a separate Buddhist system known as *Tantrism*, again using Tāranātha as his source:

Buddhist Tantras purpose to teach adepts how by a supernatural way to acquire desired objects,

either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility, alchymy [sic.]; or of a more spiritual character, as the power of evoking a Buddha or Bodhisattva to solve a doubt, or the power of achieving in this life the union with some divinity. . . . Tantrism is, so to say, a popularized and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga, because the objects are commonly of a coarser character, and the practices partly more childish, partly more revolting".
(133)²⁴

Such were the attitudes with regard to Mahāyāna at the end of the 19th century. They indicate a firm entrenchment based on the opinions of translators of Buddhist texts rather than a careful study of Buddhism carried out by Buddhist scholars.

D.T. Suzuki on Mahāyāna Buddhism

While Europeans looking at Buddhist texts may not have known that there might have been other interpretations, several Japanese scholars began to write on the subject early in the 20th century. In order to attempt to correct the errors of western scholars, D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966), published Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism (London, Luzac & Co.), in 1907.¹⁰ Suzuki was a Buddhist as well as a scholar. He wrote his book in English for two reasons: "To refute the wrong opinions which are entertained by Western critics concerning the fundamental teachings of Mahayana Buddhism . . ." and to advance the understanding of its real nature. (v) An accurate understanding the nature of Mahāyāna was (and still is) crucial to an understanding of Buddhist art, to the assumptions about the function of Buddhist monastery complexes, and especially of an established and wealthy

place such as Nālandā, not to mention to any comprehension of the various forms Buddhism takes outside India. Western scholars, he asserts, do not understand the meaning of Buddhist terminology because they never get beyond the syntax. (vii)

He points out that the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna systems arose from the same source. Far from being strictly divided, they have many characteristics in common. The Hīnayāna was not superseded by the Mahāyāna; nor was Mahāyāna a separate doctrine. The goal of all Buddhists is to reach nirvāṇa. It is the means to that end, according to Mahāyāna practitioners, that varies. It consists of three paths: that of the hearer (Śrāvaka), the solitary Buddha (Pratyekabuddha) and the Bodhisattva. According to Mahāyāna, the first two are the Hīnayāna, or Lesser Way, as they are taken by individuals who are working for their own salvation. The Mahāyāna, or Great Way, can be taken by all of mankind. (8) It is up to each individual seeking release from the endless rounds of birth, life and death to choose the way that appeals to him.

Buddhism may have died out in India as a dominant religious force. but it is not a dead religion. Western scholars, Suzuki suggests, have treated it that way and have regarded Christianity to be superior. The bigotry and misunderstandings of certain scholars -- and Suzuki picks out Monier-Williams, Beal and Waddell for special comment -- resulted in the presentation of Mahāyāna as "nothing but the conception of the Christian heaven colored with paganism". (19) Rather trenchantly, Suzuki

remarks with regard to the Christian word "God": "The word is rather offensive to most [Buddhists], especially when it is intimately associated in vulgar minds with the idea of a creator who produced the world out of nothing, caused the downfall of mankind, and, touched by the pang of remorse, sent down his only son to save the depraved". (219)

Buddhists, Suzuki says, see reality in quite a different way. "Buddhism outspokenly acknowledges the presence in the world of a reality which transcends the limitations of phenomenality, but which is nevertheless immanent everywhere and manifests itself in its full glory, in which we live and move and have our being". (*idem.*)

Suzuki pursues his outline of Mahāyāna in two phases of development: the metaphysical and the practical. To the first belong texts which only in the western appraisal of Mahāyāna assume primary importance. But Suzuki says that the practice of "such religious beliefs that constitute the life and essence of the system . . . [is] by far more important, . . . the speculative part [being] merely a preparatory step toward it. In as much as Mahāyānism is a religion and not a philosophical system, it must be practical, that is, it must directly appeal to the inmost life of the human heart". (77)

Practical Buddhism had been given a very different emphasis by western scholars, who had late tantras as examples, to whom it appeared to be rather vague and mysterious, as if magic and mysticism had no part in a religious system. As Suzuki points out:

Indian thinkers could not separate religion from philosophy, practice from theory. Its speculative, philosophical phase is really a preparation for fully appreciating the subjective significance of religion, for religion is ultimately

subjective. . . .To use Buddhist phraseology, it is the expression of Bodhi [enlightenment] which consists in prajñā (intelligence or wisdom) and karuṇā (love or compassion). (80-81)

Towards the goal of purification, or nirvāṇa, use of the intellect is important, "for it is by the judicious exercise of the intellect that all religious superstitions and prejudices are finally destroyed. . . . The intellect is so far of great consequence, and we must respect it as the thunderbolt of Vajrapani which crushes everything that is mere sham and false". (82) But equally important is the development and use of karuṇā.

Suzuki's sources are the Chinese renderings of Buddhist texts which he has translated himself. Classical Chinese was the language of the traditional Buddhist schools in Japan. Translating these would not have been a problem for Suzuki, whereas the majority of western Buddhist scholars did not have Chinese to work with. Those that did, such as Beal, did not have an accurate grasp of Buddhist Chinese. Western scholars failed to appreciate that sūtras constitute Buddhist doctrine, śāstrās, written by the masters, comment on it, and tantras provide the means of its experiential, practical realisation.''

R. Kimura at Calcutta

Another Japanese Buddhist scholar, Ryukan Kimura, lecturer in the Departments of Pali and Ancient Indian History and Culture, expands in the same vein as Suzuki. Little is known of him outside his books -- such as A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism, (Calcutta, University of

Calcutta Press, 1927) -- and articles. While his works were available in India at a time when a number of important discoveries were being made at Nālandā, his writings do not appear to have attracted the attention of Nālandā's archæologists.

Kimura makes several points that highlight the general difference between eastern and western thinking and illustrate the broader context of Buddhism in India. Although he uses 20th century Indian historical sources and the western translations of the Chinese accounts, his conclusions are not western. In "The Shifting Centre of Buddhism in India", (Journal of the Department of Letters, I, 1920, 12-47) he describes eight centres of Buddhist teaching and training from the parinirvāṇa to the 12th century. Unlike Smith, who placed Nālandā in a backwater of political and economic activity, Kimura suggests that Buddhist centres were also political -- and therefore undoubtedly commercial -- centres. The impact and interaction of commercial, political and religious communities, then, would have been dynamic. According to Kimura, the importance of Nālandā rests in the fact that it endured longer than anywhere else as a Buddhist centre. By his reasoning, then, the powerful people who lived in the vicinity would have required the services of and willingly supported an equally powerful religious institution.

Kimura attempts to delineate the kinds of Buddhist activity which took place at Nālandā. He states that Nālandā was the meeting ground in the 5th century A.D. for the Yogācāra and Mādhyamika teachings. (35) He goes on to say:

"From an examination of the information available from the Buddhist records, we find that there were at least two kinds of Buddhist activity at Nālandā during the whole period -- 1. theorized Buddhism, and 2. popularized Buddhism". (40) While teaching of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools may have been prominent at Nālandā, other Buddhist systems were taught and practiced as well as related aspects of the broader culture. (42).

For the second category Kimura gives two systems. The first is "the worshipping of Buddhas other than Gautama and the Bodhisattvas for attaining Salvation". (41) These would have included the Buddhas Amitābha, Maitreya and the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. Kimura says: "People generally think that Salvation cannot be attained without the favour of the past Buddhas and Bodhisattvas". (idem.) The second system is that of Mantrayāna. "The doctrine of this school is a great secret law: it teaches that we can attain to the state of the 'great enlightened', i.e., the state of the 'Buddha' if we follow the three great secret laws regarding body, speech and thought, or in other words, if we repeat Mantras or Dhāranīs preached by the Mahāvairocana Buddha. . . ." (41-42)

In another article, "Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools", Kimura also points out that the Chinese pilgrims brought from India texts belonging to the different schools -- Hiuen Tsiang taking copies of seven different vinayas (rules of the monastic order) -- so that if they did not already exist outside India, these schools at least could be studied. (118) Each school had its own

interpretation of what was the most important feature of the Dharma and personality of the Buddha, its own languages and its own names for its main texts. For example, the Mahāvastu is for the Māhasaṅghikas what the Lalita-vistara is for the Sarvāstivādins; what the Nīdana or Avadāna is for the Kāśyapīyas, the Buddhacarita is for the Dharmaguptas, and so on. (125-26) Kimura is saying, finally, that there were at least 18, and possibly more, ways of looking at the same subject at the developmental stage of Buddhism. And these did not disappear with the arrival of Mahāyāna. Nor is it implicit that popular Buddhist practices were not open to adherents of all schools.

Chapter II

Notes

1. Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800-1894) went to India with the Indian Civil Service in 1818. He was the secretary to the Resident of Nepal, 1820-29, acting Resident until 1833 and Resident from 1833-43. During that time he studied as much about Nepal and Tibet as he possibly could. His interests ranged from zoology and botany to philology and Buddhism. He retired from the Civil Service in 1844 and settled in Darjeeling until 1858 to continue his scientific studies. He wrote a number of books, including Illustrations of the Literature and the Religion of the Buddhists (Serampore, 1841), Essays on the Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet (1874) and Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects (1880), incorporating much of the material that had appeared in articles he had contributed to the JRAS and the JASE. (R.N. Cust, "Brian Houghton Hodgson", JRAS, 1894, 843-49)

2. Eugène Burnouf was the only son of J.-L. Burnouf, a noted Greek grammarian. He was born in Paris in 1808 and studied Sanskrit at Chartres. His Pali study, written in 1826 with Lassen, set him on the path to a lifetime of publishing and translating ancient texts from Persian as well as Sanskrit. He was secretary to the Société Asiatique de Paris. (B. St.-Hilaire, Intro., viii) In 1832 he succeeded Abel-Rémusat at the Collège de France to the Chair of Sanskrit and was in turn succeeded by the Tibetan scholar, Ph. E. Foucaux, in 1862. Max Müller studied with him. Sylvain Lévi's career paralleled that of Burnouf as they both studied India through the language. Louis Renou is his spiritual heir. His Introduction, Lotus and Vajrasūcī (1859) were all based on the gift of manuscripts made to the French by Hodgson. (N.N. Bhattacharyya, "Beginnings of Buddhist Research 1826-1881", Journal of the Varendra Research Museum, V, 1976-77, 21-29.)

3. Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (1784-1842) was a poor Hungarian linguist who worked his way out to Northern India, supported and looked after mainly by English civil servants. He learned Tibetan from a native at Leh in Ladakh in 1822. He then journeyed to "Yanglaia Zanshar" monastery with a letter of introduction to the head lama. He arrived 20 June 1823, and remained there until 22 Oct. 1824. He learned Tibetan grammar with the lama, and had the *Tanjur* and the *Kanjur* copied. He left Northern India fully intending to visit the lama at Kulu. He was aided in Calcutta by H.H. Wilson and James Prinsep. Kőrös died on the way to Lhasa 11 April 1842 aged 58. "Some Remarks on the Life and Labours of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, delivered on the occasion when his Tibetan Books and Manuscripts were exhibited before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 16th June, 1884, by Surgeon Major Theodore Duka, M.D. F.R.C.S., late of the Bengal Army", (JRAS second series, I, XVI, 1884, n.s., 486-94)

4. However, Burnouf states in his Introduction:
Çākya revête déjà un caractère mythologique, quand il déclare qu'il y a longtemps qu'il remplit les devoirs d'un Buddha, et qu'il doit les remplir longtemps encore, malgré sa mort prochaine, laquelle ne détruit pas son éternité; quoiqu'enfin on le représente créant de son corps des Buddhas que soit comme images et les reproductions idéales de sa personne mortelle, nulle part Çākya-muni n'est nommé Dieu; nulle part il ne recoit le titre d'Adibuddha. (119)

But Kern, in quoting Burnouf, adds:

"It is further undeniable that the title Ādibuddha does not occur in the Lotus, but it is intimated that Sākya is identical with Ādibuddha in the words: 'From the very beginning (ādita eva) have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them (the innumerable Bodhisattvas) to be fit for their Bodhisattva position'. It is only by accomodation that he is called Ādibuddha, he properly being anādi, i.e., existing from eternity, having no beginning". (xxv)

He sums up by saying, "the Buddha is anthropomorphic of course; what god is not?" (xxvi)

The notion was carried into 20th century Indian art history, emerging in Bhattacharya's Buddhist Iconography (1928) and Bhattasali's Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum (1932), repeated and elaborated upon in Seckel, the Art of Buddhism (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag G.M.B.H., 1964), and in Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India Buddhist Hindu Jain, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1st edition, 1953, 3rd revised edition, 1967).

5. Thomas William Rhys-Davids (1843-1922) entered the Ceylon Civil Service in 1866. As he had studied Sanskrit at Breslau, he took up the study of Pali in Ceylon. Upon his return to England, he was called to the bar in 1877, but did not stay long in the practice of law. He was professor of Pali, University College, London, 1882-1912. In 1894 he married Carolyn Foley, a Pali scholar in her own right, and toured the U.S. lecturing on Buddhism. In 1904 he was appointed professor of comparative religions at Manchester.

Chalmers wrote of him : "What he abhorred was an unscientific jumble -- such as what had too long passed as Buddhism -- of distinct and successive "strata"; what he sought always to achieve was the presentment of historical fact in its due sequence and in ordered relation to what stratigraphically preceded and succeeded it . . . he never shrank from combatting, in the interests of what he deemed truth, established and powerful interests; against Sanskrit supremacy in a sphere not its own. . . ." (R. Chalmers, "T.W. Rhys-Davids", JRAS, 1923, 328)

6. The difficulty making Asaṅga responsible for the debasement of Buddhism is that it would have begun in the third century A.D., by Rhys-Davids' time-scale. In another reference, Rhys-Davids says that Vasubandhu, reputedly the younger brother of Asaṅga, convened the fourth Buddhist

Council at Peshawar, Kaniṣka's capital. Rhys-Davids gives Kaniṣka's date as ca. A.D. 10. At this time the monks drew up three commentaries which Kaniṣka had engraved on copper plates and sealed in a sūtra. Hodgson, in the 1874 edition of his Essays, makes no mention of these plates; nor do Burnouf or Körös. It could be because the only account is found in Hiuen Tsiang (Julien, Memoires, 173-78; Histoire 95-6). Julien's translations did not appear until after Hodgson, Körös and Burnouf had written on the subject. Nor does it appear that Rhys-Davids has read Smith's remarks about Vasubandhu. (E.H., 289, 308; Appendix N, 328-334)

7. F. Max Müller was born in 1823 in Dessau. He attended the University of Leipzig in 1841, taking a doctorate in Sanskrit in 1843. His interests were philology and philosophy. In 1882 he gave a series of lectures at Cambridge compiled as India, What Can It Teach Us? (London, 1883), in which he propounded the theory that a renaissance in Indian literature took place in the 6th century A.D. following foreign invasions. (370) Müller was responsible for a number of Japanese contributions to Buddhist scholarship: Nanjio's compilation of the Chinese catalogue; Kasawara's list of Buddhist technical terms, and Takakasu's translation of I-tsing's Record (1896). Müller instigated the discovery in Japan of a Sanskrit manuscript, the oldest known of as of 1880. (A.A. MacDonell, "Friedrich Max Müller", JRAS, 1901, 364-72)

8. Johann Kaspar Hendrik Kern was born in 1833 at Poerworedjo, Java. His father was an officer in the Netherlands India army. He studied first at the University of Utrecht, then Sanskrit at Leiden, taking a Ph.D. in Iranian Studies in 1855, as Sanskrit was not at that time a fully-fledged discipline. In 1862 he came to London to pursue research into a Sanskrit manuscript at the India Office Library. There he met Müller, Bühler and Goldstücker. In 1863 he went to Benares to teach Sanskrit, and in 1865 was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit at Leiden, a post specially created for him, which he held until 1903. (J. Ph. Vogel, "J.K.H. Kern", JRAS, 1918, 173-83)

9. A clear definition of tantra was provided by S.B. Dasgupta: "The term Tantra was generally used in an exclusive sense to denote a body of writings comprehending the whole culture of a certain epoch in diverse directions such as religious, ritual, domestic rites, law, medicine, magic and so forth". ("General Introduction to Tantra Philosophy", Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, Orientalia, Pt. 1, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1922, 253) But in another work he says: "The primary concern of the Buddhist Tantras is not to establish a definite system of metaphysical thought . . . Buddhist Tantras, on the basis of the Mahāyāna principles, dictate practical methods for the realisation of the supreme goal". (An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta, 1950, reprinted, Berkeley & London: Shambhala, 1974, 2)

10. Teitarō Suzuki was born at Kanazawa, Japan, 18 October, 1870. "Daisetsu" is his Zen Buddhist name, meaning "Great Simplicity". His very long life was devoted to the study, practice and teaching of Buddhism, not only in Japan but in Europe and the United States. He began studying Zen with the Abbot of Engakuji in 1891. Following a sojourn in the West which extended from 1897 to 1909, he wrote Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism. In 1911 he married an American, Beatrice Erskine Lane, who, until her death in 1939, worked with him translating Buddhist texts and publishing The Eastern Buddhist, a journal written in English but published in Kyoto. Suzuki's teaching took him to major universities throughout the world. He is best known in the West for his lectures, articles and books on Zen, starting with Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series (London, 1927), extending to Sengai, The Zen Master (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1971). His friendship with Christmas Humphreys, president of the Buddhist Society, London, dated from his first visit to London. (A. Irwin Switzer III, D.T. Suzuki A Biography, London, The Buddhist Society, 1985)

11. Theodor Stcherbatsky's "The Doctrine of Buddha", (BSOS 6, 1930-32, 867-896) contains a part of an ongoing dispute between Stcherbatsky and A. Berriedale Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Oxford. Keith gave only six pages to Buddhist Sanskrit literature in A History of Sankrit Literature (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928).

Stcherbatsky takes Keith to task for short-changing Buddhism in early schools in his article, "Doctrine of Buddha", BSOS, 6, 1930-32, 393-404) which challenges Stcherbatsky's books, The Central Conception of Buddhism (London, 1923) and The Concept of Buddhist Nirvana (Leningrad, 1927). Stcherbatsky argues that the Pali Canon, though late, is a "source for establishing the early form of Buddhism", not an early source itself. He says that any Buddhist sūtra is "reliable only from the time that it gets a good commentary", or, in Sanskrit, śāstra. (868) He regards Buddhist literature as falling into two categories: 1. the sūtra class -- popular, and/or propaganda and 2. the śāstra class -- scientific, precise. For example, Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa is a śāstra for the Pali Canon Abhidharma.

Stcherbatsky continues: "The knowledge of Buddhist philosophy has made comparatively slow progress in Europe because the śāstra literature has been neglected and precision was sought where it is never to be found. For the educated Buddhist as well as for his opponent in India, Buddhism has always been considered a śāstra." (369) Stcherbatsky based his studies on śāstras. He is critical of Keith's methods: "The view we are justified in ascribing to the Buddha must, according to him, be (1) simple, (2) in accord with the trend of opinion in his day, and (3) more calculated to secure the adherence of a large circle of followers. Everything refined, or above the primitive, and every unattractive idea must be rejected". (370)

Chapter III
Art History Context

General Background

Art History has only been recognised as an academic discipline from the beginning of this century. Early Indian art began to be examined in the latter half of the 19th century. However, as Albert Grünwedel wrote: "The artistic efforts of ancient India, specially of the early Buddhist period, are only slightly connected with the general history of art". Buddhist Art in India, Burgess, ed., London, 1900, 1) The inference is that Indian Buddhist art would be studied insofar as it could be seen to relate to western art, and then it would be discussed in western, not Indian, terms. ✓

The impetus to study Indian architecture came from Fergusson, who began studying and surveying in the early 19th century. He attempted to devise an Indian system of styles to suggest that Indian architecture could be studied as a subject in its own right. Grünwedel and Foucher took the position that Indian Buddhist art had its origins in Hellenistic rather than Indian art. E.B. Havell and A.K. Coomaraswamy put forth the view that European methods applied to Indian art distorted it. But they, too, reflect their European training. M.W. de Visser's translations of 7th century Japanese court records describing Buddhist ceremonies provide an approach to Buddhist art history that

was not taken up by ASI archæologists although it was part of the contemporary context.

James Fergusson

. Fergusson (1808-1886) was the first European to write about Indian architecture within a stylistic framework, in an attempt to trace its development.' Although he left India long before major archæological investigations began, making London his base of observation, his books and articles show that he remained very closely in touch with activities in India. Fergusson's *magnum opus* was his history of Indian architecture. It first saw life as the Indian section of the Illustrated Handbook of Architecture (London, 1855, Book I: Buddhist and Jaina Architecture). It was revised for the first time as part of the History of the Architecture of All Countries (London, 1862), and for the second as part of the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (London, 1876). The latter was republished following James Burgess' editing of the Indian section in 1910. (London, John Murray, 1910)

Of his own work Fergusson says:

My conclusions were based on the examination of the actual buildings throughout the three Presidencies of India and in China during ten years' residence in the East My endeavour from the first has been to present a distinct view of the general principles which have governed the historical development of Indian architecture. (Fergusson, History, vii.)

In the preface to the second edition, Burgess quotes Fergusson as saying: "What I have attempted to do during the last forty years has been to apply to Indian Culture the same principles of archæological science . . ." following Rickman's "Attempt to discriminate the style of the

Architecture in England, (1817)". (Burgess, History, xii.)

Fergusson insists that although new information has appeared in the course of the development of his thesis, "yet the classification I adopted, and the historical sequences I pointed out thirty years since, have in their essential outlines been confirmed, and will continue, I trust, to stand good". (viii.)

By his own admission, Fergusson was a frustrated architect. He went to India in 1835 to manage an indigo factory and while there pursued his own study of Indian architecture. "During my ten years' residence in India I was brought into contact with men who were erecting buildings that I believed to be [in] the mode of the Middle Ages. I saw them working in true styles, as true architects" (RIBA Proceedings, 32, 1871, 146) Although at that point he decided to become an architect, he says that he decided against it because architecture was not appreciated in England -- architects were demeaned -- and because the principles of architectural training, which included copying Italian and Greek architecture, went against his own. Therefore he dedicated himself to "the literature of art". (idem.)

He had stated earlier:

The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose; hence the difference in its result". (Fergusson, 5-6)

Whereas he objected strenuously to training architects in classical styles, he saw nothing unusual in superimposing

the western method of stylistic analysis on Indian -- and in the event all Asian -- architecture.

Fergusson's authority was subsequently challenged by Rajendralal Mitra in the Bengal Government's publication of his Antiquities of Orissa (in two volumes, Calcutta, 1876, 1880), based on his survey of 1868-69, and of his Buddha Gaya (Calcutta, 1878), based on his survey of 1877. Mitra was one of the few Indians to have worked with ASI personnel in its early stages. Fergusson defends himself by publishing Archæology in India with Especial Reference to the Works of Babu Rajendralala Mitra (London, 1884, reprint, New Delhi: K.B. Publications 1974). He and Mitra were already at sword's point over the "origin of Indian Architecture" -- a subject which Fergusson opines is of no interest to anyone but them. (Archæology in India, v) But he uses the occasion of Mitra's "misrepresentation of [his] writings and their meaning" to object to the "practical destruction of ancient Indian monuments" which were, in his opinion, being destroyed under the guise of restoration. (vi.) In this respect both Mitra and Cunningham are guilty. Neither, according to Fergusson, had the technical skills needed to record accurately and then restore ancient monuments.

But Fergusson felt that he had a good understanding of Indian architecture:

Nowhere are the styles of architecture so various as in India, and nowhere are the changes so rapid, or follow laws of so fixed a nature. It is consequently easy to separate the various styles into well defined groups of easily recognized peculiarities, and to trace sequences of development in themselves quite certain, which, when a date can be affixed to one of the series, renders the entire chronology certain and intelligible.

Before I left India the styles were all perfectly well defined in my mind, the sequences determined and the dates at least approximately fixed. (2)≠

Fergusson defined architecture as follows:

"Architecture I have always understood to apply to the *fine* art of ornamental building, either in wood or stone, or other materials, as contradistinguished from the *useful* art of building or civil engineering". (13) He says that Mitra, on the other hand has "always used the word architecture in the ordinary dictionary meaning of it, 'art or science of building,' and not in the æsthetic sense, of the ornamentation of buildings as distinct from the mere mechanical engineering art of piling stones or bricks for making houses". (idem.) However, Fergusson concedes that "nine-tenths of the misunderstandings and objections in his book arise from his inability to see, or unwillingness to admit, this perfectly obvious distinction". (13) That the distinction was not obvious to Mitra is the crux of the matter.

The suggestion that Fergusson's life work in this respect might have been in vain points to the main reason why Indian art history took the direction it did. Fergusson says that Europeans had good relations with the Indians until Mitra's attack. The atmosphere had changed, he concludes, since the Mutiny of 1858, which brought in direct British rule, and the Ilbert Bill, which raised the question of how Indians were to be treated. Fergusson asks if Indians are "to be treated as equals to Europeans in all respects". (3) The underlying western assumption is that Indians are not equal: therefore Mitra had no business attacking

Fergusson from the disadvantaged status of having shifted from the study of Sanskrit literature to archæology "by past middle age" -- a shift that in Fergusson's opinion does not entitle him to consider himself an expert of equal standing. (6)

While it cannot be said that any of the Europeans who found themselves active in Indian art history and archæology were specifically trained for this new "science", any more than Fergusson himself who draws from his own observations and studies, one does not have to read between the lines to discover that a "native of India", is a lesser mortal indeed. That Indians learn English easily and have, according to him, "at least a superficial familiarity with the principal features of our arts and sciences" is not praiseworthy but damnable. (idem.) "Perhaps, however, the most glaring defect of this easily acquired knowledge is the inevitable conceit it engenders Without any previous study or preparation, [the Indian] does not see why he should not 'profess' any science he may take a fancy to, and pronounce dogmatically on any series of facts that may come before him". (5-6)

Mitra, says Fergusson, does not even have the skills of an architectural draughtsman, surveyor or planner. "Besides these deficiencies, it would have required a considerable amount of hard work to examine and master the details of a sufficient number of buildings, to be able to write anything about them that would be worth reading; and a greater amount of patient study and reading to comprehend the subject fully". (6) However, Mitra did employ draughtsman and

photographers and produced a book that looks exactly like that of his English colleagues.

However, neither "expert" is looking at Indian architecture from an Indian point of view. Mitra, it appears, speaks more from the newly fired Bengali nationalism and some sense of personal pride, for he was one of the first Indians to come into the archæological field, via epigraphy. His lack of expertise in this area led to a number of mistranslations and misunderstandings which were not immediately detected. Fergusson, removed from the immediate realities of Indian life, was disturbed by the fact that his cherished views of Indian architecture and how it *should* be interpreted were being ignored, not only by individual Englishmen such as Cunningham, but worse, by the official government in Bengal, the viceregal establishment, which had assigned a native to update the architectural history of Eastern India.

Albert Grünwedel

Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935) was interested in sculpture rather than architecture.²⁹ Initially he assumed that Indian art, which for him is synonymous with archæology, exhibited the influence of Persian and Greek, and then Roman, styles. Secondly, he assumed that Indian art was religious: "In a critical examination of the monuments of ancient India, therefore, it is the antiquarian interest, connected with the history of religion and civilization, that is the most prominent". (Buddhist Art in India,

Burgess, ed., London, 1900, 1) Grünwedel insisted that architecture and sculpture "never and nowhere [were] employed for secular purposes". (idem.)

Thirdly, he admits, contrary to Fergusson's conviction, there was not a lot of evidence to go on, so that it is not really possible to present a "continuous development" of Indian art. (2) He continues:

As concerns further the development of the artistic canon of the modern schools of Buddhism -- which on account of their valuable tradition afford . . . a valuable source of information for the analysis of the subjects represented -- as yet critical works thereon hardly exist. (3)

He then proceeds to define his own methodology.

Buddhist archæology [i.e., art history] must therefore begin with the investigation of the modern pantheon, especially of the northern schools, i.e., of the religious forms of Tibet, China and Japan, so as to recognise the different artistic types, and trying [sic.] to identify them with the ancient Indian. Combined with researches into the history of the sects, and, above all, of the hierarchy, there must be a separation of the different phases from one another, and the earliest forms must be looked for to a certain extent by eliminating later developments". (idem.)

Lastly, he says that it is essential to outline "the history of the different types of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas"; but, "unfortunately . . . the raw material required for this task has not yet, to any extent, been made accessible".

(idem.)

Here it would seem that the absence of Indian texts on æsthetics and iconography as well as of artefacts considerably circumscribed the work of the the would-be Indian Buddhist art historian.⁴ But Grünwedel is undaunted. He was aware that such texts existed. However, he dismisses



one category of these texts, Sādhānamālas, as "manuals on sorcery . . . ; they are important inasmuch as they prescribe for the exorcist the dress and attributes by which, according to the conceptions of the degenerate northern [Mahāyāna] school [conduct their rites]". (4)

For his presentation of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Grünwedel turned not to the northern "modern pantheon" but rather he used 1st century Gandhāran art as representative of Indian Buddhist art, and the predominant European Pali Buddhist studies as representative of Indian Buddhism. According to him any Sanskritic Buddhism, or Buddhism derived from Sanskritic texts, fell into the late, "degenerate" category. This would seem to suggest that sculpture belonging to the same category and period would be also degenerate. He seems to be unaware of his inconsistencies which make the resulting analysis a contortion of ideal, classical western forms to fit with a non-western, misunderstood, Buddhist doctrine. He writes much in the manner of Müller and Kern with respect to religious standards, in applying western æsthetic criteria to Buddhist doctrinal prerequisites for recognising -- but not necessarily representing -- a Buddha.

Artists were influenced in their depiction of the Buddha, Grünwedel claims, by the universal ruler or Cakravarti. "The specialising of the physical characteristics [i.e., the seven jewels, 32 marks and 80 lesser marks (lakṣanas) of the 'great man' rested on the ancient art of explaining signs, and . . . formed the basis of artistic efforts". (159) He does, however, admit that the

cakra, or wheel, which in imperial terms symbolises power, was transformed by Buddhists to symbolise the doctrine of the Buddha. And he regards "old Indian" art -- early "unornamented figures" from areas other than Gandhāra and predating it by several hundred years-- as "childishly weak", for "ritualistic interest is the chief thing considered", suggesting that the Cakravartin influence enters the picture at a stage later than classical styles.

(160) He says that the "idealising response" was to endow the Buddha with "supernatural gifts A further impulse to idealisation was given by the fact that the executive art restricted itself to youthful types". (idem.)

It is not clear what he means here by executive. *indeed vs!*

Grünwedel's statements to this effect abound. He thinks that:

The hair-splitting philosophy of the Buddhist sects led to a highly developed detail of the characteristics of the Buddha. The person of Gautama takes the form of belief, which is commented upon in all directions. The idea of Buddha is the chief matter. The introduction of the image of Buddha makes the ancient philosophy more of a religion. (idem.)If we return to the sculptures, we see before us, among the Gāndhāra remains, the complete ideal Buddha, produced under Hellenic influence, and here we may give attention to the introduction of a retrograde movement and see how the type has become changed and deteriorated in different lands. (163)

The Gandhāra images have the "most important physical characteristics established by superstition" (idem.)

Moving on from his initial comments about the Cakravarti, Grünwedel then says that the Buddha is related to the "Apollo-type of the Alexandrine period"

(164).

And while "Indian degeneracies" crop up in Gandhāra, its art being prototypical:

In the main [later Indian art of the so-called northern school] it preserves the old idealistic forms, but they are preserved, as it were, artificially, and are deprived of all individuality and independence: a picture of still beauty absorbed in itself, which has an effeminate and unmanly effect. (167)

Grünwedel illustrates this point with a photograph of a Buddha not from India, Tibet or China, but from Borobudur in Java.

Nālandā is mentioned insofar that "a Chinese source gives us the important information that the Buddha image depicted at Nālandā was represented with bared right shoulder". (175. The reference is F. Hirth, Ueber fremde Einflüsse auf die Chinesischen Kunst, Munich, 1896, which is either a later emendation of Grünwedel's or Burgess' note. It is not clear as to which, and there is no indication of which Chinese source was used.) As to the relevance of this statement Grünwedel is silent.

He goes on to suggest that "the theory of the Dhyāni or meditative Buddhas . . . forms the basis of the Mahāyāna doctrine The theory then arose that each Buddha dwelling on the earth has his mystic counterpart (Dhyānibuddha) in one of the Dhyāni-heavens, and that each of them again has his Bodhisattva or successor". (195) His source appears to have been Rhys-Davids, who arrived at his conclusions, as we have seen, not through his study of Pali and Sanskritic Buddhist texts, but through reading Burnouf and Körös.

Rhys-Davids had also contributed the notion that the

whole system came from Persia and looks like Gnosticism. With this Grünwedel concurs. The theory is seen to relate to Zoroastrianism focussing on Gandhāra: "It was necessary to touch upon these crude materials [presumably foreign influences], since only in this way can we comprehend the never-ending repetition of Buddha figures in the buildings of later Buddhism". (196) ⁶

Finally, Grünwedel reveals some of the criteria he applies to the later Buddhist art. His main contention is that the multiplication of forms leads to degeneration. Grünwedel declares that the "limbs no longer suffice to bear all the attributes; several arms, several heads are given to the figure: it is reduplicated in itself [as, for example, the 11-headed Avalokiteśvara]. Therewith real art comes to an end: the figure becomes a mere hieroglyph, the decking out with few or many attributes gives it the name of some religious idea". (204)

As to the repetition of forms, ". . . it is parallel with the like phenomenon in the texts; the mystic magical power of the ritual texts with its repetitions, -- always regarded as of great importance in India, -- led to the general disintegration in later Buddhist literature. The repetitions of the motifs brought about the dissolution also of Buddhist art". (209)

Secondly, he maintains that there is no relation between the later forms and the "philosophical doctrine of the Ratnatraya . . ." (205) Here it appears he does not mean triratna but something quite different: "But they are closely connected [figures of the Buddha with two

attendants] with the popular worship of the 'past, present and future Buddhas' represented by Śākyamuni with Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya and the other triad of Amitābha or Amitāyus with Avalokiteśvara on his left hand and Mahāsthāma on his right". (idem.)

Thirdly, Grünwedel insists that representations depart from real life -- the Gandhāran motif *par excellence*. The idealisation of the Buddha reaches its extreme in the "gigantic" pantheon found in Tibet, China and Japan. This Grünwedel finds "infinitely monotonous. Hardly a single figure shows real life". (205)

In the same vein he admires adherence to the "individual element". (206) He praises the Tibetans for their portraits of lamas -- the civilised element in an otherwise barbaric culture -- and the avoidance of "application and conversion of old sacred types to caricatures". (207)

While Grünwedel admits that he is only dealing with Gandhāra, that a great deal of work has still to be done in India and with the collections in the Indian and European museums, having made definitive statements seems to have deterred the next generation of art historians from carrying out the extra work.

This could conceivably have started with a critique of Grünwedel. Such remarks of his as, "talent in sculptural art exists only in a limited degree among the Indian Aryans" would have had to be challenged. (212) The Buddha figure, was created by foreign artists, in a region dominated by foreigners; but the classical form was sacrificed by the

Indians in order to incorporate Buddhist doctrinal symbols, resulting in, for Grünwedel, a debased art. As he says, "the character of the [Indian] people wavers between sensuality and pessimism". (213) That Indian Buddhist art might have had its origins in Indian Buddhism, and then with reference to a number of systems, for some of which multiplicity of forms was an important aspect does not appear to have occurred to Grünwedel any more than it did to Müller. ✓

Throughout Grünwedel firmly believes that the Gandhāran influence survives. But he accepts the conventional view that the Buddhism which does not emphasise the life and teachings of the historical Buddha is Buddhism in decline. In this sentiment Grünwedel is consistent with accepted wisdom for his time. ☹

Alfred Foucher

The primary advocate of Gandhāran supremacy was Alfred Foucher (1865-1952).⁷ However, our concern is not with his *magnum opus* on Gandhāra but with his "iconographic" studies, or more accurately, his comments on Nepalese 11th century copies of Indian Sanskrit manuscripts detailing the delineation of certain images. Foucher assures us:

Leur authenticité ayant été mise hors de doute par l'étude que nous venons de faire des manuscrits qui renferment, nous pouvons nous livrer en toute sûreté à un examen critique de leur mérite artistique, de leur fidélité traditionnelle et de leur valeur documentaire. (Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des documents nouveaux, I, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1900, 33)

Initially we see that style and verisimilitude are as important to Foucher as they are to Grünwedel. But style here has more to do with attributes that certain figures

do/do not share, and *vraisemblance* refers to the closeness in appearance between these copies and known Indian stone images of the same figure. (40) In fact, this study is a description of the various groups of figures -- Buddhas, Tārās, Avalokiteśvaras -- such as are found in the manuscripts. He is able to establish their identity not by their iconography but because their names appear in the manuscript:

Grâce à elles [the identifications], les difficultés, autrement insurmontables, auxquelles nous nous serions heurtés, sont aplanies comme par enchantement. Il va nous suffire de les lire pour que chaque idole prenne immédiatement son nom et plus d'une se trouvera aussitôt localisée que nommée. (75)

Be that as it may, the difficulty remains that we are none the wiser as to why images look the way they do, or what they represent in terms of any particular Buddhist ritualistic systems, particularly those images that Foucher describes as:

Quelque personnages corpulents et de sexe ambigu, d'un caractère terrible et démoniaque, ordinairement vêtus d'une peau de tigre et environnés de flammes, souvent ayant trois faces à trois yeux et une énorme chevelure hérissée, parfois coiffés d'une tête hennissante de cheval. (74)

However, Foucher does say in his "Conclusions":

Dans cette oeuvre à peine commencée de l'identification et de la classification des images bouddhiques indiennes, notre recueil de miniatures pourra fournir ainsi plus d'une indication précieuse: c'est avant tout le genre d'application pratique que nous rêvons pour lui. (174-75)

Foucher further allows that he has not provided " . . . un tableau complet de la mythologie du Bouddhisme", as in other texts "les illustrations seraient toute différentes".

(175) But the use of such words as "mythologie", "déesse", "çakti", "Dhyāni-Buddhas et Dhyāni Bodhisattvas", "le culte bouddhique", throughout the study suggests that he will experience problems in understanding the function of images: his vocabulary militates against it.

His first Étude having furnished the images, the second, published in 1905, is intended to provide more information on the disposition and function of images in the form of a manuscript collection of sādhanas ". . . au milieu d'un fatras de rites et de formules conjuratoires, quantité de descriptions exactement rédigées dans le même style".

(II, 2) But, he says, the groundwork had already been laid by Grünwedel in his Mythologie du Bouddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie (Paris and Leipzig, 1900).²³ Foucher states that the aim of the sādhana is:

Essentiellement pratique, de toute une section de la littérature bouddhique sanskrite et tibétaine, connue sous le nom de *tantra* ou *rgyud*, consiste, comme on sait, à se rendre favorables, dans des intentions rien moins que désintéressées, quantité de divinités bénigne ou démoniaques. Les *sādhana* sont autant de recettes ou, si l'on veut, de 'charmes' pour s'assurer leur concours et fonder même avec elles la plus intime des alliances. Nous n'avons pas à faire ici l'exposé, et encore moins la théorie de la méthode thaumaturgique du tantrisme: aussi bien suffit-il de renvoyer sur cette question au chapitre de Burnouf et surtout au travail si documenté que lui a spécialement consacré M.L. de La Vallée-Poussin [Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux, 1898]. (8)

Foucher adds:

Mais nous devons au lecteur, pour l'intelligence de ce qui va suivre, l'analyse d'un *sādhana* typique et complet: tous sont d'ailleurs à ce point coulés dans le même moule qu'à décrire un spécimen tant soit peu développé, [i.e. the Śri-Khasarpana-Lokeśvara-sādhana], on se trouve avoir tracé véritablement le schéma de ce bizarre genre littéraire. (idem.)

The formula is provided, the result being the ability to call up an image and identify with it: "C'est l'évocation d'une divinité en vue de l'identification de l'évocateur avec elle". (10) Foucher comments: "Tel est le cadre obligé d'un *sādhana*: on comprend dès lors comment, plus encore qu'un étudiant du rituel ou de la magie, un archéologue peut trouver à glaner dans la lecture d'une collection des 'charmes'". (idem.) He then proceeds to review the "divinités" with reference to the number of *sādhānas* given for each, an example repeated in Sanskrit and translated into French. Each of these obviously has some invocation attached to it. However, as in the case of the first Étude, the specific Buddhist context is missing.

In the conclusion to this second Étude, Foucher says that images illustrated in texts and texts giving the names of images and their description is "le plus clair bénéfice de cette étude iconographique" (103) Speaking of the history of Buddhist art in general, Foucher goes on to suggest that the construction of:

. . . une théorie du Bouddhisme où la faveur des fidèles passerait successivement de la vénération du Bouddha éteint au culte des Bodhisattvas vivants pour patauger finalement dans la fange des superstitions les plus grossières [amounts to] une grave méprise historique. (104-05)

But he does not elaborate.

Notions appertaining to persons, places and events that could be described as "supernatural" or "magical" go into pre-Buddhistic times. "En un mot," Foucher continues:

Elle puise directement aux plus vieilles sources de ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler l'hindouisme; et ainsi s'explique de façon naturelle que les *tantra* de toute secte fraternisent entre eux sur ce

fond commun avec une absence de vergogne que, au premier abord, achève de dérouter l'esprit simpliste et rationaliste de l'Européen, déjà choqué par tant d'impudeur et de fantasmagorie. C'est pourtant grâce aux aperçus ethnographiques ou, comme on dit, 'anthropologiques' qu'elles nous ouvrent -- car à quoi toujours revenir, sinon à la science de l'homme? -- que cette littérature de sorciers et cette mythologie de démons peuvent mériter de nous intéresser le plus; et c'est aussi pourquoi, si nous avons dû nous borner à en amorcer ici l'étude, nous avons du moins tenu à aller jusqu'au bout de nos documents. (107)

As in the case with Grünwedel's pronouncements it is a simple step to take the contents of these particular manuals, which may have applied only to Buddhist systems in the kingdoms Vaṅga and Samatata (East Bengal), as indicative of all Buddhist iconography, to work on categorising all images in terms of whether they do/do not fall within these textual limitations. Thus a very complex situation is vastly oversimplified. Certain sculptures subsequently found at Nālandā could have been compared to the Nālandā texts. There is no indication that they were, or that any other attempts were made to classify the many more images found at Nālandā which conformed to different standards.

E. B. Havell

E. B. Havell (1861-1934) viewed all Indian art as an organic part of Indian society.²⁹ Trained as an artist in Europe, he taught in British-run art schools in India for 22 years. His experience gave him direct understanding of the problems created by superimposed western thinking. While his main occupation was teaching art and teaching his Indian students traditional Indian manners and subjects, he often expressed fears that those involved in discovering and

interpreting India's historical art were not always proceeding in the right frame of mind.

Havell observes that although art is not given a primary place in Indian education under the British, in keeping with its neglect in their own university systems, artistic achievement is always hailed as a mark of a culture's advanced character. Ironically, the equipment for adequate art appreciation is not part and parcel of the observer's training. (The Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India Madras: The Theosophist Office, 1912, 3)

Changing the British and the Raj-educated Indian to a different way of thinking about Indian art would, of course, have taken time and sympathetic administrators. Havell speaks highly of the viceroy, Lord Curzon (1898-1905), who was very much in favour of promoting Indian art and culture: "But in seven years Lord Curzon had not time to realise what no Anglo-Indian administrator has yet learnt in a life time -- that in India art is not archæology". ("Indian Administration and 'Swadeshi'", Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education, Madras, G.A. Natesan & Co., 1906, 158) He says that one indication of this thinking is illustrated by the fact that the Indian Public Works Department, responsible for conservation of ancient monuments, also had "the monopoly of architectural art". (165) The result, according to Havell, is "archæological art", copies of the art of former ages, which detracts from the natural unfolding of a national art, and from properly training artisans in regional and/or national motifs. (168)

In another book Havell accepts European prejudices but

felt that over a period of time he had shifted his stance. While he admits to having been trained in the European school's attitudes towards Indian art, he came to see that "no European can appreciate Indian art who does not divest himself of his Western possessions. . . ." (idem.) He says that the "archæological view on Indian art . . . gives a completely distorted view of the intentions of Indian artists". Indian Sculpture and Painting, London, John Murray, 1908, ix.)¹⁰ Thus, his own aim in writing about Indian art is to indicate:

That the Indian ideal is not, as archæologists call it, a decadent and degenerate copy of a Græco-Roman prototype; that Indian fine art is not, as an Anglo-Indian critic puts it, a form of artistic cretinism, but an opening into a new world of æsthetic thought, full of the deepest interest, and worthy of the study of all Western artists. (x)

Havell opposed the theory of Hellenistic influence on Buddhist art. He says that the sculptures of Gandhāra and of Amaravati were "inspired by monastic schools of Northern India". (Indian Sculpture and Painting, Second edition, 1928, John Murray, London, 103) One of these was Nālandā. According to him, Nālandā was a "great culture-centre" whose influence was greater than the Hellenistic. He says that the development of Indian artistic ideals is explained by the "direct teaching and influence of those great educational centres [Taxila, Benares, Sridhanya Kataka "on the banks of the Krishna" and Nālandā]". (idem.) But he does not expand on what these teachings were or at what point in time they were influential. Although he says, "there were schools of painting, sculpture and handicrafts" at these centres, he cites no sources and gives no examples. (104) And more

frustrating is the fact that he gives no dates for these cultural flowerings.''

In Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India (London, John Murray, 1915), Havell stated that he was opposed to Fergusson's domination of the art history scene since 1865, submitting that the answers to India's past civilization are not to be found by sifting around in remains but by studying the surviving customs. He felt that the root of Indian religion, and by extension, its religious art, was to be found in the daily life of the people. Regarding Nālandā, he states that it also had " . . . schools of arts and crafts, for both Buddhist and Brahmanical monks were skilled in sculpture and painting of icons and in temple decoration" (141)

In his Handbook of Indian Art (London, John Murray, 1920), a book written specifically for Indian art courses to be taught at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, he states at the outset: "The section devoted to sculpture explains the leading ideas which underlie the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of the Deity and divine worship as they are expressed in the finest works of different periods". (v.) Accordingly:

A point of much importance for the correct classification of Indian temples is the relation of the image to its shrine or temple, as every Buddhist or Hindu image has an architectural framework appropriate to it. The indication I have given may lead the way to a more systematic treatment of a subject hitherto neglected by

archaeologists; but this is only possible for those who have the advantage of being in India". (vi-vii)

With regard to an Indian æsthetic, Havell says: "The first of the six artistic principles enunciated by Vātsyāyana [who wrote an æsthetic canon] -- the distinction of forms and appearances -- sums up the whole philosophy of oriental painting, the systematic teaching of which at Nālandā and other universities of Mahāyāna Buddhism must have profoundly influenced the whole art of Asia". (Handbook of Indian Art London, John Murray, 1920, 199) But how this might have been so, he does not say.

Havell suggests that when art historians come out to India from the West they do not stay long enough to lose their prejudices. By the same token, however, it is apparent that it is all too easy to acquire Hindu prejudices, or develop new ones, having become sympathetic with the Indian nationalist cause.

As to the architecture itself, he suggests that shrines other than stūpas were a late development: "It was not until Mahāyāna Buddhism introduced the idea of a Bodhisattva as a king of the heavenly spheres that [a shrine appeared] which is crowned by a curvilinear steeple, or sikhara, not unlike the high peaked crown, or mukuta, of the Bodhisattva himself" (57) How this came about he does not explain. But he goes on to say:

In the Buddhist temple architecture the sikhara became a distinctive mark of the Bodhisattva cult . . . while the stupa was the architectonic symbol of the Hinayanists [sic.]. . . Mahāyānists pursued a path of *bhakti*, or loyalty to their spiritual king . . . the distinction between the Buddha as a king and as a guru is clearly marked in Indian painting and sculpture". (58)

He describes the main shrine at Bodh-Gayā as a pancharatna-type temple (having five spires). (62-3) He then reiterates his claim that Nālandā's architecture was influenced by the rock carving of Mamallapuram, adding also the influence of the monastery at Undavalli on the Krishna River near Guntur. (92) This, he asserts, fits with Hiuen Tsiang's description of housing monks according to their rank, the master at the top of the building. (93) The earliest buildings at Nālandā were, Hiuen Tsiang -- according to Havell -- said, "wooden pavilions . . . with their pillars ornamented with dragons. beams resplendent with all the colours of the rainbow -- rafters richly carved -- columns accented with jade, painted red and richly chiselled". (96)

Havell also says that he hopes the excavations scheduled to take place at Nālandā ". . . will only bring in a rich harvest of archæological treasures and show the detailed planning of the great monastery, which is described and outlined by Hiuen Tsang [sic]; but they will not restore its lofty towers . . ." (92)

A. K. Coomaraswamy

Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) had a unique cultural position which gave him a critical advantage as well as the personal burden of intellectual problems he sought to expose in his writings. His father was a titled Tamil Hindu jurist, his mother was English, and he was born in Buddhist Ceylon.¹² As his biographer, Roger Lipsey, writes: ". . . the history of art was never for him either

a light question -- one that had to do only with pleasures -
- or a question of scholarship for its own sake, but rather
a question of setting right what had gone amiss partly
through ignorance of the past". (Lipsey, Coomaraswamy, His
Life and Work, III, Bollingen Series, LXXXIX, Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1977, 29)

He could see both the superimposition of English values
and the Sinhalese lack of interest in their own culture. His
early work in Ceylon combined nationalist politics and art
history. A youthful, nationalistic Coomaraswamy seems to
have no qualms about biting the hand that fed him. In the
Ceylon National Review, 1906, in an article entitled
"Anglicisation of the East", he wrote:

Englishmen, whose administrative capacities and
general ability it would be pointless to deny, are
so firmly convinced of the absolute superiority of
their own language, literature, music, art, morals
and religion over those of any other peoples -- an
attitude of mind proverbially ascribed to the
Englishman abroad in Europe, and still more
obvious when he becomes the ruler of an eastern
land -- that it is deemed heresy even to question
the desirability of grafting all these elements of
western culture upon the ancient tree of Indian
civilization. However honourable the exceptions,
it is true that the majority of Englishmen in the
East [sic.] . . . had known little and cared less
about the literary, artistic, and religious side
of Indian life. (Lipsey, 29; CNR, 181)

The same can be said to be true of the government upon whom
the archæologists in India and Ceylon were dependent for
funds. X

Coomaraswamy travelled back and forth from Ceylon to
India (Calcutta) to England writing, lecturing and generally
informing himself on Indian art, language and literature.
But for a number of reasons he did not stay on in Bengal as

he had planned in the early 1900's. Firstly he wanted to give his large collection of art to an Indian museum and assume a major curatorial post; but a proper art museum did not exist and he could not have been made the head of it. Secondly he could not get a university professorship of art and culture for the same reason that such a post did not exist at the time. Thirdly, art history had not yet been established as an intellectual study in India. (83) So while he was most anxious to work in the field of Indian art in India he was forced to pursue his promotion of Indian art in the west.

Coomaraswamy developed his interests in articles and books published in England and America. In 1907 he brought out Mediæval Sinhalese Art (Broad Camden, England). From 1907 on he was acknowledged as an authority on Indian art. In 1908 there appeared The Aims of Indian Art, and in 1909 The Message from the East. Both works tend to take the extreme pro-Indian, anti-western view that Havell had taken, a position he gradually modified. He attended the 15th International Oriental Congress in Copenhagen in 1908 to present a paper entitled, "The Influence of Greek on Indian Art" (included in Mediæval Sinhalese Art), and the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, London, to present "The Relation of Art and Religion in India" (Paper No. 102 in his Working Bibliography).

Another article, "Mahāyāna Buddhist Images in Ceylon and Java" appeared in the JRAS in 1909, 283-97. (53. Lipsey incorrectly dates this article to 1902.) His scholarship reflects the accepted position, with reference to styles and

dates, and sources. But he does make this distinction: "All that part of Buddhist art which is not merely survival of Asokan relic-worship and edifying narrative, is essentially Mahāyānist". (294) He particularly cites examples in the Neville Collection in the British Museum as well as those in his own collection.

The year 1910 provided "a turning point in the history of the British understanding of Indian art". (idem.) The occasion was Sir George Birdwood's reference to the Buddha image as a "boiled suet pudding", and his announcement that there were no fine arts in India. (Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, minutes, 4 Feb. 1910, 286-87) This sparked off a debate on the subject which resulted in Coomaraswamy's founding the India Society in London. In its day the great names in Indian art history and archæology were members and contributed papers.

As Lipsey observes, during the period from 1912 to 1916 ". . . there is an Eastern Coomaraswamy, occupied with traditional art, philosophy, and social order, and a Western Coomaraswamy, deeply sympathetic to the most rebellious Western thinkers and seeking to impose his own orientalized version of their thought". (107) Later he concentrated on the intellectual aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism, believing that it is essential to get one's understanding of this right if one is going to get everything else right. But he could see that western scholars had over-emphasised this in Indian religion, making all other aspects subservient. He was anxious to redress the balance, by placing Buddhist art and architecture in the broader context of Indian life. (33)

With respect to translations of manuscripts Coomaraswamy makes two points, first, a knowledge of the original language of manuscripts has to be supplemented with a knowledge of the *subject*, which can only be learned from an Indian master; and secondly, one also has to know the suitable technical language of an equivalent subject, such as philosophy and/or theology. While he is referring specifically to Sanskritic Vedic texts, what he has to say can equally apply to Buddhist texts. (178-79)¹³

Coomaraswamy regarded his work as a re-expression of eastern æsthetic philosophy. (185) However, he felt that there was an "apparently unbridgeable gap between traditional culture and the culture of the modern West". As a consequence, he attempted to develop his own work along the lines of what he describes the Buddha as doing, that is, he uses the process of setting out a proposition to be analysed and then approaches it from a number of different points of view, presenting what can be called "alternative-formulæ" (191)

But in History of Indian and Indonesian Art (New York, Edward Goldston, 1927), Coomaraswamy seems to blend quite easily east-west views, without a careful analysis. He asserts: "Certainly there had never existed a 'Buddhist India' that was not as much and at the same time and in the same areas as Hindu India". And then he says, in the manner of Fergusson: "In India, as elsewhere, we find a succession of primitive, classical, rococo and finally mechanical forms; the evolution is continuous, and often, especially in the earliest periods, rapid; and wherever our knowledge is

adequate, Indian works, like those of all other countries, can be closely dated on stylistic evidence". (71) Further on he concludes that Foucher's theory of the Gandhāran origin of the Buddha image is without substance. It is his belief that the Mathurā image is the true Indian type. He feels that the influence of Hellenistic art is "perhaps rather historical than æsthetic". (75)

With respect to Nālandā, he appears to be merely reiterating more or less what Havell had written:

The famous centre of Buddhist learning at Nālandā, South Bihar, was founded by Narasimha Bālāditya (467-473). Hsüan Tsang describes the great brick temple over three hundred feet in height, erected by this king. . . . Nothing survives except the massive basement, some of the niches in this basement representing fully developed Nāgara Sikharas may be later additions. Nothing at Nālandā, the most famous of medieval monasteries and centres of learning, antedates the fifth century, or postdates the twelfth. (82)

He then introduces material from the ASI reports:

Nālandā has been the richest source of the well-known smooth black slate images of the Pāla school, and has also yielded a very extensive series of Buddhist bronzes. It may well have been here that the famous artists Dhīmān and Bitpālo, painters and sculptors mentioned in Tārānātha, worked in the latter part of the ninth century. The importance of Nālandā as a centre of Buddhist culture and a source of iconographic and stylistic influences throughout the Buddhist world is well illustrated by the close relations between it and Sumatra-java revealed by the copper plate of Devapāladeva, in which reference is made to the important monastery built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇadvāpa, ca. 860. Traces have been found of what may have been a statue of the founder. (113. He cites ASIAR, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, 41.)

As for his last remark, there is nothing in the ASI report to warrant the suggestion.¹⁴ He further suggests that Nālandā's art can be analysed in "three stages -- the later development of Magadhan art, the first early Mahāyāna types,

with Buddha and Bodhisattva images -- votive stūpas; then, marking the development of Tantrayāna on the basis of the older Yogācāra doctrines, the appearance of the Śaiva influences and images; and finally the introduction of the Kālācakra system of Vaiṣṇava figures". (idem.) However, Coomaraswamy does not explain where he got this proposed analysis and does not develop it further.

Coomaraswamy went to the United States in 1917 -- having blotted his copy-book with the British by being a conscientious objector during the 1914-18 War -- to become curator of oriental art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. (Lipsey, 131) Here he was able to expand his knowledge and pursue his interests without interference.¹⁶

M.W. de Visser

In the 1920's, the Dutch professor of Japanese at the University of Leiden, M.W. de Visser, published the first volume of his two-volume study on Japanese Buddhist art.¹⁶ While published slightly later in time to the art history we are dealing with, it is relevant to this thesis because it brings together iconographic texts and an historic record indicating when and how certain images were used in the 7th century. By 1928 a number of similar images had been found at Nālandā. Visser's work was available in English, but it does not appear to have attracted the notice of European Indian Buddhist scholars or to have come to the attention of ASI archæologists.

Visser's Ancient Buddhism in Japan (Buddhica Documenta et Travaux pur l'Étude du Bouddhisme) Jean Przyluski, ed., Paris, 2 volumes, 1928; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1935), is based

on a translation of the Japanese court records detailing of the actual ceremonies being carried on from the seventh century. The sūtras and/or tantras used were translations from Sanskrit into Chinese.

The Japanese rites were taken directly from these texts. Throughout Visser's study it is apparent that sūtras were read at various festivals -- as well as at consecrations of palaces and shrines -- to avert floods and other calamities, to encourage rainfall, to cure illness and to express gratitude for the passing of an illness.

(passim.)¹⁷ On these occasions not only were the sūtras read, but images, often commissioned for that specific ceremony, were washed and decorated. (20) Pictures of the images were copied as part of any healing ceremony. Large congregations of monks and nuns were given a vegetarian meal after this and no doubt other ceremonies. Musicians and dancers performed, and, for the occasion, the temples were adorned with flags and canopies. (29)¹⁸

Visser reports that the Indian monk Amoghavajra was in China A.D. 746-771 teaching monks to perform ceremonies and translate sūtras containing dharanīs (chants, incantations) and tantras providing instructions for the performance of the ceremonies. (76) The numbers of the images used varied from four to seven to be invoked by the dharanī, and the groupings varied from ceremony to ceremony. (76-81) Amoghavajra and others apparently established schools where the monks were trained in how to perform these rites for public as well as private occasions. Whether they were a special category of monk is not known. (116)

The ceremonial example he gives relates to the Kāruṇīkarājasūtra, the Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings, who protected their countries. The sūtra was translated into Chinese by Kumaraśīva in the 5th century and by Amoghavajra in the 8th, at which time he added 36 dharaṇīs to Kumaraśīva's text. (121) In this ceremony, "Respectfully receiving and keeping this sūtra", copies of the sūtra were placed in seats in the performance of the rite for avoiding calamities. (I, 124-58) As we can see, the sūtra was translated directly from the Sanskrit:

The Buddha commits this sūtra to the kings of the countries and not the monks and nuns or to the male and female lay-members of the community because these kings alone have the royal majesty and power, necessary to establish the Law (in those times). Therefore these kings must receive and keep, read and explain this text, in order to drive away the seven calamities which may descend on the 16 large, 500 middle and 100,000 small countries of Jambudvīpa [the continent of India]. (137)

The disposition of images varied from ceremony to ceremony, depending on the sūtra used and the purpose of the ceremony, and whether it was conducted in public or in private. But the intention is the same, namely, to protect individuals from harm by invoking Saddharma, or the Pure Law. Saddharma is given additional power by repetition of dharaṇīs and the symbolic arrangement of appropriate images.

As the text instructs: "You ought to erect the images and make offerings to them. The Bodhisattva [in this case] hears the dhāraṇīs and the hearing of the sūtra removes all obstacles. Then with different mouths but one sound, they pronounced [them] before the Buddha." (140)¹²⁹ Sound played an important part in all ceremonies.

The text gives five Vidyārājas, or Dharmapālas, who represent the terrifying aspects of the Tathāgathas (Buddhas) -- i.e. they frighten away enemies of Saddharma.

They are: Acala Mahākrodharāja, Vajrayaksa, Kuṇḍali, Yamātaka (Yamāri or Śrīvajrabhairava) and Trailokyavijaya.

(144) They are set out in a maṇḍala, a complex constellation in which every luminary is encircled by planets, in turn surrounded by satellites.

The Vidyārājas are also "personification(s) of magic formulæ [which] issued from the top of the head . . . of the Buddhas" (155) They are described as follows:

1. Trailokyavijaya Vajra, having four heads and eight arms, emits a blue radiance and suppresses the armies of Mahesvara (Śiva), the demons who violate and damage Saddharma and injure sentient beings; (153)
2. Kuṇḍali Vajra, having eight arms and a red radiance, suppresses Asuras and demons who use epidemics to annoy and injure sentient beings, and is accompanied by Virūdhaka, the blue king of the Kumbhāndas who leads Kumbhāndas and Pretas; (154)
3. Yamātaka Vajra, having six heads and feet, resting on a buffalo, having also 1,000 arms and a yellow radiance, suppresses poisonous Nāgas who raise evil storms. He is accompanied by Virūpakṣa, the red king of the Nāgas who leads the Nāgas and Putanas (Pretas who rule over fevers); (idem.)
4. Vajrayaksa Vajra, having four arms and a blue radiance, suppresses all demon yaksas who seize by force the vital spirit of all sentient beings. He is accompanied by Vaiśravaṇa, yellow king of the Yaksas who leads Yaksas and Rākhsasas. (idem.)
5. Acala, having two arms and a five-coloured radiance (white), suppresses all evil demons who cause error and confusion, comes with Sakra (Indra), ruler of the Devas who leads the Devas. (idem.)

All of these are attended by "four koṭi of Bodhisattvas".

(idem.)

The text also included explanations as to how to create a maṇḍala, how to approach it and which mudrā, or hand gesture, to use. (161-75) In addition, it indicates

that the Tathāgata is surrounded by symbolic male (vajra) and female garbha "powers", or images.

As for the private or secret (esoteric) ceremonies, tantras and sūtras but no images are used. Instead, the performing monks invoke the names of the five Buddhas. According to Visser, this ceremony is performed so that the priests can acquire merit. (108)

The source for these texts was Sanskrit; the basis for the ceremony was Indian. This would seem to suggest that rulers and their officials were concerned with religion and religious institutions not for philosophical or scholarly reasons but rather to protect themselves and their country from any threat to its peace and security. If this is true, then one of the major functions of a monastery such as Nālandā would have been to train monk/priests to perform ceremonies as well as to conduct the ceremonies as required.

Visser also refers to "purification meetings". These were ceremonies conducted at imperial command following a siege of pestilence or a famine. The priests fed the Five Great Power Bodhisattvas. (146)*° A vast number of Vidyārājas and other terrific aspects of Buddha were used. The Bodhisattva image in this context represented the Buddha's compassion and blessing power. The Vidyārājas here represented the Buddha's anger against evil demons. They are the angry expellers of the evil demons of disease, calamity and war. Participants in the ceremony made offerings to paintings of these images; they set out maṇḍalas using bronze images; they recited dharanīs invoking protection; they read and/or heard sūtras, and sang chants, or hymns.

Another ceremony which Visser describes was called the Pañcavārṣīkapaṛiṣad, or Mahāmokṣapaṛiṣad. It was conducted for the welfare of the state, and involved all the principal images -- Śākyamuni Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and Arhats as well as Vidyārājas. The ceremony was said to be particularly effective against "barbarian attacks" --a phrase translated directly from the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit name for the ceremony was said to have dated to the time of the emperor Aśoka. This was a public occasion as it was the festival of the liberation of sentient beings. (190) Presents were distributed on a large scale. Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang wrote about a great assembly held before two standing images of the Buddha outside the western gate at Kutchā in East Turkestan. And Hiuen Tsiang recounts his presence at a similarly grand public ceremony at the command of Śiladitya.

Chapter III

Notes

1. Ram Raz (1790-1833(?), an Indian magistrate and judge in Bangalore, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, wrote an "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus", for the RAS in 1834. It was the first work in English on Indian architecture. He examines a number of South Indian architectural manuscripts, (Śilpa-śāstrās), noting:

The most interesting circumstance connected with these treatises, is their toleration of the worship of the *Jainas* and *Baud'dhas*; the authors of them having carefully pointed out distinct sites to be set apart in villages and towns for the erecting of their temples, and having likewise prescribed rules for constructing images of the objects of adoration by these sects. (Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, Delhi, Indological Book House, reprint, 1972, 9)

But he indicates that the texts, which he is unable to date, may well show Hindu toleration towards other religious groups as they are in the ascendancy. He does not go into any detail on the subject. The basic techniques would have applied to all buildings, it would appear, modifications taking place when required.

Haraprasad Sastri's Report on the Search of Sanscrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) (Calcutta, 1901) indicates the discovery of an 11th century copy of the Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā which was written at Nālandā, two 12th century architectural treatises, the Pratiśṭhātattva (or the Mayasaṅgraha) and the Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā in which there are chapters on temple and monastery architecture. (BEFEO, 1, 1901, 259-60) They may not have ever been edited.

Yet another work was made available by Berthold Laufer (1874-1934), ethnologist and anthropologist who went to the United States in 1898 and was a curator at the Field Museum, Chicago from 1907. His Das Citralackshana nach dem tibetischen Taniur heransgegeben und Übersetzt, a German translation of the Ri-moi-mts'an-ñid, a treatise on the art of painting (Leipzig, Dokumente des indischen kunst, Heft 1: Malerei, O. Harrassowitz, 1913), was translated into English by B.N. Goswamy and A.L. Dahmen-Dallapiccola, An Early Document of Indian Art: The "Citalaksana of Nagnajit, New Delhi, Manohar, 1976.

2. Fergusson said:

In no other country of the same extent are there so many distinct nationalities, each retaining its old faith and its old feelings, and impressing these on its art. There is consequently no country where the outlines of ethnology as applied to art can be so easily perceived, in their application to the elucidation of the various problems so pre-eminently important In India [art] is clear and intelligible. No one can look at the

subject without seeing its importance, and no one can study the art as practiced there without recognising what the principles of science really are. (History, 6)

But Fergusson never exactly states what these "principles" are in Indian terms. And his argument for regional -- ethnological -- variations suggests an entirely different claim than the one he claims to be pursuing. In addition to that, he categorically states: "Indian has no history properly so called, before the Mahomedan [sic.] invasion in the 13th century". idem.

3. Albert Grünwedel, Indologist, Tibetologist, Ethnographer, was born in Munich 1856, and died in Lenggries bei Bad Tölz, Bavaria, 1935. From 1876-79 he read classical philology, archæology and Indology at the University of Munich under leading scholars. In 1883 he was appointed assistant director of the Museum of Folk Art, Berlin. In 1891 he was named professor, and in 1904 appointed director of the Indian division of Museums. Between 1902 and 1921 when he retired, he accompanied two expeditions with von LeCoq to Turfan. He wrote Buddhistische Kunst in Indien (1893) and Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei (1900). The former was translated into English in 1901, revised and enlarged by Burgess.

4. With regard to European collections, Grünwedel reports that Cunningham's shipment of artefacts went down with the steamer *Indus* Nov. 1855 off the Ceylon coast. (83) A collection from Jamālgarhī made by Sir E. Clive Bayley and sent to Crystal Palace for exhibition was destroyed by fire 1866 before it could be photographed. (A note regarding it and 11 lithos are to be found in in JASB, XXI, 1852, 606-621.) Other finds were simply deposited in Indian museums "much to the detriment of their proper study. . . . Numbers have from time to time been acquired by private individuals, and some have found their way to the British Museum, the Berlin Ethnographical Museum, the Louvre, Vienna, and the Edinburgh University. . . ." (idem.)

Grünwedel credits Fergusson with being the first European to deal "scientifically" with Indian monuments and their art. Grünwedel also refers to books and/or articles by Cunningham, Bailey, Cole (Preservation of National Monuments 1885), Smith and Senart.

5. Referring to Ādi-Buddha, Grünwedel says that there is ". . . a kind of monotheism in the shape of the doctrine of Adibuddha -- the primeval Buddha, from which all others emanated". He dates this notion to the 12-13th centuries.

In describing Mañjuśrī and the "northern school" he appears as the representative of transcendental wisdom which is the aim of the Mahāyāna school". (199) He illustrates him with a Javanese figure of the 13th century, then quotes the īhanas of the "southern school", assuming that Mañjuśrī's pose is that of the fourth īhana. (200-01) Grünwedel states: "Mañjuśrī, as we have seen, may be regarded, to a certain extent, as the personification of meditation". (201) But how this is so he does not explain.

Speaking of Padmapāṇi -- also called Avalokiteśvara -- he says: "The figures of Mañjuśrī and Padmapāṇi have been dwelt upon as showing how nearly northern Buddhist art approached mere personification. The purely spiritual element so entirely predominates that the human figure has become a mere form. . . . The oldest personification of this kind is the goddess of transcendental knowledge -- Prajñā Pāramitā . . . which, in style, as in worship, is not of much account". (204)

6. Grünwedel was indebted to L. A. Waddell, Tibetan Buddhism, and Foucher (Revue de l'histoire des religions, XXX, 319-371). Coomaraswamy, who reviewed the English edition for The Hindustan Review, 1910, said: "In Grünwedel's book, every fact was 'balanced by a corresponding misconception,' and there was far too much attention given to 'the insincere and un-Indian art of Gandhāra, an art that has no more interest for the artist than any other phase of decadent classic art'". (Lipsey, 371)

7. Alfred Foucher was born in 1865 and died in 1952 -- the same year as Grousset (b. 1885), and the year of the 100th anniversary of Burnouf's death. Foucher devoted 60 years to Indian studies. He moved from teaching literature in 1891 to Indian studies without any academic preparation. According to Filliozat:

C'est alors que la lecture fortuite d'un livre aujourd'hui tombé dans un juste oubli, et où Pythagore devenait un sage indien dont le nom sanskrit était reconstitué, attira son attention sur des relations possibles entre le sanskrit et les langues classiques. (389)

This led him into the field of Sanskrit and Indian civilization. From 1891-94 Foucher studied at l'École pratique des Hautes Études under Sylvain Lévi. In 1895-97 he took his first trip to India to report on archaeological and religious studies. In 1905 he received his doctoral degree for his thesis, Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après les documents nouveaux. From 1907 Foucher was in charge of Indian language and literature courses at the Sorbonne, Faculté des Lettres, and he was joint director of l'École pratique, becoming its director in 1914. (Filliozat, "Alfred Foucher", Journal Asiatique, CCXL, 1952, 389-92)

8. Grünwedel deals with images, but not well enough to provide a clear understanding of the material discussed, as is evident in the rest of Grünwedel's work. Foucher also notes F. W. Thomas' "Deux collections sanscrites et tibétaines de Sādhanas", Museon, IV, no 1, 1903, which refers to Bendall's Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, 132-33, 154-55, 174)

9. Ernest Binney Havell, ARCA, was born in London in 1861. He studied art at the Royal College of Art in London, and on the continent. His career in the Indian Educational Service

began in 1884. From that date until 1892 he was Superintendent of the Madras School of Arts. Subsequently as Reporter to the government on arts and industries he investigated the state of native crafts. He was Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta from 1896-1906, as well as the Keeper of the Government Art Gallery. He reorganised art education along Indian lines and helped in the formation of the New School of Indian Painting of which Abanindranath Tagore, one of his pupils, was a leading light. He also initiated a movement for the revival of handloom weaving. As a Fellow of Calcutta University he was active in university reform. He died in 1934.

10. See Roger Fry's review, "Oriental Art", Hindustan Review, 1910, 271. O.C. Gangoly Orissan Sculpture and Architecture Calcutta, 1956, regarded it as a pioneer work, despite defects. Lipsey says that what Havell lacked in sober scholarship he made up for in sheer enthusiasm. (53) Hermann Goetz maintained that Havell "had restored the self-esteem of Indian art, often in a one-sided and crudely chauvinistic manner, but too often misunderstanding the themes and objects of art for art itself". (H.G. Memorial Volume, 325-31) Havell tended to praise Indian art and denigrate western art, the reverse of what other westerners were doing.

11. It is not altogether clear if the art work found at Nālandā was created here. Hiuen Tsiang describes elegantly decorated buildings, but what is unique is his description; the decorations on the buildings themselves may not have been unique. Craftsmen may not have been working exclusively at Nālandā. More than likely, artists were moving around taking work where they could find it. So while they may have been in residence at one point, they may not have been there on a permanent basis.

12. Sir George Birdwood was curator of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum -- to be renamed the Victoria & Albert -- whose The Industrial Arts of India (London, 1880) influenced Coomaraswamy to write Mediæval Sinhalese Art.

In the 1930's, Coomaraswamy also published a number of articles specifically on architectural and iconographic subjects which were not noted by the Nālandā archæologists, namely:

"Early Indian Iconography: I. Indra", Eastern Art, I, 1928-29, 1, 33-41;

"Early Indian Iconography: II Sri Laksmī, I. Literary References", Eastern Art, 1928-29, I, 3, 175-189;

"Early Indian Architecture: I Cities and City gates; II Bodhi Gharas", 209-236; "Early Indian Architecture: III Palaces", Eastern Art, III, 1931, 181-217 ;

"The Intellectual Operation in Indian Art", JISOA, III, 1, 1935, 1-12, and

"Symbolism of the Dome", IHQ, XIV (1938), 1-56. This was published as Symbolism of Indian Architecture. Jaipur: The Historical Research Documentation Programme, Ajay Nath, 1983).

All of these give the Sanskrit and English names and textual references along with great detail. They deal, however, with the relatively uncontroversial subject of early Buddhist art.

13. Coomaraswamy writes in "On Translation: Māyā, Deva, Tapas" (Isis, XIX: 55, 74-91): "Oriental translators, having acquired their vocabulary and point of view mainly from the published works of European scholars, are similarly limited". 74-75)

14. According to Bhattasali, quoting Tāranātha, the artists Coomaraswamy associates with Nālandā worked in Varendhra, not Magadha. Whether they had any influence on Nālandā is pure speculation. But the idea does not appear to have originated with Coomaraswamy and continues to have currency. (N.K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Dacca, The Museum Press, 1929, 9)

15. His influence extended to another generation of art historians, among them Benjamin Rowland, jr., Hermann Goetz (who became curator of the Baroda Museum in 1940), Mircea Eliade (Coomaraswamy was instrumental in bringing him to the United States), Paul Mus and Stella Kramrisch. According to Lipsey, Kramrisch's Hindu Temple (1946) " . . . was described by a reviewer as the fulfillment of Coomaraswamy's wish for an Indian art history that would give due importance, and above all due understanding, to the meaning of forms". (216)

16. Marinus Willum de Visser was professor of Japanese at Leiden. The second volume of his books was published after his death. No more biographical material is available in English sources.

17. For example, the Mahāvaiṣṭyamaḥāmēghāsūtra was read to cause rain; the Avalambana was read with offerings to the Buddha and the Śaṅgha on behalf of parents and ancestors of seven generations -- a festival which is probably Chinese in origin but coincides with the Hindu Divālī and the Buddhist Kattina; the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa was read in gratitude for recovery from illness; the Baiṣajyagurusūtra in the case of illness and against other calamities; and such sūtras as the Avalokiteśvarasūtra to cause rainfall.

Understandably, over the years great quantities of images would still be standing (or sitting) in or near a temple -- just as they are today -- in various stages of disrepair. Different sūtras called for different images: the Kārnīkarāja-prajñāpāramitāsūtra, the Mahābodhisattvas of the Four Quarters; the Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra, Bhaiṣajya Buddha and seven healing Buddhas (part of Amitabha's retinue); the Mahāsattvasūtra, the Buddhas of the 10 Quarters; the seven Buddhas, the five Wisdom Buddhas, the Benevolent Kings, to mention a few.

18. The Empress Suiko, in A.D. 651, ordered the making of copper and embroidery images, one embroidery containing the figures of Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and

Samantabhadra, Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Aśuras, Garudas, Kinnaras and Mahārājas -- in short, 46 figures.

19. The five Tathāgatas are also named as follows in the Amoghavajra translation of the relevant tantra (correspondences from the Vajrasekharayogasūtra in parentheses):

Centre: Vajrapāramitā (Dhārmacakra-pravartana)
East: Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva (Samantabhadra)
West: Vajratikṣṇa (Mañjuśrī)
South: Vajraratna (Alasagārbha, Vajragārbha)
North: Vajrayakṣa

We see here that different texts had different names for the same figures -- that Vajrasattva, for example, in one setting is Samantabhadra in another, not an entirely different figure with a separate iconography.

20. According to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, vidyārājas can have a number of interpretations: They can be (1) a personification of dharanī; (2) a lotus group bearing the names of Brahmanic deities, and (3) a vajra group led by the Bodhisattva Vajrapani representing the ancient Brahmanic geni of the air (Vidyādhara), where vajra takes the place of nadana. (155) Whether this is the editor, Przyłuski, or the words of the sūtra we do not know at this point. Visser also notes here that Amoghavajra put vajra-carrying figures in place of the utterances of the Tathāgatas, and had the central figure take over as the leader. We also do not know if this is an invention for the Chinese and Japanese, or if it was originally Indian. (idem.) Here again the particular system to which the tantra belongs is not indicated.

Chapter IV

The Early Investigators 1812-1861

[N.B. Illustrations, Lists in Appendices are given in brackets in Chapters IV-IX.]

The Accounts of Dr. Francis Buchanan

While Buchanan's visit to Bargaon predates Rémusat's translation of Fa-hien with the itinerary of Hiuen Tsiang, his survey was not known about until it appeared in edited form in 1838. However, in terms of the historical record, it is appropriate to acknowledge that in 1812 Dr. Francis Buchanan (1762-1829) surveyed the ruins near the the village of Bargaon. ¹

Buchanan was more than a mere surveyor and chronicler of India's ancient monuments. By training a medical doctor, appointed Assistant Surgeon to the East India Company in 1794, his interests included botany, geology and agriculture as well as antiquities. He began surveying for Lord Wellesley in 1800. He was asked by the Court of Directors in 1807 to conduct a complete statistical survey of the Bengal Presidency. (Cunningham, ASIR, I, 1864, iv) He finished this assignment in 1815. Two copies of his reports were made in Calcutta and sent to England, one to the East India Office and one to the Royal Asiatic Society. He was then appointed Superintendent of the Honourable Company's Botanical Garden in Calcutta. The following year he retired. After his brother's death, he came into an inheritance and changed his name to Hamilton. He died in 1829. (V.H. Jackson, ed., "Journal of Francis Buchanan (Patna and Gaya Districts)", JBORS, VIII, 1922, 146)

According to Oldham, who edited Buchanan's Shahabad survey:

The wholly unmerited oblivion into which Buchanan's valuable research passed for so many years was largely due to two causes, the assumption of the name Hamilton after his retirement from India, and the neglect of the East India Company to have the result of his labours published in complete form, with all his maps, plans and sketches correctly reproduced, under his own supervision if possible: and he lived until 1829. (C.E.A.W. Oldham, "The Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) from the 1st November 1812 to the 26th February 1813, when carrying out his Survey of the District of Shahabad", JBORS, IX, 1925, iii)

Buchanan's Reports remained unknown until 1838 when Robert Montgomery Martin edited and had published The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India, in three volumes.²² While he acknowledged that the survey report was the work of Buchanan, Martin made a number of arbitrary and drastic alterations to the manuscript, not the least of which was to shrink the account of the Burgaon/Kundilpur area and leave out the survey map. Eastern India was widely read, criticisms of Martin's arbitrary abridgements notwithstanding.²³ Both Kittoe and Cunningham were familiar with the book and do credit Buchanan with a number of discoveries. Cunningham's map of Nālandā may owe something to Buchanan's map, which, alas, is not with his papers preserved in the India Office Library.

Because of Martin's over-enthusiastic editing, we shall use Jackson's later edition for Buchanan's account of what we now know as Nālandā. It was published after Jackson's death, in the late 1920's as Francis Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12, I, Patna, Bihār and Orissa Research Society, (n.d.).

Buchanan surveyed remains near the village of Bargaon (which he calls "Baragang") on 8 January, 1812. He knew these ruins as Kundilpur. According to local tradition:

At one time (before Christ, 800) the city [Patna], according to a learned priest of the Jain who resides here, belonged to a petty chief of that sect; but was afterwards fortified by a Maga [Maha] Raja, who seems to have been a very powerful prince, and the ruins of buildings, attributed by all to this Maga, at Baragang, in the vicinity of Behar [Bihar-Sharif], are of an astonishing magnitude, as will be afterwards described. The persons, by whom they have been erected, have evidently been Buddhists, and were probably either the Andhra kings, or the princes who intervened between them and the descendents of Chandragupta; but they are abhorred as infidels, nor have I been able to learn any traditions concerning their names. (48)

Buchanan gave a full account of his sculptural discoveries, assigning letters and numbers with reference to his own map. [List 1, Appendix I. Mainly Buddhist images are given here] The map was not reproduced in Martin or Jackson. Therefore, we have created a sketch based on Buchanan's descriptions, with an overlay giving Martin's plate numbers for those he reproduced in Eastern India, I. [4.1] [4.2 overlay]. It is not clear whether Martin's plates were made directly from Buchanan's sketches, or they are his own renderings.⁴ [4.3]

Buchanan notes find-spots images with great care as to detail. He also often compares these images with similar ones discovered at Rājgir and Bodh-Gayā. With reference to the nearby town of Gaya, he notes the local practice of the current use of images:

At Gaya there is no trace of any considerable building of the least antiquity, and it is generally admitted that, except those in the very modern work of Vishnupad, the greater part of the materials and even images [have] been brought from Buddha-Gaya. The number of images built into the

walls as ornaments is immense, and their similarity to such as still remain at Buddha-Gaya and the great number that evidently represent Buddhas, not only single, but in rows and clusters, would prove this, were it not avowed by many who remember the bringing of the great number. Indeed, most of the images although they have some resemblance to such as are worshipped by the orthodox, differ in so many particulars, that two persons seldom agree about the deity they are intended to represent. . . . Whenever [the residents] want an image, they take the first that they can find and give it any name that suits their purpose, without the least regard to attributes or even to the manifest distinction of sex. Numerous pillars, parts of doors and windows, cornices, and inscriptions are everywhere built into the walls, not only of the religious, but of private dwellings, have evidently been taken from ruins [of vihāras, etc.]. (101-02)

Buchanan also kept a journal of his private impressions. Jackson edited the Patna and Gaya Districts journal from the original manuscript discovered in the India Office Library in 1911. Jackson's edition appeared first as "The Bihar-Patna Journal of Francis Buchanan", (JBORS VIII, 1922, 145-366), and then in book form as Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, (V.H. Jackson, ed., Patna, Superintendent of Government Printing, Bihār and Orissa, 1925).⁵

The journal provides supplements the report. It gives for instance a "detailed description of the route which Buchanan actually followed". (JBORS, 150) [4.4] Jackson remarks, with some irony:

In [the journal] it is interesting to notice the care with which Buchanan tested the truth of any statements made to him, wherever opportunities occurred later; as well as, in general, the thoroughness with which he adopted the principles of modern scientific research . . . [e.g.] in the endeavours which he made, though without much success, to obtain a criterion by which Buddhist and Jain images could be distinguished one from the other. . . . (153)

Buchanan had practically no works of reference to assist him in identifying the

antiquities of Bihar, such as the Travels of the Chinese Pilgrims which have revealed so much to later archæologists, and it is not surprising that he rejected information which now appears very significant. (154)

No doubt Buchanan would not have regarded lack of a reference work as a handicap. Buchanan's very considerable powers of observation in quest of information and his attention to detail in recording it appear to have been neglected in favour of literally-minded attempts to prove the correctness of identifications of the Chinese pilgrims. His only map was Rennell's Bengal Atlas (Calcutta, 1781), which was reputed to be inaccurate. His journal carefully records a wealth of accurate and essential topographical information. (156)

Capt. Markham Kittoe

The first "archæologist" to visit Bargaon and identify the ruins as Nālandā was Capt. Markham Kittoe, of the 6th Regiment, North Indian Army. Kittoe had been travelling and submitting reports of his travels since 1836 to the JASB. He was familiar with Montgomery Martin's Eastern India, and J.M. Laidlay's The Pilgrimage of Fah-Hian; from the French edition of Foe Kou Ki (Calcutta, 1848) -- his translation of Rémusat. But Kittoe, in his "Notes on the Viharas and Chaityas of Behar [Bihār]", first refers to an article by the Hon. George Turnour, "An Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals", wherein are mentioned "eighteen great viharas surrounding Raja-griha". (JASB, VI, 11, 1837, 510-27; 517). JASB, XVI, 1, 1847, 272-79, 273) " Kittoe reports having traced the remains of 17 vihāras -- including one at Bargaon. (274)

Kittoe says that there lies 12-14 miles south of Rajgir, the village of *Koorkihar* ". . . perhaps a corruption of 'Kirika' and Vihara the ancient name . . . said to have been Koondilpoor, but this honor [sic.] is claimed also for Burgaon, the site of another large city and monastery, chaityas, &c. to the north of the hills, distant 10 or 12 miles". (275)

Kittoe indicates that he was making this journey in his own time and, presumably, at his own expense. He was a superb draughtsman himself and has left several watercolours and drawings of his travels, which are in the India Office Library, Prints and Drawings Section. He attributed his interest in Buddhist archaeology to the patronage of James Prinsep (1799-1840), secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and editor of its journal. (272) His travels in Bihār had been expressly directed by Prinsep's dreams and aspirations; " . . . but I hope that I am at the same time partly meeting those of the Honourable Court of Directors [of the East India Company], and of the Royal as well as the Parent Asiatic Society". (273)

In 1847 Kittoe reported having travelled the distance of one yojan southwest from Bihār to the "hamlet of Na-lo, where *Ché-li-foe* [Śāriputra] was born, and here he entered nirvāna. They have built a tower which still exists".

("Notes on Places in the Province of Behar [Bihār] supposed to be those described by Chy-Fa-Hian, the Chinese Buddhist Priest, who made a pilgrimage to India, at the close of the fourth century, A.D.", JASB, XVI, 2, 1847, 953-970, 954).

Although he does not say where it was in relation to "Na-lo", Kittoe reports having also visited:

Burgaon where there were several high tumuli, also many fine sculptures, numerous tanks and wells, the ruins are most extensive; the ancient name of this town was Kūndilpur, and is mentioned in the Bhagvat, and in the Jain books, it is nearly due north of Rajagriha about 7 miles. I can again hardly think that such a place would have escaped the notice of so observant person as Fa-Hien. (955)²³

However, in an article appearing the following year Kittoe equates Na-lo with Bargaon:

From Behar [Bihār] I went to Bargaon; this must have been a famous place, and I consider it to be the 'Na lo' of Fa Hian; there are some splendid tanks some half a mile or more in length; there are mounds innumerable and broken idols also, they are all of later times; some are half Vishnite half Buddhist, some are Surrowuc [sic.] Jain, and some of the Naga type. There are linga and several figures of Durga slaying Mohesh; there is a Jain temple in the village in the same state as those at Pawa Puri, it is to the south of the tanks that there are the greatest masses of ruins; there appears to have been five large towers or temples, one or more of the mounds should be excavated. They appear to have had chambers vaulted in a very clever though primitive manner, which is termed "Vang" वंग, in the Gussurawa [Goswara] inscription, the bricks are overlapped like an inverted staircase till they meet in the centre.

I observed a chamber that had been lately excavated, from which ashes, charcoal and bones were cleared in large quantities again, showing the place had been destroyed by fire; weapons are occasionally found among the ashes. ("Extract from a Letter", JASB, XVII, 1, 1848, 539-40).

But Kittoe provides no explanation as to how he arrived at his decision to equate Na-lo with Bargaon/Nālandā.

Kittoe states that this was his "first official tour as Archæologist for 1848". (540) Although he indicated that drawings and an official report were to follow, his other work precluded his ever finishing them for publication.

Kittoe reports finding "one figure . . . [which]

represents a fury dancing on a prostrate Ganesha with an attendant holding a royal umbrella over her head" ("Sanskrit Inscription from Behar", JASB XVII, 1. 1848, 498) This is possibly the same figure that had been noted by Buchanan. ☉ (Martin, XV, 1; [4.3])

The inscription Kittoe discovered at Gussurawa, which he mentioned in the earlier article. dates from Devapāla's reign. It contains the word Nālandā in Sanskrit, नालन्दा , and refers to Viradeva. However, Nālandā does not figure in Dr. Ballantyne's English translation which follows. Nonetheless, Kittoe says in his remarks accompanying the translation, "the term [Nālandā] . . . is to be found in the Vocabulary of Jain sentences, meaning the cross-legged position of absorptive contemplation of the Buddhas, the word could not be found in any dictionary". ("A Sanskrit Inscription from Behar, with a translation by Dr. Ballantyne and remarks", JASB, XVII, 1, 1848, 497-98)¹⁰

Lieut. Alexander Cunningham

Cunningham (1814-1893) contributed to early literature on Nālandā long before he visited the site.¹¹ As aide-de-camp to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck he came into contact in Calcutta with Prinsep. Through his association with Prinsep, he developed an interest in archæology, numismatics and epigraphy. His surveying sorties gave him a broad appreciation of the wealth of antiquities throughout the India, and a growing concern about their neglect. (Cunningham, ASIR, I, vii-xvii, passim.)

By 1835 Cunningham was engaged in "archæological" excavations at the Dhamek stūpa, Sārnāth, along with Kittoe.

He began to campaign for an archæological survey of India, arguing in 1843 in a letter to Col. W.H. Sykes (1790-1872), a member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that a permanent archæological survey would be important for a "systematic study of Buddhism, not for its own sake, but to aid in an understanding of Indian religion so that Christianity might be introduced into the subcontinent more easily". (Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854, 134). Unquestionably his main concern was to receive official and financial support for his own archæological pursuits. He used every opportunity thereafter to present his case for a survey.

In 1848 Cunningham wrote in a "Proposed Archæological Investigation":

The discovery and publication of all the existing remains of architecture and sculpture, with coins and inscriptions, would throw more light on the ancient history of India, both public and domestic, than printing of all the rubbish contained in the 18 Puranas. . . . As Pliny in his Eastern Geography follows the route of Alexander, so an enquirer into Indian archæology, should tread in the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrims Hwan Thsang and Fa hian". (JASB, XVII, 1, 535)

This was precisely what Kittoe had been attempting to do, although possibly without the qualifications of the primary investigator Cunningham envisioned:

The one to whose judgment the selection of objects for preservation is to be confided should have a knowledge of the ancient history of India. He should be conversant with the sculptured forms and religious practices of the present day, and with the discoveries made by Prinsep and others in Indian Palæolgraphy and Numismatology; without such a head to guide the selection of objects worthy of preservation the labour of the most perfect draftsman [i.e. the other member of the investigating party] would be thrown away. (536)

But neither the East India Company nor the Asiatic

Society was in favour of the type of proposal Cunningham was making. Ever since its founding, the Asiatic Society's emphasis had been on editing and translating Brahmanic Hindu texts. Its directors therefore cannot have been pleased with Cunningham's referring to Puranic literature as "rubbish". It is also significant that it refused to give any support to any native Indian who might be selected to make a similar exploratory journey. But Cunningham did not stop pursuing his dream of establishing an official archæological survey of India.

Continuing his own interests in archæology, Cunningham argued, in response to an article questioning its validity, the relevance of Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary as given in the fragment which had appeared in Rémusat's Fa-hien. In "Verification of the itinerary of Hwan Thsang through Ariana and India, with reference to Major Anderson's hypothesis of its modern compilation", Cunningham categorically dismisses Anderson's assertion that Klaproth, who continued Rémusat's work following his death in 1832, evolved the itinerary from later sources. Cunningham stated that Hiuen Tsiang's account of his travels probably influenced Persian and Arabian geographers. (JASB, XVII, 1, 1848, 476-488)

In a second article on Hiuen Tsiang, Cunningham concerns himself with two matters of geography: the direction of the Ganges and the distance in miles of the Indian measure, the yojana. ("Verification of the Itinerary of the Chinese Pilgrim Hwan Thsang through Afghanistan and India during the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era", JASB, XVII, 11, 1848, 13-60) His source was

Rémusat. He indicates that he was using Rennell's survey and map which was drawn between 1780 and 1790. He notes with regard to the location of Pataliputra that the Ganges had changed direction so that the present distances had to be altered as well:

[About] 9 Yojans (or 63 miles) from Pa-ti-an-fu or Pataliputra to the 'small hill of the isolated rock', which is called Yu-tho-lo-shi-lo-kiu-ho, or Indrasilaguha by Hwan Tsiang, and is placed by him close to the small town of Kiu-li-kia, the Girik of Rennell's map . . . which is to say only 43 miles to the S.E. of Patna. This distance here is 20 miles less than the recorded one; whilst the actual distances of the two different points in the Ganges from Bussar or Vaisali are more than the recorded ones. It seems to me therefore certain that the Ganges formerly held a more northerly course by about 20 miles; and that the ancient Pataliputra must have stood at the same distance to the west of the present Patna. (34-35)

Patna, flourishing in A.D. 399-415, according to Fa-hien, was in ruins by the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit (A.D. 629-645). Cunningham remarks of the distances between Patna and Bodh-Gayā that Hiuen Tsiang "gives many minute details, that could only be verified by personal inspection or by a very good map on a large scale". (idem.)¹²

Cunningham further ties the identification of Kulika to Girek by asserting that it was "the Giryek of Capt. Kittoe; close to which was . . . Indrasilaguha". (36)

Having reoriented the Ganges, Cunningham refines the yojana to roughly "7 English miles". (61) But, for Magadha, according to Fa-hien's account, this is too much by half. The yojana in Magadha should be 4-4½ miles. The editors -- and this would include Laidlay -- further complicate matters with the following note, for which no source is given:

According to the Chinese translations of Buddhist works there are 3 kinds of yojana employed in India; the great yojana of 80 li, used for

measurement of level countries, where the absence of mountains and rivers renders the road easy; the mean yojana of 60 li, used where rivers and mountains oppose some difficulties for the traveller; and the small yojana of 40 li adapted to those countries where the mountains are precipitous and the rivers deep. This shows that we must not apply an invariable standard to every portion of these pilgrim's routes; but rather seek to determine its local value, where practicable, by the distance of well identified spots in each neighborhood". (62)

Cunningham provides no documentation for his own distinctions. If he found them in Rémusat, there is no indication as to whether they are the translators' or Fa-hien's. Nor is it clear in Cunningham's later work, especially in his ASI reports, that he was careful on this account himself. In fact, with respect to Fa-hien's location of Na-lo, which Cunningham takes in preference to Hiuen Tsiang's, he accepts the designation of 1 yojana = 7 miles without reservation. The editorial comment does not clarify matters.

Cunningham reproduces a Gupta chronology from Hiuen Tsiang but does not acknowledge that his information comes from Hiuen Tsiang's description of Nālandā. He only says that these were "five kings who reigned previous to [Hiuen Tsiang's] visit". (36):

Lagraditya	Lo-kia-lo-a-yi-to
Budha gupta	Fo-tho-kiu-to
Takata gupta	Tha-ka-la-kun-to
Bālāditya	Pho-lo-a-yi-to
Vajra	Fa-che-lo

He equates "Lagraditya" with Devagupta (A.D. 452-480). He says that Śilāditya (Harṣa), came to the throne in A.D. 585 and was reigning when Hiuen Tsiang came to India, locates Budhagupta around A.D. 484, and then arbitrarily divides 101 years for the other three kings. (36-38)

Chapter IV

Notes

1. The Buchanan manuscripts are in the India Office Library -- Francis Buchanan, MSS EURD 95. Some of his sketches are there also, but not the map for Nālandā.
2. Dr. Robert Montgomery Martin (1803?-1868), an historical writer and statistician, was born in Co. Tyrone, Ireland. In 1820 he was working in Ceylon, and from 1828-30 he was in India. He wrote The History of the British Colonies (1834) and published Lord Wellesley's papers. Searching in the records of India House he found Buchanan's *magnum opus* which he published in 1838. ("Robert Montgomery Martin", Dictionary of National Biography 36, 293)
3. The initial appearance of Martin's edition of Buchanan was received without criticism. But H. Beveridge, having had a look at the original manuscript, commented in detail on Martin's omissions. (Calcutta Review, 1894) Jackson observed: "In deciding what portion of the Reports should be omitted, [Martin] followed no consistent plan, but merely . . . left out 'the parts which he did not understand or which did not interest him'". (Jackson, JBORS, 149-50) Buchanan found more antiquities in Patna/Gayā than in any of the other districts he surveyed. Yet this is where Martin heavily abridges. He left out "167 of the 370 [pages] in the M.S. Report the chapter on topography and antiquities", including, according to Jackson, Baragaon. (150) Oldham commented: "It is astonishing to think that the officials of the India House should have permitted these volumes to be printed without Buchanan Hamilton's name appearing anywhere on the title page". (Oldham, JBORS, iii-iv) Oldham examined the manuscript in the India Office in 1903 and found sections "scored through" by Martin's pencil, presumably. (iv)
4. The Buchanan Baragang/Kundilpur sketches -- which were probably done by an artist in his employ -- appear in Martin's Eastern India as follows:

<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Martin</u>
153 3-headed (pig) image	Plate XV, 2, facing 96
156 Goddess & 2 Buddhas	Plate XIV 4, facing 95
157 Female on lion	Plate XV, 4
159 Female	Plate XIV, 7
160 One of 3 Buddhas	Plate XIV, 1
161 Inscribed Buddha	Plate XIV, 3
163 Great Muni	Plate XIV, 6
164 Image of Brahma	Plate XV, 3
166 Multi-armed goddess	Plate XIV, 2
168 Female with umbrella	Plate XV, 1
169 Yaggespur Buddha	Plate XIII, facing 92

5. Sir David Prain also wrote a biography of Buchanan, "A sketch of the life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan) sometime Superintendent of the Honourable Company's Botanic

Garden, Calcutta". This was relegated to obscurity because it appeared in the Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden Calcutta, (Calcutta, 1905) (iv.)

6. Markham Kittoe's personal history is recounted by Cunningham, ASI 1862-65, xxiv-xxvii. (Simla, 1871). He was, like Cunningham, a protégé of Prinsep. He had established a reputation as an architect and a draughtsman before coming to Prinsep's attention in 1836, at which time he was preparing for publication Illustrations of Indian Architecture (Calcutta, 1838). (xxv)

Prinsep helped him through a difficult period in his army career by enabling him to travel through Orissa and write up his findings in the JASB, 1838-39. According to Cunningham, Kittoe "was temporarily removed from the army for bringing indiscreet charges of oppression against his Commanding Officer, for which there was but little foundation save in his own over-sensitive disposition". (*idem.*) His 1846-47 tour through Bihār was inspired by the late Prinsep. Aside from the JASB articles based on his tour, he produced a large number of drawings. (These are currently in the IOL.)

Although he was named "Achæological Enquirer" for the Northwestern provinces shortly thereafter, his archæological duties were circumscribed by architectural responsibilities for the design and building of the Sanskrit College in Benares (Varanasi). He and Cunningham remained in touch and occasionally saw each other, but Kittoe returned to England in 1853, in his early forties, like Prinsep, fatally ill.

Cunningham approved of his drawing and exploring talents, "but as an investigator, he was wanting in scholarship and faulty in judgment". (xxvii)

7. Turnour is referring to Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakatā in which are given descriptions of the Buddhist councils, the first of which took place at Rajgir, 21 days after the parinirvana with a company of 500 monks:

At that period [the last days of the Buddha] there were eighteen great wihāros [vihāras] environing Rājagaha and they were all filled with rubbish which has fallen into, and accumulated in them, (during the absence of the bhikkus). On account of the (approaching predicted) parinibānan (of Buddha), all the bhikkhus, each carrying his own refection dish and robe, and abandoning their wihāros and parivēnos [?] had departed. (Turnour, op. cit., 515)

As a consequence the monks decided to repair the vihāras and then hold the council. The repair -- "reparation of delapidations" -- is represented as something the Buddha approved of, for practical reasons, as well as a means of continuing to have the support of patrons. (516)

8. Kittoe indicates two sources for Buchanan with regard to the location of Giryek: Martin, Eastern India, I, 79; and "in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, VIII, p. 353", which is given in the index for the first eight issues as "Dr.

Francis Buchanan Hamilton, "On the Srawacs or Jains", T. 1, 531 -- and is nowhere to be found. (JASB, XVII, 1, 1848, 540) About these Kittoe says: "I am scarcely inclined to suppose this place [Giryek] to be Na-lo". (idem.) Burgaon lies six miles to the west.

A note by the Journal editors, one of whom was Laidlay, follows Kittoe's fixing Na-lo at Nālandā. J.W. Laidlay was Co-secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, editor of its journal and vice-president of the Society. According to the editors, the Pali texts claim that the Buddha stopped there:

One yojana's distance from Rajagriha, when en route from the latter place to Pataligamo (Pataliputra). In the Na-lo of our Chinese author there is no doubt that we have the transcription of Nālanda the original word being lopped of a syllable or two. This identification is further confirmed by the circumstance of Sakya Muni holding in this place a discourse with his disciple Sariputra (Che lo foé) whom he may be supposed to have fallen in with at his native place on the occasion of this journey. Na lo is called by Hiuan Thsang, a subsequent Chinese visitor, Kia lo pi na kia [Kalapinaka]. The last two syllables are not doubt the transcription of nagara. (Laidlay, et. al., op. cit. ii, 956)

9. There is a drawing of this figure in the Kittoe Collection, later identified as Aparājita. (Kittoe Collection, IOL, Goddess trampling Gaṇeṣa with umbrella holder (i.e. an attendant holding the umbrella). Also in the collection, drawn at Nālandā: f. 24 "Degenerate Buddha"; "Image at Burgaon near Behar circa 900/1000 S"; f. 36 Standing Buddha in Abhaya (?) with aureole and nymphs -- Gupta? No provenence".)

10. Laidlay remarked about the Goswara inscription, "With regard to Nālandā, which appears to have puzzled the Pandits of Benares, it appears to me to be the name of the famous monastery near Rājagriha frequently mentioned in the Dul-va [Körös' translation, JASB Jan. 1832]". Rajendralal Mitra, according to Laidlay, thinks it is a place name: "But as I have never met with this word in Sanskrita [sic.], and have not got a copy of Hemachandra's Dictionary of Baudha terms at hand to refer to, I cannot be very positive". Laidlay goes on: "Nālandā was a very famous place in its day, and the frequent scene of Śakya's disputations. It is the Na lan tho of the Chinese, the site of which, however, could hardly be identical with that of Gussarawa, where Capt. Kittoe discovered the inscription". (499-500) Laidlay's information regarding the "fame" of Nālandā we presume came from the fragments of Hiuen Tsiang in Rémusat's Fa-hien translation.

11. Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) was born in Scotland and trained for the army. In 1831 he was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant, Bengal Engineers, and worked as the aide-de-camp to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck in 1834. His residence in Calcutta brought him into contact with Prinsep with whom he worked closely from 1836 until

1840. His actual archæological work began in 1851 with the opening of the stūpas at Bhilsa. At his request the ASI was instituted. He retired from the Army in 1861 with the rank of Major-General by which time he was directing the ASI, and continued to do so until he was retired at the age of 70 in 1885. He received a KCIE in 1887. His Ancient Geography of India, I, Buddhist Period, appeared in 1870, followed by Stupa of Bharut in 1879, and a number of other books and articles on numismatics, Buddhist monuments and the chronology of early Indian rulers. The P & O steamer, *Indus* carrying his collection of photographic plates, artefacts and coins, was wrecked on the Mullaittivu reef off northeast Ceylon. Material for his book, Mahābodhi, was lost in that accident. ("General Sir Alexander Cunningham", JRAS, 1894, 166-77)

12. Fergusson, in "On recent changes in the delta of the Ganges", (Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, Aug. 1863, 321-254) states that he did a survey of the Ganges in 1835 using Major Rennell's map. Fergusson's own map at the end of the paper shows that the Ganges at Patna has shifted to the north. There is no indication in either Cunningham's or Fergusson's articles that either was familiar with the work of the other.

Chapter V

The First Archæological Survey of India

1861-1899

Cunningham's Initial Efforts

Cunningham realised his dream of an official archæological survey of India in 1861. Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, wrote a memorandum 22 January 1861 authorising its establishment and appointing Cunningham its director. [5.1] He approved of Cunningham's scheme to at least identify India's ancient monuments if not rescue them from oblivion. The English ". . . as an enlightened ruling power" were doing India a service thereby, one of which they could be proud. (Cunningham, ASIR, 1861-65, I, Simla, 1871,

ii) As Canning says:

It will certainly cost very little in itself and will commit the Government to no future or unforeseen expense. For it does not contemplate the spending of any money on repairs and preservation. This, when done at all, should be done upon a separate and full consideration of any case which may seem to claim it. What is aimed at is an accurate description,-- illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions,--of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them. (iii)

For his services in this endeavour Cunningham was to be paid:

Rs. 450 a month, with Rs. 250 when in the field to defray the cost of making surveys and measurements, and of other mechanical assistance. If something more should be necessary to obtain the services of a native subordinate of the Medical or Public Works Department, competent to take photographic views, it should be given.

(idem.)

Thus it appears that *archæology* at that time was to consist of no more than what had already been done by Buchanan, Kittoe, Fergusson and Cunningham.

Canning did not anticipate a long life for the Survey. Cunningham went out into the field for four seasons, 1862-65, and then had to stumble on in straitened circumstances, owing to cuts in funds from the government. But he persevered, first publishing his survey accounts as supplements to the JASB.

Cunningham indicates in his first Survey Annual Report his admiration for and indebtedness to Buchanan, a pioneer in field archæology as opposed to literary archæology. Cunningham calls the early Sanskritists "Closet or Scholastic Archæologists". (XVIII) The tools of the new archæologist were to be "actual measurements and laborious explorations in the field, combined with patient research and studious investigation in the closet". (XIX) The energetic Prinsep collected and worked on all the inscriptions and artefacts until just before his death in 1840, after which archæologists were on their own. No uniform system prevailed at that time.'

Cunningham's first official tour in 1861-2 took him through the Bihār District. He was guided by the translations of the Chinese accounts, Martin's Eastern India -- in other words, Buchanan's report -- and Fergusson's accounts of his tours (1835-42) upon which he based his books.

Cunningham made his first visit to Nālandā as the director of the official Survey in 1861-62. He had by this

time Julien's translation of Hwui Li's Life (Paris, 1853) -- the seventh century biography of Hiuen Tsiang -- as well as Julien's translation of Hiuen Tsiang's Travels (Paris, 1857, 1858). He also had Laidlay's translation of Rémusat's Fa-hien. 2 [5.2]

Cunningham fixes "Baragaon" (Bargaon, Burgaon) as Nālandā in the following manner:

1. The village of Baragaon is seven miles north of Rājgir.
2. This is the same place Buchanan identified as a palace.
3. Fa-hien's Na-lo and Baragaon are the same distance from Giryek and Rājgir.
4. Nālandā is given in the "Pali annals of Ceylon" as being one yojan or seven miles from Rājgir. (ASIR, I, 28)
5. Hiuen Tsiang locates Nālandā seven yojan (49 miles) from Bodh-gayā and 30 li (= five miles) from Rājgir -- or roughly in the same place as indicated by others.
6. Two inscriptions bearing the name Nālandā were found here. (idem.)

Cunningham does not see any difficulties in accepting Nālandā as Na-lo or Hiuen Tsiang's locating Śāriputra's birthplace at Kalapinaka -- 4½ miles southeast of Giryek (Indraśilaguhā) and Maudgalyāna's birthplace at Kulika -- 1½ miles southwest of Nālandā. Cunningham identifies Kulika with Jagdispur, the mound Buchanan called Yaggespur. There also he found the Buddha parinirvāṇa image, a drawing of which is reproduced in Martin, Plate XII. He indicates that it is still an object of worship. (29)

Upon arriving at Nālandā, he found "numerous masses of brick ruins amongst which the most conspicuous is a row of lofty conical mounds running north and south". (idem.) He suggests that these mounds, which Buchanan also saw, "are the remains of gigantic temples attached to the famous

monastery of Nālanda ". (idem.) He then locates the "monastery" to the east of the mounds, in fact calling it six monasteries "situated within one enclosure forming altogether eight courts". (30) This he says corresponds with Hiuen Tsiang's account of six monasteries having been built at Nālandā by six rulers. He provides a map of the site entitled "Sketch of the Ruins of Nālandā", and develops his report by explaining the diagrams in his sketch. [5.3] Cunningham equates each of the ruined sites he finds at Nālandā with sites made special mention of in Hiuen Tsiang's account. [List 2, Appendix I] He himself did little more than to cut into some stūpas in search of relics.

Cunningham concludes that the Nālandā Mahāvihāra was built after Fa-hien's visit -- i. e., after A.D. 410 -- and before that of Hiuen Tsiang in A.D. 625. That Hiuen Tsiang says that Śāriputra's and Maudgalyāyana's birthplace was somewhere other than Nālandā, suggesting that Fa-hien may well not have been there at all, escapes Cunningham. Nor does he seem to be bothered by the fact that his sketch of the ruins of Nālandā does not show "the courtyards of the six smaller monasteries. . . as being situated within one enclosure forming altogether eight courts". (idem.)

So far Cunningham had not "seen" Nālandā at all. He had merely decided that certain of the mounds he found south of the village of "Baragaon" fitted the description given in Hiuen Tsiang. However, his words established the procedure for the excavation of the site, for in 1915 Spooner would begin his work with reference to Cunningham's map.

Bālāditya's Temple

Hiuen Tsiang referred to a "temple" (vihāra) built by Bālāditya which he likened to the vihāra at Bodh-gayā. Having dated the Bodh-Gayā vihāra to the end of the fifth century, Cunningham concludes that its reputed likeness means it was built around the same time, rather than in the same style possibly at a different time. (30) Cunningham locates Bālāditya's vihāra at mound "H" on his sketch, and Bālāditya's monastery at a small mound, "4", behind mound "5", and some distance from the supposed vihāra. He did not find any inscriptions in the vihāra ruins, but only marks which he says are "mason's marks", and he dates them to the 6th and 7th centuries. idem.

Cunningham compares it to a second mound he claims is the vihāra "where Buddha had explained the law for four months", according to Hiuen Tsiang's account. This is marked "F" on the sketch, and is nearly opposite the "monasteries" attributed to Vajra and Bālāditya. He attempts to guess at its original height by returning to Hiuen Tsiang's text:

It is true that Hwen Thsang states the height at only 200 feet, but there is a discrepancy in his statements of the height of another temple [i.e., Bālāditya's vihāra], which leads me to propose correcting the height of that now under discussion to 300 feet. In speaking of the Great Temple erected by Bālāditya, Hwen Thsang in one place makes it 200 feet high, and in another place 300 feet high. [reference to Julien, Histoire, 50 compared to Mémoires, 160] In both accounts the enshrined statue is said to be of Buddha himself, as he appeared under the Bodhi tree, and, as the other large temple also contained a statue of Buddha, it seems highly probable that there was some confusion between the accounts of the two temples. (32)³

A certain Capt. Marshall "by order of Government" -- which we assume means at Cunningham's request -- excavated

mound "F" in 1863 and discovered nothing beyond a pedestal in the central shrine room. (32) He also suggests that a "colossal statue of ascetic Buddha" found at the base of Temple "H", marked "S", might belong in Temple "F". (34) Cunningham himself noted the collection of stūpas "in the south-east corner of the square terrace that surrounds this massive ruin" (33) He was most anxious to find a stūpa intact to send to the Indian Museum in Calcutta.

Earlier Cunningham had declared 300 feet to be the height of Bālāditya's temple. (30) Now he decides that to be proportionately correct, it must have been 200 feet in height on the basis that the "size" Hiuen Tsiang referred to when comparing it to the Mahābodhi meant overall proportion rather than height. (34) He reports finding a second "colossal statue of the ascetic Buddha [Buchanan's 'Baithak Bhairav', Martin, Plate XIV, 6; 4.3] at the foot of this mound, which, in all probability, was the original statue enshrined in Bālāditya's Vihār". (idem.)⁴ But he never excavated this vihāra.

Cunningham concludes by indicating that the ruins he is describing are surrounded by several large tanks, or resevoirs, two to the northeast and one to the south. (idem.) On his sketch they are also surrounded by mounds indicating other ruins.

Reconstituting the ASI

It is not clear from his account whether Cunningham visited Nālandā in 1861 or 1862. Capt. Marshall was sent to excavate mound "F" in 1863, apparently on his own. By 1865, the Survey as initially constituted came to a close. But in

1871, however, Cunningham was named Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, having only been Director previously. In this capacity, as well as having the funds to publish his reports, Cunningham appears to have had a wider scope enabling him to come close to fulfilling his original vision. Cunningham sets out his criteria for the ensuing Archæological Survey. He and his assistants, Beglar and Carlleyle, were to study the reports for 1862-65 to see what had already been done and what now needed doing. [List 3, Appendix I]

Style is given as the most important criteria. He also indicated that some buildings may "show the gradual progress of the art of architecture in India" (*idem.*) It would appear that Cunningham had capitulated to Fergusson's influence over the conduct of archæological research in India, at least on paper.

Broadley's Excavations at Nālandā

Alexander Meyrick Broadley (1847-1916), was the Assistant Magistrate and Collector in charge of the subdivision of Bihār, Patna District.²⁵ He undertook his archæological explorations independently of the Survey and published a pamphlet, Ruins of the Nālanda Monastery at Burgāon, Sub-division Bihār, Zillah Patna (Calcutta, 1872). He also wrote about this and his other Bihār explorations in "Buddhist remains in Bihār", (JASB, XLI, pt. 1, 3, 1872, 209-312), which incorporates some of the Nālandā material. For the Indian Antiquary he wrote "On the identification of the various places in the kingdom of Magadha visited by the Pilgrim Chi-Fah-Hian (A.D. 400-415)" (IA, 1, 1872, 18-21;

69-76; 106-110). He had created a museum in Bihār to house the collection of antiquities he brought away from his investigations. In 1873 Broadley was reposted to Tunis.

By his own account, Broadley had ready access to sites, to a siz^eable work force and to the funds to carry out his various projects. But ASI personnel criticised and ignored his work. He was overlooked, although his stated intentions were to aid the official archæology, not to interfere with its work.

Broadley takes the conventional official route of the Chinese accounts to locate Buddhist sites in Bihār. In his article on Fa-hien, Broadley uses Beal's translation of Fa-hien to guide his own retracing of Fa-hien's steps through Magadha to establish the ancient geography and to challenge Cunningham's location of Nālandā *vis à vis* Girek in his Ancient Geography of India (London, 1871, 469. This section on Nālandā is identical with that found in the First Survey Report.) Broadley says that the "Hill of the Isolated Rock" Cunningham calls "Girak" (Girek) is actually Bihār (Bihār-Sharif), the distances and the directions being commensurate. (Broadley, IA, 1872, 19)

He indicates that the antiquities he recovered are late i. e., Pāla, rather than Gupta. His observation that the inscriptions are "comparatively modern", begs the question as to the relevance of making any assumptions about the establishment of the monastery based on the Chinese accounts. Unfortunately, there are no illustrations of sculptural finds in any of these articles.

Broadley uses Hwui Li's description of Nālandā from Hwui Li's Life. But Broadley discovered no trace of the wall that supposedly surrounded the site. The explanation he suggests may be the fact that "Burgāon [Bargaon] has been the brick quarry of Bihār for centuries, hence it is that the walls, gates, and houses have disappeared"

(idem.) He reported having seen lintels, etc. in houses in Bargaon much as Buchanan reported similar evidence in houses at Gaya.

Broadley's Sketch and Description of Nālandā

A careful look at the sketch and the text, reprinted from Ruins in "Remains" with no substantive changes, reveals a further series of discrepancies between the sketch and the text. Broadley remarks:

The thorough exploration of these magnificent ruins would lead to results as important to the historian as to the archæologist, and I still hope the task may be undertaken at no distant day by the Government. There are no difficulties to contend with; the ground which is covered by these mounds is a barren waste, and the proprietor, Chaudharī Wāhid 'Alī [the zemindar of Bargaon], is quite willing to permit their excavation, and to facilitate matters as much as he can. (305) [5.4] [5.5, overlay] [5.6] [List 4, Appendix I]

The Excavation of Tope No. IV

A comparison of Broadley's sketch of Nālandā with a sketch based on Cunningham's sketch with Hiuen Tsiang's designations added into it indicates that the mound Cunningham labelled "F", which was excavated by Capt. Marshall, is the same as Broadley's Tope No. IV. [5.7] While Broadley must have been familiar with Cunningham's sketch, he does intimate that the vihāra he was excavating was

possibly that of the Gupta monarch, Bālāditya. After describing his excavation he says: "The first two stories [sic.] of the building were uncovered, and are now almost as perfect as when Hwen Thsang saw them fourteen hundred years ago". (222) A little further on he says:

In order to get a more complete idea of the lofty cupola which doubtless once surmounted the temple of Bālāditya, I have since cleared away a great part of the rubbish in the northern side of the building, and have been thus enabled to design a restored elevation of the whole building. [5.7]
(226)

He indicates that he has an illustration of the doorway on the east, the one bearing the inscription Mitra translated for him, " . . . which is of the greatest archæological and architectural interest". (idem.) There is in "Remains" a sketch of a "pillar and capital from the Vestibule of the great Nālandā temple". ("Remains", opp. 223)

But in Ruins, he does not suggest that he excavated a vihāra having been built by the Gupta monarch, Bālāditya. Broadley calls this the "third great tope" in Ruins when he really means the fourth. He found evidence of previous excavation, which could have been Marshall's, or simply local vandalism. The mound, covered with vegetation, was "sixty feet high and more than one thousand feet in circumference". (6) He began work 15 October 1871, excavating Tope No. IV with the aid of 1,000 labourers. (7) [5.8] His description is as follows:

An evenly paved court, as near as possible one hundred feet square. This court was surrounded by halls and buildings of every description on all sides except the eastern, and these doubtless served as the dwelling places, refectory &c., of the recluses of the convent. In the centre of the court rose an enormous temple, eighty feet long at

the base on each side, and consisting of a series of several stories [sic.] tapering to a point, each about fourteen feet above the other. ("Remains", 222. Some of the same material appears in Ruins.)

While his estimate of what the vihāra may have looked like, and the accompanying sketch seem a bit fanciful, Broadley's method of revealing the vihāra by clearing the debris from each side provides some interesting information about its state in 1872. [5.9, overlay] He started on the east side, at the entrance. This was reached by short stairs. Two courts lay between the entrance and the inner sanctum where he found a "headless Buddha four feet high". (224) (Capt. Marshall reported finding only a pedestal.) On either side of the second of the covered vestibules is a "narrow terrace", just as on either side of the hall entered by the great stone entrance are two "smaller octagonal rooms". (idem.)

On the north side: "The higher stories [sic.] and roofs have toppled over . . . and from an examination of their remains, it is clear that the building consisted of at least five stories, surmounted by a spire or minaret [not by a cupola], at least two hundred feet high in all". (225) But he gives no supporting evidence for this supposition.

Broadley claims the west side "is the most perfect of all". (idem.) Here he found an outcropping on the base decorated with :

A series of mouldings and niches filled with stucco figures of Buddha in various positions Above the moulding is a series of niches two feet ten inches wide and three feet three inches high. The niches are separated by pilasters about four feet three inches high. . . . Above the niches are projecting bosses of brick, lotus-shaped, protruding from the wall, and above these a moulding simliar to that below. The niches are

surmounted by *arches* of over-lapping brick, and each contained a figure in plaster. . . . The temple has evidently twice at least been covered by a coating of plaster moulded into different forms, but as a rule greatly inferior to the workmanship of the brick underneath. (225)

Broadley reports: "The southern side is precisely similar to the western. On the top of the terrace, which doubtless ran around the three sides of the temple, was a verandah, and the sockets of the beams are still visible in the upper wall". (225-26)

The vihāra was called Chaitya No. 12 when in 1931-32 the ASI excavated. While later archæologists blamed Broadley for spoliation, there is no way of knowing what the natives may have taken in the form of building materials following his visit. It would seem reasonable to assume that what Broadley revealed was slowly but surely removed thereafter by others.

The Excavation of Tope No. VII

Tope No. VII appears on Broadley's sketch at a distance of 720' east of Tope No. IV, the same mound that Cunningham labels "Y" in his sketch and calls Dukatwa, presumably the native name. Cunningham refers to it as a vihāra. Broadley reports using 20 prisoners to excavate Tope No. VII.

Initially he says that he:

Succeeded in making a deep cutting on the northern face. . . . The result has been the partial uncovering of the northern façade of *a square building flanked by four circular towers*, about twenty-five feet in circumference. The whole of the wall is decorated with the most beautiful brick mouldings divided by lines of niches, containing Buddhist figures at regular intervals. The cornices which surround the towers are quite perfect, and the whole exterior appears to have been traversed by small staircases leading to the roof. (Italics his) ("Remains", 305)

From the sound of it Broadley might have been describing Tope No. V, subsequently known as Stupa No. 3. The mound as shown appears to be too far from the monastery complex to have been what came to be known, in 1915, as Temple No. 2. But if it were Temple No. 2, little remained at the later date to bear Broadley out.

Broadley calls the ruins between Topes No. IV and VII "the remains of the great halls and courts of disputation, and of the dwellings of the teachers of the 'right law'" after Hwui Li's description. (Ruins, 6) Broadley says, "I discovered in these ruins several gateways and pillars but no idols". (10)

By his own estimate, Broadley removed 1,000 objects to his museum in Bihār. In his opinion:

The sculptures and inscriptions of Burgāon lend no aid to the theory which represents the violent overthrow of Buddhism [sic.] by the partisans of Hinduism; indeed they lend support to the very opposite conclusion. Side by side are seen the idols of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, and the figures of Budha and Myādevi. The removal of vast heaps of rubbish which covered the central monastery disclosed quite as many Hindu idols as it did Buddhist; and what is more, there is a third class which may be said to belong to both faiths, *i.e.*, those figures of Vishnu and Durgā, which show a Budha seated in the hair, or over the head. (Ruins, 5)

These were photographed by a Dr Simpson.⁶ In Appendix A of Ruins is a list of the sculpted remains. Some 71 pieces of sculpture or sculpted fragments are accounted for, the majority of which are Hindu. It is noteworthy that Broadley found similar, if not the same, images that Buchanan had seen 60 years before, and Cunningham had noticed 10 years previously, a number of them still being revered by the locals.

Nālandā Inscriptions

The two inscriptions Broadley mentions were translated by Mitra. The first was found on the base of sculpture No. LI. It states that king Gopāla "and his wife the worshipful Vāgīsvarī of the country of Suvallavi, erected this". (303) Broadley notes that Cunningham translated the characters Mitra gives for "erected" as "Nālandā". 7

The second inscription was taken from the fifth slab of the pillar taken from the doorway of Tope No. IV, measuring 8" x 5". It is dated Samvat 913, the reign of Mahipāla:

It is the religious gift of Bālāditya, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Harādatta, a follower of the noble Mahāyāna school, a devout worshipper, who came from (the city of) Kausāmbī, (wherein he was) the chief among the wise men of the auspicious Tailādaka (clan). Whatever merit may accrue from this, may the same be to the advancement of the highest knowledge among the mass of mankind. (idem.)

Broadley says that it is not clear if the gift is the restoration of the vihāra or simply the doorway.

Cunningham's Second Visit, 1872

Cunningham did return to Nālandā in 1872, following Broadley's excavation of Tope No. IV. Although Cunningham had identified it in his sketch in his first report as the vihāra dedicated to the spot where the Buddha had been for four months teaching Dharma, using Hiuen Tsiang's account, he now says that Bālāditya's temple " . . . identified by me in 1861, was partially excavated at my recommendation [by Capt. Marshall] in 1863, and afterwards more completely by Broadley". (ASIR, III, 1873, 93-94) Cunningham seems unaware of his own contradiction. He had nothing untoward to say about Broadley's efforts, unofficial and unprofessional as

they may have been. He simply declared: "From all these remains, I am able to vouch for the accuracy of Hwen Thsang's statement that the Nālanda temple with respect to size and magnificance, was comparable to the great temple near the Bodhi-drūm [-tree]". (94)

But as we have shown, there was no archæological evidence to support Cunningham's conclusion that the Gupta ruler, Bālāditya, had built this vihāra, or that "the last alterations and additions to it were made to the entrance doorway by Raja Mahipāla, as recorded in an inscription discovered by Captain Marshall". (idem.) Quite the contrary, as Mitra's translation of the inscription indicates. But Cunningham continued to insist that the probable height of the Nālandā temple, i.e., Bālāditya's vihāra, was 200 feet, as Hiuen Tsiang (actually Hwui Li) recorded.☞

Beglar's Comments on Broadley

Cunningham's assistant surveyor, J.D. Beglar visited Nālandā in 1872. [5.10] He mentions Nālandā in relation to Patna: "The origin of the city is noted in the Mahaparinibbana Sutta (Turnour, op. cit., 992). It is there mentioned that on the last occasion when Buddha was going to Wesali from Nālanda he came to Patilgamo. . . ." (Beglar, ASIR VIII. 1878, 1) As for Broadley's excavations, Beglar wrote, ". . . at, and his account of, Nālanda, while giving him credit for his zeal and exertion, I cannot feel that the excavation of this temple which Gen. Cunningham assigns to the first century A.D. [i.e. Bālāditya's, which for some reason he redated] was not a work which Mr. Broadley should have undertaken without professional assistance". (84)

Beglar says that Broadley had removed the entrance of the temple and the north end of the north mound to the Bihār Museum. " . . . I venture to enter a strong protest against acts which destroy such interesting ruins without preserving detailed and minute measurements of what is destroyed", Beglar wrote. (85) He criticises Broadley's drawing of the temple, saying that " . . . though it makes a very effective *plate*, and his description is good enough for a 'popular account', they are next to worthless for all scientific purposes. . . ." (85) He also criticised Broadley for his failure to make "detailed and minute measurements of what is thus destroyed". (*idem.*)

There is no indication, aside from Beglar's disparaging remarks, that Broadley did not look after artefacts any less well than if they had been left at the site. The extent to which ancient monuments were vandalised over the centuries contributed in no small way to an imperfect archæology. What is to be constantly deplored was the removal of anything without first having noted its findspot. Broadley was not alone in committing this sin. Nor was he alone in failing to provide "scientific drawings of finds and exact measurements". He was only interested in collecting antiquities. Beglar himself contributes no new information on Nālandā.

H.H. Cole, Curator for Ancient Monuments

Cunningham was appointed Director of Archæology in 1862 with the idea that he would conduct his survey and stop. (Marshall, ASIAR, 1902-03, 3) His elevation in 1871 to the post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey of

India, taking as his special area of operations Northern India, marked the expansion of the original work and reflected the increasing interest in Indian archæology that was being created in London. This appears to have been the result of the efforts of Fergusson and Sir Henry Cole of the South Kensington Museum.

Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882) and Fergusson had been successful in including photographs of Indian architecture in the British section at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 as well as plaster casts of Indian sculpture. Following the Exhibition, they gave a series of lectures at South Kensington Museum on the study of Indian Art. The Exhibition stimulated a concern with Indian architecture. As a result, the Government of India began to take an active part, and in 1868 a separate survey was commissioned. The Government wanted "greater details regarding the date, construction, ornamentation, and condition of ancient buildings". (Lieut. H.H. Cole, Preservation of National Monuments First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments of India for the Year 1881-82, Simla, 1882, 7) In 1880 "Lord Lytton's Government" asked for a Curator of Ancient Monuments to be appointed. Lieut H.H. Cole of the Royal Engineers -- who may have been related to Sir Henry -- was given the post.* His tour of duty lasted three years at the end of which he published a folio series of 10 volumes, Preservation of National Monuments in India. (9) While Cole was not replaced, and conservation was again the province of local governments, the seed had been sown for the ASI to assume that task.

Cole provides his own definition of archæology:

Archæological research has for its object the elucidation of history, and to an enthusiast the temptation to carry off a proof of an unravelled mystery is undoubtedly great. . . . Sometimes, indeed, the removal of ancient remains is necessary for safe custody; and in the case of a foreign country we are not responsible for the preservation *in situ* of important buildings In the case of India -- a country which is a British possession -- the arguments are different. We are, I submit, responsible for Indian monuments, and that they are preserved *in situ*, when possible. . . . Moreover, as Mr. Fergusson remarks, Indian sculpture is so essential a part of the architecture with which it is bound, that it is impossible to appreciate it without being able to realize correctly the position for which it was originally designed.
(11)

For that purpose it was necessary to get Indians interested in preserving their own monuments. Cole proposed funds for "reproduction of architectural illustrations" and reported that the drawings were being made. The information relevant to Nālandā is given in Cole's Appendix H ii., "Bengal Principal Ancient and Architectural Buildings &c.", which reads as follows:

Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon in the Patna District

General Character: Buddhist ruins, full of interest; many sculptures of great beauty.
Custody: No information; excavations have been made.
Preservation: Ruins.
Restoration: Impossible.
Photographs: None
Drawings or Plans: None. (xlii)

With this information on its official files, it is no wonder that the ASI gave no more thought to Nālandā until 1915.

James Burgess, Director-General

When Cunningham retired in 1885, Dr. James Burgess was appointed Director-General of the ASI. Upon Burgess' retirement, however, the Government of India Finance Committee slashed the ASI budget. A new Director-General was not appointed. None of the Bengal surveyors remained in service, with the result that the ASI was substantially diminished and on the verge of being abolished. But the decision hung in abeyance until 1898. Local governments continued to operate independently, instructing their Public Works Departments to engage in conservation and repair. As might be expected, very little work was done, and no records were kept by the Departments regarding the condition of monuments.

But in that time, the Beal and Legge translations of Hiuen Tsiang appeared as did Takakasu's and Chavannes' translations of works by I-tsing.¹⁰

Chapter V

Notes

1. Prinsep, a civil servant in the Calcutta assay office, provided a focal point for antiquaries in Calcutta. His expertise lay in deciphering inscriptions in stone as well as on coins, most notably the edicts of Asoka found on pillars in Delhi and Allahabad. Many of the projects undertaken in the 1830's were instigated by Prinsep, but his professional duties prevented him from entering full time into the field himself and from co-ordinating the activities of his colleagues. From 1836-37 Prinsep was secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the editor of the JASB. He would take copies of inscriptions -- or work from copies brought to him -- decipher them and then publish the translations. Having editorial control enabled him to see that epigraphical and numismatical articles were published. He was forced to return to England in 1838 following a serious illness from which he never recovered. He died in 1840, aged 40.

2. Cunningham gives Beal as the reference for Fa-hien in the ASI Report. Beal's translation was not published until 1869. Cunningham published his account in 1871. It is entirely possible that Beal drew some of his conclusions from Cunningham's 1861-62 JASB reports.

3. Cunningham is not distinguishing between Julien's translation of Hwui Li's Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang (Paris 1853) which is the first volume of his translations of the works of the Chinese monks, the second and third volume being Hiuen Tsiang's Mémoires. Thus the discrepancy in the height of "Bālāditya's temple": Hwui Li put it at 200 feet, and Hiuen Tsiang at 300 feet. Hiuen Tsiang did not arbitrarily suggest a difference in height of 100 feet. Cunningham also fails to distinguish between the two different accounts in ASIR, III, 93.

4. Cunningham's note regarding this reads:
This mound [marked "F"] was subsequently excavated by order of the government under the superintendence of Captain Marshall. The temple stood on a plinth 12 feet high above the ground level, forming a terrace 15 feet wide all round. The inner room is 20 feet square, with an entrance hall on the east side. The walls, which are of extreme thickness, are built of large bricks laid in mud. There are few remains of plaster. . . . The remains of a pedestal occupy nearly the whole west half of the inner room, but there are no traces of any statues. Pieces of broken statues were, however, found in the entrance hall. A portion of the entrance is of more modern date, the same as at Bodh-Gaya. Captain Marshall closes his account of the explorations with the following opinion, which seems to be well founded: 'The general appearance of the building, viz., the false doorway, the abstraction of the idols, and

the absence of inside plaster, all give me the notion of the building having been made use of after the glories of the temple had passed away and then to have fallen to pieces by neglect and consequent decay. (ASIR, I, 33)

5. Alexander Meyrick Broadley (1847-1916), the son of a canon of Salisbury, described himself as a lawyer, author, journalist and collector, operating in north Africa, mainly in Cairo and Tunis. He mentions nothing of his Indian experience or his early pamphlet. His other publications of his include a book on the boyhood of Edward VII; one on John Wilkes, MP, 1727-97; Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, (1910); The Last Punic War (1882), and Napoleon in Characture [sic.] 1795-1821, (1910) ("Alexander Meyrick Broadley", Who Was Who 1916-28, 127-28)

6. Frederick Asher found the Broadley photographs and reproduced them in "The Former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif" Artibus Asiæ, XXXII, 1970, 105-124. The collection, originally intended to be shipped to Calcutta's Indian Museum in 1891, came to the attention of Theodor Bloch, first assistant to the Superintendent, in 1896, in the form of 686 pieces of sculpture without any information about them. (105) Eventually he determined they constituted Broadley's collection. Photographs were taken. Asher found 18 plates with captions in the National Library, Calcutta. (106)

Plate V in Asher's article shows the remains of the great doorway of Bālāditya, set up in a different order from that which Broadley describes in his Ruins, 8-9. Asher also notes that this doorway was reproduced in Burgess, Ancient Monuments, Temples, and Sculptures of India (London, n.d.). (*idem.*) The Vāgīsvarī inscription is also discussed in N. Chakravarti, "Pāla Inscriptions", JASB, 1908, 105-06.

Further references in Asher are Bloch's Supplementary Catalogue and Cole's Preservation . . ., as well as Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture (New Imperial Series, XLVII, Delhi, 1933). Asher says that many sites at Nālandā are still unexamined from the time of Broadley and Cunningham, and the sculptures are still lying about.

7. Cunningham's references for the Gopāla inscription on the base of a "four-armed female image" are: ASIR, I, Pl. XIII, fig. 1 showing the inscription; ASIR, III, 120. The second inscription appears in his list as No. 10: "On jamb of entrance door of Bālāditya's temple" discovered by Capt. Marshall, 1864 who took a cast. "This cast was 'presented to the Asiatic Society' by the Government, but I cannot find any notice of it in the proceedings of the Society". (122)

Also in III, Plate XXXI is of the "Bālāditya" vihāra basement.

8. By an interesting *tour de force* Cunningham redates Bālāditya to the 1st century A.D., thus the Mahābodhi temple is redated also. The authority for this is actually Hwui Li's explanation of the chronology of building at Nālandā, with a mention of Vassilief's translation of Tāranātha. (ASIR, III, 94-95)

Chapter VI

The ASI 1902-1928

(N.B. Plate numbers from the ASI Reports will be given in parenthesis; Plates and Appendix references for the thesis in brackets)

ASI, 1902-1915

When Lord Curzon became Viceroy of India in 1899, he campaigned for a fully-instituted, fully-funded ASI. In 1902 John Marshall was appointed Director-General, a post he was to hold until 1935. Marshall was given a broader and more organised brief than his predecessors. Notably, he was to see "that any restorations, which may be attempted, were conducted along artistic lines". (ASIAR, 1902-03, 10) And he was to present to the Government of India an annual report.

Marshall concluded that his report could not compete with the "value as to scholarship and finality" of any of the previous publications. (3) He went on to say, ". . . because of their finality those publications often tended to stifle rather than stimulate further research in the particular paths trodden by their authors". (idem.) He would aim to provide material on a regular and updated basis for research ". . . to attract wider and more abiding attention to India's grand treasure-house of historical relics" much as had been done by the Egypt Exploration Fund for Egyptian archæology. ((idem.)

The emphasis had completely shifted to purely practical matters. As Marshall observed, ". . . it appears that even the [previous] research work, brilliant though it was in scholarship, was begun without system and continued in a desultory manner. . . ." (11) Rather than provide method and

direction for research, the new order was conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphy and lastly research. "As now constituted", Marshall wrote, "indeed, the Survey staff has no leisure for the refinements of archæological disquisition; it is essentially an active, not a contemplative corps, and its duty will therefore be to place before European scholars material for elucidation rather than attempt elucidation on its own account". (12)

Spooner's First Tour of Duty, 1915-16

Until 1916, only two articles appeared regarding Nālandā, one by Block and one by Taw Sein Ko.' When the decision was taken to excavate at Nālandā, the ASI received assistance in funding from the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS), London. The Council of the RAS gave the ASI Patna District £218/10/- towards the purchase of the site. The Government in India contributed Rs. 2,591.2.8. The ASI took possession of 41.48 acres 11 July 1916. Dr. David Brainard Spooner (1879-1925, was appointed superintendent of archæology.²

In his report for the year 1915-16, Spooner noted that "Sir Edward Gait's Government" gave Rs. 1,762.6.0 for the land at Burgaon. (ASIAR, Part II, Eastern Circle, Superintendent's Report, 1915-16, 23) Spooner had been working on Buddhist sites in the Frontier Province, and moved to Pataliputra in 1912-13 to work, with Tata sponsorship, on the excavation of the Mauryan capital. Spooner made an inspection tour to Burgaon in November, 1915, and started to excavate Nālandā in March 1916. (ASIAR, Pt. I, Director General's Report, 1915-16, 13)

Spooner states: "Nalanda, as is widely known, was one of the principal seats and centres of Buddhist culture and learning in the Gupta period of Indian history, and for some centuries thereafter". (II, 33) Spooner took as an established fact Cunningham's opinion that Nālandā could not have been in existence in Fa-hien's time as he did not report having been there. Hiuen Tsiang's description is also taken as a factual and accurate account. But Spooner made the point that Hiuen Tsiang's account " . . . leads modern scholars to infer that it must have risen in the interval between the visits of these two . . . [that is, circa A.D. 450.]. It is, however, probable that only the distinctive greatness of the place is of so late a date. Presumably the importance of the site reaches back to ages more remote" (*idem.*) His remark would suggest that Spooner was familiar with some of the Buddhist references to Nālandā. He was also familiar with Broadley's having " . . . recovered such important remnants". (*idem.*) He says that the Patna Museum hoped to receive Broadley's collection.

Spooner began his excavations using Cunningham's 1861 sketch to identify specific sites. He assumed that Cunningham's monastery No. 1 was equivalent to what Hiuen Tsiang said was the original saṃghārāma built by a king Śakrāditya. (See Chapter VIII) He started digging at "the south-east corner of Cunningham's Quadrangle No. 2", working north, gradually finding the configuration of Nos. 1 and 2, which were later called Monasteries No. 4 and No. 1. (To avoid confusion, we shall use the latter designations. See Cunningham's sketch, Chapter V, and the ASI map, Chapter

VII) (34) Spooner found a Buddha image surrounded by attendants, carved in "almost blackish stone" in a cell in Monastery No. 4. (35) He devoted his first season to clearing Monastery No. 1, which appeared to him to be either two storeys or two monasteries, one built on top of the other.

Spooner's assistant discovered "a total of 603 seals or tablets" in a relatively shallow dig at a place behind Cunningham's No. 6, Broadley's Tope No. VII (either Monastery No. 7 or 8 in the eventual ASI enumeration). Excavations of the mound marked No. 4 on Cunningham's sketch, designated Temple No. 2, produced "211 sculptured panels" around a brick plinth. (Photographs of these are listed in ASIAR, 1916-17, II, Appendix F.) Spooner tentatively dated the panels to the sixth/seventh century on the basis of the "clearly Gupta character of the sculptures". (37) He also concluded from the unfinished state of some of the panels and other architectural features that the building was incomplete, a possible indication that the "temple" as he described it, was of a much later date than the decor. (idem.) As to the subject matter of the panels, he said that it appears to be wholly decorative, not specifically identifiable as Buddhist or Brahmanic.

Spooner's Second Tour of Duty, 1916-17

Work in the following season disclosed three levels of building at Monastery No. 1 -- the No. 2 in Cunningham's sketch. At the top of the middle level he found a "gold coin of Govinda-Chandra (c. 1112-1160 A.D.)". (ASIAR, II, 1916-17, 40-41) The floors of these levels were made of concrete.

Spooner discovered that he could not dig down through them without running the risk of their total collapse. He found on the verandah of the lowest of the three levels a "sequence of pedestals along the wall, at the south end of the passage way . . ." all of which originally supported images. (42) Further excavation revealed three more building levels, each one, Spooner imagined, begun after a period of disuse and decay, but over what time-span he does not say.

On the second level he found ". . . a curious sort of house built into the courtyard from the north side of the high plinth . . . of brick . . . and is remarkable chiefly as containing two chambers . . . [like] rock-cut caves . . . cut with curving ceilings" Such vault construction in his understanding and experience was not usually associated with pre-Moghul buildings. (44-45) Spooner also found a well in the north-west portion of the courtyard, and decided it was not *the* well given in Hiuen Tsiang as belonging to the whole saṃghārāma. Thus Spooner concludes that what he has found was not what Hiuen Tsiang described. He adds that while he will think about a main wall surrounding the entire saṃghārāma, as described in Hiuen Tsiang, as having a single entrance at the south, the report is no place to discuss its possible location or even existence. (45-46. Here it will be seen that saṃghārāma is taken to mean one monastic building.) The subject does not appear to have been taken up again.

Spooner also excavated the mound designated by Cunningham as "A" (ASI Stupa No. 3), opposite, slightly to the left of Monastery No. 1, which he refers to as a vihāra.

But as the digging revealed no discrete building, he decided that the structure was a stūpa. There were three stūpas on this spot, he concluded, the innermost one being covered with stucco and stucco figures. According to the accepted opinion of the time, a stūpa was only rebuilt when in a state of complete disrepair and then as an act of merit. In this instance what appeared to be the oldest stūpa is preserved in the enlargement. (46)

Spooner finally cleared the plinth at the base of what he called Site No. 2, later designated Temple No. 2. He revealed the full frieze of sculpted stone panels. (47)
[Finds listed in Appendix II for all Reports.]

The detailed thoroughness of the early reports would be edited as other sites were added to the annual lists and as funds for publication dictated. But at least a report was coming out every year for each circle, edited versions and some photographic plates appearing in the Annual Report of the Director-General as well so that the progress of the work could be carefully noted and monitored.³ (This was ASIAR, Part I; Part II was the Superintendent's report)

Spooner's Third Season, 1917-18

Spooner served as acting Director-General of the ASI in Marshall's absence. An Indian in the ASI, K.N. Dikshit, acted as Superintendent at Nālandā. However, Spooner retained charge of excavations and the report. Dikshit added an epigraphic note.

Spooner excavated to a fifth level in Monastery No. 1. He refers to his having found in the previous year, at the fourth level, in "the centre of the east side . . . a

chapel, once containing a large seated Buddha in stucco, of which only one damaged knee now exists". (ASIAR, II, Superintendent's Report, 1917-18, 40. The only reference in the previous report is to a "sculptural fragment", presumably the knee, II, 1916-17, 45) He also found the remains of "two standing Bodhisattva figures", one possibly Padmapāṇi, with their attendants, and suggests that anything intact was removed before the site was abandoned. (idem.) Besides a number of seals, he found in the northeastern corner of the verandah, in a drain, "a surprising number of metal images on stands, of various sizes, some inscribed". These were sent along to the archaeological chemist to be cleaned. (41) Lastly at this site he discovered "what can only be interpreted at present as shirts of mail or chain armour". (idem.) These were items he regarded as quite unbuddhistic.

At Stupa No. 3 Spooner established three layers of stūpas, the third (No. 5 in the subsequent digging) being "still covered with a rather remarkably well-preserved stucco ornament, including several Buddha figures with attendants". (idem.) There were numerous smaller stūpas surrounding Stupa No. 3, a shrine with an image inside of "Padmapāṇi" (mentioned in the report of the previous year), and pieces of a stūpa "decorated with rows of small seated Buddhas, with a lengthy and well incised metrical inscription along the bottom", found to the west of the main stūpa. (42) (Plate XIV, d.)

Marshall visited Nālandā this season and made provision for additional funds to enable Spooner to put down a trench

running north from the stūpa site. This, by Spooner's reckoning, indicated the presence of four similar edifices. He went on to say: "The [stūpa] next north to Site III [marked "F" in Cunningham's sketch] is the stupa dug by Mr. Broadley. . . ." (idem.) The mound marked "G" in Cunningham's sketch, called Avalokiteśvara's vihāra, Spooner does not refer to as such but notes that its decor makes it an interesting prospect for excavation. Spooner says nothing about Cunningham's "H", supposedly Bālāditya's vihāra. He notes also finding an image of Avalokiteśvara near Stupa No. 3. (idem.). (Plate XIV, c.)

Spooner's last find was a fragment at Stupa No. 3:

Found in the square I 7 d-2, 4'9" deep, at the northern end of the group of little stupas on the west side of this southern stupa . . . a stone statuette, 3¾" high . . . the lower portion of some goddess, facing, but striding out toward the proper left, with her foot trampling triumphantly upon the prostrate figure of Ganesa! A small attendant on the right of the goddess holds what may be the handle of an umbrella, while that portion of the background which appears above Ganesa is decorated with conventional flames. (42-43) [6.1]

Buchanan, Kittoe, Cunningham and Broadley noted finding a similar, although not necessarily the same, figure.

Spooner's Fourth Season 1918-19

While excavation ceased for this year, conservation continued under the supervision of D.P. Sahni in Spooner's absence. As with Dikshit in a previous season, Sahni appears to have submitted his report to Spooner who edited and published it.

In this season a dak bungalow was constructed which would for a number of years serve to house artefacts until a

proper museum could be built. (ASIAR II, 1918-19, 4)
Conservation work on Monastery No. 1 consisted of reinforcing the courtyard wall as it appeared to have been poorly built on ruins in the first place and then damaged by centuries of monsoon rains. Spooner noted that the courtyard was preserved at one level -- and he does not explain which one it was -- while cells of later monasteries were built on the ruins of previous ones. (5) Conservation work continued at Temple No. 2 and Stupa No. 3. [6.2]

Sastri's First Season, 1919-1920

Spooner was appointed Deputy Director-General of the ASI. The archæological work at Nālandā was put in the hands of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, who took charge of the excavations at Monastery Site No. 1.⁴ Sastri credited A.M. Broadley with being the first excavator at Nālandā in 1871. He suggested that Nālandā was in existence in the fourth and fifth centuries, and although he says literary sources confirm this, he gives no specific references. But he cites Tāranātha's remarks that Aśoka founded the university, and that Nālandā was one of the main sites for the development of Mahāyānya Buddhist schools. (ASIAR, II, 1919-20, 30)

He points out that Nālandā was sacred to Jains as well as Buddhists: Mahavira was reputed to have spent the rainy season here. Sastri also states that Mahavira's chief disciple, Gotama Indrabhuti, was born at Nālandā. (Buchanan had stated that "Gautama" had died at Nālandā.) Sastri notes Buchanan's remark that Jains still worshipped at Nālandā and that Hindus were using images of the Buddha in their shrines. (31) And he notes that Saraj-kund was a tank sacred

to Surya, suggesting that the site was sacred for Hindus as well. (idem.)

Sastri speaks of five separate levels at Monastery No. 1, calling them, from the bottom to the top, A, B, C, D, E. The B level he calls the Devapāla, or ninth century, level. Conservation of the walls and the cells showing the various different levels was his main occupation this season. (36) [6.3]

At Stupa No. 3, he attempted to protect the Avalokiteśvara" image standing at the north-east corner of the large stupa in a miniature shrine". (idem.) Sastri says:

While recounting relics at Nalanda Hieun Tsiang notices a standing figure of Kwan tsi-tsai or Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, he saw, to which he attributes some miraculous powers. Possibly this is the very image spoken of. It stands to the south-west of the main monastery on site 1 and to the south of another Vihara partially excavated by Dr. Spooner. To the south of this statue stands a large stupa which, because of its importance shown by the treatment it received at different times, the position it occupied amongs many small stupas erected around it, and the fine temples standing at its corner, can safely be identified with the stupa in which the remains of Buddha's hair and nails, cut during three months, were, according to Hieun Tsiang, deposited. If my surmise is correct, I think, we shall be able to locate several of the relics enumerated by the pilgrim in a relative position. (idem.)

Sastri began digging outside the monastery to determine how the various levels related to each other. (37) He then discovered monastery remains to the southwest of his excavation, contemporary to level B. (38) The site, designated Monastery No. 1A, revealed "burnt sils [sic.] of wood and the extant portions of their jambs [which] show how door-frames were fitted in them". (idem.) He also found a number of stone and metal images, including a "metal vase

(?) [query his], unfortunately broken, whose utility specially in a monastic building is not apparent. . . . [The vase] belongs to the monastery of the king of central India like the bronze or copper pillar, (the leg of a throne?) [query his] found by Dr. Spooner in 1916-17". (idem.)⁵

At Stupa No. 3, Sastri reported finding some Buddhist images at the southeastern corner:

One of them is a male figure, crowned, sitting under seven hooded serpent, holding rosary in the right hand and a goblet (?) in the left hand. Apparently it represents some deified human being. [Sastri rules out the Buddha and two of the Jain saints.] The rosary and the Naga would suggest to me that the figure might stand for Nagarjuna -- specially the snake which reminds me of the Naga who protected him or revealed to him the holy texts in the dragon palace under the sea. (idem.)

Another image, a female surrounded by children, he identifies as "Kotisri or Sapta-koti-Buddha-Matri Chunti, the mother of seventy-thousand Buddhas, one of the several forms of the god or goddess of mercy or Avalokitesvara who is worshipped both as a male and a female divinity". (idem.)

[6.4] The third figure Sastri suggests is "Vajrasattva", a figure holding a vajra and a lotus and having " . . . a stupa . . . engraved over his head at the side of which a small figure, probably representing Akshobhya, is carved". (idem.) (Plate XXI, b.) (Finds also listed in ASIAR, Eastern Circle Report, II, 40-48.) (Plates III, IV, V)⁶

As he found Brahmanic images here as well, he remarks that either Brahmanical sects also occupied the site, "or perhaps these might have been put by the Buddhists themselves to show that the Brahmanical gods were only subservient to Buddhas or Bodhisattvas". (39)

As for Temple No. 2, Sastri agreed with Spooner that the frieze terracotta plaques did not originally belong to the building they were found in, but to an earlier one, and that other edifices occupied this site. (idem.)

Sastri's Second Season, 1920-21

The entire cost of the Archæological Department was to be taken over by the Imperial Government rather than to be left to local governments. (ASIAR, I, 1920-21, (1) Bihār and Orissa became part of the Central Circle. (8) Sastri presided over extensive excavations in this season made possible by a grant of extra funds allocated by Marshall. (ASIAR, II, 1920-21, 33.) He was occupied with the necessity of clearing "brickbats and debris" to get down to the actual remains and to find some place to put what was removed. Needless to say, the rubble itself created yet another mound.

(34) The rest of the season was devoted to digging out Monasteries No. 1 and 1A.

Sastri dated Monastery 1A with level A, or the lowest level of Monastery 1, the outside wall being "of the same make as that of Monastery B", or level B of No. 1, which he says is like that of Temple No. 2, apparently "called *Patharghatti*". (35) He says that Monastery No. 1A was earlier than level B of Monastery No. 1 because of overlap of the latter in the northeastern corner, but also "from the statement of Hiuen Tsiang that the extension of the buildings at Nalanda was from south to north". (36) [6. 5] He found many relics, including a ". . . heavy piece of iron? [his query] weighting 24 seers or about 48 lbs . . ." in an octagonal well belonging to the early level, located

in the northwest corner of the verandah. (idem.) "Hearths" were found in the centre before the shrine and in the eastern section of the verandah. Sastri speculates they might have been used for cooking or "for preparing drugs or *rasas*, in which case the structure would be *bhishaksala* or a medical seminary". (idem.) In two cells on the western verandah "pots containing burnt rice and pulse" were unearthed, reinforcing his idea that cooking was done in this building. Sastri cites as his source for speculation "the *Silpasastra*", but gives no specific title or date. (idem.) He notes having found in cells 1, 25, 26 and 27 images of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara "or Maitreya" and Buddha, ". . . a circumstance showing that, at least, this portion of the building was meant for worship". (idem.) (Progress Report, Plate V)

On the porch at level B in Monastery No. 1 a number of bronze images and seals were found in débris that indicated a destruction by fire. The most important find was the Bālaputradeva copper plate grant, which, Sastri claimed, at least put a date to the level. (idem.)⁷ Evidence of terracotta images in niches on either side of the porch appeared not only to resemble the stone images found earlier in the eastern verandah but also to have been painted. (36-37)

Some 500 artefacts were removed from the southwest part of the verandah and porch. (Finds listed in ASIAR, II, 42-53) According to Sastri:

[These] testify to the period of marked artistic activity. Most of these were found on or about the level where the image of standing Sankarshana was unearthed by Dr. Spooner. As this image gives the name of Devapaladeva in the votive inscription

written at the back of the pedestal it looks quite reasonable to ascribe them to the reign of that king or his immediate predecessor or successor or in other words to the eight and the ninth century A.D., the time that gave birth to the two craftsmen Dhiman and his son Vitapala [sic.] so well known for their skill as bronze founders. (39)⁸

With regard to other finds, Sastri notes a dedicatory inscription on the stone "Nāgārjuna" found the previous year and a small bronze from Monastery No. 1A "which closely resembles the said image", but is none the wiser as to the identification of the image. (38) He also notes a stone image of Yamāntaka (the dimensions of which were 7 and 13/16" by 4 and 7/8"), which he identified from sandhanas found in Foucher's Étude (56-57), and dates to the 9th century. (39) (Progress Report, Plate I)⁹

Sastri speculates on the dharmacakra device found on Nālandā seals:

It must have been a favourite device. It is, I fancy, in this fact that the appropriateness of the insignia lies -- at Sarnath the *dharma* was preached by one *Bhikshu*, i.e., Buddha, but at Nalanda [sic.] by hundred of *Bhikshus* through whom it not only spread in India but in distant lands beyond her limits and reached Tibet or China and other places". (40)¹⁰

Sastri finally notes that conflagration is not only evident from the charred and molten remains found in Monasteries No. 1 and 1A but also "by an inscription which was discovered at Nalanda in 1864 by Captain Marshall and, which, I understand, is now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. It is dated in the 11th year of Mahipaladeva and speaks of the restoration of buildings at Nalanda after the conflagration or destruction by fire". (41) Sastri is referring to the "Bālāditya" inscription.¹¹

Sastri gives Mahipāla's dates as A.D. 978-1030.

"Assuming that his reign began with 978 the restoration was affected before 989" (idem.) Then he puts the Devapāla grant to A.D. 990, having given Devapāla's dates as A.D. 853-93. (Seal, ASIAR, 1922-23, Plate XV, d.) [6.6] "Thus", Sastri goes on, "it is clear that the building where the plate and other finds of the year were unearthed fell down between 890 and 990". (idem.) (The "990" must have been a typographical error.)¹² (Finds listed in Central Circle Report, 42-53)

Page's First Season, 1921-22

Spooner was appointed acting Director-General of the ASI in Marshall's absence. He was thus overall editor of the first of the consolidated reports, that is, the incorporation of Parts I and II into a single volume. This came about following the Imperial Government's decision to assume publishing costs. Nālandā, under "Bihar & Orissa, Central Circle", was reviewed in three categories: Conservation, Exploration and Museums.

J.A. Page had previously been superintendent of Moghul and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle.¹³ Sastri became the epigraphist following the death of V.N. Aiyar. Page began supervision of work at Nālandā in 1921. (ASIAR, I, 1921-22, 37)

Page first noted a type of Buddhist sculpture at Nālandā, not exclusive to this site but found throughout Bengal-Bihār, executed in black shale (kashti-pathar). Images were often inscribed with a Buddhist creed and the name of the donor. He remarks on the finding of Buddha images wearing crowns, necklaces, bangles and armlets, but

in the traditional bhikku dress of the antaravaska and saṃghati at Site No. 3 in 1919-20, but comments no further about them. (39)¹⁴

Page reinforced the sixth century base date for Monastery No. 1, suggesting that the 5th century Hun invasions were responsible for the devastation of previous buildings, although there is no evidence of any. He notes the variations in the main entrance/main shrine orientation, sometimes north-south, sometimes east-west -- indicating, he says, Gupta periods. But why this is peculiar to the Gupta period he does not explain. (40) He also found evidence of fire at the base level. Page notes:

Yüan Chwang [Watters' spelling of Hiuen Tsiang] in speaking of the succession of princes who founded monasteries at Nālandā, makes mention of the names of Baladitya and Buddhagupta; and if these personages are to be identified with the Gupta rulers of those names who are recorded to have been reigning in the years 490 and 484 A.D. respectively, it is conceivable that the lowest brick paving now disclosed is to be associated with them, and may thus be considered to date from about the end of the 5th century A.D. (ASI Part II, 1921-22, 20)

Excavations so far had revealed eight levels -- of which Spooner had intended to "preserve a definite portion of each stratum" -- all piled on top of each other, therefore difficult to repair. (idem.) One stratigraphic cut in the southwest courtyard corner showed "layers of ashes, potsherds, heavy brick débris, more ashes, and finally a natural earth accumulation . . . most clearly defined, and [they] serve at once as an indisputable record of fire and destruction, and of abandonment and subsequent reoccupation of the site". But as Page does not give specific dates, it is not known to which eras these different events relate.

Nor does he establish clearly the function of the stair "from lowest of the three separate pavements at the top of the monastery". (21) The chabutra, or raised platform, found on the east side of the verandah, however, Page says is the same age as the copper-plate grant. He found another on the south side, with panels, which he put to the 6-7th centuries. (idem.)

At Monastery 1A Page attended to reconstructing the west wall revealing a "ruined stylobate parapet" which encloses the courtyard and which "formerly supported pillars of an open colonnade". (21) He was responsible for "cutting and dressing old bricks" to rebuild the wall. For this purpose he would undertake to contract for the manufacture of new bricks -- 15" x 9" x 3" -- or Gupta period sizes. (idem.)

Marshall was named in 1921 a trustee of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with responsibility for the Archæological Section. Previously, lack of funds meant there was no full-time curator and the collections had been poorly arranged. Facilities for study and personnel were unavailable. (101) In 1920-21, Foucher had acted as curator along with Dikshit, who took on the job of rearranging the collections and wrote a new catalogue. In 1921, Ramaprasad Chandra was appointed curator.

The Nālandā "Museum" was created in the archæological officer's bungalow. But as Nālandā was not easily accessible by road or rail, visitors came only when the officer in charge was available. A godown was built this season to house the increasing number of finds. (111) Page continued

the practice of listing finds, especially from Monastery No. 1 providing information on the class of material, a description of the finds, the findspot, depth, measure and remarks. (Finds listed in Appendix C, 240-41).

Page's Second Season, 1922-23

By this time Page had excavated "9 successive levels" at Monastery No. 1, which he dated between the 6th and the 12th centuries. (ASIAR, 1922-23, 104) He found another monastery east of Stupa No. 3, attached to Monastery No. 1A by a "party-wall", which he called Monastery No. 1B. This monastery was smaller in scale (26' x 15') but of the same plan as Monastery No. 1A, having a shrine at the south side, an open court and a colonnaded verandah. (105) Page said it was earlier in date to Monastery No. 1A, but does not say when. He found an earlier level to the one he excavated, at the main entrance, and a stair to a "higher level of the structure . . . from the earlier entrance". (idem.) He assumed that the depth of the foundations was due to the "relatively high level of sub-soil water". (idem.) He continues:

What is, however, already apparent in the general disposition and arrangement of the several monastic structures at the south end of Nalanda site, is that they formed of themselves the southern boundary of a larger enclosure accomodating a number of monasteries. This will be apparent in the plan of the site . . . a significant factor being the relative positions of the entrance stairs of the several adjacent monasteries. The Nalanda of early mediæval times, however, was unquestionably extended beyond the limits of the site acquired so far for excavation. (106)

But he found nothing ". . . immediately to the west of Stupa Site No. 3 where it adjoins a pond; but while

fragmentary walls, much disturbed by subsidence, were brought to light, no evidence of any massive boundary wall, such as one would expect to enclose a town, was revealed".

(idem.)

Page assumed that Monastery No. 4 had been built by Budhagupta, following Cunningham. In a cell in Monastery No. 4 he found "very rudely cut" Mahiśaśuramardini (Durga) in a cell in Monastery No. 4, about which he ventures the opinion:

Representations of the Brahmanic heirarchy in this essentially Buddhist site is elequent testimony of the general catholicity and eclecticism of the people towards religious faith in later mediæval times; and the evidence is multiplied by the numerous similar finds made here in previous years. Again YÜan Chwang's reference to the study of the Vedas by the monks resident here is equally significant. (107)

Its depth and position were given in the Appendix C, 278.

Page goes on to suggest this evidence is of "the gradual encroachment of Puranic Hinduism on the preserves of Buddhism [This is assisted, in the early 7th century, by Harsha's] distributing his devotions impartially between Śiva, Surya and Buddha". (idem.) Smith in his Early History had put forth such a view. (Finds listed in 150; Appendix C, 276-78)

Page's Third Season, 1923-24

Page continued the task of rebuilding Monastery No. 1B, which was in such a collapsed state that it had to be almost entirely rebuilt. "The low parapet of the colonnade [was] made good with concrete treated to harmonize with the ancient appearance of the original work". (24) (Plate X, a. and b.) He also had the walls of the monasteries which had

been excavated rebuilt. Some 70,000 bricks were made on site for reconstruction of walls. (ASIAR, 1923-24, 25) He gives Nālandā's dimensions as 1600' north/south by x 800' east/west. (70) Pits were sunk to try and detect lower levels, without success. But clearly Monastery No. 1B was older than Monastery No. 1A. There appeared to be nothing earlier than the supposed 6th century level.

Page attempted, in fact, to reassess the age of the earlier levels, suggesting the 9th level really belonged to the 7th century. This being the case, the succession of rulers Hiuen Tsiang refers to could not have built saṃghārāmas here as claimed. If this grouping of monasteries and vihāras had been in existence in the time of Hiuen Tsiang it would have had to have been built by the "king of Central India" -- i.e., the last king in the succession -- who may have been Śīlāditya (Harsha). (71)

As to building sequence, Page's having found an earlier level at Monastery No. 1A led him to conclude that in the eastward building, Monastery No. 1 came first, then Monastery No. 1A was built, overlapping a corner of Monastery No. 1. When that level of Monastery 1A fell into ruins, Monastery No. 1 was rebuilt to overlap it five times.

There are, says Page, "comprehensive survey drawings under preparation" to show this complex situation which would appear in subsequent volumes of the Report. (idem.) ¹⁵

Page's Fourth Season, 1924-25

Page reports difficulties in excavation and repair due to the successive levels, indicating: "It is the aim in conserving these remains to exhibit as far as possible a

definite portion of each structure erected on each site from first to last". (ASIAR 1924-35, 23) He continues:

No attempt is being made to raise the walls of the monasteries beyond what is necessary to reveal their planning; and no feature is being reconstructed for which definite warrant is not forthcoming from the internal evidence the site affords. 'Restoration' is a word rightly in bad odour among critics of the 19th Century repairers of English historical buildings; and if the word is avoided in reference to the works at Nalanda so are the sins it has come to denote. (idem.)

Page exposed the earliest level of Monastery No. 1 following the underpinning of the northeast wall. (idem.) And he repaired the "originally colonnaded chabutra that projects into the courtyard from the south wall". (24) However, a cut in funds for excavation limited him in what he was able to do. He found another chabutra next to the 8th level one "some five feet below the earliest foundations of this chaitya". (84) (Plate XXX b, and c.) And he uncovered the "parapet of the earliest colonnade". (idem.) On the north wall of the court he found "a number of chulhas, or ovens, in which the horizontal air flues and fragments of perforated tile bottom were visible. So perhaps these brick cave-chambers, with their unique Hindu-constructed vaults, served as a kitchen for the monastery." (85)

Conservation carried out at Monastery No. 1A revealed on either side of the entrance "two deep cells" having no visible means of access -- they may have been granaries or "stores for treasured possessions". (25) Page found "vestiges of beam-holes in the cell wall that originally contained the timbers of the ceiling and thus limited the height available for access to the store cell from the stair landing". (idem.) (Plate V)

At Monastery No. 1B he restored the walls of what he calls a "dog-legged stair", i.e., one that goes to a landing and turns back on itself to the next level. And he repaired the walls of both these monasteries and concreted their tops "to keep them water tight". Page indicated that grass was grown on top to "induce a more natural appearance of ruin". (25-26) The monasteries together cover 21,000 sq. ft. The walls, 7' thick, "have had to be raised in many places from several feet below floor level". For this he used specially made large bricks. (idem.) (Plate VI, b.)

In Monastery No. 4, Page reports the discovery of a quantity of small "votive" stūpas or stūpa pedestals with the disposition of figures given as follows:

- 1) Buddhas cut in rows: a. dharmacakramudrā; b. dhyanamudrā; c. bhūmiśparśamudrā, d. abhāyamudrā
- 2) Eight scenes of the life of the Buddha in a succession of panels
- 3) Four stūpas bearing dedicatory inscriptions, dated eighth and ninth centuries. (86)

They were inscribed in the 8-9th century. According to Page, "one of them contains a reference to the reign of Mahendrapāladeva, presumably the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of that name at Kanauj who is assigned to ca. 850 A.D. and is believed to have annexed Magadha. . . ." (86)¹⁶

In the museum report, Page indicates that the finds of the season were predominately bronzes from the Pāla period, mostly Buddhist but there were a few Brahmanical images. Among the Buddhist images he reports finding a Hārīti (dated to the Devapāla period, which he gives as A.D. 844-92); a "female image holding a vajra", which he calls "Vajratara", two-armed though Page says that "Vajrataras" are usually "multi-armed", and a Śaśanka gold coin (A.D. 600-619) which

was "found at too high a level to be associated with his presence there". (136)

With regard to drawings of the site, he remarks:

A survey of this nature is indispensable for the elucidation of the remains, which are often so complicated in their incidence that they can only be rendered intelligible by careful correlation in plan, elevation and section; and it is unfortunate that the work has been impeded through lack of an adequate staff. (177)

Page's Fifth Season, 1925-26

Page states that the Nālandā site represents a succession of structures dating from 7th to 12th centuries. The "average depth of earth removed" was 11', and in the season "94,000 cubic feet of earth [was] excavated". (ASIAR, 1925-26, 100)

Conservation at Monastery No. 1, focussed on the caitya found in the courtyard. According to Page, "with the primitive means available on the site, [excavating the brick wall beneath the caitya] has necessarily presented no small constructional problems, and has demanded the closest supervision to forestall accidents". (26) He was working to the depth of the 9th level. He says that subsequent building levels suggest that "its pious builders [had been], as usual, placidly indifferent to such mundane things as structural foundations". (27)¹⁷ The danger of a cave-in was always present.

On the second level (presumably from the bottom), at the south side of the caitya he found a number of chulhas,

or hearths. Also, he reports that the "earliest brick pavement in the north-east corner of the internal courtyard was removed". (104) In an attempt to reveal Monastery No. 1 in terms of upper and lower levels -- but without any specific dates -- Page designated the upper level the south part of the plan and the lower level the north part with a gate in the west wall dividing the two. (idem.) Similar work continued on Monasteries 1A and 1B. (Plate XLVIII, a. and b.)

Monasteries Nos. 4, 5 and 6 were conserved and excavated without any notable discoveries. As there are few indications of findspots in the report we do not know if finds noted came from these sites. (Plate VII, Monastery No. 4; Plate VIII, Monastery No. 5) However, Page's remarks with regard to Monastery No. 4 can be applied to Nālandā as a whole:

It may be explained, in passing, that the height to which the old shattered walls generally are rebuilt is decided by the natural configuration of the ruins as exposed. This outline is followed as far as is compatible with the structural needs of any particular portion of the remains; and in this way the general picturesqueness of the ruins is preserved. Owing to the generally shattered condition in which the remains are found a good deal of reconstruction is inevitable; but it should perhaps be stressed that no feature is reconstructed for which there is not clear evidence, either definite or deducible, in the original remains. (28)

This would appear to be in keeping with Marshall's conservation policy that the site finally has the appearance of a clean and tidy ruin.

The conservation and excavation at Stupa No. 3 revolved around the central core and the corner towers. As to the drum of the southeast stucco-coated tower of the then-earliest known level, Page reports:

On the top of this drum which originally was crowned by a solid dome, a layer of concrete has been spread to render the structure water tight, and on the concrete covering, brick-bats and earth have been laid, so as to induce a growth of grass on the top and give a more natural appearance to the ruined tower. (29)

As for the stūpa itself, "the low fragmentary remains of the shrine-like structure" were discovered. Page continues:

So little of the remains survives at the top most level that only the *inner* face of the containing walls of this shrine was found to exist within the configuration of the stupa crest; so that there is no evidence of the thickness of these walls, but only the outline of the inner faces. No outer wall-face can therefore be constructed in the repair, and the brick on the outside has accordingly been left rough to simulate the hearting of the wall. (idem.)

Just as Spooner had excavated the outer shell to the northeast and the northwest in 1918-19, so Page was trying to reveal the towers. (100) (Plate XLIX, a. and b.) [6.7] He says that his assistant, Hari Das, had seen the ruin 35 years ago, and at that time it appeared to be 15' higher. (103) The bricks were, no doubt, removed by the residents of the nearby villages for their building, as others had reported.

Page located various levels of stūpas by uncovering the eastern half of the stūpa. These were discovered when "a deep vertical trench was cut from the outermost eastern face of the stupa right through to the centre". (100-01) But he did not find the remains of the stūpa to which towers belonged. He cut through the brick hearting searching for relics in the first stūpa, but also found nothing. [6.8] Finally he cut around in the centre to define the walls of the central stūpa. The bricks for this measured a very large

18" x 13" x 4½". But he provides no date. An example was placed in the Nālandā Museum. (102)

Page described the inner structure as "a square in plan of 5'8" a side . . . no higher than 4' 6"" -- probably the base of a stūpa. To the southeast he found "the low remains of the later chamber, measuring some 9' 0" north-south by 12' 0" east-west". (102) This contained "a low *chabutra*-like projection on the south side". (idem.) On the chabutra in the middle inside wall the "torsos of two small plaster images in relief were found, still *in situ*". (idem.) Also he found a small fragment of a "black-glazed pot" and a "broken unglazed lid of another vessel". (idem.)

The top of the stūpa was cleared to disclose the "plan of a temple-like chamber, with sanctum to the south and entrance vestibule to the north . . . along with remains of what seems to have been a large image-pedestal, built against the back wall of the shrine". (idem.) (Plate XLVII) On the pedestal was a "small square receptacle . . . [containing] a few *cowrie* shells and some handfuls of decayed rice, along with a lot of river sand". (idem.)

The southeast corner tower was found to be in a very good state of preservation "buried deep in solidly laid bricks" and covered with stucco figures -- Buddhas in dhyanamudrā, dharmacakramudrā and bhūmisparśamudrā, measuring 2'10", or 1'0" in height. (103) [6.8] The larger figures in the drum were identified as Avalokiteśvara and Tārā. (Plate XLIX, a., b.)

He also found large "votive stupas" with stucco images. These he guesses date to the 7th or 8th century, because the

"brick paving revealed around the tower is at approximately the same level as the similar paving outside the earliest monasteries on the Nalanda site". (idem.) Finally he notes that the tower on the terrace was badly damaged.

The important paleographic find this season was "a stone capital-bracket, on the top bed of which is incised an inscription covering a space of 17½ inches by 11 inches".

(idem.) It relates that a certain Malada, minister of Yaśovarmadeva, made offerings to a temple supposedly erected by Bālāditya; but the inscription is not dated. (150)¹ The bracket was found in Monastery No. 1 at the Devapāla level, the same level where the Bālaputradēva copper plate grant was found. [Appendix II]

Page's Sixth Season, 1926-27

According to Marshall, for the past 25 years only one tenth of the funds allocated to the ASI was intended for exploration. The bulk of funding had been earmarked for conservation, but more money was to be made available for excavation due to interest generated by his extensive accounts of the archæology at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. (ASIAR, 1926-27, xv) From Page's point of view this meant that his work on the site could be expanded.

Page suggests that the entrance to Nālandā was from the north. "From the excavations already made it is clear that the range of monasteries on the east side continues beyond the acquired area and probably into the village of Burgaon to the north". (128-29) Later he says:

The range of monasteries thus revealed along the eastern boundary of the Nalanda area comprises ten buildings, and the northern limit of the area cuts across an eleventh monastery, as the range

continues towards the Burgaon village. The village itself contains a high mound in approximately the same alignment as the stūpa range on the west side of the acquired area; and it seems probable that the Nalanda of early times embraced this village. (134-35)

But there is no suggestion that the ASI site be extended.

Conservation in the previous season on Monastery No. 1 involved clearing the south verandah to the Devapāla level. (25) (Plates VII c. and d.; VIII a. and b.) During the excavation at Monastery No. 1 he found "sculptured stone panels portraying human-headed birds revering a lotus" on the chabutra of earliest level, which had been laid at the time of second level buildings. These he dates to the 6th or 7th century. (132) But as the Devapāla level was now raised to the third monastery on the site, dated to the 9th century, there was some uncertainty as to the dates for the two earlier levels. On the southern verandah of Devapāla level he found more metal images (133)

At Monastery No. 4, he conserved to the "uppermost level of occupation", the fourth or Devapāla level. There he found "beam-holes" for the "original roof timbers. This is the only indication so far afforded by the remains at Nalanda of the actual height of the monastery rooms, which is here 11' from floor to ceiling". (27-28) Débris removed similar to that taken from Monastery No. 1 was "largely composed of vitrified masses of roof concrete, and it indicates clearly the nature of the disaster that befell these buildings". (idem.) Clearing was also continued at Monastery No. 5. (28)

Page remarks on the subject as to whether there were more than two storeys to the Nālandā monasteries:

Apart from such internal evidence as a wide dog-legged stair in the corner cell of the larger monasteries Nos. 1, 1A, 1B and 4, and the great thickness of the monastery walls, ranging from 8 to 12 feet, which may or may not be indicative of a second storey, nothing had been found to settle this question in any way conclusively. (133)

He excavated four levels on the north verandah of Monastery No. 4. On the east verandah he located "a stone column-base lying on the sloping top of the concrete débris that resulted from the collapse of the verandah roof, and this was found very near the outer edge of the verandah". (idem.) He speculates that this could be a second storey column, and goes on to suggest that the verandah columns were wood, not stone, and that is why they collapsed in fires. He thinks the builders could have constructed wooden floors on a stone or brick base. (134)

Work continued on Monastery No. 6 -- next to No. 4, whereas No. 5 was behind and attached to it -- Page found a well in the northwest corner as he had in the other monasteries. It had an octagonal top and was round underneath. He discovered decorated chattis in the well débris. (134)

Most of the work this season was done at Stupa No. 3. Page rebuilt the northwest corner of "seventh and outermost structure". (idem.) He found an "earlier votive stupa" with "remains of a still earlier little stupa inside it". He repaired these and left them open to view. He also rebuilt the stairs leading up to 6th structure. [6.9] And he unearthed the stairs of 5th structure, which were covered in stucco. This operation required supporting the projecting portion of the east side of the 5th stūpa.(29) (Plate

VII, a.) He exposed votive stupas around the northeast corner tower as well.

Page complemented Spooner's work on the northeast tower, by excavating the southeast tower. (128) (Plate VI, a. and b.) He found a flight of steps on the "north front of the stupa base, and then along the eastern face . . . flanked by stepped walls elaborately ornamented, like the corner towers with images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas". (idem.) [6.10] He cut into the stūpa facade and unearthed an earlier structure. (129) (Plate VII a.) He also revealed the "remains of a little corner tower of this [earlier] stupa . . . [which] took the form of a tall stupa ornamented with mouldings and pilasters and inset niches, and it was originally covered in stucco, of which portions still survived". But he had to close it up except for the "little dome-like top". (idem.) [6.11] He had drawings made of this excavation, then filled it up again as it was too precarious to leave to the open air. He then rebuilt the 6th level stairs. (130-31) (Plate VI, c. and d.)

Page discovered the 7th structure had been demolished, but when or by whom he could not say. "It is not possible to visualize its original appearance; but from the fragments of monolithic columns that were found about it at a contemporary level on the north side, it appears that a colonnade or loggia of some kind was an important feature of the design". (131)

Page found early so-called "votive" stūpas in the core of the remains. One of them had "attached to it a porch-like shrine containing fragments of a very kachcha [poor] stucco

image; and this little shrine is roofed over with a perfect little barrel-vault brick" like brick caves in the courtyard of Monastery No. 1. (idem.) This he says belongs to the 5th stūpa level, " . . . an instance of a 'Hindu' vault of arch construction". (idem.)

Finds reported for this season were all taken from Monastery No. 1, the Devapāla level, and were found between "burnt debris of fallen roof and the verandah floor" (219)

In Monastery No. 4 Page found a Tārā image, 15", "complete up to its garlanded umbrella". She is seated on a lotus and has 18 arms, the "central pair of hands being in the preaching attitude, one other hand in the attitude of protection, and the remainder holding a symbol; behind the image is a detachable circular background inscribed on the reverse". (idem.) (ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLIV, b.) And finally, locks and keys were recovered from the verandahs of Monasteries No. 4 and 6.

Page's Seventh Season, 1927-28

At Monastery No. 8, Page continued the conservation work of stabilising the walls. (ASIAR, 1927-28, 27) (Plate VIII, a. and b.) He points out that "a prime essential for the preservation of these remains is adequate drainage from their floors, since no roofs now protect them from the weather". The west verandah cells were exposed at "pre-Devapāla levels", but he gives no specific date for these. (28)

As to the excavation, he repeats that " . . . the outstanding characteristic of the site is the remarkable succession of structures that have been built and rebuilt on

the ruins of earlier ones -- a feature that greatly complicates their excavation and repair". But while he returns to the earlier estimate of the 6th century for the first level of the monastery, for what reasons he does not say. (97)

Finds were most prolific at the Devapāla level, the third from the bottom, or 9th century. Page says that not finding anything much at lower levels was at best, "disappointing A few pieces of crystal, a broken knife blade, an ink pot (?), a yard long rod with crooked end, some six hundred cowrie shells, a few terracotta heads and tiny pots, a terracotta die impressed with two representations suggestive of 'Chinese clouds'" ((98). He assumes the reason for the wealth of finds at the Devapāla level was destruction by a fire:

Fleeing occupants were in too great a hurry to think about their possessions, and these were left behind. With the earlier monasteries, however, the ruin was not accomplished by any such overwhelming disaster, and the monks were able to retrieve their belongings. (97)

At Monastery No. 4, the Devapāla and higher level on the north side and the cells of the northern half were repaired. (29) (Plate VIII c. and d.) The east wall of Monastery No. 5 (referred to as "Monastery Annex, Site No. 5") was made water-tight. (idem.)

Most of the work this season was concentrated on Monastery No. 6, which measured 150'x 120'. The cells were only 8' high. (idem.) Excavation revealed the courtyard was originally brick and contained "cooking chulhas" and shrines. The 9th century level was destroyed by fire. Page found "fragmentary charcoal stumps of actual columns . . .

in situ along the verandah parapet particularly along the north side of the monastery". (99) (Plates IX; X, b.; XL) [6.12]

The top, or 10th century, level of Monastery No. 7 was cleared as it was very near the surface. Page concludes that many bricks had been removed by locals. He began to explore the lower levels (idem.)

Conservation work at Stupa No. 3 to make the stūpa top watertight "involved . . . building up the cut face some six feet all along [the exposed east side], so as to allow of the top being concreted over as a series of shallow terraces on which to lay a brick hearting to hide the concrete and give a more natural appearance to the ruined top of the stupa mound". (24) [6.13] Page peeled back the various levels, but he left the amorphous step with "a frankly modern stair [enabling] visitors [to] ascend to the shrine on the very top and from there obtain a bird's eye view of the Nalanda site". (26)

Inside the corner tower of the 5th stūpa Page found "a square chamber . . . with deep niches in each internal face and a little doorway for access in the east side". He left the top open so that the stūpa could be seen from the top, or 6th level. (idem.) In the northeast corner he reports finding the "remains of a couple of compound walls". (idem.) As Page never found a relic in this stūpa he concluded, ". . . one can only suppose that any that might have been deposited there were considered of sufficient sanctity and importance to instigate their recovery from the ruins each time a stupa was destroyed". (99) (Plates VII, a.-d.) [6.14,

6.15, 6.16] He also excavated to the southeast and found "many little votive stupas" which showed signs of having been rebuilt as well. (<idem.>)'²³

In the Museum Report, Page indicates that two copper plates were found in Monastery No. 1 -- one attributed to "Samudragupta" (ca. A.D. 330-80), the second dated to the reign of Dharmapāla, or the late 8th century. As these were found at the Devapāla level, Page suggests that it might be necessary to reascribe the date for that level. (159)

Bronzes found in "vitrified debris" at Monastery No. 7 were reported to be well preserved. They consisted of three Buddhas, the first two 6" and 5½" respectively. The last "forms centre of the group of three and is shown in *dharmacakramudrā*" The second is seated in 'European fashion' . . . [a] smaller male and female flanking figures are seated in *visāla-mudrā*, 6"". (159) Brahmanic images were also found leading Page to conclude:

The finding of these Hindu images along with Buddhist images in this essentially Buddhist site affords yet further evidence of the influence exerted by Hinduism on Buddhism in the 9th century A.D. in the reign of a king so zealous and militant a Buddhist as Devapāla [per Smith Early History] and in a monastery that held his own copper-plate grant of endowment. (160-61)
[Appendix II]

Chapter VI

Notes

1. In his article, "The Modern Name of Nālandā" (JRAS 1909, 1, 440-443), Theodor Bloch says that the name is *Bargāv*. "I have no doubt that the modern name has been derived from a sacred bar tree . . . which has grown over one of the ruined brick buildings of ancient Nālandā. This tree stands inside the enclosure marked M on Cunningham's map [ASIR, I, Plate 16 -- the Baithak Bhairav enclosure], and it now forms one of the main objects of worship to the modern inhabitants of ancient Nālandā". (440)

Nālandā was soon to become a protected site under the Indian Monuments Act to stop natives from taking the bricks away. Bloch thinks that when the site is excavated, nothing earlier than A.D. 600 will be found. "However, even for this period we still require a great deal of more accurate information, especially of such a kind as can only be had from a careful and scientific excavation of ancient monuments of that date". (441)

Bloch says that Cunningham's information about the statues at "S" and "T" still there in 1909, is "incorrect". The point he marked "S" is not what he said it was in 1861-64: it is not a colossal figure of Buddha but a 4' Buddha in dharmacakramudrā with dedicatory inscription giving the donor, Paramāpāsikā Gaggāhā, in the lower left-hand corner. (idem.).

Taw Sein Ko's article, "The Sangyaung Monasteries of Amarapura", suggests that the Nālandā of Hiuen Tsiang's description was the prototype for a Burmese saṃghārāma. (ASIR 1914-15, 56-65.

2. David Brainard Spooner (1879-1925) was born in New England, and studied Sanskrit at Stamford University in California, "the one college in America where a mere undergraduate could take up the study of Sanskrit". (clxxiii) He studied Chinese and Japanese at the University of Tokyo and went from there to Benares. Spooner received his Ph.D. from Harvard, under Lanman, in 1906 and went to Berlin. He was appointed to the ASI in 1906, and worked in the Frontier Circle from 1906-1909.

His forte was archæological field work. He discovered the great stūpa of Kaniṣka and the relics mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang. In 1910 he was appointed Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, and was Deputy Director-General of the ASI from 1919 until his death at Agra, in 1925, aged 46.

About his work at Kumrahar and Bulandibagh (ancient Pāṭaliputra) he wrote that he believed the hall of pillars to have been modelled on Darius' throne room, that the Mauryan kingdom had a Persian origin. ("The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History", JRAS, 1915, I, 63-89; II, 405-55). He was upset by criticism of his theories, especially by "the insinuation . . . that the scholar who put forward such a theory was prompted by a foreigner's unconscious desire to belittle the character of India's indigenous culture -- it was this that hurt beyond bearing". ("D.B. Spooner", JASB, 1926, clxi-clxii)

3. Spooner says: "So far as I have been able to ascertain, from the documents accessible to me, the only divine figure in the Buddhist pantheon which is distinguished by the prostrate form of Ganesa as a *Lakshana* is Mahakala, the patron diety of Mongolia in the sixteenth century!". He suggests that it might be ". . . some Śakti of Mahakala". (ASIAR, II, 43)

Seals found in the floor débris on the south side of verandah are later in date than ^{the} lowest level. Some were described by Dikshit. One, found "in the north-west verandah of Monastery No. 1, belongs to the Emperor Harsha of Kanauj". (44) Others are those of Maukhari rulers, but the names given are not recognisably late Gupta rulers. Dikshit surmises that they may have been "petty chiefs". (*idem.*) There was not at that point in time sufficient information to make more accurate identifications.

4. An extensive search did not uncover any biographical information for Sastri. All that is known is the fact that he died before his monumental work on Nālandā's epigraphical material was published in 1942.

5. Sastri says: "The exploration of this building has so far yielded seven metal and twelve stone images. One of these finds is a small black marble square with two footprints or paduka [sandals], five represent Tara, five Buddha, one Jambhala or Kubera, and seven Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. One of [the images] is a two-armed image of some deity standing on the body of two Naga figures holding a *Vajra* in each hand with a garland of a snake having its hood lifted upon his left shoulder and a sort of canopy of snake hoods. Its identity is not yet clear. It might possibly represent some form of Vajradhara". (38)

6. This is Hārītī, counterpart to Kubera, who, according to I-tsing, was usually found in eating halls of the saṅghārāma. Sastri gives no source for the identification he makes. The change of sex for Avalokiteśvara is definitely not Indian. As to the last figure, Sastri is again guessing. The absence of a photograph makes positive identification difficult. ✓

7. The Bālaputradēva copper-plate grant, dated to the 38th year of the reign of Devapāladeva, A.D. 890, is a grant of villages "for upkeep of the monastery at Nalanda and the comforts of the monks or *bhikshus* coming from the four quarters, for medical aid and for the writing of *dharma-ratnas* or religious books and similar other purposes". (38)

The middle of the eighth line on the reverse side "postscript", speaks of praise for "Bala-dharma and liege-lord Śri Balaputradeva, the king of Suvarnadvipa", grandson of the king of Java. Marshall says, in regard to a "monastery built at the instance of this king of Sumatra, interesting political questions of the 9th century are involved" (ASIAR Director's Report, 1920-21, 27) Sastri's editing and translation are to be found in EI, 1923-24, 17, 310-327)

8. Ramaprasad Chandra wrote in the Museum Report regarding Pāla sculpture:

Though the names of the artists Dhiman and Bitpalo are not met with elsewhere [than in Tāranātha and the Pag Sam Jin Zang relating to Dharmapāla and Devapāla in Varendra], we find in great abundance in Bihar and Bengal a new type of sculpture dating from the eighth or ninth century A.D. . . . The Pāla sculpture is marked off by a peculiar development, a tendency to decorate the back slab more and more elaborately, which may be considered as a sign of decadence. But the technical skill of the artists shows little sign of abating, and in the best images the expression discloses little or no loss of idealism". (ASIAR, 1921-22, 104-05)

9. The listing is No. 17: "[A stone] image 7 13/16" x 4 7/8" of Yamāntaka standing on a seated buffalo, six armed and six headed with miniature figure of seated Akshobhya in head dress, wearing garland of human skulls. . . . Aura, cut out of the slab, goes round the figure at the back with the creed formula written on it, and in correct Sanskrit version and letters of about the ninth century A.D.". (48)

10. The seals bearing the dharmacakra design would appear to be the usual indication of a Buddhist saṅgha, representing the Buddha's first sermon given at the Deer Park at Benares (Sārnāth). Whether the particular saṅgha was specifically Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna was not established.

11. This reference belongs, of course, to a different period and was found in a vihāra that was not excavated until 1930, at which time it was designated Chaitya No. 12.

12. Smith in his Early History of India (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914), provides dates of Gupta kings from coins and inscriptions as follows:

Chandragupta	ca. A.D.	320
Samudragupta	ca.	360
Chandragupta II		371-413 (Fa-Hien)
Kumaragupta I		415-455
Skandagupta		455-480
Puragupta		480-85 (Hun invasions)
Narasimha Bālāditya		485 (Yaśodharman)
Budhagupta		
Bhanugupta		
Kumaragupta II		530-535

Pruṇāvarman was a Maukhuri (A.D. 585-610) and Śaśanka belonged to a Bengali dynasty. Mahasenagupta reigned ca. A.D. 580, and was followed by Harṣa (Śilāditya), a Pusyabhuti, who reigned A.D. 606-647 and was friendly with Hiuen Tsiang. During I-tsing's stay in India the ruler in Magadha was Ādityasēnagupta, A.D. 650-670. He was followed by Devagupta, A.D. 670-695. Sastri refers to one seal of Ādityasēna in his Memoir (61), simply called that. "Gupta" is not attached to his name. He makes no mention of any Devagupta seals.

As can be seen in the text, however, dates varied and the sources for them were often not given.

13. When Page became the Superintendent of Muhammadan and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle is not clear. What is known is that he succeeded Sastri as Superintendent of the Central Circle when Sastri became epigraphist following the death of V.N. Aiyar in 1921. Page retired in 1932, possibly not voluntarily. No obituary notice can be found for him.

14. R.D. Banerji's Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture (New Imperial Series, XLVII, New Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1933) represents work he began while he was the first assistant to the Superintendent, Theodor Bloch, at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Bloch began at the Museum in 1896. Using Anderson's Museum catalogue (1883) and the Broadley collection, which arrived in 1885, Bloch began to reorganize the entire Museum collection from 1898 to 1900 "according to genus and species" rather than dates or styles. (1) Magadha was divided into Buddhist and Brahmanic sections, with Buddhas constituting one category, Bodhisattvas, etc. the next. When Bloch was appointed Archæological Surveyor for Bengal in 1910, his edited new catalogue was subsequently published as supplementary to Anderson's.

Banerji worked at the Museum from 1907 to 1917 studying the inscriptions and sculptures in the Museum collections. (2) His study, only published in 1933, provides a wealth of information and illustrations. But it is not very useful when it comes to establishing the precise findspot of each piece represented. A number of references and illustrations of artefacts from Nālandā appear not always in a context.

15. Page contributed "Nālandā Excavations" with a Plate, to JBORS (IX, 1923, 1-22) based on the work done to that date. V. Bhattacharyya's "Buddhist Icon (with Plates)" 114-117, and "Identification of Nālandā Stone Image (with Plates)", 394-97. appear in this volume, too. In JBORS X, 1924. is Sir Asutosh Mookerji's "Historical Research in Bihar and Orissa". 1-20. Jackson's edition of Buchanan was published in 1922

16. Page does not indicate his sources for dates. However, Smith gives the following:

Pāla dynasty:	
Gopāla	A.D. 730-770
Dharmapāla	770-810
Devapāla	810-858 (Viradeva) (Balaputradeva)
Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty, deposed Devapāla:	
Mihira Bhoja	858-885
Mahendrapāla	885-908
Later Pālas	
Mahipāla	978-1030

(Smith E.H., 45ff.)

The Śaśanka coin would appear to indicate the numerous upheavals at the site from unspecified causes. Thus, it can be seen how difficult it was to date anything accurately and exclusively on the basis of items found in débris.

17. While Marshall was concerned with the actual structure of a monument, he also directed that the "overseer [superintendent] will make over to the Archaeological Officer on the spot all coins, curios, pottery or valuables that may be found by the workmen", whose primary concern was to clear a site so that it might be conserved. (19) Also, "It will be the duty of the latter to maintain accurate registers of the find-spots of all such articles and to label and preserve each one carefully". (*idem.*) Anything that could not be taken by the Survey under the Treasure Trove Act was to be paid for at the Officer's discretion.

Marshall further directs: "Immediately after the completion of repairs to any monument, the building and its surroundings should be cleaned and tidied up. . . ." (21)

Also, he says: "An image that has fallen should not be replaced on a pedestal or in a niche, unless it is certain that it was originally set there. Endless confusion may be caused by the indiscriminate re-erection of images in the wrong places. (25)

And finally, he says: "The repair of divine or human figures is never to be attempted" (*idem.*)
(Marshall, Conservation Manual, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1923)

18. Sastri translated this in "Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśōvarmmadēva", EI 20, 1929-30, 37-46. It was found in the débris of south end verandah of Monastery No. 1 "which has yielded not only a large number of bronzes and copper images . . . but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā". (37) (159) In effect it says that a ruler, Bālāditya, after defeating the enemy built a great vihāra. The term, according to Sastri, is prāsāda. Malada, the son of a minister [not *the* minister, as Page reports] of Yaśōvarmmadēva is making gifts to the vihāra of Bālāditya "which was the abode of scholars of wide fame and unrivalled because of its numerous chaityas and other beautiful buildings".

19. Cunningham found what were reputed to be relics of Śāriputra and Maudgalayāna when he opened the Bhilsa Topes in 1851. Page was hoping for a similar find.

Chapter VII

The ASI 1928-1938

Kuraishi's First Season 1928-29

From 1929 until 1938, the work at Nālandā was by and large being supervised by Indian archæologists who had been trained by the British. Needless to say, their methods were western and they had inherited the traditional interpretations of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra. We note little change either in emphasis or information. Page remained Director of the Central Circle until April 1929, and thereby continued to oversee the excavations. However, when he was on leave, M. Hamid Kuraishi supervised Conservation, and acted as site superintendent until 1932. Page contributed the Exploration and the Museum reports, his last for Nālandā before he "voluntarily" retired in 1932 following a major personnel resuffle.

Conservation work proceeded at Monastery No. 1, and at Monastery No. 4. At the latter site three levels were exposed, revealing a stair outside the "entrance gateway" to the last level. (ASIAR, 1928-29, 32) (Plate X, a. and b.) The walls on the east side of the courtyard were rebuilt in Monastery No. 5. At Monastery No. 6 two levels were exposed, one Devapāla, one lower. In the southeast corner Kuraishi cleared a "dog-legged stair". But the main conservation efforts were focused on Monastery No. 7. Three levels came to light -- the middle one Devapāla -- and 34 cells. (34) (Plate XXIV; Plate XXXV, a. and b.)

Exploration -- that is, excavation -- of the remaining monasteries had by this time become relatively routine. Work

continued at Monastery No. 4, and at No. 6 to a lower, or pre-Devapāla, level, the precise date of which is unknown. The courtyard was paved in brick, but the "floors of the earlier cells and the verandah were of concrete". (Plate XXXV, c. and d.) (86)

From Monastery No. 7 were taken a bronze seated Kuvera, 3½", and the "upper part of a broken stone tablet beautifully carved with the conventional life-scenes about a central images of the Buddha; a number of terracotta plaques impressed with Buddha figures and sealings. . . ." (145)

Kuraishi's Second Season, 1929-30

In April 1929, Page became Deputy Director-General of the ASI just as Marshall was about to retire, and Kuraishi officially took charge of the work at Nālandā. He continued to do minor repairs at Monasteries Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and at Stupa No. 3. (ASIAR, 1929-30, 38). Monastery No. 6 was cleared to show new paving of the "upper and lower courts [and] two sets of long cooking chūlas [sic.] on the east and west sides of the upper courtyard". (39) (Plate IX, c.)

Exploration at Monastery No. 7 which had revealed three levels, the topmost in 1927-28, the middle, or Devapāla in 1928-29, the middle and lowest in 1929-30, did not reveal either a well or relics. (136) At Monastery No. 8 the second level down was held to be Devapāla. (Plate XXXII) An image of Avalokiteśvara, measuring 3'9", presumably stone, was taken from the main shrine. (Plate XXXIV, c.) In a cell in the northwest corner were found six bronze Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. [All finds listed in Appendix II]

Kuraishi found "large quantities of ashes and charcoal" indicating that the last level of the monastery was destroyed by fire. (137) He goes on to say, "this monastery was presumably two storeys high", but he does not give any evidence for this statement even when he says that he found, in the southwest corner, the "stair which originally gave access to the roof of the earlier monastery". (idem.)

Kuraishi's Third and Fourth Seasons, 1930-32

As the Superintendent's Reports started to fall behind, the decision was taken to publish four years' work in two volumes. The Hungarian scholar, C.L. Fábri, secretary to the Editorial Board of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology at the Kern Institute, University of Leiden, was appointed editor. (ASIAR, 1930-34, xxvii) In 1931 the ASI experienced severe cutbacks in funds.

A number of personnel were made redundant or retired -- Marshall for one although he was re-employed as an Officer on Special Duty to work at Taxila. Page retired in 1932, Sastri in 1933, at which time he was finally able to finish examining the seals from Nālandā found in the previous 16-17 years. N.P. Chakravarti, editor of the epigraphic section, indicated that Sastri proposed to write a memoir about Nālandā and its epigraphic material. Chakravarti finished the text at Sastri's death. It was published in 1942 as the ASI Memoir, No. 66. The seals that were identified referred to Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta, Vainyagupta (an "independent ruler") and Prāgjyotiśa rulers. (230) (Plate CXX) Kuraishi acted as officiating Superintendent at Nālandā until 1932, at which time he was succeeded by G.C. Chandra,

who wrote the report for 1932-33 and 1933-34. (27)

Kuraishi continued his conservation of Monastery No. 8 for these two years, restoring the walls and the courtyard, repairing the north shrine and rebuilding the stairs.

(idem.) (Plate IX, b.) He repaired the retaining wall on the north side of Monasteries Nos. 1A and 1B, about which he says: "This wall has been kept uneven and rough on the face so as to give it the appearance of ancient *débris*." (28)

Repairs were made at Stupa No. 3.

The top level of Monastery No. 7 was maintained on the north half of the site while the southern half of the central section shows the Devapāla level and the southern section the pre-Devapāla level. He repaired the shrine in the eastern half of the second level and the ovens found in the middle and earliest levels. (idem.) (Plate IX, c. and d.) Kuraishi suggests that "these chulhas were not cooking places, but where used for dyeing the Buddhist monks' robes in the well-known saffron coloured dye". Why he thinks this might be a valid function for a chulha he does not explain.

In 1930 Kuraishi began exploration at Chaitya No. 12 -- the site of Capt. Marshall's and Broadley's excavations. (131)¹ He found two levels of construction. [7.1] Niches in the walls contained stucco images of Buddha, Kuvera and others. On the top were stone pillars, 7'7", and a stone bracket measuring 2'6" x 9" x 7". These were found in front of the shrine in the southeast corner. (Plate LXV, a.) The south front and the west front Kuraishi assigns to an "earlier structure". These are decorated while the later extensions are plain. (132)

Southeast of the site he found a number of "votive" stūpas. (Plate LXV, b.) West of the stūpas and up steps on the east side was a detached shrine containing a stucco Buddha, 6'7", seated, in bhūmisparśamudrā, covered in red paint. The attendants were damaged and the head was missing. There were traces of a lion "behind and below the principal image; and above it an elephant on the right and a lion on the left". (idem.) (Plate LXVI, a.)

Kuraishi cleared land to the north of Stupa No. 3 to reveal the south wall of a building with a "projecting stair in the middle, and square projections at the ends, all decorated with pilasters, panels and images in stucco. At the end of this wall was found a narrow stair". (idem.)

In 1931-32 work continued on Chaitya No. 12 to reveal the stucco decoration around the walls and steps up to both levels to the main shrine. (133) (Plate LXVII, b.) Kuraishi avers that the vihāra collapsed in an earthquake of earlier times because of the way certain elements are still intact. He found a second level pradakṣiṇā about which he says:

This shows that *the shrine* of the Chaitya was a two-storeyed structure. Unfortunately the havoc wrought by Mr. Broadley's haphazard excavations in the seventies of the last century was so great that the pradakṣiṇā cannot be traced on the other sides". (134)

But there is no proof that Broadley was responsible for such damage.

North of Chaitya No. 12, Kuraishi found a detached shrine like the one on the south side, and a smaller shrine to the southwest of this. It contained a standing stone Avalokiteśvara, 5'1" including the pedestal, "which seems to have originally belonged to an earlier structure". (idem.)

[7.2] Kuraishi suggests that it is Gupta, 5th century. At Monastery No. 7 he covered up the lower level of cells.

The finds for the season 1930-31 came mainly from Chaitya No. 12. They included the right part of the inscribed stone that Page found in 1928-29 in Monastery No. 7. It measured 1'9¾" x 10¾" x 4½", and consisted of 15 lines dated to the 11th and 12th centuries. "It records the repairs to a shrine of Tārā at Somapura; the setting up of an image of Tārā in the great temple of Khasarpana (a form of Avalokiteśvara), and other pious deeds of a monk named Vipulaśrīmitra". (272)* Images found here in 1931-32 in addition to the stone Avalokiteśvara, included a large "earthenware jar", 6'2" x 12'1". (273) A native gave Kuraishi a stone seated Buddha in dharmacakramudrā found west of the village of Kapatia. (idem.)

Chandra's First and Second Seasons, 1932-34

Chandra concentrated on conserving Chaitya No. 12. He repaired the four shrines in the corners of the site, shrines which originally contained "colossal stucco images," now badly damaged. (ASIAR, 1930-34, 29) [7.3] He found stūpas in the southeast corner as well. In 1933-34 he rebuilt the "parapet wall enclosing the pradakshina [sic.]". (idem.) He also made repairs to Monasteries Nos. 9 and 10.

An earthquake which struck 15 January 1934 caused a great deal of damage to the site, especially to Stupa No. 3 ". . . where major portions of the east façade of the 4th level stupa collapsed entirely. . . ." (30)

Exploration for this season concentrated on Monastery No. 9, which measured 208' 1" x 171'6", and consisted of 37

cells measuring 9'3" x 9', and a main shrine measuring 19'5" x 14'. (135) [7.4] Chandra found "three sets of double *chūlas* [sic.] spaced 45' apart . . . [an] octagonal well 7' [in diameter], windowless cells, a stair, [7'10" wide, made of wood] in the southwest corner, with a window [similar to the stair landing window found in Monastery No. 4] 3'7" in the west wall". (idem.) Burnt wood in the cells indicates wood doorsills, he claims. Further to that he found "vertical charred blocks of wood . . . from the bases of almost all the pillars of the verandah, and this proves that its roof was supported by wooden pillars on separate stone bases". (idem.)

Chandra continues:

This roof very likely served as a floor for the rooms and verandah on the *first floor* [italics his] to which access was gained by the staircase. This roof, or floor, was constructed of beams, *bargās*, long bricks, and a layer of concrete 10" in thickness on average. (idem.)

He notes that the well in this monastery was not like the wells in the other monasteries. It was more into the eastern corner. Chandra dated the excavated level to the Devapāla period, that is, to the same level found at Nos. 6, 7 and 8. He gives Devapāla's reign as ca. A.D. 815-854. Notably, some 75 bronze and stone images were found here along with seals, plaques, and pottery.

In 1933-34, Chandra excavated monasteries Nos. 10, 11 and 12. He gave the dimensions of Monastery No. 10 as 209'9" x 173'9". [7.5] It contained 35 cells, 10' x 10'. The entrances to the cells differed from other monastery cell doors: "Instead of wooden scantlings as lintels over the doors, *regular arches were constructed over some of the*

cells [italics his] made of carved bricks set in mud mortar; similar to those discovered in the vault of the chambers in Monastery No. 1". (137) (Plate LXXXIII, a., b. and c.) The cell floors are concrete and sometimes "brick-on-edge" flooring. (idem.) Presumably the verandah had a roof over it as pillar bases were found. The courtyard was brick "divided into 16 regular rectangular compartments by brick-on-edge partitions". (138) (Plate LXXIII, a.) The same pattern was found in Monastery No. 9. On the east side was a brick shrine, measuring 44'2" x 24", reached by a short stair. (Plate LXXIII, b.) There is evidence of later construction, but the courtyard revealed was considered to belong to the Devapāla period. Although Chandra did not find a well, he did find a 12' x 7' trough which he speculates might have been a bath. (Plate LXXIII, d.)

Opposite the entrance to Monastery No. 11 was the enclosure of the "Bhairab" Buddha. In the Monastery itself Chandra excavated the east, west and south verandah revealing the cells facing onto it. He found stone pillars in place. (Plate LXXIV, d.) He also found a wood stair with a window in the southwest corner and more evidence of fire. (139)

Finds for this season consisted of 75 bronze and/or stone images of Buddha, Tārā and other Bodhisattvas removed from Monastery No. 9.³ [7.6] Chandra concludes, echoing

Page:

The presence of Brāhmanical and Jaina images among the Buddhist deities is very interesting. These images have been introduced into Mahāyāna Buddhism gradually between the 7th and 13th centuries A.D. While testifying to the tolerance of Hindu gods and goddesses by the Buddhists, these Hindu images . . . seem to have been adopted by the Buddhists in

order to popularize their religion. It is not uncommon to find a Hindu god or goddess occurring near a Buddhist deity in a subordinate position. As a rule, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were given the principal rôle, anyway as far as Nālandā finds are concerned. (276)

Finds from the 1933-34 season came mainly from Monasteries Nos. 10 and 11 and included 104 bronze and stone images. In one of the cells in Monastery No. 10 Chandra found "a hoard of 54 billion coins of the Hun dynasty; [and] a rectangular gold-plated copper coin of the same time".⁴ (140) [7.7] The coins were on average ¾" in diameter and they "were stamped with different types of die". (280) These were sent to the Nālandā Museum.

Chandra's Third Season, 1934-35

Chandra continued conservation work at Monasteries Nos. 9 and 10, and Stupa No. 3, the latter having suffered considerable damage from the earthquake in January. (ASIAR, 1934-35, 16) He cleared rubble in front of Monasteries Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10; between 9 and 10, 10 and 11; around Temple No. 2 and Chaitya No. 12. (ASIAR, 1934-35, 38)

Exploration at Monastery No. 10 indicated that it had been built on "alternating layers of sand and bricks". (idem.) Chandra found "to the east of what looks like a bath at the south-east corner outside . . . the remains of a long wall of a structure probably an outhouse, with two doors on the east side. . . ." (idem.)

At Monastery No. 11, which measured 212' x 176', excavation revealed stone lintels supporting a stone doorway, and stone pillars on the verandah. (idem.) [7.8] Chandra found evidence of fire but no well. The Monastery

had been damaged before the site was acquired by the ASI "during the period the area was under cultivation". (39) He observes that it seems to have been built on a "thick layer of sand packing" and speculates that this was done possibly for the purpose of surviving earthquakes. (idem.) As for finds for the season, of the 92 objects discovered some 87 of them came from Monastery No. 11.

Chandra says that the discovery of Monastery No. 12 indicates "the long row of monasteries extended further northwards to the modern village of Bargaon and future excavations alone can determine the extent of the entire monastic establishment at Nālandā". (idem.)

At Temple No. 2 he found "the outlines of the *garbhagriha*. The plan of the *antarāla*, the *mandapa* and the porch has yet to be fully examined". (idem.) He assumes that the original temple was late Gupta, the only remains from that period being the terracotta plaques.

At Chaitya No. 12 he found the south outside wall of an earlier shrine containing the large stucco Buddha. "The later wall which is elaborately carved with pilasters, was traced towards the west for about 20 yards where it takes a turn towards the South". Beneath it was another building. (39-40) (Plate XVI, c. and d.)

Chandra's Fourth Season, 1935-36

Chandra continued conservation work at Monasteries Nos. 9 and 10. In Monastery No. 9 he restored the stone arches of the cell doorways, two in the southwest corner and one in the northeast corner. These were recessed to hold wood lintels. (ASIAR, 1935-36, 21-22)

He cleared Chaitya No. 12 and excavated Chaitya No. 13, on the same northern axis. Here he found shrines "in the southwest corner of the Chaitya area", and another collection of stūpas to the north, inside the temple compound wall. (50)

Chaitya No. 13 was similar to No. 12 but in a shattered condition. As with Chaitya No. 12 there was evidence of rebuilding. No corner shrines were found. Chandra found the lower part of a "colossal Buddha image", presumably stucco, but he does not indicate where. (51) He also found stūpas to the north and the south of the temple.

Although Chandra does not give the specific findspot, he proceeds to describe artefacts which may have come from Chaitya No. 13. These were images of Buddha, Tārā and a Bodhisattva, possibly Avalokiteśvara. The Buddha is seated on a lion throne, in bhūmiśparamudrā, 9", dated to the 10th century. (51) (Plate XVII, h.) Another image shows seven of the "figures . . . on eight lotus petals, each of whom appears to offer something to a central circular object which appears to be a *linga*". Chandra says this resembles: "Vajratāra. At the sides of the pedestal (5½" square) were twelve other Nāga figures adoring it. . . ." only one of which was still there". (idem.) (Plate XVII, f.)

Chandra found coin moulds near Chaitya No. 13 "referable to Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya (standing bow and archer type) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty who is one of the earliest rulers intimately connected with Nalanda both according to tradition and epigraphical evidence". (52) One mould was for a Jayagupta coin. A gold coin of

Narasimhagupta fitted into the clay mould. (Plate VXVII, d., showing three moulds) These were of special interest as the known coins of these dynasties were normally "cast and not die-struck". (*idem.*)

The bronze images collected from Monastery No. 9 this season were also compared to those from Kurkihar found in 1932. Chandra identifies the Buddha images as Pāla, 8-9th century. (Plate XXXVII, b. and c.) He found a 7th century Tārā, 10½", in varadamudrā with a "fruit" in her right hand. One breast is bared. Chandra says:

This feature seems to have been purposely adopted by the craftsman to indicate her unmindfulness about the world, while engrossed in her meditation. The roll or palm-leaf or birch bark (*bhūrjapatra*) inserted in the hook of her right ear-lobe also indicates that she is keeping *mantras* in her ear so that they might resound for her in her meditation. (128)

Two other figures Chandra notes were a Vajrapani, 9½", seated, embedded with "four Ceylon rubies", and a four-headed, eight-armed Trailokyavijaya, 8". (*idem.*) (Plate XXXVII, f. and Plate XXXVII, d.)

Nazim's Report, 1936-37

This season N. Nazim was superintendent of excavations at Nālandā. Conservation was carried out at most of the monasteries and chaityas in an effort to complete restoration of the site. At Stupa No. 3 he found a brick inscribed with Gupta characters, and at Chaitya No. 13 a Buddha 14' "from knee to knee", but of what material it was made he does not say. (24)

At the west front of Monasteries Nos. 6 and 7, exploration revealed three pedestals on a shrine in the

northwest corner. The entrance, 4'5", faced south. (42) At Chaitya No. 13 Nazim discovered that the rebuilding on the original site was done haphazardly. He dug out the forecourt of the shrine. It measured 180' x 88' with a staircase in the middle. At the "north front of the chaitya structure" he had found what he calls a "smelting furnace". (Plate VIII, e.) (25) This was "near the north external wall . . . [a] four chambered smelting furnace having two flues in each chamber. These were 3' x 4½" square and 3'1" high. But he gives no dates for it. Nazim says:

The inside walls are plastered with sand, cow dung, etc. The discovery in the furnace of metal slags, fragmentary crucibles, clay moulds, ribs, or ridges of furnace made up of clay with the admixture of husk, twigs and sand, and crucible lids stuck with slag of molten metals shows that the monks and students of Nālandā monastery were familiar with the process of casting metal for their images, etc. (44)

Nazim found a second "square pit (3' x 3') constructed with rough bricks". (idem.) It appears to have been the same height as the passage around the shrine. He says: "The proximity of this pit to the temple suggests that it might have been a dumping hold for the offering of leaves, flowers, etc., which, having become holy by being offered at the altar, could not be thrown away on the rubbish heap". (idem.) But why such a pit should exist here and at no other shrine Nazim does not say.

He carefully collected "potsherds and old bricks from the spoils" at Chaitya No. 13. (45) However, there are no dates for any of these finds. But he does date a stone Tārā, 8½", along with four seated Buddhas in the background and a Bodhisattva, 7½", to the 8th-9th centuries. (139)

Nazim reports giving to museums in India and to the British Museum "a set of 20 duplicate clay sealings of the two different types discovered from the Nālandā excavations". ((idem.)

Ghosh's Report, 1937-38

Due to financial restrictions, the entire ASI report for this season was abbreviated. Conservation was completed in Monastery No. 9 and in the cells on the east, north and south sides. At Monastery No. 10 cells on the south side were conserved. At Monastery No. 11 Ghosh repaired the outside wall. (ASIAR, 1937-38, 16)

Excavation was carried out at Chaitya No. 13, on the outside walls and the main staircase on the east side. He found a skull "in the core of the back wall of one of the niches in the north-east corner adjoining the staircase. From the circumstances of the find, it appears that this immuration must have been deliberate". (17)⁵ But there is no date for this find.

With the end of this season, the ASI excavation of Nālandā Mahāvihāra under the British in India came to a close.

Chapter VII

Notes

1. Kuraishi does not mention Broadley by name at this juncture. He merely says, "a Sub-Divisional officer of Bihar carried out haphazard excavations. . . ." (131)

2. Vipulaśrīmitra is identified as a disciple of Aśokaśrīmitra, śiṣya of Maitriśrīmitra, disciple of Karunāśrīmitra, who "was done to death by a Bengal army while staying at Somapura (Paharpur)". (212) Vipulaśrīmitra erected a Tārā image, repaired "religious buildings at Choyaṇḍaka and consecrated an image of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha at Harshapura". (idem.) He also built a shrine to Tārā and made repairs "to the Buddha *vihāra* at Somapura". (idem.) The inscription is described as a *praśasti*.

N.G. Majumdar in "Nalanda Stūpa Inscription of Vipulasrimitra" (EI, 1931-32, 21, 29-30), dates the inscription to the first half of the 12th century. He thinks that because the inscription was found in Monastery No. 7, this is the monastery the monk built to house his line of ascetics, the Mitras.

3. The wealth of bronzes, Chandra notes, are similar to the 223 bronzes found in 1932 at Kurkihar, in a cell of a Buddhist monastery. (276) These are in the Patna Museum, and are also illustrated here: Plates CXLVII, a.- c.; CXLVIII, 1, 3, 9, and CXLIX, 9, 10, 11.)

4. The word, *billon*, means an alloy of silver containing more than 50% copper; or gold or silver heavily alloyed with a less valuable metal.

6. Articles by Indian writers for this last period include: Sastri's article on the Malada inscription (EI, 1929-30); his "The Clay Seals of Nālandā" (EI, 1931-32, 21); Majumdar's article on the Vipulaśrīmitra stone inscription ibid., 72-77), and N.P. Chakravarti's "Two Brick Inscriptions from Nālandā" (ibid., 193-99. The latter were found in small stūpas in the vicinity of Stupa No. 3 by Page in 1924). These are the only "official" epigraphic articles for the years 1928-38. In 1940 there appeared P.N. Bhattacharyya's "Nālandā Plate of Dharmapāladeva" (EI 1935-36, 23, 290-92). This was based on the copper-plate grant Page found in 1927-28. No translation is given. In the same year there appeared Ghosh's "An Inscribed Brick from Nālandā of the Year 197" (EI 24, which covers 1937-38, 20-22) The brick was taken "from the core of the votive stupa attached to the Main Stupa of Nālandā" and dated to the 6th century, the same date given to the other brick inscriptions about which Chakravarti wrote. His "Two Maukhari Seals of Nālandā" is in the same volume without a translation. (283-85)

CHAPTER VIII

The Accounts of the Chinese Pilgrims

(N.B. As noted in Chapter I, the spellings of the names of the Chinese monks vary considerably; unless found in a direct quotation the spellings will be: Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang, Hwui Li and I-tsing.)

Translations of Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui Li

Archæologists and art historians looked upon some of the nineteenth century French and English translations of the accounts of Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui Li, Chinese Buddhist monks, as primary reference sources for locating Indian Buddhist monuments. These accounts had been used before Cunningham began his ASI investigations with some success. As Hiuen Tsiang had resided at Nālandā, Cunningham began his Nālandā survey with French and English translations of Hiuen Tsiang. Another monk, I-tsing, was at Nālandā for many years. He also left a travel account, but as it was not translated until long after Cunningham's ASI excavations, it did not figure in the ASI reports. Spooner used Cunningham in 1915, as we have seen, assuming that his assessment based on Hiuen Tsiang was accurate. References to Hiuen Tsiang continued throughout the ASI reports and still appear today. Therefore it is essential to examine the Chinese accounts very carefully to see just what they did say about Nālandā and how their descriptions can be demonstrated *vis à vis* Cunningham's assertions.

The first western translation of Fa-hien's account of his travels in India at the end of the 5th century, the Foē kouē ki, (Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques), was published in Paris in 1836. It was the result of the combined efforts

of the French sinologists, Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788-1832) and Julius Klaproth (1783-1835), and the publisher, Landresse.¹ The translation also contained a fragment of Hiuen-Tsiang's travel memoirs. Rémusat shared Burnouf's interest in and preoccupation with Buddhist texts. The Chinese manuscript he used for Fa-hien was part of the Hodgson gift to the French Société Asiatique.² Subsequently English translations of Fa-hien were published by J.W. Laidlay (The Pilgrimage of Fa-hien, Calcutta, 1848); Samuel Beal (Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung Yung, London, 1869); H.A. Giles (Travels of Fa-hsien, Cambridge, 1877), and James Legge (Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886).

Of Hiuen Tsiang's travels there are two accounts: The first is his own, written for the Emperor T'ai Tsung in A.D. 646 following his return from his voyage; the second is his biography written at a later date by two of his disciples, Hwui li and Yen tsung. Translations of the life (Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang et ses voyages dans l'Inde (Paris, 1853) and the travels (Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales) (Paris, I, 1857; II, 1858) were made by the French sinologist, Stanislas Julien (1799-1873).³ (These are II and III in the series Julien called "Voyages des pèlerins Bouddhistes".) Beal translated Hiuen Tsiang (Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records of the Western World, London 1884) and Hwui Li (The Life of Hiuen-Tsaing by the Shaman Hwui-Li, London 1888). Thomas Watters' translation was edited and published posthumously by Rhys-Davids (On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645) London, Royal Asiatic Society, I and II, 1904-05). (We shall follow Julien's custom of referring only

to Hwui Li as the author of the biography of Hiuen Tsiang.)

I-tsing provided two documents. They were translated by Chavannes and Takakusu in 1894 and 1896 respectively. As they do not figure in the archæology, we shall examine his description of Nālandā separately.

There are three areas pertinent to the archæological description of Nālandā that require a closer, more careful look:

- A. Nālandā's reputed relationship to the native villages of the Buddha's disciples, Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra;
- B. Nālandā's building history as recounted in Hiuen Tsiang's Records and Hwui Li's Life,
- C. The disposition of sacred sites at Nālandā according to Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui Li.

A. Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Nālandā

Rémusat's interpretation of Fa-hien provided a literary account relating the native village of Śāriputra to Nālandā. At the beginning of the 5th century, Fa-hien found little of the glories of Buddhism surviving in Magadha. He journeyed to and from Pāṭaliputra to Bodh-Gayā by way of Rājgṛha.² Bodh-Gayā and Rājgṛha were deserted. Some nine yojanas (49 miles) southeast of Pāṭaliputra he arrived at an isolated rocky plateau:

De là, en allant en sud-ouest l'espace d'un youyan, on vient aux hameaux de Nalo. (6) C'est dans cet endroit que naquit Che li foê [Śāriputra]. Che li foê, étant retourné à ce village, y entra aussi dans le Nihouan. On y a bâti une tour qui existe encore. (Chapter XXVII, Relation, 262)

However, Klaproth states in the relevant note, (6), referring to the Hiuen Tsiang fragment:

M. Abel Rémusat avait cru que les quatre caractères [the original Chinese] formaient un seul nom propre, mais ils signifient hameaux réunis des Na lo. Hiuan thsang appelle ce lieu Kia

lo pi na kia, car c'est la qu'il place la naissance du venerable Chi li tsu [Maudgalyāyana]. Il ajoute qu'il y entre dans le Nirvana, et qu'on y eleva une tour sous laquelle est place son corps. (idem.)

But, in Hwui Li's life of Hiuen Tsiang, Maudgalyāyana's birthplace is given as Nalandagrama. Hwui Li related that Hiuen Tsiang travelled to Nālandā from Bodh Gaya: ". . . il arrive au village ou est situé le couvent. Ce fut dans ce village (appelé Nalanda grama) qe naquit l'honorable Mo-lien (Maudgalyāyana)". (Julien, Histoire, 143)

In his own travel account, Hiuen Tsiang refers to Kulika as the place where Aśoka erected a stūpa to commemorate the birthplace of Maudglayāyana. Three or four li to the east is the place where the Buddha met Bimbisāra, and southeast of that spot, 20 li, is Kalapinaka, where Aśoka is said to have erected a stūpa to commemorate the birthplace of Śāriputra. (175) He also mentions a stūpa dedicated to Śāriputra's nirvaṇa 4-5 li southeast of Nālandā. (idem.) But he attaches no name to this place.

We can note that the two villages mentioned in connection with Nālandā in the 19th century were Bargaon and Jagdispur, both of which could have been styled "Nālandāgrama", or village(s) of Nālandā. St. Martin's map, which Julien included in his Mémoires, locates Kulika about 10 li southwest of Nālandā, and Kalapinaka 20 li in a southeasterly direction from there crossing Hiuen Tsiang's route from Nālandā to Rājgr̥ha,⁴ [8.1] This would put Maudgalyāyana's village in the vicinity of Nālandā and Śāriputra's some distance away.

It is in keeping with Fa-hien's account that the

birthplace of Śāriputra was one yojana southwest of "a small rocky hill". (Beal, Travels, 110) Legge notes in his translation of Fa-hien that Hiuen Tsiang called this "small solitary rocky hill . . . Indra-śīla-guhā or 'The cavern of Indra'. It was identified with a hill near the village of Giryek, on the bank of the Pañchāna River, about thirty-six miles from Gayā". (Legge, Record, 80)

This was not, however, the same distance from Nālandā. The more likely "small, solitary rocky hill" could have been Bihār, were Fa-hien actually in the area. As Klaproth indicated, Fa-hien's Nalo is consistent with Hiuen Tsiang's Kalapinaka, although it would appear that Klaproth confused Maudgalyāna with Śāriputra. Nālandā and Bihār are parallel with each other at a distance of about one yojana.

Hiuen Tsiang does not identify the birthplace of Śāriputra with Nālandā. He places Maudgalyāna's birthplace *en route* to Nālandā. Cunningham, using Julien's translation for Hiuen Tsiang, and Beal's translation for Fa-hien, ties Nalo as Śāriputra's birthplace to Nālandā: "Fa-hien places the hamlet of Nalo about one yojan, or seven miles, from the Hill of the Isolated Rock that is, from Girek, and also the same distance from New Rājagriha". (Cunningham, ASIAR I, 28) [8.2] He never mentions the stūpa dedicated to Śāriputra's nirvaṇa.

By this method Cunningham equates Nalo with Bargaon, and claims that Fa-hien's village tallies with Hiuen Tsiang's monastery. He does not mention Maudgalyāna; nor, at this juncture, does he mention St. Martin's map. And he does not acknowledge Fergusson's earlier remark: "Kittoe

was, I believe, the first to suggest that the Nalo of Fa-hien might be Nalanda. . . ." (J. Fergusson, "On Hiuen-Tsiang's Journey", JRAS, 1847, n.s. VI, 226)

If Cunningham used Beal's Fa-hien, Beal was using Cunningham's 1861-65 Survey Reports to establish Indraśilaguhā as Girek. However, he indicates that Nalo is southwest of "Indraśilaguhā". If he had looked closely at St. Martin's map to pinpoint it, he would have seen the question mark next to Indraśilaguhā, and noted the impossibility of travelling from there in a southwesterly direction to reach Nalo. (Beal, Travels, 110-11)⁵

It seems that other British translators who equated Nalo with Nālandā did so as a result of reading Cunningham. But Legge also cited Eitel for his explanation of Śāriputra's birthplace. (Record, 44)⁶

Legge's translation of Nalo is Nala or "Nālandā; identified with the present Burgaon. A grand monastery was subsequently built at it, famous by the residence for five years of Hsuan-chwang [Hiuen Tsiang]". (81) However, Legge goes on to say, "there is some doubt as to the statement that Nala was [Śāriputra's] birthplace," referring to the above-mentioned note. (idem.) Watters also points out that Nālandā ". . . is not even mentioned in Fa-hsien's narrative". (Yüan Chwang, II, 165)

Thus, the original reference in Rémusat, Klaproth's note, the subsequent readings of Fa-hien based on Cunningham's equating of Nalo with Nālandā, Legge's and Watters' notes, indicate that Fa-hien did not in fact identify Nalo with Nālandā. Indeed, Beal's map of Fa-Hien's

journey does not suggest that Fa-hien came near Nālandā.

The assumption that Fa-hien had visited Nalo/Nālandā at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century, but never mentioned Nālandā Mahāvihāra led Cunningham to the further conclusion that a Mahāvihāra did not exist before Hiuen Tsiang's visit. But this appears to have been little more than Cunningham's fancy, as the Chinese accounts give Nālandā considerable antiquity.⁷

B. Builders of Nālandā's Samghārāmas

Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui Li state that 500 merchants bought land at Nālandā for the Buddha. (Life, 110; Records, 167-68) Both relate the tradition that construction of a saṃghārāma began at Nālandā shortly after the parinirvāna by order of an ancient king of the realm who was known as Śakrāditya. (Beal, Life, 110; Records, 168) Both texts state that following Śakrāditya, saṃghārāmas were built by:

Budhagupta, to the south of Śakrāditya's;
Tathāgatagupta, to the east of Budhagupta's;
Bālāditya, to the northeast of Tathāgathagupta's,
and Vajra, to the north of Bālāditya's.
Then, "a king of Central India" built a saṃghārāma
to the north of Vajra's. (Life, 110; Julien, Histoire,
149) [8.3], 8.4]

Beal's translation of Hwui Li continues:

After [Vajra] a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another Samghārāma. Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures. Moreover, the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (*of the Samghārāma*) [his italics]. (Life, 111; Julien, Histoire, 150)

On the other hand, Beal's translation of Hiuen Tsiang states:

After this a king of Central India built to the north of this a great saṃghārāma. Moreover, he built around these edifices a high wall with one gate. A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvelous to behold. The king said, "in the hall of the monarch who first began the saṃghārāma I will place a figure of the Buddha, and I will feed forty priests of the congregation every day to show gratitude to the founder. (Records, 170; Julien, Mémoires, 44-45)

The king of Central India is never identified in either text.☞

The problem quite clearly arises from an imprecision in translating what the Chinese meant by saṃghārāma, and later by the term, vihāra. Julien, who was very much concerned with transliteration, usually gave the Chinese characters and their Sanskrit equivalent.☞ The English translators were generally not so careful, and do not seem to have looked that closely at Julien.

Saṃghārāma defined as "convent" or college suggests a single building, or monastery: this was one way the archæologists employed the word. However, it also appears to have been defined as a complex of buildings for the service of the monastic community, the saṃgha, in which case a saṃghārāma would have included vihāra(s), stūpas and many other buildings. Archæologists were also looking for this all-encompassing wall, without the slightest concern over the conflict of interpretation. In his translation of Hwui Li, Beal seems to be assuming that only one saṃghārāma was enclosed, and that the six kings built over the original one. In the second instance of Hiuen Tsiang, the suggestion

is that a saṃghārāma did consist of a number of buildings all of which were enclosed.

Again, the king of Central India seems to have been followed by a number of rulers who embellished his saṃghārāma. Śakrāditya is not mentioned by name as his predecessor. Nor do we know what Beal is translating here as "hall".¹⁰

That a saṃghārāma might be correctly understood in the second sense is suggested in Hwui Li's report of Hiuen Tsiang's arrival at Nālandā. Hiuen Tsiang was greeted by other monks, and then:

[He] went to the college of Baladitya-rajā and took up his residence in the dwelling of Buddhābhadrā, having four storeys (or, the fourth storey), who entertained him for seven days. After this he went to reside in a dwelling to the north of the abode of Dharmapala Bodhisattva, where he was provided with every sort of charitable offering. (Life, 109; Histoire, 148)

Thus it appears that the various masters of "colleges" lived in separate quarters where they had facilities for entertaining visitors, and on a lavish scale. Buddhābhadrā's "house" was near or next to what would appear to have been Bālāditya's saṃghārāma. This would suggest that any enclosed area contained houses for masters as well as halls where resident monks/students lived, which would also have been used for teaching.

Vihāra, however, has been distinguished from saṃghārāma in the Chinese accounts. It appears to have been another type of building, a "residence" of an image. It may have been surrounded by stūpas and houses for attending priests, and been a part of a saṃghārāma, but separate from it. These buildings rather than monastic ones were built to

a great height. So it is more than likely it was vihāras that Hwui Li describes in the following passage:

The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (*of the morning*), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (*produce new forms*), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon (*may be observed*).

And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds, bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (*Kanaka*) flower of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amra groves spread over all their shade.

All the outside courts, which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roof covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene. [*Italics Beal's*] (Life, 111-12; Julien, Histoire, 150-51)

Here "courts" conforms with Hwui Li's description of Buddhabadhra's house. It also tallies with the nature of Buddhism that the most important building would be the most visible. And it appears that this was a vihāra, and more probably a number of them -- thus the title Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

C. Location of Dedicatory Buildings

So it would seem that Nālandā was impressive for its vihāras. By diagramming the following descriptions of the buildings either within or around them we can gain some idea of how Nālandā may have looked in the 7th century.

The essential point is that the unnamed "convent" is one entity, enclosed or not; notable vihāras and stūpas are separate entities. In Hwui Li the disposition of monuments is as follows [8.5]:

1. Bālāditya's vihāra of 200 ft. is "to the north-west of the Nālanda convent".
2. A stūpa, northeast of the vihāra, commemorates where the three Buddhas taught for seven days.
3. The seat of the four past Buddhas is northwest of this.
4. South of that is Śīlāditya's "brass-covered Vihāra" which will be 100 ft. high, when it is finished.
5. About 200 paces to the east is a copper image of the Buddha 80 ft. high, put up by Pūrṇavarma and covered by "a pavilion in six stages".
6. To the east, several li, is the stūpa commemorating the spot where Bimbāsāra met the Buddha.
7. East of there, by some 30 li is Indraśīlaguhā. (Life 118-9; Julien, Histoire, 160-61)

Here it is clear that Beal is translating vihāra as a "temple" or dwelling for images as distinguished from the "Nālandā convent".

Hsien Tsiang reported that "the sacred relics on the four sides of the convent are hundreds in number". (172) The four sides would suggest that the "convent" was enclosed. But again it is not clear what is meant "saṃghārāma", or whose saṃghārāma he is referring to. The descriptions which follow are taken to apply to stūpas and vihāras which were outside the enclosed saṃghārāma. The configuration is quite different from the one described by Hwui Li [8.6]:

1. A vihāra stands "at no great distance" to the west of the saṃghārāma, commemorating the site of the Buddha's teaching for three months. (172)
2. A small stūpa, is to the south, at 100 paces. (idem.)
3. South of this is a standing Avalokiteśvara holding a bottle. (idem.)
4. South of this is another stūpa containing hair and nail cuttings of the Buddha. (173)
5. Outside the wall (of the whole complex) beside the tank is another stūpa commemorating the spot where Buddha was questioned by a heretic. (idem.)

6. Inside the wall, 50 paces to the southeast (of the saṃghārāma) is a tree which sprung from the Buddha's tooth-stick. (idem.)
7. East of this is a vihāra 200 ft. high where the Buddha taught for four months. (idem.)
8. North of this, 100 paces is a vihāra containing a statue of Avalokiteśvara. (idem.)
9. North again is "a great vihāra, in height about 300 feet, which was built by "Balāditya-rāja (Po-lo-'o-tie-to-wang). With respect to its magnificence, its dimensions and statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles . . . the great vihāra built under the Bodhi tree". (173-74)
10. A stūpa stands to the northeast, commemorating the place where the Buddha taught for seven days. (174)
11. Northwest of this is the seat of the four Buddhas. (idem.)
12. Śilāditya's "brass" vihāra is being built to the south of this, "[to the height of] 100 feet". (idem.)
13. To the east, 200 paces outside the walls, a standing copper Buddha, 80 feet in height, stands, covered by a six-storey "pavilion" , built by King Pūrṇavarman. (idem.)
14. North of this, about 2-3 li is a brick vihāra dedicated to Tārā. (idem.)
15. Inside the southern wall is a well. (175)

The distances given from Nālandā are:

16. Kulika (Maudgalyayana's native village), 8-9 li to the southwest, where Aśoka built a stūpa. (175)
17. The stūpa commemorating the spot where Bimbisara met the Buddha, 3-4 li east. (177)
18. Kalapinaka (Sariputra's native village, 20 li southeast. (idem.)
19. The stūpa commemorating Śāriputra's nirvāṇa 4-5 li southeast. (idem.)
20. Indraśilaguḥā, 30 li east. (180) (Records, 172-80; Julien, Mémoires, II, 47-58)

We can see by the two diagrams, 8.5 and 8.6, that Hwui Li and Hiuen Tsiang not only emphasise different monuments but also do not agree as to the placement of buildings about the saṃghārāma. Hwui Li's description of the stūpa where three Buddhas taught for seven days coincides with Hiuen Tsiang's location of a stūpa where, according to him, the Buddha alone taught for seven days. [8.7, overlay] They

agree as to the location of Śīlāditya's vihara, the seat where four Buddhas sat and Pūrṇavara's copper images of Avalokiteśvara. They differ as to the location of Bālāditya's vihāra. Or, rather, Hwui states that it is northwest of the saṃghārāma, while Hiuen Tsiang only says it is north. We have interpreted his "north" as meaning "north of the vihāra where the Buddha taught for 4 months". But it could be northwest of the enclosed saṃghārāma as Hwui Li has indicated.

Hwui Li says nothing about an enclosed saṃghārāma. Hiuen Tsiang refers to a wall, and locates some buildings outside. The well and the Buddha's toothstick tree he puts inside. Such specific location suggests that the vihāras and stūpas are outside. Their precise orientation is not all that clear. Indeed, it is quite possible that Śīlāditya's vihāra was aligned with the others mentioned. [Overlay 8.8]

The conflicts would have been the result of poor translations. Cunningham and his successors never checked these details, however. Often, as we have already pointed out, Cunningham did not distinguish between the accounts of Hwui^{Li} and Hiuen Tsiang. But it is very clear that what they both have described when actually set out bears very little resemblance to what Cunningham found. A sketch based on his ASI diagram illustrates this. [8.9]

Chavannes' Translation of I-tsing's Memoir

Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui^{Li} are corroborated to a large extent by I-tsing's description of Nālandā. I-tsing (A.D. 634-713), followed Hiuen Tsiang to India in A.D. 671. (Hiuen Tsiang was out of China A.D. 629-45.) He returned in

A.D. 693 by way of Śribhoga [Palembang]. Of that time he spent 6-10 years at Nālandā studying Sanskrit and collecting some 400 manuscripts. Two books relating to his travels survive. Each were translated at the end of the last century. Édouard E. Chavannes' Mémoire composée à l'époque de la grand dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi par I-tsing (Paris 1894), is based on I-tsing's manuscript known as the (Ta-T'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-koo-seng-ch'uan).¹¹ J. Junjiro Takakusu, who was studying Sanskrit at Oxford with Max Müller, made a translation of I-tsing's (Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan), entitled A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) (Oxford, 1896).

Takakusu's Record does not provide any information about Nālandā's physical appearance. But, perhaps because of his Oxford connection, Takakusu's translation seems to have been more familiar than Chavannes'. However, neither was used by the Nālandā archæologists.¹²

The Mémoire is a collection of biographical accounts of the travels and work of 60 monks, mostly Chinese, who were in India, for the most part in the second half of the 7th century, searching for Sanskrit texts. I-tsing appears to be more interested in who they were than in where they went. Of that number, he only mentions that 13 were actually at Nālandā. [Appendix III] But others who were in the vicinity and visited Bodh-Gayā to pay their respects, may well also have spent time at Nālandā.¹³ The point is that Nālandā was not the only place attracting foreign monks.

I-tsing states that he was at Nālandā 10 years,

although by Chavannes' reckoning, he only actually resided at Nālandā six years. He provides a description of Nālandā in his biography of the Korean monk, Hwui Lun (Hoei-luen in the French), also called Prajñāvarman, who went to China and was subsequently ordered by the Chinese Emperor to accompany Dharma Master Hiuen-chao, ca. A.D. 635, to India. Thus he was in the country at the same time as Hiuen Tsiang. Like Hiuen Tsiang, he studied Sanskrit and visited all the sacred sites. I-tsing says that Hwui Lun was still living when he himself came to Nālandā.

Although he gives many details, we shall concentrate on how what he has to say can be seen to relate to the descriptions given in Hwui Li and Hiuen Tsiang. [The translation from Chavannes is our own. The entire translated section of the description of Nālandā is reproduced in Appendix III.] As to the initial appearance of Nālandā, I-tsing says:

One arrives at the temple Na-lan-to (Nālandā) about seven yōjanas north east of the Mahābōdhi temple. Initially it had been built by King Śākrāditya for the monk Rājavamṣa of north India. The original perimeter of this temple was only 50 feet (paces) square. Subsequently successive kings in emulation built it bigger and bigger, so much so that today there is no more beautiful temple than this one in all of India. One cannot give all the dimensions in detail but I am quickly going to describe the main features. (84-85)

I-tsing seems to be saying that Śākrāditya built a vihāra which was thereafter added to. In another place I-tsing says:

Nālandā is the name of a nāgā; near there, in fact, was a nāgā by the name of Landa. It is from (Landa) that the name came. P'i-ho-louo (vihāra) in the sense of a residence; those who say "temple" have not made an exact translation. (93-94)

Chavannes' note here says: "Le vihāra est la résidence des moines". (idem.) But it would appear that the distinction I-tsing is making is that the focal point is the residence in which an image resides, sometimes called "temple". I-tsing says in another place that vihāra meant "residence for images". (Takakusu, Record, 17) This appears to be what he means here. The dimensions he suggests -- 50 feet square -- are about the size of the plinth of Stupa No. 3, if the measurements are comparable. However, in the following paragraph, the distinction seems to be borne out, although Chavannes uses *monastery*, and ^{temples} in the plural:

The shape of this monastery is roughly that of a square like the earth. On the four sides, the edge of the steep, jutting roof forms long covered galleries which go all around the building. All of these buildings are of brick; they are three storeys high, each storey being more than ten feet high. The transverse beams are tied together by planks; a walkway has been made not of rafters or tiles but of bricks. All the temples are perfectly aligned so that one can come and go without any difficulty. The back wall of the building constitutes the outside wall. On the top (of the back wall) human heads of natural proportion are represented. (85)

Staying with this concept of vihāra, but moving on one paragraph, the description seems to be consistent. Now Chavannes' translation is *temple*:

The gate of the temple faces west. Its top floor goes right into the sky, which quite takes one's breath away. Its marvellous sculptures go to the limits of art and ornamentation. This gate is attached to the building. It was not originally made separately, but two feet (paces) in front of it they have put four columns (making a porch). Although the gate is not very high, its framework is very strong.

There are no less than eight temples made like this. On the top of all of them there is a flat terrace where one can walk. The dimensions of each all are similar. On one side of each temple the monks have chosen a building, sometimes one-storeyed, sometimes three-storeyed, for holy images. Or, at a certain distance in front of one

east side there has been constructed an observatory in the form of a terrace which serves as the room of the Buddha.

On the west side of the temple, outside the large enclosure, some large stupas have been constructed and lots of caityas. There are 100 of them. The sacred relics, too many to enumerate, are crowded together. Gold and precious stones form a brilliant ornamentation: in truth, there are few places as perfect. (93-94)

I-tsing then goes on to describe "the living quarters of the monks", obviously another type of building altogether. But as neither Hwui Li or Hiuen-Tsiang touch on this subject, we shall go on to I-tsing's description of the disposition of other buildings about the vihāra and saṃghārāma.

[See Appendix III]

I-tsing provided a diagram model for Nālandā in his manuscript that was not reproduced in the translation. It may have not been part of the original text Chavannes was translating, for it seems most unusual not to have produced it if it did exist. The following description appears to have been based on this model:

Here is the model of Srī-Nālandā-mahā-vihāra. Translated into Chinese the name means: "the great, happy residence of the sacred nāgā". (In the western countries, when one speaks of a king, or of some high official or of the buildings of a great temple, one puts first the particle, srī in order to convey the idea of happiness and fortune.)

When one looks at one of the temples, one sees that the seven others are identical in plan. They all have flat terraces on top where people can come and go. (idem.)

Here it seems to be absolutely clear that I-tsing means vihāra in the sense of the residence of a sacred image. The "flat terraces" would appear to refer to the covered walk on

a raised plinth around the central shrine giving access to the corner tower shrines.

The concluding paragraphs may be compared with Hiuen Tsiang's and Hwui Li's descriptions. They too make quite clear that monuments were outside of an enclosed saṅghārāma.

[8.10] [Brackets indicate I-tsing's designations in the figure]:

If one wants to examine the form of the monastery as a whole, then it has to be seen from the west. It is by going west outside one gate that you get the best idea of the overall form.

(94)

[1] At 20 feet (paces) to the south of the gate, to the side of the path, there is a stūpa which is 100 feet high. It is there that the Buddha spent three summer months in retreat. The Sanskrit name of this building is Mūla-gandha-koti, which signifies in Chinese the perfumed chamber of the first order. (*idem.*)

[2] More than 50 feet (paces) to the north of the gate there is another stūpa which was made by King Bālāditya. Both [of these stūpas] are built of brick. The ornamentation they are covered with is remarkably delicate. One finds beds of gold and the floors are made of precious stone. The offerings are of rare beauty. In the centre there is an image of the Tathāgata turning the Wheel of the Law.

[3] Further to the southwest, there is a little caitya which is about 10 feet high. That is where a Brahman holding a bird in his hand asked some questions [of the Buddha]. That is was they call in Chinese the pagoda of the oriole. (94-95)

[4] West of the Mūla-gandha-koti is the Buddha's toothbrush tree. It is not a willow tree. (95)

[5] Further to the west, by the side of the road, is the altar of the 10 prohibitions [where the novices entered into the order]. It is more than 10 feet each side at the widest part. It consists of a brick wall more than two feet high which is built on a flat surface. Inside the enclosure is a place to sit down, about five thumbs high. In the centre is a small caitya. East of the altar in a corner of the room is a place where the Buddha walked. It is made of bricks and is about two cubits [the length of a forearm] long, 14-15 (cubits) high. Here lotus flowers have been planted (in an area) two cubits high and more than a foot wide. There are 14-15 of them. They mark the Buddha's footprints. (96)

[6] The south side of this temple looks towards the royal town Kuśagārapura, (Rajgir), which is 30 li [or roughly 6 miles -- 1 li = roughly 5 miles] away. (*idem*)

Bodh-Gayā is given as southwest 7 yojanas (1 yojana = 7 miles); Vaiśālī as 25 yojanas to the north; Mrigadāva as 20 yojanas to the west, and the state of Tāmralipti was 60-70 yojanas to the east. (*idem.*)¹⁴

Finally, according to I-tsing, the most important feature at Nālandā was a vihāra containing an image of the Buddha, presumably commemorating the spot which he calls the Mūla-ganda-koti. I-tsing says:

The image [of the Buddha] was decorated by a special artist; -- the proportions and the appearance were well shown. -- According to the likeness, one paints old [images], -- but one marvels seeing them as if they were new. -- Doubtless those who see them will be full of admiration, their spirit uplifted, -- as if the Buddha were there in person. (97-98)

By comparing I-tsing's description with that of Hwui Li and Hiuen Tsiang, we find that Hiuen Tsiang's stūpa [2] and I-tsing's stūpa [1] are consistent. And they are consistent in locating a stūpa (according to Hiuen Tsiang) [5] and a caitya (according to I-tsing)[3] dedicated to the spot where the heretic (Brahmin) questioned the Buddha. I-tsing and Hwui Li are consistent in placing Bālāditya's vihāra northwest of the Nālandā enclosure, [2] and [1] respectively. I-tsing, however, does not appear to be placing the Buddha's tooth-stick tree [4] inside the enclosed "college" as Hiuen Tsiang does [6]. [Overlay, 8.11]

Thus it would appear that what the Chinese monks have described is not what Cunningham found and attempted to attribute to Hiuen Tsiang as 7th century Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

As to the description I-tsing gives of the image of the Buddha, he does not make clear whether he is referring to the image in the "Mūla-gaṇḍha-koti" or that in Bālāditya's stūpa. Stūpa in this instance could have been vihāra.

Ki Ye and Nālandā

The last recorded Chinese description of Nālandā was left by another Chinese monk, Ki Ye (the French spelling). It was published by E. Huber as "L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki Ye dans l'Inde", (BEFEO, 1902, 3, Jul.- Sept., 256-259).¹⁵

In A.D. 964, 300 monks set out for India to look for relics and palm leaf manuscripts. Tripitaka Master Ki Ye was there until A.D. 976. (256) His reference to Nālandā is very short:

À quinze li au Nord [de Rājgrīha] se trouve le monastère de Na-lan-to (Nālanda [sic.]). Au Sud et au Nord de ce monastère il y a plusieurs dizaines d'autres monastères; chacun a sa porte tournée vers l'Ouest. Au Nord se trouve le siège des quatre Buddhas [sic.]. [The full French translation is in Appendix III]

Ki Ye was at Nālandā either at the beginning of the reign of Mahipāla I or just before it. We do not know what Chinese character Huber is translating as *monastery*. It appears that by the tenth century, only the Seat of the Four Buddhas remained as a recognised sacred site. At least it was the only one Ki Ye noted. And the number of "monasteries" he suggests were in the area again suggest that the site excavated was but one of many in that area, and not the one any of the Chinese monks described.

Chapter VIII

Notes

1. Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788-1832) was trained as a surgeon and was chief surgeon at the Paris military hospital before he was elected to the first chair of Chinese in Europe at the Collège de France in 1813. His reading of a Chinese herbal stimulated him to learn the language. In 1824 he was also appointed Keeper of the Manuscript Department at the Bibliothèque Royale, and President of the Société Asiatique.

Julius Heinrich Klaproth (1783-1835) was born in Berlin. From 1804 he studied at the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, settling permanently in Paris in 1815. Except for his part in the Rémusat translation, his work centred on Chinese and Manchu manuscripts.

2. Fa-hien visited Nalo in A.D. 420. He spent three years at Pāṭaliputra learning to read and write Sanskrit, and collecting a number of Hīnayāna texts. He also spent two years at Tamralipti copying sūtras and collecting images. (Travels, 147) As he mentions stūpas so frequently it would appear that they were very much an object of veneration. Images of the Buddhas were not noted as often. They may not have been as numerous. Perhaps they were not an object of his veneration. He was a monk of one of the Hīnayāna schools, but which one we do not know. At one point he notes that no one was present to "sprinkle and sweep" the area of a stūpa. This would suggest that one of the functions of a religious establishment may have been the maintenance of the stūpa. (Legge, 69) Where stūpas had fallen into disrepair, those responsible for their upkeep appear to have moved on to another place.

3. Stanislas Julien (1799-1873) was a brilliant linguist. At the Collège de France he mastered Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Hebrew before specialising in Chinese under the tutelage of Rémusat. He succeeded Rémusat to the chair of Chinese studies in 1832.

Julien obtained his copy of the life of Hiuen Tsiang through the offices of Robert Thom, former British consul at Nanking. Thom's sources were Catholic missionaries who located and listed 332 volumes of texts and commentaries in the Chinese libraries at Nanking. Of the list, Julien relates, only six of these were found in France and in Russia. Those not found in France were supplied by Daschkow and Seniavine of the Asiatic Department of the University of St. Petersburg. (Histoire, iii-iv)

4. Beal determined that 5 li equaled 1 English mile. (Julien, Mémoires, 259-60; Beal, Travels, 4) Pāṭaliputra is a good distance to the northwest of Nālandā. There is a village called "Nala" just outside the southern wall. This Nala is not mentioned in either the Life or the Records, but it does appear on St. Martin's map.

5. Beal appends a long note:

Otherwise called Nālandagrāma. It was near this village, which has been identified with the present Bargaon (Baragong sc. Vihāragrāma), that the celebrated convent of Nālanda was constructed. Hiouen Tshang dwelt five years in this magnificent establishment, where every day a hundred professors elucidated the principles of Buddhist philosophy to thousands of hearers. Hiouen Tshang ([Julien, Histoire] i., 143) makes Nālandagrāma the birthplace of Māudgalyāyana (Mogalan), and he speaks of a country or town called Kālapināka as the birthplace of Śāriputra (Jul. [Mémoire, II] iii, 54). In a subsequent account Hiouen Tshang speaks of a village called Kulika as the birthplace of Mogalan (Jul. iii, 51). We may therefore assume that Kulika and Nālandagrāma are different names for the same place. It is probable that Fah Hian confused the birthplace of Śāriputra with that of Māudgalyāyana. (Records, 111) Apparently Cunningham did not read Beal's note.

Similarly, Watters points out:

Julien restores Ka-lo-pi-na-ka of the text as Kalapinaka, but this is merely a conjecture. It is apparently the only other name for the Nāla (or Nālada) of Fa-hsien and other Buddhist writers. Yüan-chwang's town was 20 li south-east from the Bimbisāra tope which was on the south side of Nālandā, and the village of Nāla, the Nālandagrāma of some Pali writers, was above 20 li southeast from Nalanda. In the Mahāvastu the birthplace of Śāriputra is called Nālandagrāmaka and it, like Mudgalaputra's home, is placed a half a yojana from Rājagriha. Fa-hsien places Nāla one yojana to the east of this city, and this agrees with Yüan-chwang's location of his Ka-lo-pi-na-ka. (Yüan-Chwang, II, 172)

6. Eitel provides the following definitions: "śāriputra . . . lit. the son of Śāriṇa. One of the principle disciples of Śākyamuni, whose 'right hand attendant' he was; born at Nālandagrāma, the son of Tichya (v. Upatichya) and Sārika [sic.], he became famous for his wisdom and learning, composed 2 [sic.] works on the Abhidharma, died before his master, but is to reappear as Buddha Padmaprabha in Viradja during the Maharatna pratimandita kalpa". Eitel gives no source for his information. He says nothing of Maudgalyāyana except that his name was also "Māudgalaputra". (99) As for Nālandā, "lit. benevolent without wearying. The Nāga (deity) of a lake in the Amra forest near Rājagriha". Of Nālandagrāma, "a village near Nalanda saṃghārāma". Of "Nalanda sangharama: lit. the monastery of the unwearied

benefactor. A monastery built by Śākrāditya 7 miles N. of Radjagriha, now called Baragong (i.e., vihāragrama)." (104) Kulika is given as "a city 9 li S.W. of Nalanda in Magadha", (78), and Kalapinaka is "a city near Kulika, S. of Bahar [sic]". (67). (Ernest J. Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism Being a Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary with vocabularies of Buddhist Terms, Tokyo, Sanshusha, 1904, 149)

7. Father Heras of the University of Bombay wrote an article, "The Royal Patrons of the University of Nālandā" (JBORS, XIV, 1928, 1-23.), in which he attempts to establish the date of the founding of Nālandā. He claims that Kumaragupta I is Śākrāditya. Heras calculates that his reign began following Fa-hien's departure from Magadha. "Accordingly the foundation of Nālandā took place round [A.D.] 427", he says. "In fact Fa-hien, who passed through Nālandā in the early years of the fifth century, did not see the university as yet". (3) His Fa-hien source is Giles' translation. He supplied a rough sketch as well. (23) [8.12]

8. Heras, having assumed that Vajra was Kumaragupta II, asserts that the king of Central India must be Harṣa. "This king of Central India, that [sic.] appears after the extinction of the Gupta family before the arrival of Hiuen Tsiang in India, cannot be other than Harṣa-vardhana of Kanauj". (13) Heras states with Jesuitical certainty that Harṣa was a good Buddhist. (JBORS, XIV, 1, 14)

9. Some of the problems that arise over the translation of the words saṃghārāma and vihāra can be appreciated by looking at the romanisation of the Chinese characters in Julien's text. The characters given in Julien are SENG --, KIA --, LAN -- for saṃghārāma, and T'SING LIU --, or T'SING CHE -- for vihāra. (These are found in Julien, Méthode pour déchiffrer, and Histoire, II) Although the characters vary, the meaning he gives them in the Histoire, however, is the same: "couvent". But as the first is a transliteration for saṃghārāma, and the second the actual Chinese word for spirit hermitage or spirit house, it seems that Hiuen Tsiang meant two entirely distinct things when he used the different terms.

Eitel, writing at a later date, but admitting to borrowing freely from Julien, simply gives a transliteration for vihāra. But one of his definitions for T'SING CHE (spirit house) is "college of purity". (Eitel, op. cit., 198) It is certainly possible that Hiuen Tsiang may have used these words interchangeably, leaving the task of deciding what he really meant to the translator.

Further evidence for what the Chinese meant by saṃghārāma and vihāra can be seen in a survey of Hiuen Tsiang's accounts of religious buildings in Magadha. For other places he has clearly distinguished between saṃghārāma, vihāra, and stūpa. Hiuen Tsiang had also stayed at Tiladaka, another well-known saṃghārāma, where 1,000 monks were studying Mahāyāna texts. (Records, 102) There also are three connected vihāras containing images of Buddha, Tārā and Avalokiteśvara. (103) At Bodh-Gayā, besides the saṃghārāma built by the Sinhalese king, there were a number of vihāras containing images of Śākyamuni Buddha and

even one containing an image of Kasyapa Buddha. (118, 123, 128) He reports that in another vihāra there was an image of Buddha " . . . thin and withered away". (idem.) As for Indrasīlaguhā, "on this hill are many vihāras and religious shrines, sculptured with the highest art. In the exact middle of the vihāra is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhsattva [Avalokiteśvara]". (181)

In Julien, stūpa is transliterated TOU PO --, and chaitya is given in Chavannes as TCHE TI -- . This word does not seem to appear in Julien.

10. Watters says this this is a mistranslation on Beal's part from Julien's French and should read: "In the original monastery of king Śakrāditya there is now an image of Buddha". (Watters, Yüan Chwang, II, 167). But it is not at all certain, looking at Julien, that Watters is right.

11. Édouard Emmanuel Chavannes was born in Lyon in 1865. He was influenced by reading Legge to study Chinese, and went to Peking as attaché to the French Legation in 1889. He succeeded Julien as professor of Chinese at the Collège de France in 1893. He was active in the Société Asiatique for many years, elected its secretary in 1885. He became a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1903, and was elected its president in 1915.

In 1894 he brought out his translation of I-tsing; in 1895, L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong; in 1896, he published "Les Inscriptions Chinoise de Bodh-Gayā", and in 1903, Voyages de Son-Yun appeared. From 1902-13 his field of work shifted to Central Asia where he worked with Stein and Pelliot. Chavannes was one of the founders of the École Française d'Extrême Orient. He died in March 1918, possibly of influenza. ("E. Chavannes", H. Cordier, JA, XI^e. série, XI, 2, 1918, 212-215; L. de La Vallée Poussin, BSOS, I, 1920, 147-51.)

12. Foucher cites Chavannes as follows:

Dans les deux exemples de couvents que nous possédons nous ne voyons sur la miniature qu'une angle du bâtiment. Le vue est sans doute prise du coté de la cour intérieure. On reconnaît les toits plats et surplombants, formant terrasse et abritant une véranda, dont parle le description qu'I-tsing nous a laissée du monastère de Nālanda: 'Des quatre côtés, dit-il, le bord droit et saillant du toit forme de longues galeries couvertes qui fond tout le tour de l'édifice . . . ' Et un peu plus loin: 'En haut tous les bâtiments ont une terrasse plane et on peut y passer . . . ' À Nālanda chacun des huit couvents se composait 'de trois étages superposés, chaque étage étant haut de plus de dix pieds'. L'un de nos spécimens n'a qu'une étage, l'autre en a deux. On aperçoit encore les fenêtres qui éclairaient chaque cellule; elles sont garnies d'un écran de bois découpé en damier à la vieille mode indienne. Sous la véranda, munie d'un auvent et d'une

balustrade, se tient toujours un moine, sans doute pour mieux spécifier la destination de l'édifice représenté. Sur une des images, d'autres moines encore se promènent dans la cour du couvent où se pressent, comme à l'habitude, plusieurs édicules sacrés, ex-votos élevés par la piété des fidèles. (Étude, 49)

13. Beal, in the introduction to his Life of Hiuen Tsiang (London, 1888), provides abridged translations of I-tsing using manuscripts listed in Nanjio's catalogue. (Life, xxiv-xxviii) Dutt, in his Buddhist Monks and Monasteries (London, 1961), mentions I-tsing, but gives Hwui Lun's Sanskrit name, Prajñāvarman. (Dutt, Appendix to Part IV (312-314) He uses Chavannes' translation but only in notes in his chapter on Nālandā. His references to I-tsing here are almost exclusively from taken from Takakusu, except in one instance where he states: "Prajñāvarman says that 'the foundation was laid, but the work for some time was stopped'" (329). His source here was Beal.

14. Mrigavana (Varanasi?) given as more than 40 yojanas to the east of Nālandā, not far from which is to be found the remains of the foundations of the temple of China (Tche-na). (97)

15. Julien found this in the Wou-kh'ouan-lou of Fan tch'eng ta (The French spelling in both cases), written at the end of 12th century. The manuscript was first translated by M.G. Schlegel. However, as only about ten copies were published, the work was virtually unknown. He took his text from the encyclopedia Yanan-kien-lei-han. Ki Ye was one of the last Chinese pilgrims who saw India before Muhamed Ghaznevi's invasion.

Chapter IX

Conclusion

The Intellectual Context

In this thesis we have presented the intellectual religious and art historical context for the archæology at Nālandā in order to suggest why an extensive analysis of Nālandā and its artefacts was never attempted by any western scholar at the time the archæology was being carried out.¹ We have seen that the scholars consulted by the archæologists were translating Buddhist manuscripts with more concern for the grammar and purity of the language than with an accurate understanding of the technicalities of Buddhism. They were not theologians or philosophers. Their lack of interest in discovering the meanings of complex Buddhist terminology resulted in many misinterpretations and misunderstandings.

In short, in lieu of understanding another culture, they superimposed their own cultural values on their subject matter, written as well as visual. For instance, they assumed that Mahāyāna Buddhism, historically a later development, was decadent because it seemed to them to depart from the "pure" teachings of the historical Buddha. As a consequence this rich and fertile field was never properly appreciated as relevant to Buddhist art at a time when so many artefacts were being unearthed.

These scholars do not appear to have questioned their assumptions in light of the texts they were encountering which were late in date and often poor and inaccurate copies. These texts seem only to have reinforced their

initial evaluation that Mahāyāna Buddhism was decadent. Thus they condemned tantras, texts which were concerned with religious practices as opposed to religious ideas, because in their unfamiliarity with Buddhist (and, we might add, Hindu) teachings they took literally the sensuous, metaphorical and abstruse language of these texts. That many of these tantras may not have been strictly Buddhist, or even vaguely representative, they could not have known from their limited appreciation of Buddhism. In fact, "Tantric Buddhism" came to be a separate scholarly category altogether, and then was regarded as a form of Buddhism supposedly only enjoyed by the utterly depraved.

From the beginning of Buddhist studies, European scholars indicate a strong sense of Christian or rationalist superiority, rendering Buddhism nihilistic, pessimistic, atheistic -- in other words, foreign, unedifying and inferior. When Buddhist practitioners and/or scholars addressed the problem of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, as in the case of Suzuki and Kimura, to mention only two, however respected they may have been in their own right as scholars, they do not appear to have been influential enough to overcome widespread western bias. Indeed, they may not have even been that widely read. After all, they too, were foreigners -- unknown quantities.

As for the archæology, the discovery at any site of vast quantities of images that were regarded as "tantric" led archæologists and scholars to conclude that the monks at that particular site were engaged in Tantric Buddhism. No explanations followed as to what that might be.

With regard to Nālandā, these partially understood ideas filtered all the way through the archæological reports. In short, as Suzuki suggests, preoccupation with syntax without an understanding of the meaning resulted in a number of pronouncements that were either guesses or biased opinions. But as these had the stamp of learned authority, to question their authenticity would have been tantamount to heresy.

In the field of Indian Buddhist art history, initially regarded as part of archæology, the same strong sense of European superiority prevailed. This strange and alien art was simply that: A curiosity, a collectable. It gained some respectability when Fergusson subjected Indian architecture to European stylistic classifications, and when Grünwedel and Foucher treated it as an outgrowth of Persian, Greek and Roman art. But in western terms of an historical development, Indian Buddhist art was seen to move away from its western classical origins through idealised Indian forms to mechanical stylisations.

Foucher was, according to his pupil, Bhattacharyya, the first scholar in the field to suggest that Buddhist images could only be identified in tantras devoted to describing the characteristics and use of images. However, whether from his own limited understanding of how to do this himself within the suitable Buddhist context, or the lack of organisation of the necessary material for such a study, Foucher's method did not catch on. (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924, 1-11)² His source was late in

date, and the images described belonged to the "tantric" category, which was not clearly understood or approved of. And Foucher's main concern was to find support for his theory of the Hellenistic origins for the Buddhist image.

Havell and Coomaraswamy challenged not only the western origins of Buddhist art but also the superimposition of western values on all Indian art. As he was an artist and art teacher and administrator, Havell did ^{not} carry the weight of a learned authority. His books were definitely written for a popular market. But while he repeats conventional wisdom in many instances, his time in India convinced him that trying to write Indian art history from London or Paris, from notes taken on a few visits to the relevant sites was not the best way to go about it. His observations regarding Nālandā and the type of buildings the famous vihāras might have been original but insubstantial. And his outspokenness on the low priority the English in India gave to a real appreciation of art could not have endeared him to the very people responsible for digging up India.

Coomaraswamy had the rank of a scholar and was not afraid to oppose conventional wisdom and its priests. And he was a doer. He wrote numerous books and articles, founded the India Society and created vast and valuable collections of Indian art. But for all that, he was a half-caste and a pacifist. He went to the United States during the 1914-18 War, so that at the time when major archæological work was taking place in India, he was, for all intents and purposes, exiled to a farther shore.

Coomaraswamy's contribution to the then-current thinking on Indian Buddhist art was to view it not as an extension of classical ideals or as a primitive expression of an extinct society but as an integral and vibrant part of the fabric of Indian life. And as such, it could only be understood in its own cultural terms. Coomaraswamy shared this belief with Havell. His general outlook was perhaps too new and too broad for archæologists at Nālandā. He, too, was not widely read in archæological circles.

Thus, the intellectual orientation of Buddhist studies was such at the outset of the archæology at Nālandā that that the scholarly written word, especially the translated written word, stood as the ultimate authority against which everything else had to be checked. In view of the lack of real appreciation and understanding, archæologists did not have much to go on. And, as Marshall indicated, they were not being paid to think.

Archæology at Nālandā

The early investigations of Nālandā were not technically speaking archæological. Buchanan unwittingly provided the first record although, as we have noted, Martin's editing of his account of Baragaon was too abbreviated to have been of any use as a guide. And his remarks regarding the indiscriminate removal of images did not make any impression. Kittoe, Fergusson and Cunningham identified Nālandā with Bargaon from literary sources -- Turnour's translation of Buddhaghosa and Rémusat's translation of Fa-hien containing the fragment of Hiuen Tsiang. Cunningham's initial survey in 1861 proceeded on the

assumption that Beal's and Julien's translations of the Chinese accounts were completely trustworthy.

The same attitude prevailed in 1916. Spooner started with Cunningam's map and Hiuen Tsiang. The tacit assumption throughout appears to have been that the function of archæology was to justify the literary accounts. Even after more and more indications were that the site was later than the 7th century, Indian archæology was not sufficiently well disciplined even by 1938 to bring the weight of its own evidence to bear and require a new assessment.

Spooner, Sastri and Page had often hinted that perhaps what they had found was not the site Hiuen Tsiang described, but their doubts were usually followed by more confident claims that they were digging in the right place. Sastri later wrote, "which part of the area under exploration contains the remains of the six monasteries or saṃghārāmas mentioned by Hsüan Tsaing has not yet been determined". (H. Sastri, Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials, MASI 66, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1942, 21) Sastri's statement was never taken up and developed. ☞

Indeed, the bulk of the archæological evidence indicates that the site excavated at Nālandā was a Pāla and not a Gupta complex. Spooner's only secure date for any one level was to the 9th century, to the reigns of the Pāla kings, Dharmapāla and Devapāla. While he, Sastri and Page put the earliest level of Monastery No. 1 as the 7th century, this was never scientifically verified within their time of service.

The stūpa at the core of Stupa No. 3 was said to have

been Gupta, 5th century; but it does not appear to have been scientifically dated to that time. It was a tiny stūpa compared to the seven differently-styled structures built over it, as the plans and elevations show. What its original significance was we shall probably never know. However, the final building on the sight, restored as a completely amorphous heap, belonged to the Pāla period.

Their preoccupation with verifying the literary accounts of Nālandā led archæologists to concentrate on restoration of the monasteries rather than any of the other buildings, on the assumption that monastery meant saṃghārāma, and the saṃghārāma was the most important *building* in a Buddhist monastery. Spooner decided that what Cunningham's reference to Monastery No. 2 as Hiuen Tsiang's designated first saṃghārāma, built by the Gupta ruler, Śakraditya, was the first in the north-south range at the site. But he did not find any evidence to substantiate Hiuen Tsiang. The idea that each building in that range was a saṃghārāma gradually faded as the excavations progressed and it became evident that the ultimately nine and possibly more monasteries were all originally built around the same Devapāla period. But archæologists continued to make Hiuen Tsiang attributions, and preserve something of a Hiuen Tsiang configuration. For instance, Monastery No. 12 has disappeared altogether from Ghosh's map of the site. The suggestion that others had existed in that range but were dismantled by the local villagers of course throws doubts on the continued reference to Hiuen Tsiang. [9.1]

It does not seem to have occurred to the archæologists

to question what it was they did find, if not Hiuen Tsiang's Nālandā. The literary sources gave way to epigraphical research. Sastri and Page assumed that the appearance at the Devapāla level in Monastery No. 1 of the Bālaputradeva copper-plate grant indicated that the building had been "commissioned" by the ruler of Sumatra. This assumption gave rise to the idea that Nālandā's influence culturally and artistically extended to Java.⁴

However, this particular grant was but one item in a vast amount of epigraphic material found at this level and in other sites as well. None of it was really looked at until Sastri retired from the ASI and wrote his Memoir. Seals and grants covered a wide timespan. Many did indeed indicate the existence of documents dating to Gupta rulers mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang. There was even a copper-plate grant of Samudragupta, which later came to be regarded as a forgery. Even Sastri had a task beyond his capabilities. His Memoir only touches on the subject.

Why such a range of material existed in one place was never adequately accounted for. One possibility we can suggest is that Monastery No. 1 was an administrative building. Another is that the material came to be deposited there in a time of conflict and destruction. But the discovery of one copper-plate grant at this particular spot does not in and of itself prove anything. The next question that needs to be asked, in line with Buchanan's observation about the indiscriminate removal of artefacts, is: Were these materials originally there? And what else was removed from this spot, or brought to it, at an earlier time?

The epigraphical material did indicate that Nālandā was definitely a thriving institution in Gupta times, as the Chinese accounts said. But, we stress again, the buildings at the excavated site are Pāla. However, earlier Gupta establishments may have impinged on it. As we have suggested in Chapter VIII, the site the Chinese describe and the site the ASI excavated appear to be two entirely different places. The key to determining the relationship between the excavated Pāla site and any of the Gupta saṃghārāmas, we believe, hinges on the identification of the earlier buildings and the original small stūpa at Stupa No. 3.

To return to the question of definition of terminology, Sastri indicates that it was assumed that by saṃghārāma Hiuen Tsiang meant a monastery building. Although Cunningham designates the mounds opposite the range of mounds constituting saṃghārāmas, or monasteries, vihāras, the archaeologists called them ~~Ch~~aityas, thereby avoiding the problem altogether. Two of the three ~~Ch~~aityas facing this range were excavated by Kuraishi, Chandra, Nazim and Ghosh, starting in 1930.

Cunningham and Broadley had hinted that what came to be known as Chaitya No. 12 might have been Bālāditya's vihāra. By 1930 there is no suggestion that any of them were described in Hiuen Tsiang. The Chaityas are identical in design, Pāla period, and contained large stucco images of seated Buddha images. Chaitya No. 14, which was not excavated in the period under discussion in this thesis, appears to have been facing Monastery No. 12 and possibly a Monastery No. 13, for which there is no evidence on the

present site. Again the Chinese source is not relevant.

But in keeping with the design of the saṃghārāma, which we use here in the broader sense of a complex of buildings, these so-called Chaityas seem to be the most important. Because they were excavated and restored at a late date in the archæology, during a time of severe cut-backs in funds and personnel, they do not appear to have received very much attention. In the last ASI reports on Nālandā it seems that as time and money permitted, only a brief description of the work done in each season was recorded. There is practically no information at all about these vihāras.

Observing the general layout of the site we see that there were essentially three building orientations. The archæologists, however, do not appear to have been particularly concerned with what that may have meant. Monasteries Nos. 1A and 1B stand at a different orientation to both Monastery No. 1 and Stupa No. 3. Their smaller size suggests a closer affinity to Stupa No. 3.

These two monasteries, Temple No. 2 and Stupa No. 3 are all oriented differently in relation to each other as well as to the rest of the site. Temple No. 2, excavated by Spooner in his second and third seasons, was noteworthy for its sculpted plaques around the plinth, to which he gave a Gupta date. But the date was never verified, and it is entirely possible that plaques from an earlier site were integrated into a later building. Broadley said when he excavated this site in 1871 that it had four towers, one at each corner, suggesting that it may have been a vihāra. But these were not present in 1917, and no further work occurred.

Stupa No. 3 has yet another orientation and was, at some point, overlapped by, or overlapped Monastery No. 1B. It is the smallest of all the major buildings at the site. Spooner had originally designated it a vihāra. But he decided that earlier structures had been stūpas; therefore the final structure was also a stūpa. As we have already said, the later buildings may not have been stūpas. The fifth level was highly decorated and had four towers at the corners, like Temple No. 2 of Broadley's description. But Page never found more of the building of which they were a part than the base. The state of ruin of this site made it virtually impossible to determine the shape of the final levels of building. Page et. al. created a ruin, nicely shaped, which bears no resemblance to any other Buddhist structure, and for which there was no explanation.

Finally, the emphasis on the importance of the written word extended to Marshall's *dicta* for the conduct of the ASI. Conservation was the ultimate goal. Marshall's intent was to send material as it became available along to scholars in India and in Europe. They would analyse it and develop a context for it. But the ASI was never organised or financed to make such a project viable. So much time, money and energy was taken up with conservation and producing the well-manicured ruin, that even if the archæologists themselves had been equipped to evaluate their findings, there was no possibility of doing it.

Spooner died in 1925. Sastri, as we have noted, was only able to complete his study of the epigraphy after he retired, and he died before the publication of his Memoir in

1942. We do not know what happened to Page after he retired from the service in 1932. Grünwedel and Foucher moved into Northern India and Central Asia to continue their studies. Buddhist studies as a whole did not take on a new direction until the 1950's, by which time the finality Marshall observed as characterising the first ASI reports characterised his generation of archæologists' reports.

The direction suggested by Visser's contribution to the intellectual context of Indian Buddhist art has yet to be explored. The implications, though, are many. He had the distinct advantage of contemporary historical records -- something missing altogether in India -- and the relevant tantras, many still in Sanskrit, others translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Indian or Chinese monks specially trained for such a purpose. But while the Chinese may have altered Buddhist rituals widely to suit their temperament, the fact that Sanskrit texts were actually used, and the overall practical functions of these rituals suggests in these cases that where similar images are found the same ritual was performed.

A number of ceremonial bronze images were discovered at Nālandā as well as a number of stone images of figures, which could possibly be identified from the tantras Visser lists. The presence of these images, large and small, does not denote a separate, esoteric cult or special school of Buddhism, but rather the fact that ritual was an integral part of Buddhist life then as it is today.

Finally, we have seen that the claims made for Nālandā Mahāvihāra throughout the period of Buddhist studies and the excavation at the site were never properly examined, and that they were not borne out by the archæology. Had the archæology been carefully studied, and in its own context, many of these claims would have been challenged and dismissed if not before the actual digging began, then shortly thereafter. But as the literature available for the time shows, the intellectual context as well as restrictions on the archæologists in purpose, time and funds precluded such a study.

No actual evidence was ever found to prove beyond a doubt that the site excavated was the same place Hiuen-Tsiang, Hwui Li and I-tsing described. As the site and the artefacts were never analysed, there is no indication that Nālandā had any artistic or cultural influence outside its immediate environs. Nor is there any evidence to substantiate claims that Nālandā had a connection with Java.

Today Nālandā stands as a silent memorial to the Buddhist presence in Pāla times. Its full extent may never be known, so much of the evidence having been taken away to be used in other buildings or for other purposes, or else lies buried beneath the mounds that still dot the landscape. What is to view is splendid in its own right.

Chapter IX

Notes

1. We can mention in passing H.K. Sankalia's University of Nālandā (Madras, B.G. Paul and Co., Publishers, 1934), based on his master's dissertation which was written under the supervision of Fr. Heras at the University of Bombay in 1932. It was the only book written about Nālandā in this period. He indicates that he was imitating Heras by picking up what information he could of the "totally new subjects [of] art, architecture and iconography . . . by acquainting myself with the objects of art and architecture and reading about them". (Sankalia, Born for Archæology, An Autobiography, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp. [n.d.], 9) When the book was reprinted in 1974, Sankalia indicates that no changes had taken place in that time to warrant a revision of the original. But he does say: "Had the excavations, some 60 years ago, been conducted on modern lines, then they would have helped reveal at least some aspect of daily life of the vihāras and saṃghārāmas. (University of Nālandā, New Delhi, 1974, x) The point is, of course, that the methods used in 1934 were not those of 1974.

2. But the texts he used were 12th century. Foucher's Étude was the published version of his doctoral thesis. Bhattacharyya's work reflects the limited understanding of Buddhism in the 1920's. His summation of Buddhist history is a classic statement of western misinterpretations, a mystification and gross oversimplification of Mahāyāna doctrine in particular.

3. We can mention R.K. Mookerji's "The University of Nālandā" (JBORS, XXX, 1944, 126-59); S. Dutt's Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962), and B. Nath's Nālandā Murals (New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1983). In the last work Nath claims that the Sarai Mound was actually Pūrṇavarman's vihāra containing an 80' copper Buddha. There is decidedly no archæological evidence for this assumption.

4. Space does not permit a full discussion of A.J. Bernet Kempers' The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art (Leiden, E.J. Brill Ltd, 1933). Nor for that matter can we go into a lengthy discussion of J.Ph. Vogel's Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java (A.J. Barnouw, trans, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936) Suffice it to say that Bernet Kempers reflects the conventional intellectual environment in his appraisal of the bronzes, adds nothing new to the understanding of them. He concludes, in fact: ". . . while partially exhibiting a distinct resemblance to some bronzes from Java, they belong to Pāla art". (7) Vogel too adds nothing new with regard to Nālandā.

5. M.H. Kuraishi's A List of the Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, New Imperial Series, LI, Calcutta, Government of India Central Publications Branch, 1931 reiterates material from the ASI reports. He also wrote A Short Guide to the Buddhist Remains Excavated at Nālandā in 1931 which was followed by Ghosh's Guide to Nālandā (Archæological Survey of India, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1936). Revised and reprinted, this is the official guide book used today.

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APPENDIX I

1: Buchanan's List of Sculptures Found at Bargaon

Reference: Jackson, ed. An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812, I. Patna: Bihār and Orissa Research Society, [n.d]

Numbers and letters referring to locations of Buchanan's map are given in the order they appear in the text.

1. 148: "Bhairav" -- "Narayan riding on Garur [Vishnu riding on Garuda]".
2. 149: A female "sitting and shaded by a wreath of serpents". (220)
3. 150: A plan of the ruins showing three temples -- A, B, and C -- east of a small tank, Surya Pokhar. [Missing]
4. 141: Vahara, "object of worship" at temple A. (221)
5. 151: A four-faced linga in temple C in the centre of Baragang with a "twice repeated" Buddhist dedication.
6. 164: A standing Brahma, in the street at Baragang;
7. In the street also a large Buddha, "Kalabhairav".
8. 165: "A form of the hideous armed monster different in some respects from the others already mentioned [in other descriptions]". (222)
9. 153: "A form of the female destructive power acting under the authority of a Buddha, who is seated in her tiara" found at the Kapateswari temple (H), in ruin complex south of Baragang, "the place of the Andra kings. (223)
10. 154: Goddess Kapateswari, who "represents a fat male [sic.] [who has] four arms, and one leg hangs over her throne".
11. 155: "A female in the same position and probably intended to represent the spouse of the former, has the form of dedication usual among the worshippers of the Buddhas".
12. 156: Also "a female with two arms and two attendants . . . standing under two Buddhas".
13. 159: Again, "a female with two arms sitting on a throne supported by lions", bearing an inscription "on the throne [which] proclaims the power of Sarbaggna [Buddha]".
14. 157: And again, "a female with 4 arms sitting on a lion, and tearing the tongues from two male captives", bearing an inscription giving the name Bangsiswarbhadra as the king, and the date "the 1st or 7th year of Samvat". (224)

(Buchanan list cont.)

15. 160: A Buddha found at mound I, bearing an inexplicable translation.
16. 161: Another Buddha.
17. 162: A third Buddha with dedications at the head (Jalayana, son of Acharyeswari) and the shoulders; "at the knees is mentioned the mild spoken Ujjarayan friend of the great" and "beneath the feet is mentioned that the images has been dedicated by a Sajjika (a female)". (225)
18. 163: "Batuk Bhairav", a large Buddha presumably removed from mound K and "placed under a great tree in the neighbourhood (O) and surrounded by a brick wall . . . " and still worshipped. (idem.)
19. 166: A seated multi-armed female figure.
20. 167: A standing many armed female figure, "a Buddha is seated on the Tiara of the Goddess . . . dedicated by a person named Sri Bhojak, who has no title, and seems to have thought the action would be of service to his parents". (idem.)
21. 168: "A female with two arms, who brandished somewhat like a thunderbolt [sic.], and tramples on a prostrated warrior. An attendant holds over her an umbrella, the emblem of royalty". (225-26)
22. 169: A Buddha at Yaggespur, a mile southwest of Kundilpur:
Sitting in the usual posture, and supporting, by a cloud proceeding from his head, a female laid in a bier, and surrounded by mourners. The image is surrounded by a very promiscuous assemblage of Buddhas, Gods, Goddesses, demons, princes, dancers, beasts and monsters. The inscription is merely the usual form of dedication. This image is an object of worship, and two Brahmans, who are the priests, in total despite of sex, call it Jagadamba, the mother of the universe. (226)
23. 170: A many-armed male with a Buddha in his crown;
24. 171: Another male, "sitting with one leg over his throne . . . dedicated by Hritibhatta".
25. 172: "Seshnag" entwined male and female torsos, lower body serpents' tails, forming a pillar. (idem.)

2: Cunningham's List of Finds

Reference: Cunningham, A. ASIAR, I, 1861-62, 35-36
(Letters in parentheses from Cunningham's sketch, opp. 28)

1. "The sculptures collected in the enclosure at Baithak Bhairav". ("M")
2. The colossal Buddha ("S") with names of Śāriputra and Maudgalayāna "inscribed over two flying figures carrying garlands; and *Arya Mitreyanātha* and *Arya Vasumitra* over two attendant standing figures".
3. A "three-headed goddess *Vajra-Varāhi*. The Buddhist formula is inscribed on this figure, which is evidently one of those mistaken by Major Kittoe for Durgā slaying the buffalo demon Maheshasur. The goddess has one porcine head, and there are seven hogs represented on the pedestal".
4. A "life-size ascetic Buddha" and some other figures found in Bargaon. (35)
5. North of Bargaon, two Buddhas "seated on chairs" and a four-armed Viṣṇu on Garuda.
6. Directly west of mound "H", "near the Tār Sing Tank . . . two are females and one a male figure seated with hands on knees", marked "W".
7. In a temple at Kapatīya, which Cunningham says is marked "X" on his sketch, although no "X" occurs, a "*Vajrā Varāhi*, and a very good *Vāgiswari*, with an important inscription in two lines, which gives the name of the place Nālanda, and is dated in the year 1 of the reign of the paramount sovereign Sri Gopāla Deva". (Plate XIII, ASIAR, III)
8. A mound marked "Y", behind monastery 4, initially thought to be a stūpa, but following an exploratory dig, revealed as a vihāra.
9. A Jain temple, which Cunningham says is marked "Z", "which is only remarkable as being in the same style of architecture as the Great Temple at Buddha-Gaya. It is probably of about the same age, or A.D. 500. Its present height is only 36 feet without the pinnacle, which is modern. The whole is white-washed. Inside the temple there are several Jain figures, of which that of *Mahāvīr* bears the date of Samvat 1504, or A.D. 1447".
10. By the "Suraj-kūnd" (given as "Surag Pokhar" on the sketch) an assortment of images: "They are chiefly Buddhist, but there are also some figures of Vishnu four-armed, of the *Varāha Avatār*, of Siva and Pārvati, and also of Surya himself". (36)

3: Cunningham's 1871 ASI Requirements

Reference: Cunningham, ASIAR, III, Calcutta: 1873.

Archæology is not limited to broken sculptures, old buildings and mounds of ruins, but includes everything that belonged to the world's history. From their size and number, architectural remains naturally form the most prominent branch of archæology The study of architectural remains is therefore one of the most important objects of most Indian archæology. But our researches should be extended to all ancient remains whatever that will help to illustrate the customs and manners of former times. (iv-v)

He indicated that he wanted the following information from his surveyors for the reports:

1. The various names of the place reported upon, and their origin and derivation.
2. The date of its foundation, either historical or traditional or both.
3. Its former extent, as shown by existing gates or by sites of gates, as well as by lines of old brick-kilns, or by tradition.
4. A description of the principal buildings, whether standing or in ruins, including the nature and colour of the materials employed, whether granite, marble, sandstone, brick &c.. The descriptions should include the form and size of each building, with any special peculiarities, either of style or of ornamentation; and also the cost if this can be obtained.
5. The history, either written or traditional, of each principal building.
6. A detailed plan of each principal building, and a section of at least one building typical of each style. (v)

4: List of Ruins for Broadley's Sketch

Reference: Broadley, The Ruins of the Nālanda Monasteries at Burgāon, Calcutta, 1872, opp. 4)

(References to the sketch are in brackets; references to the text in Ruins and "Remains" are at the end of each description.)

1. A mound [Tope No. I] 20 feet east of Suraj Pokhar ["Poker"].
2. At 1200 feet directly south [790 feet] "another enormous mound six hundred feet in circumference, and nearly fifty feet in height" [Tope No. II]. ("Remains", 303)
3. Between this and the next mound to the south, at 750 feet [300 feet], "is a brick enclosure containing seven Buddhist figures, now regularly worshipped as Hindū deities, the biggest of which is called *Tēliā Bhandār* [placed between Nos. II and III, the distance between them given as 300 feet]". Broadley notes that *Tēliā Bhandār* and Bhairav are "worshipped by the Hindūs". The word, "tēlis", he says refers to oil-sellers, one of whom, called Bālāditya, adorned the great temple he excavated. (Ruins, 5.)
4. "Three hundred feet to the south of the last-mentioned tumulus [i.e., No. III] is a third great tope, sixty [feet] high and more than one thousand feet in circumference, the largest and most important of the mounds, surrounded by a series of smaller topes, and forming the centre of the ruins of Bargāon". (304) [Given as 225 feet from No. III and designated as No. IV, rather than the third "tumulus". This information may have come from Ruins as the same discrepancy regarding the absence of Tope No. IV occurs.]
5. South, 300 feet [300 feet] "is a fifth mound, of about six hundred feet in circumference, but a greater elevation than the rest" [No. V] (idem.)
6. South again, 790 feet [730 feet] "is a sixth tumulus of inconsiderable size and height". [No. VI] (idem.)
7. The "seventh mound" (No. VII) is located 720 feet "due east of the great central tumulus It is nearly as large as the central mound itself, but of much less elevation". (idem.) (This mound is marked "Y" on Cunningham's sketch and called by him "Dukatwa Mound", and identified as a vihāra.)
8. Eight "halls" -- i.e. the monastery ruins -- stand between III, IV, V and VII. (305)
9. Outside Kaptswari, southeast of No. VII is Tope No. VIII.

APPENDIX II

ASI Finds 1915-1938

1915-1916

No list

1916-17

1. Govinda-Chandra gold coin (c. 1112-1160 A.D.) at the top of middle level. (40-41)
2. Trailokyavijaya (identified by R.D. Banerji), undamaged lower half, on pedestal at south end. (42)
3. "One large image of some Bodhisattva type now very badly shattered" also on a pedestal on lowest verandah. (42)
4. Next to the niche "against back wall of the verandah on this south side" a 4' bronze (or copper) pillar with capital "showing the form of a recumbent [sic.] elephant surmounted by a maned lion, upon whose head rest two horizontal discs capped by a lotus-bud". (42)
5. South side verandah a hand and foot "of some life-size copper (or bronze) . . . Buddha". (42)
6. A number of seals with inscriptions including some bearing: *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāriy-Ārya-Bhikshu-Sanghasya* which Spooner renders "Venerable Company of Monks in the Great Vihāra of Śrī Nālandā", showing a dharmacakra flanked by two deer. Similar device at Sārnāth which Spooner believes was "copied" at Nālandā. (43)
7. One seal dated to the 5th-6th centuries and styled Gupta, shows Laksmī and bears an inscription. (43)
8. At the 2nd level in front of the "house" a broken plaque with eight great events in the life of Buddha, with the death scene missing, but the pieces collected for repair were to be delivered to the Bankipore Museum. (45)
9. A "sculptural fragment" of "lower part of some central seated figure, with many smaller figures on thrones around it" found in the same place. (idem.)
10. At Site No. 3, a Bodhisattva in black stone, standing, inscribed, with indications of stucco decorations on the inner core. (47)

1917-18

No list

1918-19

No list

1919-20

Eastern Circle Report, II, 40-48.

The "List of Antiquities Excavated at Nalanda in 1920" consists of nine pages giving the site, but not the findspot, a description of the item found, its composition, and its measurement. One Avalokiteśvara found at Monastery No. 1A is given as 11' x 5½", inscribed with the Buddhist "creed". Sastri suggests that the characters are 7th century. (41) Other images intact were small.

1920-21

Listed in Central Circle Report, 42-53.

1921-22

Listed in ASIAR Appendix C, 240-41.

1922-23

Listed in ASIAR, 150; Appendix C, 276-78

1923-24

No list

1924-25

1. Buddha "in high relief seated in *bhūmisparśamudrā* and surrounded by seven conventional life scenes on the background", 19½". (158)
2. Copper Buddha, freestanding, in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, "seated on a throne", 8". (*idem.*)
3. 2 copper Ganeṣas, 3" and 2½".
4. Stone, standing, 4-armed Visnu with "Lakshmi and Sarasvati".
5. Copper Kuvera.

1925-26

Monastery No. 1:

1. A "small metal stupa standing 16¼ inches high . . . [the] top most finial of the surmounting umbrella [missing] . . . 3 tiers . . . each central panel being flanked by seated figures, apparently Bodhisattvas, among which may be recognized Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi [on the lower of 3 tiers]" which is square. Tier 2 is octagonal and shows the Buddha-life scenes. "Above this is a dome-like top, surmounted by a chattri of eight discs". (ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLIV, a.) (*idem.*)

2. Bodhisattva, 6½" seated on a lotus, right hand holding a sword, the left a lotus.
3. Bronze [Vajrapāṇi?], 5¾" seated on lotus, holding chain with vajra attached to each end.
4. "An unusual object in stone", flat. Kuvera "sitting in a circle of eight other little Kuveras, all squatting with legs apart to make room for their panucles [sandals]". (*idem.*)
5. An Avalokiteśvara "with necklace, garland, crown, and bracelets of silver, the remainder of the figure being in bronze". (*idem.*)
6. Metal "horn of plenty" possibly "part of a large bell". (*idem.*)

1926-27

No list.

1927-28

Monastery No. 1:

1. A bronze votive stupa.
2. An 8-armed Tārā. (Plate XLIV a. and b.)
3. A Kuvera, 3¾" stone
4. An inscribed votive stūpa "of polished stone" having an umbrella and 10 tiers, 5½". (160)
5. Two "Sivaite images" of 4-armed females standing "flanked at the foot with a lion and a bull . . ." 3¾" and 3". (*idem.*)
6. A Ganeṣa in visāla-mudrā, 3¾".
7. Also found there were: "a number of pieces of chain armour and a spearhead 6¼""; cowrie shells; "a broken part of a silver signet finger-ring, with indecipherable seal"; a "leaf-shaped gold ornament decorated in repoussé with floral designs", 2"; padlocks and keys and a "potter's square stone slab for rounding the bottoms of 'gharās'." (161)

Monastery No. 6 :

1. A hand of large a bronze image 6" "from wrist to finger tip. . . ." (160)
2. A stone Avalokiteśvara, 4 arms, in visāla-mudrā, inscribed, 4¾", Devapāla period (?).
3. A Maitreya in varamudrā.
4. Viṣṇu, 7½"
5. Vajrapāṇi, 6"

1928-29

Monastery No. 4, from the Devapāla level:

1. Bronze Buddha, 8", in bhūmiḥśparsamudrā
2. Bronze Avalokiteśvara, 4¾";
3. Bronze Tārā, 5½", in varadamudrā
4. Bronze Kuvera, 2½"

5. Bronze votive stūpa, 4¾", and a
6. Stone Buddha, inscribed, 2½".
7. More padlocks; an "iron lamp-stand", 3-footed, 28", an "iron censer", 17" (145)
8. At the lower level were found cowrie shells, "pieces of crystal", a gold coin of Kumerāgupta Mahendra I (A.D. 413-455), the latter recovered from the northeast corner. (idem.)

1929-30

Monastery No. 1:

1. Seated bronze Vajrapāṇi (?). Kuraishsi says, "this deity . . . was introduced into the Buddhist Pantheon when Tantrism grew more popular amongst the Buddhists". (202) (Plate XXXIII, d.)

Monastery No. 8, in Devapāla level cell:

1. Bronze Padmapāṇi (?) [queries in text], seated, in abhayamudrā, 12¾". (Plate XXXIII, a.)
2. Buddha, bronze gilt, 12". (Plate XXXIII, b.)
3. Bronze Avalokiteśvara (?), 20¾". (Plate XXIV, a.)
4. Bronze Tārā. (Plate XXXIV, b.)
5. Also found in this cell were a Buddha, 9", seated, in dharmacakramudrā, a standing gilt Tārā, in varadamudrā, 19¾", and 8" inscribed pedestal and a "gilt waistband . . . 13" long and decorated with a scroll and chain design". (201) And at the "east end of the new approach road" were found "2 sicles, 1 kundāli and an axe head . . . [and] rude stone figures of Tārā and Mahīshāsūramardīnī, a head of a Bodhisattva figure, and a hone for shaping implements". No dates for these artefacts are given. (idem.)
6. A 4" axe head".
7. An 8" "carved knife with handle".
8. A 9" "cooking spoon"
9. "Two cattle bells" 6" & 4½"
10. "A number of door-hinges and fittings". (idem.)

1930-32

Chaitya No. 12:

1. Stone Buddha in dharmacakramudrā, 7¾".
2. Stone Buddha in bhūmiśparsamudrā, 10¾".
3. Stone Avalokiteśvara, 2'7", taken from a niches on one of the stūpas southeast of the main site (Chaitya No. 12), in varadamudrā, with "Kurukullā and Bhrikuti", inscribed and bearing the names of the donors, possibly 10th century. (Plate CXXXVIII, a.) (272)

4. A "headless bull or buffalo seated on a pedestal", 11½" x 7". (*idem.*)
5. A bronze torso of a four-armed image.
6. Seals and plaques.
7. Fragments of a Tārā, 5½".
8. A stone linga, 14½".

1932-33

1. Three bronze Buddha images, 22¼", 20¼" and 18" respectively. (Plate CXXXIV, c.) The eyes and ūrnā are "inlaid in silver" which Chandra suggests shows Indo-Javanese "stylistic affinity". (274)
2. Vajrapāṇi, 8". At the four corners of the pedestal are "four small red rubies". Holes found in other images suggest they were inlaid with gems. (Plate CXXXV, b.)
3. Trailokyavijaya, 8", four heads and eight arms, trampling Śiva and Parvatī. (Plate CXXXV, a.)
4. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Tārās, some of which were "masterpieces" and others "products of 'mass manufacture' or primitive craftsmen". (275) (Plates CXXXIV- CXXXVII)
5. A "red stone image", three heads and six arms, with a "rosary, bow, arrow, etc.; his two original hands holding a *vajra*. The deity is attended by his *saktī* to his left and is seen clasping her with one of his hands. The *saktī* is white, Vairocana [?], inscribed with the Buddhist creed". (*idem.*)
6. 600 seals, some relating to nearby villages, bearing the Nālandā inscription; others containing stūpas, Buddha images, Kuvera, with the Buddhist creed; some with personal names, such as the Devapāla seal (Plate CXXXIX, c.); some showing an "emaciated figure of the Buddha" (Plate CXXXIX, second row from the bottom). (277)
7. A terracotta plaque 4" x 4", with the pratītya-samutpāda in 6th century script inscribed on it.

1933-34

Monasteries Nos. 10 and 11, and Chaitya No. 12:

1. A stone Trailokyavijaya, 4¼", trampling only Śiva, not Śiva and Parvatī as it says in the text. (Plate CXLI, 15) (278)
2. Vajrapāṇi, 4". (Plate CXLI).
3. Red sandstone Buddhas in dharmacakramudrā (Plate CXLI, 14, 16) (379)
4. Two stone Simhanāda Mañjuśrīs, 5½" and 2½" respectively. (CXLI, 3 and 2)
5. Revanta (Son of Surya) on horseback, 4¼"

6. Stone male figure, 1¾", holding a lotus "which rises out of his navel" under a "canopy of a three-hooded serpent". (Plate CXLI, 13) (idem.)

1934-35

Monastery No. 11:

1. Māyā Devi [?] (Plate XVII, f.) (80)
 2. "Nun Somā standing on a pedestal bedecked with Vajras and reclining elephants in the four corners and holding in both hands a long branch of a tree". (Plate XVII, e.) (idem.)
 3. Padmapani with attendants "including Hārīti holding a child". (idem.)
 4. A bronze stūpa, 3¾", "with a flight of steps on all four sides of the platform which contains holes perhaps indicating the existence of four subsidiary stupas [sic.] in the corners". (idem.)
 5. A Buddha with a bronze "head, halo with pedestal, the body in carnelian". (Plate XVII, g.) (idem.)
6. Seals (Plate XVII, d.) and miscellaneous artefacts (Plate XVII, be. and c.)

1935-36

No list

1936-37

No list

1937-38

No list

APPENDIX III

1. I-tsing's List of Chinese Monks at Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Reference: Chavannes, Mémoires, Paris: 1894, passim.

Numbers refer to I-tsing's (Chavannes') listings. (Page numbers in parentheses.)

1. Dharma Master ("Maitre de la loi") Hiuen-tchao. He spent three years at Nālandā, at the school of Vinaya Master Jinaprabha, studying śāstrās relating to the Madhyamaka doctrine, and at the school of Ratnasimha studying 17 points of yoga, or meditation techniques. (17-18)
2. Dharma Master Tao-li. At Nālandā he studied Mahāyāna. (29) "Ce qu'il avait pris en Chine de soūtras et de çāstras, ancien et nouveaux, soit plus de quatre cents rouleaux, sont tous dans le temple *Na-lan-t'ouo* (Nālanda [sic.]). (30)
4. Ngo-li-yé-po-mouo (Korean; Sanskrit name: Aryavarman). He understood śāstrās on the vinaya (discipline) and copied vast numbers of sūtras. He died at Nālandā at over seventy. (32)
5. Hoi-yé (Korean). He spent a long time at Nālandā listening to the exposition of doctrine ("entendre les explications"), and wrote many books in Sanskrit. He died at Nālandā at about 60 years of age. (34)
10. Fo-t'ouo-ta-mouo (Turkestani; Sanskrit name: Buddhadharma). I-tsing saw him at Nālandā, but does not say why he was there. (37)
12. Dharma Master Tao-cheng. Like other monks, he had made the rounds venerating caityas and then went to Nālandā. I-tsing says: "Il fut fort honoré et estimé par le prince royal". (39) But the person in question is not identified.
32. Vinaya (Meditation) Master Ta-tch'eng-teng (Mahāyāna-pradipa). He appears to have only visited Nālandā in his travels. (72)
41. Master Hoi-luen. (Full text follows.)
42. Dharma Master Tao-lin (Sanskrit name: Śīlaprabhā). He researched and studied Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstrās for several years. I-tsing reports that he delved into "la science du recueil des prières magiques". (101) I-tsing says that he also tried it but did not get very far. This seems to have been done within the context of Sarvāstivāda meditation. (104)

(I-tsing's list of monks, cont.)

46. Vinaya Master ("Maitre de la discipline") Hiuen-k'oei. I-tsing met him at Nālandā where he (I-tsing) was staying for a year studying Sanskrit and practicing the Śabda-vidyā-śāstrā. (122) I-tsing travelled west with the Master and 20 monks from Nālandā during which I-tsing was attacked by robbers but managed to escape and return to Nālandā. I-tsing goes on to say that he was 10 years at Nālandā studying sacred texts. (123)
48. Master Ling-yun (Sanskrit name: Praññādēva). He came to India with Meditation Master Seng-tché. While at Nālandā he painted an image of Maitreya and of the Bodhi tree which he took back with him to his home. He also made a number translations. (127)
51. Dharma Master Tche-hong, the nephew of Ambassador Wang Hiuen-t'sé (who went to the court of Harsha in A.D. 648). At Nālandā he studied Mahāyāna doctrine. (136-37)
52. Dhyāna Master Ou-hing (Sanskrit name: Praññādēva). At Nālandā he studied Yoga " . . . et s'y exerça à la contemplation centrale (vipaṣyana). Il savoura avec attention les *liu-che* (koṣas); il s'enquit profondément des règles de la discipline". (145) With great sorrow, I-tsing saw the Master off when he left Nālandā. (147)

2. I-tsing's Description of Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Reference: Chavannes, op. cit

[Paragraphs given in brackets]

[1] One arrives at the temple Na-lan-to (Nālandā) about seven yojanas north east of the Mahābodhi temple. Initially it had been built by King Śakraditya for the monk Rājavamṣa of north India. The original perimeter of this temple was only 50 feet (paces) square. Subsequently successive kings in emulation built it bigger and bigger, so much so that today there is no more beautiful temple than this one in all of India. One cannot give all the dimensions in detail but I am quickly going to describe the main features. (84-85)

[2] The shape of this monastery is roughly that of a square like the earth. On the four sides, the edge of the steep, jutting roof forms long covered galleries which go all around the building. All of these buildings are of brick; they are three storeys high, each storey being more than ten feet high. The transverse beams are tied together by planks; a walkway has been made not of rafters or tiles but of bricks. All the temples are perfectly aligned so that one can come and go without any difficulty. The back wall of the building constitutes the outside wall. On the top (of the back wall) human heads of natural proportion are represented. (85)

[3] As for the living quarters of the monks, there are nine on each side. Each cell has a surface area of about 10 square feet. At the back is a window which goes up to the edge of the roof. Although the doors are high, they are made as a single swinging door so that the monks can all see each other. They are not permitted to use blinds. From the outside (of the cell), looking at the whole, one sees all four sides at one time. Thus a mutual surveillance can be maintained. How would it be possible to do anything in secret? At the top of one of the angles (corners) is a suspended way which permits coming and going in the temple. At each of the four corners there is a room built of brick. These are the cells of the learned and venerable monks. (85-86)

[4] The gate of the temple faces west. Its top floor goes right into the sky, which quite takes one's breath away. Its marvellous sculptures go to the limits of art and ornamentation. This gate is attached to the building. It was not originally made separately, but two feet (paces) in front of it they have put four columns (making a porch). Although the gate is not very high, its framework is very strong. (86)

[5] Each mealtime they take away the locks of all the doors. In effect, it is the aim of the religion to avoid

hidden things [in effect, to keep the monks from stealing food offerings from the temple and taking them to their cells].

[6] Inside the monastery large areas of more than 30 feet are paved in brick. The smaller spaces of 5-10 feet and all the areas which cover the rooms which are on the roof, in front of the verandah or in the cells are paved in the following way. Brick fragments as big as peaches or mangoes are mixed with a sticky paste, and are crushed to the same consistency. The builders make a mixture of fibres of hemp to which they add oil with the residue of the hemp and the remains of old hides. They keep it moist for three days. Then they spread this mixture on the place filled the crushed brick mixture. The whole thing is covered with green grass. After about three days they look to see if it has dried. The (dried) surface is rubbed several times with polished stones. They sprinkle (the finished floor) with red earth or a substance similar to sandalwood. Finally, with a greasy mixture they make it smooth and clear like a mirror. All the rooms and the steps of the stairs are made in this way. When it is finished, it will withstand the trampling of feet over a period of 10-20 years without suffering any damage. It is not like lime which flakes when it becomes wet. They (also) cover the precinct walls with whitewash. (86-87)

[7] There are no less than eight temples made like this. On the top of all of them there is a flat terrace where one can walk. The dimensions of each all are similar. On one side of each temple the monks have chosen a building, sometimes one-storeyed, sometimes three-storeyed, for holy images. Or, at a certain distance in front of one east side there has been constructed an observatory in the form of a terrace which serves as the room of the Buddha.

[8] On the west side of the temple, outside the large enclosure, some large stupas have been constructed and lots of caityas. There are 100 of them. The sacred relics, too many to enumerate, are crowded together. Gold and precious stones form a brilliant ornamentation: in truth, there are few places as perfect.

[The following section, paragraphs #9-18 are devoted to I-tsing's comments on religious practices. In paragraph #19 Chavannes indicates that a page on which there was illustrated a model of Nālandā Mahāvihāra is missing.]

[20] Here is the model of Srī-Nālandā-mahā-vihāra. Translated into Chinese the name means: "The great, happy residence of the sacred nāgā". (In the western countries, when one speaks of a king, or of some high official or of the buildings of a great temple, one puts first the particle, srī in order to convey the idea of happiness and fortune.) Nālandā is the name of a nāgā. Near there, in fact, was a nāgā by the name of Landa. It is from it that the name came. P'i-ho-louo (vihāra) in the sense of a residence; those who say "temple" have not made an exact

translation. [Chavannes' note here says: "Le vihāra est la résidence des moines".] (93-94)

[21] When one looks at one of the temples, one sees that the seven others are identical in plan. They all have flat terraces on top where people can come and go. (*idem.*)

[22] If one wants to examine the form of the monastery as a whole, then it has to be seen from the west. It is by going west outside one gate that you get the best idea of the overall form. (94)

[23] At 20 feet (paces) to the south of the gate, to the side of the path, there is a stūpa which is 100 feet high. It is there that the Buddha spent three summer months in retreat. The Sanskrit name of this building is Mūla-gandha kotī, which signifies in Chinese the perfumed chamber of the first order. (*idem.*)

[24] More than 50 feet (paces) to the north of the gate there is another stūpa which was made by King Bālāditya. Both [of these stūpas] are built of brick. The ornamentation they are covered with is remarkably delicate. One finds beds of gold and the floors are made of precious stone. The offerings are of rare beauty. In the centre there is an image of the Tathāgata turning the Wheel of the Law. Further to the southwest, there is a little caitya which is about 10 feet high. That is where a Brahman holding a bird in his hand asked some questions [of the Buddha]. That is was they call in Chinese the pagoda of the oriole. (94-95)

[25] West of the Mūla-gandha-kotī is the Buddha's toothbrush tree. It is not a willow tree. (95)

[26] Further to the west, by the side of the road, is the altar of the 10 prohibitions [where the novices entered into the order]. It is more than 10 feet each side at the widest part. It consists of a brick wall more than two feet high which is built on a flat surface. Inside the enclosure is a place to sit down, about five thumbs high. In the centre is a small caitya. East of the altar in a corner of the room is a place where the Buddha walked. It is made of bricks and is about two cubits [the length of a forearm] long, 14-15 (cubits) high. Here lotus flowers have been planted (in an area) two cubits high and more than a foot wide. There are 14-15 of them. They mark the Buddha's footprints. (96)

[27] The south side of this temple looks towards the royal town (Kuśagārapura) [Rajgir] which is 30 li [or roughly 6 miles -- 1 li = roughly 5 miles] away. [Bodh-Gayā is given as southwest (7 yojanas -- 1 yojana = 7 miles); Vaiśālī as 25 yojanas to the north; Mrigadāva as 20 yojanas to the west, and the state of Tāmralipti was 60-70 yojanas to the east.]: Mrigavana [Varanasi?] given as more than 40 yojanas to the east of Nālandā, not far from which is to be found the remains of the foundations of the temple of China (Tche-na)] (97)

[28] The monks living here number 3,500. There are 200 villages supporting the monastery [the French here is: "qui dépendent d'eux"] -- these men and these lands having been given to its perpetual support by generations of rulers. (idem.)

[29] Additional reflection: the nāgā tank and the tortoise bath are places also as far from us [meaning Nālandā?] as the eastern sky from the water. -- On the road are distant horsemen [riders from distant places? or in the distance?]. -- On the route, travellers encounter difficulties that prevent their coming [such as attacks by robbers, as I-tsing experienced]. -- Only today one heard about it, but few people have actually seen them. -- The image [of the Buddha, but we do not know where it was] was decorated by a special artist; -- the proportions and the appearance were well shown. -- According to the likeness, one paints old [images], but one marvels seeing them as if they were new. -- Doubtless those who see them will be full of admiration, their spirit uplifted, as if the Buddha were there in person. (97-98)

3. Ki Ye's Description of Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Reference: "L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki Ye dans l'Inde". E. Huber, BEFEO, 1902, 3, Jul.- Sept., 256-259.

À quinze li au Nord [de Rājagriha] se trouve le monastère de Na-lan-to (Nālanda). Au Sud et au Nord de ce monastère il y a plusieurs dizaines d'autres monastères; chacun a sa porte tournée vers l'Ouest. Au Nord se trouve le siège des quatre Buddhas [sic.]. Ayant fait quinze li dans la direction du Nord-Est il arriva au couvent de Wou-tchen-t'euou. À cinq li au Sud-Est de là il y a une image d'Avaloketeçvara. De là il fit dix li dans la direction du Nord-Est il arriva au monastère des Kaçmiriens [Kashmiris]. Au Sud, à une distance de huit li environ de ce monastère Chinois douze li dans la direction le l'Est il arriva à la montagne Kio-t'i-ki. De là à soixante-dix li à l'Oest il y a le monastère du Pigeon [reference to Julien, Mémoires, III, 61]. À cinquante li au Nord-Est de là se trouve le monastère occidental des Tche-na (Cīna); c'est l'ancien monastère des Chinois. Ayant fait cent li dans la direction Nord-Ouest il arrivera à la ville de Hona-che (Kusumapura = Pāṭaliputra), qui est l'ancienne capitale du roi Açoka. De là il traversa le fleuve [Ganges] et arriva à la ville de Pi-ye-li (Vaiçāli). Là se trouvent les ruines du monastère de Wei-mo (Vimalakīrti). De là il alla à la ville de Kiu-che-na (Kuçinagara) et au village de To-lo. (259) (Fig. 13)

Illustrations

Chapter IV

- 4.1 Drawing based on Buchanan's 1812 description of Baragang
- 4.2 Overlay noting illustrations of Buchanan's finds in Martin's Eastern India.
- 4.3 Sketches from Martin of Buchanan's finds.
- 4.4 Jackson's sketch of Buchanan's route in Patna and Gaya.
- 4.5 Kittoe's sketch of Fa-hien's route through Bihār.

Chapter V

- 5.1 Photograph of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.
- 5.2 Cunningham's map of Fa-hien's and Hiuen Tsiang's routes.
- 5.3 Cunningham's ASIR Sketch of Nālandā.
- 5.4 Drawing based on Broadley's Sketch of Nālandā.
- 5.5 Overlay: Location of Broadley's sculptural finds. (Martin's Listings), [Buchanan's Listings].
- 5.6 Broadley's finds. (Martin's plates) [Buchanan's references]
- 5.7 Broadley's hypothetical reconstruction of Tope No. IV.
- 5.8 Drawing based on Broadley's diagram of Tope. No. IV.
- 5.9 Overlay: Broadley's notes on Tope No. IV.
- 5.10 Beglar's Map of Bihār.

Chapter VI

- 6.1 Find from Stupa No. 3, 1917-18. ASIAR, I, Plate XIV, b.
- 6.2 Survey map of the Nālandā site, 1918-19.
- 6.3 Excavations, 1919-20, ASIAR Eastern Circle, Plate I.
- 6.4 Finds at Stupa No. 3, 1919-20, ASIAR I, Plate XX.
- 6.5 Excavations 1920-21, ASIAR, Drawing No. 157, 158.
- 6.6 Copper-plate grant of Devapāla Period. Bihār and Orissa Photographic Album 493/85, New Delhi. Obverse: 2409.
- 6.7 Views of Stupa No. 3, 1925-26, ASIAR, Plate XLVIII.
- 6.8 Plan of Stupa No. 3, 1925-26, ASIAR, Plate XLVII.
- 6.9 Stupa No. 3 ASIAR, 1926-27, Plate VI.
- 6.10 Stucco figures, Stupa No. 3, ASIAR, 1926-27, Plates VII, b. and VIII, d.
- 6.11 Small tower, Stupa No. 3, ASIAR, 1926-27, Plate VIII, c.
- 6.12 Monastery No. 6, ASIAR 1927-28, Plate X.
- 6.13 Stupa No. 3, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate VII.
- 6.14 Plan of Stupa No. 3, showing stūpa positions, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLI.
- 6.15 East elevation of Stupa No 3, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLII.
- 6.16 Section through east façade, Stupa No. 3, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLIII.

Chapter VII

- 7.1 Plan of Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXIX.
- 7.2 Stone Avalokiteśvara from shrine north of Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXVIII, c.
- 7.3 Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate X, a. and c.
- 7.4 Monastery No. 9, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXX, b. and c.
- 7.5 Plan of Monastery No. 10, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXXII.
- 7.6 Finds from Monastery No. 9, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate CXXV, a. and b.
- 7.7 Coins found in Monastery No. 10, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXXV.
- 7.8 Monastery No. 11, ASIAR, 1934-35, Plate XVI, a. and b.

Chapter VIII

- 8.1 St. Martin's map of Hiuen Tsiang's Itinerary.
- 8.2 Cunningham's map I of Fa-hien's and Hiuen Tsiang's routes.
- 8.3 Hwui Li's and Hiuen Tsiang's disposition of saṃghārāmas
- 8.4 Variation of 8.3
- 8.5 Hwui Li's configuration of monuments.
- 8.6 Hiuen Tsiang's configuration of monuments.
- 8.7 Overlay of Hwui Li's configuration.
- 8.8 Overlay variation on 8.7.
- 8.9 Drawing based on Cunningham's Sketch, showing location of finds, according to Hiuen Tsiang.
- 8.10 I-tsing's configuration of monuments.
- 8.11 Overlay comparing Hiuen Tsiang's and Hwui Li's designations to I-tsing.
- 8.12 Heras' sketch of Hiuen Tsiang's description of Nālandā.

Chapter IX

- 9.1 Plan of Nālandā from Ghosh's Guide to Nālandā.



Figures and Overlays for Chapter IV

Figure 4.1 and Overlay 4.2

Key:

- Δ = Temple
- = Stūpa
- = Mound
- ◇ = Image (sculpture)

References: Chapter IV, 84; Appendix I, list 1, 223-24.
Jackson, Francis Buchanan. An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12, I, Patna, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, (n. d.), 220-226; II, 779.

The diagram is a sketch based on Buchanan's Survey description with reference to his map of the site (No. 150) and his own numbers for his sketches of the sculptures (Appendix I, List 1). which are herein given in Appendix I, in the general areas in which they were found. The map was not reproduced in either Martin's Eastern India or in Jackson's later edition of the Survey. But Jackson lists the drawings (II, 779); and Martin did reproduce the sketches, some of which are given in Overlay 4.2. Jackson says:

"By far the most conspicuous part of this ruin is an immense range of building[s] running north and south . . . for about 2000 feet, and in general about 240 feet wide. It has consisted of 7 nearly rectangular courts, surrounded by buildings [Priests' houses] commencing near its north end, together with a great mass of irregular buildings towards the south [Palace of the Andhra kings]". (222-223)

Figure 4.3

References: 84.

Martin, Eastern India, I, London, 1838, Plates XIV, XV.

This figure provides some of Martin's illustrations. Whether these were reproductions of Buchanan's original sketches or not cannot be known as the original material has not been found.

Figures for Chapter IV, 11.

Figure 4.4

References: 85.

Jackson, "The Bihar-Patna Journal of Francis Buchanan", JBORS, VIII, 1922, 150.

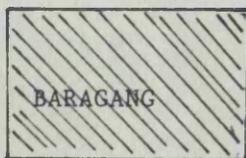
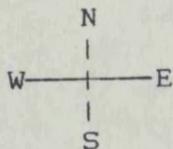
Jackson gives no source for his sketch which may have been taken from a larger, more detailed map of Zila Bihar, attributed to Buchanan, reproduced at the end of Francis Buchanan, An Account, II. The larger map does not show "Baragang", however. Baragaon on this sketch is to be found to the southwest of Bihār, to the north of Rajgir. Jackson's sketch may have been drawn to show Buchanan's actual route.

Figure 4.5

References: 87.

Kittoe, "Notes on Places in the Province of Behar supposed to be those described by Chy-Fa-Hien, the Chinese Buddhist Priest, who made a pilgrimage to India, at the close of the fourth century, A. D.", JASB, XVI, 1847, 953-970.

Kittoe does not identify Na-lo, the native village of Śāriputra, in his sketch. He does mention "Kondilpur" which he indicates is north of Burgaon.



164: Image of Brahma. XV, 3.

160, 161, 162: Inscribed 3 large Buddhas. XIV 1; 3.

Priests' Houses.



Jain temple in garden.

I. 7 Mounds.

XIV, 6.

K.* 163: "Batuk Bhairav".

* Opened for materials.

146: Collection of Buddhas.

166: Seated multi-armed female. XIV, 2.

167: Standing multi-armed female. XV, 1.

168: Large female trampling warrior.

L. stupas

M.

N.

Palace of the Andhra kings.

H. KAPATESWARI

159: Female on lion throne. XIV, 7.

153: Female with Buddha in crown. XV, 2.

156: Female with 2 attendants under 2 Buddhas. XIV, 4.

154: Goddess Kapateswari.

155: Female

157: Female tearing out tongues of captives.

YAGGNESPUR (Southwest, 1 mile)

XV, 4.

169: Buddha "Jagadamba" XIII.

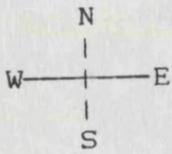
170: Multi-armed male with Buddha in crown.

171: Male, one leg over throne.

172: "Seshnag".

4.2. Overlay noting illustrations of Buchanan in Martin's Eastern India.

4.1 Drawing based on Buchanan's 1812 description of Baragang



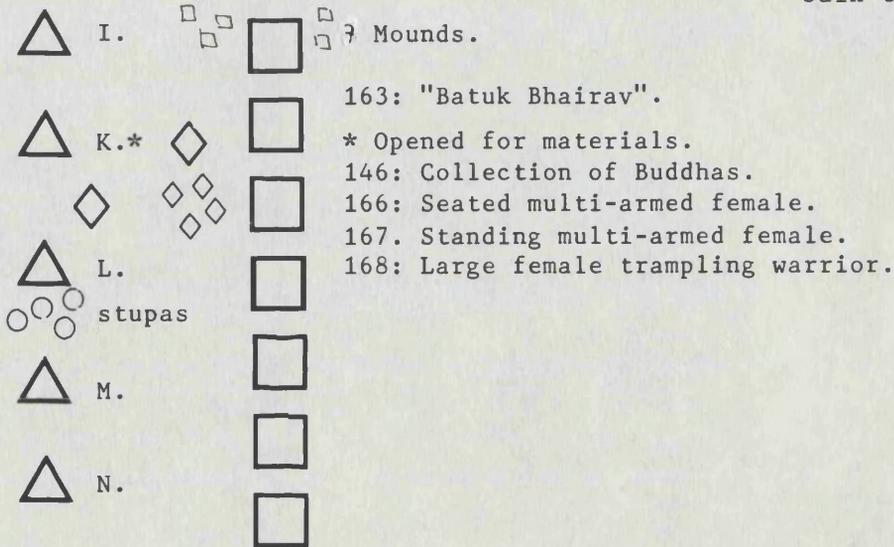
164: Image of
Brahma.

160, 161, 162: Inscribed 3 large Buddhas.



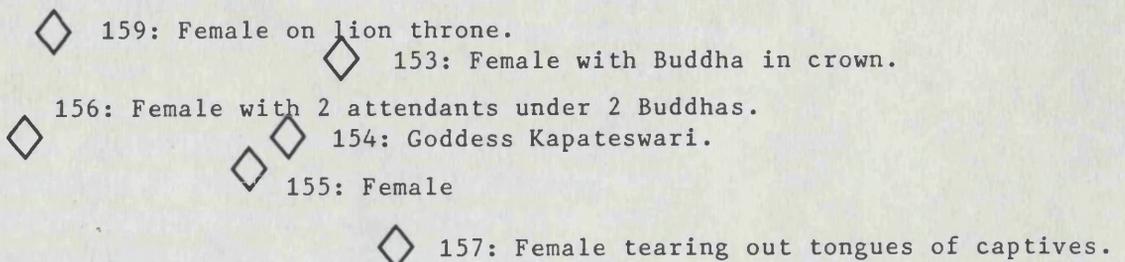
Jain temple in garden.

Priests' Houses.



Palace of the Andhra kings.

H. KAPATESWARI



YAGGNESPUR (Southwest, 1 mile)

- 169: Buddha "Jagadamba"
- 170: Multi-armed male with Buddha in crown.
- 171: Male, one leg over throne.
- 172: "Seshnag".



Great Muni at Barngang, called Batak Barung.

London 1878. W.H. Allen & Co. 7, Leadenhall St.

a. Plate XIV, 6.



A large Image from Batak Barroik.

b. Plate XV, 1.



Goddess in Kaptaswari - Barngang.

c. Plate XV, 2.



Image in Kaptaswari - Barngang.

d. Plate XV, 4.

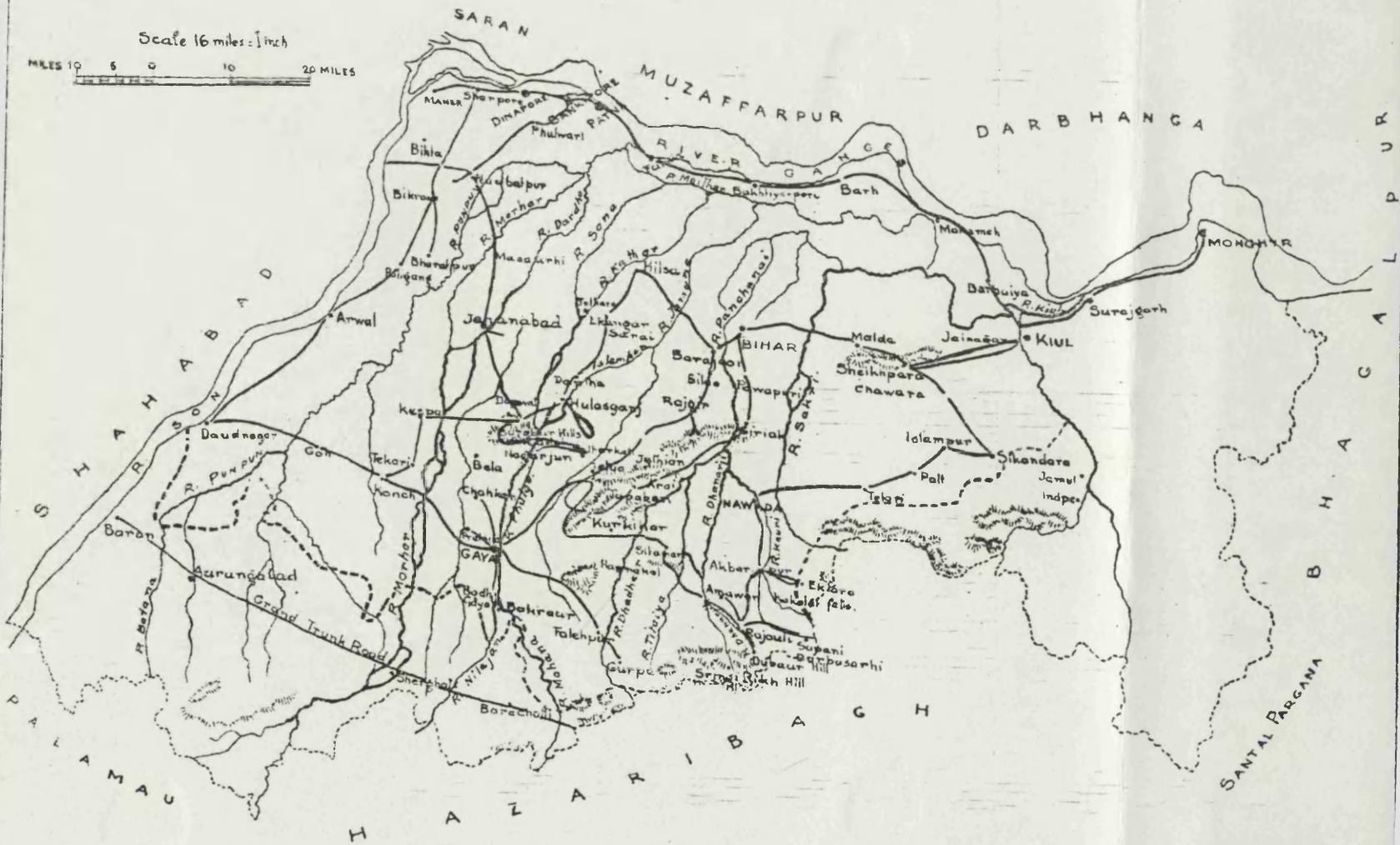
4.3 Sketches from Martin of Buchanan's finds.

Buchanan's Route in
Patna & Gaya

1811 - 1812

Scale 16 miles = 1 inch

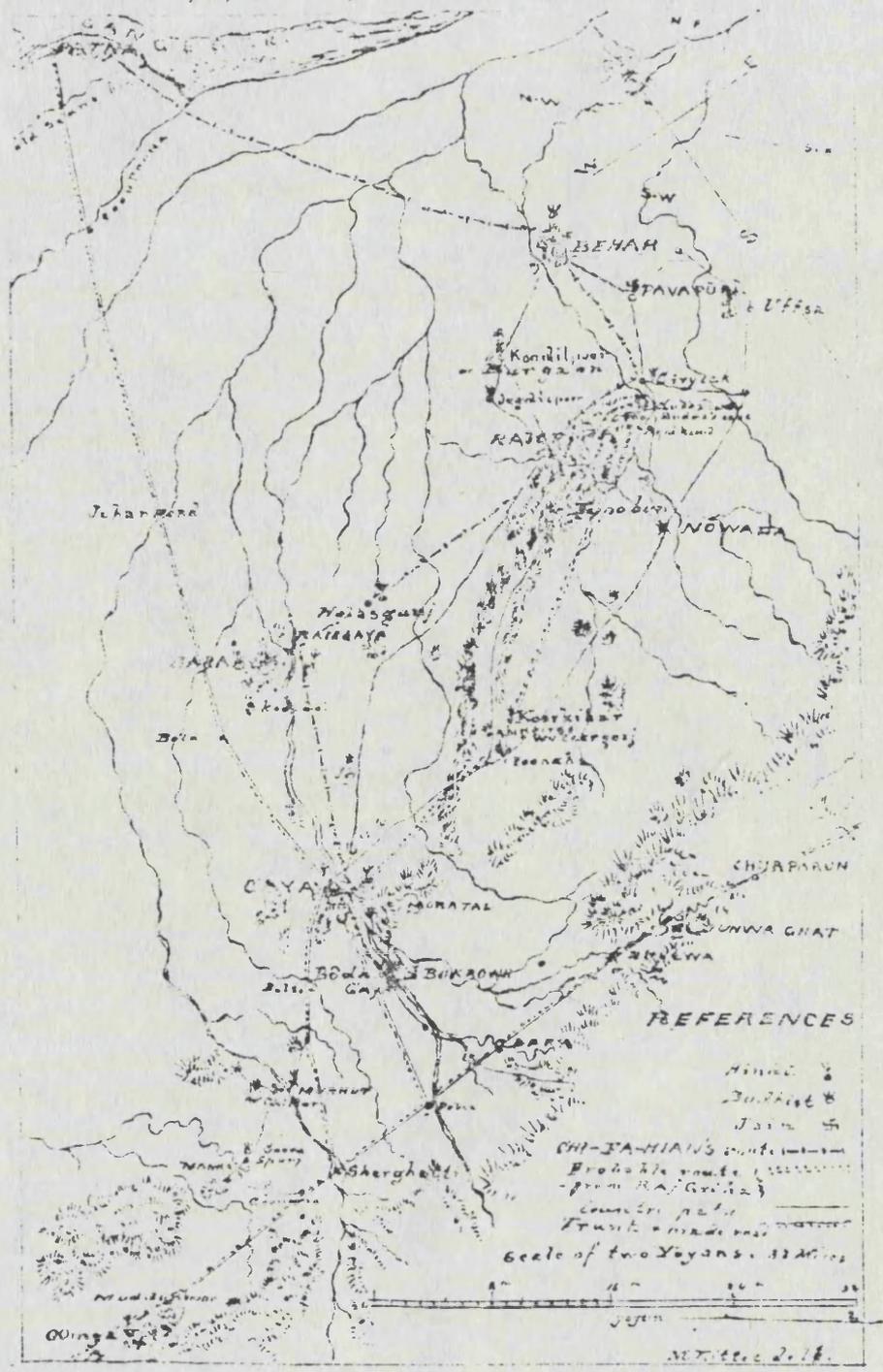
MILES 10 5 0 10 20 MILES



Zincographed in the B & D O. Guizaruag

4.4 Jackson's sketch of Buchanan's route in Patna and Gaya.

Map of part of India, Bihar and BEHAR.



4.5 Kittoe's sketch of Fa-hien's route through Bihār.



Figures and Overlays for Chapter V

Figure 5.1

Reference: Chapter V, 98.
S. M. Sastri, Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Calcutta, Chatterverthy, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 1924, Frontispiece.

Figure 5.2

References: 100.
Cunningham, ASIR, 1871-72, III, Calcutta, 1873, Plate XL.

Key:
- - - - - Fa-hien's route
----- Hiuen Tsiang's route

Figure 5.3

References: 101; Appendix I, List 2, 225.
Cunningham, ASIR, I, Plate XVI opposite 28.

Cunningham attempts to equate each of the mounds he found at Nālandā with specific buildings mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang. (See Fig. 8.4)

Figures 5.4 and 5.6, Overlay 5.5

Key:
O = Tope (Mound)
Shaded rectangle = Village
Numbered rectangle = "Court" (Monastery)
Cross-hatched square = Field
Pokar = Tank (solitary rectangle) or pond
Ghats (Suraj Pokar) = Piers or quays

References: 106; Appendix I, List 4, 227.
Broadley, The Ruins of the Nālanda Monasteries at Burgāon, Calcutta, 1872, opposite 4.
Martin, Eastern India, I, London, 1838, Plates XIV, XV.

The purpose of redrawing Broadley's 1872 sketch is to show its relationship to Cunningham's sketch (5.3). The overlay (5.5) suggests the possible relationship between his designations for finds --given in Roman numerals -- Martin's illustrations (Roman numerals and numbers) and Buchanan's sketch [numbers]. Their locations are approximations. It is apparent, however, that Buchanan and Cunningham and Broadley were all viewing essentially the same site.

Figures and Overlays for Chapter V, ii.

Figure 5.7

References: 106.

Broadley, "Buddhist Remains in Bihār", JASB, XLI, pt. 1, 3, 1872.
Plate IX opposite 222: "The Restored Elevation of the Great
Nālandā Temple".

Figure 5.8, Overlay 5.9

References: 107-109.

Broadley, Ruins, opposite 10.

Ghosh, Guide to Nālandā, Survey Plan. (See 9.1)

The figure in the upper right hand corner is a sketch from Ghosh's site map (Figure 9.1) showing the same site in 1930 when it was excavated by the ASI under the supervision of Kuraishi. (Chapter VII, 161; 163, 168.) Overlay 5.9 provides Broadley's descriptive information about the site from the text. (6-10)

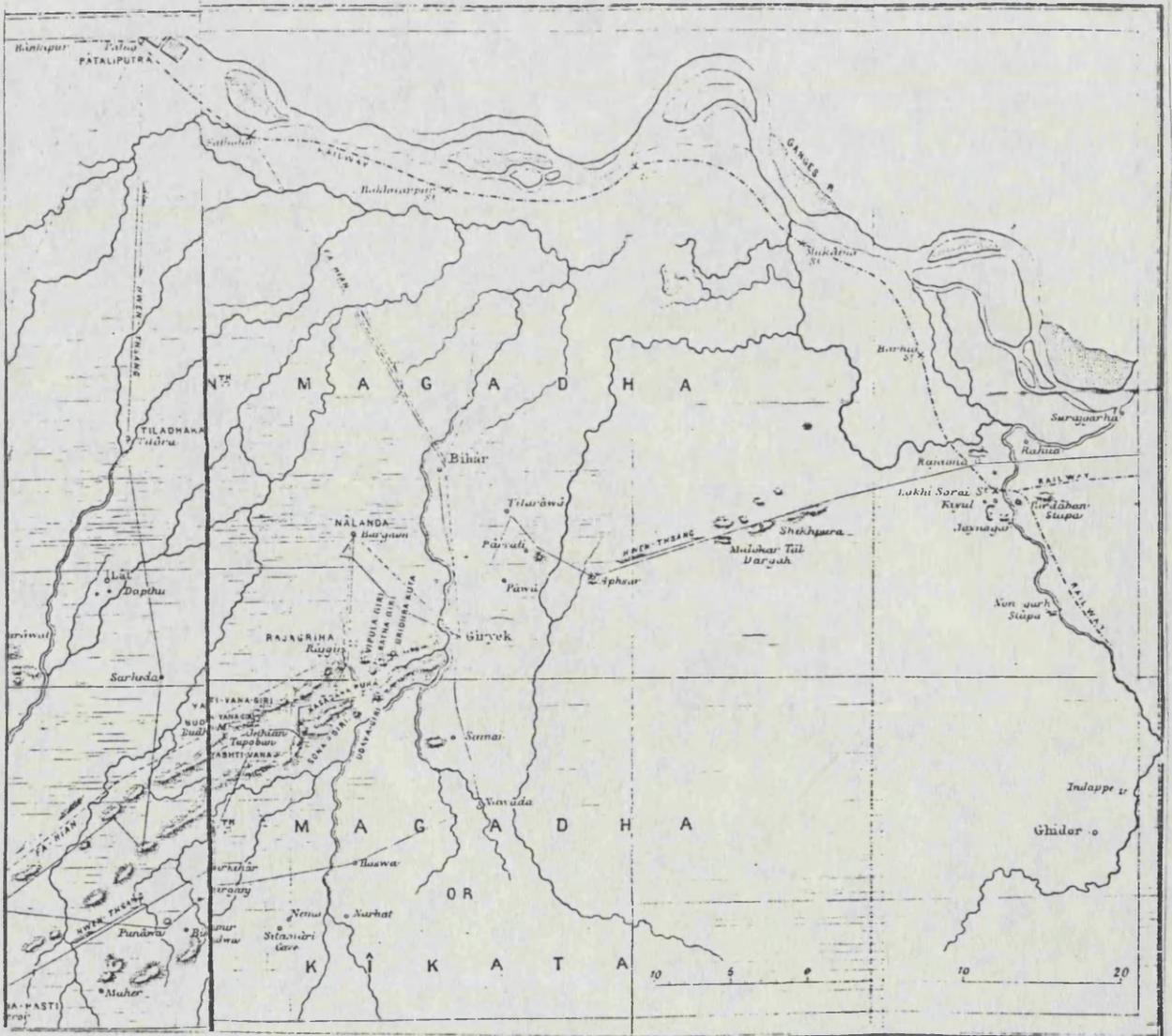
Figure 5.10

References: 112.

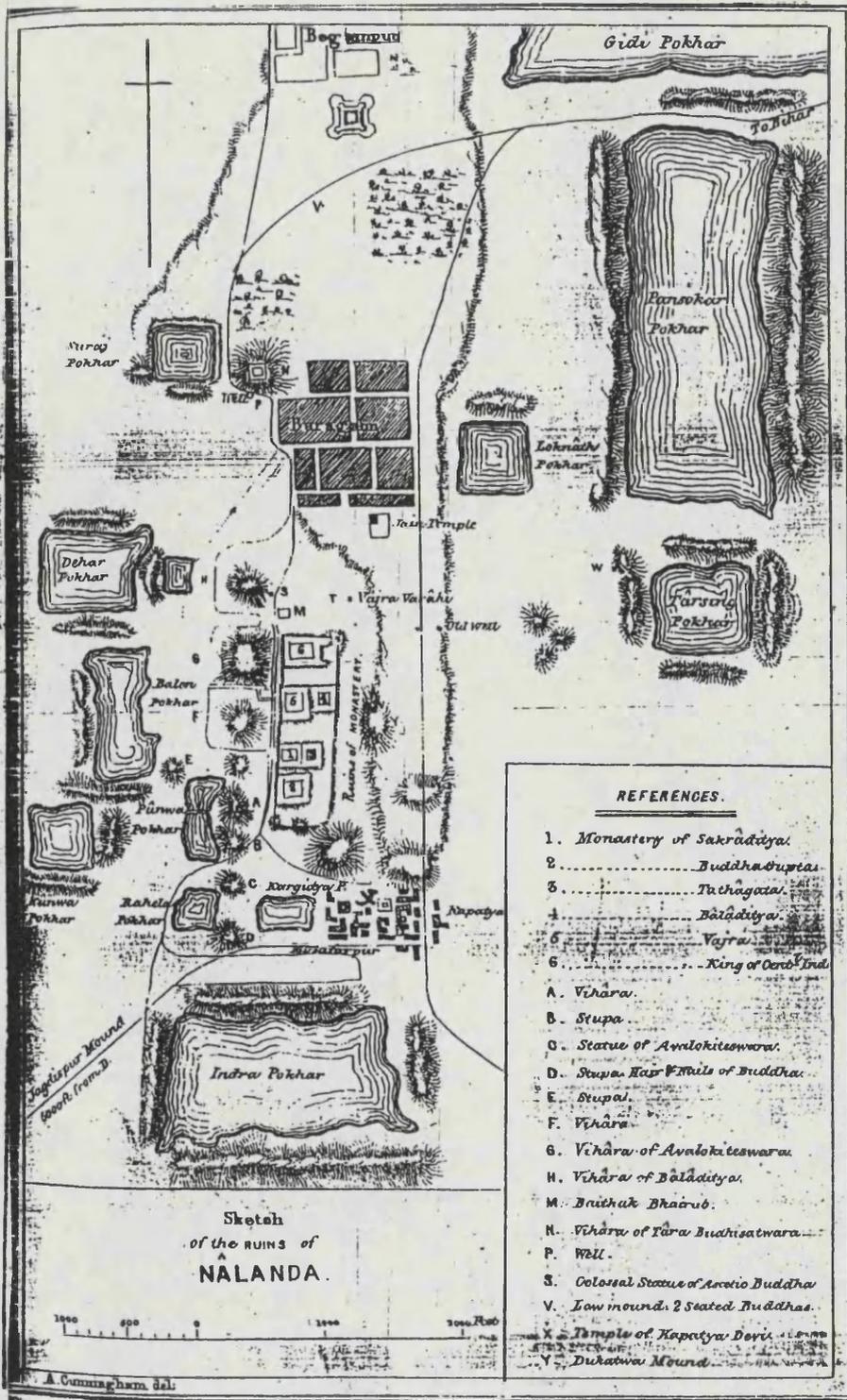
Belgar, ASIR, VIII, 1878, Plate I.



5.1 Photograph of Sir Alexander Cunningham.



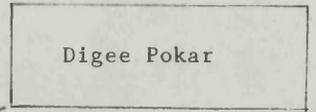
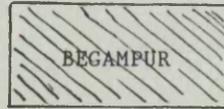
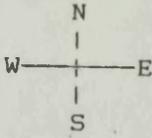
5.2 Cunningham's map of Fa-hien's and Hiuen Tsiang's routes.



- REFERENCES.
1. Monastery of Sakraditya.
 2. Buddha Stupas.
 3. Tachogata.
 4. Baladitya.
 5. Vajra.
 6. King of Oero Ind.
 - A. Vihara.
 - B. Stupa.
 - C. Statue of Avalokiteswara.
 - D. Stupa Has 4 Heads of Buddha.
 - E. Stupa.
 - F. Vihara.
 - G. Vihara of Avalokiteswara.
 - H. Vihara of Baladitya.
 - M. Brihatk Bhairub.
 - N. Vihara of Tara Budhisatwara.
 - P. Well.
 3. Colossal Statue of Aortic Buddha.
 - V. Low mound. 2 Seated Buddhas.
 - X. Temple of Kapatya Devi.
 - Y. Durawa Mound.

Lith. Surv. Genl. Office Cal. June 1871

5.3 Cunningham's ASIR Sketch of Nālandā.



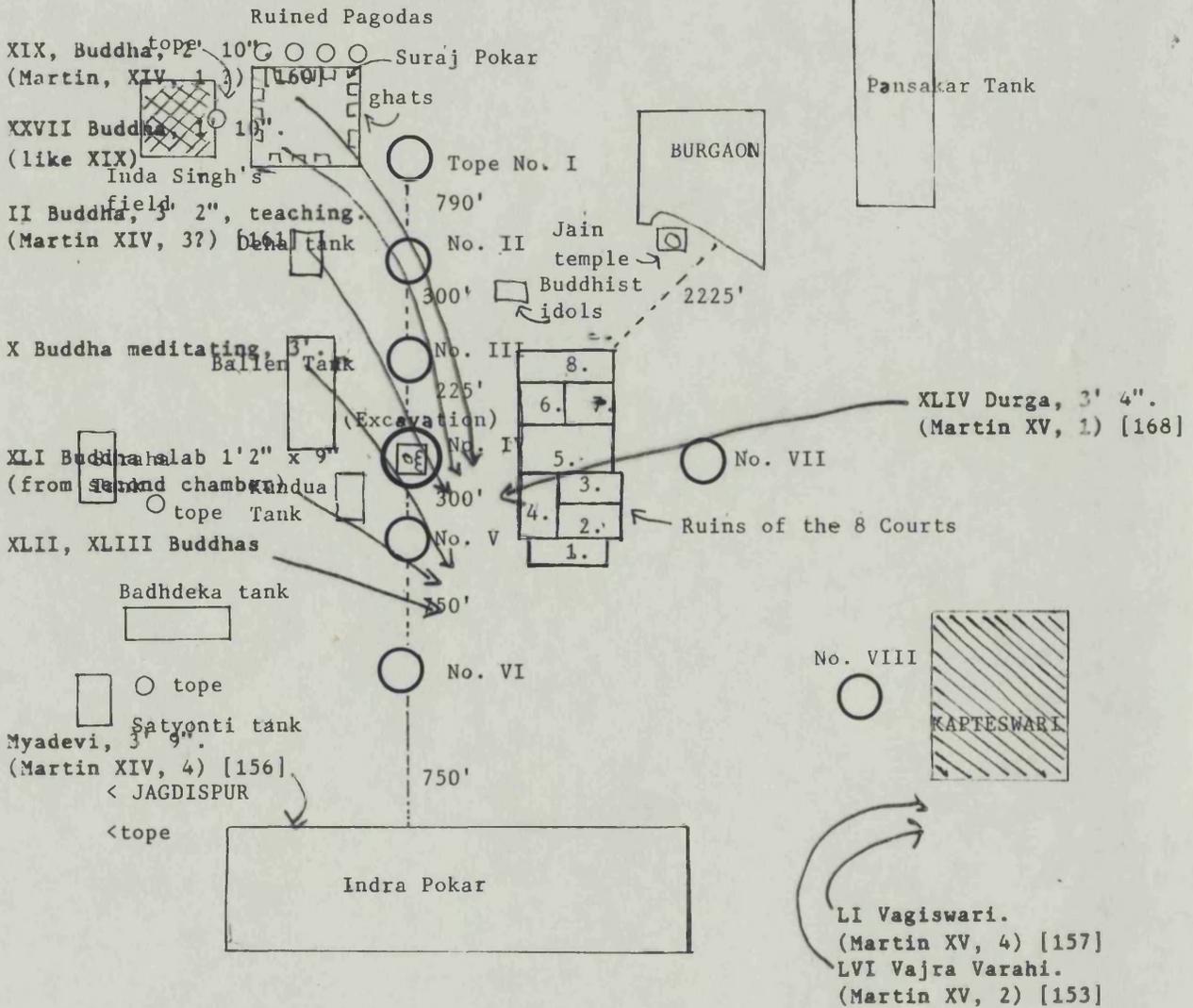
ruined fort



small topes

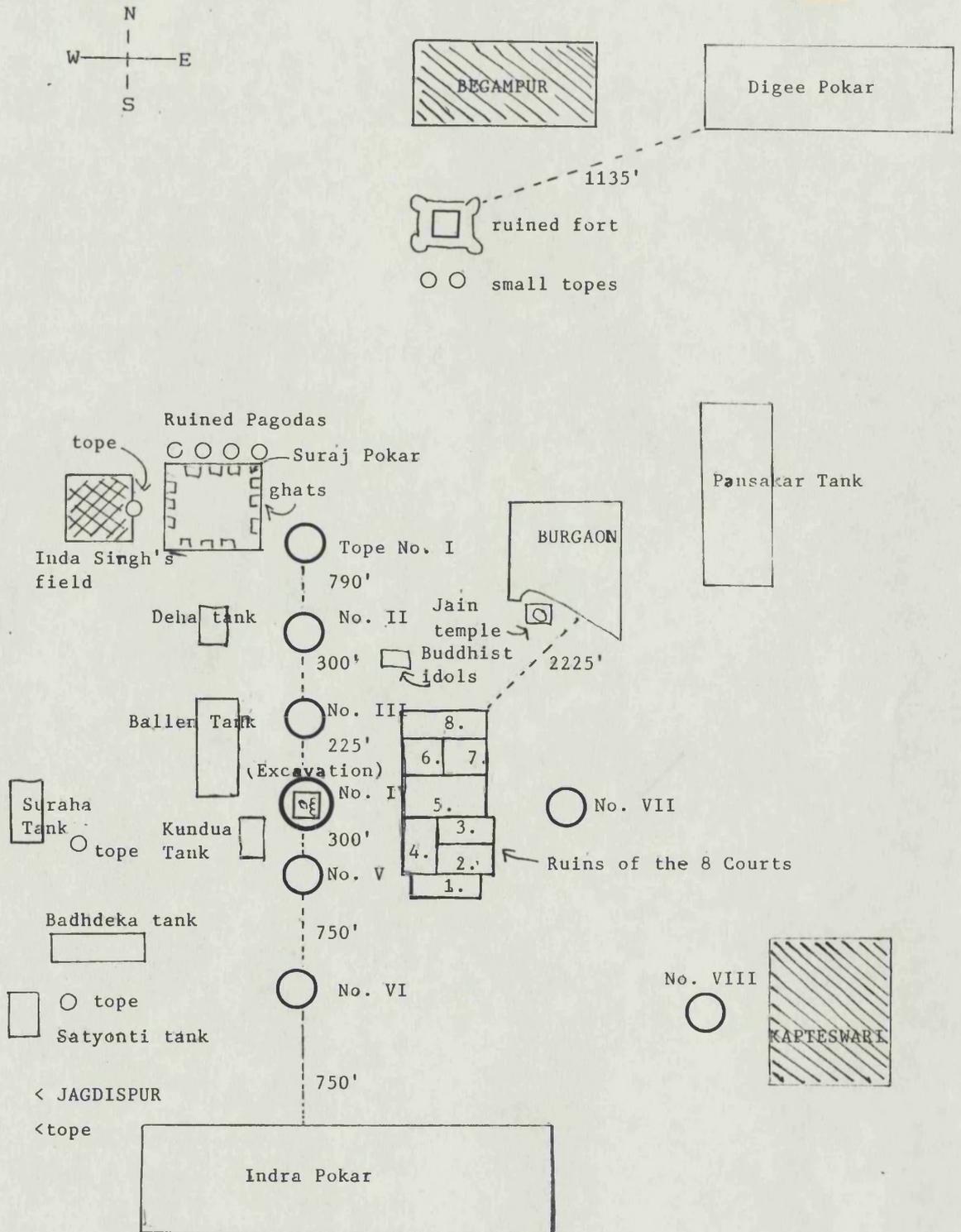
Viṣṇu on Garuda. ↗

1135'



5.4 Drawing based on Broadley's Sketch of Nālandā.

5.5 Overlay: Location of Broadley's sculptural finds.
(Martin's Listings) [Buchanan's Listings]



5.4 Drawing based on Broadley's Sketch of Nālandā.



a. XIX. Buddha. <
(XIV, 1) [160]

Murals near the Conical Mounds of Baragang.



> b. XLIV. Durgā.
(XV, 1) [168]

A large Image from Baitak Barroba.



c. II. Buddha teaching. <
(XIV, 3) [161]

A Rudrah from Mounds near Baragang.



> d. LI. Vagiswari.
(XV, 4) [157]

Image in Kaptswari. Baragang.



e. Myadevi. <
(XV, 4) [156]

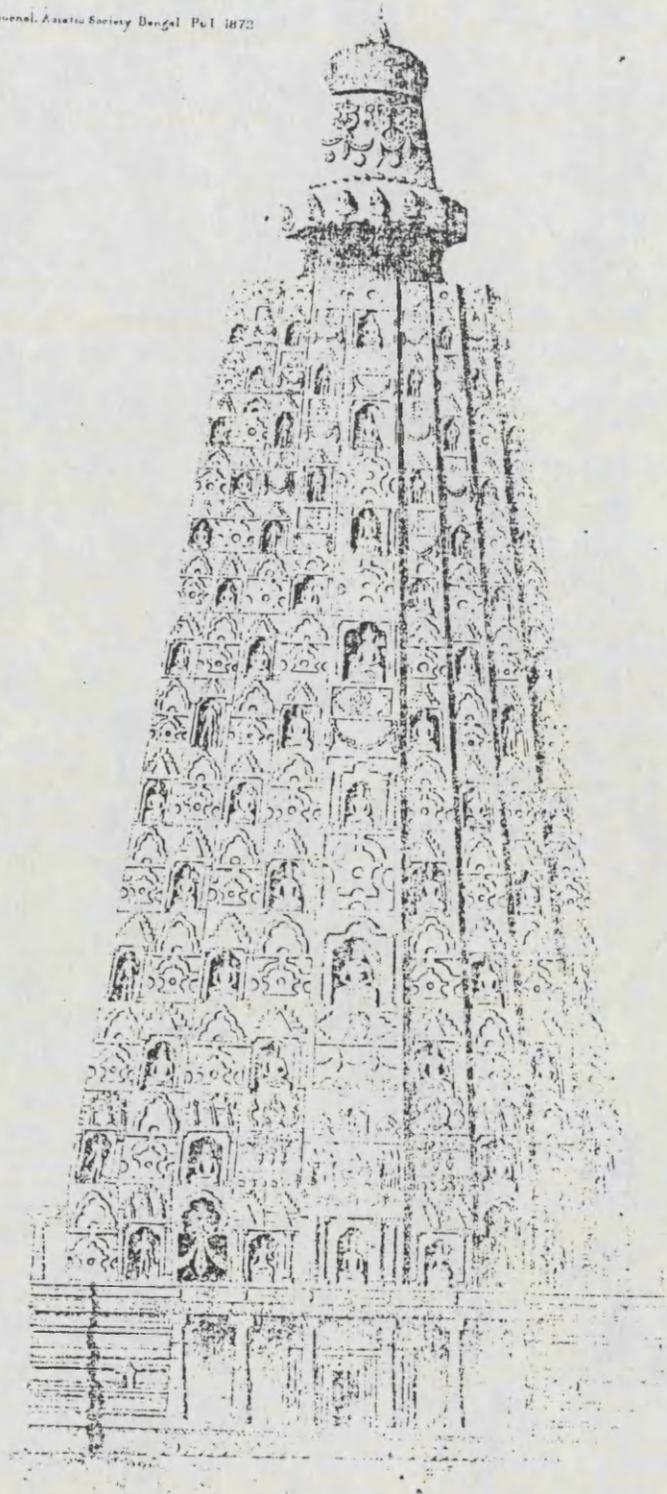
Goddeß near 2 Buddhs in Kaptswari.

> f. LVI. Vajra Vahāri.
(XV, 2) [153]



5.6. Broadley's finds
(Martin's plates)
[Buchanan's references]

Goddeß in Kaptswari. Baragang.

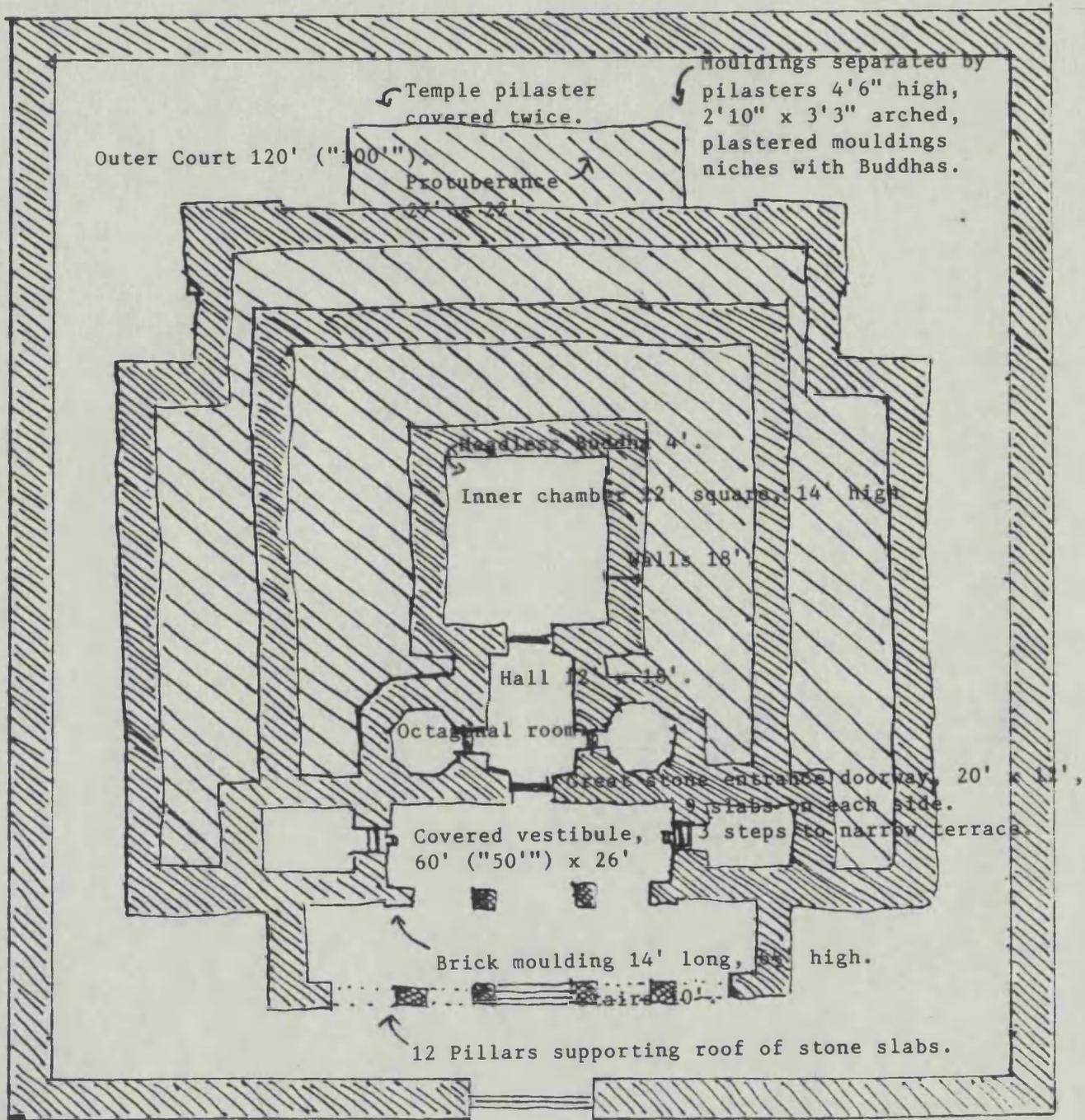
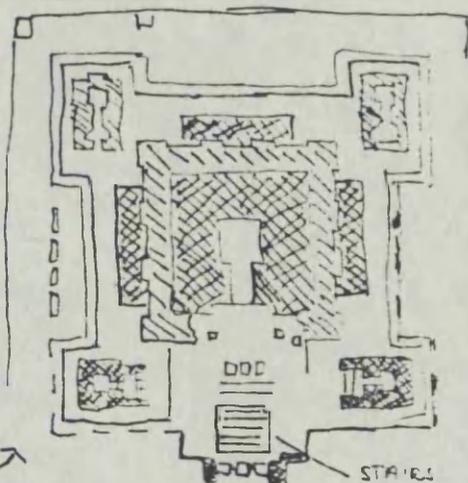


5.7 Broadley's hypothetical reconstruction of Tope No. IV.

From ASI site map: Chaitya Site No. 12.

5.9. Overlay: Broadley's notes on Tope No. IV.
(Based on JASB, Plate X, fig. 1, opp. 223)

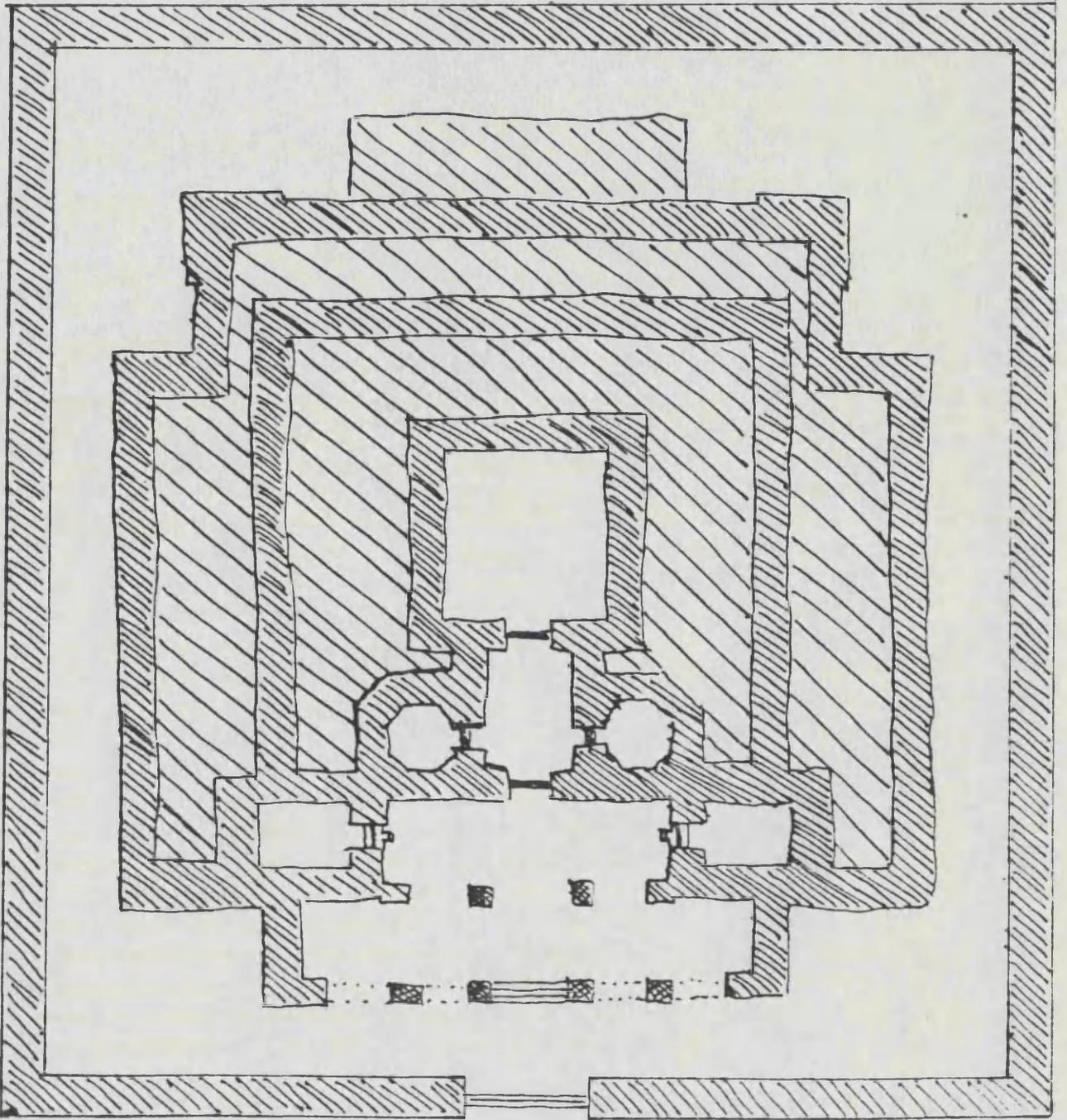
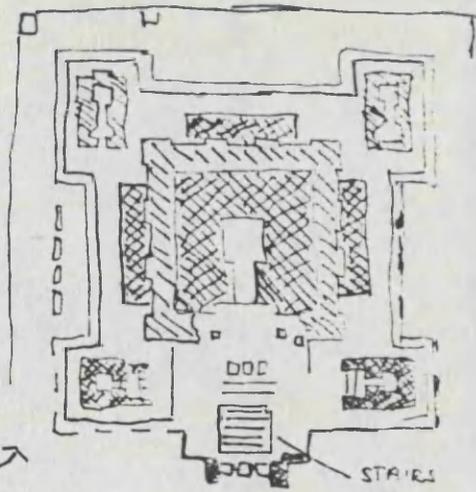
1 inch = 20 feet



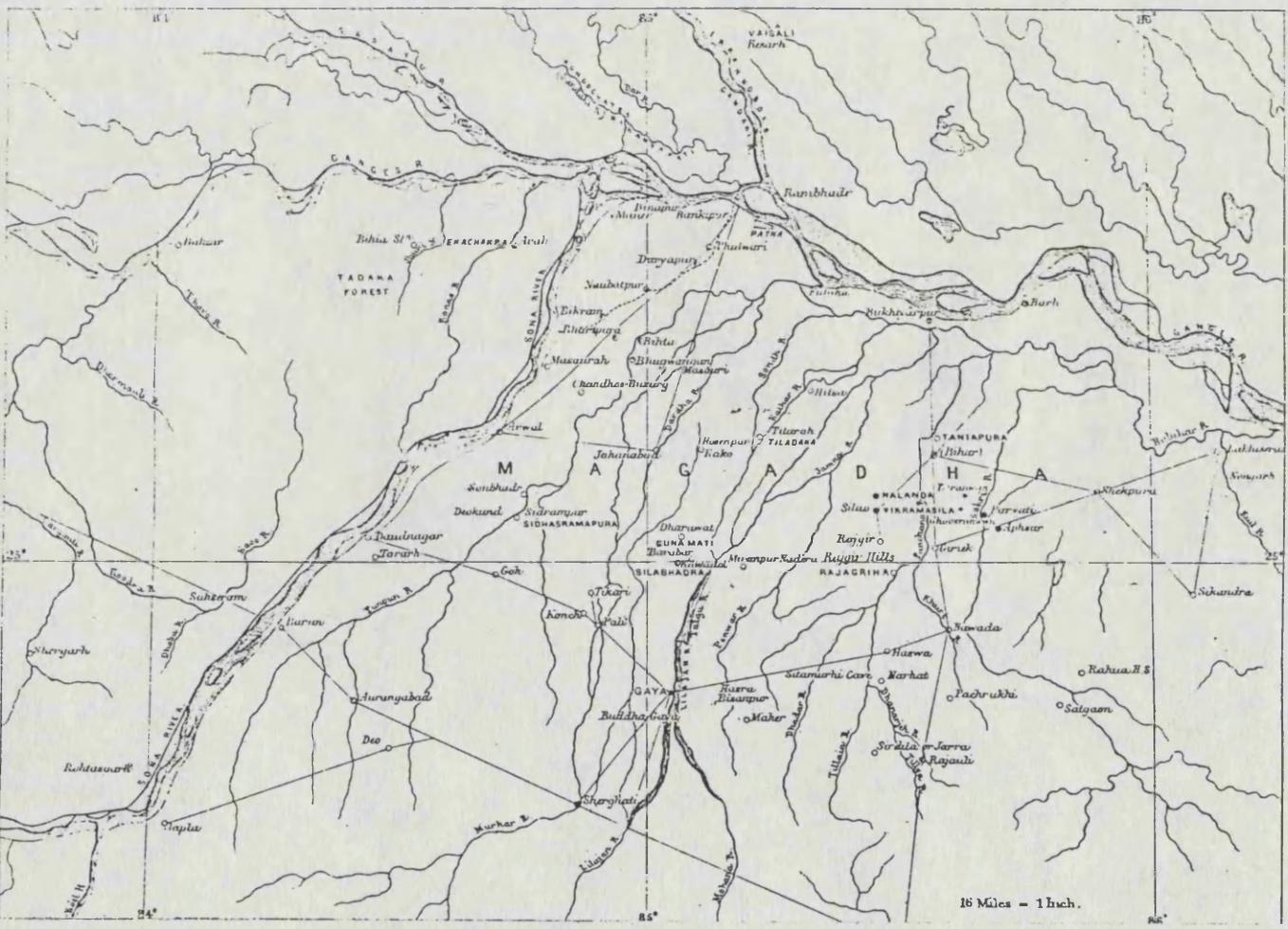
5.8 Drawing based on Broadley's diagram of Tope. No. IV.

From ASI site map: Chaitya Site No. 12.

1 inch = 20 feet



5.8 Drawing based on Broadley's diagram of Tope. No. IV.



5.10 Beglar's Map of Bihār.

Figures for Chapter VI

Figure 6.1

References: Chapter VI, 61.
Spooner, ASIAR, 1917-18, I, Plate XIV.

Figure 6.2

References: 127.
Spooner, ASIAR, 1918-19, Sheets I & II.

Figure 6.3

References: 128.
Sastri, ASIAR, 1919-20, Eastern Circle, Plate I.

Figure 6.4

References: 129.
Marshall, ASIAR, 1919-20, I, Plate XX.

Figure 6.5

References: 130.
Sastri, ASIAR, 1920-21, Central Circle, Drawings No. 157 and 158.

Figure 6.6

References: 133.
ARchæological Survey of India, New Delhi: Bihar & Orissa
Photographic Album, 493/85, Obverse 2409.

Figure 6.7

References: 143.
Page, ASIAR, 1925-26, Plate XLVIII.

Figure 6.8

References: 143, 144.
Page, ASIAR, 1925-26, Plate XLVII.

Chapter VI, 11.

Figure 6.9

References: 147.

Page, ASIAR, 1926-27, Plate VI.

Figures 6.10, 6.11

References: 148.

Page, ASIAR, 1926-27, Plates VII & VIII.

Figures 6.12, 6.13

References: 151.

Page, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate X and Plate VII.

Figure 6.14, 6.15, 6.16

References: 515-52.

Page, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plates XLI, XLII, XLIII.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

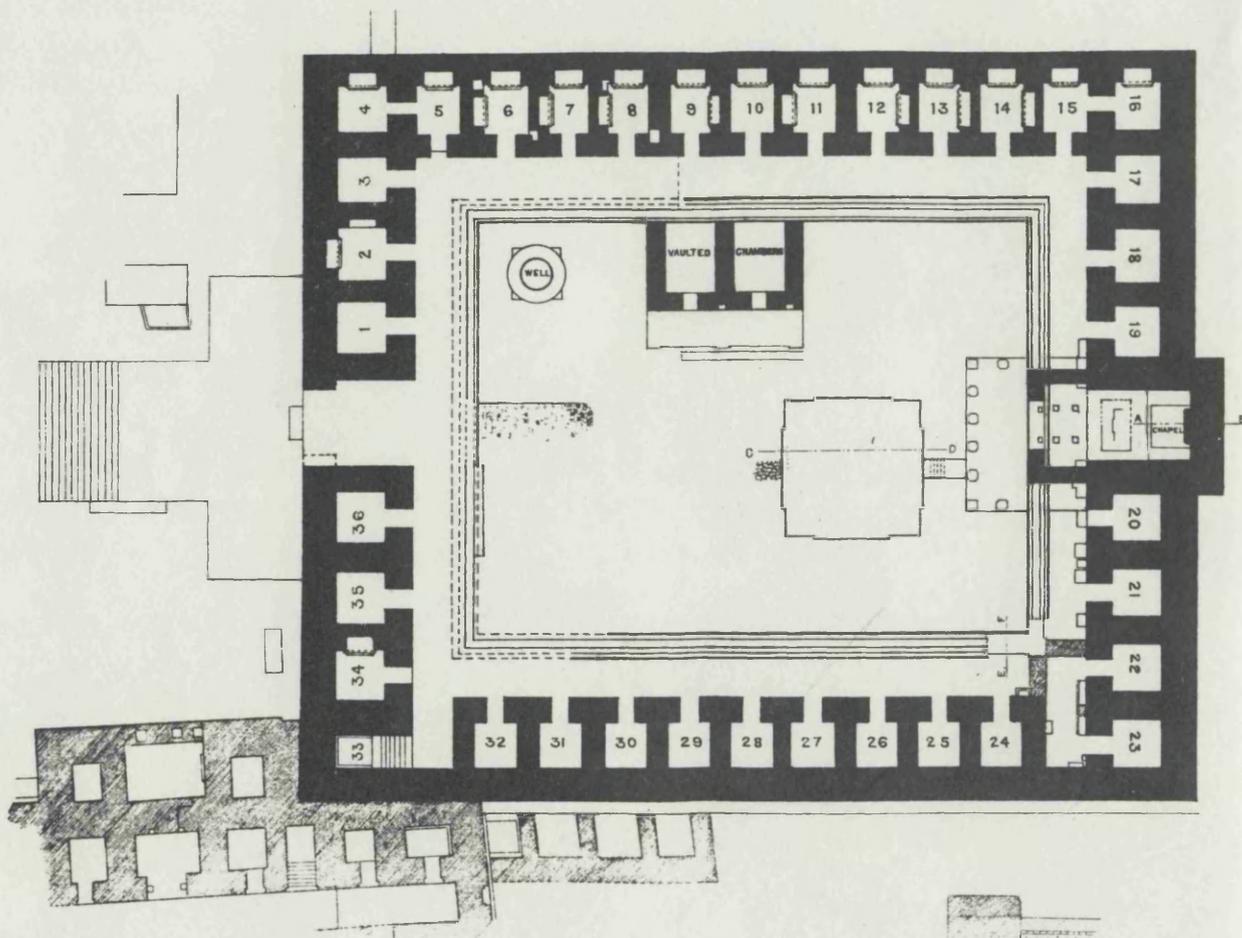


b. NALANDA: STATUETTE NO. 61 FROM SITE III.

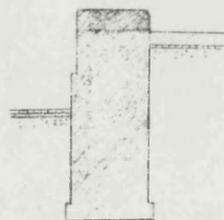
6.1 Find from Stupa No. 3, 1917-18. ASIAR, I, Plate XIV, b.

NALANDA EXCAVATIONS PLAN OF MONASTERIES ON MAIN SITE

SCALE OF FEET
0 4' 8' 12' 16' 20' 24' 28' 32' 36' 40' 44' 48' 52' 56' 60' FEET



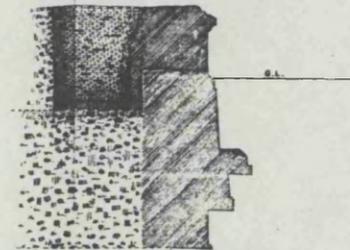
PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
PRESENT



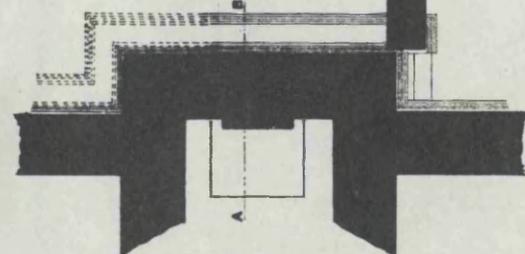
SECTION ON E.F.

SCALE 1 INCH = 8 FEET

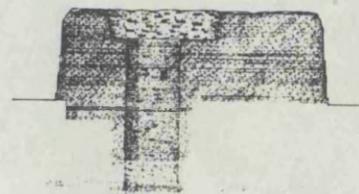
SCALE OF FEET
0 4' 8' 12' 16' 20' 24' 28' 32' 36' 40' 44' 48' 52' 56' 60' FEET



SECTION ON A.B.
SHOWING THREE OLDER STRUCTURES BELOW



PLAN OF EAST WALL OF CHAPEL
SHOWING DETAILS OF AN EARLIER STRUCTURE



SECTION ON C.D.

J. N. S. S. S.
Assistant Superintendent,
Archaeological Survey,
Central India



c. NALANDA. STATUE OF KOTESRI(?)



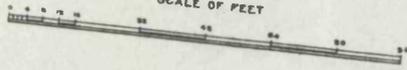
b. NALANDA. STATUE OF NAGARJUNA(?)

EXCAVATIONS AT NALANDA

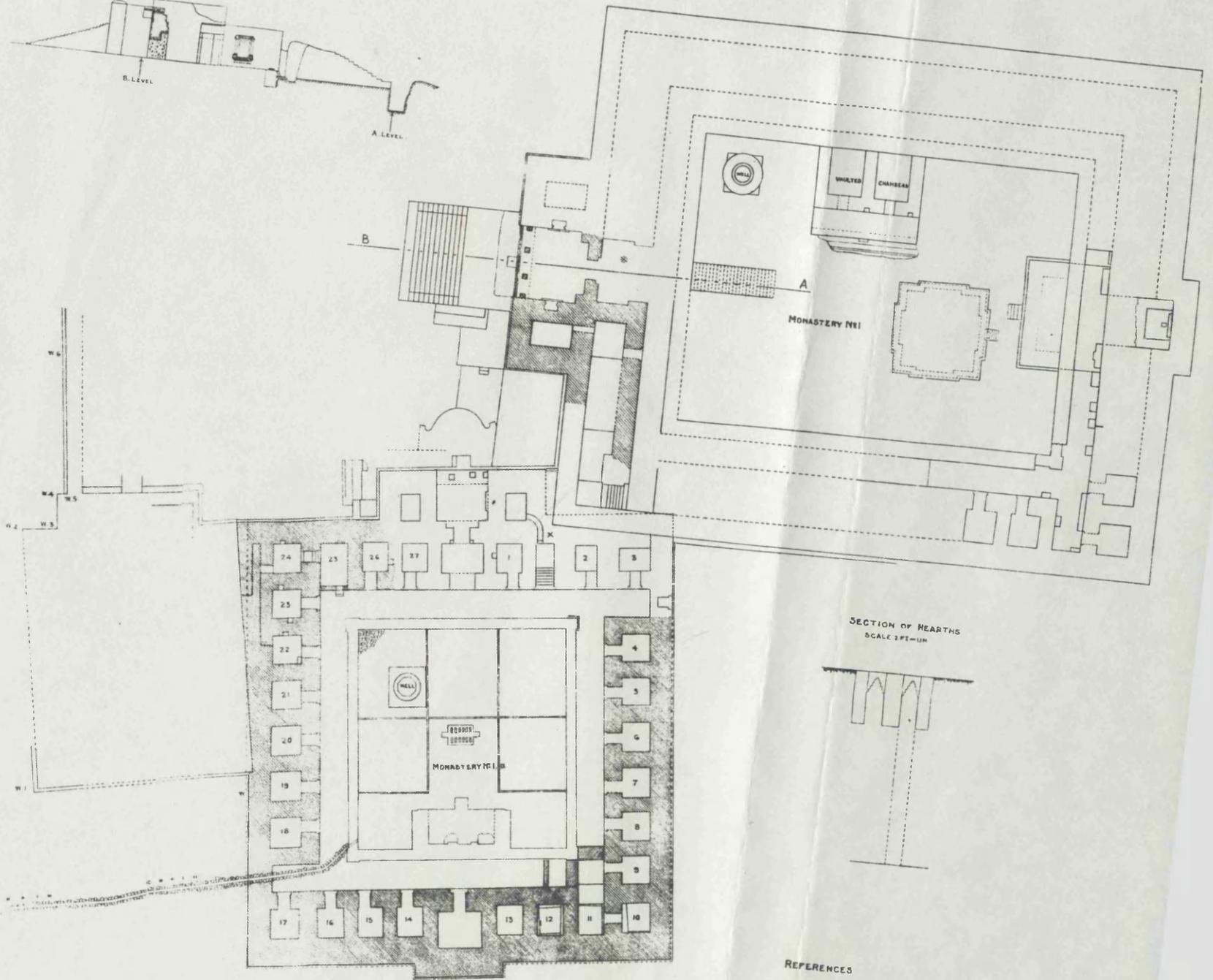
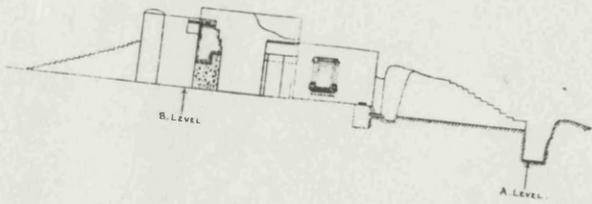
MAIN SITE

1920-21

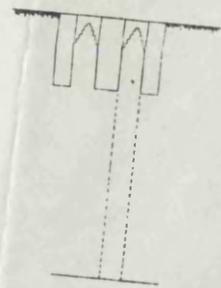
SCALE OF FEET



SECTION ON A B. LOOKING SOUTH



SECTION OF HEARTHES
SCALE 1/2" = 1"



REFERENCES

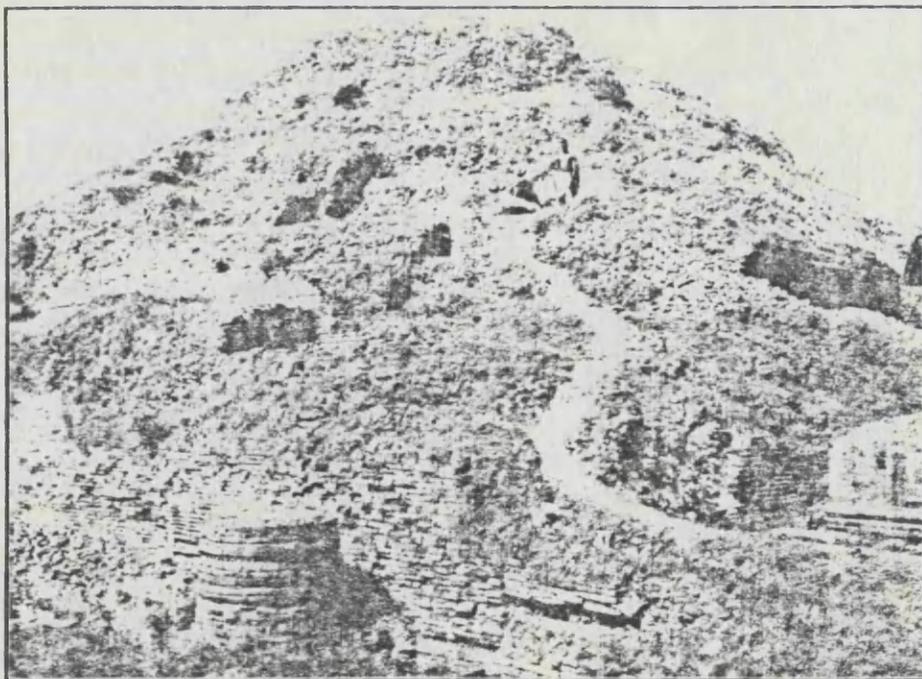
- PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
- PRESENT EXCAVATIONS

6.5 Excavations 1920-21, ASIAR, Drawing No. 157, 158.

Hiranandajobhi
OFFG. SUPERINTENDENT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
CENTRAL CIRCLE



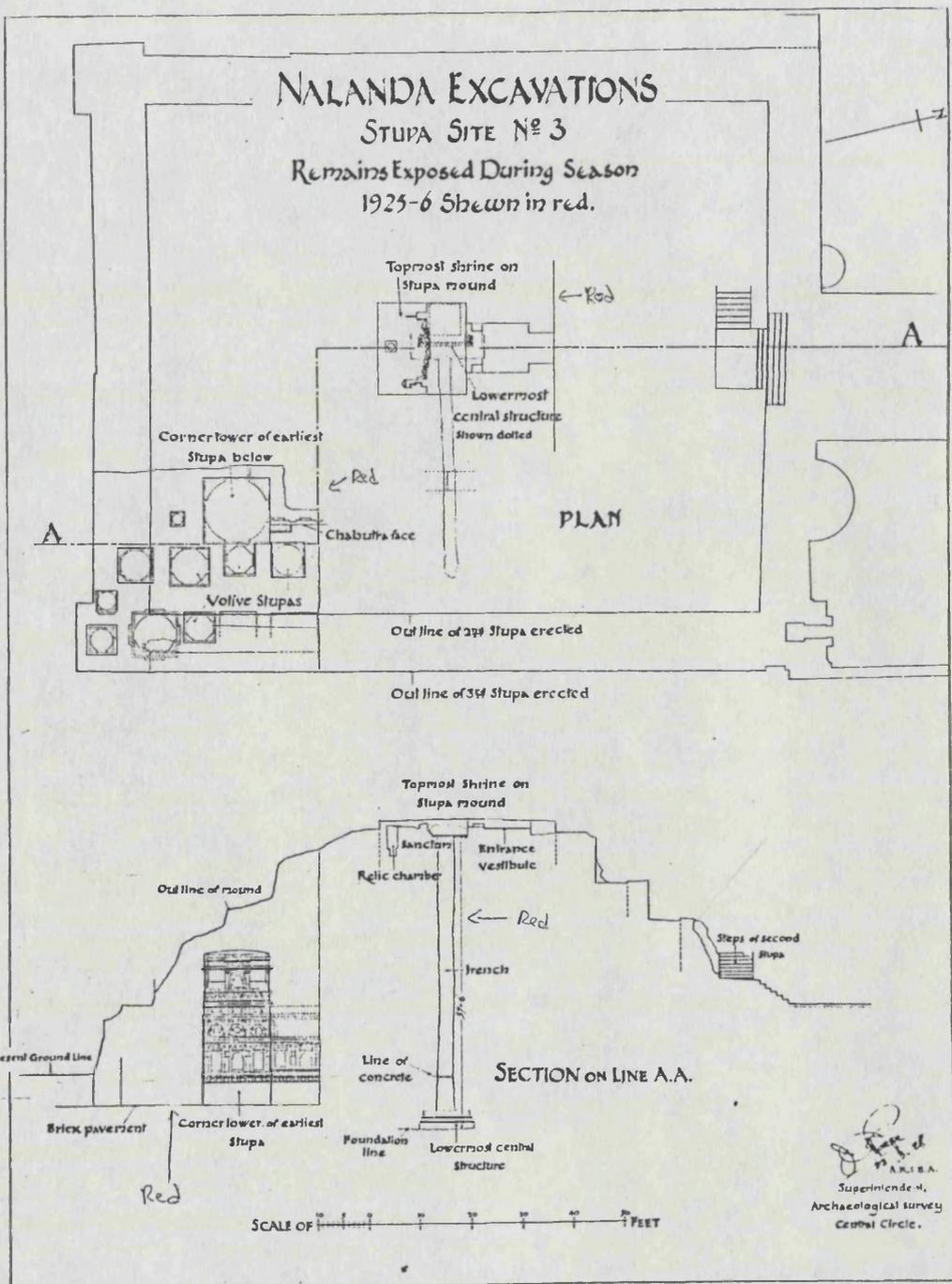
6.6 Copper-plate grant of Devapāla Period.



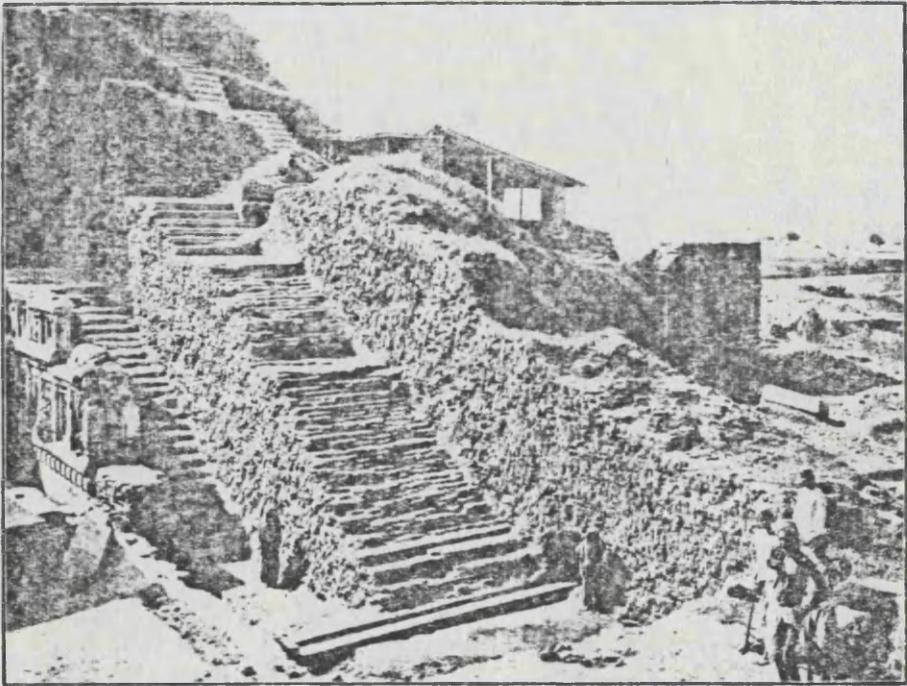
(c) STUPA 3, SOUTH-EAST CORNER BEFORE FURTHER EXCAVATION OF OUTER INTEGUMENT, NALANDA.



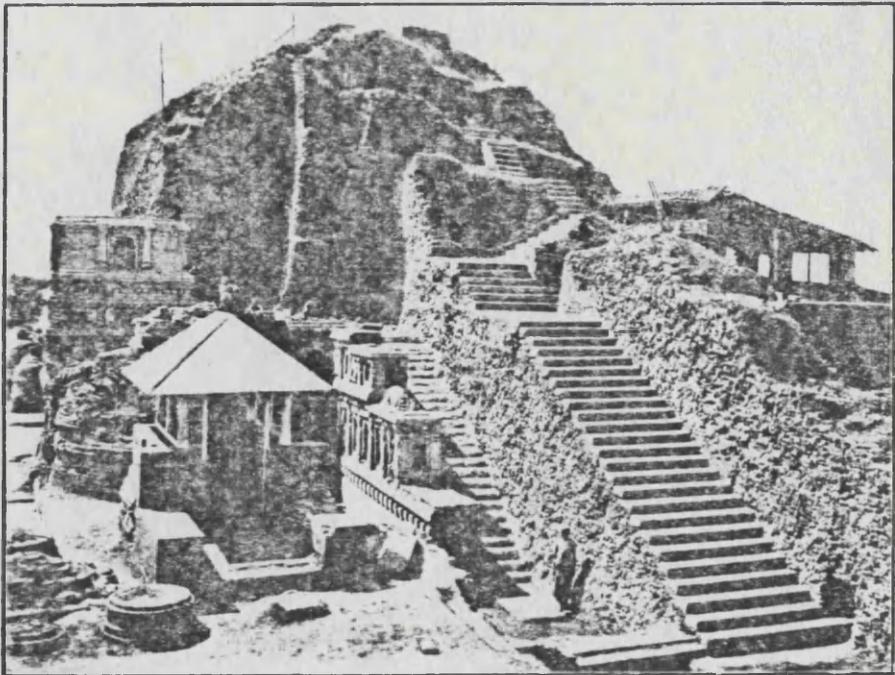
(d) STUPA 3, SOUTH-EAST CORNER AFTER FURTHER EXCAVATION, REVEALING CORNER TOWER OF EARLIEST STUPA, NALANDA.



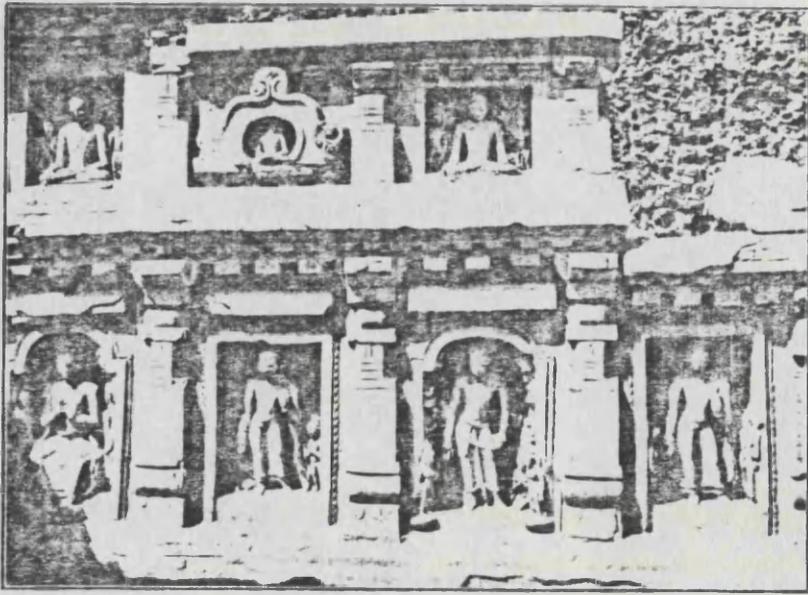
6.8 Plan of Stupa No. 3, 1925-26, ASIAR, Plate XLVII.



c. NALANDA: STUPA SITE 3; NORTH STAIRS UP TO BERMS OF 5TH AND 6TH STUPAS AS EXCAVATED AND BEFORE CONSERVATION; FROM N.-E.



d. NALANDA: STUPA SITE 3; NORTH STAIRS UP TO BERMS OF 5TH AND 6TH STUPAS, AFTER CONSERVATION; FROM N.-E.

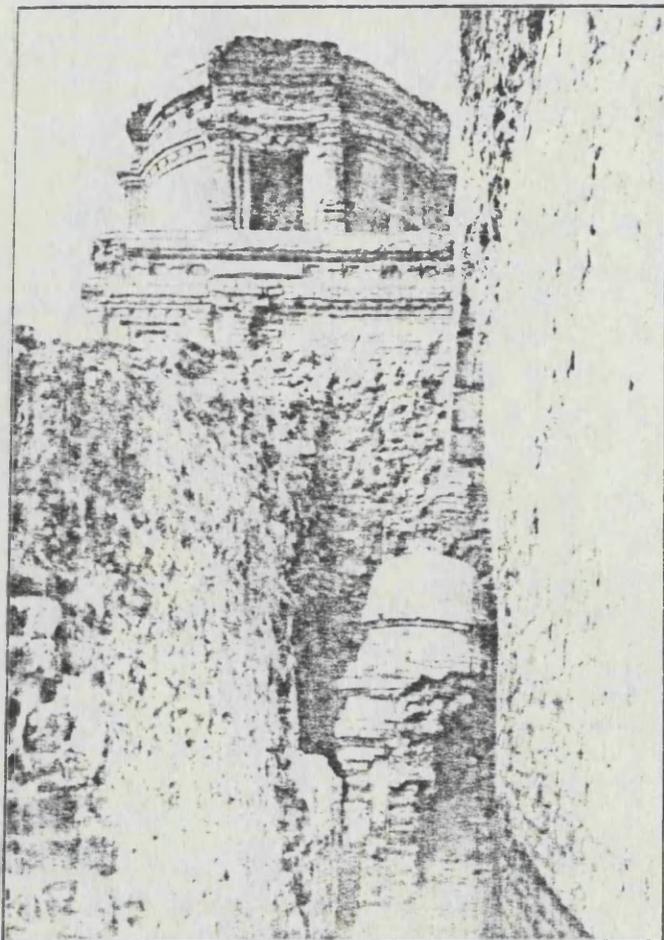


b. NALANDA: STUPA SITE 3; STAIR OF 5TH STUPA; EXTERIOR OF STEPPED SIDE-WALL SHOWING DECORATIVE TREATMENT WITH EMPANELLED FIGURES OF BUDDHA AND BODHISATTVA; FROM EAST.

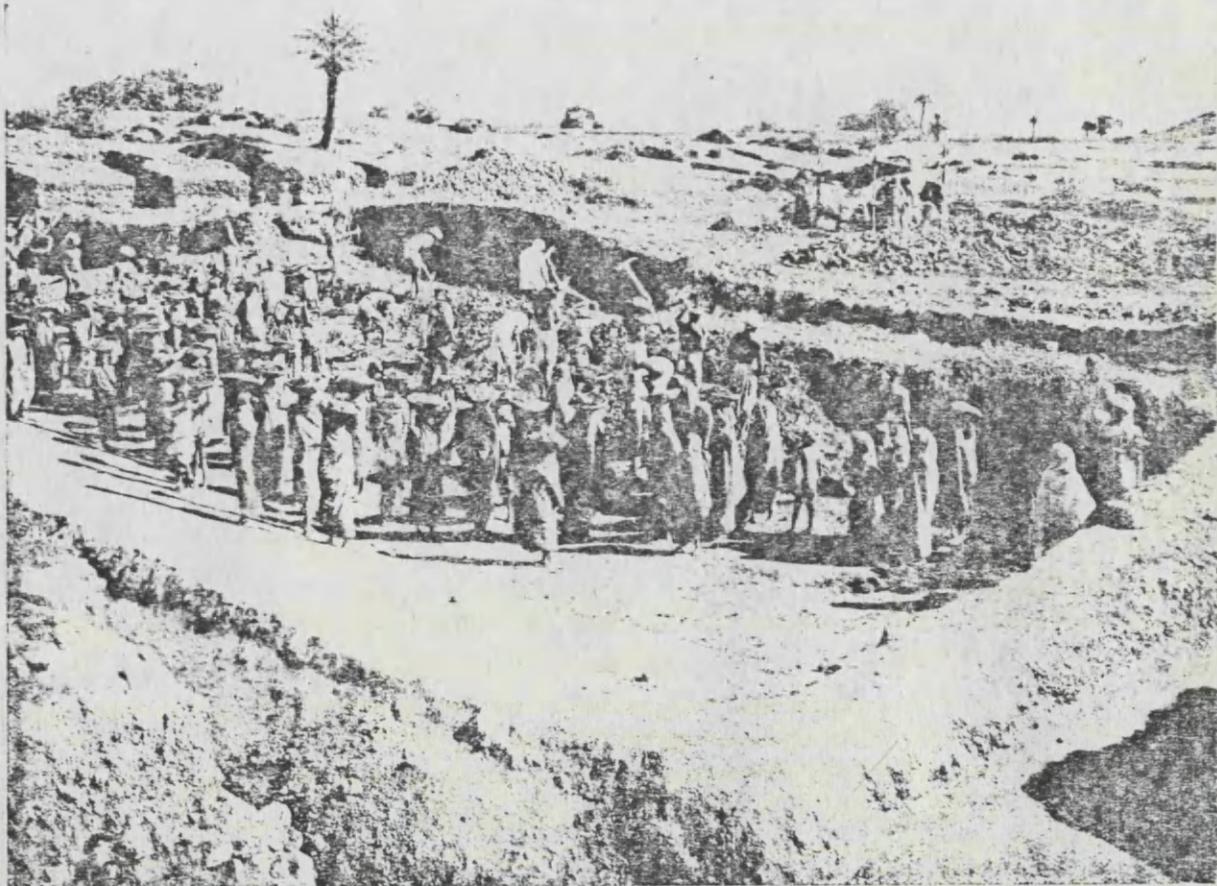


d. NALANDA: STUPA SITE 3, STAIR OF 5TH STUPA; STUCCO IMAGE OF AVALOKITESVARA ON SIDE WALL OF STAIR.

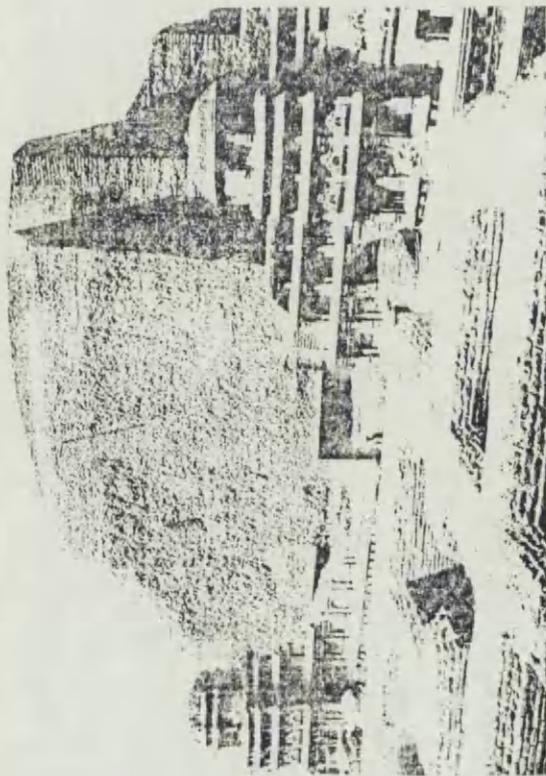
6.10 Stucco figures, Stupa No. 3, ASIAR, 1926-27, Plates VII, b. and VIII, d.



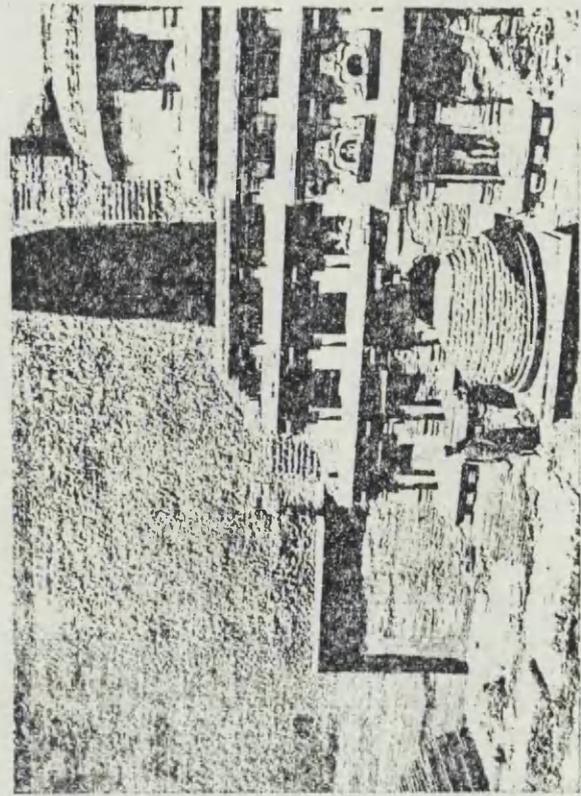
c. NALANDA: STUPA SITE 3; SHOWING LITTLE CORNER TOWER
OF 4TH STUPA INSIDE LARGE CORNER TOWER OF 5TH
STUPA; FROM NORTH.



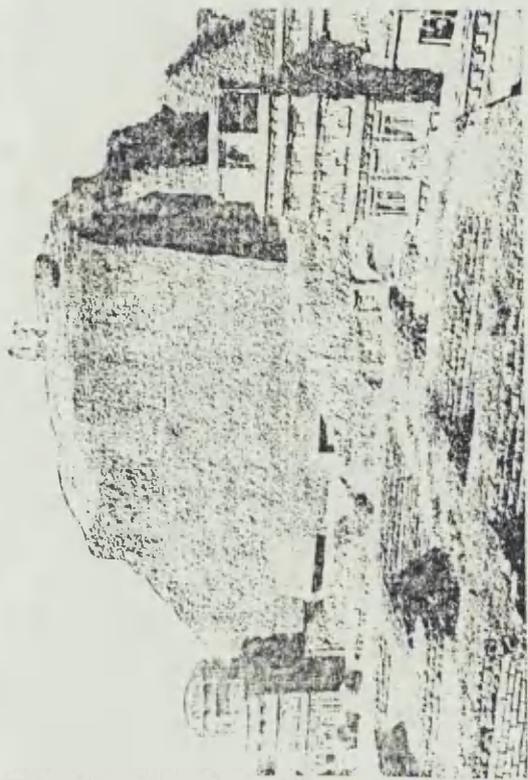
(a) NALANDA. MONASTERY SITE NO. 6, DURING CLEARANCE OF INNER QUADRANGLE OF TOPMOST STRUCTURE.



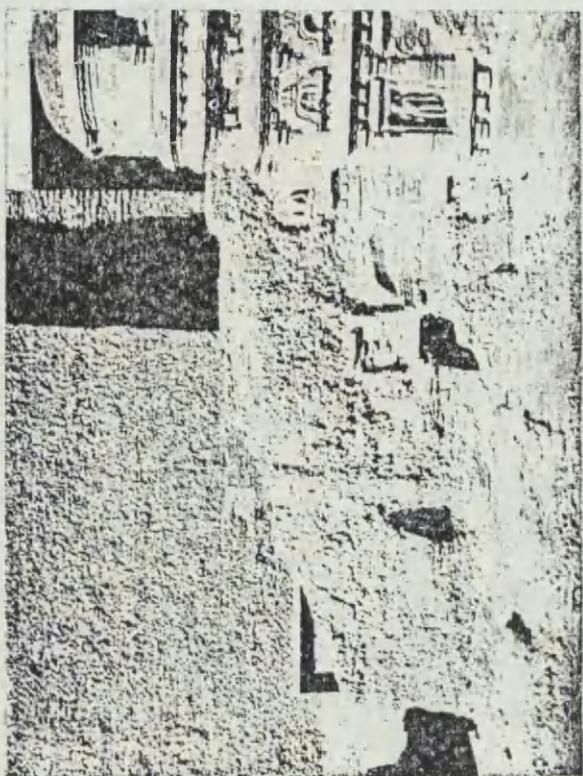
(b) NALANDA. STŪPA SITE NO. 3 (EAST FRONT) AFTER REPAIR OF 5TH STŪPA FAÇADE AND WATER PROOFING TOP OF MOUND.



(d) NALANDA. STŪPA SITE NO. 3 (EAST FRONT); NEAR VIEW OF 5TH STŪPA (NORTH END) AFTER REPAIR.



(a) NALANDA. STŪPA SITE NO. 3 (EAST FRONT) AS EXCAVATED.

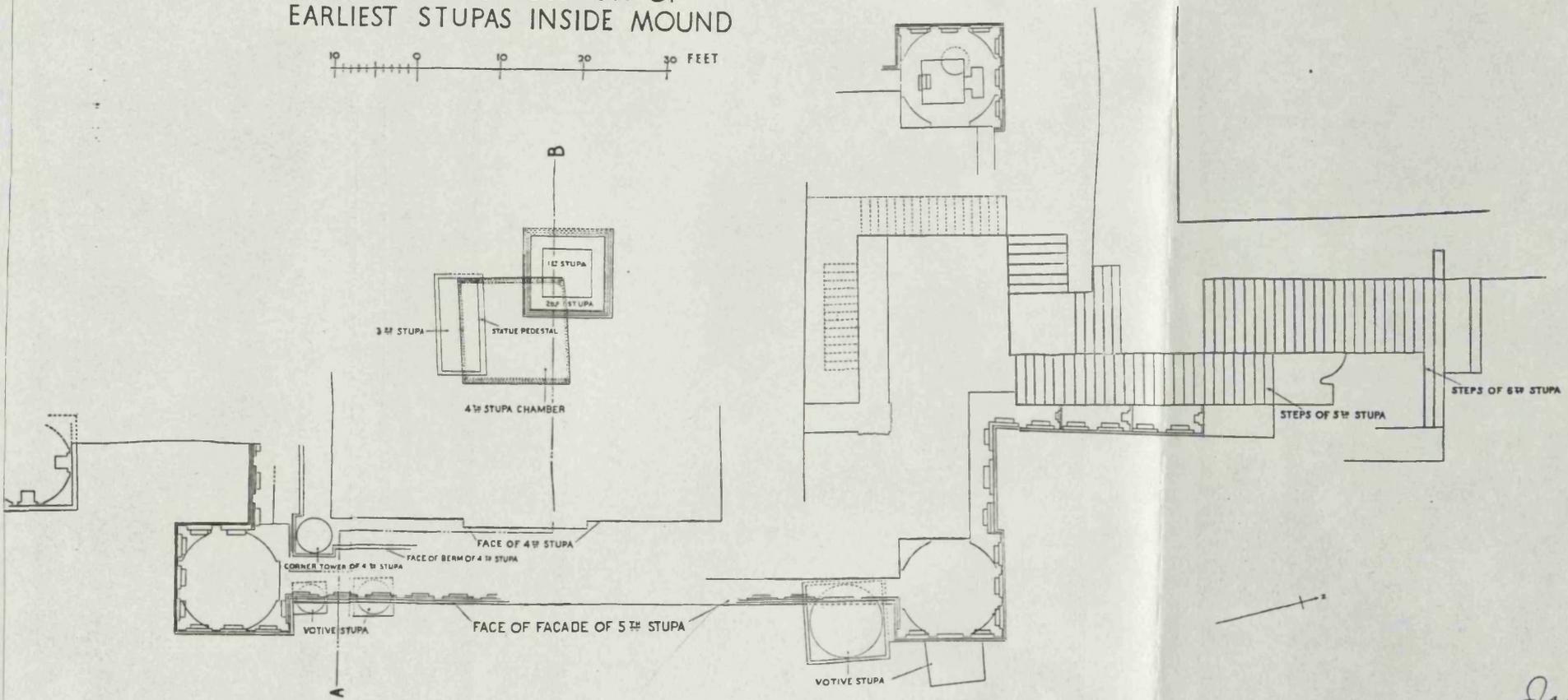


(c) NALANDA. STŪPA SITE NO. 3 (EAST FRONT); NEAR VIEW OF 5TH STŪPA FAÇADE (NORTH END) AS EXCAVATED.

NALANDA EXCAVATIONS

STUPA SITE N^o 3

PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF
EARLIEST STUPAS INSIDE MOUND



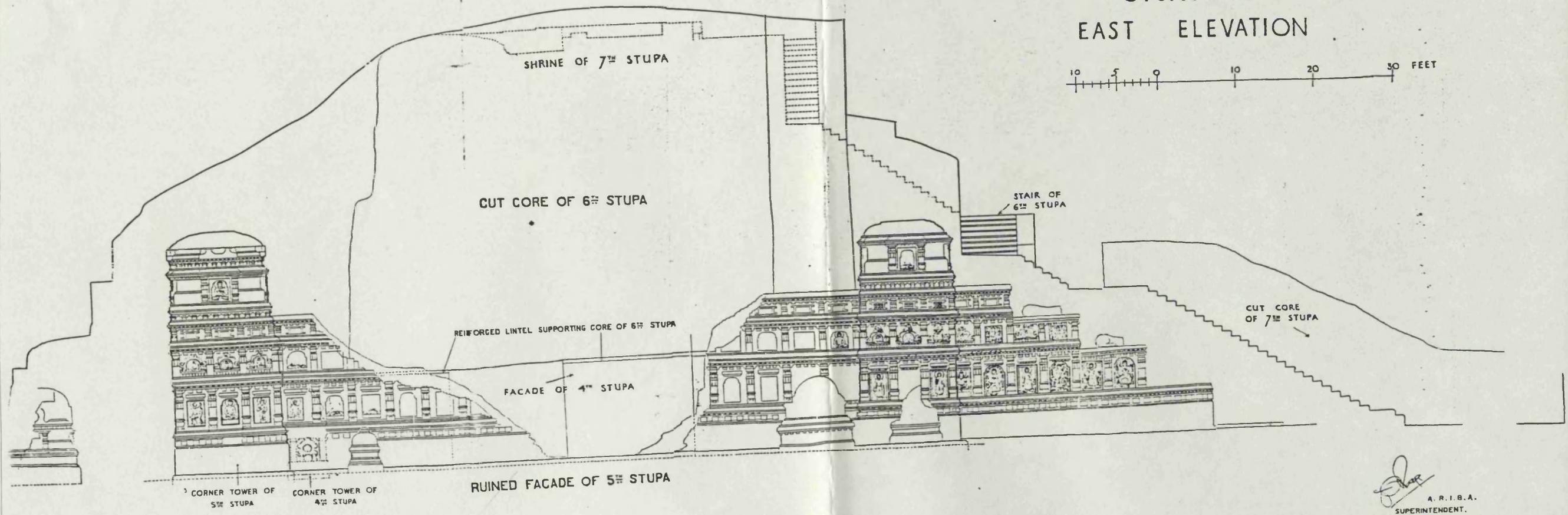
[Signature]
A.R.I.B.A.
SUPERINTENDENT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
CENTRAL CIRCLE

6.14 Plan of Stupa No. 3, showing stūpa positions, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLI.

NALANDA EXCAVATIONS

STUPA SITE N^o 3

EAST ELEVATION



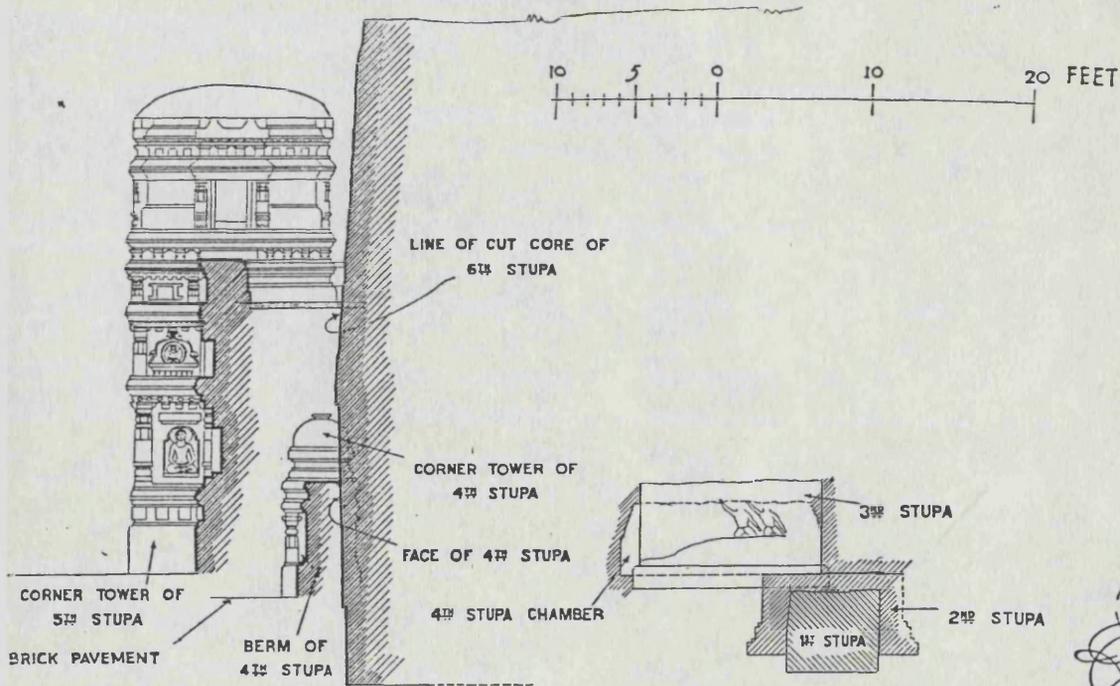
[Signature]
 A. R. I. B. A.
 SUPERINTENDENT,
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
 CENTRAL CIRCLE.

6.15 East elevation of Stupa No 3, ASIAR, 1927-28, Plate XLII.

NALANDA EXCAVATIONS

STUPA SITE N^o 3

SECTION THROUGH EAST FACADE
SHOWING EARLIEST STUPAS IN MOUND



SECTION ON A.B.

SUPDT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
CENTRAL CIRCLE.

Figures for Chapter VII

Figure 7.1

References: Chapter VII, 161.
Kuraishi, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate LXIX.

Figure 7.2

References: 163.
Kuraishi, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate LXVIII.

Figure 7.3

References: 163.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate X.

Figure 7.4

References: 164.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate LXX.

Figure 7.5

References: 164.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate LXXII.

Figure 7.6

References: 165.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate CXXV.

Figure 7.7

References: 166.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate LXXV.

Figure 7.8

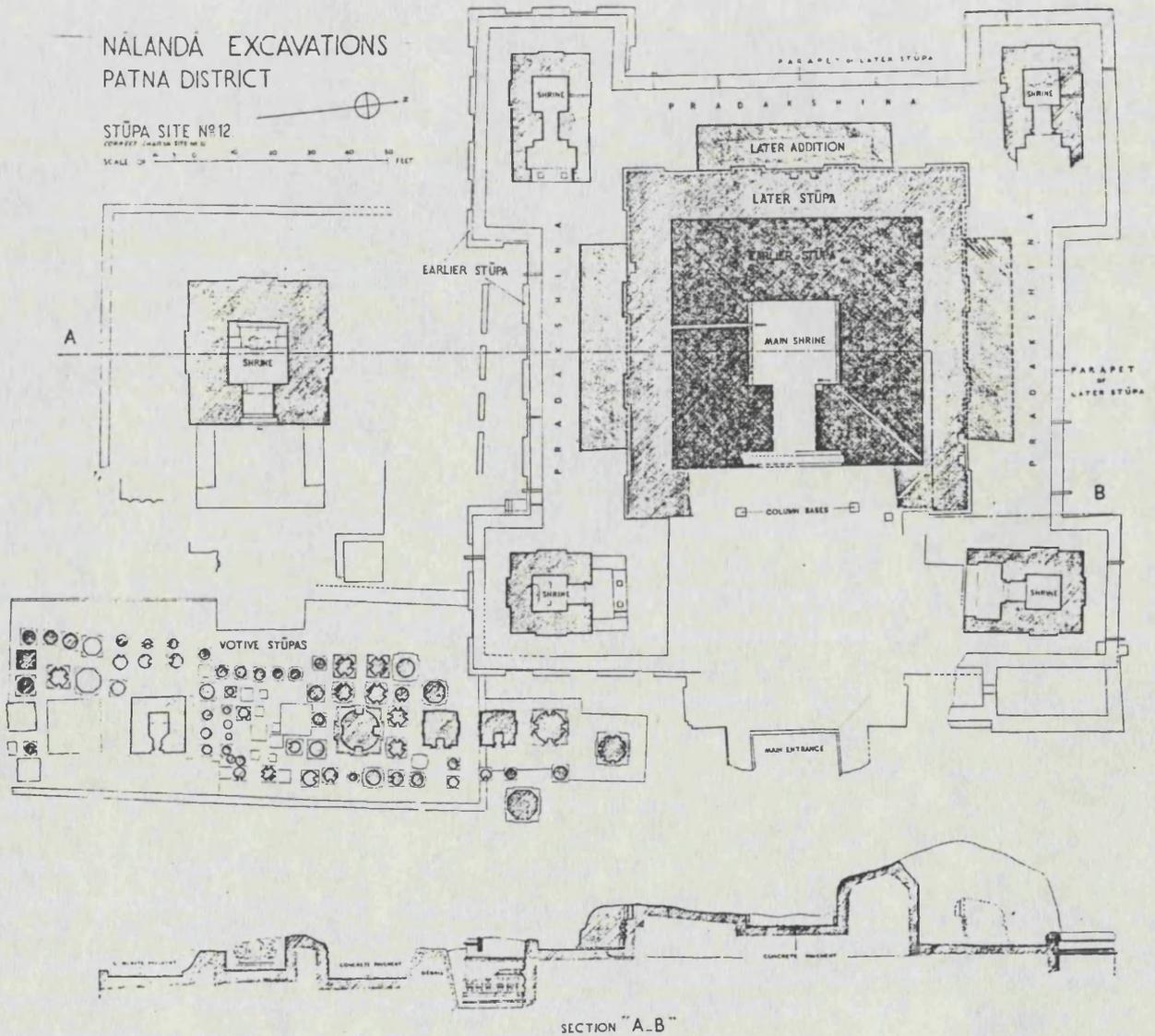
References: 166.
Chandra, ASIAR 1930-34, Plate XVI.



NĀLANDĀ EXCAVATIONS
PATNA DISTRICT

STŪPA SITE N° 12

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET



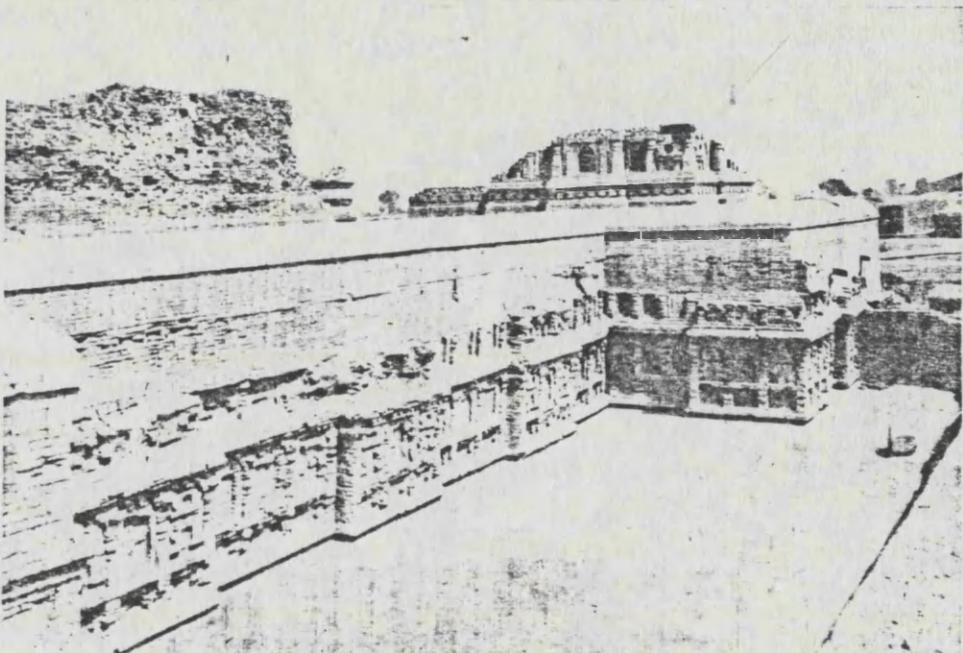
7.1 Plan of Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXIX.



7.2 Stone Avalokiteśvara from shrine north of Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate LXVIII, c.



(a) Nālandā: Chaitya Site No. 12; Votive Stūpas and Main Chaitya from S.E., after Conservation.

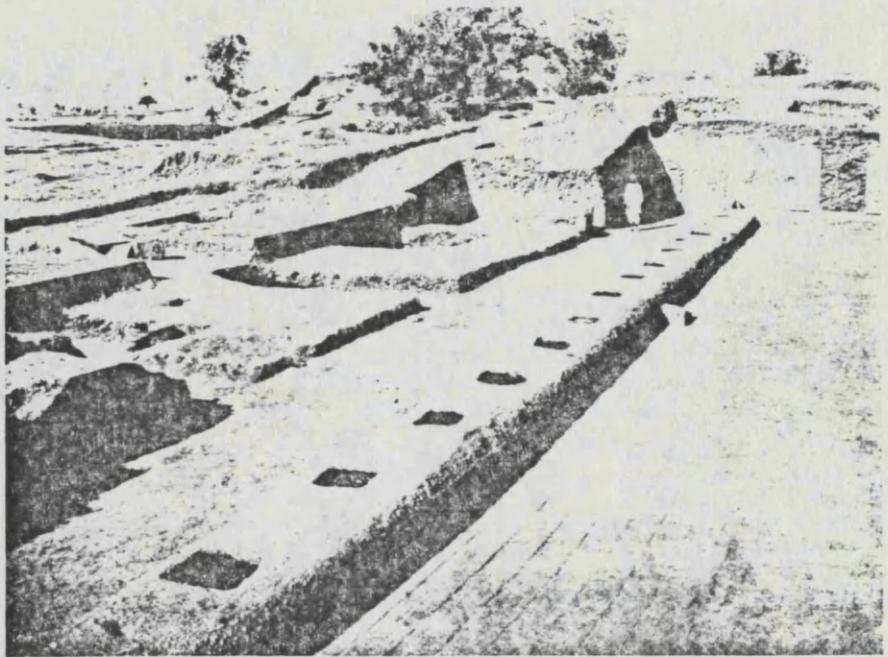


(c) Nālandā: Chaitya Site No.12; E. Half of S. Façade, showing Earlier and Later Constructions, after Conservation, From S.W.

7.3 Chaitya No. 12, ASIAR, 1930-34, Plate X, a. and c.



(b) Monastery No. 9: General View of Quadrangle from S.W.



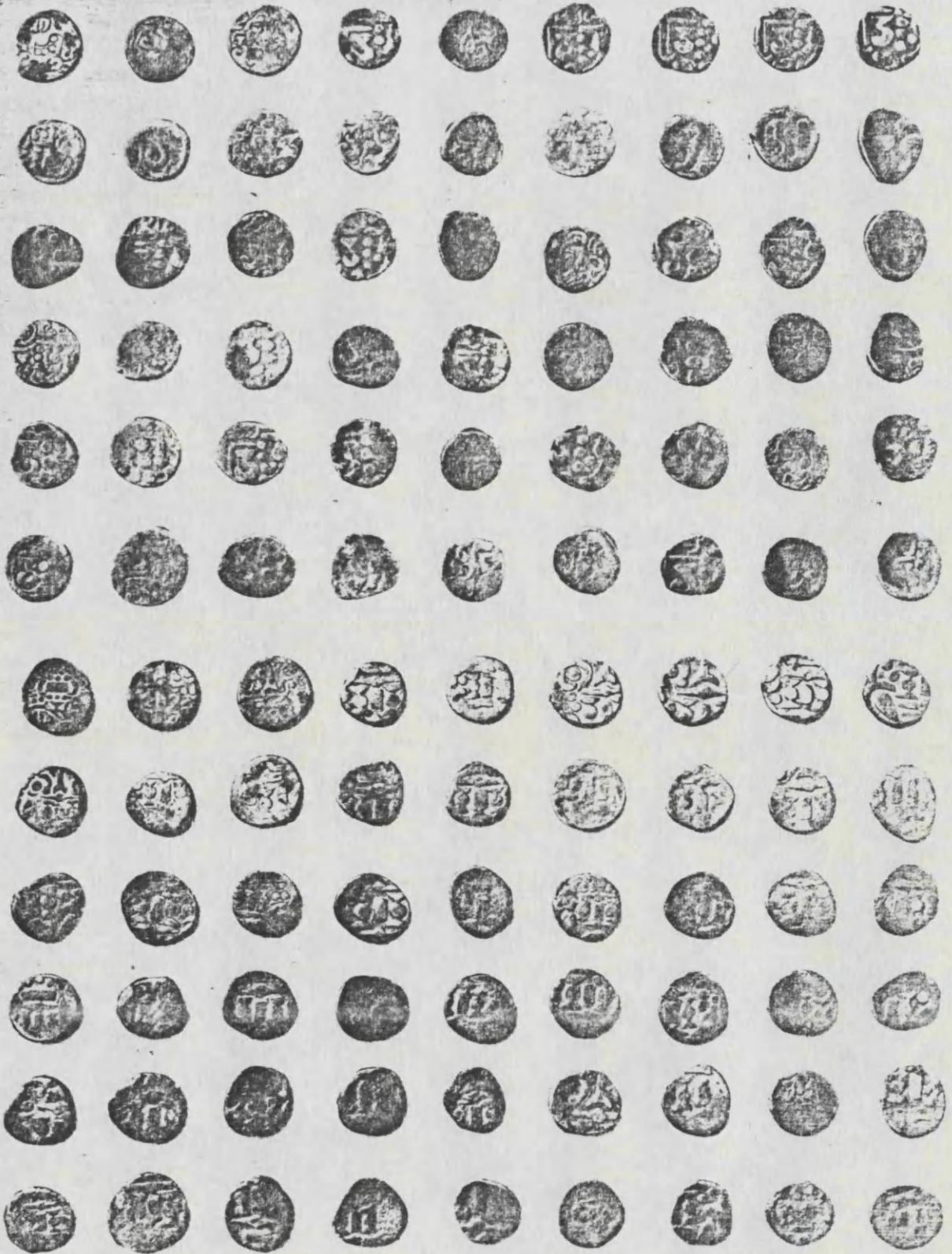
(c) Monastery No. 9: The Verandah, showing Holes for wooden Pillars which must have supported a Roof.



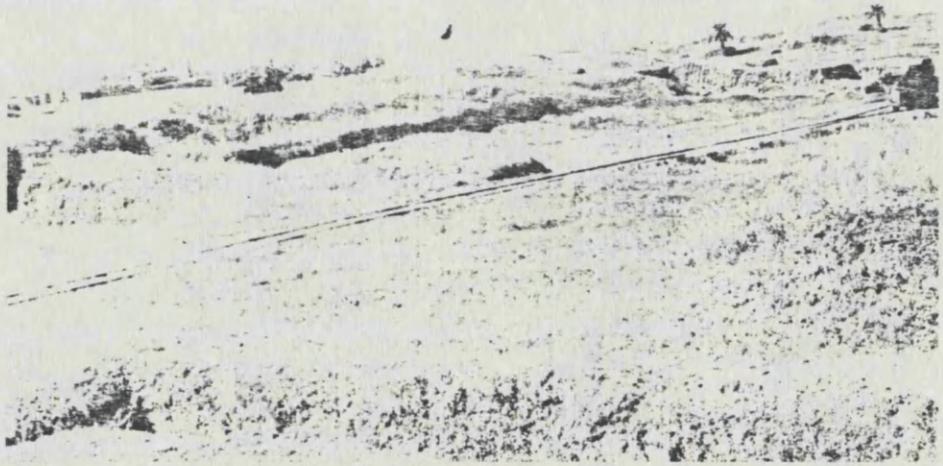
(a) Trailokyavijaya trampling on Śiva and Pārvatī: Probably a symbolical Representation of Buddhism militant against Hinduism.



(b) A Masterpiece in a Hoard of mixed quality Images illustrated in Plates CXXXIV—CXXXVIII: Vajrapāṇi, or Mañjuśrī.



A Hoard of 54 Billon Coins from Monastery No. 10; and (*top of plate*) a Square Gold-plated Copper Coin from Chaitya Site No. 12: all of the Hun Rulers; showing reverse (*top half of plate*) and obverse (*bottom half*).



(a). Nalanda Monastery No. XI, before excavations; from N.E.



(b). Nalanda Monastery No. XI. View of cells and courtyard after excavation; from N.E.

Figures And Overlays for Chapter VIII

Figure 8.1

References: Chapter VIII, 176.

Julien, Mémoires, I: Inset to St. Martin's map at end of volume.

Figure 8.2

References: 177.

Cunningham, ASIR, I, Plate III.

Figure 8.3, 8.4

Key:

■ ■ = Saṃghārāma
■ ■

References: 179.

Beal, Records, London, 1884, 168-70.

Beal, Life, London, 1888, 110-11.

The two diagrams are a visual representation of the descriptions given in Beal's translations. The first, Fig. 8.3, follows the text: "To the south of the convent, in the middle of the Āmra Garden, is a pool [tank]". (<Life, 110> Bālāditya's saṃghārāma was to the northeast of Tathāgata's, Vajra's to the north of Bālāditya's, and that of the King of Central India "by the side of this". (<idem.> The variation (Fig. 8.4) follows Hiuen Tsiang's version which says that Vajra's saṃghārāma was to the west of Bālāditya's, and that the King of Central India built a saṃghārāma to the north of Vajra's. The variation concerns Vajra's saṃghārāma, shown in open squares. Cunningham's sketch of the site he found at Nālandā follows Hiuen Tsiang's text but by using *monastery* instead of saṃghārāma. (see Figs. 5.3 and 8.9)

Figure 8.5

Key:

□ □ = Saṃghārāma or "college"
□ □
○ = Stūpa
◆ = Pavilion
△ = Vihāra
[] = Seat

References: 182-83.

Beal, Life, 118-19.

The diagram is a visual representation of the disposition of dedicatory buildings given in Beal's translation of Hwui Li. The numbers refer to the description of each monument in the order they appear in the text. The same numbers appear on the overlay, 8.7, to indicate the variations in Hwui Li's and Hiuen Tsiang's descriptions.

Figures and Overlays for Chapter VIII, 11.

Figure 8.6, Overlays 8.7 & 8.8

Key: Overlay key on Overlays
□ □ = Saṃghārāma or "college"
□ □
○ = Stūpa
◆ = Image (sculpture)
△ = Vihāra
[] = Seat

References: 183-85.
Beal, Records, 172-80.

Hwui Li and Hiuen Tsiang not only emphasise different monuments but also do not agree about the placement of buildings around the saṃghārāma. The Overlay key indicates the discrepancies between the two accounts. Overlay 8.7 suggests a coincidence of sites describes in both accounts while Overlay 8.8 suggests a variation in the relationship of dedicatory buildings to the saṃghārāma or "college". The translations are sufficiently vague to allow for the possibility of a different placement.

Figure 8.9

Key:
Open rectangle = pokar or tank
Shaded rectangle = village
○ = Stūpa
○ = Vihāra
□ = Monastery (numbered); Temple or enclosure (lettered)

References: 185
Cunningham, ASIR, I, opposite 28.

A redrawing of Cunningham's sketch (reproduced as Fig. 5.3) clearly shows how he superimposed the information from Hiuen Tsiang on the mounds and ruins he found at Nālandā. He substituted *monastery* for saṃghārāma. This is not what either Hiuen Tsiang or Hwui Li suggested. Cunningham also relocated stūpas, vihāras and images to conform with his configuration rather than either of their descriptions. (See Figs. 8.3 and 8.4)

Chapter VIII, 111.

Figure 8.10, Overlay 8.11

Key:

○ = Stūpa or Caitya

□ □ = Nālandā

□ □

△ = Buddha's toothstick tree

□ = Altar

Overlay key on Overlay

References: 190-91. Appendix III, List 2, 236-38. Chavannes, Mémoire, Paris, 1894, 94-96.

The correlation between I-tsing, Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui Li is consistent with the exception of the placement of the tree said to have grown from the Buddha's toothstick, which Hiuen Tsiang suggested was inside the enclosed college.

The Overlay (Fig. 8.11) gives the numbers of Hiuen Tsiang's and Hwui Li's locations.

Figure 8.12

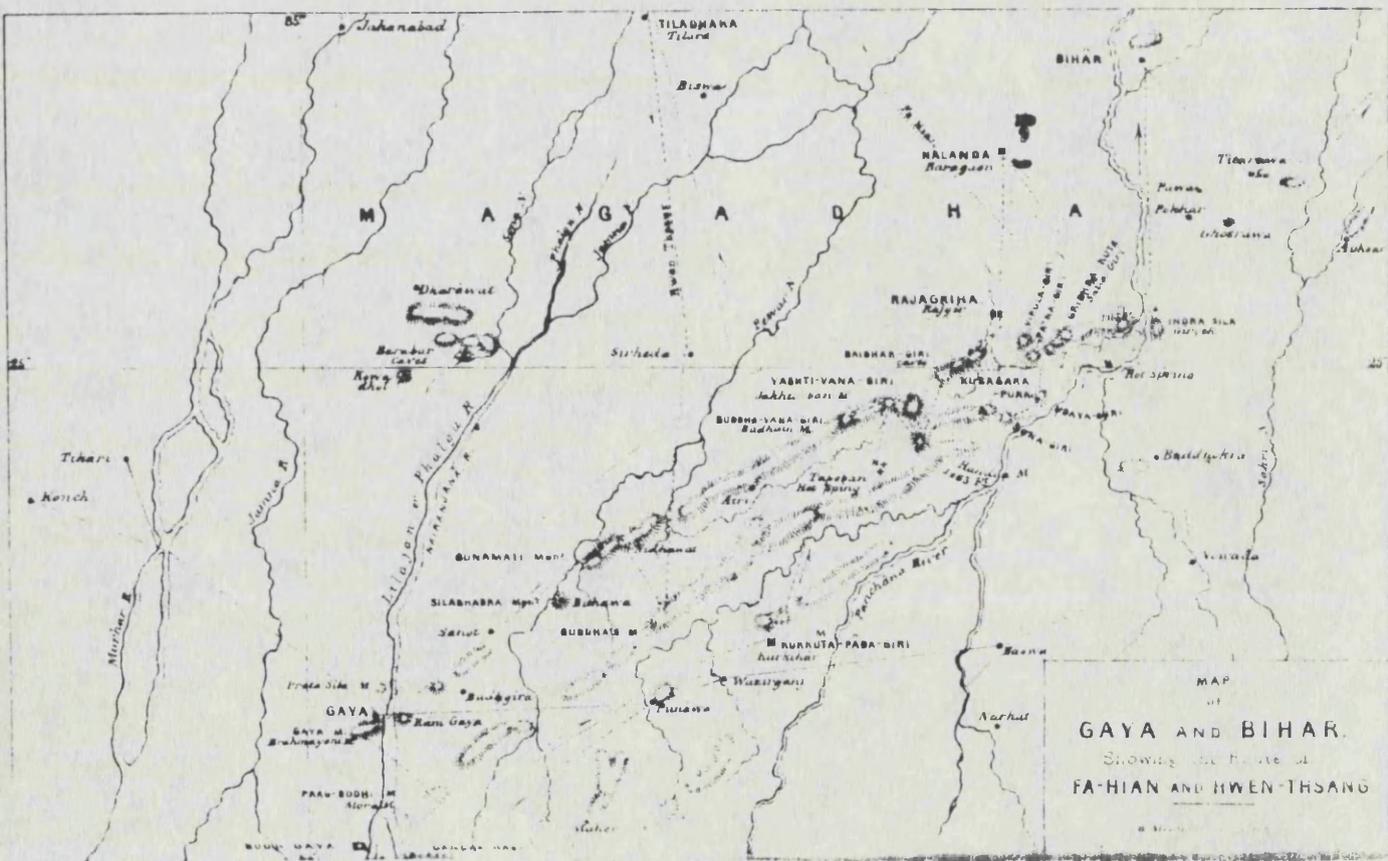
Key:

References: 195, Note 7.

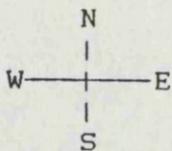
Heras: "The Royal Patrons of the University of Nālandā", JBORS, XIV, 1928, opposite 22.

Heras' diagram does not seem so fanciful with reference to Hiuen Tsiang's account; but it does with reference to the actual site which he had surely visited by 1928.

Heras indicated that his diagram was based on Beal's translation of Hiuen Tsiang (Records). "Certainly this cannot be without errors", he said. "The information is not great and scattered here and there without giving the distances between buildings and buildings, excepting in two or three cases". (21) He has also put a rather shapeless wall around the configuration, quite out of keeping with traditional saṃghārāma architecture.



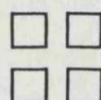
8.2. Cunningham, *ASIR*, I, showing relationship between Nālandā and Bihār.



King of Central India



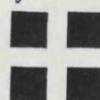
Vajra



Śakraditya



Bālāditya

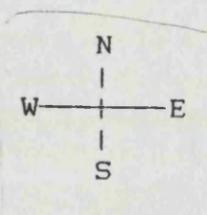


Budhagupta



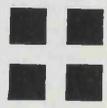
Tathāgatagupta



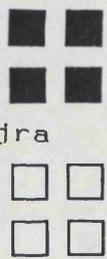


King of Central India

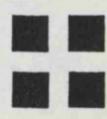
Śakraditya



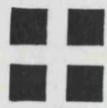
Vajra



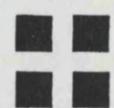
Bālāditya



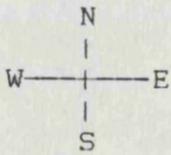
Budhagupta



Tathāgatagupta



8.4 Variation on 8.3: Hiuen Tsiang's Description



3. Seat of the Four Buddhas.



4. Śīlāditya's
"brass" vihāra.



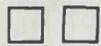
5. Pūrṇavarman's
80' copper
Buddha
in six-storey
pavilion.



2. Stūpa dedicated to place
where three Buddhas taught for
seven days.



1. Bālāditya's vihāra.



Nālandā enclosed "college".

Several li east, stūpa where Bimbasāra met Buddha.
Indraśīlaguha, east 30 li

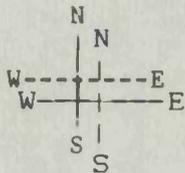
8.5. Hwui Li's Configuration for Nālandā Buildings.

14. Brick vihāra

dedicated to Tārā, 2-3 li. 

N. Nālandā enclosed "college".

1. Bālāditya's vihāra.
2. Stūpa where Buddha taught for 7 days.
3. Seat of the 4 Buddhas.
4. Śilāditya's "brass" vihāra.
5. Pūrṇavarman's Buddha image.



11. Seat of the Four Buddhas.



13. Image of Buddha, 80',
dedicated by
Pūrṇavarman.



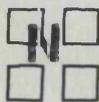
12. Śilāditya's
"brass" vihāra.



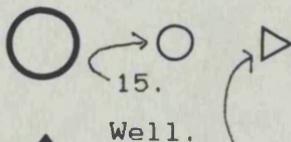
1. Vihāra where Buddha
taught for
three months.



Nālandā enclosed "college".



2. Stūpa



3. Image of Avalokiteśvara holding bottle.

4. Stūpa



5. Stūpa dedicated to heretic

questioning Buddha.

containing Buddha's hair and nail cuttings.



6. Tree grown from Buddha's toothstick.



7. Vihāra 200' dedicated to
Buddha's four months' teaching.



9. Vihāra, 300',
built by Bālāditya.

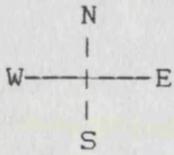


8. Vihāra containing
Avalokiteśvara image.



10. Stūpa dedicated to
Buddha's teaching seven days.

14. Brick vihāra
dedicated to Tārā, 2-3 li. 



11. Seat of the Four Buddhas.



13. Image of Buddha, 80',
dedicated by
Pūrṇavarman.



12. Śilāditya's
"brass" vihāra.



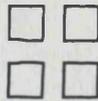
10. Stūpa dedicated to
Buddha's teaching seven days.



1. Vihāra where Buddha
taught for
three months.



Nālandā enclosed "college".



9. Vihāra, 300',
built by Bālāditya.



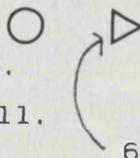
8. Vihāra containing
Avalokiteśvara image.



2. Stūpa



15.
Well.



7. Vihāra 200' dedicated to
Buddha's four months' teaching.



6. Tree grown from Buddha's toothstick.
3. Image of Avalokiteśvara holding bottle.

4. Stūpa



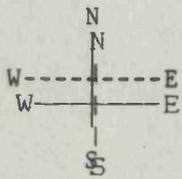
5. Stūpa dedicated to heretic
questioning Buddha.

containing Buddha's hair and nail cuttings.



14. Brick vihāra

dedicated to Tārā, 2-3 li. 



N. Nālandā enclosed "college".

1. Bālāditya's vihāra.
2. Stūpa where Buddha taught for 7 days.
3. Seat of the 4 Buddhas.
4. Śilāditya's "brass" vihāra.
5. Pūrṇavarman's Buddha image.

 3

 4

 5

Śilāditya's "brass" vihāra.

11. Seat of the Four Buddhas. 

13. Image of Buddha, 80', dedicated by Pūrṇavarman. 

 2

1. Vihāra where Buddha taught for three months. 

 10. Stūpa dedicated to Buddha's teaching seven days.

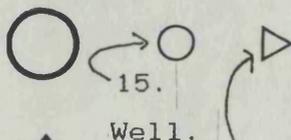
 9. Vihāra, 300', built by Bālāditya.

Nālandā enclosed "college".



 8. Vihāra containing Avalokiteśvara image.

2. Stūpa



 7. Vihāra 200' dedicated to Buddha's four months' teaching.



6. Tree grown from Buddha's toothstick.

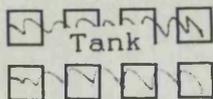
3. Image of Avalokiteśvara holding bottle.

4. Stūpa



5. Stūpa dedicated to heretic questioning Buddha.

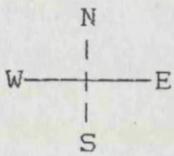
containing Buddha's hair and nail cuttings.



8.6 Hiuen Tsiang's Configuration for Nālandā Buildings.

8.8. Variation on 8.7.

14. Brick vihāra
dedicated to Tārā, 2-3 li.



11. Seat of the Four Buddhas.



13. Image of Buddha, 80',
dedicated by
Pūrṇavarman.



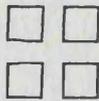
12. Śilāditya's
"brass" vihāra.



1. Vihāra where Buddha
taught for
three months.



Nālandā enclosed "college".



2. Stūpa



15.
Well.



6. Tree grown from Buddha's toothstick.
3. Image of Avalokiteśvara holding bottle.



7. Vihāra 200' dedicated to
Buddha's four months' teaching.



10. Stūpa dedicated to
Buddha's teaching seven days.

9. Vihāra, 300',
built by Bālāditya.



8. Vihāra containing
Avalokiteśvara image.

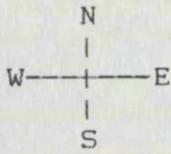
4. Stūpa



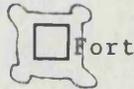
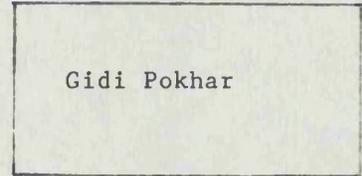
containing Buddha's hair and nail cuttings.

5. Stūpa dedicated to heretic
questioning Buddha.

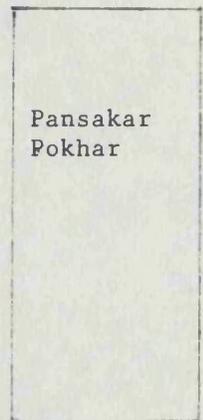




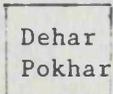
8.9. Drawing based on Cunningham's Sketch of the Ruins of Nālandā 1861 showing location of images and Hiuen Tsiang's location of buildings.



V. ○ ○ 2 seated Buddhas
Viṣṇu on Garuda



N. Tārā vihāra



Bālāditya vihāra
H. S. Colossal Buddha



Z. Jain temple

Vajra Varāhi (3-headed)
Baithak Bhairav



G. Vihāra of Avalokiteśvara

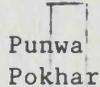
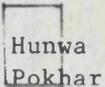
6. Monastery of King of Central India.

5. Bālāditya's monastery
4. Vajra's monastery



E. Stūpa*

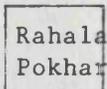
1. Tathāgata's monastery
3. Śakraditya's monastery
2. Budhagupta's monastery



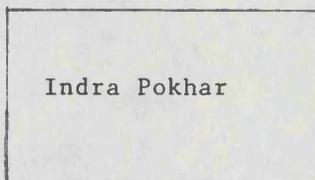
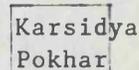
A. Vihāra where Buddha taught 3 months

B. Stūpa erected by pious monk

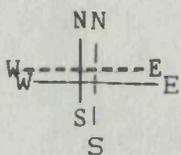
C. Statue of Avalokiteśvara



D. Stūpa containing hair and nails of Buddha



*E. Stūpa where Buddha was questioned by a heretic

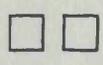


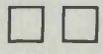
- [2] Hiuen Tsiang: small stūpa.
- [5] Hiuen Tsiang: stūpa to heretic questioning Buddha.
- (1) Bālāditya's vihāra (Hwui Li)
- [6] Hiuen Tsiang: Buddha's toothstick tree.

- (1)  2. Bālāditya's stūpa with Buddha in dharmacakramudrā

Mrigadāva
20 yojanas west

Tāmralipti, 60-70
yojanas east



Nālandā (enclosed) 

- "Mūla-gaṇḍha-koti" [2]  1. Stūpa, 100', dedicated to Buddha's three months' retreat.

- [6]  4. Buddha's toothstick tree.

- [5]  3. Caitya 10' dedicated to Brahmin holding bird, questioning Buddha.



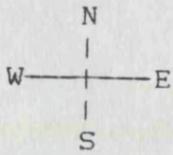
- 5. Altar of the 10 Prohibitions with place where Buddha walked.

Kuśagārapura (Rājgir) 30 li south

Bodh-Gayā, 7 yojanas southwest

8.10 I-tsing's Configuration for Nālandā Buildings.

8.11. Hiuen Tsiang and Hwui compared to I-tsing.



- 2. Bālāditya's stūpa with Buddha in dharmacakramudrā

Mrigadāva
20 yojanas west

Tāmralipti, 60-70
yojanas east



Nālandā (enclosed) 

- "Mūla-gaṇḍha-koti" ○ 1. Stūpa, 100', dedicated to Buddha's three months' retreat.

- △ 4. Buddha's toothstick tree.

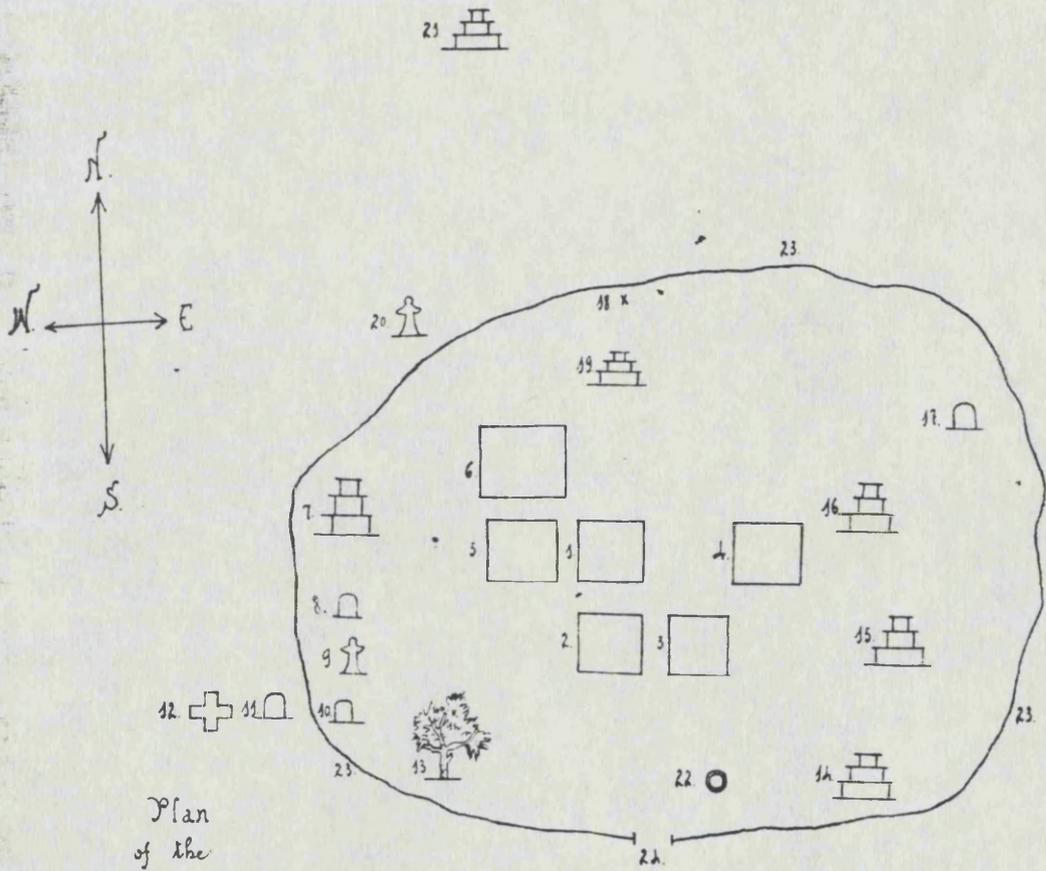
- 3. Caitya 10' dedicated to Brahmin holding bird, questioning Buddha.



5. Altar of the 10 Prohibitions with place where Buddha walked.

Kuśagārapura (Rājgir) 30 li south

Bodh-Gayā, 7 yojanas southwest



Plan
of the
University of Nalanda
according to
Hiuen Tsiang's account.

Plan No 3460 E. 28-500

MUSEO S. I. O. CALCUTTA

8.12. Heras' sketch of Hiuen Tsiang's description of Nālandā.

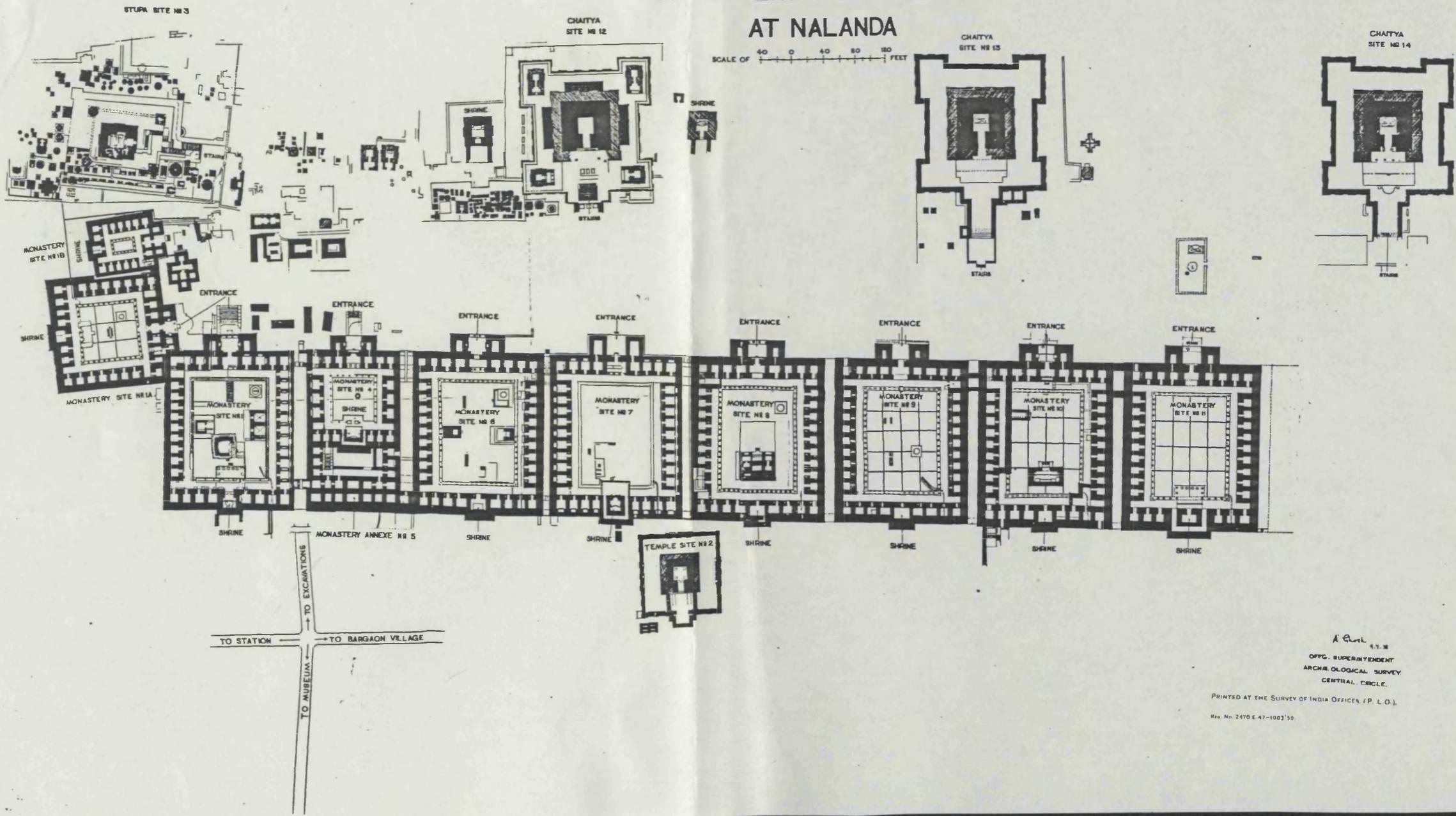
Figure for Chapter IX

Figure 9.1

References: 204.

Ghosh, Guide to Nālandā, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 3rd Ed.
1950: Survey Plan of the Excavated Remains of Nālandā.

SURVEY PLAN
OF THE EXCAVATED REMAINS
AT NALANDA



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9.1 Plan of Nālandā from Ghosh's Guide to Nālandā.