

The Cult of Nāgas and the Lotus Sūtra

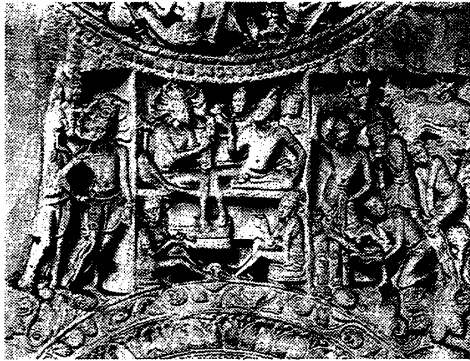
Takahide Takahashi

Introduction:

One of the main teachings of the Lotus Sūtra is the Doctrine of One Vehicle. With the doctrine, the sūtra reveals the possibility of the attainment of Buddhahood by all sentient beings. The sūtra, thus, not only tries to amalgamate all the then existent trends in Buddhism, like Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Bodhisattvayana, into the one and the only Buddhayāna, but it also openly promulgates the attainment of salvation by all the sentient beings. Among those who are thus promised the salvation, we see the Nāgas. One of the most interesting episodes reflecting it is that of the attainment of the Buddhahood by an eight-years-old Nāga princess in the *Daiba-Datta-Hon* of *Myō-hō-renge-kyō*. As the episode also appears in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the sūtra, it is considered that the episode was existent in the original sūtra also. Beside signifying the attainment of Buddhahood by women, it is generally said that the episode vividly advocates the attainment of Buddhahood by the people of Nāga origin or the people who had the Nāga cultural background. We wish to examine the significance of the episode through the examination of the condition of Nāga worship mainly during the Kushan period.

1. The Cult of Nāgas and Buddhism

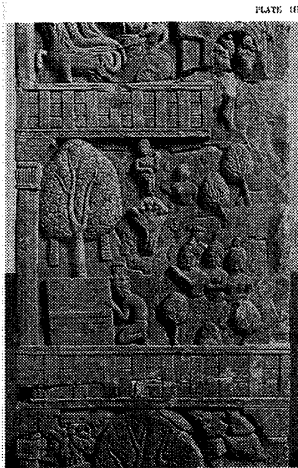
The word 'Nāga' has several meanings: "1) Serpent in general, particularly the cobra; 2) fabulous serpent demon or semi-divine being, having the face of a man and the tail of a serpent, and said to inhabit the Pātāla; 3) An Elephant..."¹⁾ According to D. D. Kosambi²⁾, the term Nāga was used as a generic term for forest aborigines who worshipped cobras, or who had a cobra (Nāga) totem. He also points out that these particular Nāgas were on the adjacent jungle when the Aryans first settled in the Kuru-land, and that some of whom were gradually reduced to the status of tribal slaves. In fact, in Ṛg Veda, the Nāgas are depicted as Indra's enemy, and they were abhorred as serpent



(b) JĀTARA OF THE NĀGA CHAMFAKA (AMARĀVATĪ).

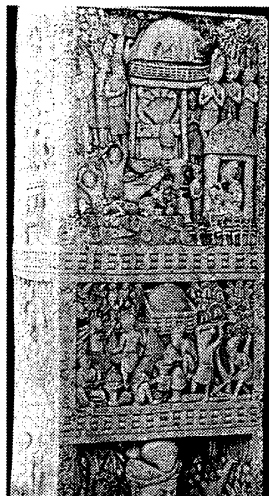
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sacrifice to the yellowish terrestrial serpents that belong to Agni, to the white aerial serpents belonging to Vāyu, and to the celestial serpents belonging to Sūrya.⁵⁾ Besides, the



A NĀGA WORSHIPPING THE BUDDHA (AMARĀVATĪ)

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worshipping non-Aryan people.³⁾ However, changes took place with the passage of the time. The Taittirya Samhita, popularly known as the Black Yajur Veda, lays down the necessity of special offerings to the serpents that are the guardian deities of the sacred fire⁴⁾. This Nāga worship seems to have become an integral part in the religious life of the Aryans by the time of the Sūtra period (c. 600-400 B.C.). The Paraskara Gṛhya Sūtra describes the

Aśvalayana Gṛhya Sūtra narrates the sacrifice to the serpents of terrestrial, aerial, celestial and of dwelling in the direction of the horizon, which associate with Agni.⁶⁾

In early Buddhist literature, Yushō Miyasaka observes three basic tendencies in the depiction of the Nāgas: 1) the Nāgas as a fearful existence; 2) the Nāgas as worshippers of the Buddha, and 3) the Nāga as the epithet of the Buddha⁷⁾. Though we find such different depiction of the Nāgas, according to Mahāvagga, the Nāgas were traditionally denied admission to the saṃgha.⁸⁾ It narrates the story of a Nāga who tried to obtain human nature by joining the order. The Blessed One told the Nāga that they were not capable of (spiritual) growth in the discipline. Then the master is said to have told the Bhikkhus, "Let an animal, O Bhikkhus, that has not received the upasmpada ordination, not receive it; if it has received it, let it be expelled (from the fraternity)".

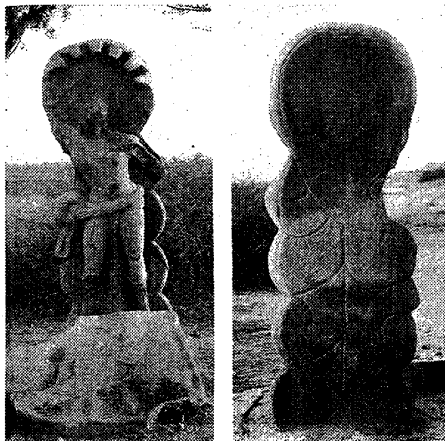
However, as in the case of Brahmanism, the assimilation of the Nāga worship with Buddhism also took place. It is quite apparent that the motif of Nāgas is freely used as the ornamentation of stūpas at several famous Buddhist sites. The stūpas of Bhārhut and Amarāvati brought about a great many examples suggesting the incorporation of Nāga worship in Buddhist

mythology. In the figures mentioned as Elapattra and Chakravaka in the accompanying inscriptions on the Bhārhut railings, human figures having five snake-hoods attached behind their heads are shown in the *namaskāra mudra* in honor of the Buddha.⁹⁾ James Fergusson shows us many pieces of relief works showing nāgas at Amarāvati.¹⁰⁾

At Sañchi also, we find many examples showing Nāga worshippers, like in the center of the inner face of the left-hand pillar of the Eastern gateway, the scene of the conquest of the great Nāga by the Buddha at the hermitage of Urvula Kassapa can be seen.¹¹⁾ As for the North Western part of India, Keishō Tsukamoto points out that the spread of Buddhism in the region was carried out by the conversion of people who worshipped Nāgas¹²⁾. Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa refer to the fact that the spread of Buddhism in the Gandhāra and Kashmir was carried out by the conquest of an evil Nāga by Majjhantika (Madyantika) and its conversion, which was followed by the acceptance of the faith by the local populace¹³⁾. The Northern tradition, like *Ken-pen Shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu P'i-na-yeh Tsa-shih* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事)¹⁴⁾, *O-yu-wang-ch'uan* (阿育王傳)¹⁵⁾ and *O-yu-wang-ching* (阿育王經)¹⁶⁾ also indicate the fact that the conversion of the Nāgas ushered in the spread of Buddhism in Kashmir. Thus, it is said that the spread of Buddhism in India was carried out by the conversion of those people who had Nāga worship or who had Nāga cultural background.

2. The Remains of Nāga Worship in Mathurā

The prevalence of the Nāga worship during Kushan period can be well observed from the artifacts recovered in Mathurā, the famous administrative and commercial metropolitan



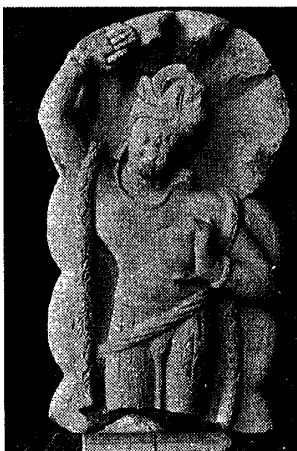
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center of the dynasty. According to the catalogue of the Archeological Museum at Mathura, we find 13 sculptures (C13, C14, C15, C16, C17, C20, C21, C22, C32, F2, F3, F4, & F32) indicating the cult of Nāgas¹⁷⁾. It is interesting to note that most of them are fairly large in size, and that local villagers worshipped some of them as Baladeva or Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna, prior to their discovery. We wish to examine some of them in the following.

The sculpture C13 is the biggest among the Nāga

sculptures in Mathurā Museum. It was recovered from the vicinity of the village of Chhargāon 5 miles map-measurement almost due south of Mathurā City. The villagers there used to worship the image as Dauji, i.e., Baladeva or Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna. It is a life-size statue of the height 240.7 cm. (height of the figure proper is 157 cm.). It is a Nāga, clad in a *dhoti* and a scarf tied round the loins, standing in a spirited attitude with his right hand raised above the head. His left hand is missing, but it could have held a cup, as may be inferred from No. C15. Both arms are broken and the right leg damaged. A hood of seven serpent-heads surmounts the defaced head of the sculpture, though the proper left being lost and the central one broken. A necklace can be traced on the breast. It deserves notice that the coils of the snake are also indicated on the back of the stone. The sculpture is said to be that of the Kushan period, as appears from the following inscription cut in six lines on the back. It says: "In the fortieth year (40) of the king, the king of kings, Huvishka, in the second month of winter, the 23rd day. On this [date specified as] above Senahasti[n] the son of Pindapayya and Bhonuka the son of Viṛavṛddhi, these two comrades, erect[ed] both [this] Nāga at their own tank. May the Lord Nāga be pleased!"

The next significant sculpture is that of no. C14, which was recovered from the village of Khamni 6 miles from Mathurā City on the road to Govardhan. When it was recovered, this too was worshipped as Dauji or Balarāma by local people. It is the statue of the height 175.8 cm., depicting a Nāga standing in the same attitude as C13. Both his arms are broken, and his lower portion beneath the feet is missing. The sculpture is much defaced. And it is said that traces of ornaments can be noticed on the left shoulder and arm, and that the snake coils are indicated on the back of the stone.



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The sculpture C15 was obtained from the village of Kukargam in the Śādabad district. It is of the height of 93.5 cm., and it is a Nāga statue with a hood of a seven-headed snake, the coils of which can be seen on both sides. The right hand of the figure is raised above the head, and the left holds a cup. He wears elaborate headgear and ornaments. A wreath is slung round his shoulders. The lower portion of the figure is missing.

The sculpture C16 is recovered from a place on the perambulation road between the villages of Maholi and Usphār. It is a fragment of the height of 44.5 cm., consisting of the hind portion of

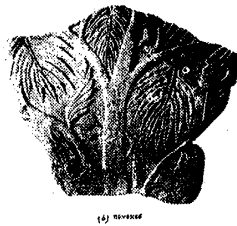
a coiled-up snake carved in the round. Though the upper half is missing, it is considered to be a human bust with snake-hood. This fragment is significant, because a Sanskrit inscription in two lines. It says that it was donated by some "Āsvameda, the son of Bhuvan the Tripravaraka", engraved on the front face of the roughly dressed base. From the designation Tripravaraka, signifying "a descendant of three prominent rishis", J. Ph. Vogel considered that the donor was a Brahmin. From the character of the inscription, it is considered that the sculpture was made in the later Kushan period or early Gupta period.



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A statuette C21 (height 23.5 cm.) was recovered from a shrine near Jama Mosque in Mathurā, and it is said to have originally recovered from Bhutesar mound, which located to the south of Kaṭrā mound, situating in the western part of the city. It shows a Nāga statue of Chhaṛgāon (no C 13) type. This figure bears an inscription in one line: "In the year 52, in the 3rd month of the rainy season, on the 25th day. [Image] of the lord." Thus, it is considered that some kind of Nāga worship was in practice at Bhūtesar mound under the reign of Huvishka.

Further, on one face of a fragment F2 (height 73.4 cm.) is the nearly life-size figure of a female deity, which A. Cunningham identified as "Queen of the Nāgas." Over the defaced head, we find a Nāga-hood consisted of nine snakeheads. Both



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arms are broken off near the elbow, and a scarf is thrown over the left arm. The head is surrounded by a large circular halo, whose lower half is extant. From it radiate five female figures, presumably snake-maidens. The hair is drawn flat over the top of the head where it is

kept down by a narrow band, and collected at the back in three heavy chignons. On the palms of the hands, which are raised to the height of the shoulders, she carries two bowls, from each of which rises a cobra (?). The bowl to the left is defaced, and that to the right slightly damaged. On the reverse is an *asoka* tree, carved in very shallow relief. Find-place unknown.

A stone slab F3 (height 116.5 cm.) shows three standing figures in relief. Though they are much worn, the central one is a Nāgī with a hood of five snakeheads. The upper portion of her body is nude, and the lower section is broken. Her left hand, draped with a scarf,

rests on her hip and holds a vessel. Her right hand is raised to the shoulder. She stands between two somewhat larger figures of warriors, each holding a spear in his left hand and raising his right hand to his shoulder.

Besides, these sculptures and the inscriptions observed in some of them, we have several interesting inscriptions showing Nāga worship. From Rāl-Badar mound, about 13 km. to the North West of Mathurā, an image of Nāga (no.211 of Mathurā Museum), accompanied by two Nāgis was found. On the pedestal, where a group of worshippers, five male, five female and two boys, are engraved (though destroyed, their names were also engraved on the rim), we find an inscription. It says that a tank and a garden (were caused to be made) for the holy Nāga *bhūmo* in the year 8 of *mahārāja sāhi* Kanikha (Kanishka), in the 4th (month) of Summer, on the 5th day, by a certain person who had some kind of official post called *niyavadaki*. Thus, this inscription is showing that the well to do section of the society showed a dedication to the Nāga by donating a water-tank and a garden¹⁸⁾.

Further, from Jamālpur mound, which locates to the South East of the city, two interesting inscriptions have been reported. It is well known that this mound was one of the important centers of Buddhism in Ancient India, as more than 40 Buddhist inscriptions have been found from this mound. Besides, it is known that vihāra of the Kushan king Huvishka, who held longest reign of more than 30 years among the Kushan rulers, existed here: From an inscription of the year 51 of the King Huvishka of Kushan dynasty, which says a monk called Buddhavarma made a donation of an image of Śākyamuni Buddha to the king's vihāra (*mahārāja-devaputra-vihāre*)¹⁹⁾. The vihāra appears to have continued to prosper for more than 20 years there. In the year 77 of the king Vāsudeva, who ruled from the year 64 to 80, a monk called Jivaka from Swat region donated pillar-bases to this Huvishka's monastery (*mahārājasya rājatirājasya devaputrasya Huvishkasya vihāre*)²⁰⁾. Moreover, the mound continued to be the center of Buddhism till the Gupta period: In an inscription, this place was referred to as Śrikunda, and a monastery belonging to some Kakatika sect²¹⁾.

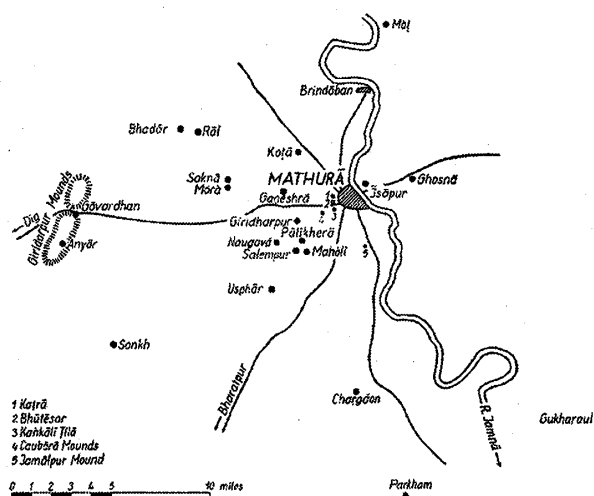
Despite the fact that Jamarpūr was important center of Buddhism, it seems to have originally been the center of Nāga worship. The inscription of the year 26 of the king Kanishka discovered there reads: "Success! In the year 26, in the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, on the 5th day, on this date, the stone slab was set up at the shrine of the holy lord of Nāgas Dadhikarṇṇa by the boys, chief among whom is Nandibal, the sons of the actors of Mathurā, who are known as the Candaka brothers. May it be for the sharing of the

principal lot by their parents. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.”²²⁾ Thus, it is stated that under the rule of Kanishka, a shrine (*sthāna*) of Nāga king Dadhikarṇṇa (*nagendra Dadhikarṇṇa*) existed in the place, and that actors of Mathurā called Caṇḍaka brothers worshipped this Nāgarāja by donating a stone slab in honor of him. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an inscription revealing the donation of a tank, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone slab by a Brahmin treasurer during the reign of Sodāṣa, the famous Śaka ruler who ruled Mathurā in the first century B.C., was also recovered from this site. Thus, we may be able to estimate that the Jamālpur mound was the center of Nāga worship from the first century B.C.²³⁾ Further more, in one of the pillar-base found in the Huvishka vihāra, an inscription, dated the year 77 of the king Vāsudeva, was discovered²⁴⁾. It states that the gift of the pillar-base was made by some person called Devila who was the priest at the shrine of the Nāgarāja Dadhikarṇṇa (*dānam Devilasya Dadhikarṇṇa-devakulikasya*). Further more, Vogel suggests the possibility of the existence of another Nāga sculpture in Lucknow Museum (No. B934, height 139.7 cm.) which could have originally been from this Jamālpur mound²⁵⁾. Thus, in Jamālpur, a *devakula* enshrined Nāgaraja Dadhikarṇṇa continued to prosper till the time of Vāsudeva for more than half a decade, side by side with Buddhism.

Further, a Nāga statue is also discovered from the village of Girdarpur, which locates at 4.8 km. to the South-West-West of Mathurā. It is said that originally there was an extensive tank there, which was made into arable land in later days. A series of mounds, which was destroyed Buddhist stūpas, existed all around its margin. From some orchard

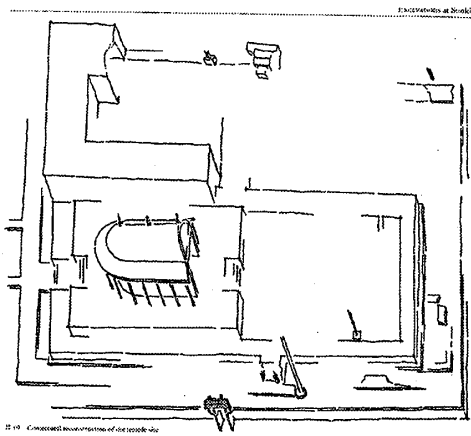
here a relief containing a Nāgī standing between two warriors armed with spears (height 47.6 cm., F32 of the Catalogue) has been recovered.²⁶⁾

Thus, from such artifacts and inscriptions mentioned above, we find that the center of Nāga cult existed at Chhargāon, Rāl-Badār Mound, Bhūtesar Mound, and Jamālpur Mound and at Girdarpur. In such places some kind of tank or pond associating with some Nāgas existed, in which life-size Nāga

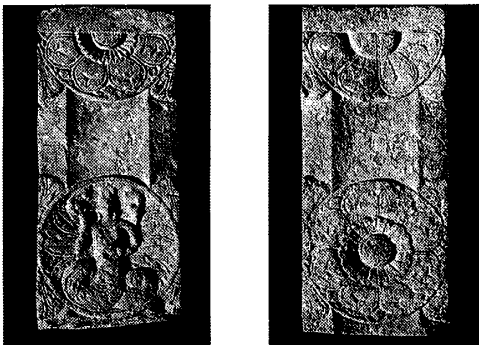


images were established as the objects of worship. In fact, Vogel mentions that he himself saw an upper portion of a worn-out Nāga image of Kushan period of the size of about 120 cm., which local people called Bai, i.e., Balarāma, was installed in a tank called *Bai-ka Pokhar*, near the village of Itauli, 12 km. east of the city of Mathurā²⁷⁾ In some cases, the followers of the cult of Nāgas, dedicated stone-slabs, like the *ārāgyapata* of the Jains, to their object of worship. Some of the followers depicted their own figures on the pedestals of the Nāga images that they were going to donate to show their dedication. There was a practice of donating water-tanks and groves to such Nāga-rajās among the wealthy section of the followers. Like the case of Jamālpur, such centers of Nāga worship continued to prosper simultaneously with other religious establishments such as Buddhist vihāras. Lastly, there used to be a shrine (*sthāna*) of Nāga-rājās like that of Dadhikarṇṇa, and priests called *devakurikas* served in such shrines.

3. The Nature of the Shines of Nāgarāja



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As for the examination of the nature of such shrines of Nāgarājās, the archeological excavation at Sonkh, locating 22 km. to the South-West of Mathurā, conducted by Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, has cast blight light²⁸⁾. To the 400 m. north of the main excavation site of Sonkh, there existed a small hill where a temple of a goddess Cāmaradevī stood. The image of Cāmaradevī was, in fact, an image of some Nāgarāja of the size of 143cm. high, 102cm. wide, and 35 cm. thick. Underneath of this temple area, a shrine complex of the size of 43 m. (East-West) X 33 m. (North-South) was unearthed.

It is reported that the entire area was surrounded by stone railings like that of Sāñchī stūpa. The pillars (*stambhas*) were 135 cm. high. And, there was a grand gate (*torāṇa*) of the height 3.45 m. with three layers of crossbars of

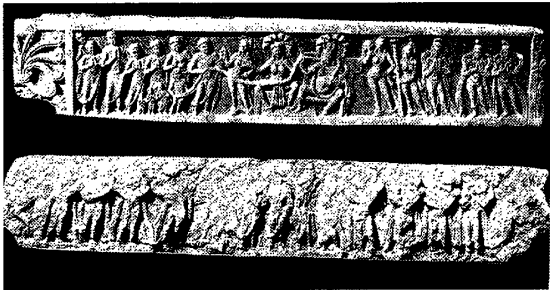


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around 2.5 m. wide on the southern side of the complex.

Inside of the shrine complex consisted of an apsidal temple, which was built on a platform of the height of around 1.5 m., and a monastery of the size of 14 m. square, which has small rooms along the three sides facing to the central court yard. The apsidal temple

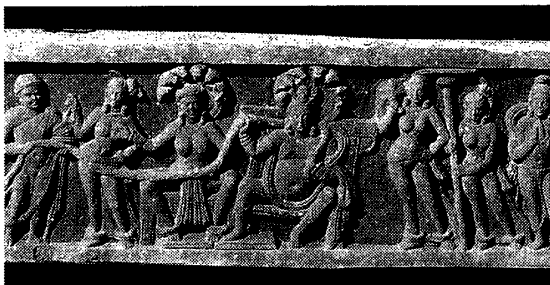
is reported to have had two phases: the phase I belonging to the first century B.C., and the phase II belonged to the Kushan period of around the second century A.D. Further, facing to the apsidal temple, to the east of it, there was a area of 14.5 m. X 11.5 m. which was encircled by the baked brick wall of the thickness of 2.0 - 2.3 m. on the south and north sides and 1.25 m. on the east side, at the level of the lower end of the platform. From the accumulation of sand and the fragments of many potteries in the enclosed area, it is estimated that the structure was a kind of water tank of the apsidal temple. It is pointed out that this shrine was established prior to the Śaka invasion of Mathura, and it was enlarged during the Kushan period.



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On the basis of the Nāga motifs on the relief of the torana and stone railings, and of the fact that many fragments of terracotta Nāga images and Nāga stone sculptures were unearthed from the shrine area, together with the fact that a mutilated object had three rectangular seal impressions, in which

the word '*ahikosika*' in Kushan Brāhmī was also discovered there, H. Härtel, who led the excavation, considers that the shrine was that of a Nāgarāja, possibly of Vāski.²⁹⁾



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In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the list of eight great Nāgarājas, i.e., Nanda, Upananda, Sāgara, Vāski, Takshaka, Manasvin, Anāvātapta, and Utpalaka, appearing in the Lotus Sūtra, we find the name Vāski. Among them, the names of Nanda and Upananda, Sāgara, Manasvin,

Anavātapta occur in the life story of the Buddha: Nanda and Upananda at the Birth, Great Renunciation, and Miracle of Śrāvastī; Sāgara at the Great Renunciation and seizing of Buddha's Golden Bowl; Manasvin at Great Renunciation; Anavātapta at the Great Renunciation and he along with Mucalinda and Elapattra received the relics of the Buddha at the Sharing of Buddha's Relics in Kushinagara. However, the names of Vāsiki, Takshaka and Utpalaka appear almost for the first time in the Lotus Sūtra. The Nāgarāja Utpalaka does not appear in Akanuma Chizen's *Indo Bukkyo Koyu Meish Jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Proper Names). And, for Nāgarājas Vāsiki, the practical absolute leader of the Nāgas in Bhogavati, and for Takshaka, who is believed to have resided in his hometown Kurukushetra, only the later Mahāyāna text *Aryamahāmayūrividyājñi* refers to them. Inclusion of Vāsiki and Takshaka in the Eight Great Nāgarājas in the Lotus Sūtra may indicate the fact that the compilers of the Lotus Sūtra could not ignore the worship of the two Nāgarājas, as it had been established so strongly in the then religious life of the Hindus.

Conclusion:

The conversion of the people with Nāga background into Buddhism appeared to have continued from the time of the Buddha, as the various stone relief works of many Buddhist stūpas show. Besides, it is said on the basis of the studies of the legends in scriptures like Dipavaṃsa, Mahāvāṃsa and etc. that the spread of Buddhism in Kashmir and Northwest India was carried out by the conversion of the people with Nāga background. The prevalence and popularity of Nāga cult among the people in Ancient India was so great that even Kauṭilya suggested a creation of cults, whether Nāga or apparition or the like if the state coffer was in difficulty.³⁰⁾ We feel that the episode of the attainment of Buddhahood by the Nāga princess in the Lotus Sūtra shows the Mahāyāna version of the same process, and that there existed a certain cultural climate that especially ushered in the incorporation of the episode into the Lotus Sūtra. This can be well deduced from the archeological artifacts from North India during the Kushan period. Especially from Mathurā, the noted administrative, commercial and religious center under the dynasty, and its environs, many sculptures and inscriptions showing Nāga worship have been recovered. They not only demonstrate the significance of the prevalence of Nāga worship in the region, but also they reveal the fact that the faith had already become a part of the then daily Hindu religious

life. For the compilers of the Lotus Sūtra, it appears that the cult of Nāga and the followers of the faith were no longer negligible elements, without which the salvation of all the sentient beings by the Eternal Buddha could not be completed.

- 1) V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Rinsen Book Co., Kyoto, 1986.
- 2) D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Vikas Publication House, New Delhi, 1977, pp.93-94.
- 3) B. Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol. II, Munshiram Manoralal, 1983, p.107.
- 4) D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1975, p.129.
- 5) H. Oldenberg, trans., *The Grhya Sūtras*, Vol.I (SBE, Vol.30), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1981, pp.327-331.
- 6) *Ibid.*, pp.201-203.
- 7) Yushō Miyasaka, *Indo Koten Ron*, Vol.I, Chikuma-shobo, Tokyo, 1983, p.135.
- 8) T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, trans., *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.217-219.
- 9) R.C. Majumdar & K.K. Dasgupta, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol.III, pt.II, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982, p. 909.
- 10) J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1971, pp.175-211.
- 11) *Ibid.*, pl.XXIV, fig.1; On the inner face of the left-hand pillar of the Western gate, in the scene of the Buddha under the Pipal Tree, a male figure with five snake-hoods and many Naginis can be noticed (*Ibid.*, Pl.XXIV,fig.2).
- 12) Keishō Tsukamoto, *Hokekyo no Seiritsu to Tenkai*, Kosei Shuppan-sha, Tokyo, 1986, pp.72-74.
- 13) Dipavaṃsa, 8, 1-3; Mahāvāṃsa, 12-3, 9-28.
- 14) *Taisho Tripitaka*, 25, 410-411b.
- 15) *Ibid.*, 50, 116b-c.
- 16) *Ibid.*, 50, 156a-b.
- 17) J. Ph. Vogel, *Archeological Museum at Mathura*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1971 (reprint), pp.88-93 & 111-116.
- 18) H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Gottingen, 1961, § 102.
- 19) *Ibid.* § 29.

- 20) *Ibid.*, § 31.
- 21) *Ibid.*, § 65.
- 22) *Ibid.*, § 28.
- 23) *Ibid.*, § 64.
- 24) *Ibid.*, § 34.
- 25) J. Ph. Vogel, "Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathurā", *Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, reprint, Swati Publications, Delhi, 1990,
- 26) J. Ph. Vogel, op.cit., p.116, no.F32
- 27) J. Ph. Vogel, "Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathurā", *Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, p.161.
- 28) Harbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*, Dietrich Reimer Verg, Berlin, 1993, pp.413ff.
- 29) *Ibid.*, pp.425 - 427.
- 30) *Arthaśāstra*, Book V, Ch.II: Gisho Nakano, trans., *Jituriron*, Seikatsu-sha, Tokyo, 1994, p.238.

Photos and Map for Reference:

1. Jātaka of the Nāga Champaka (Amaravati), from J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, Pl. VII.
2. The Conversion of the Kasyapas (Sanchi), from *Ibid.*, Pl.IV.
3. Ellapattra worshipping the Buddha (Bharhut), from *Ibid.*, Pl.III.
4. Nāga image from Chhargāon, from *Ibid.*, Pl.V.
5. Nāga image from Kukargam, from *Ibid.*, Pl.VI.
6. Nāga Figure from Mathurā City, J. Ph. Vogel, "Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathura", *Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, Pl.LIV (a).
7. 'The Queen of the Nagās', from J. Ph.Vogel, *Archeological Museum at Mathura*, Pl.XIX.
8. A Map of Mathurā and its environ, from H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Map 2.
9. Conjectural Reconstruction of the temple Complex, from H. Hartel, *Excavations at Sonkh.*, p.422.
10. Apsidal Temple (Phase II), from *Ibid.*, p. 415.
11. A Pillar of Railings, from *Ibid.*, p.446, no.27.
12. Obverse & Reverse of the Torāṇa's Crossbar, from *Ibid.*, p.438, no.4.
13. So called Nāgarāja Vāsuki in the center section of the Cross-Bar