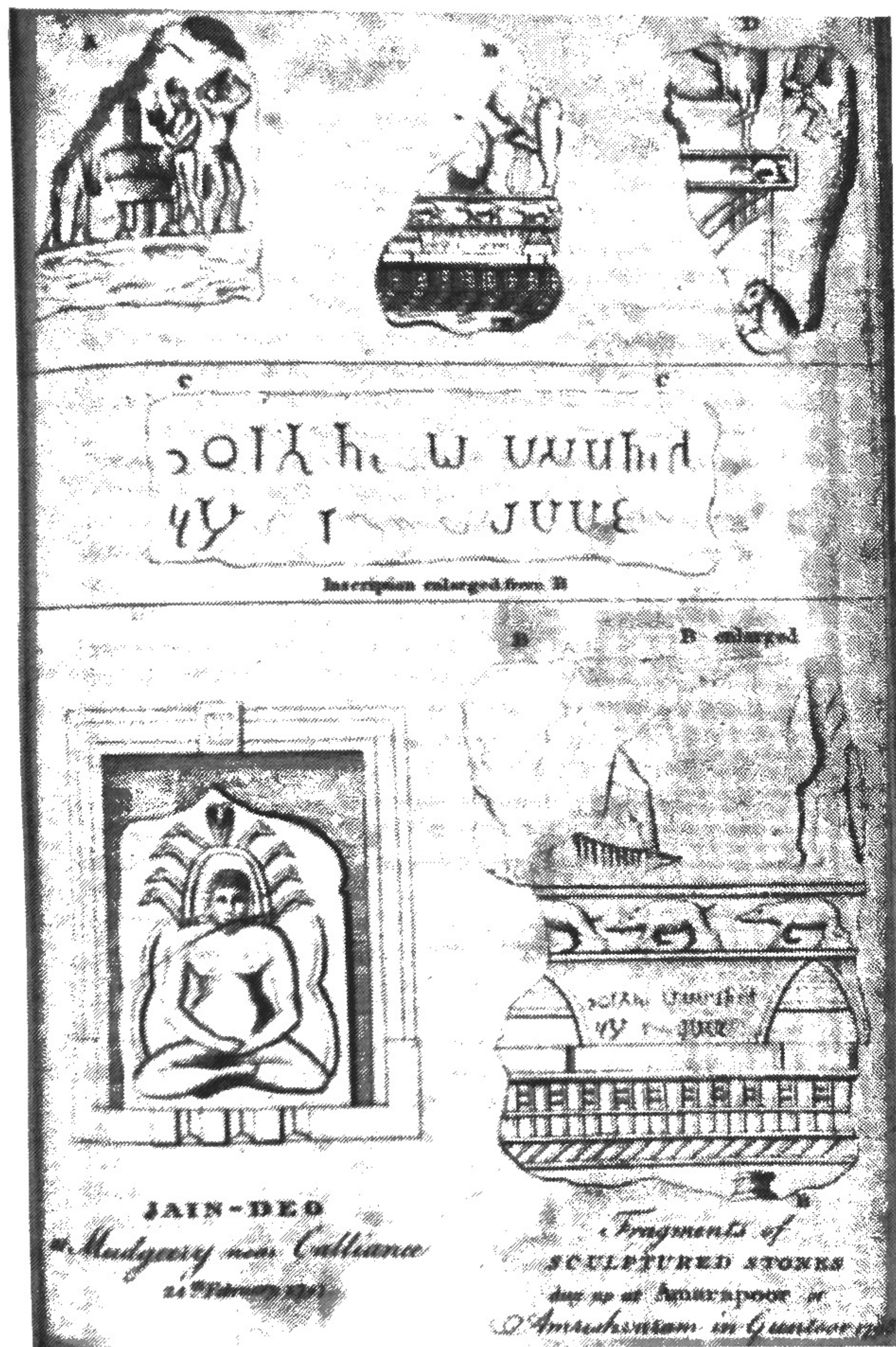


# Colin Mackenzie and the Stupa at Amaravati

JENNIFER HOWES



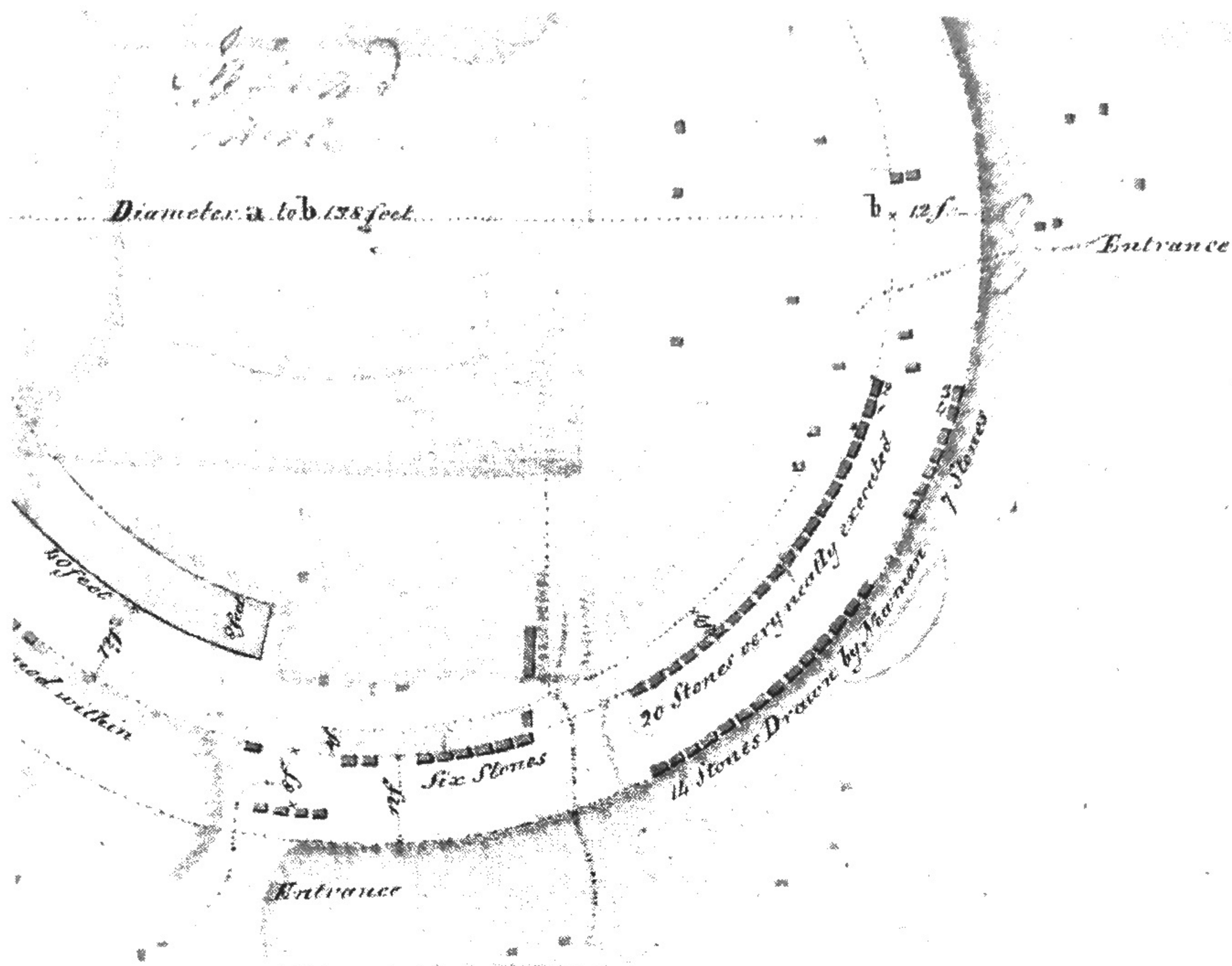
1. Engraving showing three Amaravati stones discovered by Mackenzie and his survey team in 1798 (Mackenzie 1809: p. 274).

To anyone who has researched British accounts of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India, Colin Mackenzie's name will probably already be familiar. During his four decade career on the sub-continent he collected what is now the most comprehensive extant archive of information on southern Indian customs, religion, folklore, geography and antiquities.<sup>1</sup> He was born on the island of Lewis in Scotland in 1754, and

arrived in India in 1782 as a member of the Madras Engineers. In 1816 he became the first Surveyor General of India, and remained in the post until his death in 1821, at the age of sixty seven.

Before his appointment as Surveyor General, Mackenzie took part in numerous map surveys in the south of India, during which he collected and commissioned drawings on a multitude of subjects. The





2. Close-up of folio 6 from the Mackenzie Amaravati album. This plan of the site, made in March 1816, indicates where the stones drawn by John Newman were located. The Newman drawings are missing.

Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library are privileged to hold the largest known group of drawings collected by Colin Mackenzie. Within this vast collection of 1,419 drawings, there is an album containing 85 sheets of sketches from Amaravati.<sup>2</sup> The importance of this album is immense when one considers that these drawings, made between 1816 and 1820, document the earliest systematic exploration of a stupa site in India. Three copies of the Mackenzie Amaravati album were originally made. One was placed in the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, the second was sent to Madras and the third was sent to the Court of Directors in London. The copy sent to London, which is now in the British Library, is the only one still in existence.

By looking at the Mackenzie drawings in this album alongside other documents connected with Amaravati, a great deal is revealed about the history of the site, the movement of the stones and the British discovery of Buddhism in India. I will begin by

considering the Mackenzie Amaravati Album as a document of the excavations conducted from 1816 to 1817. I will then look at what Mackenzie's excavations tell us about the earliest scholarly encounters with Buddhist monuments in India. Finally, I will ask what happened to the 117 known stones unearthed by Colin Mackenzie's survey team at Amaravati. The resulting research is of interest to both historians and museum professionals.

#### The Album as a Record of the Mackenzie Excavations of 1816-1817

Colin Mackenzie was the first European to investigate the stupa at Amaravati. An account of Mackenzie's first visit to the site in 1798 (commonly misdated as 1797) is given in an article titled "Account of the Jains".<sup>3</sup> Some of the engravings accompanying this article are based on drawings of seven Amaravati sculptures found during that initial encounter (Fig. 1). These are the oldest

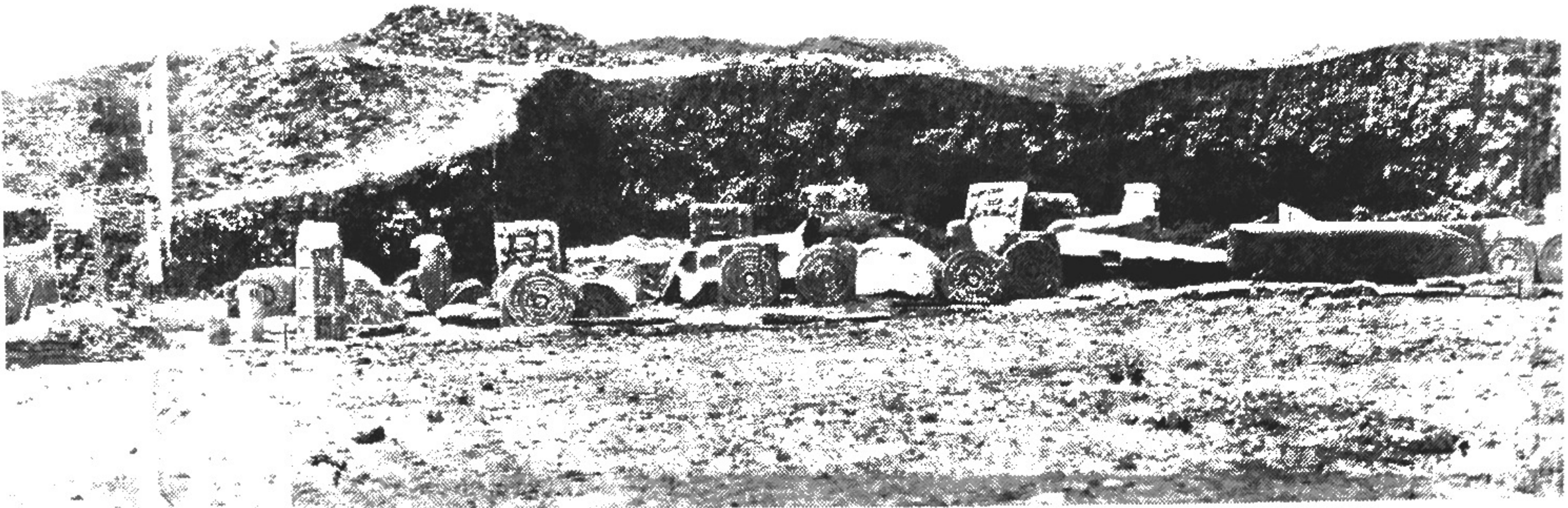


Key List 1350 a.

Key List 1360 "

1350 a

1360 "



3. One of the twelve panels from the photographic panorama of Amaravati taken by Sergeant Coney in 1880. [BL-OIOC, Photo1000/13 (1350)].

known representations of Amaravati sculptures. The drawings which some of these engravings are based on are found elsewhere in the Mackenzie Collection,<sup>4</sup> but the whereabouts of the seven sculptures is not known.

Mackenzie was unable to commence a systematic study of the site until almost 20 years later, after his appointment as Surveyor General of India. Only then did he have the resources to send a survey team to the site. He returned to Amaravati in March 1816, and although he was only on site for five months, his draftsmen stayed on for over a year, until October 1817. Numerous drawings were made during the excavations of 1816-17. Many of these were later reworked into fair copies by Mackenzie's copyists in Calcutta, and date as late as 1820. In 1823, two years after Mackenzie's death, an article by Mackenzie about the excavations was published in *The Asiatic Journal*.

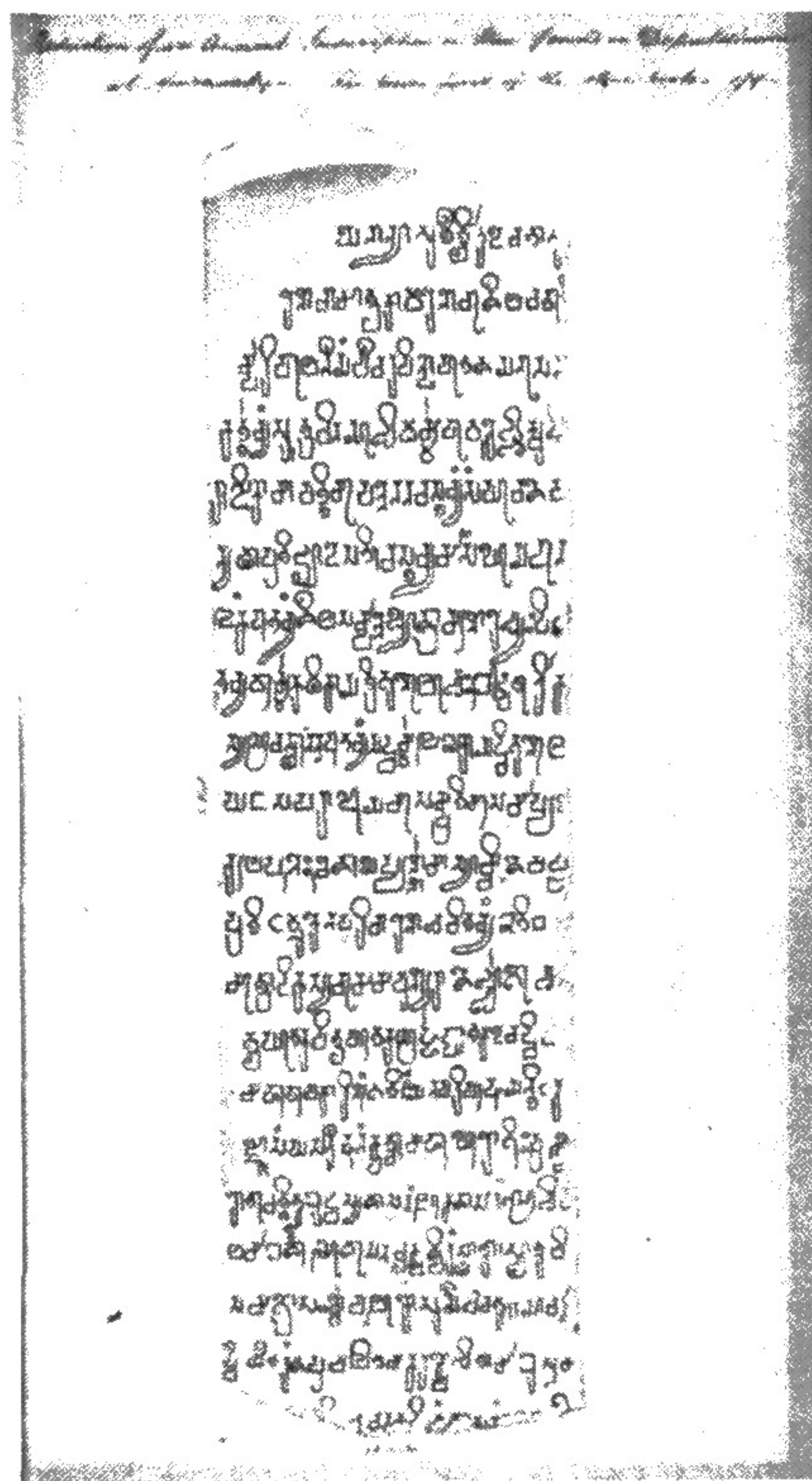
Although the Mackenzie Amaravati drawings are of paramount interest to archaeologists, and clearly read as documentation of an archaeological excavation, they were created using nothing more than early nineteenth century survey techniques and predate the codification of the discipline later known as archaeology. Added to these survey techniques, Mackenzie issued special instructions to his team of draftsmen and surveyors. These specifics were probably outlined by Mackenzie during his five month stay at Amaravati in 1816, at the beginning of the survey. The names of eight of the surveyors and draftsmen who worked on-site from March 1816 to October 1817 are known to us through the names written on the Mackenzie drawings.<sup>5</sup> Because these drawings were signed, we know that some of the drawings made by Mackenzie's survey team are missing. The evidence for these missing drawings is found in a

map of the site, dated 1816, in the Amaravati album. The plan indicates that John Newman, an Anglo-Indian draftsman who worked for Mackenzie from 1810 to 1818, made drawings of at least 14 stones in 1816 (Fig. 2). None of the drawings in the album bear Newman's signature, and there is no trace of Newman's Amaravati drawings elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

Three of the drawings in the Mackenzie Amaravati album were made two years after the survey had finished, in 1819. These three drawings were by Indian draftsmen employed by Mackenzie in Calcutta.<sup>7</sup> One would guess that they were copyists, and that these pictures were copies of drawings made on-site during the 1816-17 excavation, but this is not the case. All three of these drawings are of sculptures traceable to museum collections. Two of them are in the British Museum<sup>8</sup> and the third is in the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Fig. 10), suggesting that these three stones were sent to Calcutta while the excavation was in progress, and were drawn by Mackenzie's Calcutta based draftsmen before two of them were sent to London.

In some ways, the Mackenzie excavations were the beginning of the end of this once glorious monument. Successive excavations during the nineteenth century pared down the remains of the stupa to what we find today. The site is now comparable to a jigsaw puzzle with most of its pieces missing.<sup>9</sup> By looking at subsequent 19th century explorations at the site, one gains an idea of how important the documentation in the Mackenzie album has become.<sup>10</sup> It wasn't until 1845 that Walter Elliott performed his excavation of the stupa at Amaravati. Unfortunately, no records of Elliott's excavation have survived, aside from a small handful of papers now in the British Museum. Considering how





4. Folio 11 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. This inscriptional stone is now in the British Museum (Knox 1992: #130). It is probably one of the nine stones sent by Mackenzie to London in 1816. Brahmi script had not yet been deciphered so the stone was drawn upside down. It was reproduced in Marshall's article on Amaravati inscriptions (1837: p. 223-4).

extensively Elliot dug up the site, these papers are disappointing and unhelpful because they do not help determine where the items were in-situ before their removal to Madras. Robert Sewell initiated a more methodical survey of Amaravati in 1877, which involved not moving any in-situ stones, and sending loose stones to the Vijayawada Museum.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, his work was halted prematurely in 1879 and another excavation was commenced, without Sewell's knowledge, in February 1880. The destruction caused by this intrusive excavation, which was performed by J.G. Horsfall at the prompting of the Duke of Buckingham, devastated the site.

When James Burgess saw the site after the 1880 excavation, he was shocked to find that the stupa's foundations had been destroyed. Burgess tells us that "[t]he removal, in 1880, of all the debris and other remains of the stupa within the area of the rails – much of it thrown into and quite filling up the tank dug in the centre by Raja Venkatadri Naydu – destroyed for ever the chance of recovering any precise dimensions of the central pile, which even a few bricks *in-situ* might have fixed. We are therefore obliged to fall back on the imperfect observations of Colonel Mackenzie and what we know of other kindred structures, in order to form some idea of what it originally was."<sup>12</sup> Despite Burgess' pointed remarks on Mackenzie's maps and plans, their importance increased significantly after the 1880 excavation. They were now the only record ever made of the stupa's foundations before they were destroyed.

In the early 1880s, Sergeant Coney photographed a panoramic view of the site consisting of 12 joined pictures (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> The panorama shows the lamentable condition of the monument after J.G. Horsfall's excavations. The Mackenzie Amaravati album is therefore extremely important to studies of this early Buddhist site for several reasons. Besides providing the most complete record of what the site looked like before its foundations were destroyed,<sup>14</sup> these plans also show that the Mackenzie Amaravati stones, of which we have the Mackenzie drawings, were all excavated from the east side of the monument.

#### Amaravati and the Early Discovery of Buddhist Monuments in India

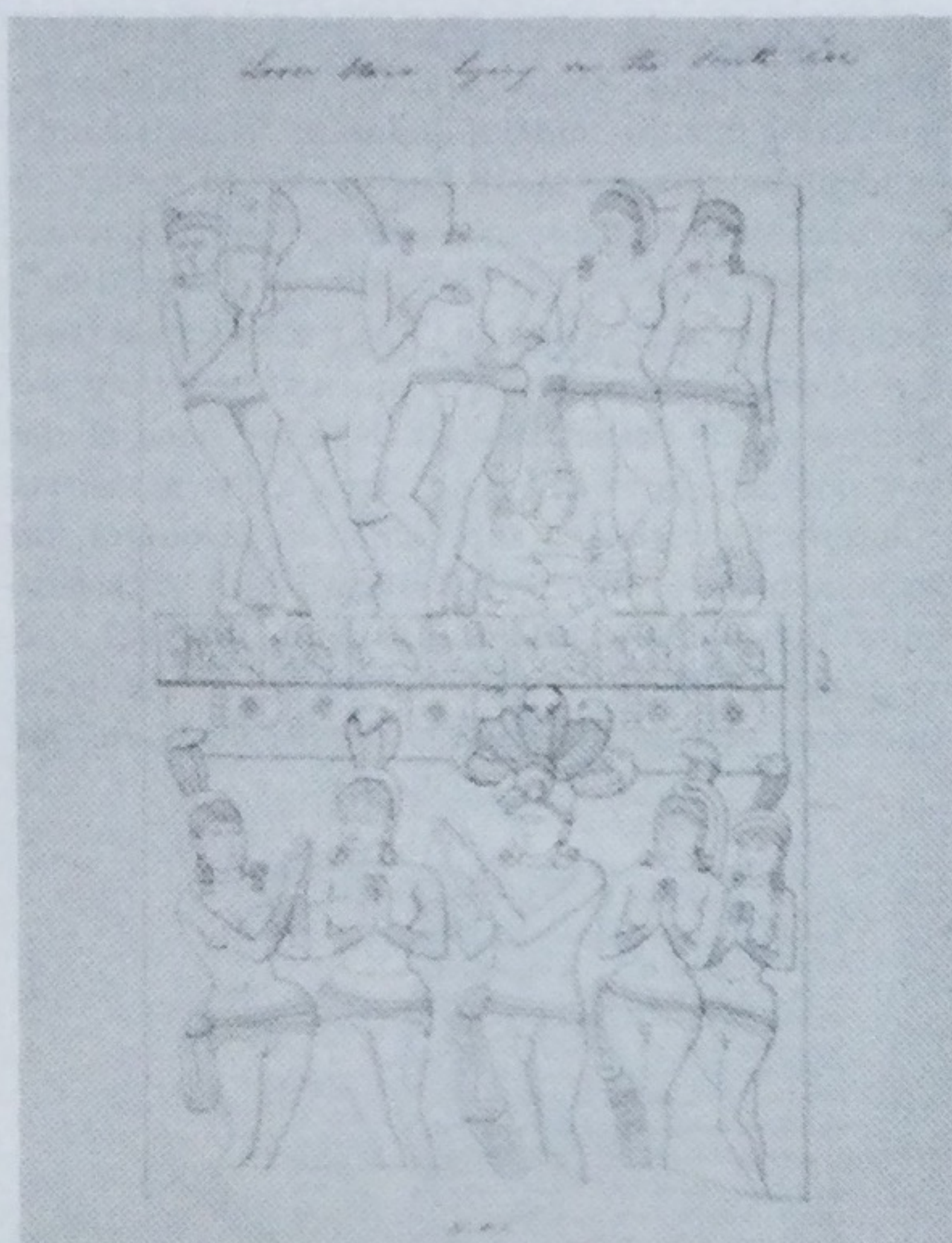
Mackenzie was a respected antiquarian and scholar whose diverse interests were reflected in the subject matter of his drawings. Topics such as natural history, trades and occupations, numismatics, inscriptions, landscapes, sculpture and monumental architecture all feature in the Mackenzie drawings. Amongst his many achievements, Mackenzie was the first European to recognize Jainism as a distinct religious system. During his many trips to Mysore, he had encountered the Jain monuments of Sravana Belgola, Mudabidri and Bhatkal. Because these monuments in Karnataka were in use by a Jain community at the time of Mackenzie's investigations, he was able to learn a great deal about this ancient religious system by meeting with local pandits.

At the time of Mackenzie's investigations, it hadn't been realized that Buddhism once flourished south of the Ganges. This absence of scholarly information is probably what led Mackenzie to believe that Amaravati was a Jain site. His first article on Amaravati was published in 1809 under the title, "Account of the Jains".<sup>15</sup> The article looked at sculptures from Amaravati,







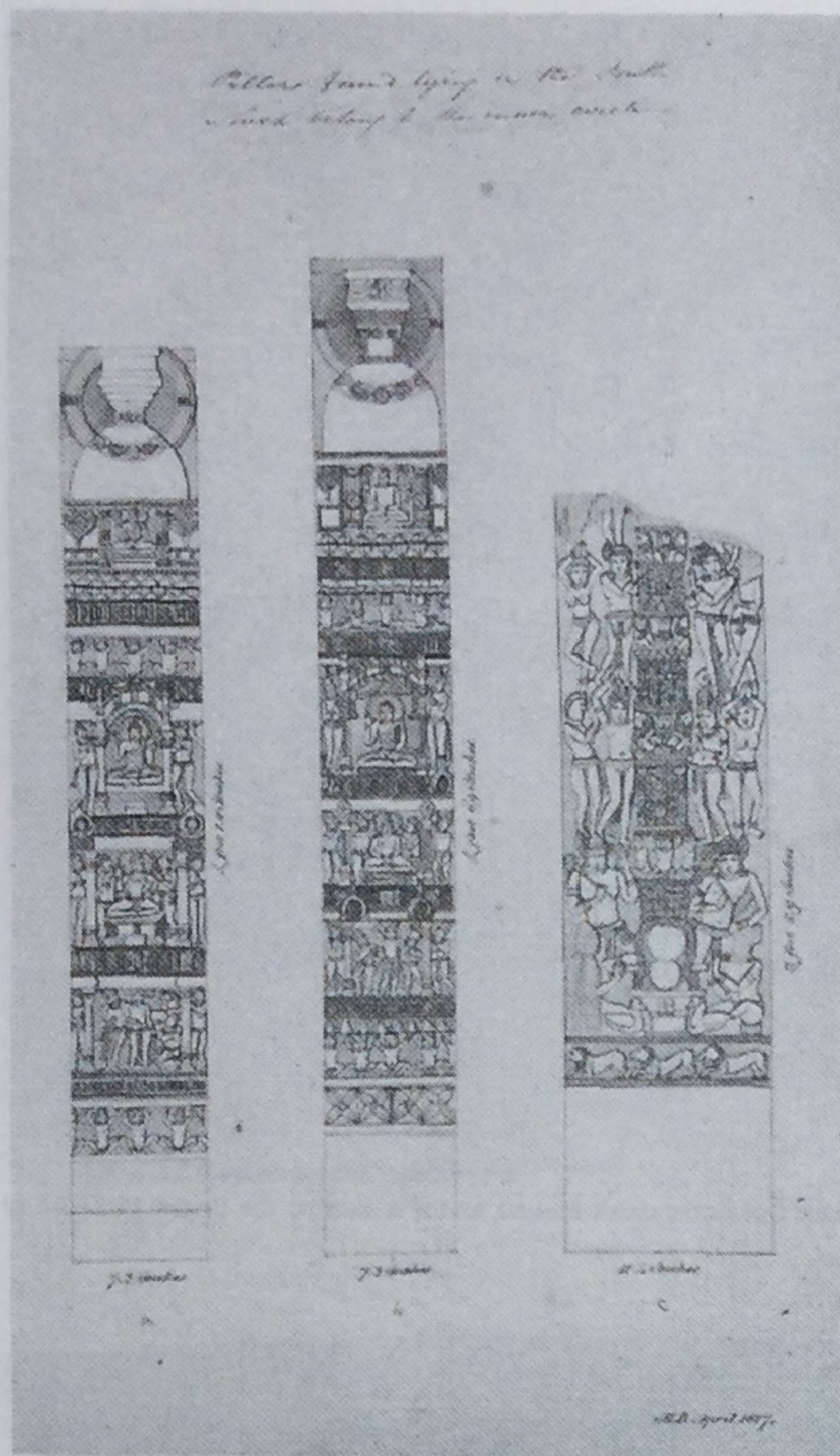


Left: 6. Folio 31 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. Henry Hamilton, 25 October 1816. This stone was incorporated into Robertson's Mound. It is now in the British Museum (Knox 1992: #102).

Below: 7. Photograph by Linnaeus Tripe of Amaravati stones in the Madras Government Museum, 1858. Four of the stones in this picture (Taylor 1856: #91, 93, 110, 117) were part of Robertson's mound, and are now in the British Museum (Knox 1992: #98, 52, 44, 104). [BL-OIOC, Photo 958/(30)]







8. Folio 59 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. Marcellus Burke, April 1817. The stones on the left and at the centre of the drawing were not part of Robertson's Mound, but were sent to the British Museum in 1859 (Knox 1992: #85, 86). The stone on the right is missing.

impetus for such a change in thought may have been Mackenzie's correspondence with Captain Edward Fell (1790-1824), the first European to conduct investigations at Sanchi.

Within the Mackenzie Manuscripts in the British Library, there is a letter from one of Mackenzie's secretaries to Edward Fell dated November 15, 1818. The letter states that "Col. Mackenzie has reason to suppose that it (Sanchi Stupa) is of a kind similar to others he has observed in other parts of India". The letter then recommends that a thorough report on the monuments of Sanchi be forwarded to Mackenzie. Fell's report, dated January 31 1819, describes sculpted figures standing in the stupa's four gateways, and identifies them as Buddhist.<sup>20</sup> Besides suggesting that the monument at Sanchi was Buddhist, Fell described the many striking

similarities between the stupa at Sanchi and the remains at Amaravati. This report must have intrigued Mackenzie, but unfortunately it didn't lead to any further investigations. Both Fell and Mackenzie died in the early 1820s, and comparative research on the two monuments was not seriously addressed until James Fergusson published *Tree and Serpent Worship* in 1868.

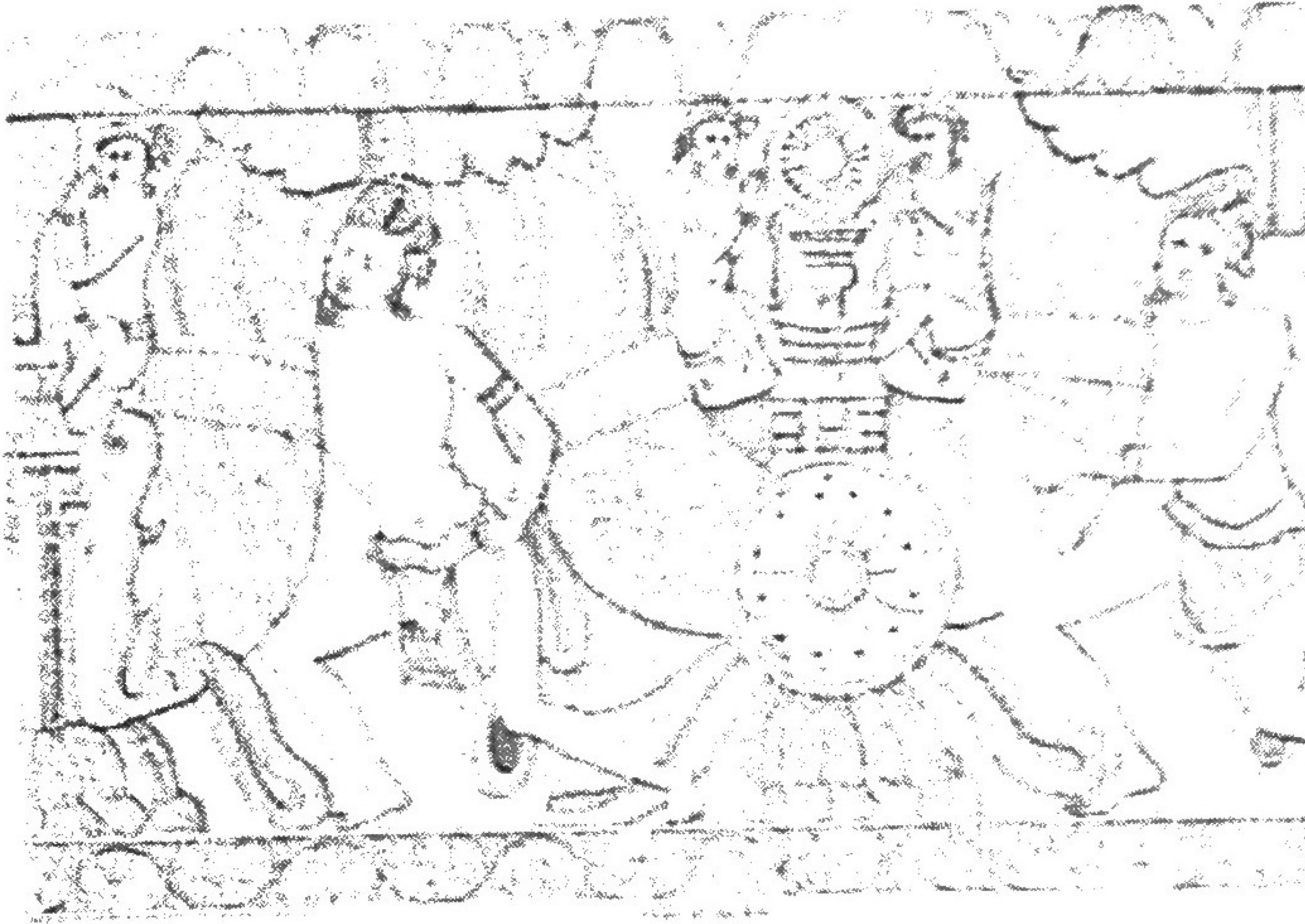
### History of the Mackenzie Stones

In total, 132 known stones can be connected with the Mackenzie excavations at Amaravati between 1798 and 1817. These stones can be identified through three sources. The first source is the engravings of seven stones in Mackenzie's 1809 article (Fig. 1). All seven of these stones are missing. The second source is the Mackenzie drawings, which depict 103 stones. Out of these, twenty nine depict stones now in museum collections in India and Britain, while the other seventy four stones are missing. The third source for identifying Mackenzie stones, which will be explored here, conclusively reveals a further twenty two Mackenzie stones which do not appear in any extant Mackenzie drawings.

The twenty two pieces revealed by this third source, along with twelve others which are depicted in the Amaravati Album, were incorporated into a small monument built at the coastal town of Masulipatam, 400 kilometres east of Amaravati. From the mid eighteenth century until 1834 British troops occupied the seaside fort at Masulipatam, so at the time of the Mackenzie survey of Amaravati, it was still an important British outpost. From Masulipatam, stones were sent by ship to Calcutta and London. A Mackenzie sketch map of the stupa dated 1816 indicates that stones were being sent from Amaravati to Masulipatam in September of that year.<sup>21</sup> Memorandum in the back of the Mackenzie Amaravati Album, dated April 1817, further indicates that "eleven stones of Depauldina were delivered into the charge of Major Cotgrove at Masulipatam, of which seven have been sent round to Calcutta".<sup>22</sup> We thus know that many Amaravati stones discovered during the Mackenzie survey were sent to Masulipatam, where they were loaded onto ships to Calcutta. They were then either received by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, or were sent to England.

Many of the stones brought from Amaravati to Masulipatam were not loaded onto ships. Instead, they were incorporated into a curious monument often referred to as Robertson's Mound. Francis W. Robertson, the Head Assistant to the Collector at Masulipatam from 1814 to 1817, was responsible for its construction. In the Mackenzie Drawings Collection there is a loose sketch and plan of "Mr. Robertson's Mound" (Fig. 5). The drawing shows the proposed plan and elevation for a square, three-tiered monument constructed out of

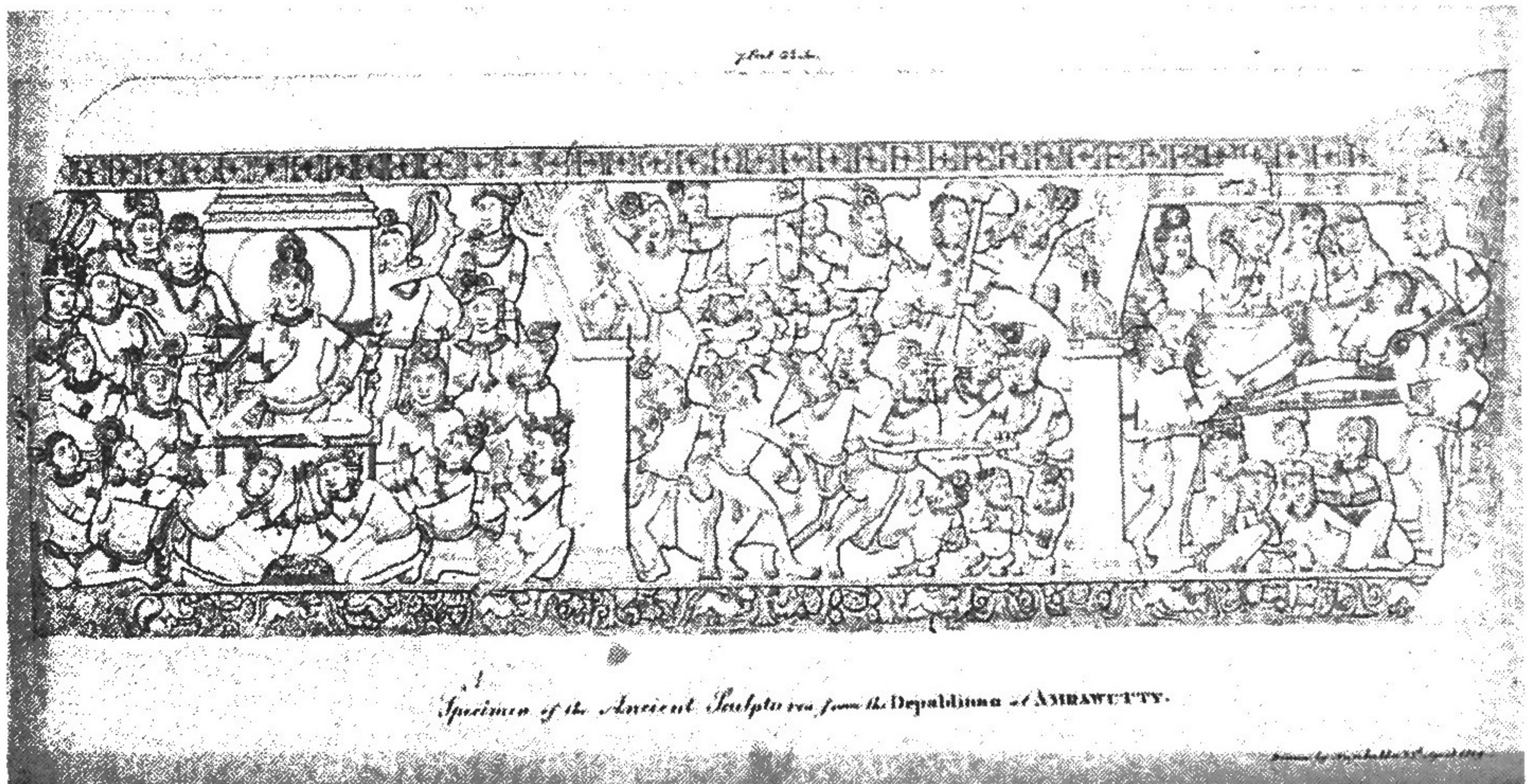




*Sculpture of Deposition at Amaravati*

9. Folio 15 of the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. March 1816. This stone was part of Robertson's Mound, and was sent to the British Museum in 1859. It is now in the National Museum of India.

10: Folio 83 of the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. Drawn in Calcutta by Najibulla, 22 April 1819. This lintel stone is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was probably one of the stones Mackenzie ordered to be sent to Calcutta in 1816.



*Specimen of the Ancient Sculptures from the Deposition at AMARAVATI.*

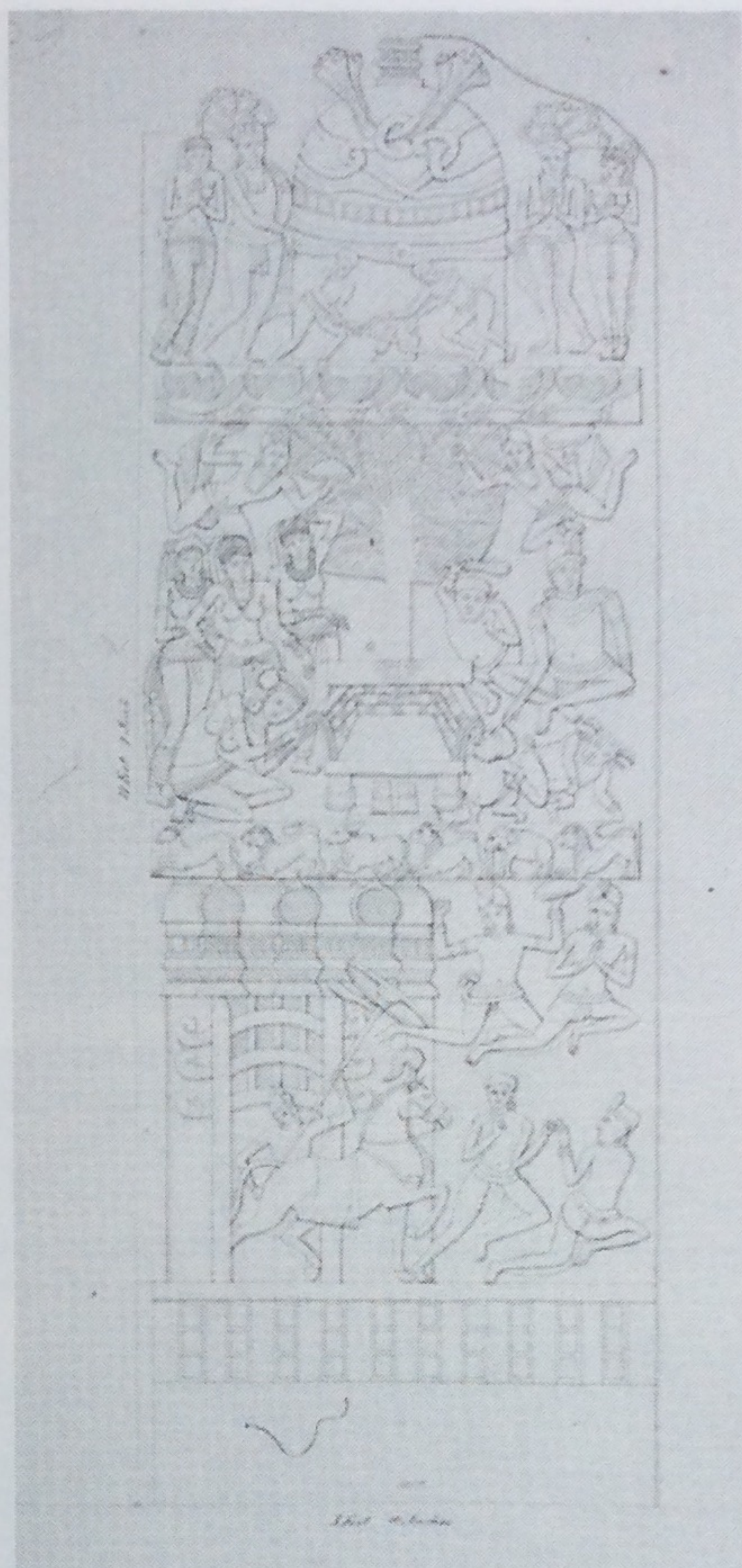


sculptures from Amaravati. The outermost tier was to be covered with large stones, while smaller stones were to be used on the smaller middle tier. An inscription on the drawing tells us that "there will be required 88 of the former or large sculptures and about 38 to 40 of the latter (smaller stones) to complete it. To acquire these number of stones the best part of the mound of Depaldinna must be opened".<sup>23</sup> The presence of this drawing in the Mackenzie Collection shows that Colin Mackenzie was in direct communication with Francis Robertson over his proposed plan to construct a monument out of Amaravati stones.

Robertson's Mound was constructed some time before June 1819,<sup>24</sup> but not on the proposed scale suggested by the plan in the Mackenzie Collection. Once Mackenzie's team had left the site, it must have been difficult for Robertson to enlist help to bring additional stones to Masulipatam. This would explain the substantially diminished size of the completed monument. Twelve of the drawings in the Mackenzie Amaravati album depict stones that were incorporated into Robertson's Mound, proving that the stones acquired by Robertson to build the scaled down version of the mound were indeed those unearthed by Mackenzie's survey team (Fig. 6).

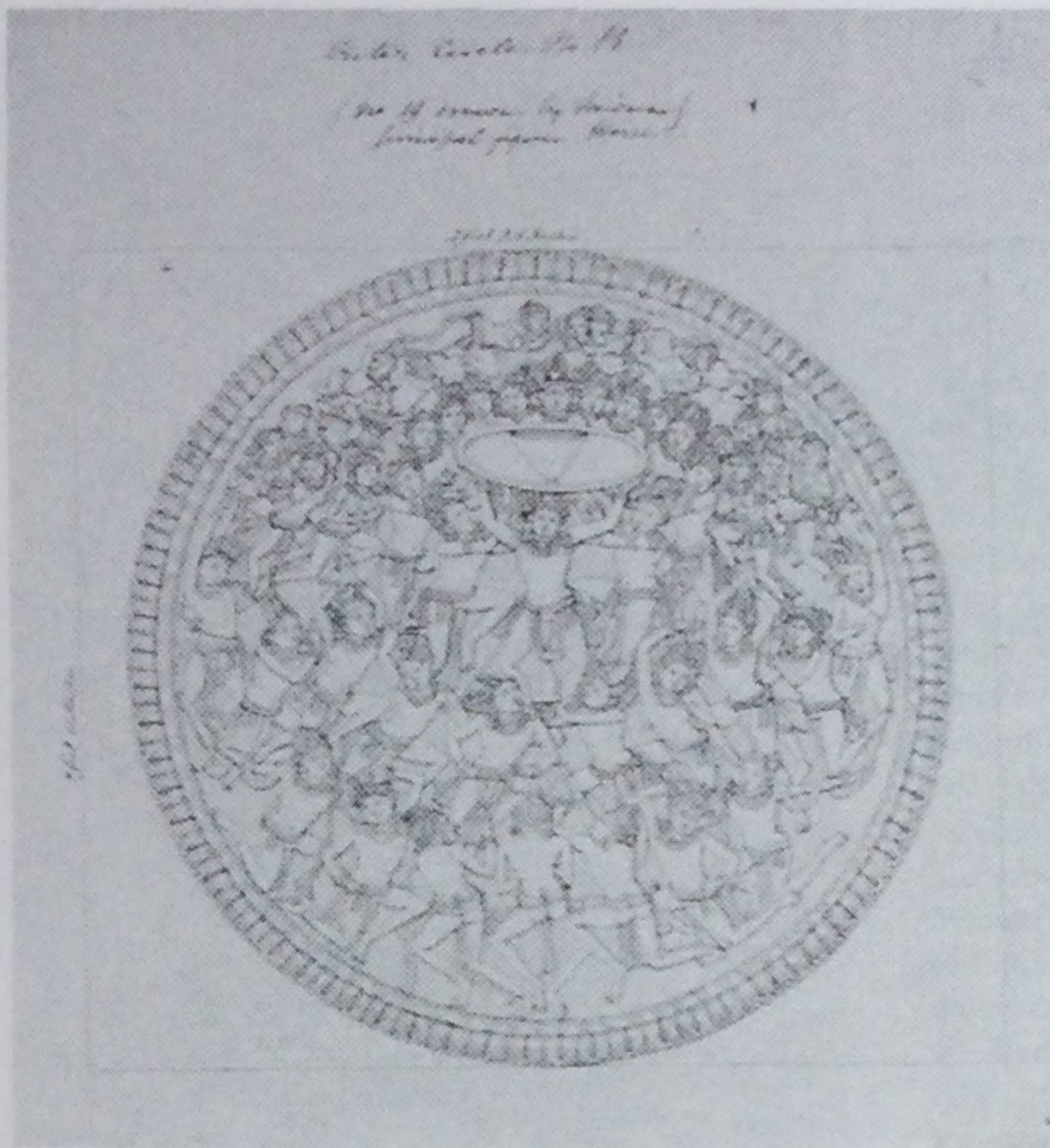
In 1835 the Governor of Madras, Sir Frederick Adam, visited Masulipatam and saw Robertson's Mound. A written account tells us that "[I]n the middle of the Pettah, at the spot where the two principal streets cross each other, are placed erect and arranged in a circular form, thirty-three large slabs of a compact limestone, covered with numerous figures... of the most exquisite execution; excelling any in the few places I have visited in India".<sup>25</sup> The stones obviously made a strong impression on Sir Frederick Adam because he ordered the monument to be dismantled and the sculptures to be sent to Madras. At that time, the Madras Literary Society was in the midst of setting up a museum for the Presidency, so the plan was to deposit the sculptures therein. In 1856, twenty-one years after the request was issued, the Amaravati stones from Robertson's Mound were finally sent to the Museum of the Literary Society of Madras.<sup>26</sup>

When the sculptures from Robertson's Mound eventually reached Madras, their arrival coincided with the delivery of the stones excavated at Amaravati by Sir Walter Elliott in 1845. In 1856 William Taylor wrote a catalogue for both the Elliot pieces and the Masulipatam sculptures.<sup>27</sup> The descriptions of the stones in the Taylor catalogue are virtually incomprehensible, and at first glance, appear completely useless.<sup>28</sup> However, the catalogue does two very important things. First, Taylor clearly distinguished which pieces were brought to Madras by Sir Walter Elliot, and which pieces were formerly part of Robertson's Mound at Masulipatam.



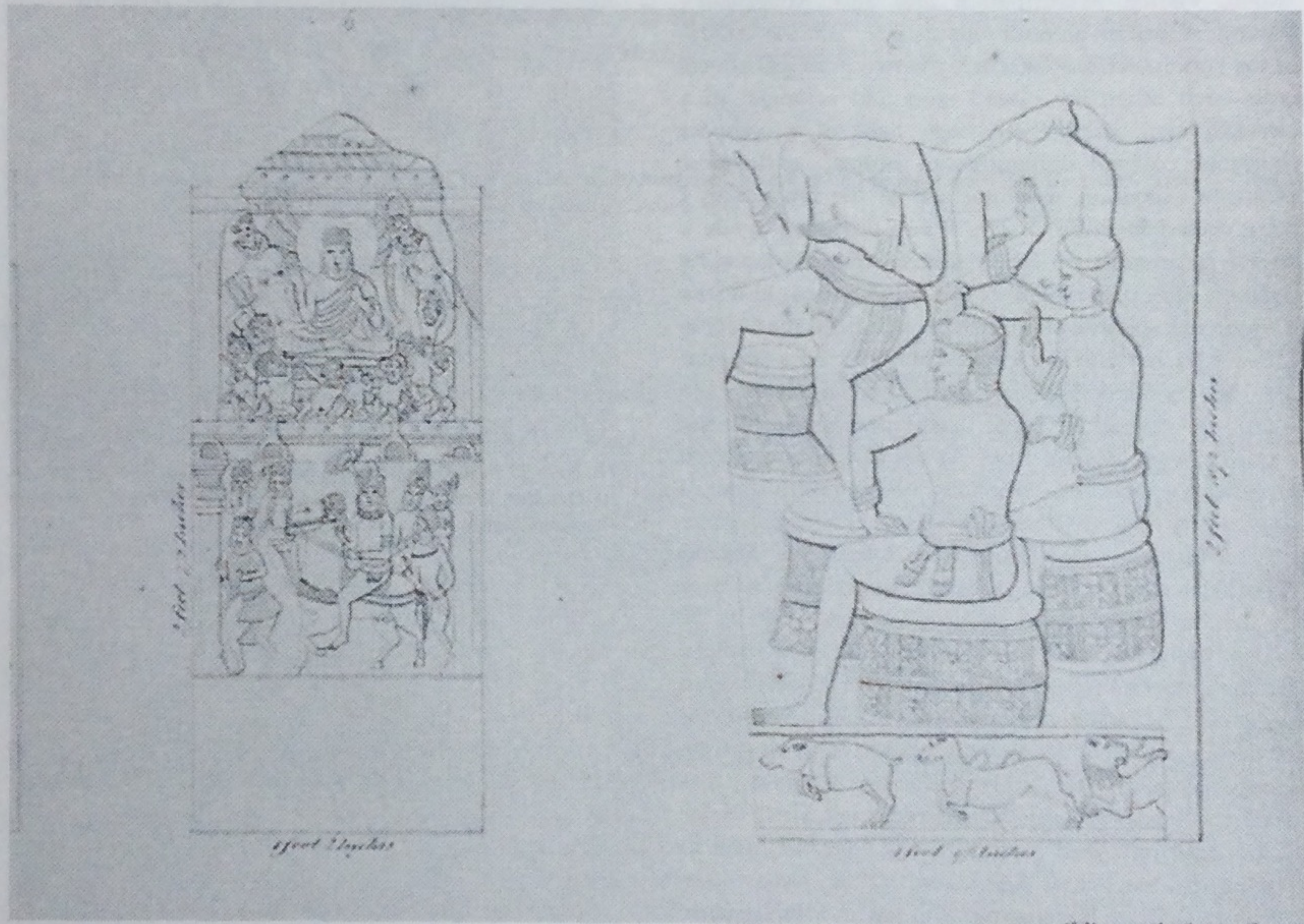
11. Folio 29 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. Henry Hamilton, 20 October 1816. This stone is now in the Madras Government Museum, Chennai (Sivaramamurti: Plate XXVI).





Left: 12. Folio 65 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. Henry Hamilton, April 1817. This stone is now in the Madras Government Museum, (Sivaramamurti: PlateXXVI). It also appears in a photograph taken at Amaravati in 1880 by Sgt. Coney. (BL-OIOC, Photo 1000/13 (1353).

Below: 13: Folio 51 from the Mackenzie Amaravati Album. C. Barnett, 12 March 1817. The stone on the right was part of Robertson's Mound, and is now in the British Museum (Knox 1992: #104). It also appears in the Tripe photograph in plate 7 of this article. The two other stones in this drawing are missing.





Second, the numbers Taylor assigned to the stones were the same numbers used in a series of photographs of the Amaravati sculptures taken by Linnaeus Tripe.<sup>29</sup> These pictures, taken between May and June of 1858, can be cross referenced with the numbered descriptions of the stones in Taylor's catalogue. Because all thirty eight of the Masulipatam stones catalogued by Taylor were photographed by Tripe, the photos provide a visual reference to Taylor's catalogue entries (Fig. 7). By cross referencing the Tripe album and the Taylor catalogue, one can identify all of the thirty eight Mackenzie stones that were used to construct Robertson's Mound at Masulipatam.

Perhaps the most curious thing about the thirty eight known Mackenzie stones from Robertson's Mound at Masulipatam is that all of them were sent to the British Museum. This suggests that the British must have regarded the pieces from Robertson's Mound as particularly important stones. Of the thirty eight pieces from Robertson's Mound that were sent to the British Museum, twelve are represented in Mackenzie drawings in the British Library. Maybe the remaining twenty six Masulipatam stones, which don't appear in any extant Mackenzie drawings, were amongst those depicted in the fourteen missing drawings by Mackenzie's draftsman, John Newman, made in 1816 (Fig. 2). If this is the case, these stones all came from the outer south east circle of the mound.

A further twelve stones in the British Museum appear in Mackenzie drawings, but were not part of the Masulipatam Mound. These were rediscovered on-site by Walter Elliot in 1845 and sent to Madras along with those he excavated. Four of the stones that were unearthed by Mackenzie's survey team, and weren't used by Francis Robertson in the construction of the Masulipatam Mound, were railing posts that were probably too tall and narrow to fit the shape Robertson intended for his monument (Fig. 8). Through the Mackenzie Amaravati Album and research on the Masulipatam Mound, we now know that out of the 121 "Elliot Marbles" sent from Madras to the British Museum in 1859, at least 50 (and possibly more) were actually discovered by Mackenzie's survey team between 1816 and 1817. Twelve were found on site in 1845 and the other thirty eight were used in the construction of Robertson's Mound at Masulipatam.

There are other Mackenzie Amaravati stones in museums in India. The National Museum in New Delhi has one Mackenzie Amaravati piece (Fig. 9) while the Indian Museum in Calcutta also has at least one (Fig. 10).<sup>31</sup> The largest collection of Mackenzie Amaravati stones in India is in the Madras Government Museum, where there are at least three stones represented in the Mackenzie Amaravati Album (Figs. 11 and 12).<sup>32</sup> One of these three stones, a medallion showing the adoration of

a bowl or reliquary, did not reach the Madras Government Museum until the 1880s. We know this for certain because it appears in a photograph by Sergeant Coney, taken on-site during James Burgess' excavations in the early 1880s.<sup>33</sup> This piece was obviously unearthed by Mackenzie's team, then went unnoticed during Elliot's excavations, suggesting that some Mackenzie pieces might have been quite substantially reburied after the survey of 1817. Burgess' team also rediscovered the other two Mackenzie pieces in the Madras Government Museum.<sup>34</sup>

Besides these three stones in the Madras Government Museum, a further set of Mackenzie Amaravati stones was sent from Masulipatam to Madras in 1882. According to James Burgess, some of the stones from Robertson's Mound found their way into the garden of the Master Attendant at Masulipatam. In 1880 Burgess gained access to them, and in 1882 he arranged for the transfer of this unspecified number of "some of the best" Masulipatam stones to Madras. This unknown quantity of Mackenzie stones is probably now in the Madras Government Museum.

When Mackenzie's excavations at Amaravati began in 1816, the only institution in India that resembled a museum was the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In February 1814 members of the Asiatic Society set up a facility "for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history; or to elucidate the particularities of nature or art of the East".<sup>36</sup> In 1816 Mackenzie removed two sculptures from Amaravati and sent them to the Asiatic Society. One of these two stones could be the lintel stone now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Fig. 10). Nine other stones were sent to the East India Company's museum in London. Two of these could have been the stones mentioned earlier that were drawn in Calcutta in 1819, and are now in the British Museum.<sup>37</sup> The inscriptional stone in the British Museum (Fig. 4) was definitely amongst the nine stones sent to London on Mackenzie's orders. When G.T. Marshall wrote his article on Amaravati inscriptions he relied entirely on the Mackenzie drawing of the stone because its location was not known, but in the late nineteenth century it resurfaced in the stores of the India Office.<sup>38</sup> As for the stones that weren't moved to Calcutta or London, Mackenzie obviously entertained the thought of displaying them somewhere near the site. Because there were no museums or similar institutions in southern India at that time,<sup>39</sup> Mr. Robertson's plan to assemble the loose sculptures into a monument at Masulipatam must have seemed like an extremely good idea.

The Mackenzie Amaravati drawings are a valuable source of information on the earliest recorded investigation of a Buddhist monument in India. Only a handful of the drawings in the album have been linked



with extant sculptures from Amaravati. There are seventy nine drawings of Mackenzie Amaravati stones that are unaccounted for (Fig. 13). Perhaps some of these missing stones are in museums or private collections, waiting to be connected with the Mackenzie drawings. To help museums and collectors throughout the world identify other stones excavated by Mackenzie's survey team, a digital version of the Mackenzie Amaravati album has been created.<sup>40</sup> It is my hope that more of the Mackenzie drawings will be connected with extant Amaravati stones.

The drawings also provide a remarkable formal record of how these stones looked when they were first unearthed. Institutions in possession of Amaravati sculptures depicted in the Mackenzie album stand to learn a great deal by knowing how these pieces looked before suffering the inevitable wear and tear connected with two centuries of exposure to the elements. Human interference has also effected the condition of the sculptures, as is evident from the story of Robertson's Mound. Clearly, the assembly and subsequent removal of the sculptures from this monument led to many of them breaking. Robertson's Mound also played an eccentric role in the history of museum display, archaeological practice and antiquarianism in India.<sup>41</sup> It is interesting and important for museum professionals to see the events which led to the Mackenzie Amaravati stones arriving in museums in the nineteenth century.

The Mackenzie Amaravati drawings are also helpful to anyone wishing to investigate the history of the colonial pursuit of knowledge about India. The antiquarian investigations that Colin Mackenzie undertook at Amaravati mark the absolute beginning of British research on Indian Buddhist monuments. As a whole, the Mackenzie Drawings Collection in the Oriental and India Office of the British Library shows how the formal study of many such monuments in India commenced. Likewise, by looking at subsequent drawings and photographs of monuments, one can trace the trends that dominated the study of archaeology, architecture and art in India.

## NOTES

1. A synopsis of the Mackenzie Collection's contents is given in Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* (1828) on pages 14-15. Wilson enumerated 3,638 oriental manuscripts, 2,159 English translations of manuscripts, 8,076 copies of inscriptions, 79 plans, 2,630 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. Although a great deal of the collection was shipped to London after Mackenzie's death, most of the oriental manuscripts are now in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
2. British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections-WD1061
3. *Asiatick Researches* (Vol. 9) 1807: pp. 244-278.
4. BL-OIOC, WD1062, f.41; WD1065, ff.52,53.
5. Named draftsmen who took part in the 1816-17 survey are Thomas Anderson, Charles Barnett, Marcellus Burke, John Gould, Henry Hamilton, John Mustie, John Newman and William Sydenham. Benjamin Sydenham drew pictures on-site in 1798 when Mackenzie went to Amaravati for the first time.
6. Augustus Franks noted the absence of the Newman Amaravati drawings. See Franks, 1881: p. 2.
7. Their names are signed as Najibulla, Pyari Lal and Sheikh Abdullah.
8. BL-OIOC, WD1061, folios 69 and 84. These drawings correspond to catalogue numbers 60/72 and 40 in Knox (1992).
9. Because the remains of the Amaravati Stupa have become so dispersed, the Society for South Asian Studies has created the World Corpus of Amaravati Sculptures Project. Its aim is to digitise Amaravati collections and documentation throughout the world.  
[www.britac.ac.uk/institutes/SSAS/frameset.html](http://www.britac.ac.uk/institutes/SSAS/frameset.html)
10. See Singh (2001) for an excellent article on this topic.
11. Now the Victoria Jubilee Museum, Vijayawada.
12. Burgess 1887: p. 20.
13. BL-OIOC, Photo 1000/13(1350); BL-IOR, P/1681. Report by Horsfall dated 16 April 1880. My thanks to Felicity Mallet for showing me this reference.
14. The 1817 Mackenzie plan of Amaravati (WD1061, ff.7-8) is reproduced in Fergusson (1867: Plate XLVII) and Burgess (1887: Plate III).
15. Mackenzie 1809: pp. 255-256.
16. Mackenzie 1809: p. 272.
17. Marshall 1837.
18. Mackenzie 1823: p. 469.
19. BL-OIOC, Mss/Eur. Mack. misc. 171
20. Fell's letter to Mackenzie was published in the *Calcutta Journal* (11 July 1819) and reprinted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 3, 1834: pp. 490-494.
21. BL-OIOC, WD1475.
22. BL-OIOC, WD1061, f.92.
23. BL-OIOC, WD786.
24. In June 1819 Francis W. Robertson left Masulipatam when he was appointed to the post of Collector and Magistrate at Rajahmundry. See Dodwell and Miles, 1839, pp. 236-237.
25. Benza 1837: p. 44.
26. In 1864 a tidal wave destroyed most of Masulipatam town, including the fort, and claimed the lives of an estimated 30,000 people. If the stones had not been removed to the Madras they might have been destroyed as well.
27. Taylor, W. *Report on the Elliott Marbles*. 1856, pp. 59-73.
28. Taylor didn't even realise the material he was looking at was Buddhist, even though G.T. Marshall made this discovery in 1837. See note 12.



29. BL-OIOC, Photo 958/(30).
30. BL-OIOC, WD1061, folio 15.
31. BL-OIOC, WD1061, f.83.
32. BL-OIOC, WD1061, folios 29, 55 and 65.
33. BL-OIOC, Photo 1000/13(1353).
34. BL-OIOC, WD1559.
35. Burgess: 1887, p. 17.
36. *Asiatick Researches* Vol. 12, 1816: Appendix, p.5. This later became the Indian Museum.
37. See note 8.
38. Sewell: p.63.
39. The Madras Museum was founded in 1846 and moved to its present location in 1857.
40. <http://www.bl.uk/collections/amaravati/mackamaravati.html>
41. Upinder Singh (2001) looks at the treatment of Amaravati sculptures by archaeologists, conservationists and the museum community in India during the late nineteenth century.

### BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Benza, P.M. "Notes Chiefly Geological, of a Journey through the Northern Circars in the year 1835". *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. Vol. 5, Jan-June 1837, pp. 43-70.
- Burgess, James, 1887, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyappeta Surveyed in 1882*. Trubner & Co., London.
- Dodwell and Miles, 1839, *Madras Civil Servants*, Longham, Orme, Brown & Co., London.
- Fell, Edward, 1834, "The Calcutta Journal". 11 July 1819. Reprinted in *JASB*, Vol. 3. p. 490-494.
- Fergusson, James, 1868, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London.
- Franks, A.W., 1881, *List of Drawings from the Amaravati Tope*, Nichols and Sons, London.
- Knox, Robert, 1992, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, British Museum, London.
- Mackenzie, Colin, 1809, "Account of the Jains", *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. 9, pp.244-278.
- Mackenzie, Colin, January-June 1823, "Ruins of Amravutty, Depauldina and Durnacotta", *Asiatic Journal* XV, pp.464-78.
- Marshall, G.T., 1837, "Facsimiles of Ancient Inscriptions", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, pp.218-223.
- Sewell, Robert, 1878, *Report on the Amaravati Tope*, London.
- Singh, Upinder, 2001, "Amaravati: The Dismemberment of the Mahachaitya", *South Asian Studies* 17.
- Sivaramamurti, C., 1942, *Amaravati. Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras.
- Taylor, W., 1856, *Report on the Elliot Marbles*, Madras.
- Wilson, H.H., 1828 *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, Calcutta.