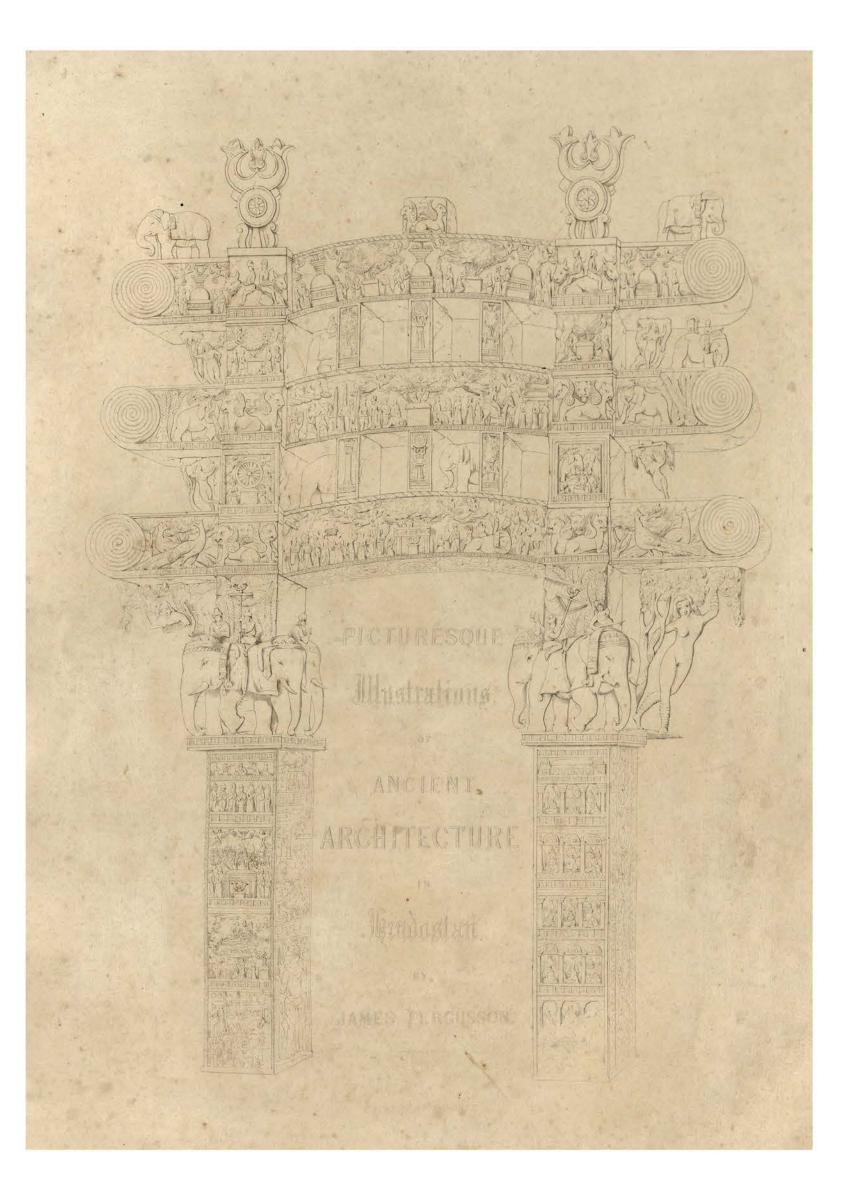
ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE IN HINDOSTAN

FERGUSSON



722.4 Fem/Pic 138974





Picturesque Illustrations

OF

ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE

138974

HINDOSTAN.

By JAMES FERGUSSON, Esc. "

F.R.A.S., &c.

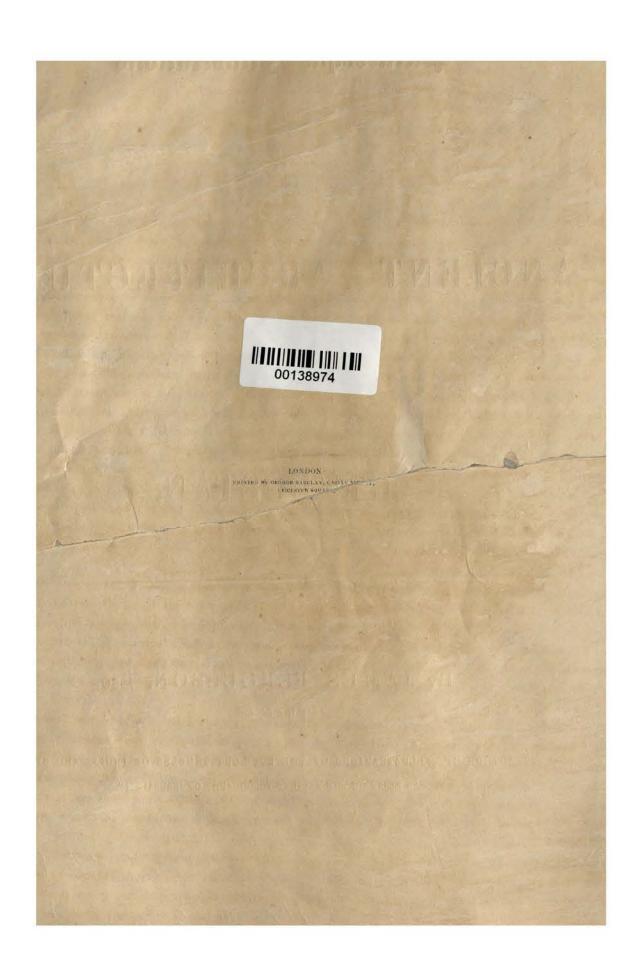
AUTHOR OF "ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ROCK-OUT TEMPLES OF INDIA, AND OF "AN ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM"

(Nx a.g)

LONDON:

J. HOGARTH, HAYMARKET.

M.DCCC.NIVIII.



PREFACE:

In the present Work, in conjunction with that on the Rock-cut Temples of India, I have attempted to lay before the public the greater part, though not the whole, of the results of those researches which, during my residence in India, I was enabled to make regarding the Hindu Antiquities and Architectural History of that country. I have materials from which I could easily have extended it considerably, but only by adducing further specimens of types similar to those already given, or by making the Work more technical and scientific than it is; which I have purposely avoided doing: for, in treating of a subject so new and unfamiliar to most people, I conceived that the best mode of making it intelligible would be to place a general view of the whole subject before them in a picturesque, and, consequently, most easily understood form, leaving the details for a future period, when the present has been grasped and become familiar.

At the same time, I do not mean it to be understood that I conceive myself capable of presenting the subject with all the fulness of detail which would be required to complete or exhaust it—such must be the result of far more extensive exploration than I was enabled to make, and of much deeper learning than I can pretend to; but had I possessed even such a book as this before starting, I could have done far more than I was enabled to do: for half my time was spent in looking for antiquities which did not exist, often overlooking what I afterwards found out would have been of the greatest use to me in subsequent researches, and being at first entirely without any criteria by which to judge either of the age or style of the buildings I was looking at. So that it really was not till I had completed my researches, and was embarking for England, that I began to understand what I had been doing, and was able to arrange or profit by the facts and information I had been collecting. Had I again an opportunity of commencing the same journeys with the knowledge of the subject I now possess, I do not think I should leave much, either as to age or style of the buildings, to be settled by subsequent researches.

As it is, I have myself very little doubt with regard to the correctness of any of the general views announced in this Work, though I fear I shall be far from conveying to my readers any thing like the same conviction as exists in my mind; for where the evidence is almost entirely architectural, it is impossible that any one can reason as conclusively from the examination of some forty or fifty lithographic plates, however carefully they may be executed, as I can do from the examination of some four or five hundred buildings themselves—looking at them not only from one point of view, but carefully examining every part, and tracing the actual chisel-marks before me, instead of a conventional representation of them

Be this as it may, I think the general outline is sufficiently clear, and I feel convinced that future explorers in this field will thank me for my outline of the subject: I am certain they would, if they were exposed to the disappointments that often awaited me, and the absurd wild roose chases after buildings of primæval antiquity which I was led to undertake on the authority of Tod and others who ought to have known better. Indeed, the greater part of my time was taken up in looking for "very old" buildings; and it was not till I had become convinced how fruitless the search was that I condescended to look at those of the 'ast few centuries, and I then longed to retrace my steps and sketch many of those I had overlooked.

In the historical part of the Introduction I have occasionally asserted broadly what I have not attempted to prove, and what it is possible I could not prove satisfactorily were I to make the attempt, as sufficient evidence, either for or against it, may not yet have been collected to settle the matter definitively either one way or another. I have done this, however, designedly, as the Work is not meant to be a history of India, but merely so much of it as was absolutely necessary to render the Plates intelligible; and in this view I conceive I have served my purpose better by asserting distinctly the most probable conclusion to which the evidence leads, than by presenting and sifting all the evidence that could be brought to bear on the subject, leaving the reader to form his own conclusions if he can. The latter, I know, is the safe course, and the one generally followed; and I am aware that, in neglecting to shield myself under its mystification, I am exposing myself to triumphant refutation if I am wrong—at all events, to a distinct denial of my conclusions from all who hold different opinions. This I care little for, if these refutations shall eradicate error, and still less if they can substitute real truth for what has hitherto only been supposed to be so; as in doing this they will confer on me, as on all interested in the subject, a favour which will enable me to bear, without much caring for

iv PREFACE.

it, a considerable degree of personal mortification, if it can be so called; and nothing will give me more pleasure than to substitute a more correct conclusion for the one I have hitherto arrived at on insufficient grounds.

With regard to the Plates, I can answer for their correctness, as they are all from sketches taken on the spot with the camera lucida, and never afterwards touched till put into the hands of the artist here. The foregrounds and the skies are generally the artist's, as I seldom put them in on the spot; but in all cases I have insisted on the buildings being literal transcripts of my sketches, and in no instance have I allowed any liberty to be taken with them. same time it must be confessed that it is quite impossible for any artist who never saw a building of the class he is drawing, and has no knowledge of the style himself, nor any means, from real specimens, of acquiring it, to render that peculiar character or physiognomy which the style possesses; and though I cannot point out where it is, there is a peculiar Indian twist (if I may so call it) that it is impossible to render, though perhaps no one but myself would be At the same time I must acknowledge that Mr. Dibdin has taken every pains to able to detect where it is wanting. carry out my instructions on this head, and has succeeded in rendering the sketches much more faithfully than has hitherto been done in any work I am acquainted with; except, perhaps, Daniell's earlier works, where the defect is not the want of correct rendering, but an avowed attempt to make pleasing artistic compositions out of the sketches before they were delivered into the hands of the engravers — a circumstance which renders it infinitely more valuable than mine as a work of art, but entirely destroys its value as one of information or instruction. Whatever defects my views may have as pictures, I feel perfectly certain that they are the most correct delineations of Indian Architecture that have yet been given to the public.

It was my intention, when this Work was commenced, to have added a Fifth Part, containing Six Views of Modern Hindu Architecture in Northern Hindostan, to illustrate the style as it was practised after the time of the Mahometan supremacy, when it was revived, and so completely mixed up with Mahometan details as to be scarcely recognisable, at first sight, from that style. The encouragement this Work has met with has hitherto scarcely been such as to justify such an addition; and the circumstance will only be regretted if I should not have an opportunity of publishing the Mahometan series, which is certainly as interesting, and perhaps more beautiful, artistically, than this. Should such a work ever be brought before the world, the modern modified Hindu style may be appended to it more naturally than to this, where it would appear without the circumstances that gave birth to it, and would not, in consequence, be so intelligible as it would then be.

I regret extremely that my acquaintance with the Temples of the South of India is not more extensive and complete than it unfortunately is; but the time I had to bestow on the examination of them was very limited, and was further diminished by circumstances over which I had no control. Calculating from my experience of travelling in the Bengal Presidency, I thought I had allowed myself time to see not only what I did see, but also certainly to add Madura to my list; perhaps, also, Ramisseram, Trivaloor and Vellore, Arcot, and other places in the neighbourhood of Madras. I reckoned, however, without my host: for I found, on landing at Cannanore, that the Government, in a fit of economy, had broken up all the regular dawking establishments of bearers; and I also found, which surprised me a good deal more, that I could not calculate on either the hospitality or assistance of the Company's servants in that Presidency. The former, of course, I had no right to. I was often very hungry, and should have been very grateful for a meal, which, however, I had perhaps no right to look for; nor should I have expected or calculated upon it, had it not been that in the north it never was refused, but I always found it pressed on me. The assistance I thought I had a right to; and I do not recollect ever feeling more vexation and annoyance at being forced to spend day after day in the wretched staging bungalows, waiting for coolies out of the villages to carry my palanqueen, while I walked alongside of it. Those in authority, however, would not help me, and I was forced to sufficient.

Those in authority, however, would not help me, and I was forced to sughit.

At Trichinopoly I hired a set of bearers, who carried me all the vay to Madras. It was cruelly slow work for me, who had so much to do and so little time to do it in: but this mode of travelling rendered me independent of the Company's servants, which was no small gain,; and by always travelling all night and working all day, I managed to see a good deal, though not nearly so much as I either wished or intended.

The Map appended to the Work is merely meant to point out those places where the buildings are which are illustrated in the body of the Work, and also the principal divisions indicated in the Introduction, more especially the three great divisions of the country into the Northern part, inhabited by the Sanscrit races; the Southern, inhabited by the Tamuls; and the intermediate zone or belt, extending from Maharastra to Orissa, where the native races either exist in aboriginal purity, or the two great races overlap one another in such a manner that it is impossible to say to which the country properly belongs.*

* Since the first part of this Work was written, a paper has appeared in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," written by Lieut. Cunningham of the Engineers, which, besides much useful information on the antiquities of that part of the country, enables me to add more correct measurements for the tope at Sanchi than I had hitherto access to. From his plans it appears that the tope at base is 120 feet in diameter, and consequently about 377 in circumference; at the height of 14 feet there is a berm or set-off 6 feet wide, reducing the diameter of the tope, with the talus, to 106. Above this it rises 42 feet, making the whole height 56. The diameter of the platform on the top is 34 feet. The Gateways (Titlepage) are 33 feet 6 inches high, and the enclosure 11 feet in height.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.		
PART I.		PAG!
II.		11
TITLE-PAGE.	GATEWAY OF THE TOPE AT SANCHI	21
PLATE I.	GREAT TEMPLE OF BOBANESWAR	23
II.	TEMPLE OF JUGGANATH AT PURI	25
III.	TEMPLE OF KANARUC	27
. IV.	TEMPLE OF KAPILA DEVI AT BOBANESWAR	29
v.	CHAÖRI IN MOKUNDARA PASS	. 31
VI.	TEMPLE AT CHANDRAVATI	33
VII.	TEMPLES OF BAROLLI	35
VIII.	THE KHOWASIN STHAMBA, A JAINA TOWER AT CHEETORE	87
IX.	TEMPLE OF VIMALA SAH, ON MOUNT ABU	89
X.	TEMPLE AT SADRI	41
. XI.	JAYA STHAMBA, OR TOWER OF VICTORY, AT CHEETORE	43
XII.	BUND OF THE LAKE RAJSAMUNDRA, OODEYPORE	45
XIII.	BUND OF THE LAKE JAYSAMUND, OR DHEBUR LAKE, OODEYPORE	47
XIV.	TOMB OF AMERA SING II., OODEYPORE	49
XV.	ISLAND IN THE LAKE AT OODEYPORE	51
XVI.	PALACE AT BOONDEE	53
х ў п.	BOWLEE AT BOONDEE	55
XVIII.	TEMPLE AT MAHAVELLIPORE	57
XIX.	PORCH OF PARVATI'S TEMPLE AT CHILLAMBRAM	59
·XX.	PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF SRI RAMA, COMBACONUM	61
XXI.	TANK IN TEMPLE AT SERINGHAM, NEAR TRICHINOPOLY	6 3
XXII.	GATEWAY AT CHILLAMBRAM	65
XXIII.	GATEWAY AT SERINGHAM	67

SKETCH-MAP OF INDIA.

PART I.

It requires no small confidence in the goodness of the cause, to induce any one to come forward to attempt to interest the British public in a subject so unfamiliar, and so little understood, as the Ancient History, or Antiquities of Hindostan; for so strangely narrow is the system of education in this country, that there is not a single school or institution where either are made a subject of study; and few who do not visit the country itself, have in after-life the opportunity or leisure to make themselves acquainted with a branch of study which, like all others, is strange and repulsive till its elements are mastered, and its names at least familiar. And it is thus, that while the mythology and history of Greece have become almost our faith, and our household traditions—and there is not a name or tradition of the Greeks that does not call up a host of familiar recollections, and awaken a thousand associations—those of India remain only hard unpronounceable words, which convey no information, and which very few can understand or apply.

As a natural consequence of this system, when any discovery of antiquities or objects of interest is made to the westward of the Tigris all Europe is stirred about it: rival ambassadors stake the interests of their courts to obtain possession of them; scientific expeditions are fitted out; ships of war are ordered to inhospitable coasts, and their crews encamped in malarious spots, where they perish in hundreds. But this expenditure of life and money is thought nothing of, if a few time-worn fragments of indifferent Grecian sculpture are obtained for the national Museum; which at the same time neither contains, nor cares to possess, one single specimen, worthy of the name, of the arts or antiquities of our Indian fellow-subjects.

If, however, we turn to the eastward, the case is widely different. The governments of this country never thought of India but with reference to the supply of troops wanted, and the amount of the revenue out of which they were to be paid; and the local governments have steadily discouraged their servants from wasting their time in unprofitable inquiries into the history or customs of the natives. It is sufficient for them that the magistrate keeps his district quiet, that the collector allows no arrears of tax, and that the judge does not trouble them with appeals; and should any officer, with more zeal than wit, perpetrate a report on the subjects of local interest in his neighbourhood, it is quietly consigned to the care of the white ants, who have long been constituted keepers of all the government records, except the revenue accounts. Nowhere, except with the most niggardly hand, has money been granted or influence used to assist in prosecuting these inquiries; and what information may have been collected by the zeal of individuals is allowed to perish unpublished in the archives of the different presidencies; and whilst this is the case it is almost hopeless to expect that much can be done in a country where almost the whole European population consists of servants of the government, and they, at least, are almost the only ones who, from their situation, have the opportunity of prosecuting these researches with success.

It is only within these last few years that the improved frequency of communication has awakened the attention of the public to the importance of the events now passing in that country, and a conviction is daily gaining ground that they do interest us closely and deeply; and, in truth, it would be difficult to over-estimate their real importance to the prosperity of this country. Our fate is daily becoming more and more closely linked with that of India; and while Greece or Asia Minor might perish to-morrow, without affecting more than our sympathies, India is now ours, and a vital part of our system; and what we do of good or evil there will certainly react on us, almost as soon and as surely as its effects are felt there.

3

It is possible that this interest in passing events, and increasing familiarity with Indian names and customs, may induce the public to turn with more attention to those events which have preceded them, and to the study of the causes that gave rise to the present state of affairs in India; and till this is done it is needless to say it will be impossible to understand what is now taking place in that country. We have hitherto, as a civilised and organised people, existing among nations disorganised by a long period of foreign domination, and degraded from their former civilisation by the loss of their independence, been able to subdue and keep them in control by the superiority of our knowledge and the perfection of our organisation; but long familiarity with us and our means is daily decreasing the distance between us, and, unless we can keep the advance we now possess, the time may not be far distant when we may be called upon to resign the sceptre of the East: for it requires no great knowledge of the subject to be able to assert that we must either continue to lead, or be prepared to loose the hold we have upon the minds of the people of India.

At the same time it is no easy task to lead one hundred and fifty millions of people, without knowing either who they are, or whence they came—what was their former civilisation, and what point, consequently, they may again attain—what their former religion, and, consequently, how far their present one may be purged of its absurdities—who, in short, are the people we have undertaken to govern, and how, consequently, we ought to set about our important duty. These are questions that would probably have long ago suggested themselves to any other government in Europe, and both time and money been spent to obtain satisfactory answers: in India the task has yet to be commenced; and it is not easy to foresee when sufficient interest may be excited in the inquiry to lead to any important results.

Much, however, of this indifference on the part of the public to Indian subjects may, it must be confessed, be traced to the fault of the writers who have hitherto written regarding them, many of whom have treated the whole as a tissue of puerile fables, quite unworthy of serious consideration; totally forgetting that, if the same test of sober reason were applied to the deities or heroes of heathen antiquity, the whole fabric would appear supremely ridiculous, instead of being, as it is now in this country universally acknowledged to be, the only thing worth impressing on the mind of every educated youth. On the other hand, it is also true that many, as if infected by the contagion, have indulged in speculation, scarce less wild and absurd than those of the modern Hindus themselves. Between the two the public have been content, in speaking or writing on the subject, with a few set phrases, ringing the changes on which has served to explain all difficulties. In the monuments, their acknowledged "primeval antiquity" has prevented any further elucidation; and when it is urged that they are very like those recently erected, the difficulty is explained by the equally well-founded doctrine of "the immutability of the Hindus:" while, perhaps, there is no country in the world to which these terms are less applicable (as far, at least, as monuments are concerned) than Hindostan.

If the assertor of the latter doctrine would only study the accounts left by the Greeks of that country, he would see how totally inapplicable their descriptions are to the habits and customs of the people in the present day; but, without putting it to so severe a test, I would ask him to accompany me to Ellora; and there, standing by the European bungalow, to remark that in the cliff under his feet there is a long series of caves, extending through a period of at least two centuries, all purely Buddhist; a little to his right another series, less pure, and shewing traces of the Hindu religion, which at last becomes distinct and reigns supreme in the far-famed Kylas. From the period of its excavation all trace of the Buddhist religion is lost, for a period of probably equal duration. This, again, gives place to the Jaina religion, a mixture of the former two, which seems to have supplied their place at the time the last caves were dug, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Again, if he turns round and looks behind him, he will find the two large cities of Aurungabad and Dowletabad - in all their buildings and forms as purely Mahometan as Bagdad or Damascus - and within a gun-shot of the caves the modest tomb of Aurungzebe, the most bigotted and zealous of all the Mahometan Emperors of India! In front of him, again, are to be seen in the distance the temples of the Jangams and Vishnavas, sects that have no representatives in the caves; while his race may probably be the germ of the sixth form of faith, which in less than twelve centuries have succeeded each other on that spot. Did the cities of India retain their monuments as perfect as these rock-cut edifices, they would all, I believe, exhibit a like fickleness of faith on the part of their inhabitants. Indeed we have seen the religion of the Sikhs and many of the sects of Bengal spring up almost in our own day, and among ourselves spread over whole masses of the people.

The primeval antiquity of the monuments is even more easily disposed of, as the earliest of them are undoubtedly the rock-cut ones, and the earliest caves are the Buddhist ones; while the founder of that religion died only 543 B.C., and his faith did not become the religion of the people till three centuries after his death. But even this is too early, for I believe no cave can claim a higher antiquity than those of Dasaratha, near Gya, which date from about two hundred years before our era. Earlier than this we have only the laths or inscribed pillars of Asoka, and his inscriptions on the rocks of Cuttak and Guzerat, and at Kapur di Giri, in Affghanistan.*

^{*} Any one not acquainted with the apathy with which the English regard all things Indian that do not concern their present interests, would be surprised that the discovery of a contemporary copy of a series of edicts of an Indian monarch of the third century B.C. should not have induced an enterprising publisher to risk fifty pounds in reprinting them in this country. No one in the trade, however, has thought it worth his while to throw away his money, and no amateur to waste his time, on what no one cares about.

From this period the caves form a tolerably complete series of monuments, but they are the only ones for seven or eight centuries. The oldest structural monument I have seen is the temple of Bobaneswar (Plate I. of this series), which was built in the middle of the seventh century; and about the same age may be the pillars in the Mokundara Pass. (Plate V.) Besides these there is the tope at Sanchi, which I have not myself seen, and cannot therefore be positive about; but its gateways (Title-page) may possibly belong to the Gupta dynasty of Canouge, and therefore to the seventh or eighth century; and though the body of the building (and I believe the gateways also) may be proved to be older, the former is devoid of any architectural ornament which would give it interest; though it would then claim to be, and probably is, the oldest structural remnant of the people of Hindostan.

From this period the series of monuments, though neither very numerous nor important, is complete enough to enable us to trace their history. But if there is any thing in India more ancient than the monuments above mentioned, I am certain it is not any of the buildings I have seen, nor indeed any I have either heard described or seen sketches of.

Before speaking of the history of the Hindus, it is necessary to point out a distinction which, though known, I have never seen sufficiently insisted upon; but unless it is borne in mind, it is impossible to understand either the history or art of the people. It is this: that India is now, and always has been, inhabited by two distinct and separate races; the one, aboriginal, as far as we know—inhabiting the whole of the southern part of the peninsula, and speaking languages of which Tamul is the principal and most typical, but all having a great affinity to one another, and no trace of relationship to the Sanscrit. The other race came into India at a very early period, but as conquerors, across the Indus. Their language is the Sanscrit; and both in speech, manners, and religion they had always a closer affinity to the Persians and nations on this side of the Indus than to their neighbours on the south. In Orissa, on the eastern shores of India, and the Mahratta country on the west, and through a broad belt of country extending between those two, the two races overlap one another in a manner that renders it almost impossible to define the boundaries of either. The Tamul tribes extend into the valleys of the Ganges and Nerbudda, as hill tribes, under the names of Coles, Bheels, Nairs, Coolies, &c.; and, on the other hand, traces of the settlement and influence of the northern tribes are felt very far to the southward.

There can be no doubt but that the Sanscrit races were always the most powerful and most cultivated of the two tribes, and when they first penetrated to the south they found the aborigines in a nearly savage state. It does not appear that any of the Tamul languages were cultivated or even written till after the Christian era; and when they did cultivate them, they adopted (having none of their own) the literature and many of the forms of their more advanced and powerful neighbours, but still mixed up with their own traditions, and with a colouring peculiarly their own. All we know, however, of ancient India, is through the language and traditions of the northern races, who have, in consequence, been generally considered as the only inhabitants of the country; though the other are probably the more numerous of the two, and form the substratum of the population even in the countries north of the Ganges.

The invasion of the Mahometans in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries may probably be taken as a type of all those that preceded it. They came from the same countries, by the same road, settled in the same cities, and extended their permanent conquests over exactly the same extent of territory, and their influence and temporary dominion about as far towards the south; and after a period of great power and brilliancy they sank into decrepitude, and made way for the next. Their period was only about six centuries; but though I think we can easily trace several successive irruptions from the north anterior to the Christian era, the duration of each appears to have been longer than that of this last, and probably most brilliant one, and to us, at least, most interesting, because the only one with which we are thoroughly acquainted.

It is needless now, in speaking of Indian history, to refer to the absurd system of Yugs, or astronomical eras, invented with the present Hindu system shortly before the Mahometan invasion; but there is one date, that of the Kali Yug, 3101 B.C., which forms no part of the astronomical system, but, on the contrary, appears to be a fixed historical date, representing, whether correctly or not, the first irruption of the Sanscrit races into Hindostan. But, even if this is assumed, it is not certain whether it should be referred to Swayambhuva, or to Marichi, or Ikswaku. My own belief is, that it certainly belongs to one of the latter two, and they are so near to one another, that it is for my present purpose of little consequence which is taken. From this period we have, from many different sources, lists of 96 or 102 kings of the Solar race, who ruled as lords paramount of Northern India, from their capital Ayodhya (Oude), certainly supreme till the time when Rama (about 1800 B.C.) undertook the conquest of the south of India and Ceylon. This was, however, apparently the last great effort of his race; for from this time we find the Lunar races fast rising into importance, and their capitals of Canouge and Hastinapoora rivalling the glories of the older metropolis of the Solar line. And from the era of the Mahabarat, or great war of the Pandus, an event as nearly as possible contemporary with the war of Troy, the Solar race dwindles into a line of petty rajas, and the imperial throne of India is occupied by the sovereigns of Magadha, of the Lunar race,

ruling from their new capitals of Rajagriha and Palibothra (now perfectly ascertained to be Patna). Forty-nine (including the nine Nandas) of these sovereigns occupied the throne till the accession of Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, who usurped the supreme power about the year 325 B.C.

These dates are confirmed from so many sources, that I am convinced that a little industry and sound criticism would render them at least as certain as any of a similarly remote age in Greek chronology. In the first place, they are confirmed by the Greeks themselves, as Arrian* gives the same number of 153 kings as reigning from Bacchus (Ikswaku?) to Sandracottus; and though he gives a date that allows the absurd duration of forty years to each king's reign, still it is some consolation to think that the chronology was in that age falsified only to that extent, if the date is not entirely a mistake of the historian, which I suspect it to be.†

They are confirmed, in the second place, by the Persian historians, especially Ferishtah,‡ from whom I have principally taken these dates, and also by the Mackenzie manuscripts, as analysed by the Rev. Mr. Taylor;§ and, lastly, by the Puranas and scriptures of the Hindus themselves; for, though the dates in these works are falsified to a ridiculous extent, the lists in all are so consentaneous that, applying to them the correction of about eighteen years for the duration of each reign, which is the average given by the best modern lists, the dates come out almost exactly as I have stated them.

Were I, however, equal to the task of settling this much-vexed question, it is not here that I would attempt it, as not one of all this long line of monarchs has left a monument behind him. And so true is this, that it becomes a question whether they ever built one; and I confess my own belief is that they never did: certain it is, that no trace of any one remains in the land. And the Greeks, though mentioning much less important details, are quite silent regarding any temples or buildings of importance; and, even among their own wild traditions, I am not aware of any that could lead us to suppose it referred to any then actually existing building of importance.

With the accession of Chandragupta we tread on surer ground; for though the works of Megasthenes, who resided as ambassador at his court, are lost to us, they were in the hands of those who wrote about India subsequently to his age, and we therefore have, probably, the most of his information in the works of the Grecian geographers and the historians of Alexander, though probably somewhat distorted. But even this monarch is not so important a person in history as his grandson, Asoka, who ascended the throne about 263 s.c., and who probably was the most powerful monarch of India in these ages. He was Prince of Oujein before he ascended the throne of Magadha; his name is mentioned in the Raja Taringini as king of Cashmere; his edicts are found engraven on the rocks in Affghanistan, in Guzerat, and in Orissa, and on pillars in various parts of Northern India; and his alliance with the sovereigns of Egypt and Syria shew how far his influence and power extended. More important to history, however, than even his power, is his conversion to Buddhism, and his establishing that as the state religion of India, which it continued to be, at least partially, almost to the time of the Mahometan conquest.

His reign appears to have been the culminating point of the prosperity of his dynasty; for after his death (226 B.C.) we have no illustrious name in his line, and the principal events of Indian history were enacted on the other side of India, where Vicramaditya ruled with great splendour in his capital of Oujein, and re-established there the Brahmanical faith; and so great was his power and influence, that his reign (57 B.C.) is the era from which the greater part of the Hindus now date their chronology. His dynasty, though brilliant, seems to have been of short duration, for it was overthrown by Salivahana, apparently a Buddhist sovereign of the same land, who had also influence enough to establish an era of his own, dating from 135 years after the other, or A.D. 78.

Intermediate between these two great events (22 B.C.), a new dynasty, commonly known as the Andhras, established themselves on the throne of Magadha, which they held for a period of 456 years, and in some measure restored its ancient splendour, though they certainly never had the power or extent of dominion possessed by Asoka. In the beginning of the fifth century (about 434) they were overthrown by a revolution, which transferred the sovereignty of India to a new dynasty, and another new capital; and Patna, after being for fifteen centuries the metropolis of India, sunk, like its even more venerable predecessor Ayodhya, into the rank of a provincial town, from which it never again emerged.

- * Arrian, "Indica," cap. ix.
- + If we may understand his generations, or ages, to mean or be a mistake for centuries, the distance of time between Hercules (by which name the Greeks certainly meant the progenitor of the Pandus) and Bacchus is what I have stated. What has been said above may also explain the hitherto inexplicable assertion of Arrian, that during this long period the Indians were only twice (once for 300 and another for 120 years) governed by their own laws, if we understand this to refer to two periods when the aboriginal Tamul races had for a time rendered themselves independent of the Arian conquerors.
 - ‡ Twice abstracted, but never yet translated into English.
 - § Madras Literary Journal, passim.
- || The above dates must be taken as the result of an inquiry into the subject, the steps of which it would be out of place to mention here in detail; but the principal facts are the birth and death of Gotama Buddha, in the reigns of Bimbasara and Ajatasatru respectively, and the reign of Asoka, in the twenty-first year of which the third convocation was held. For this limited period the chronology of the Puranas is wonderfully complete and consistent, except as regards the nine Nandas, who, apparently being Buddhists, found no favour with Hindu chroniclers.

The Buddhist chronology of Ceylon is avowedly falsified at this time, for the sake of making the date of the arrival of Vijya, their first king, coincident

^a Tod, vol. i. p. 51, and passim.

There is no part of Indian history more obscure than the period at which we are now arrived, which again made Canouge the capital of Northern India. The marriage, however, of Bahram Gaur, of Persia, to the daughter of the first prince of the new dynasty,* and his presence in India, would seem to indicate the influence of their western neighbours in this as in almost all important revolutions in India.

At the same period we find a raja Vicramaditya on the throne of Oujein, whom the Puranas place exactly contemporary with Bahram Gaur of Persia (A.D. 437); and the local traditions of the place connect the Persian monarch with him even more distinctly than with the king of Canouge above mentioned. The race from whom these Oujein monarchs were descended was not that of his namesake Vicramaditya, but from Salivahana, and they seem to have been always Buddhist or Jains, and to have continued in power till the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the two most celebrated monarchs of this line, Munja and Bhooja, occupied the throne. The former was killed about 995, by Teila Chalukya.† The latter, during his long reign, made his court the most famous of India for learning and polite literature, and rivalled in splendour and renown the fame of that Vicramaditya, who, more than a thousand years before his time, had raised Oujein to the highest rank among Indian cities.

Still further to the westward, another dynasty attained considerable importance at this period as sovereigns of Saurashtra and Guzerat, reigning in Balabhi. One of these, Ajya, or Sri Dhara Sena, established an era known as the Balabhi samvat, in the year 318 A.D.; but after six or seven reigns the city was, according to the Hindu chroniclers, destroyed by the Parthians; and they make no further mention of it, probably because the dynasty that succeeded were Buddhists. A Chinese traveller, † however, reveals their existence in the year 632; and I think there is very little doubt but that the kings then reigning must have been those so well known to us by their coins as the Rudra Sah dynasty. The dates on their coins, so ingeniously deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, would then belong to the Balabhi samvat. The title of Kshatrapa, or satrap, would perfectly accord with their acknowledged Parthian descent; and the existence of similar coins of Vicramaditya (of Oujein), and their fading into the Gupta dynasty at Canouge, would be perfectly explained, and place Mahendra Gupta in the first years of the eighth century, to which many concurrent testimonies tend. §

These seem to have been the principal dynasties, but there are many others of which we have lists, all which would require to be fitted together before we had even a skeleton of Indian chronology in the middle ages. The materials, however, exist, and it only requires a little industry to effect their restoration. Megasthenes states, that in his time India was divided into 122 nations; || and he was probably correct in his statement. In his time, however, they seem all to have acknowledged a supreme head, or lord paramount, who held nearly the same position among them that the house of Austria held, as Emperors of Germany, in the middle ages of Europe. A thousand years afterwards, the same division into many small principalities seems to have existed, but without the head that gave it unity and power; and, though every more powerful state no doubt exercised its influence over its weaker neighbours, there seems to have been no acknowledged principal, and the possession of power appears to have depended on the individual character of the sovereign on the throne, and to have been in consequence exposed to interminable fluctuations, which cause the great difficulty of now forming distinct views on the subject.

To this must be added the quarrels that were raging during the whole of the period between the two rival religions of Buddhism and Hinduism,—the former expiring apparently under the weight of its overgrown priesthood, and the corruption that during the lapse of centuries had crept into it; while the other, by appealing to the passions of the people, and by offering a faith suited to the lowest and most degraded class of the populace, and the meanest range of sensual intellect, gradually enlisted in its favour the mass of the population. In the struggle, however, the victorious party strove, and too successfully, to obliterate all trace of their rivals; and, having no dynasty or history of their own to record, they have knowingly falsified and confused the history of these times to an extent that renders it impossible to recover it from their writings; and they, unfortunately, are the only ones we hitherto have had access to. And it hence arises that the period anterior to the establishment of the Buddhist religion is better known, and more truthfully related,

with the hour of Buddha's death, though it did not take place for long afterwards, and consequently the reigns of their own sovereigns are lengthened, and those of the Indian monarchs shortened, to an extent beyond any probability, and contradicted by all other evidence. The true Buddhist dates seem to be those quoted by Klaproth and from Schmidt ("Travels of Fahian," p. 244), of 110 and 300 years after the death of Buddha from the dates of the second and third convocations, which exactly correspond with those arrived at from the name of Chandragupta being ascertained to be the king to whose court Megasthenes was sent by Selencus, and more recently from the names of Greek kings mentioned in the edicts of Asoka engraved on the rocks. The names of four of these kings are mentioned by Justin (book xvii. chaps. ii. and iii.) as concerned in transactions taking place about the time of Asoka's conversion (the seventh of his reign), viz. Ptolemy, Antigonus, Megas, and Alexander, and the fifth must be Antiochus Theos, who was at that period king of Syria. From one of the edicts being dated in the twelfth year of his reign (though not the one with the names of the kings), it is possible we may be obliged to carry his ascension four or five years higher; but I think this very improbable, as it would require a disturbance of that of his grandfather Sandracottus, and a readjustment of the whole chronology, unless, indeed, we may, on Puranic authority, cut ten years off the reign of the latter king.

- * Does not the coin 9, Plate XVII., of Wilson's "Ariana" belong to these kings, and indicate just such a union as the Persian historians mention?
- + Madras As. Journal, No. xviii. p. 204.

- ‡ Jour. As. Soc. B. vol. v. p. 687.
- § The only objection to this view that I know is, that M. Jaquet translates the king's name, Thu lo fo po cha, as Dhara Sena, whereas it should be Rudra Dama, or some such title.
 - || Arrian, "Indica," chap. vii.

than that immediately antecedent to the time of the writers of the Puranas; for the modern Hindus have always striven to connect their religion and their history with that of the anti-Buddhist races and religions, with which, however, they have very little in common, except existing in the same country.

The last of the Hindu dynasties which seems to have acquired any thing like paramount power, at least in the valley of the Ganges, is that of the Guptas of Canouge, who date most probably from the middle of the seventh to the beginning of the tenth century; but even their power seems to have been very limited compared with that of the more ancient kings, and after them all lapses into anarchy and confusion.

From the south, the Tamul races appear to have penetrated, as conquerors, as far as the valley of the Ganges* on the east, and to the Nerbudda† on the west, and even to have entertained intimate relation with the kings of Kashmeer.‡ Orissa had been independent under the Kesari Vansa as far back as the sixth century; and Bengal had, in the tenth or eleventh century at least, become independent under a dynasty of rajas established at Gaur.

Warungol and Kylian were the seats of independent monarchies, and Malwa and Guzerat were, as above mentioned, totally distinct kingdoms. But even Ajmir, Delhi, Benares, and almost all the great cities around Canouge, were the seats of kingdoms which seem to have owed but a very slight (if any) allegiance to any supreme potentate; and in Rajpootana and Bundelcund every chief or petty prince seems to have considered himself a sovereign potentate, and supreme within the limit of his own little principality.

It is impossible that a country so torn by religious jars, and so divided among a thousand conflicting and petty influences, should have possessed any political power or freedom, or any institutions which could give unity to any effort, or an object worth struggling for. It is, therefore, little to be wondered at, that they fell so easy a prey to a handful of Mahometans who, in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, took advantage of their dissensions to possess themselves of their country; and still less is it to be wondered at, that there is no recollection of past histories or venerated institutions, which could form an object round which the better feelings of the people might be rallied, to enable them to shake off either the state of political nonentity in which they have now existed for five or six centuries, or to throw off the still worse state of moral degradation into which their absurd superstitions have enabled an interested priesthood to sink them. If we are true to ourselves, there is now a hope of better things for India than she has known for long; but we have hitherto shewn but few symptoms of a tendency to adopt so far-sighted a policy.

The only means we have of knowing what the ancient faith of India was anterior to the advent of Buddha are found in the "Vedas," compiled probably in the twelfth or thirteenth century B. C. or from the code of laws called the "Institutes of Menu," which are at least five or six centuries more modern; and even then it is uncertain if we now possess these works in the form in which they were originally given to the world; nor are they so explicit on this head as might be wished. Enough, however, may be gathered from them to enable us to assert that the religion of India then (at least of the Sanscrit races) not only differed from that of the present day, but in almost all things was diametrically opposed to it. leading tenet seems to have been Monotheism, with a slight admixture of elemental worship, perhaps more particularly of fire, and its ritual of constant prayer and sacrifice: but image-worship, or idolatry of any shape, seems to have been totally unknown; and, indeed, in every respect it seems to have borne much more resemblance to the fire-worship of the ancient Persians than to any thing now existing; and I think it extremely doubtful whether they ever built temples, or made them a necessary part of the system. Certain it is, however, as I said above, that no trace of any of their buildings now exists in India, nor any description of them, either by native writers or foreigners; and the knowledge, therefore, of their religious system or doctrine is of less importance to the present inquiry than might at first appear, and need not be pursued further here. On the other hand, the religion propagated by Buddha has left many monuments, not only in Hindostan, but in all the surrounding countries; and though, by a singular fate, it does not possess one votary in the land of its birth, and where for centuries it was the religion of the state, it still numbers in the East more followers than any other religion on earth.

The father of its founder was one of the last of the long line of Solar princes, but reduced to the sovereignty of a petty principality at the foot of the Himalaya, instead of the throne of Ayodhya his forefathers had so long occupied; but, as if to verify the saying that "nothing great can be done except in death," though the last of an expiring dynasty, he gave birth to a son, who, though possessing no territorial power, had more influence on the destinies of his countrymen than all the former monarchs who preceded him, and whose name is now daily repeated by millions who never heard of the glories of the Surya Vansa.

At the age of thirty-five, Sakya Sinha, or Muni, left his father's court, and from that time devoted himself to a life of ascetic contemplation and teaching; and after spending in this manner forty-five years, he died at the age of eighty, in the year 543 B. c. Immediately after his death, a meeting of his friends and disciples was held at Rajagriha, called the first convocation, where his doctrines were apparently first reduced to writing, or at least first settled into the form of a doctrinal

^{*} Buchanan Hamilton's Bagulpore, p. 22, et seq.; Jour. R. A.S. vol. xv. p. 21. + Madras Journal, No. xviii. pp. 193, 214. Rock-cut Temples, p. 5.

† Mackenzie MSS. and Raja Taringini.

code. One hundred and ten years after his death a second convocation was held at Vesali, on the Gunduck, opposite Patna, to settle some disputed matters; but neither of these were so important as the third, held by Asoka in Patna, in the fourteenth year after his conversion, the twenty-first of his reign, and 300 after the death of the founder of the religion.

At this meeting all the disputed points of the faith—apparently they were not few—were finally settled. From this period Buddhism may be considered as the prevalent religion in Northern India; for though undoubtedly professed by many before, I think it extremely doubtful if they were either an acknowledged or influential body in the state. It was then that missionaries were sent to the countries beyond the Sutledge and Indus, into the west of India, and to Ceylon, to propagate, for the first time, the new faith; for though the Buddhist Scriptures, especially the Ceylonese, make the spread of the faith much earlier, these assertions are unsupported by any external evidence, and in a great measure contradicted by what is subsequently stated by themselves.*

Among so mutable a people in doctrinal matters, Buddhism of course underwent great changes during the period of its existence in India; so much so, indeed, that it is now almost impossible to ascertain what were the doctrines originally propounded by the founder of the faith. The earliest Buddhist Scriptures (if I may apply to them that term) are the inscriptions of Asoka, written nearly three hundred years after the death of Buddha; except these all the Indian books on the subject have perished, or at least are unknown to Europeans at present, and for further information we are obliged to have recourse to the compilations made from them in Ceylon, Nepal, and other countries where the religion is professed at the present day. But one of the very earliest of the books, the Mahawanso, was compiled nearly 1000 years after the promulgation of the faith (A.D. 459 or 477), and the rest are generally much more modern; so that it would be as safe to apply to the "Legenda Aurea," or the "Speculum Majus," for the original doctrines of Christianity, as to those works for those of Buddhism. Such as they are, however, they are sufficient to prove that no religion ever promulgated on the face of the earth was so diametrically opposed to the present religion of the Hindus as this; for not only did it not admit the innumerable gods of the present pantheon, but it is almost certain that it denied in toto the existence of any Deity. And these Atheistical doctrines are still those prevalent in Ceylon; though the northern sects have, apparently from the Hindus, adopted a different creed. On the contrary, the creation of the world is ascribed to mortals who, by the powers of their own virtue, exercised through innumerable transmigrations during an immense series of ages, have attained the rank of Buddhahood, and acquired the power of creating worlds and impressing on matter those powers which will enable it to reproduce and sustain itself during the Kalpa, or age, to which the power of that Buddha extends.

The principal object aimed at by the precepts of this religion appears to have been the arrival at a state of perfect quiescence, to be attained by the absolute control of the passions, negation of all sensual indulgences whatever, and the continual exercise of contemplative meditation and prayer; to which were added (though, perhaps, not till long afterwards) the veneration for relics of Buddhas or saints, and for sacred places where events of their lives had taken place,—two circumstances which gave rise to the principal architectural utterances of their faith.

But notwithstanding that a religion thus constituted differed so entirely from the present faiths of India, it is extremely difficult to detect the difference before the Christian era. From the time of Buddha's death till the reign of Asoka, the kings seem to have been almost alternately of one faith or the other; and though, from the writings of the Greeks, we can trace that there were in India two great sects, or at least two distinct classes of philosophers, with all their acuteness and love of antithesis they were unable to detect any such difference as could enable us now to characterise either perfectly; and our application of the fact depends more on nominal similarities than on doctrinal differences, which would enable us to point out which sect was the one described.

Caste certainly was unknown among the Buddhists of all ages, but I question very much if it was at all known in ancient India in the sense in which we now understand the term. Their priesthood were taken from all classes and ranks, and congregated, under vows of celibacy, in monasteries; and nunneries were established for female devotees, in a manner resembling extremely the ascetic monachism that existed in Egypt and Syria in the early centuries of Christianity, or in the middle ages in Europe.

After all, perhaps, the only really authentic data we possess for founding an opinion on this subject are the inscriptions and the monuments, especially the latter, which certainly, as far as is yet known, confirm these views, for the earliest caves are mere cells in which an ascetic might dwell; and though this is afterwards expanded into a monastery where many might congregate, in none that can date before the Christian era is there found any image or graven symbol of worship: but during the ten or twelve centuries through which they extend, we find every possible gradation of decline: first, images of Buddha himself; then of Bodisatwas, or inferior Buddhas—then saints, male and female, of all sorts; then these mixed

^{*} But, even in the earlier times, the Buddhist Scriptures themselves occasionally reveal to us a state of things not quite consonant with their boastings; as, for instance, in the Ceylonese history of the famous tooth relic, we find in the beginning of the fourth century a king of Kalinga who had forgotten the true faith, and was only then converted to it; and the Andhra emperor sending an army under a general, like himself of the Brahmanical faith, to chastise him for the defection, the history ends in their all being converted to Buddhism by the miracles wrought by the relic: but the admission of their having been of a different faith is instructive; and the inscriptions of Yagnasri, one of the last of this race on the caves of Behar, certainly are more of a Brahmanical than Buddhistical tendency. The report, however, of the Chinese travellers, the monuments themselves, and numberless concurrent circumstances, prove that the mass of the population at least were Buddhist, and continued so long after that date.

up with snake-worship, which certainly was a local superstition of Ceylon, and probably of all the south of India anterior to the advent of Buddha; and, lastly, with gods and goddesses borrowed from the Hindu pantheon, till the ancient religion is scarcely recognisable, and at last changes even its name to that of Jaina, and, forgetting Buddha himself, adopts his preceptor Mahavira as the last heaven-born teacher, and twenty-three anterior saints as the prophets of the faith; and in this form the religion still exists in India, though the older faith is unknown in that country.

Diametrically antagonistic to this faith of Buddhism is that of the followers of Siva, whose origin and antiquity are much more difficult to determine than those of Buddhism; for there are no ancient inscriptions belonging to the faith, nor indeed any monuments which can pretend to a date anterior to the seventh century of our era, if, indeed, any are so ancient, which I think there are strong grounds for doubting: and even its Scriptures are all more modern; for the Puranas (which, properly speaking, are the only works entitled to that name) are by Professor Wilson admitted to be all subsequent to the eighth century, and most of them even much more modern. On the whole, I think it must be admitted that, as far at least as the Sanscrit races of India are concerned, the religion, in its present form, owes its origin to Sancara Acharya in the eighth or ninth century of Christ. Still it would be incorrect to assert that he invented it entirely: on the contrary, I think it can be proved that something very like it did exist before. But I do not think that the coins found in Affghanistan at all prove either its existence there, or that it was introduced thence, as has been supposed: on the contrary, the only consistent theory I can form on this subject is, that it was the local superstition of the Tamul races in the south of India, and of course in the north also, as far as they existed; and that it was introduced into the northern countries between the eighth and twelfth centuries, having probably been previously modified to a considerable extent in the south by long intercourse with the northern Brahmans, and was then further altered and engrafted on their own superstitions and traditions, and got up as an antagonistic religion to that of Buddha, which was then sinking under its own doctrinal corruptions and its overgrown priesthood of idle monks.

Another form which this modern system of Hinduism took was that of the worship of Vishnu, which was not so diametrically opposed to Buddhism as the other: on the contrary, the nine avatars of Vishnu look very like the successive incarnations of Buddha, and every where, and even now, the ninth and last is always Buddha himself. Here, however, the similarity ends; the religion being, like Sivaism, made up of the worship of a multitude of gods of all sorts and kinds—of hero-worship and ceremonial observance—of caste, with all its absurd distinctions—and of traditions and doctrines more absurd, perhaps, than were ever before palmed on the credulity of mankind.*

As far as the evidence of the monuments goes, it would appear that this form of Hinduism is more ancient in the north than that of Siva. In Upper India all the old temples I know of have originally been dedicated to Vishnu, though most of them are now appropriated to Siva, and I do not know of a single instance of a conversion the other way; and even the great temple at Bobaneswar appears to have undergone a similar conversion, though, not having been allowed to enter it, I speak with less confidence regarding it.

Taken together, these two (in their thousand sects) make up the bulk of the modern Hindu system which every one knows, with its monstrous many-limbed and many-headed idols, and still more monstrous doctrines; and though there is a wide distinction between the gloomy and bloody faith of many of the sects of the division of Siva, and the gayer but more obscene superstitions of the followers of Vishnu, in most things they are so similar that they may generally be spoken of as one religion, under the terms of Hinduism or the Brahmanical faith. It is only necessary carefully to distinguish it from Brahmaism, or that purer faith which existed antecedently even to Buddhism, and with which the present ones have no affinity; for though all (even the Buddhists) know the name of Brahma, and consider him as a supreme god, no sect worships him or considers him as interfering in the affairs of the world;—with all he is a tradition, and nothing more.

There is no difficulty in distinguishing these Hindu faiths from Buddhism, nor even from Jainaism, which, as I said before, is a lineal descendant of the other, only corrupted to an immense extent. It may perhaps, however, seem to fix the distinctions more perfectly to repeat that Sivaism is a modern superstition which succeeded, and is in almost every particular diametrically antagonistic to Buddhism; that Vishnuism is a cognate religion, indeed part of the same, but with an admixture of one-third or one-fourth of Buddhist feelings or tendencies; and that Jainaism, on the contrary, is as closely allied to Buddhism as these two to one another, but with an admixture of one-third or one-fourth of the feelings and superstitions of the two modern faiths.

Though the Buddhist and Jaina religions are, wherever found, tolerably uniform in their tenets, this is not the case with the other two, which are divided into innumerable sects, some of which are continually going out of fashion, while new ones are springing up to supply their places, and the whole system is in a state of continual fluctuation and change; still it will be sufficient for my present purposes to point out only these four classes, as they are enough to classify the architecture by; and it will be enough here to point out their distinctions, as I shall be better able to explain such minor

^{*} In the fourteenth century, Bukka Rayer, in an inscription found at Belligola, "orders it to be made public, by inscriptions carved on stones in the Jain temples all over the empire, that no distinction or contradiction appeared between the religion of the Jains and that of the Vishnavas, and therefore the Vishnavas should agree to protect them as long as the sun and moon endure."—Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 271.

I know of no one characteristic that can be predicated with perfect certainty of all the styles of architecture in Hindostan, except the melancholy one that their history is written in decay; for whenever we meet with two buildings or two specimens of art of any sort, in the whole country between Cape Comorin and the Himalayas, if one is more perfect or of a higher class than the other, we may at once feel certain that it is also the more ancient of the two: and it only requires sufficient familiarity with the rate of downward progress to be enabled to use it as a graduated scale, by which to measure the time that must have elapsed before the more perfect could have sunk into the more debased specimen. And I fear the characteristic is not less applicable to all the institutions, both moral and political, of the people, than to their arts; though in them it is more easily traced and measured, as they remain as erected, authentic contemporary records of ages whose literature and history have been almost irretrievably lost.

Even in Europe it is not difficult for any one who has access to a collection of Indian coins, or to books on numis-matics, to satisfy himself of the correctness of this view of the matter; and as they are the class of antiquities whose age is most easily ascertained, they afford, perhaps, the most indubitable evidence of the fact. But so true is this, that if a collection of these coins, ranging from the times of the Grecian Bactrian kings, till the cufic inscriptions of the Mahometan conquerors appear on the reverse of the coins of the Hindus, were put into the hands of a workman of the mint, and he were told to arrange them according to the greater or less perfection of workmanship they displayed, he would inevitably arrange them according to their dates; and if he understood his craft, I am not certain that his classification would not be more trustworthy than any that have yet been given to the world.

If, on the other hand, we take the clue thus afforded us by the coins, and attempt to ascend from the lower to the higher range of art, which we may easily do by comparing the coins of the tenth or eleventh centuries with the buildings or architecture of those ages, and then, ascending through the Gupta, Saurashtra, and Indo-Sythic, to the Bactrian coins, placing in a parallel series those buildings and coins which are known to be coeval, we feel that we are gradually, though surely, ascending towards a point which will place India on the same step on the ladder of civilisation as her western neighbours, and enable us at last to compare her arts with those of the classical ages. But just as we feel that we are on the verge of this desired attainment, and almost confident that we have grasped it, the phantom vanishes in the yet unexplored obscurity of those remote ages, and we are thrown hopelessly back on the absurdities of the present for our definition and our notion of all that is Indian; and so, I fear, it must remain till more earnest attention is turned to the subject: though, at the same time, I feel convinced it would be quite as correct to reason of Greece in the age of Pericles from the present state of the kingdom of the Bavarian Otho, as to compare the state of India in the age of Asoka with that to which she has sunk in the present day.

It has been very usual, in writing of Indian art, to compare it with the Egyptian or even classical styles, and to insist on resemblances and affinities which, I feel sure, a more intimate knowledge of the subject would prove to be utterly groundless. For myself, I have passed from India to Egypt and from Egypt to India, and with my mind full of either style, and while its forms were still fresh on my memory, tried in vain to trace the slightest resemblance; which, however, I am convinced does not exist, -but that the Indian styles, whatever their merits or defects may be, are at least original, and have been elaborated in the country where we find them. If any connexion with any foreign style do exist, it must not, I am certain, be looked for beyond the seas, but must be traced through the countries on the westward of the Indus, into Persia and the countries of central Asia; and I think it more than probable that we may there find styles of art, either borrowed from India or to which that country is indebted for many of its forms; but the materials for attempting any deductions from this train of reasoning are not yet available to the inquirer. Had the Indian armies who occupied Affghanistan for some years possessed one officer capable of appreciating the value of such inquiries, it would have been easy, from the details of the architecture of the topes and other buildings in that country, to have ascertained at least whether the inquiry would probably lead to any conclusive results: but the opportunity is lost, and it is not easy to foresee when it may again recur. The researches of Mr. Masson, Dr. Honigberger, and the French officers in Runjeet Sing's service, shew us that Indian forms do extend at least to the confines of Persia; but neither their opportunities nor means were equal to those at the command of our officers, and their drawings, as hitherto published, are too imperfect to form any satisfactory conclusion from.

and, partly before and partly about the time of Sancara Acharya, expelled from the country. Before this, however, they were known extensively as Jains, who have left abundant proofs of their existence at Conjeveram, where they succeeded their purer predecessors, and where now, and to the northward in the Telinga and Karnataca countries, they still possess considerable establishments; but to the southward of Conjeveram neither of these religions have left any monuments of importance (if any), and of those there, or to the northward, none that I am aware of can date earlier than the eleventh century, or after the decline of the dynasties of the Dravida Desa. At present they form only a small fraction of the population, the mass of whom are devout followers of Siva or of Vishnu; the religion of the former appearing to be in all cases not only the more important, but the more ancient form of faith, as far, at least, as I can judge from the monuments I have been able to examine; the more ancient being almost universally dedicated to Siva, and only the more modern ones belonging to the opposing sect of Vishnu. I did not, however, in the south of India meet with a single authentic instance of a temple having been converted from one religion to the other, as often occurs in the north; but, on the whole, the evidence of the buildings themselves appears to me tolerably conclusive that on the south the Sivite was the earlier religion, and that the Vaishnava form was afterwards introduced; while in the north of India it is even more clear that the contrary was the case, and, as mentioned above, that the Sivites were introduced after the others, and in many instances that they have superseded them and appropriated their temples to themselves.

These conclusions, derived from the monuments, are confirmed by the local traditions, and by those recorded in the Mackenzie MSS., which almost universally make the older people snake-worshippers or Sivites, or some form of that faith; while the Vaishnavas play a very inferior part in the mass of tradition, till we come down to a very modern date.

instances will appear in these plates; but under all this ornament we shall always find this simple form of division; and even when the pillars are round, eight or sixteen wreaths, or bells, or ornaments of some kind, are hung about it so as to make these forms.

To many whose eyes are accustomed to the plain cylindrical, or merely fluted shafts of classical architecture, this cutting up of these Hindu specimens and their exuberance of ornament will no doubt appear as a defect; but it is one with which I am convinced they cannot be justly reproached; for it must, in the first place, be borne in mind, that pillars in India are very seldom external ornaments, or used in long colonnades, as was almost invariably the case with the Greeks and Romans, but, on the contrary, are generally internal ornaments in buildings on a small scale, which, from the arrangement of their plans, always afford an infinite variety and complexity of perspective, and, though aiming always at the beautiful, never from their scale can pretend to attempt the sublime; and what would be ridiculous in a column forty or fifty feet high may be extremely pretty and appropriate in one only nine or ten feet in height. The same distinction between internal and external architecture (though one scarcely suspected by modern architects) will explain why the variety of the sculpture on the different pillars and even in their forms and distances is never displeasing, but, on the contrary, gives the greatest pleasure—just as the varieties in the frescoes of Raphael and of all the higher efforts of decorative art derive one of their principal charms from the very fertility of various imaginings which they display.

In describing the architecture of India it will be requisite, in the first place, to divide it into at least the same number of sections as I did the religions in speaking of them (page 6), though the same classification does not strictly apply here; but the following will, I believe, be found the most correct and convenient:—

- 1. The Buddhist, as the oldest and most extensive.
- 2. The Northern Hindu, including all the buildings of the Vaishnavas and Sivites in Northern Hindostan, from the earliest period to which they can be traced till the time when they become so mixed with Mahometan forms as to belong to the fifth class.
- 3. The Jaina, which is a mixture of the above two styles, partaking alternately of the forms of the one or the other, with some original to itself.
- 4. The Southern or Tamul Hindu—a style easily distinguishable from the Northern, and distinct from all the above styles in almost all its forms.
- 5. To these should be added the modern Hindu, or that style which has sprung up from an admixture of the Mahometan style of architecture with the older Hindu form. It is unknown in the south of India, and the best specimens exist in the neighbourhood of Delhi and in Rajpootana, many of them of great beauty and extent, though certainly inferior, both in design and execution, to the older specimens of the more ancient styles.

In the former part of this work, containing the illustrations of the rock-cut temples, I said nearly all I have to say on Buddhist architecture, as most of the caves belong to that religion, and they are almost the only specimens of the style we possess in a state of unaltered purity. It may, however, be necessary, for the understanding of the subject, to recapitulate the heads of it here, adapting it more especially to the structural buildings, to which I then scarcely referred.

Of Buddhist monuments, by far the most important, as well as the most ancient, are undoubtedly the Dagobas.* They probably are only a modification of the more ancient funereal tumuli, but, in Buddhist architecture, they must always be distinguished from these latter, which, indeed, generally exist in the neighbourhood of a dagoba; but the one is a mere tomb of an individual, the other an object of general adoration. The form of the older ones is almost always that of a hemispherical or elliptical dome, on a low circular basement or drum, and they always are, or rather were, surmounted by a square block or pedestal, which supported the tee, consisting of one, three, six, or nine circular discs, or state umbrellas. In process of time many of the older dagobas, becoming more sacred or important, were added to, to increase their size; and this was done either by a concentric building enveloping the whole, or merely by giving it additional height on the same base; this, I believe, is what gave rise afterwards to the more tower-like form which the more modern structures of this class always assume, as well as to the successive deposit of relics of more modern ages, which many of them have yielded, to the bepuzzlement of antiquarians; for many of them seem to have been heightened merely for the purpose of accommodation to a new treasure. It is a question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered, whether the relic so enshrined was acceptable or not by the priest. Capt. Fell mentions that in many of the representations of dagobas sculptured at Sanchi, an opening is represented on the front; and from many passages in Fa hian's travels and the "Mahawanso," it would appear that this was, at least sometimes, certainly the case: but the appearance of many of the chambers which have been opened, on the contrary, prove that, in those instances at least, this could not be the case.

10

^{*} From "dhatu and gabban (Sans. garbha), the womb, receptacle, or shrine of a relic."—Turnour's Mahawanso, p. 5.

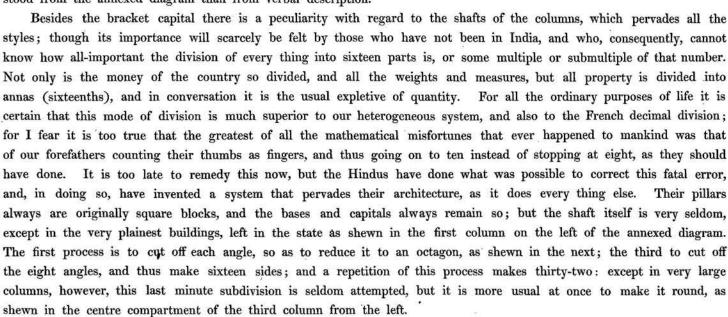
There is one other characteristic, though a negative one, which I believe is also universal throughout India, and that is the absence of the arch in all their constructions of every age and kind. As far as my own researches go, I am certain that I have never been able to detect any trace of an arch in any ancient building; and though, at one time, I was inclined to believe that the ancient architects had a knowledge of the principle, from the universal prevalence of circular and apparently arched forms in, or rather over, all the openings of the Buddhist Chaitya caves, further researches have convinced me that these are all copies of wooden constructions, and not of stone arches; though this is exactly one of those points on which rock-cut copies of structural buildings are liable to mislead an inquirer, where the types from which they are copied do not exist. But, besides the evidence of the buildings and caves themselves, there is a curious corroboration of these views in the fact that the earlier Mahometan buildings in Hindostan, though designed with their own keyed, pointed arch form, are frequently constructed by the Hindu builders on the horizontal principle, which they never would have done had they been able to construct an arch. There is, for instance, at the Kutub near Delhi, a range of arches built by Altemsh, A.D. 1210 to 1235, the centre one of which is twenty-two feet in diameter by about sixty in height, and is a perfectly formed equilateral pointed arch, as was common in Mahometan architecture at that day; but even this great arch is constructed horizontally, though the Mahometans were perfectly acquainted with the principle of the arch long before this time, and never would have allowed it to be so constructed if they could have found a builder capable of executing it on more scientific principles. The only exception I am aware of, of this abhorrence of an arch (for I really cannot give it any other name) on the part of the Hindus, is during the reign of Ackbar, when his influence was so great as to induce Jey Sing; one of the most mathematical geniuses of his day, to build several temples in Bindrabun and in Jeypore, in which the arch is commonly used. But even within the last fifty years many of the finest Hindu buildings in Rajpootana, though adopting the arcaded and vaulted form of the Mahometans, are universally constructed on the horizontal plan, while it is impossible to detect a reason why the arch should not have been employed.

This want of knowledge of the arch must always have been felt as a serious inconvenience by a people like the Hindus, who, in all their ornamental buildings, employed stone roofs; and their architects have in consequence been driven to a variety of expedients to supply its place, the most common of which, as well as the most elegant, is the bracket capital, which, with very few exceptions, is only found in India, but there is nearly universal in all styles. The usual plan of the capital is a cubic block with four brackets, each equal in diameter to the pillar itself, attached to its four faces, thus making it three diameters in width each way; and when a like space of three diameters intervenes between the capitals, this enables the columns to be placed five diameters apart, without the least appearance of weakness. Sometimes a second bracket is superimposed on the first, thus making the capital five diameters wide, and this system is

often carried so far as to make the capital literally a horizontal arch; but, owing to its being always cut back square to the original capital, it never becomes heavy, which a circular or bell-shaped form would soon be, and always affords a play of light and shade and a variety

of perspective, which, in every instance I have seen, is extremely pleasing.

When an architrave is required to span a larger space than can be supported by even these brackets without heaviness, a sort of flying buttress is used, springing from a lower capital, and often giving rise to combinations of great beauty. These forms will, however, be better understood from the annexed diagram than from verbal description.



Frequently, in the more ornate buildings, the whole pillar is a mass of sculpture from base to capital, of which many

instances will appear in these plates; but under all this ornament we shall always find this simple form of division; and even when the pillars are round, eight or sixteen wreaths, or bells, or ornaments of some kind, are hung about it so as to make these forms.

To many whose eyes are accustomed to the plain cylindrical, or merely fluted shafts of classical architecture, this cutting up of these Hindu specimens and their exuberance of ornament will no doubt appear as a defect; but it is one with which I am convinced they cannot be justly reproached; for it must, in the first place, be borne in mind, that pillars in India are very seldom external ornaments, or used in long colonnades, as was almost invariably the case with the Greeks and Romans, but, on the contrary, are generally internal ornaments in buildings on a small scale, which, from the arrangement of their plans, always afford an infinite variety and complexity of perspective, and, though aiming always at the beautiful, never from their scale can pretend to attempt the sublime; and what would be ridiculous in a column forty or fifty feet high may be extremely pretty and appropriate in one only nine or ten feet in height. The same distinction between internal and external architecture (though one scarcely suspected by modern architects) will explain why the variety of the sculpture on the different pillars and even in their forms and distances is never displeasing, but, on the contrary, gives the greatest pleasure—just as the varieties in the frescoes of Raphael and of all the higher efforts of decorative art derive one of their principal charms from the very fertility of various imaginings which they display.

In describing the architecture of India it will be requisite, in the first place, to divide it into at least the same number of sections as I did the religions in speaking of them (page 6), though the same classification does not strictly apply here; but the following will, I believe, be found the most correct and convenient:—

- 1. The Buddhist, as the oldest and most extensive.
- 2. The Northern Hindu, including all the buildings of the Vaishnavas and Sivites in Northern Hindostan, from the earliest period to which they can be traced till the time when they become so mixed with Mahometan forms as to belong to the fifth class.
- 3. The Jaina, which is a mixture of the above two styles, partaking alternately of the forms of the one or the other, with some original to itself.
- 4. The Southern or Tamul Hindu—a style easily distinguishable from the Northern, and distinct from all the above styles in almost all its forms.
- 5. To these should be added the modern Hindu, or that style which has sprung up from an admixture of the Mahometan style of architecture with the older Hindu form. It is unknown in the south of India, and the best specimens exist in the neighbourhood of Delhi and in Rajpootana, many of them of great beauty and extent, though certainly inferior, both in design and execution, to the older specimens of the more ancient styles.

In the former part of this work, containing the illustrations of the rock-cut temples, I said nearly all I have to say on Buddhist architecture, as most of the caves belong to that religion, and they are almost the only specimens of the style we possess in a state of unaltered purity. It may, however, be necessary, for the understanding of the subject, to recapitulate the heads of it here, adapting it more especially to the structural buildings, to which I then scarcely referred.

Of Buddhist monuments, by far the most important, as well as the most ancient, are undoubtedly the Dagobas.* They probably are only a modification of the more ancient funereal tumuli, but, in Buddhist architecture, they must always be distinguished from these latter, which, indeed, generally exist in the neighbourhood of a dagoba; but the one is a mere tomb of an individual, the other an object of general adoration. The form of the older ones is almost always that of a hemispherical or elliptical dome, on a low circular basement or drum, and they always are, or rather were, surmounted by a square block or pedestal, which supported the tee, consisting of one, three, six, or nine circular discs, or state umbrellas. In process of time many of the older dagobas, becoming more sacred or important, were added to, to increase their size; and this was done either by a concentric building enveloping the whole, or merely by giving it additional height on the same base; this, I believe, is what gave rise afterwards to the more tower-like form which the more modern structures of this class always assume, as well as to the successive deposit of relics of more modern ages, which many of them have yielded, to the bepuzzlement of antiquarians; for many of them seem to have been heightened merely for the purpose of accommodation to a new treasure. It is a question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered, whether the relic so enshrined was acceptable or not by the priest. Capt. Fell mentions that in many of the representations of dagobas sculptured at Sanchi, an opening is represented on the front; and from many passages in Fa hian's travels and the "Mahawanso," it would appear that this was, at least sometimes, certainly the case: but the appearance of many of the chambers which have been opened, on the contrary, prove that, in those instances at least, this could not be the case.

These buildings are still numerous and important in Affghanistan and the Punjaub, and also in Ceylon and almost all countries where Buddhism now exists, while in India only three or four are known: two of these are at Sanchi, near Bhilsah, erected probably about the Christian era, and, with their accompanying buildings and remains, are not only the most ancient but most interesting group of buildings in Hindostan. They have never, however, been either carefully explored or delineated; and it is difficult to speak with certainty either of their age or form. The only detailed description I know is that of Capt. Fell, above quoted. The only trustworthy drawing of any of its parts is that of one of the gateways engraved for the title-page, and for its general form and appearance the woodcut at the head of the description, reduced from one by Captain Murray. Of the other dagobas or the buildings around them, I have never seen any drawings, and can therefore only guess at what they are; but many of them must be long subsequent to the great building itself.

At the distance of nine or ten centuries from the date above given, we find the only other dagoba in India—the one at Sarnath, near Benares—erected in the eleventh century; * which, though so close to one of the principal stations in India, has still to be described or published. It is true Mr. James Prinsep, while at Benares, with his usual zeal and intelligence, got it opened, and careful drawings of every part made by Lieutenant Cunningham of the Company's Engineers, but both the drawings and discoveries seem to have shared the fate of every thing Indian, for though I have inquired every where since, I have never been able to learn what has become of them; and the only tolerable representation I know is that in Captain Elliot's "Views in the East," which gives the tall, tower-like form of the more modern dagoba correctly enough. It is certain that a country which was almost entirely Buddhist during the whole period that elapsed between these two monuments, must have possessed many others of a similar nature; but they have either all perished, or they exist in unexplored parts of the country, though it is difficult to believe that any of importance should now exist, without, at least, some trace of them having been discovered.

At Amravati, on the Kistnah, there is a Buddhist monument of the eighth or ninth century, which has generally been called a dagoba: it consists, however, only of a circular mound, on which is placed a ring of steles or votive pillars, all elaborately carved, some of which are now in the India House, and elaborate drawings of others in the Mackenzie Collection. In the centre is a circular tank, which I believe always existed there, and similar enclosed pools exist in Affghanistan and elsewhere; the pillars, however, are easily removed, and the tank then becomes an ordinary one, and escapes notice. In the present instance I look upon it quite impossible that, while the outer inclosure remains so perfect, the whole of the inner great mound could have been removed; but I believe it to belong to the second class of monuments or sthupas, meant to mark a sacred spot; and, if I were inclined to speculate, would suggest its analogy to a Druidical circle of stones, which, it must be confessed, it resembles a good deal.†

The next class of Buddhist monuments are the Sthupas (Sans. for a heap of stones or tumulus; Scottice, a cairn), whence the English word "Tope," indiscriminately applied to all these monuments. In no work, ancient or modern, that I know of, is a line of distinction drawn between these two classes of monuments: the "Mahawanso" calls them almost always dagobas, and Fa hian, on the contrary, calls them all thas or towers, without reference to whether they contain relics, or are erected to mark sacred spots or to commemorate events. But the distinction, I am convinced, is of the utmost importance to the understanding of the subject, if not in ancient, at least in modern times.

Those topes which, when opened in Affghanistan, yielded no relics of any kind, are, I am convinced, sthupas; and if the buildings were sufficiently perfect, or the drawings that have been made of them more detailed, I am convinced we should be able to detect a difference in their forms. In India I only know of one, that on the Giriek hill near Rajagriha, in Behar; and to this class may be added, perhaps, the temple in Boodh Gya; though this is so modern that it is difficult to recognise in it any Buddhist form at all, having been built in the fourteenth century, when the religion was scarcely known; and it in consequence takes the form of a square Hindu Vimana of brick, with so slight a deviation from the usual form of Sivite temples that it requires no little familiarity with the subject to detect its real destination: it is Buddhist, however, and erected on the spot where stood or stands the Bo-tree (a Peepul, or Ficus religiosa) of the last Buddha, which plays so important a part in the "Mahawanso" and the traditions of the faith. § As, however, it never possessed a relic, but marks a sacred spot, it is a sthupa.

To the same class of monuments belong the sthambas, or pillars, two of which are, or always should be, found in front of every great temple or cave: they are generally surmounted by figures of lions or griffins; while a third form of them is that of the laths or monolithic obelisks, set up apparently for the purposes of receiving inscriptions, either of edicts or records of gifts to temples, or votive offerings. Six or seven of these, set up by Asoka, are still known to exist

^{*} J. A. S. B. vol. iii. p. 493.

⁺ Since writing the above I have visited Stonehenge, to judge of it with my own eyes. To me it scarcely admits of a doubt but that it is a Buddhist monument, and I can, to my own satisfaction, explain every part of it on that hypothesis; but, if Buddhist, it was not Druidical.

[‡] These are, however, buildings erected solely to commemorate events, or to mark sacred spots, in contradistinction to the relic shrines or dagobas.

[§] J. A. S. B. vol. viii. p. 353. Buchanan Hamilton's "Behar," p. 76. "Mahawanso," chaps. xviii. and xix.

in India; and they are, besides, the oldest ones. Of these sthambas, two, at least, still exist near Cabul, the Surk Minar and Minar Chakri.* In India I only know of two, and they are both so modern that they are more strictly Jaina than Buddhist buildings: both are in the fort of Chetore; the oldest (Plate VIII.) belongs probably to the ninth century; the other (Plate XI.) was built by Khumbo Rana, a Jaina prince, in the year 1439, to commemorate the victory of Mahmoud of Malwa. The most modern descendants of these towers are the nine-storied pagodas of China, which, if not always, are at least generally erected to commemorate victories or famous events.†

It would require more specimens than I yet possess to trace all the variations through which these buildings passed from the earlier form, which, both for dagobas and sthupas, seems to have been that of a low dominical building, surmounted by a small tee, but altogether not exceeding its diameter in height; while, as we descend in the series, the tendency seems always to have been to heighten the dome and exaggerate the tee, till in these modern sthambas the dome is entirely omitted, and the sthupa consists merely of an exaggerated tee, while the dagoba is used as a monument or tomb, having taken the place of the simple tumulus in Ceylon, Thibet, and China: but even there it is always provided with an immense tee, to which I am convinced it has no right, as that originally was meant to surround only sacred buildings.

Buildings of the third class are only known to us in India by their representations in the rock-cut temples. In the former part of this work I have called them Chaitya caves—Chaitya meaning an object of worship, whether an image, a tree, an edifice, or mountain.‡ Two plans of them are given in that work, and all the information I could collect on the subject, which I need not repeat here. I look on it as almost certain that they are copies of halls of assembly and worship, perhaps libraries, which, when built, were composed chiefly of wood, though in more modern times stone was substituted and copied in the caves.

Though I believe the resemblance to be purely accidental, as we can trace at least the Christian form out of a totally distinct class of building, they resemble in almost every particular, both of form, size, and purpose, the choirs of Gothic churches of the eleventh or twelfth centuries; the dagoba occupying the place of the altar, and being, like it, strictly a relic shrine. The early Christians, it is true, adopted the sarcophagus, in which was deposited the body or relic of the saint; but afterwards the stone altar became the symbol of a tomb, without often containing any thing: and so, in Buddhist buildings, they may have used the form of a dagoba without pretending that it contained a relic. In the caves I could trace no opening or place where a relic could be placed; the earlier ones, however, were all covered with woodwork, and the relics may have been contained in a chasse, and placed in front of the dome, where in latter times an image of Buddha was invariably placed, when idolatry superseded the reverence for relics.

The fourth and last class of Buddhist monuments I need particularise here, are the Viharas or monasteries, which, like the chaityas, we know in India only from their rock-cut copies. They consist, in the earliest examples, of a mere grotto or cell; then of a verandah leading into one or more cells; and, lastly, of a verandah opening into a hall surrounded by cells: in the older ones, on all sides except the entrance; in the more modern ones, however, the side opposite the entrance is invariably occupied by a recess or sanctuary, in which is placed a dagoba, where no chaitya can exist in the series, or by an image of Buddha with or without attendants, but as an object of worship. The halls of the Viharas are, generally speaking, square, or at all events rectangular, and the pillars are invariably disposed in lines parallel to the sides, in a manner which, as it is interesting as compared with the practice of the Hindus, I have illustrated in the annexed woodcuts, which shew the disposition in a square hall of four, twelve, or twenty pillars, which are the only pillars has been inserted in a twenty-pillar cave. The width of the side-aisles varies, as shewn

From the disposition of the colonnade, as well as from the indications on the roofs themselves, it is quite evident that the structural Viharas had always wooden roofs, probably flat and terraced; and in the earlier caves there are strong indications that these roofs were supported by wooden posts, though the necessity of supporting a mass of rock has induced the cavediggers to thicken them considerably. It is difficult, however, to speak positively on this subject,

in Fig. 3, though I have always found it the same on all the four sides of any one

and I do not know where to look for any remains of buildings of this class, unless they exist at Sanchi, where, however, I believe they will be found.

There does not appear to me to be any thing, in either the origin or progress of Buddhist architecture, at all mysterious or unintelligible, nor any thing which I am convinced a little industry and careful deduction from the existing

^{*} Wilson's "Ariana," p. 114

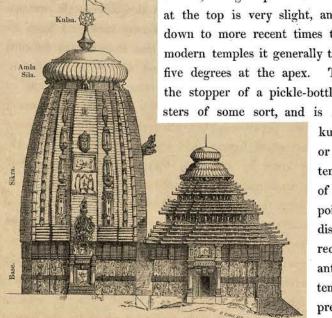
⁺ The Mahometans, too, adopted this class of buildings, though they gave them a form of their own. Mahmoud built two at Guzni in the eleventh century; Altemsh, one (the famous Kutub Minar) at Delhi, in the thirteenth; and they are found at Dowletabad, Gour, Coel, and other places in India.

[‡] Rock-cut Temples, p. 6. Mahawanso, p. 5.

specimens would not satisfactorily explain; but when we turn to Hindu art, the case is widely different, and its origin, to me, at least, a puzzle I cannot attempt to explain. The earliest of Hindu temples in the north of India is that of Bobaneswar, represented on the first plate; but no one can suppose that it is the first of its style, nor, indeed, the hundredth: so completely is it removed from any of the ordinary or utilitarian forms of human art, that it evidently must have passed though long ages of transition before it could have arrived at the form in which we find it—perfect and complete in all its parts—no hesitation about either its form or details—all perfectly understood and fixed. And if we trace the style, which we can do on the spot, through the six centuries that followed its erection, the change in the last building is so small from the first, that we are almost compelled to admit a slow progress to the point at which we first meet it.

Did any of the old buildings of Oude, or Patna, or Delhi exist, we might perhaps trace its history to nearly its origin; but as no vestige of them remains, for the present at least we must be content to commence "medias in res," and to take the earliest building as we find it, without attempting to explain whence it came. At one time I was inclined to think it was merely a squared dagoba, at another a magnified fire-altar, and have formed fifty other theories on the subject; but they have all turned out one less tenable than the other, and I cannot present one as worthy of attention. In the jungles about the sources of the Nerbudda it is probable some older buildings may be found, and they may assist us to some ideas on the subject, but I do not know where else to look for them.

The principal part of all Hindu temples (I am speaking now of the north of India, without reference to the south) is the Vimana or great tower, always containing in its centre a square apartment called the Garbha griha, or womb of the house, in which the images are placed: no light is admitted to this cell, except from the doorway; and in consequence, in the astylar temples of Cuttak, it is always so dark and gloomy that nothing can be distinguished in it except by lamp-light. Up the country, however, where the porch is composed of pillars, this is not so much the case; but still the gloom is startling and mysterious. Externally the vimana consists of a base perpendicular to a height varying from half its width to a whole diameter; and this is surmounted by the sikra (sechara), a sort of spire always of a curvilinear



outline, though square or nearly so in section. In the older temples the diminution in diameter at the top is very slight, and the term tower is more applicable than spire; but as we come down to more recent times the form of the apex becomes more and more pointed, and in most modern temples it generally takes the form of a pointed spire, having an angle of forty or forty-five degrees at the apex. This, in all the older temples, is surrounded by an ornament like the stopper of a pickle-bottle, called amla sila,* which rests generally on eight griffins or monsters of some sort, and is surmounted by a flat dome. This, again, is surmounted by the

kullus (kulsa), or pinnacle, which takes the form of a vase, a lotus, or a combination of any of the emblems of the god to whom the temple is dedicated, as the trident of Siva, for instance, or the discus of Vishnu. In more modern temples, as the sikra becomes more pointed, the amla sila becomes less and less important, and at last disappears altogether, or is so insignificant as to become scarcely recognisable. In front of the cell there is generally a recess called antarala, or antechamber, in the position shewn in the plan of the temple at Barolli, which accompanies Plate VII.; and this is again preceded by the ardha mantapa, or porch, which in almost all cases covers the same space of ground as the vimana or temple itself, and is

of the same square plan. In Orissa this is always a walled apartment, entered by three doorways. In Central India, on the contrary, it is generally an open porch surrounded by pillars, which are arranged either in a single row, as at Barolli, or with an inner one, as at Chandravati (see Plan that accompanies Plate VI.), where the space is too large to support the heavy roof, which is always of stone, without such additional assistance. The vimana, with its mantapa and intervening antarala, form the temple, properly speaking; but they seldom stand alone, without some additional buildings, one of the most common and indispensable of which is a maha mantapa—a great porch, shewn in the plan of Barolli—where, as generally in Upper India, it is called a chaöri or nuptial hall, and seems to have been used for marriages, or indeed any religious ceremony performed in public, for which the temple itself is manifestly unfitted. Into it, also, the gods were, at certain seasons, brought out and exposed to public view.

In these maha mantapas—indeed, generally throughout Hindu buildings—the tendency of the architects has always been to place the columns equidistant from one another over the whole of the floor; ‡ but, to prevent this arrangement from

^{*} From some fancied resemblance to the fruit of the amlika (Phylanthus emblica).—Sterling's Cuttack, A.S., vol. xv. p. 309.

⁺ The woodcut is principally a restoration of the Black Pagoda, or temple, at Kanaruc, of the remains of which a view is given, Plate III.

[‡] Almost the only variation being cutting off half the outer intercolumniation, as shewn in the plans of the chaöris at Mokundara and Barolli, which accompany Plates V. and VII.

being monotonous, when they did this they almost never placed them parallel to the external walls, and they consequently assume one of the forms of the accompanying diagrams: No. 2 being the arrangement of the chaöri in the Mokundara Pass; Fig. 1.

No. 3 that of the one at Barolli, with the variation above alluded to; and though I have seen no structural mantapa with so many pillars as

No. 4 to the cave called the Doomar Lena at Ellora,* and the great one of Elephanta, are specimens of this sort.† The caves between the Vishwakurma at Ellora and the Kylas, which I have called transition specimens, ‡ adopt this Hindu plan of placing the pillars at

equal distances all over the floor; but at the same time, like the Buddhists, they place them in rows parallel to the walls. §

The mode of roofing the squares into which the disposition of the columns naturally divides Hindu roofs is simple and pleasing: in the smaller squares it consists simply of cutting off each angle so as to form a smaller square internally placed diagonally to the larger one, and this covered by one slab, generally ornamented by a lotus or some central ornament. In the larger ones the square has its angles again cut off so as to form an octagon, as shewn in the plan of the mantapa at Barolli (Plate VII.); and when, as in this instance, the central stone is still of considerable size and importance, it is hollowed out into a coved form with foiled projections, which, both here and at Chandravati, make the roof the most pleasing part of the whole temple. Externally the roof is generally of a low pyramidal form; but in almost every instance I know of, the roots of trees have got inserted between the stones, and driven them out of their places, and the forms are consequently so changed and ruined that it is difficult to say what they exactly were. That of the Black Pagoda (Plate III.) is one of the most perfect; but it evidently differed considerably from that of Barolli (Plate VII.), which is more strictly what we are speaking of.

The architecture of the Jains, like their religion, arose from a union of the former two we have just been considering. There is no great difficulty in tracing what it derived from its Hindu mother, as there is a sufficient number of buildings of that religion remaining to enable us to institute a comparison between the two styles; but so little is known of Buddhist architecture, that, so far from being able to say the Jains borrowed this or that from the older style, we are often obliged to supply the deficiency of our knowledge of the parent style by tracing the likeness backward from its In sculpture the art of the Jains is so exceedingly similar to that of the Buddhists, that it is always difficult, sometimes nearly impossible, to distinguish the one from the other. The Tirthankars are almost always represented in the same strange cross-legged attitude in which Buddha is so often sculptured. They wear the same high, curly head of hair, or perhaps rather head-dress, and have the same long pendant ears, and the same thick lips and cast of features; nor could I ever trace any attempt to vary the likeness of the different personages, but all seem to follow the same conventional Buddhist original; and if it were not for the symbols or attendant figures, and also the inferiority of workmanship consequent on the more recent period of the religion, I do not know by what rule they could be distinguished, and I know they have often been mistaken. Though we have not the same materials for instituting a comparison, from what little I have been able to glean I feel convinced the gradation between the two styles of architecture would be found equally easy and undistinguishable; but, having only rock-cut specimens of the one style, it is not easy to see how much the style may have been altered to suit the peculiarities of cave architecture. The materials, however, for settling this question, I believe, exist, though I do not possess them; for the principal remains of the Jains are in Guzerat, to the southward of Aboo, where I have never been, but where they will, I believe, be found of the eighth to the tenth century, while I have seen nothing earlier than the eleventh; and it is there, too, that we may expect to find it in the greatest purity; for the country is, and I believe always was, Arian, and never was more than partially colonised by the Tamul races: so that, if I am correct in my views, though Buddhism might there degenerate into Jainaism, it could scarcely become either Sivaism or even Vishnuism; and these superstitions will there be found as distinct importations fitting loosely into the system of the country. Even, however, with the knowledge I have, there is very little in this style that I cannot trace to either Hindu or Buddhist art, except, indeed, the domes, which form not only the most conspicuous but the most ornamental part of the system, and are, in fact, the fundamental features that enable us to distinguish it as a new style. Neither of the other styles, so far as my experience goes, contains a trace of them; | nothing in any of the caves leads to the supposition that any part of them could be copied from a dome constructed of stone; and though the Hindus occasionally, in roofing a large space, recessed it considerably, as explained in a former paragraph, it always remained a square space, merely contracted for convenience of roofing; while the Jaina dome is always an octagon supported by eight pillars, and circular, or at least curvilinear, both in its horizontal and vertical sections.

^{*} Rock-cut Temples, Plan 4.

⁺ Transactions, Bombay Lit. Soc. Vol. II.

[‡] Rock-cut Temples, p. 48.

[§] See Plans accompanying Daniel's "Views."

We must not confound the circular or bulbous outline of the topes with the idea of an internal dome, of which I am now speaking; for there is no proof that any tope ever possessed an internal dome, or meant to represent it externally: all their forms, on the contrary, seem to be derived from the earthen tumulus.

It would, of course, be absurd to suppose the Jains invented those domical forms, since we know that horizontal domes were built in Europe at least two thousand years before they appear in the East; and at Mylassa, in Asia Minor, there is a singular tomb with a dome supported on twelve pillars, arranged exactly as they are in all Jain temples, and with a dome constructed and ornamented precisely on the same principles.* Barring its Roman details, it has always appeared to me that the building would be more in its right place on Mount Aboo than where it is found; and it possesses also another Indian peculiarity, in a sort of bracket capital, the only one I know of in its age or country.

I am utterly unable to offer an opinion as to the time when or by what steps this form travelled eastward from the shores of the Mediterranean to the left bank of the Indus. It appears, however, quite perfect and complete on Mount Aboo in the eleventh century (Plate IX.). At Chettore I have seen something very like it in the tenth (Plate VIII.), and I feel convinced it could easily be traced a century or two higher. Perhaps it may have existed to the westward of the Aravulli from a very early period, and be, in fact, a local feature of the valley of the Indus more than a Jaina one, and merely become Jaina from this being, if not the original seat of that religion, at least the place where it was and is the most flourishing and prevalent faith, and thus was imported by the Jains from Guzerat into India Proper.

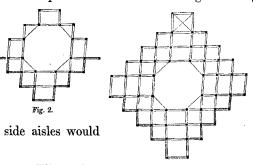
Be this as it may, these domes form the groundwork as well as the principal charm of the style, and (it may be an undue partiality on my part) I cannot but consider them as one of the most pleasing architectural forms I have any where seen. They are always supported by eight pillars disposed in a regular octagon, the capitals of which are adapted to the architraves by one of them being placed diagonally, as in the woodcut, p. 12; and in most instances the length of the architrave is supported either by additional bracketing or by flying buttresses, as shewn in the same diagram. In the next tier the polygon is reduced to one of sixteen sides, by each angle being cut off. Eight of the stones forming it rest on the lower ones, and are, of course, parallel to them; the other eight are supported in the centre by a block resting on a fifth bracket, introduced between the other two, which therefore prevents any part appearing weak or unsupported, and prepares the eye for the circular forms that succeed. Sometimes the operation of cutting off the angles is again repeated, and the polygon reduced to thirty-two sides; but this is rare, for, as these domes seldom exceed thirty feet in diameter, the circle fits easily on a polygon of sixteen sides. Above this the dome is formed of circular horizontal bands, every one of which is sculptured with a different pattern, never so prominent as to break the main lines of decoration, but producing a richness of effect I have not seen elsewhere. From the centre of the dome there always hangs a pendant, sometimes of the most elaborate richness of detail, but always more or less ornamented—generally so much so as to deter me from attempting to sketch them, from a feeling of the impossibility of doing them justice.

It is not, however, the beauty of the domes themselves so much as the disposition of the pillars, resulting from the octagonal form, that gives a character to the style; for the eight supporting pillars are never left alone, being always extended to a square by the addition of a pillar at each angle, as shewn in the annexed diagram (Fig. 1). This is again extended by the addition of two or six columns on each face (as in Fig. 2), and still further, or as shewn in Fig. 3, which is as extended as any arrangement of pillars I know with a single dome.†

In all these arrangements the octagonal form of the dome gives rise to a subordination between the principal and side aisles, the width of the latter being, to that of the former, in the ratio of 7 to 10, or more correctly, 7.07 to 10.00; which, as far as my experience goes, is the most pleasing that can be employed. In Gothic cathedrals the usual practice is to make the one half the other; but there the heights are different, here they are the same; and consequently the

Fig. 2.

Gothic disposition would afford too great a contrast, and a greater width in the side aisles would



Where the Jains did not adopt domes, as in the Indra Subbha group of caves at Ellora, they Fig. 3. employed the Buddhist arrangement of lines of columns parallel to the sides of the building: this, however, is the exception, not the rule.

The plan of one of the temples at Dilwarra (which accompanies Plate IX.) on Mount Aboo will explain the usual disposition of Jaina temples. In the centre stands a vimana, very similar to that of the Hindus, except that it always takes the more pointed, spire-like form of modern temples, and not the tower-like proportion of the more ancient ones. Like them it has a cell, in which is placed the principal image of the Tirthankar to whom the temple is dedicated. In

prevent the requisite gradation having its proper effect. ‡

^{*} Antiquities of Ionia, published by the Dilettanti Soc. Vol. II.

⁺ The church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which is universally acknowledged to be Sir Christopher Wren's masterpiece as an interior, and is one of the most pleasing I know in a modern edifice, owes all its merit to the architect having hit on this Jaina arrangement of dome and pillars; and its defects arise from his not having knowledge sufficient to carry this principle out; for the building wants width at the dome sadly, and the arches above the pillars are also a glaring defect, and I may also add the form of the dome itself: all which defects a knowledge of Indian architecture would have enabled him to rectify.

[†] This last is the arrangement of the columns in the so-called temple of Siva at Somnath, which I have not myself seen; but if the sketches to which I have had access are to be depended upon, I am very much mistaken if it is not merely a Jaina mantapa, and probably of an age considerably more modern than Mahmoud of Guzni.

front of this is the mantapa, with its dome, and an arrangement of a greater or less number of pillars, according to the extent of the temple; the whole is enclosed by a plain wall, around the interior face of which is arranged a series of cells, very similar, I suspect, in structure, to those in Buddhist viharas, but here occupied by an image of the Tirthankar of the temple, and with bassi-relievi and other sculptures illustrating passages in his life. In front of these, again, there is either a single or double colonnade, but generally of less height and importance than that of the principal mantapa. The relative proportion of these parts varies, of course, a good deal in different buildings; and in the more modern ones, especially, the vimana frequently becomes far more important, and the building altogether assimilates much more nearly to the Hindu temples of the time.

At Sadri (Plate X.) the principal vimana has a cell, or rather niche, on each face, and consequently four such porticoes, with their domes; and in each angle of the building there is another vimana, with its porticoes: so that altogether there are sixteen large domes, supported by about five hundred pillars; and as each cell on the exterior wall is surmounted by a sikra, it forms by far the most complete Jaina temple I have seen, and one of the most elaborate and singular architectural combinations any where to be found.

The fourth style into which I have divided my subject is one very easily distinguishable from the others—as easily, indeed, as Tamul from Sanscrit—though, like the distinction of the races, they have hitherto been usually confounded the one with, the other. Of course, to a person who understands neither language, they sound very much like one another; and in the same manner, to those who have never studied the architecture, all Indian pagodas appear very much like the same sort of thing. The more intimate, however, our knowledge of the subject becomes, the more striking does the difference appear.

The annexed woodcut faithfully represents, except the variations in size, nine-tenths of the vimanas of Southern India,

and, if compared with that represented in p.16, will shew at least how different, in some respects, they are. In no instance, in Southern India, is the outline of the upper part of the temple curvilinear, as it always is in the north, but always forms a rectilinear pyramid, though of broken outline, and always terminates in a small, dome-shaped ornament. In the more modern instances, each face of this dome is ornamented by a hideous masque, omitted in the more ancient ones. Below this the sloping part of the temple is divided into stories-by strongly marked horizontal lines, unknown in the north; and the temples are, on this account, generally designated as consisting of two, three, four, and up to fourteen or fifteen stories, each of which is ornamented by alternate square or oblong pavilions, with niches for statues and other ornaments, for which I never could trace the smallest resemblance in any thing among the Sanscrit races: but perhaps the most striking difference exists in the subordinate details of columns, niches, doors, &c., which will be more easily detected in comparing the plates in this work than by verbal description.

Another striking peculiarity of Madras temples is, that the principal vimana itself is, in nine cases out of ten, so small and insignificant as to be invisible from the outside, being surrounded by a square court and high wall, which quite excludes it from view. To make up for this want of external effect, the enclosure has generally one or more gateways, here called Gopuras, on which the magnificence due to the temple itself is lavished. The cause of this appears to be, that when, from any fortunate circumstance, any temple became famous or particularly sacred, instead of pulling it down and building a larger, or adding to its size by concentric layers, as the Buddhists would have done, they reverenced so much the actual building, that they preferred surrounding it by splendour instead of touching or adding to the fane itself. In this manner we find frequently not only one enclosure, with its gateways, but two, three, four, and at Seringham as many as seven of these enclosures added successively, and concentric (if I may use the term) with one another, and each furnished with two or four gopuras, though not all finished; so that the temple, seen from a distance, looks like a collection of ten, twenty, or thirty temples grouped together, but without any central point or principal object to give meaning to the whole.

The only exception I know to this is the great temple at Tanjore, built in the best days of the Chola Empire, and in which the enclosures and gopuras, which are all of the same age and design, are in proper subordination to the principal object. In the small village temples, also, which have never been added to, this is the case, but in none other of the greater ones that I have seen.

These gopuras are, both in design and detail, almost exactly similar to the vimana, except they have one side longer

^{*} The woodcut is from a carefully executed drawing on a large scale, by Captain Jenkins of the Madras Infantry, a copy of which is in the Library of the India House.

(generally double) than the other, while the horizontal section of the others is always a square; and consequently the dome-shaped finishing of the temples becomes an elongated waggon roof—these two forms being those of the alternate pavilions on the upper parts of the vimanas. Like the vimanas, too, the base or perpendicular part is almost invariably of stone (in almost all those I have seen, of granite), and the upper or sloping part is invariably of brick and plaster—a circumstance which does not, in that climate, say much for their antiquity.

The gopuras, or at least the principal line of them leading to the front of the sanctuary, are generally placed on the same axis, though this is far from being universally the case; and between them are placed the various mantapas of the temple; but in a building which has been aggregated and added to through centuries by various rajas and piously disposed persons, it is easy to understand how individual caprice or convenience should have led sometimes to a confusion and disarrangement among the parts that is quite astonishing, and defies any thing like system to explain. Most of the great temples possess a maha mantapa, or, as it is here called, the hall of a thousand columns, which at first I was inclined to suppose was merely an oriental hyperbole; but I counted those at Chillambram, and found that there were exactly that number, and, though too late to refer, I suspect there are as many at Seringham. Besides this great one there are always others, either attached to the front of the temples as ardha mantapas, or between the gateways, or at one side, as choultries, &c.; but in all, the pillars are placed in squares equidistant from one another, and in rows parallel to the sides of the building, except a central aisle or sometimes two crossing each other at right angles, where additional width is given by bracketing, which is carried out here to even a greater extent than in the north, and on very different principles. Here the usual plan is, when square or octagonal pillars are used for the side-aisles, to put two of them edgeways to the front, or to add a small shaft or a figure to the front of one of these, and then to carry out, either by griffins or foliage-mouldings, a series of brackets; so that from the centre of the column to the edge of the bracket measures sometimes three or four, and even five times its diameter. The most pleasing specimen of this arrangement I know is that represented in Plate XIX., from which the system may be easily understood.

But these and other peculiarities, of this as well as of the other styles, will be more easily explained and comprehended when describing the Plates themselves; and the above will in the meantime, I trust, be sufficient to afford a general view of the whole subject, and of the various sections into which it naturally divides itself, which is all that is here attempted.

title pace.

GATEWAY OF THE TOPE AT SANCHI.



THERE is nothing in India that I now regret more not having been able to visit personally than the group of Buddhist topes and buildings near Bhilsah, and had I been as fully aware of their importance when I was in that part of the country as I am now, nothing would have prevented my doing so. It is true I never was within 150 miles of them, or five days' rapid marching, as men travel in that part of the world; so that it would have added ten or twelve days to my route to Oujein; and though I thought of it,

I abandoned the idea, as I had then before me the whole of the western caves, and I felt convinced that they contained, not only the most numerous and complete specimens of Buddhist architecture in India, but also, what was of equal importance to me, the most unaltered. And to a certain extent I found this to be the case; but at the same time I was met by a difficulty I was not prepared for, in understanding the details of the architecture, from the caves being only the representations of buildings cut in the rock; and, in consequence, do not show either what material, of wood or stone, they are meant to represent, or what were the constructive necessities that gave rise to particular forms. At Sanchi all this would have been understood at a glance; while there is much in the caves which even now I cannot make out or understand.

The Great Tope itself will always be regarded with interest by the Indian antiquary, as having afforded to the late lamented James Prinsep the key to the character which enabled him to decipher all the oldest inscriptions in India, and, with that ingenuity and talent which characterised him, to throw more real and positive light on the subject of Indian antiquities than any of his predecessors. It has, however, other claims of its own, which no one will dispute; for it is, beyond all comparison, the largest tope in India: that of Manikyala being only 210 feet in circumference, and about 80 high,* and those of Affghanistan seldom, if ever, exceeding 160 feet in circumference, while this one is 554 feet in circumference, and above 120 in height.‡ Some of those in Ceylon may match it in dimensions; but, even then, none are so complete and perfect as this one, for it possesses an exterior concentric enclosure, which none of those on the continent of Asia do possess, though in Ceylon it is represented by detached pillars. But neither there nor in India is there one that possesses its gateways and outer enclosures. Nor are any of them so rich in sculpture. Nor on the continent is there a single one that retains even a trace of its conventual and other sacred buildings, which seem to be strewed about here in great profusion. Indeed there does not appear to be a single form of ancient Buddhist architecture which does not—if I understand the description,-find its representative here, and here alone, among all the topes of the continent of Asia. It has, besides, another important claim on the attention of inquirers into the history of India, in being the oldest structural monument yet discovered in that country. On this point I speak, however, with some diffidence, for, never having seen the building myself, I may be misled by not thoroughly understanding the information at my command; but the evidence of the inscriptions is, I think, tolerably conclusive on this head, as they are all, or nearly so, in the Lath character, and in the identical form used by Asoka, B.C. 250, and in which character no single inscription has been discovered that can date, at least much subsequently to the Christian era. The import of these inscriptions, which are all without dates, does not, unfortunately, afford any information that would aid us in determining this point, and the names being all those of private individuals are equally useless for the purpose. Mr. Prinsep conjectured § that the Gupta inscription on one of the gateways might refer to its erection, but in this I think he was mistaken, as he overlooked the words at the bottom of it, which are in the old Lath character; and one must either abandon altogether the evidence founded on them, or admit the gateway to be of the earlier date. The most satisfactory mode of determining the age of the tope itself would be to open it, as has been done with nearly all those in the north, when no doubt coins or inscriptions would be found that would settle the question; but I cannot make out if this has been done or not. In Captain Fell's time it had not been effected, and

^{*} J. A. S. B. vol. iii. p. 557.

⁺ Wilson's " Ariana," p. 56, et seq.

[‡] J. A. S. B. vol. iii. p. 490. The scale to the plate and the text are at variance as to this dimension, the former making it only about 400 feet in circumference. § J. A. S. B. vol. vi.

though some expressions would lead one to suppose it had since been done, I cannot make out either when or by whom. I know of no foreigner who has been in that neighbourhood lately who was likely to undertake it, nor any Englishman except those in the Company's service; and they, of course, would not be guilty of such a waste of time and money.

As far as I can judge from the drawings of the sculpture on the gateways, it is so similar, both in character and execution, to that in the older caves at Cuttak, that I should be very much inclined to refer it, on that evidence alone, to the same date; and, generally speaking, the low form of the tope and the character of the architecture confirm this view. Many of the adjacent buildings may be, and probably are, much more modern; but the two topes themselves, and many of their accompaniments, most probably may claim a date not far removed from that of the Christian era. Were I allowed to guess at one, I would fix on the age of Salivahana, the Buddhist king of Oujein in the first century, though this must only stand as a guess till a better can be substituted.

The gateway itself, represented* on the Title-page, is in design rather top-heavy, though this, no doubt, arises from its being copied from a wooden original; it is above forty feet in extreme height, and about half that to the soffit of the lintel, and is covered with sculpture from the ground to its very summit, representing various emblems and objects of worship peculiar to the Buddhist religion. Among these, however, we miss any representation of Buddha himself as an object of worship, which is a strong proof of its antiquity; for, had it belonged to the age of the Guptas, it would, in all probability, have been covered with them. On the contrary, the principal object of worship on this, as well as on the other gateways, is the dagoba, or relic-shrine, five of which occupy the whole of the upper bar or lintel. The middle bar is occupied by the worship of the bo-tree, which is also found represented on the Cuttak caves, and was, apparently, a very early form of Buddhist worship. The lowest bar represents the worship of a crescent-formed symbol, to which it is not so easy to give a name, though it is very common on the coins and the sculptures of the earlier ages of Buddhism. It occurs again on the left door-post, under a similar canopy, and two representations of it crown the gateway. My own belief is, that it represents the "Crescent Moon." In like manner, the circular emblem on pillars on the two central blocks, and on the intermediate block on the left hand, I take to represent the Sun. It occurs on the Amravati sculpture at the India House, and all earlier Buddhist monuments generally. It has been supposed to represent a praying-wheel (a compendious mode of saying prayers, by sticking them on a wheel and turning it round, still practised in many Buddhist countries). But whatever it may represent here, it afterwards came to be the chakra, or flaming discus of Vishnu, and is represented, with almost no change, in his hands on many old sculptures. In like manner, I am very much mistaken if the trisula, or trident of Siva, is not a direct lineal descendant from the other; and hence, too, perhaps, his title of Someswara, or Lord of the Moon.

The other compartments are occupied by elephants and peacocks, always favourite animals with the Buddhists, and griffins, which play so important a part in the architecture of this style, and of that of the Jainas and Vaishnavas, who have descended from them. But the most singular part of the whole is the elephant capitals, which are unique in India, and are sculptured with a freedom and boldness, and, at the same time, so truthfully, as to give a high idea of the perfection to which art had reached in India when they were executed.

The subjects on the other gateways all vary from those represented on this. One has fallen, and one of its fragments, lying on the ground, has been drawn over and over again. It represents a siege, the costume of the warriors being almost purely Greek, but the buildings of the town are most unmistakeably Indian. It is, however, entirely free from the faults and exaggerations common in Indian sculpture of a more modern date; and if a private subscription could be got up to bring it to Europe, it would, I feel convinced, give our antiquaries a very different idea of what the Hindus could do, than they have hitherto been able to acquire from any thing now existing in this country.

No similar gateways, as far as I am aware, exist in any other part of India; † but in China the Pai Loo, or, as it is generally called by Europeans, the Triumphal Arches, which are seen in every city of the Chinese, and neither the origin or use of which have hitherto been explained, are nothing but repetitions of this form of Buddhist architecture dressed in the peculiar costume which the Chinese give to every thing they either invent or borrow.

The circular enclosure that surmounts the tope and connects these gateways is formed of upright pillars or blocks, connected by stones of similar dimensions, laid on the top from one to another—(Are these the originals of the trilithons at Stonehenge?)—and their interstices are filled up with blocks, oval in section, which seem to be let into grooves in the upright piers. I confess I do not quite understand the arrangement from the drawings I have seen; but it is very important to the history of Buddhist architecture, as it occurs as an ornament on the gateway itself, and in all the older caves.

^{*} The drawing from which the representation on the Title-page is taken I found pasted into a scrap-book of artillery diagrams and professional notes belonging to the late Colonel Grace, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society. From the style of the drawing it is evidently not by his hand, and there is no initial or note to say either when it was done or by whom. It is, however, very carefully drawn, and I have no doubt very accurate, not only from its intrinsic evidence, of which I know enough not to be easily mistaken, but also by comparing it with some drawings in the Mackenzie Collection at the India House, and those of Captain Murray, lithographed by Mr. Prinsep, in vol. vi. J. A. S. B., all which confirm their accuracy to an extent very rare in Indian drawings.

[†] Representations of them occur in the fresco paintings on the Ajunta caves, but there they always seem to be wooden structures.

TI CREAT TEMPLE AT BOBANESWAR

PLATE 1.

GREAT TEMPLE OF BOBANESWAR.

The history of Orissa, like that of almost every province of India, is almost entirely lost to us during the period that Buddhism prevailed there; and, if ever recovered, it will probably only be from the monuments and their inscriptions. Anterior to that period, we find in the native traditions only the legendary history of the heroes of the Mahabharat, and their successors, and after them an account of several invasions of the Yavanas, who I take to be, in this instance at least, only the Sanscrit conquerors settled in the valley of the Ganges, as the term, I believe, only means foreigner, in the sense that Barbarian and Gentile was used by the Greeks and Jews. There is no mention made in the native annals of Asoka, though, from his inscriptions on the Aswastama rock, there can be no doubt that he ruled here; but probably there were no independent kings of Kalinga in those days, and we can scarcely expect the Orissan annalists to mention their foreign rulers, especially as we know from history—from the great number of caves that belong to this period—and from their inscriptions, that the rulers and inhabitants of the country were then Buddhists.

With the beginning of the fourth century of our era the light of history at last begins to dawn on us, when the invasion of the country by Reckta Bahu took place, as mentioned by Sterling, in his invaluable account of this province.* He quotes the account from the native annals, but without being able to explain to what it referred: and it was indeed inexplicable till Mr. Turnour published his abstract of the Ceylonese history of the tooth relic,† when it was sufficiently evident, both from the date and details, that the one is only the Brahmanical, the other the Buddhist account of the same transaction. In the one, the king escapes with the image of Juggenath, which he buries in the sand to hide it from the invaders of his kingdom: in the other, the Prince of Oujein, who had married the king's daughter, escapes in like manner with the tooth relic; and, having buried it, returned for his wife, and they escape together, in the guise of Brahmans, on board ship, and after various adventures reach Ceylon, in the ninth year of the reign of Sri Meghawanno, a.d. 311, she having the precious relic concealed in her hair, which was now, after having been kept for 800 years at Puri, transferred to the possession of the Ceylonese monarch, where it, or at least its lineal descendant, exists in the possession of the British at the present day.

As the transactions that preceded this event throw considerable light on Indian history at that period, it may be as well to recapitulate them here. The king of Kalinga, Guhasiwo, was not apparently a Buddhist, but, attracted one day by a festival held by the people in honour of the tooth relic, he inquired regarding the religion, and, being converted, expelled the Brahmans from his palace and capital. They carried their complaint to the throne of the lord paramount, the Andhra king of Magadha ruling in Patna. He despatched an army to chastise and reconvert Guhasiwo; but the general and his officers, at the sight of the relic, all became apostates like himself. Hereon the tooth relic, with all the party, is conveyed to Patalipura, where its presence works various astonishing miracles, which end in converting the emperor himself. Both from the date and the attendant circumstances, I think there can be little doubt but that this Pandu king was the Gautami Putra‡ of the Andhra list, who, according to both Brahmanical and Buddhist authorities, resigned his throne and became a Bodisatwa. Who the invaders were it is not so easy to determine. From the Buddhist name of their capital (if there is really any authority for this), they would appear to have come from the kingdom of Oude; but if we may trust the other account, which makes the invasion take place from the sea, I would rather suppose

them to be Burmese or Arracanese,* who at this time were Buddhists and in considerable power,† and who, in the beginning of the eleventh century, undertook a war with China to obtain possession of another tooth of Gotama's, which is hinted to have been the cause of this war.

Whoever they were, these invaders retained possession of the country 146 years; but about the year 473 they were expelled by Yejati Kesari, two founded a new dynasty, and is said to have begun the buildings at Bobaneswar. The third in succession from him, Lelat Indra Kesari, was the most illustrious of his race, and built the great temple (which forms the subject of the first plate) in forty-three years, and finished it about A.D. 657; but whether he dedicated it to Siva, as is generally supposed, or not, appears to me extremely questionable. The ornament like a shield on the centre of the great rib is undoubtedly a combination of the chakra and other emblems of Vishnu, as the Brahmans themselves told Sterling. § Unfortunately, no European is allowed to enter the sacred enclosure; but all the sculpture I could see from the outside, and the inscriptions || deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, tend to prove that it was originally dedicated to Vishnu. But what also confirms me in this view is, that the Jaina caves on the Khandagiri hill, not far from this, all belong to this period, or one slightly subsequent; and the one called Lelat Indra Kesari ka Nour (or his, or rather his rani's palace) is only an unfinished Buddhist or Jaina chaitya cave. Be this as it may, this temple forms the type or model after which all the other temples in Orissa were built. There are, in the city of Bobaneswar alone, even now, not less than a hundred of them to be traced, of all sizes, from about 50 or 60 feet in height to 100 or 150 feet: this one, however, towers above the rest, rising to the height of about 180 feet; and among them it is easy to observe every gradation of style in the execution of the details, from that of the great one in the seventh to that of the Black Pagoda in the thirteenth century. None, however, appear to be more ancient; and if there are any older ones, it is scarcely probable they can be more ancient than the commencement of the Kesari dynasty; but they probably will be found situated within the enclosure of the great temple itself, and this is inaccessible to Europeans.

The vimana, or temple itself, stands on a base about 60 feet square, and rises to the height of about 180 feet; and the mantapa, or porch, is of the same dimensions in plan, but rises only to about two-thirds of the height of the great tower. The temple at Puri is of about the same size, but that at Tanjore is the only one that I have seen in India which exceeds its dimensions. There are many in India more elegant in their details, and more elaborately ornamented—perhaps, therefore, more beautiful—but no one that I know of is more imposing in effect, or conveys more clearly the idea of solid and lasting grandeur than this; and as it stands surrounded by an immense number of smaller and more modern temples, it forms the worthy centre of an architectural panorama unequalled, at least in Hindostan; for there are more ancient temples in this single deserted city of Bobaneswar than in all the cities of Northern India put together.

^{*} If a nominal similarity could be trusted, the name of the conquerors, Khiradharo and his nephews, sounds so like the Kirrhadæ of Ptolemy, that it would go some way to confirm the idea of their coming from Arracan.

⁺ Col. Burney, in J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 121.

[‡] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 264.

 $[\]S$ Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 310.

^{||} J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 88.

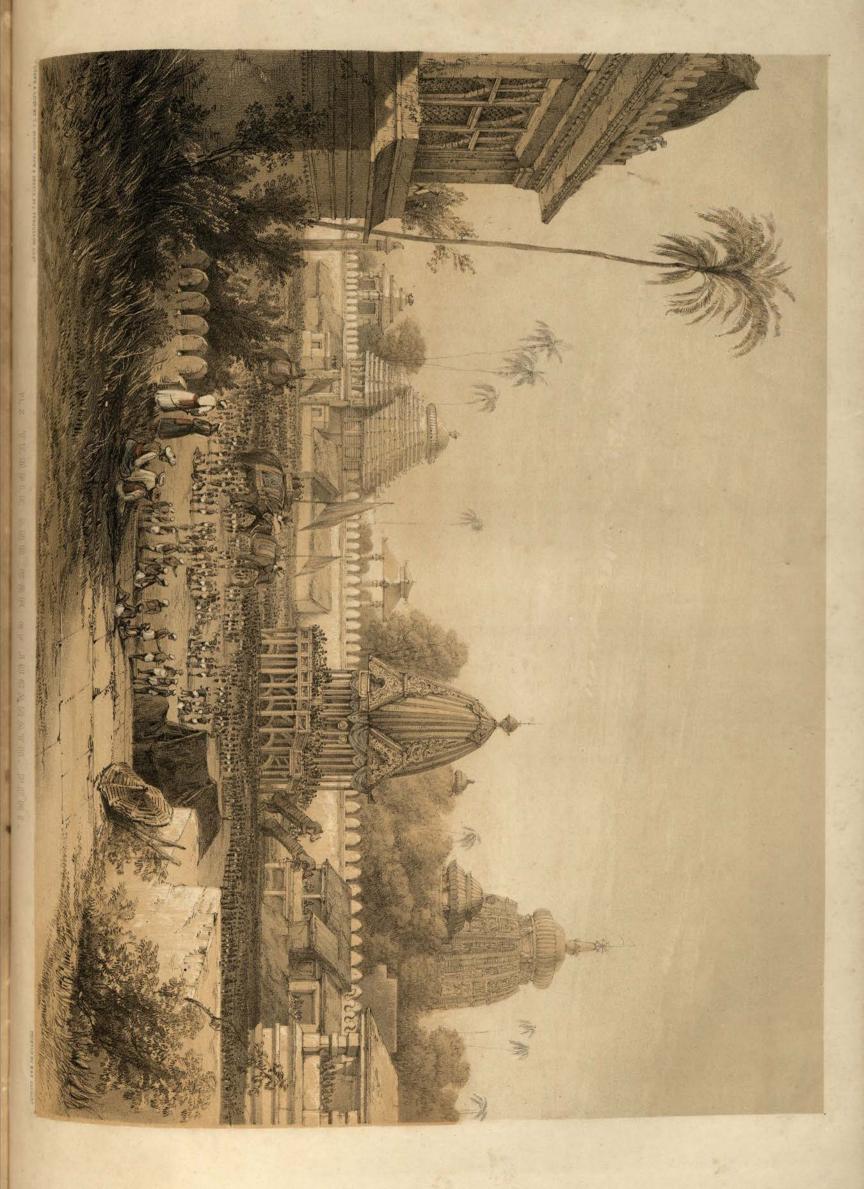


PLATE II.

TEMPLE OF JUGGANATH AT PURI.

Or all the temples of India, none have acquired so great a European celebrity as that of Puri, not, indeed, so much on account of its architectural magnificence, as on account of the celebrated festival in honour of the presiding deity, to which such numbers of pilgrims annually resort.

The present temple was built by Anang Bhim Deo, the most powerful of the Gajapati kings of Orissa, and finished A.D. 1198.* It stands in a square enclosure, measuring 650 feet on each side, surrounded by a wall about 20 feet in height, and apparently filled up solidly with earth in the interior, so that this must be added to the height of the great tower in speaking of its general dimensions; in other respecte it is, as nearly as can be guessed, about the same size as the Great Temple at Bobaneswar, but as no European is admitted within the gates, its dimensions cannot be correctly ascertained. It is, however, very inferior to the older temple, both in design and execution, for the outline of both the vimana and mantapa is far less agreeable, and they are broken up by a quantity of sculpture and smaller ornaments, which are neither very beautiful in themselves, nor are they so arranged as to add to the general richness of the effect.

In front of the porch attached to the great tower stands another, of an oblong form, but with a roof so low as not to be visible in any view taken within the town or near the temple; and in front of this again is a third one, square, and similar in design to the first, but of smaller dimensions; the point of its roof is just seen in the view. From this point a handsome flight of steps leads down to the outer gateway, which may be called the fourth porch or mantapa of the temple, and is the only instance I know of, of so large and important a building being used as a gateway in the north of India. In the south, the gateways generally are larger and more important than the vimana itself, but this is never the case in the valley of the Ganges.

The images of the gods are placed on a throne in the dark chamber under the great tower, where, of course, they are not visible to Europeans, but they are brought out once a-year, when all the world may feast their eyes on their hideousness; and it would, perhaps, be difficult to imagine a scene in which the ludicrous and absurd so completely overpowers the sublimity that must always accompany an earnest act of adoration on the part of a hundred thousand human beings,

who are usually congregated there on these occasions. The image of Jugganath is a single block of wood about six feet in length and about the same in girth, formed into a bust, of which the annexed woodcut is a correct likeness. As long as his progress is down the steps of the temple, all goes on smoothly, but, as the block is of some weight, it is no such easy matter to get him through the deep mud of the level street. To effect this, the lower part of the image is somewhat rounded, and the attendants swing him backwards and forwards till the oscillatory motion is deemed sufficient; when those in front, who have hold of a rope tied round his waist, give a pull, those behind a



push, and his godship is thus hitched on a few yards, when there is a pause to allow the chowrie bearers to flap away the flies, and the fan-bearers to cool the god after the exertion—then another swing and a pull, a shove and a shout; and this is repeated again and again, till he is dragged up the inclined plane into his car. His chest, containing all the requisites for his journey, is then brought forth (in size and appearance very like a midshipman's sea-chest of the present day). In this are not only his clothes and food, but his hands and feet, which he uses as we mortals do our boots and gloves, to be put on only when wanted. And after being washed and dressed, he should of course proceed on his journey. The Fates, however, were not propitious to the poor god the year I witnessed the festival, for by next morning his car had only advanced

a few yards and stuck fast in the mud, on the spot where I sketched it on the following day. That night it ran up against a house, and as there are no means of turning the car, they were obliged to pull it down and pass over the ruins; and as, besides this, the roads were heavy, the god was three days in reaching his country-house, the Goundicha Nour, at the distance of half-a-mile from the temple.

The brother and sister of the god, Bulhadhra and Subadhra, who, though not quite so hideous as himself, are quite as unlike any thing human, being somewhat less in size, were waddled through the mud with more ease, and performed their journey with much less difficulty; the brother's chariot taking only twenty-four hours; the sister arrived on the second day, and Jugganath on the third. They return home after an absence of about ten days; but by that time the zeal of the pilgrims has evaporated, and the gods are left to find their way back as best they can, with the assistance of the villagers and their own attendants; for scarcely a pilgrim remains to witness their return.

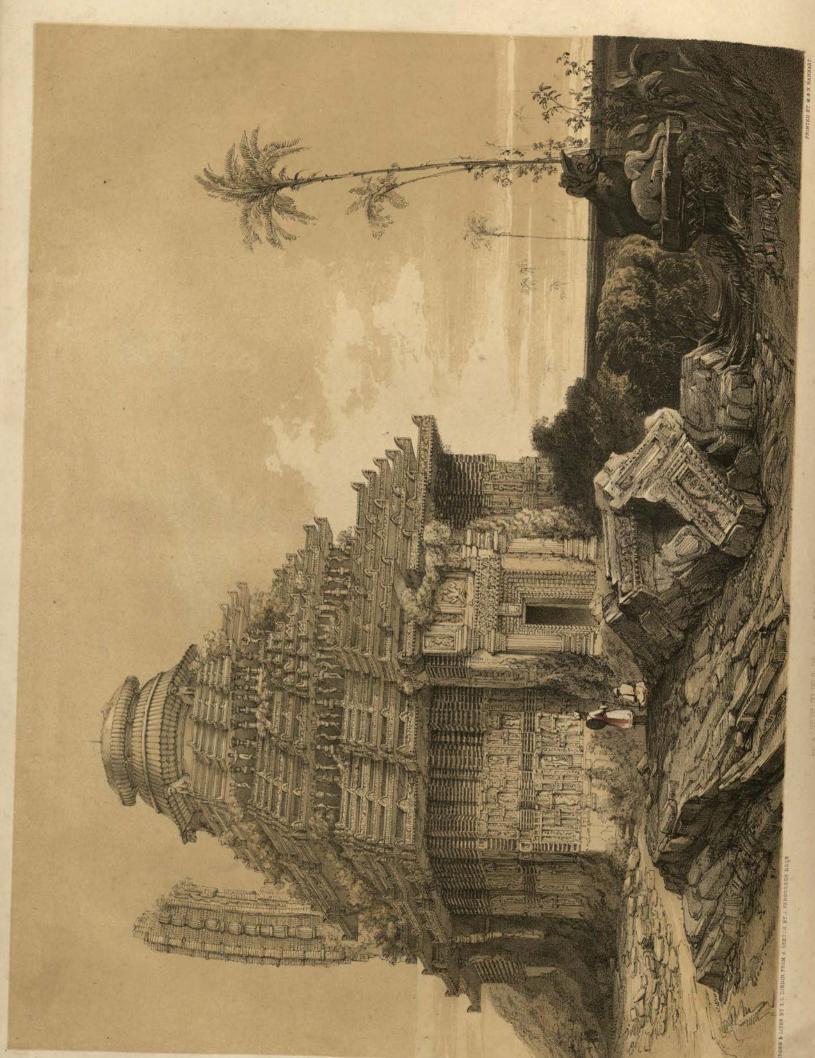
This fashion of giving the gods an airing in cars, or ruths, is by no means peculiar to the worship of Jugganath at Puri. In the south of India in particular all the gods and goddesses keep their carriages, but nowhere have I seen any so large as these, nor is any festival that I have seen so well attended.

A great deal of speculation has been afloat regarding the origin of the worship of Jugganath at Puri, which differs, in many respects, from that paid to the Hindu deities in general; and it has been more than once surmised, that many of its peculiarities are borrowed from Buddhism, which I believe to be the correct view of the case. In the first place, I think there can be little doubt but that the temple itself now occupies the site where formerly stood the dagoba containing the celebrated tooth-relic. Certain it is, that there is no other spot in the neighbourhood where any trace of it can be found; and a dagoba is such a solid mass of materials that, except in the neighbourhood of a large city, it would be difficult to obliterate all trace of it; and the mass of materials, or earth, that it would take to fill up the terrace on which the temple stands, looks very like such an accumulation, and very unlike any work of the twelfth century, when nothing of the kind was ever attempted that I know of. Almost all writers mention the tradition of a relic being contained in the image itself; some call it a bone, some say that it is only a piece of the old image, which is periodically renewed: but, whatever it is, the idea of any relic is so totally foreign to the whole system of Hinduism, and so essentially a part of Buddhism, that I cannot but think it strongly confirmatory of this view of the case. If it is a bone, it probably pretends to be the tooth-relic, that plays so important a part in Indian history.* The absence of caste at these festivals is a third characteristic of Buddhism, not found elsewhere in Hindostan at the present day, nor, perhaps, more than nominally here; but the fact of its being admitted by the Brahmans is an acknowledgment of a Buddhist doctrine too important to be overlooked.

So much has been written about the horrors of this festival—of the hundreds of dead and dying pilgrims that strew the road, and of their bones that whiten the plains—and of the victims that throw themselves under the wheels of the car,-that I was most agreeably disappointed to find the pilgrims hurrying to the spot, talking and laughing like people going to a fair in England, which in fact it is. There were fanatics measuring the road with their length, and others rolling along, and devotees doing absurd things of all sorts, but not more than one sees in every town in India; and as for victims, none had been heard of for many years before that time. Many threw themselves down before the cars, it is true, but a kick or a slap from those who were standing by started them long before the wheels came near, amidst the laughter and shouts of derision of the people. Nor were the bones more plentiful than the victims. I looked out everywhere for a pilgrim's skull to examine his bump of veneration, and keep it as a curiosity if I found it large, but neither skulls nor bones were to be found anywhere that I could see. Still the authorities are so respectable, that it is but charitable to believe that a different state of things did once exist, and, if the missionaries and talkers of the India House have their own way, probably will return; they have clamoured till they got the Pilgrim-tax and government interference done away with, and the consequence was, that eight victims were sacrificed the very first year after the abolition; not willing victims, but, it is said, by a mistake, getting entangled among the wheels; probably forced there by the priests, that their god might again have a sacrifice. According to these strange reasoners, there is nothing wrong in our interfering in all the civil and political affairs of these idolaters, and governing them as we best may. They find no fault with our taxing their honest industry till we have destroyed their manufactures and ground the agriculturist to the dust, but they are horrified if we interfere with the dishonest gains of a knavish priest, or to tax the gross superstition of an ignorant pilgrim. While the tax existed it was a fund out of which roads were made, that benefited others than pilgrims; hospitals were maintained for them; and both the exactions of the priests and the conduct of the ceremonies regulated by the police. There are now no funds to maintain the roads or hospitals, and the priesthood again reign triumphant, unchecked and uncontrolled by the ruling power.

^{*} Indeed the image itself appears to be in form a sort of compromise between a Buddhist dagoba, or relic-shrine, and the human form in ordinary Hindu deities, and certainly unlike any other god or mortal the world ever saw.

⁺ Pegg's "Orissa Mission," p. 178.



THE THE AL MANUER DO OR DEACH PAGODA.

PLATE III.

TEMPLE OF KANARUC.

THE name of Black Pagoda, usually applied by Europeans to this temple, is certainly not derived from the general colour of the building, nor from that of the stone of which it is built, which is the usual light but warm-coloured sandstone of the country. It appears rather to be a translation of the epithet kala, or black, which the natives generally apply to all deserted or desecrated religious edifices, whether Hindu or Mahometan.

The legends of the place would lead us to suppose that the spot where this temple is built had long been held sacred, in consequence of Samba, a son of Khrishna, one of the heroes of the Mahabharat, having been here cured of leprosy by the sun, to whom this temple is dedicated; and to whose honour Samba did then, if the legend may be trusted, erect a temple or stele. No trace, however, of any earlier edifice now exists, the present one having been, in all its parts, erected by Raja Narsingh Deo, who ascended the Gajapati throne A.D. 1236, and built, or finished this temple, 1241. There must, however, have been some strong devotional motive to have induced the king to erect such a building in the midst of the wide plain of sand and morass in which it is situated, and far away from any city, or almost any habitable spot; for though, no doubt, a town sprung up around it during the four centuries in which it stood entire, the place has now returned to its original solitude, and a few straggling huts of a wretched village are all that remain of the once famous town of Kanaruc.

It is easy to see that the cause of its desertion was the fall of the great tower, or vimana; and as the revenues of the temple were probably insufficient for its re-erection, the priests took the hint, and removed from their unhealthy solitude to more comfortable quarters at Puri, where they joined apparently in the worship of Jugganath: an event which took place, as nearly as can be ascertained, about two hundred years ago. According to the custom of the East, a variety of miraculous legends have been invented to account for this fall of the temple, and its consequent desertion, from among which a European naturally gleans those in which earthquakes and lightning play the most conspicuous parts. From an examination of the ruins themselves, however, I am inclined to think that the failure of the marshy foundation that supported so enormous a mass was by far the most probable cause. Had the place been subject to earthquakes, the tottering fragment of the tower that still remains could scarcely have stood for two centuries, and lightning could scarcely have shattered so enormous a pyramidal mass, and was much more likely to have been attracted by the iron-roofed porch than by the tower, which probably had no iron in its composition, while the appearance of the ruin is exactly that which would result from a subsidence of the foundation.

The temple itself is of the same form as all the Orissan temples, and nearly of the same dimensions as the great ones of Bobaneswar and Puri: it surpasses, however, both these in lavish richness of detail; so much so, indeed, that perhaps I do not exaggerate when I say that it is, for its size, the most richly ornamented building—externally at least—in the whole world. Of the great tower, only a fragment,—one angle,—remains, rising to the height of about 140 to 150 feet; but from this ruin, comparing it with buildings of a similar age and style, though of smaller dimensions, at Bobaneswar, it is easy to see what it has been, and it would be no very difficult task to make a restored drawing of the whole, if it were thought worth while. The fragment of the tower is seen on the left of the Plate, where the singularity of its appearance is much diminished by the effect of perspective, and its broadest side being presented to the spectator; but when seen from the sea, or from a distance on the other side, its effect is both singular and inexplicable.

The principal remaining part of the edifice is, therefore, the mantapa, or ante-chamber to the sanctuary; as usual, a square of about sixty feet, from angle to angle. This length is divided vertically into three equal portions, the centre

one of which projects about half its width, or ten feet in front of the others, and on three sides contains the doorways leading into the temple, the fourth being occupied by the doorway leading from the porch into the sanctuary. The height of the wall is about half its width, or thirty feet, divided horizontally into four compartments, the upper one of which is composed of a frieze or cornice of the most extraordinary beauty and richness, of which, I am sorry to say, the drawing affords but a very inadequate idea. The two next are devoted to sculpture and architectural scrolls, &c., and divided from each other by a band similar to the cornice above. The fourth, which is below the level of the floor of the temple, is plainer, and serves as a basement to the whole.

The roof, which in height is about equal to the width of the temple, or sixty feet, is likewise divided into four compartments, the two lowest of which are composed of six projecting cornices, separated by a deeply recessed compartment containing sculpture as large as life; while all the faces of these twelve cornices are covered by bassi-relievi of processions, hunting and battle scenes, and representations of all the occupations and amusements of life. The immense variety of illustrations of Hindu manners contained in it may be imagined when we think that, with a height of from one foot to eighteen inches, this frieze extends to nearly three thousand feet in length, and contains, probably, at least twice that number of figures.

The upper of the three compartments has only five cornices, and none of their faces are sculptured. The whole is crowned by the lotus-shaped dominical ornament, as is universally the case, but which is here of a singularly elegant form. Were such a roof as this placed over a colonnade or on a wall much cut up with openings, it would; no doubt, be overpoweringly heavy; but placed as it is on a solid wall, with only one opening on each face, and that so deeply recessed, I scarcely know one so singularly appropriate and elegant; and the play of light and shade from its bold and varied projections and intervening shadows give it a brilliant and sparkling effect that, I confess, I have almost never seen equalled.

The walls of the building are about ten feet in thickness, and the depth of the doorways is consequently twenty feet; and their lintels are supported by large iron beams, of about a foot section, laid across from side to side. The interior apartment is a square of about forty feet, the walls of which are now perfectly plain; but, if we may trust Abul Fazl's description, they were at one time painted; but of this no trace now remains.

The roof is formed after the usual bracket fashion of the Hindus, each course projecting beyond the other so as to give the appearance of inverted stairs; the angles of each, however, are here rounded off, which considerably improves the effect. At about half the height, where its dimensions narrow to about twenty feet, a false roof has been thrown across, the remains of which now lie heaped up as they fell on the floor of the apartment: among them may still be remarked several beams of wrought iron, about twenty-one feet in length and eight inches' section, and a great many blocks of stone, fifteen and sixteen feet long (and they were probably broken in their fall), and of a section of six feet by two or three. When in situ it is by no means improbable that they extended the whole length across; for I have seen, in Upper India, wider roofs formed in the same inartificial manner by the arch-hating Hindus.

Taken altogether, this building may, as far as my experience goes, be considered as one of the very best specimens of Indian architecture as an exterior; though in Upper India there are interiors infinitely finer. There is altogether so much consonance in the parts and appropriateness in the details, that the effect of the whole is particularly charming. In speaking, however, thus in its praise, I must be understood to limit that to its effect as an artistic architectural composition; for the sculpture that covers the walls—not the roof—is generally bad in design and execution, and of an obscenity of expression which it is impossible to describe, and which it would be difficult for even a very depraved European imagination to conceive. It is, however, so completely subordinate to the architecture, that this defect is not perceived in contemplating the building at such a distance as enables one to grasp it as a whole.

The three gateways of the enclosure remain ornamented with monstrous mythological compositions, one of which appears on the right of the Plate, representing a griffin destroying an elephant; but the wall of the enclosure, which extended about 250 or 300 yards each way, has been entirely removed, it is said, by the Mahrattas. Latterly some of the finest sculptures, from the doorways of the building itself, have been removed by the Kurdah Raja to decorate a temple he is building in his own fort; and the temple itself had a narrow escape from being employed to build a lighthouse on False Point. It was, however, found that the river afforded an easier communication to the ruins of the fort and palace of Barabatti, which was therefore pulled down for this laudable purpose; and the road to Puri, the nearest European station, is so bad that it has hitherto escaped being employed to build a gaol or repair the station bridges. But as there can be little doubt that the active intelligence of the present rulers of India will soon find some useful purpose to which to apply so splendid a quarry, I can only regret that the burning sun and dashing rain of the month of June on the shores of the bay prevented me from doing more than I was able to accomplish for the illustration of so splendid a building.

PLATE IV.

TEMPLE OF KAPILA DEVI AT BOBANESWAR.

The building represented in this Plate is of a type and form very rare in India. Indeed the only other structural specimen I have seen is the Teelee ka Munder, or oilman's temple, in the fort at Gualior, which is both a more ancient (probably of the ninth century) as well as more elegant specimen, and which I would willingly have substituted for this, had I been able to obtain so good a sketch of it; which, however, I was unfortunately prevented from doing. The other is the second from the south of the ruths, or rock-cut temples, at Mahavellipore, &c., represented in Plate XVIII. of the first series of this work, and it probably belongs to the thirteenth century. I have been unable to ascertain what the exact age of this temple is; and when I saw it I had not learned my lesson so perfectly as I was afterwards enabled to do, and never having been able to revisit it, I cannot speak with certainty as to its date. It is not, however, far distant from that of the great temple at Puri; if anything, more modern; and may therefore belong either to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. By the natives on the spot its erection is ascribed to Lelat Indra Kesari, the builder of the great temple, to whom indeed they ascribe every thing in Bobaneswar, much in the same manner as the clowns in England ascribe the building of every Norman keep or tower to the Devil, or to Julius Cæsar.

Though it is difficult to guess from what form of building the vimana took its origin, it is, I think, tolerably evident that this form is derived from that of the thatched huts or houses of the natives, and that it is literally a house of God; and it even shews signs of windows, though in temple architecture they become niches to contain statues, or recesses for sculptured ornaments.

The body of the building is in very tolerable preservation, and stands very much as originally erected, but the porch has been completely altered in modern times. The four miniature vimanas at the corners may be as ancient as the rest, and may have marked the boundaries of an open court, but the walls between them and the roof which they now help to support are of common brick and plaster work, well white-washed, according to the most approved pattern of modern Bengalee architecture.

Those small models of the greater temples are, in Orissa, employed for a great variety of purposes besides the one they are here put to, though I know scarcely an instance of their being found elsewhere. In Puri there is scarcely a house that has not one, about two or three feet high, the top of which is hollowed out and filled with earth, in which is planted the Toolsee, or sacred plant of the Vaishnavas; and thus furnished, one is placed on each side of the doorway or at the corner of the streets. A great number of them is found collected together on the top of the Khandagiri Hill, some standing, but the greater number overthrown, and lying on their sides without any regularity, or any disposition that could give a hint as to their use. They are there called altars, but what precise signification is attached to the word I do not know, nor do I know any ceremony or any religion which could use such a form of altar, unless, indeed, we might fancy them fire-altars; though this is going too far back to have much probability. But among the hundred-and-one theories I have formed to account for the form of the Orissan vimana, the one to which I have most frequently recurred is that these were altars, and the vimana merely an exaggerated copy of them: but, till further evidence is adduced, the contrary is, of course, quite as probable.

The most extraordinary collection that exists of the models of temples, whatever these may be, is at Agrahat, an old ruined temple about eight miles from Cuttak. The tradition of the spot mentioned by Sterling is, that when Janamejaya, the grandson of Arjun, one of the heroes of the Mahabharat, was travelling over India with his dependent rajas in his train, he here celebrated a great sacrifice for the destruction of the Serpents. (Does this mean the native snake-worshipping

races, which he, a Sanscrit-speaking Arian, had conquered?) And he set up these altars to represent those of his dependent rajas who were absent from the ceremony. I was familiar with the tradition from having seen it in the Asiatic Researches, and when there myself, with my mind considerably excited by the solitude of the spot, and the mystery attaching itself to the ruins of the temple which I was in vain attempting to penetrate, an old white-headed villager repeated to me the same story, almost in the words which Sterling has used, and pointed to the spot where Janamejaya stood and where the attendant potentates; I felt then more strongly than I almost ever recoilect to have done the force that a local tradition may, in presence of the spot, exercise over an unguarded mind.*

The stone of which the temple is built is, unfortunately, the laterite, or hard, coarse, iron-clay on which it stands, and which, admitting of no fine details, gives no clue to its age; and the altars equally, being of only one single stone, do not tell their tale as a structural building would; and their age, therefore, as well as that of the temple, must, I fear, remain in an obscurity which I, at least, was quite unable to unveil.

^{*} In a paper recently read to the Asiatic Society, Captain Kittoe mentions having found a great number of small models of dagobas near Boodh Gya, in Behar, of about the same size as these, and many of them with niches and figures on each face, which many of these also have.



PLATE V.

CHAÖRI IN MOKUNDARA PASS.

Among the almost universally horizontal strata that form the plains of Malwa, there is no geological feature so interesting as the long valley or antree, that extends from the Chumbul to the Kalee Scinde. It consists of two parallel upheaved ranges, never exceeding 200 feet in height, but succeeding each other as regular as two waves of the sea, or rather like two ridges turned up by the plough, presenting a smooth incline of about thirty degrees on the northern, and a steep broken wall on their southern face. For nearly forty miles that this valley extends there is no break—certainly none practicable for carriages—in this singular natural fortification; except near the centre, where a crack or opening cuts through both ridges, and forms the Pass of Mokundara, which, in consequence of its peculiarity, has always been celebrated in the wars of Central India, from the earliest times till the famous retreat of the panic-stricken Monson, whose army was saved by the devotion of his rear-guard, which fought in front of the entrance of the pass till they perished, tradition says, to a man; but, in doing this, gave their brothers in arms time to extricate themselves from its defiles, and reorganise themselves on the northern side. This and other tales of war invest the spot with singular interest to the traveller who hears them narrated in presence of the localities where they happened; but, what is of more importance to our present purpose, it is either in or at the extremities of this valley that we find almost the only, certainly the most interesting, early remains of Hindu architecture now known to exist in Northern India.

It is naturally to be expected, that a spot so long famous should possess some remains of ancient devotion or monument of feudal power. When I was there, however, the pass was occupied by the Raja of Kotah and his hunting establishment and court, consisting of about 10,000 men. Two British residents, with their camps and followers, happened to meet there at the same time; so that it would have been difficult to hit upon a time less favourable for a quiet exploration of the antiquities, and the only one I saw was the Chaöri represented in this Plate, of which, however, an imperfect representation has been previously engraved for Tod's work on Rajasthan.

As the edifice at present stands, it is merely the columnar part of a chaöri, or detached mantapa of some temple (see Introduction and Plate VII.), of which, unfortunately, no remains now exist. Even the walls of the chaöri have been removed—and that very recently, if the traditions of the local cicerone are to be believed—all except the plinths or basement stones, which, being between fifteen and sixteen feet in length, have proved too massive for the modern spoiler. The hall was square, supported by four pillars in the centre, opposite to which were eight half-pillars or pilasters, built into the external wall, each shaft being composed of one block of stone. They all support bracket capitals, but of a form I have not seen any where else; nor have I been more fortunate in trying to trace any thing similar to the ornament on the faces of the architraves, each of which consists of one large block; and each compartment of the roof is formed by one immense slab simply laid over it.

Altogether there is no building I have seen in India which has puzzled me more than this one, and to which I am less able to assign a satisfactory date. There is an air of monolithic simplicity about it which would argue considerable antiquity, and the materials are so solid and so hard, that there is nothing in the appearance of the building to contradict the antiquity of any date that might be assigned to it, however extravagant. At the same time I could find no trace of any inscription, from the form even of whose letters a date might be guessed at; and there is no sculpture of either men or animals whose style might aid in determining this, or at least help us to an idea of the purposes for which the

edifice was erected, or the divinity to whom it was dedicated. It would, indeed, be difficult to conceive a more uncommunicative monument, in itself at least; though I dare say a careful examination of the neighbourhood would clear up much of the mystery. As it is, the only mode of guessing its age is by comparing its architecture with that of the caves of Doomnar and Ajunta; and, though there is nothing exactly like it there, there are details sufficiently similar to lead us to suppose that its antiquity cannot well ascend beyond the fifth or sixth century, and it may be considerably more modern: while, on the other hand, I must admit that, as far as any evidence derived from the building itself is concerned, it may also be more ancient; and it possesses so much of that solid grandeur which appears to have been characteristic of the more ancient Hindus, that I would willingly believe it so, if I dared; for I do not know any edifice any where in which simplicity of detail and largeness of parts and material have communicated to so small an edifice such an air of grandeur: for its pillars, though scarcely ten feet in height, look larger and nobler than many of twice their dimensions; and, added to the solitude of the spot, the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and, to my mind, perhaps the charm of mystery that hangs over it, combine to render it one of the most interesting monuments of Hindostan.

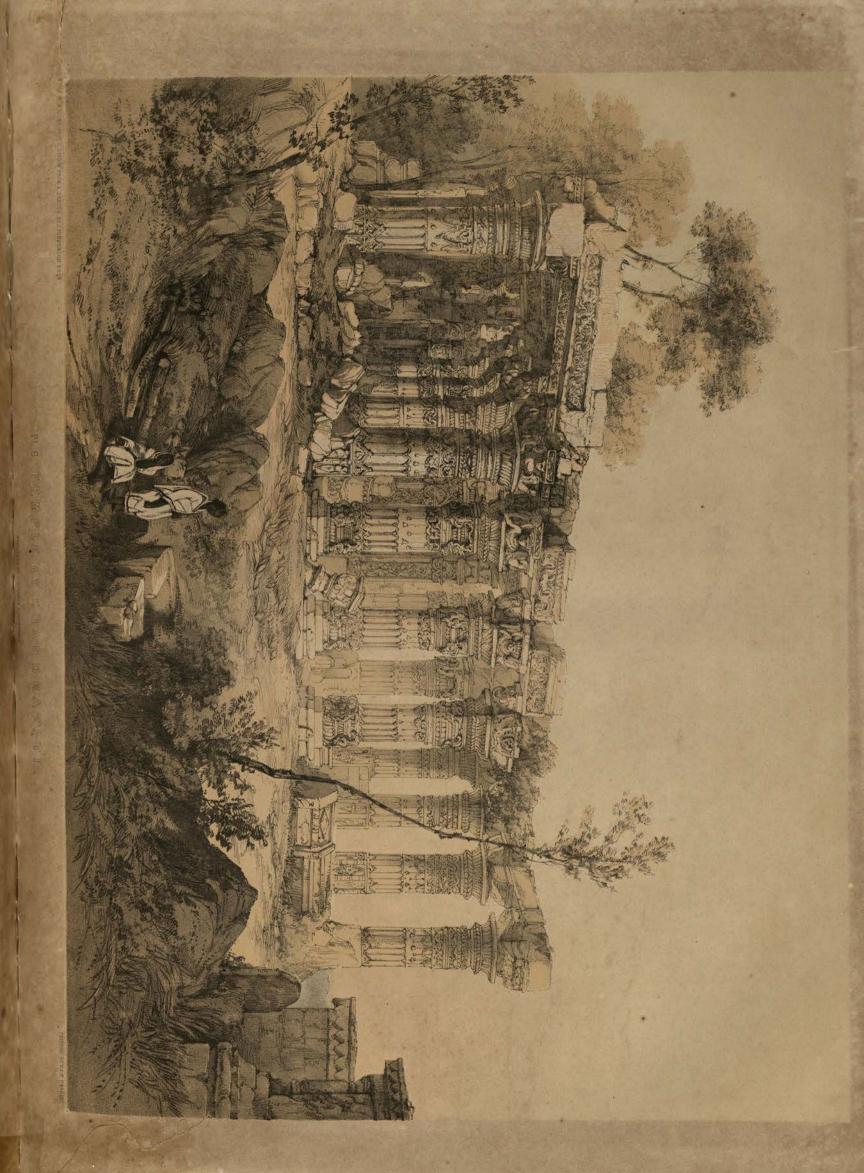


PLATE VI.

TEMPLE AT CHANDRAVATI.

Near the eastern end of the antree, or long valley, described in speaking of the last Plate, are situated three towns within a few miles of one another, of singularly diversified appearance. The first, as approached from the north, is a Chaöni, or camp, of the Pindarees, in which the tents and huts of the soldiers are undergoing the process of petrifaction into the more permanent forms of ordinary houses and streets,—a process by no means uncommon in those parts, but which gives a peculiar air to these modern towns not often seen elsewhere. The second—Jalra Putun—is a pretty thriving commercial town, founded by Jussoo Verma, in the twelfth century, containing some handsome temples and public buildings, and an immense quantity of fragments of its older neighbour, out of whose remains it seems principally to have been erected. The third is, or rather was, situated about two miles to the south of Jalra Putun, and is now known by the names of Gopalpore, or Chandravati, or Chandrabagha. Little, however, of the town remains, but the spot is marked by the existence of a considerable number of temples, all more or less ruined, of which the one represented in the Plate is the principal one, and the most beautiful, and at the same time, of those that remain, the most ancient; but what its exact age is it is not very easy to determine.

The native traditions almost universally ascribe the foundation of the city to Chandrasen of Malwa, and, consequently, if this is more than a guess from a nominal similarity, to the end of the fifth century; but I am inclined to attach some importance to it, from their always mixing his name with that of the Hoon Rajas,* who play so important a part in the traditions of this part of the country, and who, if they ever penetrated into India, which I believe they certainly did, must have done so at this period. But though this is all the antiquity the natives claim for their city, they do not even attempt to connect these names with this temple, which they look upon as more modern, though they do not ascribe its erection to any name I could identify. Near this Colonel Tod found an inscription,† dated A.D. 692, which is exactly the age to which on other grounds I would ascribe the building; but there is nothing in the inscription, or its locality, that connects it directly with this temple, though, from the greater part of its materials being dispersed, this may have been the case; and though there are numbers of inscriptions on its walls, none of them appear to me to be integral, or forming a part of the original design, but are merely names of visitors or donors to the temple, added afterwards. Some of these are in characters not used after the beginning of the ninth century, and so far prove that the building cannot well be more modern; but, so far as their evidence goes, it might be many centuries older, though it is probable that the oldest of the inscriptions may not be far from the date of the erection.

The most satisfactory means, therefore, for ascertaining its date, are its similarities with other buildings whose age is at least approximatively known. Of these there is one, a temple at Cheetore, identical in style and detail, which is confidently ascribed there to the last of the Mori dynasty, and consequently to a period not long anterior to the year 727, when that dynasty was overthrown by Bappa, the founder of the Gehlotes.‡ At Ellora, the caves situated between the Vishwakurma and the Kylas, especially the Ravana ka Kaie, present many points of similarity to this, and I have before given my reasons for ascribing them to this period.§ At Ajunta, too, it is not difficult to trace points of resemblance; but owing to the almost universal use of plaster and paint in decoration by the Buddhists, and the Hindus having almost as universally used carving and sculpture for the same purposes, it is extremely difficult to institute comparisons between the buildings of the two religions. Taken altogether, this evidence, with a great deal more I cannot here bring forward,

carries conviction to my mind, that the date of the building cannot be far from the year A.D. 700, but more probably a few years before than after that date.

The annexed plan will explain the disposition of the pillars and buildings; its dimensions are small, the whole width being only 31 feet, and the height of the pillars 9 feet 10 inches; but the beauty of its details, to which the lithograph does not do justice, are not surpassed by any thing in Hindostan.



The twelve columns of the inner range are of a similar design,—not exactly alike, of course, but so much so, that the difference does not at first sight strike the eye. At top and bottom they are squared by the elegant design of the vase and falling leaf, which forms so pleasing a feature in many of the cave temples. The outer range of fourteen pillars have not this feature, but are generally circular in design, with octagonal bases. Besides this there are two piers or antis at the entrance of the sanctuary, and pilasters, scarcely seen in the drawing, though perhaps the most elegant parts of the whole. Taking the whole together, I think I am correct in stating, that it is the most elegant specimen of columnar architecture in India; it is the most so, at least, that I have seen. Even more elegant, however, than the pillars, must have been the roof they were destined to support; of which only two slabs now remain, each covering one compartment of the side-aisles. They have been engraved in Col. Tod's work, and correctly enough, but unfortunately without being shaded, which renders them unintelligible to one who has not seen the originals, for no one could suspect from the engravings that they were deeply recessed into oblong

domes. Something like them occurs in other parts of India, but I know of no lucunaria, either in classical temples or elsewhere, so elegant in themselves, and so appropriate for their purposes as these.

The vimana itself is so completely ruined that it is difficult to guess even at what it has been, except by comparing it with other temples in the neighbourhood, none of which, however, are so old as this one. Even in its ruined state, however, it is still used as a place of worship, though not considered of great sanctity, and is dedicated to Siva; but whether originally so or not, appears to me extremely doubtful. There is no sculpture on the building sufficiently distinct, in its present state, to determine the question; but all the surrounding buildings, and all the fragments of sculpture of all ages that lie scattered around, are either Vaishnava or Jaina, and some of it is apparently of the age of this temple. A Bull Nundi occupies, it is true, the centre of the portico, but he is evidently of more modern manufacture. The Brahmanical rock-cut temple of Dhumnar, which is of about this age, has undergone a similar conversion; * and that at Cheetore, which is of exactly the same style and age as this, is covered with Vaishnava sculptures; such as the churning of the ocean, the tortoise and boar avatars, and statues of Vishnu himself. Yet I shall not soon forget the indignation of the priest at my ignorance in asserting this, and his triumphant look when he shewed me a wretched modern statue of Siva, standing loose in the middle of the sanctuary, as a positive proof that it had always been dedicated to the destroyer. The Mori temple at Cheetore is, though smaller, in many respects quite equal in interest to that at Chandravati; in some respects more so, from having the greater part of its original sculptures still remaining, and almost the whole of its roof, though that is considerably injured by a thick incrustation of smoke, the porch having been used as a dwelling by the priest or a fakeer till some twenty or thirty years ago, when it underwent a thorough repair - and such a repair! well worthy of an English churchwarden: externally, plaster and whitewash have so completely altered its features, that Colonel Tod passes it by in silence, without hinting at its existence, though it is the oldest and most beautiful of all those in his favourite Chutterkote.

Before leaving this temple, it may be well to point out how entirely dissimilar the columnar arrangement of this open porch is from the astylar forms used so universally in Orissa; and at the same time how similar the disposition of the columns here is to that found in many of the cave temples, as, for instance, No. 2 at Ajunta,† where it is identical, with only such changes as were inevitable to alter an open portico of a temple into the central hall of a monastery, and surround it with cells. The age of the two buildings I have, though on totally different grounds, assigned to nearly the same period; and a comparison between the two would afford an interesting illustration of the difference between the architecture of the two religions about the beginning of the eighth century. But if I am correct in supposing the temple to have been originally Vaishnava, the difference ought to strike us more than the similarities.

PLATE VII.

TEMPLES OF BAROLLI.

Ar the other end of the antree of Mokundara, and at the distance of about fifty miles from the temples of Chandravati, last described, stand those of Barolli, first, I believe, brought to the notice of Europeans by Colonel Tod, in his "Annals of Rajasthan;" and, though not quite deserving the epithet of stupendous and all the praise he bestows upon them, form, certainly, the most perfect group of Hindu temples of their age that I have met with in that part of the country, and in their own peculiar style, perhaps, as beautiful as any thing in India. The effect of their architecture is, however, a good deal heightened by the beauty of the scene in which they are situated; perhaps, also, by its solitary loneliness, for there is not a tent or house on the whole plain in which they are situated, nor any sign of human habitation except the little hill fort of Bynsrore, perched on a crag overhanging the Chumbul, but on the other side of the river, and at a considerable distance from the temples. In another direction, at a distance of about two miles, the Chumbul breaks through the barrier of the antree in a fall, a great beauty, which in the rains must be as fine as those of the Rhine at Schaffhausen; and even when I saw them, in the dry season, were finer than those of the Clyde at Lanark. Like every other scene of more than usual beauty and every extraordinary phenomena of nature in India, innumerable legends of gods and demi-gods are located around them; and it is probably to one of these that Barolli owes its sanctity and fame, for I could hear of no town, nor even a tradition of one, having existed in this neighbourhood.

Of this group of temples the principal one is represented in Plate VII.: it is built of a hard, close-grained marble, not quite white, but nearly so—so hard as, notwithstanding its age, to retain its details in nearly all the sharpness they possessed when first executed; though perhaps, also, their preservation may in some measure be owing to repeated coats of whitewash, which for the last three or four centuries has been the curse of the Eastern as well as of the Western architectural world.

The base of the vimana is nearly plain, being only ornamented with three great niches, filled with sculptured groups of considerable merit, as fine as anything of the age I know of in India. They are, without doubt, parts of the original decoration of the temple, and all refer to the worship of Siva, and are the earliest authentic specimens of that religion I have met with any where. Above this base the sikra rises to the height of fifty-eight feet from the ground, covered with the most elaborate detail, so delicate that the lithograph, though carefully drawn, cannot render its elegance; and, at the same time, it is so well kept down as in no instance to interfere with the main outline of the building. Above the antarala a singular frontispiece rises to more than two-thirds the height of the sikra, which is even more richly sculptured than the building against which it rests. In front of this again is the mantapa, or porch, the roof of which is more ruined than the rest of the temple, and, in some places, appearing not quite finished. As a whole, it is, perhaps, the most beautiful part of the temple, and is sculptured with a delicacy and minuteness which could not be shewn without a drawing on a much larger scale than this one.

Internally the roof is far more elaborate and richly carved than the exterior. It consists of a square within the entablature, of about twelve feet six inches, the corners of which are cut off by four slabs, so as to reduce it to a square of about nine feet, placed diagonally to the other.

This operation is again repeated, and the square becomes a little less than one half the original one, or about six feet, and this opening is closed by one slab, pierced with a quatrefoil trefoiled—to borrow a term from Gothic

architecture,—the whole depth of the roof being, by estimation, about three feet. It is one of the most elaborate, as well as most beautiful specimens, of the Hindu mode of roofing, I have met with anywhere.

In front of the porch, but detached from it, stands the maha mantapa, or, as it is here called, the chaöri, or nuptial hall. Its roof externally is so ruined by the roots of trees that have got inserted into it, that it is difficult to make out what the original design was, much less to judge of its effect; which is more to be regretted, as no other perfect specimen exists any where that I know of, and it is the only example that will bear comparison with the splendid one at Kanaruc (Plate III.). In size it is very inferior to that one, and, probably, also in design; and, except the lower range of niches, it seems to have possessed none of the sculptured figures which give such life and richness to the Orissan example. Its plan will be easily understood from the woodcut. Each compartment of the roof is covered in on the same principle as that adopted for the roof of the porch, but without the same richness of detail, or the same depth of carving, which, indeed, their smaller size did not require; and one set of diagonal stones, with one centre-piece, has in every instance sufficed.

On the left hand of the drawing is a smaller temple, dedicated to the consort of Siva, the form of whose sikra approaches somewhat more to the more spire-like form of modern temples than the great one; it is, however, evidently of the same age.

In front of it are two pillars, one fallen, which supported apparently a torun, or trilithon, and either used as a propylon to the enclosure, or what, from their position, was more probable, as a swing for the god, as this is an amusement all Hindu deities are partial to, and few are unprovided with the means of indulging in the elegant recreation.

Besides these temples there are several not shewn in the drawing. One dedicated to Ganesa, as a matter of course; and one contains a large trimunti bust, very similar to the great one in the Elephanta cave, which has given rise to so much speculation among antiquaries. Here, however, though some parts of it are very much defaced, especially the front face, enough remains to tell the story with considerable clearness.* Another shrine, near the sacred koond or fountain, contains a figure of Vishnu, reposing on the Sches Seja, the most beautiful piece of purely Hindu sculpture I have ever seen,—at least, so it appeared to me then; and, as it is entirely neglected by the natives, I could not help wishing to have it transported to Europe, to shew what the Hindu sculptor could do. Possibly I might be disappointed in its appearance now, but if it is not worthy of admiration, it is only among the earlier Buddhist sculpture that we can look for any thing that is so in India.

Taken altogether as a group of buildings, they are, perhaps, as interesting as any in the centre of India. In size they must yield the palm to the Cuttak temples, the larger ones there being more than twice the size of the great one here, and for architectural style they are decidedly inferior to the temple at Chandravati, or that of the Mori at Cheetore; but, as a group, they are so various and so complete, and, taken together, offer so many points of interest, that for Hindu architecture they are almost as important as the Bilsah group is to Buddhism, or those in Abu to Jaina architecture

Unfortunately, nothing has yet been brought to light that fixes exactly their age, though it is not difficult to determine, approximatively from the style of the architecture, that it must be somewhere between the eighth and tenth centuries. There are some inscriptions interspersed with the sculpture, which, from its position, must be coeval with it; but, unfortunately, they are without a date or a name that can be recognised: the form, however, of the letters is that of the eighth century, and scarcely could be later than the beginning of the ninth. Colonel Tod quotes one dated A.D. 925, recording the visit of a pilgrim, and which, if correctly translated, limits the age of the building to a period certainly antecedent to that date. The native traditions insist on its being erected by a Hoon Raja. (Hun?) and that the chaöri was built for the express purpose of celebrating his nuptials with a Rajpootni princess, but they do not attach a date to the event. Tod, however, discovered Ungutsi, Lord of the Hoons, assisting to defend Cheetore against the first eruption of the Mahometan, in the eighth century; and from a period even antecedent to that, for at least two hundred years, the Hoons figure constantly in native traditions, though it will require a little more industry and research than has hitherto been applied to the subject to determine exactly the time of their entrance into India, who they were, and when they reigned.x From these and other indications I have little doubt but that these temples belong to the ninth century of our era. They may be fifty years more ancient or more modern, but it is not probable.

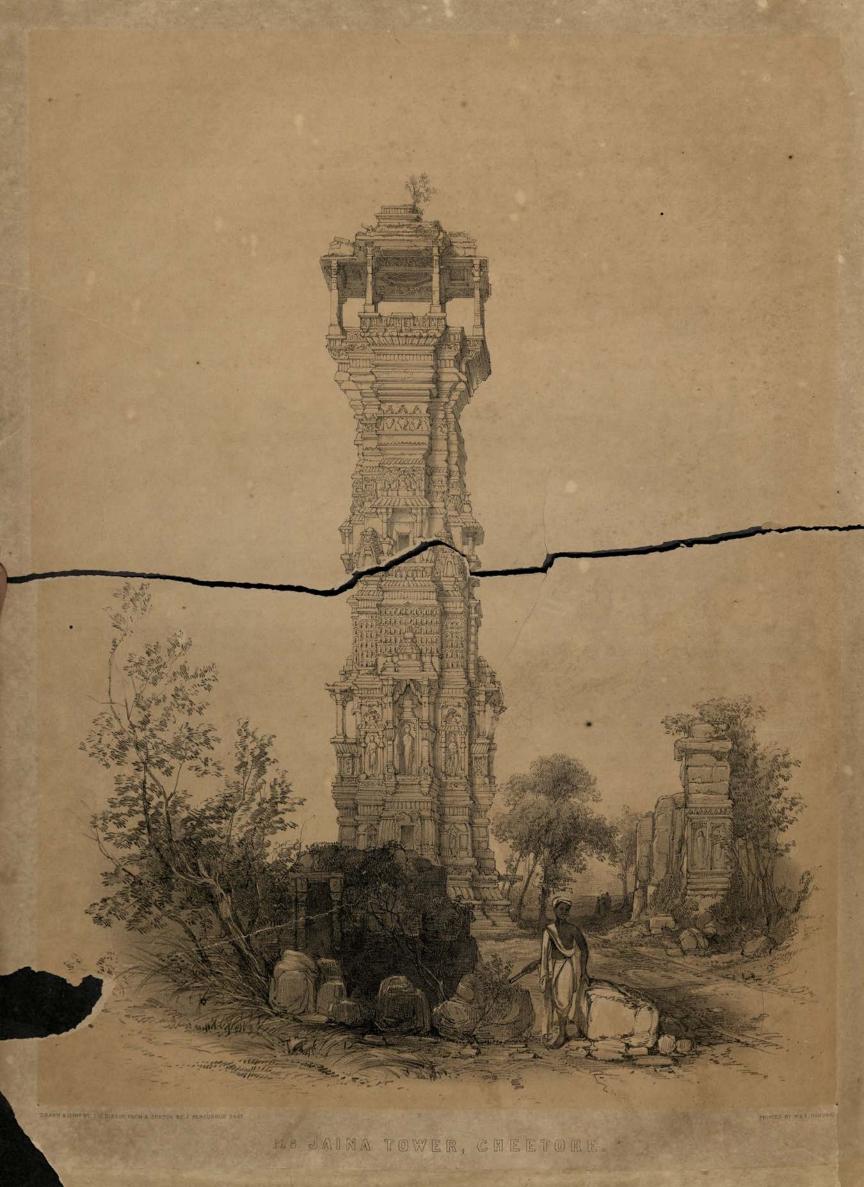


PLATE VIII.

THE KHOWASIN STHAMBA,

A JAINA TOWER AT CHEETORE.

WERE I asked to write a monography of any place in India, I should not hesitate an instant in fixing on Cheetore as the most interesting spot for complete illustration: but instead of two pages, I should like to fill a volume with its history; and instead of two plates, I feel that I could not do it justice with twenty. For eight hundred years it was the capital of the principal and most illustrious of all the Rajpoots tribes of Hindostan, and for more than one thousand their principal stronghold. It first dawns on history when its chief leagued with the others of their tribe to resist the invasion of Mahomed Kasim, in the ninety-fifth year of the Hejira, after which period it lives only in the legendary myths of the Hindus, till again its chief was called upon to resist the great invasion of the Mahometans, in the thirteenth century: this time, however, unsuccessfully. A century after this event it felt the fatal effects of their conquest, being twice besieged, and finally taken, by Allauddin Khooni, or the Bloody, and all its brave defenders put to the sword. 1532 it was again sacked by Bahadoor Shah of Guzerat, with circumstances of even more signal and romantic devotion on the part of its defenders. A third time it was taken and sacked by Akbar the Great, after a defence as heroic as the two former: but this last it never recovered; and though it continued the stronghold, Oodeypore from this time became the capital of the Seesodia race. There is no story the Hindu bards are so fond of reciting as that of the three sacks of Cheetore,* and none so commonly known all over India, or which forms so complete an illustration of the chivalry and manners of the Rajpoots. But besides its universal Indian fame, and, consequently well-known details, Cheetore possesses what, to a European, is of even more value for the purposes of illustration, in a complete series of monuments, still existing within its walls, and which not only tell of the state of civilisation of its inhabitants, and their wants, but give to every legend "a local habitation and a name," which is so often wanting to give an air of reality to what otherwise may appear a visionary myth.

From the time of the Mori, A.D. 700, whose temple was mentioned when describing the contemporary example at Chandravati, till the country was desolated by the Mahrattas in the middle of the last century, there is scarcely a chief of the Seesodias who has not left in Cheetore some memorial of his reign. Certainly no century has passed without a temple, a tower, or palace, to serve as a land-mark in its history, and in no place in India, that I know of, are so many monuments crowded into so small a space; for the fort is little more than three miles long, and nowhere more than half a mile in breadth.

The tower represented in Plate VIII. is, after the temple of the Mori, perhaps the most interesting of its ancient monuments, and one of the very few sthambas of that age remaining in India. According to an inscription at its base it

^{*} In Lower Bengal, the usual mode of sealing letters among the natives is to write "74½" across the fold where we place the scal. When first I saw this cheap sealing-wax used, I knew so little of the language that I could not ask what it meant, and afterwards it became so familiar that I forgot it was any thing extraordinary, or worth inquiring about, and it was long before I learnt that it meant, "May the curse of the sack of Cheetore rest on him who opens this letter without having the right to do so!" alluding to the 74½ maunds (of four seers) of Rajpoot strings, said to have been collected as a trophy by the Moslems from the necks of those that fell in the defence.

was erected A.D. 896, and dedicated to Sri Adnath, the first of the Jain Tirthankars,* by what king is not mentioned; but in the Aitpore inscription there is a Raja Salvahana, very nearly of this age, who, from the sound of his name, I should take to be either a Buddhist or a Jain, and to whom, therefore, I should be inclined to ascribe it, not the less so because his name is omitted in the Hindu inscription at Mount Abu,† which looks very much as if he was considered a heretic, and, consequently, unworthy of a place. The local tradition assigns it to Sri Allat, who preceded him, with only one reign between;‡ and as we have nowhere the length of time that each king reigned, the date might be made to adapt itself to either. Be this as it may, there can be no mistake as to the age in which it was erected, nor much as to the religion to which it belonged. Looking at its sculpture alone, I was at first inclined to pronounce it a Buddhist monument; but if so, of so corrupt a type as to justify its ascription to Jains, but if Jaina, of so pure a form of that religion that it must have been erected at a period when the distinction between the two religions was only beginning to shew itself, and when, consequently, it was impossible to draw strictly the line of demarcation between them. In no place could I trace any series of twenty-four figures that could be supposed to represent the Tirthankars, nor had any of the principal ones those emblems by which they are usually distinguished, nor were snake-heads or four-armed attendants to be found here, though they are on undoubted Buddhist monuments of this, or even an earlier age. The short inscription, however, sets the question at rest: but, altogether, it is not only the earliest and the purest, but the most Buddhistical Jaina monument I have met with in India.

The tower is about twenty-six feet in diameter at the base, and gradually tapers to half that width at a height of about sixty-five feet, when it again branches out till it reaches again nearly the diameter of its base, to afford space for a small open pavilion, of very elegant design, supported by twelve columns, disposed on the same plan as those of the Chaöri in the Mokundara Pass (omitting, of course, the outer walls). What form of roof crowned the whole cannot now be ascertained, as the roots of trees have got among the stones and ruined it entirely; but, internally, both the design and details of the roof are very beautiful.

The entrance to the tower is at some little distance above its base, and, internally, a well-formed staircase leads to the top, where a splendid view is obtained of the fort and surrounding country. The storeys of the tower are not very distinctly marked, either internally or externally, and may be counted in different ways. On the whole, however, I should be inclined to call it a three-storied tower, though the natives persist in calling it the seven-storied tower; but why, they could not explain to me.

Altogether, the appearance of this tower is singularly graceful and elegant, and more so than it appears in the lithograph; but its chief charm, at least to me, lay in the extreme elegance of its mouldings, and the careful and elaborate finish of its details, which are only found in the architecture of its age, or earlier: of these, so few specimens remain in India, that they are, perhaps, the more enjoyed by the antiquary when he does stumble upon them. Of course it is impossible in one Plate to do justice to them; nor, indeed, was it possible, in so limited a time as I had at my command, to bestow that attention on them which they deserved.

In front of it stands a Jaina temple, of an age much more modern than the pillar itself, at least in its present form, though the perfection of some of its sculpture puzzled me a good deal at first, as I could not comprehend how so much beauty had crept into so modern a garb, till I discovered that it was principally built up from the remains of a more ancient edifice, which had been destroyed to supply its materials; and, on a more careful inspection, I found abundant evidence that they had been patched together by some one who could as little appreciate as he could imitate them.

As a sthamba, this building was of course erected to commemorate something: most probably it is a Jaya sthamba, or pillar of victory; or it may celebrate some supposed legend in the life of the Tirthankar to whom it is dedicated, who, according to tradition, died in Guzerat, and may have been supposed to have passed here on his way from the place of his birth, which was Ayodhya, or Oude. Possibly it may commemorate only some important event in the life of its founder. If, however, any one will take the trouble of copying or reading the long inscription at its base, he will make it out with much more certainty than the most sagacious conjecturer.

^{*} Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 763. At the foot of the tower I found a very long inscription, on a detached slab, evidently of this age, which I was preparing to copy, when the Killedar informed me that Colonel Tod had done so before, and pointed to the blacking with which it was still covered in proof of his assertion; and knowing that if it had contained any thing of interest he would have used it in his "Annals," and believing that all his inscriptions had been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, I gave up the idea; which I now very much regret, for he does not allude to it in his book, and the Society never heard of it.

⁺ Tod's Annals, vol. i. p. 802.

[‡] Asiatic Researches, xvi. p. 291. Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 109.

[§] The name by which it is now known is not very easily explained. I believe, however, it is the synonym of what at Cabul becomes Surk Minar, and, consequently, in English, merely means the Red Tower—an appellation which its colour would fully justify.

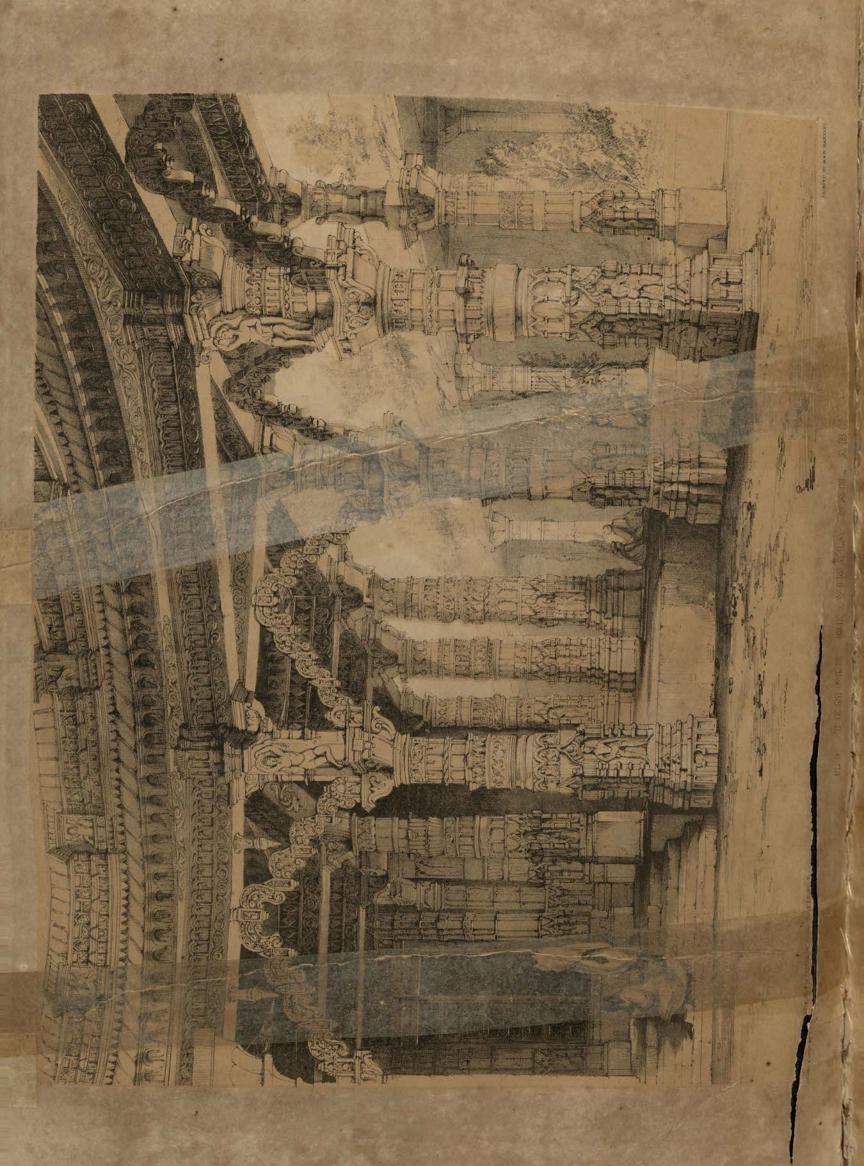


PLATE IX.

TEMPLE OF VIMALA SAH, ON MOUNT ABU.

On the south, the plateau of Malwa is bounded by a terrace wall, formed by the river Nerbudda cutting through the perfectly horizontal strata of which it is formed. On the west, however, the edge of the plateau has been turned up by volcanic action, and the long ridge of the Aravulli is formed of upheaved rocks dipping steeply towards the east. At the extreme north and south it consists of only one ridge. Between Oodeypore and Sirohi seven distinct ridges can be counted; and immediately in front of the broadest part stands the noble mountain of Abu, rising as abruptly from the sandy plain as an island from the ocean. It seems one vast bubble of granite that has boiled up from the bottom of what then was the sea, the summit of which, in cooling, has sunk back on itself, forming a valley on its summit six or eight miles long, and in some places two or even more in width, but the lowest part of it about five thousand feet above the level of the sea.

From the south (from which I ascended) there is no pathway, except along a spur, where the ascent is less steep than elsewhere; and you enter the valley by a crack, only three or four feet in width, in the wall of granite that surrounds it. Once you have passed the barrier, you feel yourself in a new climate and a new country, and see nothing more of the desert or the scenes which till then were so familiar to the traveller. It is a new world, but not easily surpassed in beauty or in interest, whether to the traveller in search of the picturesque, or the antiquary; and I do not certainly, in India, know any spot so exquisitely beautiful as the little Nuckee Talao (jewel lake) with its wooded islets and strange fantastic granite crags. I was lame and ill when there, and in search of other objects, but the temptation to sketch was irresistible.

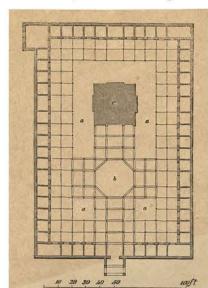
From a very early period the mountain seems to have been considered sacred, and its mythic history is rich in legends, and, owing to its secluded situation, rich also in monuments; but all become comparatively insignificant when compared with those at Dilwarra, which are the boast and pride of the hill. Even, however, at this place there are two Jain temples, that in any other situation would be considered as fine buildings worthy of attention; but those I must pass by, and confine myself to the remaining two.

The oldest of them is that of Vimala Sah (represented in Plate IX.), opposite that of the brothers Vastupala and Tejapala. The date of the latter is perfectly known, not only from the long inscription, dated Samvat 1287 (A.D. 1231),* but from inscriptions over the door of each cell, varying from S. 1253 to S. 1293, recording the years in which each was finished. A glance at the architecture at once shews which is the more ancient of the two. The inhabitants of Dilwarra say that of Vimala Sah is three hundred years older than the other: the correct date, however, is, I believe, that given in the short inscription recording a repair in S. 1379, which states that it was built Samvat 1088 (A.D. 1032); † which several other reasons I need not now quote here induced me to fix on as the true date before I read the inscription in question.

Were twenty persons asked which of these two temples were the most beautiful, a large majority would, I think, give their vote in favour of the more modern one, which is rich and exuberant in ornament to an extent not easily conceived by one not familiar with the usual forms of Hindu architecture. The difference between the two is much the same that exists between the choir of Westminster Abbey and Henry the Seventh's Chapel, that stands behind it. I prefer infinitely the former; but I believe that nine-tenths of those that go over the building prefer the latter. Be this, however, as it may, I could not long hesitate which to sketch; for, ill as I then was, I had little hopes of being able

to do justice to either; nor, indeed, have I: but no time and no pains would ever have enabled me to transfer to paper the lace-like delicacy of the fairy forms into which the patient chisel of the Hindu has carved the white marble of which the more modern one is composed.

The plan of the temple will be easily understood from the annexed woodcut: it consists of a court-yard, 90 feet by



140, surrounded by cells, each of which contains a cross-legged statue of the Tirthankar Parswanatha, to whom the temple is dedicated. These are all similar to one another, and about the size of life; but the door-posts and lintels are carved with innumerable figures and devices representing scenes in his life, interspersed with foliage and architectural ornaments of the most varied complexity, that it would take weeks to study, much less to draw. In front of the cells is a double colonnade, surrounding the whole court. So far the arrangement, in plan at least, is exactly that of a Buddhist vihara; but in the middle of the court stands a vimana (c) of no great beauty, but of decidedly Brahmanical form, in the cell of which is placed the principal image of the saint; and in front of this, again, is a mantapa, Brahmanical in position, but Jaina in the disposition of the columns, which are one-third higher than those surrounding the court, and support in the centre a dome (b), which is the principal ornament of the whole structure. Besides the open space around the vimana, there are two small courts (a a), which admit light to the colonnade near the entrance.

Externally the temple presents no architectural feature, being merely a plain wall—now, at least, covered with plaster; and over it is seen the sikra, on which repeated coats of whitewash have obliterated any ornament it may have once possessed. The external porch, too, is insignificant, so that one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior: but I do not know any thing in architecture so startling as the effect when the door is opened, and the interior first bursts on the astonished traveller—which, at least, I was. The whole of its floor, pillars, and roof are of the finest white marble,* and every portion—except the floor—carved with a delicacy and beauty of which the lithograph gives but a very faint idea: all is now sharp and perfect as the day it was built, and, seen in a bright clear Indian sun, and with a clear blue sky to contrast with its dazzling whiteness, it will be long before I forget the effect it produced on me. I had heard before, it is true, of the wonders of Dilwarra; but after I had climbed that lonely and now almost inaccessible mountain, and reached the wretched village of straggling huts on which they were situated, I had made up my mind for a disappointment, which perhaps only heightened the effect when the reality burst upon me.

Outside the temple, and facing the entrance, is a square building, supported by pillars, and containing nine Elephantine statues, each of one block of white marble, about four feet in height. On each of them is (or rather was, for the Mogra Raja has been at work here) besides the Mahout, a male figure seated on a rich howdah. They represented the worthy Seth and his family going in procession to the temple, or rather to a small dagoba (another curious piece of Buddhism), situated near the door: there were four on each side, and one behind the dagoba, on which last Vimala Sah himself was, I presume, seated. He, however, having been carried off, some descendant of his has placed an equestrian statue of him before the dagoba, just in the doorway—a most painful specimen of modern art made of stucco, and painted in a style that a sign-painter in England would be ashamed of.

In the other temple this procession occupies the place of the cells behind the vimana in that of Vimala Sah, and separated from the court by a pierced screen of open tracery, the only one I know of, of that age—a little rude and heavy, it must be confessed, but still a fine work of its kind. Behind it are ten elephants, of very exquisite workmanship, and with rich trappings sculptured with the most exquisite precision. The Mogra Raja † has, however, carried off all the riders. In this case, however, the loss is not so great, as behind each elephant is a niche containing statues in alto-relievo of those who were, or were to be, mounted on them. There are Vastapala, with his one wife; Tejapala, with two; and their uncle, who seems to have been blessed with three:—in short, the whole family-party. The men are fine-looking fellows, all with long flowing beards; but I cannot say much for the ladies, who are generally sharp-visaged, sour-looking dames.

^{*} I could not quite ascertain whence the marble came from of which they are built: certainly there is none among the granite rocks of which the mountain is composed, nor among the trap strata of the Aravulli. To the northward there are no quarries, that I know of, nearer than Jeypore. On the mountain they said it came from a place in Cutch, nearly two hundred miles distant, which at first certainly sounds strange; but those who could drag such blocks as are found here up such a mountain might easily transport them so far. Indeed I know of none nearer.

⁺ I was a long time puzzled to find out who this Mogra Raja was, that was the author of all the iconoclastic mischief that had been done in Abu; but no one on the hill seemed to know more of him, and, if pressed for particulars, answered that he was a Mahometan king of Delhi: but so are all conquerors in these parts. By a comparison of dates, however, I believe him in this instance to have been the mild Jehangire—certainly a Mogul; Had he been a Patan, we should never have heard of the glories of Dilwarra.

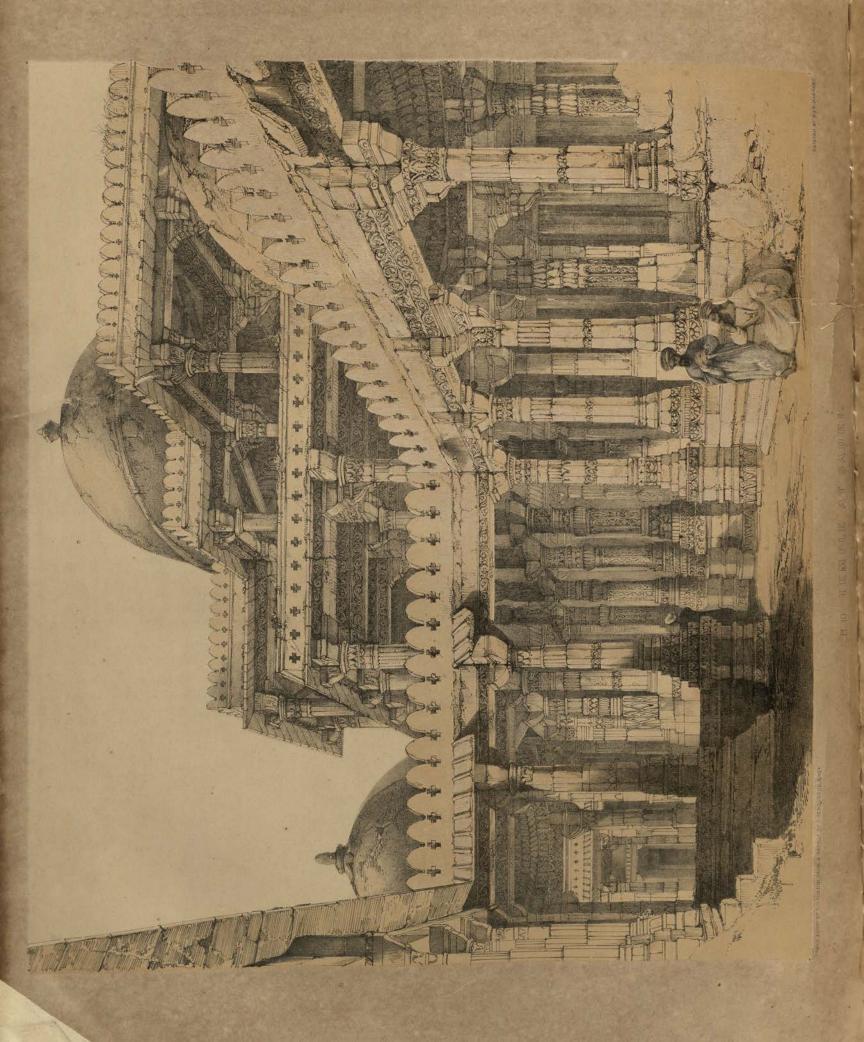


PLATE X.

TEMPLE AT SADRI.

ONE of the brightest periods in the annals of Mewar was certainly the long reign of Khumbo Rana, who ascended the throne A.D. 1419, and occupied it for fifty years, having at length fallen by the hand of his own son; who, however, never reaped the fruits he expected from his crime, not having been allowed to ascend the throne, but after five years of exile was killed by lightning: his name never appears, and his epoch being only known in the annals as that of the Murderer. During the long and successful reign of his father the country seems to have completely recovered the effect of Allauddin's invasion, and public works were executed in every corner of the state, and every city, but more especially its capital; Cheetore was adorned with temples and public buildings of every sort. Of all his works, however, the most perfect I have seen is the temple represented in Plate X., which is indeed the most complete one I ever saw; and though surpassed in beauty of material and execution by those in Abu, is more complete in itself, and contains every requisite of a perfect Jain temple.

I believe I am the first European that ever visited this temple, unless it was the late Colonel Spiers when resident at Sirohi. Colonel Tod speaks of, but never saw it;* and I had the greatest possible difficulty in finding it, not from any unwillingness on the part of the natives to shew it, but simply that it was forgotten, and no one cared about it. It is situated, with several other temples, at a distance of about six miles from the village of Sadri, in a deep and wild glen, running into the western slope of the Aravulli. At one time it may have been partially cultivated, but now it is covered with a deep forest; and the old woman who opened the temple to me seemed the only inhabitant, except by the by a man, who was said to have the key of the other large temple, and who being absent, I could not gain admission: though at the time I had, and have now, considerable doubts as to his existence, or that of his key, which must have been an extraordinary one to have opened the lock and door by which it was blocked up. At no distant period, however, there must have been many sojourners here, for the great temple bore signs of recent repair—it was said, at the expense of a Guzeratthee Seth, who had sent some masons here to whitewash over the most delicate carvings, and adorn the images with red paint;—such being called a thorough repair for an ecclesiastical building now-a-days in India as well as in England.

The great temple is dedicated to Rishab Deva, the first of the Tirthankars, and is raised on a lofty square basement, said to contain vaults filled with all manner of wonderful things. But I could find no entrance; and my friend, the old woman, declared there was none: so how the things got there, and where they are, remains a mystery.

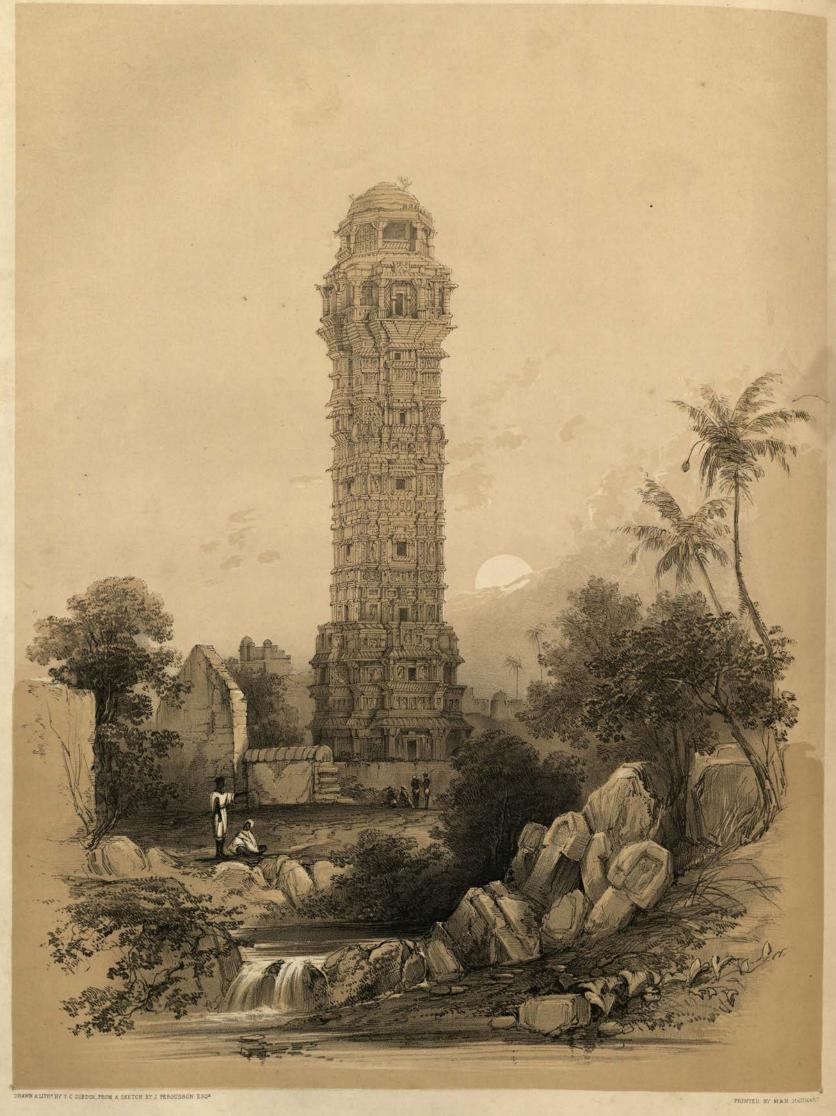
Internally the temple is 180 feet by 200, measured on the steps of the chapels that surround it. In the centre of this stands the principal vimana, not containing as usual one cell only, but four, or rather four large niches, one on each face, each occupied by a cross-legged figure of the Tirthankar. Above that is an upper story, opening on the terraced roofs of the porches, with four niches similarly occupied. In front of these niches is the usual mantapa, with its octagonal dome, as at Abu; the domes here, however, being somewhat less in size, or only twenty-four feet in diameter, except the one in front of the niche opposite the entrance, which is supported by the unusual number of sixteen columns, and is consequently thirty-six feet in diameter.

In each corner of the building are four more vimanas, each of which has two domes, one in each of its inner faces. And between these again are four domes, three stories high, one of which forms the central object in the Plate, and which are the principal ornaments of the building. Either, however, they were never completed, or the toruns or flying buttresses, which spring, as at Abu, from the lower capitals, have been removed, only one remaining in situ, and that in

a position that precluded its being seen in the sketch. Its presence, however, is sufficient to shew what was intended, even if never executed. Beyond these high domes again are four more projecting from the faces of the building, thus making twenty domes for the whole building, all of which are sculptured internally with the most elaborate ornaments, and adorned with pendants from their centres, carved with as much minuteness as the nature of the stone will allow; which here, unfortunately, is not white marble, but a rather coarse-grained sandstone, though of crystalline texture and good colour. About 420 columns are employed to support these domes with their accompanying colonnades, all of which are adorned, more or less, with sculpture, and no two of which are exactly alike, but most of them varied to a considerable extent. Around the court-yard containing these domes with their pillars are a range of cells, each surmounted by a sikra of its own, and intended originally to have contained statues; which, however, were either never placed here, or have been removed; and I believe it was to account for their absence that the story of the vaults was invented. There are, however, on each face two larger apartments which may be called chapels, containing various objects of interest,—one a model of a complete Jaina temple, about ten feet high, most elaborately finished, and of great beauty; in another, a Tirthankar, (no emblem) seated under the shade of the thousand-headed snake—at least a hundred heads are represented in the carving — and all round a border of nagunis, with their tails twisted into true-love knots, which I certainly would have copied for a valentine had I had the time or patience for the task.

The whole interior is lighted by four courts, two of them nearly thirty-six feet square, and two thirty-six by twenty-six, which are more than sufficient in that climate to afford light and air to the whole. It is in one of the smaller of these that the view is taken, looking towards the corresponding one on the opposite side.

As a whole, I look upon this as about the most satisfactory temple I have seen in India. It is true, it is neither so splendid nor so astonishing as those on Mount Abu; nor does it belong to so pure an age. But there is a completeness in this one that they want; and the whole is in good taste and good keeping. The only building that at the time I could think of to compare it with is the temple at Kanaruk (Plate III.); but it is certainly a "harmonie de contraste," as the French say, not "d'analogie:" for there it is an exterior and all the ornament is external, here the exterior is quite plain and all the ornament in the interior; there there are no pillars, here the whole architectural ordinance consists of pillars and their epistylia; there the sculpture is principally animate—representations of men and animals, here it consists almost exclusively of foliage and architectural ornaments of one sort or other. Yet there certainly is a likeness, if not in the form at least in the spirit of the buildings; they both reach about the same height of art, are productions of the same class of intellect, and utter the same feelings though in different words. To my mind they are so much alike that I never could think of the one without thinking of the other, though it is not, perhaps, easy to explain to those less familiar with the buildings themselves why this was the case. In the south of India there are halls larger than this temple, and whose roofs are supported by more than twice the number of columns here employed, but, owing to the inartistic mode in which they are there arranged, none of them produce any thing like the effect here attained. Indeed, there is a play of light and shade in this temple, without either too much glare or too much gloom in any part of it, and a variety and complexity in its design and disposition without either confusion or extravagance, that render it to my eye one of the most pleasing columnar interiors I know. Look at it from which point you will, you are never perplexed by a labyrinthine confusion you cannot unravel; and the variety of perspective and detail that everywhere opens upon you, prevents the eye from ever being fatigued in wandering through it. Not that I had much time for tiring of what I saw there; for I had come fifteen miles on my camel to the spot, had been detained more than an hour waiting for guides at Sadri, had to make the sketch of the interior and one of the outside, besides a plan of the building, and, lastly, to find my way to my tent without a guide, through eight miles of a wild jungly country, and with the night fast closing around me - a hard day's work, but such as I never grumbled at when the result was so successful.



PLII TOWER OF VICTORY, CHEETORE.

PLATE XI.

JAYA STHAMBA, OR TOWER OF VICTORY, AT CHEETORE.

The tower represented in Plate XI. is another of the monuments of the prosperous reign of Khumbo Rana, having been erected by him to celebrate his victory over the combined forces of Mahmoud Ghilji, the sovereign of Malwa, and those of the king of Guzerat; two of the soubadars who, on the decline of the Ghilji empire of Delhi, had erected their soubahs into independent principalities, and who, in this instance, joined their powers to overthrow one of the few of the independent Hindu states existing so far north: but they tried in vain, for they were signally defeated by the Rajpoots, and Mahmoud was taken prisoner and conveyed to Cheetore, when, after a short confinement, he was released without ransom or stipulation,—a piece of chivalrous generosity not uncommon among these people, and, in this instance, apparently a successful stroke of policy, for afterwards we find the armies of Malwa united with those of Rajpootana in resisting the imperial armies of Delhi, to which singly, probably, neither was equal.*

Eleven years after his victory Khumbo laid the foundation of this tower, which was completed in ten years more, A.D. 1461; probably the last pillar of victory ever erected by a Hindu, and to commemorate, unfortunately for them, the last of their victories.

This tower is about 30 feet in diameter at the base, and more than 120 in height; so that it is considerably more important as a building than its rival, which stands at the distance of about a quarter of a mile on the other side of the fort; and from almost every point where it can be seen it gains considerably from being placed on the very brink of a precipice, which adds considerably to its apparent height, and gives it a dignity it would not possess if situated on a plain. As a tower its outline is certainly very pleasing, perhaps more so than that of the Khowasin Sthamba; and, judging from the lithograph alone, many will be inclined to prefer this to the other: but their details and general execution will not bear comparison, and on the spot few, I am convinced, but would agree with me in preferring the older example. Not that the details of this one are bad; indeed, for their age, they are wonderfully well and carefully executed; and certainly no pains have been spared to make them as perfect as possible, the whole tower, from the basement to the summit, being covered with the most elaborate ornament, either in figures or architectural scrolls and foliage: all, however, kept in perfect subordination to the general design, and in perfect keeping as a whole.

At the foot of the hill, on the spot where Akbar was encamped during the last siege of Cheetore, stands a handsome stone tower, about thirty-five feet in height and twelve square at the base. A well-formed staircase leads to the top, where, according to the tradition, an immense lamp was placed during the siege to point out head-quarters and serve as a lighthouse to guide the benighted foragers back to camp: hence its present name, Akbar ka Dewa, or Akbar's Lamp. Besieging armies, however, do not amuse themselves in building handsome stone towers that will last for centuries (this one has stood 267 years), perhaps to serve as a monument of their defeat, for Akbar never was engaged in a more doubtful struggle than this one; and which, though they might serve to guide the forager to head-quarters, might equally invite the enemy to the same spot: and a long bamboo would have served the purpose better than this very pretty tower. It is, like its prouder neighbour on the height above, a Jaya Sthamba erected by the Mahometan emperor, after the siege, as a monument of his victory, — though Hindu vanity prefers the other name.

As I said in the Introduction, I know of at least a dozen Jaya Sthambas erected by the Moslems in India, copying in this their Hindu predecessors, as they did more or less in all their acts in that country. Their language was Persian, but became there Hindostanee—one peculiar to, and certainly belonging to, the peninsula; and so, too, their architecture

came from Syria and Persia, but in India was mixed up with more Hinduisms than even their language. But the discussion of these does not belong to this part of my subject.

We have no buildings in Europe with which to compare this, so as to afford a relative test to its value. The one most like it that I know is the Jaya Sthamba of Trajan at Rome, a tower of almost the same height, and erected for the same purpose. But if it were asked what design I preferred, I would without a moment's hesitation declare for the Hindu example. To magnify a pillar into a tower is a solecism in art that only a Roman or a modern architect could be guilty of; and to surround it by a spiral of sculpture placed so as to be invisible, (if it were so placed originally,) was only capping the absurdity. Here we have a tower built as a tower, of far more agreeable outline, and with a projecting gallery on each face of every story, from which a good view of the sculpture of every compartment is obtained; and the whole can be examined with ease, and all its details looked into. The Mahometan tower is in equally good taste, though very inferior as a monument to this one.

As I said in the Introduction, these towers are the originals of the nine-storied pagodas of China, though there they have translated them, as they do every thing else, into their own quaint language, and used them as often for temples as for sthambas. But the whole Buddhism of China is a jumble, as unlike the religion that was imported from India as Jainaism, which in its form, if not in its substance, it in many instances more resembled.

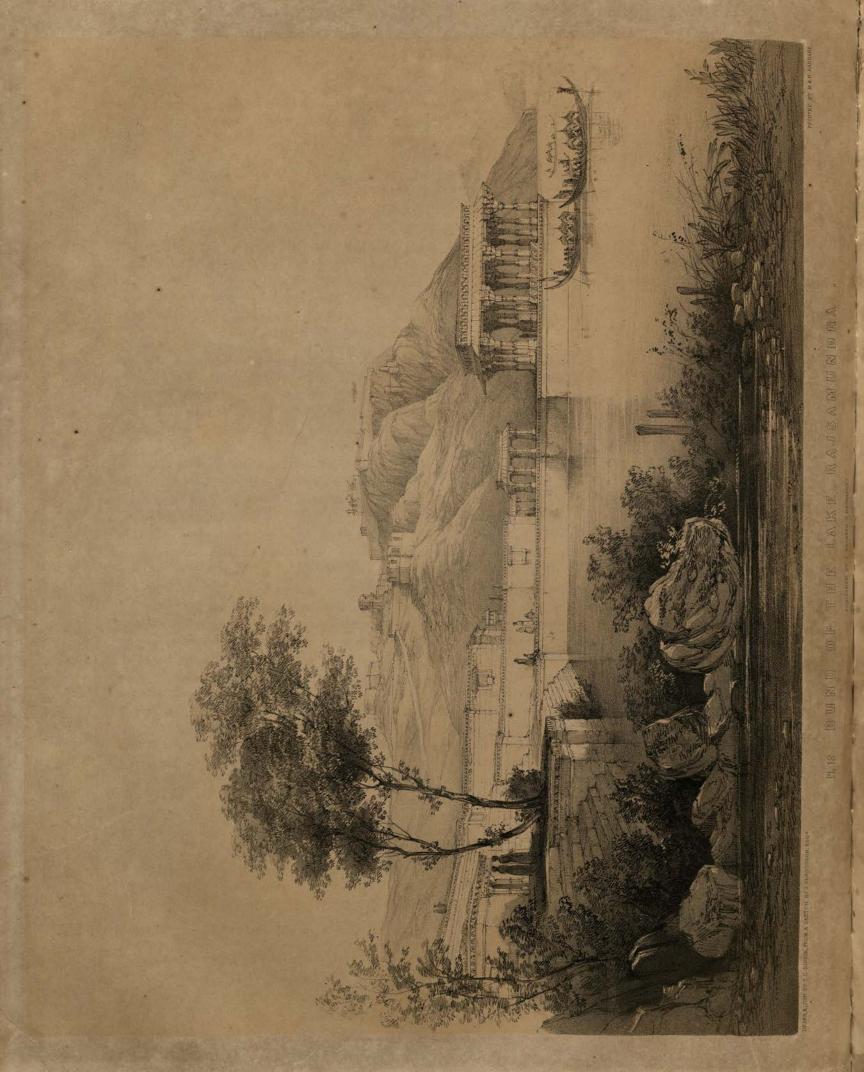


PLATE XIII.

BUND OF THE LAKE RAJSAMUNDRA, OODEYPORE.

In a country where architecture exists as a true fine art, its displays are not confined merely to temples, and buildings of that class; they extend to every description of edifice, even to those that, with us, are generally considered as belonging solely to the department of the engineer. In this country the art consists merely in imitating certain remains of anterior styles; and as these consist generally of temples or churches, we have imbibed an idea that architecture can only be used in such edifices, and we neglect all other classes of building, though these may often be more capable of displaying its beauties than even a temple.

In India—at least in those provinces where our influence has not yet been felt—the art is still practised on its true principles, and every building, whether designed for use or ornament, becomes, in the hands of the native artist, an object of fine art, and some of them of very great beauty. The same thing might, of course, be done here; but the principle is not understood among us, or, at all events, it is utterly neglected. It is partly for the sake of illustrating this principle—so far, at least, as India is concerned—that the following six views are selected from specimens of what would properly be called the civil architecture of Northern Hindostan. The previous eleven are selected from the temple architecture, unless, indeed, the two towers at Cheetore be considered as belonging more to this division of the subject than to the other. The temples, it is true, afford usually the most ancient as well as most numerous examples. Palaces, generally, are altered to suit the wants of their inhabitants, or to fit them for the taste of the day; and engineering works are more exposed to accidents, or, in like manner, to be altered, than temples: but, at the same time, they display beauty, both in design and detail, quite equal to any thing found in what may be called the ecclesiastical architecture of the country.

Of this truth I do not know a better illustration than that given in this Plate, where the palace on the hill at the one end of the bund, in the centre of the drawing, though built by the same prince, is a small and insignificant building, though, from its form and situation, eminently picturesque; and the Jaina temple,* which crowns the opposite hill (not seen in the view), though a pretty object, as all Jain temples are, must still yield the palm of beauty to the Bund or Dam, which is the principal object in the view.

The bund was erected by Raj Sing, who ascended the musnud of the little state of Oodeypore in the year 1653, and reigned twenty-seven years; it is nothing more than an embankment, or dam, made across a narrow opening between two hills, to intercept a small rivulet which runs through the gorge, so as to form an artificial lake of some extent, whose waters might thus be rendered available for the purposes of irrigation.

The building is 376 paces in length, and is, externally at least, entirely of white marble, the top of it forming a broad terrace; while along the whole front there extends a noble flight of steps, descending to the edge of the water. This flight, however, is broken into four separate divisions by three piers, which project from the terrace some little way into the water, where they expand into a square, to give room for the foundations of a pavilion: two of which—those nearest the spectator—consist of sixteen columns each, all richly sculptured in different patterns, and altogether with more elegance of form and detail than could well be expected from their age; the third, however

^{*} It requires now some little knowledge of the subject to be able to say what this temple really was originally, for when Jeswunt Row Pundit. Scindia's general, occupied the palace, Jumsheer Kha (Meer Khan's) took possession of it, and pulled down the greater part of the building to erect fortifications with the materials; and it is sad, indeed, to see columns and cornices heaped up as a bulwark for the defence of a Mahratta or Pindarrie. Even the beautiful spire of the vimana has been partly destroyed and replaced by a round tower—the keep of this profunc citadel. Notwithstanding all this, it is even now a picturesque and, in some respects, a beautiful ruin.

— the one nearest the palace—has only twelve columns; but more sculpture is lavished on its small dimensions than on either of the others; and it is really a very elegant and fairy-like building.

The roofs, like the pillars, are of white marble, most of the compartments being sculptured with considerable elegance, though, it must be confessed, they are not to be compared with the specimens at Chandravati and Barolli, either for design or execution. This arises partly from the inferiority of the workmen employed on them, but also from the ornaments not being of the same purity of style, but belonging to the class which was introduced in the reign of the great Akbar—a strange jumble of Hindu and Mahometan features, neither being pure nor distinct, but mixed one with another, so as to make up a style rich and elaborate, it is true, and often highly picturesque, but which one can with difficulty tolerate, after being familiar with both as they existed in their purity before the reign of that monarch.

The figure-sculpture partakes of the corruption of that age, and certainly is inferior to the architectural details, though portions of it are pleasing, and some of the mythological combinations were new to me and somewhat startling; as, for instance, in a compartment of one of the roofs, I found the three principal deities of the Hindu pantheon, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, occupying the three corners, while the fourth was filled by a cross-legged Buddhist or Jaina figure, though I could not quite make out which of the Buddhas or Tirthankars he was intended to represent.

All the niches on the bund are filled with tablets, covered with long inscriptions, except one, containing a Jaina figure. Indeed, the whole building, with its accompaniments and temples, belong to the religion of the Jains, which seems to have been that of the princes of Oodeypore till a very recent date.

About a mile further on, another opening in the hills has been dammed up by a second bund, with a flight of steps equal in extent to this one, but unfinished and not covered by marble, though this appears to have been intended. Beyond these steps the bund extends about a mile further, but only in the form of a rude, unfinished causeway. Something more ornamental was evidently intended, but it never has been completed.



PLATE XIII.

BUND OF THE LAKE JAYSAMUND, OR DHEBUR LAKE, OODEYPORE.

This is another of those beautiful marble bunds erected for the purpose of obtaining water for irrigation. It is not in itself so beautiful an architectural object as the one represented in the last Plate; but its situation is far finer, and the palace and accompaniments are better and on a larger scale than those of the Rajsamund.

This one was erected by Jay Sing, the successor of Raj Sing, A.D. 1680, and is of the same length as the other, or about 1000 feet. The disposition, however, is different, the centre being occupied by a Hindu temple, jutting into the lake, but apparently never completed; and at each end on the bund is a pavilion, 30 feet by 60, consisting of two rows of coupled columns on each face externally, and two in the centre of single columns, supporting, as usual, a white marble roof. Between these and the temple on each side are four small pavilions of four pillars each, none of which have ever been completed. It was intended to crown them with small domes of the form usual at that age (see next Plate); but all the works here are left incomplete. Near the water's edge, on pedestals, is placed a range of elephants, with their trunks upturned to serve as fountains, and no doubt, on gala days, did spout water out of them; but their trunks are now cracked and broken, and so choked with weeds, that if I had not seen these elephant fountains elsewhere, I should not have guessed their purpose here.

Behind this bund, at a distance of fifty yards, is a second wall. It was apparently originally intended to fill up the space between the two with earth, and either to have erected a palace on it, or converted the space into a garden; the works have been commenced at one end, but left incomplete.

The little deserted palace on the hill is an extremely pleasing object, both externally and internally. Its principal court is surrounded by a colonnade of graceful pillars of white marble, some of which are covered with sculptured foliage; some are carved only on one side, and in some instances half a flower is finished; the remainder left merely traced out, and quite flat,—a circumstance by no means unusual in buildings in India, which appear to have been always erected in the rough and the sculpture added afterwards: a plan I cannot help thinking a very judicious one, as it allows time both to design and execute, and enables the artist to judge of the effect as he proceeds, and to alter and improve as he goes on. In the present instance, all the works seem to have been arrested at once, probably by the death of the Raja (1699), for every thing is incomplete; and there is an air of premature desolation about the place which contrasts strangely with the beauty of the scene and the elegance of all the works that adorn it.

The view from the palace is very much more beautiful than that from the Rajsamund. The hills are higher and bolder, the strata being generally bare, and inclined seventy-five or eighty degrees to the horizon, dipping south; and they jut into the lake in bold promontories and islands; while the shore is deeply indented with bays and inlets, some of which are very picturesque.

One of the promontories, which is low, but projects some way into the lake, has been surrounded with terraces, one over the other, and its isthmus fortified by a bold crenelated wall. It evidently was intended to have been the garden of the palace; but, like every thing else, it is unfinished. Beyond the lake to the west are seen the seven ranges of the Aravulli, rising one above another in picturesque confusion; and to the southward a well-cultivated plain, irrigated by the waters of the lake, and extending, as far as the eye could judge, in one unbroken flat, almost to the Gulf of Cambay.

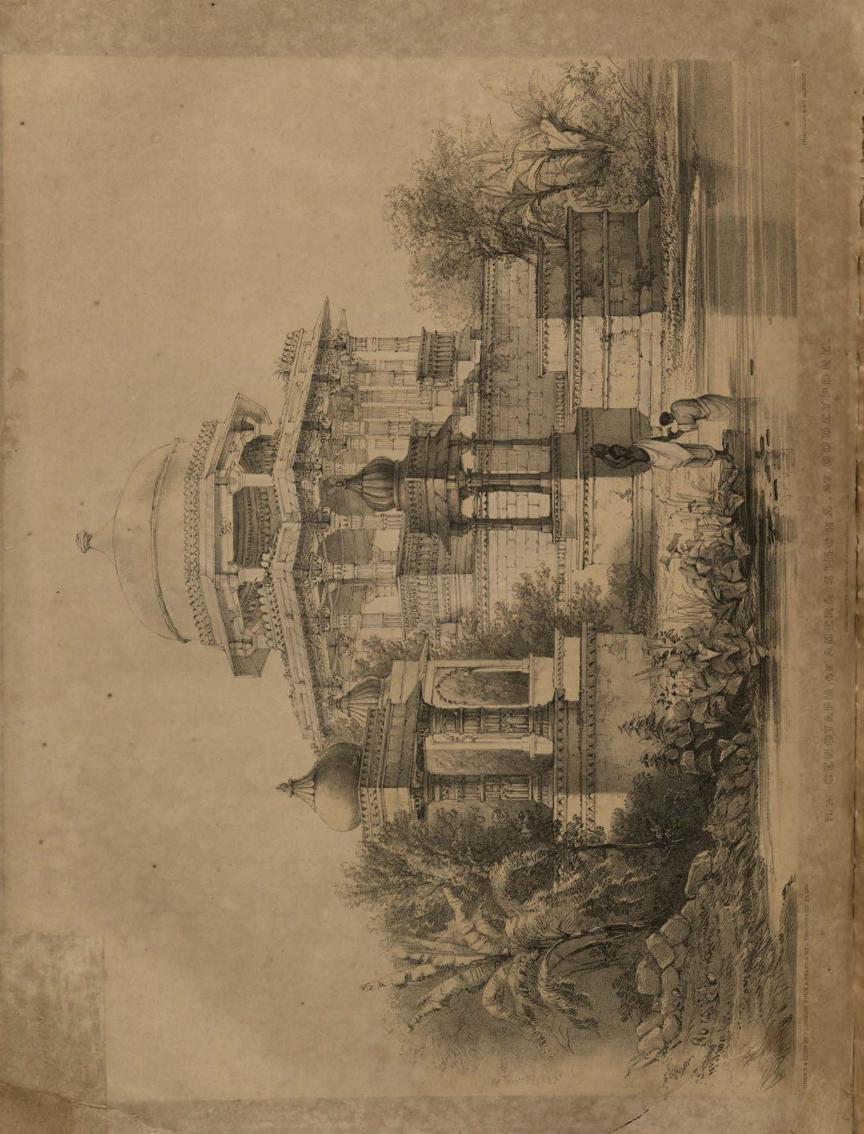


PLATE XIV.

TOMB OF AMERA SING II., OODEYPORE.

As a general rule it may be asserted, that no race of people speaking Sanscrit, or any of the cognate tongues, were ever a tomb-building people; and, on the other hand, wherever we find in any country that the tombs, either structural or hewn out of the rock, were one of the more important forms of architectural display, we may feel certain that the people who inhabited the country when they were executed were either Semitic or Mongolian; or any thing, in short, but Indo-Germanic.

There are exceptions to this rule, of course, but more in appearance than reality; and of these, the most striking I know, is the now almost universal practice of the Rajpoot and other pure Hindu races in erecting tombs, or rather cenotaphs, on the spot where the remains of their ancestors were reduced to ashes.

There is, however, no trace of this practice anterior to the Mahometan conquest; nor indeed, so far as I am aware, before the reign of Akbar. That monarch, however, seems to have had more influence over the Hindus than any other ruler of his race, and to have done more in amalgamating the different races which occupy Hindostan than is generally supposed or understood. In his own buildings it is quite amusing to trace the number of Hinduisms that everywhere shew themselves; but still more singular is the influence of the Mahometan style in the buildings of the Hindus. In his reign, the arch was for the first time employed by that people, and since his time its form has been almost universally adopted, though the principle is seldom adhered to; and from this time we find the Rajpoot chiefs almost universally erecting these cenotaphs, in direct imitation of the Mahometan Muckburrah. Generally speaking, these erections of the Hindus are inferior to the Moslem edifices from which they are copied. The architects never seem quite to have comprehended what they were doing; and in their endeavours to avoid using an arch, and to employ pillars and architraves instead, they have often fallen into very strange and ungraceful architectural combinations.

The fundamental form of a Moslem tomb, as of a Christian one, was always a circle; its roof invariably a dome: but to support this, they used either a circular, octagonal, or square mass, with one arched entrance on each face. The Hindus adopted the dome, but always tried to support it with pillars, either four, eight, or sixteen; but, except when only four were used, the dome is almost always too heavy for its supports, and the effect unpleasing.

The building chosen for illustration in this Plate is one of the most pleasing examples I have seen of a Hindu cenotaph. The base or stylobate is well raised, and of a pleasing form, and the ornaments on it sufficient to relieve it without exuberance, and in good taste. The columns that stand on it are pleasing in form and well grouped, the central octagon being first increased to a square by the introduction of a column at each angle (see Introduction), and then four columns added on each face. These twenty-eight pillars thus grouped are quite sufficient to support the dome, and had it been placed immediately on them the effect would have been very pleasing; but, unfortunately, an upper range of eight dwarf pillars is introduced, and on them the dome rests, which thus appears far too heavy for its supports. Had the lower colonnade been walled up, and consequently had it been required to introduce light into the tomb under the dome, this might have been forgiven, but as it is, it is motiveless, and throws the whole out of harmony: either the drum should have been solid, or the dome of a far lighter form. Afterwards the Hindu architects learnt how to manage these domes better, and in some of the most modern tombs—those of the Bhurtpore Rajas, for instance—by adopting a solid square base, like that used by the Mahometans, their cenotaphs became almost as elegant and appropriate as the models from which they were copied.

The large building which forms the principal object in this Plate was erected in memory of Amera Sing II., who died in

1715, probably by his successor, Sangram Sing, for it does not appear that the Hindus ever quite adopted the Mahometan practice of building their own monuments, though this is the only way to be quite sure of a splendid one, and is the cause of the great magnificence of all the Moslem tombs in India.

The small cenotaph on the left of the drawing is of about the same age as the large one, but its four pillars are borrowed from some Jaina building of a very much earlier date, and they consequently appear thick and heavy compared with the superstructure. The small one behind it belongs to the present century, as may be seen from its lean and wretched stucco architecture; it is not, however, so bad as some others in its vicinity, which, besides their bad architecture, are painted with red and green flowers, in the worst and most tawdry taste. The other small four-pillared cupola is in better taste, and of an age intermediate between these two,—probably the end of the last century.

In this spot,—which has been the necropolis of the Ranas of Oodeypore ever since their expulsion from Cheetore by Akbar—there are at least a hundred other cenotaphs of different forms and ages; two of them are more magnificent than the one here illustrated, but they are so crowded with smaller buildings, and so hid by the peepul and other trees that grow among them, that I could not obtain so good a view of them as I was enabled to do of this one.

The spot where these tombs stand is on the banks of a small rivulet about two miles from Oodeypore, which must have been a place of considerable sanctity long before the time of their erection, for the streamlet has been dammed up and formed into khoods (tanks with steps all round, leading to the water), which are now in ruins, but the fragments of them that remain indicate a considerable antiquity, and the whole place is strewed with sculpture, some of which, judging from the style, must be as early as the thirteenth century, varying from that to the sixteenth; and besides the number of columns and architraves which have been borrowed to build the tombs, there are several temples in the grove entirely constructed of the remains of ancient buildings. One in particular is enough to drive an architect mad, as its porch, which is large, is entirely composed of a most heterogeneous assortment of pillars; when too short, their length has been eked out by an extra capital or base, the one member being often used to do duty for the other; and where the pillar was too long, it is deprived of both these usual appendages. The domes, too, are very beautifully sculptured, but sadly disarranged—scarcely two fragments fitting one another or being in their right places. Notwithstanding these defects, the temples, combined with the ruins that surround them, the tombs, trees, and water, render the spot one of the most picturesque and interesting in the valley of Oodeypore; in character it is certainly quite unique, for though there are tombs at Kotah, Boondee, and other capitals, there is no group so numerous or so well situated as this one.

·		

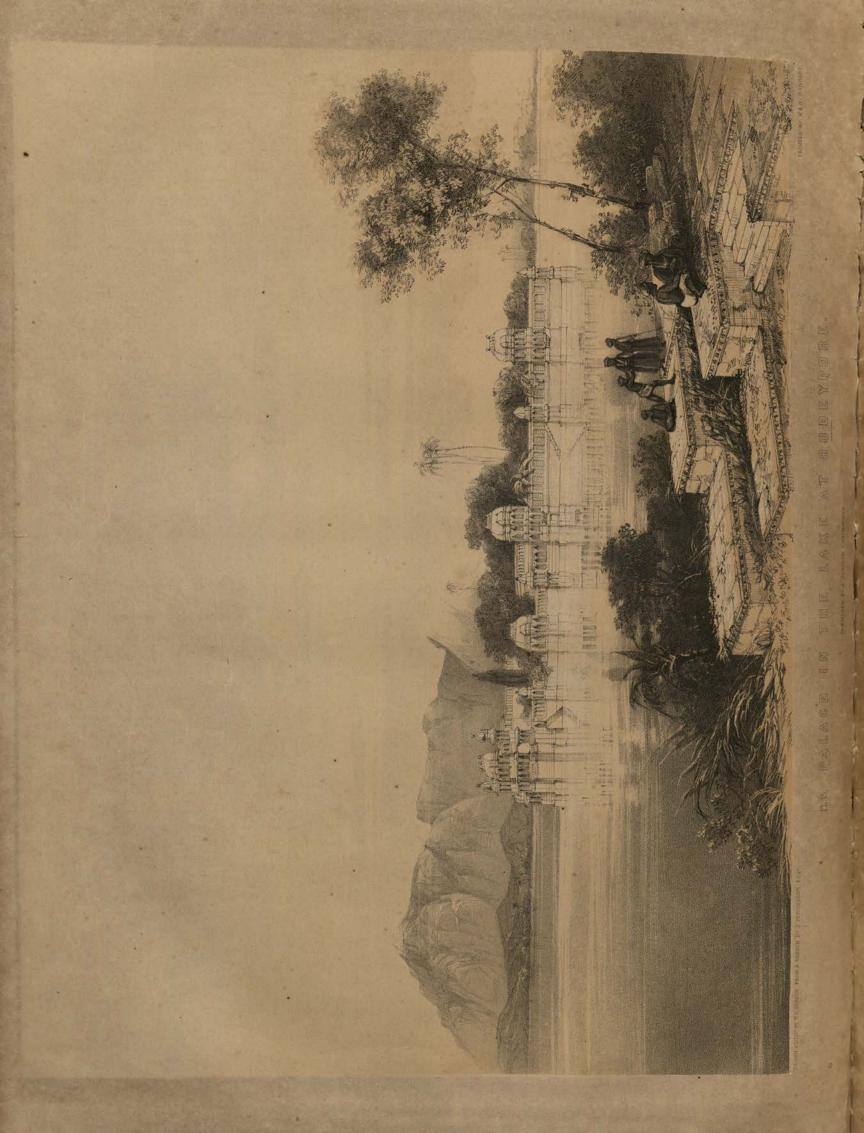


PLATE XV.

ISLAND IN THE LAKE AT OODEYPORE.

Colonel Top, in his "Annals of Rajasthan," compares the valley of Oodeypore to the Happy Valley in the story of "Rasselas," and this with less exaggeration than is usual with him in speaking of any thing that concerns his favourite Rajpoots. The mountains, however, that inclose it are not inaccessible on any side, though there is, I believe, only one pass by which a wheeled carriage can enter; and, once inside, you are shut out from the world you have left by hills which are not indeed of great height, but formed of the rugged and picturesque rocks, composing the first and second waves of the great Aravulli chain. Immediately under the second range, a mountain-torrent has been dammed up so as to form a lake of considerable extent, on a rocky eminence, on one side of which stands the palace of Oodeypore, the largest in Rajpootana, in outline and size a good deal resembling Windsor; but its details are bad, and, when closely examined, it will not bear comparison with many other residences of Rajpoot princes. Whatever other defects, however, there may be in the main building, are amply compensated in the two island-palaces that adorn the lake, one of which, the Jugmundur, forms the subject of this Plate.

The island is oblong in form, containing between three and four acres, and is divided into three rectangular gardens, the two end ones nearly square, the centre one somewhat narrower than its length. Each garden is surrounded by an arcaded cloister, open on both sides, where it merely divides one garden or court from the other; but on those sides which are next the water, the arches are filled with stone trellis-work, sometimes of flower-patterns of great intricacy, but oftener of geometric forms, most of the openings being filled with stained glass, forming diaper and mosaic patterns. The centre division of each of those sides which stand in the water is occupied by a hall, the arches of which are open towards the lake, and either two or three arcades deep towards the garden. Two of these, two stories high, are on the side towards the palace (the one seen in the view); but the principal halls are those at the north and south ends. The former is a splendid apartment of white marble, a square with twelve pillars in the centre and a deep verandah all round. The one at the opposite end is also very handsome, and is used as an audience-hall. The west side is occupied by the private apartments of the harem, and, though forming the principal bulk of the building, they are not remarkable as architectural objects.

The gardens, which are surrounded by these buildings, are laid out in the usual formal style of gardens in the East; but they are completely filled now with orange, mangoe, and other fruit-trees, forming a perfect roof of evergreen foliage, broken only occasionally by a tall palm or cypress, and varied by the broad-leafed plantain. The effect of the whole is so perfect and refreshing, that it requires some courage to criticise the details; which, however, it must be confessed, are only indifferent, being generally executed in stucco and painted in the indifferent taste of their age, which is that of Juggut Sing II., who succeeded to the musnud of Oodeypore, A.D. 1734,* when the star of his race was fast setting before the rising power of the Mahrattas, and art had lost that purity which can only exist with freedom and independence.

The other island is in every respect a much more beautiful object than this one, and I would have chosen it for

^{*} If any one compares my description of this island with that contained in Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan," (vol. i. p. 372, et seq.) he will be struck, no doubt, with many important discrepancies that exist between us. Colonel Tod, however, I believe, wrote most of the descriptions contained in his Annals from memory, in this country, long after leaving the scenes; otherwise I cannot account for the many inadvertencies he falls into: I wrote my journal on the spot every evening before retiring to rest, and from that journal my descriptions are now taken.

my illustration had I been able to obtain as good a view of it, but it is so distant from the shore that its buildings are not easily distinguishable from it, and the camera lucida cannot be used from a boat.

It owes its origin, as a palace at least, to the circumstance of Khoorum, the second son of the Emperor Jehangire, allying himself with Bheem Sing, the brother of Kerna, the Rana of Oodeypore, in a revolt against his father. The rebellion, however, was suppressed by the activity of Jehangire, and Khoorum obliged to seek refuge at the court of the brother of his ally, where he was most hospitably entertained, and a palace built on this island for his abode. The building then erected consists of a round tower of white marble, in the centre of the island, three stories in height, crowned by a very handsome dome; on the north, or principal front, it has a portico three colonnades deep on the ground-floor, two on the second, and one on the third, each omitted colonnade leaving a small uncovered terrace. The upper apartment is circular, about twenty-one feet in diameter, and I think the prettiest room I know in India: its floor is inlaid with black and white marbles; the walls are ornamented with niches, and decorated with arabesques of different coloured stones (in the same style as the Taje at Agra, though the patterns are Hindu); and the dome is exquisitely beautiful in form, more Mahometan than Hindu in its pattern and details, and though exquisitely simple, it is far more pleasing to my eye than the exuberant richness which is generally found on the Hindu specimens. Altogether, the building is a very interesting example of the taste of that prince who afterwards built the Taje, employing the leisure of his captivity in ornamenting his island abode, as nearly in accordance with the taste of his own native style as could be effected by the Hindu artists of Oodeypore who had to carry his designs into effect. The circular building is surrounded by a large court, with a handsome loggia on each face; and again, on each side of the island, which is considerably larger than the Jugmundur, is a handsome colonnaded pavilion, though these are of more modern date than the central buildings. There are several other architectural objects (a small mosque, a serpentine throne, &c.) on the island, but without views the description would be uninteresting.

If possible, the trees, particularly the cypresses and the palms, are finer than on the other island, and from its greater extent, and its not being entirely surrounded by buildings, their effect is finer, as in some places their branches actually dip into the waters of the lake.

The only objects in Europe that can be compared with these are the Borromean islands in the Lago Maggiore, but I need scarcely say their Indian rivals lose nothing by the comparison—they are as superior to them as the Duomo at Milan is to Buckingham Palace. Indeed, I know of nothing that will bear comparison with them any where.

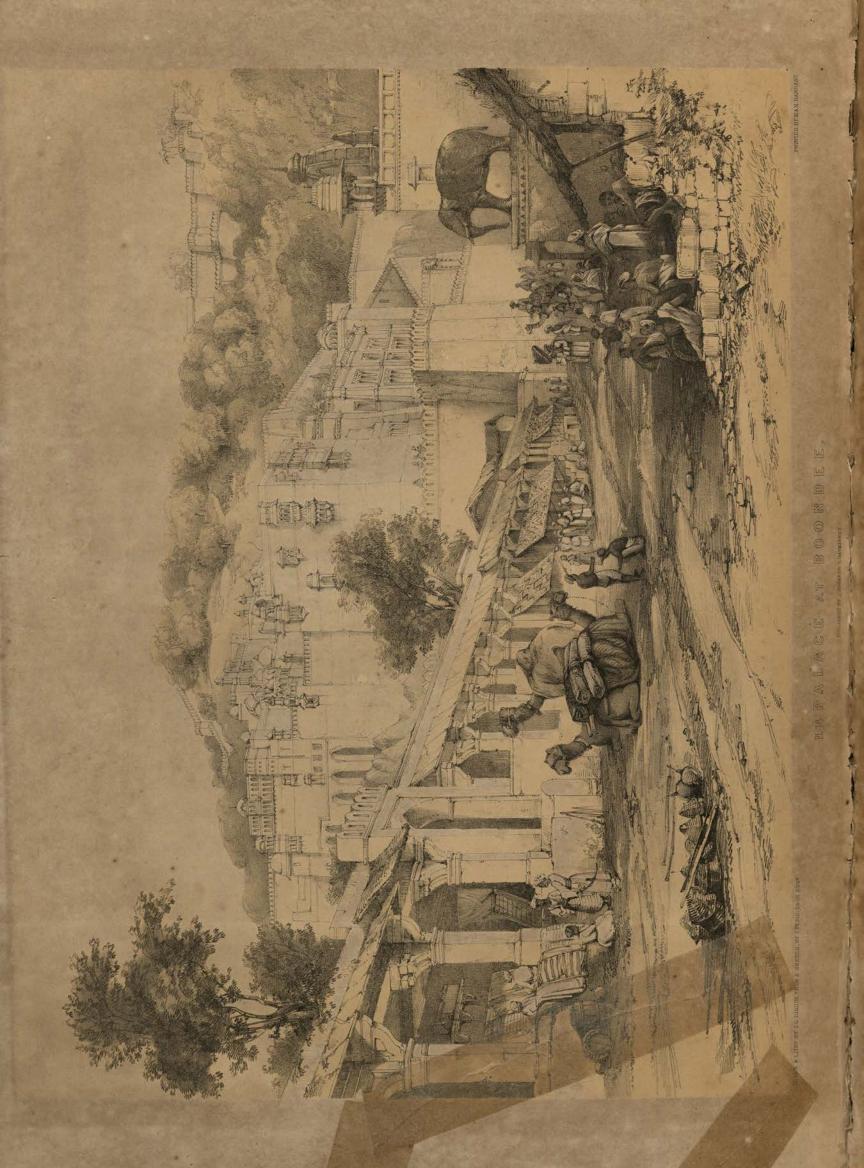


PLATE XVI.

PALACE AT BOONDEE.

The little capital of the state of Boondee is one of the most picturesque towns in Rajpootana. It has not, it is true, so fine a lake, nor so large a palace, as Oodeypore, but it possesses a noble hill fort, which is so indispensable an accompaniment to an Indian town, that it always looks incomplete, and as if something were wanting, without one.

The hill of the fort is about two miles long and one in breadth, and quite isolated all round, being bounded on the north and south by two very pretty valleys, down which run two streams, which join immediately below the town; both, however, are bunded, and form two artificial lakes, between which the town is situated. The northern lake is about a mile and a half long, and half a mile wide, and at the upper end of it are situated the chuttries, or cenotaphs, of the royal family. They are, however, very inferior to those of Oodeypore, though their situation is fine; and there are some fine ruins in their neighbourhood, or which, I should say, would be fine, had they not been so cruelly whitewashed. In the other valley a rocky ravine has been formed into a garden, with a pretty row of fountains down the centre, and a roof, if I may use the expression, of such noble old trees as only a tropical climate can afford.

The town itself was founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century, by Hara Raja, and for two centuries was the capital of a considerable state. In 1578, however, the principality was divided into two separate kingdoms, Kotah taking one half, which has ever since remained distinct and separate. After this, though not immediately, the town seems to have declined, and its old walls now enclose fields and gardens, which once were covered with houses. Its old fortifications, indeed, are now allowed to go to decay, and a new wall has been built inside to circumscribe the shrunken dimensions of the modern town.

The principal bazar is one of the most picturesque streets in Malwa, and part of it of some antiquity. One end of it, but by far the least beautiful, forms the foreground of the sketch, leading directly to the palace gate. The view here given is chosen because it combines the two objects, though at the expense of both, for the bazar would have been better represented looking the other way; and the palace is better seen over the southern lake, where it appears lying higher up the hill, and of a far more graceful outline than it possesses foreshortened as it is in the view.

No part of the palace, at least no part represented in this sketch, is old. Some parts may be a hundred, but certainly none a hundred and fifty years old. At the back there are some buildings that have an air of some antiquity, but they are so industriously whitewashed that it is difficult to judge of what they are or were.

Notwithstanding, however, its modern date, it is a fine specimen of an Indian palace, and though it aims at no architectural display, and is merely an aggregation of different buildings grouped together, without the smallest attempt at regularity or effect, it produces a far more pleasing combination of forms than usually arises from more studied designs; and when seen at a little distance, lying on the side of a hill rising from its lakes, and crowned by the hill fort, it is as pleasing a piece of architectural scenery as I have seen any where, even in India, where such effects are common.

I did not see the interior of the palace, knowing by report, and experience of similar edifices, that it could not contain much worthy of notice, and I was anxious to avoid the tedium and annoyance of a formal durbar and introduction to the Raja, which would have been the effect of any wish expressed by me to see the interior. So I pleaded indisposition, though I was out in the sun on the day of my arrival from daybreak till it was too dark to see to sketch any longer.

PLATE XVII.

BOWLEE AT BOONDEE.

WITHIN the old walls of Boondee, but still outside the more modern ones, there exist a number of tombs, Khoods and Bowlees, some of which are of considerable beauty and extent, though all apparently date from a period subsequent to the separation of the state from Kotah, and, consequently, after the city had shrunk to its present dimensions.

Among them, however, there is none that pleases my eye more than the one I have chosen for the present illustration: it is seldom, however, that an Indian bowlee is not a pleasing object, the mixture of cool arcades and water being always refreshing in a hot climate; and the architects seem to have delighted in the opportunity afforded them of obtaining these, for it is seldom that a bowlee does not become an ornamental work, and on some of them far more expense and labour have been bestowed than on the temples which usually accompany them.

In Europe, so far as I know, we have not a single specimen of a work of this sort: indeed, it is not required in our cool and well-watered climate. In Upper India they are very frequent, and consist almost invariably of two parts; first, a well, from which the water can be drawn, either in buckets by the hand or by bullocks; and, secondly, of a wide staircase, by which women and water-carriers can descend, and fill their skins or water-pots at the surface of the spring. In the present instance the well is about sixty or seventy feet deep, and a square of about twenty-eight or thirty feet, with rude pulleys on three sides, over which ropes are thrown to raise the water. The side next the steps is formed of a screen of two pointed, or, as we should call them, Gothic arches, one above the other, which separate the two parts of the bowlee. The finest part, however, is the staircase, consisting, when I saw it (for the steps go into the water), of one hundred and thirteen steps, from the water to the level of the plain, each being thus rather more than six inches in height. Every sixth step has an ornamented border on it, and forms a flat landing of about the width of the preceding six steps; thus giving great ease and dignity to the whole flight, which, if it were broken only once or twice, would look painfully steep and arduous.

About half-way down, a screen of columns is thrown across, which forms the principal object in the view. It is intended merely for ornament, though the original destination of such a structure may have been to prevent the sides from collapsing from the pressure of the earth,—an object which, no doubt, the two screens, to a certain extent, effect.

In the present instance the screen is built like the whole of the rest of the bowlee, of stone; though, at first sight, it seems difficult to understand how stone could be cut and made to stand in the attenuated proportions we here find, which seem as if only cast iron, or metal, could be used in such forms, particularly the flying buttresses, which are evidently the lineal descendants of those on Mount Abu (Plate IX.), though so much leaner as to be scarcely recognisable. The only parts of the bowlee that are visible above ground are the two pavilions at the entrance, which are seen in the view. If these happen to be ruined, it is often no easy matter to find a bowlee that you may be looking for: and often I have stumbled on the most splendid ones, without being aware that there was any thing of the kind in the neighbourhood.

It is strange that a people who could erect such a staircase as this, and who habitually did so, not only in their bowlees, but in their ghâts leading to the rivers and lakes, which are more splendid works than even these, never erected a decent staircase (so far, at least, as I am awarc) in their houses or palaces. On entering a Hindu or Mahometan palace, in any part of India, nothing strikes a stranger more than the mean, dark, dirty steps by which he is ushered into the most splendid apartments. They are invariably steep and narrow, and

such as would not be tolerated in even a second-class abode in this country. I have often asked the reason of this singular incongruity, but never could get any other answer than that it was the custom. Our wells and ghâts, however, are far more wretched as architectural objects than the Hindu palace-stairs, though our palaces and public buildings have some noble specimens of wide and ornamental staircases. Perhaps a Hindu might retort the question on us, and ask if the incongruity was not in reality more with us than with them.

As this is the last illustration of the architecture of Northern India that will be given in this series, I may as well point out here a sequence which will be easily perceived when attention is drawn to it, though it might not occur to many. If any one will place in juxtaposition the columns shewn in the eight Plates, V. VI. VII. IX. X. XII. XIV. and XVII., he will not fail to perceive in the first a heavy monolithic simplicity, characteristic of a considerable antiquity; in the second, the same proportion, but far more ornament; becoming lighter and more ornamental in the third, and still more attenuated and more elaborately enriched in the fourth. This is still more the case at Sadri. The forms of the pillars become still lighter in the sixth and seventh examples, while the ornaments are more minute, and have altogether lost that boldness which characterised the earlier ones. But the system is carried to an extreme pitch in the last, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty years old, where the system of increasing the height of the column relatively to the diameter seems to be carried as far as the nature of the material will admit of.

Instead of eight examples, which is all I can give here, I must have seen ten times that number in the course of my explorations, and I found the dates—ascertained, as in these instances, from other sources—to accord perfectly with the gradation in style here pointed out; and when once the antiquary is sufficiently familiar with the styles, there is no difficulty in affixing, at least approximately, the date of any building he may happen to be examining.



PLATE XVIII.

TEMPLE AT MAHAVELLIPORE.

EXCEPTING the celebrated temple of Jugganath, there is, perhaps, no temple in India better known to the European public than this one, not only because its situation on the very verge of the surf renders it a landmark seen by all vessels passing up or down the coast, and because it is so near to, and so easily accessible from Madras, but also from the familiar descriptions given of it by Bishop Heber and Mrs. Graham, the more scientific ones of Messrs. Chambers and Goldingham in the "Asiatic Researches," and that of Mr. Babington in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society." What, however, has rendered it perhaps more familiar to the British public than even these publications, is the use made of it by Southey in his splendid "Curse of Kehama," where he describes it as the remaining vestige of

"The sepulchres
Of ancient kings, which Baly in his power
Made in primeval times, and built above them
A city like the cities of the gods—
Being like a god himself. For many an age
Hath Ocean warred against his palaces,
Till overwhelmed beneath the waves—
Not overthrown—so well the awful chief
Had laid their deep foundations.

Their golden summits in the noonday light

Shone o'er the dark green deep that rolled between;

For domes and pinnacles and spires were seen

Peering above the sea—a mournful sight.

And on the sandy shore, beside the verge

Of Ocean, here and there a rock-cut fane

Resisted, in its strength, the surf and surge

That on their deep foundations beat in vain."

A description that renders with singular correctness the general effect of those described and mysterious fanes scattered along the sea-beach; but, as might be expected from one who had never visited the spot, and had such scanty materials to work from, it is as incorrect in its details as it is truthful in its general effect.

The traditions that connect Maha Bali with this spot having gained such general currency, it is not easy now to gainsay them; but there is nothing either in the inscriptions, or in the sculptures which abound here, that can give the smallest countenance to the idea that he either built a city here, or, indeed, ever visited the spot. All that we know of this mysterious potentate would lead us to suppose that the seat of his power was in the northern and western parts of India—if, indeed, it was not to the westward of the Indus, which I am strongly inclined to suspect it was. And what gave rise to the idea of his connexion with this place was merely a nominal mistake, for it appears the old name of the city was Maha-Malai-Pur—City of the Great Hill.* Its modern name, by which I have designated it, seems a natural corruption of this appropriate designation; but the similarity is still quite a sufficient hint for a Brahmanical invention, and few of their local traditions rest on a better basis. Had any really ancient tradition of the sort existed here, it could scarcely have failed being alluded to in the sculptures; but so far is this from being the case, that they are almost exclusively Sivite, with the rarest possible sprinking of Vishnuism; whereas, as the story of Bali is so intimately connected with one of the principal incarnations of Vishnu, so favourite a legend could scarcely have escaped being represented here.

The locality in which the temple stands abounds in large masses of granite rock, which every where protrude through the sand, some forming hills, and others isolated rocks of fantastic shapes, which seem to have given rise to the idea of carving them into temples; for there is no trace of any city having ever existed here: nor is it probable that one should ever have been built on a long tract of barren sand, separated from the main-land by a salt marsh, and possessing no harbour or local advantage of any sort; though its fantastic rocks and wild solitude may well have suggested the idea of appropriating it to a worship so fond of strange local associations as that of the Hindus seems always to have been.

To some such idea it seems the temple represented in this plate owes its origin, for it is situated on one of the granite rocks, which here juts out actually into the surf; the only one, I believe, that does so for some hundred miles along that coast. Its situation, therefore, is, to say the least of it, singularly picturesque; and this, combined with the

noise of the surf as heard from its interior, produces an effect that does credit to him who had the taste to select such a spot for a religious edifice.

Immediately in front of the temple, and actually in the surf, is another fragment of the rock, in which have been cut four or five mortices, in one of which a pillar is inserted, and it is probable that at one time the others were so occupied. They seem, however, to have been merely ornamental sthambas, of no particular significance, nor designed to support any thing. Their existence there, however, seems to have given rise to the tradition of the lost city buried beneath the waves; a tradition so eminently absurd that one is surprised that the Surveyor-general of India, and a learned civilian, should actually have taken the trouble of sounding along the coast, with a view of ascertaining its correctness, even though it was said and printed that the gilded domes were seen rising above the waves by the grand-father of the "oldest inhabitant."

Though the situation of the temple within reach of the surf certainly adds considerably to its picturesqueness, its sculptures have become so corroded by being continually washed by the salt water, that it is almost impossible now to find out to what deity the temple was originally dedicated; still less is it possible to judge from the style of the sculptures what its age may be. There is one circumstance, however, which I think proves that it cannot be very ancient—and that is, that the lower false roof having fallen, the second (third?) is now exposed to view; and under the stones of which it is composed are some wooden beams in very tolerable preservation, which, from their situation, must have been placed there before the temple was finished. And one can scarcely be allowed to assume primæval antiquity for wood-work in such a climate and so damp a situation, even if the white ants had not in all these centuries found it out.

In another work* I stated my reasons for believing that the rock-cut edifices and caves of this locality belonged to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries; and though I am inclined to think, from the general form of its architecture, that the temple may be somewhat older than the neighbouring Raths, it cannot be much so, though in the absence of any credible tradition it is difficult to judge with certainty regarding any edifice so corroded as this one. At all events I think we may safely take the tenth or eleventh centuries as the very extreme limit of possible antiquity.

Its dedication is, however, even more puzzling. In the centre of the vimana is a pillar, which most probably represented a Lingam, and would therefore lead us to suppose it was dedicated to Siva; but in one of the verandahs there is a colossal statue of Vishnu reposing on the Shes Seja; and though apparently of an inferior style of workmanship to the rest of the building, or to the age to which I have ascribed its erection, this may arise from corrosion and the nature of the material. But at all events these two, which are the principal objects in the building, will not answer our inquiries, but would lead to diametrically opposite conclusions.

The only two bassi relievi, which are so distinct that there can be no mistake as to what they are intended to represent, are, one in the interior of the smaller and one in the larger vimana, representing Siva and Parvati, with Brahma and Vishnu as subordinate figures, as is generally the case in temples dedicated to the Destroyer. Indeed this, with the evidence derived from less distinct sculpture, and the analogy with the surrounding buildings, inclines me to believe almost certainly that it was originally dedicated to Siva.

The temple itself is not large, though it looks grand from its situation, being only about 30 feet square in the base, and about twice that in height.† Notwithstanding these small dimensions, it is, with the single exception of the temple at Tanjore, the finest and most important vimana I have seen, or know of, in the south of India. As I mentioned in the Introduction, in nine cases out of ten, in southern temples, the vimana is insignificant in size and hid by the surrounding walls and buildings: here, as in the northern temples, it is the principal object, and stands alone, without any surrounding walls and gopuras to detract from its apparent size. At Tanjore the vimana is 82 feet square in the base, and, like this one, about twice that in height; and it is the only temple in that part of the world which seems to have been built on a well-conceived plan, executed as designed, for there the gopuras, courts, and subordinate shrines all fill their relative places, and group so as to form a grand and harmonious whole.

The one other temple of this class which I know of, where this is the case, is the far-famed Kylas at Ellora, which is so distinctly a building of this age and people, that, now that the evidence is at least partially placed before them, few, I think, will dispute the correctness of the assertion to this effect I made some years ago in the "Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples;" for if any one will compare Plates XV. and XVIII. in that work with this one, they cannot fail to see how similar they are, and how different from the temples represented in Plates I., III., and VII. in this work, which point out more clearly what I stated in the Introduction, and illustrated by the two woodcuts there given. It would, of course, require many more plates than the work contains to make this as clear to others as it is to me; but, even with these few illustrations, I think the main features are so clear as not easily to be mistaken.

- * Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India, p. 59.
- + This measurement is from memory; I neglected to incorporate those I made on the spot in my journal, and have mislaid or lost the rough notes.

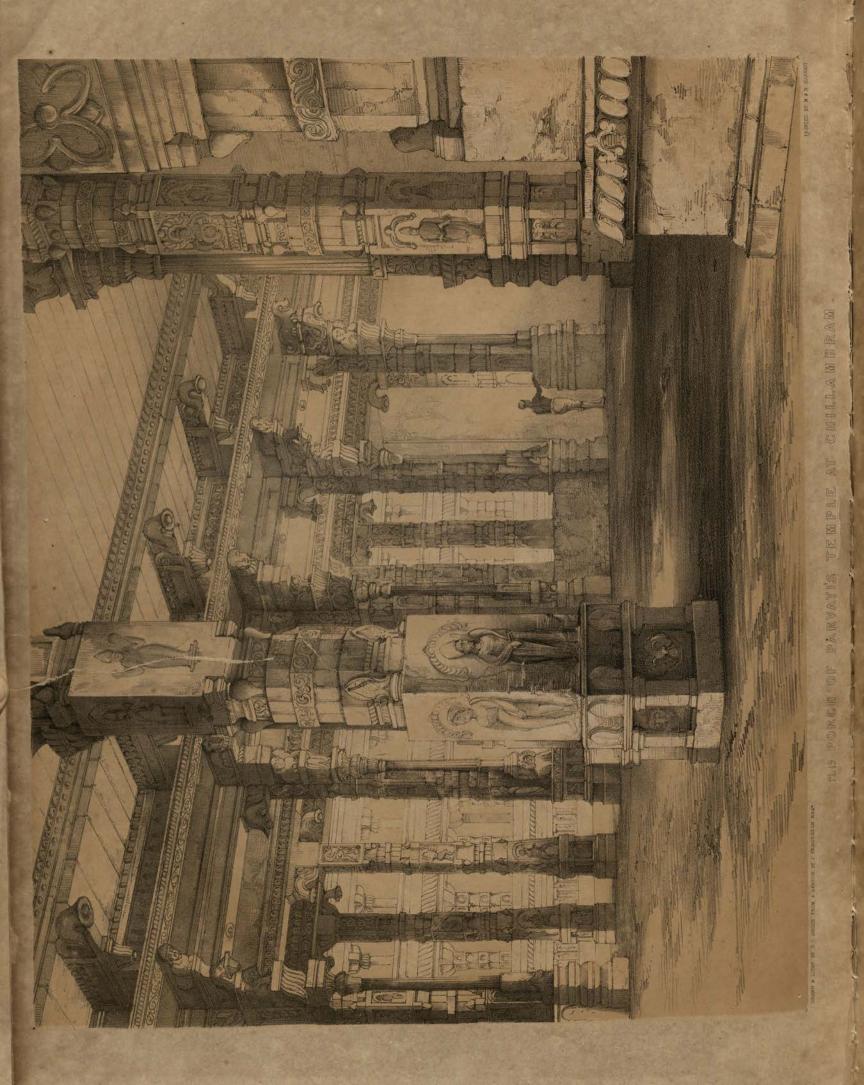


PLATE XIX.

PORCH OF PARVATI'S TEMPLE, CHILLAMBRAM.

Or all the temples I visited in the south of India none interested me so much as that at Chillambram, not only on account of the artistic beauty of some of its buildings, and because it contained more that was really ancient than any other I had seen in that part of the country, but also because it was the only one in which I saw even a moderate hope of ascertaining, in a satisfactory manner, the date of every part of it. My visit was unfortunately far too hurried to enable me to accomplish this in a satisfactory manner; but had I a week to devote to it, I feel convinced I could have picked its whole history out of its stones, and so far at least had one authentic scale by which to determine the ages of others: as it is, I could only trace the outline of a picture I longed to fill up.

The temple, like almost all those in the south of India, consists of several enclosures, one within another. In this instance the inner one is nearly square; about 400 feet each way. It is placed towards the southern end of a larger one, about 1000 feet north and south, 750 feet broad at the northern end, but reduced, by various irregular offsets, to little more than 600 on its southern face.* This second enclosure has four gopuras, or gateways, one on each face, of which one is represented in Plate XXII.: beyond this, again, a third enclosure has been commenced, with four more gopuras, but never completed; and what artistic merit it may have possessed is entirely obliterated by its having been fortified by the French during their wars with us in the Carnatic, when they added a bastion at each angle, and otherwise strengthened it as a fortification.

Within the inner enclosure is the sanctuary, which I was not permitted to enter; externally it consists of a low wall, very much modernised, if not entirely rebuilt, in recent times, surmounted by an enormously heavy and ugly roof, of a curvilinear form, covered with copper tiles; but, altogether, as ugly an extinguisher as ever was put on a building, and utterly unlike any I ever saw, either in the north or south of India. Facing this, towards the south, within the same enclosure, is a little shrine, without exception the most perfect gem of Indian art which I saw in the south; all that remains of it is a small porch of two pillars, about six feet in height, supporting a roof of richly sculptured coffers, mounted on a stylobate, covered with figures of men and women dancing and playing on various instruments, executed with a freedom and grace quite equal to any thing at Barolli or Ellora. Indeed, I am not certain if there is not more animation in their attitudes, and more grace in the grouping, than in almost any Hindu sculpture I ever saw. On each side of the stylobate are wheels and horses, of very tolerable execution; the whole being a mere capriccio, representing in stone the car of the god apparently approaching the sanctuary opposite. Fragments of sculpture and architecture, of the same age, may be traced all along the side of the enclosure, but so whitewashed and modernised that it is difficult to make out what their original form was. I could not gain admission to the interior of the building, and all that the Brahmans could tell of its history or purpose was that it was built by the Chola Chera Pandya Raja,—the universal answer to all questions of the sort in the south of India; and that it was dedicated to the god of Dancing.

In the outer enclosure is a splendid tank, surrounded by a colonnade and stone steps, occupying a corresponding position on the northern half of the oblong, to that which the sanctuary does on the southern one; on one side of it is the temple dedicated to Parvati, of which the porch forms the subject of the present sketch: and on the opposite side of it is what is called here, as elsewhere, the hall of a thousand columns—here, however, only possessing 930; a sufficient number, it must be confessed, for great magnificence, as they are all of granite and elaborately carved. It is, however, the most modern building here; and though elsewhere it would be magnificent, it is cold and mean compared with the more ancient edifices with which it is surrounded.

With regard to the history of this temple, the priests, who were more than usually obliging and communicative, could tell me nothing, except that it was founded by Sri Hiranya Varma Chakravarti, who was king (from the latter name they might rather have inferred conqueror) of the country, I forget how many thousand years ago. No such name appears in any of the southern lists; but the name belongs to a king of Cashmeer, whose father, in the Raja Taringini,† is said to have conquered Ceylon. The legend of the king is told in one of the Mackenzie MSS..‡ in a manner which singularly confirms the account in the Cashmeer annals. It is there said, "a king named Sinha Verma, son of the fifth Manu, being diseased, abdicated in favour of his brother, and came on a pilgrimage to the south." At Chillambram he lost his white leprosy and acquired a golden coloured form, whence his name.

He had a vision of the god, who directed him to go and perform the obsequies of his father, instal his younger brother (called the Yuuaraja Toramana in the Raja Taringini), and bring 3000 Brahmans to that place. He did all this, and was crowned at Chillambram by Vyacarma Rishi. "He next had all the fanes and sacred buildings restored by the aid of Vishwakurma." In the Raja Taringini, it is said that this king was succeeded by Matrigupta, a Brahman of Ougein, which makes the story of the king's abdication and absence more probable. We also find the fifth in descent from him marrying a daughter of the Chola king, and a Chola king, Rajadi Raja, marrying a daughter of the King of Cashmeer. There are, besides, many other circumstances, too numerous to point out here, to shew the intimate connexion existing between the royal families of these two states at the opposite extremes of India; and, as far as one isolated fact goes, would tend to prove that Brahmanism in that age came from the North, and, as I said in the Introduction, reacted on it in the tenth or eleventh centuries.

The date of the accession of this king I make, from a careful collation of the lists of Cashmeer, Ceylon, and Ougein, with those of the south, to be as nearly as possible A.D. 471, which must at least be very near the truth, and is, therefore, the highest date to which any thing in the temple can be ascribed.*

In another of the Mackenzie MSS.† it is said,—"Vira Chola Raya (A.D. 927 to 977) saw on the sea-shore the Sabhapati of Chillambram (Siva), attended by Parvati, dancing and beating the damaraka (a kind of drum); he therefore expended great sums of money in building the Kanaka, or Golden Sabha;" and a little further on, it is said,—"The Raja Ari Vari Deva observing that his grandfather had built only a Kanaka Sabha to the Chillambram deity, he built gopuras, maddals, mantaparus, and sabhas, and granted many jewels to the deity." His reign extended to about the year 1004.

From these and other local circumstances and dates, I have no hesitation in ascribing the gopura in Plate XXII. to the last-mentioned king, and this porch of Parvati's temple to Vira Chola; but I cannot quite make up my mind whether the little shrine in the inner enclosure should be ascribed to him or to Hiranya Varma. Unfortunately, when I was there, I was only learning my lesson; if I could see the temple again, I should not be long in making up my mind: my impresssion at present is, that it belongs to the more modern date, and that if any thing here can be ascribed to the Cashmeeree king, it is the outlandish-looking copper-roofed sanctuary.

The hall belongs most evidently to the last century. In the Mackenzie MSS, it is observed that the kings of the locality made many donations to the fane from s. s. 1516 to s. s. 1607, — from A. D. 1695 to 1785; apparently for the purpose of completing the edifice.

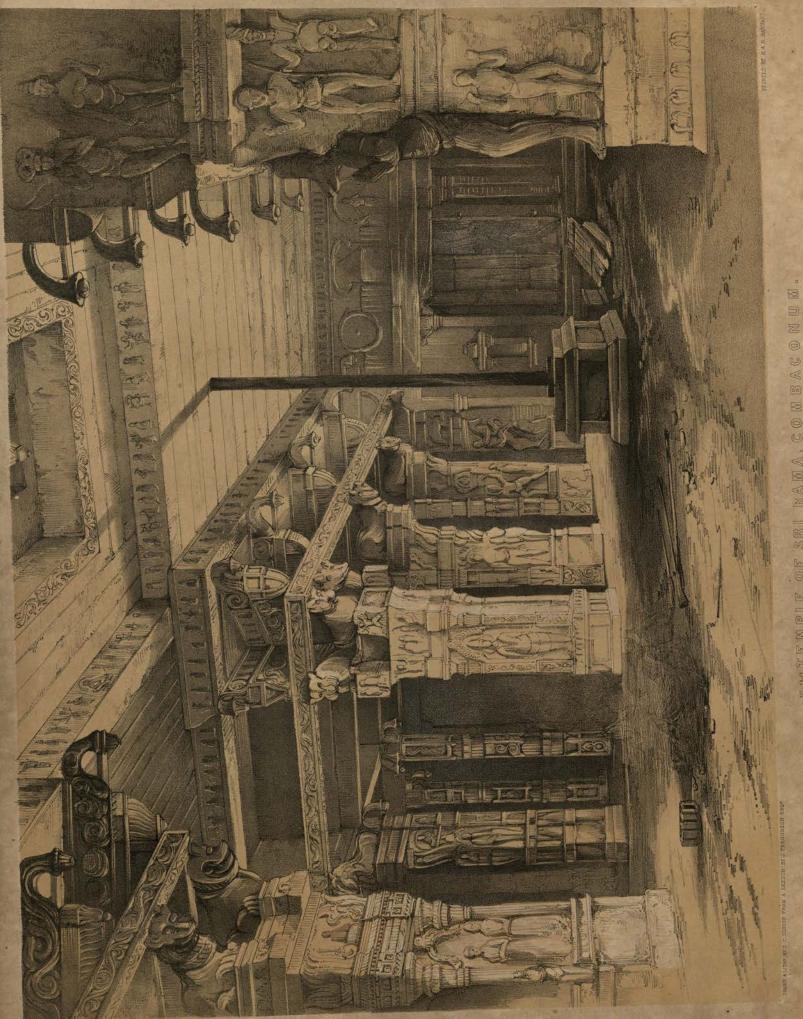
With the exception — if it be one — of this little shrine in the inner enclosure of the temple, I feel perfectly certain that the porch represented in this plate is the oldest building I saw myself in the south of India, or of which I have any knowledge, either from Daniell's plates, or any published or manuscript drawings, to which I have had access. There is a degree of perfection in every detail of it, and in the whole design, totally different from what is found in the buildings of Trimaul Naik, or any of those of intermediate date; and nowhere can the peculiar style of this country be seen in such perfection as in this edifice.

The court-yard in which it stands is about 100 feet square, and surrounded by a cloister two stories in height, the centre of which is occupied by the temple and its porch. Externally, the temple or sanctuary is merely a plain wall, like most of those in this country. Its interior I was not permitted to see. The porch consists of fifty-four pillars, arranged in six rows, forming five aisles; the centre one is 25 feet 2 inches in width, those next it, 7 feet 10 inches, and the outer ones, 6 feet; the whole breadth being 61 feet, and its depth 58 feet. The pillars of the side-aisles are square, or reduced to 8·16, or 32 sides, according to the true Hindu system; those of the centre aisle are the same, but to the front of them is added a bracket-shaft, from whose capital a complicated system of bracketing extends, till the width to be spanned by the centre stones is less than half the width between the pillars. In the north of India, bracket capitals are universally used, but the system is never carried to the extent here shewn; and I need scarcely point out how different the style of this building is to that of the interiors shewn in any of the preceding plates of this work—a distinction, however, that the plates explain far better than any verbal description.

Though this is the oldest building of its class that has come under my observation, it is evident that it can only be the last of a very long series of antecedent ones, many of which may still remain in India, and be discovered when looked for; for it is evident that, so complete in all its parts, such a local physiognomy so strongly marked and so unlike any thing found in any other part of the globe, could not have sprung into existence and been perfected in a few years, or centuries, and that at least a thousand years of steady progress towards this point must have been required before this was executed; and I am not without hope that before long the older and more perfect specimens may yet be brought to light.

^{*} The connexion of the kings of Cashmeer with the Chola dynasty of the south, is a thing repeatedly mentioned in the Raja Taringini of the former country, and repeated currently in all the traditions of the south, affording one of those riddles which will never, I believe, be satisfactorily explained till the buildings of Cashmeer are carefully examined by some one who knows what he is doing, or at least faithfully drawn by some one who does not think he knows better than the persons that built the temples what they intended: when this is done, I believe it will be found that the Cashmeeree temples resemble those of the Chola dynasty more than those of the intervening countries, for I cannot help looking on the inhabitants of Cashmeer as a fragment of the great aboriginal race of Tamuls, who, defended by their mountain fortifications, preserved their nationality and superstition long after the open country had been subdued by the Sanscrit races, and the Ophite and Sivite worship had given place to the elemental worship of the Vedas of that people; and consequently it was natural that the kings of Cashmeer should seek to connect themselves in worship and marriage rather with their brethren of the south than with the foreigners who had flowed in between them. If the original language of Cashmeer does still exist in any purity, it would, perhaps, suffice for settling this; but I fear it has perished, or, at least, been so mixed with Sanscrit, as to be scarcely distinguishable.

[†] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, No. xv. p. 7.



MANTEMPLE OF SRI NAMA, COMBACO

PLATE XX.

PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF SRI RAMA, COMBACONUM.

The original capital of the Chola dynasty, in the south of India, was Warriur, or Uryur, a town situated about four miles west of the rock of Trichinopoly; which, however, was destroyed by one of those showers of mud which play so important a part in the destruction of Indian cities, some time about the fifth century of our era, as nearly as can be made out from the very imperfect data which we have for judging of the probability, or epoch, of such an event. After this Combaconum became the capital of the dynasty, and certainly was the residence of Cari Cala and other important kings of this race about the time of its greatest prosperity and power - a circumstance that led me to anticipate a rich harvest of antiquities within its boundaries. Nothing of the kind, however, exists: it is true there is abundant evidence of the existence of former buildings of a better age, in the fragments of sculpture, and carved foliage of the best of style, built incongruously into the edifices of the present time; but I could not find a single stone in situ, except in the propylon of the temple illustrated in this sketch, which I in consequence entered in high hope, only to find a porch which may be two hundred years old, though more probably only dating from the last years of the seventeenth century. Had I been fortunate enough to be able to see the buildings of Trimal Naik, at Madura (1623-1663), I should at once have been able to say which was the older; but, from my ignorance of the general characteristics of the style of this date, I am unable to speak positively regarding it. The priest could not or would not tell me, but said it was built by Sri Vijaya Ranga, a name I cannot trace in any of the lists, except in that of Madura, as belonging to a king who ascended the throne in 1695. The name, however, is so like an epithet, that I would not lay much stress on this, and I cannot divest my mind of the idea that the porch is somewhat older.

It is certainly built on the foundation of a more ancient edifice, and retains some of its sculpture, and, perhaps, of its form and design, which may give it an air of greater antiquity than it can rightly lay claim to. But be this as it may, it affords an interesting illustration of the degradation of the style from the preceding example, which, nevertheless, it very much resembles, both in size, and plan, and detail,—the only real difference being the great inferiority of its execution.

The centre aisle here is 22 feet 8 inches wide, and is crossed at right angles by another of the same width and design, like the transept of a Gothic church; which may, perhaps, be considered as an improvement on the plan of the one at Chillambram: but the whole design of the pillars, and of all their details and ornaments, is so rude and clumsy, and so overladen with incongruous ornaments, that the effect is far from pleasing.

Perhaps, however, part of its unpleasing effects may be owing to the state of filth and disrepair in which it now exists, being choked with rubbish, and the openings filled up with mud walls; so that, even in the glare of a mid-day sun in that latitude, it was difficult to distinguish its details with sufficient distinctness to sketch them.

The other temples in the town, said to be forty in number, though I could not discover more than a fourth of that number as at present existing, are even more modern than this: they consist generally of a great gopura leading to an oblong court, at the upper end of which is a smaller one, leading to a still more insignificant sanctuary, without any vimana, at least none so high as to be visible outside. The largest of these gopuras I sketched; it forms the woodcut at the end of this volume.

PLATE XXI.

TANK IN TEMPLE AT SERINGHAM,

NEAR TRICHINOPOLY.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the landscapes in southern India is the form and situation of the numerous hill-forts which are found scattered all over the country. They differ most materially from those of the north, inasmuch as the latter are almost invariably situated on level plateaus, of horizontal trap formations; while those in the south are placed on or among the peaks of granite rocks, which every here and there spring abruptly from the level of the plain, which consists of a soil almost entirely composed of their detritus. Of these forts no one is more picturesque than that of Trichinopoly, and no one, I believe, better known to the European public, not only from the numerous views of it published by Daniell, in his splendid work on Indian scenery, but from the celebrity it acquired during our wars with the French in the Carnatic, during the years 1751–52. From its situation in the midst of a fertile plain, on the banks of a splendid river, and its general inaccessibility, it must always have been an important place in times anterior to the invention of gunpowder; but, like every thing in India, its early history is involved in a mystery, from which we now see scarcely any way to emancipate it.

The earliest notice I have been able to trace of it is in the Mackenzie MSS., where it is said to have been taken possession of by Salivahana, the famous Buddhist king of the north of India,* and consequently, in the first century of our era. How long he and his descendants held it, is not quite clear; but, from several concurrent circumstances, I am inclined to believe that the destruction of Uryur by a shower of mud in the middle of the fifth century has reference to its recapture by the Hindus, and is the period to which all the traditions of the south point as the commencement of a new state of things.† From this time we lose sight of Trichinopoly, even in the vague traditions of those times; and I could find nothing, either in the town or neighbourhood, that could belong to any of the six succeeding centuries, and thus contradict the tradition that Combaconum had become the capital of the Chola country.

Though the fortified temple on the rock is by far the most prominent and picturesque object here, it is by no means the most interesting, either to the artist or the antiquary, whose attention is almost wholly occupied by the temples and choultries in the sacred island of Seringham, immediately opposite the fort; and from the bank of this river the large temple, with its ten or twelve great gopuras towering over the trees which cover the island, has certainly a very imposing effect, and a very impressive one to a person who, like myself, for the first time approaches one of the principal edifices of an entirely new style of architecture. Till I reached the spot, I believed that there was only one temple worthy of notice in the island; every book of travels or history with which I am acquainted dwells only on the splendour and size of the great Vaishnava one, with its seven enclosures. Having satisfied my curiosity regarding it, I insisted on my guide conducting me to a second, about a mile to the eastward, whose gopuras I had descried from the river's bank, knowing from long experience how fashionable some temples become, and how neglected others are, which are often, to an antiquarian at least, by far the most interesting. I was not, however, prepared to find a temple in every respect so far superior to the other as this one proved to be. It is not quite so large, it must be confessed, consisting of only three

^{*} Mackenzie MSS. "Journal of Madras," As. Soc. No. 19, p. 278.

⁺ One singular circumstance is mentioned with reference to its capture by the Hindus, which is the escape of a portion of the garrison, who, with their families, reached the sea-shore, and taking ship proceeded to some island, the name of which unfortunately is not given, but most probably was Java, which about this period received colonies of Buddhists from India, as its architectural remains sufficiently attest. I am puzzled, however, to make out whether this emigration took place in the fifth century, or three hundred years later, both dates being given: there were, perhaps, two emigrations; but, so far as we can judge from what is found in Java, the later date is the most probable.

enclosures instead of seven; but these three are much larger than the three inner ones of the other temple, and being built in one uniform and well-arranged plan, produced a far finer effect than the ill-arranged and ill-built courts of the large one.* It is also older, and must have been completed before the other was begun; but I was unable to ascertain either when it was begun or finished. The priests unhesitatingly asserted, in answer to my inquiries, that it had been finished just sixty thousand years ago! adding, however, that it was built by a Chola raja, but they could not tell what his name was.

Be this as it may, it is quite certain that it is more modern than the building represented in Plate XIX., and more ancient than that in Plate XX.; and though I cannot fix its age with certainty—(the subject was new to me when I was there)—I think it must belong to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, more probably the latter.

Like most temples of this part of India, it has the great defect of wanting a central point or object of interest; the inner enclosure, containing the sanctuary, being externally merely a high plain wall, over which the vimana, whatever it is, cannot be seen, and with only one gopura—the one in the centre of the plate. The next, or middle enclosure, is very handsome, being surrounded on all sides by a colonnaded cloister, and with a very handsome mantapa or porch, in the form of a cross, leading from the gateway to that of the inner enclosure. Attached to it is a fine bowlee or well, in which the water always remains at the same height, however much may be taken out,—a clear proof, my guide informed me, of an ever-present Deity. As the level of its surface, however, is about that of the river that surrounds the temple, an aqueduct or filtration through the sand might account for the circumstance without a miracle.

The outer court is occupied first by the hall of a thousand columns, here consisting of seven or eight hundred pillars—(I neglected to count them)—which fills the centre and one-third of the space on the left hand of a person entering. The corresponding space on the right hand is occupied by the tank represented in this plate, where one-half of the south front of the hall is also seen, abutting on the water; and over the hall are seen the tops of the gopuras of the second and inner enclosures, the outer one being, of course, in the same line behind the spectator.

Throughout this temple the details are good and elegant, though not of the best class; but its principal merit consists in its being a complete design, which no other temple I saw in the south is, except perhaps the great one at Tanjore: that, however, has a great vimana, with subordinate courts and accompaniments; this one has no vimana. But the two are undoubtedly the best specimens of their respective classes I am acquainted with, and, if properly illustrated, would convey a perfect idea of what a complete Tamul temple is of a good, if not the best, age, in its two most prevailing forms. Both these great temples are dedicated to Siva; but I was struck in this one with the almost total absence of the usual emblems of that worship. I saw only one small image of the Bull Nundee, looking into a side chapel. There is no lingam in the place; no image of the god, except in the sanctuary; and no sculpture representing his actions, except in plaster on the gopuras, where, from its position, it is scarcely visible, and very difficult to make out what it represents.

The whole of this temple, with the exception of the pyramids of the gopuras — which, of course, are of brick, plastered — is built with the fine close-grained granite of this country; this, indeed, is the material of which almost all the temples of the south of India are composed, and its durability is one of the causes that render it so difficult to ascertain their age: for the old ones look as sharp and as fresh as the new, with none of those appearances of decay about them which so often indicate age in the buildings of other countries.

^{*} The external dimensions of the outer court of the great temple, taken from the plan published in Orme's "History of India," are about 900 feet east and west, and 650 north and south; those of this temple are 660 east and west, and 450 north and south.



PLATE XXII.

GATEWAY AT CHILLAMBRAM.

As I said in the Introduction, the gateways or gopuras of temples in the south of India are, with the fewest possible exceptions, far more important objects than the temples themselves, or the vimanas; and though it must be confessed that a group of eleven or twelve of these buildings combine to make an imposing whole, which, nevertheless, is always an architectural solecism, yet the absence of a central or principal object is always felt, even in the best of the temples of this class.

The cause of this mode of building being so prevalent may, I believe, be always traced to the original insignificant vimana having, from some adventitious circumstance, become peculiarly sacred; and instead of rebuilding it on a more commensurate scale, it was embellished by a new enclosure, made as splendid as possible by the gateways it was ornamented with. These consist almost invariably of an oblong base, built of perpendicular masonry, and ornamented as if of two stories in height, though the building is generally solid, with the exception of a recess on each side of the gateway, and a staircase leading to the upper stories. Through the centre of this part runs the gateway, always extending to nearly its whole height, covered by flat architraves, resting on ornamental pilasters. This part of the building is always of granite; above this is a pyramid, as invariably of brickwork — I never saw one of stone — rising in successive stories, sometimes to a considerable height. There are never less than three stories, and sometimes as many as ten or twelve, each diminishing in size relatively to the one below it, and ornamented by alternate square or oblong pavilions — miniature vimanas — with niches on their faces, which are filled with sculpture in brickwork and plaster, representing scenes from the life of the god to whom the temple is dedicated; or emblems; or in short, any thing that the fertile imagination of a lazy Hindu priest could conceive. It is these gopuras, I believe, that first suggested the idea of the similarity between Indian and Egyptian architecture; but I think that any one who will examine carefully these plates, and compare them with the propyla of any Egyptian temple, will be convinced how far-fetched the resemblance is, and that, till at least we can light on some intermediate form or stepping-stone from one to the other, we must be content to abandon any reasoning founded upon it. One thing, however, is certain: if these are copied from the propyla, the vimanas are copied from the pyramids, of Egypt, for, in fact, these are nothing else than flattened vimanas, being in every respect the same, except that instead of being square in plan, they are widened in one direction by the breadth of the gateway in their centre; and, consequently, instead of the little dome that crowns the vimana, the top of the gopura takes the form shewn in the two represented in the last plate, or in the woodcut at the end of the description of the next plate.

In describing Plate XIX. I mentioned that the date of these gopuras was probably the eleventh century—a conclusion I should have arrived at with much more certainty from the style of their architecture than from the very scanty documentary evidence that exists on the subject. They certainly are the oldest edifices of the class I saw in the south of India, and, consequently, on the whole, the most elegant. Owing, however, to their great age, all the plaster has decayed and peeled off the pyramids, and only the skeleton of brickwork now remains; but even its outline is more pleasing than the more elaborate and highly ornamented forms of modern edifices of this class. But from this cause it is now almost impossible to make out what its sculpture was, which is a serious loss, considering how perfect and interesting the sculpture of some much more modern gopuras is; and we have so little of this age from which we can judge either of the state of art or religion in those days.

A peculiarity of the gateway represented in the plate, which I never saw in any other, is the two brick pavilions on each side of the entrance, which cover the statues of the two giants meant to represent dwarpalas, or porters; which always occupy that position, but never with the covering here represented. In all gopuras, however, there is a projection in this position, as if something of the sort were intended, which is unintelligible without it; and from this, as from the mode in which the brickwork fits in, I cannot help believing that they are original parts of the design, and were intended in all other edifices of the sort, however incongruous the idea may appear to us of so mean a brick addition to so massive a structure of granite.

The only thing in the north of India the least like the gopuras is the gateway of the Kylas at Ellora, which, like every thing about that temple, is executed on a design from this part of the country. It is, however, so knocked about—it is said, by Arungzebe's cannon—that its details cannot now be made out, and it must, I fear, always remain a question whether or not it was ever surmounted by the usual pyramid of brick. I can have very little doubt but that such was intended originally, and if it has been exposed to wilful violence its disappearance is easily accounted for. It certainly is much wanted there, for the radical defect of the design of that temple is, that it is scarcely distinguishable outside, which this would have remedied.

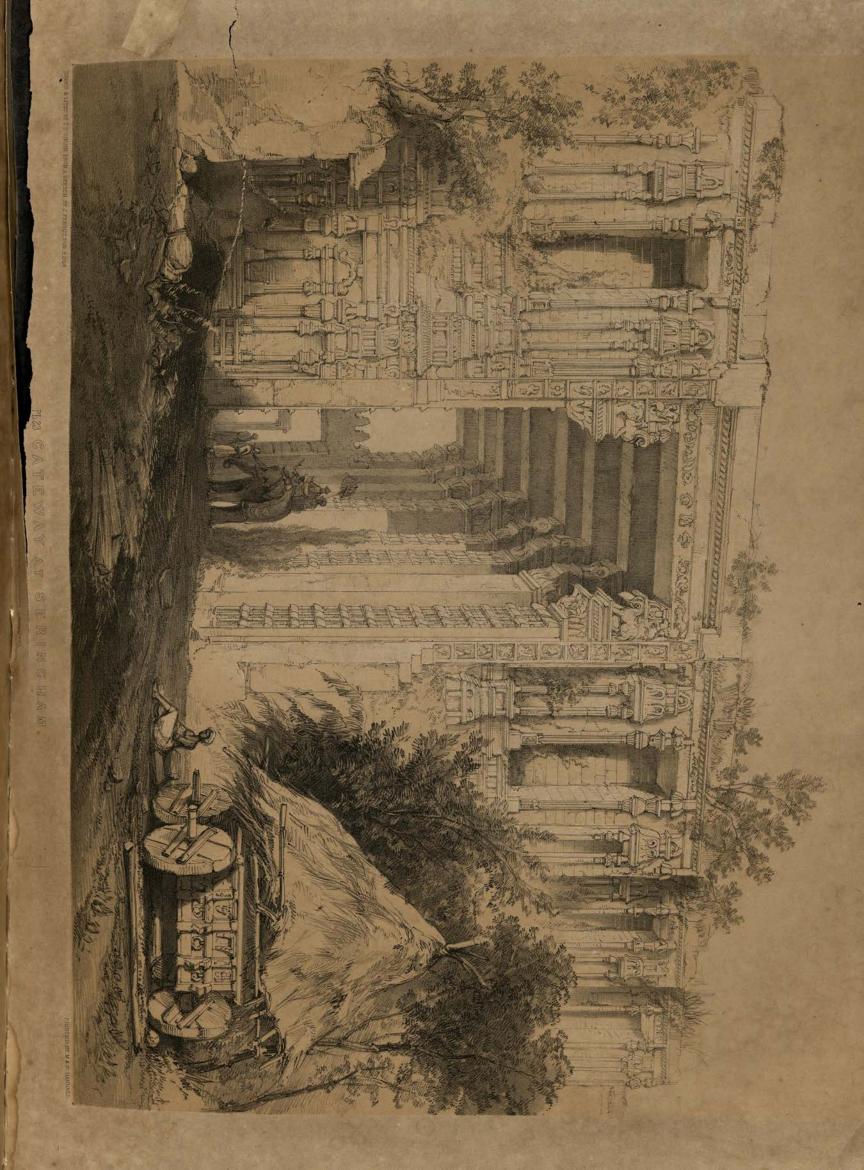


PLATE XXIII.

GATEWAY AT SERINGHAM.

The great temple at Seringham is one of those which have no central vimana, or point of attraction. permitted to enter its inner and most sacred enclosure, but I was allowed to look into it from the roof of the great hall, which occupies a portion of the second. It contains nothing but some insignificant halls with flat roofs, and one small vimana with a gilt dome, very similar to the one represented in the woodcut, p. 19, but neither so large nor so handsome. The second court contains the great hall, which is one of the most unsatisfactory buildings of the class I know; for though its dimensions in plan are considerable — 165 paces by 47 — it is low, only ten feet high at the upper end, and not more than fifteen or twenty in the highest part; and the architecture is most slovenly, some of the pillars being richly carved, others mere round posts with bad capitals, and the whole has been repeatedly whitewashed: add to this, that it was excessively dirty, and encumbered by faded finery and rubbish of all sorts. I do not think I ever saw a building that disappointed me more. In the same court, however, opposite the entrance to the sanctuary, is a very handsome mantapa, containing a noble centre aisle, at least 30 feet high, crossed at right angles by another of similar dimensions; and had it not been so carefully whitewashed, the effect would have been really fine. The gopuras of this court also are very handsome, and seem to have completed the temple as originally designed: the great hall was, I suspect, inserted The four other enclosures between this and the outer one possess nothing remarkable; they are merely fine but unornamented granite walls, their gopuras either insignificant or unfinished, and the buildings between are not remarkable either for their size or elegance: they are principally occupied by the residences of the priests and their Each court, however, diminishing in sanctity as it recedes from the centre, till the last becomes a regular bazar, inhabited by people of all castes and pursuing every kind of occupation.

The seventh, or outer enclosure of all, though of course the most modern, was necessarily the largest, and would have been, if completed, the most magnificent thing of the kind in India; none, however, of its gateways are quite complete: in one, the base has merely been erected, and the door-posts set up; but as they consist of single blocks of granite about 40 feet in length, they form no mean objects even as they now are.

The one most complete is that represented in this plate; it will be seen, however, that it is only a basement, the brick pyramid never having been added: but it is designed on a scale unknown, I believe, in any other example in India; its dimensions being about 130 feet in width, and 100 feet in depth, while the opening of the gateway is 21 feet 6 inches in the clear, and rather more than twice that in height, making the altitude of the basement above 50 feet; and had a pyramid of the proportion usual in its age been added, it would have been raised to the height of nearly 300 feet.

The details of the architecture are singularly sharp and good, considering the age in which they were executed—at least when not too closely looked into; though the absence of all figure sculpture is, perhaps, the principal cause of its apparent excellence.

Singularly enough, I could not, on the spot, ascertain the name of the builder of even this gateway, though its date is so recent, for the whole temple belongs to the age of the Poligar dynasty; and the non-completion of this gateway was, I believe, solely owing to the troubles caused by our quarrels with the French, and their occupation of this temple, and our subsequent influence totally checking any enterprise of this sort, which we have since then rendered totally impossible by the utter impoverishment of the whole people.

As in the other temple, I was struck by the singular absence of all images of the god or sculptured representations of his history; nowhere could I trace the nine avatars, nor any of those familiar scenes which in every Vaishnava temple in the north of India meet the eye at every turning. Had I had time to wait, I might have seen the golden image of the god himself; but, as the head priest—who was particularly civil, owing to a fortunate mistake as to my identity—informed me, it was a festival, and the god had gone down the river to bathe, accompanied by all the smaller gods, and they had taken all their jewels with them. "Had I known," he added, "your honour was coming, I would have kept them at home." My business, however, not being with the god, but with his abode, I cannot say I was very sorry to miss the sight of either him or his jewels.

The woodcut represents the largest of the gopuras at Combaconum, and as it belongs to nearly the same age as this gateway, it affords a tolerable scale of what was intended here; and if a pyramid of the same proportion to the base had been added to this one, there would have been no building in India of any thing like its dimensions.

As it is, the woodcut affords an excellent idea of the general appearance of these buildings, all which are very similar in outline and effect, though the detail improves as we ascend the series; and the practised eye can also always detect a certain elegance of outline and design in the older structures, which at once reveals their antiquity, repeats the sad lesson that the history of India and her arts is written in decay, and presents a picture of steady progressive degradation from the earliest period at which we knew her to the present hour.

