INTRODUCTION.

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.

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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 [illegible] 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.

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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.

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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.

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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,

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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 B.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.

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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[a] 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*.

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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.

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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 Seleucus, 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.

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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.

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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. The 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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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peculiarities as may be required when I point out the distinctions of the style of architecture to which they gave rise, or describe the buildings themselves, for the understanding of which it has appeared necessary to enter so far into the details of the religions to which they belong.

The traditions of Tamul races at the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula are infinitely more imperfect than those of their northern neighbours, and under no circumstances can they pretend to any thing like the same antiquity of civilisation, though their forefathers may have occupied the land before the foreign Sanscrit races entered it.

If we may trust the traditions of the Ramayana, nearly the whole of southern India was, at the time of Rama's invasion, uncultivated, and was inhabited by races almost savage; and the earliest authentic intimation of a different state of things is gleaned from the Greek geographers of the early centuries of the Christian era. They mention, and with some respect, the Pandyan kingdom as one of the powers of India, but without any details, or hinting how long it had been established; and the native traditions afford us a list of about seventy-six or seventy-seven names of kings of Madura who ruled there, from Kula Sechara down to Kuna Pandyan, about the year 1000 A.D., thus giving an antiquity to the former of about the fourth or fifth century B.C., if we apply the usual correction of eighteen years for each reign to this list. Professor Wilson is inclined to carry it higher; but the mention of the invasion of the kingdom by the Chola Raja, with an army of Buddhists, in the reign of the seventh king of the lists, brings that king down to an epoch certainly not anterior to the reign of Asoka; in his edicts, however, Chola and Kerala (*hodie*, Malabar) are mentioned, and as countries to which the Buddhist faith had extended, or was extending: so that, both from the calculation of reigns and this mention of them by the most powerful of Indian monarchs, we are perhaps not far wrong in placing the seventh king of the lists as nearly contemporary with Asoka, and carrying back the commencement of the dynasty under Kula Sechara to about the era of Alexander the Great, or, at all events, to a period only slightly anterior to his time.

About the time of the Christian era, the Mackenzie MSS. in several places mention the Buddhist king Salivahana having led an army to the south, and conquered the country as far as Trichinopoly; and I am by no means certain that it is not to this time, and not to that of Asoka, that we should refer the invasion mentioned in the Pandyan tradition. The subject, however, is one requiring much more investigation than has hitherto been bestowed upon it: but I think the fourth or fifth century B.C. an extreme date for the commencement of any of the southern dynasties whose names we possess, and it is more probable that one or two centuries later may be nearer the truth.

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From this period the Tamul country appears to have been divided into three principal states: the Pandya, with the capital Madura, occupying the southern extremity to Cape Comorin, and extending north to Dindigul; the Chola, occupying the valley of the Coleroon river, and extending along the eastern coast from the Pandyan boundary to the latitude of Madras; and, thirdly, the Chera kingdom, lying above the Ghâts to the westward of Pandya, and south of the country now called Mysore. Beyond these three purely Tamul countries, a race, speaking the Teloogoo language, extended along the eastern coast from the Chola country to Orissa; and to the westward of them, still above the Ghâts, the races speaking the Karnataca dialect; and below the Ghâts, along the western coast, a number of small communities, speaking dialects allied to the above, and governed by powers of their own. None, however, of these latter ever rose to any eminence, or possessed a history or art of their own, at least anterior to the tenth century, up to which period the vague traditions we have extend only to the three southern ones; and they seem to have formed a sort of community among themselves, the affairs of the one being continually mixed up with those of the other, and the wars or alliances among themselves forming the whole staple of their history.

Of the three, however, the Pandya seems to have been the earliest and most completely civilised, and to have maintained the lead both in influence and arts till at least the sixth century, when the Chera rose into power; but from the eighth or ninth centuries to the tenth or eleventh the Chola was undoubtedly the more powerful state, and the only one which extended its conquests and influences far to the north. I think, however, that we have at this time undoubted traces of the Chola on the banks of the Ganges, and almost up to the Nerbudda; but it was the expiring effort of their race, for after this the affairs of the southern community sank into irretrievable confusion, and the power of the southern races fell into the hands of a new class of principalities that sprung up in the countries to the northward of the Dravida Desa, or beyond the northern boundaries of the Chola and Chera, but still south of the Nerbudda and Mahanuddy, between Mysore and Warungol and Kylian.

As far as the very imperfect materials we can command enable us to form an opinion on the subject, it appears that the earliest religion of this country was either snake-worship or Sivaism in some of its forms. It is true, the Sanscrit Brahmans early formed missions (if I may use the expression) in this country, and tried to establish their influence and graft their religion on that of the natives, and with sufficient success to complicate the subject amazingly; but I can find no trace of a Vedantic or Monotheistic religion ever existing there, nor do I believe it ever did.

About the time of the Christian era there is abundant proof of the Buddhists having penetrated to the south, and formed establishments in the country, at least in the Chola territory, though it is not so clear that they ever had much influence in either the Pandya or Chera kingdoms. But when their faith declined in the north, they were persecuted here,

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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.

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PART II.

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 numismatics, 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.

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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.

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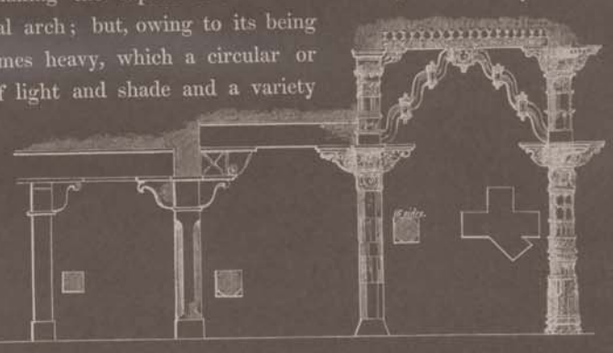
There is one other characteristic, though a negative one, which I believe is also universal throughout India, and that is the absence of the arch in all their constructions of every age and kind. As far as my own researches go, I am certain that I have never been able to detect any trace of an arch in 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.

Besides the bracket capital there is a peculiarity with regard to the shafts of the columns, which pervades all the styles; though its importance will scarcely be felt by those who have not been in India, and who, consequently, cannot know how all-important the division of every thing into sixteen parts is, or some multiple or submultiple of that number. Not only is the money of the country so divided, and all the weights and measures, but all property is divided into annas (sixteenths), and in conversation it is the usual expletive of quantity. For all the ordinary purposes of life it is certain that this mode of division is much superior to our heterogeneous system, and also to the French decimal division; for I fear it is too true that the greatest of all the mathematical misfortunes that ever happened to mankind was that of our forefathers counting their thumbs as fingers, and thus going on to ten instead of stopping at eight, as they should have done. It is too late to remedy this now, but the Hindus have done what was possible to correct this fatal error, and, in doing so, have invented a system that pervades their architecture, as it does every thing else. Their pillars always are originally square blocks, and the bases and capitals always remain so; but the shaft itself is very seldom, except in the very plainest buildings, left in the state as shewn in the first column on the left of the annexed diagram. The first process is to cut off each angle, so as to reduce it to an octagon, as shewn in the next; the third to cut off the eight angles, and thus make sixteen sides; and a repetition of this process makes thirty-two: except in very large columns, however, this last minute subdivision is seldom attempted, but it is more usual at once to make it round, as shewn in the centre compartment of the third column from the left.

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.

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

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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; *Scotticè*, 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 numbers I have met, except at Baug, where the rock is so rotten that another group of four pillars has been inserted in a twenty-pillar cave. The width of the side-aisles varies, as shewn in Fig. 3, though I have always found it the same on all the four sides of any one cave.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

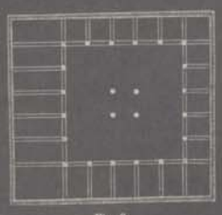


Fig. 3.

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 cave-diggers to thicken them considerably. It is difficult, however, to speak positively on this subject, 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.

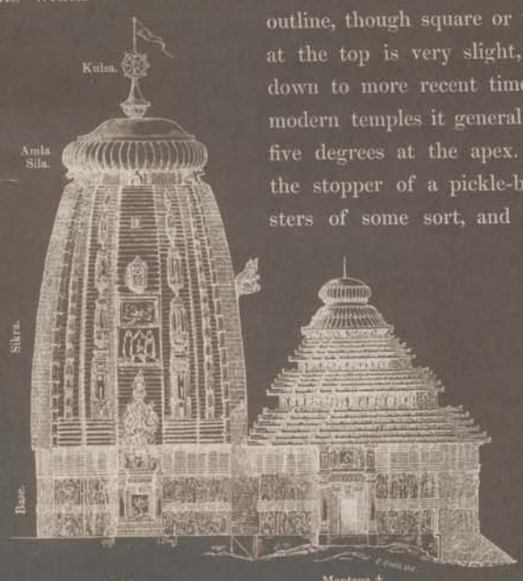
† The Mahometans, too, adopted this class of buildings, though they gave them a form of their own. Mahmoud built two at Guzni in the eleventh century; Altemsh, one (the famous Kutub Minar) at Delhi, in the thirteenth; and they are found at Dowletabad, Gour, Coel, and other places in India.

‡ 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; 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.§

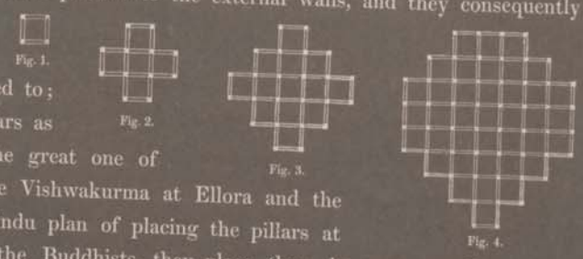


Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4.

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 offspring. 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.

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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.†

Fig. 1.

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 Gothic disposition would afford too great a contrast, and a greater width in the side aisles would prevent the requisite gradation having its proper effect.‡

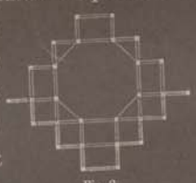


Fig. 2.

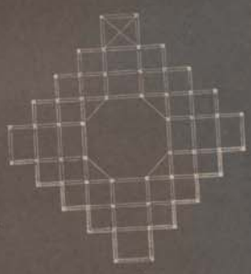


Fig. 3.

Where the Jains did not adopt domes, as in the Indra Subbha group of caves at Ellora, they 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

* 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.

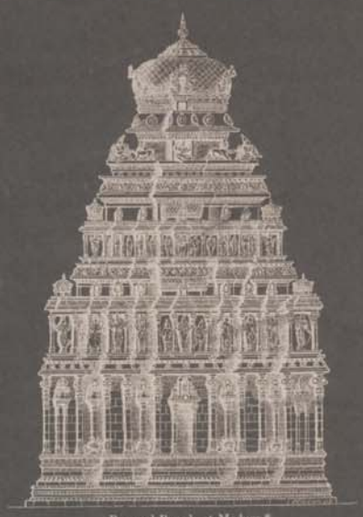
‡ This last is the arrangement of the columns in the so-called temple of Siva at Somnath, which I have not myself seen; but if the sketches to which I have had access are to be depended upon, I am very much mistaken if it is not merely a Jaina mantapa, and probably of an age considerably more modern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



Perumal Pagoda at Madura.*

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.

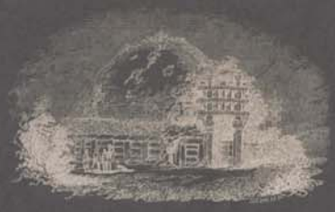
(generally double) than the other, while the horizontal section of the others is always a square; and consequently the dome-shaped finishing of the temples becomes an elongated waggon roof—these two forms being those of the alternate pavilions on the upper parts of the vimanas. Like the vimanas, too, 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 PAGE.

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.

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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.

PLATE II.

TEMPLE OF JUGGANATH AT PURI.

Of 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 respects 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

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 315, *et seq.*

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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.

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.

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