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OF

SOUTH INDIA

141



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1955

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INTRODUCTION

By A. S. P. Ayyar
M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L.
Justice of the High Court of Judicature at Madras
President of the Society.

The Archaeological Society of South India, the only Archaeological Society in India, is now twenty-one years old, and has attained its majority according to the law applicable in India to wards of courts. It is only proper to celebrate the event by publishing the 'Transactions'. The Society has had a chequered career. Founded in 1934, it suffered from infantile paralysis between 1937 and 1941 but recovered from it and continued in a state of convalescence till Independence. Afterwards it has shown indisputable signs of viability. Though its original object was to work on things South Indian and promote South Indian culture, it has now resolved to work on all things Indian and to promote Indian Culture, since India, especially after Independence, is one and indivisible from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Saurashtra to Assam. Happily, the present Superintendent of the Madras Museum, Dr. A Aiyappan, is as interested in the Society as Dr. F. H. Gravely who founded it, and the old stalwarts are there to aid in the progress and development.

India has had a continuous civilisation of six thousand years, ever since the dawn of civilisation itself, unrivalled by any other country except China. It is our duty to preserve that continuity and to explore the hidden roots of our ancient culture so that the fruits of the future may correspond to the roots of the past, whatever necessary graftings may be taken in by the tree of our civilisation. Indians have always realised the importance of keeping contact with the living past. Manu has eloquently pleaded for keeping an unbroken continuity between ancestors and descendants in order to preserve civilisation and culture, and has urged every one to have children so that he may not only be the descendant of his ancestors but also the ancestor of his descendants. The function of archaeology is similar, namely, to keep the past and the future linked through the present, and to recover and depict the culture of the past, often damaged and wrecked by invasions and tumults,

EMBLEM AND MOTTO

The WEALTH, both MATERIAL and CULTURAL, of the PAST, from which has risen the WEALTH of the PRESENT and from which will grow the WEALTH of the FUTURE, is the subject-matter of ARCHAEOLOGY. THE WEALTH of the three Kālas is symbolised as

Ś R Ī

Seated on Purity, the LOTUS, which rises from Plenty, the WATERS, and in the midst of the Hordes of Substances, the NIDHIS, the Treasures,— which, though symbolically nine, are usually mentioned, for clarity, as two, the ŚANKHA (Conch) and the PADMA (Lotus) NIDHIS,— shone upon by the Light given off by the Substances and lustrated by ELEPHANTS who are the Showerers of the WEALTH of the QUARTERS, SHE causes WEALTH to be attained to by EFFORT, without any giving by Her and without any coming by Her to give, She lacking feet that could walk and hands that could give.

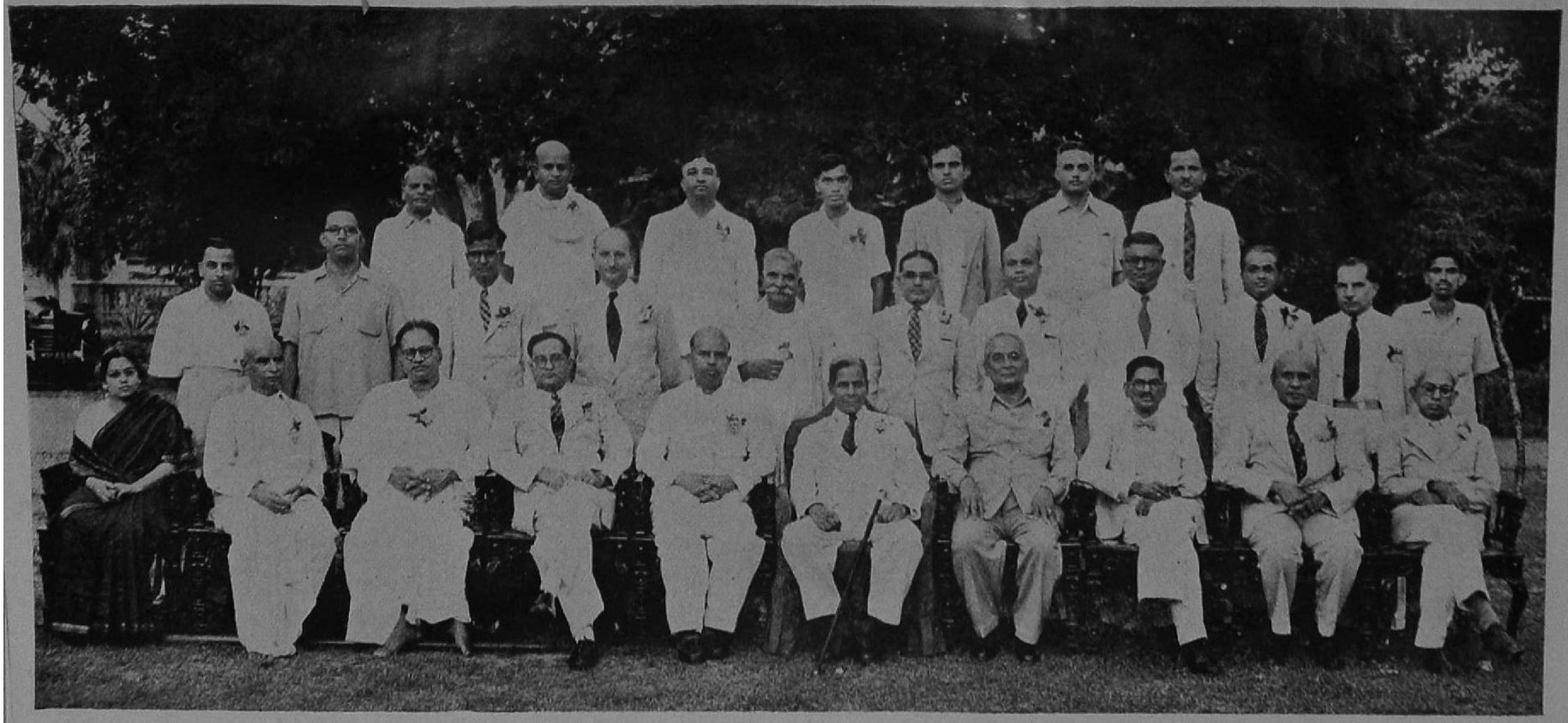
VIJNĀNAM BRAHMA

KNOWLEDGE ON INVESTIGATION IS TRUTH

The ancient injunction is: MEDITATE ON KNOWLEDGE obtained from SPECIAL ENQUIRY, FOR IT IS TRUTH. The Archaeologist, in his specialised ways, seeks Knowledge for Truth.

The SKETCH copies a sculptured piece of about the 9th century A.D., from Kaverippakkam, near Kāñchīpuram.

The MOTTO, which is taken from the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, being in Samskṛita, is also rendered in the representative languages of the South, and is written in the most ancient characters used for the several languages, as well.



Sitting :
Kumari R. Vajreswari Sri T. G. Aravamuthan (*Vice-President*) Sri A. N. Parasuram Dr. K. Govinda Menon Dr. V. Raghavan Sri Justice A. S. P. Ayyar (*President*)
Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasagopalachari Rao Sahib N. Murugesa Mudaliar Dr. J. T. Cornelius Prof. T. K. Venkataraman

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Sri V. A. Patnaik Sri V. V. Radhakrishnan Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy Sri C. Parthasarathy (*Attender*)

THE SOCIETY

1935 TO 1955

In December 1934, Dr. F. H. Gravely, then Superintendent of the Government Museum, Madras, adopting a suggestion of Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, then part-time Curator at the Museum, invited Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Retired Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, his successor, Prof. V. Rangachari, Professor, Presidency College, Madras, and Prof. M.A Huq, then Principal, Muslim College, Madras, to an informal meeting on December 7, 1934, to consider how best to organise a Society in South India devoted to the study of the history and evolution of South Indian culture. The meeting agreeing on the main lines of the proposal, a further meeting was held on December 14, 1934, at which a draft of the constitution was approved and invitations were resolved to be issued initially to those in Madras believed to be specially interested in the subject. Accordingly, the meeting was held on January 29, 1935, at the Government Museum, Madras, with Mr. G. T. Boag, C.S.I., then Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, Madras Government, in the chair and it constituted itself into the Archaeological Society of South India, with sixty-six members on its rolls.

The Society has now had an active life of twenty years, except for the period from the middle of 1937, when it went dormant, to the end of 1941, when it was revived through the exertions of Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi, sometime Commissioner for Hindu Religious Endowments. There have been 106 meetings in these twenty years.

Printed Notices and Advance Proceedings were issued to the end of 1948.

Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, now Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, had his *Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa* published as a *Memoir* of the Society, in 1944.

The Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, was affiliated to the Society as its Cochin Branch in 1945.

A list of Office-Bearers in these twenty years follows.

ROLL OF OFFICE-BEARERS

PATRONS

1943	Sir G. T. Boag.
1948	Hon'ble Sri B. Gopala Reddi.
1950 –	Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras.

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1952 –	The Hon'ble Justice A. S. P. Ayyar.

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1943 – 46	Sir T. Austin.
1943 – 45	Srimati Rukmini Devi.
1945 – 46	Sir S. V. Ramamurti.
1946 – 52	Dewan Bahadur T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai.
1947 – 49	T. N. Ramachandran.
1949 – 50	Sir Vepa Ramesam.
1950 – 52	The Hon'ble Justice A. S. P. Ayyar.
1952 – 54	T. G. Aravamuthan.
1952 –	Dr. A. Aiyappan.
1954 –	Dr. J. T. Cornelius.

SECRETARIES

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1937	T. G. Aravamuthan.
1941 – 43	E. V. Sundara Reddi.
1943 – 45	C. Sivaramamurti.
1945 – 52	Dr. A. Aiyappan.
1952 –	P. R. Srinivasan.

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1943 – 45	Dr. A. Ramakrishna Reddi.
1945 – 50	E. V. Sundara Reddi.
1950 – 52	P. R. Srinivasan
1952 – 55	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.
1955 –	K. R. Venkatarama Iyer.

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1936 – 37	M. D. Raghavan, V. Narayanan.
1943	P. N. Appuswami, V. Narayanan.
1945	K. S. Menon.
1947 –	B. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu.

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1935 – 43	Dr. F. H. Gravely.
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1935 – 43	Prof. V. Rangacharya.
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1935 – 43	T. G. Aravamuthan.
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1943 – 45	Sir G. T. Boag.
1943 – 48	Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu.
1943 – 45	E. V. Sundara Reddi.
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1948 – 52	V. D. Krishnaswami.
1947 – 50	B. V. Krishna Rao.
1949 – 50	The Hon'ble Justice A. S. P. Ayyar.
1950 – 52	S. N. Trivikramanarayanan.
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1952 –	K. R. Srinivasan.
1952 –	K R. Venkatarama Iyer.
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1952 – 53	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.
1952 – 54	Dr. J. T. Cornelius.
1954 –	Dr. V. Raghavan.
1954 –	T. G. Aravamuthan.
1955 –	Prof. K. K. Pillay.
1955 –	Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA

1955

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TEMPLE AND PYRAMID AND OBELISK

A Study in Ancient Engineering Technics

By T. G. Aravamuthan

1

How the huge stones that have gone to the making of the Pyramids were raised to the great heights in which they have found their station is among the most interesting of the intriguing problems in building-technics which are set for us by these edifices of the ages in which appropriate machinery had not been devised. A similar problem arises, as will appear presently, in the Great Temple at Tanjore, in south India, completed in the opening decade of the 11th century A.D., when, too, machinery was inadequate to the task, though almost forty centuries had rolled by. A variant of these problems is how the ancients set Obelisks erect, nonchalantly ignoring the risks incidental to the combination in them of length and slimness.

The problem involves considerations much more difficult of appraisement than those raised by the presence, in ancient monuments, of huge stones which must have been transported over great distances, or by the marvel of the neatness with which stones of great weight,— often of irregular shape,— were put together. Advances there had been in technics in even the very early stages of the growth of material culture : hands that had gained experience in the fashioning of palaeoliths, microliths and neoliths and in the carving of bone, horn and ivory, had also learnt to work stone, with almost equal ease, into acceptable,— even artistic,— shapes. Egyptians, by the time they began building pyramids, had learnt to pile up and lay large blocks of stone so neatly and to fit them together so delicately as to preclude the edge of even a thin blade being insinuated into the joints. Far away, and in a parallel stage of material culture, Peruvians had learnt to lay and fit huge stones together so well that 'solid granite splits but the Inca joint an inch away holds fast', and 'a mortarless twelve-angled stone fits its neighbours like a jig-saw puzzle piece',[1] and that huge stones,— really boulders,— fifteen or twenty feet in height, and weighing many tons, were cut, often into irregular shapes preserving the general outlines of the boulders, and fitted,

1. K, Ross, in *National Geographical Magazine*, (1950), 98 : 424-5.

among blocks similarly shaped, so finely that, notwithstanding the absence of mortar or cement, they stand to this day without yielding by even so much as the edge of a knife-blade.[2] Advances had been already made, similarly, in devices that facilitated easy transportation of massive and unwieldy blocks of stone.

The massive stone blocks used in the Pyramids were, we are told, brought down the Nile, from distant places in Upper Egypt by being loaded on to large rafts, and we are left to infer that there were hard roadways leading from quarry to quay and from riverside to pyramid-site. A sculptured scene in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh illustrates how, early in the 7th century B. C., a colossal stone carved into a Winged Bull was taken from the sculptor's studio to its place: in the back-ground are boats and carts bringing in supplies of levers, planks and cords: in the foreground, a great wooden sledge, bearing the Bull slashed on to it, is pulled along by four rows of hardy men while, levered onward from behind by well applied levers of wood, it slides on balks repeatedly laid along its course.[3] Into the building of an ancient monument in Bolivia have gone huge blocks, some of them as heavy as 100 tons each, and a series of ten hollows, along the lower margin of one side of one of these blocks, has inspired the surmise that ten teams pushed the stone forward with ten stout poles,— a pole for each hollow and a file of a hundred men to each pole,— and that stone-balls, huge and innumerable, were strewn on a roadway, hardened into macadam, to permit of the block rolling forward as on a ride.[4]

Macadam, balks, stone-balls, levers, poles and serried teams cannot, however, explain how, for instance, at Ba'albek, in Syria, a stone in a wall of the Acropolis, about 64 feet long, 13 feet high and 10 feet thick, was raised and laid at a height of 23 feet from the ground,[5] or how, at Carnac, in Brittany, a menhir, 63 feet in height and 14 feet in diameter, and weighing about 260 tons, was set erect.[6] Transportation of a great block of stone along level ground for miles is child's play to the lifting of it by even a few feet.

The Temple at Tanjore, being less colossal than the well-known Pyramids, but much better integrated than structures not designed as edifices, presents the problem in the starkness of the essentials. So, it

2. *Ib*,, (1942), 82 : 173.
3. M. Jastrow, Jr,, *Civilization of Babylonia aud Assyria*, (1915), 405, pl. 59.
4. I. A. Posnansky, *Tihuanacu*, (1945), 2 : 132-3, figs. 50, 50a.
5. L. Wolley, *Spadework*, (1953), 54-5 : 'No machinery that we have to-day could lift that stone and lay it at that height in the wall'; *Ib.*, 55.
6. B. Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, (1948), 1.

may be expected to yield up the solution more easily than the other monuments.

2

Rajaraja I, king from 985 to 1014 A D., of an ancient south Indian dynasty, the Chola, who, by prowess and wisdom, made the dynasty so powerful that his son, Rajendra I, was able to march his army victoriously so far north as the Ganga and to send his navy sailing adventurously across the eastern seas to take the west coast of Malaya, built a temple at Tanjore, his capital, which he designed as a great edifice, dedicating it as he did, to the 'Great Lord'.[1]

The main shrine of the temple, which is the sanctum sanctorum in which the great Icon of the Lord stands installed, measures about 80 feet square and about 50 feet high, and it is built of neatly dressed stones of large size, its external sides being divided in two stages and embellished with bold mouldings and deep embrasures. This shrine, unroofed at this stage though it has risen high, serves as greatly elevated base for a stone tower which covers the shrine, springing from the shrine to a further height of 140 feet,—four square, but pyramidal, and hollow. The external faces of the tower are broken again and again, both horizontally and vertically on each of the four sides,— the horizontal effect being secured by breaking the converging sides with repeated recessions, and the vertical effect being emphasised by raising the sides vertically at each recession, and by introducing niches and projections in each of the vertical sections. Thus is evoked an illusion of fourteen sanctuaries, — piled one over the other, each narrower than the one below and rising on a terrace of its own, — but none of them is a sanctuary except the lowest, the others lacking floor, or ceiling, or both. When this structure, built of blocks of stone, many of which weigh 5 or 6 tons each, attains the height of 180 feet from the ground, it narrows to a square measuring about 35 feet each way. Having risen to this height, the shrine with tower, which has thus far risen hollow and pyramidally, gives itself a neck, about 9 feet high and 22 feet across at top, and then, gives itself a head on the neck,— a great block of granite, about 25 feet square and 15 feet high, the rising sides of which, are however cut away to give it the appearance of a many-sided dome, with faces

1. See the following :
J. M. Somasundaram, *The Great Temple at Tanjore* (1935).
J. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, (1910), 1 : 363.
J. A. Francis. *District Gazetteer of Tanjore.*
It is a pity that reliable details of the features of this temple are not available with even the Archaeological Department of Government.

embellished with niches counterfeiting shrines. This block of stone is estimated to weigh over 80 tons. On this solid dome is mounted a finial of copper, over 11 feet high, resplendent with gold thickly laid on whenever, in the course of centuries, the splendour grew dim with weathering. Dome and finial together make the Vimana which, being treated as a shrine raised aloft to serve as cynosure to devotees far beyond the range of the encompassing city, is deemed to be even more sacred than the main shrine itself From ground to tip of finial the edifice is believed to measure 216 feet. The whole of the edifice, on completion, was painted appropriately and attractively, architectural features and sculptures being given special attention. Traces of paint are still visible in sheltered areas.

Generations of laymen have gazed at the temple, marvelling at its grandeur. Architects, including those who, though coming in the line of the architectural tradition of the land, have received little of that tradition because of its decline, are, at first, sceptical of the local legend which avers that the domed pinnacle is of one solid piece of stone and of the implication, from its size, that the stone must weigh over 80 tons, but, climbing up and scanning the piece, they accept unreservedly the veracity of the legend and go away wondering how the stone, so huge, so unwieldy and so heavy, was raised so high and laid so neatly on its seat, in days when mechanical appliances must have been quite unequal to the task. Science-fed architects drop the scepticism characteristic of the science in them on examining the dome-rock and mumble out suggestions derived from recent scientific work on the conquest of gravity,— none of them more practical than the lay devotee's confident guesses that angels or demons or adepts in levitation had been at work in those ancient days.

Legend has been explaining through the centuries that the stone was taken along scaffolding which, starting four miles away, kept leisurely rising till it met the near-side of the tower at the height of 190 feet, and it has been pointing out, in confirmation, that the name of the village at the starting point of the scaffolding which it tells of is Śārap-Paḷḷam, 'Scaffolding-Hollow'. And, the modern scholar points to the currency of a similar legend in regard to a similarly huge temple, with a similarly massive Vimana of stone, erected by Rajaraja's son, Rajendra I, at Gangai-konda-sola-puram,[2] though he feels that his comparative method has a sad disappointment for him in that Paranam, the name of the starting place of the scaffolding here, declines to be rendered into 'Scaffolding Hollow'.

2. See F. R. Hemingway, *District Gazetteer of Trichinopoly*, (1907), 347.

The implications of the legend are unacceptable, for other and weightier reasons. Scaffolding of timber, which is what the word 'Śāram' indicates, is all too frail to bear the heavy weight of the great block of stone which it is designed to bear on its upward journey. Timber scaffolding which runs a four mile course and rises 190 feet high, demands timber and rope, for initial erection and subsequent maintenance, in such enormous quantities that the cost should have been prohibitive. Even assuming that the word 'Śāram' may aptly indicate scaffolding of earthwork, (it being postulated for the nonce that instances of the use of the word in that signification could not be available as such scaffolding is all too infrequent), the scaffolding is no more than an earthern ramp running up to one face of the temple, and serving the builders of the temple nowhere except at the level of the seat of the great dome-stone.

The roadway on the ramp having to run along the crest of the steadily rising ramp with a uniform width of atleast 30 feet, to permit of the 25-feet-wide stone being manoeuvered up, the ramp would, on attaining the height of 190 feet, have a base 156 feet wide, allowing, on each side of the road, for a batter of 1 in height to every 3 of base beyond the roadway, the batter being essential to the stability of the ramp. The cost of the earth-work needed for such a ramp, starting 30 feet wide at base at Sarap-Pallam, running four miles, with ever increasing height and width of base, and rising and running solid on its ever-widening base till, with a width of 156 feet and a height of 190 feet, it meets the near-face of the shrine-tower at Tanjore, is at least as prohibitive as that of timber-scaffolding. The rise of the ramp, 1 to every 111 of run, is at an all too uneconomical a rate, when a rise of 1 in 10 would appear to be more than adequate. The legend of Scaffolding-Hollow would have been worthy of credit had the village lain at a distance of three furlongs from the temple,— which is all the distance that the ratio of 1 to 10 calls for,— but it stands condemned when that place lies so far away as four miles. Moreover, the usefulness of a ramp running straight to one face of the tower and meeting it at a great height,— whether the run is one of four miles or one of three furlongs,— is severely limited to the taking of the pinnacle-block to the eminence destined for it. Such a ramp is of no help in the building of either the lower portions of even the side it impinges on or any portion of the other sides. The building of shrine and tower to such a great height, and on all four sides, the carving and the sculpturing of the stones and the laying on of paint from finial to base require scaffolding that not only stands solid but also

stands embracing the edifice all round and at every level. Clearly, the legend had its genesis when even imagination had become so inert as not to realise that the scaffolding ran futilely its four-mile course if it did not run round shrine and tower, and up from base to dome, holding them in a tight hug. Very probably, Sarap-Pallam is a name which had come down from much earlier times with a different connotation — if a place-name need at all be accounted for by splitting it up into meaningful units. Indeed, we know, from a record of a Kalinga king, Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman, of the 6th century A. D. of his having made a grant from a place named Sārappalli,[3] and we have no reason to suspect either that in the language of Kalinga in those days the name meant anything that approximated to 'Scaffolding Hollow' or that Nanda-Prabhanjana had, in his time, anticipated the engineering achievement of Rajaraja.

No other Indian edifice is known in which a similar difficulty was deliberately created and was surmounted. The Stupa which Kanishka (1-2 century A D.) erected at Purushapura (Peshawar) was believed to have carried on the summit an iron pillar standing 89 feet high. It was planted in its place, according to legend, with aid given by four heavenly kings. Putting together what we learn of the Stupa from the ancient accounts of pilgrims who visited it and from the excavations of archaeologists, we get a picture of a grand monument with features which may roughly be described thus :[4] the base was circular, measuring 286 feet in diameter, and it rose in five vertical stages to a height of 150 feet: on this base was a superstructure fashioned of carved wood of every kind and divided into thirteen tiers: base and tiers made fourteen stages in all: from the summit rose a huge iron pillar, 89 feet high, from which jutted, in

3. The Chicacole Plates, edited by J. F. Fleet, in *Indian Antiquary*, (1884), 13 : 48-50. Probably, it is the Sarapali of these days, 21·15' E, 84·30' N, or even, the modern Sarapal, close by, 21·16' E, 84·50' N, if the latter name is but a variant of the former. The probability of the name having migrated to the Tamil country and become Sarap-pallam is enhanced by the circumstance of Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman having from Sarapali made a grant to a resident of Adeya-Vata, apparently a place in Kalinga, and equally apparently an ancestor of the Tamil name Adaiyar borne by a settlement which is now a part of the City of Madras in the distant Tamil country. The ingenuity which has rendered Adaiyar into Asraya-nadi in Samskrta might have had its counterpart in that which transformed Sarapali into Sarap-pallam in sound and, then, into 'Scaffolding Hollow' in meaning.

4. See the following:
Fa-Hsien, *Travels*, (tr. by Giles), 13. 34-5 (Chap. 12).
Sung-Yun and Tao-Yung, in S. Beal, *Bud. Records of Wn. Warld*, 1 (Intr.): 103-5.
Hiuen-Tsiang, in S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (1914), 63.
T. Watters, *On Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India*, (1904), 1 : 203-7.
D. B. Spooner, in *Archaeological Survey of India : An. Rep.*, 1908 : 38-59.

the various directions, no fewer than 25 branches, each of which carried an umbrella, or wheel : the total height was about 400 feet : the umbrellas, or wheels, were resplendent with gilt : thc ornaments were all the preciosities combined : it was of incomparable beauty : it was the highest edifice in Jambudvipa (India). Knowing though we do very little about the weight of the iron pillar and of its features and still less about the structural features of the Stupa, we may yet venture, with confidence, on a conjecture that the difficulties of haling the pillar to the summit and of planting it erect on the summit were overcome by utilising the skeleton of the structure itself as scaffolding The timber-casing of the edifice was apparently a covering for a massive and intricate skeleton of sturdy posts and strong beams and cross-beams. Pulling upward and pushing onward from these beams, and resting, now and then, on the cross-beams, the pillar should have been brought to the summit : it should have, then, been pulled up to its station on the summit from vantage-points furnished by posts planted temporarily on the topmost members of the frame-work. Hypothesis conjures up a timbery ghost to explain the process : an armless skeleton grows timber arms and hands, picks up the pillar lightly like a stick, raises the hands high over its skull with the stick in the clasp, loosens the clasp to permit of the stick coming down and resting on the crown of the skull and, then, sheds the arms and hands altogether. Fancies may vary, provided they yield a practical device. No adaptation of such a process could have been of the least avail at Tanjore where the Temple lacked such a skeleton framework and the cap-stone to be raised to its place was all too unwieldy and unmanoeuverable.

3

The building of temples and other great edifices, of towers and campanilles, of spires and steeples, and of domes and cupolas, and even the placing of heavy statuary on the pinnacles of tall monuments did not, in the days anterior to the devising of modern machinery, present difficulties to architects which were at all similar to what the builder of the Temple to the Great Lord had to surmount in raising the great stone up to its station on the tower of the Temple.

Such great edifices as the Town Hall of Brussels, with spire soaring high and thin to 375 feet and bearing a statue on top, the great Campanille of Cremona rising 400 feet high, the Cathedral of Cologne with one face rising to a height of 510 feet, the magnificent dome of the Pantheon at Rome about 145 feet across, the Qutb-Minar at Delhi

which is virtually a tapering tube set erect to a height of about 250 feet, and the minarets of mosques shooting into the sky strike us as marvels of technical skill. The marvel increases when advertence is had to such factors as the difficulty and the cost of raising the scaffolding for these structures and of maintaining them for years, the perseverance and the endurance of the builders who went up and down the scaffolding day after day, the tenacity with which they must have worked to raise the great quantities of material to dizzy heights, and the fortitude with which they must have denied themselves the elementary creature-needs when publicly and perilously poised aloft in mid-air. Marvel though we do at all this and seek to account for the architect's success by imputing it to endurance, pertinacity and skill, united to firm faith and deep devotion, we do not have to think of the architects of these great buildings as having attempted what was physically insuperable. Into the building of none of these edifices, great though they be, went material which, because of its mass, weight or shape, could not have been borne, haled or hoisted and taken to its position with winch and tackle and up and along some type of French Scaffolding. Heavy and complicated statuary, if of stone, was apparently taken in the rough to its destination and carved in situ and, if of metal, was cast in sections at the foot of the monuments and carried up and put together at the summit, if too large to be cast at site. The raising of the great blocks of marble of which Trojan's Column at Rome is built,— 34 blocks laid almost one over another, in ascending rings, carved on the external face in 23 spiral turns of sculpture, and to a height which, with the statue at the summit, attained 124 feet,— might have required scaffolding of a different type, but a few at least of the difficulties must have been mitigated by its having been designed as a hollow tower, and by the running of a spiral flight of stairs along the internal curve. Architects do not essay to move mountains with faith for major equipment.

No tackle or chain, pulley or winch, or derrick or scaffolding, and no strength, perseverance, fortitude or piety could have been of the least help to the architect at Tanjore, where the problem was not one of heaving large quantities of materials in small loads but one of hoisting many stones of large size and one huge stone of great weight, — a task baffling derrick, winch and cable, and confounding muscle, will and piety. We have one piece of sculptured evidence, in a foot-long stone-panel found in a suburb of Puri,— though, perhaps, originally of Konarak,— for an incline which, supported on pillars, was provided for the taking up of building material to an elevated position, four men trudging up the incline with a heavy block slung from poles

resting on their shoulders.[1] A second piece of such evidence is furnished by a sketch, engraved in a stone in the mediaeval fortress of Raichur, which shows a stone pillar, about 24 feet long and 3 feet thick, being taken in a cart drawn by five pairs of bullocks, the wheels being levered at by six men.[2] But the blocks so carried are but trifles to those which the Tanjore architect had to deal with. His problem was much more complex. Primarily, though at long last, he had to provide for the great cap-stone being carried up and for the gangs of labour pulling and pushing it having ample room on the scaffolding for deploying in. Secondarily, but from the start, as shrine and tower kept growing stage by stage, on all four sides, till the pyramidal tower gave itself a neck and got ready to receive the dome-stone, he had to provide for the heavy blocks of stone needed for the walls at every stage being manoeuvred up and to and fro, and being set in their positions along the four walls, and for the builders labouring at these walls getting not only firm foot-hold but also ample space to move in. And, when dome and finial were set up and the builders could step down, sculptors had to step in and give the finishing touches to the carvings and the sculptures in all the four-faces and, as they kept moving downward from Vimana to pediment, painters had to take their places, stage by stage, and ply their brushes, broad and fine, laying colours thick or thin, to challenge the ravages of tropic weather. So, no scaffolding could have answered at Tanjore unless it satisfied two conditions : it must have served all the four sides of the structure, and from base to finial: it must have been quite wide and exceedingly firm.

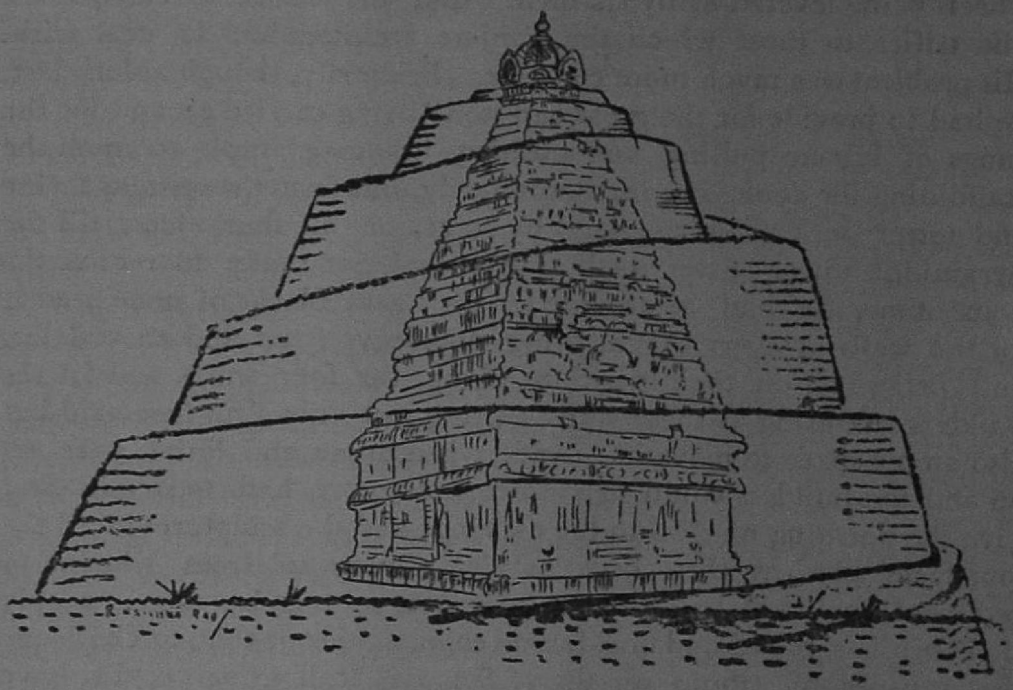
The scaffolding that could at all satisfy these primary requirements is, all too obviously, one of earthwork : scaffolding of timber is out of question.

4

The architect of Tanjore could have had no occasion to worry out the rest of the solution from first principles: indeed, even early predecessors in his profession need not have done so. The architect's art,— or, science,— owes much to precedents, like all other arts and sciences, and the architect should have had available to him the expedients devised down the ages through careful observation and shrewd invention by both the lay-man incited by necessity to devise expedients and by the scientist impelled by the spirit of inquiry to invent new methods. Primitive man had doubtless found, through

1. N. K. Bose, in *J. of Ind. Soc. of Orl. Art*, (1945), 13: 196-8, where a photograph illustrating the device is reproduced.
2. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that is India* (1954), 219, fig. 16.

long experience, that if he sought to take a load up a hill he lightened the task for himself when, instead of climbing straight up and negotiating a stiff gradient, he took a zig-zag course which gave him a longer walk but an easier climb. Should the hill be a lone mound or



cone, his walk tended to be in a spiral, starting low, running cork-screw-wise round the cone and terminating high. Early man, struggling to build a tenth or a fourteenth settlement on a mound a hundred or a hundred and forty feet high, which had grown through the accumulation of successive ruins of repeated settlements on the same site, had naturally found that he lightened his journey if he took the materials for the building of the new settlement along paths running zig-zag, or winding spirally, up the mound. The route would have tended to a zig-zig when the hill, or mound, had a great diameter, but it would have taken a cork-screw course if the hill had a narrow base and a stiff rise.[1]

The ziz-zag and the spiral are suggested by, for instance, the serpent: when it moves it resembles the zig-zag and when, for cosiness, it lays its head down and draws up its slim length into a

1. The earliest Indian record of laying macadamised roads, in difficult terrain and over long distances, is, perhaps, as late as 972-3 A.D. It tells of king Prabodha-Siva, of a region near Rewa, having 'through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy stone built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams, through forests and thickets, as Rama through the sea': *Ep. Ind.*, 21 : 23 (v. 13) : 152. That the surviving evidence is late is no ground for a suggestion that Prabodha-Siva had had no ancient exemplars.

coil round the head it inspires the spiral. The spiral, whether in the ever-expanding form on the level or in that rising to a summit, is a design taught by the conch-shell. The Diffusionist is slow to learn what serpent and conch-shell have kept pertinaciously preaching wherever they have occurred. Man's first external instructor and inspirer was Nature.

Lone hillocks or mounds, with spiral roadways, inspired, doubtless, the coupled ideas of earthen scaffolding in the form of a platform rising steadily in narrowing stages like a mound, closely encompassing and encasing an edifice as it rises under the architect's hands, and of a ramp running cork-screw-wise, along the edge of that scaffold-platform mound, to a shrine on its summit. Such an expedient, which might have suggested itself independently at as many places as had mounds of dead cities or had lone hillocks with shrines atop, must have dictated the design of such ancient west Asian monuments as the Ziggurat of Khorassabad,— square and seven-storeyed, the topmost storey being reached by a ramp such as the one suggested here. Knowledge of such a device was, not improbably, a heritage of the Tanjore architect, acquired independently and by a forebear and handed down through a long line of adepts in the art. To him it was, perhaps, no more than a routine device,— one item out of an age-old repertoire. It is we of generations to which traditional expedients have become unfamiliar that have to work back to them by way of a priori and spiral reasoning.

5

Mound-cum-Ramp, as envisaged so far, solves, however, an one-half alone of the problem of the architect: the other half is that of taking the stone up the mound.

The stone of the pinnacle at Tanjore is too massive and heavy to have been rolled up with repeated levering or haled over balks laid on the ramp, even though mounted on a wooden sledge to ride the balks.

Vehicles with wheels,— and only at the sides,— would fail to distribute the great weight of the stone over the width of the ramp: the wheels are apt to cut deep into the ramp and to sink in it or to disintegrate it. Rollers of stone or of timber would be of no service unless assembled into a contraption which, keeping the rollers together throughout the upward journey, approximates to a substantially built vehicle. But, in India,— especially in the south,— we are familiar with great vehicles,— Rathas, Chariots,— in which Icons of the Great One enshrined in temples in one or

other of His roles, derived partially from the Sun, are taken along the highways encircling temples on festive occasions such as the equinoxes. The wheels of these chariots have very broad rims and are frequently more numerous than four: and these are so assembled together, fore and aft, and in such close juxtaposition that the combined tread covers quite a substantial portion of the width of the highway. These vehicles, their weight so conveniently distributed on the road, run facilely along the highways, whether they be sandy or slushy or rugged. Fancy had suggested, apparently, that the Sun wheels across the sky in a chariot: symbolism had suggested that the wheels of the Sun's chariot are seven:[1] though other chariots might have fewer or more wheels, — three or ten, for instance,[2]— the practical symbolist had provided images of God, in the role of the Sun, with seven-wheeled chariots in which to traverse the circuits around his temples, just as the Sun does his daily circuit in his seven-wheeled car: the road-maker had insisted on these vehicles being taken as models for the rathas of Icons and on the wheels being made many in number and broad of rim so that together they would cover the roadway without cutting it up. The architect could have derived from these chariots the idea of a platform mounted on a complex of very broad wheels, or rollers, which he could put to the practical purpose of transporting massive materials such as the dome-stone of Tanjore. A platform,— low, sturdy and wide,— mounted on a contraption of wide-rimmed wheels to cover a substantial portion of the width of a ramp was the aptest of aids to the transportation of the Vimana-stone of Tanjore to its lofty eminence.

We are now in a position to essay a picture of the Mound-cum-Ramp needed at Tanjore. A gradient for the ramp of 1 of rise for every 7 of run would seem to be appropriate. While a sharper rise might necessitate the stone being pulled and pushed with more vigour than could have been managed in those days, a rise of 1 in 10 might be too easy and, so, needlessly tedious The length of ramp from starting-point to seat of Vimana, about 90 feet from base-line, need not, therefore, be less than two furlongs nor be more than three. Each circuit of the ramp would have to clear the circuit just below and to be cleared by the one just above, lest the block of stone, in moving upward on its vehicle, strike against and disrupt the upper

1. *Rg-Veda*, 1·164·2,3,12.
2. *Rg.-Veda*, 1·118·1,2; 2-18·1.

If the Rg-Vedic people knew of a moveable stand which held the Ratha,— a *ratha-vahana*: *RV.* 6·75·8,—they should have had no difficulty in devising a platform mounted on wheels such as the one needed at Tanjore.

circuit of the ramp. The earth-work on which each circuit runs has also to slope down with a batter of about 1 of fall for every 3 of base to retain its strength and stability. The form of the mound bearing the ramp is decided, thus, by these two factors. The sides of the mound having to slope for stability and the side of each inner circuit of the ramp having to run clear of the chariot running up with the load of the monster stone, the mound has inevitably to be like a cone in form, but with all that part of the mound above the run of the ramp absent. Such a mound raised round the Tanjore temple should, with the ramp, have started with a base measuring about 100 feet away from the base of the shrine on that side where the ramp has its start, and should have risen cone-like round the structure, bearing a cork-screw-like ramp 30 feet wide, on its outer edge, and soared 190 feet high, and, there, halted for a while beside the seat of the Vimana till the Vimana-stone was levered on to its seat, and then, it should have continued just a little further up to permit of that stone being cut, carved and sculptured. The full base of the mound, with the temple then immured in it, need not have measured over 260 feet across. The slope allowed here for the mound may be inadequate for stability over long terms, but it is likely to be enough when, as here, it is needed for no longer than about ten years and when the architect would have seen to it that the huge task force going up and down the mound day after day was alert to attend to incipient shears.

What could, however, be the motive power to impel the vehicle bearing the stone on its steep journey? When human power alone is used for the pulling and the pushing.— as happens when the cars of the festivals are taken out,— a labour-force of three hundred adults might be enough;[3] if teams of oxen, for instance, be used their number might have to be about eighty. But the pull and the push of such a corps would be applied, and would act, in a straight line, except where the course of the wheels of the vehicle is deflected by the interposition of huge wedge-shaped blocks. as is quite usual in turning the course of temple-cars at street corners. But that interposition would, on the Tanjore ramp, have to be repeated almost every yard of its course, for the ramp keeps continuously curving. Moreover, if the team pulling forward is long the formost members of the team can have no foothold as the ramp curves away from their feet. Motive power that could act in a curve being, thus, essential, the

3. We have seen,— see Section 1, para 3 above,— that each of the monster stones of the Bolivian monument required a force of a thousand to put it on the move.

team that pulls must be of the least possible length. Fortunately, however, there has been in India an abundance of power just suited to this need: a team of, say, four elephants to pull, ranged flank to flank on the 30 feet wide ramp, and another similar team to push, would accomplish what teams of 300 men or of 80 oxen may not, and yet would have such little length that it could comfortably manoeuvre on the ramp along its windings.

So massive is the construction of the shrine and the tower at Tanjore that that structural complex could have gaily borne all the weight of the super-incumbent mound of this theory, but, both temple and mound might have been given additional support by keeping the temple filled with earth till the painters descended to the base. The Icon of the Great Lord might, then, have been kept covered with earth till the work of building came to an end. The Icon might, till then, have gone without the attention due to it in ritual, but both authority and practice recognise the inevitability of such lapses from courtesies to Icons when a temple is being built or re-conditioned, and they enact appropriate prescriptions.

Whence could all the earth have come when the mound was rising and whereto could it all have gone when the temple was released from its immurement? A great moat runs past the Great Temple in an effort to protect the city and its fort against enemies, and it is not unlikely that much of the earth came from the moat where it ran in the vicinity of the Temple. The earth of the mound when dismantled might have been strewn far beyond the moat to serve for a glacis to the fort. The level of the surrounding land might have risen slightly in consequence, but the Temple was doubtless started designedly on a pediment raised so high as to dominate the scene irrespective of slight rises in the levels of the environs.

6

The only parallel in ancient times to the achievement at the Great Temple at Tanjore appears to be the placing of great stones, each weighing over 50 tons, in elevated stations in the Pyramids. The cap-stones of one or two of the pyramids and the roof-slabs over the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid at Giza are estimated to be of this weight. While the Great Pyramid is too vast and great to be put into comparison for size with the Tanjore Temple, it is not to be missed that the cap-stone and the roof-slabs in the Pyramid are appreciably less in weight than the 80-ton Vimana-stone of Tanjore. It is the need for the taking up of the great stone

that determined the type of the scaffolding at Tanjore; for the same reason, the scaffolding most appropriate at Giza should have been also of the Mound-cum-Ramp type.

The theory now current is that an earthen ramp should have been run up one slope of the Pyramid, that it must have doubled on itself whenever it reached an edge of that face, and that foot-hold embankments taking off from the ramp, stage by stage, should have served to take the blocks, small and great, and also the labour corps to the other three sides of the edifice. But, no embankment running an independent course could have had the least stability, for the only support it could have had is the smooth slope of the sides of the Pyramid. Stability could have come to it only if it reared itself on the embankment just below. Embankments, bearing embankments, in ascending series, were essential if they were not to slip down the slopes of the Pyramid. Such a series, taken together, is no different from a cork-serew ramp except that the latter encloses the Pyramid. And, a cork-serew ramp running round the Pyramid, gives us the mound-cum-ramp of Tanjore, though the Great Pyramid being of great proportions at the base, the Ramp's course up the Pyramid would be very leisurely. The amount of earth going into the mound of a Pyramid would, however, be very much less than that going into the mound surrounding the Tanjore Temple, the bases of Pyramids being much more ample and the sides being at gentler inclines. The chances of a collapse of the mound through shear or subsidence would also be much less. The probabilities are, thus, greatly in favour of the conclusion that it was the device of the Ramp on Mound that was adopted in the building of the Great Pyramid.

A scene pictured in a late tomb is a very early anticipation of the other scene of the transportation of the Winged Bull at Nineveh: it shows a statue of the weight of about 60 tons mounted on a sledge and hauled along by a force of 172 men, divided into four teams, each team tugging away at a rope attached to the sledge. That there is nothing in the scene to suggest that the dragging was along a ramp or that the ramp was in a curve or at an incline is too slender an argument on which to base a suggestion that ramps up pyramids did not run cork-screw-wise. It may be that the scene is one of the course of the sledge before it had reached the slope of the Pyramid or after it had ascended the slope and come to a stage that had no slope. Further, it should not be forgotten that on monuments so extensive as the Great Pyramid the curve and

the rise of ramps would not be so marked as to call for, or even to permit of, special indication in the picturing of the scene.

7

The adaptability of the Mound-cum-Ramp method for allied engineering tasks is obvious.

In extensive belts of the world we have remains of stupendous monuments from pre-historic times which, testifying to a passion for the use of great stones, are ascribed to what has been called the Megalithic (Great Stone) Culture. Whether Cyclopean building and Pyramid architecture, both of which utilise great stone-blocks, are assignable to that culture may be a moot point, but there is no doubt about monuments such as Stonehenge belonging to it. Some of the difficulties in raising such structures are identical with those encountered at Giza and at Tanjore, for they arise from the massiveness, the weight and the unwieldiness of the great stones of which they are built, and from the need for setting many of them erect, and even to certain patterns. How these stones were raised or placed has not been satisfactorily explained : no clue is derivable from what might be called the characteristics of that culture.

The setting erect of Obelisks, or columns, of which the type is Cleopatra's Needle,— stone poles of great height and phenomenal slimness, standing free, – is also an achievement of the ancients the modus operandi for which remains equally obscure. The difficulties in *erecting* obelisks arises from their length and their slimness. Pulling up these columns with tackle calls for two series of ever ascending vantage points,— one series, at great heights, from which to keep on tugging at the tops of the columns, and another series, at lower levels, at which to keep levers plying at the columns as they lie at different degress of incline. So liable are these columns, through their slimness, to break here or there, that it is essential to have them well supported throughout the greater part of their length. It is obvious that, at least for reasons of economy, the two series of vantage points should be co-ordinated in some manner. The column may, for intance, be taken up a ramp, whether rising gently or sharply, and slid down along a side of the ramp to its position. Levering away at the sides of the column at the points in the ramp where it may happen to rest may help, but pulling hard at the top of the column is indispensable for bringing it to verticality. A second ramp running parallel, though more sharply, and attaining greater height near the point from where the column has been slid down to its destination, may provide a vantage point to pull from, but that spot is bound to be an inconveniently long way

off as this second ramp too has to have an incline on the side facing the column to keep itself stable. The need is clearly for a device more economical and feasible than a pair of parallel ramps.

It is a mound with a ramp that appears again to offer a facile solution in even these cases. It contains in itself the double series of vantage points needed, — a lower and an upper,— and contains them in the most compact form.

A mound is begun in the vicinity of the spot where the Obelisk is to be set up : the Obelisk, laid lengthwise on rollers at the foot of the mound where the ramp begins, is run along the ramp and up the growing mound, is halted somewhere above the point at which it is to be set up and is turned round so that its foot points towards its destination, while the upper part juts away from the mound : then, the entrails of the mound under the column being cut away sharply, the lower part of the column tilts within the mound and descends into it because of its weight, and inevitably it erects itself till, almost vertical, the foot touches the spot intended for it. Considerable packing of hard objects under the upper part of thc column, with persistent levering and energetic tugging at the top, from vantage points on opposite sides of the mound, and occasional raising of the mound, both at the fulcral spots and at the points from which tugging proceeds, so as to secure vantage-points higher and higher still, should serve to set the column quite erect.

The setting up of a complex of pillars, as at Stonehenge, seems also to be well within the capabilities of the Mound-cum-Ramp. A mound, extended here and there, both at sides and in height, and a ramp re-routed now and then, both in direction and in incline, to serve exigencies of design, should form, in combination, a device so compact aud economical as to rule out other solutions.

8

We find, thus, that for the great tasks of raising large blocks of stone to great elevations and placing them in high spots, as in the Pyramids or in the Tanjore Temple, or for setting upright tall columns such as Obelisks, or for setting columns in patterns, as at Stonehenge, as well as for the minor tasks of building edifices with massive stone-blocks, the builder of great monuments had, in antiquity, no more felicitous device than that of Mound-cum-Ramp, and that, in all probability, the device helped to build not only such famous monuments as the Great Pyramid, Stonehenge and the

Great Temple at Tanjore, but also the less conspicuous, though more widely strewn, edifices of the Megalithic Culture and the still less conspicuous edifices into which have entered stones which are massive, though not huge. An invention of early times, distinguished for its versatility, it helped man, through forty centuries and more, to build vast monuments which awake wonder in even machineful modern man. The disuse of the device set in with the advent of the Machine Age and it proceeded so rapidly that even the memory of the device has to be revived by diligent investigation.

That the device has apparently no future cannot efface our duty to be grateful to it for its distinguished services in the past. But, it does have a future,— as a symbol.

Man's rise to his present eminence has largely been along ramps which he has devised to surmount or cross over hills thrown up by nature and by the temperament of himself and his brethren. The hills are, however, much more of man's own making than of nature's, and they keep growing in dimensions so long as man's temperament continues to be what it is. So, man will have to continue running ramps over his hills unless he ceases raising hills for himself.

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Sri Sri-Prakasa, Governor of Madras State, being in the chair.

EPIGRAPHY IN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND LIFE

BY

DR. B. CH. CHHABRA.

An old adage has it that archaeology is a handmaid of history. It is doubtful if this definition is acceptable today when every branch of learning, like every individual, lays claim to an independent existence. The modern conception of history as well as that of archaeology is quite different from what it was in the past. Both have undergone vast changes. Their horizons have expanded enormously. Mere chronicles of kings no longer constitute history, nor does a collection or display of antiquities mean archaeology. History, as it is understood now, is a record of the activities of man, right from the time of his appearance on this earth, through the ages, down to modern times. It is a record of the march of civilization, in all its bearings, taking into account the environs and the conditions in which man has been working.

The history of this country or that is but a chapter of that vast record. The scope of archaeology has expanded likewise. It is so boundless indeed that a true archaeologist has become non-existent. You meet either an anthropologist, a pre-historian, an excavation expert, a conservator, an engineer, an architect, a chemist, an artist, a museum curator, a numismatist, an epigraphist, a philologist or a botanist. For, it is the sum total, or rather the net result, of the combined researches of all these and many other specialities that goes by the name of archaeology. For an individual it may be possible to master a few of the subjects. It is impossible for anyone to acquire mastery over all the arts and sciences involved in modern archaeology. It is against this back-ground that attention has to be focussed on the part played by epigraphy in Indian archaeology.

As in every other field, so in archaeology, too, India has problems that are peculiar to herself. Nowhere else perhaps in the world is a nation so dependent on archaeology for its cultural history as it is India. And nowhere else perhaps in the world does epigraphy figure so prominently in archaeology as it does in India. Nowhere else in the world does epigraphy play so vital a part in reconstructing the past as it has done and is still doing in India. These are no empty assertions. These are facts. The authorities of various museums and archaeological institutions abroad are witnesses to this statement.

Some of them have even confessed that they have hardly anything to show to the world in the way of epigraphy.

Among educated folk are many who have never heard the word *epigraphy*, let alone its connotation, but even among students of archaeology, there are some who have no precise idea about the nature and value of epigraphical research. The subject itself is perhaps so obscure and unattractive – something hidden away from the public gaze ! It does not possess the charm of the Taj, nor the grace of the Nataraja figures. It has nothing attractive about it, artistically speaking. All this, however, does not take away its value. How many of us are conscious that we possess a back-bone ? And, is a back-bone something beautiful to look at ? Perhaps not ! Yet, no one may stand erect without a back-bone. Its worth is there ! So too the worth of epigraphy ! Epigraphy is the back-bone of archaeology, the back-bone of the handmaid – the handsome maid — of history. If not elsewhere, in India at least, this is the case.

This is no case of one who deals in epigraghy, so to say, hawking his wares, singing their praise. It is not difficult to demonstrate what a distinct contribution epigraphy has made, and is making, to the revealing of India's past, and to show how, in future, epigraphy is likely to play a much more important role, how the accumulated data of epigraphy may be turned to use in our nation-building activities.

With the establishment of freedom, for instance, the nation is intent upon replacing English by provincial languages. This means that for the purposes of administration, education, scientific research and the like we shall be in dire need of technical terms in our own language. This need can largely be met by Indian epigraphy.

While there is more or less paucity of epigraphical records in the rest of the world, India is especially rich in this kind of antiquities. This applies also to those lands and islands that have in the past been influenced by the India-Arya culture, such as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, the Malaya Straits, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali, and so on and so forth. We may, however, confine ourselves to the epigraphy of India alone, where we have so far discovered upward of forty thousand epigraphs—inscriptions, if that term is preferred. These include records found in what are now Eastern and Western Pakistan, as well as those found in what were Indian ' States.' Upward of forty thousand is a huge figure for epigraphical records, but nobody need be overawed by this, because the bulk consists of either comparatively unimportant records or badly damaged ones. Still, there are quite a few thousands of them that have proved of immense value to the historian. We should have known next to nothing about the

history relating to the times of Asoka, the Kushanas, the Guptas, the Vakatakas, the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Pandyas, to name only a few prominent landmarks in the history of India, but for the incriptions that we have discovered in the course of the last century or so. They are as numerous as they are varied in contents, and illuminate different phases of human activity in those days. There has to be an iteration of the fact so as to attract the attention of scholars who are not antiquarians and of the public at large to this probably less attractive, but certainly more useful, line of research, and to enlist their co-operation for a more energetic pursuit of this means to knowledge. The need for the iteration will be obvious if it is known, for instance, that in a certain museum some stone inscriptions were removed from the gallery and relagated to the godown, because they were considered not attractive enough objects to be exhibited to the public, and that in another museum a variety of inscribed stones were kept pellmell in its godown. How much better would it have been to render them attractive and educative with the aid of translations, illustrative charts, photographs, and maps for the instruction not only of our school boys but also of those who should improve their acquaintance with our culture.

If such is the treatment meted out to inscriptions in our museums, how much more woeful is their lot when they lie uncared for in a wilderness. If accompanied by a sculpture, they have a chance of catching the eye of the passer-by otherwise, none cares for mere scribblings which are neither decipherable by the lay man nor capable of being understood by him when deciphered.

A few inscribed boulders are embedded in the ground in a jungle near the village of Sitabinji in the Keonjhar State of Orissa. They contain names of a few holy personages. The ornamental script in which the records are engraved points to a remote antiquity—at least one thousand five hundred years old. Not far away, in the village of Danguaposhi there is a rock shelter formed by a huge boulder resting upon another. In the ceiling there is a line of inscription painted in red ochre below a rock painting in the same material depicting a royal procession, or a fighting scene.

The rock shelter is known by the name of Rāvaṇacchāyā on account of its huge size. It is open to ignorant vandalism.

Inscriptions are sometimes found where they are least expected. An inscription is found engraved on a block set in the *śikhara* of a Siva temple, right in the middle of the Mahanadi, near tbe village of Kandarpur in Athgarh, Orissa State. An inscription, a label in two

lines, partly damaged, is found engraved in the pedestal of what was once a standing statue, a block of stone showing only two feet shod in wadded boots. The inscription, such as it is, reveals that the statue represented a general – Mahā Daṇda nāyaka – Ulāna, by name. The name shows that the general was a Saka, and his footwear confirms this. How these and similar records are great aids to the reconstruction of our political and cultural history need not be enlarged on now. It is enough to point out the supreme importance of these records being preserved with great care.

A word, however, may be said of how interesting the study of these records could be. The block of stone showing Ulāna's boots and giving his name is an apt example of how iconography and epigraphy jointly tackle an issue – the epigraphy revealing the name and the nationality of the person represented, and the sculpture of the peculiar footwear furnishing confirmation.

There are, however, instances where epigraphy solves the problem single-handed, so to say. The lower portion of a kneeling figure, carved in the round (Pl. 1) found at Silao, near Rajagrha would have remained an enigma for ever, were it not for the inscription that occurs on the pedestal, which reveals that the figure represented no less a personage than Māhakāśyapa, one of the major disciples of the Buddha. Many are the statues of the Buddha and the Buddhist dieties, but seldom do we have one representing a disciple of his.

Let us now see the immediate uses of epigraphy. The growth of our languages is a prime concern of ours. We have lost touch with the past wealth of these languages. It is necessary at least to bring up that past wealth from oblivion. The Great Stūpa at Sañchī in Bhopal has been fully described in English by a great authority and an English-knowing person at once understands all about it when he reads the description. Now, if we were to describe the same stūpa in any of our provincial languages, wherefrom are we to get, for instance, the precise technical terms denoting different members of the edifice, balustrades, coping stones, cross-bars, gate-ways. Coinage of new terms for these will not avail for few accept new coins in language. However precise and expressive the coined terminology may be, there will be opposition to it, preferences and prejudices in details if not in essentials. There is no authority behind new linguistic coinage. But if the coins come direct from the horse's mouth, as they say, one has to accept them, and be grateful, into the bargain. Epigraphy is the horse's mouth. The short dedicatory ins-

criptions occurring in different members of stūpas reveal the very names of those members, as they were known some two thousand years ago. Blaustrade, for instance, was *vedikā*; coping stone was *ushṇīsha*, cross-bar was *sūci*, gate-way was *toraṇa*. There are hundreds of other terms peculiar to architecture, that a diligent student can pick up from the epigraphical material at our disposal.

Likewise terms peculiar to other arts and sciences can be culled from other inscriptions. Quite a number of official terms are prevalent in our provincial languages. Some of them have been taken from Sanskrit, while others are of Persian or English origin, such as *Karaṇam* (Skt.), Patil (Skt. *Paṭṭakila*), Patwāri (Skt. *Paṭṭavārika* ?). Others have come from Persian : *Munsif, Nazir, Tahsildār*. A few, such as Judge, have come from English. Our aim is now to have a uniform terminology, as far as possible, in the administrative system throughout India. Epigraphy offers a large variety of terms that may now be assimilated in our provincial languages with advantage. There are terms not only for designations of various officials but also for the names of various departments of the government: we have even set forms of official documents connected with different state transactions.

Hundreds of copper-plate charters have been discovered in all parts of India. These are royal charters, title deeds or official documents. Their phraseology is more or less the same : a land-grant of south India and a similar record from north India are more or less identically worded, so far as the technical parts of the documents are concerned. A sifting of the technical terms occurring in these records, will yield hundreds, nay thousands, of words that may be very useful to us in our attempt at evolving an administrative terminology of our own. Examples of them may be cited : akshapaṭalika, akshaśālin, adhishṭhāna, adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa, antaranga, ājñapti, ājñāsañchārin, āyuktaka, udranga, uparika, grāmakūṭa, grāmapati, grāmamahattara, grāmāshṭakulādhikaraṇa, chāṭa, daṇdanāyaka, daṇdapāśika, dharmādhikaraṇa, paṭṭakila, pattanādhikāripurusha, pramātṛi, bhaṭa, bhāgagrāhin, bhogapati, mandalika rājasthānīya, rājāmatya, rāshṭrapati, vishayapati, vishayādhikaraṇa, vīthyadhikṛita, śarabhanga, sāndhivigrahika.

These terms and words are quite appropriate to the present. Coming as many do from the common cultural medium of this country, they are acceptable all over the land. Quite a large percentage of the words and idioms are local developments but as

they took place in the same cultural climate they are bound to be acceptable generally up and down the land. They have the greatest validity that words can have, - that they are the words that our forefathers spoke in the days when we were indeed free and great.

NOTE:—This was the address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society on July 22, 1948.



Mahākāśyapa, from Silao near Rajagriha.

SOME SELECT COINS OF THE SOUTH INDIAN DYNASTIES

BY

RAO BAHADUR S. T. SRINIVASAGOPALACHARI, M.L.

The coins of the South Indian dynasties make very interesting study. A comprehensive or complete catalogue of the coins of the south Indian dynasties has still to come into existence. For some reason or other, these coinages have not received scientific treatment from scholars, comparable to that of the more attractive issues of the north. The frontiers of the south Indian dynasties varied considerably at different periods, enhancing the difficulty of attribution. As a rule, the early coins contain no dates. When names were given, there was more than one ruler bearing the same name, e.g., Sundara Pandya. A variety of Hindu gods and emblems are generally represented. Gold and copper were the metals commonly used, silver being rare comparatively. One characteristic feature is that conquerers very often indulged in the practice of incorporating on their issues the cognizances of vanquished peoples, especially when they happened to be popular and well established—a practice which was also copied subsequently by the Indo-European Companies.

The primitive indigenous method of punch-marking, as opposed to the later adoption of the improved foreign method of striking from dies continued in use in India for a much longer period in the south than in the north, with the result that punch-marked coins or purāṇas, as they are called, issued in silver or in copper, have been found in various places in south India from time to time.

EARLIEST COINAGE

Thus the earliest south Indian gold coins are mere spherules or globules of the standard weight, with one or more minute punch marks impressed upon them on both sides, owing to which the globules are slightly flattened. (Fig. 1.)[1] They are the forerunners of the cup-shaped issues, called Padma-Ṭankas.

THE PALLAVAS

There is a good deal of mystery about the origin of this dynasty, its connection with the Persians, if any, and where it migrated from, and subsequently what became of it or if it got absorbed among the

1. Figures are illustrated in Plates 2 and 3.

indigenous peoples[2]. There is also some confusion as to whether they were the same as Kurumbars, for which theory, without adequate data, Elliot is primarily responsible. Rapson however says, quite correctly, that the Kurumbars are a different set of people, but adds that no accurate discrimination has yet been made between the coins of these two peoples,—that is, assuming that the Kurumbars had an issue of their own, which is extremely doubtful. They are only a pastoral tribe who inhabited chiefly the present district of North Arcot, being usually shepherds and weavers of coarse woollen blankets. The coins of the Pallavas exhibit a high standard of art. They fall into two main types :—

(*a*) Issues, largely in copper, and some in debased silver, with the symbols, chiefly of the bull, and also of the fish, the ship etc., (indicative of their being a maritime power) together with abbreviated legends in Pallava-Grantha of the titles of the Pallava kings, e.g. *Śri Bhara* (Fig. 3), *Vabu* (Fig. 4), and *Śri Nidhi* (Fig. 4-a), etc., and

(*b*) issues in gold, comparatively scarce, with the symbol of the lion, (Fig. 2).

There is yet another issue of copper, of a distinct type issued by the Śālankāyanas, a branch of the Pallavas, who ruled in the Andhra State. The prominent feature of this issue is the bull couchant to the left with the legend Śri Chaṇḍavamma in characters of early Vengi, of the 'box-head' type, as it is called (Fig. 5). This dynasty had its capital at Vengipura in the Godavari district until conquered in the 5th century A.D. by the Vishṇukuṇḍins. Chaṇḍavarma has been assigned the date 400 A.D.

THE CHERAS

The Chera dynasty was flourishing before the Chola conquest of 877 A.D. The distinctive issue of this dynasty is the gold '*Gajapati*' pagoda, furnishing a good illustration of the artistic quality of Indian coins. On the obverse, it bears a richly caparisoned elephant with jewelled trappings, and on the reverse, a beautiful floral scroll device. (Fig. 6).

Another issue of the Cheras of the west coast in silver contains the legend *Vīrakeralasya* in Nagari (Fig. 7).

THE CHOLAS

The Chola issues are in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper. They commence only from the time when Rāja Rāja the

2. There is also a theory that the Pallavas belonged to an indigenous race whose chieftain became king over all other feudatory chiefs. Among the Kallars the titles of Pallavarayan, Pallava Nadan, Kaduvetti and Pallavamandan are found. Ed.

great established the Cholas as the paramount power in South India, in 985 A.D. The early issues are of two distinct types :—

(*a*) Showing on the obverse, the Chola emblem, the tiger in conjunction with those of the Pandyas and the Cheras, the fish and the bow respectively, and on the reverse, the name of the king in Nagari ; and

(*b*) showing on the obverse the king standing, and on the reverse, the king seated—which type came to be commonly called the "Ceylon-Man" type in English and "*Pey-Kāśu*" (Ghost Coin), in Tamil, from its subsequent adoption in Ceylon as a result of the Chola occupation of that Island ; and this type was subsequently adopted by the Rajas of Kandy in Ceylon, beginning with Lankeśvara and Parākrama Bāhu.

Illustrations of the 1st type are :—

Gangai Koṇda Chola in gold, (Fig. 9).
Śri Rājendra in gold, (Fig. 11).
Śri Rāja Rājendra in gold, (Fig. 12).

Of the 2nd type :—

Rāja Rāja, in all metals, (Fig. 8).
Rājādhi Rāja in gold (Fig. 10).
Uttama Chola in silver, (Fig. 13).

The very earliest copper issues of the Cholas contain the Ceylon-Man on one side, and show on the obverse the figure of a galloping horseman, (Fig. 14), or Krishna as Muralīdhara, (Fig. 15).

The Chola issue as adopted by the Rajas of Kandy, with the addition of the word *Setu* in Tamil was issued by the Setupatis, (Fig. 22), and there is another variety of the same showing on the obverse only figure of a seated bull, instead of the seated Ceylon-Man (Fig. 23).

THE PANDYAS

The Pandyan coins are mostly in copper with a solitary gold issue and none in silver. The earliest copper issues are of three types, all die-struck and rectangular, showing on the reverse the same set of angular lines, representing the fish, the favourite emblem of the Pandyas, and not, as erroneously supposed, the ground-plan of a city of temple. They are exceedingly interesting and scarce[3].

3. See T. G. Aravamuthan's paper, 'A Pandyan Issue of Punch-Marked Puranas', in JISN, (1949), pp. 1-3. He points out also that the symbol is one that occurs frequently in the script of the Harappa Culture.

Of them, the first, which is presumably the earliest issue contains on the obverse, the tree-in-rail with branches and leaves and *ashṭa-mangaḷa* symbols and very often a bull also on the side. (Fig. 16).

The two other types are represented by the elephant and the horse respectively. The elephant stands to right generally with the symbols of *meru*, flagstaff etc., in front and standing over fishes and wavy lines representing a river, Vaigai (Fig. 17). In the other type is the horse standing to right in front of a *stambha* surrounded by symbols. The emblem of the horse on the coin is indicative of *Aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice performed by the king in celebration of his supremacy and commemoration of a series of conquests. (Fig. 17B).

The solitary gold issue of the Pandyas with the legend Śri Paṇdya Dhanamjaya in old Kanarese is to be attributed to the later Kanarese branch of the Pandyan dynasty who ruled over the West Coast. (Fig. 18).

The later copper issues of the Pandyas are circular in shape and some of them exhibit the influence of the Chola conquest. The fish occurs almost invariably on all of them, together with the names or more often, the titles or *birudas* of the king during whose reign they were issued, e.g., *Būtala*, (Fig. 19); *Kaliyuga Rāman*, (Fig. 20) *Kachchi Vazhangum Perumāḷ*, (Fig. 21). This last legend meaning, " The Lord who gifted away Kanchi " is the commemorative of the Pandyan king who is responsible for this issue taking Kancheevaram (Kanchi) from the Cholas and gifting it back to them.

EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES GIVEN IN THE LIST OF COINS

Bidie. BIDIE—*The Pagoda or Varāha Coins of S. India. J. A. S. B.* 51 : 1 : 1883.

Brown. BROWN C. J.—*Coins of Southern India.* (Heritage of India series).

Cod. CODRINGTON—*Ceylon coins and currency.*

De Silva. DE SILVA—*Priced catalogue of ancient coins of Ceylon.*

Ell. ELLIOT SIR WALTER—*Coins of Southern India.* (*Numismata Orientalia*).

Rap. RAPSON E. J.—*Indian coins.*

T. D. DESIKACHARI SIR T.—*South Indian coins.*

Tracy. J. E. TRACY, REV.—*Pandyan coins*; *Sethupathi coins.*

DESCRIPTIONS AND REFERENCES

EARLY ANONYMOUS

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
1. GOLD.	Spherule called '*Svarṇa*' or '*Nishka*'	Cf. Ell. 2. Brown VII-1 Bidie 1.

PALLAVA

2. GOLD.	Maned lion, to r. with a front forepaw raised.	3-storeyed building with pillars below. Ell. 54.
3. SILVER.	Bull to r. with legend, *Śri Bhava* in Telugu-Kannada.	Rayed solar wheel (Mahendra Varman). Ell. 34.
4. COPPER.	Bull to r. with legend *Vabu* in Pallava-Grantha.	Tiger to r. with fish and bow above. (Mahendra Varman)
4A. COPPER.	Bull to r. with legend *Śri Nidhi* in Telugu-Kannada.	A fish (Narasimha Varman). Ell. 37.
4B. COPPER.	Bull to r. legend not read.	A ship. Ell. 38.

PALLAVA—*Śālankāyana*

5. COPPER.	Śri Chaṇḍa Vama in early Vengi.	Seated bull, to l., with lines below.

CHERA

6. GOLD.	Ornate elephant to r. with trappings.	Floral scroll design. Ell. 119. Rap. V-12. Brown VII-5. Bidie. 7.
7. SILVER.	Prithvī Ganga *Vira Keralasya* in Nagari.	Gandankurasya in Nagari. Rapson V-11. Brown VII-9. JNSI.

CHOLA

8. GOLD.	Standing Ceylon Man, arrayed in regal robes.	Seated Ceylon Man, with Nagari legend Rāja Rāja on r. Ell. 165.
9. GOLD.	Bow, seated tiger and 2 fishes, standing per-	(Obverse and reverse, same.)

		Obverse.	*Reverse.*
		pendicularly, with royal umbrella above and flanked by a lamp stand at either end, with Nagari legend below *Gangaikoṇda* Chola (name assumed by Rājendra I son of Rāja Rāja).	T. D. 90. Cf. Ell. 152.
10.	GOLD.	Standing Ceylon Man with Nagari legend *Rājādhi Rāja.* (1st son of Gangaikoṇda Chola *alias* Rājendra I).	Seated Ceylon Man with seated tiger facing the figure with a lamp stand on either side. Cod. 105.
11.	GOLD.	Bow, seated tiger and 2 fishes standing perpendicularly with royal umbrella above and a lamp stand at either end with Nagari legend below *Śri Rājendra* (Rājendra II son of Rājendra I).	(Obverse and reverse the same). Cf. Ell. 153. Brown VII-6. Cf. T.D. 89.
12.	GOLD.	Bow, seated tiger and 2 fishes standing perpendicularly with royal umbrella above and flanked by a lamp stand on either side, with the legend below in Nagari *Śri Rāja Rājendra* (another son of Rajendra I.)	Seated Ceylon Man with a seated tiger facing the figure flanked by a lamp stand on either side.
13.	SILVER.	Bow, seated tiger and 2 fishes standing perpendicularly with the royal umbrella above and flanked by a lamp-stand on either side with a curved line below, all within a ring of dots.	Nagari legend in 2 lines *Uttama Chola* with ring of dots. Ell. 154. T.D. 88. Rap. V-13.
14.	COPPER.	Seated Ceylon Man with Nagari legend *Rāja Rāja.*	Gallopping horseman. Cf. Ell. 162.
15.	COPPER.	Seated Ceylon figure with Nagari legend *Rāja Rāja.*	Standing Krishna as Muraḷīdhara to r. Ell. 164.

EARLY PANDYAN (*Rectangular*)

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
16. COPPER.	Tree-on-rail with tree and leaves and *ashṭa-maṅgaḷa* symbols and a standing bull on l.	Angular lines representing fish. Cf. De Silva 34.

RECTANGULAR (*Korkay*)

17. COPPER.	Elephant to r. with *chaitya*, flagstaff and small tree on r. standing over fish and wavy lines indicating river.	Angular lines, representing fish. Unpublished? Cf. T.D. 1.
17A. COPPER.	Elephant to r. with 7 symbols above, tree-on-r, wicker *āsana*, *pūrṇakumbha* crescent moon, *svastika*, *darpaṇa* (mirror) and solar wheel. In front *triśulu* with *paraśu* and sword in scabbard.	Angular lines (Fish.)

RECTANGULAR (*Aśvamedha*)

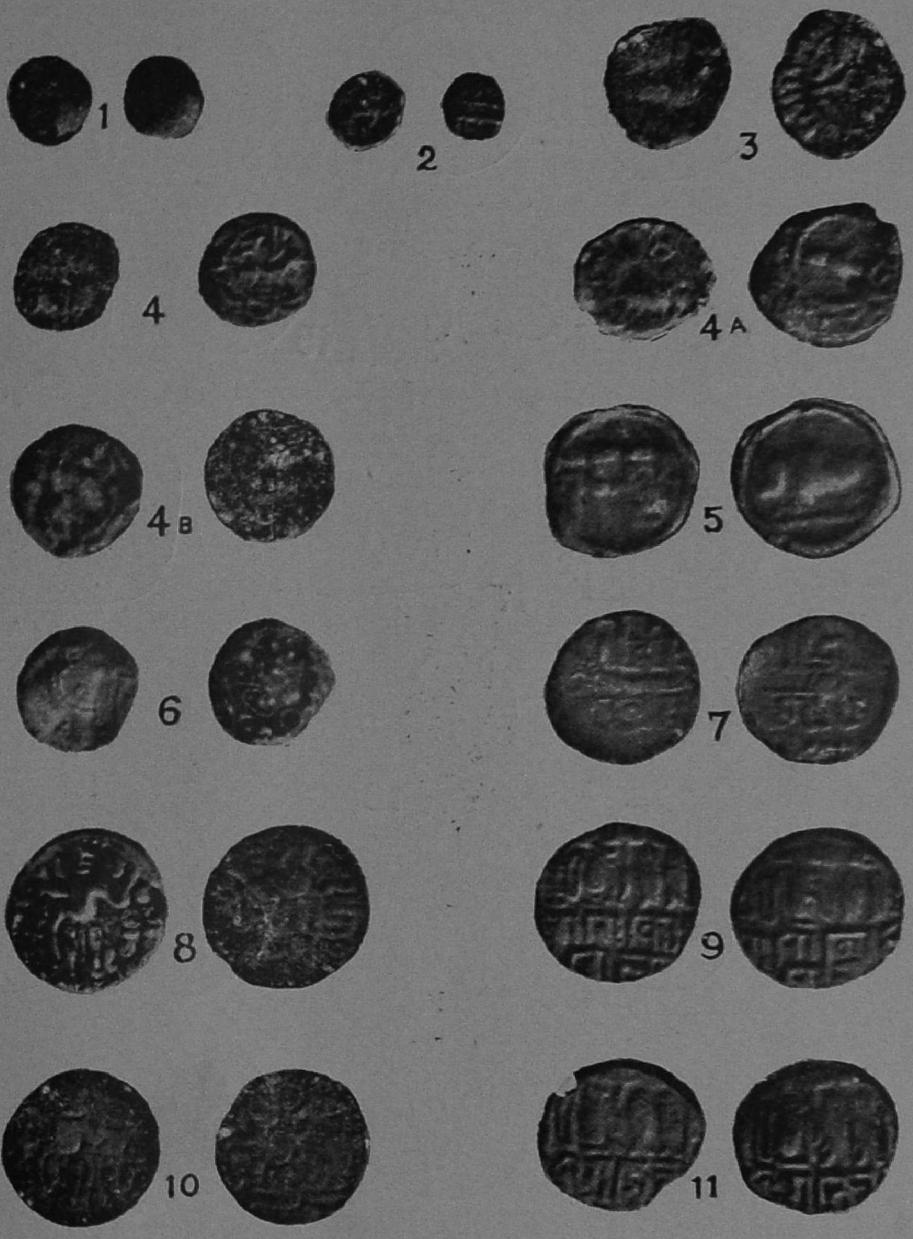
17B. COPPER.	Horse to r. with *stambha* with symbols above, below and to r.	Angular lines (Fish).
18. GOLD.	Two fishes to r. with a lamp stand on either side. The royal umbrella is above, and flower work and bow below.	In old Kannada, legend *Śri Pāṇḍya Dhanamjaya*. Ell. 129. Rapson V-10.
19. COPPER.	Seated Ceylon Man with legend in Tamil, *Būtala* to l. and fish below all within ringed circle.	Standing Ceylon figure within ringed circle. T.D. 30. Tracy 1.
20. COPPER.	Tamil legend *Kaliyuga Rāman* below moon in the centre, flanked by a small flag on either side.	A pair of *Vishṇupādas* below umbrella and a flag on either side and other symbols. Ell. 14. Tracy 3.

		Obverse.	*Reverse.*
21.	COPPER.	Tamil legend *Kachi Vazhangum Perumāḷ* with moon above.	Crossed fishes with symbols in the 4 angles, chank, sceptre, trident and cresent or moon. Ell. 145. T.D. 43a.

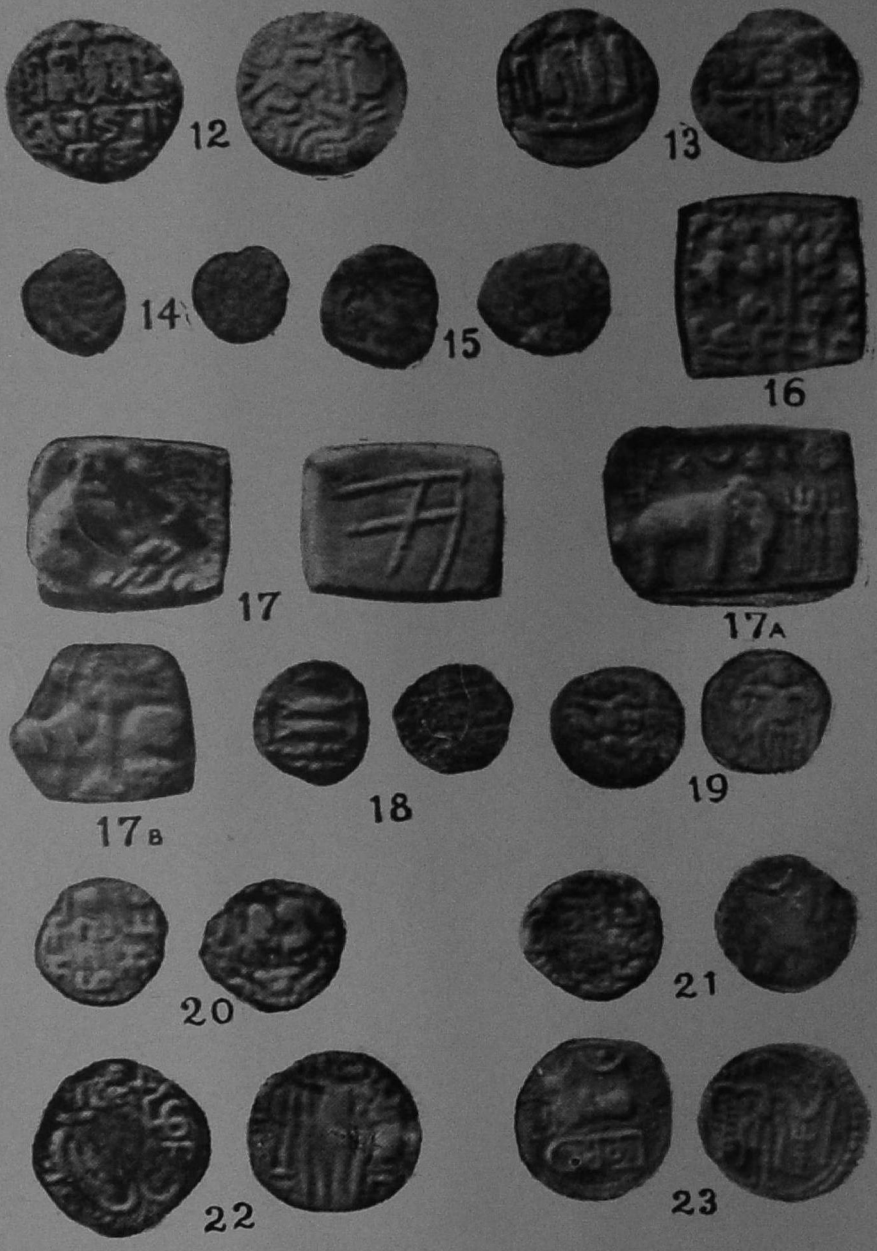
SETUPATI (*Lankāpura Issue*)

22.	COPPER.	Seated Ceylon figure with Tamil legend *Setu*.	Standing Ceylon figure. with bull. Ell. 132. Tracy 1.
23.	COPPER.	Seated bull with sun and moon above and Tamil legend, *Setu* below.	Standing figure with dots. Tracy 4.

NOTE.—The substance of this Paper was placed before the Society in a Lecture at the Annual Meeting of the Society on July 31, 1954.



(Size : *slightly reduced*)



(Size : *slightly reduced*)

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH INDIA

BY

T. V. MAHALINGAM

The foundation of any state edifice in Indian Administration must necessarily be the village not only on account of its great antiquity but also on account of the fact that people living in it are known to one another intimately and have interests which converge on well recognised objects. Even so late as the early nineteenth century British administrators in our country were so much impressed with the vitality and usefulness of the Indian village communities that they have showered encomiums on them. Elphinstone thought that the secret of the good things achieved in India in the past is to be sought in the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organization. Sir Charles Metcalfe observes in one of his letters : " The village communities are village republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty crumbles down. Revolution succeeds revolution..... (But) the union of village communities—each one forming a separate state—by itself—has I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." §

Therefore it is no surprise that the subject of the Indian village communities has attracted a number of scholars particularly after the publication in 1871 by Sir Henry Mane of his stimulating lectures on " Village Communities East and West." Scholars like Baden Powell, Mookerjee, Altekar and Ghoshal to mention only a few have made suggestive contributions to knowledge on the subject. The value of a study of the subject can hardly be exaggerated for in many cases the foundations of the political and administrative institutions of later times have been traced to the ancient village communities. Even the idea of the corporate personality of a group of people is considered to be a development from them. The word community is the same as the French word *commune* which is derived from the Latin word *communalis* or *communis*. The Latin

§ John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Lord Charles Metcalfe*, II, p. 191.

term itself is a compound made up of two words *com* (together) *munis* (bound) i. e., bound together. The word community signifies a fellowship or joint personality i. e., a body of persons organised for political, economic, social, religious and professional purposes. The village community was therefore not distinct from the village organization which existed in some form from very early times. Though such institutions were not peculiar to South India yet they had certain characteristics with regard to their comprehensiveness and functions on account of which they may be considered unique. They formed a definite part of the administrative machinery in the country and each of them had a homogeneous, individual and continuous personality. But it must be admitted that an integrated study of this fascinating subject has not so far received the attention it deserves, though we are indebted to scholars like Venkayya, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Appadorai who have approached the subject from specific points of view.

The village communities in South India belonged to a general pattern, bore some common characteristics and served some common purposes and ends. Maine's description of the English township "as an organised self acting group of Teutonic families exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system and sustaining itself by the produce" may be taken to be equally applicable to the village communities in South India in its early stages. It was an organism born out of the consciousness among its members of a kinship among them. Its growth was gradual, slow and spontaneous, the community often adapting itself to changing conditions. There were three types of such village organizations namely the *ūr*, *sabhā*, and the *nādu* which were essentially agrarian units.

The humble and often unnoticed origins of even mighty institutions are generally shrouded in mystery, and those of the village community of South India are no exception.

We get glimpses of rural administration in the Tamil country from the literature of the Sangam ages where we get reference to two terms, *maṉṟam* and *podiyil*. The maṉṟam has been explained to by *Naccinārkiniyār* as the open place in the centre of the village where the people met together. It was the common public place also called *podiyil* or *poduvil*, usually with the tree of the region or the banyan in the centre. Social festivities and sacrifices to the Gods were conducted there. It was also used for the discussion of public affairs, and the transaction of public business like the administration of justice. In spite of its wide prevalence and popularity we do not know its

exact relationship with the village community. But it is from some early inscriptions of South India that we came to know something about the rise of a community feeling in the region. Some of the early inscriptions of the Eastern Gangas and the Pallavas indicate the existence of a feeling of collective recognition of their common interests by the residents in villages, the necessary basis for the rise of a community feeling among them and the evolution of a township. Each village was a community of land holders and land was the primary factor that made the people connected with it to come together for common purposes. Lands were usually held under three distinct types of tenure; (1) directly from the State, (2) under service tenure by the servants of the government or persons charged with the specific duties, like the recitation of the *Bhārata* in the temple or the maintenance of an *ambalam* and (3) under elemosynary tenure by groups of people or an institution like the temple. To the last group belonged for instance the Brāhmaṇas who were granted the *miyātchi* rights over land or the right of the overlordship of a share of produce. The tenure under which lands were held by groups of persons was known as *gaṇabhogam* as distinct from *ēkabhogam* by which term severality tenure was known. The co-sharers of land in a joint village where they enjoyed all the eight rights of possessions were the absolute owners of land. Such ownership rights consisted " in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity, together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself where such an operation is possible. These privileges combined, form the abstract idea of property which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where they are found united there is property, and nowhere else." Even in the severality villages ownership of land appears to have rested only with the citizens unless the lands were unoccupied ones, and the states' share of the income from land was due to the protection it gave to the people. Wilson's description of the limitations of the titles of the king over land is classical and deserves reproduction. He says : " He (the King) is not lord of the ' soil ' ; he is lord of the earth, of the whole earth or kingdom ; not of any parcel or allotment of it ; he may punish a cultivator for neglect of the crop ; and when he gives away lands and villages, he gives away the share of the revenue. No donee would ever think of following such a donation by actual occupancy, he would be resisted if he did. The truth is that the rights of the king are a theory, an abstraction. Poetically and politically speaking he is the lord, the master, the protector of the earth, (*pṛithvīpati, bhūmīśvara, bhūmipa*) just as he is the lord, the master, the protector of the earth (*narapati, nareśvara and nṛipa.*) Such is the

common title of a king, but he is no more the actual proprietor of the soil than he is of his subjects ; they need not have his permission to buy or sell it or to give it away and would be much surprised and grieved if the king or his officers were to buy or sell or give away the ground which they cultivated." The recognition of private ownership of property in South India is borne out by both literary and epigraphical evidence of a contemporary nature. Vijñāneśvara in his celebrated work, the *Mitākshara* says for instance : " It is settled, that ownership in the father's or grandfather's estate is by birth .....the father is subject to the control of his sons and the rest in regard to the immovable estate, whether acquired by himself or inherited from his father or other predecessor " and thereby suggests that for the disposal of lands son's consent was necessary. This condition need not have been insisted upon if private ownership of land had not been recognised. With regard to the King's control over it the same authority says : " True it is that this man first got it by gift and also was in possession, but the king gave this very field to me after purchasing from this very man or that this man gave it to me after having obtained by gift etc." thereby suggesting that the king, if he wanted to acquire land, had to purchase it as any private individual. The views of Mādhavāchārya on this interesting question may also be referred to here. Commenting on the text of the *Jaiminīya Nyāyamālā vistara* namely " the *mahābhūmi*, the public land, is an object of gift ..... the king may give it away because he possesses it ; the kingdom is the king's only for the sake of protection, and hence it should not be given away. " Mādhavāchārya observes : " But doubts may arise. When an all-powerful king gives away everything he possesses at the commencement of the *Viśvajit* sacrifice, is he to give away the *mahābhūmi* which is inclusive of paths for cattle, highways and tanks ? (The doubt arises because the earth is wealth *vide* the *smṛiti* which says: 'The king may claim the property of all except that of the Brāhmaṇas.')

" We reply : The smṛitis enjoin that the king's sovereignty is meant to punish the wicked and to protect the good. No, the earth is not the king's property. But it is the commom property of all the living beings for them to enjoy the fruit of their labour. Therefore, though he (the king) has the right to give away that portion of the land that is not common (public - *asādhāraṇa*), he cannot give away the mahābhūmi. Thus ownership of land rested only with the people. This is further supported by inscriptional evidence according to which in a number of cases, lands, which were in the enjoyment of private individuals were purchased by the king and granted to

others. The recognition of private property is further indicated by the use of the term *kāṇiātchi* to indicate it. It means hereditary right to land or property and is synonymous with the Sanskrit term *kshetrasvāmya*. Private ownership of property could not rest either in the individuals or in a group of people, jointly. In the *brahmadeya* or *agrahāra* or *chaturvedimangalam* villages the owners of lands held them jointly and created the necessary basis for the evolution of the village organisation on the community basis.

As a predominently agricultural community enjoying their lands under a joint tenure the residents of the *brahmadeya* village looked to the cultivation in common. In such work three different types appear to have been adopted. (1) The members of the village community cultivated land in common and shared the profits among themselves in proportion to the number of shares (*vṛittis*) each possessed. (2) A particular portion of the village could have been enjoyed individually by the shareholders for cultivation purposes, the rest being held by them jointly as under the first type. (3) Lands could have been divided into different grades in accordance with their fertility and every individual member of the joint community given a portion of each of the three classes of lands for a definite period, and after the expiry of that period the lands could be redistributed among the members. This system of periodical distribution of land was for instance known in the present Tanjore district as the *karaiyīdu*. An important feature of the organisation of the joint villages was the extreme exclusiveness of the village communities in them, and their anxiety not to allow outsiders to get any right or share in such villages either by purchase or gift.

For discussing and deciding upon matters connected with agriculture and their obligations to the government the landholders in the joint village had to meet on certain occasions though in a very informal way. But with the advance of time and growing complexity of the social and economic organization of the village, the meeting became frequent leading to the gradual development of custom and precedent in the dealings. With further passage of time such custom and procedure crystallised themselves in such a way that the organization looking after the affairs of the village community became so natural and strong that it was almost impossible to think of such a place without a well recognised and active organization with a well-established and growing tradition behind it. It was such an organization that developed into the perfected self-governing institution during the days of the Pallavas and Cholas in South India. The institution came to be variously called, the sabhā, the mahāsabhā, mahāsabhaiyōm, mahājanas, Kuri, Perunguri etc.

By the days of the Pallavas in the north and the Pandyas in the south the organization in the brahmadeya villages had taken a definite shape and was known usually as the sabhā. Its emergence as a perfected institution is seen first in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area in the days of the Pallavas. It appears that it functioned at least in twenty different places in the area in the eighth and ninth centuries. However details regarding their constitution and working are not available. Almost simultaneously the sabhā had developed in the Pandyan country also as may be gleaned from an inscription of Māṟaṅjadaiyaṉ at Māṉūr. At a general body meeting of the mahāsabhaiyār of the village summoned by beat of drum rules were made fixing the qualifications of property and learning besides the high character required of its members to participate in the proceedings of the assembly, and paticularly in its executive work. Failure to observe the new rules and wilful obstruction to the work of the sabhā were made punishable.

But more details are available about the constitution and working of the sabhā at Uttiramērūr, which has become justly famous in the history of local self government in South India. Though the two inscriptions relating to the constitution and working of the sabhā at the place dated 919 and 921 respectively are considered important on account of the lurid light they throw on its organization and working, it had a long anterior history going back to the days of the Pallavas when it discharged many executive functions through its individual officers or groups of officers known as *vāriyams*. From a study of the inscriptions bearing on the subject it is seen that the vāriyam system was an important feature of the sabhā organization. But its origin and history are not clearly known nor the import of the word. Some scholars think that the word is derived from the Tamil word vāram which means a share or *pangu*, and hence the term vāriyar means shareholder, and vāriyam a committee of vāriyars. Since the vāriyam discharged the executive functions of the sabhā it may be taken to be its committee. There were different such committees, each of which was entrusted with a specified branch of work. A second suggestion made is that the word may be derived from the Sanskrit word *vara* which means a collection (*samūha*) or group (*gaṇa*). A third suggestion is that it may be derived from vāra (meaning income in Tamil and rigorous demand in Kannada). A fourth suggestion and probably the most acceptable is that it is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word *varya* meaning 'selected' or 'chosen' (*vṛi* (*var*) to select or choose). This interpretation is supported by a Tamil inscription of the twelfth year of Kulōttunga III in which the expressions *varaṇam seydal* for the act of choosing and *varaṇam*

for the executive body of the sabhā are used. The term vāriyar would therefore mean a person or a body of persons employed to do a specific work. The Māṇūr inscription referred to above shows that even so early as the ninth century high qualification and integrity were expected of the vāriyars. But in the early phases of the history of the institution, it appears that the vāriyam was only a temporarily constituted *ad hoc* body or committee for the discharge of some specific duties. In course of time, apparently on account of its usefulness in local administration the vāriyam became a regular and integral part of the sabhā. Though it is possible that the method of the appointment of the vāriyam could have been the same everywhere our knowledge of it is meagre. But from the two celebrated Uttaramērūr inscriptions it may be presumed that each sabhā could change the method of the appointment to the vāriyam probably taking into account local conditions and requirements. The sabhā of Uttaramērūr which had a long history going back to the Pallava period adopted a resolution in 919 with regard to the method of appoinment to its executive committees. But for some reason it did not work well, and so two years later, the method of election to the committees underwent another change. According to the second reform the *Kudumbus* came to be directly represented on the committees. Each of the thirty *kudumbus* into which the village was divided was to nominate for the selection to the committees persons possessing the prescribed qualifications relating to learning, property, age and character. Persons who had served on the committees for the previous three years, those who had served on the committee, but had failed to submit accounts as also their specified relations and men of bad character were excluded from the committees. From among the persons duly nominated one was to be chosen from each *kudumbu* by the *kuda ōlai* or lot system in the prescribed manner. Apart from the qualifications specified in the above inscription for membership in the different committees the real importance of the record lies in the fact that the lot system was adopted by the sabhā for purposes of election to the standing committees. The system was not however new. In direct democracies worked in ancient Athens for instance the lot system was employed. It was quite popular though there was a chance in it for any person getting elected irrespective of his fitness and qualification. But the Uttiramērūr inscription by fixing a minimum qualification for the vāriyam avoided the pitfalls of the lot system.

The committee system which had grown gradually in the course of the previous centuries reached its highest water mark during this period. The Uttiramērūr inscription of 921 mentions five

distinct vāriyams namely the *tōṭṭavāriyam* in charge of gardens and public places, the *ērivāriyam* in charge of tanks and other irrigation sources, the *samvatsara vāriyam* or the annual committee of twelve members membership in which required not only experience in the first two committees mentioned above but also pre-eminence in learning and age, the *panchavāra vāriyam* connected apparently with the assessment and collection of the tax and the *poṉvāriyam* obviously engaged in examining the fineness and weight of the gold that was invested with the sabhā for specific purposes. All the vāriyams except the samvatsaravāriyam consisted of six persons. In 922 the sabhā at Uttiramērūr brought into existence by a resolution a new committee consisting of nine persons for the purpose of assaying gold. Probably without supplanting the old poṉvāriyam it was intended to help it in its work.

Many other sabhās in South India also adopted the vāriyam system, but the number of committees under them appear to have differed from place to place, depending probably on local needs. Among the other committees mentioned in inscriptions were the kudumbu vāriyam (wards committee), kaḷaṉivāriyam (fields committee), kaṇakkuvāriyam (accounts committee), kalingu vāriyam (sluice committee), the udāsīna vāriyam (committee in charge of foreigners?) dharma vāriyam (committee in charge of religious endowments) etc. Probably there were a few others also, of which however we have no idea now. The method of election to the vāriyam, the number of such vāriyams, the qualifications of their members and such other details must have been decided by the local sabhās themselves without interference by the Central Government. Even when the assembly of Uttaramērūr made changes in 919 and 921 with regard to the electoral procedure to be followed by it, it did so of its own accord, and the presence of the royal official on both the occasions appears to have been only for enabling the members of the sabhā to settle their constitution and electoral procedure amicably. But interference of the government was not impossible if the working of the village assemblies was not satisfactory. According to an inscription at Talaināyar in the Tanjore district a royal letter was addressed to the sabhā and collector (*taṇḍuvān*) of the place at the instance of two officers of King Kulottunga III. The document which was written by the *Tirumandira ōlai* and attested by nine others, all officers of government, contained rules for the election of the executive body (*kūṭṭam*) of the assembly of the village sanctioned by the king. The new rules said that only those Brāhmaṇas who had not been in the assembly during the ten

years previous to the year in which the election was held were eligible, the candidates were to be above forty years of age, learned (*vidvān*) and impartial (*samar*). Certain classes of persons were disqualified from serving on the executive of the assembly, for instance those that were guilty of wicked deeds, had defaulted in the payment of land revenue, oppressed docile Brāhmaṇas and respectable tenants, accepted bribes, and had done such other questionable things. Probably all was not well with the working of the sabhā at the place, its work was hampered by the rise of a factious spirit among its members and hence the government's interference and insistence. In another place it was ordered by the Government that only persons above forty years of age and who had not served on the executive for the previous ten years were alone eligible for service. Similar rules regarding age and interval between two periods of service were made also at Ayyampēṭṭai in the Tanjore district in 1190. In such cases the age limit of forty must have obviously served as a check against inexperienced and young men getting into the assembly. The interval of ten years between the period of the first election of a member and his second election was probably intended to give an opportunity for all adults in the village to take part in local administration. However when the village assemblies were not able to decide about such important matters they were referred to any other local body like the *mūlaparishat* of the temple of the place, particularly when the rules were not respected and fresh persons who did not possess the requisite qualifications entered the assembly. Actually such an incident is recorded to have taken place at a village in the reign of Rājarāja III and hence when the matter was referred to *mūlaparishat* of the temple of the place it made certain rules with regard to the elections and tenure of the members of the executive, as for instance that members should be elected every year and those who tried to extend their tenure of office for longer periods were liable to punishment as *grāmadrōhins* and those who in violation of the rules got into the assembly by some covert means in collusion with the officers of government or by any other means, were to be treated as traitors and all their property confiscated. But it must be said that on the whole the village assemblies carried on their work in the Chola period without interference either by the central government or by any other ageney. The sabhās continued to function in the Vijayanagar period also. Some of them consisted of a very large number of members, even 4,000 and were known as mahāsābhā or mahājanas.

Another body that functioned simultaneously with the sabhā was the *ūr*. It appears to have been prevalent only in the non-

brahmadeya villages in which the proprietors of land were not exclusively Brāhmaṇas, though instances are not wanting to show that it functioned alongside of the sabhā either by itself or jointly with it according to the nature of the work to be done. The *ūr* probably consisted of all persons who belonged to the village including agriculturists and professionals, and there is no clear evidence to support the suggestion that " it is not unlikely that all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brāhmanical sabhās prevailed except probably knowledge of the Vedas ". If there were two religious groups in a village it appears that there were two *ūrs* at the places, probably one representing each of them. From such expressions as *ūrāga iśainda ūrōm* it may be assumed that all the people in the village made the *ūr*. What the vāriyam was in the sabhā, the *gaṇam*, also called *āḷumgaṇam* and mīyāḷumgaṇam ūrāḷumgaṇam seems to have been in the *ūr*. It appears to have been a general executive committee of the severality village in which members belonging to different communities could serve. The *gaṇam* had under it officers like the *taṇḍal* (tax collector) and the *niyāyattār* (Judge). Another type of territorial assembly was the *nāḍu* which functioned in the territorial unit known by the same name. It is not clearly known how it was constituted. The expression used to denote the nāḍu is nāḍāga iśainda nāṭṭom or nāṭṭavarōm, but obviously all the residents in a nāḍu could not have been its members. The larger Leyden grant seems to suggest that the villages were represented on the nāḍu on some principles.

The agricultural community in the country known as the Veḷḷāḷas formed themselves into a corporation called *citramēḷi* (*meḷi* in Tamil meaning ploughshare). They were also known as *bhūmiputtiyar* and nāttumakkal, apparently on account of their dependence on land. Groups of villages under this organization were called citramēḷi periyanāḍu, while some individual villages had the suffix citrameḷinallūr, citramēḷiviṭankar and citramēḷichaturvedimangalam. A number of professionals were attached to them like the goldsmiths, dancing girls etc. Very probably the citrameḷi organization had control over the production and distribution of the produce from land. It was patronised by the rulers of the time and hence themselves were known by the name of citramēḷi.

Though the members of these different bodies acted jointly still it appears that none of the rural organizations was a corporate body having a single individual personality, but it constituted only a collective body. This is borne out by the evidence of two inscriptions. According to one of them the members of the sabhā of

a village received an investment of 120 *kāśus* from a Varaguṇa Mahārāja and promised to measure out to the local temple ghee from the interest from the amount. If they failed to do so they undertook to pay individually and as a body double the quantity in default besides a fine to the royal officers. Likewise the sabhā of another village undertook to supply ghee to the temple in lieu of interest on money received. If it failed to do so, the Panmāhēśvaras of the temple could ask for a double sum of the dues besides a fine from the sabhaiyār both as a body and as individual persons.

The important functions discharged by these assemblies may now be reviewed in brief. The first among them was the control and regulation of land holdings, for as has been said above the members of the village community were a body of land holders either jointly or severally. It was equally interested in the creation and maintenance of facilities for irrigation. This is well borne out by the organization of the ērivāriyam or tank committee working under the sabhā. It had much to do with the taxation system in the country. Taxes were of two kinds, one levied and collected by the local organizations themselves apparently for being spent on local purposes and the other levied by the government. With regard to the former the local assembly which had absolute control over it had the right of granting remissions of them without any reference to the Government. This is by the assignment in perpetuity made by a sabhā to the local temple of the proceeds from a local cess on shops (angādikūli) in lieu of the interest on a loan which it had taken from the temple. In another case the sabhā of a chaturvedimangalam decided not to levy any kind of dues on the properties of the temple. Normally the village community could not remit the taxes payable by it to the government, for if it did so it would be a loser to the extent to which the remission was made, for the Government would not accept any reduction in the amount of tax payable to it by the assembly. Hence if such remissions were made on particular pieces of land, the loss was sought to be made good by the distribution of the amount on other lands in the village. But the assembly at times made remission of taxes in consideration of money received (*kāśukoḷḷa iṟaiyili*) which was the capital sum and the tax money (*vilai poruḷ* and *iṟaiporuḷ*) and thereby made good their obligations to the central government. Such arrangements were made when for instance individuals made provision for charities by setting apart rent-free land and the lands so exempted from the payment of taxes were known as *ūr kiḻ iṟaiyili*. The *iṟaidravyam* was really in the nature of a trust fund for the periodical payment of the *iṟai* which the local bodies usually directed

towards some productive capital expenditure, like the provision of irrigation facilities.

A natural right which it enjoyed related to the sale of lands of the people in the village who defaulted in the payment of the taxes. It could decide upon the nature of the land on which taxes were to be levied. Lands for which there was no claimants and hence were not cultivated escheated to the assembly and the taxes *kadamai* and *kudimai* levied on such lands by the government were paid by it. The sabhā could also sell or transfer its right of collection of taxes to a body like a temple. The village organization also influenced the taxation policy of the Government by suggesting what lands could be taxed and probably also what lands could not be taxed.

Apart from its rights relating to lands and their management and taxation it discharged certain other important, ministrant functions. One of them was the supervision of all charitable endowments in the village; and in some places the committee called the dharma vāriyam appears to have been in charge of it. On some occasions it exercised control over the administration of temples as well. It provided for the maintenance of peace in the area under its jurisdiction as also administered civil and criminal justice. It also co-operated with the government in the punishment of criminals as for instance by confiscating and selling in public lands that belonged to traitors. Besides it served as a deposit bank and took deposits from people on specified rates of interest. It also patronised scholars by granting them land to be enjoyed by them.

The assembly had under its employ a number of people each of whom was charged with a specific function associated with the administration of the village. Among them were the *karaṇattāṉ* or *kaṇakkaṉ* (accountant), and the *madhyastha* who noted down the proceedings of the sabhā. They were appointed either annually or for definite longer periods and remunerated by either gift of land or payment in kind like paddy.

The numerous village communities and their organization which flourished in South India and worked with great success from about 700 to 1400 showed signs of decay and disruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and finally disappeared by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though references to the local organizations like the *sabhā* an the *ūr* are found in the late Vijayanagar period these bodies appear to have lost by that time much of their vitality and capacity for initiative. The type of local administrative institu-

tions in South India that attracted the attention of the Anglo-Indian administrators of the last century were entirely different from the type that obtained earlier in the area.

It is not however so easy to enumerate the factors that were responsible for the decline of the old organizations. Probably the most potent cause for it was the growing consciousness among the people of the individual's right as opposed to that of the community. Sir Henry Maine shrewedly observes : "If I had to state what for the moment is the greatest change which has come over the people of India and the change which has added most seriously to the difficulty of governing them, I should say it was the growth on all sides of the sense of individual legal right; of a right not vested in the total group but in the particular number of it aggrieved, who has become conscious that he may call in the arm of the state to force his neighbours to obey the ascertained rule." In the course of the fifteenth century the old community feeling among the group of people in a village which was really at the basis of the active functioning of the village assemblies in South India began to decline. Since much of the feeling was due to the joint ownership of land by the community it was its natural anxiety to prevent its own disintegration and hence made rules for preventing for instance the sale of lands to outsiders or the gift of land to women as *strīdhana*. Local troubles and factions developed to such an extent that those who created such difficulties were branded as grāmadrōhins and grāma kaṇṭakans. But still the conflict between the individual and the community appears to have developed in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulting ultimately however in the success of the latter. The irksome interference of the royal officials in their activities and the bad influence exercised by them could also have partly contributed to the decline of the village assemblies. Again the local organizations failed to receive much encouragement at the hands of the Vijayanagar kings, the administration under whom was based partly on feudal and partly on military principles. The paternal solicitude of the earlier rulers was now replaced by the various forces which was spontaneously working in the village communities. Thus conditions in the country were not conducive to the active functioning of the old village republics. Furthur the evolution of the *āyagar* system, according to which a number of hereditary functionaries came to look after the administration of the villages and supplied the needs of the people in them brought about the gradual disintegration of the ancient village communities in South India.

Today we see attempts being made to revive active village life in the country with the help of the government. The work brizzles

with many difficulties, particularly on account of the allurements of urban life and the disinclination of the people to go to the villages and settle down there. But even if villages are improved and conditions for leading good life are made available in them, the new village structure would be different from one that obtained in South India in the Chola times for, while the revived village life would be largely due to external pressure and government legislation, the old village life was based on a system of village organization which grew spontaneously and was an organism by itself having a living and growing history of its own. The strength, vitality and usefulness of the village organisation for effective service were really so great that they should be the envy and the despair of many modern legislators.

NOTE :—This paper was partly read at the Society's meeting held on 14th April, 1953 when Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, was in the chair. On 28th April, 1953 it was completely read and a discussion followed.

SOME DISCOVERIES IN INDIAN ART

BY

KLAUS FISCHER

This paper attempts to summarise the results of some discoveries in the course of a study tour of mine in 1954 throughout this country.

PREHISTORIC STONE MONUMENTS

Two sites with prehistoric materials shall be described as interesting because of their connection with historic times.

A foot path through the lovely Nilgiri scenery a few miles from Kotagiri, in what is known as the Roy Estate led me to the hamlet Betlada[1] and to a terraced, open space in the forests of a valley nearby. Within a square stone hedge there was a row of four dolmenoid cists[2] composed of flat stone slabs and opening towards the interior of the compound. In the centre of the latter there was a small square platform rising above rubble-work basement and accommodating a sculptured *Virakal*, a hero-stone of the type of man fighting animal. Outside the enclosure there were two Hindu temples of comparatively modern periods; the workers of the tea estates worship here. Thus, on one site we find structures of three different periods: so-called prehistoric dolmenoid cists, hero stones to which no fixed date may be given, and the modern temples.

The transition from the material, or from the form, of old stone structures to present-day edifices of worship may be studied also in some monuments of the village Kottalvadi which I passed through

1. Site of the modern temple, see "Betlada", one-inch-sheet 58A/15, Fourth Edition, Madras, Coimbatore and Nilgiris Districts; 76° 54′ E, 11° 24′ N. The ancient site described as "Achenny" by Congreve, Madras Journal of *Literature and Science* XIV, 1847, No. 32; "Achenna" by J. W. Breeks: *An Account of primitive tribes and other monuments of the Nilgiris*, London, 1873, p. 105, pl. XLIVA, LXVI–LXVIII; R. Sewell: *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, Madras, 1882, p. 227; "Acheni" by W. Francis, Madras District Gazetteers, *The Nilgiris*, Madras, 1908, p. 101.

2. The term is chosen after V. D. Krishnaswami, *Megalithic Types of South India*, Ancient India, 5, Delhi, 1949. This article represents only a part of a regional survey conducted by its author in a few districts of Madras State. He was kind enough to give hints for studies in a letter of November 29, 1954, explaining the imitation of megalithic monuments even in historic times. G. N. Das, has surveyed the megalithic monuments of the Nilgiri District and contributed valuable informations for which the present writer is thankful.

on the way from Mysore to the ancient temple of Narasamangalam. Three flat stone slabs set upright make an open square, covered by a slab and a heap of earth. Inside, and in front Hindu images are installed. Pilasters of late mediaeval temples provide a decorative opening. Either a real megalithic dolmenoid cist has been twined into a temple by removing one of the orthostats and by adding Hindu images, or, the simple structure of the megalithic type has here been copied in historic times.

MEDIAEVAL TEMPLES

Orissa.

Many an Orissan temple lies along the railway line from Khurda Road, roughly speaking, along the northern border or the Chilka lake. One of the oldest and finest of this group is a 12th century temple of Chandresvar,[3] about 4 miles to the west of Kolupara Ghat Railway Station. In the outskirts of a hamlet, Golobai, visible from the train between Bhusandpur and Kalupara Ghat, and about half a mile to the North, on the bank of a rivulet, is situated a temple. In the midst of a rectangular terrace of laterite stones the typical Orissan tower rises crowning the *garbhagriha*. The usual rampant lions and a crowning member suggest that the structure[4] belongs to the 14th or even the 15th century. The foundations have sunk probably due to the work of the river, and the tower is much out of plumb. Some decorative details of Brahmanic deities, including the usual *mithuna* couples, are well preserved. In the context of the temple of Chandresvar, the huge and fine tower of which was undergoing repair, and of the remains of Tapang, the architecture and sculpture of Golobai (Figs. 1 and 2)[4a] may indicate a flourishing of artistic activity in this region in the centuries after the erection of the great exemplars of Konarak, Bhuvaneshvar and Puri.

Deccan

There are still many stray examples of the later mediaeval Deccanese, the so-called Hemadpanti-style[5] contributing to our knowledge of a kind of architecture keeping close to one general

3. *Descriptive Report on Chandresvar* by T. N. Ramachandran in the 1951 file of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.

4. N. K. Bose: *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932. This author to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, drew my attention to a similar temple, 5 miles to the east of Khurda Junction, where the proportions of the crowning member are similar and indicate the same date, in the later middle ages; Beki (throat) : Amalaka : Khapuri (skull) : : 1 : 1 : 1.

4a. Figures are illustrated in Plates 4 to 9.

5. H. Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dekkan*, Archæological Survey of India, Calcutta, XLVIII, 1931.

pattern, but enriching the same with many individual creations. The star-shaped plan of the Deccanese temples, the perfect finish of the elaborated pillars and the taste shown in the distribution of sculptural details are salient features.

The bus route from Sholapur to Osmanabad passes villages with remains of temples in that style, but altered by later additions. The way from Osmanabad to the famous temples of Ter (the ancient Tagara) leads through Waguli where are fine remains of an old temple. Through a porch we go into the *maṇḍapam* carried by three out of four of the original pillars. On the walls are left Brahmanial sculptures in bas-relief. The *śikhara*, which has nearly fallen in, must have been of the far-spread Northern variety.

From Shahpur, with its prehistoric stone avenues and the Adil Shah and the Qutb Shah Forts a newly opend road leads *via* the Gogi tombs to Bijapur. Thirty miles from Shahpur lies the village Vejur, wfth a very fine Siva temple. (Fig. 3). A door through the low enclosure wall gives entrance to a central tank, along the well dressed stone borders of which rise the main shrine and many subsidiary shrines. Of great beauty is a star-planned gateway building. The transit from the tank to the temple front is covered with sculptures, including *mithuna* couples, well known also from earlier Deccanese art. A stone with inscriptions in Old Kanarese on its four sides deserves study by experts who may thereby fix the exact date of the monuments. In style we may compare the temple to the group of Pangal, near Nalgonda ; tanks with steps and sculptures of the same kind are frequent in the environs of Aundha—Parbhani.

South India

Not only well known Sravana Belgola, but also the north-western angle of Mysore State was a stronghold of mediaeval Jainism, its monuments being especially numerous round the present Jain Mutt of Humcha[6]. The Svāmi of this important religious institution drew my attention to unexplored ruins of ancient Jain buildings between Thirthahalli and Agumbe, in the enviros of the Parasnath temple of Kundada Gudda[7], a hill 3200 feet high and reached by foot-path branching eastward from Guddekere, a hamlet on the road from Agumbe to Tirthahalli. The whole

6. A survey of the history is given in A. Guerinot, *Repertoire d epigraphie Jaina*, Paris, 1908, 31. Further notes in the Gazetteers by L. Rice. Recently, see *Mysore Gazetteer*. New ed., *Bangalore*, 1930.

7. Photos of the Parasnath temple on the hill are in *The voice of Ahimsa* Etah, 4 (1951), 1 : *Tirthaṅkara Parshvanatha Special Number*. Recently taken photos of Humcha and Kundada gudda are being published in a book of the author on Jain temples.

area of this mountain and its environs, abounds in remains of mediaeval Jain temples of the 11th—13th century style with which we are familiar from the Humcha monuments.

Half way to the mountain, nearly fully overgrown by the hungry jungle are the ruins of a temple which stand assigned to the Digambara Jains by the Tirthankaras on the walls and the fine nude images lying scattered round. The walls of the compound have nearly fallen in, but a magnificent gateway reminds us of the splendour of the architectural conception of those days. Both nature and treasure-hunters have ripped open ihe floor in the cella.

The surroundings of the Kondapur Estate also yield many remains of mediaeval Jain temples. In some cases the sculptures (Fig. 3.) are very well preserved and are datable after Old Kanarese inscriptions.

POST-MEDIAEVAL TEMPLES OF BENGAL

Bengal brick temples with beautiful terracotta decoration, from the late 16th century onwards, exhibit some special feature which are unique in the post-mediaeval Indian art[8]. First their forms are derived from local types of dwelling houses ; most conspicuous are the bent eaves, imitating the curves of the straw huts. Also temples with gabled roofs in south-west India or other stray examples show the tendency of Indian builders to form religious buildings after the model of prevailing domestic architecture ; but in no period and in no province the evolution of Indian architecture followed this so strictly. This fact may be explained by a special attitude which the Bengal people had towards their gods since old days. In the religious literature of Bengal the gods are conceived in a much more familiar manner than in other parts of the sub-continent—and whilst everywhere, in the tall *śikharas* of the North or in the huge *gopuras* of the South, monuments were erected beyond any hnman measure, the gods and goddesses of Bengal were housed in simple local huts[9].

8. Survey of brick architecture and terracotta decoration of Bengal temples ; M. M. Chakravarti : *Bengali temples and their general characteristics*, Journal and Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, N. S , Calcutta, 5, 1909. S. K. Saraswati : *Temples of Bengal*, Journal Ind. Soc. Oriental Art, Calcutta 2, 1934. G. S. Dutt ; *Bengali Terracottas*, Ib. 6, 1938. K. Fischer : *The art of Bengal temples with bent eaves*, Summaries of Papers, 17th session, All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad. 1953. K. Fischer : *Old Indian Terracottas and Contemporary Art*, Roopa—Lekha, Delhi, 25, 1953 : 1. Cultural relations from old art to later developments, and remarks on Bengal in post-Muslim times : History of Bengal, Dacca, Vol. 1, 1943, N. H. Ray on *Sculpture of Paharpur*, esp. p. 530; Vol. 2, 1949, J. N. Sarkar : *Transformation of Bengal under Mughal rule*, p. 220.

9. Remarks on the special attitude of early religious literature in Bengal : A. Bhattacharyya : *An Introduction to the study of the mediæval Bengali epics*, the Dacca University Studies, Dacca, 1942. A. Bhattacharyya : *The early Saiva poetry of Bengal*, ibid; 1947.

Secondly we notice an exchange of artistic ideas with Muslim architecture. Especially in the forms and in the technique of the true arch and the vaultings these later Bengal Hindu temples are of great interest. It has been surmised that in the brick buildings of ancient Bengal arches were known ; the Muslims introduced their canonical vaults and domes for mosques and tombs of the 13th to the 15th centuries ; the Hindu temples of Bengal, from the post-muslim period onwards, adopted new or re-adopted old forms of the true arch and the domical or barrel-like vault. Thirdly the rich terracotta decoration serves to illustrate scenes of the Mahabharata, Ramayana and Krishna Lila. Also in this art a fresh mind of new creative power is obvious at the same time when Bengal poets translated the traditional Sanskrit literature into vernacular versions, the craftsmen modelled Ramayana scenes according to this popular interpretation. Fourthly the salient feature of all Bengal post-mediaeval temple types is the curved eave, the so-called Bengal roof. Derived from useful domestic-architecture and interpreted as a means of artistic expression, it became soon liked throughout the whole sub-continent. Especially in the Moghul buildings of Northern India and the Deccan, but also in Hindu temples all over India the Bengal roof served as decorative pattern.

Two places in Bengal with recent temples will be noted. The one is at present situated outside the political border line of Bengal—demonstrating the fact that the Bengal temple spread to the adjacent areas to the North, in Bihar, in the same way as to Assam in the East and to Orissa in the West. The other village in Bengal proper shows an interesting later development.

Maluti[10] is a village in the Santal Parganas, on the brooklet Chandan Nala which divides Bihar from Bengal. It is to be reached from Rampur Hat on the Dumka Road. Once upon a time 108 temples are said to have stood here, and even today we count a great number of ruins and of temples still worshipped in four predominant groups, all devoted to Siva cult. The temples are dated by inscriptions from 1641 A. D. to 1904 A. D. Architecture

10. Maluti : Indra Narayan Chatterjee : *Malutir Raj Vamsa*, 1926 (in Bengali). Post-mediæval history : Bengal District Gazetteers : Santal Parganas, p. 25, Calcutta, 1910. The house type : Census of India, 1951, Vol. V, pt. IIA, Bihar, Patna ; buildings or homesteads with separate main entrances. Types of the Deul temple, Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, Photo-album, Burdwan Division I, Nr. 322, and 720 ; Buddipur before conservation, 358 and 959, after conservation (which was later on objected to : the shape of the bent eaves not being correct—the example at Maluti preserving the earlier state very well) 1168 and 1169 ; Ichai Ghose temple, Gaurangpur.

of the village as well as of the temples and of their decoration supply many unique features among the Bengal temples. The dwelling house with the Bengal roof consists of three storeys in the interior and two in the exterior in the form of open galleries supported by a frame work with fine designs of wood carving. The temples are all of simple square plan and are more or less uniform in elevation : from the four bent eaves springs a tower —sometimes of considerable height—with projecting tiers and diminishing storeys. This structure is obviously a reduction of the Northern *śikhara* and shows the same intermingling with art forms of the neighbouring province, as it is the case in the Bengal temple compounds of Candrakona and Garhbeta in the Midnapore District, where types of the Orissan tower are introduced into the Bengal forms. In one of the Maluti temple groups a singular structure is preserved, of the Deul type (Fig. 5) like the temples of Buddipur, Ichai Ghose or even Begunia group. The recesses on the tower—like constructions seem to have been model for the towers on the Maluti temples. The interior of the temples in this place exhibits many varieties in the exchange of Muslim and Hindu forms and techniques. There are niches with squinches, transforming the square of the plan in the octagon from where a corbelling dome rises (Fig. 6). Or, three different types occur : the plan is a simple square which is transformed into the octagon—by the usual squinches ; diminishing octagonal courses rise ; in the uppermost portion a pure Muslim dome springs from pendentives. As in all Bengal brick temples the terracotta decoration (Fig. 7.) is of excellent taste. Scenes from the epics are depicted, and, as in the temples in the Hooghly district, soldiers with guns and foreign uniforms from Western countries are rendered. On the facade over the entrance door we find miniature buildings as it is the case with all Bengal temples. But whilst usually types of Bengal temples themselves are given, at Maluti another special feature is observed : four-storeyed terraced pagoda-like structures (Fig. 8) which may throw some light on earlier local srtucture which are lost due to the ravages of time. Thus we find many important forms of Bengal temples, concentrated in the ruins and existing temples of a single village—showing both general features of post-mediaeval Bengal art and special local contributions.

Another village, situated in the Hooghly district, Sukhria[11],

11. Sukhria : The cultural history of the province described in Bengal District Gazetteers, Hooghly, Calcutta 1912 ; the village mentioned in Census 1951. West Bengal, District Handbooks, Hooghly, Calcutta 1952, without reference to the temples. Conservation in Buddipur and Ichai Ghose, Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey India 1924, p. 25 ; Calcutta, 1927, p. 38.

shows a temple (Fig.9) group of the 18th century with later additions. This place is one among the many sites along the Eastern railway line from Bandel to Katwa where we find either as protected monuments or still worshipped temples of Bansberia, Guptipara, Balagarh, Kalna etc. The Siva temple of Sukhria is a far visible landmark between the railway stations Somra Bazar and Balagarh. It is situated outside the village on the border of a tank. This temple group represents various types of Bengal temples. First, the group consists of the main temple, flanked on both sides by two rows of small double storeyed temple with Siva-lingams. Second is the main temple of the variety with 25 towers rising from the corners of the bent eaves. Some of the additional shrines contain fine old terracottas, while the main temple is still object of worship and regularly embellished by modern terracottas from year to year.

Thus, every excursion through the Bengal landscape with its rivers and tanks will reveal new monuments of a special feature of Indian art. Whilst builders and artisans in most parts of post-mediaevel India restricted themselves to copy models of the glorious past, in Bengal new forms were created. Simple and plain was the origin, in the square and one - storeyed shrine ; but within a few decades a variety of forms were invented, reaching to the highly decorated type with 25 towers. As in religion and literature, Bengal contributed fresh ideas to the evolution of Indian culture in the field of architecture and decoration.

SOME TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

Ancient Indian Architecture is interesting not only because of its high aesthetic values, but also because of its technical problems. In future our comparative studies in the evolution of world architecture shall have to observe the skill which was exhibited by ancient Indian engineers. During my tours through India I studied two groups of monuments with unique technical features. South Indian *gopuras* with their combination of corbelling structure and so-called true vaultings ; and Mohammadan buildings of the Deccan and its Southern and Northern environs with nearly flat stone roofs. The skill in the handling of the stone, the use of an excellent mortar, and the indigenous workmanship of South India created an artistic tradition from the Chola kings to Vijayanagar architects who carried on these experiences to the new tasks under Adil and Qutb Shahis.

The *gopuras*, the four main entrances, are the salient feature of the South Indian temple compound. They have not yet been studied as a whole since earlier writers described their technique as a very simple one, based upon the unscientific method of corbelling and adding storey to storey. Detailed studies, however, will reveal the high standard of technique which the builders of *gopuras* had reached[12]. For Further studies it might be proposed to sub-divide *gopuras* first in towers with straight, convex or concave shape, second in towers composed by different storeys or conceived as an architectural unit, third in towers accessible by additional ladders or by stair-cases in the thickness of the wall. (These technical principles are to be compared with the architectural ideals of North Indian *śikharas*). Structures with convex shape, without interior division in storeys, i.e., conceived as a single unit and accessible in a small flight of steps within one of the walls, as it is the case in the entrace *gopuram* of Pampapati Svami temple at Hampi, display a zenith of ancient engineering art. Composed by courses of brick corbels, the tower as a whole is conceived on the scientific principles of arching.

Since the problem of true vaulting in Indian Architecture is still open, another important example of this art in traditional Indian buildings may be illustrated and compared with earlier and later structures.

The east gopuram of the great temple of Chidambaram is the oldest in the place and belongs to the Chola period. As usual we find in the second storey the transition from granite to brick, the two materials being welded together by an excellent mortar (Fig. 10, 11). On the eastern and western facades of this storey we find a half barrel vault from bricks laid in mortar combining this part of the building with the third storey. Size of bricks, technique of placing them edge to edge, (Fig. 12) side by side of corbelling and vaulting, and the curvature of the vault correspond to brick constructions of Nalanda (Fig. 14) in Bihar, Polonnaruva in Ceylon and Anantasvami *gudi* near Hospet.

Whilst in stone architecture the Indian mason preferred the beam-and-lintel system, Indian architects employed a special kind of vaulting in brick since early days. At the same time all artistic forms of the arch as means of decoration were well known in India ; in the

12. See the remarks of V. M. Narasimhan on *Gopuras*, *The Egmore Srinivasa Perumal Gopuram Construction Souvenir*, Madras 1950. Chronology of the *gopuras* given for Chidambaram by J. M. Somasundaram : *The Enviorns of Chidambaram*, Annamalainagar 1955 ; for Tiruvannamalai by F. H. Gravely *The Gopuras of Tiruvannamalai*, Bulletin, Government Museum, Madras, (in Press).

same gopuram of Chidambaram we find a niche cut in stone and displaying a keel-arch (Fig. 13).

Of the group of Deccan monuments the most famous is Ibrahim II Rauza at Bijapur, the lower ceiling of which is composed of huge stone slabs without elevation and described as "contradictory to any technical rule"[13]. Buildings in and around Hyderabad, the fort of Bhongir or Abdul Wahab's mausoleum at Kurnool exhibit further specimens of this way to construct flat ceilings, circular or square, in cut stones, nearly without any elevation. Among others the mosque of Hayatnagar, 9 miles from Hyderabad, shows such ceilings where the stones are embedded in an excellent mixture of mortar which seems to possess all qualities of concrete cement.

It may be added that the old Indian combination of bamboo poles and clay or mortar corresponds closely to the modern technique of reinforced concrete. It is also interesting to note that principles of Indian technique as described in this chapter, have been independently invented by the Western master builders of the Roman, Byzantine, Gothic and Baroque periods.

JAIN TIRTHANKARA ROCK CARVINGS NEAR ANAGUNDI.

During my excursions I noticed several Jain images which might contribute to advance our knowledge of the history of South Indian Jainism.

At Ranpur in Orissa, a Jain Tirthankara image is inserted into the wall of a later Hindu temple. In the famous mediaeval Hindu temple of Sringeri in Mysore State a contemporary Jain image figures among the rich sculptural wall decoration. In the outskirts of Kurana near Bilsa very beautiful Jain sculptures have been recently unearthed. This region is likely to yield more archaeological traces of Jainism.

An important discovery to the historian seems to be that of Jain rock-cut carvings (Fig. 15) near Anagundi, for they supply the first archaeological evsdence of early Jain communities on this bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite the capital of Vijayanagar. Anagundi is situated about one mile to the north of the Tungabhadra crossing[14]

13. H. Cousens, *Bijapur and its architectural remains*. Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XXXVII, Imp. S. Bombay, 1916.

14. T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in Vijayanagar Empire* 1951, pp. 46, 47 refers to the basket boats at Anagundi river—crossing, corresponding to the mediæval traveller's account of Pæs. J. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in India, and Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, 1953, p. 578, refers to these circular basket boats having also been used on the Euphrates and Tigris for 2500 years.

and is well known because of later Chalukyan, mediaeval Deccanese temples and a palace similar to those of the Vijayanagar Lotus Mahal and the Chandragiri buildings[15]. Anagundi has for long been recognised to be the cradle of the Vijayanagar empire. Jain temples and Jain sculptures, too, have been known from the later capital of Vijayanagar herself, for example, the Ganigitti temple, the Jain temple-group at the Tungabhadra near the King's Balance, and the Jain temples above Pampapati-Svami temple[16]. Furthermore, a Jain community was known to have existed at Anagundi[17] but confirmation through archaeological monuments has only now been found[18].

From Anagundi the main road leads to the North in direction towards Gangawati; after about two furlongs a foot path branches off towards west, for the village Ajjunahalli. The path takes the traveller into a beautiful valley between rocky hills to the north and to the south. One passes some ruined temples and fine gateways from an old city wall which once extended from Vijayanagar herself to these outposts of the capital's fortifications. After one mile in the boulders to the south a rock-cut stair-case branches

15. Architectural monuments are described in *Antiquarian Remains in Hyderabad State*, 1953.

16. Recent literature: R. Sewell. *A forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar*, London, 1900. B. S. Row. *History of Vijayanagar, the Never to be Forgotton Empire*, Madras 1905. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, p. 5. 1908. Rep. Arch. Surv. to the Govt. of Madras 1908-09, Madras 1909. B. S. Row, *Short description of the City of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1909. R. Slater, *The ruins of Vijayanagar*, Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore 2, 1911. A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi*, Madras 1917[1], 1925[2]. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919. Heras, *The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1927, esp. p. 538. H. Heras, *Beginnnings of Vijayanagar History*, Bombay, 1927, pp. 1, 48, 51, 107, 132. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, (1940), pp. 315, 407. N. Venkataramanayya. *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Madras, 1943. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 3 *Vols.* Madras, 1946, Vol. 1, p. 18.

17. Edict of Bukka Raya I, 1368 A. D. reconciling the Jains with the Vaishnavas: *Epigraphica Carnatica Ec. 2*: 344, *Ma.* 18. The same inscription also in Magadi taluq, Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Mysore, AR., 1905-6.

18. N. Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara, Origin of the city and the empire*, 1933, p. 26: "The so-called Ramanujachari edict (Ep. Car. IX, 5, Ma. 18) mentions several places where the Jains were to be found in large numbers during the reign of Bukka I. It refers to a petition of the Jains of all the *nads* within Anegondi, Hosapattana, Penugonde, and Kalyala to the Raya. Anegondi is referred to in this inscription as a centre of the Jainas. Strangely enough not a single vestige of Jainism is to be found in the place, but on the southern banks of the Tungabhadra, i e., at Vijayanagara, several Jain temples and inscriptions are still to be seen." B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire*, 1346-1646, 2 Vols. Madras, 1934, Vol. I. p. 372; *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 288-290. N. Venkataramanyya, *Studies in the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras 1935, p. 316. Sri N. Venkataramanayya, by letter of August 18, 1954 kindly informs me that he had visited Anegondi in 1937 and traced several vestiges of Jainism in the surrounding hills of Gavi Ranganath.



Fig. 1. Temple of Golobai, Orissa

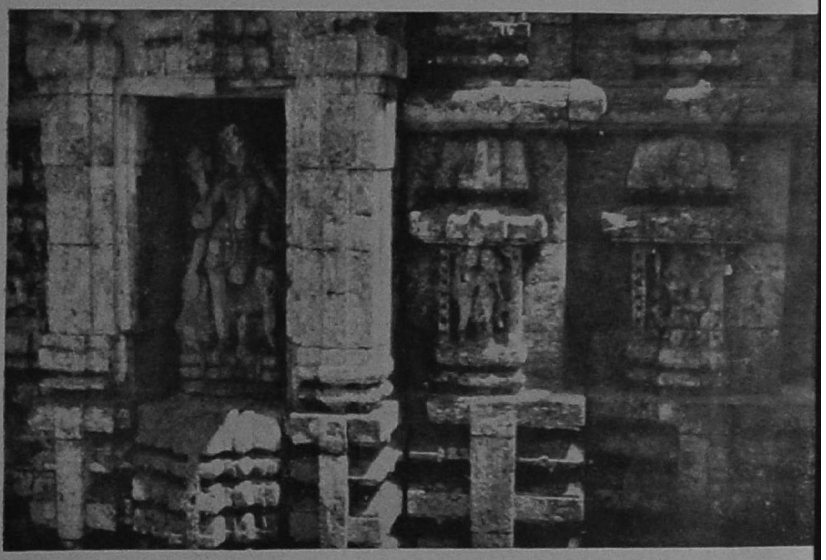


Fig. 2. Details of Golobai temple, Orissa





Fig. 5. Temples of Deul type and of a special local type with reduced *Sikhara* on bent eves, Maluti.



g 4. Jain Goddess in the jungle
near Kondapur Estate, Mysore.

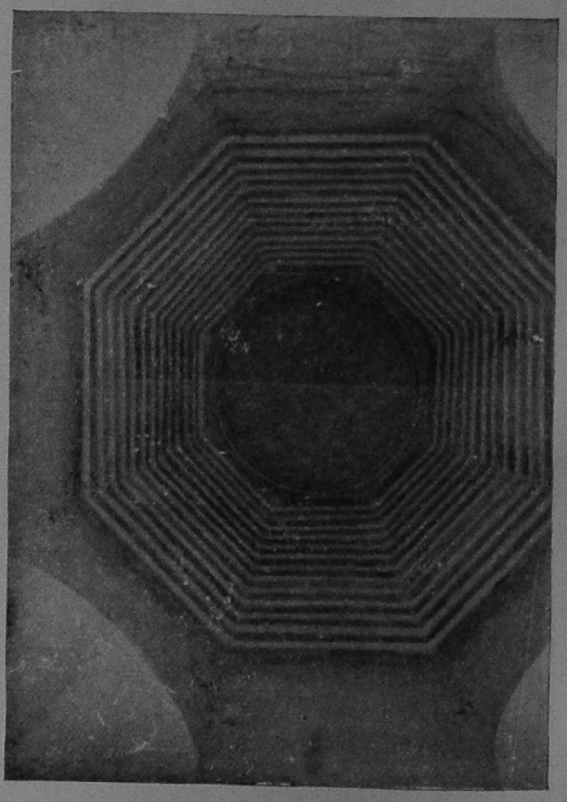


Fig. 6. Combination of Muhammadan squinches and dome with Hindu Corbels in a temple at Maluti.

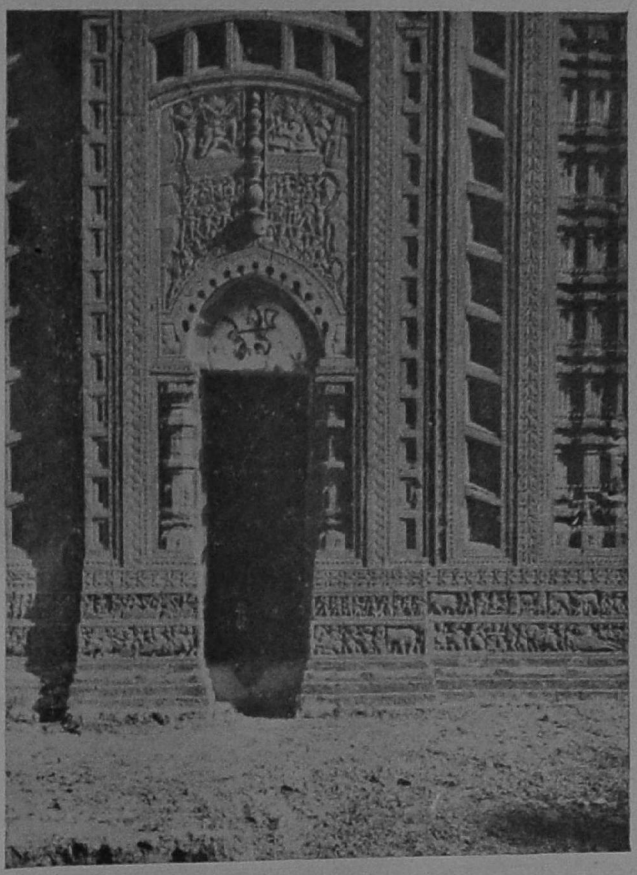


Fig. 7. Facade with terracotta decoration in a temple at Maluti.

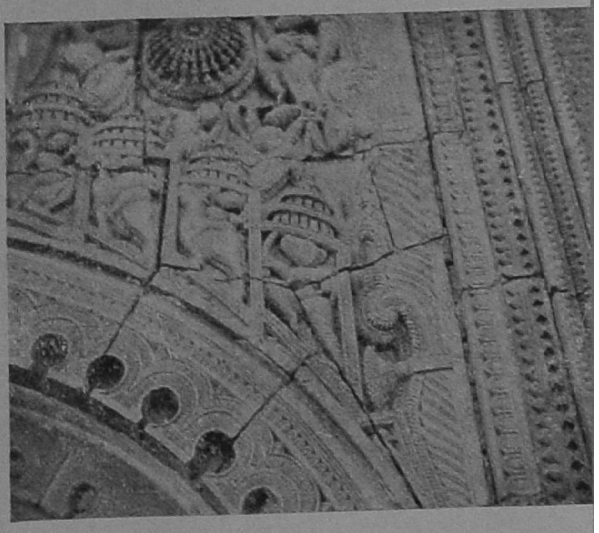


Fig. 8. Terracotta panels showing a peculiar miniature tower, in a temple at Maluti.

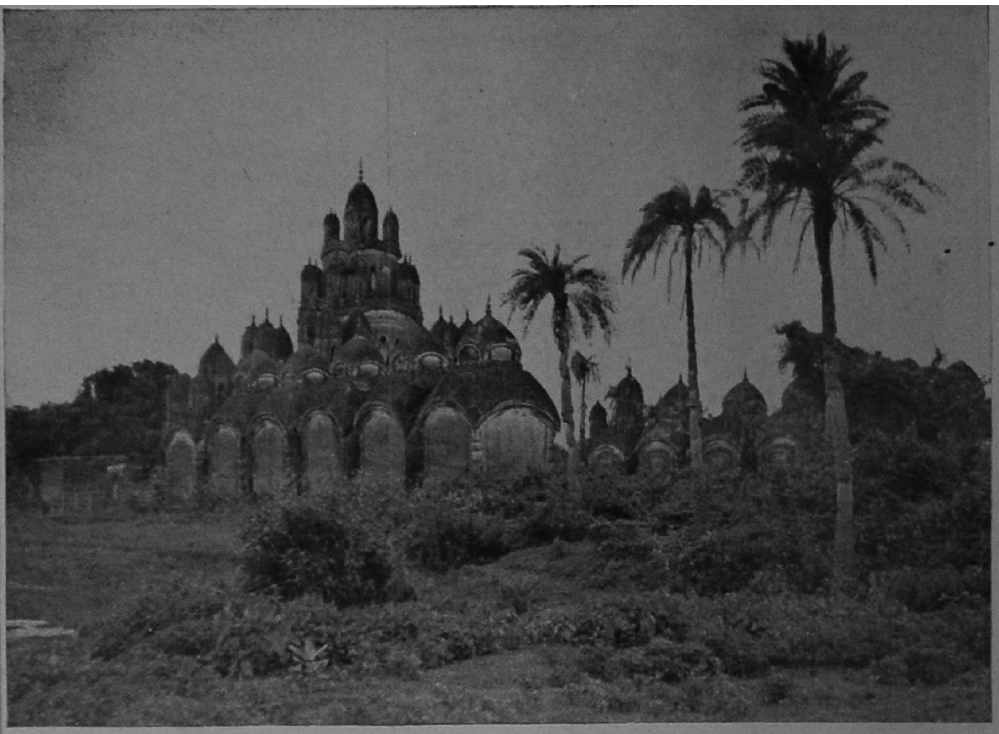
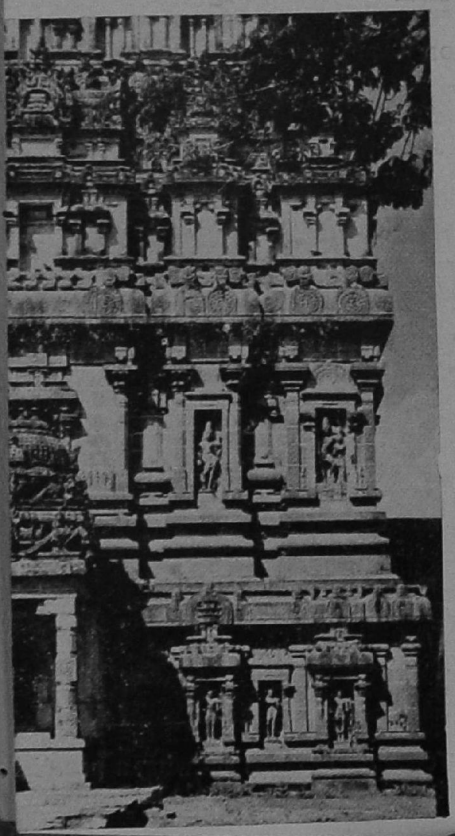
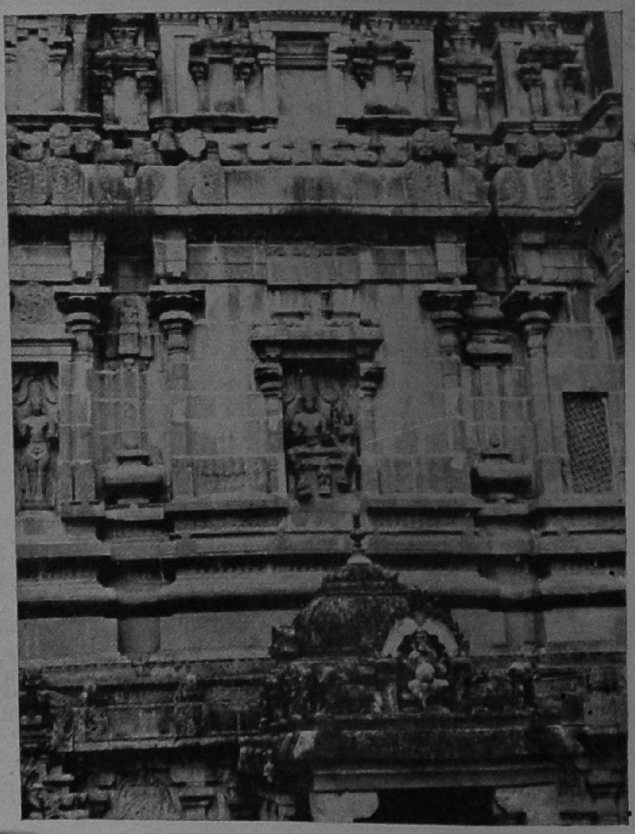


Fig. 9. Temples of Sirkria, Hooghly Dt.





OUTH INDIA PHILATELI SOCI N, CHENNAI
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Fig. 12. Second storey interior showing transition from stone to brick with Chola corbels and brick vaults, East Gopuram, Chidambaram.

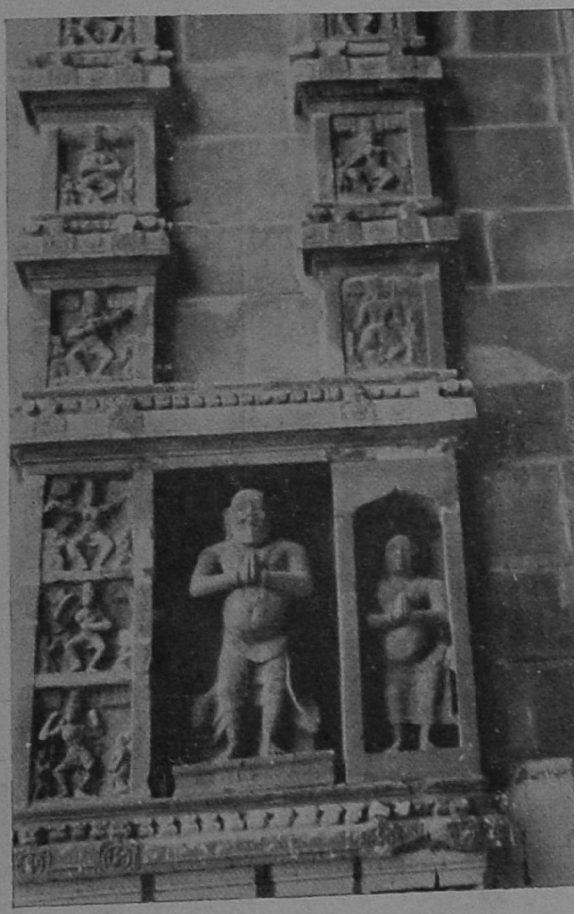


Fig. 13. Niche with arch in the East Gopuram, Chidambaram.



Fig. 14. Corbelling and vaulting in brick, Nalanda.

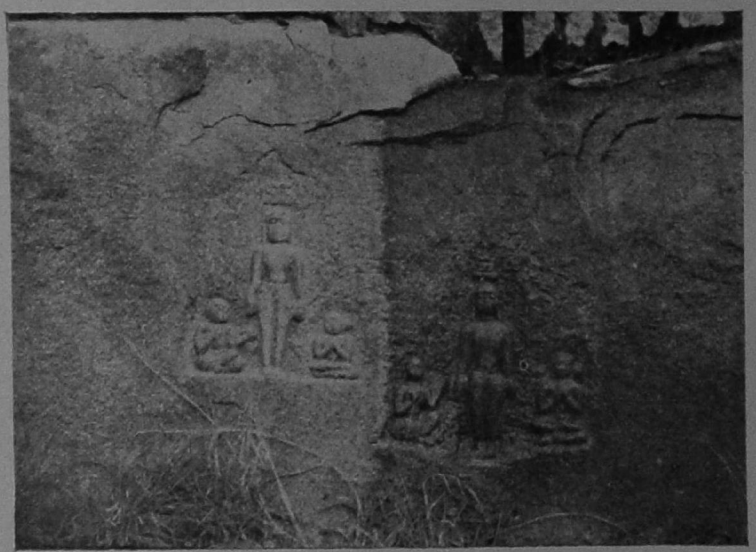


Fig. 15. Jain sculptures on the rock at Anagundi, opposite Hampi.

off and climbs up to the Pampasarovara temple. The *gopuras* and *nandapas* are in the late Vijayanagar style; there are also natural caverns connected with the *mandapas*, and one cave with late mediaeval Brahmanical sculptures. Into the rock, above which the temple buildings rise abruptly are carved five groups, each a standing Tirthankara accompanied by two seated attendants on both sides. The sculptures are crude and much eroded, and no symbols of the Tirthankaras are to be identified. More or less faded traces of decorative crowning patterns are visible. Although the artistic value of the rock carvings is not of special importance, these images still deserve mention since they are the first archaeological traces of Jains at Anagundi.

NOTE:—This lecture illustrated with numerous photographs was delivered at the Society's meeting on April 9, 1954.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES IN EUROPEAN MUSEUMS

BY

V. RAGHAVAN

In the thirteen countries that I visited during my recent European tour, I visited numerous museums. Though I had gone on a literary mission, to examine the hitherto unsurveyed Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscript collections in Europe—and I had quite an exacting job with the 20,000 mss. that I listed—I made it a point not to miss any museum in any of the cities I visited. For, firstly, museums also contained mss. and had to be seen for completing my work ; and secondly, as one who had never kept his interests limited, I wanted to use the opportunity to note what the extent and nature of the Indian antiquities stored in those museums were. Also it was instructive to see the way museums were kept in the West, how they exhibited their collections and what arrangements they made for the public to see and profit by the museums.

While the literary research work in Indian subjects at Universities had touched only a limited section of the academically minded few, it is these museums that might really be said to be responsible for a wider dissemination among the general public of interest in Indian culture. Interest in India is much easier achieved through art and archaeology than through philological researches.

As the most important thing in which members of this Society may be immediately interested is the subject of the Indian antiquities in the European museums that I visited, I shall first speak of it, and shall also show a number of photographs that I bought of interesting objects – they cost a good bit of money as some had to be photographed specially for me. I shall first deal with the museums in England, Scotland and Ireland, and then with those in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. In England, I shall first speak of the London museums, and then of those in Oxford and Cambridge. I have, of course, to add some libraries and art galleries, for Indian

art-exhibits are to be found in them also. In respect of some of the bigger and better known museums, it is neither possible nor necessary to give any detailed description of their Indian material; and in such cases, I confine myself to the select exhibits in which I was interested.

The three biggest museums of Europe are the British Museum (founded 1759), London, the Louvre (founded 1793), Paris, and the Vatican Museum, Rome. The great Berlin State Museum could of course be no longer seen, as it no longer exists and only a part of its collections is now being set up in West Berlin. The British Museum is of course too well known, as also the Indian antiquities there which have been studied and reproduced also in many publications. It is here that we have, next to our own museum in Madras, a large portion of the Amaravati sculptures which accost us at the very outset as we enter the museum. As one whose special study was on King Bhoja's magnum opus, the *Śringāra Prakāśa*, the first thing I did, on setting foot in London, as a *mangaḷācaraṇa* of my work, was to go up to this museum and see the image of the Goddess of Learning, Sarasvati, which Bhoja had set up in his Sarasvati Temple at his capital Dhara; the temple there is now a mosque and the diety now stands in the British museum. The image has an inscription at the base mentioning the date of installation as A. D. 1034. Among the Indian paintings here, among those that I specially took note of, is one bearing out the spirit and tendency towards religious harmony that showed itself in the Moghul times and gained some prominent expression through Akbar and Dara Shikuh ; and I collected from here, as well as from a special album of pictures presented by Dara to his wife Nadira Begum in 1641-42 and preserved in the India Office Library, and also from the collection of Indian paintings in the Musee Guimet in Paris, three paintings showing respectively (i) a congregation of saints and sadhus of the Hindus and the Muslims under a banyan tree, belonging to Shah Jehan's time, (ii) two pictures of Hindu Sanyasins who were adored by Dara and were evidently his gurus and (iii) a visit of Jehangir to a Hindu Saint. These were of special significance to me for my work on one of the treatises of Dara on the unity of religions.

Next in importance to the British Museum and attached to it is the Indian Section in the Victoria and Albert Museum where beside Indian sculpture and bronze, there is a vast store of Indian minia-

tures, a great part of which, for lack of space, is stored and not exhibited.[1]

The collection of Indian miniatures in Europe is vast indeed. The collection in England alone, in the British Museum and the Indian annexe of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the India Office library, the Bodleian library, Oxford, the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, etc. is an enormous one. It was impossible to see these completely but I can say that, though I could see only a fraction of those in the London collections, I went through the entire collections in Oxford and Cambridge. Recently, reports were read by us in the Press that the authorities in London were going to close down the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum and we felt legitimately sorry for this kind of symptomatic decline of interest in Britain in Indian studies. It is some consolation that, as I have heard recently from the Keeper of the Indian Section, Mr. W. G. Archer, an ardent friend of India and exponent of Indian art, that arrangements have been made to keep on exhibition the best part of this collection in the main Victoria Albert Museum and the rest in a large students' gallery a mile away, which, compared to the original proposal to put them all in store, is less disquieting. Mr. Archer has brought out studies of some of these paintings, in books published by the Museum and elsewhere[2] and is now, I understand, working on the miniatures in the India Office collection. Among the paintings on show here, those that attracted me especially were:

1. a colour picture of Tanjore style Bharata Natya (No. 0928 I. S. (5),

2. a Rajasthani picture of Kathak dance (A. L. 551) of about 1830,

3. a dancing scene from Patna (I. S. 201-1949),

4. Dara Shikuh (I M. 19-1925),

5. Hindu Sadhus, probably associated with Dara Shikuh,

1 This is one of the difficulties about which visitors interested in seeing Indian antiquities should warn themselves beforehand, lest they should miss seeing the entire collection. A considerable part of the collections is kept in the magazine and special visitors could see these with the help of the authorities. Another related difficulty which some visitors may not foresee is that some museums, particularly on the Continent, are not open in winter.

2. Indian Art, V & A Museum, H. M. Stationery Office, London 1952 ; Indian Painting in the Panjab Hills, V. & A. Museum, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1952; Kangra Painting, London, 1952; Bazar Paintings of Calcutta, V & A Museum, 1953, H. M. Stationery Office, London; Garhwal Painting, Introduction and Notes, Faber Art Gallery, London.

6. a dancing scene from the Panjab Hills, (I. S. 175-1951), and
7. last but not least, the one numbered I. M. 66-1930.

This last mentioned colour painting which is a masterpiece is extremely interesting from the point of view of its intriguing theme. In the actual label it is wrongly noted as a *Rāgamālā* miniature illustrating *Vinoda* Rāga and in the Museum's own booklet, *Indian Art* (No. 18) it is captioned "Illustration to a Rasamanjari". The picture which is reproduced here (Fig. 1.)[2a] illustrates, as I read it, the two varieties of Nāyikā such as are described in the Rasamanjari and other texts, called Jyeshṭhā and Kanishṭhā, i. e., the case of a lover having two beloveds, both of whom he loves, but one of whom is dearer than the other, and the resourceful lover that he is, he pays his attention in such a manner that while the latter thinks he is specially attending to her, the former receives from him the more important expression of his love. Of the sculptures exhibited here may be mentioned the fine head of a Gandhara Buddha, a fine torso of a Sanchi Bodhisattva in red sandstone of the Gupta period, another fine torso of a seated Buddha from 11th century Bihar, and a small Varāha from the Panjab, 11th century. The South Indian Bronzes here include a beautiful Nataraja[3] and a Rama.

It is not likely that many Indian scholars have visited the Horniman Museum in Forest Hill, London (S. E. 23). It is therefore useful to give here a list of the Indian objects and others of interest to a student of Indology that are preserved here :

1. Masks for plays and dances of Indonesia, Ceylon and Japan.

2. Music instruments of different countries, including India. It is interesting to note that North Nigeria has sticks to beat a kind of drum kept on the arm, the sticks being curved and provided with the knob and resembling the curved striking sticks of the South Indian *Kirikatti*-drum ; Japan has a drum approaching our *Dhakkā* ; Jaffa near Palestine and Morocco have drums with mud-bodies, and single leather-covered faces looking like cups with stands, and similar to this, we see a drum in a South Indian painting in the Copenhagen Museum ; here as well as in the Belgian Congo Museum on the outskirts of Brussels, we see a large number of boat-shaped harps from Africa, which bear family resemblance with the old Indian harp as we see it in sculpture.

3. Puppets and leather-cut figures from the popular theatre of India and Indonesia.

2a. Figures are illustrated in Plates 10 to 15.
3. Reproduced on the cover of A. L. Basham's 'The Wonder that was India.'

4. Eight Indian stone images of which two Sūryanārāyaṇas are good.

5. Other smaller Indian images in wood, marble and metal including a small Nataraja.

6. Nine stone pieces of Gandhara sculpture.

7. Five Jain images from Jaipur, one of which is dated A. D. 1152.[4]

8. One Yogaśataka manuscript in Burmese script.

In Oxford, the Indian Institute building which will now, unfortunately, be taken over by the University Offices, houses a museum of Eastern Art with which is amalgamated the Far Eastern collection (some Khmer and other specimens) of the Ashmolean Museum (founded 1663). Among the objects in this young museum founded in 1949 are some specimens of Gandhara art, twelve pieces from Mathura, a Mithuna from Orissa, two Pala Vishṇu images, a few Tāntrik bronzes from Nepal and Tibet and two particularly good pieces, a Sunga Yakshī and an Umāmaheśvara. The museum is in the charge of the German scholar Dr. Cohn.

In the Bodleian library I went through fifteen volumes of Indian paintings and noted particularly representations of scenes of music parties which give an idea of how a music concert looked like in those times; in these as well as the dance paintings that I saw, the drum accompaniment was played by women-artistes. An important album is the one that came from Archbishop Laud (Ms. Laud Or. 149) containing Rāgamālā paintings which are interesting in so far as they seem to come from the Deccan; recently some of these have been reproduced[5] in colour and with notes by the Indian Institute Librarian Mr. J. Stooke and the Indian critic Mr. Khandalwalla, and in my account of Sanskrit and allied studies in Great Britain in the Hindu, Madras (2-5-54) I had reproduced the representation of Rāga Mālkaus from this series. There is an illuminated Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Ms. on leaves (Ms. Sansk. a. 7 (a)) belonging to Rāmapāla's time, *c.* A. D. 1105. We have here also a collection of Kalighat folk paintings collected by Monier-Williams in Calcutta.

In the Fitz-William Museum in Cambridge, there is a collection of over 100 Indian miniatures gifted by P. C. Manuk and Miss G. M. Coles[6] and these being in store and not on show, one should have known of their existence to arrange to see them. In this collection,

4. In JRAS 1898 pp. 101-2 Keilhorn reproduces and notices this Jain Statue.
5. The Laud Ragamala Miniatures, Bruno Casier, Oxford.
6. Paintings from their collection are to be found in the British Museum also.

the whole of which I saw, there are many beautiful pictures, and here as elsewhere, I selected some depicting scenes of music and dance concerts.[7] From the fact that many of these that I wanted had to be photographed for me for the first time, it appeared that the collection had not received much attention from art-students. Exceptionally good was a Rajasthani love scene (Pd. 95. 1948) and the representation of an idyllic waterside scene of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the forest, a Kangra work of *c.* 1845, in which Lakshmana takes out a thorn from the foot of Rama at the end of a hunt; this latter I had reproduced with a short article in the Hindu, Madras (11-7-54).

In the City Central Library, Manchester, a splendid huge folio size book of Indian colour paintings, bound together in France in 1780, is preserved. In this volume, there is first a series of drawings of Muslim princes; then scenes of Krishna's sports and incarnations of Vishṇu, seeming somewhat to illustrate the Bhāgavata; a third series of forms of other gods like Śiva; this followed by a series of Rajput princes and queens; and lastly Aurangazeb, some queens, and some divine figures. The opening picture represents Gopīvastrāpaharaṇa and Rāsa-krīdā. The 14th is noteworthy, being an imaginative portrayal of Viśvarūpa as taught to Arjuna in the Vibhūtiyoga of the Gita. Of Muslim subjects may be mentioned Ibrahim Jagadguru, Sultan Muhammad, Choya Ali Adil Shah, Sikandar Adil Shah, Yusuf Adil Shah, Ismail Adil Shah, Ibrahim Bade, Ali Adal Shah Bade, Aurangazeb. Of Rajaput subjects, Rao Raja Ajitsingh-Datia, Vijayasingh Rathod-Jodhpur, Jagatsingh-Burchpur, Srimansingh-Kote, a warrior of Kote, Savai Jaisingh-Jaipur and Jalmsingh-Kote.

In the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, there are just a few pieces of South Indian and Gandhara sculpture, two South Indian dance friezes in stone, some South Indian wood work and a few metal images.

The National Museum of Eire, Dublin, possesses only a few Indian objects, but has a good collection of Indian music instruments.

France: In Paris, the Indian antiquities are housed separately in the Musee Guimet; and in the great Louvre itself, one should see particularly the early Iranian section; a view of these is instructive in so far as it gives a first hand knowledge of these models of the Achaemenid age which, according to some historians and archaeologists, influenced

7. An Abhisarika from this collection is included in the Faber Art Gallery publication, Garhwal Painting (pl. V.)

Indian art and architecture from the Mauryan times. I was particularly struck by two pillars with lotus-abacus as in Asokan monuments and a pillar with a double bull capital of the time of Artaxerxes II Suse (405-362 B. C.) reproduced here (Fig. 2), which will not fail to remind one of Indian parallels. The thing that fired my imagination most and sent my mind rolling over the pages of our Purāṇas and made me feel as if walking through some of the worlds and peoples described in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature was the strange figures and sculptures of ancient Middle East which I saw in profusion, particularly in the British Museum and the Louvre. Even the Egyptian sections have specimens of this type, e. g. the winged monkeys in a frieze in the Louvre, reproduced here (Fig. 3), which remind us of the Vrishākapi or those that flew for Rama. The cross-legged squatting Egyptian scribe, from Sakkara, of the time of the V dynasty, also reproduced here (Fig. 4), may be one of our own *Kaṇakkupiḷḷais*!

In the Colonial Museum in Paris, there are Indian antiquities. Among those lent by Mr. Loo, a wealthy merchant, is an old Śiva bronze of the Pallava-Cola transition period ; there are some Indian bronzes and sculpture, some specimens of Hindu-Cambodian art, and relics from French Indian settlements, chiefly Pondicherry, and of French battles in Mysore. There are two Tamil-cum-Sanskrit palm leaf Mss., also from South India.

It is the Musee Guimet that is important in Paris for Indian students and here there are both Indian and Greater Indian collections. There are Graco-Buddhist specimens, Buddhistic frescoes from Afghanistan and Central Asia, two dancing bronzes, one bigger and one smaller but both with rare poses, some ten stone pieces from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Ghantasala, a Pallava Somāskanda (7th cent.) presented by Dubreuil, a Naṭarāja bronze and a good collection of paintings ; from the last I made a few selections for my use one of which, reproduced here (Fig. 5), is an interesting picture of an assemblage of saints of all faiths belonging to Shah Jehan's time with the King calling on them.

Belgium : The Museum of Art and History in Brussels is mainly concerned with Greek and European archaeology but it has a small Indian section in which are found (i) a few South Indian bronzes, (ii) a few North Indian stone images given by the Baroda Museum, and (iii) a good collection of small Tantrik Buddhist deities from Tibet. The Colonial Museum relating to Belgian Congo at Tervueren has already been referred to. In the Royal Conservetoire of

Music, Brussels, there is a good collection of Indian music instruments given by Raja Sourindramohan Tagore. In the private collection of a Belgian Count, de Gaunne, who was recently elected chairman of an Indo-Belgian Friendship Society at Brussels, there are just a few Indian antiquities which include a set of Indian playing cards, photos of which will be reaching me. The Count's ancestor was in India and the Indian objects with him are both at Brussels and his second home in South France.

Holland : To the Dutch we owe the opening up of the pages of the book of the glorious Indo-Indonesian period and naturally one has much to see in Holland. The Royal Antiquities Museum in Leiden is noteworthy only for Egyptian and to some extent Grecian sculpture. It is the National Museum of Ethnology, where the Kern Institute is also located, that is rich in Hindu-Javanese sculpture. I reproduce here (Fig. 9) one of the two Ganeśas whose photos I got, one seated and another standing, both endowed with Bhairava features, if we may say so, even the ornaments like pendants and armlet-clasps being designed out of figures of the human skull. The other photo-copies secured are of a Surya and the sublime representation of Prajñāpāramitā.

In the Tropics Institute (Museum) and the National Museum at Amsterdam, there are Indo-Javanese and Indian antiquities. In the former especially, where the well known authority on Javanese music Dr. J. Kunst works, there is a rich collection of Javanese music instruments and puppets and cut-outs from the Javanese theatre. A tiny Hindu-Javanese temple has also been set up here in replica.

Denmark : Copenhagen, like other capitals, has more than one museum and for our purpose, I may mention the National Museum which should be considered to possess an Indian collection rather important and of interest particularly to South India. The Indian material here is partly anthropological, – dress, utensils, toys, implements and music instruments, and partly artistic. In the latter are a few Gandhara pieces, a few Hoysala sculptures and some excellent South Indian specimens which went out through Tranquebar. Of these last, mention may be made of some wood-carvings, a wooden model of a South Indian temple, a Somāskanda bronze and another of a Nataraja, reproduced by me in the Hindu, Madras, accompanied by the Goddess, a standing Ganesa, and a small standing Siva, all from Tranquebar. In the Hoysala sculptures is a reclining Ranganātha. More interesting than all these is the substantial collection of Tanjore colour paintings preserved in the

Copenhagen Museum; very many interesting street scenes and popular figures – the *Konangi*, *Karaham* etc. are among the themes of these pictures ; of special value to students of music and dance are the portrayal in these pictures of a Marathi-dressed Tamil wandering minstrel-expounder, accompanied by a lady with cymbals in the hand and another similarly dressed male with a cup-shaped drum held by one hand and played by the other, a picture of a *naṭṭuvan* in court-dress together with a dancing girl doing *abhinaya* and another of a male dancer-cum-story-teller accompanied by a male musician.

Sweden : The Ethnology Museum in Stockholm treasures numerous Central Asian Buddhistic Mss. fragments ; there are also a few Tamil palm leaf mss. here.

Germany : In the Folkerkunde Museum in Hamburg, the Indian things are just a few unimportant ones. In the Museum of Religious Lore in the Schloss Castle in Marburg, organised by the Sanskritist R. Otto there is some late Indian material put together for the study of comparative religion, some religious doll images and wood carvings and a modern image of Sankaracharya done by the Sthapati Siddhalingappa of Mysore. In Stuttgart, I visited two museums, one of which, the Linden, has, partly in store and partly on show, a few Far East and Indian exhibits.

Berlin : The total strength of the Indian objects in the old pre-war Berlin State Museum is said to have been 50,000. It was reported, much to our comfort, that 80% of this was in safe deposit somewhere in West Germany ; 53 of the best pieces of the old collection are said to be lost or carried away to Russia. A small part of the old collection was, when I visited this museum, being set up in the newly allotted premises in the Ethnological Museum in the western part of the City. This resurgent museum is in charge of a most ardent young student of India, Dr. Hartel. Apart from the Indian and Tibetan objects in store and on show, by far the most valuable part of the treasures of this museum are the Buddhistic frescoes brought from the Turfan expedition, which are set up as they would have been in the interior of domes in the Turfan monasteries. Some volumes on these frescoes have been published through the Berlin Museum by Dr. Waldschmidt. A sample of these paintings is reproduced here (Fig. 6).

In East Berlin the corresponding literary discoveries of the Turfan expedition on which Luders was working are complely safe in the Akademic der Wissenschaften.

Austria : In Vienna, the palace of Maria Theresa (1740-80), the castle Park of Schönbrunn, preserved as a museum, is remarkable for one of the rooms called the Millions-chamber, lined with costly wood in which a large number of Indian miniatures on vellum in gilt frames of the Moghul period have been fixed all over the walls ; these paintings, passing country after country, finally came into Austria. In the Kunst Historisches Museum, there is some Indian material, which includes a set of old Indian playing cards, photos of which requisitioned by me are lying in Delhi along with the books of my late lamented friend Dr. Ramaswami who was Vice-Consul in Vienna.

Switzerland : In the Historical Museum at Berne, there are a few minor Indian and Tibetan objects and Pali mss. ; in the Ethnological Museum at Geneva there are four Indian illuminated mss. ; in Basel, the Ethnological Museum has some Indian objects, some Gandhara pieces and a few South Indian specimens including a Nataraja. Zurich is the most important place for us ; here in the University Ethnological Museum there are a few samples of South Indian palmleaf mss. and some Indian Anthropological material, but the importance of Zurich rests on the newly organised Rietburg Museum, which is the biggest of the Indian and Far East collections of a private business magnate of pre-war Germany, Baron van der Heydt, who settled down, after the war, in Ascona in Switzerland. This small but valuable collection has a full time Director in charge of it, Mr. Johannes Itten, who was kind enough to oblige me with some good photographs. Of the eleven pieces in stone here, an Umāmaheśvara and a decorative lady figure, reproduced here, (Fig. 8) are noteworthy ; there are also five South Indian bronzes : one good Nataraja, two Umāmaheśvaras, one standing Siva-Parvati and one Tāṇḍava-Krishna.

Before taking leave of Switzerland, I must mention a tiny exquisitely produced book from Lausanne, entitled *Miniatures Indiennes*, which I picked up at a bookstall. An example of how finely and attractively a handy book of this kind could be produced, this carries, with introduction and descriptions, 19 colour reproductions of Indian miniatures belonging to the collection of M. le Dr. Werner Reinhart at Wintetur. The themes comprise Moghul and Rajput princes, sports, Radha-Krishna love, Rāgamālā, and scenes of toilette and love.

Italy : In Rome the Italian Institute of Middle and Far East (IsMEO) of Dr. G. Tucci, was, at the time of my stay there, running an exhibition in which the most outstanding exhibit was a Nataraja

bronze with a rare pose belonging to the Bank of Italy. I had reproduced this Nataraja in my article on Indian Studies in Italy in the Hindu, Madras and with their permission it has been included here also (Fig. 7). The private library of Prof. Tucci has Nepalese and Tibetan objects, apart from its rich literary collection. In Florence, there was once an Indian Museum, mentioned by Aufrecht, but no traces of this could be found by me and Prof. Belloni Fillipi, though we went from place to place in search of it. In a missionary museum in Milan, a few Indian exhibits, neither old nor good, are found.

The above account mentions only the museums with Indian or Greater Indian interest. Several others were visited by me and I desire to close this account with just two more paragraphs, one on some special points relating to these museums and their collections, and the other on the facilities in and the role played by these museums and galleries. Firstly, as I have already stated, the collections exceed the space available and consequently, the authorities are forced to keep much in the magazine. But they periodically arrange an 'exhibition', as they call it on the Continent, in which they arrange objects of a particular school, subject or part of the country, in a special show, trying to reproduce the native setting of those exhibits. Thus, when I visited the Museum in West Berlin, there was a Tibetan exhibition, and with knowledge, taste and effect, they had set up a miniature Tibetan monastery and arranged their exhibits in that indigenous setting. Even in the case of antiquities permanently set up or built into with masonry work, they have, wherever possible, adopted a set-up or structure corresponding to the original; this could be seen particularly in the set-up of many of the Egyptian antiquities. The most conspicuous of this kind of set-up is the erection of domes for the frescoes from Turfan in Berlin. In the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions in Paris huge parts of a magnificent church as well as the frescoes, are set up in a manner that looks like re-constructing the original building. In Oslo, there is a special open air Folk Museum which is just a large park in which the old homes and the old domestic ways are shown by erecting these homes as they used to be in the past.

These museums are rich not merely by casual incomings or presents of objects, but by the explorations and finds of special expeditions organised and sponsored by the States and learned societies. The Central Asian treasures of Berlin and Stockholm, the Egyptian and



Fig. 1. Nāyaka with two kinds of Nāyikā viz. Jyeshṭhā and Kanishṭhā.



Fig. 2. Addorsed Bulls—Persepolis.

Plate

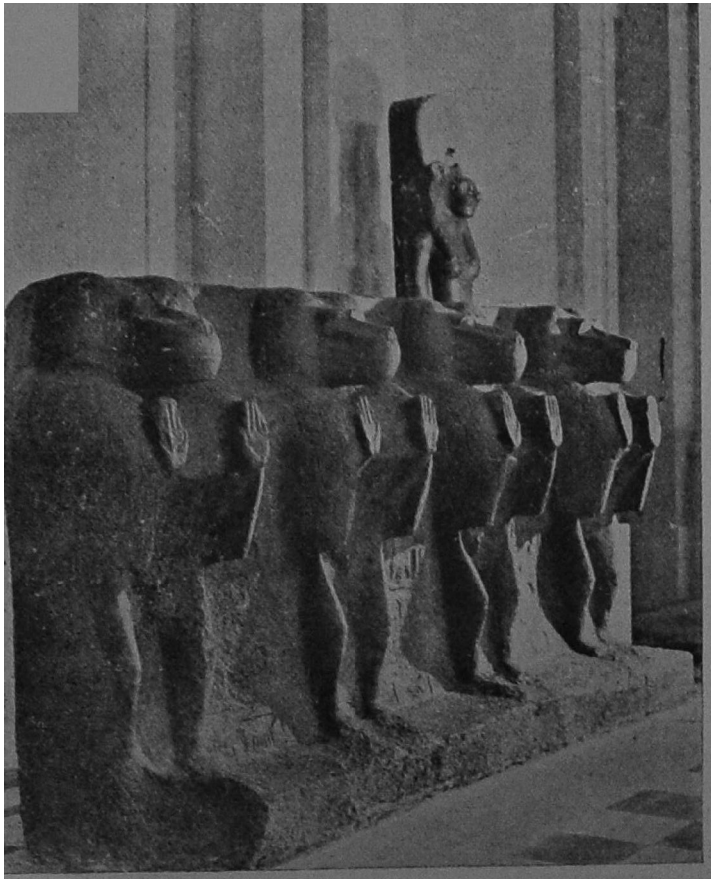


Fig. 3. Frieze of Winged Monkeys (Vrishākapis?), Egypt.

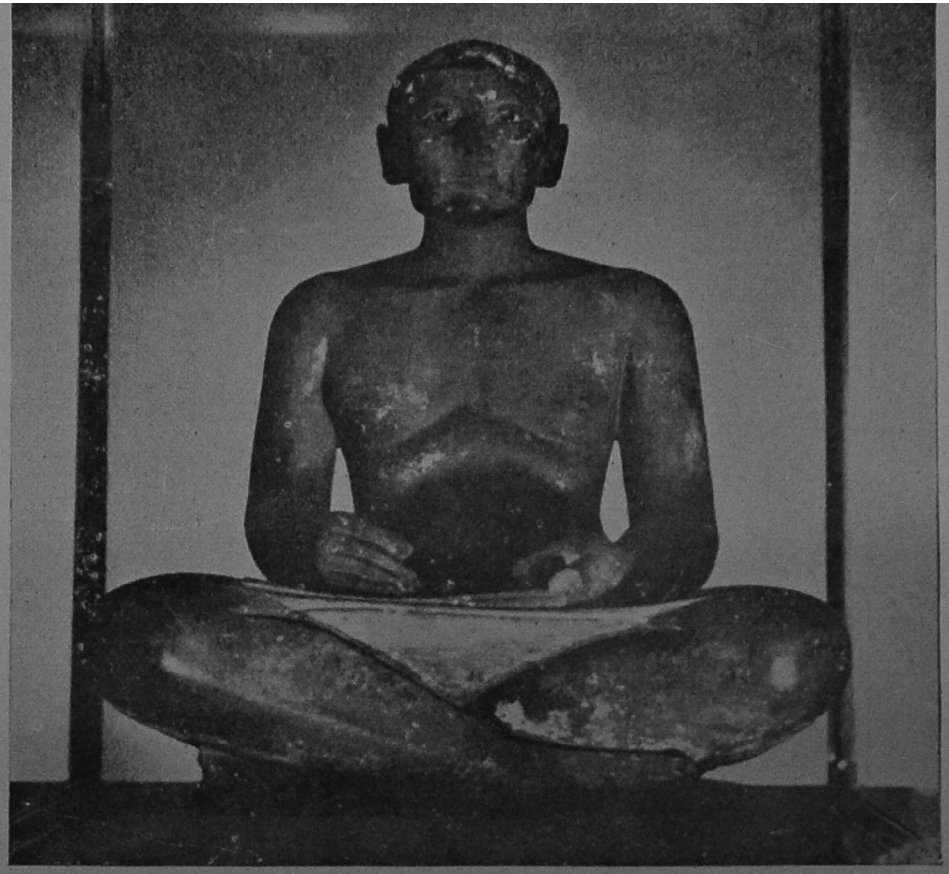


Fig. 4. Sculpture of Scribe—Egyptian.

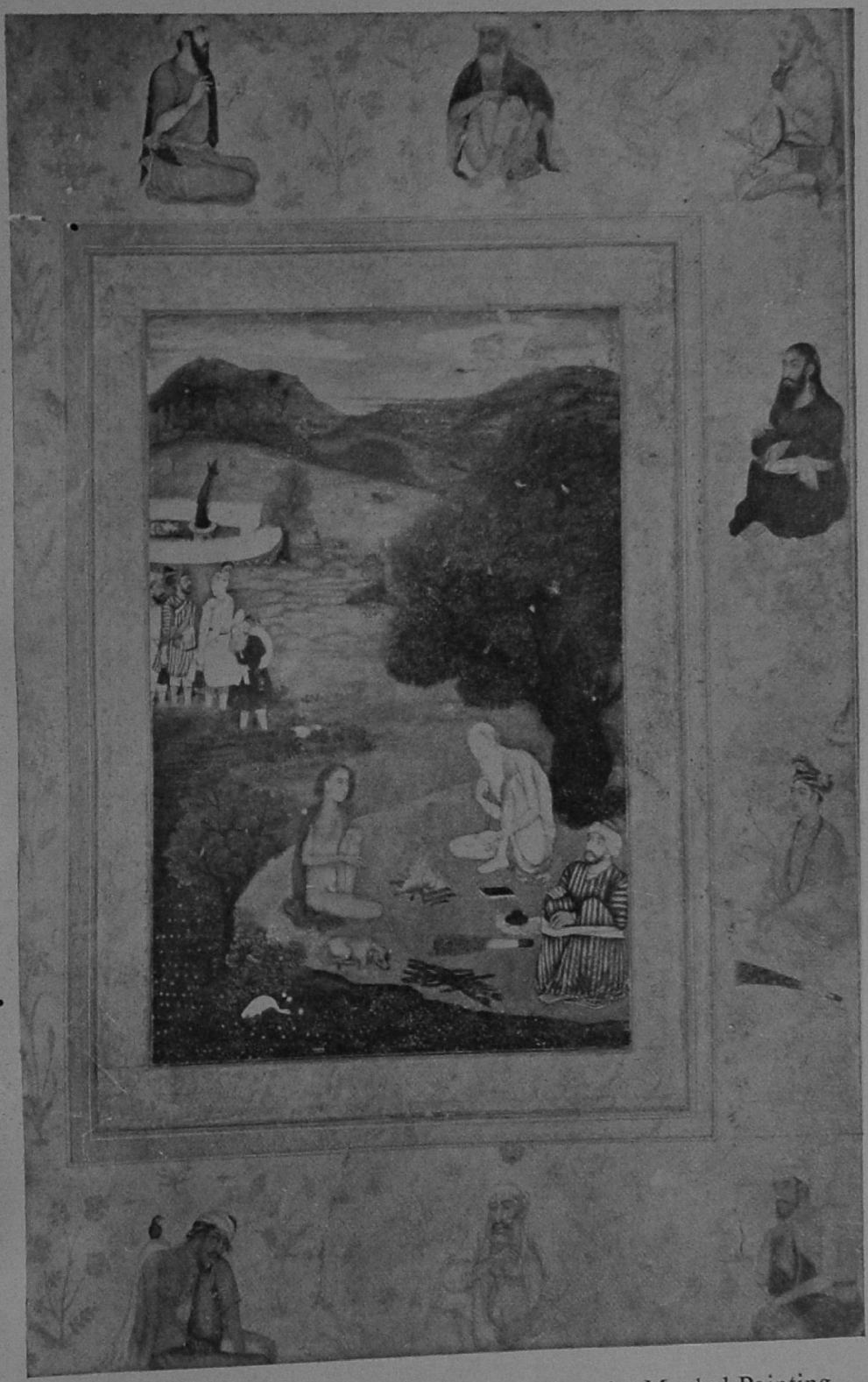


Fig. 5. Congregation of Saints and Sadhus in Mughal Painting.



Fig. 6. Ancient Buddhistic Fresco from monastery in Turfan.



Fig. 7. Nataraja (bronze), South India.
(Now in the Bank of Italy.)



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9. Ganesa.

Middle East treasures of most museums had all come in as a result of such organised missions and expeditions. While distant countries sent their scholars and expeditions to regions on our frontier where our culture once flourished, we in this country, have been quite neglectful ; the Greater Indian collections in our Museums in this country, barring a stray exception, are nil or negligible. A free country that we are now, we should, without resting on the labours of foreign pioneers, take our own initiative in respect of fresh archaeological missions and expeditions in neighbouring countries where our culture once held sway.

Secondly, the museum and gallery in the West are, though small for their collections, far bigger buildings than most of our museums. And the arrangement, lighting, facility and aid provided for to see and learn is incomparably superior to what is available in our country. The equipment of even the popular guides is high, because tourism is one of the best organised industries of those countries ; the guide-books and photo-prints are excellent ; inside the halls there are seats to sit, view and study ; there are facilities given to artists to copy and prepare replicas ; the whole day could be spent at a museum or gallery as cafes and other conveniences are all provided for. There are organised lectures on sections of the exhibits which students and the public attend. During specified nights, the Louvre floodlights select sections of the galleries and this proves a great attraction to vast numbers of visitors who spend long hours there. In the Tropical Museum at Amsterdam, there are weekly Javanese music concerts and dance-recitals in the gallery devoted to those arts. The museums and art galleries, no less than the magnificent libraries that I visited, produced on me the most profound impression.[8]

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8. The above account deals only with the Indian antiquities in the organised public museums and in just a few private collections. A survey of Indian antiquities in the West cannot be complete without a full census of private collections with individual owners, of whom there are all sorts, scholars, retired colonial officers, lovers of culture, rich merchants, members of aristocracy and lastly oriental dealers and curio-collectors. Among the last, I should mention an old misanthropic Indian in London, R. A. Dara, (31, Gloucester Avenue, Regent Park, London N. W. I.) who is reported to have a big collection for which he is making fantastic demands ; I was not sorry I could not tackle him for neither the Indian High Commission in London nor India Government have fared better with him !

NOTE :—This lecture, illustrated with a number of photographs, was delivered at the annual meeting of the society on 31-7-1954.

SOME INTERESTING ANTIQUITIES OF TUḶU-NĀḌ

BY

P. R. SRINIVASAN

1

INTRODUCTION

The Tuḷu country comprising the South Kanara district of the Madras State and the greater part of the North Kanara district of the Bombay State is richly endowed by nature. Like the neighbouring countries of Kerala, Tamilnad and Mysore, it has been inhabited by man from very remote times. During historic times, Tuḷu-nāḍ has played its role well enough in the history of India with the result that it has become famous both in tradition and folk-lore as well as in literature. Being contiguous to the aforesaid countries some of the features of its culture bear close resemblance to similar ones of those countries, which is proof positive for the free flow of ideas and practices from one country to another during early times. Since the Tuḷu country has a wide open door on its western side namely its long coast, it has attracted foreigners in early times who have left behind them some useful data relating to the history of ancient Tuḷu-nāḍ. A collation of these accounts of foreigners and of the facts gleaned from literature and tradition helps one to get some idea of the history of this interesting country at least from a period not far removed from Asoka's time. Definite evidences in the form of antiquities belonging to early periods are lacking just as in the case of the adjacent countries, and this deficiency of archaeological material is a great impediment for a proper assessment of the cultural activities of the people of Tuḷu-nāḍ in those times. The situation changes as centuries passed by and more and more antiquities of great interest and value belonging to periods after the 6th or 7th century A. D. have come to light. In the literatures and folklore of these later periods also there is found an increasing amount of material of historical value. A study of the archaelogical material and of the other sources severally and collectively reveals the remarkable continuity of the ancient traditions to the present day. Even during the Muslim invasions of South India, Tuḷu-nāḍ seems to have been comparatively little affected and this has helped not a little for the preservation of their ancient culture in all its pristine

purity by the people. The antiquities met with in various places of this country which are dealt with below briefly will show the interesting as well as the variegated character of its culture.

2

BRIEF HISTORY

According to tradition and early literature, this country was created by the famous Parasurama and was assigned by him to a number of Brāhmaṇa families. But the story of the division of the country into seven regions which were called collectively the *Sapta Konkaṇas* appears to be a later one. The antiquity of the country is, however, attested to by the notices of several places on the coast of Tuḷu-nād by foreign geographers such as the unknown author of the *Periplus*.

Beyond this scanty information, nothing is known about the history of the country during the early centuries of the Christian era. This is perhaps due to the fact that the country was under the rule of the kings of the adjacent territories. In fact, during that period the Kadambas were powerful in the region just to the north of Tuḷu-nād, and they may have had sway over this country also. But from about the 6th century or so the country came to be ruled by the kings of the dynasty called the Āḷūpa whose history can be pieced together from their own inscriptions which form the most important group of antiquities as well as the source for the history of the country in general.

It is known from an early inscription that one of the earliest rulers of the Āḷūpa dynasty, —of about the 6th c. A. D.,—was Māramma Āḷvarasar[1]. This is evidenced by the fact that this name is not qualified by any epithets which are usually met with in the case of kings of later periods[2]. He might have laid the foundations of the dynasty on a firm basis which was strengthened by his successors. Another of the distinguished members of the dynasty was perhaps Citravāhana at about the end of the seventh century A. D. Several successors of Citravāhana ruled with undiminished glory over the Tuḷu country, their capital being at Udayāvara near Udipi which is now a small town. From about the 10th century A. D. owing to a civil war at Udayāvara the capital was changed to Bārakaṇūr which was named later as Bārahkanyāpura. This place continued

1. *History of Karnataka, Vol. I, Histony of Tuluva*, by B. A. Saletore. This is a valuable book and my indebtedness to it, in so far as the introductory portions of this article are concerned, is great.

2. This is also the case with the first few members of the most of the royal dynasties of India.

to be the seat of the Āḷūpa kings for severl centuries afterwards. But, for a short period towards the end of 10th century, Mangalore seems to have been chosen as the capital by king Kundavarmarasa only to revert to the old capital of Bārahkanyāpura by the kings who occupied the Āḷūpa throne immediately after him. This king Kundavarmarasa appears to have had leanings towards Buddhism and is said to have installed a Buddhist figure in the temple at Kadarika near Mangalore.

Owing perhaps to the Chōḷa and Pandyan depredations in the Tuḷu country in general and in the capital, namely Bārahkanyāpura, in particular, the Āḷūpa kings of the subsequent periods moved their seat, first to Mangalore and, then, to Mudubidre. As a result of the Chōḷa invasion certain aspects of Tuḷu culture such as fine arts were influenced by those of the Tamil country. The practice of affixing the term Pandya to their names by several Āḷūpa kings of the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. and the very legend relating to Bhūtāḷa Pandya show what the Pandyan invasion of this country has brought about in the history of the dynasty and the social life of the people. From about the 15th century A. D. little is known about this dynasty, the country having been conquered by the Vijayanagar kings. Their Viceroys chose again Bārahkanyāpura for their headquarters. But Mudubidre came to be in charge of Jain chiefs of the Chowthar dynasty who are said to have been originally Hindus. The descendants of this dynasty are still at Mudubidre occupying the same old palace of their ancestors.

Though remains of the material culture of the people of the Tuḷu country are found scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country, a large concentration of them are however met with in the ancient capitals. As in other parts of India, so in the Tuḷu country also, the antiquities of any consequence are religious in character. It is therefore necessary to know something about the history of the various religions as followed by the people of this country in the past.

3

RELIGION

All the three important religions of India namely Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism have had a share in influencing the social life of the people in the past.

Buddhism. Of these, Buddhism seems to have been in vogue amongst the people during very ancient times. But it was supplanted by Hinduism about the early medieval period. If Buddhism had existed at all its vestiges must be found here.

Unfortunately only a few of them are found. The *śāstāvukallus*, *śāstāvugudis*, shrines of Bhagavati who is said to be no other than Tārā, the temple with apsidal plan at Kadri near Mangalore dedicated originally to Lokēśvara, and the rock-cut caves there called now as Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves may be some of them.[3] Except for these, the existence of Buddhism in this part in ancient times remains otherwise unattested to.

Jainism. Regarding Jainism, it appears that it began to spread only from the eleventh century or thereabouts. The sources for the history of Jainism are the libraries at Mudubidre, the *bastis* at Karkal, Venur and Mudubidre and local traditions. None of these date back to more ancient times than the 12th century or so. Even amongst the Jains of the locality the tradition is that their earliest *ācāryas* came into the Tuḷu country only about a thousand years ago. This is rather strange in view of the fact that over the Ghats in the Mysore State and other places, Jainism was very popular from about 300 B. C. the date of arrival of Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta Maurya, at Sravanabelgola, as has been recorded in the Digambara Jain tradition. In spite of the late arrival, the Jain *ācāryas* appear to have tried to popularise their religion throughout the Tuḷu country. But even after centuries of their work the strongholds of Jainism in this country have been limited almost to the three important places namely Mudubidre, Venur and Karkal. Consequently Jain antiquities are found in large numbers only in these places.

Hinduism. Hinduism seems to have been popular with the people at large from very early times. Various sects such as Śaivism, Vaishnavism, Bhāgavata Sampradāya and Grāmadēvatā cult have been followed by different sections of the people. Of these, Śaivism appears to have been very predominant till the advent of the great Madhvācārya, "the greatest son of the Tuḷu country[4]". Śaivism was in fact the one followed by the Āḷūpa kings throughout their history although some of them like Kundavarmarasa were attracted to other religions. That Śaivism was very popular and had the royal support is evident from the existence of numerous temples dedicated to deities of the Śaivite pantheon as well as other Śaivite antiquities, in various places of the country. After the advent of Madhvācārya he spread Vaishnavism of the *Dvaita* type. In his enthusiasm and zeal it is said that the great *ācārya* arranged for converting Śaivite shrines into Vaishnava ones. In spite of his extra-ordinary efforts it appears

3. *History of Tuluva*, pp. 382 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

that after him again Śaivism became popular, although in and around Udipi, the centre of the *ācārya's* activities, Vaishnavism has been popular to this day.

Bhāgavata Sampradāya. Allied to Madhva's Vaishnavism, but more eclectic than that, was, it seems, the religion called the Bhāgavata Sampradāya followed by a section of the Smārta Brāhmaṇas of the Tuḷu country. Though the Bhāgavata Sampradāyins do not differentiate between Vishnu and other deities, their *ishṭa dēvatā* seems to be Krishna as Muraḷīdhara. As a consequence a number of temples dedicated to this aspect of Krishna are found in different parts of the country, some of the images representing him thus being exquisite specimens of sculpture.

Other Smārtas. Besides these Bhāgavata Sampradāyins there are other Smārtas who, like their brotheren in other parts of India are still wedded to the Vedic cult in their homes, while outside, do not distinguish between Vaishnavism and Śaivism and offer worship equally at shrines dedicated to both the gods. That a family or two of these people officiate in the worship of a unique group of figures certainly representing some deities, in a shrine at Barkur is startling to know because the composition of the figures is such that it perpetuates a very, very ancient idea the significance of which is rather shrouded in mystery (see below page 93).

Folk Religion. The various religions mentioned above being highly developed, only the people of the upper strata of the society follow them. The great majority of the common people, however, follow ancient cults but they are not averse to offer worship to deities of other religions also. The type of ancient cult that is popular and universal in the region is *Bhūta* (demon) worship. "*Bhūtas* (demons) are represented in the form of tiger, bull, fowl etc., in wood or brass or stone and worship is offered to them in small shrines called *bhūtasānas* (*Bhūtasthānas*, Skt.)"[5] A study of this cult is likely to throw a flood of light on the social life of the common people of the country. A few examples of shrines of this cult will be described below.

4

ANTIQUITIES

The antiquities of Tuḷu-nād consist of inscriptions, coins, temples sculptures, wood-carvings etc. We shall deal with them one by one except the former two.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

5

TEMPLES

In the Tuḷu country, as in other parts of India, temples are the most important source for a study of all aspects of social life of ancient times. It is the temples that have been the object of wonderful architectural, sculptural and pictorial embellishments. It is in them that best specimens of the art of writing of different periods are found. Rare and important transactions conducted by royal persons are recorded on temple walls. Similarly in various other ways temples have been the centre of refined activities of the community as a whole as well as its benefactor in times of stress and strain. Further the traditions and rituals connected with them afford us an insight into the development of religious observances and practices through the ages. The temples of Tuḷu-ṇād may be studied under the following heads., viz. unique shrines, temples noted for their special architectural features, Jain *bastis* and *bhūtasthānas*.

UNIQUE SHARINES

There are a number of temples in the Tuḷu country which appear to be rather unique in character. Among the most important of them are the following : The Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore, the Anantapadmanābha temple at Karkal, the Balarāma temple at Kudavur near Udipi and the Revanta temple at Barkur.

Mañjunātha temple at Kadri. The Mañjunātha temple at Kadri is now a Śiva temple, as the name indicates. The deity in the temple bears an inscription in the *Grantha* script of the tenth century A. D. According to this inscription the figure represents the Buddhist deity Lokēśvara and was established in the temple by the Āḷūpa king Kundavarmarasa. That the temple itself is of the *gajaprishṭha* type [6] is taken to support the Buddhist origin of the temple and the deity. After the decline of Buddhism, the Hindus assiduously changed the name of the deity and converted it into a Hindu temple. In this respect the Kadri temple is of great interest.

Anantapadmanābha temple at Karkal. The second unique temple met with in this country is the Anantapadmanābha temple at Karkal. The temple is very unpretentious so far as its construction goes. But the deities worshipped here tell the story of the continuation of the *Sātvata* cult which is one of the earliest *bhakti* cults to become popular with the people in India. In the sanctum of the temple is a huge bas-relief figure of Vishnu lying on the serpant Ananta which is similar in all respects to the Anantaśāyin

6. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

figure from Hampi. (Cf. *Hampi Ruins*, Fig. 53). The interest of this temple does not lie in this figure alone. Its value is enhanced by the fact that in niches outside on the three walls of the sanctum are figures representing Samkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. These three figures taken along with the Anantaśāyin who is no other than Vāsudeva, form the well known Vaishnava group called *Vyūha*. It may be remembered here that at a time i. e. about the beginning of the Christian era when temples to Hindu deities were not much in evidence, there appear to have been temples dedicated to these *vyūha* figures throughout India. In north India such temples appear to have existed at Besnagar where *dhvajastambha* capitals representing the *lāṅchanas* of some of these deities have been met with which date back to the 2nd-1st centuries B. C.[7] That temples to these deities were common in South India also is seen from the references to them in literary works of about the same date.[8] In fact this temple of Karkal is probably the only existing instance of such a temple in South India.

Balarāma temple at Kudavur. The third important temple is the Balarāma temple at the village of Kudavur three miles to the north of Udipi. It appears that originally it was a Subrahmaṇya temple,but was converted into a Balarāma temple since the time when a Balarāma idol was installed in the sanctum in the place of the original Subrahmaṇya idol by Madhvāchārya. The original idol is said to be found in the temple tank in a mutilated condition.[9] Apart from this, the most interesting feature of this temple and the one for which it has been singled out, is its *utsava vigraha* (processional idol) in copper. Though now the *mūlabera* is Balarāma, surprisingly enough the *utsavabera* is a Subrahmaṇya figure of about 6 inches in height. Besides, its iconograpical feature is very interesting as it represents Subrahmaṇya as Shaṇmukha of a peculiar type (see below page 86).

Revanta temple at Barkur. The fourth and by far the most important temple is the Reventa temple of Barkur. This place was the flourishing capital of the Āḷūpas for a long time and remnants of its one time greatness lie scattered all over the place. But now it is a small place and is divided into various areas such as Mūḍukere, Chauḷikere and Koṭekere. Shedigudde is one of the areas and it is

7. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J. N. Banerjea, pp. 114-15.
8. *Silappadikaram*, by Ilango Adigal, *ed.* MM. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, pp. 239, 245.
9. Information given by the priests of the temple.

here that the Revanta temple stands. It is simply a tiled hall and is divided internally into two portions, the front one reserved for minor deities while the smaller back portion is the sanctum containing figures of the main deities. The first interesting feature of this temple is that the deities here are represented either in some animal form or half-human and half-animal form. It is said that this is a very important temple in the whole area and that worshippers would throng the place in hundreds and thousands during festivals conducted here. On the festival days, it is said that there would be such functions as fire walking, done by devotees in fulfilment of their vows.[10] In these respects this temple is similar to Draupadī and Ayyanār temples of Tamilnad. A lower class man is as a rule the priest of such temples of Tamilnad, but the priests of the Shedigudde Revanta temple of Barkur are Vaidika Brāhmaṇas of the Smārta group. The ritual that is in practice in the temple is also perhaps Vedic. This fact coupled with the theriomorphic representations of deities in the temple shows a remarkable continuation of a very ancient practice the significance of which is intriguing. The figures found in the temple are the following. In the front portion are two bulls which are called *nandi-koṇas* and a bull-like figure but with a single horn on its head called *ūrddhvaśringi* and a few other figures. In the sanctum is the Reventa figure the chief deity of the temple. Besides this, there are two other figures. One of them, in stone, is a Mahishāsura-like figure in kneeling posture, said to represent the first promulgator of Aḷiya Santāna Law (matriarchal law of inheritance). The other is the unique figure of a bull which has five single-horned bull heads similar to the head of the *ūrddhvaśringi* figure noted above, joined to a single body. The importance of these figures is such that they are described below in detail and an interpretation of them offered.

TEMPLES NOTED FOR SPECIAL ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Temples of Tuḷu-nād are only of modest dimensions and do not approach anywhere near the gigantic and towering *vimānas* and *gōpuras* of the temples of the Tamil country. Nor do they have any graceful features that characterise the temples in Mysore, Bhuvaneśvar and Khajuraho. As regards the unit, the Tuḷu temples are found to follow that of the Tamilian temples. The reason for this may be the lack of the variety of

10. Information given by Mr. Yajnanarayana Rao, President, Panchayat Board, Barkur. He and Mr. Siqueria, the ex-President of the Board, rendered valuable help when I was at Barkur, and I am grateful to them for this.

hard granite suited for building high and minutely carved structures and that temples built of dressed lateritic slabs weather so much that they have to be pulled down shortly after their construction and rebuilt poorly and in modern style. Temples in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore have fared better, a good number of them having their original roof etc., unaltered. The roofing of temples of Tuḷu-ṇād, where it has survived, is found to be of long thin stone slabs arranged in such a way that the upper rows overlap the lower ones as in tiling. Examples of this kind of roofing are the Chaumukh temple (Fig. 1) of Karkal, Anantesvara temple at Udipi and the Chauḷikere temple (Fig. 2) at Barkur.

No ancient specimens of pillars have survived, the pillars found in the Neminātha temple[11], in Hiriyangādi at Karkal, in the Chaumukh temple[12] in the same town and in the thousand-pillared *basti*[13] at Mudubidre, are of the modern period and have none of the attractive features of ancient examples.

Style. The temples of the Tuḷu country are built in the multiple-roof style which is best illustrated by the *guru-bastis*[14] of Mudubidre. In this respect the architecture of Tuḷu-ṇād is similar to that of Kerala. Not a single example of temple in the other well known styles viz. the curvilinear, the star-shaped, the bent-roof and the stepped-pyramid, is found here. But in the prevalent style there are four types of temples. They are the square, the apsidal, the rectangular and chaumukh.

Square type. The square type temples are numerous here and they range from the simple to very elaborately constructed ones. The temple of Śāntīśvara of Venur, though an example of this type, is very interesting because of its upper storey. The entire building is of stone and there is, just above the sanctum, another smaller sanctum containing an image of a Tirthankara. This has a roof somewhat of a pyramidal shape. This method of placing sanctum over sanctum in diminishing sizes is an ancient practice which appears to have continued till comparatively late periods as shown by the Venur *basti*. It may be remembered in this connection that the earliest surviving example of this type is the Lad Khan's temple at Aihoḷe[15].

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11. *Jaina Monuments and Places of First-class importance* (Calcutta), by T. N. Ramachandran, pl. XXXV.
12. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII.
13. *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Periods* (Bombay, 1942), by Percy Brown, pl. CIIA, Fig. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, pl. CII, Fig. 4.
15. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1.

Apsidal type. Examples of temples in the apsidal type (*gajaprishṭha*) occur in some numbers in this country as in Kerala and Tamilnad. The history of this *gajaprishṭha* type of temples dates back to very early times. This type has been well known in ancient Middle-East before it was adopted by the Buddhists of India for their *Chaitya* halls. Early examples of this type of shrines occur in ancient Buddhist settlements throughout India e. g., Taxila, Sānchi and Nāgārjunakoṇda. But after Hinduism came to its own this type appears to have fallen into disuse in North India. In South India there are references to this type of temples in early literary works dating prior to 600 A.D. but actual examples occur from at least 650 A. D., the so-called Sahādeva Ratha at Mahabalipuram being the earliest surviving one. But the type appears to have been much favoured by the people of South India especially of the early Chōḷa period. Hence the existence of numerous *gajaprishṭha* type of temples belonging to periods from 900 A. D. to 1100 A. D. throughout Tamilnad. Quite a large number of them may be found in Madras and Chingleput districts e. g. the temples at Tiruvoṛṛiyur, Tirumullaivayil and Tirumaḷisai. After about 1100 A. D. even in South India this type did not find favour with the people. Consequently few temples of this type were built during later periods. Since some of the early Chōḷa rulers were virtually the masters of the whole of South India, it appears that during their period artistic motifs and architectural types of Tamilnad travelled to Kerala and Tuḷuṇāḍ also. The *gajaprishṭha* temples of Kerala and Tuḷu-ṇāḍ seem to be one such instance because of their exact resemblance to Tamilian prototypes. Two fine and large examples of this type are the Anantēśvara temple (Fig. 3) at Udipi which has the peculiar stone-slab roofing and the Pancaliṅgēśvara temple at Barkur (Fig. 4).

Rectangular type. The rectangular type is exemplified by all the Tirthankara *bastis* of the Jain temple group met with in such places as Karkal. They are otherwise of very little interest although doorways[16] of some of them like that of the Venur Tirthankara *basti*, are beautifully carved.

Chaumukh type. Chaumukh temples appear to be limited in number in Tulunad. The famous example is that of Karkal (Fig. 1) although its pillars and other features are in modern style.

JAIN BASTIS

Jain temple-cities such as Śatruṇjaya and Abu are famous in North India. Equally interesting are the *basti*-towns of the

16. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. (1876), pl. opposite page 38.

Tuḷu country, such as Karkal, Mudubidre and Venur. In each of these places, a number of *bastis* are grouped together at a particular spot. Each group almost invariably consists of the main shrine dedicated to one of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, a *guru basti* and a Tirthankara *basti*. There will be a *mānastambha* in front of a group of such *bastis*. Besides these, there may be also other smaller shrines dedicated to other individual Tirthankaras.

At Karkal. Amongst the *bastis* of Karkal the most interesting is the Chaumukh temple not only for its architectural features but also for its size. The *mānastambha* at Hiriyangādi is a beautiful specimen of its kind. Further the Gommaṭēśvara figure in this place is the second largest in India.

At Mudubidre. Mudubidre has a number of *bastis*. This is due perhaps to its having been the headquarters of the Jain chiefs of the locality for a long time. Of all these the so-called thousand-pillared temple dedicated to Candranātha Tirthankara and the *guru bastis*[17] are interesting. Though the former has been recently renovated, it is one of the few biggest stone temples in this region. Its importance lies in the fact that along the basement of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* run friezes with sculptures in bas-relief depicting various scenes perhaps from Jaina story books. They appear to be old perhaps the remnants of the old structure which was pulled down when the new structure was put up.

At Venur. Though a small place, Venur contains some interesting *bastis* of which the Śāntināṭha *basti* is noteworthy for its architecture and its Tirthankara *basti*. The latter contains beautifully carved bas-relief figures of all the Tirthankaras with their *yakshas*, *yakshiṇis*, trees etc. Besides, the Gommaṭēśvara figure of this place is the third largest and is of considerable interest in spite of its late date. In a choultry in this place are assembled a number of Jain metal figures some of which are fine specimens of the art of metal figure work as practised in this country.

BHUTASTHANAS

As mentioned above the great majority of the common people of Tuḷu-ṇād offer worship at the shrines to the *bhūtas* (demons) which are found all over the country. The worship takes place in the *bhūtasthānas* usually "small structures containing images of brass, of terracotta or of wood in human shape or resembling animals such as pigs, tigers, fowls etc. They are wor-

17. See above p. 78.

shipped as symbols of the *bhūtas* on various ceremonial occasions."[18] As these figures are of perishable material no ancient specimens of them can be expected to have survived. The usual practice is to make the figures anew as and when required and instal them in the shrines. What is of interest to antiquarian and sociologist are not the figures themselves, but the rituals and practices of worship which, being preserved here almost in their original forms, are of great use in evaluating the social and the religious life of the people in bygone times. The correlation of these practices with their parallels in contemporary life both in the different parts of India and in foreign countries like Egypt where also such concepts were developed and given expression to, is another important thing. Of the many *bhūtasthānas*, two, occurring in Barkur, are of some special interest which necessitate their description at some length.

Chief shrine of the Mogers of Tuḷu-nād. On the small island of *Bennekudru*, near Barkur is the most important shrine of the Mogers of Tuḷu-nād. (Now it appears that the Mogers of the southern Tuḷu country have established another shrine at a place convenient to them, owing perhaps to differences of opinion between them and their northern brethren regarding worship etc.) About this shrine Thurston says a few words.[19] But some interesting features of the temple have not been mentioned by this authority. The temple is situated on the western part of the island on a raised ground. It is a simple rectangular tiled structure with *Mastiamma shrine* at the end of a long pillared hall. The shrine is under the control of a hereditary priest who is said to be more or less the leader of all the Mogers although there has now arisen a faction amongst them. The appearance of the priest and the ceremonial costume etc. that he wears are remeniscent of very ancient times. He is tall and imposing and has a tuft of hair on his head and a long and terrifying moustache on his face. He wears several ornaments on his person of which mention may be made of the big rings in his ears, the necklaces and the *kankaṇas* and *valayas* on his wrists. He also wears a silk dhoti and *dupatta* and a head-dress on ceremonial occasions. This description of the priest's appearance is given here in order to make the fact clear that so far as the appearance and costume are concerned he is the living example of his predecessors in the service of the shrine. Quite remarkably identical in appearance and drapery are the life-size figures of wood that are found arranged on either side of the long hall or *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the shrine. When

18. *History of Tuluva*, p. 372.
19. *Castes and Tribes of South India*, by E. Thurston, Vol. V, p. 68.

questioned whom these wooden figures represented, the priest replied that they are the effigies of former priests.

There are over a dozen such figures. The one heading the series has to be taken as representing the priest who may have to be assigned to a period at least three hundred years before now, allowing on an average twenty-five years for a priest. Since the appearance and costume and ornaments found on the wooden figure representing the earliest priest of the series are nearly the same as are of the present priest the fact that the conventions relating to the priest-king of the Mogers are tenaciously preserved becomes evident.[20]

This is supported by the fact of the very example of the present priest.[21] Besides the effigies, the temple hall contains several examples of wooden figures representing bulls etc. which are perhaps items of paraphernalia that accompanied each of the priests at the time of his death. This significant practice of the Moger priest is remarkably akin to the practice of mummifying the kings of Egypt, who were also considered divine in some respects, and suggests some affinity with the ancient Egyptian culture. This appears to be one of the many such common practices that obtained in Egypt, Babylonia and other ancient countries but which are preserved and practised to this day, of course, with such modifications as were brought about by efflux of time, in the Tuḷu country.

Rangankere Bhūtasthāna. The second shrine is found on the eastern border of Barkur at a place called Rangaṇkere. The present condition of the *bhūtasthāna* is such as to make one afraid of approaching it. Certainly one will be all the more terrified when he sees the *bhūtas* represented in the form of tigers etc. in wood seen in the temple. On entering it one sees to the left a wooden figure said to represent *Purusha*. It is not known who this Purusha is. Behind this are two tigers also of wood which represent the *Pulidevars* (deities of tiger). Inside the shrine is another wooden figure with beard, holding a sword, called Bobbaraya. Opposite to this is a female figure with a mirror in her left hand called *hen* or *sikku* meaning simply a woman. In front of her is her child. In the sanctum of the temple is a wooden stump with carvings including a head-

20. It may be remembered here that even though the wooden figures now found in the temple might as well be modern ones, the earlier figures having been destroyed owing to the perishable nature of the material, yet the fact remains that while carving anew, the replicas are usually based on the model of the originals.

21. *Pratimagrihas* containing effigies of kings dead and gone appear to have existed in ancient times. Cf. *Pratima Nataka*, by Bhasa.

like thing. This is a female deity called by the name *Abbagadaraka*. Though this expression consists of two words viz. *Abbakka* and *Darakka* meaning respectively elder sister and younger sister, it is used by the people as one compound word. On the southern *prākāra* in a small hut, are two *nandikōṇa* figures. By the side of this shrine is another hut where is found the figure of the terrifying deity called *Kallukkodukka*. On the northern side of the central shrine are found *nāga* stones. At the north-eastern corner of the *prākāra* is a room where is a figure representing Vīrabhadra wearing *kirīṭamakuṭa* and with only two hands. The names of the figures and their forms no doubt signify some very ancient ideas the importance of which requires to be investigated.

6

SCULPTURE

Examples of early sculpture are few in the Tuḷu country. The *nandi*[22] in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara seems to be one of the earliest specimens because of its fine modelling and the realistic features. The Lokēśvara image in the Manjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore dates from the 10th century A. D. according to the inscription on it, and is a fine specimen.[23] Subsequently influences of the art from over the Ghats appear to have spread into Tuḷu-nād. As a result, specimens of sculpture are found in two distinct styles. One of them is indigenous and the other is the Hoysala style. The image of Kumāra (Fig. 5) in the Pañcalingēśvara temple and of the Durga (Fig. 6) in another shrine at Barkur are beautiful examples of indigenous style, which is characterised by fine proportions, beautiful modelling and restrained decoration. On the other hand the Veṇugopāla image (Fig. 7) found in a shrine in the same place is a splendid specimen of sculpture in Hoysala style, which is characterised by a luxuriant ornateness coupled with slender but beautiful forms and exquisitely fine workmanship.

To a later period belongs the Gommaṭēśvara figure at Karkal a monolithic colossus noted for its noble conception and beauty of execution, The Anantaśāyin figure at Karkal and the Tirtankara figures of Venur mentioned above belong to the Vijayanagar times and are beautiful specimens of the art of that period. Mention may be made in passing about the Gommaṭēśvara figure of Venur, which bears the date of 1604 A. D. yet executed with remarkable skill.

ICONS

Since a great majority of sculptures are also icons of deities, the studies of Indian iconography and Indian sculpture usually overlap

22. *History of Tuluva*, plate facing p. 80.
23. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1921 pl. I. Fig. 1. where the temple is wrongly identified as a Jaina one.

The icons of Tuḷu-nād are no exception to this and amongst the many sculptures of images met with in this country some are of great iconographical interest too. They include images of Buddhist, Jain and Hindu deities as well as images of *grāmadevatas*. Some of the common icons found here, show variations in details, a clear indication of the fact that they are based on local versions of the *Śilpa* texts.

BUDDHIST

Lokēśvara. Although no icons of Buddhist deities are known to exist here, the one worshipped in the Manjunātha temple at Kadri may be taken to be an example on the basis of its inscription. There seems no doubt about identifying this figure as Lokēśvara, a form of Bodhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, not only from the express mention of its name in the inscription but also from the fact that it answers nearly completely the *dhyāna* of the deity as given in northern Buddhist texts. Its description is as follows: "He is indigo-coloured with three faces which are black, white and red. The first pair of hands holds *vajra* aud bell; the second pair holds *damaru* and skull with blood. And he has a *khaṭvāṅga* in his armpit, and he is adorned with jewels. The absence of other details.....is due to the local atmosphere."[24]

JAINA

Gommaṭēśvaras etc. Jaina icons are available in plenty in the aforesaid centres. They include not only the two colossi of Gommaṭēśvaras one from Karkal (Fig. 8) and the other from Venur and the beautiful series of Tirthankaras of Venur but also a number of metal figures found in the various *bastis* of the three places. Those metal figures stored in the choultry at Venur are especially noteworthy.

HINDU

These icons apart, the great majority of the people here being Hindus, the country naturally abounds in Hindu icons. The following are some of the important Hindu icons met with in the places visited, and show that there may be many more such interesting icons in other places as well.

Revanta. One of the interesting icons that we came across in the Tuḷu country is that of Revanta (Fig. 9). It is under worship in a small shrine at Barkur. There are also two or three more shrines

24. *History of Tuluva*, p. 383.

dedicated to this deity in this place. This is indicative of the fact that Revanta cult is popular with the people here. The icon is carved in bas-relief and shows Revanta riding a horse. He holds a sword in his right hand and the reins of the horse in his left hand. He wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* on his head. An umbrella is carved over his head. On its either side is shown a hooded serpent. This cavalier-like deity does not seem to be popular in South India, nor in eastern India.[25] But a few specimens of this icon met with here and there, suggest that there are people who follow the cult of Revanta to this day.

There are several references to Revanta in the epics, *purāṇas* and other texts such as *Brihatsamhita* and *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. He is said to be the son of Sūrya in the form of a mare, and that he was born after the twin Aśvins. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* he is said to be the chief of the *Guhyakas* and that he should be worshipped by people when afflicted with natural calamities. In the *Kālikā purāṇa*, however, it is mentioned that the worship of Revanta is the concluding one of the seven-day Durga festival performed by chiefs and kings. During this festival the chiefs should stage a mock-fight on horse-back. In Tamil-nād on the concluding day of the Durga festival or *Dasara*, the gods of temples with their consorts and retinue are taken out, decorated suitably, on horseback to a place where a *vahni* tree is planted. After staging fighting the gods are said to pierce the tree with the arrows, the tree representing a demon. This appears to correspond to the Revanta worship mentioned in the *Kālikā purāṇa*. Although most of the gods are associated with this idea that Vishnu is conceived specially as a horseman *par excellence* in Tamil-nād and in that aspect he is called as Parimelaḷagar (Aḻgar or Vishnu on horseback) is highly suggestive of the fact that Reventa being the son of Sūrya and therefore of Vishnu, may be said to represent solely this aspect of Vishnu.[26] Although in many an example of the icon Revanta is represented as if engaged in hunting, which is also the formula prescribed for this icon in the texts, the figure in question shows only the deity on horseback, the rest of the party being not represented.

Kumāra. Another icon which is of very great interest is the Kumāra image (Fig. 5) found in one of the subsidiary shrines in the Pañcalingēśvara shrine at Barkur. The figure, according to the name given to it, represents a charming youth. Its general features and fine modelling are clearly indicative of early date.

25. *Iconography of Buddhist and Hindu sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, by N. K. Bhattasali, p. 174.

26. I am indebted to Sri T. G. Aravamuthan for these facts.

He stands on *padmāsana* in the *samabhanga* posture, and wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *makarakuṇḍalas*, two *hāras*, *keyuras* on the arms, *valayas* on the wrists, beautifully worked *muktāyajñōpavīta* with a fine clasp on the left chest, gem set *udarabandha*, simple loin cloth with the *uttarīya* tied at the waist whose ends are shown in graceful loops on either side, waist-bands three in number also gem-set with a *kīrtimukha* clasp in the front, a twisted band of *maunja* grass shown tastefully and artistically in a semi-circular form on the waist and *pādasaras*. He has two hands, and holds a *daṇḍa* (staff) with *bandhas* on it in his right hand and a *kukkuṭa* (cock) which is his *lānchana* (cognizance) in the left hand. On both the shoulders are shown strands of hair falling in graceful curls. The manner in which this is depicted is charming. The people call this Kumāra an aspect of Subrahmaṇya. But according to *Āgamas* it should be called Brahmacāri Subrahmaṇya.[27] That is in this aspect Subrahmaṇya is represented as Su-Brahmaṇya, a perfect Brahmacāri. In some sculptures, instead of *kukkuṭa* in the left hand, there may be a *vajra*. But the deviation met with in the icon in question is due to the fact that there was a different version of the *Śilpa* text current amongst the *sthapatis* of this country.

Śikhivāhana Shaṇmukha. Another very interesting Subrahmaṇya figure is met with in the Balarāma temple at Kudavūr near Udipi as mentioned above. It is a copper figure of about only 6 inches high which serves still as the *utsavabera* in the temple which is now a Vaishnava temple, although, originally, as described above, it was a Subrahmaṇya temple, the old stone figure of which, in a mutilated condition, is said to be found in the temple tank and which is said to answer the following *dhyāna* [28]

Karadhṛta nava nāgam kalpitaśesha bhūsham
varamapi kaṭi bhāge nyasta hastāmbujekam /
aruṇa kirana mālam Tāraka dhvamsa nātham
śaravaṇa bhava mīdhe Śānkaram Skandamīśam ‖ [29]

But the *utsavabera* is iconographically very peculiar perhaps the like of which has not been so far known. It has six heads but not arranged as usual horizontally. One of them is shown prominently. The remaining five are shown above the crown of this main head·

27. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao. Vol. II, pt, II, pp. 442-43.

28. Information supplied by the priests of the temple.

29. " Adoration to the lord Skanda who is the son of Siva, is born o Saravana, the lord of destruction of Taraka, who wears a garland emitting red rays, holds a new serpent in his hand and is decked in all ornaments and whose other lotus-like hand in the *varada* pose is kept on the *kati*."

Further it has only two hands and most interesting thing about the figure is that it holds a *śankha* (conch) in the right hand and a *nāga-aṇda* (serpent egg) in the left hand. The figure is seated on the vehicle *śikhi* (peacock), with the right leg bent and placed on the bird and the left leg hanging down. The *dhyāna* of this rather a unique icon seems difficult to trace. But it is clear that although the figure is only a small one, the idea it represents appears to have been in vogue amongst a particular sect or class of people here which is perpetuated to this day as evidenced by this figure being kept under worship still. This figure coupled with the Kumāra figure of Barkur as well as the existence of a famous Subrahmaṇya *kshetra* in this country is clearly indicative of the fact that Kaumāra cult of a special type has been popular here from early times.

Balarāma. While mentioning about the rare Shaṇmukha icon of the temple, it will not be out of place to describe the Balarāma icon also which is now the chief deity in the temple. He stands on *bhadrapiṭha* and holds a small *hala* (plough), his *lānchana*, in his right hand and his left hand is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. He wears *udvabandha* and *yajñōpavīta*. The workmanship of the figure is not without merit.

Durga. In one of the small shrines at Barkur is a figure of Durga (Fig. 6) who is shown seated in the *ardhaparyaṇkāsana* on a *padmapiṭha* which is placed on another *piṭha* having the arrangement for draining off the *abhisheka* water. She wears a high *kirīṭa* with a pronounced finial, broad *kuṇdalas*, *hāras* and *valayas*. The central portion of the lower garment is shown falling on the *piṭha* and arranged fanwise. *Kucabandha* and *channavīra* are also seen on her. She has four hands two upper hands hold *śankha* and *cakra* respectively and the lower right hand holds a *padma* (?) while the corresponding left hand is in the *ahūyavarada* pose. There is an oval halo behind her head and an aureole framing the sculpture. The workmanship of this figure is in Vijayanagar style which is proved by the carving of the *prabhā* and the frilled central *gaccha* of the lower garment etc. The traditions of the indigenous style as met with in the Kumāra figure described above are perceptibly continued in this figure also.

Veṇugōpāla. Icons rapresenting Vishnu as Veṇugōpāla and Krishna are found in some numbers in the Tuḷu country because, as mentioned already, they are the *ishta dēvatās* of the Smārtas who follow the *Bhāgavata Sampradāya*. Two Veṇugōpāla figures are found at Barkur. One of them, (Fig. 7) which is worshipped in the *devatāyatana* in the house of Sri Yagnanarayana Rao, is inte-

resting. It is done in the florid Hoysala style which is apparently different from the one in which the Kumāra and Durga figures noticed above are done. The latter figures appear to have been done according to local traditions of image-making while this Gōpālakrishṇa figure may be an imported specimen or a product of a master *Sthapati* from the Mysore territory. The image is made of the fine-grained greenish stone usually met with in places over the Ghats. Owing to its quality the stone admits of fine polish and minute and delicate workmanship, which is apparent in our example.

The stela out of which the figure appears to have been scooped is rounded off at the top. Both of its sides serve as false pillars to the *prabhā* above. Its cusped arch is perforated and topped by the *kīrtimukha*. *Veṇugōpāla* stands on *padmāsana* carved on a low *pīṭha*, in a graceful *bhanga* with the right leg crossing the left one. He wears a high *kirīṭa* on the head, above which is carved elegantly the branches of a tree. Behind the head is a halo, also perforated, which effectively sets off the face. The lotus-like face of the image gleams with divine radiance which is obviously enhanced by the rather over-sized circular carvings. A *hāra*, a *kaṇṭhi* and a long garland falling to the knees probably representing the *vanamālā* adorn the body. On the arms are found, besides the armlets and *valayas*, prominently but beautifully carved *vajībandhas*. The lower garment which reaches to the knees is tastefully decorated with tassels of pearls and gems and equally beautiful are the waist-bands. On either side are found carved in a splendid manner, the loops and the ends of the *uttarīya*. On the ankles and feet are found *nūpuras and pādasaras*. He has two hands which hold the *veṇu* and the posture of holding is excellently done. The *veṇu* is also decorated with tassels carved extremely delicately with highly pleasing flowing pattern In a line with the shoulders and on the top of the pillar-like portions of the slab are carved, again exquisitely, the *śankha* on the right side of the deity and the *cakra* on the left side. On either side of the figure below its knees are carved a pair of *Gopas* and *Gopis* and a pair of cows and bulls in miniature size. It is in accordance with the canonical injunction that here the main deity dominates the whole because he being the *pradhāna* or all important so far as the *pūja* or worship is concerned, is to be done according to the *daśatāla* or *navatāla* measurements while the subsidiary figures of men, animals etc. should be of much lower measurements. In spite of their size the figures of men and women and those of the cows are vigorous and to some extent highly realistic. Below the figure on the small strip are carved a gracefully curl-

ing *nāga* (serpent) with two or more heads (probably Kāḷīya) just below the foot of Veṇugōpāla, and figures of wild animals such as deer and elephant on either side of the *nāga*. Even these figures which are comparatively unimportant and in very low-relief reveal by their dexterous execution that the whole figure has been carved by a master craftsman who should have combined in himself a rare ability and single-minded devotion to the work he undertook to do, besides his devotion to the deity with whom his being was already completely saturated but whom he was commissioned to make manifest from a stone slab. The *yoni*-like *pīṭha* on which this image is placed is also carved with beautiful and sharp mouldings and in the middle of the central moulding is carved a figure of Garuda, the vehicle of the Lord, in kneeling posture. It will be now clear that this icon is not only a perfect specimen iconographically but also a superb example of art, because this is found not merely to conform to the description given in the texts on iconography but deserves much better all that has been said by T. A. G. Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 208-09 about another figure from Halebid illustrated there.

Kshetrapāla. At the south-west corner of the fort area at Barkur is an icon representing Kshetrapāla (Fig. 10). Its workmanship is in the indigenous style as seen in the Kumāra and Durga icons. It stands in the *ābhanga* posture on simple *bhadrāsana*; wears a high *makuṭa* probably of *jaṭa*, it being indistinct in the photograph, *hāras* a long *mālā* probably made of *muṇdas* (skulls) and *pādasaras*. Sandals are also seen. He has four hands the two upper ones holding *kapāla* and *damaru* and the lower hands a *khadga* (sword) and a *muṇda* (severed head of a human being). Below this head is carved a dog with uplifted head attempting to taste the blood dripping from the head. Behind the dog is a carved figure probably representing a *paiśāca*. On the opposite side are shown two human figures.

7

WOODCARVING

The unsuitability of the loose-grained and porous laterite for purposes of building, the extreme climatic conditions that obtain during the year and the availablity of fine varieties of timber close at hand in great abundance, are factors which make the people of Tuḷu-nād utilise timber universally for purposes of construction as well as carving. Fine examples of temples and figure-sculpture in wood have survived in this region although in the regions to the south of Tuḷu-nād i.e. in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the art of wood carving reached comparatively a high development.

Madras Museum Pillar. One of the very early examples of the art of carving in wood is the short thick square pillar from Mudubidre which is displayed in the Industrial Art Section of the Madras Museum. There are here, panels of both floral and figure carvings. The figures are carved in very low relief and show features that are characteristic of the sculpture of 14-15th century A.D. Especially noteworthy is the panel showing Vishnu as Anantaśāyin, a subject which has been one of the few favourite themes of sculptors of India throughout the ages and one which was much popularised by kings of the Vijayanagar dynasty. This wooden pillar has other interesting features also, which bear testimony to its antiquity. It is square at the base which occupies about half the height of the pillar which is an unusual but an early feature. Above it is octagonal and this octagonal portion is topped by rather a short square capital. On the four sides of this capital are panels of bas-relief figures one of which, the Anantaśāyin, has been referred to above. At the four corners of this capital are projections which suggest that they are patterned after leaves of a tree. This feature would immediately remind the readers that the leaf motif here is the same as the leaf of the capitals of pillars of temples in North India. A close examination of the capital of the Madras Museum wooden pillar would also show that it is also really an example of the vase-and-foliage type of pillar capital. The occurrence of this interesting feature characteristic of North Indian architecture in the pillar from Mudubidre is a significant instance of migration of art-motifs to countries far beyond the regions where they orginated and were used widely for a long time. Further as the style of this vase-and-foliage motif is not far removed from that of 11th-12th century example from North India, there seems to be no doubt that the date of this pillar may be about 14th century A.D. It is also supported by the quality of the carving on it. The wooden pillars found in the Anantapadmanābha shrine at Karkal are also of this type although of a slightly later date.

There are some wood carvings in the palace buildings at Mudubidre, occupied by the descendants of the ancient Chowthar dynasty. They are noteworthy specimens of the art as was practised here about the closing years of the Vijayanagar dynasty. Mention must be made of two carvings met with here. One of them is a carving in relief on a countersunk surface, showing *navanārī-kuñjara*, a clever design made up of nine women entwined to form an elephant. Not only is it an example of a clever combination of figures which produce finally the illusion of an altogether different figure but also its

workmanship is of a high order showing that even during later periods there were a few exceptionally brilliant artisans and artists who could rise to such high levels of artistic excellence as were reached by their ancestors centuries ago. Another equally interesting carved design is the *saptanārī-aśva* or a design composed of seven women so juxtaposed as to finally give a figure of a horse.

Here we could see again, the continuity of artistic traditions that are met with in the Mudubidre pillar described above. But we find in these much ingenuity and cleverness displayed by the artisans while in the earlier example, traditions of classical art are obvious. Notwithstanding this feature, the parrots, lotuses and floral designs occurring amongst the palace carvings are singularly beautiful both for the conception and for the dexterity shown in their execution. Another good specimen of carving is the door of the palace.[30]

In the Bhūtasthānas. The wood carvings representing the various *bhūtas* in the from of tigers, bulls, fowls etc. which are worshipped in the numerous *bhūtasthānas* form another distinct group. Just as in the case of the examples found elsewhere, these wood carvings are also not old and they are renewed as and when required. But one thing must be said about them that in spite of their being liable to be renewed frequently by the very nature of the material, so far as the conception and form of each of the figures are concerned they may be taken to be not at all unlike their ancient originals or to put it positively, they are as a rule, replicas, true to the originals which preserve, in a remarkable manner, vestiges of ancient cultural concepts of very high value for our study of ancient culture of India. A feature of these figures is that they are usually painted over in red, black, green and yellow colours.

Temple cars. Temple cars and their appurtenances being among the important categories of wood-carvings the occurence of cars in a variety of forms and of carvings possessing considerable aesthetic appeal in a place, would bear out the flourishing nature of the activities connected with the production of such cars. Even in places where stone is the chief material used for making idols for worship in temples, the temple car is given a place of honour. This is due to the fact that it is the *vāhana* or vehicle *par excellence* of the deities. Of all the festivals conducted annually, the car festivals take precedence over others because of the importance of the car which is almost a miniature replica of the *vimāna* of the shrine itself containing on its

30. *Jaina Monuments and Places of First class Importance* by T. N. Ramachandran, pl. XXXVI.

body representations of scenes of mundane world as well as of the world of the divine beings. So in these places great attention is paid for the making of temple car and its embellishment. No wonder therefore, in countries like Tuḷu-nād where carving in wood has been one of the chief occupations of the artisans because of its use for a variety of purposes including the carving of *mūlaberas* for worship in temples and *bhūtasthānas*, the making of temple cars has also been in vogue from very early times and widely practised to this day. Just as in other parts, in the Tuḷu country also, the cars have been made according to the rules found in the *Śilpa* texts. But the forms and embellishments of the cars of this locality differ from those of other parts of South India, a fact which is also observed in architecture and sculpture as mentioned above which is due to the local genius. A fine group of temple cars belonging to the Sri Krishna and other temples is found at Udipi.

Of the different parts of these cars, the base portions which contain beautiful panels of carvings are of course not quite different from similar parts of temple cars of Tamil-nād. But there is a significant difference between the superstructures of the cars of the Tuḷu country and those of the Tamil country. It is well known that the superstructures of the Tamilian temple cars are pyrammidal in shape and are decorated with specially designed *paṭas* or pieces of cloth. The superstructures of the Udipi cars (Fig. 11) are bulbous and are decorated with rows of frilled pieces of cloth coloured red and white. As in the Tamil country in Tuḷu-nād also cars are made in different dimensions according to the importance of the deities that are taken out in procession on them and this is evidenced by the different sizes of the three cars at Udipi. Cars of different shapes also used to be made in this country. A fine example of a *vartula* or circular type of car is found in the Somēśvara temple at Barkur (Fig. 12). It has four wheels. The main part rests on four beams the ends of which are carved in the shape of *gaja-nakra* (elephant-cum-crocodile). On each of these heads is an elephant's head carved very artistically. Above the octagonal base of the main part are niches flanked by *yāḷi* and lion brackets containing beautiful carvings depicting Gajalakshmī and Veṇugōpāla. Above in rows are floral designs, rope-like designs and serpent-hood designs of very fine workmanship. As a whole this car is one of the most interesting specimens of its class both for its pleasing decorative details and for its special shape.[31]

31. This subject is being dealt with in detail elsewhere.

8

SPECIAL FEATURES

In this section it is proposed to draw attention to some of the striking cultural features of Tuḷu-nād as are evidenced by some of the very interesting antiquities met with here. May be the people here are not themselves aware of the significance of the very objects they worship and of the ritual and practices they still cling to. Yet all the while it is present there for others to see and understand. This fact might have been by now clear from the foregoing but as those features are so very important they require to be dealt with separately. Most interesting of the cultural features is the worship offered in the temple of Shedigudde at Barkur to a variety of wooden and stone figures of puzzling shapes and forms although the temple itself is of little consequence. Let us examine the objeets worshipped in the temple one by one.

Nandikōṇas. In the front hall of the temple under reference are a number of wooden figures. Two of them represent bulls with uplifted heads (Fig. 13.) The torsos are of blocks of wood and the legs are made separately and added. On the figures are paintings simulating coverings like trappings. The nose-strings and the *paṭṭas* around the horns are also beautifully done in spite of the workmanship of the figure, being in folk style. The expression on the faces is also somewhat realistic. These figures are respectively called *antariksha nandikōṇa* and the *ākāśa nandikōṇa*[32]. Such figures are usually found in the *bhūtasthānas* and called by the people as *nandikōṇas.*

Eka-ūrddhvaśringi. In the same hall is another wooden figure which, though stated to be a representation of a bull, is different from the figures of the bull described above in that it has only one horn on its head pointing upward (Fig. 14). The decorative details found in this specimen are much more interesting than in the bulls already mentioned. The nose string and the tail are artistically carved. Even the horn (which is separately made and fixed) is decorated with an *āmalaka*-like finial thus adding beauty to the figure, although the workmanship of the figure is crude.

The special interest of the figure lies in its head and the horn that has grown on it. A human figure or a natural animal or a composite figure having a single horn on its head may be called *ēkaśṛingi* (Unicorn). In the present instance, therefore, the figure should be called as *ēka-śṛingi.* But locally the people call it by the name *ūrddhvaśṛingi.*

32. *Cf.* figures of bulls occurring as painted decorations on pots etc., discovered in several Indus valley sites. There is, of course, a difference in the anatomical features and poses between the Indus figures and the Barkur figures of *Nandikona.* But in regard to the basic ideas, they seem to belong to the same category.

No doubt the latter term is appropriate in one way because really the *śṛinga* (horn) points upwards, but the former term indicates definitely the number of horns present. So, for the sake of clarity, while dealing with such figures it may be reasonable to combine both the terms into one and call the figures as *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingis* (those with single-upward-(growing) horn)[33]. This peculiar feature of the figure suggests, in dramatic suddenness the distinct affinity with similar figures appearing as devices on the famous seals from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, a great majority of which show the unicorn in a variety of ways. The prolific occurrence of a particular device may be taken to mean the extreme familiarity with the figure. It may be that it was not then in existence or was only invested with a symbolic significance, but if it was really in existence, it must have been a live-wire with the people there. This appears to be rather more in keeping with the fact that although there are animals such as rhinoceros with single tusk they do not grow from the head as is observed in the case of the Mohenjo-daro example as well as in the example from Barkur. Moreover neither of these bears any resemblance to the rhinoceros. At least in the case of the Barkur example the main figure is that of a bull but in the case of the Mohenjo-daro specimen it is depicted more often as a composite animal. So, it may be reasonably supposed that the *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi* which may be said to be a distinct but a distant descendant of the Mohanjo-daro unicorn has to be interpreted in the light of the interpretation given to the latter based on symbolism. It is well known that as yet no completely satisfactory explanation has been given in regard to any of the numerous enigmatic seal-devices of Mohenjo-daro and other places, with the possible exception of the *Śiva-Paśupati* seal device. When such is the case in regard to a matter which has been before the world of scholars for nearly three decades now, it will be hazardous to suggest anything regarding the figure in question at present except suggesting that explanations for this figure and for all the materials discovered in various places in the Indus valley may have to be sought for primarily in the Vedic literature. This will be borne out by the other figures with more complicated forms to be discussed presently.

Pañcamukha-ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi. As mentioned already the shrine is dedicated to Revanta and a figure of the type described earlier is installed in the sanctum sanctorum. The figure of Revanta itself is of

33. It appears reasonable to coin this term in order to distinguish these animals from other animals like buffaloes whose horns grow sideways and rams and even some species of goat whose horns grow downward, which may therefore be described as *pakshasringis* and *adhassringis* respectively.

sufficient interest archaeologically. But by its side is a curious wooden figure of a bull (Fig. 15),--brother to the bulls already mentioned. But what a brother !

It sports with five heads, each head resembling that of the *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi* described before but having the bell-like additional embellishment. All the five heads are joined to a single body also of a bull. The body of the figure is rather large and it is as it should be because it is to bear five heads not one, two or three. It must be noted that all the five heads are similar and also of the bull and there is no question here of heads of different animals being joined to the terso of a different animal or animals. People call this figure not as *ūrddhvaśṛingi* etc., but only as a *gaṇa*.

In this figure is to be recognised one of the very significant symbols that at once connects vast distances of time from early prehistoric periods to modern times a connection which holds aloft the uniqueness of Indian culture which though very old (*purāṇa*) yet ever fresh and new (*nava*). This is naturally to be expected of a culture which is based on the rituals relating to worship of Agni who is the oldest as well as the ever fresh.

The name *gaṇa* appears to be quite a significant and appropriate one in this case because here is found a group of five heads joined to one body.

Although in the case of the *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi*, its affinity more or less with the unicorn of the Harappa civilization is easily suggested amongst the large quanity of the seals found in the Harappan sites, there is not one bearing a device which is exactly similar to this five-headed figure from Barkur. There are, however, devices on seals showing composite figures with two or three heads[34] or busts. But they bear little resemblance to our figure, although remotely related to it in respect of their having more heads than one. Seal devices showing more than three heads are rare. But there is a singular instance where the device shows a group of six busts of one and the same animal joined together in the form of a whorl in slow motion.[35] There is a horn on each of the heads in this also. Whether they were joined to a body or not is not possible to determine as only the busts are shown. In spite of the fact that the features of these busts are different from those of our figure, there is little doubt that this figure is related to the Indus poly-busted animal. The

34. *Mohenjo-daro and Indus civilization*, by J. H. Marshall, Vol. III pl. CX fig. 303, and pl. CXII, fig. 382.

35. *Ibid* pl. CXII, fig. 383.

connection in this respect is so close between them as to suggest immediately that the ideas and the symbolic significance on which they are based are also the same. But when great difficulty is experienced in regard to the interpretation of the simpler *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi* figure, naturally the interpretation of this *pañcamukha* variety of *ēka-ūrddhvaśṛingi* bristles with greater difficulties.

Notwithstanding this, the link thus suggested between the unique Barkur figure of modern times and the singular Mohenjo-daro figure occurring amongst the antiquities of the earliest known civilization of India dating from at least about 2000 B. C. is surprising because of the remarkable persistance of ideas, customs, practices and artistic and symbolic designs through long periods. Though these figures are not exactly the same in conception and execution, there are numerous references in the equally old, if not older Vedic literature, to various deities conceived as single as well as poly-headed or-busted theriomorphs and described as possessing various shapes and appendages. But material examples of these conceptions of deities belonging to periods subsequent to Indus-cum-Vedic period have not come down. Nevertheless the idea of multiple-heads on single body was continued in the subsequent periods. although the types of its representation became different. For instance the thousand-headed serpent king Ādiśesha, the four-headed Brahmā, the six-headed Subrahmaṇya, the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, the five-headed Śiva and many other polycephalous deities may all be said to be based on the above idea. Hence there exists a possibility of interpreting the *pancamukha-ēka-ūrddhavaśṛingi* in terms of one such deity, and not merely that, but possibly as representing an original form of the idea which could account for the theriomorphic representation. On the grounds that the figure is a bull which is closely associated with Śiva,—there are five heads which Siva has in one of his aspects—the name given is *gaṇa* which means a group, numbers of which Śiva is said primarily to be the Lord of and then the *ūrddhaśṛinga* which is not only indicative of the great *yogic* powers which inhere in Śiva, but also suggests in a subtle manner a connection with *ūrddhavarētas*, which is again, a unique characteristic of Śiva, it is tempting to consider this figure as possibly representing the theriomorphic conception of Śiva as Śadāśiva. But in view of the fact that Vishṇu is also called a Śṛingin, and sometimes a Vṛishabha too, may be this figure is capable of denoting an aspect of Vishṇu also. Notwithstanding this, in case the former suggestion is held to be plausible, then there is the likelihood of the Barkur figure getting added significance. For inasmuch as this is a theriomorphic representation, in the evolution

of ideas, it should take precedence over similar ideas which make for composite or human representations possible. If this is conecded it may not be wrong to suggest that the idea which has made thc creation of this *pañcamukha* figure possible may have to be taken as having orginated earlier even than the idea on which the Śiva-Paśupati figure of Mohenjo-daro which is an example of composite representation, is based. In any case, this much is clear that in this figure we are confronted with a very ancient conception the proper evaluation of which requires further careful study.

Mahishāsura-like figure. In the sanctum of the temple there is also another figure in stone showing a human body with a buffalo-head. This figure is in kneeling posture. Obviously here the Mahishāsura conception is given concrete form. But the people here say that the figure represents the first promulgator of the Aḷiya Santāna Law. This law became current in the Tuḷu country only about the 15th century or so[36]. Naturally, it follows that the association of the Mahishāsura-like demon with that law should have been done only after that date. But it is well known that for centuries earlier, the story of Mahishāsura as a wicked demon who had to be destroyed by the goddess Durga had been current throughout India. It is rather strange that here is a rare instance of worship being offered to a representation based on similar conception, alongside of other figures. As in the case of the latter, the worship of this figure is also puzzling if not intriguing to the extreme.

Besides these the very fact that the priests are Vaidika Brāhmaṇas as already mentioned goes a long way to support that in regard to this temple we are not only dealing with very early conceptions which are given concrete forms and worshipped, but also with a mode of worship which is also equally ancient and significant.

How important this unpretentious temple has turned out to be owing to its contents! Temples have been in existence for long and each one of them is based on certain very ancient and significant ideas, a correct understanding of whlch would be of immense value for a proper reconstruction of the history of Indian culture and to wonder at its remarkable continuity. The idea that though a shrine may be small it may contain valuable material for historical and cultural purposes, prompted Prof. Dubreuil to examine such shrines and his examination resulted in the epoch-making discoveries relating to the Pallava history. Not only, therefore, do the building and its external

36. *History of Tuluva*, 366

appendages of a temple require careful examination and recording but also there should be made a searching inquiry into the ideas on which are based the construction of the building as well as the various contents in it such as sculpture. Then the facts should be recorded. Each temple of a particular locality has to be viewed also from a wider view as though from air and its relationship with temples in the surrounding localities established. For, very often in ancient times temples of a locality were usually built with reference to the others existing in the neighbouring places all around, thus making the temples form a *maṇḍala* representing some philosophical idea of the predominant sect responsible for such temples. This aerial view of temples will thus be seen to give us an idea about the wonderful town-planning system of early times as well as valuable clues relating to the princples of the religious sects to which the temples belong.

Equally significant is the aspect of culture revealed by the Balarāma temple at Kudavūr. From the existence of a Subrahmaṇya processional deity of a rare iconographic interest, it has been said above, that a special sect of Subrahmaṇya worship would have lived here in the past. Besides, the very fact that this temple is dedicated to Balarāma is itself of great interest. For there are very few Balarāma temples in India in spite of the fact that there is reason to expect a Balarāma shrine wherever a Krishna shrine is found owing to the inseparable nature of these two deities, as evidenced by the existence of the supplementary Krishna temple, in the present instance, at Udipi only a few miles to the south. Furthermore, the story relating to these Balarāma and Krishna deities is itself not only interesting but affords a traditional interpretation of the eternal combination of the two deities.

It appears that Madhvācārya was once performing penance in the jungle area of Kudavūr where was the Subrahmaṇya shrine mentioned above. It may be remembered that this village is very near the sea, and in fact Malpe which is a village at a few furlongs' distance from Kudavūr is an important port. At that time there came a ship in the sea, which was in danger of capsizing as it was caught up in a storm. The captain of the ship was crying and praying for help. The *ācārya* saw the sad plight of the captain and being extremely compassionate threw his upper cloth towards the ship. When it reached the captain, the storm subsided miraculously and the ship got out of danger. Extremely struck with the miraculous powers of the *ācārya* the captain came ashore and after paying his respectful homage to him expressed his desire to dedicate the entire cargoes of

his ship to the *ācārya*. The latter, however, was pleased with the captain's sincerity and did not want anything else except two pieces of *gopīcandan* which formed one of the items of the ship's cargo. Striking wonder and awe at the assembled people, the *ācārya* broke the *gopīcandan* pieces whence came out three beautiful idols representing lord Krishna, Balarāma and Durga. All the people were happy to find these images. On their request Madhvācārya is said to have installed the Balarāma idol at Kudavūr in the place of the Subrahmaṇya figure. He installed the Durga idol at the village of Kuñjaragiri very near Puñjāka *kshetra*, his birth-place. Then he installed the third figure of Krishna at Uḍipi which, before the *ācārya*'s time, was perhaps a stronghold of Śaivism. This is known from the fact that here even to this day worship is first offered to the deity of the shrine adjacent to the Krishna temple. This other shrine is dedicated to Śivalinga called Candramauḷīśvara although it is claimed now that the *adhidevata* of the temple is Lakshmīnarasimha. The name Candramauḷīśvara is the same as Udupatiśekhara, and according to tradition the town was called orignally Udupatiśekharapura, which has now come to be used in a contracted form as Udipi. This digression apart, the essence of the story of the finding of these images from *gopīcandan* pieces from a ship probably after a storm is extremely suggestive of the *purāṇic* stories relating to the Hiraṇyagarbha and to the equally interesting Biblical version of a similar event. Though in the present case, the event is associated with the great *dvaita* philosopher Madhvācārya of the 13th century A.D., it appears that the origins of the event and its significance are of very remote antiquity.

The importance of the Vishṇu's *Vyūha* worship in the Anantapadmanābha shrine at Karkal has already been mentioned and it has also been stated that this is one of the significant temples perpetuating the *Sātvata* cult in the Tuḷu country.

Last, but not the least important, are the shrines of the common people, I mean the *bhūtasthanas*. As has been mentioned above, though the wooden or stone or terracotta figures worshipped in them are modern, the ideas underlying them and the rituals performed in their worship are important not merely because of their uniqueness but also because of the unbroken continuity of traditions handed down from remote antiquity. Besides, the *bhūtasthanas* already mentioned, several others are said to be found throughout the Tuḷu country, which should also be equally interesting.

Thus the Tuḷu country is rich in its cultural contents which are obviously of great antiquity although a complete unravelling of their significance may require thorough investigation of the remains of material culture throughout the area assisted by local people possessing adequate knowledge of traditional lore.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS—I am deeply indebted to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, for having encouraged me to tour the places and for affording all facilities in the preparation of this article.

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NOTE :—This lecture, illustrated with a number of photographs, was given at the Society's meeting on 24th February, 1955.



Fig. 1. Chaumukh Temple, Karkal.



Fig. 2. Siva Temple, Barkur.

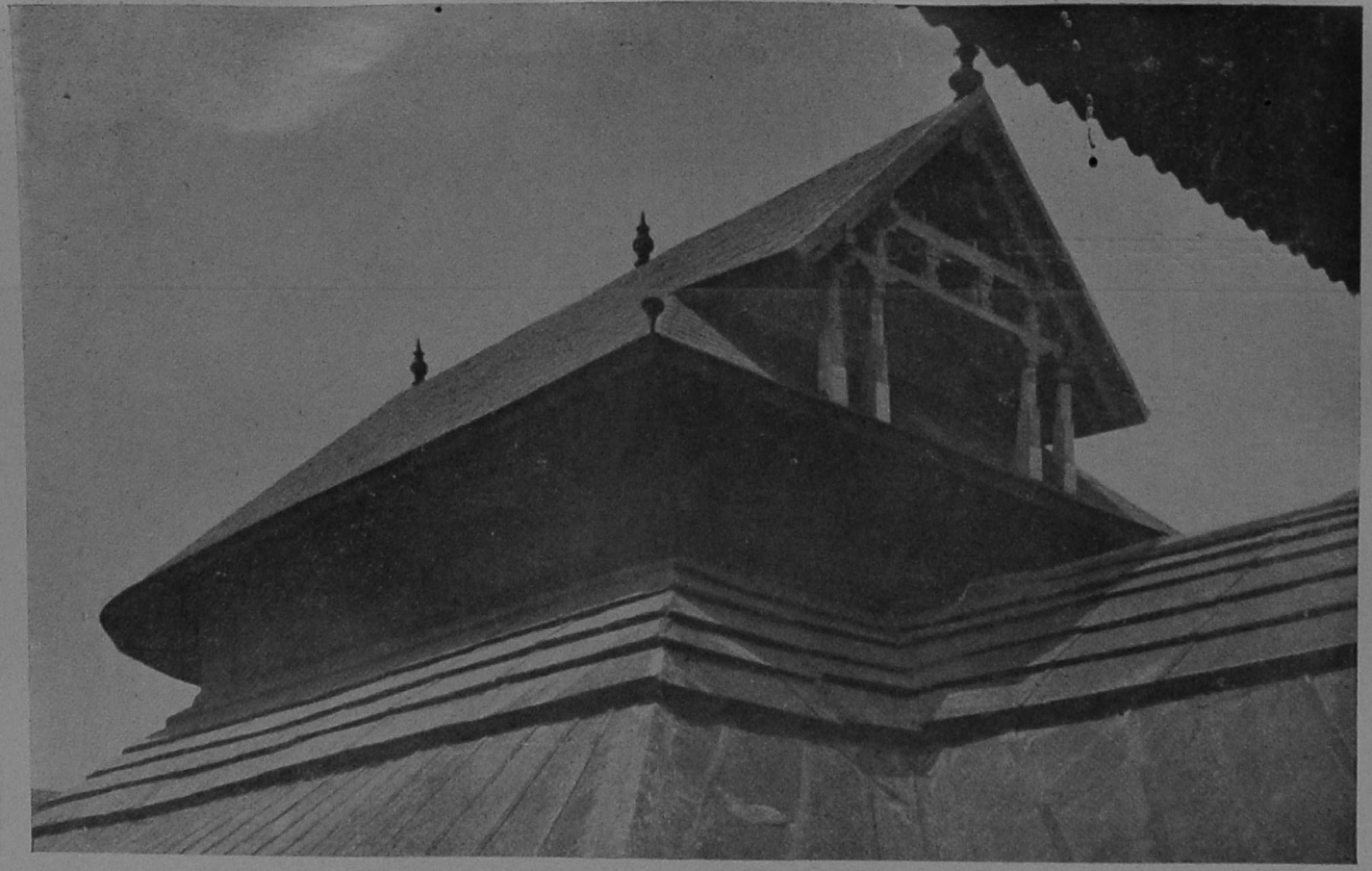


Fig. 3. Roof of apsidal temple, Udipi.

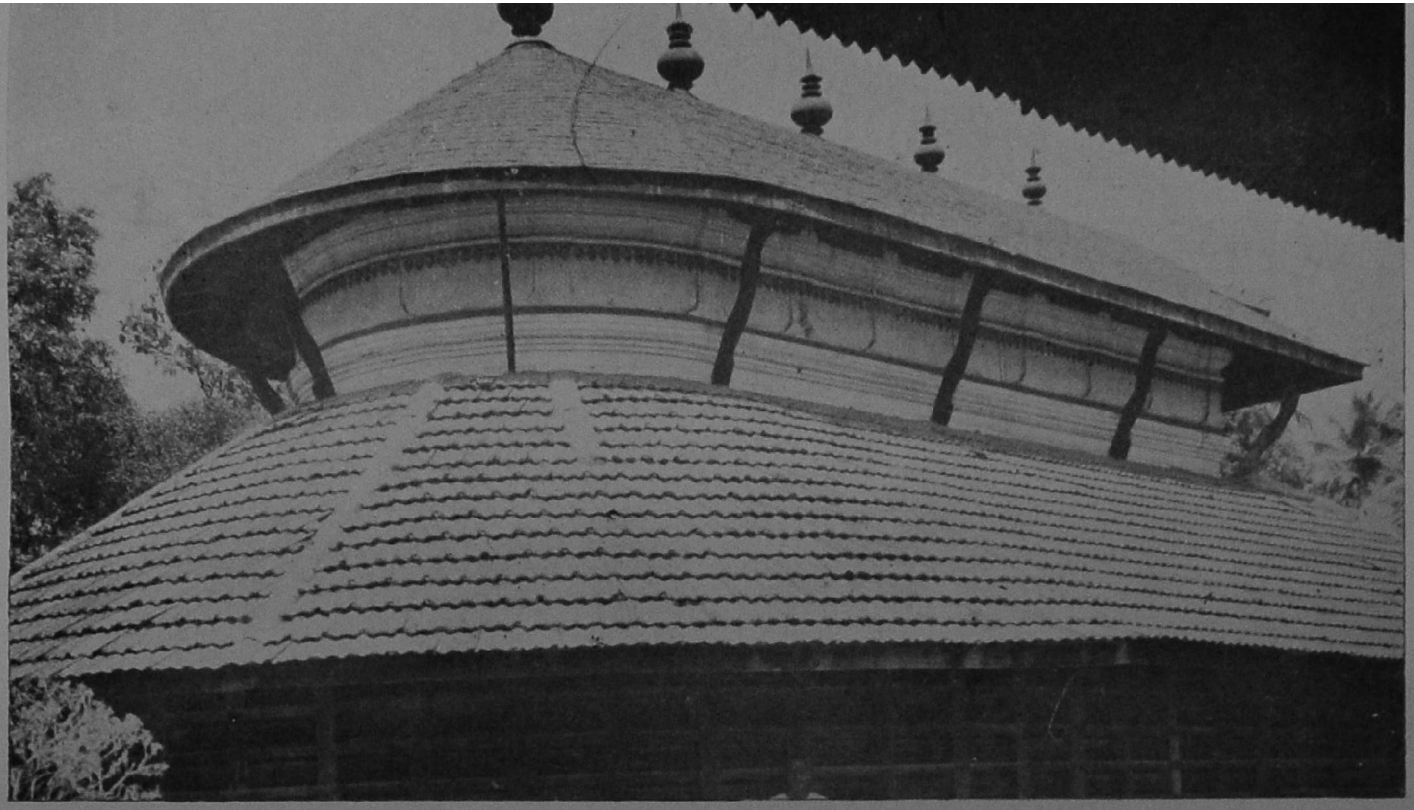


Fig. 4. Roof of apsidal temple, Barkur.



Fig. 5. Brahmacāri Subrahmaṇya, Barkur.



Fig. 6. Durga (stone), Barkur.



Fig. 7. Krishna as Muralidhara, Barkur.

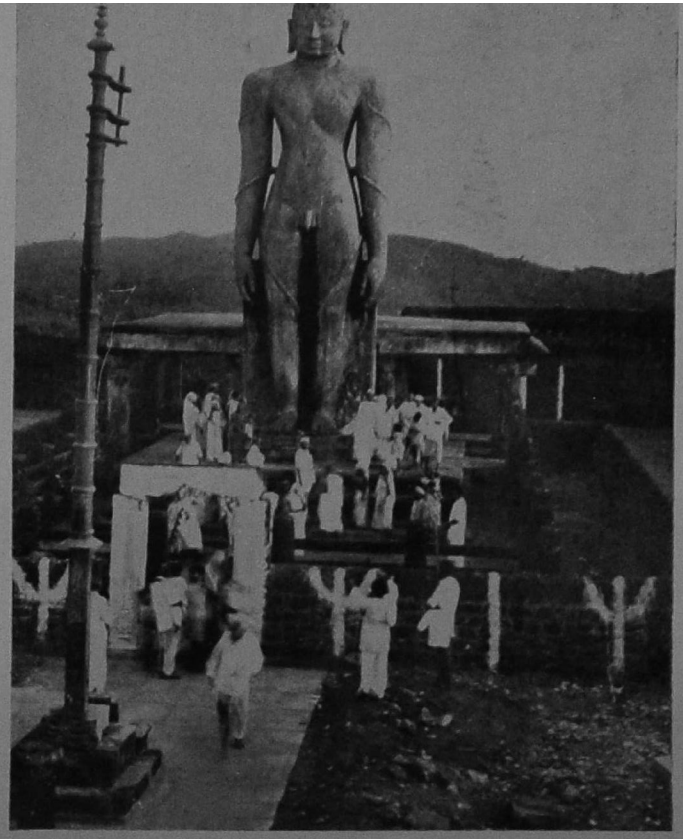


Fig. 8. Gommateśvara, Karkal.



Fig. 9. Revanta (stone), Barkur.



Fig. 10. Kshetrapala, Barkur.

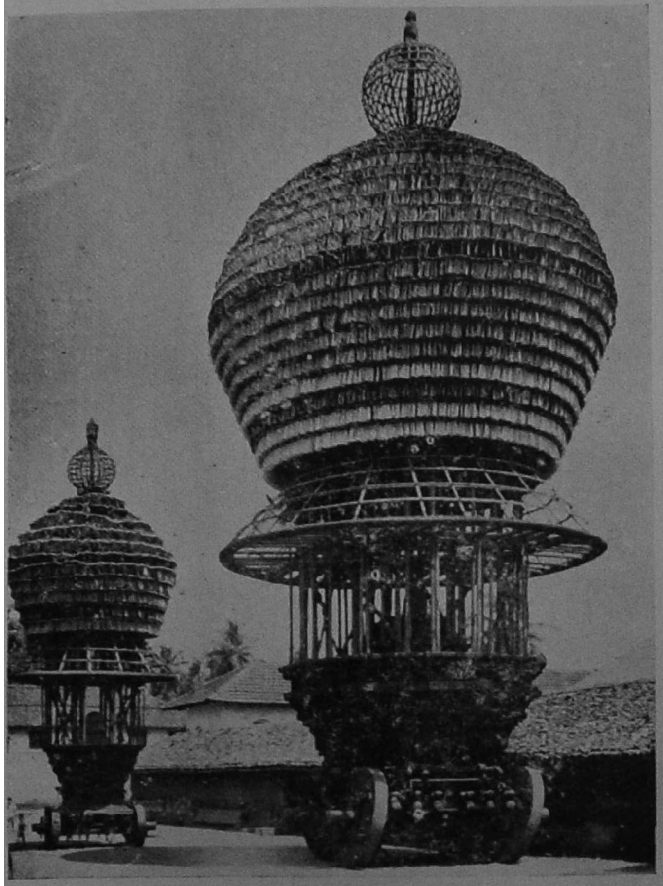


Fig. 11. Temple cars (wood), Udipi.

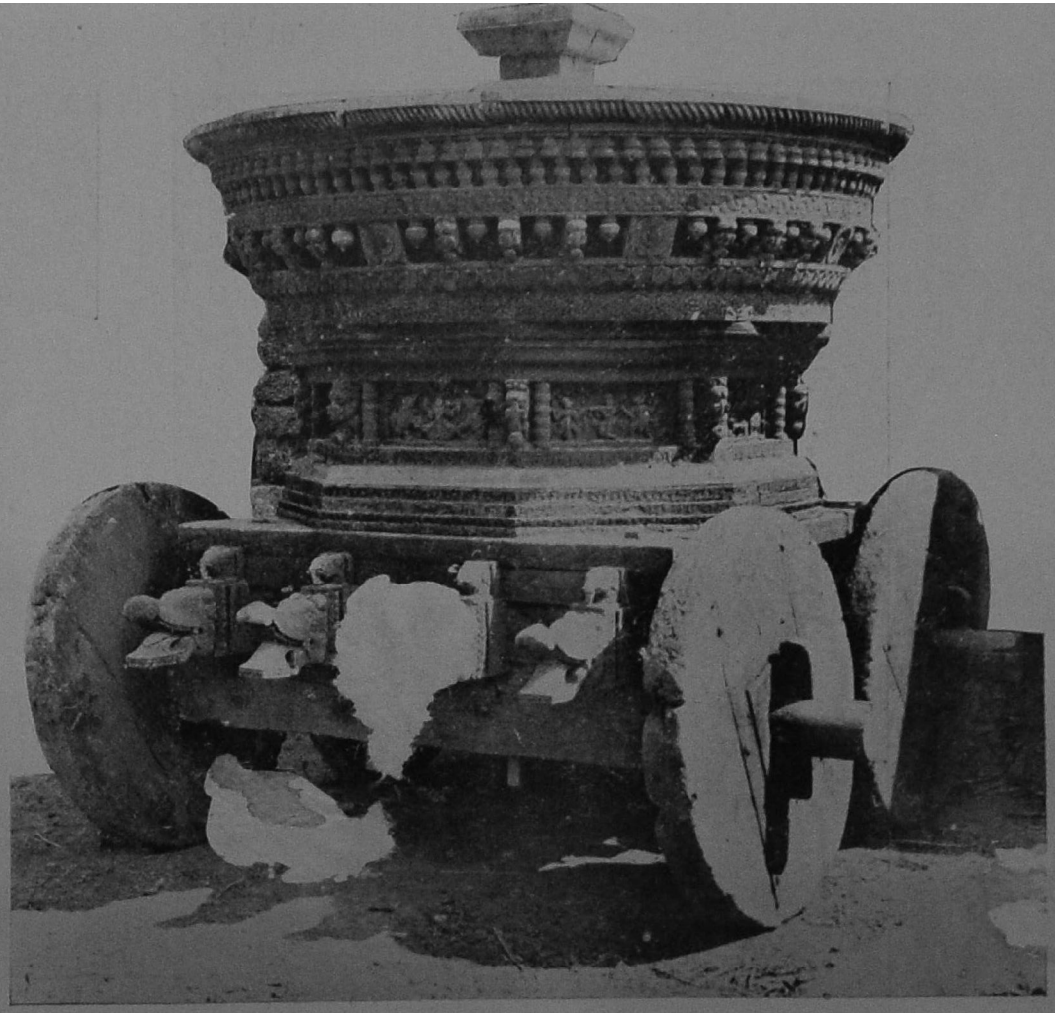


Fig. 12. Circular Wooden Temple Car, Barkur.



Fig 13. *Nandikona* (wood) : Barkur.



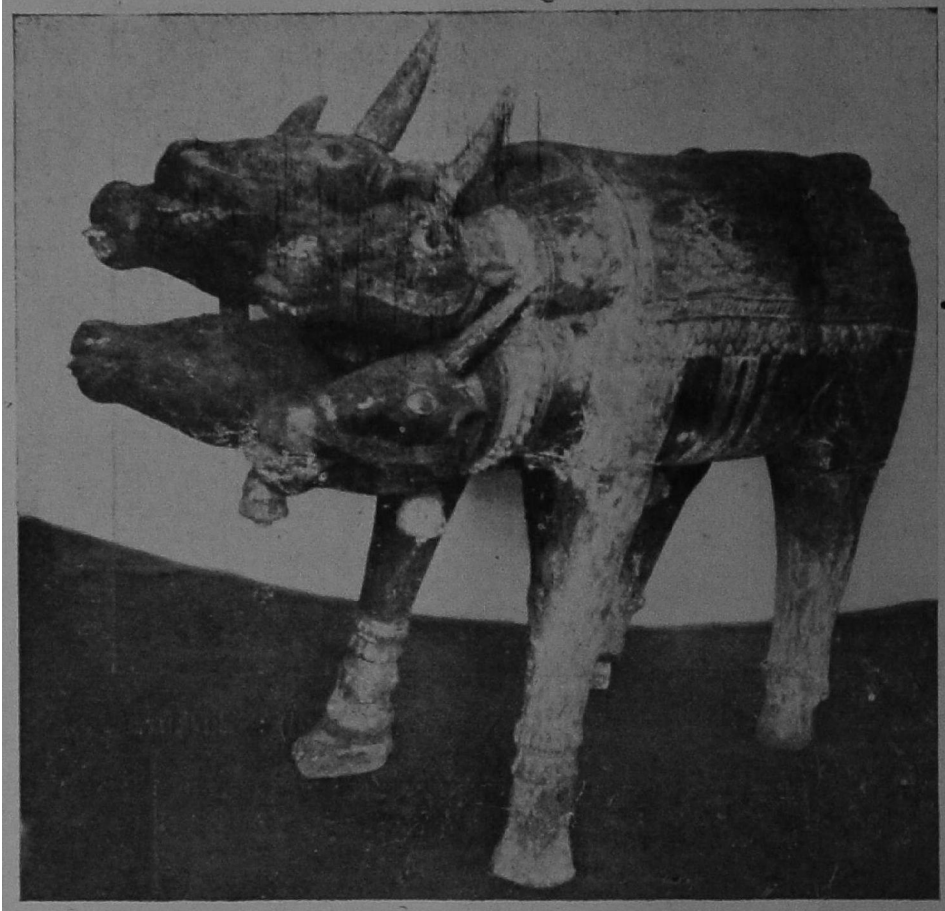


Fig. 15. *Pañcamukha-eka-ūrddhvaśringi* (wood), Barkur.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION : INDIAN EVIDENCE

By T. G. Aravamuthan

1. TULU-NAD RELIGION : GENERAL FEATURES

The eminently factual report on the antiquities of Tulu-Nad which Mr. P. R. Srinivasan has presented in the paper which precedes this note in this volume[1] contains so many pointers to the beginnings and to the course of culture in this country, and the discoveries that he has made at Barkur are so singular and so instructive, not only in regard to growth of religous ideas in this country but also with reference to religion in general, that it is necessary to attempt, on the basis of the material which he has discovered, or to which he has drawn attention, to sketch the lines along which primitive thought, as evidenced by the vestiges in Tulu-Nad, could have risen in this country to the higher levels which have been stages in the progress to an enlightened culture, and to endeavour to discover what the origins of religious thought in general could be.

Tulu-Nad has lain so much in the shadows that it is all too little known. Of traces of pre-historic remains in the region there seem to be few. Of primitive institutions the only one known is that of descent of property through the sister's son, known as the Aliya-Santāna Kaṭṭu,— System of Devolution through the Nephew (by a Sister),— but this is only a variant of the much better known system of Maru-Makkal-Tāyam which obtains in Malabar, the territory immediately to the south.[2] Of folk-tales and of legends a few, such as the reclamation of the littoral by Parasurama, are current in other parts of the country ; a few more, such as the story of Bhūtāla-Pāṇḍya, do not seem to be earlier than the twelfth century A. D., and a few others, such as the ones relating to the worship of demons and devils, may be very old or may be quite recent, there

1. P. R. Srinivasan, 'Some Interesting Antiquities of Tulu-Nad', in *TASSI.*, 1 : 1955 : 70-100.

2. P. R. Sundara Ayyar and B. Sitarama Rao, eminent jurists, are of the opinion that the two systems are identical : see their *Malabar Law*. 'Marumakkattayam law, that is to say, the law of succession through nephews'; *Ib.*, 2 : 'Aliyasantana Law is the rule of inheritance under which properly descends in the line of nephews. The term is the exact Canarese equivalent of the Malabar term Marumakkattayam' ; *Ib.*, 243.

being few indicia in them of reliable chronology. Of written records in the region there is not one that goes back to even the third century A.D. Of the language of the people no more need be said than that, from as early a period as we can trace it to, it has been just as much Samskritised as any other south Indian language. Of Tulu literature there has been singularly little. Of even the folk-arts none could be pointed to as characteristic of the region. Of great men the Tulus could claim none as of their kind, much of controversy being raised by the neighbouring Kannadas in refutation of the Tulu blood of Madhvāchārya, the one great figure of history whom the Tulus could lay some claim to. We have, thus, very little of material with which to reconstruct the physiognomy of that primitive culture of this region which should, prima facie, lie buried under later cultural strata.

Mr. Srinivasan's discoveries at Barkur, however, are revelations of great significance. They enable us, in looking at the growth of religion in the various regions of the world in the light of its origin in India, and at the origins in India in the light of the facts found in Tulu-Nad, to trace unrecognised stages in the development of religion in India and to investigate whether such stages are unknown among primitive cultures in general.

Four of the finds at Barkur are queer animals, of carved wood, which are in worship by Brahmanas whose philosophical tenets are far from primitive. These figures and their worship are not known to have parallels elsewhere in India. No tradition, no literature and no sculpture or figurine or painting of the past twenty-five centuries attests to the vogue of such cult-objects or of the offering of worship to them. But, parallels are to be found in the Harappa Culture and there is enough in the *Rg-Veda* to justify an assumption that the cult and the cult-objects could not have been unknown to that culture and to that book of hymns. These figures appear, therefore, to be of unique value to a study of the nature of the religions of the Harappan and the Rg-Vedic cultures and of the transition to modern Hinduism. They stand up silently calling on us to determine their significance, to account for their survival, to identify their ancestors and to trace their collaterals. What is more, they present themselves in a milieu which is held to be one of a very primitive system of religion,— the worship of Bhutas, taken to be the worship of spirits of the dead imagined in animal forms. The challenge is, therefore, all the more provocative. Indeed, the challenge to us is to justify current notions

on what is primitive, especially in India, and what is modern, and on what is 'Dravidian' and what is 'Aryan'.

This paper is a response to the challenge. An elucidation of the mystery of these figures necessarily involves both a study of the milieu in which the mystery has had its home and of the cultures in which the mystery could have originated. So it is that the special characteristics of the classic Hinduism of the region and the possibility of Vedic and Harappan associations with the Bhuta cult are given as much attention here as what may be deemed to be the features of the Bhuta Cult itself.

2. CLASSIC HINDUISM IN TULU-NAD

Emphasis appears to have come to be laid in Tulu Nad on the worship of Subrahmanya and of Vishnu in the Vyūha form, in the age which we may call the classic period of Hinduism.

Karkal has a temple to Vishnu, with Ananta-Padmanābha in the Holy of Holies, and with Samkarshana (Balarāma), Pradyumna and Aniruddha in niches in the outer faces of the Holy of Holies. Clearly, this is a temple to Vishnu in his Vyūha manifestation,— exemplifying the acceptance in Tulu-Nad of a practice of dedicating temples in conformity with the Pāñcharātra cult of a four-fold manifestation of Vishnu-Nārāyana. The sanctum sanctorum of the Karkal type of temple to the Vyūha form of Vishnu is a Corpus which is an Icon too : in the innermost recesses of this Corpus is the Vāsudeva form recumbent as Ananta-Padmanābha as exemplar of Śānti, Peace, which has to be sought in calm and in mystery, while the other three forms, not unwilling to allow themselves to be easily perceived, manifest themselves on the exterior of the Corpus,— the consecrated Fane. The Ananta-Padmanābha form is but a variant of that of Ranganātha which, — if only we realise the significance of Ranganātha being perhaps the form of Vishnu best known in regions such as Mysore and with a great hold on those classes which are not counted among the most cultured,[1]— has to be accepted as the divine counterpart of the human blazer of trails, ever forging ahead, taking fertility and faith with him. Ananta-Padmanabha symbolises not only the spread in Tulu-Nad of the cult of Vishnu but also the advance into it of culture itself.

In Udipi and around,— to the north of Karkal,— we have Balarāma again,— one of the four in the Vyūha,— though as a

1. The Ranganatha enshrined at Biligiri in Mysore appears again and again in folk literature as the patron deity of many of the communities in Mysore which are considered to belong to the lower social and cultural levels.

member of two different groups, one of which is interesting and the other is intriguing.

The images of Krishna, Balarāma and Durgā which issued from the cake of *Gopi-chandana* broken open by Śri Madhvāchārya, the philosopher-saint, though now found severally installed at Udipi, Kudavur and Kunjaragiri,— places within a few miles of one another,— represent a group which was well-known long before that great personality of the mediaeval age. The classic locale of the cult of this group has been the ancient city of Janārddana[1] in the great temple of which is installed the group of Krishna, Samkarshana and Subhadrā, of whom the last is none other than Ekānamśā, Durgā.[2]

At Kudavur, the Balarama of the *Gopi-chandana* cake,— an image in stone,— appears in a context which is intriguing. He presents himself in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple here as the *mula-bera*,— the installed Icon,— but with an all too little image of Subrahmanya in bronze for *utsava-bera*,— the peripatetic processional Icon which goes in state through the surrounding townlet in the festivals. Installed and peripatetic forms of Icons are only two out of a larger number which, placed ordinarily in the sanctum sanctorum of every Hindu temple of standing, represent, though in different forms, the same ultimate coneeption of the divine as is specially installed and invoked in that temple, but they are the two most important of those forms. Ordinarily, therefore, these two forms, when found together in any one shrine, should be taken to be but two variations on one conception. While, therefore, the Balarama and the Subrahmanya in this shrine should each be taken to represent an idential conception, sectaries who see unrelieved Vaishnavism in Balarama and unmitigated Saivism in Subrahmanya would decline to accept the conclusion, suggesting that it is some accident of history, and not an identity of conception, that should have brought them together under one roof, and pointing, in confirmation, to a stone image of Subrahmanya,— what might have been an installed image corresponding to the peripatetic bronze image,— that lies in the pond in front of the temple. They would concede that Vishnu and Siva are found installed, in other parts of the country, in what would be one shrine were there not a party wall between and separate Vimanas dividing the shrine into two cells, and they would agree that Vishnu and Siva are fused together in Hari-Hara and Sankara-Nārāyana, but they would point, and with justice, to the worship being different in each cell and to the fusion having failed as much to make Siva of

2. J. C. Ghosh, in *JASB.*, (1908) 5 : 39.

Hari-Hara as to transform Sankara-Nārāyana into Vishnu. So powerful is the force of sectarianism. Still, Hindu culture has ever been so alert and active to counter sectarianism that we may not lightly exclude the probability of the Balarama and the Subrahmanya in this shrine having been brought together deliberately: indeed, if the sectaries had had it all their way not even accident would have been allowed to bring the two images into one shrine: in any event, on the passing of the emergency, miscalled accident, that had brought the images together they would have been quickly disjoined by watchful sectarianism. If the two images are really incompatible denizens in one shrine, two problems arise for decision. If it is Balarama who played the intruder and drove the stone Subrahmanya to the water, why do not we meet with a Balarama in metal in the shrine and why do we have the bronze Subrahmanya still in it? If it is Subrahmanya, in all too little of metal, who stalked in and posted himself permanently in the shrine and threw out the Balarama of metal, why has he been content to find his stone counterpart continuing unrescued from the uncomfortable home he has been in while he himself is keeping company with the stone Balarama?

Balarama and Subrahmanya have much in common. Myth has it that both are seventh sons and that both have Durgā for common sister. Both are Preceptors.[3] Both are Serpent-Lords,[4] lords of individual souls,[5]— the viper representing vile man. Subrahmanya's lordship exerts itself through Wisdom or Knowlege,— symbolised through the peacock which is not only the 'mount' of Sarasvatī, 'Our Lady of Wisdom', but also that of Subrahmanya: the peacock is the natural enemy of nature's snake and the cultural enemy of the symbolical viper. Balarama is the very serpent,[5]— the typical individual soul,— who, however, through the intimacy of relationship to the Ultimate (Vāsudeva-Krishna),[6] becomes the type of Wisdom itself, and is, anticipatorily, white in complexion,[7] as Sarasvatī is. Obviously, there is an unmistakable parallelism in the conceptions of Balarama and Subrahmanya.

3. The preceptorship of Subrahmanya is well known, he being reverently called 'Guru'. That of Samkarshana, not so well known, arises at least from his having taught the Pancharatra doctrine.

4. *Maha-Bharata*, 13.147.60,57.

5. Samkarshana, or Sesha, is the Individual Soul; *Maha-Bharata*, 12.340. 36.39.72. At the same time for represents all living beings; *Ib.*, 12. 345.16-7; 13. 158.39.

6. *Ib.*, 13.147,59,61: 'this illustrious one who is at one with the Supreme Soul. He is Vishnu . Hrshikesa.···Achyutha···.'

7. *Ib.*, 13.147.55, and 3.119.4, for instance.

But, the image here of Subrahmanya bears a Serpent-Egg (Nāga-Aṇda) in one hand,— a feature not explicable by anything that is known of Balarama,— but in the other hand it holds a conch, one of Vishnu's special adjuncts. Apparently, the conch is the clue. It is with the blasts of the conch that men are roused from sleep to the day's life : it is with the blasts of his Conch that Vishnu, as Krishna, put spirit enongh into Arjuna and his hordes to enter the fray and fight the good battle. Perhaps, therefore, this icon is designed to represent Subrahmanya playing Preceptor to serpents in even the egg,— to men from even the time they are in the womb,— inspiriting them to tackle life's tasks valiantly. And, in this role, Subrahmanya's icon has its counterpart in that of Balarama in the shrine,— as lord of the individual soul and inseparable counterpart to Vishnu-Krishna. The installed and the peripatetic icons are, thus, symbols of the same idea, together elucidating the fulness of the common conception, and, so, entitled to a place in the same shrine.

Even if the stone image of Subrahmanya had for long stood in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple as installed image corresponding to the peripatetic one which is still in the temple and, then, on suffering some adversity had gone into the temple pond, the view that this temple is the joint abode of Subrahmanya and Balarama would not stand invalidated, for, if there had been two installed stone images in it with two peripatetic bronze images to correspond, we have only to assume the disappearance of one of the bronze images,— that of Balarama,— to account for the status quo to-day,— one stone image being in the temple and the other in the pond, and one bronze image being present in the temple and the other being absent.

Yet further north is Barkur, a townlet in and round which cluster a number of important antiquities of which a few fall within the scope of this section,— a Siva temple with a Brahmachāri-Subrahmanya image, an image of Krishna-Muralīdhara in worship by the Bhāgavata-Sampradāyis, the Shedigudde temple to Revanta, and the shrine in the adjoining islet of Bene-Kudru in which is a temple wherein the Mogers have ranged wooden effigies of a line of the pontiffs of their community.

The Bene-Kudru shrine with its wooden effigies of a succession of priests does not appear to be essentially different from the Guru-vāyatanas which, in this country, have a reputable ancestry. The vogue of such shrines to Preceptors is attested to by such a shrine as that at Mathura, in the north, wherein, about 380 A.D., a Mahes-

vara preceptor, Uditāchārya, set up a linga, or a statue, to his preceptor Upamiteśvara, and another (linga or statue), to that preceptor's preceptor, Kapileśvara.[8] The Bene-Kudru effigies having their station in the ante-chamber of the Great Goddess of the Mogers, we cannot miss the parallelism of the practice of setting up statues in groups, in stone and in metal, to the Āḻvār and to the Nāyanmār,— the Seer-Saints of Tamil Vaishnavism and Saivism, respectively,— the antecedents of which go back to conceptions such as that of the Nitya-Sūris stationing themselves in the presence of their Lord in eternal adoration.[9] Vedic belief had it that a person who dies goes to his 'fathers', among whom he obtains a resting p'ace, grows free from bodily frailties, unfailingly overcomes age and passes his time among the gods in the highest heaven, leading the same lives as they, in the presence of Yama and Varuna, in happiness, unbroken and unclouded, and coming down to earth with the gods when men invoke them and being almost as potent as the gods to grant boons. Parallels in the lay sphere are not wanting. Perhaps, it is a galaxy of lay and religious groups that is exemplified in the Hall of Saints and Heroes at Mandor.[10] The Nāyaka kings of Mathurai, in south India, erected a Valhalla to themselves, in the Pudu-Mandapam, in front of the great temple of that city. Devakulas to kings are referred to by Bhāsa in his play, *The Statues*. Exemplified in an ancient but ruined shrine near Mathura, they are derived, in turn from the religious practice of symbolically bringing together a stone representing a dead man with three other stones representing his three immediate ancestors, in the Vedic rite of *Sa-pindi-karana*, in which a dead man is ritually gathered into the company of the hosts of his dead ancestors.[11]

The Bhāgavata-Sampradāyis of Barkur are survivals of a religious community which represents a great religious movement, more ancient than Panini, that laid great stress on the glory and the supremacy of the Lord,— Bhagavān,— and on his Lordship, irrespective of whether the initiate conceived of the Lord as Vishnu or as Siva, or as even the Buddha. The importance of this move-

8. *Ep. Ind.*, 21 : 1-7. We have mention of a *Devakula*, an Ancestors' Shrine, in an inscription of 774-5 A.D. at ancient Udabhanda, modern Hund, on the banks of the Indus, where Alexander the Great crossed that river in his invasion: *Ep. Ind.*, 22 : 97-8. It was the capital of the Hindu kings of Kabul till 1021 A.D.

9. See, especially *Rg-Veda*, 10.14.7-10,14 ; 10.27.21 ; 10.154.4,5 : also *Atharva-Veda*, 18.2.21-6,37.

10. *Archl. S. of I., W. Circle*, 1907, p, 32, para 23.

11. See my *South Indian Portraits* (1930), and *Portrait Sculpture in South India* (1931), in which all allied beliefs and practices are examined.

ment has yet to be appreciated, its antiquity recognized and its history unravelled,[12] but it is clear, from even what we do know of it, that it was an uncompromisingly monotheistic movement laying great stress on Bhakti. It is also one of the many endeavours which were persisted in to defeat the trends to sectarianism which had manifested themselves in even Rg-Vedic times.

Brahmachāri-Subrahmanya,— Subrahmanya as 'bachelor',— is but the manifestation of Skanda or Kārttikeya as Su-Brahmaṇya, 'He who is closely related to Brahman', or 'He who is greatly devoted to Sacred Knowledge'. The devotee fancies his Lord as the devotee himself ought to be,— pupil engaged in the pursuit of Knowledge, which is what vouchsafes Liberation,— and, so, makes a bachelor of him and thinks of him as on the path of Brahman, Brahmacharya. An old hymn runs thus : 'O Skanda, you are devoted to Brahman, you are versed in the mysteries of Brahman, you are Brahmesya, you are the foremost of those who possess Brahman'.[13] But, when the devotee feels the terrible hardships of the strict discipline which pertains to the stage of pupillage, and turns to think of his *ishta deva* (the God-Manifestation which he most fancies), as the fountain-head of the tenderness of which he is in dire need, he craves for a theophany of Skanda in which his deity's Grace is emphasised.[14] In answer to that prayer, Su-Brahmanya presents himself as united with Grace, the symbol whereof is two-fold,— a 'Consort', Devasenā, of divine origin, in attestation of the divinity of Grace, and another 'Consort', Valli, whose associations are human, in affirmation of the gracious love the Lord has for mortals. Apparently, Brahmachāri-Subrahmanya is a form in which the Discipline that makes Divinity is sharply distinguished from one form signifying the Union of Grace with the Divine and another showing the Union of Humankind with the Divine brought about by Grace. He is Su-Brahmanya in these manifestations too: the union with Grace,— emphasised by the union with human-kind, — stamps him as one intimately related to Brahman, who is nothing if not Grace: nay, it makes him Brahman himself, in the eyes of those who are greatly devoted to him. Subrahmanya is thus a parallel to Krishna,— the conception of Krishna as Eternal Bachelor (Nitya-Brahmachāri) being current along with that of his being Nitya-Samsāri, or, in popular language, 'the much married', to Śrī as

12. This is among the most urgent of studies in Indian Culture.

13. *Maha-Bharata*, 3.231.11.

14. For some aspects of the cult of Subrahmanya-Skanda, see my 'Gods of Harappa', in *J. Bihar Res. Soc*, (1949) 24 (3-4) : 60-1, 67.

Rukminī-Vallabha[15] and to Humankind as Gopī-Nātha. Parallel is the conception in Tamil Vaishnavism of Vishnu having accepted the earth-born maiden, Āṇḍāḷ, for Consort,— she being the representative of the earth-born devotee seeking union with the Lord. And it will not fail to be noticed that this is but an extension of the other idea which, as already pointed out, treated Subrahmanya as a parallel to Balarama.

The temple to Revanta at Shedigudde is perhaps one of the few surviving in south India in which Surya's son, as Cavalier, is still in worship.[16] We have much of evidence to speak to a period when Revanta was a divinity in great esteem in north India, but of the survival of his cult we have had no proof in the shape of a distinct temple to him in even the north,[17] notwithstanding that a touch of Revanta may be traceable in the Buddha. That in the south he was not unknown is apparent from references to him as Cavalier par excellence. In inscriptions occurring in various regions of south India we find knights compared to Revanta,[18] but there is no reason to base on this a supposition of the prevalence of a cult of Revanta in the south.[19] A rivulet in the Tanjore district of the Tamil country goes by the name of Kudirai-Śevukanar, the Cavalier, but this by itself is too weak as a link in a chain of evidence. The famous

15. 'A portion of Sri herself became incarnate on earth out of love': *Maha-Bharata*, 1.67.156-7. Inferentially in *Ib.*, 1.61.44.

16. Reference may be made to the following, apart from the formal treatises on iconography, for information on Revanta :

N. B. Sanyal, in *Ind. Hl. Qy.*, (1927) 3 : 469-72.
N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Bud. and Braml. Sculps. in Dacca Mus.*, 174-7.
Varendra Res. Inst., AR., 1928 : No. 726.
J. As. Soc. Bengal, (1909) 5 : 391.

17. Finds of sculptures of Revanta in north India have been noticed occasionally, as for instance :

At Sarnath : *Archl. S. of I., North, Hindu* : *AR.*, 1920 : 10.
At Nagari : *Archl. S. of I., Memoir 4.*
At unrecorded place: *Archl. S. of I., West, AR.*, 1914 : 29.
At Chachoripara : *Archl. S. of I., AR.*, pl. 54 b.

18. The ones referred to below belong to Travancore and the Kannada country and they range from the 12th century A.D. to the 18th.

Ep. Carn., 2: SB 2 138 : SB 327 (1181 A.D.)
Ep. Ind., 15: 4: 39 (*c.* 1189 A.D.)
Archl. S. Mys., AR., 1937: 129 (1214 A.D.)
Trav. Archl. Ss., 5: 16 (1769 A.D.)
Ep. Carn., 5: (Hn). 133: AK 59 (1209 A.D.)
Ep. Carn., 5: Hn 209: Cn 197 (1223 A.D.)

19. H. Krishna Sastri drew attention to the picture of a rider on horse-back followed by an umbrella bearer which is sculptured on a stone bearing an inscription, and surmised that it might be a representation of the General Vijaya referred to in the inscription as sallying out against the enemy; *Ep. Ind.*, 10: 26: 150. Similar sculptures are not rare, but there are a few in which, for lack of contextual links, we may fail to recognise Revanta.

south Indian legend of the great Tamil saint Māṇikyavāchaka being extricated out of a difficult situation by the Lord Siva, as enshrined in the great temple at Mathurai, appearing as a Cavalier at the head of troops of cavalry[20] does not contain even a hint at that Lord being Revanta. With the evidence we now have, as at Barkur, we cannot doubt but that Revanta was among forms of god-head accepted all over the south. Indeed, Revanta being noted also for his beauty, the Sundaras, the 'Beautiful Ones', of Mathurai of the Pandya country,— the god-forms presiding over Mathurai as Siva (Sundareśvara) and as Vishnu (Kūdal-Aḻagar or Sundara-rāja),[21]— may well be deemed to incorporate a Revanta element which, however, has got obliterated from memory by sectarian emphases.

3. THE BHUTA CULT OF TULU-NAD

Ubiquitous in Tuḷu-Nad is the Cult of Bhūtas.[1] Bhutas are believed to be disembodied spirits or ghosts of the human dead; while not incapable of malignant evil they are not incapable of good as well. Such characteristics of ghosts, ghouls, goblins, demons and devils in other complexes of belief as that they practise unholy arts, delude men, lure them to destruction, animate dead bodies, feed on them and frequent cemetries, are not absent. A small stone is placed on the ground or a little plank of wood is inserted in the wall of a house, and it represents a Bhuta forthwith. On a low stand placed on the floor of a house or on a plank suspended from the roof are placed a vessel of water, a bell and a small sword, as apparatus of domestic worship. There are also images of men and beasts and birds, cast in metal, or carved of wood or stone, and set up with modest ostentution in small shrines raised in glades or groves or annexed to temples of the well-known gods of Hinduism. The ritual of worship includes the slaying of beasts and birds and has, for sequel, the delivery of prophesies or the utterance of oracular dicta by an officiant whose spirit attains a state of exaltation for the nonce.[2] So popular is the cult that Tulu-Nad has often been branded as among the most be-devilled lands of the wide world.

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20. See, for instance, my *Tamil Tradition*, (1930-2), 62 and my 'Date of Manikyavachaka', in *Qy. J. Mythic Soc.*, 22 (1932): 185-200.

21. See, for instance, my *Tamil Tradition* (1930-2): 51-2.

3—1. Here is a serviceable list of references :
M. J. Walhouse, in *J. Authropl. Inst.*, (1875-9) 5: 408-25.
A. C. Burnell & R. C. Temple, in *Ind. Antiq*, (1894-7). vols. 23-6.
J. Sturrock, *South Canara: District Manual*, (1894), 137-40.
B. A. Saletore, *Hist of Karnataka: I Tulu Nad* (1936)

2. Summarised from Burnell & Temple, *op. cit.*

The Bhutas, in their innumerable hordes, are accepted as the spirits of the dead of people of the 'lower' castes, only one, Brahmā, or Brahmara of Kemmule, being said to be the spirit of a Brāhmana. Bhutas have their devotees in the 'lower orders', and the officiants too belong to those orders, only the Bhuta of Brahman antecedents having Brahmana worshippers and a Brahmana priest.[3]

Many of the Bhutas bear names that are Samskritic : Bhavani, Bhoja-Maharaja, Brahma, Bhairava, Dharma-deva, Dhumra, Dhurmati, Durgi, Gandhari, Isvara-Kumara, Ishta-devata, Jathadhari, Yoga-Purusha, Kala-Bhairava, Kala-Netri, Kalesvari, Kala-Ratri, Kalahasti, Kanya-Kumara, Khadga-Ravana, Kshetrapala, Kumarasvami, Mahesvara, Mahesvari, Patala-Bhairava, Raktesvari, Rudra-Chaundi and Varma-lataya.[3]

The folk-tales we have of the Bhutas of Tulu-Nad are replete with particulars about them and the cult that centres round them. One of the legends is cast very much in the form of a Purana of Samskritic literature, but the difference in spirit is pronounced. No tale is typical of the series, but the tenor of the tales is not markedly different from that of the tale which tells of the Bhuta Jārandāya who, committing murders, enters the bodies of men and calves, but settles down to a comparatively stationary life, though not to respectability, when a shrine is built for him.[4]

Pistols and guns flourished by hunters, in addition to bows, arrows and darts, a European chair with four legs for a king to sit on, English as the script which, and the pen as the tool with which, children conceived a preference for learning to write, abandoning palm-leaves and iron stylus, and used stamp-papers for superior writings, find mention in these tales. Records engraved on stones and grants given by deeds executed on copper-plates are spoken of. A Pōśa-Maharaja (Bhoja-Maharaja) as a Bhuta, a Bil-Sultan, the reign of an Akkāji-Māmūji, a sculptor who, having sculptured the giant image of Gommata at Sravana-Belgola, killed himsel fas he could not bear the criticism of a youth who, all unknown, was his son, and the son who, for the people of Karkal and Venur, carved better sculptures than that father, have active roles. Pilgrimages to the Ganga for baths in it for washing off sins, the merit of the consigning the ashes of the dead to the waters of that river, the heinousness of killing cows, especially at Kasi, the magnitude of the sea of Rama-Samudram, the sanctity of the eastern mountain, Tirupati, which is reached by a voyage, and the sanctity of the taking of vows standing

3. Summarised from Burnell & Temple, *op. cit.*

4. This and the next two paragraphs are also summarised from the same work as objectively as is possible.

beside the Lord Venkata-Ramana of Tirupati, are mentioned and expatiated on. Nārāyana, as Vishnu's distinctive form and name, Narayana's creation of the lotus, his bed of flowers and the sleep into which he falls when on that bed, Surya-Narayana as one of his manifestations, Isvara as his Saivite counterpart, the thirty-three crores of gods, and the Asuras as terrible beings are well-known. Kailasa is spoken of as Siva's abode, Vaikuntha as Vishnu's, and Brahmaloka or Satyaloka as Brahma's. The Mappillas and their mosques, the Christians, and Mecca and Macao as ports are not unknown.

Of how a man on death becomes a Bhuta we are told little: only in one tale do we have a reference to the process. The dead man goes as a spirit to Brahma, but he is asked to go back and bring his brother: the brother commits suicide so that he may become a spirit: they both go to Brahma as spirits, but they are asked to get themselves purified: they come to earth and ask for purification : thereupon, their ashes are collected on the ninth day and the *salya* performed on the tenth, three posts being planted on the burial ground, and each wrapped with cloth of different colours ; the brothers return to Brahma's world, take their stand to his right and become members of his Council : they are, ever afterwards, honoured in the *world*, as greatly us Brahma himself. Bhutas ask for the performance of the raising of Vishnu's flag and the figure of Garuda and, then, become known in their villages as Bhutas, and they establish themselves there. A Bhuta, apparently of the common kind, becomes the family god of a Bhaṭṭa, who was the master of a village. A Bhuta pushed with his dagger a stone which could be drawn only by seven and seven elephants. Whether a Bhuta has come to any place may be known on reference to a praśna book. Bhutas have attendants, apparently of their own kind. A Brahmā Bhuta had attendants without legs and attendants who were headless and had only torsos. The altar of a Bhuta shrine is a Tiru-Ayana. It is not proper at all to hold a feast for a toddy-drawer's Bhuta with all musical instruments playing ; one horn and a drum should be enough. A Sudra would not take a flower or sandal from a toddy-drawer's Bhuta. A Bhuta could be transferred from one person to another by flowers and rice being thrown on the priest personating the Bhuta. An appropriate offering to a Brahmā Bhuta is a figure of Brahma himself. Bhutas fight with vigour on their daggers being placed in the field of battle. Bhutas ask for shrines, then for a bell and a sword in the shrine and, then, for great festivals in their honour. A Bhuta declares himself to be one of the

five Bhutas of Saira, while another proclaims himself the Three Bhutas of that place, perhaps because, at the time, he had had three shrines to him in the place. The highest honours a Bhuta could ask for are the honours given to a god,— a bell and a sword, such as are given to Brahma. The Bhuta Jumādi, settling down in a place where a high god of the name of the Eternal God is enshrined, calls himself the Eternal Jumādi. Bhutas visit the high gods. A band of five Bhutas served Brahma. A Bhuta went to visit the Siva of Somesvara, circumambulated the god at noon, and then became a cock and crowed on the top of the temple. In the exuberance of vigour Bhutas set themselves, sometimes, against one or other of the gods : a Bhuta, finding the Siva of Mahalingesvara of Pandesvar walking round his temple at noon, became a cock and crowed on the top of the temple, much to the annoyance of the god : a couple of lads, brothers, apparently on the way to becoming Bhutas, walked three times round the famous temple of Kukka-Subbarāya (Subrahmanya), but, arranging for a battle between them and that god, shot arrows which broke that god's flagstaff and shattered the top of his fane to three pieces. The male attendants of the gods prevent Bhutas from entering the service of their gods, but sometimes the interference of these attendants has a contrary effect, Bhutas seeking service under the gods for securing protection. In answer to a prayer, the Bhuta of Brahmana descent, Brahmara of Kemmule, descended from the seventh story of his temple to the third, riding a white horse, holding a silver umbrella, breast covered with a white shield, wearing a garland of white conch-shells on his right shoulder and a garland of black shells on his left, and holding a discus on his head: receiving offerings, he gave prasāda.

How far may we, on data such as these, venture on speculations on the characteristics of the Bhuta cult and on its origins or growth, in Tulu-Nad and in other regions where it flourishes in analogues and variations ?

Being tales told to large audiences at celebrations in honour of the Bhutas it is inevitable that the tales should include much of material which, though introduced for the moment as of topical interest for the delectation of the audiences, might have caught public fancy and, therefore, got incorporated in what may be called the standard texts of the stories. Such would be the reference to pistols, guns and the European chair, to writing in English characters and on 'stamp papers', and to voyages to Mecca and Macao. The mention of Christians and of Mappillas and their mosques is but

allusion to facts contemporary with the narrators of the stories who, even if they knew what an anachronism means, would not have avoided it if by sinning against it they could have made the audience laugh. The references to personages like Bhoja-Maharaja, Bil-Sultan and Akkāji Māmūji are, in all probability, survivals from days when mention of them might have been topical : they have been retained, perhaps, because they serve to impart that air of other-time-ness which is essential to a folk-tale, and not because they mark the tale as the narration of an event of a particular date. The raising of the statues of Gommata at Sravana-Belgola, Karkal and Venur are dateable with more or less accuracy, but the tales told of the sculptors of these great monuments may not, in fact, pertain to those sculptors, for the currency of a story involving the builder of the Great Temple at Tanjore and his son, suggests that a fictional *motif* of Sculptor-Father-contra-Sculptor-Son was not unknown.

Vishnu, Siva, Brahma and their kind are admittedly the high gods of the Bhutas : Surya-Narayana and Subrahmanya are also to the fore among the major gods : the plebeian divinities number thirty-three crores : the Ganga is sacred : cow-killing is inexcusable sin : service under the great gods is what Bhutas hanker for, they being apprehensive of being excluded by the well-established attendants : great is the yearning of the Bhutas for a sojourn in Brahmaloka : Vaikuntha, Kailasa and Satyaloka are the worlds to which even Bhutas should ultimately go : they too require a gathering unto the Fathers through a *sa-pindi-karana*, for the three stones of which ritual are substituted the three beflagged posts set up at their funerals : the names of Bhutas are frequently Samskritic. Such are the sidelights we get of the milieu in which folk literature places the Bhutas and of the feelings they endow them with. The tiffs which Bhutas are occasionally said to have with the high gods of this milieu are indicative, not of antagonism to them, but of the resistless daring and the irrepressible ardour for mischief which are among the prime characteristics of Bhutas.

That Bhutas do not recognise themselves as having become such till Vishnu's flag, with Garuda emblazoned on it, has been raised in front of their shrines appears to suggest more than that Bhutas have an affinity to Vishnu, the Garuda Flag ordinarily floating only in front of the shrines to Vishnu himself. The presence of Vishnu being essential at funeral ceremonies for protecting them and for granting freedom from bonds, the enshrining of a Bhuta was essentially thought of as a sequel to a funeral rite at which the

spirit of the dead was freed so that it may become a Bhuta. This is aparently marked by the hoisting of the Garuda banner. It may also be that the devotees of Bhutas thought that the flaunting of Vishnu's flag in front of the shrines of even his attendants meant an assertion of Vishnu's greatness. The folk-literature is otherwise clear that Bhutas aspired only to service under Vishnu. The Brahmara of Kemmule who descended from the seventh story of his shrine to the third, in answer to a prayer, wearing a discus on his head and garlands of conch-shells may be only one of Vishnu's Āyudha-Purushas, Weapons-Personified : he may primarily be Vishnu's Discus, Chakra-Purusha.

We find, thus, that in Tulu-Nad the 'lower orders' to whom alone the Bhutas were the 'gods' of a cult were also imbued with the religious beliefs and sentiments of the 'higher orders', and virtually in the sane degree. The Bhuta Cult was valid as a type of religion but it was low in the scale because of its marked association with the cult of the dead. Higher doctrines and faiths are found together with lower beliefs and practices among the lower orders. While the higher orders hold with understanding and conviction to the higher doctrines and the nobler faith, and while they look indulgently on the lower beliefs and practices, the lower orders do not fail either to accept the superiority of the higher doctrines and faith or to endeavour to guide their lives by them to the extent they can. A stratification which is social but not religious, and a religious compatibility between the higher and the lower religious beliefs and practices, though not a homegeneity, mark faith and life, in Tulu-Nad as everywhere else in India.

That there is a lack of a uniformity in the texture of belief and practice in religion in India is not to be denied, but whether this is a defect and, if so, whether this arises from past and present differences in religious outlook or whether it has its origin in differences in culture levels, and whether these differences spring from differences in 'races' are the questions that interest the student of the growth of religion.

4. THE UNIQUE IMAGES AT BARKUR

In a region full of shrines to Bhutas, we find, at Barkur, certain places of worship the images in which are so much out of the common run that they deserve close study for the light they throw both on Bhuta worship and on cults which appear to be greatly different.

The Rangan-Kere Bhūta-sthāna contains the images of tigers and other beings familiar in Bhuta shrines, but along with them are other images which are of interest. A carved head of the 'Two Sisters' (the Elder Sister and the Younger) is apparently the representation of one composite personality who,— in the all too clear absence of other parallels,— may be taken to be compounded of the Goddesses of Misfortune and Fortune,— the Elder Sister and the Younger,— known to the Samskritic cultures as A-Lakshmī and Lakshmī. Perhaps they are but personifications of the principles of the *diti* (wealth) and the *aditi* (want) which, in the *Rg-Veda*, Agni is prayed to grant and to ward off, respectively,[1]— personifications which entered into the composition of the Diti[2] and the Aditi of Vedic mythology. Though we do not come across an integration of these two goddesses it is yet not unlikely that they were occasionally brought together in recognition of life being a complex of ups and downs. A figure of Purusha ('Man') and another of Hen ('Woman') found also in the shrine may not be treated as Bhutas, for the presence of a mirror in the hand of the 'Woman' suggests that she represents a *Satī*,— one who gave up her life along with her husband, the 'Man' being the Hero-Husband. But we cannot be quite sure that a mirror in the hand of a woman, though sculptured and set up in such a shrine, need mark her as a Sati. In the ambulatory passage are two figures of Nandi-Koṇas, (Nandi-Gōṇas) which will be referred to presently.

In the Shedigudde temple to Revanta,— a complex of a shrine opening out into a hall,— we find a number of curious figures. In the hall, we have a pair of Nandi-Konas, 'Bull-He-Buffalos', each being shaped into a composite form appropriate to the name, the buffalo element being apparent in the characteristic posture of the head. Such Nandi-Kōṇas are not unknown in Bhuta shrines, but the two here are unique for being known, severally, as Ākāśa-Nandi-Kona and Antariksha-Nandi-Kona. Notwithstanding the difference in the names the two animals look quite alike.[3] Near by, in the same hall is a third figure, which goes by the name of Ūrddhva-Śṛiñgi, 'the Upward Horned', which, fashioned just like a Nandi-Kōna, differs in that it bears only one horn which, in shape like a bull's, rises in solitary state from almost the crown of the buffalo-head.[4] In the shrine itself, beside the principal image,

1. *Rg-Veda*, 4.2.11
2. Diti gives what is desirable (wealth): *Ib.*, 7. 15. 12.
3. Plate 24, Fig. 13
4. Plate 24, Fig 14

Revanta, are two curious figures. One of them, is a composite figure, human above and buffalo below, carved to show it kneeling. It is believed to represent the family that founded the Aliya-Santana-Kaṭṭu, the Law of the 'lower orders' of the region. The other is a five-headed Nandi-Kōṇa, each head being that of an Ūrddhva-Śṛingi,— a creature with one torso for five Ūrddhva-Śṛingi heads,— and it bears appropriately the name Gana, 'Group'.[5]

The figure associated with the Aliya-Santana-Kattu[6] is a riddle. That it represents a family and not an individual may not be above question, especially as the traditions relating to the Kattu are not clear about its founder or founders. The family of this Kattu is not a unit markedly distinct from the family subject to the same type of law, Maru-Makkat-Tāyam, in neighbouring Malabar, which does not claim to have had a family for founder. An identification of the figure with Mahisha-Asura, the Buffalo-Demon, cannot be sustained, for the Kattu does not betray the least trace of an Asura element. Were the human component in the figure that of a woman it could be suggested that Woman, as the conduit for descent of property in the Kattu, was 'the powerful one', or 'mahishi', that by a transference of ideas the 'mahishi' was taken to have founded the Kattu, and that as 'mahishi' means also the 'she-buffalo', the Woman-Founder was figured as half-woman and half-buffalo. But the figure of the Kattu incorporates, and all too clearly, a man, and not a woman. Kattu, or Law, is Dharma, and Dharma is frequently equated to Yama,[7] and Yama's symbol is the Mahisha, Buffalo. It is, therefore, likely that our figure of Purusha-Mahisha, Buffalo-Man, is no other than the author and the enforcer of the Law,— Yama-Dharma-rāja.[8]

Nandi-Konas, known also as Nandi-Gonas, being said to be not uncommon in Bhuta shrines all over the region, must be presumed to be forms of Bhutas or of kindred beings, though Bhutas are not usually represented in forms compounded of those of two or more animals. Nandi-Konas lacking the humps characteristic of bulls and, not infrequently, their horns being those of the nandi, bull, and they holding their heads as buffalos do theirs,— craned and low,— there

5. Plate 25, Fig. 15

6. The Aliya-Santana-Kattu is treated of in the works mentioned below :
G. Krishna Rao, *Text-Book of Aliya-Santana Law*, (1898); see esp. 7.16.
P. R. Sundara-Aiyar & B. Sitarama-Rao, *Malabar Law*, (1922); see esp;. 243-5.
Madras Jl. of Lit. and Science, (1864)
A. C. Burnell, ed., *Vyavahara-Nirnaya*

7. *Maha-Bharata*, 3.128.13

8. *Maha-Bharata*, 1.9.13-6; 2. 8. 32-3.

can be little doubt but that the Nandi-Kona figures do really represent the combination of animals that the name 'Bull-He-Buffalo' implies. The explanation of why there are no integrations of other animals to represent Bhutas is perhaps two-fold. The bull and the buffalo, both noted for their strength, might have been deemed to be the most appropriate of animals to be brought together in symbolic emphasis of the surpassing strength of the Bhutas. The Bull, Nandi, being the foremost of Siva's attendants, and Siva being Bhuta-isvara and Gana-isvara, Lord of Bhutas and of Ganas (groups of the lesser powers or beings), and the Kona (Gona), Buffalo, being the 'powerful one', mahisha, the two animals exhibit, in conjoined form, the virility of Bhutas as the following of Siva. But, Vishnu too has claims to be represented as a Bull: he is Vṛisha-paksha, Vṛisha-priya and Go-pati : he too is Bhuta-isvara and Gana-isvara. Nandi-Konas may, therefore, be representations of Vishnu as appropriately as of Siva. Perhaps, however, the evidence weights the scales, as we have seen, in favour of Vishnu being, in Tulu-Nad, the well accepted overlord of Bhutas.

The two Nandi-Konas in the Revanta shrine at Shedigudde go severally by the names, Ākāśa-Nandi-Kona and the Antariksha-Nandi-Kona, the former getting, thus, associated with the sky, and the latter with the Intermediate Region,— two of the three 'rajāmsi'.[9] The Bull and the Buffalo being, each of them, apt comparison, in the figurative language of the *Rg-Veda*, to Agni, Indra, Parjanya, Soma and Vāta-Vāyu,[10] all of these gods could appropriately be figured in an integration of the Bull and the Buffalo, that is, in a Nandi-Kona. Indra, Parjanya and Vāyu-Vāta being of the aerial, or the intermediate, region, according to an ancient classification of the gods, could be represented in Antariskha-Nandi-Kona. Agni and Soma being of the terrestrial region could be Nandi-Konas of the earthly region, but no Nandi-Kona called after the earth is found in the shrine. At the same time, no god assigned to the celestial region appears to be qualified to be a Nandi-Kona, none of those gods being compared, in the *Rg-Veda*, to both Bull and Buffalo. It may, therefore, be that the components of the Nandi-Konas are not to be found among the higher gods of the *Rg-Veda*. The Fathers, Pitris, are said to be of three classes, being of the three

9. *Rg.Veda*, 4.53.5; 5.69.1.

10. Agni: Bull, 5.1.8; 5.2.12; 6.16.39; Buffalo, 1.141.3
Indra: Bull, 1.7.6; 1.54.2; 1.131.6; 2.16.4; 10.111.2.
Buffalo, 1.121.2; 2,22.1; 3.46 2
Parjanya: Bull, 7.101.6; 5.83.1,7,2;9; 8.25.6; Buffalo, 10.66.10.
Soma: Bull, 6.44.21; 9.2.6; 9.95.4; 9.96.7; Buffalo, 9.96.6.

regions: those mortals whose departure has been recent are still of the terrestrial region, whereas those of the middle and of the upper regions are those Fathers who have attained to higher lives.[11] So, the Antariksha and the Ākāśa Nandi-Konas might severally stand for the Fathers of the Middle and the Upper regions. Apparently, the Bhuta figures commonly set up all over the land represent the third, or the terrestrial, class of the Fathers.

The Ūrddhva-Śṛingi, 'the Upward Horned', which is also Eka-Śṛingi, 'the One-Horned', may not be an adaptation of the Nandi-Kona, for the animal has a face that is pronouncedly that of a bull, and it holds its head up, without craning forward abjectly like a buffalo. In an ancient description of the Hall of Audience of Prajapati-Brahma we have an enumeration of those who assemble in it to be received in audience. Along with the Gods are 'the Rakshasas, the Pisachas, the Danavas, the Guhyakas, serpents, birds and various other animals and all other mobile and immobile great beings', as also groups, seven in number, of the Fathers, among whom figure the 'One-Horned', Eka-Sringas, who form a group which, having become embodied, receives worship from Kshatriyas.[12] If the One-Horned figure of Barkur is an image of the Eka-Sringa group of Fathers, it is appropriately plaeed, for it stands in the immediate presenee of the five-headed Gana, who, as we shall immediately see, is Prajapati-Brahma, but there can be no accounting for providing such representation at Barkur for only one group of the Fathers ignoring the other six groups. Much better known is Eka-Sringi as a name of Vishnu,[13] and Vishnu, as we shall also see, is the god in whose presence it is that the Fathers get released from the bond of earthly existence. So, the probabilities appear to be in favour of the Barkur Eka-Sringi being a representation of Vishnu.

The Gana, being a Bull with five Eka-Śṛingi heads, could be well taken for what may popularly be said to be a Vishnu the essence of whose personality is quintupled in the figure.[14] It is problematical, however, if this interpretation would conform to that of other figures we know of with five heads, such as Pancha-mukha-Hanuman or Pancha-mukha-Vinayaka. Prajāpati has as many as five mouths. In advice given to a childless person to worship the Moon as Soma on the full-moon day, Soma is directed to be invoked as Prajāpati who is five-mouthed,— the mouths being, severally,

11. *Rg-Veda*, 10.15.1-2
12. *Maha-Bharata*, 2.11.45-50; see also *Ib.*, 3.3.43
13. *Maha-Bharata*, 12. 341. 100
14. See notes 16 and 17 below.

Brāhmana, King, Hawk, Agni and an unspecified one,[15] with which, though he eats up kings, the people, birds, the world and all beings, respectively, he is still prepared to make of his devotee an eater of food by that mouth. Prajapati has given himself five-mouths for creating and destroying every thing and feeding his devotee: He is Lord of Creation, but as whatsoever is must, after a period of sheltered existence, perish,— the uncreate alone being eternal,— he is also Preserver and Destroyer. That the five mouths implied five heads and that Prajapati was penta-cephalic may be presumed from his Puranic personality being that of Brahma who started his career with five heads though, later, one of the heads was nipped off by Siva. Prajapati readily offers himself as victim in sacrifice for the due consummation of the purpose he has in his three-fold office. In token, perhaps, of the sacrifice being of all that he has created, he becomes the Horse of the human lord of all that is create, the Emperor, Chakravarti, and immolates himself in the sacrificial fire,— thus performing the Aśvamedha, the sacrifice of the Horse of the Chakravarti.[16] In far away Cambodia, in a great monument, the Angkor-Vat, built in the great days of the sway of an ancient line of 'Hinduised' monarchs,— whether in the beginning of the tenth century A. D. or at the close of the twelfth does not matter for the present purpose,— was set up, among other sculptured figures, that of a gigantic animal with five heads, each head being a horse's.[17] Mace-bearers clearing the way, dancers capering beside, attendant running between legs with broom to gather up the 'ambrosial' dung which the animal may let fall, triple parasols rising high, right and left, great necklace rolling on common chest swollen with assurance, bridle running up

15. *Kaushitaki-Upanishad*, 2.9. Also *Sankhayana-Aranyaka*.

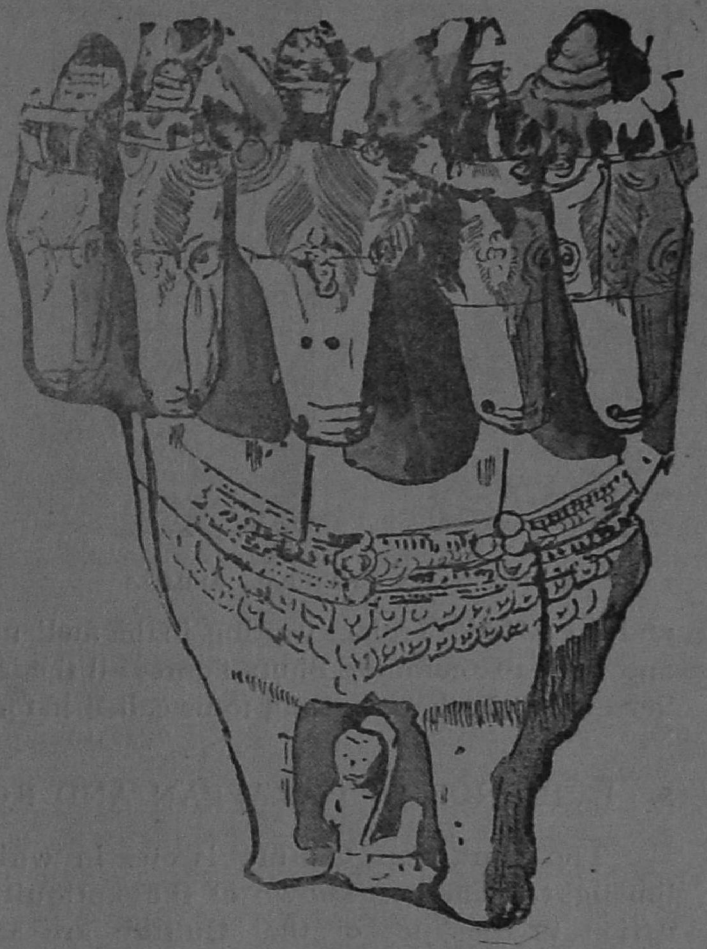
16. *Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1.2.6-7.

The *Satapatha-Brahmana* version is worth study. It runs thus : Prajapati assigned the sacrifices to the gods, keeping the Asvamedha to himself (13.2.1.1): the Asvamedha is the king of sacrifices: indeed, the Asvamedha is the sacrifice, (for) the sacrifice is the sacrificer (13.2.2.1). Prajapati created the Viraj (the body): when created, it went away from him and entered the horse meet for the sacrifice (13.2.5.3). Prajapati performed a horse-sacrifice (13.1.7.1-): he poured forth the life-sap of the horse (13. 1. 8. 1): when poured forth it went from him : having become five-fold, it entered the year, and they (the five parts) became those half-months (13.2.5.1).

In the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* passage the number five is given a symbolical interpretation, while in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* passage it is given a calendrical meaning. It is because of such changes in points of view that the Brahmana literature especially has come to be under rated.

17. V. Goloubew in *Bulln. de l'Ecole Francaise d'E-O*, (1927)27:229-33: pl.21. No reference is made to the Vedic view. A fashon of ignoring Vedic evidence, in regard to Buddhistic problems, set in with A. Foucher and it is persisting, much to the detriment of Buddhist studies.

to each eye, lock of hair wound round each ear, passed through pearl-set rings and terminated in a little pointed horn, a regal crown rising with triple loti-form embellishments from each head,[18] — thus does the five-headed animal present itself as the Horse of the Asvamedha, the symbol of the self-sacrifice of five-headed Prajāpati. And Prajapati is the Supreme Being,[19] that is, Vishnu.[20]



PRAJAPATI: ASVAMEDHA HORSE

The five-heads of the Barkur Gaṇa are those of Unicorns, Eka-Sringis,— those of Vishnu who is Eka-Sringi. Is it probable that the Barkur Gana represents a transformation of Prajāpati into Vishnu who is Preserver and, as Nārāyana, Creator of the Creator (Brahma) and, ergo, Destroyer with the Discus ? It is unlikely that this Gana stands for Siva, though Siva is either Prajapati himself or the creator of Prajapati, for though he has five heads in his form of Sadāśiva, those heads are not those of Eka-Sringis. It is equally improbable that he is Vishnu, for, then, a

18. It is worth examining whether each of these crowns is not in fact a stunted horn of the type of the horn of the Eka-Sringi of Barkur, the bronze cap at the tip of his horn getting transformed into a crown. If there is any probability in the surmise the heads of the horse of the Angkor-Vat sculpture would be those of Unicorns.

19. *Rg-Veda*, 10. 121.

20. *Maha-Bharata*, 2.1,9. It is not to be missed that Vishnu as Purusha-Narayana, saw the Purushamedha, the sacrifice of himself, as a pancha-

Vishnu will be in the sanctum sanctorum keeping a Vishnu waiting in the audience hall to gain audience. The probabilities seem, therefore, to be that this Gana is Prajapati-Brahma.[21] The Revanta in the temple would, then, be in the temple as the head of another group of demi-gods, the Guhyakas, Wardens of concealed treasure,[22] who are usually in attendance on Prajapati.



HARAPPA SEALS NATURAL ANIMALS

These identifications, being self-consistent, seem to be highly probable. There appears to be no other basis on which the figures could be accounted for. The Shedigudde temple would, thus, be one dedicated to Prajapati-Brahma, with Yama-Dharma and Guhyaka-īśa in immediate attendance, with Vishnu and the Fathers of the Upper and the Middle regions waiting in the audience chamber for audience, and with the common Bhuta figures all the land over representing the 'terrestrial' Fathers waiting to be called in for audience in due course.

5. EVIDENCE OF HARAPPAN AND RG-VEDIC CULTURES

The Harappan Culture is one in which animals are in the limelight. The best known of the antiquities brought up by excavation in the sites of that Culture are seals bearing designs of animals which, conceived of statically and sketched frigidly, have an appearance of standing coldly aloof. While there is a plethora

ratra, five-day, sacrifice, and that performing it, he surpassed all beings (*Satapatha-Brahmana*, 13.6.1.1). A sacrifice which, lasting five days, eats the offerings each day, may be said to have five mouths. Vishnu of the Purusha-Medha sacrifice may, then, be conceived of as five-headed. Vishnu's five heads would thus stand explained, whether viewed from a ritual standpoint or from a calendrical. The various symbolisms seem, thus, to have been meticulously designed to be in mutual correspondence.

21. For Siva as Prajapati see *Maha-Bharata*, 13. 85. 95; for him as Prajapati's creator, see *Ib.*, 13. 14. 6.

22. *Markandeya Purana*.

of representations of animals in low relief in the seals, figurines of animals are not equally numerous. Human figurines of terra cotta are in plenty, while human figures are very rare in seals, being confined, where they appear, to scenes of combat with animals and to manifestations with three faces; occasionally, a beast is fitted out with a human face. That all these figures are inseparably connected with a cult or cults, with mythology to match, is obvious from the emphasis on formality which the engraved figures betray, from the attentive provision of trappings for the animals which may have as much of a ritual as of an ornamental purpose, from the placing before them of what may be offering vessels or standards, from the carrying of an animal on high in state and from natural and composite beasts being shown as engaged in combat with human or semi-human beings. The seal-engravers have been more attentive to execution than the modellers in clay have ordinarily been and, curiously, the appearance of the human figures in clay is not consonant with that of the men and the women carved in the seals. Still, there can be no denying the general harmony of the art of these objects and of the homoegeneity of the ideas pervading the representations in low relief and in the round.



HARAPPA SEALS COMPOSITE ANIMALS

The brahmani bull, the gaura-bull, the buffalo, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the tiger and the antelope are among the larger animals represented ; the goat and the dog are among the smaller ones ; the crocodile and the serpent, among those that crawl or creep, are depicted ; the Garuda is one of the few birds figured.

These are all nature's creatures, and these exhibit themselves in the seals in no mood which calls for notice. There being no evidence of their representation having met any special need or served any special purpose, it has been inferred that the seals are no more

than amulets, charms or talismans and that the figures in them have only a protective virtue.[1]

No less characteristic of the remains of the culture are the representations of composite creatures, in seals or in the round. A bull is fitted out with wings, or is integrated with an elephant and a goat, or with an elephant and a tiger. A dog and a rhinoceros are fused in one; so are a rhinoceros and an antelope. More complicated creatures are not wanting, such as a beast incorporating in itself as many as six, if not seven, elements,— man, bull, elephant, goat, horse and tiger and, perhaps, a scorpion.



HARAPPA SEAL PASUPATI

The Unicorn is perhaps the most popular and significant of the beasts: it is a composite animal, the components differing variously, but including the bull, the horse and the camel invaribly, the horse lending it the arched neck and the attitude, and the camel lending the eye sometimes and the horizontal pose of the head invariably. The torso of a bull bears three heads,— those of the brahmani bull, the gaura bull and the antelope, or of the brahmani bull, the antelope and the unicorn,— and each head looks in a different direction. The integrations have been explained as due either to the idle working of Indian imagination or to a desire to create 'deities' of manifold powers.[2] The inscrutable Unicorn has been dubbed a character in a folk tale.[3]

There are a few seals in which animals are depicted as involved in what may be called 'scenes', such as a Tiger-Bull struggling with a Bull-Man. These animals have been treated as genii[4] and the scenes have been taken to evidence the growth of a mythology. It has, however, been confessed, though with reservations, that there may be esoteric or other ideas lurking behind the animals.[5]

1. J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civiln.*, (193'), 66-7.
2. *Ib.*, 67.
3. *Ib.*, 69.
4. *Ib.*, 66.
5. *Ib.*, 74-5.

The human being in his natural form is represented freely in figures, but only rarely in the seals. In just a few seals he is a suppliant before an animal or a god. Duplicated forms are also found, as where two human heads are joined Janus-like. Other figures there are in which one element or other of a human being is compounded with the elements of a bull and a tiger, of a bull and a lion, and of a bull and a goat or ram.

Human beings, besides figuring in integrations with animals, are occasionally represented either in their natural shape in a kind of multiplication, or intensification, of the natural shape, as for instance with three faces, and attended on by serpents. A figure of a three-headed man, seated in a Yoga pose, on a base bearing a representation of deer in a cult-situation, and in the midst of a fore-gathering of animals, has been treated as the most revealing of the remains of this Culture and accepted as a representation of Pasupati, who is as much the Lord of Cattle as of Yogis. A figure in the round, many-headed in all probability, appears as a dancer.

The Harappa Culture being fairly ancient and, therefore, being probably uncontaminated by a multitude of other cultures has given us an excellent opportunity of studying how few, or how many, are the simpler cultures that went to its making and how they mingled to give it the features it has. That opportunity has not been utilised : instead of investigation, an assumption was indulged in that it is 'Dravidian' and a guess has been added that Indra smashed the Dravidian forts. And we are where certainly we ought not to be.

It will be helpful now to turn to a consideration of the status of beasts and birds in a literature which, however it may be dated, is still the earliest known literature of India.

The poets of the *Rg-Veda* are on friendly terms with the creatures of the earth and the air, including the beasts and birds which they offer in sacrifice. So observant and appreciative of them are the poets that they are fond, not only of comparing the gods of whom they sing to beasts and birds, but even of speaking of the gods as beasts and birds in very truth.

Comparisons with nature's beings occur in verses such as these:

> The most wise *Maruts* roar like *lions* ; the all-knowing are graceful as the spotted *deer* .... ; of deadly strength in their anger, they come, with their antelopes and their arms (to defend the sacrifice) against interruption. 1. 64. 8.

> That *Indra* who kills Vritra, who is powerful and sweeping, who is like a *horse* and like golden *kija*, violently shakes off the closed gates of a stall of cows. 8. 66. 3.

The Brahma of the gods, the guide of the sages, the rishi of the pious, the *buffalo* of wild animals, the *falcon* of the vultures, the *hatchet* of deadly weapons, *Soma* passes through the filier with a roar. 9.96. 6.

The poet is not loth to pile comparison on comparison in his effort to emphasise the greatness of the god.

Frequently, the poet, not content with instituting comparisons, speaks of the god he is praying to as actually an animal or a bird.

Worship well that *ram*, who makes heaven known . . I implore *Indra* with many prayers to ascend the car . . for my protection. 1. 52. 1.

Indra is a *bull*, the *offspring of a cow*. 1. 11. 2.

The *cows are Bhaga*; the *cows seemed* to me to be *Indra*. The cows are the food of Soma, when it first comes forth. These *cows are* none else than *Indra*, O men. In my heart and mind I surely long for (this) Indra. 6. 28. 5.

The poet knows the difference between a similarity and an identity. Yet, he speaks of Indra being like a horse or a ram, and also of his being a horse or a cow. When he speaks of only the similarity his mind dwells on the distinctions, and when he speaks of the identity his attention is engrossed in the similarities.

Occasionally, the poet's fancy takes him into flights in which he creates creatures compounded of whims to correspond to the fancies.

Arusha, the morning *sun*, with beautiful *wings*.... 5.47.3.

Who yokes to-day the *bulls* of the *Rta* at the yoke,— the bulls which are active, spirited and impatient, which have *arrows in their mouths*, which trample on the hearts (of enemies)..... 1.84.16.

In the olden time, he (*Agni*) was the *bull and* the *cow*. 10. 5. 7.

You surrounded all the three seats (worlds) in the universe, O kings . . That, indeed, is (the great work) of this *cow-bull* (*Indra*) . . 3. 38. 6-7.

Those, thy rays, *Agni*, triumphant, never tiring, radiant, adorable, go *like hawk faced horses*, (to their goal): . . . . strong-voiced, like the company of the Maruts. 4. 6. 0.

The poet is unconcerned if the vigour of his fancy impels him to curious conceptions :

He (*Indra*) indeed supported the heaven and moistened the stronghold : the skilful hero has showered the cow's wealth for strength. The mighty *buffalo* observed the self-born alluring *female* and supervised while that *horse's wife* became the mother of a *cow*. 1. 121. 2.

If the poet's fancy ranges beyond zoomorphic limitations we have other creations :

. . *three-headed, seven-rayed Agni*, who is subject to no diminution, seated in the lap of his parents. 1. 146. 1.

. . *five footed, twelve-formed parent* ..... in seven-wheeled car, each (wheel) having six spokes. 1.164.12.

The Maruts are like lions or deer : Indra is like a horse or a kija : Soma is like the buffalo, the falcon and the hatchet : here are gods compard to animals and birds. If the poet who instituted

the comparisons had been minded to have his verbal comparisons turned into modelled or painted representations, we would have had the Maruts shown as lions or deer, Indra as a horse or a kija, and Soma as a buffalo or a falcon or a hatchet. The modeller or painter, feeling himself at liberty to interpret the poet in his own way and to compound the poet's comparisons into one form, would have given us, not a lion or a deer separately for the Maruts, but a lion-deer or a deer-lion. Soma would, then, have been a winged buffalo with a hatchet associated with it somehow. Agni would have been a horse with the beak and the wings of the hawk. And, the poet would not have been taken aback, for he himself had created unconsciously a bull with arrows in its mouth. If the modeller had chosen further to remember that the Indra or the Soma he was fashioning was also thought of as a person he would have introduced, in the model, a human feature as well.

To the poet, Indra is a ram as a fancied fact and is also a mighty bull, which latter fancy-fact he reiterates and emphasises as a factual fact when he excludes the figurative explanation by adding that that bull was a cow's offspring. A painter who sought to illustrate the poet's conceptions of Indra could have had no option but to represent Indra as a ram or as a bull. Indra being cows and Bhaga being cows to the poet, an artist could have shown each of them as a herd of cows, or as one cow with many heads or many udders. There would be no surprise in the evoking of a creature compounded of a bull and a cow to represent Indra. How great such possibilities are is shown not only by another god, Agni, being called 'the bull and the cow', but by Indra himself being called cow-bull.

But, behind these metaphors is a more deep-seated metaphor,— quite a fundamental one arising from the poet or artist being human,— which expresses gods in terms of human beings. This impulse to anthropomorphism leads directly to representations in human form and indirectly to representations integrating human and bestial forms.

It is extremely interesting to observe the working of the Rg-Vedic mind. Gods, for instance, are compared to beasts and in the same breath identified with them: the comparison and the identification follow so close on each other in the poet's mind that they get mingled frequently : they are so much the gyrations of swift fancy and deep feeling that thought has no chance to intervene actively. The bright simile of the poet turns, at the very moment of expression, into a burnished similitude of the simile. The figure of speech turns

straightway into a figure of some concreteness : the fluid simile as it is flowing sets hard in what is its similitude. The poet's thought runs a rodeo ride : simile-steed and similitude-steed career along, side by side, neck to neck, and the poet's thought bestrides both steeds together, one leg firmly placed on the back of the simile-steed and the other placed equally firm on the similitude-steed, while all the while the two steeds are trickily merging into one and emerging into two. Simile and Similitude of Simile have ever since imparted to Indian thought some of its special features.

Strenuous denials notwithstanding, it is likely that temples with images in them were not unknown to the *Rg-Veda*.[6] Had it known of images there is nothing improbable in the images having been zoomorphic or anthropomorphic, for it speaks of its divinities both as human persons and as animals or birds. The images would also have frequently been composite figures, answering to the chimaeras which the poets were conjuring up, in the minds of their public, if not in their own minds.

The current view is that there are no images of the Rg-Vedic period, as that period was innocent of images, and that such representations as we have in the Harappan Culture are not Rg-Vedic. Accepting the general validity of this view for the present, notwithstanding its utter unsustainability,[7] we may yet point to numerous examples still surviving in proof of the vogue, though in later times, of images fashioned in the very spirit of the *Rg-Veda*. Well known are Nandi the Bull, Hanumān the monkey, Ganeśa the Elephant-Man,[8] Garuda the Sacred Eagle endowed with a human face, Ādi-Varāha the Boar-Man, and Narasimha the Lion-Man. Among those once very popular, but now forgotten, are Varāha-Narasimha, Boar-Man-Lion, and four-faced Kapila, the latter being a specially interesting manifestation, the two faces at the sides being those of Boar and Lion, the third, facing the devotee, being a human face of benign aspect, and the fourth, back of the third, being another human face, but of terrific look.[9]

This tale of identifications, partial or full, of the gods of the *Rg-Veda* may well be extended to cover other identifications too.

6. See, my 'Gods of Harappa' in *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, (1949) 24 (3,4): 77-8.

7. The theme of the paper mentioned in the previous note is that the Harappan Culture is post Rg-Vedic and is an early stage in the long journey of Rg-Vedic Culture to mediaeval and modern Hinduism : see esp., 78-80 of the paper.

8. See my paper, 'Ganesa : Clue to a Cult and a Culture', in *J. Orl. Res.*, (1951) 18: 221-45.

9. The accompanying sketch gives the front and the rear views of a broken and much battered piece of sculpture found at Banaras : *Modern Review*, (June 1919) ; B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, I (1921): 8.

Not only animals and birds but even trees and plants and inanimate objects are in the *Rg-Veda* compared to, or identified with, gods. The plant *sans pareil* becomes Vanaspati, the forest becomes Araṇyāni, the towering mountain becomes Parvata, the river beyond com-



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pare becomes Sarasvati, and implements used in pressing out the Soma resemble bulls and steeds. Metaphors are found here in the process of transformation ; in fact, a sort of reverse law seems to be at work : while the gods are brought down to the level of animals and birds for being identified with them, trees and plants and other natural objects are raised in level to that of the gods and transformed into gods. Trees have life, just as much as beasts, though it may be a life different in kind ; rivers that keep flowing, mountains that, having risen from level earth, might, for aught we know, keep growing, and implements that could be kept working have activity in them and, so, a semblance of life, or spirit,

Demons too are often likened to, or equated with, animals and birds. Vrtra, the arch-demon of the *Rg-Veda*, as villainous a character

as ever put zest into a mythology, is again and again described as Ahi, Serpent. A demoness wandering about stealthily and maliciously is likened to an owl. A spirit (Dasyu), being able to take an animal form at will, a special prayer is sent up to a god :

> Destroy the *evil spirit* (*Yatu*), whether in the form of an *owl*, *owlet*, *dog*, *duck*, *hawk* or *vulture*,— Indra, slay the *Rakshasas* with a stone. 7.104.21

Rakshasas, no less demoniacal, are ordinarily thought of as human in form.

If we may generalise, the poets of the *Rg-Veda* were loth neither to compare their gods and demons, nor to identify them, with human beings, animals, birds, trees, and plants, and with such inanimate objects as had a semblance of life. They had no compunctions in evoking combinations of animal and animal, animal and bird, and man or woman with both, if thereby they were able to picture their gods and demons to good effect.

It must now be clear that the biomorphs, natural and fanciful, of the Rg-Vedic poets,— wherein we have to include representations combining human and bestial forms,— are replicas of the zoomorphs of the Harappan seal engravers, modellers and sculptors. Harappan seal designs and figurines are virtually embodiments of the fancies of the Rg-Vedic poets. The Rg-Vedic and the Harappan minds have worked on the same lines, as much in accepting animals and birds and human beings as they naturally are as in integrating them into 'chimeras'. Seer-Poet and Modeller-Sculptor have fancied and fashioned alike. Comparison with the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian treatments of biomorphs serves not only to show that the differences between the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian conceptions on the one hand and the Harappan and the Rg-Vedic on the other are fundamental, but also to establish that the similarity of the Harappan and the Rg-Vedic conceptions is close and unmistakable.

6. THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION : ON INDIAN EVIDENCE.

The Tulu-Nad evidence shows that Bhutas are believed to be spirits of the human dead of various sorts, but mainly of those of evil or violent lives, who settle down in shrines when they are invited to do so and, thereafter, keep themselves active among men. The Bhutas are figured in wooden effigies of animals, birds or human beings. When a devotee desires to propitiate the spirit, he holds a festival at which the Bhuta manifests himself, in the presence of the Bhuta figure, through the officiant, chiefly in responses

given by the officiant in the form of prognostications, prophecies and oracular pronouncements. The presence of the natural animal corresponding to the Bhuta beast is ineffective to produce any of these responses.

So, what speaks through the officiant is not the power or spirit of the natural animal represented in the figure. Nor can it be some power, or spirit, of the wood or the metal plus the animal form that speaks, making a mouthpiece of the officiant, for, then, the invoking of the spirit of the dead man is a superfluity. The figure is not a spring-board from which the spirit takes a leap on to some one in the festive gathering to manifest itself, for ordinarily the spirit chooses to vivify only the officiant. The figure having, then, no active function in this cult, its presence in it must be only that of a passive catalyst in whose presence occur spiritual reactions in the mouth-piece. The presence of power, or life, or spirit, or soul, or other active principle, whether in the biomorphic figures or in the beasts in flesh and blood which those figures counterfeit is, thus, an irrelevancy, with no bearing on the impulsions to religious activity.

How inadequately are realised the limitations of the theories of religion now in vogue may be illustrated by reference to the attempt of the official commentator on the Harappan Culture to find Animism in it.[1] In the seals, for instance, of that culture, he found figures of human beings, animals and birds in forms which have undoubtedly a cult significance, but he had no proof of their being connected in any manner with the dead. Still, he put spirits into the figures and invoked Animism in explanation. He saw a parallel in what Ibn-Batuta, the famous traveller, saw in 1334 A.D., at Tarna (perhaps the modern Mora-Mari), a place in Sindh, almost at the foot of the western hills and about 35 miles from the coast, which is in territory that was the home of the ancient Harappan culture:[2]

> I saw innumerable stones in the form of human beings and animals. Many of them were defaced and their features obliterated, so that there remained but the shape of a head or foot, or other member. Among the stones, too, were some in the form of grains of wheat, of the chickpea, the bean and the lentil -- we saw the remains of a house in which was a chamber of hewn stone, like a single block, and on it the figure of a man, except that its head was elongated and its mouth on the side of the face, and the hands were behind the back like a captive's.

What these remains could have represented is not clear: the significance of the figure in the chamber of stone is obscure: the possibility of the fragmentary sculptures of men and animals being broken

1. J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*, (1931), 73.
2. Cited by Marshall, *op cit.*, 73.

images of anthropomorphic deities and of their theriomorphic attendants, like Nandi the Bull, Ganesa the Elephant, and Garuda the Eagle, cannot be altogether excluded. But, what calls for attention in the scene depicted by Ibn-Batuta is, not the aggregation in it of carvings of a deity and of human beings and animals, but the presence of sculptured plants and plant products. Such a scene calls to mind the miniature museums which are set up temporarily every year in south Indian homes for the duration of the Nava-rātri, the 'Nine Days', in which special worship is offered to Devī-Lakshmī-Durgā, Great Mother who is Creatrix-Preserver-Destroyer. These museums are set up in the presence of the Mother, and every effort is made to make them all that the most modern Musuem Curator could think of, every creature of fact or fancy, every product of nature or art, every activity of creation and of created man, in earnest or in play, and every fancy or fantasy that could be concretised is reproduced in figurines, scenes and other representations, and set up in appropriate surroundings, the whole making as brave a show as each household could muster means for. Here is the Creatrix presiding over the Cosmos of her creation. The Museum is her Hall of Audience. What Ibn-Batuta saw at Tarna is, perhaps, such an Audience Hall, the monstrous figure of a man with mouth at the side being, probably, a figure of a demon as part of creation. Not a trace of Animism, Animatism or other like -ism taints the atmosphere of this Convocation of the Mother's Grand Assembly.[3]

The Bhuta Cult could have been reached along a philological route if a word could be so powerful as to suggest the fundamentals of a Cult and to put them on the move to a concretisation in the Cult. The word 'bhūta' is a Samskrta word taken over into Tulu where it is as good as native. It means 'what is, what exists, what is formed or created, a being'; so, it includes everything inanimate and animate. It means also 'what has been, what has gone, what is Past, what has ceased to exist'; so, it includes corpses and the 'spirit' that has departed. These meanings by themselves are enough to have brought it about that the word was applied indifferently to gods and to beasts, to the living and to the dead. Here we may have a starting point for an identification,— not only a comparison, — of the spirits of the dead with gods on the one hand and with beasts on the other. But, the word means also 'the elements', and especially 'the gross elements', Fire, Air, Ether, Water and Earth. It is the activities of these elements that,

3. See also Sec. 3.

in a sense, the Rg-Vedic people may be deemed to have seen in those of the gods Agni, Surya and Rudra, in those of Vāta, Vāyu and the Maruts, in those of Varuna, and of Prithvi and in those of others of their deities. The Fathers, being frequently spoken of as gods, may be deemed to have also had a hand in the ordering of the working of natural forces. So, the word 'bhuta' should have grown in significance to include reference to the elements, to what is inanimate, to the animate, to the living, to all beings, to all that is created, to all creatures that have ceased to exist, and are dead, to fathers, to demons and to gods. In the welter of these significations it may be that the word came to be applied to a cult which presented spirits of the dead in association with biomorphs and even lifeless objects. A suggestion, however, of an etymological origin of a cult may be entertained only when every other explanation fails signally.

The Dead are, in general, conceived of, in the *Rg-Veda*,[4] as ancestors, Fathers, Ptrs, and are referred to with regard and are honoured with at least monthly oblations. Placed on a level with the gods, they are deemed to be immortal. They are held to be kindly in disposition and beneficent in their activities. They support the germ (of animal and plant life): the dead man is asked to go to the plants with his members,[5] apparently in allusion to the burial of the corpse in a grave over which plants will be flourishing in some little while fed by sustenance drawn from his decaying body. This is alluded to, in later Vedic literature, as where the Fathers are said to lie at the roots of the plants,[6] and to be born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans, from the rains they have caused to fall.[7] That Fathers may take the shapes of birds and flit about is an idea found in another late Vedic work.[8] An association with animals is to be found in the practice of spreading out a garment on the ground, when the bones of a dead person are not to be found, and of treating any beast that steps on to the garment as substitute for the bones.[9] Though such references are sparse in even the later literature, they are, none the less, in accord with the spirit of the *Rg-Veda*. The eligibility of the good Fathers to be represented biomorphically cannot be gainsaid.

4. *Rg-Veda*, 7. 104.17 and 9. 83. 3.
5. *Ib.*, 10, 16. 3.
6. *Satapatha-Brahmana*, 13.8.1.20.
7. *Chhandogya-Upanishad*, 5. 10. 6.
8. *Baudhayana Dharma Sutra*, 2. 14. 9. 10.
9. *Kaushitaki-Upanishad*, 8. 3. 22-.

The belief, however, is that the Bhuta figures stand for spirits of the evil spirits, even which are capable of good acts. Perhaps this belief is to be imputed to a feeling that no one is irretrievably bad. There is no evidence in Vedic literature to show whether the wicked spirits too could be represented biomorphically.

We may now conclude that the more significant of the beings which the *Rg-Veda* speaks of, — the Gods, the Demons and the Fathers (good and bad), — are thought of in terms of human, animal or bird forms or in terms of forms compounded variously of those, as also in the forms of rivers and mountains.

The process that turns a god into the appropriate beast, for instance, is as we have seen, for the poet's thought of the god to get lit up by a simile and for the simile to get moulded into the similitude of the simile.

Even in the simpler Vedic rituals we see the process at work. At the *śrāddhas* (recurring anniversaries), the group of the Fathers comes down with Vishnu and with the group of the Gods to the offerer's dwelling where are three human beings who, personating the three arrivals, and partaking of the offerings, pronounce severally the formula 'Satisfied am I', and invoke blessings on the offerer. At the monthly *tarpanas*, for instance, the fathers are represented, for the nonce, by a simulacrum of a human being fashioned by three wisps of long grass twisted into one, bent double, crossed to make a loop to look a head, knotted in the middle to make a waist and the two ends then let loose to simulate a pair of legs. For the *śrāddha* the offerer thinks of Vishnu, the group of Gods and the other group of the Fathers as each a human person, in a simile, and each person of the simile gets particularised into his similitude, a particular human individual. For the *tarpana* the offerer's thought is of the group of the Fathers as a human being, in a simile, and that simile of a person gets transformed, by similitude, into the wisp of grass twisted and turned into human shape. Here we have Simile-Similitudism clearly at work.

This process of thought is essentially different from Symbolism. If a wagon is *A* and a horse is *B* and the horse is hitched to the wagon we have *A plus B*. Here *A*, *B*, and *A plus B* are mere symbols without any manner of resemblance, direct or indirect, to the wagon or to the horse or to the horse-wagon which they symbolise. But, there is a similarity between object and symbol in a Simile-Similitudism.

The Bhuta figures of the Bhuta Cult are the off-spring, not of Symbolism, but of Simile-Similitudism. They are products of the

processes of thought and fancy which we find at work in the *Rg-Veda*. Equally likely is it that the biomorphic figures we find so plenteously in the Harappan Culture answer to the Simile-Similitude pattern.

The manifestation of the Bhutas through pronouncements made through a human mouth-piece has its origin in man's reactions in the earliest days of his history to his surrounding.

A man finds himself confronting a hungry tiger eager to make a meal of him. In the poignant moments of apprehension in which he lives an age in the few seconds left to him before the impending denouement, his reactions may be violently varied. He stands numbed and becomes a meal, in moments in which a religion of utter helplessness before the other-than-ordinary is born in him, but in his death it comes by its death too. As his legs get palsied and he kneels to support himself better, a wish flits across his mind that the beast would spare him ; the animal walks away deeming him too paltry for a full meal ; the cult of prayer-cum-kneeling is born. The beast walks away because of sighting a fuller meal in a bull that strays on to the scene ; the bull becomes a cult-animal for drawing off the menace of the other-than-ordinary. The man's agony goes up in an unpremeditated shout and the tiger, astounded, turns tail : here is the genesis of a belief in a shout to drive away the other-than-ordinary and it may grow into a shout-rite. The man thinks of a super-ordinary to intervene and overcome the other-than-ordinary : a spirit or 'god' is born. The man's hopes rise two-fold in the moment of peril : one line of hope is that the animal would spare him, while another is that the super-ordinary would send him reinforcements in the person of a friendly neighbour : that neighbour turns up at the nick of the moment and shouts 'Here I am' : the beast responds to the hope and the friend voices the reaction of the super-ordinary : here we have the beginnings which take us to the Bhuta figure and the officiant's pronouncements.

It is in situations so stark in their simplicity, so poignant in their menace and so automatic in their urgency that religion could be born and it is in such rituals that it could stereotype its expression. What scholars conceive of as primitive religion is a complex of developments from such primary reactions and which have travelled through many a stage, and in many a direction, from the starting point.

The officiant's pronouncements at Bhuta festivals are developments from the neighbour's shout, 'Here I am', corresponding to the

wish wafted to the super-ordinary that the neighbour would turn up opportunely. For instance, the neighbour, realising the possiblities of such situations, develops a faculty for sensing the imminence of such situations and of presenting himself in time with words of cheer. He turns out to be the first of a line of officiants whose qualification for the role is an ability to cultivate the faculty needed to make a mere man *en rapport* with the super-ordinary.

The intervention of a belief in spirits and the like in the earliest stages of the development of the religion appears to be wholly unnecessary. But at the same time man's mind being busy with Similes and Similitudes of Similes, there must be at least an unconscious integration of them with such responses of man to the situations we have pictured. These give rise to a variety of religious beliefs and of spiritual beings and to many a principle of representation of those beliefs and beings.

A much-applauded definition of Religion is that it is a belief in spiritual beings. True it is that it is propounded as only the minimum definition of rudimentary Religion, but it is inaccurate and inadequate in what is fundamental. The play and interplay of fears and hopes, thoughts and emotions, fancies and formulations, in all gradations of vagueness and uncertainty and in all variations of combinations, which are a characteristic feature of human life, primitive or advanced, are ignored. Even the most rudimentary form of religion we may now conceive of being a development from still earlier forms, we cannot know, with any definiteness, what the sentiments were which, in the earliest days, induced belief, what that belief meant or in what that belief consisted. And, yet, a belief of only one type is recognised as religious, the definition hitching the belief, such as it may be, to a being, a personality. Moreover, it excludes an appreciation of a state of spirituality which may be attained to in a belief, uninfluenced by notions of a personality. It takes no note of a sustained aspiration to order one's life so as to reach and remain in a spiritual state, without reference to a spiritual being. Buddhism would not, on this definition, be a religion, notwithstanding that the doctrines it taught are, in theory atleast, more spiritual than those of many other religions, being free from a belief in a supreme spiritual being. Nor would the higher Hinduism be a religion, though, apart from belief in a Vishnu or a Siva or even a Brahman, it has taught men to live that highly spiritual life which directs itself by Righteousness Eternal (Sanatana Dharma). The definition fails also to advert to the reactions which belief in spiritual beings has on the

believer,— the attitude that the believer takes to the spiritual principle, or being,— in consequence of the belief. One may believe in the existence of a spiritual being and yet may defy him : surely, this is not religion. The definition is also ambiguous. It is not clear that belief in one spiritual being, instead of in more than one, is also religion. It is not also explicit on whether the believer's belief is that the spiritual beings are already in existence or that they may be beings of the future. It leaves it open whether a priest or a sorcerer or a shaman is a being belief in whom will be spiritual.

An acceptable definition has to recognise that Religion is possible to primitive man in only certain circumstances. There must be an awareness in him of there being about him in nature what, to him, are other-than-ordinary, which affect him physically and mentally in ways which dispose him to take special note of them : such, for instance, is a waterfall or a bull which, not merely strong and active, is also ferocious. He must also be aware of what is, to him, extra-ordinary in nature, such as the sudden crashing down of a tall palm tree, or an earthquake. He must also have an awareness of his being liable, in special mental states such as those reached in dreams, to see beings and objects, to experience emotions and to entertain thoughts which, being beyond the range of the normal, are other-than-ordinary. He must admit to himself that atleast some of the other-than-ordinary and much of the extra-ordinary are so superior to him in some manner as to make or mar him. He must have a conviction in him that it is to his good to be on the best of terms with what enjoys that superiority and that an agreeable relationship could be established only by appropriate conduct on his part. Alternatively, he must have the faith that certain conduct on his part will enable him to ignore or overcome the superiority of that which is other-than-ordinary or is extra-ordinary, and to steer clear of any relations with them. It is only when man comes by these convictions that he may be said to have come to know what is spiritual. Religion is a mental condition with its genesis in situations which should have brought home to him with some clarity the superiority of even the other-than-ordinary,— let alone, of the extra-ordinary,— and of the need for appropriate conduct in him. It is only on an apprehension of all this,— this is what spirituality imports,— that religion arises.

What we usually have in mind when we think of the origins of religion is different : we want to know what the earliest forms are in which the other-than-ordinary or the extra-ordinary was concre-

tely conceived, what the earliest notions of their superiority to man are, what the ideas are which man, in the earliest infancy of his race, had of being on good terms with that Other-than-Ordinary or that Extra-Ordinary and what the policy and the conduct are which he believed, in those days, to be appropriate to the establishment of desirable relations. To seek for the origins of religion has, thus, been to look for the very first images, the most ancient rituals and the most primitive beliefs about the super- and the hyper-naturals and their forms and potencies. But all the beginnings, all the roots, which we may thus look for, may be brought together, but we would still be without even a picture of the plant grown from so many roots. The origins of Religion could be only in man's mind.

7. GROWTH OF RELIGION : INDIAN EVIDENCE

The history of the growth of Indian religion is, in a sense, the story of the development of Indian thought and art through the medium of what, inadequately and, so, tentatively, has here been styled Simile-Similitudism,— what is usually called Symbolism.

The *Maha-Bharata*, epic though it is, contains much of symbolism even if it is not symbolic throughout. The earliest rituals are honey-combed with 'Symbolism'. Sacrificial altars fashioned to reproduce concretely speculations that are philosophical or theological, temples fashioned on the formulary pattern of those altars, images fashioned to match the formulae embodied in those temples, forms of worship devised to suit the forms of those images, modes of feeling attuned to those forms of worship, sects grouping themselves in disparate knots round each distinct mode of worship,— such has been the tale of development of Indian religion in the centuries that followed the first manifestations of religion in the aucestors of the poet-seers of the *Rg-Veda*. Thus has 'Symbolism' suffused every aspect of life. Thus also has it emphasised the tendency in India to live in groups, patterning social activities on the principles and the practices of the schools of religion.

The process of 'Symbolism' finds illustration in the concretization of the idea of the five mouths of Prajapati. A significant factor in the idea was that of Prajapati with five mouths sustaining the devotee,— a duty which Prajapati as Creator owes Man whom he has created. By extension it is a duty also to man when he, being dead but still hovering about as a 'terrestrial' Father, is in dire need of sustenance. This terrestrial Father, conceived of as serpent,— just as he had been thought of as Sesha, punningly rendered

'serpent', when he was alive,— has therefore to be fed by Prajapati, the Five-Mouthed. In ancient remains of about the 15th century B.C. discovered in distant Crete we find a type of vessel which has five receptacles for food from which a serpent, symbolically moulded, could feed,— a tubular vessel closed at bottom, itself a receptacle, with four cups placed peripherally.[1] Among the 'grave goods' found in a 'pre-historic' grave at Perumbair in Madras State, dated nowadays in the five centuries immediately before Christ, is a five-mouthed pot.[2] Similar vessels, with or without serpents, and usually from graves, have been found in many other parts of the world.[3] For the present it is unnecessary to decide whether the conception of Prajapati of the Five Mouths arose from a vessel of Crete or South India or other region or whether it was 'operation reverse', or whether there was a tradition more ancient than all these which provided five mouths for the dead to feed from. What we have to realise is that a five-mouthed vessel or a five-headed horse is no freak of imagination for which an apology is due but is a product of the 'Symbolism' which was the idiom in which thought expressed itself in all countries so as not to be too abstruse.



PRAJAPATI VESSELS

The acceptance of a tradition anterior to both the Harappan and the Rg-Vedic cultures will explain only in part the close resemblance which we have observed to subsist between the modes of 'symbolism' in the two cultures. For a complete explanation we shall have to grant a substantial similarity between, if not an identity of, the two cultures.

The tradition represented in the *Rg-Veda* ran in later times in two streams, the 'Vedic' and the Agamic. The 'Vedic' tradition is

1. A. J. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, 4 : 142, fig. 111.
2. A. Rea, in *Archl. Sur. of Ind. AR.*, 1908-9, p. 98, pl. 35 (2).
3. See my 'A Link between India and Crete', in *Man* (1939), 186, where a variety of vessels is illustrated. *Cf.* D. Drost, 'Mehrtullige Tongefasse in Afrika und ihre Beziehungen zum Mittelmeergebiet', in *Wiss. Zt. Friedrich-Schiller-Universitat, Jena*, (1953-4), *Math-Nat.*, 1 : 61-79.

one of sacrifice in which concrete representations of the gods, though not necessarily in images, are optional. The Agamic tradition, however, is one of representation in images. Each tradition deemed its approach to the Supreme to be what is best. In the Agamic mode the gods are mainly conceived of in the human form, though the integrating of features of animals is permissible and occasional. In the Rg-Vedic and in the Harappan modes the forms of the gods conspicuously and predominantly in evidence are of animals. The Barkur figures, which belong to the Vedic 'School', confirm the view that in the 'Vedic' line of thought the Fathers and high gods like Prajapati and Vishnu could be figured in animal forms, even without the admixture of a human element. A further inference appears, therefore, to be probable that when in early Vedic culture the worship of images rose into importance one school stuck consistently to the animal form, while another school fashioned images that were mainly human in form, though the gods represented by both schools were the same. In course of time, the 'Vedic' mode went out of vogue while the Agamic gained in popularity and has stayed on. Temples, rituals and festivals have multiplied and architecture and sculpture have developed to match the Agamic pattern. To see different racial or cultural strains behind these two forms is to prefer prepossessions to evidence.

'Symbolism' being a mode of representation of only characteristics and of combinations of them, the symbols are free from the associations on which sectarianism fastens itself. So it is that it is possible, in the cold light of Symbolism, to see, for instance, that the impulses to the drawing of the distinctions that separate Vishnu and Siva from Prajapati are merely sectarian.

If Indian society presents itself to the outsider as an aggregate of disparate elements it is because of the persistence of the variations in physical characteristics of its several peoples and of an emphasis on sectarian elements both of which are apparent on the surface. But no on-looker who could see beyond appearances fails to see the essential unity of India's culture and India's social genius. Indeed, we have seen how at every stage there has been a determined effort to see that unity and diversity are not at cross purposes. A freedom to cling on to beliefs and practices traditional in one group and to stay at any level of culture went with a freedom to rise to any level whatever, even though diffcrent practices had to be adopted. The highest level then being that which is represented fractionally by the *Rg-Veda*, there was a voluntary ascent to that level. The result

was cultural homogeneity. The Bhuta cult approximates so closely to Vedic notions that it is obvious that if the two had pertained to different cultures, there has been a steady endeavour to bring them together. The sectary may see an Ayyanār (Sastha) as of a level of culture different from that in which Revanta figures ; the outsider may see him as a being of a different culture. But, the man of vision saw Ayyanar as recipe for certain tastes.[4] If there was a tendency to set up faith in Subrahmanya against faith in Balarama there was a prompt effort to bring out the similarities between the two. If Vishnu and Siva became figures round whom fanatics could gather, the enlightened were ready to step in and emphasise the points of contact and to remove the excuses on which sectarianism could feed. The preceptors round whom sects might have arisen were assembled together before the Lord whose greatness they had expounded. The manifestations of the Other-than-Ordinary which might have become foci of sectarianism were subordinated to the Great Manifestation, with allotted stations in the Audience Chamber of Devi-Lakshmi-Durga, during the Nava-ratri, or they were shown in devout attendance in the Ante-Chamber of Prajapati-Brahma. It is through this persistent endeavour so to sublimate the lower cultures as to raise them to a par with the higher culture that, for instance, the great spiritual conception of Narayana-Ranganatha has, in its manifestation of so personal a figure as Biligiri Rangan, wound itself round the hearts of the lower orders of Mysore, proving the spear-head of the advance of the higher culture. Christianity and Islam having failed to root out the lower beliefs in those among whom they have secured a vogue,— the lower beliefs consequent on the lower impulses in human life,— and treat them as skeletons and lock them up in secrecy. Hinduism, recognising that beliefs could not but be in gradations corresponding to the cultural levels, tastes and capacities of individuals and social groups has put even the skeletons to use and has steadily endeavoured not only to fill them with flesh and blood and cover them with skin but also to infuse life, culture and spirituality into them all.

Tulu-Nad has been believed to be a sequestered part of India, so cut off from the rest of India by natural barriers that not even

4. That a horde of terra cotta horses stands frequently before Ayyanar has been enough for the investigators of Indian 'village gods' to mark them off as both south Indian and *sui generis*. At Sonapur in Bengal stands a Revanta before whom is ranged a serried host of horses and elephants, with Karthikeya among them : *JASB.*, (1936) 2 : 15-6 : fig. 2 (4).

marauding Muslim hordes broke through into the land. The falsity of the belief is quite patent to all except to those who need archaeology to prove it. The narrator of the Bhuta tale who told of how Tirupati was voyaged to, apparently because of the difficulties and the hazards of the natural land route, and the narrator of the tale of the *Gopi-chandana* cake with its contents reproducing in Tulu-Nad, of the west coast, the constituents of a cult which has its primary focus at Jagannatha on the east coast have spoken eloquently to the subsistence of culture contacts between parts of the country separated by distance, time and hazards. By way of archaeological demonstration we had the discovery, now almost half-a-century old, of a Greek Farce the scene of which appears to have been located in Tulu-Nad or in its immediate vicinity. We have now the discovery of the four wooden figures of Barkur which turn out to be symbols pertaining to the earliest form of Vedic Culture. The appraisal of the Bhuta Cult attempted here has also shown that the cult is quite congruent with Vedic Culture which, through its technique of harmonising what is disparate from it into a harmony with itself, has evoked a spirit of Cultural Unity in the remotest corners of the land.

The four images of Barkur, apparently the sole survivals in India of a very ancient mode of thought, seem to take us back in spirit to very early days. The Harappan people in the Panjab and in Sindh and the Rg-Vedic people, in possibly the same region and in probably an earlier age, appear to have been bowing before images of animals and birds fashioned to a pattern set by Simile-Similitudism. At the same time they were not inappreciative of the virtues of anthropomorphism. These images have enabled us to go beyond guesses and to visualise confidently an important process in early Rg-Vedic thought and, in doing so, have helped us to appreciate how fully the genius of that thought has permeated all the peoples of the land and has brought about the homogeneity of Indian feeling, emotion aud thought. The discovery of these images has taken us to a better appreciation of the lines along which Indian culture has developed. The testimony of these images is conclusive: from Rg-Vedic and Harappan times and regions India has derived the ideals and the modes of life reflected in the *Rg-Veda* in accordance with which she has sought to live, and has succeeded in living, a life that is firmly based as much on a cultural freedom to develop in harmony with everyone around as on a passion for achieving cultural homogeneity.

The intolerances which strong religious feelings produce have not been absent in India, but they have yielded always to endeavours to reconcile diversity and unity in a homogeneity or in a harmony in which differences appear only as stages in an unbreakable continuum from the low to the high.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: My thanks go to Mr. P. R. Srinivasan for the patience with which he has answered the many queries with which I had to trouble him on what he had seen in Tulu-Nad.

NOTE: This is an elaboration of the observations made by me at the Meeting of the Society on February 24, 1954, on Mr. P. R. Srinivasan presenting his paper, 'Some Interesting Antiquities of Tulu-Nad', referred to at the start.

Not a little is it to be regretted that in spite of zealous efforts information indispensable to a fuller study of the culture of Tulu-Nad,— especially the antiquities of Barkur,— could not be brought together. An intensive study of Tulu-Nad culture seems to be urgent.

It is also permissible to hope that scholars elsewhere in this wide land will now bestir themselves to look out for comparable antiquities, the discoveries at Barkur having proved highly suggestive.

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