MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

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GUIDE TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL GALLERIES

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

> F. H. GRAVELY, D.SC., F.R.A.S.B., C SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A., AND OTHER CURATORS

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PREFACE

The display of museum collections to the public aims at fostering a deep and intelligent interest in the universe of which we form a part, especially our immediate surroundings. In the archaeological galleries of the Madras Museum therefore, specimens and photographs illustrating South Indian temple architecture and sculpture have been so arranged as to help those who see them, and read the explanatory labels, to recognise for themselves the general affinities and probable period of temples and sculptures they subsequently see outside. And as South Indian art can only be correctly understood when viewed in its proper setting as part of Indian art as a whole, small collections are also exhibited to represent the more important schools of sculpture found further north.

The purpose of this guidebook is to provide somewhat fuller information than has been possible in the labels, and to present it in a form in which it can be taken away for future reference. In order to keep the price sufficiently low illustrations have had to be kept to a minimum. A companion volume of supplementary illustrations is therefore being separately issued. Those wishing to study further may consult the following issues of the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, which are obtainable from the doorkeeper (or by post from the Museum office, cost of packing and postage extra) at the prices noted against each :—

Temple architecture.—An Outline of Indian Temple Architecture. 12 annas.

Buddhist studies.—Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District. Rs. 2-12-0. A monograph on the Amaravati sculptures is in preparation.

- Jain studies.—Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples, with appendices on Jaina units of measurement and time, cosmology and classification of souls. Rs. 11-4-0.
- Hindu studies.—Catalogue of South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum.
 Rs. 5-8-0. Catalogues of other Hindu sculptures will be prepared as soon as time permits.

As the publications just mentioned include necessary references to previous work on their respective subjects, only a few of great general interest or special importance need be noticed here. "Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde" by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, published in 1914 in the Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, though now unfortunately out of print, remains the only full introduction to the study of the temples of the Tamil country; Dr. Ph. Vogel's "Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java" (Clarendon Press, 1936) is a particularly helpful introduction to its subject; and Dr. A. Coomaraswamy's "History of Indian and Indonesian Art" (Goldston, London, 1927) includes a wealth of illustration specially valuable on account of its chronological and geographical arrangement.

A guidebook such as this must necessarily be a summary, based on results gradually accumulated by a large number of investigators. We gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to many who have helped us, both personally and through their published work, especially to some of the authors of the works cited above. For the collections representative of northern schools of sculpture recently received we have to thank the Director-General of Archaeology in India and the Museums at Peshawar, Muttra, Sarnath and Rajshahi.

Those who have sufficient time are advised to study the collections in the order in which they are described below. This is not, however, always the order in which they will

be found; and those who need to go more quickly will do best first to study the pictures close to the entrance illustrating the development of South Indian temple architecture, then to go up the small staircase on the right to see the Mohenjo-Daro collection and from there along the balcony on the left to the small exhibits of sculpture from the early schools of the north, returning by the opposite balcony where three bays are devoted to sculpture from Kalinga Scripts and coins will be found near by. and Bengal. Returning by the same staircase to the ground floor, Hindu sculpture will be found in the first two galleries, with memorial stones and snake stones in the corridor between them, Buddhist sculpture in the next gallery and an adjoining one, and Jain sculpture beyond. Metal images are in the building in front of the library, where the prehistoric collections from South India will also be found.

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MAP ILLUSTRATING ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL INDIAN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

GUIDE TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL GALLERIES

INTRODUCTION

The earliest relics of human activity are stone implements, at first rough but later more highly finished. Both are abundant in various parts of India. Metal gradually replaced stone after its greater utility had been discovered; and the pre-Aryan civilization of India, first brought to light at Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley, belongs to the period when the Stone Age had almost completely given way to the Metal Age in that region, apparently in about the third millenniun B.C. It is already known that this civilization extended far beyond the confines of the Indus Valley. Its cities were carefully planned with drains as well as streets and with tightly packed but commodious houses containing carefully constructed The citizens drew their wealth from agriculture and hathrooms commerce, the latter extending at least as far as Mesopotamia. Their cultivation included grain and their domestic animals the elephant and camel as well as dogs, cattle, etc. In addition to bows and arrows they used spears, axes, daggers, maces, hatchets, sickles, saws, razors, knives, and other implements of stone, copper or bronze, For ornaments, etc., they used gold, silver, copper, faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones, shell and terra-cotta. Cotton was in use and spinning and weaving well developed. Vessels were mostly of pottery, either plain or painted. For writing they used a pictographic script, of which examples have been found on numerous seals. Though their houses far surpass those of contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia, temple building seems to have been neglected and little is yet definitely known about their religion. It seems, however. to have been a fertility cult in which the mother goddess, bull and tree were of special importance, and counterparts are found to certain characteristic Buddhist and Hindu motifs of later times, such as the

tree with railing and the double fish. But prehistory forms a distinct branch of archaeology and cannot be further dealt with here. The Mohenjo-Daro civilization is illustrated in the room over the entrance hall.

History at present dawns in India with the rise of Buddhism, for the Buddhists were not only the earliest Indian historians but, with the Jains, were also the first to develop sculpture in stone. The great Buddhist emperor Asoka Maurya, who ruled from Pataliputra (Patna), a vast empire that not only included the greater part of India but stretched beyond its present frontier into Central Asia, was in touch with the powerful Graeco-Asiatic dynasty known as the Seleucids, and seems to have brought from beyond his borders the skilled sculptors who produced his magnificent edict pillars. Opinions differ as to whether or not stone sculpture was previously produced in India at all, but it seems clear that Indian craftsmen were at this time in some way inspired to begin developing the art on a rapidly increasing scale. This they naturally did on their own lines, and within a few centuries the marvellous indigenous sculpture of the Sanchi gateways and earlier Buddhist caves was produced in central and western India, and that of the Amaravati and other stupas in southern India.

When the Mauryan empire broke up in about 200 B.C. the Sungas secured its central part, the Andhras its southern part and the Kalingas its south-eastern¹, while the north-west became part of an empire centred beyond the frontier and ruled sometimes by Scythians and sometimes by Parthians. As this north-western empire was dominated by Greek traditions, its Buddhism found expression through Greek forms and Graeco-Buddhist art was developed. The Kushans, an Indo-Scythian dynasty of this empire, the most famous member of which—the Buddhist Kanishka—ruled from Peshawar round about 100 A.D., spread their dominions far eastwards over Sunga territory. But though they continued the patronage of Graeco-Buddhist art in the area to which it belonged, they patronized indigenous art elsewhere and Mathura (Muttra), then a particularly important trading centre, rose to prominence as the

¹ The position of the Kalinga kingdom is indicated on the accompanying map (facing p. 1) by the town of Mukhalingam, a later capital, and Bhuvanesvar; that of the Sunga kingdom by Bharhut and Bodh Gaya; and that of the Andhra kingdom by Pratishthana and Amaravati.

principal centre for sculpture in indigenous style, whence examples were carried to various distant places such as Sarnath near Benares.

Sunga sculpture, which is best known from the railings of the Bharhut stupa, the temple at Bodh Gaya and stupa No. 2 at Sanchi, is somewhat primitive, as is also some of the earliest Andhra sculpture from Amaravati. But in the Sanchi gateways, and all but the earliest sculptures from Amaravati, Andhra sculpture is extraordinarily graceful and crowded with an exuberant life that has never since been equalled. The greater restraint characteristic of the Gupta period (A.D. 300-600) was, however, needed to bring Indian art to full perfection. The Guptas ruled from Pataliputra and their dominions, which extended westwards to Kathiawar, included a larger part of India than those of any other dynasty since the Mauryas. But they failed to establish their rule in South India. They constructed the earliest surviving Hindu temples, small buildings the towers of which, when present, were always of the Northern or Indo-Aryan form (see below, p. 12). The ruined "Lad Khan" temple at Aihole near Badami seems to be their most southerly monument.

Up to this, indigenous art had at each period a fairly uniform character over the whole area in which it was practised. But in mediaeval times, which begin with the downfall of the Gupta empire, the various kingdoms into which the country came to be divided developed local styles of their own, all but one of them clearly derived from that of the Guptas. The single exception is the style characteristic of the Tamil country in the far south which, though it first adopted stone at about the beginning of mediaeval times, seems to be an offshoot from some earlier and more primitive phase of indigenous art than the Gupta.

In what follows, Graeco-Buddhist sculpture is dealt with beforeindigenous, some of which antedates it, to avoid breaking into the natural sequence of the latter. And as the more or less contemporaneous sculpture of Amaravati is so fully represented in the collections exhibited as to require a special section to itself, the account of this, the earliest known sculpture of South India, is given first of all instead of being placed beside the account of the early indigenous schools of the north where it really belongs. Apart from this the treatment is chronological.

EARLY SCULPTURE Amaravati School

These sculptures will be found beyond the second Hindu sculpture gallery.

The city of Amarāvatī, on the southern bank of the Krishna river, Guntur district, can be traced back beyond 200 B.C., when it was probably visited by one of the missionaries sent out by Asoka. It was the capital of the Andhra kings by the end of the first century A.D. and perhaps much earlier, being known at that time as Dhānyakataka. The stupa is said to have been erected over a relic of Gautama Buddha himself. The date of its foundation is not known, but inscriptions on the oldest sculptures found, which belong to the period of the early Andhra kings, are in Brahmi characters of about 200 B.C. Sculptures belonging to a second series are inscribed with characters of about the first century A.D. The railing was erected in about 150-200 A.D., probably by the Buddhist āchārya Nagarjuna. And finally in about 200-250 A.D., during of the latest Andhra kings, a further set of sculptures the time was added, most of them probably as casing slabs to votive stupas erected by devotees. Other stupas were also erected in the neighbourhood, and sculptures from several of them are exhibited with those from Amaravati.

The first period is represented only by a few pieces (mostly fragments) from Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta. They are for the most part in very low relief and even the single free-standing figure among them has its front and back surfaces much flattened and is stiff and archaic in appearance, recalling the earliest Mauryan figures. These sculptures, though definitely more graceful as a rule, closely resemble those of the Bharhut railing, with which they are proved by the early characters of their few inscriptions to be approximately contemporary. In addition to the free-standing figure already mentioned, they include a pillar from Amaravati surmounted by four elephants, and a figure of a chakravartin or universal monarch¹ with his emblems, and a representation of a small shrine of the period, both from Jaggayyapeta. Three stone reliquaries from Bhattiprolu also belong to this period. They each contained one of the three rock-crystal

¹ The coins falling from the clouds show that the mythical Mandhēta is the particular chakravartin depicted. It is interesting to note that they are all square, being doubt-less of the early "punch-marked" kind.

caskets exhibited with them, together with gold flowers, beads, etc. One of the caskets, which had been placed in an additional stone box, contained a fragment of bone, possibly of Buddha himself. As this is of religious rather than scientific value, it was presented to the Mahabodhi Society.

Most of the sculptures from the second period are panels representing either the enlightenment of Buddha below and his first sermon above, or his death, the latter being surmounted by a freize of animals (mostly lions) between simple borders, with a final frieze of trisūlas above¹. The former slabs were evidently arranged side by side below the latter as a casing to the stupa. Sometimes the enlightenment is replaced by another scene such as the temptation. The first two episodes usually, and the death always, are represented by their respective symbols-a throne under the bodhi tree, a throne under the wheel of the law, and a stupa. But in three instances Buddha is shown in bodily form, the figures being somewhat more delicately conceived than early northern Buddhas of indigenous type. As the latter first appear at Mathura at about the same time, it seems evident that the change in sentiment regarding the representation of Buddha that they indicate affected the whole country more or less simultaneously. In addition to these panels are larger ones bearing lotus flowers rising from a vase, perhaps symbolic of Buddha's birth, and miscellaneous carvings including human figures and a five-headed cobra.

The railing (third periad) consists, as usual, of a series of upright posts and horizontal rails, the former with lenticular cavities on either side for the insertion of the ends of the latter, the whole being surmounted by a massive coping—a form of construction obviously copied from that of a wooden railing. Some fragments of a smaller railing have been fitted together to illustrate this. An attempt was also made long ago to reconstruct part of the great railing, but as the pieces have been set in a cement wall the railing effect is unfortunately lost. On its outer side the great railing is decorated with large conventionalized lotuses, many of them with borders of exquisite design, while on the coping is seen an undulating garland with Indian garland-bearers, which it is interesting

¹ A tristula is a triple design varying in form from a trident to a flcur-de-lis. It represents the "three jewels" of Buddhism, the Buddha, the faith (*Charma*) and the body of believers (*Sangha*).

to compare with a fragment from Gandhara showing the same motif treated in the Graeco-Buddhist style of the north-west frontier. On its inner side, which would face the pilgrims as they paced round the stupa, both the coping and many of the circular medallions bear scenes illustrating the life of the Buddha and the jataka stories of his previous births, incidentally recording in a most interesting way the buildings, costumes and mode of life in vogue in India during the period, about two thousand years ago, when they were executed.

One of the finest of the coping sculptures represents the disposal of Buddha's relics. Inside the gateway of the city of Kusinara (Kusinagara), where he died, are two panels, the lower one showing women with musical instruments dancing to celebrate his attainment of final *nirvāṇa*, and the upper one showing men seated round a table on which they are dividing the relics into eight parts. Outside the gateway seven of these parts are being carried from the city in seven stupa-like caskets held over the heads of seven elephants. The gatehouse is composed of brick below, as is also the city wall, but the upper part is of wood, with rectangular lattice windows surmounted at the gable ends by horseshoe-shaped windows fitting the barrel roofs that resulted from the use of flexible bamboo for making the framework. A wall turret beside the gatehouse is surmounted by a square hut, also with curved supports to its thatched roof.

The broken base of one of the uprights of the railing bears a strikingly graceful group of worshipping women, and there are two particularly fine scenes on isolated cross pieces, one depicting the story of Devadatta's attempt to kill Buddha by letting loose a mad elephant (pl. i), and the other a court scene. In the former, two episodes of the story have been worked into a single picture, the elephant being shown on the left attacking terror-stricken people in the streets while others calmly watch from the safety of a neighbouring house, and on the right kneeling at Buddha's feet. A similar representation is found on a frieze from Goli. In the court scene a king is seated on his throne surrounded by courtiers while a prince introduces someone whose slaves are offering presents, leaving their horses and elephants outside. The composition, though crowded with figures, is very beautiful and gives a vivid picture of the graceful cultured classes, coolly clad in little beyond ornament, and of the slaves in their tunics, exactly as described in early Tamil literature.



A much weathered sculpture from Ghantasala in the same neighbourhood, representing the return of Prince Siddhartha's horse to the city of Kapilavastu, whence he had ridden out at the time of his great renunciation, also belongs to this period.

In sculptures of the fourth period scenes are represented on a smaller scale. They include many fragmentary representations and one complete one of the great stupa with its railing, giving us the best picture now available of what it looked like, though as practically the whole stupa is shown above the railing it is made to appear much too high. In the complete example the birth scenes of the Buddha are shown as casing slabs in the following order, reading from right to left-Buddha carried through the heavens as a white elephant, his mother dreaming of this, the interpretation of the dream, his miraculous birth from his mother's side, his birth announced to the king his father, his sitting when still a child in the shade of a tree the shadow of which stood still so long as he remained there. Above the stupa the renunciation, temptation and enlightenment are represented, and on either side and below, the first sermon. In the temptation scene, which occupies the top centre, and as a child beneath the tree, Buddha is shown in human form, in the other scenes symbolically-by the cloth receiving him at the birth and elsewhere by his seat. These scenes, and scenes from the jatakas, seem to have been the favourite themes of the Amaravati sculptors.

The sculptures from the small stupa at Goli belong to this last period. They include particularly vivid illustrations of the story of the generous prince Vessantara, which is also illustrated on an incomplete frieze from Amaravati of about the same date. This story may therefore be told here as an example of the jatakas. Prince Vessantara, who in a subsequent existence was to become the Buddha, is firs shown riding to his place of aims-giving where, in the next scene, he presents to Brahmans from famine-stricken Kalinga a rain-producing white elephant. As the people of his native land feared that the loss of the elephant would bring famine to them they induced his father to banish him, and he went away in a cart with his wife Madri and two children, as shown next. Brahmans then demanded the animals drawing the cart—four horses in the original version and as illustrated at Sanchi, but two bullocks here and at Amaravati). These having been given, we are shown Vessantara and Madri pulling the cart with the two children seated in it. The cart is next given away and the parents go on among the animals of the jungle, each carrying one child. They settle in a jungle glade, but while Madri is away procuring food the Brahmans come and demand the children, who are likewise given, the gods sending a lion, a tiger and a leopard to prevent her from returning early. Fearing his wife's indignation, Vessantara pretended to be deeply engaged in meditation when she returned with two baskets of food suspended from the two ends of a bamboo supported on her shoulders. The children were taken to the king, who recognized and ransomed them ; and the last panel shows them happily seated one on each of his knees. In the full story Madri is also demanded and given up, but the children show the king where their father is and, the testing of Vessantara's generosity having been satisfactorily completed, the family is reunited.

Northern Early Schools

These are represented by a few sculptures exhibited on the balcony above the first Hindu sculpture gallery.

Graeco-Buddhist School.—The Greeks left in the Punjab by Alexander the Great after his spectacular march to India, were driven out a few years later by Chandragupta Maurya, but those left in Bactria (Northern Afghanistan) established an empire that spread across the kingdom of Gandhara and thence on into the Punjab, carrying with it Greek art and Greek culture. When, therefore, Buddhism became its prevailing religion it was to Greek art that it turned for its medium of expression, though its Bactrian Greek rulers were succeeded by Scythians (Sakas) and Parthians.

Graeco-Buddhist art seems probably to have originated in (or even before) the reign, apparently long and peaceful, of the Scythian Azes I, who ruled from about 60 B.C., and to have been greatly developed by his Parthian successors, Gondophares (of the St. Thomas legends) and others, who inherited Persian culture but combined it with Greek which they came even to prefer, their extensive carrying trade between India and the Mediterranean keeping them closely in touch with it. The patronage of Graeco-Buddhist art was continued by the Kushan dynasty till the collapse of their empire in the third century A.D., and it had a brief but brilliant revival in the "Indo-Afghan" sculpture of about 400 A.D., or a little later. In contrast to the original or "Gandhara" type of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, which had tended to be formal and academic, this later sculpture is characterised by vitality, freedom and realism. Gandhara sculpture, moreover, was mostly executed in stone and Indo-Afghan sculpture in stucco or clay.

Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, following the Greek tradition, differs from sculpture of the indigenous Indian schools in its faithful representation of muscular detail in the human body, and in showing Buddha from the earliest times in bodily form, never symbolically. Its subject matter is derived mainly from Buddha's life. Graeco-Buddhist stupas differed from truly Indian ones in having no railings.

The Graeco-Buddhist sculptures exhibited include Buddhas and Boddhisattvas in Greek robes, the latter with moustaches, and one of the former with numerous Buddhas on lotuses springing from his body (the miracle of Sravasti). A frieze of Greek cherubs bearing a garland is of special interest for comparison with the outer side of the railing coping from Amaravati which bears an Indian version of the same motif.

Early indigenous sculpture of the Mauryas, Sungas, Andhras and Kushans (B.C. 250-A.D. 300).—Figures of Yakshas from Parkham (Muttra Museum) and Patna, a charibearer from Didargange (Patna Museum), a Yakshi from Besnagar (Indian Museum, Calcutta), the front part of an elephant at Dhauli in Orissa and the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar Hills with a frieze of elephants on its facade, seem to be the most important of the few truly indigenous remains that survive from the Mauryan period (about 250-200 B.C.), for the famous capitals of Asoka's edict pillars are in Persepolitan style.

The railing of the Bharhut stupa, from which a cross-bar and a section of coping are exhibited, both with the lotus as their principal motif, is attributed to the Sungas (about 200-100 B.C.), Like other Sunga sculpture these specimens are characterised by an archaic formalism.

The sculpture of the early Andhras, who were approximately contemporaneous with the Sungas and whose finest work is on the gateways of the railing round the great stupa at Sanchi in Bhopal State, is not represented here by any specimens of their northern

2

work but only by photographs of it. As already mentioned, however, there are a few very early and somewhat primitive pieces in the Amaravati gallery. At Sanchi their sculpture is much more developed, showing finer composition, perspective and detail, as do the majority of the sculptures from Amaravati of slightly later date.

Hindu sculpture of this carly period is rare, but a linga and a terracotta medalion from Bhita near Allahabad are attributed to the Sungas, and a linga at Gudimallam in Chittoor district to the early Andhras.

Indian art, instead of idealising man's physical and intellectual beauty as Greek art did, tended to idealise rather his spiritual beauty, looking beyond the physical to the eternal—so much so that in the early days of indigenous sculpture, the sacred figure of Buddha was invariably represented symbolically, never in bodily form as in Graeco-Buddhist sculpture. In the Kushan sculpture of Mathura, however, the indigenous form of Buddha image appears from the latter part of the first century A.D., when the district became part of the Kushan dominions. From this time onwards the symbolic form gradually falls into disuse in the north. At Amaravati the same type of image occasionally replaces the symbolic form from about the same time, though there the symbolic form was still preferred and persisted till about the middle of the third century when the Andhra dynasty came to an end.

Kushan indigenous sculpture (about 100-300 A.D.) is represented by examples from Mathura, its most important centre. At first it was archaically rigid but afterwards became more graceful, the Yakshis of the Bhutesar railing (Mathura Museum) being among the best examples. It tends to be more voluptuous in feeling than Andhra sculpture. It was patronised mainly by Buddhists and Jains, but Hindu figures are not so rare as previously and are represented here by an image of Karttikeya (Subrahmanya). Mathura sculpture continued to flourish under the Gupta empire.

Gupta Period (A.D. 300-600).—The Golden Age of Indian art extended from about 300-600 A.D., commencing at about the same time as the Gupta empire and surviving its fall by some years. The Guptas were Hindus, and Hinduism was developing at the expense of Buddhism; but they were protectors, not persecutors; and; Buddhist sculpture continued to flourish, sometimes under their immediate patronage, at Mathura and at the various centres such as Sarnath, to which it had spread. Stone also came into more general use for Hindu sculpture and began to be used for building Hindu and Buddhist temples. The earliest surviving Hindu and structural Buddhist temples are consequently in the perfected style of this period. In its classical restraint and its mastery of materials it resembles the work of classical Greece several hundred years earlier. But the resemblance is not due to influence but to a parallel perfecting of the earlier indigenous art in each case, just as the resemblance between Graeco-Buddhist and Roman art is due to a parallel development in the east and west respectively from original Greek.

In Gupta sculpture the aureole behind Buddha's head was as a rule covered with beautiful sculpture, and worshippers are shown in miniature at his feet. Both these features are illustrated in the sculptures shown, though the former is only represented by fragments. Attention may also be drawn to a beautiful little standing figure of Buddha and to a small votive stupa. Some of the finest known examples of Gupta sculpture are illustrated by photographs.

SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The development of temple architecture in Southern India is illustrated by photographs and diagrams in the anteroom between the entrance and the first Hindu sculpture gallery.

Early monuments in stone can often be recognized as copies of wooden originals, the Buddhist railing already described in connexion with Amaravati sculpture being a particularly clear example. Flexible bamboo being extensively used in India for the support of roots, curved roof lines have resulted, forming a striking contrast to the universally straight roof lines of Europe.

Temples take different forms in different parts of India, and cannot be properly understood without reference to the broad outlines of early mediaeval political geography (see map opposite p. 1). At the close of the Gupta period the eastern part of south India had long been divided into three kingdoms ruled by the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas, their most permanent capitals being respectively Kanchi (Conjeeveram), Tanjore and Madura. This area was separated towards Cape Comorin by wild mountains from the Kerala kingdom of the west coast, whilst further north the Kadambas and Western Gangas had risen to power after the collapse of the Andhra empire in the third century A.D., the two dynasties last montioned having become the rulers of large territories north of the Kaveri including the greater part of modern Mysore and extending far into the Bombay Presidency. The Kadambas ruled from Vanavasi and the Gangas from Talakad, their common frontier corresponding roughly to the course of the Tungabhadra. In about 550 A.D., however, the greater



FIGURE 1. NORTHERN FORM OF TEMPLE TOWER.

part of the northern territory of the Kadambas became a separate kingdom under the Western Chalukyas of Badami, the predecessors both of the Eastern Chalukyas who in about 630 A.D., established their capital at Vengi between the deltas of the Krishna and Godavari, and of the later Western Chalukyas of Kalyan.

The Guptas built the earliest structural temples in India that have survived to the present time. These are small buildings, either flat roofed or with a tower surmounted, above a narrow neck, by an *āmalaka*, *i.e.* a circular crowning piece which is vertically grooved all round. This form of tower, in which vertical lines predominate throughout over horizontal ones, is still the form characteristic of the country where the Guptas ruled and indeed of northern India generally (fig. 1). In the south and west, however, other forms prevailed, the Kadamba, Kerala and Tamil countries each adopting a different one.

The temples characteristic of the Kerala country are largely constructed of wood, and have wooden railings as walls and projecting multiple roofs, thus bearing a striking resemblance to the temples of Nepal, China and Japan. It is by no means improbable, therefore, that such temples represent a type once prevalent all over India that has been superseded elsewhere by types better suited to construction in brick or stone, but has survived in the secluded and well wooded valleys of the extreme south-west and north-east. If this suggestion is correct it will explain the survival in Malabar temples of features noted by R. D. Bannerji¹ as characteristic of Gupta temples in the north.

Kadamba temples were probably derived, like the little square shrines still common in many parts of India, from square huts with pyramidal roofs; but their roofs are decorated with a series of horizontal dentil cornices, *i.e.*, courses ornamented with upright projections.

The monolithic temples of Mahabalipuram are the earliest surviving free-standing temples of the Tamil country. The smallest of them is an obvious copy in stone of a square hut with heavily thatched roof on a supporting framework of slightly curved bamboo, exactly like some of the huts shown in the Amaravati scullotures. But in the rest the upper part consists of a series of diminishing stories, each bearing a row of pavilion-like objects around a central block on which images are carved in niches separated by pilasters-a form of tower that seems to have been suggested by pyramidal monasteries consisting of a diminishing series of mandapas (pillared halls) surrounded by cells for the monks. Most of the monolithic temples of this type are pyramidal on a square base, as the immense Buddhist monastery (the so-called Brazen Palace) at Anuradhapura in Ceylon and a smaller one at Negapatam seem to But the same form of decoration has been applied to have been.

¹ "The Age of the Imperial Guptas", Benares Hindu University, 1933, pages 139-142.

others which are rectangular and to one which is apsidal like a Buddhist chaitya hall. The square ones are the prototypes of all the vimanas or shrine towers of the Tamil country (fig. 2), and the rectangular ones of the gopuras or gateway towers.

Even before the Pallavas had begun to make their monolithic temples, their hereditary enemies the Chalukyas had built temples with square towers similarly constructed, though somewhat different



FIGURE 2. SOUTHERN FORM OF TEMPLE TOWER.

in detail. It thus appears that this form of tower was already the ordinary form of temple tower over the southern part of the Peninsula, especially as it was exclusively used, presumably somewhat later, by the Eastern Chalukyas at Biccavol in East Godavari District where alone their temples survive sufficiently well preserved to show the original style. The northern form was, however, exclusively used by the Kalingas at Mukhalingam in Vizagapatam district, and these are the only examples of this form in the Madras Province. The Western Chalukyas of Badami built temples of both the northern and the southern form, sometimes in close proximity, and their successors eventually merged them together, thus eventually producing the star-shaped shrines of Mysore (fig. 4, p. 19).

The Western and Eastern Chalukyas controlled between them territory that extended right across India from what is now Bombay in the west to Cocanada in the east, and included the whole basin of the Krishna and its tributaries, together with that of the lower Godavari. Chalukyan art and its derivatives thus came to occupy the whole of this belt, now roughly the Kanarese and Telugu country.

Kadamba temples were less ambitious than Chalukyan ones, by which their later development seems to have been determined, and Malabar temples were more or less isolated beyond the Western Ghats. The principal types of South Indian art are, therefore, the Tamilian and the Chalukyan. But from the time of the Vijayanagar empire the architectural differences between these areas and even the West Coast have been less marked than previously for, though their capital was situated in Chalukyan country, the Vijayanagar kings adopted Tamilian architecture and sculpture, spreading them over the whole of southern India.

Tamilian Temple Architecture

The earliest Tamilian temples that have survived are caves cut into rock by the Pallava King Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.) at Trichinopoly, Dalavanur (near Gingee) and elsewhere. In an inscription on one of them he notes that it had been made "without bricks, timber, metals or mortar", perishable materials which were evidently those in general use for building. One of his finest temples, that at Dalavanur, is illustrated by photograph. It is modelled on city gateways such as are shown in the Amaravati sculptures and were no doubt then still in use, and its pillars resemble those of Buddhist railings.

Mahendravarman's son Narasimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.) found in the rocks of Mahabalipuram, the port for Conjeevaram his capital, means of developing his father's ideas. He produced not only more cave temples in more advanced style but also the free-standing monolithic temples already described as the earliest indication of what early Tamilian built temples must have been like. Narasimhavarman II, commonly known as Rajasimha, (690-715 A.D.) seems to have been the first Pallava king to build with stone, the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram being his finest monument. Rearing lions first appear as pilaster decorations in his time.

Tamilian temple architecture underwent a continuous series of changes from the earliest surviving Pallava monuments of about 600 A.D. till the fall of the Vijayanagar empire in about 1600 A.D These thousand years are made up of four approximately equal periods of about 250 years each, corresponding respectively to the last 250 years of Pallava rule, the 500 years of Chola supremacy divided into an Early and a Later part, and the 250 years of the Vijayanagar empire. Developments at about the close of that time ushered in the modern period which continues to the present day. Each of these periods shows an increasing elaboration of features belonging to the period that preceded it, but there is no real break in the tradition. Old forms have not, therefore, necessarily been discarded, and some are not uncommonly used even now. But later forms can occur in early buildings only as renovations or additions.

The chief characteristics of the different periods (fig. 3, p. 17) are as follows :—

- Pallava period (ending about 850 A.D.).—Cave, monolithic and small structural temples with vimana or shrine tower prominent but gopura or gateway tower small or absent. Corbel or bracket above pillar rounded in Pallava territory, cut away at 45° in Chola & Pandya territory, often with wave ornament on either side of a smooth central band. Window ornament simple, with finial like a spade head. Pavilion ornament like a thatched hut, with simulated railing below, devoid of images. Niche surmounted by a torana or arch. The rock-cut and early structural temples at Mahabalipuram, the Kailasanatha and certain smaller temples at Conjeevaram, and the rock-cut temples at Trichinopoly and Kalugumalai, are the principal temples of this period.
- Early Chola period (A.D. 850-1100).—Temples sometimes very large, vimana still dominating gopuras. Corbel cut away at 45°, usually with median right-angled projection. Window ornament with yali head above. Pavilion ornament without simulated railing, giving room for image in niche. Torana



FIGURE 3-

17

above niche tending to resemble window ornament. The finest temples of this period are those of Tanjore, Gangaikondacolapuram and Tribhuvanam. Smaller ones are found at Conjeevaram¹ and elsewhere. The Chidambaram temple includes good specimens of early Chola work.

- Later Chola period (A.D. 1100-1350).—Vimana usually inconspicuous and gopuras immense. Corbel with rightangled or bell-like projection. Pavilion ornament often double-storied. Pillar for first time with lotus ornament below capital and nagabandha (cobra-hood ornament) above base. Niche commonly surmounted by pavilion ornament. The stone portions of the gopuras of the temples at Chidambaram and some of those at the Tiruvannamalai temple provide the best examples of the architecture of this period.
- Vijayanagar period (A.D. 1350-1600).—Elaborate carving of monolithic pillars of mandapas begins with this period. Corbel decoration develops through lotus flower towards plaintain flower. Stucco figures commonly absent from gopuras or used with marked restraint², mostly confined to dvarapalakas on either side of central line of windows and to topmost storey where pavilion ornaments are omitted to make proper room for them, absent from niches of pavilion ornaments. Many of the most magnificent temples belong to this period. The largest Conjeevaram temples, the temples of Vellore, Virinchipuram and the brick and plaster part of the north gopura at Chidambaram may be mentioned as examples, the Chidambaram one being however unusually rich in figures.
- Modern period (onwards from 1600 A.D.).—Spacious halls and corridors replace the older form of mandapa. Corbel terminating in plaintain flower. Upper part of gopura more or less profusely covered with stucco figures, projecting beyond tops of niches of pavilion ornaments and often more or less concealing the latter. Madura, Ramesvaram and the

¹ In the Kacchapesvara temple enclosure, outside the eastern entrance to the Kamakshi temple, beside the sraddh ceremony tank, etc.

² Some Vijayanagar gopuras seem to have been subsequently overlaid with stucco figures of "modern" type e.g. at Tiruvannamalai. But this is a matter that calls for further study.

Subrahmanya temple at Tanjore are good examples. Other examples are found everywhere, and most restoration is in modern style.

Chalukyan Temple Architecture and its Derivatives

The earliest surviving Chalukyan temples were built, not excavated, though they antedate the earliest Pallava cave temples probably by about 50 years, and the free-standing monoliths by somewhat longer. Unfortunately the evolution of Chalukyan architecture has not yet been at all fully studied. And it may well have had a



FIGURE 4

DIAGRAM OF STAR-SHAPED TOWER FROM THE CHALUKYAN COUNTRY, SHOWING IT'S COMBINATION OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FEATURES.

less direct course than Tamilian architecture, for the Western Chalukyas were held in subjection for about 200 years by the Rashtrakutas in the eighth to tenth centuries A.D. and temples were built within Chalukyan dominions by some of their feudatories, especially the Nolambas, Hoysalas and Kakatiyas, the last two of these dynasties rising to complete independence and maintaining it throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The only complete surving temples of the early Eastern Chalukyas are at Biccavol, East Godavari District, and are all of southern form.

At first, as already noticed above, the Western Chalukyas used in their temple building sometimes the northern and sometimes the southern style. In the former the predominating lines are vertical. In the latter they are horizontal. To the front of the southern form of tower they soon added a decorative gable, and later they added to the back and sides the projecting rectangular bay that occupies the centre of each face of their towers of northern form, together with its characteristic decorative plaques. In this way the vertical lines of the northern tower were superimposed upon the horizontal lines of the southern one, to which the pavilion ornaments of the latter were then subordinated. From the resultant hybrid (fig. 4) arose the starshaped shrines of later temples, including the richly sculptured Hoysala temples of Mysore in which several such shrines, raised on a common platform, open into a single vestibule.

Architectural Objects

Architectural objects supplementing the photographic illustrations of south Indian temple architecture have as far as possible been grouped together in the middle section of the second Hindu gallery. On the Tamilian side attention may be drawn to the series of corbels mostly pilaster corbels—showing their development from Pallava times onwards, to the series of *kudus* (window ornaments) belonging to the Pallava and Chola periods, and to sculptures showing the use made of animals and dwarfs as decorative motifs. On the Chalukyan side attention may be drawn to the series of window ornaments, to a niche-cover on which is carved in miniature a tower showing very clearly the combination of northern and southern features characteristic of the star-shaped shrines of Hoysala times, to three Nolamba pillars and to a magnificent Nolamba lintel. The last may be compared with the lintel of the somewhat later doorways set up, one against one of the walls of the same room, and the other in the Hoysala-Kakatiya bay of the first Hindu sculpture gallery, and with the lintel in the Pallava section of the former room and the Pallava frieze of geese exhibited near it above the series of bracketpieces decorated with dwarfs.

SOUTH INDIAN SCULPTURE

In south Indian sculpture the same two types must be distinguished as in temple architecture. The early Chalukyan kings of Badami, as already pointed out, for some time built side by side temples of northern and southern form. But their sculpture, even in temples of the latter form, was derived like the northern form of temple from the Gupta empire, then but recently broken up. Early Tamilian sculpture, on the other hand, though contemporaneous with early Chalukyan, is much simpler. In the lines of its figures, its unconventionalised treatment of eyes and the absence of backgrounds or canopies of foliage or clouds the latter resembles the sculpture of Amaravati rather than that of the Guptas, and it has more rugged strength than either. It must be presumed, therefore, to have arisen direct from an early form of art prevalent in South India, which had been greatly influenced by the school of imperial art established in the south at Amaravati, but had not been much influenced by the later art of the more distant Gupta empire. As Chalukyan and Tamilian figure sculpture develop, the former stresses a free end to the girdle, hanging between the legs, while the latter tends to conventionalise the median loop in front of their bases; and the graceful tribhanga pose in which figures are often shown tends to be more heavily treated in the former than in the latter.

As in the case of temple architecture again, the Tamilian and Chalukyan developed more or less independently till the rise of the Vijayanagar empire, under which the former was developed at the expense of the latter. But though in northern districts the indigenous Chalukyan tradition combined for a time with the imported Tamilian, it was never completely submerged and has so for reasserted itself in the Telugu country as to be the predominating influence in its modern sculpture. One ground-floor bay on the left side of the first Hindu sculpture gallery is devoted to the sculpture of each of the five periods of Tamilian temple architecture, approximately contemporaneous sculpture from the Chalukyan area being exhibited in the opposite bays. The doorkeepers (dvarapalakas) on either side of the entrance to this gallery are late Pallava, while those on either side of the stairs at the opposite end are early Eastern Chalukyan, as are also the elephants above them. The figures of Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi built into the front of the balustrades of these stairs are Pallava, and the Surya at the head of the stairs very early Chola. In the second Hindu sculpture gallery further images in stone will be found, while metal images are exhibited in the building in front of the library. Buddhist and Jain sculpture in stone will be found beyond the second Hindu sculpture gallery.

Images figure so largely in Indian sculpture that a brief summary of the characteristics by which those of different deities, etc., can be recognised seems necessary. This has accordingly been supplied in the appendix at the end of this guide (p. 37).

Tamilian Sculpture

The Madras Museum collection includes a particularly fine series of metal images, mostly from the districts round about Tanjore, as well as a number of images and other carvings in stone.

The five periods of Tamilian architecture—Pallava, Early Chola, Later Chola, Vijayanagara and Modern—each has its own characteristic type of sculpture. As in architecture, too, the characteristics of one period develop gradually from those of the preceding one without any abrupt break. The primitive simplicity of Pallava sculpture is succeeded in the best Early Chola sculpture by a classic restraint and grace reminiscent in feeling of the earlier classical Gupta sculpture of the north. A steadily increasing conventionalism of form and elaboration of ornament are, however, the main tendencies of the later periods.

Pallava period.—Figures are natural in pose and moulding. The face tends to be slightly taller than broad, with flat nose and double chin. The front of the torso is almost flat. Draperies tend to be heavy with the main loop of the girdle hanging in a broad curve; the left hand end of the girdle projects obliquely upwards from



near the middle in front. Emblems are as a rule either held naturally in the hands or placed immediately above them, and are without flames. In Chola territory, however, the convention of their being held on two upraised fingers was already in use. The discus when present is shown in profile. The *kirīta* (Vishnu's headdress) tends to be nearly cylindrical. The sacred thread is ribbon-like, with a special fastening over the left breast ; it may extend across the right forearm.

The group of Pallava sculptures in the first Hindu sculpture gallery includes a particularly fine Vishnu figure, a graceful worshipper and the bust of a horned dvarapalaka. Other Pallava sculptures will be found in the second Hindu sculpture gallery, including an image of Ardhanarisvara from Mahabalipuram and friezes of dwarfs, etc., from Kaveripakkam.

Early Chola period.—Figures are slightly more formal in pose and moulding than in the Pallava period, combining in the best examples a particularly high degree of dignity and grace, and the face is rounder. In these and other respects Early Chola sculpture is transitional between that of the Pallava and Later Chola periods.

The group in the first Hindu sculpture gallery includes particularly richly carved figures, unfortunately badly mutilated, of Subrahmanya and Kaumari, and a graceful Bhikshatanamurti. Other sculptures of the Chola periods, both early and late, will be found in the second Hindu sculpture gallery.

Later Chola period.—Poses and draperies become more definitely conventional and the nose more prominent. The torso is somewhat more strongly moulded in front. Emblems are usually held on two upraised fingers, these of Vishnu being habitually decorated with flames. The discus when present usually faces forwards. The kirita is conical. The sacred thread consists of three strands of equal thinness, so arranged as to produce a symmetrical effect.

The group includes images of Vishnu as Ranganatha with his two consorts, and a fine example of Lingodbhava.

Vijayanagar period.—Figures tend to be formal, with elaborately conventionalised draperies. The face is usually somewhat expressionless, with prominent nose and chin, the former sharply pointed, the latter vertically grooved. The abdomen is rounder than before and tends to droop forwards. The navel is often emphasised by horizontal and vertical rays.

The group exhibited includes the image of Krishna in Tamilian style, now unfortunately mutilated, which was set up in a temple at Udayagiri and removed as a war trophy from there by Krishnadevaraya to his capital, where it was installed in 1515 A.D. in a large temple specially built to receive it.

Modern period.—Figures are usually stiff and lifeless, with unduly prominent noses, stiff hands and conventionalised emblems and draperies. The mode of treatment of the face and abdomen characteristic of the Vijayanagar period tends to be intensified. When emblems are held on two erect fingers the latter are as a rule widely separated at their tips, and when hands are in the kataka (holding) pose the first finger is raised considerably above the others.

The general effect of this group is one of rigidity and conventionalisation.

Metal images, Hindu and Buddhist.-These will be found in the building in front of the library. They are arranged not, like the stone sculpture, according to period but according to whom they represent. One small gallery is devoted to Buddhist images, including a small series from Amaravati which cannot be later than the third century A.D. and are thus the earliest South Indian bronzes known, another gallery is devoted to Vaishnavite images and another to Saivite and miscellaneous images, in addition to which a selected series of images of Natesa or Siva as Lord of the Dance is arranged at the head of the stairs. In this form Siva tramples down evil personified as a demon, calling to his believers with a drum held in the upper right hand, blessing them with the lower right hand, and pointing with the lower left hand to his upraised foot as their refuge. In his upper left hand he holds the flame of purification. The demon is also said to represent ignorance and the crescent moon in his hair increasing knowledge, the drum creation, the pose of his lower right hand protection and the flame destruction. The dance is symbolic of the rhythm of the universe.

The first of this series of Natesas, and the image of Siva as Vishapaharana from Kilappudanur, clearly belong to the Pallava period and appear to be the earliest in the collection. The earliest image





of Vishnu is probably a small one in which the lower right hand holds a lotus by its stalk, the discus being held edge forwards; but the flames on the emblems and certain other features suggest a date transitional between Pallava and Chola. The dignified Vishnu with Sri Devi and Bhu Devi from Peruntottam in the centre case next to this small image, and the lovely Rama with Sita and Lakshmana at the opposite end of the room (from Vadakkuppanaiyur), must also belong to the Early Chola period. The Vishnu from Peruntottam holds the lotus against the palm of his hand, gripping it between two fingers, foreshadowing the convention of having it engraved on his palm. To the Rama set mentioned belongs the Hanuman from the same place, in which the fidelity of unintelligent animal devotion is wonderfully expressed. Several of the Saivite images, including the second of the Natesa series at the head of the stairs (from Punganur), seem also to belong to this period.

The seated Kali from Senniyanvidudi bears traces of an inscription, the form of the legible letters of which definitely prove it to be early Chola. Though Hindu images are rarely inscribed, Buddhist ones frequently are and the character of the many inscriptions on the large series of Buddhist images from Negapatam is of the Later Chola period. The third of the series of Natesas at the head of the stairs (from Belur, Salem district) has an inscription on its pedestal recording its date as Kali 4611 (A.D. 1510), in the Vijayanagar period. The remaining three images of this series cannot so readily be dated, but the pair on either side of the centre doorway are probably somewhat early. The eminent French sculptor Rodin was supplied with detailed photographs of these two, from which he produced a magnificently illustrated monograph upon them which quickly made them famous. The one from Velankanni has a particularly beautiful profile, but the one from Tiruvelangadu is undoubtedly the best. Tradition, indeed, both in Madras and in Paris, is emphatic that Rodin considered this image the most perfect representation of rhythmic motion that had yet been produced anywhere in the world.

Chalukyan Sculpture and its Derivatives

The early Chalukyan sculpture of Badami, like the mediaeval sculpture of Orissa, Bengal and other areas further north, is a descendant of classical Gupta art, and such Gupta influence as can
be traced in Pallava sculpture has probably come by way of the Chalukyan rather than direct. Very little is yet known of early Eastern Chalukyan sculpture, but it seems to have been considerably influenced by the early indigenous art from which Pallava art developed. The dynasty came from the west, however, and it is clearly from there that it received its main inspiration. But it is equally clear that Eastern and Western Chalukyan art are not identical.

Chalukyan art was chiefly patronised by the following dynasties :---

- The Early Western Chalukyas of Badami with whom it commenced. They ruled from about 500-750 A.D., when they were subjugated by the Rashtrakutas. They waged frequent war with the Pallavas of the Tamil country. Their sculpture is represented by a Dvarapalika from Bijapur District.
- The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi who ruled from about 600-1,100 A.D. The first bay on the right of the first Hindu sculpture gallery is devoted to early sculpture from this dynasty, of about 625-900 A.D., which is also represented by the pair of dvarapalakas (pl. iv) and elephants at the end of this gallery.
- The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed who in 784 A.D. conquered the Western Chalukyas and ruled over their territory for about 200 years. It was on Chalukyan art that their celebrated temples at Ellora were based. Their sculpture is represented by examples from a derelict Jain temple at Danavulapadu in Cuddapah District, which will be found in the Jain gallery.
- The Western Gangas of Talakad ruled from early times a kingdom to the south of the Chalukyan country. They were finally conquered by the Cholas of Tanjore in about 1000 A.D. Their sculpture has not yet been properly studied, the only well known example being the colossal monolithic image, 57 feet high, of the Jain ascetic Gomatesvara (=Bahubali, son of the first tirthankara), on the top of a hill at Sravanabelgola, for which one of their generals of about the end of the tenth century A.D. was responsible.
- The Nolambas of Hemavati ruled from about 700-1100 A.D. as feudatories, first of the Western Gangas (occasionally changing their allegience to the Rashtrakutas) and then of the Later

Western Chalukyas, their territory forming a buffer state between the two kingdoms. Only one of their kings achieved independence. Their sculpture is shown in the second bay of the first Hindu gallery, with a supplementary group in the second gallery. They claimed descent from the Pallavas, and though in Western Chalukyan style there are signs of Tamilian influence in it, especially in the treatment of Siva's hair.

- The Later Western Chalukyas of Kalyan succeeded in regaining the Western Chalukyan kingdom from the Rashtrakutas in about 950 A.D., the last king of the dynasty dying a year or two before 1190. A few small sculptures, apparently attributable to the earlier and later parts respectively of this dynasty, are shown in front of the pillars on either side of the Nolamba bay.
- The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra were at first feudatories of the Western Chalukyas, but asserted their independence in 1117 A.D. and ruled till 1310 A.D. in what is now northwestern Mysore, where they erected the temples of Belur, Halibid, Somnathpur, etc., richly sculptured in the Western Chalukyan tradition. The third bay is devoted to sculpture of their period.
- The Kakatiyas of Warangal were roughly contemporaneous with the Hoysalas, and examples of their sculpture will be found in the same bay. They were originally feudatories of the Western Chalukyas, and as on the breaking up, of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom they established their independence in territory that had belonged to that dynasty, they brought Western Chalukyan traditions to meet Eastern Chalukyan ones, thus preparing the way for the development of the sculpture characteristic of the Telugu country to-day.

The last two bays on this side of the gallery are devoted respectively to Telugu sculpture of the Vijayanagar period, when the Chalukyan tradition was largely submerged beneath the imported Tamilian, and to modern Telugu sculpture in which it has reasserted itself, but in a stiff and lifeless manner. Chalukyan metal images are rare but the Museum collection includes a series of small ones from Chimakurti, Ongole District, some of which are exhibited in the gallery devoted to Vaishnavite metal images.

Jain Images

One end of the room devoted to Jain sculpture in stone is occupied by a collection from a ruined and buried temple found at Danavulapadu, "the village of demons", which is situated on the Pennar river in Cuddapah district. An inscribed pillar with three sculptured panels (bearing respectively the tirthankara Mahavira, a kneeling worshipper and a horseman with attendant), a *chaumukh* (fourface) on an inscribed bathing platform, and probably some of the other sculptures, belong to the tenth century A.D. during the period when the Rashtrakutas ruled the Western Chalukyan kingdom, an important period in the history of the art of that kingdom that is not otherwise represented here. The rest scem to belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Images of various tirthankaras occupy the rest of this gallery. Mahavira, the last of the series of twenty-four, is the one most commonly represented, his immediate predecessor Parsvanatha being the next commonest. Images of Jain tirthankaras differ from those of Buddha in having no *usnīsa* or protuberance on the top of the head, and in being naked; but in seated figures the latter distinction is not always as clear as might be expected unless the breasts are definitely indicated, Buddha never having more than one exposed but a tirthankara always two. Concerning the means by which one tirthankara can be distinguished from another see appendix on iconography (below, p. 47).

Jain images in metal seem to be comparatively rare, but a few are exhibited near the series of Natesas on the landing at the head of the stairs in the front building. They include a figure of Mahavira surrounded by his twenty-three predecessors.

Memorial Stones

These are exhibited mainly in the corridor between the first and second Hindu sculpture galleries, except Jain memorial stones which will be found in the gallery devoted to Jain sculpture. They are stones, often with a memorial inscription, erected by relatives or friends, usually in memory of a hero who had died while fighting for them, but sometimes of a faithful wife who sacrificed herself on her husband's funeral pyre or of other persons who sacrificed themselves in fulfilment of vows, usually vows to die with their king. There are also many stones known that were set up in memory of husbands by their sorrowing widows, by disciples in memory of much loved masters and by kings in memory of valiant generals or chieftains. In Atukur in Mysore a stone was erected in memory of a favourite hound that died when killing a boar. And sometimes stones have been erected to commemorate specially valiant deeds such as the killing of a wild beast, even though the hero survived. Often the sun and moon are shown to suggest that the fame of persons commemorated will last as long as them, i.e., for ever. Among Saivaites a sivalinga is often included, or may itself sometimes be erected as a memorial. Among Jains the person commemorated is usually shown in worship in a lower panel with his favourite tirthankara in a panel above it.

Hero Stones.—A warrior who dies gloriously in battle is supposed among Hindus to be received at once into the Virasvarga or Heroes' Heaven, and it is believed that celestial damsels hover above the battle field with celestial vehicles to carry him there. Hero stones are memorials for such heroes. The hero is usually shown either standing with a bow and arrow, or riding a horse or an elephant, often fighting his enemies. His death is sometimes recorded in an inscription. Sometimes there are three panels, the bottom one showing the hero in battle, the middle one with celestial damsels and the top one worshipping his patron deity.

Sati Stones.—Sati or sahagamana is an ancient Indian custom by which a wife perished with the body of her husband on his funeral pyre, thereby it is believed winning merit for her family as well as wiping out all its sins. The custom is mentioned in the Mahabharata, and when Rajput power was at its height a number of women commonly burnt themselves on the pyre of a deceased king. Sometimes even concubines and queens of bad reputation did so to free themselves from their sins.

A sati stone (mahasatikal or mastikal) is, a memorial stone set up at the place where a faithful wife committed sati. The arm of the sati, with or without the rest of her figure, is shown decked in auspicious bangles to indicate that she is still with her husband, being still a sumangali, not a widow. Her husband may be shown with her, or the two may be represented together in miniature above, sometimes with the husband in an attitude of adoration towards her.

Other Memorial Stones.—In addition to hero stones and sati stones attention may be called to two stones commemorating another form of sacrifice. One in Chalukyan style bears the sacred feet and sandals of Bhairava surrounded by a cobra, beside which men are holding their severed heads aloft as an offering. Below are two headless goats. Opposite this stone is a Tamilian sculpture showing a man holding his head by its hair with his left hand, while he severs it from his body by means of a sword in his right.

Snake Stones

When a married couple fail to beget children the killing of a cobra in this or a previous existence is commonly regarded as a probable cause. To explate this supposed sin, a snake stone (*nagakal*) has to be set up beneath a pipal tree, preferably at Rameswaram. These are stones on which one or more nagas are carved, sometimes entirely in snake form, sometimes half snake, half human. Sometimes two snakes are shown coiled together, and sometimes Siva's phallic emblem the linga is introduced, or Balakrishna the baby god who is believed to bless barren women with children. In many parts of South India the cobra is considered symbolic of Subrahmanya, though it is habitually represented as the prey of his vehicle, the peacock.

EASTERN INDIAN SCULPTURE

With the probable exception of the elephant above the Asoka edic: at Dhauli in Orissa, which is presumably of Mauryan age, and of the sculptured caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in the same neighbourhood which seem to be contemporaneous with Sunga and early Andhra sculpture, the earliest surviving sculptures of the ancient Kalinga kingdom and of Bengal are from times considerably later than the close of the Gupta period, from the art of which, however, they derived their inspiration. Each of these types of sculpture appear to have their own distinctive characteristics from the time of their earliest known examples, but just what those characteristics are we are not yet in a position to say. Eastern Indian sculpture is illustrated in the bays of the balcony to the first Hindu sculpture gallery opposite those devoted to early northern sculpture.

Kalinga Sculpture

Kalinga had already become a separate kingdom by Mauryan times, but its early history is for the most part lost in obscurity. It has had several capitals, but the earliest from which sculptures are known is Mukhalingam on the northern border of Vizagapatam district. The earliest inscriptions on the temples there are those of the Eastern or Kalinga Ganga king Vajrahasta¹, who ruled in the first half of the eleventh century; but it is quite likely that the temples are earlier than this since other records show that Mukhalingam had been the capital from at least the fifth or sixth century. The sculpture shows affinities both to the Early Eastern Chalukyan sculpture of Biccavol and to the Pala sculpture of Bengal, but the temples all have northern form of tower, whereas those of Biccavol all have the southern form.

The largest group of Kalinga temples is at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa, and includes temples that must be ascribed to various dates from the eighth to tenth centuries. Though they were thus built before the conquest of Orissa by Anantavarma Chodaganga towards the end of the eleventh century, after which the capital was moved from Mukhalingam to Cuttack, not far from Bhuvanesvar, they are in the same style as that of the Mukhalingam temples. The Jagannath temple at Puri was built by Anantavarma Chodaganga, and the Surya temple at Konarak near Puri by his descendent Narasimha I. The latter has the form of a car on immense wheels and is considered, on account of its wealth of exquisite sculpture, to be the finest gem of Kalinga art.

Pala and Sena Sculpture

The Pala kings ruled in Bengal from about the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century. They were Buddhists tolerant of Hinduism and their sculptures illustrate both pantheons. The Senas who followed them were Hindus. Most sculptures of both dynasties are inscribed, so can be dated with reasonable accuracy. Uddandapura, the Pala capital, was situated not far from the ancient Buddhist university at Nalanda.

Pala sculpture is mostly executed in a smooth grey stone with a background, often richly decorated, in one plane from which the

¹ Whether the Eastern Gangas were actually related to the Western Gangas, or whether this was a belief that grew out of similarity of name, is a matter of uncertainty.

principal figures stand out in another. Vishnu is always accompanied by Laksmi and Sarasvati, the latter replacing Bhu Devi. Siva, though clothed, is always shown with *urdhvalinga*. Art began to degenerate under the later Pala kings and continued to do so under the Senas.

SOUTHERN INDIAN SCRIPTS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

Specimens to illustrate the development of the different scripts of Southern India are exhibited in four bays on the balcony above the first Hindu sculptural gallery.

The earliest Indian script yet known is that of the seals that were in use in Mohenjo-Daro about 5,000 years ago, which is still undeciphered. The two next are Brahmi and Kharoshthi. Kharoshthi or "Ass-Lip" was not much used except in the north-west, where it finally disappeared in about the third century A.D. It was written from right to left and was probably of Semitic origin. It was used in certain Mauryan, Saka and Kushan inscriptions.

Brahmi, "the script created by Brahma," is of great antiquity. Whether it originated from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics or from Semitic signs is still uncertain, but the former appears the more probable. It seems at first to have run from right to left, but even as early as the fourth century B.C. it was also being written from left to right and this is invariably the case from the time of the Asokan edicts onwards. Up to the fourth century A.D. it developed more or less uniformly all over the country. But from that time it began to split up into different branches which have given rise to all the later Indian scripts. The Gupta inscriptions of the north, the Vakataka inscriptions of the Deccan and the earliest Pallava inscriptions of the south-east are all in various modifications of the Brahmi script, the most important of which for South India are the parents of modern Telugu and Kanarese, Tamil and Grantha, and Nagari.

Brahmi inscriptions are particularly abundant in the Krishna basin, those of the Mauryan period being the oldest in south India. The Bhattiprolu reliquaries bear inscriptions characterised by features not found in the normal southern variety of the Asokan script. Typical Brahmi was used in south India for the southern Asokan edicts, for the inscriptions from various Buddhist stupas such

COÍNS

as those at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Jaggayyapetta, and for certain puzzling inscriptions from southern Tamil districts such as Madura and Tinnevelly. At Amaravati we have the simple early and the developed later scripts. At Jaggayyapetta, in the third century, the script shows ornamental flourishes. The earliest Pallava inscriptions of the fourth century A.D. show Brahmi transformed almost beyond recognition.

Grantha and Tamil each first became differentiated in the seventh century A.D. Grantha was commonly used in Pallava inscriptions and its early form has thus come to be known as Pallava Grantha. In Chola and Vijayanagar times Grantha and Tamil developed side by side, assuming their present forms at about the end of the latter period.

The earliest distinctive form of the Kanarese-Telugu script is found in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Vanavasi, of the early Western and Eastern Chalukyas and of the Salankayanas. It underwent a parallel development in the west under the Rashtrukutas, Gangas and later Chalukyas of Kalyan, and in the east in Eastern Chalukyan territory and under the Kakatiyas. Shortly after the collapse of the Vijayanagar empire the modern Kanarese and Telugu scripts became differentiated.

The Nagari script used in certain Pallava inscriptions of the seventh century A.D. is essentially a northern script developed from that of the Guptas. Nagari of a more developed form was used by the Rashtrakutas and the Kalingas. A form of Nagari known as Nandinagari was used for the copper-plate grants of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

COINS

The earliest known Indian coins are called *puranas*. They are known to have been in circulation during the third century B.C., but may well have been used much earlier also. They are of three different kinds : impressed (punch-marked), die-struck and cast. Punch-marked puranas are usually of silver, rarely of copper, thin flat pieces being impressed with three or four symbols each. Cast and die-struck puranas are mostly of copper and bear some of the symbols most commonly met with on the punch-marked ones, occasionally accompanied by a legend in Brahmi character. The symbols take the form of men, animals, plants, mountains, weapons, etc., and most of them are peculiar to India. All three kinds are found in all parts of the country, but certain symbols on the diestruck and cast varieties seem to be specially associated with particular areas. The puranas may be presumed to have been issued by specially authorized local authorities or persons. Nothing is, however, definitely known about this.

The influences that were responsible, as already noticed (above p. 8), for the development of Graeco-Buddhist art on the northwest frontier, introduced into the coinage of north India certain features of Grecian origin; and the immigration of foreign tribes more or less familiar with Roman coinage—an immigration that culminated in the supremacy of the Kushan dynasty—led to the issue in North India of gold coins showing traces of Roman influence. But the foreign features thus introduced gradually faded out till eventually they became scarcely recognizable.

The coinage of the Andhras, in which the best features of indigenous coinage are already established, is characterized by the legends (*i.e.*, the lettering) being as important as the types (*i.e.*, the objects represented), and by the extensive use of lead. The Western Satraps, who ruled somewhat further west at about the time of the Andhras, preferred silver and issued a coinage more or less intermediate in character between that of the Kushans and that of the Andhras. The first issues of the Guptas somewhat resemble those of the Kushans, and were followed by a magnificent coinage in gold and silver reflecting the high level of culture and prosperity characteristic of the period; but decline set in during the later years of the dynasty. The Huns issued imitations of Sassanian coins, and indigenous rulers debased the currency till both types and legends were reduced to meaningless scrawls.

The earliest distinctively South Indian coinage was a modification of the puranas and seems to have belonged to about the third century A.D. Two symbols on separate dies were each struck twice on to a thin flat piece of silver which received the shape of a tiny shallow cup with the symbols on one side only. This was followed, probably in about the sixth century, by a series of thin cup-shaped gold coins of which the *padma-tanka* is typical. This was struck on one side only with from one to five dies, one of which always pictured a lotus, the others various objects or letters composing a legend. The Cholas seem to have been the first southern dynasty to issue coins that were die-struck on both sides. The vast majority of their coins were of copper, but in the tenth century they experimented with heavily alloyed forms of silver and early in the following century with base gold, small coins of pure gold being issued later. The Pandyas and perhaps also the Cheras, used copper and possibly a little silver, the Eastern and Western Chalukyas and Gangas and Gajapatis gold. Coinage increased with the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire, copper and gold being abundantly issued. Figures of deities and their attendants became popular as types and gold was used even for so small a coin as the panam. The petty principalities which arose from the ruins of that empire issued copper pieces that are equally bewildering in their variety and in their anonymity. By this time Muslim coinage was also well established and no further Hindu issues of any importance were made, not even by the Mahrattas.

The Muslim coinage of India, which first appeared in the eleventh century A.D., was based on that of Muslim states elsewhere. Images being prohibited, pictorial types were avoided, both sides of the coin being covered with legends, the lettering of which was often exquisitely designed. These legends commonly included the sovereign's name and titles, the date and the kalima or Muslim confession of faith. At first occasional attempts were made at some form of compromise with the indigenous system by utilizing a local type, indigenous characters for the legend, or the indigenous square shape or by adopting a Hinduised title. Silver and copper were the metals chiefly used, but also billon which was a persistent source of weakness. Occasionally gold also was freely used. During the Mughal supremacy that resulted from the invasion of 1526, gold became a little more plentiful and Muslim currency spread to all parts of the country, local issues being made by the various Sultanates of the south and east. The bold currency experiments of the erratic genius, Muhammed bin Tughlaq (A.D. 1325-51), and Jahangir's attempts at novelty, especially his famous zodiac series, are among the noteworthy events in the history of Muslim currency in India.

The influx of European coins, mostly gold Venetian sequins and for a shorter period silver rials of eight from Spain, increased greatly with the increase in trade with Europe that resulted from the discovery of the Cape route, such coins being received in payment for commodities sold, and accepted in barter all over the country. When European settlements developed, they obtained from local rulers authority to mint special issues for local payments; and when the local rulers lost and the settlements—especially those of the British, French and Dutch—increased in power, these special issues tended to become the general currency of larger areas. When, early in the nineteenth century, the Mughal and Mahratta empires collapsed, India had nearly a thousand different kinds of coinage, but with the development of British supremacy, British-Indian coinage based on the silver rupee gradually came into universal use, except for a few small issues that are still made by the rulers of certain of the Indian States.

APPENDIX ON ICONOGRAPHY

HINDU IMAGES

The following notes on Hindu images have been adapted from the brief account given in the "Catalogue of South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum," published as a Museum Bulletin in 1932.

Of the Trimūrti or three principal Hindu gods, Brahma the Creator has no separate temples, his function being in abeyance till the cycle of time brings in a new age requiring a new creation. Vishnu the Preserver and Siva the Destroyer, on the other hand, are each regarded as supreme by their special followers and have numerous different images associated with them, including images of their attendants and saints. It will therefore be convenient to arrange the following list of the principal forms of Hindu image in three sections, Vaishnavite images, Saivite images and images (including that of Brahma) that are not specially associated with either Vishnu or Siva.

Vaishnavite Images

Vishnu has a royal headress and usually four hands, of which the upper right holds a discus and the upper left a conch shell. His consorts Sri Devi the goddess of prosperity, and Bhü Devi the earth goddess, should be on his right and left respectively. The former is identical with Lakshmi, who may be worshipped independently holding a lotus in her right hand and a bael fruit in her left, or as Mahālakshmī or Gajalakshmī with two pairs of arms and in the case of Gajalakshmi an attendant pair of elephants. Garuda, half-man, half-kite, is Vishnu's vāhana or "vehicle."

Certain places have particular forms of Vishnu associated with them, the chief among such forms being---

- Varadarāja of Conjeeveram, in which the lower right hand is lowered with palm forwards in bestowal of boons. The lower left may rest either on a mace or on the thigh.
- Srinivasa of Tirupati, in which the lower right hand is raised with palm forwards for protection, the lower left being placed against the thigh.

Ranganātha of Srirangam, reclining on a serpent bed.

- Pānduranga of Pandharpur, with only one pair of hands which rest on or hang beside his hips, the left one in the latter case holding a conch.
- Other noteworthy special forms are— Vaikunthanātha seated on a serpent throne. Lakshmīnārāyaņa with Lakshmi on his left knee.

When virtue wanes and vice predominates Vishnu is believed to become incarnate to punish the wicked and support the weak and helpless. The following are his ten principal *avatārs* or incarnations :—

- Matsya, the fish that recovered the Vedas from the ocean where they had been hidden by a demon.
- Kūrma, the tortoise that supported the mountain used for churning the ocean of milk.
- Varaha, the boar that rescued the earth from the ocean in which it had been submerged by a demon.
- Narasimha, the man-lion that killed a demon king who had condemned his own son to death for his devotion to religion.
- Vāmana, the dwarf who appeared before the Demon Bali and conquered him by crossing the whole universe in three strides as the giant *Trivikrama*. As a dwarf he is almost always represented with an umbrella and should carry the Vedas in his right hand, often with a spouted vessel in his left.
- Parasurāma, who destroyed the Kshatriya or warrior caste by means of his axe, with which he is always represented.
- Rāma, who killed Rāvaņa, the demon king of Ceylon. He is represented in the posture of a man holding an arrow in his right hand and a bow (the bottom of which rests on the ground) in his left, but the weapons are usually missing. He is generally accompanied by his brother Lakshmana in the same posture and by his consort Sītā, an incarnation of Lakshmi.
 - Krishna, who destroyed a number of demons. He is worshipped in a number of forms, the chief of which are—

Santānagopāla, a baby putting his toe in his mouth.

Yasodā krishņa, carried by his mother Yasoda.

Bālakrishņa and Navanītakrishņa, crawling or dancing, the latter with a ball of butter, the former without it.

- Kāliyakrishņa, subduing the serpent king Kāliya at the age of five.
- Venugopāla, a youth playing the flute,

- Krishna, a man with left elbow projecting to rest on his consort Rukmini's shoulder. She is an incarnation of Lakshmi. He may also be accompanied by a second consort Satyabhāmā, an incarnation of Bhu Devi.
- Pārthasārathi, as the teacher of Arjuna the great archer among the five Pandava kings of the Mahabharata.
- Buddha (sometimes replaced by Jagannātha, Vishnu as Lord of the World).
- Kalki, who is to overcome evil at the close of the present age and usher in an age of virtue and prosperity. Usually with horse's head.

Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna is sometimes inserted between Rama and Krishna, Buddha (or Jagannatha) then being omitted.

Vishnu also assumed forms known as minor avatars including-

Dattātreya, with three heads and attended by four dogs.

Hayagrīva, with a horse's head and Vishnu's discus and conch. Vishnu's attendants are—

Ananta, a serpent with one or five heads, serving as his couch.

Garuda, half kite, half man, serving as his vāhana or "vehicle."

Vishvaksena, his chamberlain, seated with discus and conch in upper hands, lower right in warning position or holding a cane, lower left resting on knee holding a mace.

Jaya and Vijaya, the door-keepers of his heaven.

Hanuman, the monkey devotee and helper of Rama.

There are twelve deified Vaishnavite saints or *Alvārs*, and a long line of *Achāryas* or Vaishnavite teachers. Most of them are as a rule shown seated with their hands in the attitude of prayer, sometimes but by no means always with individually distinctive emblems. Such figures carrying a cloth for straining water borne like a flag on a triple staff usually represent Ramanuja, the Vaishnavite revivalist of the eleventh century A.D. Nammalvar and Vedanta Desika each hold a palm-leaf manuscript.

Vishnu's discus may be personified as Sudarsana, bearing on one side a fierce eight-armed or many-armed figure carrying Vishnu's emblems, and often a figure of Narasimha on the other side.

Saivite Images

Siva is generally worshipped in the form of a phallus or linga. Images of him are, however, also worshipped. His matted hair is usually tied on the top of his head and ornamented with a jewel, skull, snake, crescent moon and thorn-apple flower, but it sometimes encircles the head like flames, especially in terrible forms. He should have a third eye between and a little above the other two. In South India his most usual emblems are an axe and an antelope, but in the north the trident is more common. Other emblems are the drum, skull-cup and various weapons. *Pārvatī* is his only consort—though she has other names such as $K\bar{a}m\bar{a}ksh\bar{i}$ of Conjeeveram and $M\bar{i}n\bar{a}ksh\bar{i}$ of Madura. She should be on his left.

His vāhana or "vehicle" is Nandi, the bull.

He has two aspects, the benign and the terrible. Both aspects have a number of forms, some of which were taken for particular purposes.

Benign forms were assumed for blessing devotees. Chief among them are-

Sukhāsana, sitting at ease.

- Chandrasekhara, standing erect and holding axe and antelope. The crescent moon should be conspicuous in his hair.
- Pradoshamūrti, Chandrasekhara with Parvati, leaning towards her and with his lower left arm round her.
- Umāmahesvara, seated with Parvati (Uma) on his left knee.
- Umāsahita, standing or seated with Parvati (Uma) beside him.
- Somāskanda, seated with Parvati and their son Subrahmanya (Skanda).
- Kalyānasundara, the form in which he married Minakshi (Parvati), whose hand he holds. Vishnu, who gave her in marriage, is usually included in the group.
- Gangādhara, standing, holding a trident obliquely across his back. This is the form in which, to prevent flooding, he entangled the Ganges in his hair at the time of its descent to earth. The goddess Ganga should be visible in his hair.
- Vishāpaharana, holding in his lower right hand a vessel containing the poison produced by churning the ocean of milk.
- Dakshinā mūrti, the form in which he taught certain rishis philosophy. Upper right hand with snake, left with flame; lower right hand in upadesa or teaching pose, left holding Vedas.
- Viņā dhara Dakshiņā mūrti, with lower hands in position to hold the vina on which he taught music to certain rishis; upper hands with axe and antelope.
- Nates a, dancing to quell the pride of Kali. In his upper left hand he holds a flame, there is a drum in his upper right hand, his lower right is in the *abhaya* pose, and with his lower left he points to his upraised foot.

Terrible forms of Siva are always represented standing and usually have a pair of protruding tusks. Chief among them are---

- Bhikshātana, as a naked beggar to explate the sin of cutting off Brahma's head.
- Kankālamūrti, using the backbone of Vishvaksena and others whom he had killed, as a staff and carrying drum and drumstick. He should be accompanied by an antelope.
- Bhairava, as protector of the universe, naked. Represented in sixty-four different forms, of which the commonest is accompanied by a dog and has at least two pairs of hands, the uppermost holding a drum and a noose.
- Virabhadra, with a linga in his hair and carrying sword and shield, usually with other weapons in additional pairs of hands. He wears sandals and either carries the head of a goat or is accompanied by his father-in-law Daksha shown as a human figure with a goat's head.
- Kālārimūrti, protecting his devotee Mārkaņdeya by piercing Yama, the god of death, with his trident.

Siva is sometimes combined with Vishnu as *Hari-Hara* or *Sankara-Nārāyaṇa*, in both of which images Siva forms the right side and Vishnu the left.

Siva may also be combined with his consort or sakti, Parvati, for there is a belief that Siva can only function when combined with *Sakti*, the female principle. *Ardhanārīśvara* is the name given to the resulting figure, right half male and left half female.

 $P\bar{a}rvat\bar{i}$ or $Ambik\bar{a}$, when represented merely as Siva's consort, has one pair of hands and is apt to be indistinguishable from the consorts of Vishnu and others. When represented alone she is always seated and has two pairs of hands, the upper holding an axe and noose and the lower in the poses of blessing and bestowing respectively, except in her special forms $R\bar{a}jar\bar{a}jesvar\bar{i}$ and $M\bar{a}hesvar\bar{i}$, which bear different emblems. Paravti's $v\bar{a}hana$ or "vehicle" is a lion.

The Sākta sect regard the female principle, whom they call Devi, a_s the supreme deity; and as they are Saivites they commonly regard her as the consort of Siva. Devi has three main forms. Durgā, the fighter, the angry Käli and Mahālakshmī of Kolhapur.

As Durgā she should always hold in her upper hands Vishnu's emblems, the conch and discus. Her chief manifestations are Durgā with 6 two pairs of arms and *Chāmuṇḍā* and *Mahishās ur amardanī* with more than two.

As $K\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ she may carry any of Siva's emblems except the antelope. She has many manifestations, but all belong to two generalized types, Kali with two pairs of arms and Bhadrakali with more than two.

As Mahālakshmī of Kolhapur she should be seated, with a linga on her head.

Ganesa, Ganapati or Vināyaka Siva's eldest son. He has the head of an elephant and ordinarily two pairs of hands holding a goad, a noose, his broken tusk and a cake. His vāhana is the musk-rat (shrew).

Subrahmanya, Siva's second son, is represented with one pair of arms as a child or when seated without his $v\bar{a}hana$ the peacock, with two pairs when standing, and with three, four or six pairs when seated on his peacock. He has two consorts, Vallī and Devasenā. He usually carries a weapon known as śakti (sometimes represented by a spear) and a thunderbolt. He is known as Bālasubrahmanya as a child (usually distinguishable from Balakrishna only by his Saivite instead of Vaishnavite associations) and as Shanmukha when represented with six faces. At Palni he is worshipped as Palani-Āndi, wearing only a loin-cloth and with a staff in his hand.

Aiyanār is the son of Siva and Mohinī, a female form assumed by Vishnu after the churning of the ocean of milk. He is often represented as riding on an elephant or a horse, and should hold either a goad, a whip or a crook.

There are over sixty deified Saivite saints, each represented with a single pair of arms and usually standing. Most images are, however, of one of the following :---

- Chandikesvara, the custodian of Saivite temple property. He usually carries an axe and is in an attitude of prayer.
- Kannappa Nayanār, the outcaste hunter who gave his eyes to Siva. He stands in an attitude of prayer, wearing sandals and carrying a bow and arrow.
- Māņikkavāchakar, author of the Tiruvāchagam hymns. His right hand is in the teaching pose and in his left he holds a palm-leaf manuscript.
- Appar, author of the *Tevāram* hymns. He carries a spud for weeding temple premises and stands in an attitude of prayer.
- Sundaramūrti, who added to the Tevāram hymns. He is represented as singing in ecstasy.

Images not specially associated with Vishnu or Siva

Brahma, the Creator and the first member of the Trimurti, has four faces and two pairs of arms, the upper pair bearing a rosary and a spouted vessel. The hamsa or sacred goose is the vāhana or "vehicle" both of himself and of his consort Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. Sarasvatī has two pairs of arms and bears a rosary, a book and a vina.

Dvārapālaka and Dvārapālikā are male and female doorkeepers for gods and goddesses respectively. Each has two pairs of arms (except in very early examples which have only one pair) bearing either the emblems of their respective deities or weapons of war.

The *Dikpālas* are the guardian deities of the eight directions or divisions of the universe. They are—

Indra, on elephant, with thunderbolt. God of rain. East.

Agni, on ram, with two heads. God of fire. South-east.

Yama, on buffalo. God of death. South.

Nirriti, on man. South-west.

Varuna, on makara or crocodile. God of the sea. West.

 $V\bar{a}yu$, on deer, with fan. God of wind. North-west.

Kubera, on horse. God of riches. North.

Isāna, on bull, one of the many forms of Siva, whose usual emblems he bears. North-east.

The Navagrahas or Nine Planets are-

- Sūrya, the Sun, with a lotus flower in each hand of one, usually his only, pair. Often with a halo behind his head. His onewheeled chariot is drawn by seven horses.
- Chandra, the Moon, with a water-lily in each hand of one, usually his only, pair. Often with a halo behind his head. His twowheeled chariot is drawn by ten horses.

Angāraka, Mars with a club and a three-pronged mace.

Budha, Mercury, on a lion.

Brihaspati, Jupiter, with book and rosary.

Sukra, Venus, with treasure chest.

Sani, Saturn, with trident, bow and spear.

Rahu, one of the two eclipse-demons, with sword and shield.

Ketu, the other eclipse-demon, with club.

Manmatha is the Hindu god of love. He scents the fragrance of a five-flowered arrow held in his right hand, his left holding a sugarcane bow. His consort Rati holds either a mirror or a lotus.

Seers or Rishis are represented as old men with hair tied above the head like Siva's, and long pointed beards.

Worshippers are represented in an attitude of prayer, usually standing or half kneeling.

Village deities or grāma devatās, though not worshipped by orthodox Hindus, are extensively worshipped by others. Those most commonly met with are Māriamman, Munīśvara and the deities of a cult centring round Aiyanār.

Māriamman, the smallpox goddess, is a form of Durga. She should be clad only in margosa leaves but is usually represented by her head alone.

Munisvara is represented by a stone or a tree.

Aiyanār has been described among the orthodox Hindu deities (above, p. 42).

Madurai-Viran, Aiyanar's general, stands bearing a sword and shield.

Karuppannāsvāmi, Aiyanar's attendant, always stands and is worshipped under four principal forms--

Karuppannāsvāmi, with a bill-hook.

Kulla-Karuppan, also with a bill-hook but of small stature.

Chappāņi-Karuppan, lame and leaning on a staff.

Sangili-Karuppan, with a chain in one hand and a vessel in the other.

Mudras

The most important symbolically of the *mudras* or hand postures are-

Abhaya, palm facing forwards, hand and fingers extended upwards, symbolic of protection.

Varada, palm facing forwards, hand and fingers extended downwards, symbolic of bestowal.

Añjali-hasta, palms together, symbolic of worship.

Vyākhyāna or upadeša, tips of thumb and forefinger touching, palm facing forwards, symbolic of teaching.

Jñāna and chit, tips of thumb and forefinger touching, palm facing backwards, symbolic respectively of knowledge and of realization of the absolute.

BUDDHIST IMAGES

In the early days of Buddhism the Buddha was considered too sacred for representation except by symbols (see above, p. 10), but after a few centuries his images came to be widely used. They show him clad in a monk's robe, though this is sometimes indicated only by faint lines

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round the neck and ankles. His bare head is closely covered by tight spiral curls, and has a protuberance on the crown, which in early images is generally represented as a broad low swelling, but later appears as a flame rising vertically from the head. There is often a small circular mark in the middle of his forehead. He is usually shown with his hands in one or other of three attitudes : raised in preaching, touching the earth in witness at the time of his enlightenment, or resting one above the other in his lap with palms facing upwards. Buddha images seated in the last mentioned pose may easily be confused with images of Jain tirthankaras. The latter, however, are naked and have no protuberance on the head.

As the agnostic philosophy of escape from life preached by Gautama Buddha was not rich enough for popular satisfaction, a theistic religion gradually developed around it, culminating in the Mahayana form of Buddhism now centred in Tibet and beyond, with an immense pantheon of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Taras, etc., of a few of which images are sometimes found in South India. For fuller details than can be given here see Benoytosh Bhattacharya's "Buddhist Iconography" (Oxford University Press, 1924) and N. K. Bhattasali's "Catalogue of Buddhist and Brahminical images in the Dacca Museum (Dacca Museum, 1929). For Tibetan iconography Waddell's "Lamaism" (W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1895) should be consulted.

The Adi (Primaeval) Buddha, also known as Vajradhara, is conceived as having given rise through deep meditation to five Dhyani (Meditational) Buddhas, wrapped in deep meditation through which each has produced his own counterpart in the form of a Celestial Bodhisattva for the performance of his earthly functions. In addition to these counterparts there are other celestial Bodhisattvas emanated from the Dhyani Buddhas. And on earth there are mortal Bodhisattvas who pass through a series of births for the salvation of mankind, some of them animal births, eventually attaining enlightenment and so becoming earthly Buddhas, in which capacity they are connected with the Dhyani Buddhas and their counterparts. Gautama Buddha thus becomes the last but one of a succession of earthly Buddhasgenerally seven, but in Tibet sometimes nine and in Ceylon twenty-four -of whom the last, Maitreya the merciful, is yet to come. Female emanations of the Dhyani Buddhas are also recognised, each with special characteristics and a special name. Some are regarded as consorts of gods such as Jambhala, the god of riches, and others as attendants of Bodhisattvas such as Avalokitesvara. But the most important are those regarded as saktis (female energies) of Avalokitesvara these being known as Taras. The Adi Buddha and Dhyani Buddhas have, moreover, each his own female counterpart or sakti.

Of only a few of the most frequently represented of the above hierarchy can the characteristics be given here. But fewer still are at all commonly represented among South Indian images, Gautama Buddha, Avalokitesyara and Jambhala being the most usual. Only the characteristics recognised in India can, moreover, be given and these often differ from those recognised in Tibet and elsewhere.

Buddhas very rarely, but Bodhisattvas almost always, wear princely attire.

The Adi Buddha

Vajradhara, seated in princely attire with fore-arms crossed, a ceremonial thunderbolt in right hand and bell in left. His sakti is known as \overline{A} di Prajña or Prajñapāramitā.

The Dhyani Buddhas

Vairochana, accompanied by a pair of dragons. Hands in attitude of turning the Wheel of the Law (dharmachakramudrā).

Akshobhya, accompanied by a pair of elephants. Right hand in witness attitude of touching the earth (bhūsparša mudrā).

Ratnasambhava, accompanied by a pair of lions. Right hand in attitude symbolic of bestowal (varada mudrā).

Amitābha, accompanied by a pair of peacocks. Hands in attitude symbolic of meditation (dhyāna mudrā).

Amoghasiddhi, accompanied by a pair of garudas (half man, half kite). Right hand in attitude symbolic of protection (abhaya mudrā).

Celestial Bodhisattvas

Counterparts of Dhyāni Buddhas, without any figure in the headdress. In Graeco-Buddhist sculputure particularly, Buddha is commonly accompanied by the Celestial Bodhisattva Vajrapāņi, holding a thunderbolt.

Emanations from the Dhyāni Buddhas, with figure of parent in headdress. Avalokiteśvara, the Lord who looks down from on high, and Mañjuśrī, the Lord of learning, are the most popular of these Bodhisattvas, each of them having a number of different forms. Thus Simhanāda is a form of Avalokiteśvara without princely attire, riding on a lion.

Taras

Female images, unless associated with male images other than forms of Avalokitesvara, are generally images of a tara.

Mortal Buddhas

Gautama Buddha has already been described above. He is usually shown with his hands in one of five mudras or poses : $dhy\bar{a}na$ with one hand above the other, palm upward in the lap, symbolising meditation; $bh\bar{u}sparsa$, with the right hand touching the earth in witness of his enlightenment; dharmachakra, with right forefinger folding down fingers of left hand, symbolic of turning the wheel of the law; abhaya, with hand and fingers extended upwards, palm facing forwards, symbolic of blessing; and varada like the last but pointing downwards, symbolic of bestowal.

Maitreya, not yet having attained enlightenment, is still in the bodhisattea state and is therefore represented in princely attire. He can be recognised by the representation of a stupa in his headdress.

Gods

Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth. He is short and fat, and carries a citron and a mongoose, the latter providing him with a limitless supply of gold. He is often represented with his consort $Vasudh\bar{a}r\bar{a}$.

JAIN IMAGES

The Jain religion centres round a series of 24 tirthankaras or deified teachers, images of whom either stand with arms hanging down, or sit with hands resting, palms upwards, in the lap one upon the other. The particular tirthankara represented cannot, however, be identified by any feature of the image itself, but only by his emblem (lanchana) or attendant deities (yaksha and yakshi), identification being impossible when these are all absent. Separate images are made of tirthankaras, yakshas, yakshis deified ascetics such as Bahubali, the son of the first tirthankara, and a few deities taken over from the Hindu pantheon. But tirthankara images are the only ones of sufficiently general importance to be characterised here. The iconography of yakshas, etc., will be found in the paper on Tiruparuttikunram referred to on p. iv above. A tirthankara's emblem is usually shown on the front of his throne, right in the middle. As any tirthankara may sit on a throne supported by two lions, one on each side, care must be taken to distinguish such lions from the lion emblem of Mahavira, the last and most popular of the tirthankaras. Mahavira, who was an elder contemporary of Buddha, and probably one or two of Mahavira's immediate predecessors, are historical at least to some degree.

List of Tirthankaras in traditional order, with their emblems

1. Rishabhadeva or Ādinātha, a bull.

2. Ajitanātha, an elephant.

3. Sambhavanātha, a horse.

4. Abhinandana, a monkey.

5. Sumatinātha, a wheel, circle or curlew.

6. Padmaprabha, a red lotus.

7. Supārśvanātha, a svastika on the throne and the hood of a 5-headed cobra above.

8. Chandraprabha, the crescent moon.

9. Pushpadanta or Suvidhinātha, a makara or a crab.

10. Sītalanātha, the wishing-tree symbol (or according to the Svetambara sect, the triangular *srivats a* mark).

11. Śreyāmśanātha, a deer, rhinoceros or garuda (half man, half kite).

12. Vāsupūjya, a buffalo or bullock.

13. Vimalanātha, a boar.

14. Anantanātha, a bear (or sometimes a falcon).

15. Dharmanatha, a thunderbolt.

16. Santinatha, a deer (or sometimes a tortoise).

17. Kunthunātha, a goat.

18. Aranātha, a fish (or according to the Svetambara sect the square nandyāvarta diagram of svastika affinity).

19. Mallinātha, a water-pot or jar.

26. Munisuvrata, a tortoise.

21. Naminātha, Nimi or Nimeśvara, a blue water-lily.

22. Neminātha or Arishtanemi, a conch.

23. Pārśvanātha, a snake on the throne and the hood of a 7-headed cobra above.

24. Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna a lion.