THE

SEVEN PAGODAS.
Descriptive and Historical Papers

RELATING TO

THE SEVEN PAGODAS

ON THE

COROMANDEL COAST.

BY

WILLIAM CHAMBERS, Esq.; J. GOLDFINGHAM, Esq.;
BENJAMIN GUY BABINGTON, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.;
REV. G. W. MAHON, M.A.; LIEUTENANT JOHN BRADDOCK;
REV. W. TAYLOR; SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.;
CHARLES GIBBINS, Esq.

EDITED BY

CAPTAIN M. W. CARR,
Madras Staff Corps.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE papers contained in this volume, descriptive of the Sculptures, Inscriptions and Monolithic temples known as the Seven Pagodas, have been reprinted in a collected form, under the orders of the Government of Madras, with a view to promote the intelligent study and examination of these interesting relics of a bygone age. They have been selected as conveying valuable information on the subject, recorded by various competent observers at different times, but so scattered through the published transactions of learned Societies as to be rarely accessible to any one person visiting the spot. *

The origin of the European appellation "Seven Pagodas" cannot satisfactorily be traced. The name may have been given, as stated by Dr. Graul's guide, to the five Rathas, the Ganesa temple and the Shore temple.† The story of "magnificent pagodas swallowed up by the sea" is as apocryphal as the legend of the submerged city of Bali.

A matter of greater interest and importance, the age of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Māvalivaram, has not, it is to be regretted, been definitely ascertained. No date has—if the record of such exist—been found in any one of the Inscriptions,

* Proceedings of the Madras Government, 1st May 1868.
Mr. Fergusson, writing of the Rathas, states as his opinion that they were "carved by the Hindus, probably about 1300 A.D."* The researches of Sir Walter Elliot led him to fix the era of the oldest Tamil Inscription on the rocks of Mávalivaram at the latter part of the 11th century, and that of the rock inscription at Sāluvan Kuppam at the commencement of the 12th century.†

The Sanscrit Inscriptions are doubtless anterior in date to those in the Tamil language. The Rev. Mr. Taylor conjectures that the excavations and sculptures, together with these older Inscriptions, were accomplished in the 16th or 17th century. Sir Walter Elliot, on the other hand, is of opinion that they could not have been made later than the 6th century.

The following valuable remarks by Mr. Fergusson explain the style of the monolithic Rathas:—

"Although these Rathas, as they are called locally, are comparatively modern, and belong to a different faith, they certainly constitute the best representations now known of the forms of the Buddhist buildings * * and make their external forms more intelligible than they could otherwise be made from the mere internal copies of them which alone we possess [elsewhere] in the rock-cut examples. There are no essential differences which cannot be accounted for by the consideration that the sacred caves of the Buddhists were designed for a well-understood purpose—the Chaityas as temples, the Viharas as residences—which was the invariable rule in Buddhist times. When their successors the Hindus, began to follow their example, they copied blindly and unmeaningly. * * * This * explains many points in the architecture [of the South of India] which without this would be perfectly unintelligible. The Rathas are, in fact, transition specimens, and as such link the two styles together, the one serving to explain the peculiarities of the other."‡

† See p. 140 ff., infra.
‡ History of Architecture, Vol. II., p. 504.
Some notes, corrective and explanatory, have been added by the Editor; these are distinguished by brackets [ ]. The orthography of Indian names occurring in these papers has been revised, and a uniform system of transliteration adopted.

In the Appendix will be found, among other matters, copies of the Sanscrit Inscriptions made by Mr. Arthur Burnell of the Madras Civil Service. Also a description of the Pagodas by Kāvali Lakshmīmayya, printed in the original language from the Mackenzie MSS. in which it has lain for the last sixty odd years. This document gives a more detailed account of the antiquities at Māvalivaram than is contained in any of the other papers on the subject; its translation, with Braddock's description, will probably be found the most useful guide to a traveller visiting the spot. An Index to the whole has been added.

The English letter press and illustrations have been executed by the Foster Press. The Devanāgarī printing was performed at the Press of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

A sketch map, carefully executed by the Revenue Survey Department, accompanies the volume. It contains ground plans of the monolithic temples and principal excavations.

Madras, September 1869.
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THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

I.—Some account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Māvalipuram, a place a few miles north of Sadras, and known to seamen by the name of the Seven Pagodas. By William Chambers, Esq.

[From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. 1788.]

A samidst inquiries after the histories and antiquities of Asia at large, those of that division of it in which this society* resides, may seem on many accounts to lay claim to a particular share of its attention, a few hints put down from recollection, concerning some monuments of Hindu antiquity, which, though situated in the neighbourhood of European settlements on the Coromandel Coast, have hitherto been little observed, may it is conceived; be acceptable, at least as they may possibly give rise hereafter to more accurate observations, and more complete discoveries on the same subject. The writer of this account went first to view them in the year 1772, and curiosity led him thither again in 1776; but as he neither measured the distances nor size of the objects, nor committed to writing at the time the observations he made on them, he

[* The Asiatic Society of Bengal.]
hopes to be excused if, after the lapse of so many years, his recollection should fail him in some respects, and his account fall far short of that precision and exactness, which might have been expected, had there then existed in India so powerful an incentive to diligent inquiry, and accurate communication, as the establishment of this society must now prove.

The monuments he means to describe, appear to be the remains of some great city, that has been ruined many centuries ago; they are situated close to the sea, between Covelong and Sadras, somewhat remote from the high road, that leads to the different European settlements. And when he visited them in 1776, there was still a native village adjoining to them, which retained the ancient name, and in which a number of Brahmans resided, that seemed perfectly well acquainted with the subjects of most of the sculptures to be seen there.

The rock, or rather hill of stone, on which great part of these works are executed, is one of the principal marks for mariners as they approach the coast, and to them the place is known by the name of the Seven Pagodas, possibly because the summits of the rock have presented them with that idea as they passed: but it must be confessed, that no aspect which the hill assumes, as viewed on the shore, seems at all to authorize this notion; and there are circumstances, which will be mentioned in the sequel, that would lead one to suspect, that this name has arisen from some such number of Pagodas that formerly stood here, and in time have been buried in the waves. But, be that as it may, the appellation by which the natives distinguish it, is of a quite different origin: in their language, which is the
Tamil, (improperly termed Malabar,) the place is
called Māvalipuram, which, in Sanscrit, and the
languages of the more northern Hindus, would be
Mahābalipura, or the City of the great Bali. For the
tamuliens, (or Malabars,) having no h in their
alphabet, are under a necessity of shortening the
Sanskrit word mahā, great, and write it mā. They
are obliged also, for a similar reason, to substitute
a v for a b, in words of Sanscrit, or other foreign
original that begin with that letter; and the syllable
am, at the end, is merely a termination, which, like
um in Latin, is generally annexed to neuter sub-
stances. To this etymology of the name of this place
it may be proper to add, that Bali is the name of
a hero very famous in Hindu romance; and that the
river Māvaligangā, which waters the eastern side
of Ceylon, where the Tamil language also prevails,
has probably taken its name from him, as, according
to that orthography, it apparently signifies the
Ganges of the great Bali.

The rock, or hill of stone, above mentioned, is that
which first engrosses the attention on approaching
the place; for, as it rises abruptly out of a level plain
of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone,
and is situated very near to the sea-beach, it is such
a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would
naturally turn aside to examine. Its shape is also

* They do indeed admit a substitute [maga], but the abbreviation is
most used.

† This explains also, why the Sanscrit word Veda, by which the
Hindus denominate the books of the law of their religion, is written
by the tamuliens Vedam, which is according to the true orthography
of their language, and no mistake of European travellers, as some
have supposed; while the same word is called Bed by the Bengalis,
who have in effect no V in their alphabet.—See Dow, Vol. I. Dissert.
p. 41.
singular and romantic, and, from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock from the north, works of imagery* and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye, as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers.† Proceeding on by the foot of the hill, on the side facing the sea, there is a pagoda rising out of the ground, of one solid stone, about sixteen or eighteen feet high, which seems to have been cut upon the spot out of a detached rock, that has been found of a proper size for that purpose.‡ The top is arched, and the style of architecture, according to which it is formed, different from any now used in those parts. A little further on, there appears upon an huge surface of stone, that juts out a little from the side of the hill, a numerous group of human figures in bas relief, considerably larger than life, representing the most remarkable persons, whose actions are celebrated in the Mahâbhârata, each of them in an attitude, or with weapons or other insignia, expressive of his character, or of some one of his most famous exploits.§ All these figures are, doubtless, much less distinct than they were at first; for, upon comparing these and the rest of the sculptures that are exposed to the sea air, with others at the same place, whose situation has afforded them

* Among these, one object, though a mean one, attracts the attention, on account of the grotesque and ridiculous nature of the design; it consists of two monkeys cut out of one stone, one of them in a stooping posture, while the other is taking the insects out of his head.

† See Shaw's Travels, p. 155, et seq.

‡ The Ganesa temple appears to be referred to.

§ Arjuna's penance.—cp. Braddock, infra.]
protection from that element, the difference is striking; the former being every where much defaced, while the others are fresh as recently finished. This defacement is no where more observable, than in the piece of sculpture which occurs next in the order of description. This is an excavation in another part of the east side of the great rock, which appears to have been made on the same plan, and for the same purpose that choultries are usually built in that country; that is to say, for the accommodation of travellers. The rock is hollowed out to the size of a spacious room, and two or three rows of pillars are left, as a seeming support to the mountainous mass of stone which forms the roof. Of what pattern these pillars have originally been, it is not easy now to conjecture; for the air of the sea has greatly corroded them, as well as all the other parts of the cave. And this circumstance renders it difficult to discover, at first sight, that there is a scene of sculpture on the side fronting the entrance. The natives, however, point it out, and the subject of it is manifestly that of Krishna attending the herds of Nanda Ghosha the Admetus of the Hindus; from which circumstance, Krishna is also called Gopâla, or the cowherd, as Apollo was entitled Nomius.

The objects which seem next to claim regard, are those upon the hill itself, the ascent of which, on the north, is, from its natural shape, gradual and easy at first, and is in other parts rendered more so, by very excellent steps cut out in several places, where the communication would be difficult or impracticable without them. A winding stair of this sort leads to a kind of temple cut out of the solid rock, with some

[* The cowherd Nanda, the foster and putative father of Krishna.]
figures of idols in high relief upon its walls, very well finished, and perfectly fresh, as it faces the west, and is therefore sheltered from the sea air.* From this temple again there are flights of steps, that seem to have led to some edifice, formerly standing upon the hill; nor does it seem absurd to suppose, that this may have been a palace, to which this temple, as a place of worship, may have appertained. For, besides the small detached ranges of stairs that are here and there cut in the rock, and seem as if they had once led to different parts of one great building, there appear in many places small water-channels cut also in the rock, as if for drains to an house; and the whole top of the hill is strewed with small round pieces of brick, which may be supposed, from their appearance, to have been worn down to their present form, during the lapse of many ages. On ascending the hill by its slope on the north, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself to view. On a plain surface of the rock, which may once have served as the floor of some apartment, there is a platform of stone, about eight or nine feet long, by three or four wide, in a situation rather elevated, with two or three steps leading up to it, perfectly resembling a couch or bed, and a lion very well executed at the upper end of it by way of pillow, the whole of one piece, being part of the hill itself. This the Brahmans, inhabitants of the place, called the bed of Dharma-rāja, or Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five brothers, whose fortunes and exploits are the leading subject in the Mahābhārata. And at a considerable distance from this, at such a distance, indeed, as the apartment of the women might be supposed to be from that of

[* Cp. Braddock, No. 9.]
the men, is a bath excavated also from the solid rock, with steps in the inside, which the Brahmans call the bath of Draupadi, the wife of Yudhishthira and his brothers. How much credit is due to this tradition, and whether this stone couch may not have been anciently used as a kind of throne rather than a bed, is matter for future inquiry. A circumstance, however, which may seem to favour this idea is, that a throne in the Sanserit, and other Hindu languages, is called *sinhāsana*, which is composed of the words *simha*, a lion, and *ásana*, a seat.

These are all that appear on that part of the upper surface of the hill, the ascent to which is on the north; but, on descending from thence, you are led round the hill to the opposite side, in which there are steps cut from the bottom to a place near the summit, where is an excavation that seems to have been intended for a place of worship, and contains various sculptures of Hindu Deities. The most remarkable of these, is a gigantic figure of Vishnu, asleep on a kind of bed, with a huge snake wound about in many coils by way of pillow for his head;* and these figures, according to the manner of this place, are all of one piece, hewn from the body of the rock.

But though these works may be deemed stupendous, they are surpassed by others that are to be seen at the distance of about a mile, or a mile and an half, to the southward of the hill. They consist of two† Pagodas, of about thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, and about as many in height, cut out of the solid rock, and each consisting originally of one

[* Cp. Braddock, No. 19, infra.]
[† There are five, the five *Rathas.*]
single stone. Near these also stand an elephant full as big as life, and a lion much larger than the natural size, but very well executed, each hewn also out of one stone. None of the pieces that have fallen off in cutting these extraordinary sculptures are now to be found near or any where in the neighbourhood of them, so that there is no means of ascertaining the degree of labour and time that has been spent upon them, nor the size of the rock or rocks from which they have been hewn, a circumstance which renders their appearance the more striking and singular. And though their situation is very near the sea-beach, they have not suffered at all by the corrosive air of that element, which has provided them with a defence against itself, by throwing up before them a high bank, that completely shelters them. There is also great symmetry in their form; though that of the Pagodas is different from the style of architecture, according to which idol temples are now built in that country. The latter resembles the Egyptian; for the towers are always pyramidal, and the gates and roofs flat, and without arches; but these sculptures approach nearer to the Gothic taste, being surmounted by arched roofs or domes, that are not semi-circular, but composed of two segments of circles meeting in a point at top. It is also observable that the lion in this group of sculptures, as well as that upon the stone couch above mentioned, are perfectly just representations of the true lion; and the natives there give them the name, which is always understood to mean a lion in the Hindu language, to wit, simha; but the figure, which they have made to represent that animal in their idol temples for centuries past, though it bears the same appellation, is
a distorted monster, totally unlike the original; in-
somuch that it has from hence been supposed that
the lion was not ancintely known in this country, and
that simha was a name given to a monster that exist-
ed only in Hindu romance. But it is plain that
that animal was well known to the authors of these
works, who, in manners as well as arts, seem to have
differed much from the modern Hindus.

There are two circumstances attending these monu-
ments, which cannot but excite great curiosity, and
on which future inquiries may possibly throw some
light. One is, that on one of the Pagodas last men-
tioned, there is an inscription of a single line, in a
character at present unknown to the Hindus.* It
resembles neither the Devanâgarî, nor any of the
various characters connected with or derived from it,
which have come to the writer’s knowledge from any
part of Hindostan. Nor did it, at the time he viewed
it, appear to correspond with any character, Asiatic
or European, that is commonly known. He had not
then, however, seen the alphabet of the Pâli, the
learned language of the Siamese, a sight of which has
since raised in his mind a suspicion, that there is a
near affinity between them, if the character be not
identically the same. But as these conjectures, after
such a lapse of time, are somewhat vague, and the
subject of them is perhaps yet within the reach of
our researches, it is to be hoped that some method
may be fallen upon of procuring an exact copy of
this inscription.

The other circumstance is, that though the out-
ward form of the Pagodas is complete, the ultimate
design of them has manifestly not been accomplished,

[* Since deciphered by Dr. Babington, see infra.]
but seems to have been defeated by some extraordinary convulsion of nature. For the western side of the most northerly one is excavated to the depth of four or five feet, and a row of pillars left on the outside to support the roof; but here the work has been stopped, and an uniform rent of about four inches breadth has been made throughout the solid rock, and appears to extend to its foundations, which are probably at a prodigious depth below the surface of the ground. That this rent has happened since the work began, or while it was carrying on, cannot be doubted; for the marks of the mason's tools are perfectly visible in the excavated part on both sides of the rent, in such a manner as to show plainly that they have been divided by it. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that such a work would ever have been designed, or begun, upon a rock that had previously been rent in two.

Nothing less than an earthquake, and that a violent one, could apparently have produced such a fissure in the solid rock: and that this has been the case in point of fact, may be gathered from other circumstances, which it is necessary to mention in an account of this curious place.

The great rock above described is at some small distance from the sea, perhaps fifty or an hundred yards,* and in that space the Hindu village before mentioned stood in 1776. But close to the sea are the remains of a Pagoda, built of brick,† and dedicated to Siva, the greatest part of which has evidently been swallowed up by that element; for the door of the innermost apartment, in which the idol is placed, and

[* Would be more correctly estimated at half a mile.]
[† A mistake: it is built of stone.]
before which there are always two or three spacious courts surrounded with walls, is now washed by the waves; and the pillar used to discover the meridian at the time of founding the Pagoda*† is seen standing at some distance in the sea. In the neighbourhood of this building there are some detached rocks, washed also by the waves, on which there appear sculptures, though now much worn and defaced. And the natives of the place declared to the writer of this account, that the more aged people among them remembered to have seen the tops of several Pagodas far out in the sea, which being covered with copper (probably gilt) were particularly visible at sunrise, as their shining surface used then to reflect the sun's rays, but that now that effect was no longer produced, as the copper had since become incrusted with mould and verdigris.‡

These circumstances look much like the effects of a sudden inundation; and the rent in the rock above described makes it reasonable to conjecture that an earthquake may have caused the sea to overflow its boundaries, and that these two formidable enemies may have joined to destroy this once magnificent city. The account which the Brahmans, natives of the place, gave of its origin and downfall, partly, it should seem, on the authority of the Mahābhārata, and partly on that of later records, at the same time that it countenances this idea, contains some other curious particulars, which may seem to render it worthy of attention. Nor ought it to be rejected on account of that

[† More probably a flag-staff, dhvajastambha. It has been taken by some for a fíngam, which is manifestly an error.—cp. Bp. Heber's Journal and Bruce's Scenes and Sights in the East.]
[‡ Cp. Gubbins, infra.]
fabulous garb, in which all nations, but especially those of the East, have always clad the events of early ages.

"Hiranyáksha (said they) was a gigantic prince, "that rolled up the earth into a shapeless mass, and "carried it down to the abyss, whither Vishnu fol- "lowed him in the shape of an hog, killed him with "his tusks, and replaced the earth in its original "situation. The younger brother of Hiranyáksha "was Hiranyakasipu, who succeeded him in his king- "dom, and refused to do homage to Vishnu. He "had a son named Prahláda, who at an early age "openly disapproved this part of his father's conduct, "being under the tuition of Sukrachárya. His father "persecuted him on this account, banished him, and "even sought to kill him, but was prevented by "the interposition of heaven, which appeared on the "side of Prahláda. At length, Hiranyakasipu was "softened, and recalled his son to his court, where, "as he sat in full assembly, he began again to argue "with him against the supremacy of Vishnu, boasted "that he himself was lord of all the visible world, "and asked what Vishnu could pretend to more. "Prahláda replied, that Vishnu had no fixed abode, "but was present everywhere. Is he, said his father, "in that pillar? Yes, returned Prahláda. Then let "him come forth, said Hiranyakasipu; and, rising "from his seat, struck the pillar with his foot; upon "which Vishnu, in the Narasimha Avatará, that is "to say, with a body like a man, but an head like a "lion, came out of the pillar, and tore Hiranyakasipu "in pieces. Vishnu then fixed Prahláda on his "father's throne; and his reign was a mild and vir- "tuous one, and as such was a contrast to that of
"his father. He left a son named Namuchi,* who "inherited his power and his virtues, and was the "father of Bali, the founder of the once magni- "ficent city of Mahābalipurā, the situation of which "is said to be described in the following verse, taken "from the Mahābhārata:—

गङ्गाया: दक्षिणे भागे चीणनां शतद्वं "पश्चायोजनमाचे गूप्ताशेषां पश्चिमे॥

The sense of which is literally this:—

"South of the Ganges two hundred yojanas, "Five yojanas† westward from the eastern sea."

Such is the Brahman account of the origin of this place. The sequel of its history, according to them, is as follows:—

"The son of Bali was Bānāsura, who is represen- "ted as a giant with a thousand hands. Aniruddha, "the son† of Krishna, came to his court in disguise, "and seduced his daughter; which produced a war, "in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner, "and brought to Mahābalipurā; § upon which Krishna "came in person from his capital Dvārakā, and laid "sieve to the place. Siva guarded the gates, and "fought for Bānāsura, who worshipped him with

[* An error: Virochana was the son of Prahlāda, and father of Bali; Namuchi was the son of Viprachitti by Simhikā, sister of Hiranyak- "vasipu.—See the Vishnupurāna.]

† The yojana is a measure often mentioned in the Sanscrit books, and, according to some accounts, is equal to nine, according to others twelve English miles. But at that rate the distance here mentioned, between this place and the Ganges, is prodigiously exaggerated, and will carry us far south of Ceylon. This, however, is not surprising in an Hindu poem; but, from the second line it seems pretty clear that this city, at the time this verse was composed, must have stood at a great distance from the sea.

[† Aniruddha was the grandson, not the son, of Krishna.]

[§ Sonitapura, according to the Vishnupurāna—cp. Wilson's trans., Book V. chap. 33.]
his thousand hands; but Krishna found means to overthrow Siva, and having taken the city, cut off all Banaśura's hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do him homage. He continued in subjection to Krishna till his death; after which a long period ensued, in which no mention is any where made of this place, till a prince arose, whose name was Malècheren,* who restored the kingdom to great splendour, and enlarged and beautified the capital. But in his time the calamity is said to have happened by which the city was entirely destroyed; and the cause and manner of it have been wrapped up by the Brahmans in the following fabulous narration. Malècheren, (say they,) in an excursion which he made one day alone, and in disguise, came to a garden in the environs of the city, where was a fountain so inviting, that two celestial nymphs had come down to bathe there. The Ràjà became enamoured of one of them, who condescended to allow of his attachment to her; and she and her sister-nymph used thenceforward to have frequent interviews with him in that garden. On one of those occasions, they brought with them a male inhabitant of the heavenly regions, to whom they introduced the Ràjà; and between him and Malècheren a strict friendship ensued; in consequence of which he agreed, at the Ràjà's earnest request, to carry him in disguise to see the court of the divine Indra, a favour never before granted to any mortal. The Ràjà returned from thence with new ideas of splendour and magnificence, which he immediately adopted in regulating his court, and his retinue, and in beautifying his seat of govern-

[* The same as Mallésudu? cp. Taylor, infra.]
ment. By this means Mahâbalipura became soon celebrated beyond all the cities of the earth; and an account of its magnificence having been brought to the gods assembled at the court of Indra, their jealousy was so much excited at it, that they sent orders to the God of the Sea to let loose his billows, and overflow a place which impiously pretended to vie in splendour with their celestial mansions. This command he obeyed, and the city was at once overflowed by that furious element, nor has it ever since been able to rear its head.

Such is the mode in which the Brahmans choose to account for the signal overthrow of a place devoted to their wretched superstitions.

It is not, however, improbable, that the rest of this history may contain, like the mythology of Greece and Rome, a great deal of real matter of fact, though enveloped in dark and figurative representations. Through the disguise of these we may discern some imperfect records of great events, and of revolutions that have happened in remote times; and they perhaps merit our attention the more, as it is not likely that any records of ancient Hindu history exist but in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets seem to have been their only historians, as well as divines; and whatever they relate, is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances hugely incredible and absurd, and all this without any date, and in no other order or method, than such as the poet's fancy suggested, and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events, recorded by them, with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of ancient
monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures, at least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting subjects. It is much to be regretted, that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the Muhammadan governors of this country, has been so hostile to the preservation of Hindu monuments and coins. But a spirit of inquiry among Europeans may yet perhaps be successful; and an instance, which relates to the place above described, though in itself a subject of regret, leaves room to hope that futurity may yet have in store some useful discoveries. The Kāzi of Madras, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of Mahābalipuram, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance a ryot of those parts had found, in ploughing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, Hindu or Muhammadan, was able to decipher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in their original form, no one there thought them of any value.

The inscription on the Pagoda mentioned above, is an object which, in this point of view, appears to merit great attention. That the conjecture, however, which places it among the languages of Siam, may not seem in itself chimerical, the following passages from some authors of repute are here inserted, to show that the idea of a communication having formerly subsisted between that country and the coast of Coromandel, is by no means without foundation; nay, that there is some affinity, even at this day,
between the Pâli and some of the Hindu languages: and that the same mode of worship seems formerly to have prevailed in the Deccan, which is now used by the Siamese.

Monsieur de la Loubère, in his excellent account of Siam, speaks thus of the origin of the Pâli language:

"The Siamese, says he, do not mention any country where the Pâli language, which is that of their laws and their religion, is at present in use. They suppose, indeed, on the report of some among them, who have been on the Coast of Coromandel, that it bears some resemblance to some of the dialects of that country; but they at the same time allow, that the character in which it is written is not known but among themselves. The secular Missionaries settled at Siam believe that this language is not entirely a dead one; because they have seen in their hospital a man from the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, who mixed several Pâli words in his discourse, declaring that they were in use in his country, and that he himself had never studied nor knew any other than his mother-tongue. They at the same time mention, as matter of certainty, that the religion of the Siamese comes from those parts; as they have read in a Pâli book that Samana "Kodam,* the idol of the Siamese, was the son of a "king of Ceylon."††

[* The Siamese form of Sramana Gautama, a name applied to Buddha, signifying 'Gautama the ascetic.']
[†† Buddha, according to tradition, was the son of Suddhodana, the king of Kapilavastu, a city and State on the borders of Nepal.]
†† Les Siamois ne nomment aucun Pais, ou la langue Bali qui est celle de leurs loix et de leur religion, soit aujourdhuy en usage. "Ils soupçonnent à la vérité, sur le rapport de quelques-uns d'entre
The language of the man mentioned in this passage, who came from the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, could be no other than the Tamil; but the words here alluded to may very possibly have been derivatives from the Sanscrit, common to both that and the Pāli.

In another part of the same work, where the author treats of the history of Samana Kodam at large, on the authority of the Pāli books, he says:

"The father of Samana Kodam, according to the same Pāli book, was a king of Teve Lanka, that is to say, of the famous Ceylon."

Here it is observable, that, while the country of Siam seems to be utterly unknown, both to the natives of Ceylon and Hindostan, Ceylon should nevertheless be so well known to the Siamese, and under the same appellation it bears in the Sanscrit. An epithet is also here prefixed to it which seems to be the same as that used by the Hindus in speaking of that island; for they also call it, in Sanscrit, Deva Lanka, or the Sacred Lanka. From several passages in the same work it also appears, that the Sanscrit word mahā, which signifies "great" is constantly used

"eux, qui ont été a la côte de Coromandel, que la langue Balie a quel-
"que resemblance avec quelqu'un des dialectes de ce pays la: mais
"ils conviennent en même temps que les lettres de la langue Balie
"ne sont connues que chez eux. Les Missionnaires séculiers à Siam
"croyent que cette langue n'est pas entièrement morte; parce qu'ils
"ont vu dans leur hôpital un homme des environs du Cap de Como-
"rin, qui mettoyait plusieurs mots Balis dans son langage, assurant
"qu'ils estoient en usage en son pays, et que luy n'avoyt jamais étudié,
"et ne savoit que sa langue maternelle. Ils donnent d'ailleurs pour
"certain que la religion des Siamois vient de ces quartiers la, parce
"qu'ils ont lu dans un livre Balie que Sommonacodom que les Sia-
"mois adorent, estoit fils d'un Roy de l'isle de Ceylon.

"Le père de Sommonacodom estoit, selon ce mesme livre Balie, un
Roy de Teve Lanca, c'est a dire un Roy de la célèbre Ceylan."
in the Pāli language in the same sense. And the names of the days of the week are most of them the same in Sanscrit and in Pāli, as may be seen in the following comparison of them:

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The same author gives, in another place, an account of a pretended print of a foot on a rock, which is an object of worship to the Siamese, and is called Prābāt, or the venerable foot. For prā, in Pāli he says, signifies “venerable,” which agrees with parāpara and parameshtha in Sanscrit; and bāt in the same tongue is a foot, as pāda in Sanscrit. After which he goes on to say:

“We know that in the island of Ceylon, there is a pretended print of a human foot, which has long been held in great veneration. It represents, doubtless, the left foot; for the Siamese say that “Samana Kodam set his right foot on their Prābāt and his left foot at Lankā.”

From Knox’s History of Ceylon it appears, that the impression here spoken of is upon the hill called,

[* The names given are Siamese.]
† Here one Hindu word is substituted for another; for Chanda in Hindustani, and Chandra in Sanscrit, signify the moon as well as Soma.
‡ “On sait que dans l’île de Ceylan, il y a un prétendu vestige de “pié humain, que depuis long temps y est en grande vénération. Il représente sans doute le pié gauche; car les Siamois disent que “Sommonacomed posa le pié droit à leur prabat, et le pié gauche à “Lancâ.”
by the Singhalese, "Hamalell;" by Europeans, "Adam’s Peak;" and that the natives believe it to be the footstep of their great idol Buddou, between the worship of whom, as described by Knox, and that of Samana Kodam, as related by M. de la Loubère, there is a striking resemblance in many particulars, which it may be proper here to enumerate.

1st.—Besides the footsteps above mentioned, there is a kind of tree (which, from description, appears to be the Pipal tree* so well known in India) which the Singhalese hold sacred to Buddou, and the Siamese to Samana Kodam; insomuch that the latter deem it meritorious to hang themselves upon it. The Singhalese call it Bogahah; † for gahah, in their language, signifies a tree; and bo seems to be an abbreviation of Bod or Buddou; ‡ and the Siamese call it, in Pâli, Pra si Mahâ Pout, which, according to La Loubère’s interpretation, signifies the tree of the great Pout.§ This he supposes to mean Mercury; for he observes that Pout, or Poot, is the name of that planet in the Pâli term for Wednesday; and in another place, he says, Pout is one of the names of Samana Kodam. It is certain that Wednesday is called the name of Bod, or Budd, in all the Hindu languages, among which the Tamil, having no b, begins the word with a p, which brings it very near the Pâli mode of writing it. It is equally certain

[* Ficus religiosa, called by Buddhists the Bodhi tree, "the tree of wisdom," because under it Gantama became Buddha "the Enlightened."—Cp. Bigandet's life of Gaudama, p. 85.]
[† The ‘bo-tree.’]
[‡ Fo, Bod, Buddou, Budd, Baoth, Poond, &c., are some of the numerous modes in which Gantama’s appellative, Buddha, has been spelt.—See Manual of Buddhism, p. 354.]
[§ In vulgar Siamese they call it Ton-pô.
that the days of the week, in all these languages, are called after the planets in the same order as with us; and that Bod, Budd, or Pood, holds the place of Mercury. From all which it should appear that Pout, which, among the Siamese, is another name for Mercury, is itself a corruption of Buddou, who is the Samana Kodam of the Greeks. And it is singular that, according to M. de la Loubère, the mother of Samana Kodam is called, in Páli, Mahamania,∗ or the great Mania, which resembles much the name of Maia, the mother of Mercury. At the same time that the Tamil termination an, which renders the word Poodan, creates a resemblance between this and the Woden of the Gothic nations, from which the same day of the week is denominated, and which, on that and other accounts, is allowed to be the Mercury of the Greeks.†

2ndly.—The temples of Samana Kodam are called Pihan; and round them are habitations for the priests, resembling a college; so those of Boddou are called Vihar, and the principal priests live in them as in a college. The word Vihar,‡ or, as the natives of Bengal would write it, Bihar, is Sanscrit; and Ferishtah, in his History of Bengal, says, that this name was given by the Hindus to the Province of Behar, because it was formerly so full of Brahmans, as to be, as it were, one great seminary of learning, as the word imports.

[∗ Mahámáyá, Mahámáyádevi, Máyá, or Márudevi.]
[† “Much erroneous speculation has originated in confounding Budha, the son of Soma, and regent of the planet Mercury, ‘he who knows,’ the intelligent, with Buddha, any deified mortal, or ‘he by whom the truth is known.’—Wilson’s Vishnu Purána.” Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 354 n.]
[‡ Vihára.]
3rdly.—The Siamese have two orders of priests, and so have the worshippers of Buddou. Both the one and the other are distinguished by a yellow habit, and by another circumstance, which must be mentioned in the words of the respective authors. Knox says of the Buddou Priests, “They have the "honour of carrying the Tallipot" with the broad "end over their heads foremost, which none but the "king does." And M. de la Loubère says of the Siamese priests, "To defend themselves from the "sun, they have the Talapat, which is their little "umbrella, in the form of a screen.”

The word here used is common to most of the Hindu languages, and signifies the leaf of the Palmyra tree. M. de la Loubère mentions it as a Siamese word, without seeming to know its origin or primary signification.

4thly.—The priests of Buddou, as well as those of Samana Kodam; are bound to celibacy, as long as they continue in the profession; but both the one and the other are allowed to lay it down and marry.

5thly.—They both eat flesh, but will not kill the animal.

6thly.—The priests of either nation are of no particular tribe, but are chosen out of the body of the people.

These circumstances plainly show that this is a system of religion different from that of the Vedas; and some of them are totally inconsistent with the

[*Talapât, "palm-leaf."]
† "Pour se garentir du soleil ils ont le Talapât, qui est leur petit "parasol en forme d'écran."

[† The same persons: Samana Kodam (Srâmanâ Gautama) was the Buddha, i.e. the "Enlightened." (Max Müller.) See note * at p. 17.]
principles and practice of the Brahmans. And, indeed, it is manifest, from Knox's whole account, that the religion of the Sinhalese is quite distinct from that which prevails at this day among the Hindus, nor does it appear that there is such a race of men as that of the Brahmans among them. The only part in which there seems to be any agreement is in the worship of the Devatâs, which has probably crept in among them from their Tamil neighbours; but that is carried on in a manner very different from the Brahmanical system, and appears to be held by the nation at large in very great contempt, if not abhorrence. Knox's account of it is this: "Their temples (i.e. those of the Devatâs) are, he says, called "Kôvils," which is the Tamil word for Pagoda. He then goes on to say, "A man piously disposed, builds a small house at his own charge, which is the "temple, and himself becomes priest thereof. This "house is seldom called God's House, but most "usually Yakko,* the Devil's." But of the prevailing religion he speaks in very different terms, and describes it as carried on with much parade and splendour and attended with marks of great antiquity. "The "pagodas, or temples of their gods, says he, are so "many that I cannot number them. Many of them "are of rare and exquisite work, built of hewn stone, "engraven with images and figures; but by whom, "and when, I could not attain to know, the inhabi-"tants themselves being ignorant therein. But sure "I am, they were built by far more ingenious arti-"ciers than the Chingelayst that now are on the land. "For the Portuguese, in their invasions, have defaced "some of them, which there is none found that hath

[* Yaksha.]
[† Sinhalese.]
"skill enough to repair to this day." In another place, he says, "Here are some ancient writings, "engraven, upon rocks, which puzzle all that see "them. There are divers great rocks in divers parts "in Cande Uda," and in the northern parts. These "rocks are cut deep with great letters for the space "of some yards, so deep that they may last to the "world's end. Nobody can read them, or make any- "thing of them. I have asked Malabars and Gen- "toos, as well as Chingelays and Moors, but none of "them understood them. There is an ancient temple, "Goddiladennni in Yattanour, stands by a place where "there are of these letters." From all which the antiquity of the nation and their religion is suffi- ciently evident; and from other passages it is plain, that the worship of Buddou, in particular, has been from remote times a very eminent part of that reli- gion; for the same author, speaking of the tree at Anurodgburro,‡ in the northern part of the island, which is sacred to Buddou, says, "The due perform-
"ance of this worship they reckon not a little meri-
torious; insomuch that as they report, ninety "kings have reigned there successively, where, by "the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared "not for pains and labour, to build temples and high "monuments to the honour of this god, as if they "had been born to hew rocks and great stones, and "lay them up in heaps. These kings are now happy "spirits, having merited it by these labours." And again he says, "For this god, above all other, they "seem to have an high respect and devotion," &c.

And from other authorities it will appear, that this worship has formerly been by no means confined to

[*Kandy.] [‡ Anurādhapura.]
Ceylon, but has prevailed in several parts of India prior to that of the Brahmans; nay, that this has been the case even so late as the ninth and twelfth centuries of the Christian Æra.

In the well-known* Anciennes Relations, translated from the Arabic by that eminent orientalist Eusebius Renaudot, the Arabian traveller gives this account of the custom of dancing-women, which continues to this day in the Deccan, but is not known among the Hindus of Bengal, or Hindustan Proper.

"There are in India public women, called women "of the idol, and the origin of this custom is this: "when a woman has made a vow for the purpose of "having children, if she brings into the world a pretty "daughter, she carries it to Bod, (so they call the "idol which they adore,) and leaves it with him."†

This is a pretty just account of this custom, as it prevails at this day in the Deccan; for children are, indeed, devoted to this profession by their parents, and when they grow up in it they are called, in Tamil, † Devadâsi, or female slaves of the idol. But it is evident they have changed their master since this Arabian account was written, for there is no idol of the name of Bod now worshipped there. And the circumstance of this custom being unknown in other parts of India, would lead one to suspect that the Brahmans, on introducing their system of religion

* Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mohametans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle. Paris, 1718. 8vo.
† "Il y a dans les Indes des femmes publiques, appelées femmes "de l'idole; l'origine de cette coutume est telle: Lorsqu'une femme a "fait un vocu pour avoir des enfans, si elle met au monde une belle "fille, elle l'apporte au Bod, c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent l'idole qu'ils "adorent, auprès duquel elle la laisse, &c. Anc. Rel. p. 109.
[† The word is Sanscrit, and common to the vernacular languages.]
into that country, had thought fit to retain this part of the former worship, as being equally agreeable to themselves and their new disciples.

The same Arabian travellers give us an account of a very powerful race of Hindu kings, according to them, indeed, the most powerful in India, who then reigned on the Malabar Coast with the title of Balharâ. Their dominion appears to have extended over Guzerat, and the greatest part, if not the whole, of the ancient kingdom of Vijayapûr. For the Arabian geographer quoted by M. Renaudot makes Nahêlvârah the metropolis of these princes, which is, doubtless, Nahervalah, the ancient capital of Guzerat; though M. Renaudot seems not to have known that place; and the rest of the description sufficiently shows the great extent of their dominion southward. M. D’Anville speaks of this race of kings on the authority of the Arabian geographer Edrisi, who wrote in the twelfth century, according to whom it appears that their religion was, even so late as that period, not the Brahmanical, but that of which we are now speaking. M. D’Anville’s words are these: "Edrisi acquaints us with the religion which this prince professed in saying, that his worship was addressed to Bodda, who, according to St. Jerome and Clemens Alexandrinus, was the founder of the sect of the Gymnosophists, in like manner as the Brahmans were used to attribute their institution to Brahmi."†

[* Cp. Sir H. M. Elliot’s History of India, as told by its own Historians, pp. 85—89.]
† “L’Edrisi nous instruit sur la religion que professoit ce Prince, en disant que son culte s’adressoit à Bodda, que selon St. Jerome et St. Clément d’Alexandrie, avoir été l’instituteur des Gymnosophistes comme les Brachmanes rapportoient à Brahma leur institut.” Ant. Geog. de L’Inde, p. 94.
The authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is also cited on the same subject by Relandus in his 11th Dissertation, where, treating of the language of Ceylon, he explains the word Vihâra, above spoken of, in these terms:—

"Vihâra signifies a temple of their principal god Buddou, who, as Clemens Alexandrinus has long ago observed, was worshipped as a god by the "Hindus."*

After the above quotations, the following extract from the voyage of that inquisitive and ingenious traveller M. Gentil, published in 1779, is given as a further and very remarkable illustration of this subject:—

"This system is also that of the Brahmans of our time; it forms the basis of that religion, which they have brought with them into the southern parts of the Peninsula of Hindustan into Madura, Tanjore, and Mysore.

"There was then in those parts of India, and principally on the Coast of Coromandel and Ceylon, a sort of worship, the precepts of which we are quite unacquainted with. The god, Baouth, of whom at present they know no more in India than the name, was the object of this worship; but it is now totally abolished, except that there may possibly yet be found some families of Indians who have remained faithful to Baouth and do not acknowledge the religion of the Brahmans, and who are on that account separated from, and despised by the other castes.

"I have not, indeed, heard that there are any such families in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry; but there is a circumstance well worthy of remark, which none of the travellers that have treated of the Coast of Coromandel and Pondicherry seem to have noticed. It is this, that at a short league's distance to the south of this town, in the plain of Virapatnam, and pretty near the river, we find a statue of granite very hard and beautiful. This statue, which is from three feet to three and a half in height, is sunk in the sand to the waist, and weighs doubtless many thousand weight; it is, as it were, abandoned in the midst of this extensive plain. I cannot give a better idea of it, than by saying, that it exactly agrees with, and resembles the Samana Kodam of the Siamese; its head is of the same form, it has the same features, its arms are in the same attitude, and its ears are exactly similar. The form of this divinity, which has certainly been made in the country, and which in no respect resembles the present idols of the Gentooos, struck me as I passed this plain. I made various inquiries concerning this singular figure, and the Tamilians, one and all, assured me that this was the god Baouth, who was now no longer regarded, for that his worship and his festivals had been abolished ever since the Brahmans had made themselves masters of the people's faith."

* "Ce système est aussi celui des Brames de nos jours; il fait la base de la religion qu'ils ont apportée dans le sud de la presqu'île de l'Indostan, le Madure, le Tanjaour, et le Maissour.

"Il y avait alors dans ces parties de l'Inde, & principalement à la Côte de Coromandel & à Ceylan, un culte dont on ignore absolument les dogmes: le Dieu Baouth, dont on ne connaı̂t aujourd'hui, dans l'Inde, que le nom, etoit l'objet de ce culte; mais il est tout-a-fait
M. Gentil then goes on to say a good deal more upon this subject, in the course of which he supposes that this deity is the Fo of the Chinese, whose worship by their own accounts, was brought from India. And, indeed, the abridgement of the name Pout, mentioned in a note of this paper, which the vulgar Siamese reduce to the single syllable Po, seems to countenance this opinion. But as this is foreign to our present purpose, and the above passages, it is hoped, are sufficient to establish what was proposed, it seems high time to take leave of this subject, with an apology for that prolixity which is inseparable from this kind of discussion.

17th June, 1784.

"aboli, si ce n'est qu'il se trouve encore quelques familles d'Indiens séparées & méprisées des autres castes, qui sont restées fidèles à Bounth, & qui ne reconnaissent point la religion des Bramas.

"Je n'ai pas entendu dire qu'il y ait de ces familles aux environs de Pondichery; cependant, une chose très digne de remarque, & à laquelle aucun des voyageurs qui parlent de la Côte de Coromandel & de Pondichery, n'ont fait attention, est que l'on trouve à une petite liée au sud de cette Ville, dans la plaine de Virapatnam, assez près de la rivière, une statue de Granit très dur & très beau; cette statue, d'environ trois pieds à trois pieds & demi de hauteur, est enfoncée dans le sable jusqu'à la ceinture, & pese sans doute plusieurs milliers; elle est comme abandonnée au milieu de cette vaste plaine; je ne peux mieux en donner une idée, qu'en disant qu'elle est exactement conforme & ressemblante a Sommonacodorn des Siamois; c'est la même forme de tête, ce sont les mêmes traits dans le visage, c'est la même attitude dans les bras, & les oreilles sont absolument semblables. La forme de cette divinité, qui certainement a été faite dans le pays, & qui ne ressemble en rien aux divinités actuelles des Gentils, m'avait frappé lorsque je passai dans cette plaine; je fis diverses informations sur cette figure singulière, les Tamouls m'assurèrent tous que c'était Bounth qu'on ne regar- doit plus; que son culte & ses fêtes estoient cessées depuis que les Bramas s'étoient rendus les maîtres de la croyance du peuple."
II.—Some account of the Sculptures at Mahābalipuram; usually called the Seven Pagodas. By J. Goldingham, Esq.

[From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. 1798.]

These curious remains of antiquity, situate near the sea, are about thirty-eight English miles southerly from Madras. A distant view presents merely a rock, which, on a near approach, is found deserving of particular examination. The attention, passing over the smaller objects, is first arrested by a Hindu pagoda, covered with sculpture, and hewn from a single mass of rock; being about twenty-six feet in height, nearly as long, and about half as broad. Within is the *lingam,* and a long inscription on the wall, in characters unknown.

Near this structure, the surface of the rock, about ninety feet in extent, and thirty in height, is covered with figures in bas-relief. A gigantic figure of the god *Krishna* is the most conspicuous, with Arjuna his favourite, in the Hindu attitude of prayer; but so void of flesh, as to present more the appearance of a skeleton than the representation of a living person. Below is a venerable figure, said to be

[* This temple now contains an image of Ganesa.—Cp. Babington, *infra.*]
the father of Arjuna;* both figures proving the sculptor possessed no inconsiderable skill. Here are the representations of several animals, and of one which the Brahmans name *siṅha*, or lion; but by no means a likeness of that animal, wanting the peculiar characteristic, the mane. Something intended to represent this is, indeed, visible, which has more the effect of spots. It appears evident, the sculptor was by no means so well acquainted with the figure of the lion as with that of the elephant and monkey, both being well represented in this group. This scene, I understand, is taken from the Mahābhārata, and exhibits the principal persons whose actions are celebrated in that work.

Opposite, and surrounded by a wall of stone, are pagodas of brick, said to be of great antiquity. Adjoining is an excavation in the rock, the massy roof seemingly supported by columns, not unlike those in the celebrated cavern in the Island of Elephanta, but have been left unfinished. This was probably intended as a place of worship. A few paces onward is another, and a more spacious, excavation, now used, and I suppose originally intended, as a shelter for travellers. A scene of sculpture fronts the entrance, said to represent *Krishna* attending the herds of Ananda.† One of the group represents a man diverting an infant, by playing on a flute, and holding the instrument as we do.‡ A gigantic figure of the god, with the *gopis*, and several good representations of nature, are observed. The columns

[* A Brahman on the spot states that this figure represents Dronāchāryya, the preceptor of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.*]

[† Nanda?]  
[‡ *Krishna.*]
supporting the roof are of different orders: the base of one is the figure of a Sphynx. On the pavement is an inscription, (see Inscript.) Near is the almost deserted village, which still retains the ancient name Mahabalipuram. The few remaining Brahmans visit the traveller, and conduct him over the rock.

In the way up the rock a prodigious circular stone is passed under, so placed by nature on a smooth and sloping surface, that you are in dread of its crushing you before you clear it. The diameter of this stone is twenty-seven feet. The top of the rock is strewed with fragments of bricks, the remains, as you are informed, of a palace standing on this site. A rectangular polished slab, about ten feet in length, with the figure of a simha couchant, at the south end, is shewn you as the couch of the Dharmaraja. A short way further, the bath used by the females of the palace is pointed out. A tale I suspect fabricated by the Brahmans to amuse the traveller. That some of their own caste had chosen this spot, retired among rocks, and difficult of access, to reside in, and that the bath, as it is called, which is only a rough stone hollowed, was their reservoir for water, would have an air of probability. The couch seems to have been cut from a stone accidentally placed in its present situation, and never to have made a part of the internal furniture of a building. The simha, if intended as a lion, is equally imperfect with the figures of the same animal before mentioned.

Descending over immense beds of stone, you arrive at a spacious excavation; a temple dedicated to Siva, who is represented, in the middle compartment, of a large stature and with four arms; the left foot rests on a bull couchant; a small figure of
Brahmâ on the right hand; another of Vishnû on the left; where also the figure of his goddess Pârvati is observed. At one end of the temple is a gigantic figure of Vishnû, sleeping on an enormous cobra-da-capella with several heads, and so disposed as to form a canopy over the head of the god.* At the opposite end is the goddess Sîvâ with eight arms, mounted on a simha. Opposed to her is a gigantic figure with a buffalo’s head and human body. Between these is a human figure, suspended with the head downwards. The goddess is represented with several warlike weapons, and some armed dwarf attendants; while the monster is armed with a club. In the character of Durgâ, or protector of the virtuous, the goddess is rescuing from the Yamarâja† (the figure with the buffalo’s head) the suspended figure fallen improperly into his hands. The figure and action of the goddess are executed in a masterly and spirited style. Over this temple, at a considerable elevation, is a smaller, wrought from a single mass of stone. Here is seen a slab, similar to the Dharma-râja’s couch. Adjoining is a temple, in the rough, and a large mass of rock, the upper part roughly fashioned for a pagoda. If a conclusion may be drawn from these unfinished works, an uncommon and astonishing perseverance was exerted in finishing the structures here; and the more so, from the stone being a species of granite, and extremely hard.‡

The village contains but few houses, mostly inhabited by Brahmans, the number of whom has, how-

[* Sesha, “the king of the serpent race as a large thousand-headed snake, at once the couch and canopy of Vishnû, and the upholder of the world, which rests on one of his heads.”—Wilson.]

[† Should be Mahishâsura.]  [‡ Cp. Gubbins, infra.]
ever decreased of late, owing to a want of the means of subsisting. The remains of several stone edifices are seen here; and a large tank, lined with steps of stone. A canopy for the pagoda attracts the attention, as by no means wanting in magnificence or elegance.* It is supported by four columns, with base and capital, about twenty-seven feet in height; the shaft tapering regularly upwards is composed of a single stone, though not round, but sixteen-sided; measuring at bottom about five and a half feet.

East of the village, and washed by the sea, which, perhaps, would have entirely demolished it before now but for a defence of large stones in front, is a pagoda of stone, containing the lingam, and dedicated to Siva. Besides the usual figures within, one of a gigantic stature is observed stretched out on the ground, and represented as secured in that position.† This the Brahmans tell you was designed for a Rājā, who was thus secured by Vishnu; probably alluding to a prince of the Vishnu caste having conquered the country, and taken its prince. The surf here breaks far out over, as the Brahmans inform you, the ruins in the city, which was incredibly large and magnificent. Many of the masses of stone near the shore appear to have been wrought. A Brahman, about fifty years of age, a native of the place, whom I have had an opportunity of conversing with since my arrival at Madras, informed me his grandfather had frequently mentioned having seen the gilt tops of

[*The Dolotsava Mandapam, 'porch of the swinging festival,' where the image of the god used annually to be brought out and swung before the people.]

[† It is an image of Vishnu, in a recumbent position. The folds of his garment were apparently mistaken for fetters.—Cp. other notices, infra.]
five pagodas in the surf, no longer visible. In the account of this place by Mr. William Chambers, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, we find mention of a brick pagoda, dedicated to Siva, and washed by the sea;* this is no longer visible; but as the Brahmins have no recollection of such a structure, and as Mr. Chambers wrote from memory, I am inclined to think the pagoda of stone mentioned above to be the one he means. However, it appears from good authorities that the sea on this part of the coast is encroaching by very slow, but no less certain steps, and will perhaps in a lapse of ages entirely hide these magnificent ruins.

About a mile to the southward are other structures of stone, of the same order as those north, but having been left unfinished, at first sight appear different: the southernmost of these is about forty feet in height, twenty-nine in breadth, and nearly the same in length, hewn from a single mass: the outside is covered with sculpture, (for an account of which see Inscriptions:) the next is also cut from one mass of stone, being in length about forty-nine feet, in breadth and height twenty-five, and is rent through the middle from the top to the bottom; a large fragment from one corner is observed on the ground. No account is preserved of the powerful cause which produced this destructive effect. Beside these, are three smaller structures of stone. Here is also the simha, or lion, very large, but, except in size, I can observe no difference from the figures of the same animal northerly. Near the simha is an elephant of stone about nine feet in height, and

[* See page 10, supra.]
large in proportion. Here, indeed, we observe the true figure and character of the animal.

The Brahman before mentioned informed me that their Purānas contained no account of any of the structures here described, except the stone pagodas near the sea and the pagodas of brick at the village, built by Dharmarāja and his brothers. He, however, gave me the following traditional account: That a northern prince (perhaps one of the conquerors) about one thousand years ago was desirous of having a great work executed, but the Hindu sculptors and masons refused to execute it on the terms he offered. Attempting force I suppose, they, in number about four thousand, fled with their effects from his country hither, where they resided four or five years, and in this interval executed these magnificent works. The prince at length discovering them, prevailed on them to return, which they did, leaving the works unfinished as they appear at present.*

To those who know the nature of these people, this account will not appear improbable. At present we sometimes hear of all the individuals of a particular branch of trade deserting their houses, because the hand of power has treated them somewhat roughly; and we observe like circumstances continually in miniature. Why the Brahmans resident on the spot keep this account secret, I cannot determine; but am led to suppose they have an idea, the more they can envelope the place in mystery the more people will be tempted to visit and investigate, by which means they profit considerably.

[* Cp. Gubbins, infra.]*
The difference of style in the architecture of these structures, and those on the coast hereabouts, (with exceptions to the pagodas of brick at the village, and that of stone near the sea, both mentioned in the Purânas, and which are not different,) tends to prove that the artists were not of this country; and the resemblance of some of the figures and pillars to those in the Elephanta cave, seems to indicate they were from the northward.* The fragments of bricks, at the top of the rock, may be the remains of habitations raised in this place of security by the fugitives in question. Some of the inscriptions, however, (all of which were taken by myself with much care,) may throw further light on this subject.

Inscriptions at Mahabalipuram.†

On the lower Division of the Southern Structure and the Eastern Face.

This inscription is above a figure apparently female, but with only one breast, (as at the cave in Elephanta Island.)‡ Four arms are observed; in one of the hands a battle-axe, a snake coiled up on the right side.

[* “There is nothing here of which the prototype cannot be traced in the caves of the north. In plan and design they resemble the Hindu series at Ellora, though many of their details are only to be found at Ajunta and Salsette.”—Fergusson, Jour. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, p. 88.]

[† Cp. Babington, infra.]

[‡ Arddhanárisa, a form of Siva, half male, half female.]
Above a male figure with four arms.

*Northern Face.*

Above a male figure with four arms; a battle-axe in one of the hands.

*Southern Front.*

Above a male figure, with four arms.

Above a male figure.
On the Middle Division, Eastern Face.

Above a male.

Above a male, bearing a weapon of war on the left shoulder.

Northern Face.

Above a male with four arms, leaning on a bull; the hair plaited, and rolled about the head; a string across the left shoulder, as the Brahmans' string of the present day.
Above two figures, male and female. The former has four arms, and the string as above; is leaning on the latter, who seems to stoop from the weight. The head of the male is covered with a high cap, while the hair of the female is in the same form as that of the female figures at Elephanta.

Above two figures, male and female. The former has four arms, and the string.

Above a male figure, with four arms, and the Brahmanical string.
Southern Face.

Above a male figure, with four arms.

Above a male figure, with four arms, leaning on a female, seeming to stoop under the weight.

Above a male, with four arms. A sceptre appears in one hand. This inscription being very difficult to come at, is perhaps not quite correct.

Above a male figure, with four arms.
West Front.

Over a male. The string over the left shoulder, and a warlike weapon on the right.

Another figure on this face, but no inscription above it.

On the Upper Division.

Each front of this division is ornamented with figures, different in some respects from those below: all, however, of the same family.

On the Eastern front is a male figure, (two arms only.) He has two strings or belts; one crossing the other over the shoulder.

Over him is the following inscription, the only one on this division.
The characters of this inscription bear a strong resemblance to those of the inscription in the stone pagoda, near the village mentioned in the first part of the account of the place.

This inscription* is on the pavement of the choultry near the village, very roughly cut, and apparently by different artists from those who cut the former.

[* A scrawl in the modern Telugu character.—Cp. Babington, infra.]
III.—An account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahāmālapūr; illustrated by Plates. By Benjamin Guy Babington, M.B., F.R.S., Sec. R.A.S.

[From Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II. 1830.]

Read July 12th, 1829.

The remains of ancient sculpture, called by Europeans the Seven Pagodas, on the Coromandel Coast, thirty-five miles south of Madras, have long attracted the attention of those who feel an interest in Hindu Archaeology; and, so long ago as the year 1788, formed the subject of a paper in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. The author, Mr. William Chambers, wrote from memory, after an interval of twelve years from the period at which he had visited the scene which he described. His account, unaccompanied as it was by drawings or facsimiles of the inscriptions, could therefore scarcely be expected to be sufficiently minute to answer any further purpose than that avowed by himself, of exciting public attention, and "giving rise to more accurate observations, and more complete discoveries on the same subject." In the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1798, there is a more descriptive account of these temples and excavations, written by Mr. Goldingham, a gentleman of well-known talent, on whose observations, as they were recorded on the spot, we may with confidence rely.
Mrs. Graham is indeed a later writer on the subject: but her remarks are desultory, and her information imperfect, as might be expected from the opportunities presenting themselves to a casual and hasty visitor. In Bishop Heber's narrative, three pages are devoted to a notice of Mahâbalipur. (Pages 216—218, vol. iii.) But the author merely follows the legends of the place, and evidently aims at nothing more than a record in his journal of his impressions on a cursory visit. The testimony, however, which this lamented prelate bears to the degree of skill displayed in these sculptures must, from his acknowledged taste, be looked upon as peculiarly valuable; and it is gratifying to one who has taken much interest in them to find, that he considered "some of the porticos, temples and bas-reliefs as very beautifully executed," and pronounced "the general merit of the work as superior to that of Elephanta."*

With these notices already before the public, it would be superfluous to occupy the attention of the Society with another detailed description of these monuments, and I shall therefore content myself with a reference to Mr. Goldingham's paper, as far as may be necessary to accomplish the objects which I have at present in view. These are, first, to convey a just notion of the merits of the principal sculptures, by means of drawings made on the spot by Mr. Andrew Hudleston and myself, several years since; and, secondly, to throw some light upon the inscriptions found among these temples.

To the legendary accounts of the Brahmans at

Mahâmalaipûr, which are given at such length by Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Graham, I attach little value, because I find that they have not even preserved the memory of the language and character of the inscriptions which here abound; and because this place, in being accounted the work of the five sons of Pându, only shares a tradition common to all the antiquities of unexplained origin in the south of India. So far from believing in the tales of these Brahmans, who are obviously interested in connecting wonderful stories with the remains which they gain a livelihood by shewing to strangers, I even doubt whether Mahâmalaipûr was ever, as asserted by them, the site of a great city, now partly covered by the sea; and still more, whether the gilded summit of one of the five pagodas, said to be so covered, was visible two generations ago. Several circumstances lead me to be sceptical on these points: first, the absence of all remains of buildings,* walls, mounds of rubbish, or broken pottery, such as I have invariably found sur-rounding the site of other ancient cities; secondly, the fruitless attempts made by the late Mr. Ellis and Colonel Mackenzie to ascertain the existence of sunken buildings by careful soundings made off the shore; thirdly, the silence of tradition on other parts of the Coromandel Coast regarding so vast an encroach-ment of the sea,† and consequent loss of land, as must necessarily have taken place to effect the sub-mersion of lofty pagodas still remaining erect, and that too since the formation of the present system of

* The small ruined brick edifice on the top of the rock can hardly be considered an exception.

Hindu mythology, to which the existing sculptures obviously relate; fourthly, the circumstance that the authenticity of the legend must mainly depend on the name of the place as connected with the history of Mahâbali; whereas it will be shewn, when considering the inscriptions, that Mahâbalipûr is not its ancient designation; lastly, the omission of all mention of Mahâbali in the inscriptions, and of any reference to him in the sculptures.*

Although I thus reject the account of the Brahmans on the spot, I have nothing certain to offer in its room. If a conjecture however may be hazard-ed regarding the origin of this place, I should be inclined to believe that its sequestered situation and the picturesque position of the rocks and caves induced certain Brahmans to obtain royal grants for founding an Agrahârat here, and that, in order to increase the sanctity of their temples, they from time to time employed stone-masons (several families of whom reside at Mahâmalaipûr, and appear to have worked the quarries of granite time immemorial) to ornament the rocks with the excavations and sculptures which we now find.

Plate I. represents the sculptured rock, which has been described by Mr. Goldingham in his second paragraph, as occupying a surface about ninety feet in extent and thirty in height, and covered with figures in bas-relief. This subject has been represented in Mrs. Graham’s Journal by an etching copied from an outline belonging to Colonel Mackenzie, the inaccuracy of which will be sufficiently apparent on

[* The Asura Bali is probably represented by one of the figures in plate VI.]

[† A village granted to Brahmans.]
comparing it with my drawing, which was executed with much care and labour by my companion.

During our visit to the Seven Pagodas, we caused the earth to be removed from the lower part of this rock to its base, and thus exposed to full view some figures (see plate II., No. 1), of which the heads alone were before visible.

Not far from the rock last mentioned is the spacious chamber called the Krishna Mandapam, described by Mr. Goldingham in his third paragraph. Of the scene sculptured on the rock facing the entrance, Mr. Hudleston and myself made a joint drawing (see plate II., No. 2); and as this rock is going fast to decay, owing to a spring of water from above, which keeps its surface constantly wet, it is not improbable that in the course of a few years it will be entirely decomposed; it is the more desirable therefore that some record of its subject should be preserved. Several interesting particulars regarding the ancient Hindus may be gathered from this pastoral scene. The dress of the females resembles that now worn by the Neyris* and Tiyyattist† of Malabar, who are uncovered above the waist. The men, it appears, wore turbans, and the women very large ear-rings, with bangles on their hands and feet. The peculiar practice of carrying the infant on the hip, which cannot fail to attract the notice of Europeans at the present day, was then in use; and even the vertical arrangement and method of tying together the three earthen vessels here represented, is recognized by all

[* Nāyar (Nair) women appear to be referred to, but the word is incorrect.]

[† Females of the Tiyyar (Tier) caste.]
Hindu visitors as being universally adopted by the modern Gopālas.* The execution of this work is coarse, and the design rude; and though particular parts have much merit, yet the limbs of the principal figures are clumsy and ill-proportioned, the attitudes forced, and the countenances without expression.

Greatly superior is the skill displayed by the artists employed in the excavation described by Mr. Goldingham in his fifth paragraph;† but even here, under the same roof, there is much inequality in the execution of the different subjects. The central compartment (see plate III., No. 1), and that on the left on entrance (see plate III., No. 2) are tame performances, compared with the very spirited representation of Durgā seated on her lion, and attacking Mahishāsura, which occupies the right compartment.‡ (See plate IV.) I have no hesitation in pronouncing this to be the most animated piece of Hindu sculpture which I have ever seen; and I would venture to recommend that a cast of it should, if possible, be taken for this Society. In the meantime, a tolerably just notion may be formed of its merits from the excellent and accurate delineation of Mr. Hudleston.

The smaller temple, which Mr. Goldingham mentions as placed at a considerable elevation above that just alluded to, and wrought out of a single mass of rock, is so rich in sculpture and ornament, and occupies so picturesque and sequestered a spot, that it is surprising he should have passed it over with so slight a notice. This excavation is in form a parallelogram, open on one of the longer sides, where it is supported on two columns. It contains four large

[* Cowherds.] [† P. 32-33, supra.] [‡ Cp. Braddock, infra.]
compartments or panels of sculpture; namely, one at each end, and one on each side of the central recess opposite the entrance; besides two niches occupied by Dwârapâlas.* The Varâha Avatâra represented in plate V., is placed at the left end of the chamber. Plate VI., the subject of which seems to be some incarnation of Vishnu,† fills the compartment at the opposite end. On the right of the recess a female deity‡ appears, surmounted by an umbrella (see plate VII., No. 1); whilst on the left is a female figure§ seated on a lotus throne, and attended by damsels who bear water-pots, to be discharged in turn over her head by the elephants seen in the background (see plate VIII.) The position of the Dwârapâlas will be seen in plate VIII., No. 2. Of the columns which support the front of the excavation, as well as of the side pilasters, I have thought it worth while, on account of their beauty and singular order, to furnish drawings (plate VII., Nos. 2 and 3); while the general appearance of the cave-temple will be best understood by reference to plate IX.¶

There are several other pieces of sculpture contained in small temples among the rocks, not noticed either by Mr. Chambers or Mr. Goldingham; and of these, plate X., Nos. 1, 2, 3, are examples.

The Dolotsava Mandapam,|| seen in the centre of the village, is remarkable for the lightness and elegance of its construction. It is of granite, and is

[* Door-keepers.]
[† The dwarf incarnation, Vâmana Avatâra.]
[‡ Bhadrakâll, a form of Pârvati.]
[§ Pârvati, as Devî.—Cp. plates 30 and 33 in Moor’s Hindu Pantheon.—But the Vaishnavas call the figure Gaja Lakshmi.]
[¶ The writer has omitted to mention that the ceiling is painted.]
[|| See note * p. 34, supra.]
supported on four columns, which rise from a platform elevated by three steps. (See plate XI., No. 1.) The shafts of the columns with the base are hewn from a single stone, and, including the capital, are twenty-seven feet in height.

The stone pagoda on the sea-shore, which serves as a land-mark for shipping, and is erroneously stated by Mr. Chambers to be built of brick, is delineated in plate XI., No. 2; and the gigantic figure lying stretched on the floor in one of its recesses, in plate XII. At the time when this drawing was made, the figure was enclosed in a small chamber; but on a subsequent visit I found that the walls had given way, thus leaving it exposed to the open air. As a record therefore of the state of this pagoda and figure, I regard these drawings as not without value in the collection now presented to the Society; for such is the dilapidated condition of this structure, that the period cannot be far distant when it will no longer exist. The effects of the salt-water spray add much to those of time in hastening its decay.†

Whether this pagoda was dedicated to Vishnu or to Siva, I regard as doubtful: tradition favours the former supposition. At all events, the pillar which stands before it amid the spray of the sea is certainly not a lingam, as some suppose, but merely the stambha or post, which is found, I believe, fronting all Hindu temples of consideration.‡ That this pillar is now near the high-water mark is by no means a convincing

[* P. 10, supra.]

[† The writer greatly under-estimated the strength of this building. There is no probability of its disappearance.]

[‡ See note † p. 11, supra.—The Brahmans say it is a lamp-post, Dipastambha.]
proof that the sea has encroached here, for I see no reason why such a spot should not have been originally selected for its erection. If it be a fact, as mentioned by Bishop Heber, that the sea is receding from most other parts of the Coromandel Coast, it is difficult to conceive why it should advance in this place; such a local encroachment could only be effected by a change in the position of the land, and as the primitive rocks here appear on the surface, this cannot be admitted as a probable occurrence, unless under some violent convulsion of nature. Had the coast been of an alluvial formation at this spot, high tides might have advanced upon it with greater facility.

The five monolithic temples, situated about a mile to the southward of the village, have justly attracted the attention of all who have visited Mahâmalai:pûr.

They are called on the spot रथा: Rathas, or sacred vehicles: but it is obvious, that they were never meant as imitations of those enormous wooden structures, which are so conspicuous in certain Hindu processions. They were probably intended to serve the purpose of temples; but bear evident marks of having been left in an unfinished state; for though highly ornamented on the outside, they have not been excavated within, being merely solid masses of sculptured granite remaining in their original positions.* For the general view of these Rathas, I would refer to Mrs. Graham's plate, which, together with Mr. Goldingham's description, will serve to

[* "The Brahmans found a group of granite boulders lying on the sea-shore, and have carved them into the form of temples, having all the appearance of structural edifices with the advantage of monolithic durability."—Fergusson, Rock-cut Temples of India. London, 1864. Intro., p. xviii.]
convey a notion of these curious remains of antiquity. Several of the basso relievo figures with which they are ornamented are represented in plate XV., and will be further noticed when I come to speak of the inscriptions which are placed over them.

OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Exclusively of a scrap of modern Telugu, very incorrectly designed and rudely sculptured on the floor of the Krishna Mandapam, and in consequence erroneously copied as ancient by Mr. Goldingham (see Asiatic Researches, vol. v. page 80),* I noticed three kinds of inscriptions at Mahâmalaipûr, two of which have hitherto remained undeciphered. It is also highly probable that three other kinds, which I shall have occasion to mention, are to be met with in this neighbourhood.

First. An ancient Tamil inscription is seen on a face of rock by the side of the inner entrance to the Varâhasvâmi pagoda, which is still in use. This would be legible throughout, were it not that a wall, which projects from the rock, cuts off a considerable portion of each line; on this account I did not consider it worth while to take a copy.† From what remains visible, it is certain that the inscription records a grant to the Varâhasvâmi pagoda of a quantity of land, the boundaries of which are very minutely defined, both as respects the property of others, and the cardinal points. The act of donation is attested by numerous witnesses, and the name of the donor is also mentioned. A perfect copy of this inscription might easily be made, if the wall which I have noticed were removed; and as the

[* P. 43, supra.]
[† Cp. Sir Walter Elliot's copy, infra.]
date might possibly thus be ascertained, I would suggest that the Madras Literary Society be recommended to take measures for effecting this object. In order to facilitate the task of deciphering this and similar records, I have drawn out an alphabet (see plate XIII.) from a careful collation of several ancient Tamil inscriptions.*

As it seems probable, from a passage in another ancient inscription hereafter noticed, that Mahâ-malaipūr was a Siva-sthala, I am inclined to consider the Varâhasvāmī pagoda as quite distinct, and probably of a different era from the antiquities,

* The changes which time has produced are in some letters very great; and where characters are so simple as those of the Tamil language, even slight alterations in form give rise to perplexity. I may adduce, as an example, the letter ka, the most ancient form of which was a Latin cross †. In the course of time a top was added to the left side, and the cross bar was curved thus ‡. The next alteration was in the addition of a perpendicular line falling from the left extremity of the top ‡. The top was then extended to the right §, and by prolonging the extremities of the curved line, the modern letter § has at length been formed, or in a still more complicated manner as in the Grantha thus §. In its modern form § it might easily be confounded with the § which, though it now has a tail, was anciently written without one, thus §. Other examples might be given, but they suggest themselves on an inspection of the alphabet itself.

I cannot touch on the subject of ancient Tamil characters without remarking, that their extreme simplicity seems one among many circumstances, which indicate that the language is of very high antiquity. The Sanscrit of the south of India is written in characters (the Grantha) derived from the Tamil, but they are much more complicated, and therefore probably posterior in point of antiquity. The peculiar structure of the Tamil language, wholly dissimilar from the Sanscrit, its deficiency in aspirated consonants, its
properly so called, which belong to this place. The difference of language in the inscription, and the circumstance that the pagoda is a built structure projecting from the face of the rock, and not an excavation, increase the probability of this conclusion. It is not unlikely, however, that there may exist in the sanctuary a subordinate sculpture representing the Varâha Avatâra like that of Krishna and the Gopâlas in the Krishna Mandapam, and of equally ancient date, and that a roof and walls may have been thrown out from this rock, and a temple thus formed.* The Brahmans on the spot did not permit me to enter the sanctuary to ascertain this point.

Throughout this Tamil inscription the place is called Mahâmalaipûr, which signifies the city of the great mountain, evidently with reference to the rocky eminence in the vicinity. This indeed cannot be called a great mountain on account of its size: but the word mahâ may refer to greatness of sanctity, or renown, with equal propriety.

To designate the village Mahâbalipuram, the native name at the present day, is therefore an error, which has led to the assumption that this was the capital of that renowned giant Mahâ Bali, whose kingdom, if it ever actually existed, was on the possession of letters and sounds not found in Sanscrit, its division into dialects, one of which contains but few words of Sanscrit derivation; and lastly, its locality at the southern extremity of India, would seem likewise to indicate an independent origin, and one of at least equal antiquity with the Sanscrit itself; but this is a subject foreign to that now under consideration, and deserving a more lengthened discussion than the limits of a note will allow.

[* This supposition is correct; a temple has been built round an ancient sculpture on the face of the rock, representing the Varâha Avatâra.]
western coast of India, where he is still honoured by an annual festival.

A second kind of character found at Mahâmalai-pûr is in a small monolithic pagoda, now dedicated to Ganesa, and situated on the north side of the hill. It is contained in an inscription (see plate XIV.) of considerable length, but is so faintly cut, and on such rough granite, that the fac-simile which I have furnished, however imperfect, cost me several days' labour to trace. One of the Jain Brahmans, in the employ of Colonel Mackenzie, had such a knowledge of ancient characters somewhat similar to

* Mrs. Graham gives an engraving of this small pagoda, which she says is called the Tir of Arjuna, and she explains the word Tir (properly Têr), to mean a place of religious retirement. The explanation is erroneous, as the word Têr signifies, in Tamil, a car or sacred vehicle, corresponding with the Sanscrit Ratha.

† When Mr. Goldingham wrote his account, this pagoda contained a lingam (see his first paragraph [p. 30 supra]), so that it has passed from the Saivas into the possession of the Vaishnavas since that period. Brahman families of both sects reside on the spot.

‡ In this character there are two forms of affix for long 4, used indifferently as convenience may suggest. Thus, in the first stanza, we find the syllable (का) क 4 in the word kâranam (कारण) made thus कः; while in the eighth stanza the same syllable in the word kâma (काम) is made thus कः. The letters प (p), and श (ś) seem similar in form; but perhaps some slight difference may have escaped my observation. In modern Grantha, an inflection in the middle of the character makes the difference between श and प, thus श and प. So also in the ancient character, the inflection may have been greater in the श than in the प, thus श and प; but I have not upon this supposition felt authorized to depart from the copy which I made on the spot.

§ An old Vaishnava Brahman tells a different tale: he states that the Lingam was taken away, (with an image of Hanumân,) by Lord
this, that on visiting the spot with me, he succeeded in deciphering a great part of this inscription, the language of which is Sanscrit. The following is a translation of the ten slokas which were intelligible, while about two verses at the end were left undeciphered:—

1. May the cause of creation, existence, and destruction, which is itself without cause, the destroyer of Manmatha (desire), be propitious to the desires of the world.

2. May he who is united with Umâ, of many kinds of illusion, without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible wealth, the Lord of Kubera, be counted excellent.

3. May that deity (Siva) protect us all, who is the seat of prosperity, and by whose means Kailâsa disappeared and descended to Pâtâla, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its being with (supported by) the ten-faced (Râvana).

4. May he who bears Siva in his mind engrossed by devotion, and the earth on his shoulders, with as much ease as if it were an ornament, long prevail.

5. By that king of satisfied wishes, with crowds of conquered enemies, who is known by the name of Jayarâja Stambha, this building was made.

Hobart (?) and sent to England, Lady H. giving 20 pagodas to the villagers as a consideration! Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras from Sept. 1794 to February 1798. Mr. Goldingham's account was published in the latter year.]
6. May that fear-inspiring, good-giving, desire-destroying Siva, to whom the earth, space, the moon, fire, the sun, &c., are a body, be victorious.

7. The good-faced among nations (the beauty of the world) sprung from a mother bringing forth heroes, remains without doubt in a place of lotuses, full of sacred waters, and is adorned with all sorts of precious stones.

8 and 9. Siva, the beautiful, sits in the broad lake Siras which teems with (lit. is a mine of) lotuses resembling variegated gems, and is full of water for sprinkling the fortunate and much-loved Kâmarâja, who puts down the pride of his enemies, who is the source (receptacle) of glory, and is earnest in worshipping Siva.

10. He (Kâmarâja) who dwells on the heads of kings, caused this temple of Siva, which resembles the temple on Kailâsa, to be erected for the happiness of the earth.∗

I have lately received from Madras two ancient inscriptions purporting to be from the neighbourhood of Mahâmalaipurâ, and two also have been kindly furnished me by Colonel De Havilland. Of these four, two appear to be identical, which reduces the number to three. Their precise localities I have not the means of knowing, with the exception of one, entitled by Colonel De Havilland, "Sanscrit inscription engraven on the north side of the verandah of a pagoda excavated out of the solid granite, two miles north of Mahâbalipuram." All

[* See Appendix.]
these inscriptions differ in character from each other, but agree precisely in matter; and it is remarkable that the slokas of which they are composed are, with the exception of the last, contained, though in different order, in the inscription copied by me from the wall of the Ganesa pagoda and of which a translation has just been furnished. To state this more in detail, my inscription, which, it is to be observed, is in a character differing again from any of the rest, consists of ten slokas deciphered, besides as much as would probably make two slokas more remaining undeciphered. The other inscriptions consist of five slokas only, with some undeciphered portions, with which I have not thought it worth while to encumber the plate; the first four being in the metre called anushtubh, the last in a variety of the metre called vaitāliya.

The first three slokas in my inscription are not found in the others; my fourth sloka is the same as theirs. The fifth, sixth, and seventh slokas of my inscription are wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth slokas are their first and second, and my tenth is their third. Their fifth sloka I have ascertained, after a very careful comparison, to be quite different from the remaining undeciphered portion of my inscription. Its translation is as follows: "Atiranachanda (he who in battle is very furious), Lord of Kings, built this place called Atiranachandesvara. May Siva, the beloved, accompanied by the daughter (Pārvatī) of the snowy mountain, by Kārtikeya, and their suite of deities, be present in it for ever."

These inscriptions are peculiarly valuable, as giving us at once four different kinds of Sanscrit
writing, whereof two (plate XIV. and plate XV., No. 1.) are, in my opinion, ancient forms of the Grantha, or that character in which Sanscrit is invariably written in the south of India, and in which alone I was able to procure books for study at Madras. The other two will probably be considered as species of ancient Devanâ garî. (See plate XV., Nos. 2 and 3.)

This variety of character, with identity of matter, leads me to think it probable that the inscription itself was a kind of general proclamation sculptured in different places, and modified, as in my inscription, to render it applicable to local circumstances. Whether it will throw light upon the history of Mahâmalaipûr, containing as it does the name of the sovereign who founded the temples to which it has been affixed, is a question which I must leave to be examined by those who have studied the ancient dynasties of the south of India.

A third kind of character at Mahâmalaipûr, or a sixth kind, if we reckon those received from Madras and from Colonel De Havilland, is to be found in the inscriptions over the basso-relievo figures which ornament the monolithic pagodas already mentioned as situated to the southward of the village, and of which several are represented in plate XVI. Neither the Jain Brahman employed by Colonel Mackenzie, nor any other native of India who had seen these inscriptions, was able to decipher them, or to offer any conjecture as to the language in which they were written; and even the learned Mr. Ellis, after repeated visits to this place, was equally unsuccessful in his endeavours. Mrs. Graham, indeed, states that Colonel Mackenzie had found a Brah-
man who read the character so as to pronounce the sounds, but did not understand the language they express. Whether any person did actually thus impose on that gentleman, or whether Mrs. Graham has confounded these inscriptions with the last, I cannot determine, but it is quite certain that, if any person had been able to decipher the character, he would, without any difficulty, have discovered the language to be Sanscrit. It was by assuming this to be the case, that I succeeded in deciphering these inscriptions.*

I beg now to lay them before the Society, together with a transcript in Devanâgarî, and a translation. (See plate XVII.)

It is to be regretted that these inscriptions, instead of containing general information respecting the origin or date of the sculptures, are merely epithets applicable to the figures over which they are placed. At the same time we should remember that their brevity and position, having led to the assumption that they were names of deities, thus rendered the task of deciphering them somewhat less difficult. Unimportant as they are in themselves, a knowledge of them may lead to the acquirement of useful or curious information to be drawn from other sources, and I trust that the Society will indulgently consider the utility of this research, not

* There is one instance, as will be seen on a reference to plate XVII., in which the characters are of the same kind as those in the inscription of the Ganesa pagoda, a proof that both were in use at the same period. It is probable therefore that one was the round, and the other the square form, analogous to the two varieties of Pâli and Ariyam.†

† Áryam is the round, modern Malayâlam character.]
so much with reference to the information actually obtained, as to its general subserviency to the purposes of history.

There are certainly no historical monuments in India more decidedly authentic than the copper and stone inscriptions found in such abundance in many parts of the country, and it is advancing one step to have determined that these, however different the characters in which they are sculptured from those in use at the present day, are all in the Sanscrit language, in which so little change has taken place in the lapse of ages, that, when once we have succeeded in the task of deciphering, all difficulty is at an end, and the record of a remote antiquity is placed intelligibly before us.

These inscriptions, and those at Kenerah in the island of Salsette, one of which, with the modern Sanscrit, and a translation, I laid before the Society on a late occasion, are perhaps the most ancient, at least the most dissimilar from characters at present in use, which I have met with; and I think myself therefore warranted in concluding that there are no inscriptions of Hindu origin to be found in India which may not, by attentive study, be deciphered, and by the assistance of learned natives, afterwards interpreted.

With a view to rendering the characters of these deciphered inscriptions generally applicable, I have added two tables (plate XVIII.): the one containing all the characters found in the inscription in the Ganesa pagoda; the other, those met with over the basso-relievo figures on the Rathas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERS OF THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE GÂMEŠA PACODA AT MAHÂMALÂPUR,</th>
<th>CHARACTERS OF THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS OVER THE BAS-RELIEF FIGURES ON THE RATHAS AT MAHÂMALÂPUR,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>WITH THE CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS IN ROMAN, DEVÂNÂGÂRI, AND GRÂNTI,</td>
<td>WITH THE CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS IN ROMAN, DEVÂNÂGÂRI, AND GRÂNTI,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.—A Guide to the Sculptures, Excavations, and other remarkable objects at Māmallapūr, generally known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas," by the late Lieutenant John Braddock, of the Madras Establishment. To which are added some Archaeological Notes, by the Reverend William Taylor, and a Supplementary account of the remains at Sāluvan Kuppm, by Walter Elliot, Esq.,* of the Madras Civil Service.—Communicated by the Reverend George William Mahon, A.M., Garrison Chaplain, Fort St. George.

[From the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII. 1844.]

In the month of June 1840, I accompanied a small party of friends on a visit to the remarkable remains at Māmallapūr. As our excursion, from its necessary brevity, was likely to prove one of amusement rather than of antiquarian research, and the large quartos of the Asiatic Society are somewhat cumbersome, we borrowed from our friend Mr. Braddock a little pamphlet published by him some years before, which at once served as a guide to what was worth seeing, and explained to such of us as were but slightly acquainted with Hindu Mythology, the subjects and allusions of the various sculptures.

[* Now Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.]
On our return I expressed to Mr. Braddock a desire that he should undertake a fuller account of the place, and suggested that it should combine the useful and entertaining properties of a Guide Book with the more important lucubrations of the scholar. As topics for the latter I named a more satisfactory account of the Inscriptions, and some information, if obtainable, as to the history of Māmallaiśpur and the origin of the excavations and sculptures. With his habitual modesty he seemed to doubt his competency to deal with the latter subjects, but promised to revise and dilate his former paper. I then suggested that he should solicit the assistance of his old and valued friend, the Rev. W. Taylor, in ascertaining something of the history of the place. This gentleman, so well known as an accomplished oriental linguist, having been recently engaged in the examination of the Mackenzie MSS., might, I thought, have discovered amongst them some information tending to throw light on so interesting a subject. Mr. Taylor, it will be seen, has responded with equal good feeling and ability to the request so made to him; and his notes, appended to Mr. Braddock's paper, must be considered as a most valuable addition to it.

As Mr. Braddock proceeded with his work he forwarded the rough sheets for my perusal, with a request that I should suggest any alterations which my more recent visit to the place might enable me to do. The paper was scarcely completed, no time had been granted for revision, I had not even seen its concluding sheets, when the amiable and talented writer was hurried away by one of those rapid attacks which disease sometimes makes on European
constitutions in this climate: and I was called on, all but unexpectedly, to perform the last sad offices for one whom I had so recently seen usefully and actively employed. A marble tablet erected in the Church at Vepery by public subscription, serves to perpetuate the memory of this worthy man; and at the same time to evince the general sense of his Christian virtues, of his scientific acquirements, and of his constant readiness to employ them for the public good.

Some months after Mr. Braddock's death, I was requested by his family to revise and prepare for publication his papers on Mâmallaipûr; a task which I have undertaken not without great diffidence. Had my lamented friend survived, he would, I doubt not, have made many emendations in them, which cannot on many accounts be done by another hand.

It will be seen that neither Mr. Braddock nor Mr. Taylor has treated of the Inscriptions at Mâmallaipûr, otherwise than incidentally. Those who wish for some account of them, may be referred to the valuable article by Dr. Babington in the 2nd Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. He says that he noticed three kinds of inscriptions at "Mâhâmalaipûr," two of which have remained undeciphered, and that it is highly probable that there are other kinds to be met with in the neighbourhood. The first he alludes to is an ancient Tamil inscription on a face of rock, by the side of the inner entrance to the Varâhasvâmi pagoda (No. 29 in the Map).* He gives no copy of it, but states that "it records

[* Plate XX.]
a grant to the Varâhasvâmi pagoda of a quantity of land.** The language of this inscription renders it doubtful whether it is of earlier or later date than some of the others, which are in Sanscrit. Dr. Babington says that throughout this Tamil inscription the place is called "Mahâmalaiipûr," which he translates "city of the great mountain," adding that the word Mahâ may imply "greatness of sanctity or renown." This if correct might be adduced as proof of the more recent age of the inscription; for the hill is by no means remarkable, otherwise than for the "sanctity or renown" which the sculptures may have procured for it. It will be seen, however, that the Rev. W. Taylor speaks of two inscriptions, in which the place is called Mâmallaipûr, with two Í's, and if this orthography is correct, which he seems to think it is, the translation of Dr. Babington is of course overthrown, since mallai does not mean "hill." The present name of the place in common use appears to be Mâvalavaram, and not Mahâbaliipuram, as some have stated. The latter mistake can scarcely be regretted, however, by those who have perused the pleasing fiction which the poetical talent of Southey has embodied in his "Curse of Kehama."

The second kind of inscription mentioned by Dr. Babington appears in the temple dedicated to Ganesa, situated near the north end of the hill, and described in its order by Mr. Braddock. By the assistance of his Jain Brahman in deciphering the characters, Dr. Babington was enabled to translate this inscription; and as it appears that much of the substance of it is repeated in some other inscriptions which he

[** Vide Sir Walter Elliot's translation of this inscription, infra.]
subsequently examined, it may prove interesting to
copy his translation in this place. It consists of ten
slokas deciphered, and there remains undeciphered
about as much as would make two slokas more.

*Translation by Dr. Babington and his Jain Brahman of the ten
first slokas in the Sanscrit Inscription found in the Ganesa Pagoda
at Mâmallaipûr.*

"1. May the cause of creation, existence, and destruction, which is
"itself without cause, the destroyer of Manmatha (desire) be propi-
"tious to the desires of the world.

"2. May he who is united with Umâ, of many kinds of illusion,
"without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible
"wealth, the Lord of Kubera, be counted excellent.

"3. May that deity (Siva) protect us all, who is the seat of pros-
"perity, and by whose means Kailâsa disappeared and descended to
"Pâtâla, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its
"being with (supported by) the ten-faced (Râvana).

"4. May he who bears Siva in his mind engrossed by devotion,
"and the earth on his shoulders, with as much ease as if it were an
"ornament, long prevail.

"5. By that king of satisfied wishes, with crowds of conquered
"enemies, who is known by the name of Jayarâsa Stambha, this
"building was made.

"6. May that fear-inspiring, good-giving, desire-destroying Siva,
"to whom the earth, space, moon, fire, the sun, &c., are a body, be
"victorious.

"7. The good-faced among nations (the beauty of the world) sprung
"from a mother bringing forth heroes, remains without doubt in a
"place of lotuses, full of sacred waters, and is adorned with all sorts
"of precious stones.

"8 and 9. Siva the beautiful, sits in the broad lake Siras, which
"teems with (is a mine of) lotuses, resembling variegated gems, and
"is full of water for sprinkling the fortunate and much-erected
"Kâmarâja, who puts down the pride of his enemies, who is the
"source (repository) of glory, and is earnest in worshipping Siva.

"10. He (Kâmarâja,) who dwells on the heads of Kings, caused
"this temple of Siva, which resembles the temple on Kailâsa, to be
"erected for the happiness of the earth."

Three additional inscriptions were sent to Dr.
Babington by some Madras friends; one by Colonel
De Havilland from the "north side of a verandah of " a pagoda (No. 30 in the Map)* excavated out of the "solid granite, two miles north of the place." Of these Dr. Babington says, "all these inscriptions "differ in character from each other, but agree pre- "cisely in matter; and it is remarkable that the "slokas of which they are composed, are, with the "exception of the last, contained, though in different "order, in the inscription copied by me from the wall "of the Ganesa pagoda. My inscription is in a "character differing again from any of the rest. "The other inscriptions consist of five slokas only, "with some undeciphered portions. The first "three slokas in my inscription are not found in the "others; my fourth sloka is the same as theirs. The "fifth, sixth, and seventh slokas of my inscription are "wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth slokas "are their first and second, and my tenth is their "third. Their fifth sloka I have ascertained after a "very careful comparison, to be quite different from "the undeciphered portion of my inscription. Its "translation is as follows:—

"Atirnachandha (he who in battle is very furious) Lord of Kings "built this place, called Atirnachandavara. May Siva the beloved, "accompanied by the daughter (Pārvatī) of the snowy mountain, by "Kărlikeya, and their suite of deities, be present in it for ever."

The third kind of inscription is found over the figures on the monolithic temples to the south of the village. So completely have these characters become obsolete, that none of the learned natives consulted were able to decipher them. After considerable trouble, Dr. Babington himself succeeded in doing so.

It might reasonably have been expected that these

[* Plate XXI.]
inscriptions would have thrown some light on the origin or probable age of the sculptures, excavations, and themselves. They afford no very precise information at all. The appellations given to the prince or princes who "caused the erections," are mere epithets, by which no individual can with certainty be identified, (vide Mr. Taylor's note d); and were it possible to do this, the chronology must still be in a very great degree theoretical. I perfectly agree in opinion with Mr. Taylor that there is little in the sculptures themselves, if we except the Rathas, the Varāhasvāmī Pagoda, the Ganesa temple and the temple at Sāluvan Kuppam, to justify the supposition of their very great antiquity. Most of them are in the most perfect preservation, and present a freshness of appearance which creates an involuntary idea of their almost recent execution. The subjects of the sculptures too are an evidence that they are not of very remote antiquity. They are representations of various personages and incidents in Hindu mythology, and are chiefly borrowed from the famous poem, the Mahābhārata. This and the language of the inscriptions which is Sanscrit, or Tamil with Sanscrit derivatives, mark the presence of the Brahmanical faith. Now it appears from Mr. Taylor's researches, that previous to the seventh century of the Christian era, the whole of the district in which Māmallaipūr stands was occupied by the Kurumbas, a half-civilized people of the Jaina religion; and it was about that period or probably later that, under the auspices of Adondai, a prince whose capitals were Conjeveram and Tripati,* the Brahmans were intro-

[* Prop. Kāṇchi puram, Tirupati.]
duced into this part of the country. The extent of the works, and the labor and expense bestowed on them seem to indicate a long established Brhamanical influence; and it will be seen from Mr. Taylor's note (c) that an historical paper amongst the Mackenzie MSS. affords grounds for supposing that at least some of these excavations, &c., were executed so lately as the seventeenth century by a prince denominated Siũhamaṇāyudu. The supplementary paper by Walter Elliot, Esq., relating to the remains at Sāluvan Kuppam, serves to suggest a much earlier date than the latter for certain of these remarkable productions which he therein specifies.

Works of this nature have been executed in all parts of the world during the earlier stages of civilization. Rocky caves formed by nature offer a congenial shelter for the gloomy rites of a dark superstition, a ready defence from the attacks of enemies or the inclemency of the weather, and supplied appropriate receptacles for the remains of the dead. In the most ancient times the Holy Scriptures speak of caves as places of residence and refuge, as well as of sepulture. Many of these natural recesses were greatly enlarged and rendered more commodious or better adapted for the purposes of shelter and defence by human labor and art. This may still be traced in several countries of the East. Maundrell has described a cave near Sidon, whose sides contain two hundred smaller caverns. Sir R. K. Porter has given an interesting account of a cavern or labyrinth in the mountain of Kerestó, in Eastern Kurdistan. Similar excavations are found according to the same authority at Maraga in Media; in the mountains near the lake Sivan, and near the site of Artaxata,
the ancient capital of Armenia. The sepulchral caves of Egypt have been admirably illustrated by Belzoni. Sir Alexander Burnes has given an interesting account of the sculptures and caves at Bameean. Those at Elephanta and Ellora are well known in India: and such as are interested in these remarkable records of past times should not overlook the description and beautiful sketches of Petra by Laborde. Amongst the savages of North-Western Australia, Captain Gray has discovered sculptured rocks and painted caverns. In this way nature appears to have suggested to mankind the earlier efforts of art.

The Rathas, or monolithic temples to the south of the village, are probably the most ancient of the remains at Mamallaipūr. Their inscriptions are in a character so completely obsolete, that the most learned natives, according to Dr. Babington, are unable to decipher them. This species of sculpture is remarkable, and much more rare than mere excavations. It was, however, practised by the ancient Egyptians, and Herodotus (Lib. ii. cap. 155) has given a short description of a monolithic temple of Latona, which stood at Buto, near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile. He says it measured 40 cubits or 60 feet in height, breadth, and width: and its roof consisted of a separate stone, four cubits high. This temple, which must have been conveyed to its site, must have weighed on the lowest computation upwards of 5,000 tons. At the 175th chapter of the same book, he describes another monolithic temple at Sais, which had been brought thither by King Amasis from Elephantine, the island opposite Syene, immediately below the first cataract; a distance of twenty days' sail, or of 700 miles by land. The outside measure-
ment of this monolith he states to be—length, 21 cubits; breadth, 14; and height, 8: the inside measurement was—length, 18 cubits and 1 pygon; breadth, 12 cubits; and the height, 5 cubits. Taking the cubit in round numbers at 1 foot 6 inches and the pygon at 1 foot 3 inches, the temple must have been externally 31 feet 6 inches long, 21 feet broad and 12 feet high; and internally 28 feet 3 inches long, 18 feet broad, and 7½ feet high. This monolith then was inferior in point of mere size to the largest of those at Mâmallaipûr; the dimensions of which externally, according to Mr. Goldingham, are as follows:—length 49 feet, breadth 25 feet, and height 25 feet. But we must remember that while these are in loco naturae, being cut in fact from large boulders or distinct masses of granite, the monolith of Amasis had to be conveyed to its site by manual labor; and Herodotus affirms that two thousand boatmen were occupied in its removal for a period of upwards of three years. After all indeed it was not placed precisely where the king had proposed; for which two reasons are assigned. First, that the architect, weary of the labor and time expended on the work, heaved a deep sigh as the workmen were dragging it forward, which Amasis interpreted as an unfavorable omen; and secondly, that one of the workmen, having unfortunately fallen under the moving mass, was crushed to death, and on this account it was allowed to remain where it then was. Mr. Burton, in his excerpta (plate 41) gives a representation of a similar monolith said to be of the same king, and found at Tel-et-mai. This measures externally 21 feet 9 inches high, 13 feet broad, and 11 feet 7 inches deep; and internally 19 feet 3 inches high, 8 feet broad, and 8 feet 3 inches deep.
The sculptured rocks at Mamallapür, (on which is represented the penance of Arjuna,) are by no means without their parallel. This primitive application of the art of sculpture seems an obvious mode of perpetuating the memory of events, historical or mythological, and has been adopted from the earliest ages. On the rocks of the river Lycus, near Beirut in Syria, are still to be seen the figure in relief, and the name inscribed, of Remeses the great king of Egypt, who is supposed to have flourished about B. C. 1350, and was therefore contemporary with Ehud and Shamgar mentioned in the book of Judges: but early Egyptian chronology is so exceedingly uncertain, that the era of Remeses must always be conjectural. Not far from this is another sculpture of a Persian king, and an inscription in the arrow-headed character, which not having been yet deciphered affords likewise no conclusive evidence as to its age. Copies of these have been made by Bonomi. No Christian can have forgotten the exclamation of Job, "Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" (Chap. xix., 23, 24.) And from some remains in the wady Mokatteb, and in other valleys near the mountains of Sinai, it would seem that the art of "engraving" on rocks is in those regions of great antiquity. Figures of men and animals accompany those inscriptions; the characters of the latter are for the most part unknown in the present day. These inscribed rocks extend in one place for about three hours march, and are mentioned by Burkhardt, Laborde, and other travellers.

At Be-Sitoon, near Kermansheh in Persia, is a
stream above whose fountain-head is a projecting rock containing the remains of an immense piece of sculpture. The great antiquity of this interesting relic is evidenced by the successive mutilations it has suffered, to afford room for subsequent inscriptions, as well as by the ordinary operations of time upon both it and them. By Mr. Macdonald Kinnier this bas-relief has been supposed identical with one spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias; who certainly had peculiar advantages for obtaining accurate information connected with Persian tradition and history. He says, "We are informed by Diodorus Siculus that Semiramis, in her march to Ecbatana, encamped near a mountain called Bagistan, in Media. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guards that were lanceteers, standing round her; she wrote likewise in Assyrian letters on the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardles of the beasts that followed her one upon another." There are many points of resemblance between the mountain of Be-Sitoo and that of Bagistan described by Diodorus Siculus; and supposing Mr. Kinnier to be right in his conjectures, we have here the remnants, for they are unfortunately no more, of a bas-relief executed at the lowest computation 800 years before the Christian era. Throughout ancient Media and Persia sculptured rocks, of various ages, repeatedly occur: a great many of these bas-reliefs, however, appear to belong to the Sassanian era: (from A. D. 226 to A. D. 632.)

These introductory notes have, I fear, already become too long and tedious; it only remains, there-
fore, that I acknowledge my obligations to Walter Elliot, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, to whose friendly kindness I am indebted for the very valuable supplementary paper on the remains at Sāluvan Kuppam, as well as for a map of Māmallaipūr drawn in 1808 by Colonel Mackenzie. The latter I have reduced, and by numbering the several objects both in it and in Mr. Braddock's description, I have endeavoured to render the whole a more useful guide to those who may dedicate a few spare hours to a visit to this interesting spot. The sculptures are for the most part such as do mark no very advanced state of art. They possess none of that finished elegance and refined taste, and but little of that purer poetic spirit which characterize the productions of Europe. Still they are highly deserving attention as the best specimens of native skill to be met with, I believe, in Southern India; and will not be undervalued by those who are capable of comprehending the extent to which art, even in its earliest infancy, has contributed to the civilization of mankind.

G. W. M.

Fort St. George.


I shall commence my account of these curious sculptures and ruins with a small dilapidated temple built within fifty yards of the northern termination of the hill. (No. 1.)* It is a rectangular building

[* The Nos. in this paper refer to plates XX. and XXI.]
of plain hewn stone devoid of ornament: 24 feet long, 15 feet broad, and about 12 feet high. It has two apartments, the innermost of which contains a black stone lingam, neatly executed and in good preservation, notwithstanding that from the absence of roofing it is exposed to the weather. This temple is completely overshadowed with trees, which have taken root in the walls, and whose branches forcing their way through the joints of the stones have contributed much to its dilapidation and present ruinous appearance.

At a short distance to the eastward of this pagoda lies the Group of Monkeys (No. 2) spoken of in the Asiatic Researches, in an account of this place written in 1784. The group, now much buried in the sand, consists of a male, a female, and a young one. The male monkey with a laudable love of cleanliness is studying the head of its partner with the most friendly attention, and the young one is satisfying its hunger. At a little distance lies a mutilated figure of Ganesa or Pillaiyar, the Hindu God of highways, &c., of whom I shall speak presently.

Looking towards the south, a loose mass of rock (No. 3) will be seen resting on a slope of the hill, apparently on so mere a point, that it seems as though a small force would dislodge it and roll it headlong on the plain. Its circumference is 68 feet, and its height about 25. From the eastward it has a circular appearance; from other points of view its figure is irregular.

[* Cp. Chambers, p. 4, supra.*]
[† Not found there now (1863).]
[‡ Mr. Goldingham gives its diameter as 27 feet.]
On the western face of the northern termination of the hill, not far south of the pagoda just described, may be found, after a little search, a circular cistern cut out of a solid stone.* It is 8 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 4 feet deep, but cracked.

Near this cistern the face of the rock is carved and ornamented to the extent of 28 feet in length by 14 feet in height. There are three large excavated niches (No. 4) with a flight of four steps leading into each. Figures are sculptured on each side the entrances. The centre or principal niche contains a figure of Mahâdeva and four other figures cut on the back wall. The other two niches contain a figure of Vishnû and four others. This rock faces the northwest, and to the right or south of it is an imperfect representation of Durgâ, eight-handed, and trampling under foot the head of Mahishâsura, whose story will be told presently. On the eastern face of this rock are carvings of a well-proportioned elephant five feet high, and the heads of three smaller elephants; with those of a monkey and of a peacock.† The communication between the eastern and western faces of this rock is through a cleft at the north end of it.

At a short distance in a south-westerly direction from this place is an excavation in the solid rock (No. 5) measuring 22 feet long, 9 feet 6 inches deep, and

[* Called the 'Gopis' churn' by the Brahmans, who have also named the boulder on the slope of the rock 'Krishna's butter-ball.'—Op. Bruce's Scenes and Sights in the East, pp. 130—132.]

[† "The head of the elephant is admirably finished. Perched above the elephant is a monkey, the figure and attitude of which are exquisitely faithful to life. The flow of its tail is full of expression, and is a study in itself. The whole face is marked by the anxious and mischievous spirit so natural to this creature."—Bruce, p. 133.]
8 feet high. The top is supported by two plain, strong, square pillars. It contains a square niche, on each side of which is a figure, probably that of Pārvatī, a goddess who will be introduced to the reader presently. This excavation is on the western face of the hill, which is a continuous range of granite masses.

Still keeping on the same side, at 100 or 150 yards southward from the last excavation we come to another (No. 6) containing five niches, with steps leading into three of them; and two rows of pillars, four in each. This excavation is 36 feet long, 16 feet deep, and nearly 10 feet high. The niches contain each a kind of recess, (intended probably for a group of figures,) and a circular trench, (intended probably for lingams.) A figure is carved on each side of all the niches at the entrance. Four steps lead into this temple which faces north-west, half-west.

Adjoining is a rough excavation 36 feet long, 10 deep, and 10 high. In the middle is a large niche, also rough. About 12 feet of the rock appear to have been cut away before sufficient height was obtained for the front. This occurs in other places also; and a platform or level space is thus formed in the rock in front.

About half a mile westward, at the western extremity of the Palmyra tope which is on the west of the hill, there are three small unfinished temples sculptured out of solid detached masses of stone, (No. 7): but as more elaborately finished and larger temples of the same description will be described hereafter, I shall not dwell on these smaller ones. I would now lead the reader back to the large stone before described as resting on the slope of the rock on the eastern side of the hill, (No. 3.)
Proceeding southerly from this stone, you presently arrive at a temple fashioned out of the rock, (No. 8,)* and ornamented according to a style of architecture wholly different from that of this part of India in the present day. The top is elliptical, and bears considerable resemblance to the gothic style. The pillars which support a verandah on the western side are, I think, similar to columns which I have seen in the sketches of Egyptian Ruins by M. Denon. This temple is 28 feet high, 20 feet long, and 11 feet 6 inches broad. On the western face, at what may be called the foundation, there is a rent in the rock, which causes the temple to incline a little out of the perpendicular towards the south-east. This handsome structure (if so it may be termed), has a verandah and a niche, the latter containing an image of Ganesa, which, blackened by smoke and ghee, is still an object of adoration to the people of the village. Their Brahmans, I was told, propitiate the stone deity every Friday with lustrations of ghee and cocoanut oil, and certain rites and prayers. The inner wall of the verandah, south of the niche, bears an inscription in the same kind of character as that hereafter noticed. According to Dr. Babington, (Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 2, pp. 265-6,† and plate XIV.) this inscription consists of verses in praise of Siva.‡ I have stated that this temple contains an image of Ganesa, and as this is the second time that Ganesa has been mentioned, it may be right to state who and what he is.

[* Called by the Brahmans 'Arjuna's Ratha,'—See note* p. 56, supra.]
[† Pp. 56, 57, supra.]
[‡ See Dr. Babington’s translation of this inscription in the introductory notes, [p. 67, supra.] M.
Colonel Moor, in his Hindu Pantheon, says—that Ganesa* is the God of prudence and policy, and the reputed eldest son of Siva or Mahâdeva and Pârvatî. He is represented with an elephant’s head; generally with four hands, but sometimes with only two, and sometimes with six or eight. He is said to be propitiated by Hindus of all sects in the outset of any business: if a house is to be built, a book written, or a journey commenced, Ganesa is invoked.

It is very common for Hindu authors to give different versions of the same tale, and there are different accounts of the manner and cause of Ganesa’s possession of an elephant’s head. One relates that Vishnu and Ganesa fought, and that Ganesa would have been triumphant, but that Siva (his father!) cut off his head: whereat his mother Pârvatî, being very much distressed and offended, proceeded to revenge the act by performing such austerities as, had they continued, would have deranged the destinies of the universe. This alarmed the whole congregation of the gods, who intreated Siva to restore Ganesa to life. He consented to do so, but the severed head could not be found: it was determined therefore to place on the headless trunk the cranium of the first animal they met with, which proved to be an elephant. There is another story to this effect, that Mahâdeva and Pârvatî quarrelled; their quarrel was followed by a reconciliation; and their reconciliation by the birth of Ganesa. On this joyful occasion all the gods came to congratulate Pârvatî; but one of them,† whose name I have forgotten, kept his eyes cast

[* Lord (i.e) of a troop (gana); so called, because he is chief of the subordinate gods attendant upon Siva.—Wilson.]

[† Sani (Saturn.)]
down and forebore to look up. The goddess observing this asked him the reason of it; when he told her that he was doomed to injure whomsoever he looked upon, and therefore would not venture to look on the child. Pârvatî would not believe that any injury could be done, and urged him to admire her beautiful Ganesa. But no sooner did he lift up his eyes, than the child’s head vanished. This unexpected result astounded Pârvatî, who had no sooner recovered from her first surprise, than she gave such passionate vent to her feelings, that Vishnu, apprehensive of the consequences, flew to the banks of the Ganges, and brought thence the head of an elephant, which he placed on Ganesa’s shoulders.

Passing the north-western front of the temple just described, and following the foot-path which leads through a narrow acclivity formed by rocks and bushes on either side, we come to an excavation with a very pretty frontage, on the left hand. (No. 9.) It is hewn in the side of the hill, is 22 feet long, 11 feet deep, and 10 feet 6 inches high. Of this excavation and of the imagery within it, plates are given in the second Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society’s Transactions.*

On the wall, at the right hand or south-west end, there is a group of figures representing the Vâmana Avatâra, or fifth incarnation of Vishnu, undertaken by him to punish pride and presumption. The story is this:

Mahâbali, a prince who lived in the Treta yuga, or the second age, was so elated by his prosperity, that he omitted to perform the more essential sacrifices to the

[* See plates V.—IX., supra.]
gods. This being highly offensive to them, Vishnu, determined to check so bad an example, became incarnate and assumed the form of a wretched Brahman dwarf. Mahâbali was at that time in possession of the whole universe, having previously acquired this dominion in consequence of his signal piety, or punctual performance of certain austerities and rigorous acts of devotion. Vishnu, in the shape just mentioned, appeared before him, and asked as a boon so much of his wide possessions as he could pace in three steps. This the monarch readily undertook to grant, at the same time desiring him to ask something more worthy for a prince to bestow. The pretended Brahman, however, professed his content with what he had already requested, and the king proceeded to ratify his promise by pouring water into the petitioner's hand, which was, it would seem, the most solemn mode of confirming a grant. As he was doing this, the size of the dwarf grew larger and continued to expand until it filled the whole earth. Vishnu then discovering himself, deprived Mahâbali in two steps of earth and heaven; but in consideration of his previous virtue and general good conduct, he deprived him of no more, but left to his government the kingdom of Pâtâla, a lower or inferior world, said to be the abode of serpents. Some say that the water used in this transaction for the purpose of ratification fell from Vishnu's hand on the head of Siva, and flowing thence, formed the origin of the Ganges.

Vishnu in this character is sometimes called "Trivikrama," "the three-step taker." In this sculpture he is represented eight-handed, and in the act of stepping prodigiously: the right foot is on the
ground, and the left is raised sideways as high as his head. It looks, therefore, as it is, very unnatural, for the articulation of the head of the thigh bone in its socket would not admit of such a position. The subordinate figures do not appear to illustrate the story, or at least the version above given of it. Perhaps another circumstance should be related, and the imagination may be allowed under some restriction to be the interpreter: but even then only a part of the figures seem to be connected with the tale.

It is said that Sukra, regent of the planet Venus and guru of the Asuras, acting as mantri, or minister, of Mahâbali, faithfully informed the king of the deceit that was being practised upon him. There is a figure with a dog-like head speaking to another, who seems to rest his chin on his right hand in deep reflection. These two figures occupy the upper part of the sculpture on the left of Vishnu. Below them are two figures in human shape represented as falling. Perhaps the former may represent Sukra and Mahâbali at the moment when the prince was first made acquainted by his counsellor with the true character of the dwarf, but was too proud to withdraw his royal pledge: and the latter the same after he had fallen from his high estate: or the two falling figures may imply that the two steps of Vishnu had deprived him of the dominion of heaven and earth. What the rest of the figures may illustrate, I do not conjecture.

On the wall of the opposite or north-eastern end is a sculptured delineation in bas-relief of the Varâha

[* Priest and preceptor, not minister.]

[† Cp. the passages descriptive of the dwarf incarnation given in Muir's Sanscrit texts, Part IV., pp. 114—131.]
Avatâra. Among the legendary stories of the Hindus, several different accounts are given of Vishnu's reasons for taking on himself this incarnation, and particularly why he assumed the shape of a boar. Among others it is said that a Daitya, or evil spirit, named Hiranyâyâksha, gained from Brahmâ by his scrupulous piety and the performance of penances of very great efficacy, a promise that he should have given to him anything he asked. Accordingly he desired universal dominion, and exemption from being hurt by the bite or power of any living creature. He enumerated all animals and venomous reptiles that bite or sting, except the boar, which was forgotten. His ambitious desires were no sooner obtained than he became exceedingly presumptuous, proud, and wicked; and forgetting the great power of the gods, he ran away with the whole earth, and plunged it and himself into the depths of the sea! This singular exploit made the interposition of the preserving power necessary; and Vishnu changing himself into the form of a boar, plunged into the ocean; fought a dreadful battle which lasted a thousand years; at length slew the impious Daitya; brought back the earth on his tusks, and restored it to its usual good order, peace, and tranquillity. *

The sculptures illustrative of the story appear to refer to a period subsequent to the battle, for the figures supply the imagination with the idea that the boar-headed deity is now solacing himself after the toils and dangers of his thousand years' conflict.

[* There appears to be confusion here between the story of Hiranyakasipu and the legend of the death of his brother Hiranyâksha.—Cp. Vishnupurâsa, Book L., chap. 4, Wilson's note (p. 62, Vol. L, 8vo. edn. by Hall) and chap. 17. Also Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 29 ff.]*
The principal figure, Vishnu (four-handed), is executed with considerable spirit. He stands firmly on the left leg. The right leg is raised, and the foot rests on the head of another figure. On the right knee sits a female; Vishnu's left hand grasps the small part of her right leg, and his right hand passes behind her, a little lower than the waist, while he regards her with interesting pig-headed gravity. His two remaining hands hold a conch shell and the chakra.* Below Vishnu's right leg is the upper portion of a figure with the hands raised as in prayer, its lower part being immersed in what may be supposed a representation of the waves of the sea, (the rock being here very rough and unfinished.) Another figure, rising out of this imaginary water, is also in a posture of supplication; and there are other accessories, but they do not appear to explain the story.

From the back wall of this excavated fane is a projection measuring 7 feet 9 inches broad and 3 feet 6 inches deep. It contains an empty niche, in which, however, may be traced the outlines of a deity, which the chisel of the workman has not brought into being. A flight of three small steps leads into the niche, and on either side its entrance, as well as at each end formed by the projection, is a figure in bas-relief, with the name, attributes, or office of which I am unacquainted.

Sculptured on the back wall between this niche and the north-east end of the excavation is a female figure, probably Devi or Pârvati, the consort of Siva, bathing. She is attended by her females and two

*The chakra is a circular piece of metal, not unlike our discus or quoit. M.
elephants, one of which is pouring a vessel of water over her, and the other is receiving another vessel from the hands of one of her attendants."

On a similar space to the south of the niche is another female figure, which I take to be a representation of the same great personage; in this, however, I am not positive.† On each side of the principal figures are two bulky little fellows, and a fourth figure of a more natural size. There are also two heads of animals, one somewhat similar to an antelope's, the other intended perhaps for that of a tiger.

The front of this excavation is supported by two columns and two pilasters of a handsome style of architecture. The ceiling is ornamented with flowery sculpture, but has several cracks in it running lengthways; i. e. in a north-east and south-westerly direction.

About eighty yards west of this place, on the top of the hill, may be found, after a little research, the stone bed, with a lion for its pillow, which, in the account published in the Asiatic Researches already alluded to, is called the Dharmarâja's lion-throne, (No. 10); and at a trifling distance S. W. of this, is the bath of Draupâdi. The lion and bed measure in length 9 feet 6 inches, and in breadth 3 feet 6 inches; the lion is 18 inches high, and stretching across the south end appears as if intended for a seat or pillow. The bed lies due north and south, and is hewn out and fashioned on the surface of the solid rock. There is not the least appearance of the place having once been an apartment of a palace, as intimated in that account: the top of the hill here-
about is indeed quite uneven and irregular, and abounds with immense blocks and masses of granite.

There is nothing more which merits notice on the surface of the hill, if we except numerous mortice holes, which may be seen running parallel to its western edge, and many small flights of steps cut in several parts of the rocks.

Leaving the top of the hill, and descending by the path in front of the temple last mentioned, at a few feet south-east of the pagoda which contains the image of Ganesa, will be found sculptured in bas-relief, on the eastern faces of two large rocks, the story of the Tapas (No. 11) or intense penance of Arjuna. These two rocks adjoin each other, being divided only by a fissure. They measure 84 feet in length, and about 30 feet in height.

In this group of sculptures, the principal figure, that of Arjuna, is not the largest. He is seen on the left of the fissure in the posture of penance; his arms are raised above his head, his right leg is lifted up. He is supposed to stand on the great toe of his left foot. His arms and right leg appear withered, but his left leg is of the natural size. His chest and ribs are prominent, but the stomach and abdomen sunken; the whole figure representing emaciation from long fasting. Besides this figure there is a multitude of others both of men and animals; and among the latter two well-proportioned elephants as large as life. The largest of them measures 17 feet from the proboscis to the tail, and 14 feet in height. The smaller is in height 10 feet, and in length 11. Under the belly of the larger elephant there is a small one, with the heads and trunks of two others, while the head of a fourth is seen between his proboscis and
fore feet. These figures of elephants are cut on the right hand rock on a level with the ground. On the rock to the left, near the fissure, and below the figure of Arjuna, is a neat little temple,* with a niche and a figure† in it. Just within the fissure itself is a figure like that of the Mermaid, but in the native languages it has a name purporting half-woman and half-snake.‡ Scattered over the face of both rocks there are many representations of men, ascetics, monkeys, lions (or what are meant for lions), tigers, antelopes, birds, satyrs and monstrous animals which it would puzzle a naturalist of the present age to nomenclate.§ The whole are executed with considerable spirit, and occupy a space of about 2,400 square feet. A plate giving a representation of these sculptures is published in the 2nd Vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¶

* At the south-east corner of this little cave, in a sitting and stooping posture, and entirely detached from the rock, is an admirable figure of an ascetic, miserably emaciated, which, though somewhat worn by exposure to the weather, bears evidence to the talent, skill, and anatomical knowledge of the artist.||

[† Said to be Krishna.]

[‡ Nāga, the name of demi-gods inhabiting the lower regions, the upper part of whose bodies is human, and the lower part that of a serpent. There is the figure of a male Nāga as well as that of a female, but the upper part of the body has fallen off and is lying in front of the rock.]

[§ On the north side of the crevice, at the foot of the rock, is the figure of a cat standing on its hind legs, with its fore-paws raised above its head in seeming imitation of Arjuna, performing penance—after eating part of Krishna's butter-ball—in order that the sea may dry up and she be thus able to devour all the fish! Near the cat are rats, enjoying apparently their temporary immunity from persecution.]

[¶ See plate I. and plate II., No. 1, supra.]

[|| Said to be Drona, (see note * p. 31, supra,) the figures, now headless, of whose pupils are in front, and somewhat below that of their preceptor.]
The story of the penance of Arjuna may be told as follows:

The five sons of Pândurâja lost their dominions in play with their cousin Duryodhana; who, however, played unfairly and won through “guile and wicked stratagem.”* The consequence was that they and their followers were banished for twelve years and upwards, and were doomed to wander in jungles, wilds, and solitudes. During this period the elder brother took counsel with the others, how they might repossess themselves of their patrimony after the term of banishment had expired: and in order to attain this it appeared desirable to gain the mantra Pâsupatâstra.† This mantra, or incantation, was of such wonderful efficacy, that if it was uttered while in the act of shooting an arrow, the arrow became inevitably destructive, and moreover possessed of the power of producing or generating other weapons, which not only scattered death on all sides, but were able to cause the destruction of the whole world.‡ This mantra could be obtained only from the god Ísvara, (a name of Siva); and Arjuna, as he was distinguished among his brethren for his prudence, fortitude, and valour, was employed to procure it.§

The hero of this story had to travel far to the north of the Himâlaya mountains, there to perform austere and rigid penance in order to propitiate the

[* See Wheeler’s Hist. of India, Vol. I., chap. 7.]
[† The Pâsupata weapon, not mantra.]
[‡ Cp. Muir’s Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 196.]
[§ He went first to Indra by the advice of his grandfather Vyâsa, and afterwards, at the suggestion of Indra, to the Himâlaya, to obtain a sight of Mahâdeva.—Cp. Monier Williams’ Indian Epic Poetry, pp. 103—104, and Muir’s Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 194 ff.]
god and obtain his favor: and as a preparatory measure he was instructed in all requisite mantras and mystic ceremonies. On reaching the appointed place he found a delightful retreat; a grove or forest abounding with streams and fruits and flowers, with whatever could regale the senses or charm the eye. Not only was the earth most bountiful, but the air was filled with the strains of celestial melody. In this place Arjuna commenced and carried on his austerities by meditation, by prayer, and by ceremonial purification.

During the first month he ate but once in four days: during the second month, but once in seven days: during the third month, only once in fourteen days: and during the fourth month he did not eat at all, but completed his penance by standing on the tip of his great toe, the other leg being lifted from the ground, and his hands raised above his head. This is the period of the penance which the sculptor has selected for illustration, in the curious work now under notice. The figure of Arjuna is exhibited in a posture agreeing exactly with the story, the relation of which, however, it seems necessary to continue a little further, in order to explain the accessories, the figures of men and animals, with which the whole face of the rock is covered.

The nearest Rishis, (hermits or ascetics, who by austerities and meditation may attain, as their object is, riches, power, supernatural arms, or beatitude), seeing the intense devotion of Arjuna, went and reported it to the god Isvara, who was highly gratified: but in order to try the constancy and courage

[* See the passage from the Mahābhārata given in the Appendix.]
of the hero, the deity assumed the form of a wild hunter.* One of his accompanying attendants was transformed into a wild boar;† and Arjuna preparing to shoot it was interrupted by the unknown deity, who forbade him to strike his game. Arjuna notwithstanding let fly a shaft, and so did the disguised hunter, and the boar fell lifeless. This occasioned an altercation, which brought on a personal combat; and when Arjuna had expended all his arrows on his antagonist without effect, he tore up rocks and mountains to hurl at him, but they too fell harmless at his feet. This so enraged our hero, that he attacked his foe hand to hand. Such was the daring audacity of this act, and the bold and determined courage of Arjuna, that all heaven was filled with surprise, and the beasts of the forest, and the inhabitants of the ethereal regions, alike flocked to witness the contest, which was terminated by the god's revealing himself, and bestowing on his votary the boon he wished for, viz., the Pāsuptāstra.‡

This congregating of the inhabitants of the skies and of the forest, this mixture of men and brutes, makes probable the supposition that it is the second point or period of the story that has been selected by the artist for exemplification, as instanced by the particular postures and variety of the figures seen in this curious carving.

[* Kirāta.]
[† A Dānava (demon) in the form of a boar, was about to attack Arjuna.]
[‡ The story is related in the Vanaprva of the Mahābhārata.—Cp. Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., pp. 194—196. The combat between Arjuna and Śiva, disguised as a Kirāta, is the subject of the poem Kirātārjunīya, by Bhāravi.]
Adjoining the sculptured imagery of Arjuna, to the south, are the wide beginnings of an excavation (No. 12) having a front of 50 feet, and a depth at the north end of 40 feet, and at the south end of 35 feet. A large portion of the solid rock projects from the back of the excavation 25 feet, with a frontage of 23 feet, leaving deep recesses on either side, in which stone has been left rough cut for three pillars. The front of this excavation is supported by five octagonal columns,* whose bases are formed of figures of a grotesque horned animal: a sixth column originally existed, its base and capital still remain, but its shaft is removed. At a few feet within is a second row of six columns corresponding with those in front. The ground at the entrance is partly overgrown with bushes, and the cave now affords shelter to the village cattle.

A few yards south of this excavation, opposite to a street of the village is an open building, which from the sculptures it contains may very properly be denominated Krishna's Choultry (No. 13). These sculptures are executed on the back wall of the building, or rather that part of the solid hill which forms the back wall. They represent the exploit of Krishna supporting the mountain Govarddhan in order to shelter his followers from the wrath of Indra,† — the god that darts the "swift blue bolt," the

* The capitals of these columns are not unlike those of some of the pillars of the Indra Sabha at Ellora, and of the cave temples of Elephanta. M.

† See the Vishnupurāsa, Book V., chap. 11.—"It seems not unlikely that this legend has some reference to the caves or cavern temples in various parts of India. A remarkable representation of it occurs upon the sculptured rocks of Mahābalipur." Wilson's note.—
"Sprinkler of genial dews, and fruitful rains
Over hills and thirsty plains."

This action is fabled to have been performed by Krishna with one of his little fingers at the age of seven.

"With one finger raised the vast Goverdhen;
Beneath whose rocky burden,
On pastures dry, the maids and herdmen trod:
The Lord of thunder felt a mightier God."

Sir W. Jones.

In the present sculpture, the attitude of the God corresponds sufficiently with the story. He appears, however, to sustain the mountain with the palm of his left hand, instead of the little finger as in the poetical version.† The only representation of the supported mountain consists of a rough line running above the whole of the figures. This line has been formed by cutting away as much of the rock as would answer the purpose of giving the requisite degree of relief for typifying, in the above manner, the rugged bottom of the mountain, torn up from its foundations, and sustained aloft in the air. The whole group looks clumsy; the proportions are bad; the countenances are destitute of expression; and little praise is due to it either as a work of art or imagination. So singular a deliverance from sudden destruction ought to have supplied the artist with a subject capable of being embodied with great spirit; but here, instead, is an inanimate, meaningless group, which, but for the principal figure, would not at all

The story is also given in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa.—See Eastwick's translation of the Prem Sāgar, chap. XXVI.

[* Sir William Jones.—Hymn to Indra.]

[† "With one hand," according to the Vishnupurāṇa; "on the little finger of his left hand," according to the Prem Sāgar.—See plate 61 in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]
have interpreted the story. There are about twenty figures of men, women, and children, and as many heads of cows or bullocks. There is one tolerable figure of a brahmany bull, and another of a cow licking its calf while in the act of being milked. It may be that the general quietude and repose of the figures are intended to imply their security from the terrible danger so recently, and still but for the god's interposition, impending over them. In another part of the sculpture is a figure playing on a flute or pipe; this may also represent Krishna, in his character of Muralidhara, *the tuneful.* In this form he is called Bālakrishna, and is said to have amused himself by piping to the swains and damsels of Govardhana.† This figure of Krishna is small, and might be overlooked; it is situated over the hinder part of the cow and calf just mentioned. At the north end of this sculpture, raised 5 or 6 feet from the floor, is a well executed figure of a brahmany bull in full relief; and at the south end are several figures of beasts apparently intended for lions: one of them, however, resembles the Sphynx,‡ having a human face with a body of a quadruped.

Krishna's Choultry extends in front 47 feet; is 26 feet deep and 12 feet high. The roof is made of hewn stone, which is partially covered with earth; and is supported by three rows of columns, 4 in each. The bases of those in the front row consist of grotesque figures of a nondescript animal, sitting on its

[* Lit. "the flute-holder."—Cp. plate 60, fig. 8, in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]

[† See Eastwick's Prem Sāgar, chap. XXII.]  
‡ A similar figure is met with at Ellora. M.
haunches, having curved horns, and a long tail which is curled upon its back like the figure 8.

On the hill above this choultry is the foundation of a rectangular building (No. 14) measuring 66 feet in length, and 42 in breadth. In the middle of this is a gateway 12 feet wide, running east and west; and in the gateway are two recesses, each 12 feet square, one on each side. Near the corners of these recesses in the gateway there are four large square stone pillars, 16 feet high, 3 broad and 2 thick, with flowery ornaments. This foundation corresponds with a similar one (No. 15) about a hundred yards distant towards the east, in the plain below; and the two form nearly a straight line with a very ancient temple situated on the sea shore.

From the front of Krishna’s Choultry, on looking towards the south-west, may be seen on the top of the hill, a small dilapidated building (No. 16) quite in ruins.

Beneath this is an excavation in the side of the hill (No. 17) of a rectangular shape, measuring 25 feet long, 18 feet deep, and 10 feet 6 inches high. The front is adorned by two neatly finished pillars and two pilasters. At each end are imperfect traces and outlines of a group of figures; and on each side of the excavation in front is a neatly finished niche, 3 feet high, 3 feet deep, and 2 feet 6 inches wide. In front of the whole is the skeleton of a verandah 48 feet long, 12 feet high, and 12 feet wide. Steps are cut in the side of the hill, at one end of the

[* It is said to be the commencement of a Gopuram.]
[† The distance is more nearly 300 yards.]
[‡ Called Râmânuja jiyyar Mandapam. There is a short inscription on the floor.]
verandah, by which there is an easy ascent to the top of it.

At a few yards distance to the eastward, is a stone bed, with an elevation at the north end of it for a seat or pillow. The bed is 7 feet 3 inches long, and 3 feet 9 inches broad, and the pillow is 10 inches high.

On the eastern face of the easternmost of the detached rocks near this place, may be seen another group of sculptures, representing the same story of Arjuna; but the figures are not so distinct as the former, nor equally numerous, and they appear to have suffered much more from the weather.

On the summit of the most southern eminence of the mountain is a small ruined temple of sculptured stone (No. 18) 22 feet in length, 16 feet in breadth, and 16 in height.* Its foundation, which is of brick, measures 30 feet by 26. There is no regular access to it: the roof has fallen in, and the temple is partially covered by an old banyan tree. There is a fine open view of the surrounding country from the top of its walls.

Directly beneath, and cut into the same rock on which this little shrine is built, is an excavated temple (No. 19) 33 feet long, 13 feet high, and 17 feet deep. In front are four columns, (one of which is broken), and pilasters at each end. The excavation contains three niches, of which the centre one is the principal; it has a sort of portal before it, and contains a group of figures representing Mahâdeva, Pârvatî,

[* Called by the Brahmans Arâkkeñei (อารักเจนีย) temple, as one ollock (about 1½ gill) of oil used formerly to be expended daily for lighting it. This temple once, it is said, contained a lingam.]
their infant son Subrahmanya, five other figures and a bull, (Nandi). The bull is in front of the principal figures, and on its back rests one of the feet of Mahādeva, and one of those of Pārvatī. In the floor of this principal niche is a circular trench, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 3 inches deep, in the centre of which is a circular hole 16 inches in diameter, intended probably for the reception of a lingam. The other niches contain no sculptures. The portal before the centre niche projects from the back wall 8 feet 6 inches, and has a frontage of 11 feet. The front of this is sustained by two sculptured columns, and it has pilasters where it joins the wall.

This excavation, however, is chiefly remarkable for the sculptures executed on its side walls. These represent, the one, one of Vishnu's states of existence, and the other a celebrated conflict between Durgā and Mahishāsura.

I shall first speak of that on the south-western side representing Vishnu. Previously, however, it will be necessary to observe that considerable uncertainty attaches to Nārāyana,† or the state or mode of being in which Vishnu here appears. Hindu Mythology sometimes speaks of it as a mode of existence of Brahmā, sometimes of Śiva, and sometimes

[† A name of Vishnu, but especially considered as the deity who was before all worlds. The word has several etymologies. That given by Mann is "he whose resting-place (ayana) was on the primeval waters (nara)," so called because they are the offspring of Nara, the embodied deity. See Wilson's Sans. Dict. under Nārāyana, Goldstücker's Dict. under ayana, Muir's Sanscrit Texts Part IV., p. 26 ff., and Wilson's Vishnupurāṇa, 8vo. cdn. by Hall, Vol. I. pp. 55—59.]
of Vishnu in the act of willing the creation. Under this character Vishnu is represented lying on the lotus, as well as on the thousand-headed serpent Sesha.

The sculpture now spoken of is in bas-relief, and measures 13 feet in length and 8 in height. The figure of Vishnu is 9 feet 6 inches long, recumbent on the snake Sesha, which is ingeniously coiled for his support in several convolutions, forming together a couch 3 feet high from the base; while five of its heads, (as many as could well be introduced,) form a kind of canopy over the head of the supposed deity. Above the god are two small figures, male and female; below him in front in a kneeling posture, three; and at his feet erect, two. All these but the last are diminutive; but the two at his feet are seven feet high, and one of them grasps a club. The village brahmans say that two of the figures in front repre-

[∗ See passage from the Naradlyapurāṇa, translated by Vans Kennedy,—Researches, p. 200.]

† This representation of Vishnu must be very similar to the following. "Hari is one of the titles of Vishnu, the deity in his preserving quality. Nearly opposite Sultan Ganj, a considerable town in the province of Bahar, there stands a rock of granite, forming a small island in the Ganges, known to Europeans by the name of the Rock Jehangiri, which is highly worthy of the traveller's notice for a vast number of images, carved in relief upon every part of its surface. Among the rest there is Hari, of a gigantic size, recumbent on a coiled serpent, whose heads, which are numerous, the artist has contrived to spread into a canopy over the sleeping god; and from each of its mouths issues a forked tongue, seeming to threaten instant death to any whom rashness might prompt to disturb him. The whole lies almost clear of the block on which it is hewn. It is finely imagined and executed with great skill. The Hindoos are taught to believe, that at the end of every Calpa (creation), all things are absorbed into the deity, and that in the interval of another creation, he reposeth himself upon the serpent Sesha (duration)."—Wilkins' Hitopadesa. B.
sent cow-keepers, who had been ill-used by Mahishásura. These cow-keepers (husband and wife) had come to complain to Vishnu. Before they did so, however, they had inquired of the third figure, said to be a "Sástrakáran," or sorcerer, as to the precise time when they might have a propitious opportunity. That while they were making the inquiry, one of the attendants of Mahishásura, the figure bearing the club, came to carry them to his master, to punish them for daring to appeal to Vishnu. The other figure at the feet of Vishnu hereupon interposed, and being one of Vishnu's attendants, drove from his master's presence the presumptuous servant of the wicked Mahishásura. The expression and postures of the figures do certainly seem to correspond with the story; but the tale itself suits ill the position and circumstances of Vishnu Náráyana, which no doubt is represented in this sculpture.

The sculptures on the opposite or north-eastern end of the temple represent the conflict between Durgá, (a personification* of active, not passive, virtue), and Mahishásura, (a personification of wickedness.) These figures merit particular description.

The recess in which they are sculptured is 12 feet

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* The Devatás are represented as good beings, the Asuras as evil ones, in so far only as there is any countenance to the fiction of personified virtue and vice. That fiction is European. All that I have ever read makes the Asuras blameable because of acquired power; and power is subdued by superior skill or force. In some instances the Asuras are described as cheated, injured, oppressed, rebelling in consequence, and then subdued and destroyed. The story of Durgá and Mahishásura is the subject of the Chandipátha of the Skándapuráṣa; and is the great occasion of celebration at Calcutta in the Durgápíjá feast, which is anything but virtuous. W.T. [† The Chandipátha is a portion of the Márkiṇdeyapuráṇa. See note * p. 101, infra. Also Appendix.]
9 inches long and 8 feet high. To the left is seen Durgā, mounted on what is intended for a fierce lion. To the right is Mahishāsura grasping a short thick club. The figure of Durgā is 5 feet high and eight-handed: two of her arms have greater relief than the others, a circumstance which imparts to the figure a much greater appearance of truth and nature than would otherwise be the case. The left principal arm is stretched at full length, and the hand grasps a bow: the right arm is drawn back, as if in the act of discharging an arrow: but we see neither the arrow nor the string of the bow. Her six remaining hands hold respectively, on the left, a bell, a saṅkha, and something not easily distinguishable; and on the right, the fatal cord (pāsa,) a chakra (discus), and a sword. Mahishāsura is represented with a buffalo's head and horns and a human body. He stands in a retiring attitude, resting on his left foot, the right being advanced. His figure measures 7 feet 9 inches, not perpendicularly, but according to the posture in which he stands. Above, below, and behind Durgā, may be seen her attendants: warriors, armed with swords and bucklers: and also two domestics, one with a switch of hair* such as horsekeepers use, the other with a Kittisal (or umbrella). Mahishāsura has a similar attendant also. Durgā's attendants are all dwarfish, corpulent figures; those of Mahishāsura seem of more natural proportions. Durgā appears the assailant, Mahishāsura on the defensive. Of three figures between the two principal personages, two are in active conflict,

[*Chāmara (chaurt), the tail of the Yak (Bos grunniens or Poëphagus), used to whisk off flies, also as an emblem or insignia of princely rank.—Wilson.]
and the third is falling headlong. One between the legs of Mahishásura seems to have fallen; and another of the same party supports himself on his left hand, two fingers of the right being held up to indicate discomfiture and alarm. The whole group is executed with much skill and ability, and evinces the talent of the artist. The figure of Durgā in particular is represented with much spirit, and is graceful and easy. The following from a paper by Mr. Wilkins in the 1st Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, serves to illustrate the story. "The evil spirit Mahishásura, in the disguise of a buffaló as the name imports, had fought with Indra and his celestial bands for a hundred years, defeated him and usurped his throne: the story is to be found at length in a little book called Chandi.* The vanquished spirits being banished the heavens, and doomed to wander the earth, after a while assemble, and resolve to lay their grievances before Vishnu and Siva. Conducted by Brahmá they repaired into the presence of those deities, who heard their complaint with compassion, and their anger was so violent against Mahishásura, that a kind of flame issued from their mouths, and from the mouths of the rest of the principal gods, of which was formed a goddess of inexpressible beauty with ten arms, and each hand holding a different weapon. This was a transfiguration of Bhavâni,

[*The Chandipâsha, or Devîmâhâtmya, of the Mârkaṇḍeya-purâna, in which the victories of the goddess [Chandi, Devî, Kâlî or Durgâ] over different evil beings or Asuras are detailed with considerable power and spirit. It is daily read in the temple of Durgâ, and furnishes the pomp and circumstance of the great festival of Bengal, the Durgâpûjâ."—Wilson, Preface to the Vishnupurâna. See also Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 370 ff.]
the consort of Siva, under which she is generally called Durgā." She is sent against the usurper. She mounts her Lion, the gift of the mountain Himālaya (snowy), and attacks the monster, who shifts his form repeatedly: till at length the goddess planteth her foot upon his head, and cuts it off with a single stroke of her sword. Immediately the upper part of a human body issues through the neck of the headless buffalo, and aims a stroke, which being warded off by the Lion with his right paw, Durgā puts an end to the combat, by piercing him through the heart with a spear." The reader will observe that the latter part of this story does not correspond entirely with the sculpture just described, but this must not surprise us, for the Hindu Poets, Sculptors, and Painters, seem to claim the license of representing the same action in a thousand different ways, and under a thousand different versions.†

I am tempted here to transcribe the following lines, written by Sir William Jones, in reference to this subject:

"§ O Durgā, thou hast deign'd to shield
Man's feeble virtue with celestial might,

[* Bhavānī, wife of Bhava (Siva) is the name given to Pārvatī in her pacific and amiable form, she being called Durgā in her terrific form.—Wilson.]

[† The abode (ālaya) of snow (hima), personified as Himavat the mythical father of Umā or Durgā—hence her patronymic Haimavatī, "daughter of Himavat," or Pārvatī, "daughter of the mountain."]

[‡ Cp. plate 33 in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]

§ It is now almost universally admitted that Sir W. Jones sullied his great talents by writing hymns to Hindu gods. They all borrow scriptural or classical ideas, and paint the personifications of India with colors not their own. The leading idea in these lines is not Hindu, but European. W. T.
Gliding from yon jasper field,
And, on a lión borne, hast brav'd the fight;
For, when the demon Vice thy realms defied,
And arm'd with death each arched horn,
Thy golden lance, O goddess mountain-born,
Touch but the pest—He roar'd and died.”

Marks of the workman’s chisel may be seen on a large block of granite, opposite the front of this excavation; and also at a few yards to the north-east of it, on a rough hewn stone, intended for a bed, with an elevation at one end for a pillow. The bed measures 10 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 9 inches: the pillow is 2 feet broad and 12 inches high. There are two small steps at the foot of the bed.

On some of the rocks between this place and Krishna’s Choultry may be seen the rude commencement of several designs, which have been abandoned. Amongst them, however, is a finished excavation 21 feet long, 17 deep, and 9 high. The roof is sustained by four strong pillars. There are three niches in this excavation, with the outlines of a figure on each side of the centre niche. There is also a long inscription on the south-west end, now almost illegible.

About a mile to the south of the village in a small palmyra tope is a cluster of monolithic temples. It consists of five, * each differing from the rest in shape and dimensions, and each fashioned out of a detached solid mass of rock.

The first I shall notice stands a little to the west of the others, (No. 20), and is in shape similar to a horse-shoe. † It is a neat piece of sculpture 18 feet

* At a second visit to the place I understood that the sculptor’s idea was the construction of five dwellings for the five Pândavas. W. T.

[† Called by the Brahmans the Ratha of Nakula and Sahadeva, the youngest two of the five Pândavas.]
in length, 11 feet in width, and about 16 feet in height. At the south end, that which is right-angled, is a roughly hewn niche, and a portal with two pillars.

The four other temples lie nearly in a straight line; but before describing them I would notice an image of a lion* and another of an elephant, both as large as life, which stand between this small temple and the other four. That of the lion is cracked. It measures in length 7 feet, and round the neck 8 feet: it is sunk in the earth about knee deep; nevertheless it has a noble appearance and its body is well proportioned. The elephant measures 14 feet in length and 12 feet in height. Its circumference in the largest part of its body is about 20 feet: round its head and throat, 14 feet; and round the largest part of the proboscis, 7 feet. It appears somewhat unfinished, and is sunk a little in the earth.

On the eastern side of the temples, near the most northern one, is a colossal Brahmany Bull, (Nandi, the vehicle of Siva.) Its head and neck only appear above ground: the length of the former being 4 feet, and the distance between the roots of the horns 3 feet 3 inches.

Of the temples, the most northern (No. 21)+ is a neat little structure about 16 or 18 feet high and 11 feet square. The top diminishes on all sides by a parabolic curve, till it ends in a ridge 3 or 4 feet long. It has a niche on the western side, in which is a group of figures said to represent Draupadi, the wife of Dharmarāja.† My own idea is that it represents one

* Lion, the symbol of kingly power: elephant—that of great prosperity; and in particular the vehicle of Indra, [called Airāvata.] W. T.
+ Called Draupadi's Ratha.]  † And of his four brothers.]
of the consorts of Vishnu or Siva. A female figure is also sculptured on each side of the entrance to the niche.

The temple next to this (No. 23)* towards the south is of a pyramidal shape, and covered with ornamental sculpture. It is about 11 feet in front, 16 in depth, and 20 in height. It is much cracked, has a niche on the same face as the last, but there are no figures within.

The largest temple in the group (No. 23)† stands next in order; ‡ it was abandoned before the design was completed and remains in an unfinished state. Across the middle there is a large rent, in some parts 3 or 4 inches wide; this has divided the body of the temple, and caused the separation of a large piece of the solid stone on the western side about the centre of the verandah. Another large piece has fallen from the south-western corner. Unfinished excavated verandahs exist round the lower part: and above them, on the outside, the body of the temple diminishes in width and length, so as to leave sufficient space to walk round it. The verandah on the south-eastern or sea-face of the temple is almost choked up with sand; but that on the opposite face retains its original height, and in it a large block of the solid stone projects from the back wall. The roof or top

[* The Brahmans have named this Arjuna’s Ratha.]
[† Called Bhima’s Ratha.]
[‡ Mr. Braddock has by an oversight omitted to give the measurements of this temple, I therefore supply them from Mr. Goldingham’s account; although I must here observe that in other measurements as given by them respectively I find some trifling discrepancy. Mr. Goldingham’s says that the temple measures 42 feet by 25 feet, and 35 feet in height. M.]

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of this temple is elliptical, and the general design is beautiful and elegant.

The last and most southern temple of the group (No. 24)* is of a pyramidal shape: its base measures 28 feet by 27, and it is 34 feet in height. It is neatly finished and much ornamented. In the two upper stories on the north-western face are niches; and on the ground story of the same face is a portal with four pillars, projecting from the body of the temple 4 feet. Besides the ornaments which it possesses in common with the rest, this temple has a profusion of figures of various sizes, representing Vishnu and Siva, in some of the many different characters which they sustain in the mythology of the natives. These figures are carved in recesses corresponding with their size; and over the majority of them are inscriptions, of which and of the figures, lithographed sketches may be seen in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society before alluded to.

About 3 miles to the north of the village, on the sea shore, are several granite rocks, one of which inclining to the eastward projects about 40 feet above the surface like a huge pillar. On another are sculptured various figures representing heads of fierce horned animals, of the precise appearance of which it would be difficult to give a written description. Returning towards the village, about half a mile north of the village choultry, we meet with a small temple built of hewn stone, and resembling in its ornaments those already described.† The entrance is nearly filled with sand, and the walls are much

[* This is called Dharmarāja's Ratha.]
[† Said to be a Jain temple, and called Mukundanāynār Kōvil.]
dilapidated by trees which grow out of them. There is nothing, I believe, inside.

The last of these ancient remains to be described, are two temples (No. 26) built eastward from the village close to the sea shore. They are indeed so near the sea that the surf dashes against the foundations of them. They occupy a space of about 1,600 square feet and are becoming ruinous. They adjoin each other, being in some sense but one piece of building; but the existence of their two spires impresses one with an idea of their being two separate temples. The more lofty structure I imagine to be about 60 feet high. This is the most eastern of the two, and has, overlooking the sea, a doorway 7 feet 6 inches high and 6 feet wide. Within this temple will be found a large broken black granite Lingam,† and a group of sculptures representing Mahâdeva, Pârvati, and their son Kârtikeya or Subrahmanya.‡ The smaller temple contains a similar group of figures. The body of the large temple is inclosed with a massive stone wall, which as well as the temple itself bears the appearance of having been decorated with much ornamented sculpture. Small pieces of chunam still adhering to the ornaments give rise to the conjecture that the temples were either originally coated with it, or have been so covered in subsequent repairs. There can,

[* Cp. Gubbins, infra.]
† It is sixteen-sided, with a perimeter of 6 feet 9 inches.]
‡ The latter name is that generally used in South India. The son of Siva is called Kârtikeya because he was nursed by the Kriśñikâs, the personified Pleiades, and Subrahmanya because he is the special guardian of the Brahmanical order. For the origin of another of his names, Skanda, see Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 296.]
I think, be no doubt that they were once elegant specimens of architecture; though they are now too much decayed to retain many traces of their original beauty. The mineralogist might possibly form some idea of their age from an inspection of the several species of granite of which the walls are composed. Some kinds of this rock, it is known, are much more liable to decomposition than others, (gneiss especially); and the fact is here evident; some of the stones are very much decayed, while others appear as sound as on the day they were hewn. In a kind of passage of the larger temple is a large mutilated statue of Vishnu, now lying supine.

These temples were formerly surrounded by an outer stone wall, part of which only is now standing. Two pillars also remain shewing the position of the western gateway.

Huge heaps of granite stones, on several of which are sculptured figures, lie in front and on each side of the eastern temple, and have tended greatly to protect it from the hostility of the sea, which has evidently encroached considerably. Many of these stones are of large dimensions, measuring from 6 to 10 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot thick; and on some of them are appearances of sculptured architectural ornaments, though the injuries of the weather, the action of the water, and the lapse of time have combined to deface them. About 65 feet in front of the eastern temple, and now standing in the sea, is a

[* "Mr. Fergusson, in his 'Ancient Architecture of Hindostan' declares it [the larger temple] to be with the single exception of the Pagoda at Tanjûr, the finest and most important Vimâna in the south of India."—Murray's Hand-Book of India, Part I, p. 31.]

[† See p. 34, supra.]
square stone pillar, (a common appendage, I believe, to all the country pagodas), which measures 11 feet in height and is 22 inches square.*

At a few yards north of the temples, on a detached rock (No. 27) close by the sea, may be observed a gigantic figure of Mahishásura represented with the head of a buffalo. On a similar detached rock to the south are figures of a horse and an elephant's head (No. 28). These sculptures are considerably worn by the continual washing and action of the surf.†

There is no doubt in my mind that the sea has made considerable encroachments since the erection of these temples. I cannot conceive, were it not so, why they should have been built on the shore, so close to the sea that the surf in the calmest weather dashes against the doorway; while some of the well known appendages of such pagodas are actually at some distance in the waters. The large quantities of stones lying about the temple, and others which partially appear buried in the sea, seem even to indicate that other buildings also have existed to the eastward of these, which are now destroyed and overwhelmed by the ocean.

I have now given an account of all the curious sculptures and buildings which came under my observation at three several visits to the Seven Pagodas, and I believe I have omitted nothing which merits notice. I am fully aware that the account is imperfect: indeed, I hold it impossible to convey a correct idea of the remains of former ages by a written description, even if the account be per-

[* See note † p. 11, and note ‡ p. 51, supra. Also Gubbins, infra.]
[† There are a number of sculptured bulls (Nandi) lying among the rocks close to the temple on the south side.]
fectly accurate. Who could by such means form a just conception of the actual appearance of the ruins of ancient Persepolis, of Tadmor in the desert, of Pompeii, of the various temples in Italy, and the remains of classic elegance in Greece and the Isles of the Ægean Sea? We may indeed read of pillars, colonades, porticoes, rooms, baths, apartments, and a long list of architectural definitions; but after all, the mind possesses but an imperfect image of the originals. Pictures and drawings help the description, but personal inspection is best of all. I therefore advise you, "gentle reader," if you have it in your power, to visit these singular vestiges of antiquity at Māmallaipur. I can promise you ample recompense for your trouble. If you have antiquarian curiosity, you may here satisfy it. If you have any disposition to moralize,—as a Christian should do,—on the end of human greatness, you will see that though here it has been attempted to "grave it in the rock for ever," it still passes away; and you will turn your thoughts from these, amongst the most durable perhaps of mortal productions, to that heavenly city which is indeed eternal.

Remarks by the Rev. W. Taylor.

The author of the foregoing paper having done me the honor of transmitting it to me for perusal and remark; and the few cursory observations made having called forth a fuller explanation of his wishes,—although I do not think myself fully able to meet them,—I offer the few following observations on the locality which is the subject of his interesting illustrations.
I. The Name. This is the people of the neighbourhood colloquially term Māvalivaram. It is also known to natives as Mābalipuram, whence I presume, it became expanded (by Mr. Goldingham if I remember aright) into Mahābalipuram. More recently I observe Dr. Babington has made it Mahāmalaiptór, "the town of the great" (or as Dr. Babington understands it, sacred) "hill." If the said reading be actually borne out by the old Tamil inscription near one of the caves, I must submit; but without copy, or fac-simile, the accuracy of the reading may be open to doubt. There is considerable reason to believe that the true reading is Māmallapuram; and the true reading is of consequence.

Malla is a northern patronymic, or rather titular name of a race, like Cæsar, or the Medicis, or the Bourbons. In local papers of the Mackenzie collections, obscure but numerous indications are given of a race of chieftains bearing that surname; of whom Deva-malla-rāya is most frequently mentioned. This chieftain was a (Peninsular) highlander in origin; not, properly speaking, Hindu, but of an aboriginal race. Now Deva-malla-rāya indicates dignity and lineage: of which title Mā-malla-rāja, would be almost an equivalent; indicating indeed a lower rank, but quite suited as a distinctive epithet of a minor offset from the parent stem. Again in the Mackenzie

[* See Appendix.]

According to legendary tradition, one named Mallēṣuṇu ruled in early times. He seems not to have been a Hindu, as he mocked a Brahman, and was metamorphosed into an alligator. An appearance of Vishnu is said to have occurred. Before that appearance the place was called Mallapuri and Mallapuri-keshetram, from the above Mallesuṇu. Mackenzie MSS., Book No. 33, C. M. 787, Sect. 9. This paper is in the Telugu language.
local papers, there is abundant evidence of a gradual progress of colonization by Telugu people, from proximity to the Godavery southwards, at least as far as Nellore; and various instances occur in which those who first cleared forest land and began to build a town, gave their own names to the town so formed. I would not assert it as a fact, but I regard it as a probable inference, that the locality, in immediate question, derived its name from its founder, an offset, or junior branch, of the Malla chieftains in the north. I would not leave the name without noticing that in a modern Tamil poem written in the south, mention is made of the king of Mávalivanam: but whether this place be designated or not, is doubtful; and I do not think such an authority could be trusted.—Quitting the name of the place we may further advert to

II. The antiquity, or probable antiquity, of the sculptures. That the antiquity is not very great may be concluded by inferential deductions; as 1. The mythology of the figures is Hindu; the general story,

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6 Subsequent to Sāl. Sak. 424, or A.D. 502, a person named Mahimalu, or Maválamu, left his native place owing to oppression; emigrated southerly, and built a village of four or five mud huts. It was called after the founder Mavamalūr. It increased; and by a separation of brothers at a later date Nandi-varam was founded, ultimately a town of note. Ibid. Book 49, C. M. 739.

This is merely an illustration. From a yet unpublished abstract of another paper, I find that two persons named Malla-rāya and Annama-deva-rāya, emigrated from Vijayanagaram to the district of Arcot, or neighbourhood of Conjeevaram, and obtained some immunities from the wife, or queen, of Deva-rāyar. These people were of the tribe of athletae, proceeding from the original stock of mountaineers. I cannot identify these persons with Māmalla-puri. At a period later than Krishna-rāyar, there were four avenues leading from Conjeevaram to distinguished towns, one of which was Mahābālipuram, then reputed to be of Vaishnava credence.
part of that contained in the Mahābhārata; the language of the inscriptions, at least in some places, Sanscrit: therefore Brahmans were some way concerned. But there is much concurring evidence to shew that the first immigration of Brahmans to the Peninsula was not of remote antiquity. Besides which consideration, 2. It is beyond doubt that before the time of Kulöttunga Cholan, and his illegitimate son Adondai, the whole district bounded on the north by the Pennär, on the south by the Pālār, on the east by the sea, and on the west by the ghāts, was dwelt in by half-civilized people termed Kurumbar, who had embraced the Jaina religion, brought to them from the north. Adondai chiefly distinguished Kāñchi-puram (Conjeeveram) and Tripati, as his places of residence, or capitals. The era of Adondai is not higher up than the seventh century of our reckoning. He is said to have brought the Brahmans from Śrī Sālam in Telingāna, and certainly attracted a large colony of Sudra Vellāras, or agriculturists, from Tuluva or northern Canara. Soon after him the kingdom, which he acquired by the sword, was broken up into petty principalities, and lapsed into a state of partial anarchy. As we can distinctly trace the founding of Vellore to a period later than Adondai, and to colonization led on by a northern chief, so about the same period, I am inclined to think, the neighbourhood of Māvali-varam was colonized from the north, by one of the Malla family with his clan. Besides, 3. The Inscriptions are in too perfect a state of preservation to be of remote date. As far as my knowledge extends, inscriptions, with a defined year, have not been met with, in a legible state, higher up than the
tenth century. I am aware of one or two apparent instances of much higher date, but with the absence of any precise year: hence inconclusive. Fragments of inscriptions in the Pândya kingdom, (the oldest one in the south,) have I believe generally been so worn as to be incapable of connected transcription. But the appearance of the chiselling at Mâvalivaram, (from the distant recollection of about fifteen years), is such that it would tax my credulity greatly to assign them a more distant date than from three to five hundred years.

If then we inquire into

III. The origin, or probable origin, of the place with its sculptures, my own judgment would lead me to fix the possible origin of the settlement at Mâvalivaram to a colonist family of the Malla tribe; subsequent to the rule of Adondai, and previous to the ascendency of the Vijayanagara ascendency in the present Carnatic; that is, (loosely stated), between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries of our reckoning. In this opinion I am guided by analogy. The Bhonju family, in that manner, spread itself in a district; afterwards subject to the Gajapati princes of Orissa. The Malla family, from wild mountaineers, became powerful chieftains in Telingâna. Many families, in that way, made subordinate settlements in different village districts of the same country; and, about the period above indicated, some heads of families emigrated from the Karnâtaka-desa proper, and became local chieftains; while many others at a later period, and from different causes, followed a like course. But if I am right in this inference by analogy, it does not follow that a settlement, made in a before pastoral, or waste,
country, would at once become a place of power or consequence. The same mode of argument would suggest the need of some centuries, in order to produce such a result; and we know that many mutations occur in such kind of states, when near powerful neighbours. Accordingly though the name of the founder may have continued, yet, the conquest of the South, began by Krishna-rāya of Vijayanagara, and completed by Achyuta-rāya, probably overwhelmed any such principality. Such was the case with the before local powers at Ginjee, and at Tanjore. In those places military commanders became viceroys, and their descendants, kings. And I think it probable that a chief of this latter origin from Karnātaka proper, (borrowing the idea from Ellora), had the excavations and sculptures made and the inscriptions recorded; especially those in the Hala Kannada character and Sanscrit language:

*In my abstract of the Tamil manuscript entitled Karnātaka-rājākal, I do not find definite mention of such a supersession; but I think it probable from the general conquest of the neighbourhood; and suppose the district became subject to the local metropolis of Ginjee. In the paper referred to (note a) it is stated that Simhama-nāyadu of the Veḷligāvāra race ruled at Māvalivaram, and employed many artificers, who resorted thither in a time of famine, in making excavations and sculptures on the hill. Following out this indication, I observe that Yachama-nāyadu and Simhama-nāyadu of that race fought a great battle and gained a victory over opposing chiefs in Sāl. Sak. 1523 (A. D. 1601). By that time the power of the Vijayanagaram sovereigns was broken; and it said the Mahommedans were concerned in the affair, in connexion with Ginjee and Vellore. The scene of combat was Gotramaloer. This period would mark another change of power superseding the supposed, or rather inferred authority of the viceroys from Vijayanagaram. And if Simhama-nāyadu subsequently employed stone-cutters in the sculptures, then we have the period fixed to the seventeenth century. It is not however absolutely necessary to suppose that all the works were begun by the same chief, or finished (in so far as finished) by the same hands.*
of parts of one of which Dr. Babington has given a copy and translation. If this inference approximate to truth, the works alluded to must have been accomplished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

These cursory remarks may be concluded with

IV. Miscellaneous observations; chiefly suggested by Dr. Babington's paper in the 2nd volume of Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; the latest essay on the subject, of which I have any knowledge. The value of that paper seems principally to be in the plates, from drawings and inscriptions, and especially in the deciphering and translation of the latter. They prove, (as such inscriptions usually prove) very unsatisfying: for this reason perhaps, that the objects in the mind of the recorder, and in that of the archaeologist, are entirely different. Of the six inscriptions at this place, to be found in a volume of the Mackenzie MSS., five are of unimportant donations, (including, if I mistake not, the Tamil one mentioned by Dr. Babington;) and one which is of larger import, has only the name of Deva-rāya a clue

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In that incomplete inscription on the "small monolithic pagoda," neither date nor proper name of the king or chief appears. Kāmarāja is a mere epithet, and the other name appears to me strange and quite unusual if applied to the ruler. I throw out the conjecture that Jayarana is a Sanscrit word modified into Tamil. Stambha is pure Sanscrit for a post, column, or pillar. Jaya-stambha is of frequent usage for a triumphal column, or pillar of victory. I would render Jayarana Stambha by "the pillar of the victorious one," without however insisting on being right, because the construction is a little forced; and merely add that possibly Siinhama-nayadu may have had the pillar and the inscription cut to commemorate the victory at Ootramaloor: still however preferring the opinion before given.

* Connecting this note with note 6, I think the same Deva-rāya may be meant, but am not certain. There was only one (I believe)
to the date. Now this might be Achyuta-deva-rāya, who was very liberal to Conjeveram: or some one later, even a local chieftain; but not, I conceive, any one of the Vijayanagaram dynasty higher up than Achyuta-rāya.

The paper by Dr. Babington appears to me to contain some minor inaccuracies, on which it might be trifling, or invidious, to dwell; but the supposition that the place was merely an Agrahāra, and that Brahmaus procured the sculptures to be made at their own cost,—with the more astounding denial, that the sea has encroached on the Coast of Coromandel, are not of trifling import. As to the first, it contradicts all known experience, in so far only as relates to Brahmans laying out funds at their own entire control, on such sort of works. The second is a point of greater magnitude. I regard the

of the older Vijayanagaram dynasty that bore that name without any prefix. He ruled about Sāl. Sak. 1334, or A. D. 1412. In these dates I follow one MS. authority, without deciding that it is the best. A list with different dates may be seen in Mr. Campbell’s Telugu grammar; in which also instead of simply Deva-rāya we read Ganda-Deva-rāya. But after Kṛishna-deva-rāya all of the second dynasty bore it, with a distinctive prefix. Probability inclines to the latter period, between S. S. 1451 and 1508, or A. D. 1529 and 1586. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that about A. D. 1400 the power of the Rāyas has been traced at Trichinopoly and Madura, in the person of a general named Companra-ṇdiyar, who annihilated the remains of the first Mahomedan incursion to the southward. The state of the modern Carnatic was however too unsettled to permit the supposition of the first Deva-rāya making grants or donations within its boundaries.

It is not my wish to be very particular: however the statement by Dr. Babington that “the copper and stone inscriptions found in many parts of the country, are all in the Sanscrit language,” does not agree with the mention made by himself of a Tamil inscription in or near the Varāha-mandapam; nor with the recent discovery of some, as is stated, Pāli inscriptions in the north. But keeping within
few data on which the denial of any encroachment of the sea is founded, as quite inconclusive; though this does not seem to be the place for their discussion, nor yet for the statement of contrary facts and arguments. It is a point on which I apprehend Dr. Babington to be at issue with truth; but beyond this mere expression of an opinion, it does not seem important further to pursue the subject, in these very cursory annotations.

Having had an opportunity of reading over these remarks after an interval of more than a year and a half, and having seen, in the interim, copies of two inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Māvaliva-ram, in the Tamil language and old Tamil character, I find that the spelling therein is Māmallai-pūr, with two l's. The language is not the pure old Tamil; but the orthography is so generally correct, that the two l's cannot be an orthographical error; and if not, then the word does not mean hill. The language is comparatively modern Tamil; being much mixed with Sanscrit derivatives, which is not the case with very old Tamil. The name of Deva-rāya appears; and an opinion seems to have been formed

the limits of the peninsula, the interests of truth require me to state with entire respect, while touching on the subject, that the Mackenzie papers contain many hundred copies of inscriptions in Canarese, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tamil; many of which I have examined, and can attest that, though copies, they are not translations. It is not an unfrequent case to find inscriptions with florid Sanscrit slokas at the beginning or end, with the real matter of fact in plainer prose of the vernacular language. The undeciphered part of the inscription given by Dr. Babington requires further attention, for its present obscurity may involve some such humbler termination.*

[* See Appendix.]
that it meant a Chola king. I cannot positively deny such an inference; nor yet another inference that similarity of character in neighbouring inscriptions, must argue identity of origin. The subject is confessedly open to variation of opinion; and inquiry would seem to be requisite before a decision can be positively made.

Supplement by Walter Elliot, Esq.

Besides the objects of interest usually visited at the Seven Pagodas, there is a spot about two miles north of Mahâmallaipur, the sculptures and inscriptions at which will be found not unworthy of attention. Proceeding along the sea-shore towards Madras, at the distance above mentioned, a quadrangular space inclosed by mounds of considerable extent, No. 31 in the map, called by the fishermen Devanéri, will be observed. From the appearance of these mounds, added to the fact that numerous copper coins, glass-beads, and bits of iron, copper, &c., are picked up after heavy rain or high winds on their surface, it might be supposed that they indicated the site of some ancient edifice or fortification: but an excavation made in 1840, completely through one side, failed to elicit any discovery in support of such an opinion. The section was carried, through pure sand, to a depth of 20 feet, and the only extraneous substances met with were some pieces of charcoal, at different depths.

About quarter of a mile farther, near a collection of fishermen's huts, called Sâluvan-Kuppam, are some remarkable rocks, standing a considerable height above the beach, and known by the name of Idaiyan
Pudal. One of these exhibits a niche or panel, surmounted by an arched border composed of the heads of the Simha, or fabulous lion of Hindu mythology, carved in relief; while another has been rough-hewn into the outline of the same animal. Beyond this is a stone Mandapam, or temple, almost entirely buried in the sand. Within is a Lingam. This is the site of the inscriptions referred to by Dr. Babington, in the 2nd Vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, as having been sent to him by Colonel De Havilland. Of these Nos. 1 and 2 of plate 15, pronounced by Dr. Babington to be identical, are engraved on the end walls of the Mandapam on either hand of the entrance. On the frieze above the entrance likewise, occurs the word, in each of the two characters deciphered by Dr. Babington,

"ATIRANACHANDAPALLAVA."

At a little distance to the north-west of this temple, on a flat stone, (No. 32 in the map), level with the surface, occurs the following in old Tamil characters:

"Salutation! two Mās i for land Māpatṭi i for a sufficient daily "meat offering, and a Karanju i of gold for maintaining a lamp, are "granted to Ijagatala i Tamānār."

About 100 yards north of the Mandapam is a mass of natural rock, (No. 33 in the map), one end of

1 A Mā is a 20th part, [here of a Vēli = 6.6157 acres.]
2 Māpatṭi is probably the name of a field.
3 Karanju, an ancient weight [= about 72 grains.]
4 Ijagatala Tamānār "the Lord of this world." Tamānār should probably be Tambānār; the title refers to Atiranachandesvārā.
which is covered with a long inscription in ancient Tamil. The character, as well as that on the flat stone just mentioned, is quite different from those above alluded to; but corresponds with the one first described in Dr. Babington’s paper, as “seen on a face of rock by the side of the inner entrance to the Varāhasvāmī pagoda” on the south side of the hill at Mahāmallaipūr, and of which an alphabet is given in plate 13. The greater portion is buried in the sand; but in 1840 this was cleared away, and a transcript of the whole carefully made, of which the following is a translation. The original in modern characters is given at the end of this article; (marked A.)

“Salutation!

“In the presence of Tiruvāvāykaṇṇi."

“In the 37th year (Andu) of the reign of Triśuhuvānadvirādeva, Sovereign of the three worlds, who having taken (or holding) Madura, Iram (or Ceylon), and Karuvūr, and the crowned head of Pāddiyam, made the Virābhhishekam and Vijayābhhishekam, (i.e., the Illustrations of heroism and victory; ............ and, by the grace of Adisandesvara, in the temple of Subrahmanyādeva, in the Devānaṇam—Brahmadeyam—village of Tiruvirichilūr, in the Āmūr Kōttam of the victorious Cholamandalam:

“We Andu Tillai Nāyakar, the overseer of (the temple of) Sri Mahēsvara; Chembiya Mūvēnda Velār, the steward of this temple; Pan Mahēsvara Bāttan, otherwise called Aškōndā Villi Selvap-

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8 Page 263, [p. 53, supra.]
9 This is read in two senses. Some explain Tiruvākērvī as Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning; while others read the invocation thus, May the Agamas and Vedas be pre-eminent.
7 Triśuhuvānadvirākritigal, a repetition of the King’s titular name.
8 Granted for the support of the gods and of Brahmins.
9 Kaṅgâni, literally a watchman or superintendent.
10 Sriśakāṇa or chief servant.
"pirán, a Siva Brahman, having proprietary right\textsuperscript{11} in this temple and officiating in it\textsuperscript{12}; Nárupatennáyira Battan, also named Áludáiyán Jhánam Pëttán, a Siva Brahman, having proprietary right in this temple and officiating in it; and Tíruvírichiludáiyán, the accountant of this temple; all of us have sold the lands, (herein undermentioned), and executed a deed engraved on stone, in favour of Ándár Karruppáruudáiyán Namí Asputa Kúttar,\textsuperscript{13} performing his adorations in this temple. The lands, which we sold to this person because the revenue\textsuperscript{14} in the treasury\textsuperscript{15} of the god has proved deficient, on account of the decrease in the collections (or assessment\textsuperscript{16}) of Tíruvírichilúr, the property of the sacred name\textsuperscript{17} of Pillaiyáár, are as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textit{In Peri yéri Karan},] Kuri
  \item [\textit{Aðáikádu Tenkûzu},] 180
  \item [\textit{Attíppattam},] 250
  \item [\textit{In Ûnal ëri Karan},]
  \item [\textit{Adi Mallai Nátañ},]
  \item [\textit{Rettài Cheuuvu},]
  \item [\textit{In Tëñgam Karavu or Asputa Kúttan},]
  \item [\textit{Tádcheruvu [?]},]
  \item [\textit{Uvákkuñdil},]
  \item [\textit{Pávásáñi},]
  \item [\textit{In Niródu Karuval},]
  \item [\textit{Chi*** Karuval},]
  \item [amounting to Kuris………..}2,280
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{11} Kání.

\textsuperscript{12} Devarkanmi-kabetra.

\textsuperscript{13} Kúttan is still a title of the nobler class of Todavers on the Neilgherry Hills.

\textsuperscript{14} In the Saduragarádi, the meaning of this word is given as Kudiváram, the ryot’s share.

\textsuperscript{15} a sacred treasury. Hence, in the Travancore state, the terms employed for that Sírcár; to intimate that the Government is under the especial protection of the deity.

\textsuperscript{16} a respectful mode of describing the property of the god.
In Talai Sari Pālam,
   " Udaiya Nambi
   " Kottamānu
   " Kuditāngi
   " Sivadāsa
   " Pattavritti
" amounting to Kuris..............1,440

   " Total Kuris...4,150

" Being Nilams 2, Mā 1 ½.*

" This extent 2 Nilams, 1 ½ Mā, and also the building site and
" garden containing 400 Kuris situated to the east of Anputa Kēttān
" and Uvākkudāl, we have sold to this person (aforesaid), to be his
" property, and have received its value, 300 new cash, into the
" Pillaiyār’s treasury, and engraved the deed (of sale) on a stone.

" Having consented (to his) irrigating these lands either naturally
" or artificially, and also conveying sufficiency of water to the trees,
" we engraved this on stone in favor of Karuppāruṇadaiyān Nambi
" Anputa Kēttār.

" We, the Proprietors of this Temple, have given.

   " Thus (Signed) Tillai Nāyaka.

   " Thus ( " ) Pan Mahesvara Bāttan, or Aṭkonda Villi
    Selvappirān, a Siva Brahman, having heredi-
    tary right in this temple and officiating in it.

   " Thus ( " ) Āṭudaiyān Jñānam Pettān Nāṟpatennaiyirā Bātt-
    ān, a Siva Brahman, having hereditary right
    in this temple and officiating in it.

   " Thus ( " ) Siva [? Srī] Kāryam Chembiyā Mūvēnda Vēlān.

   " Thus ( " ) Tiruvirichiulaiyān, accountant of this temple.

   " I, Nāṟpatennaiyira Pillai, of Tiruppōriyūr, know this.
   " I, Muṇichetta Nāṟrayana Bhattān, of Chiaudāvūr, know this.
   " I, Vēlān, of Chiaudāvūr, Āmūr Nāṭtū, know this.
   " I, Periāṇādu, for Muran Kali Nesi and Nekkumaravu, [? Kali
    Nesi, Maṇaneri, and Marava] of Māṃbākam, know this.

[* 144 sq. ft. = 1 Kuri, 100 Kuries = 1 Mā, 20 Mās = 1 Vēli, or
Nilam.—See note 1, p. 129, supra.]
"I, Kurêvi Donaya Bâtan, of Paiyanûr, know this.
"I, Vishamûr Kiravan, know this.
"I, Ámûr Nâtta Vâllân, of Mâmallapuram, know this.
"I, Kuvâlaikkammi Maya Kirân Vichan, [? Mâmbâkirân Vichâiran.] Warden of the Pillaiyâr temple, know this.

The inscription appears to be an ancient deed of sale, and its importance in this place depends on the means it affords of obtaining some clue to the date at which it was made, and which Dr. Babington hopes may yet be obtained from the similar Varâha-svâmî Sâsanam. That however given in the commencement is only the ându, or year of the reign of one of the Chola Princes, the exact chronology of which dynasty is yet to be ascertained. There is, however, another inscription, of an ascertained date, at the neighbouring hamlet of Pavarakkâran's Choultry, engraved on a stonê under a large Pipal tree, near the steps on the south side of the tank, the characters of which are precisely the same as those of the Sâluvan Kuppam rock and the temple of Varâhasvâmî; who appears moreover to have been the common divinity of all three villages. It is as follows: (vide the original, in modern characters, marked B.)

"Prosperity! at the holy time of the Makara Saňkrama, on Wednesday, the 5th in the constellation of Uttarâstâ, in the Brahma yoga, in the Bâlavâkara, in the light fortnight of the month of Makara, in the cycle year Manmatha, and Saka year 1157, when Sîrîmân Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramesvara Sîr Vîra Pratåpa Vikrama Deva Mahârâyar ruled over the earth, (on that occasion,) Tiruvên-gala Nâyakar gave the piece of land surrounding the Mandâpam, dedicated by Tîmmappa, for the halting place at the festivals of Pâdivêtai of Perumâl Adivâraha Jñâna Pirân, the deity of [the three villages] of Pûñjéri, Tirupârkañdal, and Mâhmallâipuram, extend-
ing over 1,000 Vēlis* of land, in the Vadakanādu, † of the Kōttam of
Āmūr, in the Victorious Cholamandalam.—This piece of land, and
the salt pan in Kūttapākam, called Viraya Pāmban, have been
given so long as the moon endures for the Pādivēṭṭai Tirunāl of
this deity. Additions may be made to this donation. May this
charity be continued so long as the moon endures! Let the
hidden treasures, waters, minerals, and every thing which the
land or the salt pan contain within their limits, become the pro-
erty of this deity. Any person that injures this charity, will incur
the guilt of having killed a cow on the banks of the Ganges. The
Kāsiyālars, (or Proprietors of the land), Sengalaigamār, Nayina Mu-
daliyār, and Vayirava Nayinār, have affixed their signatures to this
gift. Thus also Paiyanurudaiyān Uttastraprāyan Annappan, the
village accountant has signed. May prosperity continue!"

Who Vikrama Deva was, does not appear; but he may have been a local officer, perhaps a feudatory or governor under the Cholas; which dynasty shortly afterwards gave way to that of the Rāyas of Vijayanagaram (Bijanagar.) The Sālivāhana year 1157, corresponding with A. D. 1235, however, gives a tolerable approximation to the Era of the Tamil inscriptions; which, as connected with the worship of Vishnu under the form of the Boar incarnation, and the representation of the same subject in one of the caves, (plate 5 of Dr. Babington), affords also some clue to the period at which the sculptures were executed. A further guide to the eras of both the Tamil and Nāgarī inscriptions may be obtained by combining and comparing some scattered notices obtained in other inscriptions.

An inscription at Dhāravaram in Rajahmundry shews that a Vira Chola Deva‡ was reigning in S. S.

[* See note 1, p. 120, supra.] † Northern District.
‡ He also bore the titles of Kulōttuṅga, which seems to have been adopted by several Chola princes; of the 7th Vishnu Vardhana; and of Tribhuvana Mallā in other inscriptions from the same district. See MS. Catalogue of the McKenzie inscriptions.
1001 or A. D. 1079. His name too occurs in the best authenticated lists of the Chola dynasty. I have no doubt that this is the prince above alluded to. The grant would, therefore, be in 1038, or about a century anterior to that of Pavarakkâran's Choultry.

That these Tamil inscriptions were posterior to the formation of the Atichandesvarâ Mandapam, the Rathas and the temple cut out of a single mass of rock, (from which Dr. Babington copied the Kâmarâja inscription,) is established by the invocation of Adisandesvar, the tutelary deity of Tiruvirichilur, in the inscription on the rock.

In a copy of a Grant at Pithâpûr, in my possession, Vijayâditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalinga, about the middle of the 6th century,† is described as "destroying the southern "King Trilochana Pallava, and, through the decree of "Fate, losing his life in that country." From the title Pallava it may be inferred that this chief was of the same race and probably the same family as Kâmarâja, surnamed Jayaranastambha (the pillar of successful war), and Atiranachandâ Pallava.

Another inscription, engraved on a set of copper plates, (in the possession of Mahendra Shanta, a Jain Guru at Hyderabad,) and of an era 60 or 70 years later, contains the following passage:—

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† In Tamil, the  is pronounced "ta" at beginning of a word, and "da" in the middle, is identical with the Grantha and Nâgar! "ta"; and  is the only Tamil equivalent for the Nâgar! "cha," ['sa," and "sa."]

† About S. S. 475 or A. D. 553.
"Having conquered in battle, the hostile kings in the different quarters, &c., he acquired the names of Paramesvara and Vikramâditya. Moreover, Pallava Mardu was overcome by this Lord Sri Vallabha, who annihilated the renown of Narasimha, surpassed the value of Mahendra, and excelled Êvara in affability. He has justly assumed the title of Sri Vallabha, being in the unprecedented possession of Kâñchî, as it were the loosened zone (kâñchî) of the Nymph of the south. He is also rightly entitled to the name of Râjamalla, having secured his acquisition by his large and strong arms, and conquered the chief (Pâlaka) of the Mahâmalla race."

From these facts it may be inferred, that the rulers of Mâmallaipura were in a state of independence in the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries. We know from other sources that the Chola Kings reduced Tondamandalam about the 7th century.† At that time it was parcelled out among a number of petty chiefs of the Kurumbar race,‡ who with their followers were almost entirely extirpated by the Cholas. The family that possessed Mâmallaipura was probably one of the principal of these. The excavations therefore could not well have been made later than the 6th century. Neither could they have been much earlier, for the forms of the letters both Grantha and Nâgari do not justify the supposition of a higher antiquity.§

Under the Chola dynasty we find Tamil invariably employed as the character of inscriptions.

* This refers to one of the early Chaûkya kings of Kalyân, who is described in the beginning of the copper plates as son of Satya Sârya, grandson of Kirti Varma and great grandson of Pulikesi. His era was about 548, corresponding with A.D. 620. The Kalinga and Kalyân dynasties were collateral branches of the same race.

§ See Prinsep's comparative table of Hindu alphabets.
Whether all the temples were excavated by the Pallavas seems questionable. They were evidently worshippers of Siva. Many of the subjects, particularly those in plates 2, 5, 7, 10 of Dr. Babington's paper, belong to the Vaishnava creed, which is more particularly referred to in the inscription at Pavarakkâran's Choultry, and is known to have been of later origin. It is not improbable, therefore, that these may have been the work of more recent devotees, emulous of the fame of Kâmarâja and Atiranachanda Pallava.

In the possession of the Pujâri of the modern temple is a deed in Telugu, engraved on copper plates connected by a ring, with the figure of a boar and a sword on the seal, purporting to be a grant of the village of Nelatûr to Kesâvârya Sri Rangâchârya by Venkatapati Sridevarâya in the Saka year 1532, Plava Samvatsara.
B.

பிள்ளையார் பெண் கூட்டுக்களினர் குழாய்ப்படி வெளியிட்டு பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும் இது பெண் குழாய் வழக்கு குழாய் பதிப்புத் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டது. இது பிசுதிகள் மற்றும்
எனவும் - பின் குறு அப்பினையை - கூறுவதன் இரு பக்கங்கள்
புகழ்பூண்ணவாறு உள்ளன. பலர்களிடையே மனிதன் செய்து புக்கை - பின் பக்கம்
பலருக்கு எளியக் கழுத்தாரங்கள் - இது குறிந்து தான் - இது
குறளின்றியுள்ளது - என்று குறிப்பிட்டார்கள் - இது வெளியே உள்ள குறள்
நிகழ்ந்து வர்க்கம் என்றிற்குள் - என்று குறிப்பிட்டார்கள். கூட்டுமுழுவில்
போருக்கு ஆண்டு. பின் குறு வர்க்கத்துக்கு ஆண்டு
போருக்கு ஆண்டு என்று குறிப்பிட்டார்கள் - ரு-ரு
என்று.
V.—On the Inscription near the Varāhasvāmī Temple, at Māmallapuram or the Seven Pagodas, with a transcript and translation. [By Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.]

[From the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII. 1844.]

The above-mentioned inscription is cut in a niche, on the face of the rock against which the modern pagoda is built. The eastern side of the building abuts on the niche, about one-fourth of which is in consequence covered by the wall, and a considerable portion of the writing is thereby hidden from view. The circumstances under which the transcript was made, will be found in the Proceedings of the Committee of the Literary Society of the 6th July 1844, at the end of this No. [31]. Three copies of the inscription were made by three different parties, which were collated by Tāndavarāya Mudaliyār, the learned Principal Sadr Amin of Chingleput, who also supplied a Telugu paraphrase of the whole, by the aid of which the present translation has been prepared.

Svasti Sri!

In the 9th āṇḍu of Koppa-kesari-varma, also called Udaiyār Sri Rājendra Devar, who having taken the whole Irattaippādi seven lakhs and a half, having intimidated Ahava-Malla in battle amid the pīṭḥa (koppam) of his army, seized upon his elephants and horses, and performed instructions of victory, when he deigned to sit upon his throne:—the citizens of Janañāthapura which is Māmallapura the
chief city of Amūrnāḍ in Amūrkotta in the prosperous Cholamanḍalam, (Sōramandalam) and we the inhabitants of Pērilam, do record that the eastern boundary of the land which we have granted for Alvār (Arvār) in the temple of Paramesvara Māhavarāhā Vishnu in our village, inclusive of the land formerly held free of tax, as Devadānam, lies west of Sikuttichēri—its southern boundary is the north side of Vayalurān kaṇṭār nilam, belonging to Mahāvishnu in this village,—its western boundary is the vast (shore of the) backwater (or creek)—and its northern boundary (reaches to the) south side of the temple of Māmallai Perumāl and to the fresh water well on the south-east of the Kōnēri—we have granted to the Devar as Devadānam, free of tax, all the lands within these four limits, over which the guana has run and the tortoise has crawled-inclusive of nīr nilams and punjey nilams, setting apart four tādis of land with trees and arable fields within this tract, for the expenses of meat-offerings (bali) to the deity, and determining that from the produce of the remaining nīr nilams, one padikkul and four svaris of paddy, which at the rate of two-fifths are (or yield) one kuruṁi of rice, shall be set apart for the offerings of food to the Devar for the two sandhis or stated periods of worship at four nāris of rice for a sandhi—and also one kuruṁi of paddy for two sandhis at four nāris for a sandhi—for two sorts of nāris (or meats) for each sandhi, two and a half sevidas of ghee, one uri of curds, adaikkāya consisting of two areca nuts and eight beetle leaves for a sandhi, in all three kuruṁis

* This Alvār is still worshipped by the Vaishnava sect under the name of Bhūta, in the following invocation:

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    ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ

I adore Bhūta who from a portion of Vishnu's Club, was born in a blue lotus at Mallāpuri on the sea-shore, under the sign of the Balance in the constellation of the Dolphin."
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[† Lit. "rods." 1 square rod = 1 kuri.—See note * p. 123, supru.]

[‡ Two marcals; (marakkāl.)

§ A padi or measure; [== in different localities, from 50 to upwards of 100 cubic inches, the present standard Government measure,] the [fourth, fifth, sixth or] eighth part of a marcal.

¶ A marcal.

‖ A sevīdā in the 120th part of a padi or measure.

** Half padi or measure.

[†† तुलाष्ट्रविणाश्रयं भूतं कालोत्तमालिका:।
तीरे फुण्डोत्यालामान्यापुर्णामीक्षे गदांशवं॥]
and four śāris of paddy for two amdhis should be paid, and that the people who cultivate the lands, and the people in the Madavilāgān of this Devar shall not be subjected to the payment of any tax.—I wrote at the desire of the citizens of Māmallapuram or Jānanāthapuram and the people of Pērilam—signed: Tiruverichiludaiyār Tōndan Ādavālān—Karnattān of this village; this is my writing.

This is Olināgān Mādaiyān Aragiya Chola the Āmūr-ṇāttu Mūvēndravelān's writing.
This is Olināgān Chandrasekara's signature.
This is Olināgān Nārāyanā's signature.
This is Kalatturāṇ Sūtī Araisan's signature.
This is Konandai Sirālan Settī's signature.
This is Indipuravan Saṅganāgān's signature.
This is Māppūdi Nārāyanān Mādakkali's signature.
This is Māppūdi Ammōdi Arāva Murtī's signature.
This is Uchānāravan Mugalināgān's signature.
This is Vasārānchēri Udaiyān Arayan Pichan's signature.
The person who molests this charity will incur the sins of having committed capital crimes on the banks of the Ganges and at Kumari.

Svasti Srī!

In the 9th āndu of Koppara-kesari-varmar (or) Udaiyār Śrī Rājendra Devar when, having taken Irattaipādi of the whole seven lakhs and a half, having intimidated Āhava Malla midst the pitfall of his troops, having seized upon his elephants and horses, and having performed lustrations of victory,—he deigned to sit on his mighty throne; we the inhabitants of Tiruverichi, the Devadānam and Brahmadeyam (village) in Āmurban of Āmūrkotta in the prosperous Cholamandalam, do write—that the eastern boundary of the lands which we are to grant as Devadānam free of rent, for the Álvār in the temple of Śrī Parameswara Mahāvarāha Vīshnu, in Māmallapuram or Jānanāthapuram the chief city of this Nād lies west of Kommadikundil in the road to the tank Vannakkanēri—the southern boundary (of it) is the north of Pallachesuvu or the land called Kalatturāṇ paramana mugali—the western boundary (of it) is east of the field (called) Sātturāṇ Chandra Sekara kirama vittan—and the northern boundary (of it) south to the field (called) Kariyan semme mettan kusavan. We have granted for this Devar, the three hundred kuris of the land (named) Esamennu within this boundary as Devadānam free of rent, together with the water to irrigate this land from the tank Vannakkanēri and also the water channel.—We are to free the cultivators of this land from the payment of the principal.

* The establishment or inmates of the temple.
(peruvāri or ayin) and sundry (sūlavari or additional) taxes—and also from forced labour, (vetti) and the carrying of burdens and pounding of grain for the food of persons of all descriptions. Thus having agreed, we have granted (this) as Devadānam free of rent.

I, Bhāradvājī Ṇadavaḷāṅ, a Siva Brahman of Kasapākkam in this Nād, wrote this at the request of the inhabitants of Tiruverichi. This is my writing.

This is the writing of Pādāyakkiyam vittan.
This is the writing of Devagauāta pattan of this kshetram.
This: Sātandai mallan sanagan.

(effaced.)

* * * * Olināgan Nārāyanan.

This is my writing, * * * *
This * * * * of this kshetram.

* * * * Pattan.

I know, this is the writing of Arumbakivīrā Kārī Irāman, Mūvendavēlāṅ of Āmūrnād in the prosperous Cholamanalām.

This is the writing of Tondā Adavaḷāṅ the Karnattāṅ of this village.

In this āṇdu, Olināgan Mādaiyāṅ, Mūvendavelāṅ of Āmūrnād, granted 90 goats, for a lamp to be kept always burning.

Kāmakōṅān selavan, &c.

The remainder is defaced.

Two grants to the same temple are here recorded, both made in the same year but by different parties. The opening sentence of both is word for word the same, and constitutes the most important portion of the deeds; possessing a double value both as affording the means of ascertaining the exact date of the Tamil inscriptions at Māmallaipuram, and as a historical record confirming in a remarkable manner, a fact of some importance ascertained from totally distinct sources. In a paper on the Chāḷukya Princes of Kalyāṅ in the Dakhan published in the IVth Vol. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and republished in Vol. VII. p. 193 of this Journal, it is stated on the authority of an inscription at Anigiri in the Dhārwār district, that Somesvara Deva Chāḷukya I., surnamed Āhava
Malla had been invaded by the Chola Rājā who had ravaged the southern provinces of Kuntala-desa, and destroyed the city of Pulikara-nagara, the modern Lakshmesvar near Savanur. The Chalukya inscription asserts that Āhava Malla defeated and slew the invader, and there is no doubt the invasion was ultimately repelled. But enough is admitted to show that it had been in the first instance eminently successful. The present inscription evidently refers to the same fact, and there is no doubt that Vira Rājendra Chola, surnamed Koppara-Kesari-Varma is the Chola Rājā above referred to. This is further confirmed by other inscriptions of this same prince, on the magnificent temple at Gangondaram, on the north bank of the Cavery, of which he appears to have been the founder. One of these, in the 5th year of his reign, runs thus, “Ko-Virāja-Kesari Varma named Rājendra Deva, wielding the sceptre with valour for a companion and munificence for an ornament, freeing himself from the blackest sins, having intimidated Āhava Malla of Kudala Sangama, having vanquished the Vikkilan and Singalan,* and taken their queens with their effects and carriages, and having a second time terrified Āhava Malla in battle; having also recovered Venganâdu and fulfilled the vows of his elder brothers, &c.” In a subsequent grant in the same temple he is described as “having perpetuated his fame in the northern country which he conquered, &c.”

The kingdom of Kalyân had not long before been rescued from foreign enemies by the great grand-

* The Singalan must refer to the King of Ceylon.
father of Somesvara Deva I., and may not have been yet fully re-established, thereby inviting the attacks of its southern neighbours, who were then in the height of their power. The inscriptions of the father of Somesvara Deva I. named Jayasiniha, show that he also was at war with the Cholas, but their differences must have ceased with the contest recorded in the present inscription, for the youngest son of Somesvara Deva,—Vikramâditya II. was the most powerful sovereign, not only of his race but of his time, and ruled over an enlarged and extensive kingdom for 52 years, in the numerous extant inscriptions of which, no mention occurs of a Chola war. On the other hand, the Cholas had attained their greatest prosperity at the period of the inscription, in the time of Vira Râjendra Chola, whose father Râja Râja Narendra, acquired possession of the whole of Telingâna, by intermarriage with the eastern branch of the Chalukya family, sovereigns of Vegidesam, and left to his son a kingdom, extending along the coast from the mouth of the Godâvari to Râmesvaram, and inland probably over the greatest part of the southern provinces of this Presidency.

The next point is to identify the era of Vira Râjendra Chola with that of Somesvara Deva I., surnamed Âhava Malla. The latter has been ascertained with tolerable precision in the paper above referred to, and is shown from a comparison of several inscriptions, to be from about S. S. 962 to 991.* By a valuable inscription recently procured, I find

that Râjendra Chola succeeded his father Râja Râja Chola in S. S. 986, and the same authority shows that he still continued reigning in S. S. 1001. It is clear therefore that he was not killed in the action with Somesvara Deva. But besides that the metaphorical language of the inscription does not imperatively require such a rendering, it is very possible that Râjendra Chola may not have commanded in person, but may have intrusted the expedition to one of his generals who, as shewn by numerous inscriptions of that age, were in the habit of assuming the family name of the sovereigns under whom they served. The date of the inscription, the 9th of his reign, would therefore be S. S. 995 or A. D. 1073. The battle of Lakshmesvar must have occurred very shortly after his accession, for the Gângodaram inscription already quoted is dated in the 5th of his reign. The synchronism therefore of the three records is perfect.

The last object of inquiry is the identity of the places referred to as the scene of the war. The term Irattaippâdi used in both the Chola grants, does not occur in any of the Dakhan inscriptions that I recollect. It may, however, have been the familiar term for Kuntala-desa in the south. Instances of such diversity of nomenclature are not uncommon. In the Dakhan, at this day the Tamil country and people are invariably called Konga-des and Kongas. At Malacca and by the Malays generally, the people of Southern India pass under the name of Klings, from the ancient Kalinga. Now we know that a powerful race, the Ratta Kula, originally overcome by the Châlukyas and held in subjection for several centuries, again obtained the ascendancy about the
9th century, and were finally subdued by Tailapa Deva Chalukya, the great grandfather of Āhava Malla in S. S. 895 or A. D. 973. Among the titles of Āhava Malla himself, we find an indication of the more recent independence of the Rattas. In an inscription at Nilgund in the Dambal Taluk of the Dhārwār district, he is described as “possessing the lofty golden parasol and the whole territory that had belonged to the Rattakula chief, Śrī Vira Mārtanda.” A distinguished family of this Rattakula, likewise flourished at Parsghur and Samdatty in the Dhārwār district under the Chalukya dynasty, and a considerable town yet exists under the name of Rattehalli on the Wardah, about 30 or 40 miles south of Lakshmesvar.

In the Gangondaram inscription, the Chalukya prince is designated as Āhava Malla of the Kadāl Sangama. This is the name of the junction of the Tungā with the Bhadrā river near Huli Honore, where is situated the Matham of a celebrated Guru of the Smārta sect, usually called the Kudalgi Svāmī.*

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that “Irattaippāḍi” was the name applied by the Tamilians to the southern province, at least of the Chalukya empire, and even to suppose that it was used to signify the whole kingdom. This opinion is strengthened by the use of the expression “the whole 7½ lakhs.” In the same inscription that gives

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* There are two Mathams of the Sankara Bhāratī or Smārta sect in this neighbourhood—Sringeri and Kudalgi, besides another at Sankesvar, near Kolapūr.
the history of the union of the eastern Chalukya and Chola families, it is stated that the first founder of the former race, descended from the rulers of Ayodhyā, "having conquered Kadamba Ganga and other earthly rulers, reigned over the southern country of 7½ lakhs from Narmadā to Setu" and elsewhere, similar references are made to the 7½ lakhs dominion of the Kalyān kingdom. This evidently refers to the kingdom of Kuntala-desa only, of which Kalyān was the capital; for that of Kalinga or Vegidesam* was the subsequent acquisition of a collateral branch. What the number 7½ lakhs refers to is not clear. In all the inscriptions of that era, territorial divisions are designated by a number unaccompanied by any explanation of the objects to which it refers. Thus the Kadamba family which became a feudatory to the Kalyān Chalukyas, are always described as lords of the Banawassi 12,000. It may refer to the number of villages or townships, to their revenue, or to the quota of troops the chief was bound to bring into the field.

The inferences bearing on the local history of the Seven Pagodas to be drawn from the preceding inscription are the following. The era of the oldest Tamil inscription is clearly fixed at the latter part of the 11th century, and that previously assigned to the rock sāsanam of Sāluvan Kuppam is confirmed. For Vira Chola Deva surnamed Tribhuvana Malla is shown by the same inscription as that which gives the date of Vira Rājendra Chola, to have been the second son of that prince, and to have been

* For a notice of Vegidesam or Vengidesam, see Journal Vol. xi. p. 304.
nominated by him viceroy of Telingana in S. S. 1001, (A. D. 1079) which would place the execution of the rock inscription stated to have been cut in his 36th year, in the beginning of the 12th century or S. S. 1037, corresponding with A. D. 1115. Further, it is evident from the facts of the grant to Álvár, in the temple of Paramesvara Mahá-varáha Vishnu, and the subsequent mention of the temple of Māmallai Perumál, that the more modern creed of the Vaishnava sect had been established, and that of the Saiva subverted. Lastly, the place appears to have borne the name of Jananáthapuram in addition to that of Māmallai puram, which it is remarkable is invariably here written Māmallapuram. [/docsypnusy.]

In the Appendix to Mr. Ellis' treatise on Mirásí rights, a copy and translation of the Sāluvan Kuppam inscription will be found, which, had it been known at the time, would have rendered the publication of that given in a former part of this volume (p. 47) unnecessary. The two documents agree pretty nearly, but Mr. Ellis seems to have had a less accurate transcript, than the one prepared for me, which was obtained from two copies made by different individuals acquainted with the ancient character, and these were carefully collated by Tândavaráya Mudaliyár. Mr. Ellis has also inserted at the same place a version of the few initial half-lines of the Varáhasvámi inscription, but these were evidently too imperfect to give the true sense. He, however, agrees in referring the local chiefs antecedent to the Cholas to the Kurumbar race, though he

[* P. 121, supra.*]
errs in supposing (Ahava) Malla to have been one of them.

The Seven Pagodas have received a greater degree of attention from their vicinity to Madras, than they otherwise would have obtained.* The repeated notice that has in consequence been bestowed on them, has thus brought together almost everything of interest connected with them, and the curious visitor is thus furnished with data, from which to form his own opinion of their age, origin, and object.

* Heyne's Tracts XXI. p. 333.
மது நின்றுப்போக்கும் நோக்கமற்று வேறுப்புக்கொண்ட நோக்கம் தவறுப்புக்கொண்ட வேறுப்பு.

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சூட்டு நோய்கள் உண்டுதலை கேற்புறயில்
பிள்ளையார் செய்த குடியார்களை
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சேருங்களை விளக்கவில்லை. நானால் தமிழில்
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குறிப்பிட்டு வலுவதால்
சேர்ந்த குடியார்களை
சேர்ந்த குடியார்களை.
VI.—Notes on the Ruins at Mahabalipuram on the Coromandel Coast. By C. Gubbins, Esq., B. C. S.

[From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXII. 1853.]

The temples of Mahabalipur or Mavalipuram are situated in Lat. 12° 36' 57" North, and Long. 80° 14' 1" East; nearly thirty-five miles south of Madras, and about five north of the little town of Sadras.

They are built and excavated from a low rocky ridge that, rising isolated from the plain, runs slanting towards the shore for about a mile and a half. The highest part, towards the north, is little more than 120 feet in elevation; and perhaps a mile from the sea, into which the southern extremity runs. It appears to have some small spurs, which may be seen cropping out at various points on the beach.

It is chiefly* of a binary granite, that conveys to a casual observer the idea of having been recently half-wetted by a driving pelt of rain; and although extremely hard, splits readily into masses of various but considerable size. I saw a block from forty to fifty feet in length, and twenty-five to thirty feet in width, that had been divided with an apparently† plane surface by a single blast of gunpowder. The hewers of the caves, however, do not seem to have

* As far as I could perceive, it was entirely so: but I had not leisure for an examination sufficiently minute to authorize my speaking positively.

† I say "apparently," because, with reference to the known conchoidal fracture of the rock, it is probable that when closely examined the surface would be found somewhat curved.
enjoyed the assistance of this powerful agent: their method was to trace out on the surface of the rock the line in which they required a separation, along which small holes were made with the chisel and wedges introduced with sufficient force to compel cleavage. It would, however, be difficult at the present day to determine whether these wedges were of wood, well dried before insertion, and subsequently swelled by the application of water; or of metal driven in by repeated blows, as appears to have been the custom in ancient Egypt.*

[* "A series of bare granite rocks, naturally of fantastic contour, nearly a mile long and 120 feet high, has afforded the Hindu artist ample scope for the exercise of his chisel, which must have been wrought of the finest tempered steel, for which India, since the dawn of history, has been justly celebrated. The bronze tools of the Egyptians might answer well enough in the limestone quarries around old Cairo, in working the blocks which constitute the great bulk of the pyramid, but would be of little avail in the quarries of Syene—a type of whose granite we find in the redder felspar. Quaternary granites compose the great monolithic Rāthas of the Seven Pagodas—a mixture of red and white felspar, white quartz, dark mica, and hornblende. It is more than probable that Indian steel found its way into Egypt during the early traffic that is known to have subsisted between India, Judæa, Yemen, and Egypt. It is absurd to suppose, that the sharply-cut and deeply-engraven hieroglyphics which cover the granite obelisks of Egypt, were done with chisels of bronze, even armed with corundum dust. Quintus Curtius informs us, that Porus presented Alexander with a quantity of steel as one of the most acceptable and valuable gifts India could offer. The granite blocks here, as elsewhere in India, are subject to spontaneous concentric exfoliation and splitting. The globular mass, apparently about sixty feet in circumference, which we see nicely poised on a convex mass of granite—the pat of butter petrified by the god of milkmaids, Kṛiṣṇa—is ascribable to the first process; and the rents in the sculptured rocks—one of which cleaving the monolith pagodas, was ascribed by Mr. Chambers to a violent earthquake†—have doubtless been caused by the latter process of spontaneous splitting."—Newbold's "Notes on the Coast of Coromandel, from the Pennār to Pondicherry," in Journal, Asiatic Soc'y. of Bengal, Vol. xv, p. 210.]

[† P. 10, supra.]
The rock yields to the weather by conchoidal peelings, which gives to the group the general appearance of a mass of gigantic boulders, or a confused assemblage of ruined domes. Considering its hardness, it seems to be peculiarly affected by the sea air. This was remarked by Mr. Chambers in 1772 and 1776. "All these figures are doubtless much less distinct than they were at first; for on comparing these and the rest of the sculptures that are exposed to the sea air, with others at the same place whose situation has afforded them protection from it, the difference is striking; the former being everywhere much defaced, while the others are fresh as recently finished;"* and it is necessary to bear in mind this characteristic when discussing the antiquity, either positive or comparative, of any portion of these edifices.

The greater part of these temples are excavations after the fashion of Ellora and Elephanta; superior in taste and symmetry, though far inferior in dimensions to the first-named.† The most perfect and beautiful is in a narrow ravine, towards the northern part of the range, and facing to the West; whereby it has been well protected from the effects of the sea air. Although small in its dimensions, it is remarkable for its artistic merit: the columns in particular are slender and most graceful; the pedestals couchant tigers facing outwards; the capitals elegant and well proportioned, though fashioned in a style unknown among the orders of Grecian architecture. Mr. Chambers remarks on

[* P. 4 f., supra.]
[† See note * p. 37, and p. 45, supra.]
its sculpture that "the figures of idols in high relief upon its walls are very well finished, and perfectly fresh." Another appears to have been dedicated to Siva, who is represented, in the middle compart-
ment, of large stature and with four arms. A small figure of Brahmā is on his right; Siva with his con-
sort Pārvatī on the left; and his left foot rests on a bull couchant. At one end of the temple is a gigan-
tic figure of Vishnu sleeping on a Cobra da capello, with several heads so disposed as to form a canopy above the god. At the opposite end appears Sivâni, in the character of Durgā, with eight arms, mount-
ed on a lion; opposed to her is a gigantic figure with a human body and buffalo's head,† much resem-
bbling that which is elsewhere called the Yamarāja; between them is a human figure suspended head downwards, apparently the object of their dispute: and the monster brandishes a club, while the goddess is armed with various weapons and accompanied by some dwarf attendants.

Mr. Goldingham remarks, "The figure and action of the goddess are executed in a masterly and spirited style."‡ and Lieutenant Newbold observes that "the best executed figure of the king of the beasts is that on which the goddess Durgā is seen mounted, in the sculptured cave near the summit of the hill."§

[* P. 6, supra.]
[† Mahishāsura.—Cp. Babington, p. 49, and Braddock, pp. 90 ff., supra.]
[‡ P. 33, supra.]
[§ This passage occurs in a description of the Seven Pagodas quoted, (without Author's name,) at pp. 253 ff. of Pharoah's Gazetteer of Southern India. I have not access to the original paper.—En.]
Not far off, a large polished slab about ten feet in length, with the figure of a couchant lion at the southern end, is shown as the bed of the Dharma-rāja: which may probably be understood as the "Lit de justice," or throne, whence some prince of that name was wont to dispense justice to his people.

Of the other caves some were considerably larger, and had more the appearance of being dedicated to Vishnu; all facing the East. But the striking point in which the whole series resembles that of Ellora is their unfinished state. Mr. James Ferguson remarks of them in a paper read to the R. A. Society in 1843:—

"One of the most singular characteristics of this series of caves is that they are all of one age, and probably the work of one prince, who has carried on the works simultaneously, but from some cause or other has been unable to complete even one of them; had one been finished, or had there been any gradation of style or workmanship, some chronological arrangement might easily have been traced; but nothing of the sort exists."

Another still more remarkable point of similarity is the repetition of the sculptured group, representing a skeleton figure in a suppliant attitude before a personage appearing to possess authority. Mr. Goldingham describes the group at Mahābalipūr as follows:

"Near this structure, the surface of the rock, about ninety feet in extent, and thirty in height, is covered with figures in bas-relief. A gigantic figure

[* Journal R. A. S., Vol. viii, p. 87.]
of the god Krishna is the most conspicuous; with Arjuna his favourite, in the Hindu attitude of prayer; but so void of flesh, as to present more the appearance of a skeleton than the representation of a living person. Below is a venerable figure, said to be the father of Arjuna;* both figures proving the sculptor possessed no inconsiderable skill.†

It does not appear whether Mr. Goldingham had any authority for this interpretation, beyond that of the attendant Brahmins, who are always ready to affix the names of some Hindu god or hero to every ancient sculpture; but I could not perceive in the standing figure the usual attributes of Krishna; neither can I recall any tale or legend that represents Arjuna and his father Pāndu as suppliants to that divinity, in a state of starvation.

When I visited the caves of Ellora in 1841, Lieut. Howarth, then engaged in making drawings of the bas-reliefs, informed me that the group was generally considered to portray a miser holding a bag of money, while his wife and son, reduced to skeletons, are vainly supplicating for food; but on minute inspection I was not satisfied with this interpretation, and find my notes on the subject as follows.

What is assumed to be a purse tied round the waist of the miser has not the appearance of a sack containing money; but might rather represent a girdle, drawn tight round the body to ease the sensation of hunger, as is the custom with most semi-civilized nations: neither can it be a bag of coins that he holds in his hand, because the thick

[* See note * p. 31, and note || p. 88, supra.]
[† P. 30 f., supra.]
part is above the hand and terminates in a point at top; but it might be an instrument for cutting the rock, which he is holding out to the half-starved figures at his feet. The little fat cherub may as well be supposed to be bringing him a bag of treasure, as to be taking it away; and then the entire group may be imagined to pourtray the cause and mode of construction of these caves, as a work undertaken by some prince or wealthy chief during a time of famine to relieve the wants of his starving people. Admitting this supposition, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for a continuation of the bas-relief which appears appended, not only to this group but also to a similar one in less perfect preservation in another cave: and we shall recognize Ganesa, at the head of a row of females, each carrying a child in her arms as exhibiting the eventual results of the judicious disbursement.

This interpretation is merely a conjecture, but it seems to derive great support from the existence of the same group on the rocks of Mahâbalipuram.* We can hardly imagine sculptors at such very different parts of India happening to invent precisely the same story: though it might easily occur that both had to relate to posterity the same events. It is no very great stretch of credulity to suppose that in both places the works were undertaken by some prince to employ his famishing subjects during a time of great scarcity, and to furnish them with food without supporting them in slothful idleness. This is exactly what was done by Sir Charles Met-

[* The identity of the scenes represented in the sculptures at the two places is not apparent.]
calfe in our Upper Provinces during the famine of 1837-8, and it does not seem impossible that similar events might suggest similar remedies, to beneficent and intelligent minds, even at an interval of many centuries. Nor are we without some indications that such actually has been the case: for Mr. Taylor, quoting from the Mackenzie papers, says:

"In the Kali-yuga, Singhama Nāyadu the Zemindar of the Vellugotivāru race, seems to have ruled here. In that time, during a famine, many artificers resorted hither, and wrought on the mountain a variety of works, during two or three years."*

This theory will explain how in both cases, (Ellora and Mahâbalipuram,) a number of works were commenced simultaneously, in order to employ at once a large number of workmen: and how they came to be left unfinished; the people naturally returning to their ordinary occupations, when the pressure of famine was removed.

I must not omit to mention another tradition which attributes the construction of these works to a body of northern artificers, who fled from the tyranny of their own or some conquering prince, and were suddenly recalled to their homes, by proffered favours and concessions on his part; nor the conjecture of Mr. James Fergusson, who, discrediting this story, accepts Singhama Nāyadu as the prince

"About 500 years ago a Poligar of the name of Balicota Simconmaidu lived here, and began to build a little fort on the top of the rock, some ruins of which still remain, as bricks, &c. It is also said that Krishnaraiulu, who lived about 250 years ago, employed some workmen, who had been driven from the north into the Carnatic in search of bread."—Heyne's Tracts on India. London, 1814, p. 335.]
to whom the excavations are due: and tracing him to his death in battle, while besieging the fort of Jalli palli in the thirteenth century, conceives this event to be a more probable cause of the sudden interruption of the works. "It being entirely a fancy of his own, and neither indigenous in the country, nor a part of the religion of the people, it is not probable that his successor would continue the follies of his parent."* Either of these suppositions would certainly account for the non-completion of the works at Mahābalipūr: but we should then have to seek out some analogous cause for the same circumstance at Ellora: and the remarkable repetition of the significant group of sculpture would remain totally unexplained.

There are a variety of other sculptures both of beasts and human beings; and often presenting a mixture of both. The most conspicuous is the king snake, with the head and body of a man, terminating in extensive serpentine convolutions, often winding round other groups.† They are nearly all on the eastern face of the rock: and mostly close to the principal caves, which are in the northern half of the range. In the same vicinity is a somewhat remarkable monolith; a mass of living rock left isolated, and artificially fashioned outside, as well as inside. It appears to be above twenty-five feet in height, the same in length, and about half in breadth. It has a long roof curved like a gothic-pointed arch, and gabled at each end.

The walls are of great thickness, so that the interior cell is small: it contains a lingam, and

among the sculptures on its walls, appears the figure of Ganesa in small dimensions. Its door faces the west: and close to it the Brahmans are quarrying the rock, to repair and beautify the interior of the brick pagoda; the only one in which the ceremonials of worship are performed at the present day.

At the extreme south of the ridge, and separated from it by a small level space, along which runs the lower road from Madras to Cuddalore, stand a group of monoliths, seven† in number, surrounded by a grove of cocoanut trees.‡ Five of them are pagodas; of which the most southern (measured by Mr. Goldingham forty feet in height) resembles in general outline a Mussulman mausoleum. Another twenty-five feet in height, and perhaps fifty in length, has a long gothic roof as previously described, and is ornamented on the outside: the other three are more like modern pagodas. The two remaining rocks are fashioned to imitate an elephant and a lion, in colossal proportions. All these monoliths, though close to the sea-beach, and perfectly exposed, are comparatively fresh in their outline, and exhibit very little signs of corrosion. They are composed of this same binary granite, and I think we may thence conclude their comparative antiquity not to be very great.

There still remain two§ temples, differing from

[* The Ganesa temple is more correctly described at page 79, supra.]
[† There are eight, including the figure of the sacred bull (Nandi) almost buried in the sand.]
‡ of e—palmyras: my recollection on this point is indistinct.||
§ I have been told of a third farther north, but did not see it. [See note † p. 106, supra.]
[|| They are palmyras (Borassus flabelliformis) and scrub dates (Phœnix farinifera).]
the former in being built, instead of hewn in the solid rock. The first, already alluded to, stands near the village on the level ground not far from the principal caves, and is of brick, plastered and coloured in the modern style. It is of considerable size, and is still used for purposes of worship, and for the accommodation of Hindu travellers. The Brahmans enjoy some revenues attached to the building, and are busily engaged ornamenting and improving it: all which circumstances,* combined with its perfectly recent form and appearance, are conclusive in my mind against any claims to great antiquity that may be advanced on its behalf.†

The last remaining is that which has attracted most attention from travellers: it is built of large masses of hewn granite, on one of the granite rocks already mentioned, as protruding at intervals along the sea shore. It is nearly opposite the highest part of the ridge, and has apparently been built en rapport with some part of the excavated hill, from which it is a mile distant in an easterly direction. Its dimensions are small: speaking from memory, I should say, under thirty feet square: but its curiously ornamented conical roof rises to an elevation of nearly fifty feet. It is surrounded on three sides by a granite screen of ten or twelve feet high, and about five feet distant from the body of the temple: on the fourth side (the West,) stands a miniature of the temple, opening towards the West,

* It will generally be found that religious edifices, still possessing endowments, belong to the later phases of Hinduism: the more ancient having been lost, in the various political and religious contests.

[† It is called the Sthalasayanaswāmi (Vishnū) temple, and is said to be about 100 years old.]
and bearing every appearance of having originally been its principal* entrance. The walls and roof of a connecting passage still exist, but all access by this route is now barred by a slab of black basaltic rock, fixed in the eastern wall of the portico, opposite its entrance. A similar, rather larger slab occupies a corresponding place on the inner surface of the western wall of the temple; and on both are images of Siva, Pârvatî, and their child.† I was unable to discover whether the space intervening between these two slabs is vacant, or has been filled up with masonry: but it is my very strong impression, that they and their immediately surrounding blocks of stone are long subsequent in date to the rest of the building, and have been inserted in order to mark the ancient entry. As matters at present stand, it is impossible to assign any reason for the existence of a blind chamber, or other mass of building, between two temples of Siva placed dos à dos: and there are only two suppositions that will account for the erection of these two buildings, of obviously the same date, with a covered passage of connection. Either the smaller was a sanctuary, to be entered only from the larger; as appears to have been the case in some of the Arian temples still extant in Cashmere: or else it must have been a portico, through which admission

* As is constantly seen at present to the east of Hindu temples.
† The centre is occupied by a large lingam‡ which, from its dark colour, I conclude to be of this basaltic rock, which must have been brought from a considerable distance. The chaityas§ terminating the roofs of both temple and prophyllum are the same. Every other part is granite.

[‡ See note † p. 107, supra.] [§ See note * p. 172, infra.]
was obtained to the larger or real temple. The first hypothesis is contradicted by the existence of the western entry to the smaller edifice, which is certainly contemporaneous with its construction; and also by the fact that the stone screen, that so carefully encircles the larger building, ceases on arriving opposite the smaller. We are therefore thrown back upon the second;* which is supported not only by these circumstances, but also by the extreme simplicity of the present door to the larger temple; a mere plain opening in the wall. I may also mention that while the smaller building (and through it, were the passage still open, the larger one only) is approached from the west with ease and on a level; the only access to the simple opening in the eastern screen now serving as an entry is over a low but steep and rugged rock washed by the breakers below. This rock has certainly the appearance, both here and elsewhere, of having been partly cut into rude steps and partly perforated as if to receive some superstructure that has since disappeared. One solitary column still raises its head above the waves, and is commonly considered to have been a Stambha, to support lamps:† it should, however, be remarked that there is no vestige of any mode of ascent, to place them; neither of niches wherein they might be placed. The top is formed into a kind of peg, as if to receive some capping stone, and I

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* The idea of the original entrance having been from the west will appear less strange if it be remembered that the entrance and portico of the Kailás at Ellora actually are from that quarter.

† See note † p. 11, and note ‡ p. 51, supra. The statement that it is a lamp-post (Dépástambha) appears, from the height and shape of the pillar, to be correct.
have myself little doubt that it is the sole relic of some terrace or arcade, once extending in this direction: I also traced out faintly the platforms of two collateral buildings; one on each side of that now standing: and among the débris of the southernmost I discovered several images of the kneeling bull generally placed opposite a lingam, so corroded as to be only recognizable on careful examination. A similar image, in a better state of preservation, is to be seen within the granite screen, on one side of the portico; and on the other, in a closet or small chamber of comparatively recent construction, is a large recumbent statue of Vishnu, with the ordinary Sesh-nâga* below and above him.

On the shore close by are several rudely sculptured rocks: one representing a monster with human arms and the head of an ox or buffalo,† commonly called the Yama-râja. They have suffered greatly from the action of the sea air, as has also every part of the adjacent temple, except its chaityas of basalt. In this respect there is a great difference between its appearance and that of the eaves, or even of the group of monoliths placed in a situation no less exposed: and after close examination of all surrounding circumstances, I am unable to resist the conclusion that this temple is by many degrees the most ancient of the remains at Mahâbalipûr: in fact, that it is one of the most ancient in India. I am aware that Mr. James Fergusson considers "that its age does not differ materially from that of the rest,"‡ and it is with the greatest diffidence that I venture

[* See note p. 33, supra.]
[† Mahishâsura.]
[‡ Journal R. A. S., Vol viii, p. 87.]
to express an opinion differing from that entertained by so competent an authority: but Mr. Fergusson was specially engaged in the examination of the rock-cut temples; remarking the similarities and the differences existing between them and similar works in other parts of India; so that probably he had little leisure for this structure; to which I, on the contrary, devoted much attention. Besides, if I remember right, he decided these caves to be more modern than those of Ellora: at the same time he considered the celebrated Kailâs of that place to have been copied from some earlier edifice of Southern India: and looking to the very great general similarity of style, I am certainly inclined to refer this shore temple of Mahâbalipûr to the age of those earlier structures; although the precise model of the Kailâs may not be found here, but at Chellambram* or Tanjore. This would give a considerable difference of date; and the supposition is borne out by the assurances of the Brahmans who attended Mr. Goldingham, that their ancient books "contained no account of any of the structures here described, except the stone pagodas near the sea and the pagodas of brick at the village."† The obvious error of the last statement certainly detracts from the value to be assigned to the former; but it should not be forgotten, that these brick pagodas were in their own possession, and in present use; so that they had a motive for assigning to them a fabulous degree of antiquity: while they had no such inducement for making an untrue distinction

[* Prop. Chitambram.]  
[† P. 36, supra.]
between the caves and the other remains, all equally abandoned and valueless to themselves.

But whatever the age either actual or relative of the various temples of Mahâbalipûr, it seems certain, that at some distant period, the place was one of no small importance. The ground immediately inland from the shore temple has obviously been built over to a considerable extent. The extremely well-cemented foundations of ancient walls are now dug out, as required for building materials, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village; or for the improvement of the brick pagoda. I examined a large mass of concrete, with bricks on the lower surface, and found it extremely solid and in excellent preservation. It consisted of sharp broken fragments of the granite of the place, mixed with unburned shells: the excellent mortar in which they were embedded being probably these same sea shells burned. The bricks were of the large size usual in all old Hindu structures: but not uniform in their shape. Those I measured varied from eleven to thirteen inches in length, from seven to seven and half in breadth, and were pretty regularly two inches thick;* so well laid in the finest mortar,

* I append a memorandum of the dimensions of old bricks I have collected within the limits of the Mahâbhârata, and an average of a much larger number of specimens from the neighbourhood gives 15\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 2\(\frac{1}{4}\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Thickness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pancaput Fort</td>
<td>15 inch long</td>
<td>9 inch wide</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{4}) inch thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnawa do.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustinaoor do.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{4})</td>
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Average...15\(\frac{1}{4}\) " 9 " 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)

It will be observed that here again the most variable dimension is the length: and the average of these north country bricks will be found to be exactly of the same proportions as the average of those at
that five of them *in situ* barely measured eleven inches. Most of the houses in the village are built of these old bricks; but the ruins are so completely covered with a deposit of soil, and drift sand, that numerous excavations would be necessary to afford even the vaguest idea of their extent. It is however certain that there must have been a wealthy, and therefore in all probability a numerous population, where dwelling-houses were built of burned bricks, cemented with lime mortar; and where masons were sufficiently acquainted with the mysteries of their art, to use foundations of concrete, formed of the most durable materials, and on the most approved principles. It must be remembered that in classical days the extremity of the peninsula was the entrepôt of commerce between the east and the west. Gibbon says, "Every year, about the summer solstice, a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myas Hormas, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. The coast of Malabar or the island of Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote parts of Asia expected their arrival. This fleet traversed the ocean in about forty days by the periodical assistance of the monsoons." Whence we gather that the European fleets proceeded to India with the commencement of the S. W. monsoon; and remained there until the beginning of the N. Easterly; which is consonant with all we know of the habits of the seamen of antiquity. But, at that time of year, the ports

Mahābalipūr, the length 15½ and breadth 9, being pretty nearly to the length 12 and breadth 7½ inches as the thickness 2½ is to the thickness 2.
of the Malabar Coast would have been extremely unsafe; besides that no large city is known to have flourished at that epoch anywhere near Ceylon, with access from that quarter. It is therefore far more probable that the laden ships, favoured by the strong southerly current along the shore, passed by the Malabar Coast, and by the island of Ceylon, to find harbour on the Coromandel Coast, and await the change that would take them on their return voyage. I have the authority of a commander of approved skill and well acquainted with these seas for saying that there are no physical features to prohibit the idea that Māvalipūr may have been one of these ports. He answers my enquiries: "There are no reefs off the Seven Pagodas; and the only danger in the vicinity is a small reef nearly abreast of the Collector’s house at Tripalore, hence called the Tripalore reef, upon which one of the Company’s vessels was wrecked some fifty years ago: but so near shore (half mile) as not to create any alarm at the present day," when its situation is perfectly ascertained. He adds, that even now ships passing along this coast generally make Sadras hills, to get into a good position for reaching more northern parts; and that "there is no reason why the anchorage at the Seven Pagodas should not be as safe as Madras roads." Nor are there wanting indications of the place having formerly possessed far better anchorage than either Madras or Pondicherry could ever boast. Behind and south of the sculptured ridge for some distance inland, runs a salt-marsh, bearing every appearance of having once formed part of the estuary, which debouches about half-way between Sadras and the shore Pagoda. The soil is
not at all like once firm ground, overflowed by the ocean, but rather the light pulpy character of silt, deposited by contending currents and streams in some nook, where their forces neutralised one another: an operation well known to be proceeding down to the present day in every quarter of the globe. A corresponding action, minor in degree because only due to rain and atmosphere, has most certainly taken place on the other side of the sculptured ridge: as is shown by the five or six feet of alluvial soil under which the ruins of the city* are now buried: and we can with equal confidence assert, that foreigners were in the habit of visiting the place, as among the coins found in the vicinity have been some of Rome, of China, and other distant lands. No very great increase of depth in the estuary would (I believe, but I could not obtain accurate soundings) be necessary to admit vessels of the burthen then usual, and to afford them shelter equal to any on the coast. We have, therefore, I think, good reason to conclude that in the olden days of which so few records have reached us, when the Chinese, the Phœnicians and the men of Tarsis united, as in the present day, the extreme east and west in bonds of amity by the mutual interchange of commodities, Mâvalipûr or Mahâbalipuram was a place of considerable commercial resort; and perhaps one of the chief ports of Southern India: very probably the Malearpha of Ptolemy.† I am far from considering it equally certain that this was the capital city of the mythological hero Bali. We

[* The writer here begs the question.]
[† Heerem's theory.—See his Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations, Vol. ii, pp. 83, 298.]
all know the tendency of the Brahmins to appropriate to their own sect every relic of antiquity they found in the countries over which they extended their influence: and beyond their own assertions I do not know that we have the least evidence to the fact. "The name still surviving" will seem to many a strong argument: only it will not prove a sound one. The name of Mahâbalipuram, "the city of the great Bali," is only known at the present day to the Brahmins, and to Europeans who derived all their information either directly or indirectly from the Brahmins: and as there is no reason to believe that Sanscrit or Hindî was at any epoch the vernacular of that part of the country, we can hardly suppose that such a purely Sanscrit name ever was in common use thereabouts. Had the current name among the people been one that might possibly be considered a Tamil version of this significant epithet, we might certainly give some weight to the fact of such a name lingering about these remarkable antiquities: but on the contrary, the common names* of Mallapûr or Mâvalipuram are said to have no such meaning;† and the similarity of sound would rather favour the idea that the Brahmins, finding these remains with a name firmly annexed, adapted both to their own purposes; by fixing upon that one of their fabulous heroes, to whose title the foreign word could most easily be converted. Their own books do not afford much

[* The common name is Mâvalivaram, apparently a corruption of Mahâbalipuram. The old name given in the Shalapurâna (see Appendix) is Mallâpuri, but it is now entirely in disuse.]

† I cannot speak positively nor of my own knowledge, not being sufficient of a Tamil scholar.
support to their present claims. The Mahâbhârata describes the city as being

\[ \text{गङ्गाया: दक्षिणे भागे योजनानां शतद्वेष्य} \]

\[ \text{पश्चयोजनानां च पूर्वः अथवैः पश्चिमे} \]

"South of the Ganges 200 Yojanas, 5 Yojanas westward from the Eastern sea." It must be admitted that we do not know the exact equivalent of the Indian Yojana; but it has generally been considered between nine and twelve miles, either of which would carry us far south of Ceylon! If therefore this quotation refers to any city on the present continent of India, we must greatly reduce the length of the Yojana: say to five or even four miles, which would about bring us to the latitude of Mâvalipuram. But we must suppose that the proportion of two hundred to five was somewhat near the truth: and this would oblige us to look for Bali's capital not on the sea shore but twenty miles inland, where to the best of my information no vestige of a city remains. If we assume the Yojana five miles instead of four, we shall certainly be able to satisfy both conditions pretty well in Combaconum, the Benares of the south, or in the ancient capital of the Pândya kingdom, but either explanation is equally fatal to the claims of Mâvalipuram.

It is true that it has been generally believed that

[* See Appendix.]
† A Pandit in this neighbourhood (Rohilkund) called it "four kos:" which would be from five to six English miles; as the local kos is seldom as much as 1½ mile: and from a note to Chap. xxii § of Fa Hian's pilgrimage it would seem that farther south the Yojana was only four miles.
[‡ Madura.]
[§ See also Note 1, Chap. xiii.]
the sea had encroached on this shore, and that many pagodas and buildings of this ancient city had been submerged even since the English settlements took place; and it may therefore be said that in all probability the site of this city was actually twenty miles from the sea in the days when the Mahâbhârata was written. This idea is founded partly on the mariner’s name of the Seven Pagodas, said to indicate the existence (in the early days of English intercourse with India) of seven Pagodas on the shore where now only one remains. But personal inspection at once shows the fallacy of this derivation of the name: the shore temples being far too low to be perceived at the distance that ships usually pass; more especially as they are backed by the cave-hewn ridge; and it is infinitely more probable that Mr. Chambers was correct in referring the appellation to the peculiar appearance presented by the rounded peaks of this ridge itself, especially as temples were vaguely known to exist in that neighbourhood without their situation being very accurately settled. He says, “The rock, or rather hill of stone, on which great part of these works are executed, is one of the principal marks for mariners as they approach the coast, and to them the place is known by the name of the Seven Pagodas; possibly because the summits of the rock have presented them with that idea as they passed.”

A far stronger evidence however, in the general opinion, was the tradition imparted by the Brahmans, and perhaps other inhabitants, to the earlier European visitors of the place. Mr. Chambers relates:

[* P. 2, supra.]
"The natives of the place declared to the writer of this account, that the more aged people among them remembered to have seen the tops of several Pagodas far out in the sea; which being covered with copper (probably gilt) were particularly visible at sunrise, as their shining surface used then to reflect the sun's rays, but that now that effect was no longer produced, as the copper had become encrusted with mould and verdigris."*

Passing over as a minor objection that "at sunrise" the dark sides of the pagoda tops would alone be visible from the shore, and that they would be best seen when illuminated by the setting sun, I would enquire how is it possible that these slender ornaments should shine "far out" in the surf of the Coromandel Coast, where not years or months, but a few hours of the stiff gales, with which it is so constantly visited, would be all-sufficient not only to destroy the lustre of gilt copper, but to dislodge every stone between high and low water mark? It cannot be supposed that any sudden convulsion lowered the whole coast, so that all at once the waves should roll within a few feet of the top instead of below the foundations of the pagodas; for such a convulsion must infallibly have shaken them to pieces, as well as levelled the existing temple, whose still uninjured pinnacles clearly disprove the hypothesis: therefore the subsidence, if ever it took place, must have been extremely gradual, like those of the Swedish and parts of the Italian coast: and recollecting the numerous years, (not to say centuries) that would be required to sink the forty or fifty feet which may

[* P. 11, supra.]
reasonably be assumed to have been the height of the vanished structures, I only ask is it credible that the waves should have spared them until only their tops (still bright and glittering notwithstanding the dashing spray ! ! !) remained above the surface.

I am sorry to be obliged thus to demolish the beautiful romance of the "Wave-covered metropolis of Bali;" but it is not the first of the aerial castles of Indian tradition that has faded before the fuller light of modern European investigation. Like Bishop Heber I find it difficult to understand how this particular spot should have sunk so much, if (as other writers aver) the rest of the Coromandel Coast, both north and south, has rather risen within historical times. I have already mentioned the local features leading me to conclude that this immediate vicinity has not suffered any encroachment from the ocean, but has rather gained from, and increased in elevation above it by alluvial deposits from the higher lands:* and if a Brahman legend is required, there happens to exist one in the Mackenzie papers (vide Mr. Taylor's 3rd report, section 9, page 65,†) that comes as near to my view of the formation of the salt-marsh, as these tales generally do to the natural truths they often dimly chronicle.

* The brick foundations I have mentioned as being five or six feet below the present surface of the land, are very considerably more than that amount above high-water mark. I have not noticed Captain Newbold's argument in favour of the submersion of the city, viz., that Chinese and other coins are often washed ashore in storms;‡ because the fact is equally explicable, by the supposition that this was a port frequented by foreign ships, of which some must necessarily, in the course of years, have been wrecked and sunk in the vicinity.

[† Madras Journal, Vol. viii.]
In early times one Mallesudu ruled here prosperously; but having refused charity to a Brahman, he was changed into an alligator. A Rishi named Pundarika, going to pluck a lotus flower in the tank where the alligator lay, was seized by it, but had power to drag it out. The king thus obtained release and went to Svarga. The Rishi wished to present the lotus flower to Vishnu, but the sea barred his way, and would not retreat; so he sat down to bale the sea out! While thus occupied, an ancient Brahman came and asked for boiled rice, offering to do the Rishi’s work, while the latter should go and cook it. By taking up a single handful of water the sea retreated a whole coss, and when the Rishi returned he found the Brahman reposing in the manner in which statues of Vishnu are sometimes represented. He now recognized the god, and a fane was built by him over the spot. If this tale have any real foundation, it probably indicates that after a period of abandonment this site was re-occupied, and great increase of land discovered to have taken place about the time when the worship of Vishnu was introduced into the southern peninsula; which being a date tolerably ascertained, may possibly guide some future visitor in fixing the age of the various structures; especially if assisted by some translation of the inscriptions which were unfortunately quite unintelligible to me.

It will be observed that I have made the freest use of the accounts of other travellers: partly, in order to present in a general view the remarks now scattered in half a dozen volumes, and partly in order to support by the authority of others the conclusions drawn in my own confessedly hasty
visit. Had I only been as well acquainted at that time as I am now with the writings of my predecessors, I should have investigated far more closely several points that I now perceive with regret I almost overlooked. The shore temple alone can be said to have been thoroughly examined: and I suppose it must have been deemed less worthy of notice by former travellers: else I do not understand how it could escape remark that the original entry of the building must have been through the portico, which is in rear at present.* I trust what I have said may draw the attention of men better versed in Indian antiquities to the subject of the direction in which the entrance is placed in Hindu temples: as it may possibly prove characteristic of some particular sect or epoch. At the present day, all temples in these Upper Provinces (and as far as my observation goes, in the other Presidencies also) are turned towards the east: and a Brahman at Huridwar gave me as a reason the rising of the sun in that quarter. I remember to have seen one exception (besides the Kailâs at Ellora already mentioned:) which is on the grand trunk-road on the banks of the Burachur near Tal–danga.† In a group of four temples, not differing essentially in style or architecture, and all apparently quite modern, one is turned to the west, while all the others are to the east. I could not discover that

* I have not been able to procure the papers of Mr. Babington or of Mr. Walter Elliot on the subject: but of the four or five I have perused, no one touches this point.

† And I think that among the Āryan temples of Cashmere, is said to be a group of four facing to all four cardinal points.
they belonged to different divinities, but there was no person near from whom I could positively ascertain that such was not the case.

Another point that strikes me as deserving attention, more particularly from Engineers and persons engaged on public works, is the very great durability of the basaltic rock as compared with the granite of the Coromandel Coast. We have no reason to believe that the umbrella-shaped summits of the temples, which for want of a better term I have called chaityas,* are otherwise than contemporaneous with the rest of the temple; and they are, of course, equally exposed to the spray and saline atmosphere: yet they appear perfectly fresh and uninjured, while the granite has lost the whole of its outer surface by gradual disintegration and exfoliation.

I append two sketch plans to elucidate the above descriptions of locality: but they have no pretensions to strict accuracy, being done entirely from memory, months after I visited the place.

[*Kalasa is the proper name of these pinnacles.]
APPENDIX.
[By the Editor.]

The Sthalapurâna.

The Sthalapurâna or Local legend of Mallâpurî has been examined. It professes to be contained in Adhyâyas 93—100 of the Kshetramkhanda of the Brahmândapurâna, and is styled Mallâpurimâ-hâtmya.

The opening lines are as follows:—

एकदा नारदी योगी प्राङ्गतो वाचिशी चया।
संचुङ्कहद्रोभील्ल्यां नाभविन्तेस समाहितः॥१॥
चद जुभागी योगी विचिन्न तस्क कारणं।
न किंचित्राप मतिमान बजङ्गापि विचारयन्॥२॥
चच चेतस्मादावां तपस्वति विचिन्तयन्।
मतिमास्तस्म चरणे स्थानवर्तमाचित्यत्॥३॥
दिचु सर्वामु ते मेरी निदध्य मे उपोयुषा।
संतुष्ट्या चथा तस्क जामो मुनिरैधत॥४॥
ततत्स नारदी योगी जगाम भश्चातरः।

* Three MSS. examined, read as above; the following reading of the 4th sloka has been suggested by a Pandit:—

दिचु सर्वामु ते मेरी निदध्य समुपेयिवान्।
संतुष्ट्या च चथा तस्क लाभती मुनिरैधत॥
स्यालोकान्तदैवकाकी जटामेंद्रकमंडितः ॥ १५ ॥
स मुख्येन विद्यानुमोक्षेन रक्षशिखरः ॥ १६ ॥
चषेण तु तदे रम्ये त्राप शिवद्व मुनीयः ॥ १७ ॥
स गल्वा तच्च जतिसानु मुनीशिरकमतांमनान् ।
नामायुष्यतन्यनान्माधववार्तितिति ॥ १८ ॥
वसमानाभु दर्शोद्वीरिन्युलान् नित्यनिम्दान् ।
दरम्भ नारदी श्रुतताप्रजीताम सहस्रः ॥ १९ ॥
तैरयं कुशलं प्रभृति वक्ष्यथा परिभाषितः ।
श्रुतदारामाधरे च वमाधे वचनं मुनि: ॥ २० ॥
मुनयो योगममिद्धः संतुष्टं मानसं मम ।
दर्शनार्धवतं सचं चूँचतं वचनं मम ॥ २१ ॥
भवंतं विशीद्यत तपस्वरणिन्यवात् ।
आगोवं मनस्तोषाबस्यलीकानुमोक्षरः ॥ २२ ॥
वाक्त्वे पुनरप्रक्ष मनोनुमतिमच वः ।
तस्मात्वचि धामाश्च नियामः कृच्छ योगिभि: ॥ २३ ॥
पञ्जके वची रम्ये योगिनो योगिनस्तव: ।
संतुष्टस्तुतुतुस्मुद्धार्यमः ॥ २४ ॥
पुरां किल मुनीं तततस्तव लीक्षितामहः ।
अनुष्ठापाभिन्यस्मनं संतुष्टस्तुतवत्ता ॥ २५ ॥
माधववेन प्रक्षेत्रं मिनुक्षत्रपपेवेन स्मयः ।
जगत्सुधामी त्रापा तपस्यीतितुच्छरं ॥ २६ ॥
अवायुटिनािव्यायां तपस्यायुं परं तप: ।
भूतः प्राप्तादिकाः मनोनिश्चयमात्मन: ॥ २७ ॥
तत्स्तां च परमं दिव्यं तव तात्त्व नारदः ।
स्मर्थितविनिरपूर्णं पुरां तदेव तव च ग्रहं ॥ २८ ॥
"Once upon a time, Nārada Yogi became, like one of the vulgar and ignorant, much disturbed in mind, and meditation no longer occupied his thoughts. 2. Then the Yogi with mind thus agitated sought for the cause thereof, but the wise man found none, though he searched in many ways. 3. Afterwards, thinking that by penance peace would be restored to his mind, the wise man betought him of an excellent place for its performance. 4. Out of all places he fixed on Meru, and the Muni greatly rejoiced at the prospect. 5. Then Nārada Yogi, adorned with braided hair, departed speedily and alone from Satyaloka. 6. The sage reached in a Muhūrta the gem-tipped Sumeru; quickly, in a moment, did the great Muni reach the lovely height. 7. 8. He, having gone there, saw the Munis with braided hair, in long continued postures, with eyes fixed on the root of the nose, with minds devoted to Mādhava, clothed in darbha, &c., motionless, ever humble. Nārada rejoiced and saluted them thousands of times. 9. He was enquired of them regarding his health, and conversed with on many matters; asked the reason of his coming, the Muni said—10. 'O perfect Munis! by seeing you my mind is instantly rejoiced, listen ye to my speech: 11. With the resolution of performing penance here, in your presence, O great Munis, have I come with joyful
mind from Satyaloka. 12. Now my mind desires to obtain your consent here, and therefore favor must be shown towards me. What place will the Yogis appoint me?’ 13. Then the Yogis, having heard the sweet speech of [Nárada] Yogi, rejoiced; and praised the place called Brahmásrama. 14. ‘O Muni, was not thy father, the grandfather of the world, formerly humbled in like manner by Atri’s curse, and disturbed in his mind? 15. Brahmá, powerless in creating the world and commanded to do penance by Mādhava, performed penance the most difficult. 16. Here for eight hundred years having performed penance meritorious and most severe, he obtained again his own very pure and settled mind. 17. O Nárada, that, thy father’s excellent and heavenly place which instantly perfects a man, that is thy place also. 18. Here, in the excellent Ásrama, perform the highest penance.’ There, thus permitted, he was eagerly desirous of performing penance. 19. That Rishi remained for long repeating the Mahámantra,* and for a hundred divine years performing severe penance.”

Nárada however does not experience any benefit from this protracted austerity, and finds his mind remain as disturbed as before. He then goes sorrowing to his father Brahmá in Brahmaloaka, and tells him of his state. Brahmá bids him recall any probable cause for it, when he recollects having denied Vishnu’s accessibility (saubhāhya,) and maintained his inaccessibility (paratva). (xciii, 20—41.) Brahmá then relates to him the discussion between Agastya and Súta on this topic, which again involves Siva’s

* The Ashtákshara.
answers to Pārvati’s questions regarding Vishnu’s attributes. (xciii. 42—95). In reply to Pārvati’s question as to how Vishnu became accessible, Siva related the story of Pundarika Rishi who went to Yadugiri,* to worship Vishnu, meeting with sundry adventures on the way. The Rishi afterwards visited the sacred places on the East Coast, coming to the Varāhakshetra. From thence, going South, he came to a beautiful garden where he saw a Yogī, named Vishnusarma, and near that garden he perceived a pond (puṣkharinī) in which were wonderful lotuses. While plucking these, Pundarika heard a voice from heaven, saying, ‘Lo! here are large and priceless lotuses of the colour of gold, of delightful perfume, having a thousand petals—these are fit for the worship of the god who dwells on the Sea of milk, but not for that of other deities.’ Greatly rejoicing, the Rishi proceeded to pluck the whole of the flowers, when a crocodile came to attack him, but mistook a lotus stalk for the holy man’s leg, was pierced in the tongue by the thorns, and from loss of blood lay as dead on the water. (xciv. 1—86.) The Rishi went near, and the crocodile addressed him in a soft voice and told its story, commencing:—

पुरा जन्मयः ब्रह्मन् राजा सर्वश्रीपति: ।
द्राता च सर्वकामानां मञ्जापुर्यं वसामयः ॥

‘In a former birth, O Brahman, I was king of the whole earth, and dwelt at Mallapuri, granting to all their wishes.’ Then the crocodile gave the Rishi...
an elaborate and extravagant description of Mallāpuri, adding:—

नक्षिप्त्र दौति खान: भुवनचयविश्रुतः।
विश्वम्बरकश्तानंदः पुचो सम मन्दाकुति॥

‘My son Satānanda, a votary of Vishnu, of exalted mien, and famed in the three worlds, is celebrated as Mallesvara.’

After this follows a description of Satānanda’s Court, &c. The crocodile then told the Rishi how Varāhasvāmi came to Mallāpuri, according to the tradition he had received from his forefathers. Formerly there was a king called Harisekara, endowed with all good qualities. He was in the habit of going daily with his aged and pious mother to worship Vishnu at Varāhakshetra,* a yojana distant from Mallāpuri, to the North, and feeding Brahmins after coming back to his city. One day, Hari came to Mallāpuri disguised as an old decrepit Brahman, accompanied by his daughter, and asked for food. The king requested him to wait a little until he returned from Varāhakshetra. The old man begged for immediate relief as he was greatly fatigued and his daughter was hungry. The king then suspected that he had been visited by Vishnu in disguise, worshipped the old man and gave him food. He then saw Varāhasvāmi in his proper form, with the goddess Earth on his right hip.

The Brahmins who had come as usual for food were suddenly and miraculously filled up to the neck (ṭkaṇṭhapatrnāh) and afterwards besought Varāhasvāmi to remain always at Mallāpuri. The god

*? The village of Tiruvadandai, near Covelong (Kōvalam.)
consented, and being asked why he looked towards the West replied that he did so because the Punyakotivimâna* was to come in the East at a distance of five yojanas.

The crocodile added that his father Harinandana abdicated the throne in his favor and became an anchorite. His own name he stated to be Haripriya. (xciv. 87—180.)

The crocodile then told the story of his being cursed. One day a Brahman came and asked for food. The king in his pride treated him with contempt. The Brahman enraged cursed him saying "Become thou a crocodile, O king." The people afterwards interceded with the Brahman for their king, and were told that when he met a votary of Vishnu, the curse would be removed. (xcv. 1—20.) The crocodile then was transformed into a youth of 16 years and went to heaven. Pundarika Rishi taking with him the lotuses strung in garlands, set out to worship Vishnu on the Sea of Milk and arrived at the shore of the Salt Sea. (xcv. 21—55.) The Rishi attempted to bale out the ocean in order to proceed on his journey! This he continued for a year, when he desisted being wearied. At this time an old Brahman approached and questioned him.

The Rishi told the Brahman his story and of his wish to visit Vishnu, and the latter recommended him to abandon his attempt to get over the Sea; this enraged Pundarika who requested the Brahman either to help him or to go about his business. The old man then asked for food, girded his loins and commenced to bale. At the first handful thrown out by

* The name of the large Vishnu temple at Conjeeveram.
him, the Sea receded a kós. Pundarika went for food and on returning perceived that his Brahman friend was no other than Vishnu, whom he found reclining on the shore, with the lotus garlands round his neck, facing to the East. The Rishi then worshipped the god, as Sthalaśayana, with praises and offerings of lotuses. (xcv. 56—75. xcvi. 1—10.) Vishnu then told Pundarika to ask a boon. The Rishi replied that having obtained Vishnu he sought for nothing else. "Will he who has reached the boundless Sea of nectar care for the water of a small muddy pond?" He begged that the god would always remain in that place, saying he required no other boon. Vishnu consented and praised Pundarika for making this request. Then came Brahmá to the Sea shore with Yakshas,* Gandharvas† and Apsarases.‡ The drums of the gods sounded, flowers rained from heaven, and the sound of "JAYA!" (Victory) was heard like the roaring of the Sea. All worshipped the god and goddess, and praised Vishnu for his accessibility (saulaśīya). Afterwards the Brahmans, and the king Mallādhípa or Satānanda, with the people of the city, came to the Sea shore. All were intoxicated with joy at Vishnu's appearance among them, and worshipped him. On being asked under what name he would dwell among them he replied "Know me as Sthalaśayi, who here recline on the ground." The King and people worshipped Vishnu and praised Pundarika. Mallesvara then heard the Rishi's history and was rejoiced to learn that his father had been released

* Demi-gods attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth.
† See note § p. 204, infra.
‡ Nymphs of Svarga, Indra's heaven.
from the Brahman's curse and had gone to heaven. The Brahmans then bathed in the Pundarikasarasu and made offerings. The King, following the counsel of Pundarika, bestowed gifts and lands upon the Brahmans. Afterwards a Vimāna, called Anandainilayam, having 7 pinnacles and containing a shining image, descended from Vaikuntha, round which the king built a wall with a Gopura. Siva concluded with praises of Mallāpuri. (xcvi. 11—75, xcvii. 1—78, xcviii. 1—115).

Agastya accepted the arguments of Sūta, (which embodied the story of Pundarika Rishi given above), took leave of him and set out for Mallāpuri. He met with favourable omens on his way and came to a great mountain called Samvartana. Hearing a confused noise above him he looked up and perceived some of Yama's soldiers dragging away a Brahman. He then saw Vishnu's soldiers release the prisoner and heard the dispute between them and the servants of the god of death. The latter described all the great sins which the Brahman had been guilty of, the like of which had never been seen or heard, while the former maintained that having gone to Mallāpuri, and stayed one day at that holy place, all his sins had been washed away and that they who laid hands on him themselves committed sin and rendered themselves liable to be reduced to ashes. (xcix. 1—77).

Agastya was astonished and pressed on towards

* Vishnu's heaven.
† "The Deity of hell; he corresponds with the Grecian god Pluto, and the judge of hell Minos, and in Hindu mythology is often identified with Death and Time."—Wilson.
Mallâpurî. Passing through a dense forest, he saw six virgin devotees performing penance. He approached them, told them he was Agastya and saluted them. They received him with great respect, and told him they were Gangâ, transformed by a curse into the form of six bodies.

The virgins added that formerly when they were performing penance in the forest called Tilavanam all the Rishis assembled on the Himavat mountains and discussed the relative merits of the holy waters (tirthas). They praised the Gangâ and Kâverî, but agreed that the Pundarîka pond was the most excellent of all, and that Gangâ and the other rivers should be its slaves!

The Munis having thus decided, went to their respective homes. Gangâ, wandering sorrowfully, met Shanmukha,* while he was performing penance in a certain place, and told him the cause of her grief. He in reply said that she had no ground for complaint, as, great those she was, the Pundarîka pond was yet far superior. Shanmukha then told Gangâ how, after incurring the sin of killing a Brahmin in his fight with the Dânava named Târaka,† he had been cleansed from all guilt by bathing in the Pundarîka pond at Mallâpurî. He then told Gangâ that all would approve of her putting aside her jealousy and self-love, and that she would be freed from slavery by bathing in those waters. Shanmukha

* Kartikeya, as the “Six-faced.”

† Kartikeya (Skanda) was born to lead the armies of the gods, and to destroy Târaka.—See Coleman’s Mythology of the Hindus, p. 74 ff, Wilson’s note on v. 297 of the Meghadûta, and Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Part IV., pp. 292 ff, 306.
then taught Gangâ the Râmatâraka,* and told her to perform penance, repeating with six faces this mantra. This she was doing in the Tila forest. Agastya, leaving the virgins, again hastened on to Mallâpuri. (xcix. 78—134.)

Agastya reached Mallâpuri and met there a crowd of Munis round the temple of Sthalasayanasvâmî, called Ânandaniilayam. Some lived on water, some lived on air, some on roots, fruits, and leaves. Emaciated in body, they retained life solely by the power derived from penance. They assumed the Garuda-posture, lay like snakes, or sat like fowls. Some stood on the point of the toe, others with upraised arms; some sat self-supported in the air, others between five fires.† They were Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Agastya saluted them and told them his name. They received him with different marks of respect, and he begged to be allowed to live with them without performing penance or repeating prayers, on the ground that Hari would be satisfied with simple worship. To this the Munis agreed, and told him to bathe in the Pundarîka pond with a prayerful mind. Agastya did so and then visited the temple. There he saw Sthalasayana, who had graciously descended at the prayer of his worshipper Pundarîka, reclining with his head resting on his right hand and with his left inviting his worshippers to approach him.

Agastya was submerged in the ocean of delight, and offered worship and praise to the god. Vishnu received him graciously, commanded the Muni to

* A formula addressed to Râma, as Râmâyana namah.—Wilson.
† Paîchâgni,—four fires and the sun overhead.—See plate 23 in Mrs. Belnos' Sundhya.
worship him daily and to perform the five Dikshas,* and appointed him an Āsrāma named Asvatha on the North side of the Pundarīka pond. Vishnū then, at Agastya's desire, condescended to narrate to him how Tārksha lost and recovered his wings. On one occasion when Vishnū called Garuda to carry him on a visit to Svarga, the bird came so fast that the dust he raised fell on a pious worshipper of Vishnū who was engaged in his devotions. Vishnū then in anger caused Tārksha's wings to drop off; and the bird fell into a forest on the shore of the Western Sea. After bathing in vain in many holy waters he at last came to Mallāpurī where his wings began to grow. Vishnū then instructed Agastya in the mode of worship and declared that those were dear to him who loved those that loved him (matpriyā matpriye priyāh.) Agastya took up his abode accordingly at Mallāpurī. (c. 1—113.)

Then Brahmā concludes:—

तस्माचाराद जानीहि विष्णु मोक्षभमागरं।
तेनेव निमेषं चित्तं भवेत्तव न संशयः ॥ १२४ ॥
यो जानातीष्ठ शक्रीशं भक्तिशुभमागरं।
न तस्म चुभेने बुधि: वायान प्रलयोपि च ॥ २१५ ॥
तस्माचां तच गच्छा तु सेविष्ठ स्थलशाधिनं।
स्मात्त्वा सरसि पुष्पे च चित्तेमेकस्मेच्यसि॥ १२६ ॥

114. Therefore, O Nārada, know thou Vishnū to be an ocean of accessibility; by him, without doubt, thy mind will become clear. 115. His understanding

*Diksha is the ceremony of initiation, the essential part of which is the Tapta Mudrā or branding the novice with the conch and discus.—Wilson's Essays, Vol. I., p. 56.
will not be confused who in this world knows Lakshmīsa,* an ocean of accessibility to his votaries; even at the destruction of the world, [he will suffer] no pain. 116. Therefore having gone there, and bathed in the holy pond and worshipped Sthalasayi, thou shalt obtain purity of mind.

Nārada then goes to Mallāpuri and staying there for "many days," obtains all his desire. (c. 117, 118.)

Note.

It will be observed from the foregoing analysis of the Sthalapurāṇa that (1) it contains no mention of any of the old rock cut temples or of the shore temple. The Varāhasvami temple is not an exception, inasmuch as the formation of this temple by enclosing the sculptured representation of the Boar Incarnation on the West face of the hill is of modern date.† And (2) no allusion whatever is made herein to the story of Bali or the submersion of his city.

This legend appears to have been composed for the purpose of attracting pilgrims to the place after the construction of the modern Vishnu temples. The Vaishnava author ingeniously makes Brahmā, Siva, Kārtikeya and all the Saints extol the sin-destroying virtue of Mallāpuri.

The names of kings mentioned in the Mallāpuri Māhātmya appear to be fictitious.

* Vishnu, as "Lakshmi's lord." † See p. 55, supra.
Description of the Pagodas, &c., at Māvalivaram, written in the Telugu language by Kāvali Lakshmayya in 1803. [With a translation.]

[From the Mackenzie MSS., No. 33. C. M. 787.]
2. ఎవరోకి నడిచే చొట్టుకుంది తాన్నిటకు కావించాలి. కానీ నీటి యాగం చేసిన చేసింది.

2. ఎందుకంటం మాంచిన కుంది కొనసాగి గుడి విస్తరించిన పైలి మతం. ప్రతికరించాం అంటాం కూడా కూడా లేదు. రషివర్ణం ఎంతుంది. ప్రతి సంఖ్యలు అందింపబడి అందించాలి. పైనకి కూడా ఎంతుంది.
APPENDIX—Description of the

ప్రత్యేకిత ఉపయోగము. సంచాలన లేదు. ప్రత్యేకితములోని సంచాలన యొక్క దండం ఉంటుంది. రాతిప్రత్యేకం ఉంటుంది.

సకల ప్రత్యేకితలు నుండి ప్రత్యేకితత్వాలను సంచాలించాలి. ఇస్నాటకం చెస్తుంది. అంటే ఇంటి ప్రత్యేకితము యొక్క ప్రత్యేకితత్వాలను సంచాలించాలి. ఇస్నాటకం చెస్తుంది.

ప్రత్యేకిత యొక్క ప్రత్యేకితత్వాలను సంచాలించాలి. ఇస్నాటకం చెస్తుంది.

ప్రత్యేకిత యొక్క ప్రత్యేకితత్వాలను సంచాలించాలి. ఇస్నాటకం చెస్తుంది.

ప్రత్యేకిత యొక్క ప్రత్యేకితత్వాలను సంచాలించాలి. ఇస్నాటకం చెస్తుంది.

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Pagodas by Kavali Lakshmayya.
APPENDIX—Description of the

గ. ఇ పెంపదాలు కనిపించారు వద్ద శుభాకాంక్ష చేసే పదార్థాలు చేసే ఫాల్కోన్ పదార్థాలు చేసే కారణం ఉండగా యొకి ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు.

మ. తెలుగు పదార్థాలు తెలుగు పదార్థాలు చేసే ఫాల్కోన్ పదార్థాలు చేసే ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు. పొడి హింఫాల్కోట ఖాళీతో ఖాళీ ద్వారా ఉంచారు.
పండితుడు నిర్మితి చేస్తుంది, తినించా నిషేధించా మాన, మాముడు నిర్మితి చేస్తుంది, అందు లోపానికి లేదు, శుభాంశం కలిగి, నాయకత్వం కలిగి కొండ నిర్మితి చేసుకునే విషయం.

వాతాలు చందనం యొక్క బుద్ధుడు వారి మాత్రమే వివిధమైనంది. మునిగిత యుగంలో బుద్ధుడు ప్రావించాడు, శ్రీకృష్ణ రామాన్న నామాంకను అందించాడు, అంతే కాకుండా ఇతర రూపాలను నిర్మించాడు. బుద్ధుడు యుగంలో సమీపంలో రామాన్న రామాన్న గుడక చిన్న ప్రామాణం లేదు. యుగం నుండి ప్రేమం భయం వచ్చినాం వాణించాడు. అంతే కాకుండా ఇతర దివ్యాంశాలలో నిర్మించాడు. ఎంది అంటే నిర్మించాడు. మానం బొగ్గవారి సమ్మేళన దివ్యాంశాలలో నిర్మించాడు. అందు కాలంలో నిర్మించాడు.

వాతాలు చందనం యొక్క బుద్ధుడు వారి మాత్రమే వివిధమైనంది. మునిగిత యుగంలో బుద్ధుడు ప్రావించాడు, శ్రీకృష్ణ రామాన్న నామాంకను అందించాడు, అంతే కాకుండా ఇతర రూపాలను నిర్మించాడు. బుద్ధుడు యుగంలో సమీపంలో రామాన్న రామాన్న గుడక చిన్న ప్రామాణం లేదు. యుగం నుండి ప్రేమం భయం వచ్చినాం వాణించాడు. అంతే కాకుండా ఇతర దివ్యాంశాలలో నిర్మించాడు. ఎంది అంటే నిర్మించాడు. మానం బొగ్గవారి సమ్మేళన దివ్యాంశాలలో నిర్మించాడు. అందు కాలంలో నిర్మించాడు.
APPENDIX—Description of the

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చాలా సాగరు గంగాయంత్ర కలిపింది చిన్న భూమి కొప్పి దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. ఒక వారి చిత్రానిల్లో కనిపించిన చిత్రాలు కూడా చిన్న భూమి కొప్పి దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. కూడా చిత్రానిల్లో నైమిత్తికలు ఉన్నాయి. దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. కూడా చిత్రానిల్లో నైమిత్తికలు ఉన్నాయి. దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. 

చాలా వారి చిత్రానిల్లో నైమిత్తికలు ఉన్నాయి. దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. కూడా చిత్రానిల్లో నైమిత్తికలు ఉన్నాయి. దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి. కూడా చిత్రానిల్లో నైమిత్తికలు ఉన్నాయి. దేశాన్ని నివాసించి ఉండాయి.
Appendix—Description of the
Pagodas by Kavali Lakshmayya.
అందులో నామవంతాంగా లేదంటే కొనుగోలు చేయాలి. అయితే ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదా విధానం లేదా రూపాలను ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి. అందులో ప్రతి కారణం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదా విధానం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.

32. యా వాటాంగా ఈ సమయంలో అందం చేయండి. అది ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి. అందులో ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.

33. యా వాటాంగా ఈ సమయంలో అందం చేయండి. అది ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.

34. యా వాటాంగా ఈ సమయంలో అందం చేయండి. అది ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి. అందులో ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.

35. యా వాటాంగా ఈ సమయంలో అందం చేయండి. అది ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.

36. యా వాటాంగా ఈ సమయంలో అందం చేయండి. అది ప్రతి సమయం యొక్క సమయం లేదంటే ఒక ప్రత్యేక సమయం లేదంటే ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉపయోగించండి.
32. కట్టురామరావు వంటి ఉపఖండాలు అందించబడిన పాతిస్వీపి కాయల కు తండ్రి విప్లవించగలదు. దుండిప్పి నియంత్రణ చేసిన కాక శిఖరాలు కట్టి కూడదు. అప్పుడు మాధ్యమిక విధానం అందించబడిన చిట్టి తాళ తండ్రించబడితే, దుండిప్పిగా లేని మిశ్రమాన పద్ధతిలో ఉపస్థితి పెంపడి చేయబడింది. కాని చాలా తాళ తండ్రించడం ఋషితంతో పెంపడింది. అందులో వంటి నడం విభాగాలు కలిగి, తాళ తండ్రించడానికి పంపు కంటే పెంపడిది.

33. కుమారంపురు నంది హిందూదీన పాతిస్వీపి విప్లవించిన పండితుడు. అందూ అయిన పరిస్థితిలో స్వాతంత్ర్యం ఉంది. అయితే మలుగుడు వేయితే మాత్రమే ఉంది. అంకితం చేసి ఉన్న పండితుడు స్వాతంత్ర్యం తీసుకుని మనుష్యుడి కైపుండ్రించాడు.

34. ఈ విభాగంలో నంది దేవాలయాలు అందించబడింది. దీని ద్వారా స్వాతంత్ర్యం పెంపడి ఉంది. ఆ పండితుడు తన శకాలం నంది ప్రధాన దేవాలయం పెంపడాడు. నంది స్వాతంత్ర్యం నంది ప్రధాన దేవాలయం తీసుకుని మనుష్యం పెంపడాడు.

40. కుమారంపురు గృహా నంది దేవాలయం నంది విప్లవించి పూర్తి చెయ్యబడింది. నంది అంతే ఉండి పూర్తి చెయ్యబడింది. కూడా పండితుడు ఉండి పూర్తి చెయ్యబడింది. కుమారంపురు నంది అందించబడిన పాతిస్వీపి నంది దేవాలయం ప్రవేశాన్ని కట్టి చేయబడింది. కాని అది చాలా కాలం తరువాత ప్రవేశం చేయడానికి పోయింది. అందులో ప్రధాన దేవాలయం ప్రవేశం చేయడానికి పోయింది. కాని అది ఉంది ప్రధాన దేవాలయం ప్రవేశం చేయడానికి పోయింది. కాని అది ఉంది ప్రధాన దేవాలయం ప్రవేశం చేయడానికి పోయింది.
83. రామాయణం మరియు మిత్రాయణం ఉండవచ్చు. రామాయణం మరియు
మిత్రాయణం ఉంది కనుసానించవచ్చు.

84. గాయకాలు అందిస్తుంటారు మరియు దూరం ఉంటారు. కహితారు తరువాత కట్టి
వచ్చిన పాటలు. రామాయణంలో మనం కట్టివాటి దృశ్యం ప్రామాణికం.
తాతమంతే దీని మీదుగా దశానికి కూడా ఉంది. మిత్రాయణం
లో దీని మీదుగా అనేక సాధనాలు ఉన్నాయి. ఇతి సాధనాలు తాతమంతే
దీని మీదుగా కూడా ఉన్నాయి. వాతావరణం తీతమంతే
మిత్రాయణంలో అడుగు ఉంది. తాతమంతే మిత్రాయణంలో
సాధనాలు ఉన్నాయి. ఇతి సాధనాలు తాతమంతే
మిత్రాయణంలో ఉన్నాయి.
మండ. కృష్ణా నెల్లూరు నుండి విశాఖపట్నాం నుండి ఉండి వచ్చింది.

పా. చిత్రాలం చేస్తుంది ప్రమాణన మత్తు నిర్దిష్టంగా విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. అందువల్ల చిత్రాలలో పరిమితం ఉంది. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. నిర్దిష్ట పదార్థాలు అది అవసరం. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం.

పల. నిర్ధిష్టం మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. అందువల్ల చిత్రాలలో పరిమితం ఉంది. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. నిర్దిష్ట పదార్థాలు అది అవసరం. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం.

పల. నిర్ధిష్టం మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. అందువల్ల చిత్రాలలో పరిమితం ఉంది. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం. నిర్ధిష్ట పదార్థాలు అది అవసరం. ఈయన ప్రమాణన మత్తు విశాఖపట్నాం సాంస్కృతిక విభాగం.
Translation.

1. On the North side of the hill, is an Īśvara temple. In this is Īśvara. Lord Clive took away the Nandī in front of this temple.

2. In front of this are two monkeys, freeing themselves from vermin.

3. On the West side of those figures is a round churn used by Draupadi, the lawful wife of the Pāṇḍavas. There are three Mantapas,* hollowed slenderly out of the solid rock. The sculptures in the first Mantapa are two Doorkeepers, a four-armed Durgā inside, and four figures of attendants. The other two excavations have the same figures. On the South side of this rock, and facing to the West, is an eight-armed Durgā, treading with her foot the head of Mahishâsura.

4. Near this, to the South, on the West side of the road, is the fireplace in which Bhimasena† cooked. There are steps to get up to the top of this.

5. Not far from this, to the South, on the face of the rock, is a large round butter ball made by Draupadi. Half of this is said to have been eaten by a cat, which gives the ball a chipped appearance. The cat is seen, with its fore paws upraised, tied to the hill on which Arjuna is performing penance.

6. On the South side of this is Arjuna's Ratha,‡ cut out of a single stone. The stone has been cut

* An open temple building. Also written Mantapa.
† The third of the five Pāṇḍu princes, commonly called Bhima.
‡ See note * p. 213, infra.
into the shape of a Mantapa, with two pillars and a Garbhagriha, in which was placed Siva. When that Linga was carried off by Bu [sic], the people of this place took an image of Vinayaka which was near and put it in the Garbhagriha. On the wall to the South of the Garbhagriha, is some inscription written, the character of which is unknown.

7. Near to this, on the South, is hollowed out of the solid rock, a Mantapa containing Varāhasvāmī. In this are two pillars and a Garbhagriha. In the Garbhagriha are no figures. There are two Doorkeepers. On the wall to the North of the Garbhagriha is Varāhasvāmī; his left foot is placed on the ground; his right foot rests on the head of Adisesha; on his right thigh is seated, facing him, Lakshmi; his right hand is on her hinder parts, his left hand holds her right leg; he faces to the West, and the goddess to the East. The four-armed Varāhasvāmī's two other hands hold the Saṅkha and the Chakra. The god and goddess are regarding each other, and he with his boar-mouth is, in playful dalliance, kissing her right breast. Behind him, to the East, is a four-armed male figure. Facing this figure, is that of a woman. Above these two is a votary with joined hands, uttering praises. Three votaries are praising Varāhasvāmī. Altogether, there are nine figures at the

* The sanctuary or adytum of a Hindu temple.
† Ganesa.
‡ The thousand headed serpent.
§ See note † p. 202, infra.
North end. On the East wall and facing to the West is Gaja Lakshmi, on her lotus throne. Above her head are the heads of two Elephants. On either side of Lakshmi, stand two women reaching pots full of water to the Elephants’ trunks, for bathing the goddess. There is one Doorkeeper. Altogether, there are figures of five women, one man, and two elephants’ heads. On the South side [of the Garbhagriha] is a four-armed Durgā, holding an umbrella. To the South side of the goddess are three attendants, carrying swords. There is also a deer. On the North side, are three more armed attendants, and a lion. There is one Doorkeeper. Altogether eight [human] figures, a lion, and a deer.

Facing Varahasvāmi, on the South wall, is eight-armed Trivikrama* holding the Saṅkha, Chakra, Gudā,† &c. Bali Chakravarti had given him three paces of land, whereupon the god usurping the whole earth by placing on it his right foot, stretched his left foot to the sky for the purpose of seizing the upper world. Brāhma is bathing this foot with water from his sacred water pot and worshipping it. In front of Vishnu is Jámbavat.‡

Bali Chakravarti, thinking it wrong to withdraw a gift, is praying to the god, near his [right] foot, wishing to give him ground for his third pace.§

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* Vishnu, as the “Three-Stepper.”
† Vishnu’s conch, discus, and mace.
‡ King of the bears.
§ Bali when reproached by Vishnu for failing to give him all he had promised, besought the god to place his third step on his head.—See Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Part IV., p. 127 f.
Behind him is Sukrāchārya.* Two of Bali Chakravarti’s soldiers are on the East side, and four on the West side [of Trivikrama]. Altogether, there are 11 male figures. This Mantapa faces to the West.

8. On the East side of the hill, on a rock at the foot, are 11 steps on which Krishnasvāmi used to play at Mounting the Throne. There is also a slide on which he used to amuse himself.

9. On the East side of the hill, the rock has been fashioned into figures representing Arjuna’s Penance, as [in the story of] Kirāta and Arjuna.† Here is Arjuna, his two arms extended over his head, performing penance; and here is four-armed Īsvara, as he appeared [to Arjuna,] holding the Pāṣupatastra,‡ Damaruka,§ Trisāla,‖ &c. Between Īsvara and Arjuna stands Visvakarma,|| with an adze on his right shoulder, the handle of which he holds in his right hand. Above Īsvara’s head are Sūrya, Chandra, &c. Below Arjuna, is Krishnasvāmi in a fane, four-armed and holding the Sankha, Chakra, Gada, &c. To his right, is Dronāchārya,** seated in the lotus-posture,†† with emaciated body, performing

* See note * p. 83, supra. † See p. 89 ff., supra.
‡ A fabulous weapon. § A sort of small drum.
‖ Siva’s trident.
|| The son of Brahmā and architect of the gods.—Wilson.
** See note * p. 31, supra.
†† “The thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh, the other held up with the thumb upon the heart; the eyes directed to the tip of the nose.”—Wilson.
penance. On Krishna's left, the rock is fissured, so Nāga-maids* appear issuing from Pātalaloka, and with the five virgins comes a Nāga-maid for Arjuna. On the North side of these appears Indra, accompanied by his wife, mounted on the elephant called Airāvata, coming to visit Siva. Behind Airāvata is another elephant. Below Airāvata are three elephant cubs. And there is a cat, with her kittens, facing to the East, with upstretched paws.†

Round the god Indra, in the form of a ring, are figures of Garudas,‡ Gandharvas,§ Kinnaras,* Kim-purushas,‖ Siddhas,|| Vidyādharas,|| &c., some with wives, some without wives, coming, as ascetics, to visit Siva. There are here 36 figures. Amongst these demi-gods are three deer. Behind them, to the North, in the middle [of the rock] are seven lions and one sheep. To Ísvara's right, and above, are Dhar-marāja and Bhīma sitting, performing penance. On their right are a hog and a tiger. On Ísvara's right are 24 figures of troops of Prumathas,** and Rishis,‖† coming to visit Siva. Also a lion, a hog, three deers, a tiger, and two monkeys. They are thus represented accompanied by their wives [?]. Altogether there are 80 male and female figures.

* See note ‡ p. 88, supra. † Cp. note § p. 88, supra.
‡ The bird and vehicle of Vishnu. § Celestial musicians. * Demi-gods or musicians in the service of Kuvera. ‖ Demigods of undefined attributes, inhabiting the middle air.—Wilson.
** Attendants upon Siva.
‖† Saints or sanctified sages, of whom there are seven orders.
10. To the right of the above is a Mantapa [excavated out] of the solid rock. It is called "The five Pândavas." It has 18 pillars, of which one is broken, leaving 17 pillars. The shafts of four of the 17 pillars are broken; the rest are perfect. The front pillars rest on lions' heads. The total number of lions is eight. In the middle of this Mantapa there is a chamber, which contains nothing. On either side of this chamber, the commencement of other chambers, which have not been completed, is visible. There is nothing but a sort of cave on each side of the chamber, with no sculptures; all is plain.

11. To the right of this Mantapa you ascend to the Ráyala Gopura,* the foundation only of which has been built, and four pillars set up on the four sides. Round this the rock has been shaped into a seat but the Gopura has not been constructed.

12. On the East side of this is the Sthalasekharasvámi temple.

13. On the East side of the hill is a Mantapa containing Krishna lifting the mountain Govardhana.† In this are 12 pillars. The Mantapa joins the hill and faces to the East. The figures in this Mantapa are as follows: Krishna holds up the

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* I.e. the Gopura of the Ráyala, the title of the princes of Vijayanagara. A Gopura is the pyramidal tower over the gate-way of a Hindu temple.

† See p. 92 f., supra,
mountain Govardhana with his left hand like an umbrella; with his right hand he is giving the sign *abhaya* to the Gopikās. On the left of the god, are three female figures. Of these, two are in a standing posture. One has a pot of curds on her head, and a little boy before her. Behind her is a cowherd with a child on his head and an infant in his arms. Above these four are the heads of six cows. Behind them lies *Vrishabhesvara.* Beneath him are four lions. On *Krishna's* right, is *Balarāma.* His left hand is on a cowherd, and he is standing with one foot advanced. On the left of the cowherd is a woman. Above them are the heads of five cows. To the right of Balarāma is a cowherd milking a cow. In front of this cow is her calf. Above this, is a cowherd playing on a fife to collect the cows. Near him is a woman with a child. In front of the cow is a woman carrying a mortar and holding in her hand a net containing pots of curds. On her right stands *Vrishabhesvara.* Behind the bull stand a cowherd and cowherdess. Behind [?] on the right of] the bull is a cowherd, holding with his left hand the right hand of a woman. Above the bull are the heads of 16 cows; in the front there is a calf. On the South wall there

* Holding up the right hand, with the palm to the front, as an assurance of safety. This however is not the attitude of the god, whose right hand points to the ground, a sign, probably, to the people that they should take refuge at his feet. See plate II., *supra.*
† Nandi, the sacred bull of Siva.
‡ The half brother of Krishna.
are 6 lions' heads. Altogether, in this Mantapa, there are 10 lions (on the North and South walls,) 16 figures of men and women, 5 children, 2 bulls, 1 cow, 2 calves, and 27 cows' heads.

14. To the South of this Mantapa is the Râmânuja Mantapa. This is excavated out of the hill. In the middle are two pillars. East and West [it measures] 20 feet, North and South 26 feet. There are no figures in it. [At the bases] of the pillars in this solid rock Mantapa are 4 lions' heads. Inside, the North and South walls are formed like small Gopuras, with niches. In those niches there are figures. In the front of this Mantapa are 6 stone pillars. On the South side of it are 13 steps cut out of the rocky hill. Above this Mantapa is the Mantapa of Velugôti Singama Nâyadu. This has 4 pillars. It is not built with stones brought by workmen, nor is it built artistically. It is now all in ruins.

15. On the South side of this, two pillars have been made and the rock a little hollowed out, with the intention of forming a large boulder into a monolithic Mantapa. The work is unfinished and serves only as a mark for the boulder.

16. To the South of this Mantapa is another, cut out of the solid rock, called Dharmarâja's Mantapa. It has 4 pillars and 3 Garbhagrihas. There are no figures in it. The centre Garbhagriha has 2 half finished figures of door-keepers. This Mantapa is in as good preservation as if just made.
17. To the East of this Mantapa, at the foot of the East side of the hill, are two large boulders on which is figured the Penance of Arjuna. There is Ḡṛṣṇa, in his four-armed form, holding in his left hand the Pāśupata.* Arjuna, with upraised arms (ārdhavabāhu) is performing penance. On the North side of these are figures of Garudas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Vidyādharas, Siddhas, Chāranas,† Rishis, &c., and of women; also of elephants and lions. This is partly finished, partly unfinished.

18. On the South end of the hill, on an elevation, is a solid rock Mantapa. The name given to this in the village is Yamapuri‡ Mantapa. This has 6 pillars of which one is broken, and the remaining five are in good order. Of the 3 Garbhagrihas, the centre one is called Kailāsa. In this, in his four-armed form, with his left foot on a bull, is Paramesvara.§ On his left is Pārvatī, with Kumārasvāmi on her thigh. Between Pārvatī and Paramesvara is Vishnu in his four-armed form holding the Sankha, Chakra, and Gada. On the right side of Paramesvara is Brahmā with four faces. Below Pārvatī is a female attendant. Pārvatī and Paramesvara are sitting on a couch, the legs of which are lions' heads. Below this couch is a bull, bearing Siva's left foot. There are 2 Doorkeepers. In the Garbhagrihas on

* See p. 89, supra.
† Bards, panegyrists of the gods.
‡ "City of Yama," the god of death. The confusion between Yama and Mahishāsura is probably the origin of this name.
§ Siva. ¶ The son of Siva and Pārvatī.—Op. note § p. 107, supra.
either side of the centre one there are no figures. On the South wall of the Mantapa is Raṅga-
nāyaka, reclining, with his head towards the East, on his Sesa bed. At the West end [of this figure], near the feet, are 2 soldiers. Of these two, one is the soldier of Raṅganāyaka, and one of Mahishā-
sura. These two soldiers appear fighting, arm to arm, fist to fist, tooth to tooth, nail to nail, hair to hair. Above Vishnu are 2 Gandharvas. Below are 3 attendants. On the North wall is the goddess Mahishamardini with eight arms, surrounded by 8 soldiers armed with swords, representing troops of Pramathas, and 1 female figure—altogether 9 figures—mounted on a lion, facing the East, holding a bow in her left hand, an arrow strung with her right hand and stretched back to her ear against Mahishāsura, who is confronting her for the battle. In her other hands she holds a Khadga, Gadda, Ghantā, Sankha, Parasu, Tomara, and other weapons, also a Chhatra and Chāmara and surrounded by attendants, she, inflamed with anger, has strung an arrow to slay Mahishāsura. In front of the Sakti and facing the goddess, is the buffalo-headed Mahishāsura, holding a club in his two hands and furiously intent on doing battle with the goddess.  

* Vishnu, as the 'Lord of Raṅga' (Srīraṅgam, near Trichinopoly.) † See note p. 33, supra. ‡ Pārvati, as "Slayer of Mahisha." § A sword. ¶ A gong. || An axe. ** An iron club. †† An umbrella. †‡ See note p. 100, supra. §§ The energy or active power of a deity, personified as his wife.—Wilson. ¶¶ See p. 99 ff., supra.
Soldiers, equipped for war, appear also as engaged in the battle, and holding over Mahishásura the Chhatra and Châmara. There are 7 figures. In front of this Mantapa, to the East, the commencement of forming a boulder into a Vimâna* has been made, but the work is unfinished. On the North side of this temple is the stone bed and pillow of Mahishásura.

19. Above this Mantapa, is the temple of Olakkannesvarasvâmi. When this city flourished, a small fanam used to be collected from each shop, making a quarter measureful (kâlupadî) of fanams, for the god in this temple. In the Tamil language they call a quarter measure olakku.† In Telugu it is called tavvedu. The god has rolled away some where. They say that if all the jungle is cut down, that Linga will be found.

20. At the South-west corner of the hill is the Varâhasvâmi temple. In this are 4 pillars and 1 Garbhagriha. It is called “The Cave.” This is excavated out of the hill itself. Exactly in front of it, the votaries and others have erected a Mantapa having 6 pillars. There is a wall round this. In the middle of the walled enclosure are a well and coconut trees. This temple faces to the West. In the Garbhagriha is Varâhasvâmi. This Varâhasvâmi has his left foot on the ground; his right foot is placed on

* A pyramidal temple in the form of a god’s chariot.
† Prop. Urakku (2 gpō ṅ)
the head of Ádisesha, who is near him with his wife; on his right thigh, and facing him, is the goddess Lakshmi; his left hand holds her right foot, and his right hand is on her hinder parts; he faces to the West, the goddess to the East. The other two hands of the four-armed Varāhasvāmī hold the Sankha, Chakra, &c. The two are looking into each other's face, and Varāhasvāmī in playful dalliance is, with his boar-mouth, kissing the right breast of the goddess.

This very god appeared to King Harisekhara, and when asked by him the reason of his facing to the West, the god replied that Varadarājasvāmī* would thereafter appear as an incarnation in the Punya-kotivimāna at Kanchi† and that therefore he faced in that direction. This is celebrated in the Purāṇa.‡ The worship of this god continues to this day. The god has been painted in colours, as in pictures. On the South side of the Garbhagriha is a Sakti with four arms. To the South of the Sakti is Harisekhara and his two wives. On his left is a four-armed male figure. On the North side of the Garbhagriha is Gaja Lakshmi. On the wall at the North end is a figure of Śrī Rāma. Āñjaneyāṣ is praising Śrī Rāma. There are also some other figures there, the names of which are unknown. On the North side of this temple,

* Vishnou, as "The boon-conferring god."
† Prop. Kāñcī (Conjeeveram). ‡ See p. 178 f., supra.
§ Hanumān, the monkey chief; so called from his mother Anjanā.
within the enclosure, is an inscription. This god is celebrated in the Purâna.

21. To the North of this temple, on the middle of the hill is a Mantapa. It is in the jungle, on the West side of the Olakkannesvarasvâmi temple. It is cut out of the solid rock. In it are no particular figures. Four niches have been commenced, but are unfinished. There are 4 pillars. Besides this, there are 24 steps on the hill, on the North side.

22. In the middle of the hill is Draupadi's turmeric vat.* Near this, is the place where the palace was recently built. There are signs of this, viz., bricks, &c.

23. To the North of this vat is the lion-pillowed couch called Dharmarâja's throne (simhâsana). To the North of this are 5 pits used by the Pândavas for burnt offerings.

24. On the East side of this throne is a channel which carried away the water used by the Pândavas for washing rice. On the edge of that channel is [a stone] in the form of a bag, just like a treasure pack. To hold the water there is a reservoir. On the East side of the reservoir there are steps to descend into it. When the foundation of what is called the Raâyala Gopura, was laid in a line with the Palace, holes were made in the large rocks on the hill near the Gopura, with the intention of splitting the stone.

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*I. e. bath. Turmeric (Curcuma longa) is smeared over the body by Hindu females after bathing.
That work is unfinished. The rocks are called the "Monkeys' Rocks." There is a story connected with the two solid rock Mantapas adjoining each other, on the West side of the hill. Of these, the Mantapa on the South side has 12 pillars, and 5 Garbhagrihas. There are no gods or figures inside these Garbhagrihas. To each Garbhagriha there are two Doorkeepers, making 10 Doorkeepers in all. On the North wall there is a Sankha. In these [Garbhagrihas] there are holes from which Lingas have been taken out. In front of this temple the water collects and forms a pond. In this are reeds. The Mantapa on the North side has 4 pillars—no Garbhagrihas. Figures nil. The work is unfinished. To the North of this Mantapa is a solid rock Mantapa, having 2 pillars. There is nothing else particular about it. There are 2 Doorkeepers and one chamber.

[The above 3 Mantapas may be enumerated as:—]

25. A twelve pillared Mantapa.
26. A four pillared Mantapa.
27. A two pillared Mantapa.
28. On the West side of the hill is a salt-marsh.
29. Between this salt-marsh and the hill are three Rathas.* In two only of these is the rock hollowed out and formed into chambers. In the third the commencement of a chamber has been

* Chariots, or chariot-shaped temples, otherwise called Vimānas.
made on the North side, but it is unfinished. Near this are a *Lingga* and *Yoni* and a temple with a four-armed village goddess. Stones are being cut from the hill near this and sent to Tiruvalikkēnī to build a [temple] kitchen.

30. At a half *gadiya's†* distance from the hill to the South is a *Sakti* with four arms. In her right hand she holds a *Chakra*. In attendance on the goddess, on both sides of her, are 6 soldiers armed with swords. The *Sakti* faces to the West. In front is a large lion facing to the North. The *Vimānas‡* of this Sakti is monolithic. There are 2 female Doorkeepers. There are figures of four-armed females—1 on the South, 1 on the East, and

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*The *Lingga* is the phallic emblem of *Siva*, symbolic of the attributes ascribed to him by his worshippers, as the supreme lord, the beginning of all existences, the cause of causes. The Telugu word (*Pīnavottama*) above translated "*Yoni*," properly signifies the pedestal *Lingavedi* (or *Argha*—Coleman), on which the *Lingga* stands. The raised edge of this represents the *Yoni* (vulva), an emblem of *Pārvati* as the female energy of the deity. For a discussion of the question as to whether the phallic emblem was derived from the religion of the aboriginal or non-Aryan Indians, see Muir’s *Sanskrit Texts*, part IV., p. 344 ff. For Mythological accounts of the origin of *Lingga* worship, see the same work, p. 325 ff. Also *Vans Kennedy’s Researches*, p. 298 ff.—Twelve great Lingas were set up in different parts of India, several of which were destroyed by the early Mahomedan conquerors. See H. H. Wilson’s *Essays*, Vol. I., p. 221 ff. where the names and localities are given.—A miniature Linga is worn on his person by every Lingāyat, generally round the neck in a silver casket.

† Triplícan, the Mussulman quarter of the town of Madras.
‡ The Indian hour of 24 English minutes, (Sans. *Ghatikā*), into sixty of which the Hindus divide the day. An "hour’s [walking] distance" is considered to be 1½ mile.
§ The five *Rathas* are here called *Vimānas*—See note *p. 213, supra.*
1 on the North side. The name of the *Sakti* in this temple is unknown. Altogether there are 12 female figures.

31. Behind this *Vimāna* is the figure of a large sacred bull facing to the West. It is buried in the ground. Some of the sand has been removed for the purpose of seeing this figure, so half of it is visible.

32. To the South of this *Vimāna* is Nakula's* *Vimāna* formed of a single stone. At the bottom of this is something of a *Mantapa*. There are no figures in it. On the North side of this *Vimāna* are 6 figures, on the East side 5 figures, and on the South side 7.

33. On the West side of this *Vimāna* is Sahadeva's *Vimāna* formed out of a single stone. The *Mantapa* has 2 slender pillars and faces to the South. There are no figures in it. This *Vimāna* is carved all round. Near it, on the East side, is a monolithic elephant facing to the South.

34. To the East of this *Vimāna* is Bhīma's *Vimāna*. It is of one stone, like a *Mantapa*, and faces to the West. It has 6 pillars on the West side, 2 on the South, and 4 on the East—with 12 pillars in all. This *Vimāna* is a very large one. It has been struck by a thunder bolt and split in the middle.

35. To the South of this *Vimāna* is Dharma-

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* Cp. note † p. 103, supra.
rāja's Vimāna. It has 4 pillars on the West side. Round this Vimāna are 8 figures. On this Vimāna are 2 parapets for the performance of Pradakshina.* On the parapet walls are 21 carved figures. There are 2 chambers on the parapets, with 2 pillars. Of the above mentioned 8 figures, there are letters engraved over the heads of 5 facing to the South, East, and North. These are not understood.

36. In the village is the Sthalasayanasaṃvāmi temple with the entrance to the East, a Gopura, and 5 doorways. At the South end, within the enclosure, in the Garbhagriha reclines Sthalasayanasaṃvāmi with his head to the South—near his feet are Pundarika Mahāmuni and a lotus. This Mahāmuni here obtained final emancipation (mukti). On the South side of this is Yalamaṇganāḍchāru's† temple. On the North side is the goddess Cudikoduta's‡ temple; around are 8 Ārvārs' temples, 1 sacred kitchen, 1 flagstaff and 1 store room containing utensils.

In the doorway of the Gopura, on either side, are paintings of groups of figures and monkeys.

* "Reverential salutation by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."—Wilson.
† Prop. Nilamaṇganāḍchāriyār, the goddess Earth, Bhūdevi.
‡ So called because she, when a girl, took the flowers kept for offerings to the deity, and wore them in her hair. She is said to have sprung from the earth, and to have been found by Peria Ārvār in his Tulasi (Ocymum sacrum) garden. The Ārvār called her Kōdai, brought her up as his own daughter, and offered her, at her own desire, in marriage to Vishnu, at Srīrangam.—See Garuparamparāprabhāvam, p. 17 ff.
On this side of the doorway at the North end is a Mantapa of 36 pillars. The god comes into this on festival days. This temple is enclosed by a wall and round it are 122 pillars.

37. Straight in a line with the Gopura doorway, to the East, is the Rāyala Gopura, all in ruins. The foundation is 44 feet square and on this side there is a sort of chamber. In that there is nothing very extraordinary. To the East of this is the Mantapa in which Krishnasvāmi is swung the day after his birth-day. This has 4 pillars and a Gopura (?) on the top.*

38. To the East of this is Sthalasayana's flower garden. In that is a temple of Śrī Hanumān. The god was inside, in the Garbhagriha. He was taken away by Andilin (?).

39. To the East of this Hanumān temple is the Mantapa into which Pūdattalvār+ descended. It is in ruins. Now only 16 pillars remain. In front of this is a ruined Mantapa.

40. On the South side of this Mantapa, to the East of the village, is the Pundarikapuskarini. In the middle of this tank is a four pillared Mantapa. On the North bank of it is a small Mantapa with 4 pillars. On festival days, they say, sheds are erected near this Mantapa for Sthalasayanasvāmi, and the anointing-feast (abhishekotsava) is celebrated. This tank has 16 steps to the bottom of it. It is 300 feet square.

41. On the North side of the Pushkarini is a date garden. On the South side are cashew nut trees.†

* See note * p. 34, supra, and plate XL, No. 1.

† The third of the 12 Arvār or apostles of Viṣṇu.—See Ziegenbalg’s South-Indian gods, p. 71 f. Also note * p. 133, supra.

‡ Anacardium occidentale.
42. On the Sea shore to the East of the village is the seven-walled Siva temple. The [local] name of the god went with the Sthalapurâna, and has since become known to none. Of the seven walls (prâkâra) only two now appear. There are signs of three [more] walls; whether traces remain of the other walls cannot be ascertained as [their supposed site] is buried in the sea. There are two Garbhagrihas, in one of which is the Linga of Siva. Its height is that of a man's chest. The Yoni is not visible. How deep the Linga is below is not known. This Garbhagriha had been built with six sandal wood beams above the god. Of these, some sinners have taken away two. Four beams now remain. On the western wall are Pârvatî and Paramesvara with the young Subrahmanyaśvâmi seated between them. On the two sides are Brâhma and Vishnu. The god has had a blow on his head, and is somewhat cracked. On the two sides are figures of two Doorkeepers and two monkeys. The figures of lions, &c., only have become effaced by the action of the waves. The figures of twenty or thirty lions, &c., are now visible. The Nandis which were on the walls have fallen down and had their faces broken—some have lost their legs. Within the second wall lies Śrī Mahâ Vishnu with his head to the South. In front of the temple is placed a pillar. That pillar is now in the Sea. The water there is knee deep.

43. On the West side is a small Gopura. There is a Garbhagriha. In that are Pârvatî and Paramesvara carrying the young Subrahmanyaśvâmi. On the two sides are Brâhma and Vishnu. In front of the doorways Vinâyakas have been carved. On the four sides are four lions, very terrible. The
rest of the idols are defaced. There is [as before stated] a Gopura over this Garbhagriha. Kalasas* have been placed on both these temples.

44. On the North side of this temple, a temple of the god Varuna† has been cut out of a single stone. In that is sculptured a figure of a King. On the North side of that rock lies Mahishásura. The waves of the sea reach this rock. At moon-rise‡ when the waves beat, it is surrounded by water.

45. The sea has kept himself only 10 fathoms away from the mound on which is the Siva temple. On the North and South sides of it, he has receded 24 fathoms to the West.

46. To the South of this Siva temple are three rocks. On the East side of one of these rocks a small chamber has been hollowed out and a figure placed in it. On the North side of the chamber is an elephant's head; and on the South, a horse. On the North side [of the rock] appears an elephant's foot. On the West side, a chamber has been hollowed out. In that is sculptured a female figure. Below that are three small figures.

47. On the second rock appears a lion's face. This is one stone. On it there is only this carving, nothing more.

48. On the third rock are a large head, a belly, and a small chamber, of very misshapen form.

* See note * p. 172, supra.
† The deity of the waters and regent of the West.—Wilson.
‡ The popular notion is that the Sea boils with delight at the sight of his offspring Chandra, who was produced at the Churning of the Ocean. The phenomenon of the moon's influence on the tides doubtless underlies this fiction.
Sanskrit sloka—pp. 13, 166.

The statement that this couplet is a quotation from the Mahābhārata appears to be inaccurate. It would seem to have been borrowed from Conjeveram (Kāṇchipura) whose Māhātmya contains the following lines* :—(Seshadharma xl, 10, 11.)

गंगाया दृष्टे भागे योजनानां शतयेषः
पंचयोजनमाचेष पूर्वांभोधेष्टु पालिमे
वेगवन्युत्तरे तीरे पुष्पकोवां हरि: खर्ष
वर्तर्वभुतानामद्वापिष्पिरीढृष्टे शते

South of the Ganges two hundred yojanas, five yojanas westward from the Eastern sea; on the north bank of the Vegavatī,† in the Punyakotī[-vimāna], Hari himself, the giver of boons to all living beings, is even at this day present.

* Alluded to in Heyne’s Tracts on India, p. 334 n.
† The stream here called Vegavatī is not to be confounded with the river in Madura which formerly bore that name and is now called the Vaigai. The Nilpavana Māhātmya tells us of a great Linga situated on the North bank of this river, and half a yojana west of the “famous city” (? Kalyānapura.—Cp. Nelson’s The Madura Country, part iii, pp. 6 f., 44.)

तपय्युचार परमं शतंवक्राविवधि
वेगवन्युत्तरे तीरे महाशिंगख चोत्तरे
पालिमे श्रीपुरस्हापि योजनार्धे तपस्थ्यन ।
तष लिंगं प्रतिहाय त्रल्ल्यरमालक्षयं
पर्याप्तामसाहित्स्तिकालं कमलायिस्वः
अपनौ श्रीस्वेदमन्त्रे श्रतश्वरीयिव्व च

Transcribed from the manuscript
Mr. Arthur Burnell of the Madras Civil Service has been good enough to place at the Editor's disposal copies of the inscriptions on the Ganesa temple and Ratha at Māvalivaram, and the buried Śiva temple at Sālūvan Kuppam, made (so far as the inscriptions were legible,) by that gentleman in 1867. They are here given in the modern Devanāgarī character:—

Inscription on the Ganesa temple—p. 57 and plate XIV.
† This line and the next down to III occur on the floor of the Rāmānuja Mandapa—pp. 95, 207. The words after III occur also on the East face of the 3rd storey of the Southernmost (Dharmarāja’s) Ratha, but the ending is श्री रणजयः.

Inscription on the buried Śiva temple—plate XV.
It will be observed that in the Chausa temple inscription Mr. Burnell reads "Bassajya" instead of "Jayasena." This agrees with Dr. Hasluck's own transcript (plate XLIV.) though in the translocation the name has been changed to "Jayasena."

Note.
The following is a revised translation of Slokas 1, 2, and 5 of the Ganesa temple inscription:—


2. May he, [himself] without illusion, [yet] of multiform illusion—without attribute, [and yet] the divider of attributes * * * be triumphant.

5. The king of fully satisfied desires and crowds of conquered enemies, known as Ranajaya—by him was this house of Sambhu† built.

Inscriptions on Dharmarâja’s Ratha—p. 37 ff. and plate XVII.

Northern face—base.
श्रीनरसिंह: (left hand.)

Eastern face—base.
? मुवनभाजन: (right hand.)

Śrīdhivibhāra: [? पृष्ठधिविभार:] Śrīmāra: (left hand.)

Southern face—base.
नयनकाम: च्येकोभाय: (right hand.)

? च्वे: च्वेकोविध: विध: (left hand.)

Northern face—second storey.
स्मयभक्ति: मदनाभिराम: (left hand.)

विधि: (I)

* Siva, as “Slayer of Kâma,” the god of love.—See Coleman’s Mythology of the Hindus, p. 75 and Vans Kennedy’s Researches, p. 297 ff.
† A name of Siva.
LINGA AND CELI IN THE BURIED SIVA TEMPLE AT GALLUWAR KUPPAM.
Annexed (plate XXIV.) is a sketch taken by Mr. Burnell of the buried Siva temple (Atirana-chanda Mandapa) at Sāluvan Kuppam, after it had been excavated for the purpose.
Arjuna's penance—p. 90 and plate I.

The following description is contained in slokas 1537—1542 of the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata (Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 463):

रमणीये वनोऽस्मि रमणाः पवित्रस्य सज्जिता ।
तपस्ये वर्तमान उयते जा महामना: ॥

द्रम्भिच्यारं निवस्याथ द्रणाजीविभूषित: ।
श्रीरभ्या पतितं भूमि पर्यं समुपयुक्तवान् ॥

पूर्णं पूर्णं चिररात्रे तु मायेशं कलासन: ।

हर्निगुणे दीक्षेत कालेन दितीयं मायुस्यचारु: ॥

ब्रह्मयमपि मासं स पवित्राहारमाचरन् ।

चतुर्थयौं संप्राग्ये मायं भरतस्वतम: ॥

वायुभवी महाबाहुरभववत्पुषुबन्दनः ।

जम्बोवार्तबिन्दत: यात्रा कुज्याच्याचिदिषित: ॥

सदीपस्थर्जनानाभाख बश्वुरुरभितीजश्च: ।

विषुद्र श्रीहरिविभा जटास्तल्य महाामन: ॥

Then Arjuna delighting himself in the pleasant forest, awful in his brightness, magnanimous, clothed in a darbha* garment, adorned with a staff and deer-skin, performed severe penance and fed on the withered leaves which fell on the ground. He spent one month feeding on fruit once in three days; a second month eating at intervals of double the length; a third month also eating food once a

* Poa cynosuroides, a species of grass used in many solemn and religious observances (Wilson)—also called Kusa.
fortnight; when the fourth month arrived, the most excellent of the Bhāratas* feeding on air, having long arms, the son of Pāndu,† with upraised arms, unsupported, stood on the point of his great toe. By constant ablutions, the matted locks of this man, of boundless brilliancy, lofty minded, were like lightning and the lotus.


* Descendants of Bharata, from the extent of whose authority over the greater part of India, the country was called Bharatavarsha. —Wilson.

† So styled by courtesy only, Arjuna being in truth the progeny of Indra, the god of the firmament.—See Wilson’s preface to Johnson’s Selections from the Mahābhārata, and his note at p. 7, ibid.
Then Chandikā seeing the great Asura thus coming, filled with anger, to fall upon her, became wrathful for his destruction. Throwing over him the noose, she bound that great Asura. Bound in the great battle, he relinquished the form of a buffalo
and immediately became a lion. No sooner did Ambikā cut off his head, than he appeared as a man, sword in hand. Then Devī quickly with arrows destroyed the man together with his sword and shield. He then became a great elephant. With his trunk he dragged the great lion and roared. Devī with her sword cut off the trunk of that dragging one. Then the great Asura again assumed the form of a buffalo, and as before agitated all things animate and inanimate in the three worlds. Then Chandikā, the mother of the world, having become wroth, drank good wine again and again, laughed with her red eyes, and roared. That Asura also, filled with strength, valour, and pride, hurled mountains at Chandikā. She crumbling his missiles with a cloud of arrows, her countenance inflamed with wine, spoke to him in confused accents thus: “Roar, roar, O fool, for a moment while I drink wine, The gods will soon roar when thou art slain here by me.” Having thus spoken, she sprang upon the buffalo. Placing her foot on his neck, she struck him with her trident. Then trodden under foot by her he came half out of his own mouth,* and was overcome by the great valour of Devī. The great Asura doing battle was slain by Devī, who with a great sword cut off his head. Then with lamentations perished the whole army of Daityas,† and all the troops of Devatās exceedingly rejoiced. The Suras‡ with the heavenly Maharshis§ praised Devī, the chief Gandharvas sang, and the troops of Apsaras danced.

* I. e. He came in his proper form out of the buffalo’s mouth.
† Demons, Asuras, children of Diti, the mother of the Titan or giant race of Hindu mythology, by Kasyapa, grandson of Brahmā.
‡ Deities, Devatās.
§ The fourth of the seven orders of Rishis.
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Page 11, note ʃ. For "More probably", read "Some have supposed it to be". (Cp. note ʃ p. 158.)

Page 65. For "Māhāmalaipūr", read "Mahāmalaipūr".

Page 96, note ʃ. For "Arākkkenei (دو) आरक्केन्द्रि) temple", read "Urakkkenei (यु) आरक्केन्द्रि) Ṣvvara temple"; and for "one o'clock (about 1½ gill)" read "one urakk (about 3 gills)". (Cp. p. 210.)

Page 114. "Vijayanagaram ascendency" appears to be a misprint in the original for "Vijayanagaram dynasty."

Page 115, note ʃ. For "Vellugarivarū", read "Velugōdīvarū".

Page 116. For "a clue", read "as a clue".

Pages 124, 126, 128. "Pavarakkārān's (prop. Pavalakkāran's) Choultry" signifies "Coral-monger's Choultry," (Korallenhändler-Sattiram—Graul.)

Page 126. For "Mahendra Shanta", read "Mahendra Sānta."

Page 126, note ʃ. With reference to Sir Walter Elliot's remark on the Tamil alphabet, it will be observed that the Grantha letter ʃ, not the Tamil letter ʃ, is used in the word "Adisandesvara," in the inscription referred to. (See p. 128.)

Page 128. एकडोन्प is probably an error in the transcript for एकडोन्प.

Page 133. For "Māhavarāhā" read "Mahāvarāhā."

Page 141. "36th year" appears to be an error for "37th year." (Cp. p. 121.)

Page 143, line 14 from the bottom. For वाकवाल, read वाकवाल.

Page 173, Sloka 4. For उपेयुष्य, read उपेयुष्य.

Page 173, note ʃ. A fourth MS. reads—

दिशु षः र्मु च ततो मेरो नित्यमन्युष्या ।
संतुक्त्या धिया तस्क बाभली मुखिरैधु ष।

Page 174, Sloka 13. For चूला, read चूला.

Page 178. For "Hariselakara," read "Harisekhara."


Page 184. For Āsrama, read Āstrama.

Page 185. For "Sthalasayi", read "Sthalasāyi".

Page 216, note ʃ. For "Peria", read "Periya."

Page 217. For "Pundarikapukṣkarini", "read Pundarikapushkarini."
Additional Note.

Mr. Fergusson (History of Architecture, Vol. II., p. 502 ff.) thus describes three of the five Rathas:—

The Southernmost, No. 43 in the Sketch, he remarks "imitates a Buddhist monastery of five storeys. • • The time at which it was executed was very little removed from that of Buddhism in this part of India. There is little or none of the extravagance of later Hindu styles in the sculptures. • Neither the Jains nor the Hindus introduced anything like a new style of architecture. They adapted the Buddhist style to their own purposes."

No. 41, Mr. Fergusson describes as being "the only free-standing monolithic representation I know in India of such a temple [Chaitya] as those excavated in the rock at Ajanta and elsewhere. • • But in this, as in all more modern structures of this class, we find considerable confusion between the forms of the temple and those of the monastery. This is no more than might be expected when we consider that the original purposes to which those forms were adapted had ceased to exist, and that in these late copies what were originally essential constructive necessities have become mere ornamental appendages."

And No. 42, the same authority states, "evidently belongs to the same system. • • There can be little doubt that it is the copy of a variety of the Buddhist temple or Chaitya, of which we have no exact representation in the caves—probably of a built Buddhist temple."
ADDENDUM.

Since the foregoing pages were printed, Mr. R. Bruce Foote, F. G. S., of the Geological Survey of India, has kindly favoured the Editor with the following—

Notes on the Geology of Mahávalipuram.

The rock in which the temples at Mahávalipuram are cut is a low ridge of quartzo-felspathic gneiss, an extension of which occurs at the fishing village of Padari, nearly three miles to north, and also at Cullatoor, three miles to the S. S. W.

The bedded character of the rock is but very rarely seen, hence it has often been described as a granite. The strike of the bedding is N. by 5° E.—S. by 5° W. and coincides with that of the grain of the rocks and with the general direction of the hilly ridges further inland. The dip of the beds appears to be westerly but is very obscure and nearly obliterated by excessive metamorphic action.

The texture of the rock suggests the idea of a coarse gritty bed having been exposed to severe lateral pressure, the quartz and felspar having an irregular flakey arrangement and not forming distinctly continuous laminae as in typical gneiss rock. The color of the rock when freshly quarried is a rich pinkish grey weathering to a drab or pale dirty flesh color. Where exposed to the sea spray, as in the walls of the Shore Temple, the stone acquires a black color and decays far more rapidly than where merely exposed to wind and weather further inland. This gneiss has been, and is still, largely quarried, as it splits very easily into blocks of useful size and shape, and has a decidedly handsome appearance.

The ridge of rocks to the East of the Shore Temple on which the fury of the surf is broken, consists also of gneiss, but probably belongs to another bed running in a parallel direction. The East foot of the Mahávalipuram gneiss ridge is covered by the beach or by blown sands, but at its West side are beds of sand and clay abounding in Marine and Estuarine shells of recent species, but in a subfossil condition. These beds are cut through in many places by the Coast Canal.