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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

ANNUAL REPORT

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INTRODUCTION.

SOME opening words of explanation seem needed in this the inaugural issue of a new "Annual," to show not only the object and scope of the publication, but the circumstances which have brought it into existence.

More than two years ago, while the idea of an Archæological "Annual" was being discussed in the Government of India, a correspondent in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society in London happened simultaneously to give expression to the popular need of such a publication. He had just chanced upon a summarised account at second hand of Mr. Rea's interesting excavations in Southern India (described in Mr. Rea's annual report to the Madras Government), and was moved thereby to the following remarks:—

"This annual report, being embodied in a 'G. O.,' is circulated among a few favoured individuals and institutions, but it does not reach the public. What we want are annual volumes, such as those produced by the Egypt Exploration Fund. These volumes are published every year. They embody the outcome of the previous season's work. They possess no finality. They are not kept back, as our Indian volumes are kept back, until some great specialist shall have assimilated everything that can be known, and can write with certainty his full and deliberate convictions. And the result is that, while in every civilised country the work going on in Egypt is watched with intense interest by numbers of people who do not profess to possess any great scientific knowledge of the subject, and while therefore the societies engaged are supplied with funds which enable them to carry on the excavations and print their volumes, the labours of the Indian Archæological Department fall, invariably, dead and lifeless. Whatever is being done in India is done almost in secret, and everybody knows that nothing will be heard of it for fifteen or twenty years, so that no one cares to support it. If we could have for India annual volumes such as we have for Egypt, I am confident that the Royal Asiatic Society and the Indian Exploration Fund would receive numbers of new adherents, and the value of their work would be greatly increased."

It will be observed that the complaint was not of the absence of publications but of the absence of regular periodical publications which should promptly

announce to the world all the latest results of the current work of the Archaeological Survey, while the interest of the discoveries was still fresh. In point of fact quite a number of notable archaeological volumes had from time to time been produced in India,—notable for their splendid originality and scholarship; and some account of these works will be in place here as explaining why, notwithstanding their merits, they necessarily left a great gap unfilled. By such a retrospect also the reader will be enabled to perceive at once the essential difference in motive between all past publications of the Archaeological Department in India and this new "Annual."

Of the yearly Provincial reports it is not necessary to speak here. They were (and still are) reports prepared for official perusal, and, though not withheld from the public, rarely came in the way of attracting general attention, nor indeed would their admixture of purely administrative detail with archaeological material have afforded very inviting fare for the multitude. The literary works of the Survey which have brought Indian archaeological research before the public in a worthy and permanent form are the massive reports of the *Imperial Series* (associated for the most part with the name of Dr. Burgess) and the *District Reports* of General Cunningham.

Of the quality of Dr. Burgess's reports it would not be easy to speak in overstrained praise. But Dr. Burgess made no pretence of conducting a comprehensive and connected survey of the Indian continent by a system of simultaneous progress in its various parts; nor did it occur to him to publish periodical reports of his own important discoveries, at the time they were made. A specialist in his tastes, Dr. Burgess concentrated his rare abilities on special classes of antiquities or on special tracts whose peculiar interest fascinated him. Such books as *The Buddhist Caves of Western India* and *The Antiquities of the Bidar and Aurang-ābād Districts* exemplify this trait. More than that, the publication of each report was usually delayed until enough material had been accumulated and studied to enable a complete monograph to be produced, that should be fit to stand as the final word on the subject for the next generation. During the 29 years from 1874 to 1902 as many as 32 miscellaneous volumes of the *Imperial Series* saw the light without any semblance of periodicity; that is to say, sometimes one volume appeared in five years, sometimes five volumes came out in one year; and there are still large tracts of India and Further India which have been left quite untouched. It should be added that Dr. Burgess had nine coadjutors, who were separately responsible between them for 19 of the 32 volumes, all of which contribute in varying degrees to the monumental value of the *Imperial Series*.

General Cunningham's reports were personal descriptions of archaeological tours in specially interesting districts or areas, and the 23 volumes, which were produced in as many years between 1862 and 1884, contained a great mass of information, systematised to some extent, according to the light then available. Each volume embodied the results of a single complete tour, lavishly illustrated, but was published in a leisurely way some two or three years after the tour had been made. Like Dr. Burgess's works, though running in a different groove and on another plane of

scholarship, General Cunningham's reports aimed at exhaustiveness, and thus in their time carried a certain final authority. In their entirety these 23 volumes may be said to bring together the results of the survey of the Central and Northern parts of India, which General Cunningham and his assistants patiently worked at for nearly a quarter of a century; and the reports ceased when this particular survey ceased, on General Cunningham's retirement twenty years ago. Western and Southern India, and of course Burma, were left quite outside the programme, and even in Northern India, in spite of the industry of the explorers, many ancient monuments still remain to be surveyed, perhaps discovered, and many inscriptions to be deciphered.

Two conclusions clearly emerge from this brief literary retrospect. First, that earlier archaeological publications, with their long periods of gestation, had a value as to scholarship and finality which the new "Annual" cannot and need not emulate. Secondly, that because of their very finality those publications often tended to stifle rather than to stimulate further research in the particular paths trodden by their authors. Now, the pre-eminent object of the present publication is to inaugurate a new policy in just this very respect. Instead of silently accumulating during a long course of years the materials for some future volumes, and keeping these materials hidden, as it were, behind a hoarding until the finished structure can be disclosed, it is the intention to show year by year exactly what materials have been and are being collected, so that other labourers may know how they can add to the heap and, if possible, themselves build from it the ultimate edifice. In other words, it is the intention, by means of these progress reports, to show that the Department, so far from looking to monopolise the field of research, desires and facilitates the co-operation of every earnest student and learned society. More than this, it is the intention to attempt to do for India something of what the volumes issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund during the last 20 years have done for the Land of the Pharaohs,—to attract wider and more abiding attention to India's grand treasure-house of historical relics. Even if active co-operation should not always be forthcoming, generous interest and sympathy at least, it is hoped, will periodically be excited, and the public led to view the work of the Department as something not outside the range of their concern.

The primary object of the new "Annual" being thus explained, the scope and character of the contents next require some exposition. But a short account of the Department itself and of the transformation it has lately undergone must, for the sake of clearness, come first.

The history of the Archaeological Department may be said to open with the appointment in 1862 of Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham to be "Director of Archaeology." Upon this officer was imposed the charge "to make an accurate description of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them." There was no element of recognised permanence in this creation of a new office; on the contrary, archaeological work was looked upon as something to be accomplished in a few years, duly recorded and then dropped. By the year 1871 ideas on the

subject had become somewhat more expanded; General Cunningham's appointment was declared by a Resolution to be that of "Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India," and his duty was defined to be—"to superintend a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable alike for their antiquity, or their beauty, or their historical interest." But, although now nominally the head of the Archaeological Survey in all India, General Cunningham, owing to the geographical limitations of his work, actually remained the head of the Survey in Northern India only: indeed, the Survey was not introduced into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies until 1874, and on that extension being made, the charge of the two Presidencies was separately given to Dr. Burgess. Moreover, the Director-General lacked the support of a proper staff of provincial surveyors, so that virtually he "directed" no activities but his own and those of the assistants working with him. With what ability and industry General Cunningham discharged his mission, however, his 23 volumes descriptive of 23 years' touring sufficiently attest.

It is specially to be observed here that repair and conservation formed no part of the Director-General's responsibilities; these duties were assumed to be sufficiently looked after by the Local Governments on whom they had been urged by many successive orders. It was not until 1878 that some qualms began to be felt by Lord Lytton concerning this arrangement, and the then Viceroy wrote in a Minute:—"The preservation of the national antiquities and works of art ought not to be exclusively left to the charge of Local Governments which may not always be alive to the importance of such a duty. Lieutenant-Governors who combine æsthetic culture with administrative energy are not likely to be very common, and I cannot conceive any claims upon the administrative initiative and financial resources of the Supreme Government more essentially imperial than this." As a fact, this Minute was penned with definite knowledge that many of the greatest buildings and monuments of ancient India were steadily sinking into a deplorable condition. The outcome of Lord Lytton's ideas was a proposal to appoint a Curator of Ancient Monuments who, combining engineering with archaeological knowledge, should hold the position of an Under Secretary in the Public Works Department and be fortified in dealing with difficult questions of repair and restoration by a Committee of Taste. It was to be the duty of the Curator "to prepare classified lists of the monuments of each Province, grouping them according as they required to be kept in permanent good repair, or were decayed beyond that point but still not in complete ruin, or were unimportant or irretrievably ruined." He was also to state the amounts required in each case for special repair or maintenance, and to what extent they were forthcoming from local resources. The Government of India were then to arrange with each Local Government as to the Imperial grant to be made to the Province in aid of local resources for the preservation of ancient monuments.

At first the proposal failed to commend itself to the Secretary of State, who took the view that the Director-General and the Governors of British Provinces combined

could very well look after the interests of conservation, and that a curator would be a kind of fifth wheel in the coach. But when the Government, in a later despatch in 1880, argued that the Director-General was sufficiently busy with research without being burdened with conservation also; that much destruction and decay were meanwhile going on, leading to lamentable and irremediable losses; and that many of the great Indian monuments were not situated in any British Province but in Native territory, the Secretary of State (Lord Hartington) admitted that a strong case had been made out for a temporary special appointment. Accordingly, early in 1881, Major Cole, R.E., was appointed Curator of Ancient Monuments for a period of three years.

Gifted with the qualities of knowledge, industry and enthusiasm, Major Cole at once set about examining the most important ancient buildings in British and Native India, and the result was an output of three annual reports, formulating a valuable though naturally incomplete programme of conservation work for the future. Besides these reports, Major Cole was responsible for the series of folio volumes which appeared under the title "Preservation of National Monuments in India," and which contained some exceptionally fine illustrations, with brief explanatory notes, of the most famous buildings and antiquities in charge of the Curator. At the end of three years, Major Cole's appointment terminated, and his reports are to this day the sole works of permanent value dealing with conservation as distinct from research among all the bibliography representing 32 years' archaeological activity in India. On the Curatorship ceasing to exist, the work of conservation relapsed into the hands of the Local Governments as before; but the energies of the Curator had not been expended wholly in vain, since they may be said to have laid the foundation, in theory at least, of an organised scheme of permanent conservation. To what limited extent this foundation has since been built upon in the intervening twenty years will be briefly indicated later.

When General Cunningham retired in 1885, Dr. Burgess, who till then by his labours as Archaeological Surveyor for Madras and Bombay had provided the complement of General Cunningham's work in Northern India, was promoted to be head of the entire Archaeological Department. At the same time the functions of conservation were amalgamated with those of survey and research. Moreover, five Survey areas were mapped out—namely, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab (with Sind and Rajputana), the North-West Provinces (with Central India and the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam); and a Surveyor was to be assigned to each. As a matter of fact only three Surveyors were appointed—for the Punjab, the North-West Provinces and Bengal; Dr. Burgess being still expected to superintend, with the help of two Assistant Surveyors, the detailed operations in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies in addition to his new imperial duties.

There was no intention even then, however, of making the re-organised Department a permanent institution. An archaeological survey was still regarded as something which once done was done for ever; and in view of the extent of ground covered by General Cunningham's 23 years of touring, it was hopefully thought that in about five years more the new Director-General would be able to complete the

whole task, disband the Survey, and safely hand over the subsequent simple duties of conservation to the Local Governments. Indeed, when, shortly after Dr. Burgess's promotion, the progress of archæological work in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies came under review, it was decided, "in order to bring it to a termination within a reasonable time," to engage the services of an additional officer, Dr. Hultzsch, as Epigraphist, for the translation of inscriptions in the Sanskrit, Pali, and Dravidian languages.

It is, by the way, significant of the views which were still entertained regarding the powers of the Director-General, that Dr. Hultzsch and also Mr. Rea, the Madras Surveyor, were made directly subordinate to the Government of Madras, and the other provincial Surveyors were instructed similarly to conduct their duties in regard to the repair and restoration of buildings of antiquity in direct correspondence with the local authorities; while Dr. Führer, Epigraphist for Northern India, had to submit his reports to Dr. Hultzsch. In 1886, however, these anomalous arrangements were reversed, and Dr. Burgess became a real as well as a nominal Director both of research and conservation.

Another incidental point to be noted here is that much importance was attached to the enlistment of native talent in the discovery and translation of inscriptions and records in the ancient native languages, and one of the secondary objects of Dr. Hultzsch's appointment was to impart to those native Surveyors who might be selected to assist him the training which would qualify them for more or less independent research.

In 1889, when only four years had passed, Dr. Burgess decided to follow General Cunningham into retirement. He had then rendered brilliant archæological service in various capacities for fifteen years; and it may be remarked here that since his retirement he has added another fifteen years of editorial work to the record. His withdrawal proved the signal for something like disruption in the Department. An era of retrenchment had just begun in Government offices, and drastic ideas of economy were finding favour. The Finance Committee, which the Government of India had appointed to overhaul expenditure in all branches of the Public Service, commented on what they regarded as the unduly high cost of the Archæological Survey, and the Government thereupon determined upon wholesale reductions. The post of Director-General was allowed to remain vacant; virtually, it was abolished. Provincial Surveyors were retained in Madras and Bombay, and the North-West Provinces continued to employ Dr. Führer on a small pay as well as an Assistant; but Bengal, the Punjab, Burma, and the Native States were left without Surveyors. Even this attenuated Survey establishment was sanctioned for only five years (from 1890); the official opinion then being that by the end of that period the work of the Archæological Survey in India would, so far as Government was concerned, be generally completed.

With the year 1890, then, the low-water mark in the checkered history of the Archæological Department in India was reached, and for the next five years, down to 1895, the situation remained uneventfully at that depressed level. It will be seen

that the outlook was sufficiently gloomy. The Director-General, who had devoted his talents for the most part to research and discovery (including the exploration of buried sites and the collection of inscriptions), was gone. The Curator, whose one duty had been to arrange for the up-keep of recognised ancient monuments, was gone too. Half of India was shorn of its archæological staff altogether, and in the other half conservation was abandoned to the Local Governments, with no central authority to ascertain how the responsibility was being interpreted or whether it was being discharged at all; and although it is now known that much was undoubtedly done by the Local Governments from 1880 onwards to preserve the most important ancient buildings, no connected statement existed of what had been or was being done, while it was certain that the lists of monuments supposed to require official conservation were everywhere incomplete. The annual reports of the Surveyors in Madras, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces were confined to brief narratives of archæological tours and descriptions of buildings and ruins visited and surveyed. They gave no information as to the present condition of the great historical monuments, or as to the measures taken during the year by the Provincial Public Works Departments to preserve them, nor did they contain any suggestions or recommendations as to conservation. Besides the ancient monuments in the possession of the Government, there are two other important classes of historical relics,—those held by Trusts or Societies, and those held by private individuals; but the annual provincial reports contained no reference to these. It is now known that in the North-West Provinces, and especially in Lucknow, much was done by the Local Government to secure the proper application of endowments for the up-keep of such monuments, and to supplement the endowments by grants-in-aid, but this knowledge is not obtainable from the records of the Archæological Department.

In 1895 it became time for the Government to consider what the future of the Archæological Department was to be. After consulting the Provincial Governments, and after weighing the strong pleas for the continuance of archæological work submitted by such authorities as the Royal Asiatic Society of London and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Government of India, going back upon former ideas, came to the conclusion (at the end of three years) that it was neither possible to disband the Survey altogether, nor advisable to maintain it on its then reduced and ineffective scale. But this decision was associated with an emphatic declaration that the operations must in future be directed almost exclusively towards conservation, as possessing claims incomparably more urgent than those of research. At the same time, they were careful to disclaim any wish to discourage original work, but they held that the limited sum which they felt justified in spending on archæological work should primarily be devoted to conserving the known rather than to searching for the unknown.

Accordingly a fresh re-organisation of the Department was decided upon. The new scheme provided for the constitution of five Survey Circles,—namely, Madras (with Coorg), Bombay (with Sind and Berar), the Punjab (with Baluchistan and Ajmer), the North-West Provinces (with the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam). Each Circle was to be placed in charge of an Archæological Surveyor, to be paid

imperially but controlled provincially, whose duty it would be to compile a classified list of archæological remains, to advise and assist his Local Government concerning the effective preservation of these remains, and to fill up any spare time he might have by prosecuting archæological research. Each Circle was to be equipped with two draftsmen and a small travelling establishment for the collection of coins and inscriptions. The expenditure to be incurred on the local establishments was accepted as an Imperial charge, save in the case of Madras where, being already a Provincial charge, it was to continue as such. Burma was provided for separately by the continuance of the existing Imperial grant to the Local Government of Rs. 10,000 a year.

To round off the whole scheme, it was determined to make the appointment of Epigraphist permanent so long as Dr. Hultzsch—an officer of exceptional attainments—might continue to hold it. There had been a proposal during the time when the scheme was still being formulated, to abolish the appointment of Government Epigraphist and to discontinue the publication of the *Epigraphia Indica*, on the ground that private individuals and learned societies might more appropriately undertake both the expenditure and the labour; but the arguments against this idea appeared so forcible, that it was eventually abandoned. In particular, it was realised that Dr. Hultzsch and his staff were the only people living who could decipher the old Tamil inscriptions, and, further, that Epigraphy was not only a subject of scientific importance in which the learned world was much interested, but also one which might throw useful light on many problems of modern administration. But as Dr. Hultzsch was essentially a Southern Indian specialist, the Government of India, while deciding on his permanent retention, proposed to encourage the entertainment of Honorary Epigraphists in other Provinces, and to relax Dr. Hultzsch's editorial monopoly by allowing them to prepare inscriptions for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The foregoing scheme came into force in May 1899. It will be observed that it still contemplated that all initiative and responsibility in the matter of conservation should rest with the Provincial Governments, and that it made no provision either for enabling the Government of India to inform themselves as to how this responsibility was being discharged or for the systematised central guidance of the provincialised archæological staff.

In 1900, the mild reaction which had previously set in against past lethargy became greatly intensified and led to another development, destined, it may be hoped, to impart a sustained impulse to the resuscitated Archæological Department. The first note in this fresh movement was struck in a speech which the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, delivered at a meeting of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta on the 1st February, 1899, a few weeks after he had landed in India. He there accepted the encouragement of research, the promotion of archæological study, and the preservation of the relics of the past as "a part of our imperial obligation to India," and announced his intention to pursue an active policy in this respect during his term of office. A year later, before an audience of the same Society, he elaborated the same theme, and thus graphically condensed the checkered story of the past :—

"There has been, during the last 40 years, some sort of sustained effort on the

part of Government to recognise its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the Central and the Local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausted its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that, when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, one might sit with folded arms and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave a modest half-lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive and on the whole continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archæological work in this country with permanent Government patronage by constituting in 1860 the Archæological Survey of Northern India and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archæological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute on the whole a noble mine of information in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil."

Before the close of the year the definite proposals of the Government of India had gone home to the Secretary of State. They embraced a definite policy of more active work, of closer supervision, and of larger outlay. The Government of India declared it to be indefensible that they should divest themselves of all responsibility for the preservation of monuments which, in the words of Lord Lytton, are "for variety, extent, completeness and beauty unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the world." They felt that it would be the Supreme Government, and not the Provincial Governments, who would always be held in the judgment of the civilised world primarily responsible for maintaining intact this great inheritance, and they thought it unsafe to trust that the subordinate Governments would always be alive to the importance of the duty or would always be willing or able, under the pressing exigencies of provincial finance, to devote funds to it. They felt the necessity of someone at the head of the operations, who could not only assist local effort from an imperial standpoint with that advice and guidance which had been lacking since the days of Dr. Burgess, but could also maintain a continuous record of the archæological needs of the various Provinces, and of the work undertaken to meet those needs. They accordingly urged the re-appointment of a Director-General of Archæology, and the expenditure of a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees per annum for a term of years—to be expended in grants-in-aid for archæological work of special importance and magnitude. These proposals were sanctioned by the Secretary of State in the latter part of 1901, and the new Director-General, who was appointed for a term of five years, arrived in India to take up his duties early in 1902.

But meanwhile—in 1901—another important reform had been put through. Although most of the great archæological monuments of India are situate within the territories administered by the various Local Governments, the Native States are by no means devoid of interesting historical relics ; yet until then no effective machinery had been provided for the work of archæological conservation in territories administered by indigenous rulers or chiefs. By an order of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, dated the 4th June, 1901, this serious omission was at last remedied. Kashmir, Rajputana, and the Punjab Native States, as well as Dir, Swat, and Chitral, were added to the charge of the Surveyor of the Punjab-Baluchistan-Ajmer Circle ; Baroda, Central India, Hyderabad (Deccan), and the Bombay Native States were added to the charge of the Surveyor of the Bombay-Berar Circle ; and the Native States within the political jurisdiction of the Governments of Madras and Bengal were added to the charge of the Surveyors of the Madras-Coorg and Bengal-Assam Circles, respectively. It may be added that the Circle Surveyors have been instructed carefully to avoid any action which might cause misrepresentation of the aims of the Government of India or give offence to the Darbars whom it is desired to assist. No orders or instructions are to be given by the Surveyors to the officials of any Native State, and all suggestions or criticisms are to be conveyed to the Darbar through the medium of the Political authorities. Hereafter it may be found possible to induce the more important of the Native States to entertain an Archæologist of their own, as in Mysore, where the conservation of monuments and other questions of archæological interest have received the special attention of the Darbar. In the meantime every endeavour will be made to enlist the sympathies of the Native States in the task temporarily entrusted to the Circle Surveyors.

In concluding this outline of the history of the Archæological Survey in India, it will be appropriate to describe exactly and in detail the duties of the new Director-General, because, although nominally the successor of Sir Alexander Cunningham and Dr. Burgess, he is charged with responsibilities extending considerably beyond the sphere of archæological research wherein his predecessors confined their labours. The most important of his functions is to secure that the ancient monuments of the country are properly cared for, that they are not utilised for purposes which are inappropriate or unseemly, that repairs are executed when required, and that any restorations, which may be attempted, are conducted on artistic lines. In this respect his position will be generally similar to that occupied by the Curator of Ancient Monuments, who held office from 1880 to 1883. But his duties extend to the exercise of a general supervision over all the archæological work of the country, whether it be that of excavation, or preservation, or repair, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient remains, or of antiquarian research ; he is to assist the provincial Surveyors in ascertaining and formulating the special requirements of each Province ; and to advise the Government of India as to the operations for which special subsidies may be allotted from Imperial funds. He is to co-ordinate and bring up to date the local Survey and reports ; and he is to submit annually



to the Government of India a report on the progress effected during each official year.

The salient fact to be gathered from the foregoing brief historical sketch is that archæological activities in India were originally turned into too narrow a path. They aimed primarily at research, instead of at conservation, as if oblivious of the fact that research is a work that can be taken up equally well at any period by any qualified person or organisation, with or without official aid ; whereas conservation in these quick-moving times is a duty of urgency devolving upon the Government of the day with the certain knowledge that no future solicitude will be able to repair the consequences of past neglect. Further, it appears that even the research work, brilliant though it was in scholarship, was begun without system and continued in a desultory manner, entirely omitting large and important parts of the country. Finally, the reader may see how, after many years, opinion has at last swung round, bringing conservation uppermost for the time being and until the task has been discharged, but still allowing to exploration, excavation, epigraphy, and general research their due places in the official programme.

With the past thus set forth, the present almost explains itself. As now re-organised, the Archæological Department stands for the first time on a firm administrative basis, with a consistent policy, definite responsibilities, and a systematised programme. There can be but two main functions of an Archæological Survey,—investigation and conservation ; and of these conservation is, for the present at any rate, to be paramount, on the ground that if the material is carefully preserved, it can be examined at leisure and by any qualified agency, paid or unpaid. Especially is this priority of conservation emphasised in the case of those architectural or historical monuments whose preservation may be regarded as a duty owing not to India alone, but to the whole civilised world.

In view of the stress thus laid upon the importance of conservation—a stress which the whole contents of the present publication will be found indirectly to emphasise,—it may be appropriate to quote Lord Curzon's strong views on the subject as expressed in the speech already noticed, which His Excellency delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

“In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked in reply to Municipal addresses that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants,—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if indeed any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a

like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. There, abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, Societies, Endowments, Trusts provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here, all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, or persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the-way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India."

It will now be plain to the reader that, as the scope of this "Annual" is to be co-extensive with current archæological operations, the contents will relate first and principally to Conservation, secondly, to Exploration and Research, and lastly, to Epigraphy. Under each head a plain tale will be told of the year's work, without any straining after literary effect. As now constituted, indeed, the Survey staff has no leisure for the refinements of archæological disquisition; it is essentially an active, not a contemplative corps, and its duty will therefore be to place before European scholars material for elucidation rather than to attempt elucidation on its own account.

If, under the new conditions of work, there was a danger that the Survey might degenerate into a mere monument-repairing department, such a possibility is now precluded by the generous ideal which His Excellency the Viceroy has upheld to all concerned:—"It is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian history are known to us and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is in my judgment equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve." And in point of fact—as the reader will discern in the following pages—a considerable impetus is at the present moment being communicated to exploration not less than to conservation.

It may be hoped that the "Annual" will serve to stimulate the interest not only of the public but of the Survey Officers themselves in what is being done. Instead of

feeling, as in the past, that they are working in the dark on desultory schemes to no consistent end, Survey Officers will henceforth be sustained by the knowledge that good work during the year will obtain regular and prominent notice, and that it will meet with the appreciation in the Archæological World, which it deserves.

As various pens are to be employed in the production of this "Annual," nothing like uniformity of style or of matter will be attainable. Some of the writers are Natives; some others are Continentals. Some of the subjects of the articles are popular; others technical. Some of the work described is of universal importance; other work is of comparatively minor significance. Editorial supervision can therefore go no further than to secure that what is admitted into the "Annual" contains that which justifies its being published. Beyond that point responsibility will rest distributively with the several contributors, each individual being allowed to tell his story in his own fashion.

Similarly as to the pictorial illustrations, the reproductions, the plans, and the sketches. Some of these have been prepared in England; some in Madras; and some in other parts of India or Burma. They are to be appraised, therefore, independently according to their unequal individual qualities, and not viewed as a single artistic whole.

J. H. MARSHALL.

CONSERVATION.

IN the following general account of the past year's conservation work and in the special articles which supplement it, only those operations which are considered of some importance are noticed. The object of this "Annual" would hardly be served by detailing fully and exactly all the small miscellaneous repairs carried out by the Survey. Minor works, it is true, seem to constitute the bulk of the yearly task in more than one province, but a description of these undertakings, however necessary they may have been to the preservation of the buildings, would entail a wearisome repetition of measures like the clearing away of overgrowing jungle, the erasing of hideous, if well meant, whitewash, and the resetting of crumbling masonry. Should, however, any information about them be desired, it may be found in the regular provincial reports of the Archæological Surveyors. The single aim of the present narrative is to give an account of those features of current archæological activity which are most likely to interest the general student of Indian architecture, particularly in cases where monuments of world-wide celebrity are concerned.

In order to amplify and to illustrate the general summary in cases where expanded treatment seemed requisite, various Archæological Officers have prepared special articles, each dealing descriptively at first hand with the work carried out upon a single building or group of connected buildings. As the subjects of these special contributions are *ipso facto* of preponderating importance, it will be convenient to begin here by indicating the monuments with which they deal. These are as follows:—

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| WESTERN INDIA | . Sidi Sayyad's Mosque at Ahmadābād; Mosque of the Gol Gumbaz, Bijāpūr. |
| BENGAL | . The Aśoka pillar in the neighbourhood of Rampurwa; the Jain caves at Khandagiri; the temple on the hill at Muṇḍeśvari; the temples at Bhubanesvar; the Black Pagoda at Konarak, and several Muhammadan buildings at Gaur, Panduah, and Rohtasgarh. |
| UNITED PROVINCES. | Jahāngiri Mahall, Salimgarh, Diwān-i-Āmm, Angūri-Bāgh, Machhi-Bhawan, Moti Masjid, Fathpuri Masjid, Saheli Burj, and the Taj Mahall at Agra; and the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandarah. |
| PUNJAB | . Qil'a-i-kuhna Masjid, Delhi. |
| RAJPUTANA | . Arhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā, and Pavilions of Shāh Jahān, Ajmir. |
| SOUTHERN INDIA | . Chennakēśavasvāmi temple at Sōmpalle. Old fortified wall of Madras. |
| BURMA | . The Palace at Mandalay. |

All the buildings in the foregoing list, save the old wall of Madras, may justly claim to rank among the finest examples of Indian architecture extant, and there are few readers, it may be opined, who will not be pleased to turn to the special articles which describe their conservation, and to learn in detail the measures which have recently been taken to rescue them from misuse or decay and to restore to them some measure of their ancient beauty. To ensure, however, that the following summary may convey a connected and fairly complete idea of the year's sum of labour, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the ground embraced by these articles, and to supplement it by a more leisurely description of those other measures, which, either because they are of less general interest or because they are still far from complete, do not require to be separately discussed at the present juncture. The consequence of thus giving prominence to the less important subject matter, while only briefly noticing the more important, will be to distort in some measure the true perspective of what is described; but this is a difficulty which cannot well be avoided, and, after all, it matters little if it is borne in mind that a perusal of the special articles is necessary to bring the whole picture into focus.

A word of explanation seems called for as to the geographical arrangement adopted in the following pages. The monuments are grouped according to archæological "Circles," the chief Province or Presidency in each circle being first referred to, and afterwards the Native States or lesser administrations grouped around it. The arrangement is not a very satisfactory one, inasmuch as the areas of these "Circles" are quite arbitrary, and correspond to no political or natural divisions of the country, but it has at least the advantage of Departmental convenience: while the route over which the reader will be taken—starting on the Bombay side and finishing in Burma—is one which any tourist in India might quite naturally follow.

Bombay.—At Ahmadābād the mosque of the slave nobleman Sidi Sayyad is no longer perverted to mean utilitarian uses. The many deformities which were perpetrated in order to convert it into a modern district treasury and which, incredible though it seems, were allowed to obscure the exquisite beauty of its demi-lune windows, have been removed, while the precincts have been restored to their original state. For many years debarred by the stringent rules observed in all treasury buildings from crossing the official threshold, the public once more enjoys free access to the interior, and Ahmadābād has regained an acquisition to its architectural attractions which alone would reward the visitor for his journey there.

From the finely proportioned mosque of the Gol Gumbaz at Bijāpūr the unsightly *dāk* bungalow has been summarily obliterated, and the building, with its fine façade and slender, graceful minars, has been rescued from rapid decline. It is a misfortune that a portion of the bold and highly ornamental cornice of this mosque was so far decayed that its removal became imperative, but it is hoped that a complete restoration of this striking feature may at some future date be effected.

Of less importance are the improvements carried out at the rock-hewn temples at Elephanta. Past visitors to these caves may have a somewhat disagreeable recollection of the difficulties of debarkation on the small island which forms the site of these wonderful subterranean shrines. Future visitors will find their convenience

consulted by an improved landing-stage. At both the Elephanta and the Kārle Caves a considerable sum of money has also been spent in rebuilding proper quarters for the custodians. These are not works to be dwelt upon descriptively, but their utility will be appreciated by everyone familiar with the ground. It may be mentioned, too, that the Archæological staff needs to be almost as assiduous sometimes in preventing harm as in attempting good; witness a recent proposal to colour-wash the figures in the Kārle Caves and to whitewash an old carved black-stone temple.

Other works in the Bombay Presidency that similarly call for only passing mention are the special repairs to the Ibrāhīm Rauza at Bijāpūr, to the Adalaj step-well in Ahmadābād, and to some of the buildings at Champāner. In view indeed of the ground covered by the special articles, it will suffice to add here, so far as Western India generally is concerned, that the largest share of attention has been given to Bijāpūr and Ahmadābād, where seventeen different buildings have been repaired at a cost of more than Rs. 7,000; while in the remaining districts of the Presidency some forty monuments—temples, mosques, caves, forts, and tombs—have come under repair.

Central India.—In Central India, by the desire of the Viceroy Lord Curzon, a comprehensive scheme has been prepared for the repair and conservation of the splendid monuments of the Mālvā kings at Dhār and Māṇḍū. This scheme of course applies only to relics already discovered and examined. But Dhār and Māṇḍū would well repay a more complete and exhaustive survey than has ever yet been attempted. Mr. Cousens writes in his annual report: "We hardly know what is in Māṇḍū yet, the place is so thoroughly overgrown with thick jungle and undergrowth. It would be a delightful bit of work to explore the hill completely, and I hope it may fall to my lot some day to do it. Even in our short visit we found many things that were new to us, both in constructive and decorative detail. . . . All the country to the south and west of Dhār, within the Central India Agency, is practically unknown so far as antiquarian remains are concerned. The few scraps of information I gleaned at Dhār give promise of many interesting remains and places. The Bāgh Caves to the west, which thirty years ago were intact, are now, I hear, falling in and are so ruined that it is now almost hopeless to do anything to them. This is much to be regretted, since they had upon their walls fresco paintings similar to those which make the Ajantā Caves so famous."

The conservation of the sites of Dhār and Māṇḍū is thus a subject calling for more than casual notice. Dhār, the capital of the State of the same name, in Central India, lies thirty-three miles due east of Mhow, the well-known British Military cantonment on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway; and Māṇḍū is twenty-four miles south of Dhār. Dhār, and occasionally Māṇḍū, were the old capitals of the Hindu kings of Mālvā, one of whom, the great Rājā Bhojadeva, who reigned in the eleventh century of our era, stands out pre-eminently for his prowess and literary attainments. During his time some of the finest temples, that adorned Mālvā, seem to have been erected. Later, when Central India fell under the sway of Islām, Māṇḍū became the capital of the Muhammadan Sultāns of Mālvā, who set about building themselves palaces and mosques, first with material pilfered from the old Hindu temples (already for the most part desecrated and ruined by the inconoclastic fury of their

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earlier co-religionists), and afterwards with their own quarried material. Thus, nearly all traces of the splendid shrines of the Paramāras of Mālvā have disappeared, save what we find utilized in the ruined mosques and tombs; and the remains at Dhār and Māṇḍū may be said to consist now, almost wholly, of the ruins of the palaces, mosques, tombs, fortifications, and reservoirs of the Muhammadan period. These have been often described, the last writer being Captain E. Barnes, who contributed a paper to the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.¹ The late Sir James Campbell also wrote a long and exhaustive account of Māṇḍū for the same *Journal*,² and a "Bombay Subaltern" many years ago penetrated the wild and tangled jungle of Māṇḍū, and left behind him a most interesting and faithful description of its ruins. We may go back still further, and add a royal author to the list in the person of the Emperor Jahāngīr, and a British Ambassador to Jahāngīr in the person of Sir Thomas Roe, whose brief remarks, read as a commentary on the pretentious diary of the Emperor, are full of fascinating interest. Jahāngīr made Māṇḍū his capital for a short time, during which many of its old buildings were repaired and its glories to some extent resuscitated; but this was the last expiring flicker of Māṇḍū's greatness. To-day the jungle has closed in on its fortress. Many of its monuments have been swept away. The famous Victory Tower of Mahmūd Khalji has fallen, and other buildings—both mosques and tombs—are crumbling to their end. But the grandeur of the site must always remain impressive, and for the monuments which are still left to attest the magnificence and taste of the Mālvā kings, it may truly be said that there is hardly a group of remains in India upon which the halo of age has shed such a splendour, or which is more worthy of being saved to posterity.

Both Dhār and Māṇḍū were visited by His Excellency Lord Curzon in November 1902, when he left careful instructions for a systematic scheme of conservation. The buildings which were to claim the first attention were the Jāmi' Masjid, Hūshang's Tomb, and the Mosque of Dilāwar Khān at Māṇḍū, and the Lāt Masjid and the Kamāl Maulā Masjid at Dhār. The measures decided upon provide for the repair of such portions of these buildings as were still left comparatively intact, and for the protection of the remainder. It was determined also to clear the *débris* and later additions from the Hindola Maḥal and from the ruins commonly known as the Tower of Victory. These works are now proceeding apace, with the happiest results, under the guidance of Captain E. Barnes, the Political Agent, who has promised a full account of them for a future report.

In the meantime, at the risk of anticipating the ultimate report, two discoveries of more than ordinary interest made by Captain Barnes may be noticed. The first occurred in the *mihṛāb* of the Kamāl Maulā Mosque at Dhār. The mosque itself appears from local tradition and from the numerous indications and inscriptions found within it to have been built on the site of, and to a large extent out of materials taken from, a Hindu Temple, known to the inhabitants as Rājā Bhoja's School. This inference was derived some time back from the existence of a Sanskrit alphabet and some Sanskrit grammatical forms inscribed in serpentine diagrams on two of the

pillar bases in the prayer chamber and from certain Sanskrit inscriptions on the black stone slabs imbedded in the floor of the prayer chamber, and on the reverse face of the side walls of the *mihrāb*.

It is the discovery of the hidden inscriptions on the back of these side walls that makes a story. At the angle of junction of the side and back wall of the *mihrāb* are some holes large enough to admit a hand and arm, and it was entirely owing to the fortunate chance of some one passing his hand through one of these apertures and discovering letters on the back surface of the stones that the existence of these inscriptions was revealed. The method employed to obtain a record of these inaccessible inscriptions is also worth telling. Partial impressions were taken in the first instance by an ingenious system of paper rolled round jointed rods which were inserted through the apertures into the space behind the wall, and then unrolled; the impression was then made by rubbing lamp black upon a pad fixed to the extremity of a similar rod. This process was of course extremely laborious but was deemed well repaid by the results, so long, at least, as there appeared no chance of removing the stones. When, however, Lord Curzon visited Dhar in 1902, he requested that the repair of the mosque should be taken in hand, and that while this was being done any slabs likely to bear inscriptions and the removal of which involved no danger, should be taken out and examined. This work is still in progress, and the following *interim* information regarding it has been furnished by Mr. K. K. Lele, the Superintendent of Education, Dhār State, who has been instrumental in recovering many other inscriptions from that part of Central India.

The finest inscription is engraved on a slab of black stone (5' 8" × 5') which was set up in the northern wall of the *mihrāb*. The language is Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are 82 lines in all, containing the first two acts of a drama, written in praise of the last great Paramāra King, Arjunavarman (c. 1210—1218 A. D.), the 19th in descent from the founder Upendra, and the 10th from the famous Bhoja. The remaining portion of this stone-inscribed drama has not been found. The drama commemorates in particular the King's victory over Jayasimha, the ruler of Gujarat (?), in the neighbourhood of the mountain Parva Parvata (which Mr. Lele conjectures may be Pavagad in the Panch Mahals). The corresponding slab on the opposite side of the *mihrāb* bears a Prakrit inscription of 83 lines, containing two odes in the Ārya metre to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu—one composed by King Bhoja himself; and the other by a poet of his Court. Both slabs have now been fixed securely in strong frames and for the present are being preserved in the mosque. Besides the above, eight other fragments of Prakrit inscriptions were brought to light, one of which, consisting of 75 lines, is stated to have been composed by Rājā Bhoja.

None of the fragments or of the more complete inscriptions possess any date. All of them, it is hoped, will be published *in extenso* in due course.

The second discovery relates to the Tower of Victory and the excavation of what was once the most spacious and lavishly decorated tomb in Māṇḍū. For the following account of the affair the "Annual" is indebted to Mr. H. Cousens, the Archæological Superintendent of Western India, who has recently paid a visit to the spot:—

"Jahāngīr, in the account of the buildings of Dhār and Māṇḍū in his diary

mentions a seven-storeyed tower or *mīnār*, standing out in front of the great Jāmi' Masjid, which, he says, was erected by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khalji. It is said to have been built as a Tower of Victory after the Sulṭān had vanquished the forces of Rānā Kumbha of Chitor. Its height was $54\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz*, its girth at the base was 50 *gaz*, while from ground level to the top there were 171 steps. Sir James Campbell makes the *gaz* three feet. Upon the middle of a great platform, about 270 feet square, and at the same height above ground level as the courtyard of the great Jāmi' Masjid, supported upon arched colonnades around its four sides, with round bastions at the corners, stood, until the beginning of this year, a great unshapely mass of fallen masonry, out of which rose portions of the four walls of a great building. This had been pointed out as the remains of the great Tower of Victory, and up to the time of my visit was accepted as such. At that time the workmen had removed about three-quarters of the material in the interior and had brought to view the marble-lined walls of a great chamber nearly 65 feet square, containing some graves over which were the remains of some beautifully designed grave-stones. Instead of the basement of a Tower of Victory we found the remains of a magnificent tomb of white marble, which, when complete, must have been the grandest building in Māṇḍū, and ranked amongst monuments of the first class in India. There is little doubt, from indirect evidence, all pointing in the same direction, that we have here the tomb of the greatest of Māṇḍū rulers, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Probably the first notable to be buried in it was Khān Jahān, the father he loved so well.

"The interior measurement of the tomb is 64 feet 9 inches square, far larger than Hūshang's. It is of white marble, within and without, decorated with bands of ornamental carving, the interstices of which have been filled in with black and yellow stone so closely fitted that it is only the difference in colour of adjacent parts which shows where the joints are. In addition to this there has been an abundance of inlay work of red and green polished blood-stone, not in patterns of itself, but as filling the interstices of scroll work carved in the marble. There is also a great deal of coloured tile work, blue, white, green and yellow. There were three openings in each of the four sides of the tomb, which were all, except the central one on the west, facing the Jāmi' Masjid,—the entrance doorway—filled with lovely *jālī* work; and there are indications of a row, all round, of clear-story windows above these.

"The workmen had cleared one grave of the remains of an exceedingly ornate superstructure in inlaid black and yellow stone, but this grave was to the north of the centre of the tomb. I got the men to clear the centre, when another grave was found occupying the exact centre, with another, partly fallen in, touching it on the east. A day or two later a beautiful white marble grave-stone, in one great block, was found to the south-east of these, forced out of its position by the falling masses of masonry above. The clearance of this building is still being pushed forward, and interesting discoveries may still be looked for. All the beautifully carved inscriptions, which ran in bands around the frames of some of the windows, seem to be extracts from the Koran.

"But the Tower of Victory, or its site, had still to be located. Ascending the roof of the porch of the Jāmi' Masjid for a better view of the surroundings, it was at once seen that, of the four bastions around the great basement of this ruined tomb,

the one at the north-west corner was far larger than the others, and it was, moreover, solidly built, while the others are hollow with entrance arches. On measuring these we found the large one 150 feet in circumference, and the smaller ones only 89 feet. The ruined, but undisturbed, masonry upon the big bastion rose to about twice the height of the top of the basement, whereas the other bastions do not rise higher than that level. Up through this solid bastion is a narrow staircase. Here, then, without a doubt, is the stump of the *mīnār*, or Tower of Victory, with the beginning of its staircase, which contained 171 steps *from the ground*, as Jahangir is careful to state, for he gives its height, as may be gathered from the context, from the level of the top of the basement or terrace on which the great tomb stood. In the basement below, running all around, are rooms and colonnades, the arches supported upon massive pillars, and these run up to and abut upon the base of the *mīnār*. This was the college said to have been built in connection with the *mīnār*. Sir James Campbell, as already stated, took the *gas* at 3 feet, so that the circumference of this stump tallies with Jahāngir's measurement of 50 *gas*. We can now understand Sir Thomas Herbert's account when he says it was a tower 170 steps high, supported upon massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built, he adds, by *Khān Jahān*, who there lies buried.¹ There are a few of the corbel brackets, which supported the balconied windows of the *mīnār*, still intact.

"Another discovery we made was that, beneath the inclined plane or ramp leading up to the ruined porch of the great tomb, were the original steps. It was then decided to clear away the ramp, which it was at first proposed to put into better order; but as Captain Barnes has kindly undertaken to write a full account of the work carried out at Māṇḍū, for a future issue of the "Annual," it is unnecessary here to describe the work further. There are certain points it would be interesting to go into more fully. Did Hūshang build the great Jāmi' Masjid, or did Maḥmūd build it in commemoration of Hūshang? Hūshang did not have his own tomb sufficiently far advanced to be buried in it when he died. Is not the building, in Hindu style, on the west of Hūshang's tomb, the College in which he is said to have been first buried? The style is half way between the purely Hindu erections of Dilāwar *Khān* and the solid, square, massive masonry of Maḥmūd—built apparently in imitation of the former buildings before the heavier style was introduced. Was not the Hindola Mahal one of Maḥmūd's palaces? The answers to these questions will satisfy something more than passing curiosity."

Bengal.—Passing eastward to Bengal, a whole series of important projects has there been taken up. Aśoka's broken pillar near Rampurwa, the separate pieces of which lay half buried in a lonely swamp, is now being raised from its grave and re-erected on the site where in all probability the great Buddhist Emperor himself originally set it up. The weird Jain caves at Khandagiri, crumbling away under their two thousand years' burden of age, have been protected against the further ravages of heat and rain; and the two stone elephants, which lay broken in confused fragments hard by, have been re-pieced and placed upon their feet again, flanking the front of the Gaṇeśa Gumphā, where they originally formed a guard-of-honour. On the summit of

¹ *J. B. R. A. S.*, XIX, 1895-97, p. 168. The great tomb may have been known as *Khān Jahān's tomb* in Maḥmūd's lifetime and before he was buried in it, and this name may have stuck to the building.

the deserted hill of Muṇḍeśvarī the queer octagonal temple which lay half smothered in its own accumulated *débris*, the whole heap overgrown to the very roof with the rank vegetation of the jungle, has been brought back to the civilised light of day, and though the structure cannot now be restored to the form it bore twelve centuries ago, efforts are being made to preserve all the essential features. Similarly, the numerous temples at Bhubanesvar, some of which are in their own way quite unique, have been rescued, not, it is true, from the same advanced stage of disintegration, but still from a condition of more than incipient decay. Portions of the building which by the loosening of stones had become unsafe have been dismantled and rebuilt, as far as possible with the ancient material. The magnificent and costly temple of the Sun God, known as the Black Pagoda, strangely reared six hundred years ago on what is now at any rate a desert of sea sand at Konarak, has sunk into a state sadly different from that which still delighted the world in the time of Abū-l-Faḍl, who wrote: "Even those whose judgment is critical and who are difficult to please stand amazed at the sight." Much, however, has been and is being done to remedy the inroads of time and mischief. The plinth of the temple, which was buried in sand, has been laid open, and is now seen to be full of startling carvings including representations of harnessed horses and wheels, showing that the temple as a whole was designed to symbolise the chariot of the glorious Sun God.

Among the Muhammadan buildings of Bengal—relics of the independent Sultāns who had their capitals at Gaur and Panduah from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century—there was and still is room for much protective and restorative energy. It is the misfortune of these curious buildings, with their soft brick façades chiselled as elaborately as if of sandstone, that the glazed tiles, which form their crowning ornament, excited general covetousness. Much of the spoliation was wrought by Hindus in the early days of the East India Company, for Gaur has always been famous for its glazed tiles, but even to-day the hankering eye of the curio hunter is not at rest. Of course the destruction of Muhammadan masterpieces with the object of securing ornaments for vulgar Hindu buildings is not more reprehensible (nor more common) than the demolition of Hindu architectural trophies to provide decorations for common Muhammadan use. Many indeed of the old Muhammadan mosques were themselves built up with materials plundered from still more ancient Hindu temples. Happily the time has at last gone by when some influential zamindar of Malda could boldly deface a venerable Gaur relic that his new house might be adorned with enamelled tiles. Instead of destruction, we have now re-construction. It is, by the way, a point of some interest that the inscriptions preserved on some of the monuments, combined with numismatic evidence, have served to establish the exact chronology of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal, in place of the muddled tabulation of dates which satisfied the compilers of the native records. At Panduah the striking five-storeyed *mīnār*, evidently an imitation of the Quṭb Minār at Delhi, has lost its topmost storey and its pinnacle, but these are now in the way of being carefully restored. Finally, the famous hill fort of Rohtasgarh and the many curious buildings on the Rohtasgarh plateau, which form the only specimen of Mughal civil architecture in Bengal, have been marked out for preservation, mainly because of the interesting example they afford of the conditions of military life in those unrestful days.

Assam.—In Assam, which belongs to the Bengal Circle, the Archaeological Department has so far done little more than survey the ground, and even the survey is far from complete or exhaustive. Dr. Bloch made a tour of the province in the cold weather of 1902-03, and visited all the principal remains whose existence is known to the Department. These lie in the districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Cachar and Sylhet. One important result of the tour is that a scheme can now be set going for the conservation of, at any rate, the more important monuments. The temple of Mādhava-Hayagrīva at Hajo, 14 miles north of Gauhati, was found to have been badly damaged by the memorable earthquake of 1897. Indeed, it seems a wonder that the building was not altogether razed to the ground as the earthquake was particularly violent and destructive in that region. The relic in question is one of the oldest of all the Assam temples, and is of pre-Ahom origin, dating back to Śaka 1505, which is equivalent to 1583-84 of our era. As for the ancient capital of the Ahom Kings at Ghurgaon, near Nazira, time and the elements have almost entirely obliterated it, and the single notable signpost of its existence is a fine three-storeyed building, which, however, is so overgrown with jungle as to recall to the imagination the nursery story of the Sleeping Beauty. And here it seems worth remarking that the exuberance of wild vegetation in India is such that the fabled magical envelopment of the Sleeping Beauty's palace in a tangled mass of impenetrable forest is a phenomenon that in real life confronts the Archaeological Department again and again. One of the most persistent and insidious enemies the archaeological conservator has to fight is the jungle.

A further proposal relating to Assam concerns the curious remains of the ancient capital of the Kachari Kings at Dimapur. It is estimated that the wall which belted this strange old city was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, but the whole area thus enclosed has long been buried from human sight by a particularly rampant jungle, with the exception of a small corner near the eastern gate which, however, has only lately been cleared. The woodman's axe seems likely to be productive of interesting results here, if funds for exploration can be made available. In any case something, it is hoped, can be done for the curious monolithic *chessman* pillars and bifurcated columns, which now lie scattered about in broken pieces.

United Provinces.—Leaving Bengal and moving up country to the United Provinces we pass into a tract, which is, so far as monuments are concerned, the richest in all India. Here, in keeping with the magnitude of the task, the relatively large sum of Rs.1,58,541 was expended during the year 1902-03 on works of conservation, and of this large amount no less than Rs.1,27,330 was spent in the Agra Division alone. Thanks to the Public Works Department, the results happily are not less conspicuous than the outlay incurred to produce them. Agra indeed can boast of, perhaps, the greatest successes that restoration has ever yet achieved in any part of India—greatest not only by reason of the superlative importance of the monuments themselves, which have been rescued from impending ruin, but by reason also of the exceptional skill of the local masons, which has enabled them to copy the original carvings with scrupulous fidelity. In particular, a most striking improvement in the Fort has been produced by the complete restoration of the imposing frontage of the Jahāngiri Mahall, and of the dilapidated

brick-supported kiosk, which stands on the south bastion flanking its great façade. The quaint square pavilion known as Salimgarh, which adorned the highest point of Agra Fort, was until quite recently used as a canteen, and the better to adapt it to that ignoble purpose the fine arches which open the pavilion on all four sides had been bricked up and fitted with mistri-made doors and windows, while a barrack-room verandah had been built up against the sun. To-day happily the canteen is wiped out of sight, and the pavilion has regained its former beauty—except that the modern whitewash has not yet been removed, because special precautions will be needed to preserve the delicate paintings under the plaster.

In the square surrounding the Diwān-i-Āmm, or Hall of Public Audience, which visitors in the past used to remember only as an arsenal yard and convenient stand for carriages, the military authorities have generously allowed the hideous modern casemates to be demolished and the ancient arcades, which they screened from view, to be restored in their entirety. Only half of the quadrangle has been taken in hand during the past year, but the transformation of this part has been complete. Along with the repair of the *dālāns*, much *débris* has been cleared away, and the old roads and pavement, where the assembled audience stood before the Emperor, brought to light and repaired. Other parts of the Agra Fort have also received their share of attention. The Angūrī-Bāgh and the Machhī Bhawan have both been restored more exactly to their original condition, and at the Pearl Mosque much has been done to obliterate from its pure marbles the traces of rough usage and decay.

At the Tāj Mahall and its surrounding buildings, the work of renovation has been energetically pushed forward. The squalid bazars have been cleared away from its gates. The Fathpurī masjid on the right, and the Saheli Burj, corresponding to it, on the left of the approaching road, have been rescued from a state of sad neglect and once again recall their former selves. The colonnades flanking the approach have been opened out and repaired and the untidy quadrangle, which precedes the main entrance, has been converted into a well grassed and peaceful court.

Within the precinct of the tomb itself the gardens, with their watercourses, fountains and flower beds, have been laid out more strictly in accordance with their ancient designs, and considerable improvements have been made in the water supply of the grounds, while the stately Mosque and its *jawāb* have been structurally repaired and beautified by the renovation of their encrusted ornaments and sculptured panels. Across the River Jumna, the tomb of I'timādu-d-Daulah has been crowned again with its graceful balustrade of perforated marble, and much of its inlay of precious stones has been repaired; and at Sikandarah, in the main gatehouse of the Mausoleum of Akbar, the bold designs of coloured stonework have been renewed and another of its gates, which must inevitably have collapsed in a few more years, has also passed into the repairer's hands.

Outside Agra, the most important operations of the year have centred at Lucknow, Allahabad, and in the Bānda district. In Lucknow the most interesting undertaking was connected with that almost modern memorial of heroic history, the Residency. The bruised and battered condition of the once massive walls and the crumbling state of the more decayed portions of the ruins are too well known to need any description here. To the violent damage inflicted by shot and shell during the

great siege, much wanton injury was added by the chagrined mutineers when the Residency was evacuated in November 1857, after the final relief. Since then, for nearly half a century, rain, and wind, and weather have carried on a more peaceful but not less effective bombardment of the old building, until, now that at last the work of conservation has tardily been taken up, the difficulty of making up for past neglect is immense. To restore the building out and out would of course be a comparatively straightforward task; but obviously neither reason nor sentiment would permit any solution of that sort. What has to be done is not to repair damage, but carefully to preserve all evidences of damage for the glory of the tale it tells. The Residency after, not before, the Mutiny is the spectacle that alone will thrill the visitor, and it is this picture which the Archaeological Department has striven to fix and to perpetuate without betraying its handiwork. Two clear objects were placed before the Public Works Department:—(1) to preserve, as far as possible, the existing appearance of the ruins and prevent the obtrusion of any sign of new work, whether woodwork, brickwork, or plaster; and (2) to preserve carefully all holes made by shot or shell, and yet somehow to prevent the broken walls from yielding to further decay. The methods adopted to give effect to these instructions are worth stating, as illustrating the difficulty of carrying out elaborate works of preservation and at the same time of avoiding obtrusive evidences of artificial bolstering:—

(i) The mud in the old joints in the brickwork was raked out to a depth of about 2 inches; one inch of which was replaced by good lime mortar, and the other inch left vacant. This treatment of the joints serves to prevent further damage from rain beating in and washing out the cementing material, and is entirely unobtrusive.

(ii) The ends of all plaster work have been finished off with a slope of good lime mortar to prevent water getting in between it and the wall.

(iii) The tops of all walls have been cement-plastered and given an outward slope from the centre, to ensure no water lodging on the top.

(iv) In many cases over doors and windows the wooden bressummers supporting the superstructure were in imminent danger of collapse. In these cases iron bressummers have been carefully inserted without disturbing the superstructure. There is still some of this work remaining to be done.

(v) In cases where brickwork repairs were absolutely necessary to avoid collapse of any portion of a structure, the greatest care has been taken always to use bricks similar to those of which the Residency was built: the joints being treated as described above.

Anyone revisiting the Residency now would probably say that he could see no difference in the condition of the building, and this would be the greatest compliment he could pay to the repairer, whose one idea has been to avoid all outward semblance of patching up a ruin.

In addition to the Residency, three other buildings of archaeological interest in Lucknow have been brought into the programme of conservation—namely, the Dilkushā Palace, the Sikandar Bāgh gateway and enclosure, and the Jamī Masjīd. As, however, the work in all these cases is still in progress, detailed reports are reserved. Of the Jamī Masjīd it may be incidentally remarked that its repair has been undertaken rather in the interests of the Muhammadan community than of Archaeology, since the

building is of a late inferior style and decorated with plaster and paint in execrable taste. Mention should also be made here of the partial repair, which has been carried out during the past year, of the Nawābī Bridge at Lucknow. The repair of the central span has not yet been undertaken, owing to the great difficulty and danger of the work, and it is an open question whether the undertaking can ever be completed.

At Allahabad the repair of the tomb of the Sultān Khusrau and of the other mausolea in the Khusrau Bāgh has been very successfully finished.

In the Bānda District, the stone steps on the hill ascent to Kalinjar Fort have been repaired, and the approaching footpaths cleared. The broken pieces of the statue of Viṣṇu lying on the Nāga have been put together. The battlements of the Fort have been restored in places, and some 1,000 trees cut out of the masonry of the walls. At Jaunpūr, in the same neighbourhood, the enclosure of the Sharqī Kings' Tombs has been repaired.

Punjab.—Coming to the Punjab, we find that, with one notable exception, practically nothing was done here towards conservation until the very end of the year under report, when the Local Government made an allotment of Rs. 40,000 with the promise of a like sum annually for the next four years. A further grant-in-aid of Rs. 25,000 was made by the Government of India, and these united resources enabled the Archaeological Department to take in hand the conservation of some important monuments that had long suffered from neglect. The exception referred to is the grand old mosque erected by Sher Shāh within the wall of the old Fort at Delhi, famous for its profuse decoration and rich colour. The repair of this mosque was taken in hand at the instance of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, and the transformation it has undergone has been thorough. The broken marble of the arches and the façade, the damaged sandstone of the walls, and the missing decorative inlay of white and black marble, have all been made good, and the visitor may once more contemplate it with joy instead of with pain. Besides the mosque in the Purānā Qil'a, some 15 other buildings, in all, came under special repair, but owing to the fact that the year was already well advanced when the allotments were made, and that careful plans and estimates had to be prepared and other preliminaries settled in the first instance, only a small proportion of the scheme could be brought to completion before the end of the year. Among the buildings brought under conservation were the mausoleum of Jahāngīr and several other tombs and buildings grouped around it at Shāhdara, the mosque of Wazīr Khān in Lahor, and the exquisite tomb of Shamsu-d-Dīn Taga Khān near Delhi. A full description of these works will be given in a future report. Among the works actually finished should be mentioned the complete repair, involving some small measures of restoration, of the Zinatul-masājīd at Delhi—a mosque once used as a bakery for the troops and for many years in a ruined condition. It has now been put in thorough repair: structural weaknesses have been made good; the whitewash has been cleaned from its marble and sandstone façade and from the aisles within; the falling plaster has been renewed; the roof and courtyard swept of jungle; the approaching stairway rebuilt; and the balustrades around the platform restored.

Of important works in the Punjab not yet finished, special mention must here be

made, by exception, of the recovery from England and restoration to their original places of the famous mosaics which once adorned the throne of *Shāh Jahān* at Delhi. The throne, as is well known, occupies the centre of the north side of the *Diwān-i-Āmm*, or the Hall of Public Audience, of the Great Mughal. It consists of a raised platform of white marble, inlaid with coloured stones, with a marble baldachino, or canopy, above it.

The throne was approached by the Emperor from the back by a doorway, pierced in a recess in the wall. The main feature of this recess was the mosaic work of marble and coloured stones with which its entire surface was adorned. The decoration is more particularly famous for the panels of black marble, inlaid with a variety of coloured stones in designs of birds and flowers. These panels are the sole examples in India of this particular form of technique. The most justly famous among them is one representing the figure of *Orpheus* sitting under a tree, and holding to a circle of listening animals.¹ At the time of the Mutiny in 1857 a good many of these panels, which are quite small, were picked out and mutilated. Twelve of them, including the representation of *Orpheus*, as well as four larger and seven smaller panels, were appropriated by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Jones, and sold by him for £600 to the British Government, who deposited them in the South Kensington Museum.

In 1882 all the inlay in the lower half of the back wall of the recess was restored under the supervision of Major H. H. Cole, the then Curator of Ancient Monuments in India. The work was executed with great care, but unhappily some of the stones employed in the new work matched badly with the originals. The difference between them is particularly noticeable in the background of the panels, a greyish black Indian marble having been used to replace the intensely black and finely grained marble, only procurable in Italy. In some other respects also the new work is inferior, the designs being harsher and the technique coarser. The upper portion of the wall was not repaired by Major Cole, because he hoped that the panels in England might be recovered at some future time, and it appeared inexcusable to resort to artificial renovation so long as the originals were known to exist elsewhere. During the past year a strong appeal for the recovery of these panels was made by the Government of India, and the trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum were kind enough to agree to their return.

It had been hoped that the plaques would reach India in time to be restored for the ceremonies of the Investiture of the two Indian Orders held in connection with the Delhi Darbar, and the occasion would indeed have been an appropriate one on which to emblemise, by the restoration of these mosaics, the generous policy which the Government has now adopted towards the relics of antiquity, as opposed to the proverbial vandalism of earlier days. Unfortunately the plaques did not arrive till the last days of December, and their restitution had to be deferred until after the Darbar. They have now been replaced behind the throne, and many other panels also in the upper portion of the walls, have been cleaned of the *lac* with which they were covered, and their mutilated surfaces repolished. There still, however, remain some

¹ A beautiful chromo-lithograph of this is published by Major H. H. Cole in his Report on the work entitled "Preservation of National Monuments in India." He also gives a general view of the back of the throne.

gaps where panels are partly or wholly missing, and these will gradually be filled up, as opportunity offers, in accordance with the ancient designs. But it will take some time before the precise stones used can be identified and procured from Europe, and it will very probably be found necessary to get the panels executed in Florence or to obtain artists from Italy to do the work in India.

Something remains to be said concerning the date and style of these plaques. Tradition has it that the decoration of the throne was the workmanship of Austin de Bordeaux, the celebrated French artificer, who is said to have been employed by the Emperor *Shāh Jahān* both on his palace at Delhi and on the *Tāj* at Agra. The figure of *Orpheus*, indeed, is pointed out by the native guides as a portrait of Austin de Bordeaux himself. The story seems apocryphal. Perhaps it was suggested by the obviously Italian character of the panel designs; but it should be observed that the black marble of their backgrounds and the majority of the inlaid stones are of Italian, and not Indian, provenance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that they were not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio and afterwards imported into this country.

The arabesques, on the other hand, which decorate the interspaces between the panels, are of pure Indian style and Indian workmanship without a vestige of foreign influence. Mr. Havell, referring to the decoration of the Delhi Throne, in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*,¹ has suggested that it has been wrongly attributed to *Shāh Jahān*'s reign and ought rather to be referred to the early part of the eighteenth century. He rightly insists on its inferiority in point of style to that of the *Tāj* at Agra, and further argues that the naturalistic representations of birds and animals, had they existed in the time of Aurangzeb, would scarcely have been left un mutilated by that iconoclast Emperor. The latter argument is not convincing, since parallel instances may be cited of other figures which must often have been seen by Aurangzeb, yet managed to escape violation at his hands. Nor ought mere inferiority of style to be pressed too far as evidence of date. The *pietra dura* of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign in the Lahore Fort is equally inferior to that of the *Tāj*, and in the case of the Delhi Throne the task of the artists was a peculiarly difficult one. The basis of this decoration was a number of square and oblong panels of varying sizes and of wholly unfamiliar styles. There are few artists who could create an harmonious design out of such material, and least of all a Mughal artist, tied down by the strictest traditions of form and colour, both alike unsuitable to the task he had to perform. With such limitations it is not surprising that the result appears grotesque, or that the arabesques, which serve to combine the panels into a general scheme of decoration, compare unfavourably in style with those of the *Tāj*.

A special reference is also called for here to another work, involving the restoration of *pietra dura*, and carried out about the same time as the work on *Shāh Jahān*'s throne—namely, the repair of the tomb of *Iahānārā Begam*, the faithful daughter of *Shāh Jahān*. The tomb is situated in the same enclosure as the *Dargāh* of *Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya*, but is further enclosed within a marble screen. The grave consists of a simple marble block, slightly hollowed out on its upper surface to form

¹ *Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1903, pages 1039 sqq.—"The *Tāj* and Its Designers."

a small bed in which grass grows; and at the northern end stands a headstone on which is inscribed the famous couplet, written, it is said, by the Princess herself.—

Let naught but green grass ever mantle my grave.
For grass is the coverlet meet for the poor.

The decoration of this headstone had suffered much at the hands of visitors to the tomb. Originally the letters of the inscription were inlaid in black marble, with a foliated border of coloured stones around; but almost all the tessellated pieces had been sacrilegiously picked out, and the adjoining surface of the white marble ground had been much chipped in the process. Of the coloured stones—agate, jasper, and malachite—it was fortunate that some small fragments still adhered in their places; enough to make the restoration certain in every particular.

Regarding the Persian inscription, it seems worth remarking that the text has not infrequently been mistranslated as if the whole were in verse, whereas only the couplet already quoted is rhythmic, and the rest is in prose. The whole inscription may be rendered in English thus:—

He is the living, the everlasting—
Let naught but green grass ever mantle my grave.
For grass is the coverlet meet for the poor.
The humble (and) mortal Jahānārā, disciple of the Chisht lords, daughter of the Emperor
Shāh Jahān Ghāzi. May God endow him with wisdom.

Ajmir.—From the Punjab we go southward again into Rajputana and Ajmir, which is, nominally at least, included within the Punjab Circle. Here, on the side of the Ajmir Lake, the stately marble embankment built by Shāh Jahān has been carefully restored, and the ugly modern offices and bungalows, which offended every sympathetic eye, have been made to yield place to the exquisite marble pavilions of the Mughal Emperor—white and spotless as when first erected. The embankment is now largely visited by both Hindus and Muhammadans, who appear to enjoy and appreciate the transformation that has been effected there. At Ajmir also, the Arhāi-din-kā-jhomprā Mosque, which, according to Cunningham, is the finest specimen of the early Muhammadan mosque that now exists, has been rescued from a sad state of dilapidation. The domes have been replaced, the tenements of squatters have been bought up and cleared, the cloister walls have been strengthened, and various missing pillars have been restored.

Madras.—Passing still further south into the Madras Presidency, we come to a region almost barren of narrative so far as the present chapter is concerned—a fact which certainly can afford no ground for satisfaction. Much attention has, it is true, been given, at the desire of the Viceroy, to the interesting temple at Sompalle, built in the floriated Vijayanagar style, with its exquisitely carved four pillared marriage hall, and graceful *dīpdān* or lamp column, in front; and some solicitude has also been exhibited by the local Archæological Surveyor for the preservation of the old wall at Madras (or what remains of it) which encircled the ancient town and marked the limits of civic responsibility imposed upon old Pedda Naidu, the watchman, in quaint pre-Company times. But when the story of these two monuments has been

told—and the special articles on the subject tell it adequately—the sum total of the conservation work in Madras has practically been stated.

If Madras were a country generally devoid of archæological interest, there would of course be nothing either remarkable or regrettable in bygone archæological inactivity. But the very opposite is the case, and it is a matter for wonderment that the conservation of the fine galaxy of ancient monuments for which the Southern Presidency is famous should not have appealed more strongly to the genius of the Local Government. During the last twelve years, that is, since the Acting Governorship of Mr. Garstin in 1891, official responsibility in the matter in question has in theory been limited to the maintenance of one hundred typical examples of the various classes of architecture represented in the Presidency, and in practice the preservation even of these has been carried on in a desultory manner. As far as the Archæological Department is concerned, its energies have been directed to the preparation of sundry drawings and to exploration, rather than to conservation. A complete change in this policy has now happily been inaugurated, and a more liberal programme adopted. During 1903-04 a sum of nearly Rs. 20,000 (about ten times the amount hitherto given to the purpose) has been allotted to Archæology, and effective measures are accordingly being prepared for a comprehensive scheme of conservation. Madras names of places look a little formidable to unfamiliar eyes, but Southern Indian Archæologists will appreciate the statement that a large plan of campaign seems to await execution at Mahādānapuram, Ratnagiri, Śivāyam, Śuṇḍakkā-Pārai, Muśiri, Perambalūr, Samayāpuram, Tiruvallarai, Nārtāmalai, Arumbāvūr, Vālikaṇḍapuram, Āduturai, Uyyakoṇḍān, Śrī Raṅgam, Jambukēśvaram, Uṇaiyūr, Trichinopoly, Vijayanagar, Velluru, Kāñchipuram, and Tānjāvūr.

Burma.—Lastly, in Burma, conservation works have been in progress at the two towns of Mandalay and Pagān, but it is the Palace and Fort at Mandalay that have been, and still are, the central figures in the Archæological programme. The Palace was originally built at Amarapura by Shwe Bo Min in 1845, and was removed with almost American boldness, to Mandalay by King Mindon in 1859. During the last three or four years the Archæological Department has been very busy here, and the rebuilding of some of the missing *pyathats*, or pavilions, around the Fort walls, and the drastic sweeping away of the various offices, private quarters, and other evidences of British occupation from the Palace precincts, will be found duly described in the special article devoted to this subject. It may appropriately be mentioned here that local opinion does not unanimously endorse the conservation of the Mandalay Palace, and that the ground of disagreement usually urged is that the building, being of wood, is necessarily doomed to early decomposition. Compared with more solid and enduring memorials of stone, the Mandalay Palace, constructed entirely of wood, may indeed seem wanting in some of the elements of permanence. But permanence is relative, and, at any rate, the hope may be confidently entertained that the moderate scheme of conservation now in hand will preserve the palace intact for fully a hundred years. Is a century of extended existence too small an end to justify the effort? When we remember that the palace is the one and

only example of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese Kings; that it embodies some of the finest examples of Burmese wood carving anywhere extant; that since royal patronage passed away with Thibaw the glorious skill of the native decorator languishes for want of encouragement; that under the uninspiring influence of Western utilitarianism, the great Palace in Mandalay almost alone remains to keep alive the ideals of the depressed craftsmen; and that the abandonment of this majestic landmark would probably be the signal for a more rapid and hopeless decadence of the wood-carver's craft in Upper Burma — when we think of all this, and when we hear the workmen of to-day acknowledge the inferiority of their handwork compared with the masterpieces of King Mindon's and King Thibaw's times, can we say that the preservation of the Palace, if only for a hundred years more, is a thing of small account?

The Pagān Monuments call for no very extensive notice here, as an effective scheme for their conservation still waits to be developed. In the meantime, however, some measures on a modest scale have been undertaken by the Local Government for the repair of the Ananda, Gawdapalin, Thabyinnyu, and Shwekugyi pagodas, and for the Manuha and Nanpaya temples.

Before dismissing the subject of conservation, it will be appropriate to refer to the steps that have been taken to secure the preservation of minor and moveable antiquities by instituting small museums in some of the main centres of archaeological interest, and by stimulating local officers to assist in bringing together any objects of value upon which they may chance. This is one of the most important aspects of conservation, inasmuch as many of the smaller monuments scattered about the face of the country are incapable of preservation on the spot where they have been found and often too bulky to be removed to the larger museums which exist only in the capital cities of India; and, even if their removal were practicable, there are few local officers with sufficient general interest in the preservation of antiquities to take the trouble to despatch them to some far off Museum, where they themselves may never have the opportunity of viewing them again. The Museums which have recently been arranged for — all, it should be added, at the instigation of His Excellency the Viceroy — are at Malda in Bengal, at Pagān and Mandalay in Burma, at Bijapur in Bombay, at Sarnāth near Benares, at the Taj in Agra, and at Peshawar in the Frontier Province. The districts in which these Museums are placed are sufficient guarantee that they will be rapidly stocked with interesting and valuable antiquities. Already in Pagān the efforts of one native assistant and the outlay of a few rupees have brought together a collection of inscriptions, idols, terra-cotta plaques, enamelled tiles and the like, of first rate importance. By the institution of such collections it may be hoped also that the attraction of visitors to these localities will be increased, that fresh light will be thrown on the groups of monuments with which they are connected, and that the minor antiquities themselves, which go to make up the collections, will be studied to a greater advantage on the actual spot where they have been discovered, than they could be, if dissociated from their surroundings in some distant Museum.

J. H. M.

SĪDI SAYYAD'S MOSQUE, AHMEDĀBĀD.

THIS mosque, which is situated in the north-east corner of the Bhadr, or royal enclosure, at Ahmedābād, is notable for the two remarkable perforated windows which adorn it, and which have become world-famed. For many years it has been used as a Government Office, and its interior has been inaccessible to the public. The windows, therefore, which are inserted in the back wall of the mosque, could be viewed only from the outside. They are flanked by others of the same shape and size, filled with geometric tracery, which, with three more in the south end of the building, would themselves suffice to make the mosque a distinguished building. In the north end are three empty spaces for similar windows, but a close inspection of the openings shews that they were never inserted. The unfinished *mīnārs*, which have not been carried above the roof of the mosque, also indicate an abrupt termination and abandonment of the work. Some think there was a third tracery window above the central *mīhrāb*, and between the two existing ones, where the space is closed with plain ashlar masonry. It is certainly possible that the builder intended to put in a third, and, perhaps, a still more superb window, in this space, and that when the work was abandoned, the space was walled up in order to make the mosque fit to worship in. The three open spaces were left in the north end did not so much matter as they were not upon the sun or winter side.

The actual date of the erection of the mosque is not known. "Sīdi Sayyad, according to Sir Theodore C. Hope, was a slave of Aḥmad Shāh's, who, like many of his race, rose to wealth and power. This is the tradition, but there is no record to corroborate it, and the style of the building does not accord with that of the Royal tomb and Rānī's Ḥazīrah which belong to the latter part of Aḥmad Shāh's reign. The introduction of the archings between the piers to support the roof, alone seems decisive against a date in the fifteenth century; but whilst it is probably subsequent to the tomb of Shāh 'Ālam, it may belong, at earliest, to about the end of Maḥmūd Shāh Bigarah's reign, though possibly later."¹

In Marāthā times the mosque was desecrated and allowed to fall out of repair, and later on it was converted, under British rule, into a treasury and record-room for the

¹ *Ahmedābād Architecture, A.D. 1412—1520* (Burgess), page 41.

local magistrate, the Māmlatdār of Daskrohi *tālukā*. To fit it for this purpose the whole front was walled up, modern windows and doors were inserted, cross walls and iron-barred partitions were added, the great perforated windows were walled up from behind, and two of the *mīhrābs* were converted into presses. The space before the mosque was closed in with surrounding out-houses and shut off entirely from public view.

The windows which have become so famous, have been drawn, photographed, and copied in wood-work times without number. "One of these windows was injured slightly at the apex when taking down the platform which was put up by Mr. Purdon Clarke for the purpose of paper casts being taken about five years ago.¹ The damage has grown since then, owing probably to the stone having lost its cohesive properties from age and birds trying to make their nests there. The sooner the damage is repaired the better. Mr. De Forest, an American gentleman, had *facsimiles* made of these windows in wood. One of them is now in the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, and the other is in New York."

In October, 1900, His Excellency the Viceroy visited Ahmedabad, and shortly afterwards, at Poona, gave me instructions to proceed to Ahmedabad, and, among other things, to see that arrangements were made for the restoration of the mosque to its original state and all necessary repairs carried out. This necessitated a new office being built for the Māmlatdār, and thus the carrying out of the work was delayed until estimates had been prepared for the new building and sanctioned, funds allotted, and the new building erected.

The restoration was to include the demolition of all added walls and partitions, window and door frames, out-houses and walls and gate. The whitewash was to be removed and the building thoroughly cleaned, and the broken part of one of the great windows was to be very carefully mended. All this was eventually accomplished, and we have now added another object of interest to the city, a building of which it can rightly be proud. The whole front is open to the road with a spacious courtyard before it. The exquisite lace-like tracery of the great windows, as seen from within, with the light filtering through the delicate filigree work, and backed by the glory of the setting sun, is something worth going back to Ahmedabad to see.

But, alas! with the permission to the Muhammadan community to use it under certain conditions, the building is likely to suffer at the hands of the worshippers unless a close watch is maintained. When I was at Ahmedabad, the first time after the restoration, they had stowed away the ugly bamboo frame-work of one of their great *tābūts* in one corner, and although I had it removed, it was again put back with, I was told, the permission of the Collector.

The accompanying photographs show the building before and after restoration. The first was taken in a very confined area, not far from the south-east corner. I was unable, owing to the out-houses pressing so closely upon it, to get a photograph from the front. However, sufficient of the front is seen to show the manner in which it had been walled up.

¹ Extract from Mr. Crawley Polvecy's *Scheme for the Protection and Conservation of Ancient Buildings*, Published in 1886.



(a) BEFORE RESTORATION. (b) AFTER RESTORATION.

23

SĪDĪ SAYYAD'S MOSQUE, AHMEDĀBĀD.

33

Attention was called to this mosque by Major H. H. Cole, R.E., in his report of the 5th July, 1881, when he held the appointment of Curator of Ancient Monuments in India. He wrote "*The clearing and cleaning of its disfigurements and impedimenta are urgent remedies which I strongly recommend to Government*"; but, to place the building in a suitable condition, an office will have to be provided for the Māmlat-dār." (The italics are his.)

The total cost of the restoration of the mosque amounted to Rs. 1,702.

HENRY COUSENS.

THE MOSQUE AT THE GOL GUMBAZ, BIJĀPUR.

IT was the custom, when a great tomb was built, to add a mosque and a tank for the private use of members of the household of the deceased, and this custom was so thoroughly carried out at Bijapur that in some cases—notably the Ibrahim Rauza—there is nothing to choose between the tomb and the mosque, whether in point of size, execution, or embellishment. The great Gol Gumbaz, the tomb of Mahmud 'Ādil Shāh, built in A.D. 1656, formed no exception to the rule, and beside it, on the west, stands one of the best proportioned and best built mosques in the city,—a mosque which, had it not been dwarfed by the overshadowing mass of the great tomb, with its enormous dome, one of the largest in the world, would have commanded far more attention and respect than has fallen to its share. Its beautiful cornice, its slender graceful *minārs*, still perfect, and its noble façade combine to make it a building of much higher artistic merit than the tomb to which it is an adjunct.

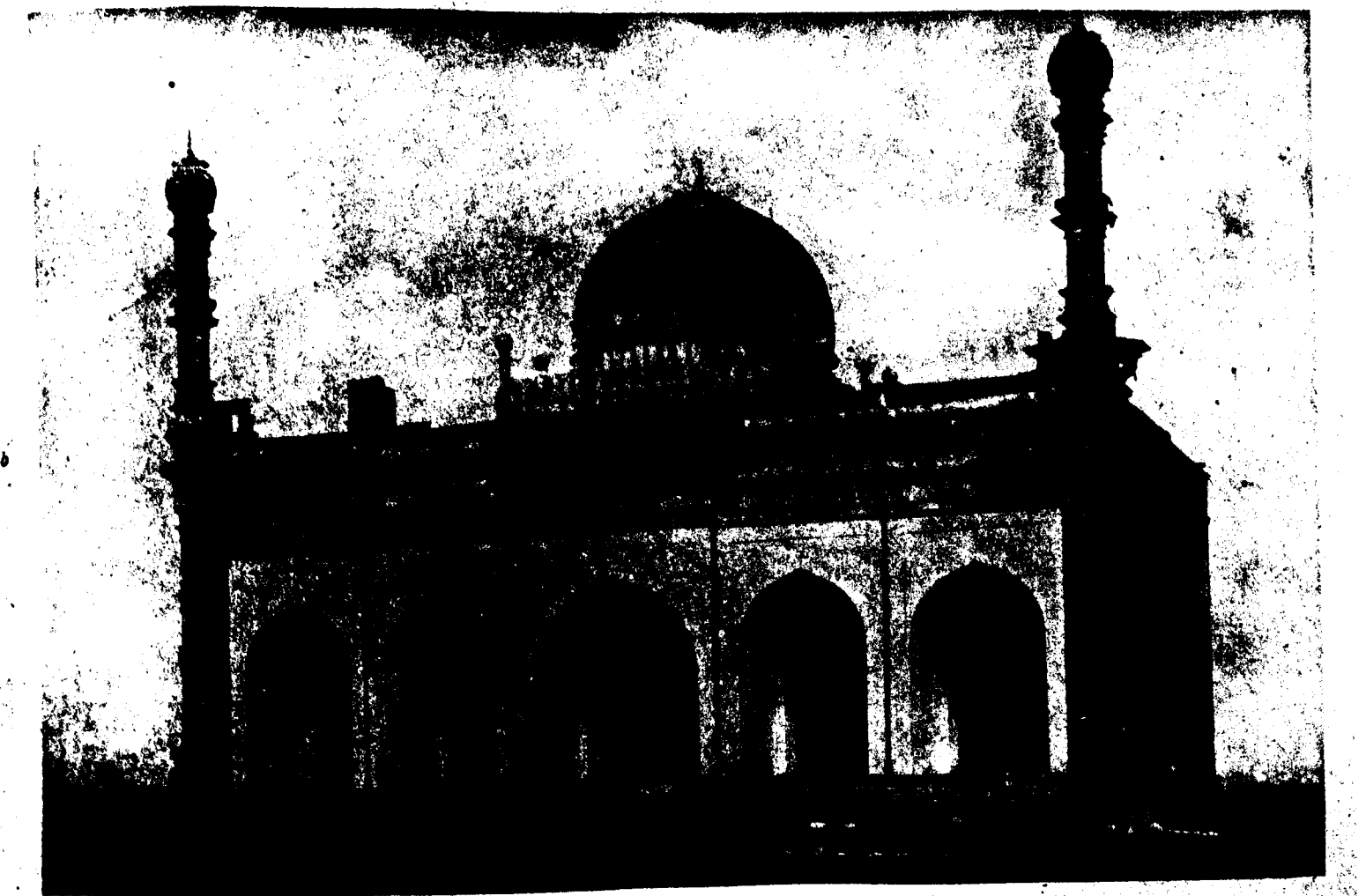
But the hand of the utilitarian had fallen upon it. Major H. H. Cole, R.E., writes in his report of the 26th May, 1881:—"The adjoining mosque to the west is a building of interest which should be preserved. During the famine of 1876-77 part of the interior was enclosed for an irrigation office, and I learned, during my visit in March, 1881, that it is proposed to convert it into a travellers' bungalow *a proceeding which I consider vandalistic and disfiguring, and which I strongly advise may be counterordered. The mosque should be cleared of all the enclosing walls and left as originally built and designed.*" (The italics are his.)

Cross-walls were built between the piers, enclosing spaces sufficient to form four suites of rooms. These were even carried forward on one side to the front arches, but were subsequently removed. Bathrooms were added at each end of the façade, as will be seen in the accompanying photograph, and the back of the central *mihrab* was knocked out in order to insert a back door giving access to some cookhouses situated at the back. As if this were not enough, a proposal was made in 1898 to pierce the solid masonry of the back wall of the mosque in order to introduce two additional windows. This I unhesitatingly vetoed.

I had several times urged the necessity of restoring the mosque, but want of funds

MASJID AT THE GOL GUMBAZ, BIJAPUR.

PLATE II.



(28)

to build a new travellers' bungalow was always the reason for postponing it. In my Progress Report for 1899-1900 I brought it forward once again, when it was proposed to convert the Yāqūt Mahal into a travellers' bungalow, but nothing more was done until His Excellency the Viceroy visited Bījāpur on the 10th November, 1900, when he gave instructions for the restoration of the mosque to its original condition. This order was subsequently carried out, and the second photograph shows the mosque as it appears to-day.

The beautiful deep cornice which spanned the whole length of the façade between the *mīnārs* had for some years past given us trouble, owing to much of the stone rotting and giving way; and the difficult position of the work and the height from the ground combine to make it a risky as well as an awkward undertaking. Much more difficult and risky, however, will be the work of restoring the higher and heavier cornice of the great tomb opposite, which it is now proposed to take in hand. These deep overhanging cornices, so very wooden-looking in their design and mode of construction, have invariably been the weakest points in the buildings. It is evident that the architects and builders of those days were strangers to the Dakhan and unaccustomed to working in the local trap rock, else they would never have dared to use such material for these heavy overhanging and but slightly supported cornices. The stone is of a friable and brittle nature, and when exposed to the air and weather gradually disintegrates. It is very unequal in quality, for we often find in a great expanse of well-built and well-weathered walling a single stone here and there that has completely rotted away. The harder and better basaltic trap is a good building stone in block, but for unsupported, or poorly supported, brackets and slabs of large area it is hardly suitable. The builders, who probably came from Northern India, had no experience with it, and the only local buildings they could examine at all, if even they took this trouble, were a few old ruined temples of the Hindūs.

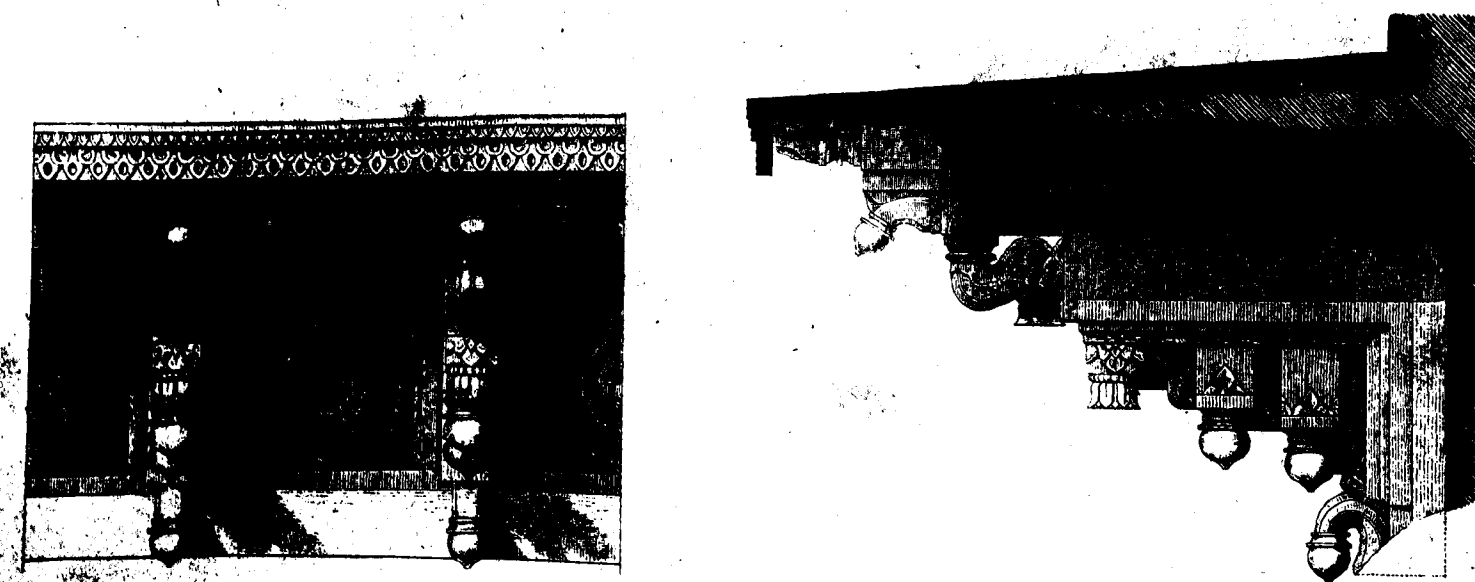
So long as the damaged cornice remained in the state described, it was not only an eyesore but also a menace to the lives of travellers and servants in the building below, since several of the great brackets had already fallen, while others were more or less cracked or decomposed. It was therefore considered expedient to have something done, and in 1895 the Executive Engineer submitted an estimate amounting to Rs. 876 for renewing certain brackets, removing the very heavy layer of concrete upon the cornice slabs, and substituting a much lighter and thinner layer of cement concrete. For various reasons, the famine being one, the work progressed but slowly. Later, at the beginning of 1898, Mr. Ahmadi, the new Executive Engineer, examined the cornice and came to the conclusion that his predecessor's estimate was inadequate. He framed two alternative estimates, one for complete restoration, costing Rs. 3,027, and the other for propping up the cornice with teakwood struts as a temporary measure, costing Rs. 271. In December 1898, Government, in the Public Works Department, referred the matter back to the Superintending Engineer asking whether the building was of such architectural beauty as to justify the expenditure proposed; if not, whether it would not be better to remove the cornice altogether, in the meantime substituting corrugated iron for the slabs. Then followed two more alternative estimates in one of which it was proposed to preserve that part of the

cornice above the south bay of the façade, as a sample of the whole, dismantle the rest and stack the stones upon one side; while the second provided for teak supports by means of longitudinal beams and struts bearing upon a projecting moulding on the wall below, and screwed back by bolts let into the wall masonry.

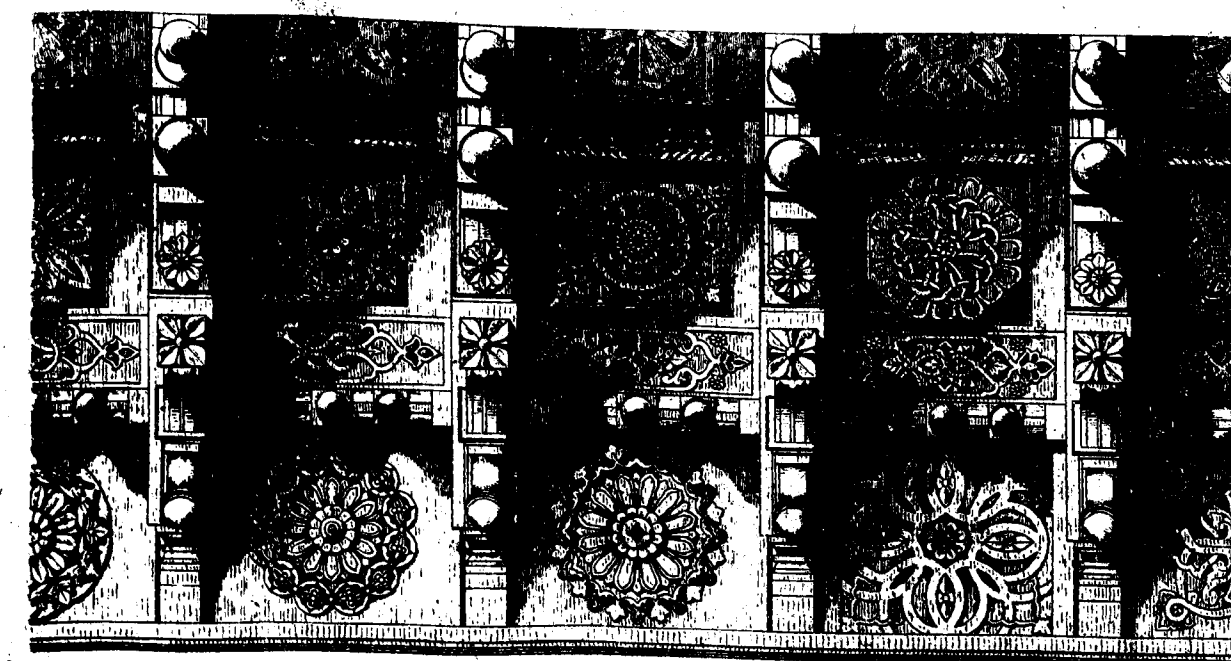
The Superintending Engineer stated that he considered both the building and the cornice of considerable beauty, but that the appearance of the building was marred by the partition walls within which formed rooms. The cornice, he said, was one of the finest in Bijāpur, overhanging to the extent of 8½ feet, and having a greater projection than any other except that of the Gol Gumbaz. He approved of the retention of the south bay as a sample, but disapproved of the use of corrugated iron. He had no objection to the proposal of the Executive Engineer to retain that portion of the cornice over the central bay as well. He submitted three tracings with estimates for Rs. 248, Rs. 600, and Rs. 309, respectively, for three different methods of supporting the portion of the cornice to be retained over the south bay. He considered the rates in the previous estimate for restoring the whole cornice too low for the class of work desired, and forwarded a revised estimate for Rs. 4,504. Upon the correspondence being forwarded to me for opinion, I replied that, much as I should wish to see the whole cornice restored, I thought we must be content at present with preserving a part only, and that the dismantled stones, instead of being thrown down as proposed, should be laid upon the roof above, where they would be secure from pilferers, and save re-lifting, if, at a future time, the cornice should be wholly restored.

In the end the damaged cornice over three bays was removed, while that over the south and centre bays was retained and supported by teakwood struts and beams.

HENRY COUSENS.



ELEVATION AND SECTION OF CORNICE.



SCALE OF 12' 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET.

PLAN OF CORNICE, LOOKING UPWARDS.

CONSERVATION IN BENGAL.

ALTHOUGH the modern provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—and especially Behar—have under other geographical designations played a part of great interest in the ancient history of Hindustan, the archæological relics of the eventful past which the ravages of time and of vandalism have spared, are in number less considerable and in character less important than the striking monuments found in most other parts of historic India. That many architectural remains of a bygone glory lie beneath the soil is indeed probable enough, but the spade of the explorer has yet to prove whether anything of the buried past may still be reclaimed. Here, as elsewhere, the Muhammadan invaders were wont to signalise the subjugation of territories by demolishing Hindu and Buddhist shrines and temples, and employing the materials in the building up of mosques and tombs.

It was the more fortunate fate of the more remote province of Orissa to enjoy a relatively long spell of independence free from foreign inroads, and the result is visible to-day in the survival of a number of mediæval Hindu temples, which in their completeness afford striking illustrations of the artistic taste of their period. Bengal proper and Behar, on the other hand, formed the outposts of the Mughal empire, and the local viceroys were stern soldiers, not luxurious monarchs, having either no artistic bent or no inducement to indulge it. It was only the independent Muhammadan kings, who, feeling that the lustre they shed was their own, adorned their capitals at Gaur and Panduah with elaborate works of art; and these buildings, notwithstanding the vandalism of later days, still commemorate the pomp of their fallen majesty.

But when all this is said, it is still true that the Lower Provinces contain a number of ancient monuments which, if less widely known and less generally visited than the celebrated buildings of other provinces, deserve to be carefully maintained, both as worthy memorials of a bygone power, and as objects of scientific interest to students of archæology. The aim of this article is to convey some general idea of the time, the style, and the artistic features of the principal of these monuments, and of the conservation work which has been undertaken to arrest the creeping process of ruin. The four sections into which the present article has been divided are based upon a classification of the buildings according to period and style. Section I deals

with the most ancient remains, belonging to a period ending with the rise of the great Gupta empire, or approximately 300 A.D. Next come the mediæval monuments, which carry the historical connection up to the first Muhammadan invasion, or about 1200 A.D. Section III embraces the period of independent Muhammadan rule in Bengal; and the buildings of the Mughal empire form the subject of the concluding section.

SECTION I.

EARLIEST MONUMENTS.

The Aśoka Column near Rampurwa.

The northernmost of the four pillars erected by Aśoka along the course of the Gandak is generally called the Rampurwa pillar, and is situated in the Shikarpur *thāna* of the district of Champaran, about 37 miles north of Bettiah, close to village Pipariyā. Rampurwa is a small *tolah* or hamlet a little west of the pillar, and locally the column is well known as *Pipariyā-kā-laur*.

The pillar was first discovered by Mr. Carley in 1877-78, but his report was not published until 1885 in Volume XXII of General Cunningham's Reports; whereas the report by Mr. Garrick, who visited the pillar three years later than Mr. Carley, appeared two years earlier, in 1883, in Volume XVI of the same series. Mr. Carley tells us that he found the upper portion of the capital of a pillar, closely resembling that of the Lauriya one, protruding from the ground in an oblique position and pointing northwards. The lion, which originally crowned the capital, had disappeared, and no trace of it could be found. He dug a long trench on each side of the pillar, up to a depth of 8 feet 8 inches, when water was reached, which soon percolated into the trench. By these excavations about 40 feet of the length of the pillar was exposed, and from the lowest visible point upwards to about 11 or 12 feet an inscription appeared on opposite sides of the pillar, of which Mr. Carley took an impression—since lost. He further noticed, at a distance of some 850 feet to the south, the shattered stump of a stone pillar, about 6 feet in height, standing midway between two low, brick-covered mounds, but it did not occur to him to offer any suggestion as to the possibility of a connection between the broken pillar and this stump.

Subsequently, in 1880-81, Mr. Garrick was deputed to take a photograph of the capital of the pillar, and in order to do this, he states that he had the capital disconnected from the shaft to which it was fastened by a solid barrel-shaped bolt of pure copper, 2' $\frac{1}{2}$ " long, 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ " in diameter at the centre, and tapering slightly towards the ends, where its diameter was 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". This copper bolt was afterwards deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it still is. A lithograph prepared from Mr. Garrick's photograph of the capital may be seen on Plate XXVIII of Volume XVI, Archaeological Survey Reports. At the time of my visit, in 1901, the capital was still standing in the open field close to the shaft of the pillar, apparently as left by Mr. Garrick. Mr. Garrick also made an excavation around the pillar, which disclosed

a portion of the inscription. Of this he took an inked impression, which has been published in Volume II of the *Epigraphia Indica*, together with Professor Bühler's article on the Pillar Edicts. It gives about one-third of the first and larger portion of the inscription, consisting of 20 lines of writing, each of about 20 letters, and containing fragments of Edicts I to IV. The text agrees almost letter for letter with the two Lauriya versions, which in the article referred to are called the Mathia and Radhia Edicts. The shattered stump to the south between two low, brick-covered mounds was also examined by Mr. Garrick, but he distinctly speaks of this as the base of another pillar, the missing portion of which according to him was broken into small fragments and carted away for road-making purposes.

It is, however, beyond any possible doubt that the small stump standing between the two mounds is the base of the same pillar which now lies broken in the field some 800 or 1,000 feet to the north. The pillar, it appears, was overthrown, not by self decay, but by human hands, but the attempt to carry the enormous monolith away had soon to be abandoned on account of the difficulty and costliness of the operation. The lion of the capital may have been broken by the fall of the pillar, and this was evidently the only spoil actually carried away. It seems likely that the pillar was pulled down by the same men who tried to destroy the Aśoka pillar at Lauriya-Navandgarh (Nandangarh), 22 miles south of Rampurwa. This pillar bears the distinct mark of a cannon ball below the capital on its northern face, and as the name of Aurangzeb together with the *Kalima* and the date 1071 (A.D. 1660-61) is inscribed on the pillar, General Cunningham suggests that the injury was done by some jealous followers of Mir Jumla's army, on their way back from Bengal, after the defeat of Aurangzeb's brother, Sultan Shujā'.

Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the small base between the two mounds marks the original site of the pillar, and that the broken shaft, together with the capital, should be re-erected on this spot, and I submitted a suggestion accordingly after my visit to the pillar in November 1901. I then found the pillar lying in a trench, evidently the excavation made by Mr. Garrick, but the stone must have sunk much deeper into the swamp, as only 20 feet of its upper portion was above ground and the inscription was entirely hidden below water and swamp. My suggestion was readily taken up by the Local Government, and estimates were called for. A closer examination of the broken shaft showed that it could not be fixed upon the small base without building supports which would entirely conceal the base, owing to the great difference in width and thickness between the pillar and the base. I accordingly suggested the re-erection of the pillar close to the original site instead of on the old stump. The capital will be re-fixed to the pillar, and the original copper bolt, by means of which it was fastened, will be obtained from the Indian Museum and used again if practicable. An iron railing will be erected around the pillar, to prevent idle visitors from scribbling or scratching their names on it. The total cost of the work is estimated at Rs. 6,300.

It seems probable, I admit, that the inscription on the pillar will be found to contain nothing additional to the well-known Edicts of Aśoka, as the fragment already deciphered agrees closely with the other pillar Edicts: nevertheless, there can be no

question that sufficient interest attaches to the pillar to justify the proposed expenditure.

The Caves at Khandagiri.

The numerous caves which cluster around Khandagiri, a low, double-peaked hill, four miles west of Bhubanesvar, in Orissa, are not to be compared with the magnificent rock temples on the western side of the Peninsula: they are for the most part plain cells of small size, and only a few have verandahs in front, supported by pillars, and with carved friezes. To the antiquarian the most interesting object on this hill is perhaps the *Hāthigumphā* inscription of King Khāravēla, surnamed *Mahameghavāhana*, meaning apparently "one whose elephant is as big as a large cloud," a familiar simile to readers of Sanskrit poetry. It is a purely historical record, the first of its kind in India, resembling in style the Behistun inscription of King Darius. Unfortunately the text was incised into a very brittle rock, offering but little resistance to the disintegrating influences of the climate, and many of the letters have disappeared.

There is, however, one special point of interest about these caves. They all appear to have been made for the religious use of Jains, and for many centuries to have been inhabited by Jain monks. We owe the discovery of this fact to the correct reading and translation of the *Hāthigumpha* and other minor inscriptions by Bhagwanlal Indraji, which formed the subject of an article of the Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden. The *Hāthigumpha* inscription opens with a portion of the usual benedictory formula of the Jains, while another inscription in the Svargapuri cave declares that the cave was made by the grace of the Arhats by the chief Queen of the same King—whose name is lost, but who is said to be the daughter of King Lalāka—for the monks of Kālīṅga. The continued residence in later times of Jains in Khandagiri is amply evidenced by a number of mediæval Jain figures inside several of the caves, as well as by an inscription of the time of Uddyotakeśari (eleventh century A.D.), which records the *kula* and *gana* of Śubhacandra, whose disciple, Kulacandra, occupied one of the caves, and who, like his master, must have been a Jain. There is also a small modern Jain temple on the Khandagiri hill, where once a year a number of Jain merchants from Cuttack foregather for worship. It is true that the older carvings in the caves exhibit no characteristics peculiarly Jainistic, but, on the other hand, not the slightest trace of Buddhism is to be found: tree-worship, elephants, Lakṣmī, the Sun-god, the *svastikā* mark and similar symbols were common artistic devices of all creeds in ancient India. The only Hindu figure that I recall, besides a crude modern wall-painting of Jagannātha, is a rock-cut Gaṇeśa on the back wall of the Gaṇeśagumphā, probably about 800 or 1,000 years old. At that time Hindu monks may have had a share in the occupancy of the caves, but we have no record to show the exact period when the Jains deserted the caves, except a vague tradition in the Puri temple annals, that Madana Mahādeva, the grandson of Coḍaganga, persecuted the Jains and Bauddha *Sādhus* who were staying in the hills round Bhubanesvar, which, if true, must have happened close on the end of the twelfth century A.D.¹

In determining the date of the caves, one has to depend mainly on the evidence of

¹ See page 9 of *Notes on the remains in Dhūli and in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, by Babu Mon Mohan Chakravarti, M.A. Bengal Secretariat Press.

the inscriptions already referred to. The learned Bhagwanlal Indraji was the first to recognize that Khāravēla, in his long *Hāthigumphā* inscription, synchronises the thirteenth year of his reign with the year 165 of the *Maurya-kāla*. The inauguration of this era is now, I believe, universally referred to the coronation of Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, and not, as Bhagwanlal would have it, to the conquest of Kālīṅga by Aśoka. The European equivalent of the date would thus be about 155 B.C. One of the caves, as already stated, was made by the chief Queen of Khāravēla, while others were the gift of a king, whose name has been made out to be Vakradeva and who also calls himself *Mahāmeghavāhana*, and of a prince Vaḍuka, both of whom probably were sons of Khāravēla. We thus arrive at the middle of the second century B.C. as the period during which a number of these caves were made. The style of the carvings inside the principal caves, such as Rāṇī Naur, Gaṇeśagumphā and Anantagumphā, agrees so well with this chronological theory, that I see no reason why an earlier date should be favoured. Yet Babu Mon Mohan Chakravarti, in the report already quoted, which has been printed by Government for private circulation, argues that the simpler and plainer caves must be older than those with elaborate carvings. Numerous instances might be quoted against this presumption. The richness of the carvings and the size of the structures depended probably more upon the liberality of the donor than upon developments of style and taste, and I would prefer to attribute the small and simple caves to a later period, when the royal patronage which the settlement enjoyed during the reign of Khāravēla and his successor was withdrawn.

The mediæval carvings may be assigned to a period ranging from the eighth to the eleventh century A.D., and we have moreover in one of the caves, which contains the largest number of such carvings, the inscription of the time of Uddyotakeśari, which, though not accurately dateable, probably belongs to the eleventh century A.D. But we must at the same time admit that the caves containing mediæval Jain figures need not necessarily be as late as that, for we have in the Gaṇeśagumphā, one of the old caves, an instance of an image of Gaṇeśa having been carved out of the back wall of the cave at a much later date.

I have already referred to the great damage which unfortunately the *Hāthigumphā* inscription has suffered on account of the brittle nature of the rock on which it is cut. To restore the missing portions of the text is of course out of the question, but in order to preserve the remaining parts of this invaluable record, a shade or verandah has been erected in front of it, to keep off the glare of the sun and the torrents of the monsoon—evidently the most destructive factors. The verandah is so built that the inscription, which is just below its roof, can be easily read. But as the inscription is very high above ground and many of the letters have become very faint and indistinct, a visitor will need a scaffolding to enable him to examine the letters more closely. Since the time when Kittoe prepared his eye-copy, about 1835, many letters appear to have vanished, and this copy must therefore be always consulted. It is a marvel of accuracy, considering that Kittoe was unable to understand the inscription. There is also a plaster-cast of the inscription in the Indian Museum, which was made by Mr. A. E. Caddy in 1896.

The steps leading up to the verandah in front of the Gaṇeśagumphā were

flanked by two elephants' statues, each represented as standing and picking up some flowers or fruits with its trunk, a common device in ancient Indian art. Both these statues were found broken and overthrown in front of the cave. They have now been raised up again, and the missing parts of one of them have been restored in correspondence with the other statue. It is evident that the cave derived its name from the two elephants, though, of course, they were not originally meant to be representations of Gaṇeśa, but merely ornamental figures. A very similar elephant statue of about the same date now stands inside a small shrine near the Viśvupad temple at Gaya, where it is worshipped as *Gaya-gaja*. Its origin is unknown.

The *Tantua Caves* are two small cells, one above the other, on the southern peak of the hill, which is called Khandagiri proper, as distinguished from Udayagiri, the northern peak, although the whole group locally bears the generic name of Khandagiri. *Tantua* means a diving bird, and the caves derive their name from some birds which are carved over the arches of the doors as if in the act of plunging into water. The *Tentuli Cave* is close to them. Its name comes from a tamarind tree, standing in front of it. These three caves, although of smaller size and minor importance, belong to the old order and were in urgent need of conservation. Accordingly the broken parts of their pillars and roofs have been repaired, and the rubbish and rank vegetation which had accumulated around them have been removed. The *Satghara Cave*, which is one of those containing mediæval Jain images, has also received the benefit of some repairs. A modern brick structure in front of it was demolished, and a new support to its verandah was built up in the style of the old work. An attempt to clean the interior of most of the caves and especially the carved friezes unfortunately met with less success, but some improvement in this respect has been made. As long as the caves continue to be occupied by modern Yogis and Sannyasis, who cook their meals in them, there is little chance of protecting their interiors against grime; yet an effort to oust the intruders meets with no popular support, as even educated Hindus labour under the idea that structures of this kind can be claimed as of right as residences for ascetics, since that was their primitive use and object.

SECTION II.

MEDIÆVAL HINDU TEMPLES.

The Temple of Muṇḍeśvari.

In the Bhabua sub-division of the modern district of Shahabad, seven miles south-west of Bhabua, is an isolated hill close to the village of Ramgarh, rising above the plain to a height of 600 feet. Ascending the hill along its eastern slope one meets with steps laid out with stones, traces of small brick buildings, statues, rock-carved figures, and other scattered relics of antiquity. Pilgrims have chiselled their names in the rock, and the letters employed belong to a remote time. In some cases they are adorned by shell ornaments, which is, I think, the only true case of the often mentioned "shell-characters."

The temple of Muṇḍeśvari stands on the summit of the hill, and a fair is held there in the month of Caitra. When I first saw the building, it was externally merely a heap of broken stones, the *débris* hiding the walls almost entirely, and leaving openings only around the northern and southern windows and the two doors in the eastern and western side. Jungle and trees grew freely over the roof, and in front of the eastern door stood a few pillars, which evidently once supported a portico. The interior was intact; it was of octagonal shape with a flat roof, and in the centre stood a *caturmukha mahādeva*, or a liṅga with four heads, and an image of Durgā. There were also a large stone chest, probably used for hoarding the temple treasure, and another large stone vessel shaped like a kettle. Though the two statues inside the temple did not appear to be of remarkably great age, the carvings around the windows and doors as well as some detached statues close to the temple bore evidence of belonging to a remoter period, and the writing along the steps furnished additional proof that the place was one of comparatively high antiquity.

Since then the *débris* around the temple has been cleared away, and the structure, or what remains of it, has been laid open. It appears to have formed an octagon outside as well as inside. The principal door was to the east, and another door afforded ingress from the west. There were two windows each in the northern and southern sides filled with latticed stonework, and the intervening mural spaces were provided with small niches for the reception of statues. It is difficult to say now how the roof was shaped, but it must have been crowned by the usual melon-dome, fragments of which have been found among the *débris*. On the left-hand side of the eastern door is an inscription in three lines, in characters of the eighth century. It reads: *Śrī-para-vata-gambhīra-Marucaṇḍa*. I think, however, that the temple is still older, as among the *débris* the second half of an inscribed stone has been found, the first half of which had been sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1891. This stone is dated *Saṃvatsare triṃśatitame Kārttika-dīvasa dvāviṃśatitame* (year 30, the 22nd of Kārttika) which must be referred to the Harṣa era, thus corresponding with 635 A.D. The name of the ruling chief, one letter of which is lost, can be easily deciphered as Udayasena, and the inscription records various donations made to Maṇḍaleśvara, probably an incarnation of Śiva, then worshipped there. There is nothing in the style of the temple opposed to the view that the building dates from about 635 A.D. The statues, which were found among the rubbish, with the exception of one Agni, are representations of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Nandī, Liṅgas, and Ardhanārīśvara and Hari-Hara, the last two on both sides of a pillaster.

Now that the *débris* around this interesting little temple has been cleared away, further repairs will be undertaken within the limit of available funds.

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We possess very few true and reliable data for determining the age of the vast number of temples and shrines which still exist at the sacred *Ekāmra tīrtha* or the *tīrtha* of the single mango-tree. The Temple of *Brahmeśvara*, we know, was built by Kolāvatī, the queen of the King Uddyotakeśarī, who appears to have been connected with the so-called Somavamśī Kings, a dynasty whose copperplates have

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been found in large numbers in Cuttack, the Orissa Tributary States, and the adjacent district of Sambhalpur in the Central Provinces. The inscription, which, together with others to be dealt with presently, was submitted to the Asiatic Society in 1811, but returned to Bhubanesvar in 1838, is now lost. The reign of Uddyotakeśari, of whom we possess a second short inscription from Khandagiri (see above, page 40), probably belonged to the second-half of the eleventh century A.D.

Next in chronological order comes another inscription, which evidently refers to the Temple of *Ananta-Vāsudeva*. It announces that Bhavadeva, a learned Brahmin minister of an otherwise unknown King Harivarman, at the place where the inscription is found, set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa, founded a temple of the god, in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, and Nṛsimha, dug a tank in front of the temple and laid out a garden in its neighbourhood.¹ The temple here referred to is evidently the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva, which is the only shrine in Bhubanesvar dedicated to Viṣṇu. The inscription seems to have belonged to this temple and is still preserved inside its court wall. The date appears to have been about 1200 A.D.

Contemporaneous with it probably was the third and last temple record of this kind. It is now also inside the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, but must have belonged to some other building. It records that a Temple of *Megheśvara* was built by Svapneśvara, a connection and general of the Gaṅga King Aniyāṅkabhima (Anaṅga-bhima) I. That king ascended the throne in 1192 A.D., and reigned for 10 years.² Hence the temple was built about 1200 A.D. There is, however, some uncertainty as to which of the present shrines represents the temple built by Svapneśvara. The Public Works Department have given the name Megheśvara to a temple which Mitra and others used to call Bhāskareśvara, and have conferred the latter name upon another shrine, some 100 feet to the east of it. Probably, however, the last-mentioned temple represents the true Megheśvara shrine, built by Svapneśvara, as the tank mentioned in the inscription still exists close to it, while the other temple has no tank.³

Concerning all the other temples and shrines, reliable records of a similar nature are entirely wanting. It has, accordingly, been the custom to refer to the statements contained in the Mādā Pāñji or the annals of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. What may be gathered from those records with regard to the history of the Bhubanesvar temples will be found embodied into the elaborate descriptions given by Mitra in Volume II of his work on Orissa Antiquities. But none of the records can be relied upon. Mr. Fleet has, I think, conclusively proved that up to the conquest of Orissa by the Gaṅga King Coḍagaṅga the annals contain nothing but pure fiction, and that they cannot be used for historical purposes.⁴ The long line of Keśari kings, who are said to have ruled over Orissa for many centuries and to have built the principal shrines at Bhubanesvar, may be regarded as a later fabrication, containing nothing historical, except a dim reminiscence of two actual kings of Orissa, Yayāti and Janamejaya, but even these have been entirely misplaced as regards

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 204.

² *Ibidem*, p. 200.

³ See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part I, p. 16.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 334, *et seq.*