

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH SERIES

AN ILLUSTRATED ANNOTATED  
ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF  
MAHABALIPURAM  
On The Coromandel Coast Of India  
1852 - 1962

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FIRST PUBLISHED: 1966

SOLE DISTRIBUTORS:

MARICAN & SONS (MALAYSIA) LTD  
321 JALAN TUANKU ABDUL RAHMAN  
KUALA LUMPUR — MALAYSIA

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PRINTED AT SHARIKAT LAZAR & SONS, 13, JALAN SCOTT, KUALA LUMPUR.

# **An Illustrated Annotated Annual Bibliography of Mahabalipuram on the Coromandel- Coast of India from 1582 to 1962**

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## **A. INTRODUCTION**

“Situating on an open sea-beach, within one night’s easy walk from Madras, it [Mahabalipuram] has been more visited and oftener described than any other place in India.” Thus Fergusson in 1876, since when the volume of writings devoted to Mahabalipuram has doubled and trebled. The place is in fact over-publicised, one reason for this being, as Fergusson says, its closeness to the oldest of the former British establishments in India. Since early in the 17th century Mahabalipuram has received a steady stream of visitors—mostly, until fairly recently, Europeans (see Item 1864); antiquarians professional or amateur; art historians; artists; photographers; clerics; soldiers; adventurers; excursionists; some bored, some enthusiastic, some informed, some ignorant, critical, or credulous, but almost all of them bursting to record their impressions of the site.

Much of this writing is speculative, and concerns certain enigmatic features presented by the remains and the legends attached to them, features which exercised a great hold on the imaginations of writers in the past, as they still do today. The questions to which answers were sought, in the order in which they probably occurred (or were suggested) to the average visitor, and in an increasing order of sophistication, might perhaps be listed as follows:

1. Are there temples, or is there a city, under the sea?
2. What is the meaning of the name ‘Seven Pagodas’, by which the place is commonly known?
3. What is the significance of the name ‘Mahabalipuram’? Has the place always been thus called? What should it correctly be called?
4. What does the Great Bas-relief represent?
5. Who built Mahabalipuram? If the Pallavas, which of them? And who were the Pallavas?

Respecting any intention of finding answers to these questions, might we perhaps, as a means of indicating the general character of the bibliographical items which now follow, briefly consider some of the views that have from time to time been put forward concerning them ?

First: that there is a city or at anyrate temples offshore, under the sea, is a belief that dies hard. The earliest writers (Items 1782, 1788(2), 1792) seem to have had no difficulty in accepting it. It is nevertheless intrinsically improbable, since the Coromandel Coast is not subject to erosion of the sort we find on the Malabar side (see Item 1930), notwithstanding what several of our authorities may have said to the contrary. In the 1800's Colin Mackenzie and a Mr. Ellis took careful soundings off the coast (Item 1830), but failed to locate any submerged buildings, and today we hear talk of pilots who have seen them from the air. Nobody seems to have gone down to look (see however Item 1727(2)).

Here are Southey's famous lines on Mahabalipuram *sub mare*, based on Item 1782(2). See Items 1810, 1828, 1850, 1962(4).

"Their golden summits in the noon-day light  
 Shone o'er the dark green deep that roll'd between  
 For domes, and pinnacles, and spires were seen  
 Peering above the sea, . . . . . a mournful sight !  
 Well might the sad beholder ween from thence  
 What works of wonder the devouring wave  
 Had swallow'd here, when monuments so brave  
 Bore record of their old magnificence.  
 And on the sandy shore, beside the verge  
 Of ocean, here and there, a rock-hewn fane  
 Resisted in its strength the surf and surge  
 That on their deep foundations beat in vain.  
 In solitude the Ancient Temples stood,  
 Once resonant with instrument and song,  
 And solemn dance of festive multitude;  
 Now as the weary ages pass along,  
 Hearing no voice save of the Ocean flood,  
 Which roars forever on the restless shores;  
 Or visiting their solitary caves,  
 The lonely sound of winds, that moan around  
 Accordant to the melancholy waves.

Second: the term 'Seven Pagodas' is enigmatic. According to some, the Shore Temple is one (or two) of the seven, the remaining six (or five) being those under the sea (the Shore Temple in fact comprises three shrines). Others say that the Five Rathas, plus the monolithic lion and elephant (Front Cover) constitute the seven pagodas. Others that it is a vague term indicating merely a cluster of prominent buildings seen as a seamark from offshore, and that it originated during the days of the early European navigators of the Coast (see Item 1582); as indeed did the term 'pagoda', which is a corruption of 'Bhagavathi'. Yet other combinations of buildings, adding up to seven, have been proposed.

Third: the name 'Mahabalipuram' was in use when the place first began to be visited by Europeans. There is absolutely no constancy in the spelling, however. Thus we have Mavalivarao (Item 1700(ca) ), Mavelivaram (Item 1753), Mavalipuram (Items 1788(2), 1792), Mauvelivaram (Item 1794), Mahabalipooram (Item 1798), Mawelievarom (Item 1811(2) ), Mauvelepuram (Item 1812), Mahvellipoor (Item 1814(1) ), Mahavellyporam (Item 1814(2) ), Mavalipuram, Mavelipur, Mahavalipuram, Mahavalipur, Mavalipuram, Mahabalipuram, Mavellipuram, Mavaliveram, Mahabalipur, Mahavalipuram (Item 1821(1) ), and so on almost *ad infinitum*. These are all attempts to render the word 'Mahabalipuram'. While few to-day believe the place is in any way connected with the legend of the Great Bali, there seems no positive evidence as to why (or when) the name came into use (see however Item 1917(3) ).

The first version of the name 'Mamallapuram' appears in the European literature of this bibliography as 'Mahamalaipur' (Item 1830), and this is followed by Mamallaipur (Item 1844(1) ), Mamallaipuram (Item 1844(2) ) and Mahamalaipura (Item 1847(2) ). The name is said to be derived from 'Mahamalla', one of the *birudās* of Narasimhavarman I, to whom most modern scholars attribute the founding of Mahabalipuram (see however Item 1962(7), in which this *birudā* is claimed for Rājasimha). In the songs of Tirumangai Āṅṅwār, Mahabalipuram is apparently referred to as Kadal-mallai Talaṣayana, which has been variously interpreted (see Items 1917(3), 1933(2), 1937(2) ); 'Kadal-mallai' literally means 'the hill near the sea', and might be thought to be an allusion to the great granite outcrop in which the bulk of the monuments have been sculpted. Perhaps there is some connection between this 'mallai' and the 'mallai' which enters into such versions as Mahamalaipur,

Mamallaipur, or Mamallaipuram, cited above as early European versions of Mamallapuram; but the entire question seems to me obscure and unrewarding. There is also the question of a possible equation between Ptolemy's Melange or his Maliarpha on the one hand, and Mahabalipuram on the other. Melange, however, which was located by Ptolemy as in the territory of the Aruvarnoi (Tamil, Aruvanadu), and was the next emporium north of Podouke (Pondicherry), lying between it and the Tyna (Palar) River, is clearly Mavilangai, or Ma-ilangai, and designates either the capital or the port (more likely the former) of the petty king Nallyakkodan, who ruled a territory comprising roughly the Villupuram and Tindivanam Districts of Madras State, between the Palar and Pennar Rivers. If Melange refers to the port and not the capital (as Hsuan-tsang attached the name of the capital Kanchi to the port, Mahabalipuram), then it can probably be equated with the Sopatma of the *Periplus*, modern Marakkanum on the border of Chingleput and Tindivanam Districts; it is in any case not Mahabalipuram.

Maliarpha is probably the Mahluph of Mar Solomon of Basra (1222 A.D.), in other words Mylapore (Tam. Mayilarp-pu-il), the famous district in the south quarter of the city of Madras.

Fourth: that the Great Bas-relief represents Arjuna's Penance was the received Vaishnavite tradition at the place, and was accepted by most early writers including Items 1798, 1803, 1813, 1814, 1838, 1844, 1848, 1869, 1881, 1910, 1911 and 1912. Victor Goloubew, in Item 1914(3) first mooted the 'Descent of the Ganges' theory and this was promptly accepted by many more recent writers, including Items 1916(2), 1921, 1927, 1929, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1962(1), but was rejected by Items 1917(3) and 1922 in favour of the older view. Item 1951, by T. N. Ramachandran, is a powerful attempt to re-establish the case for 'Arjuna's Penance', one followed by Stella Kramrisch in Item 1955(1), and by 1962(7). It would perhaps be true to say that most modern writers incline towards the 'Descent of the Ganges' theory, though when scholars of the calibre of Ramachandran (Item 1951) and Nilakantha Sastri (Item 1961(3)) find themselves on opposite sides of the fence, lesser men would probably be advised not to state their views too expressly.

Meanwhile a few aberrant explanations have been offered. That the Great Bas-relief represents the theme of *naga* worship goes back to Item 1783, where it was first argued by Fergusson, while in Item 1914(2) we

find Vogel making the suggestion that it represents the worship of a sacred *tirtham*. In Item 1931(1) Ayyangar subscribes to the view that it represents Śiva announcing the supremacy of Vishnu among the gods. In Item 1929 Longhurst records the view that it represents the scene of Śiva's wanderings in the Himalayas in the form of Bhikshatana, but renounces this, in Item 1956(2), in favour of the 'Descent of the Ganges' theory. Venkataswami, in Item 1947, says it represents a Jain legend, the story of the sons of Sagara who while digging a moat round the Rishabhadeva Temple on Mount Kailasa, managed to flood the world of the *nāgas* beneath. Lastly Bazou, in Item 1955, following Item 1873, claims it represents a scene of *nāga* worship which he calls the 'Ascent of the Nagas'. The present writer has sought to explain certain aspects of the Great Bas-relief in the note accompanying Item 1929 in this bibliography.

Most scholars today agree that Mahabalipuram was built by the Pallavas; though for early sentiments connecting the monuments with Chinese, Siamese, and Greeks, see Items 1700(ca), 1788(2), and 1800 respectively. More recently Sewell in Item 1882(2) thought that they might be the work of the Chalukyas of Kalyanapura, or at least of the Kurumbas working under Chalukyan guidance.

Dispute arises rather over the matter of the origins of the Pallavas, and as to which of them built our monument. In Item 1880 Fergusson suggests that the Pallavas may have come from the north (because of the derivation of certain architectural elements from Deccanese Buddhist rockcut architecture). A similar suggestion is vaguely conveyed in Item 1855(2).

That the Pallavas came originally from Persia is first mooted by Venkayya in Item 1907(2). That they had some sort of connection with the Romans was the belief of Jouveau-Dubreuil, whose first chapter in Item 1917(2) is headed 'The Roman origin of Pallava art'. In Item 1955(4) Dr. Cornelius seeks to prove a racial connection between them and the Lybians or Badarians of the Nile Delta area. *À propos* this last, a certain 'Egyptian' quality in the Mahabalipuram sculptures is, I think, very apparent. It is a frequent cause for comment among visitors.

Whatever the ultimate origins of the Pallavas may have been, there is general agreement among scholars today that during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era they had a polity somewhere in the

Krishna-Godavari delta plain, and that during the next few centuries they moved south through coastal Andhra Pradesh, until they reached the Tondaimandalam, and established their capital about 585 A.D. at Kanchipuram. Possibly they may have had racial connections with the Satavahanas of the Western Deccan, Ma-mala being the name of an administrative division near the Karla *vihāra* in the 2nd century A.D. according to Aravamuthan in Item 1962(8). The name 'Malla' is associated with the port of Mahabalipuram since at least as early as the 6th century.

Our fifth and last question concerns the particular Pallava kings who built Mahabalipuram. In discussing Items 1958(1) and 1962(7), I have set forth what seem to me the basic considerations concerning this problem, and in Item 1933(2) have mentioned a possible methodological objection to Nagaswamy's method as set forth in Item 1962(7). Probably most scholars still believe that Mahabalipuram was founded by Narasimhavarman I, who built his first monuments in the style inaugurated by his father, Mahendravarman; that Mahendravarman II and Paramēśvaravarman I also took a hand, and that Rajasimha added the finishing touch by erecting the structural temples at the site. A few (see Items 1933(2) and 1957(1)) are even able to surmise that Mahendravarman I and Simhaviṣṇu built there.

I feel the reader is perhaps owed some explanation as to my purpose in compiling this minutely and perhaps laboriously detailed bibliography of Mahabalipuram. It began very simply as a list of books compiled for my own reference purposes in the Madras libraries—the Connemara Public Library and those of the Madras Literary Society, the Public Record Office, and the Madras University. As the list lengthened, however, I began to realise that what was emerging was a sort of chart illustrating the gradual growth of knowledge, comprehension, and artistic taste in one particular part of the world during the last two hundred and fifty years, particularly during the Victorian era and its immediate aftermath. At the outset of our period the monumental remains at Mahabalipuram are seen by Europeans as mere curiosities (Item 1700(ca), Item 1727(1)); yet towards the end of the 18th century the attitude changes, and gives place to that benign and erudite antiquarianism which illuminated the early volumes of *Asiatick Researches*, whereby the foundations of European Indology were firmly laid.



As the 19th century advanced, local enthusiasm increased. By the year 1871, for instance, at least two sets of excellent photographs of the site had been completed, both of them still in existence, and surely among the earliest photographic documents of the historical monuments of India (see Plates Six and Seven). In the field of graphic art, some of the best of the itinerant British painters who found a livelihood in India around the beginning of the century, made pilgrimages to Mahabalipuram to register the wild and deserted aspects of the place for lovers of the fashionable picturesque; and some of these are recorded in Items 1808(1) and (2), 1812, and 1820(ca). See also Plates Two and Three.

One major English poet, Robert Southey, was inspired to write the finest of his quasi-historical epics, *The Curse of Kehama*, by reading accounts of Mahabalipuram, probably those that appeared in *Asiatick Researches*. His chill and dismal picture of the deserted city of the Great Bali contrasts strikingly with the glowing and busy prospect revealed by the Tirumangai Alwar, but is close enough to reality sometimes nowadays, as one walks along the deserted shore towards evening, with a dark sky looming overhead, and a chill wind blowing off the sea.

Apart from works of art and imagination such as these, European scholarship made an important contribution to the understanding of Indian art and architecture through its application to the Mahabalipuram site. This was especially true of the nineteenth century, the work of Babington (Item 1830), Braddock and others (Item 1844(1)), Carr and others (Item 1869), Branfill (Item 1881), and Fergusson in his many publications being outstanding. In my comment on Item 1910(1) I sought to show how much had been found out about Mahabalipuram by that time as a result of the work of these scholars.

Co-operation between Indian and European savants at our site dates back as far as the early eighteen-hundreds, with the reports of Mackenzie's Brahmin assistants. One hundred years later we find Indian scholars asserting themselves more and more in publication, so that in the first two decades of this century names like those of V. Venkayya, H. Krishna Sastri, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and the great Ananda Coomaraswamy, mingle freely with those of their European counterparts—Vincent Smith, Hultsch, Jouveau-Dubreuil, Vogel, and Goloubew. During the twenties and thirties a new generation of distinguished Indian scholars took over the elucidation of the site, including O.C. Gangoly, R. Gopalan, T. V.

Aravamuthan, T. N. Ramachandran, Miss Minakshi, and K. A. Nilakantha Sastri; and this tradition still continues in the work of K. R. Srinivasan, R. Nagaswamy, and others.

May I add a plea on behalf of this bibliography, namely that should readers call to mind items of interest on Mahabalipuram, however trivial, belonging either to the period covered by the bibliography, or later, I would be most grateful if they would communicate their information to the editor of this series of publications.

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## B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Item

- 1582 BALBI, GASPARO. See Item 1905.  
"About three of the clocke the next morning [May 30th, 1582] we came to a place which is called the Seven Pagods, upon which are eight pleasant hillockes not very high, which are seven leagues from Saint Thomas, right over against it, where wec arrived about noone the thirtieth of May, saluting it with three Peeces of Ordnance."
- 1672 BALDAEUS, P. *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, also of the Isle of Ceylon*, London 1672, map opposite p. 650.  
'Sevenpagoden'
- 1700(ca) MANUCCI, NICCOLAO. See Items 1907(1), 1962(3).  
"On the coast of Choramandal, near the sea, there is also a rock called Mavelivaraõ (Mahabalipuram), distant four leagues from a place called Sadrasta patao (Sadrasta-patanam; or Sadras), where there are many sculptured fragments resembling Chinese."
- 1708 FORT ST. GEORGE, *Public Consulation*, 23rd December, 1708.  
Mentions a letter sent to the "Supra Gargoe or Comander of the English Ship riding near the Seven Pagodas."
- 1723 DE L'ISLE, G. *Carte des Côtes de Malabar et de Coromandel Présentée au Roy par Guillaume de l'Isle À Amsterdam chez I. Còvens et C. Mortier Geographes*.  
'les 7 Pagodes'
- 1727(1) HAMILTON, A., *A New Account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, p. 357. See Item 1962(3).  
"Near *Connymere* [Kunimedu] are the seven Pagods, one of which, whose Name I have now forgot, is celebrated among the *Pagans* for Sanctity, and is famous for the yearly Pilgrimages made there. The God was very obscene, if his Image rightly represents him, and his Nymphs as lewd as any in *Drury-lane*, if their postures were really figured and carved as they are to be seen on the Outside of the Temple."

Hamilton adds mistakenly that St Thomas' (alleged) persecution began at Mahabalipuram. Hamilton was in Madras and Masulipatam in 1709, but probably at other times as well; and the date of his visit to Mahabalipuram, if indeed he *did* visit the place, is conjectural.

The map opposite p. 143 gives 'Seaven Pagodes'.

- 1727(2) BODDAM, CHARLES. See Item 1913.
- In Volume ii, on p. 206 H. D. Love has a footnote concerning Charles Boddam, captain of the *Charlton*, who brought out to India a 'Copper diving Engine', together with a diver, in order to investigate the wreck of the *Dartmouth*, cast away at Mahabalipuram six years previously. The diver examined the wreck, but reported that the diving apparatus could not be used in the heavy surf.
- 1753 D'ANVILLE, *Coromandel par le Sr. d'Anville Secretaire de S.A.S. Mgr. le Duc d'Orleans Janvier. 1753.*  
'Mavelivaram ou les 7 Pagodes'.
- 1782 SONNERAT, M., *Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait par ordre du Roi, depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781, 2 vols, Paris 1782, vol. i, p. 217.*  
"Le temple appelé *les Sept Pagodes*, qu'on voit entre Sadras & Pondichery, doit être un des plus anciens de la côte de Coromandel, parce que bâti sur les bords de la mer, les flots montent aujourd'hui jusqu'à son premier étage: c'est un phénomène que nous abandonnons aux recherches des Physiiciens."  
Translated into English by Francis Magus as *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China; Performed by Order of Lewis XV. Between the Years 1774 and 1781, 3 vols. Calcutta 1788.*
- 1788(1) HARRISON, J. *Coromandel from d'Anville's Atlas. Engraved for J. Harrison, No. 115 Newsgate Street, London May 8, 1788.*  
'Mavalivaram'
- 1788(2) CHAMBERS, W., "Some account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mavalipuram, a Place a few Miles North of Sadras, and known to Seamen by the name of the Seven Pagodas", in *Asiatick Researches*, vol. i, Calcutta 1788, pp. 145-170.

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

Chambers visited Mahabalipuram in 1772 and 1776, and this is the first systematic general description of the place, much used by later authors. See Items 1792, 1810, 1815, 1821(2), 1846(1).

Of the Great Bas-relief Chambers says merely that the figures represent "the most remarkable persons, whose actions are celebrated in the *Mahabharit*, each of them in an attitude, or with weapons, or other insignia, expressive of his character, or of some one of his most famous exploits." Chambers believed the Mahabalipuram inscriptions to be Siamese.

- 1792 CRAUFORD, Q., *Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning, and Manners, of the Hindoos*, 2 vols, London (2nd edn), vol i, pp. 111-2.

"There are ruins on the coast of Coromandel, near Sadras, called, by Europeans, the *seven pagodas*, by the natives, Mavalipuram...many of the ruins are now covered with water, and when it is calm may be seen under it." A falsification of Chambers' account [Item 1788(2) above].

- 1794 LAURIE and WHITTLE, *A New Map of the Jaghir lands, on the Coast of Coromandel or the Territory belonging to the East India Company round Madras, from an Actual Survey in the Possession of the Company*, Laurie & Whittle, London 12 May, 1794.

"Miah-bali-puram or *Mauvelivaram* i.e. the Seven Pagodas".

- 1798 GOLDINGHAM, J., "Some Account of the Sculptures at Mahabalipooram, usually called the *Seven Pagodas*", in *Asiatick Researches*, vol v, Calcutta 1798, pp. 69-80.

Explains the Great Bas-relief as representing Arjuna's Penance, of which he gives a very sketchy account: "Arjoon his

[Krishna's] favourite, in the Hindu attitude of prayer . . . .” He includes some epigraphical studies and reproductions of inscriptions on the Dharmaraja Ratha. On p. 62 he states that the *lingam* was still in its place in the Ganesa Ratha (see Items 1869, 1881).

- 1800 SAN BARTHOLOMEO, FRA PAOLINO DA, (John Philip Wesdin), *A Voyage to the East Indies: containing an Account of the Manners, Customs, &c. of the Natives, with a Geographical Description of the Country. Collected from Observations made during a Residence of Thirteen Years, between 1776 and 1789, in Districts little frequented by the Europeans*, London 1800, pp. 94-5, 379-386.

“But how shall I describe this master-piece of ancient Indian architecture? . . . Never in my life did I behold a work of the like kind . . . When I visited this place, I was attended by five Brahmins, who all spoke Portuguese, and gave me an explanation of every thing I saw. The information I received from them I immediately wrote down, and paid them five rupees for their trouble.”

On pp. 379-386 he compares Mahabalipuram to Elephanta and Kanheri, regarding them all as contemporary and dedicated to the worship of Mithras. He conjectures that this was an indigenous art, brought neither from Greece nor Egypt, and refutes the view put forward by Gemelli, Careri, and Spillberg, that the Elephanta and Kanheri caves were built by Alexander the Great. He says that they, and Mahabalipuram, were built centuries *before* Alexander's day, and in any case “How could Alexander the Great be capable of building a temple at Mahabalipuram on the coast of Coromandel, a country which he never entered?”

On p. 385, quoting Careri on Kanheri, he introduces the words ‘like that of *Mahabalipuram*’. They do not appear in the original text, which no-where mentions our site.

- 1803 KAVALI LAKSHMAYYA. See Items 1821, 1838, 1869. Explains the Great Bas-relief as representing Arjuna's Penance.
- 1808(1) HOME, R., *Ruins of Mahabalipuram*, oil painting on canvas presented by the artist to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on

February 3rd, 1808 (Cat. no. 27, the companion of Cat. no. 34, below). In the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. About 84 x 60".

The painting shows the Great Bas-relief and the Pāncchapāṇḍava Maṅḍapam.

- 1808(2) HOME, R., ditto (i. e. same title, same size, Cat. no. 34, see above).

A view of the Five Rathas taken between those of Arjuna and Bhīma, showing part of each, and a large scarlet palanquin in the left foreground.

- 1810 SOUTHEY, R., *The Curse of Kehama*, London 1810.

A major scene in this mythological epic is set at Mahabalipuram. See Items 1828, 1850, 1962(4).

- 1811(1) ANNESLEY, G (Viscount Valentia), *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*, 4 vols. London 1811.

In volume 1, p. 331 is a brief mention of Mahabalipuram, ". . . generally called the Seven Pagodas, but for what reason it would be difficult to say, as no such number exists there . . . The visit was made in 1804, in the company of the artist Henry Salt. "I found at Madras that Mr. Salt had taken several views [at Mahabalipuram]; I have given 'an engraving from one of them.'" This engraving, labelled 'Pagoda at Mahabalipuram', appears as Plate 10 of vol. 4, *quarto* (which comprises Salt's illustrations of the tour), and depicts the Olakkanātha Temple and the Mahisasuramardini Cave.

- 1811(2) HAAFNER, M.J., *Voyage dans la péninsule occidentale de l'Inde et dans l'île de Ceilan. Tom i. Voyage de Madras par Tranquebar à Ceilan; tom ii, Voyage fait par terre le long des côtes d'Orixa et de Coromandel dans la péninsule occidentale de l'Inde*, 2 tom, Paris 1811, tom ii, pp. 468-485. First published in 1806 and 1808 as *Reise längst der Kuste von Coromandel*.

Haafner, who was born in 1755, was at Sadras between 1779 and 1781, during which time he says he visited Mahabalipuram on several occasions and made a number of drawings.

At this time Sadras was under British occupation, following the Dutch, and Haafner is quite violently anti-British throughout his text. In volume i, pp. 123-4, is an engraved general view of Mahabalipuram from the sea; facing p. 478 is another showing the Five Rathas and labelled 'Les Cinq Temples de Maweliewarom.' This latter, drawn by Haafner and engraved by Picquenot, though sadly misleading, is perhaps the first published drawing of the Mahabalipuram monuments.

*Plate One.*

- 1812 DANIELL, T. and W., *Oriental Scenery. One hundred and Fifty Views of the Architecture, Antiquities and Landscape Scenery of Hindoostan, drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell*, London 1812-16, three landscape folio volumes.

A typical production of the 'pleasure in ruins' vogue then current in Europe, beautifully done. 'Sculptured Rock at Mauveleporam on the Coast of Coromandel' (the Five Rathas) and 'The Entrance of an Excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauveleporam' (the Panchapandava Mandapam and the Great Bas-relief) are nos. 1 and 2 of the *Fifth Series* (vol. iii) of this extremely distinguished set

In the Catalogue of the collection of prints and drawings in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, no. 1103 is entitled 'Sculptured Rocks, at Mavalipuram, on the Coast of Coromandel', and its date of publication given as October 15th, 1799; several other versions of the engraving are on view in this museum. The Daniells were at Mahabalipuram during parts of 1792-3. See Item 1834.

*Plates Two and Three*

- 1813 GRAHAM, MARIA (i.e. Maria Dundas, Lady Callcot), *Journal of a Residence in India*, Edinburgh (2nd edn) 1813, pp. 155-168.

An exceptional account, embellished with three fine engravings from drawings made by the authoress, viz. The Five Radums (the Five Rathas), Teer (i.e. Tam. *ter* — *ratha*) of Arjoon (now called the Ganesa Ratha), and Tapass (i.e. *tapas*) 1799; several other versions of the engraving are view



of Arjoon (Arjuna's Penance), this last being an etching by Mrs. Graham made from an original drawing of Colin Mackenzie. See Items 1816, 1821, 1850, 1880, 1962(3). Mrs. Graham visited the site in January, 1811.

See Item 1962(3).

*Plate Four.*

- 1814(1) GRAHAM, MARIA (i.e. Maria Dundas, Lady Callcot), *Letters on India*, London 1814.

Mahabalipuram is mentioned on pp. 60-61, and again on pp. 381-382 ('Observations on the Plates').<sup>6</sup> Opposite p. 172 is an engraving entitled 'Vicramaditya at the feet of Kali', showing the 4-armed Durgā panel in Varāha Cave 2. Opposite p. 61 is an engraving of the tall Dolotsava Maṅḍapam, the 'porch of the swinging festival' in which Krishna is (or was) swung on the day after his birthday (mid-March), situated in front of the Śrī Sthalaśayana Perumal Temple. Opposite p. 361 is an illustration of the Varāha panel in Varāha Cave 2, and facing p. 362 is the Trivikrama scene from the same cave, both correctly identified. Facing p. 345 is a depiction of the Somaskānda panel from the smaller Śiva shrine of the Shore Temple, correctly labelled 'Śiva and Pārvati attended by Vishnu and Brahma Choturmookhi [Chaturamukha]. From Mahvellipoor.'

Fergusson, in Item 1880, p. 107, says that Mrs. Graham in her journal and letter "has perhaps done as much as any one to render them [the Mahabalipuram antiquities] popular with general readers."

- 1814(2) HEYNE, B., *Tracts, Historical and Statistical, on India; with Journals of Several Tours through Various Parts of the Peninsula: also, an Account of Sumatra in a Series of Letters*, London 1814

Tract XXI (pp. 333-339) is entitled 'Remarks on Mahavellyporam' and is addressed to a Mr. W. Petrie who accompanied the author to Mahabalipuram. Heyne opines that there is no city under the sea, but that the ridge of rocks some two miles offshore is misrepresented as such (I agree). He does

two hundred years old. He derogates the sculptures: "Let others admire the sculptures on the rock, for my part I consider them as hideous caricatures. The cats resemble byenas; the angels or devatas look like rickety children with big heads and swollen bellies; the heroes have thighs like spindles, while the nymphs and milk maids have waists as thin as their arms." He ends with some interesting remarks on the technique of splitting off the granite slabs. He supports the view that the Great Bas-relief depicts Arjuna's Penance. His visit seems to have been paid about the year 1800.

- 1815 HAMILTON, W., *The East India Gazetteer*, London 1815, pp. 526-527.

Entry under 'Mahabalipuram'. Hamilton's authorities were Chambers, Goldingham, Valentia, Graham, etc. See Items 1788, 1798, 1811(1), 1813, 1814. Second edition 1828.

- 1816(ca) MACKENZIE, C., *Antiquities of Maha Bali Puram*, MS. volume of drawings.

Information regarding this item is supplied by Fergusson, who says (Item 1880): "...in 1816, they [the Mahabalipuram antiquities] had attracted the attention of the indefatigable Colonel Colin Mackenzie, and he left a collection of 37 drawings of the architecture and sculpture of the place, which are now, in manuscript, in the India Office library. Like most of his collections of a similar nature, they are incomplete and without any descriptive text, so as to be nearly useless for scientific purposes." Later, however, he refers to the drawings as "the scientific illustrations of the subject" (p. 106). On p. 153, ftn., he adds: "Col Mackenzie . . . his volume on the Antiquities of Maha Bali Puram in the India Office Library . . ."

Fergusson gives the date 1816 for this MS. It is however certain Mackenzie made at least some drawings at the site before then. See Items 1813, 1821(1), 1850, 1962(4)

- 1820 HAMILTON, W., *A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan, and the Adjacent Countries*, 2 vols, London 1820, vol. 2, pp. 450-451.

Repeats word for word the description in Item 1815.

- 1820(ca) GANTZ, J., *View of a Rock-cut Temple*, water-colour in the collection of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta (Cat. no. R. 2196, dated ca 1820) showing the Krishna Mandapam, the Pañchapāṇḍava Mandapam, and the Great Bas-relief, the viewpoint being nearest the Krishna Mandapam. About 12 x 18".

For more information about John Gantz and son see Item 1872 and Mildred and W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting for the British 1770-1880*, Oxford 1955, pp. 12, 72, 84, 127.

- 1821(1) WILSON, H. H., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and other Articles illustrative of the Literature, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India; collected by the late Lieut. Col. Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India*, 2 vols, Calcutta 1828.

A mass of bibliographical material relating to Mahabalipuram lies scattered in various sections of the Appendix to vol. 2. The pagination is in Roman numerals.

Under the heading "Local Tracts (Tamil, in bound volumes)":

P. xliii (vol. xxiv, no. 1): "Account of *Mavelipur* or Seven Pagodas in the *Arkot* district."

P. xlvii (vol. xxxiii, no. 6): "Remarks on the Temples, Hills, *Mantapams*, Caves, Stone Chariots, Images, &c. at *Mahavalipuram* in the *Arkot* district."

P. xlvii (vol. xxxiii, no. 9): "Legendary account of *Mahavalipur* in the *Arkot* district."

No. 6 is transcribed and translated in printed form in Item 1869, where excerpts from no. 9 also appear, together with an analysis of its contents.

Under the heading "Manuscript Translations, Reports, &ca. in volumes":

Pp. cli-clii (vol. xxi, nos 54-62):

54. "A Map of *Mavalipuram*."

55. "Remarks on a journey to *Mavalipuram*."

56. "Account of the ruins and Sculptures at ditto."

57. "A Letter to Lakshman Bramin from C. Mackenzie."

58. "Historical account of *Mahavalipuram*."

59. "Ancient Sculptures of *Mahavalipuram*."

60. "Particular list of the Gods, Goddesses; *Rathas* or *Chariots*."

61. "Another Map of *Mahavalipuram*."

62. "An Extract of ditto."

Under the heading "Unbound translations. &c. Class II *Tamul* [Tamil]".

P. clxxxviii (no. 16): "Accounts of *Sadringapatnam*, *Mahabalipuram*, *Pudupatnam* and *Vedapatnam*."

P. clxxxxi (no. 63): "Ditto [i.e. Account] of the ancient city of *Mahabalipur*."

Under the heading: "Unbound translations, &c. Class XII. Letters and Reports. *From Native Agents employed to collect Books, Traditions, &c. in various parts of the Peninsula*":

Pp. ccx-ccxii (no 22): "Ditto of ditto [i.e. Report of Subarao] on a journey to *Mahabalipuram* 16th April 1810."

P. ccxii (no. 53): "*Babu Rao's* report on a journey to *Mahabalipur* from 8th to 27th October 1816."

P. ccxii (no. 57): Report composed by *Appavu*, respecting the account and Traditions of *Mahabalipuram*."

P. ccxii (no. 58): "Ditto by *Appavu*, second journey."

P. ccxii (no 59): "Ditto by ditto, third journey."

P. ccxii (no. 60): "Journal and Report of *Appavu* on his fourth Journey to *Mahabalipuram* and from thence through the *Jagir* and the *Arcot* districts from October 1818 to the 29th May, 1819."

P. ccxii (no. 73): "Journal [? of Subha Rao] from Madras to *Mahabalipuram*."

P. ccxii (no. 80): "Ditto [i.e. Report] of C. V. Ramaswami's Journey to *Mahabalipuram*."

Under the heading "Unbound translations, &c. Class III":

P. cciv (no. 17): "Translation of an inscription in the pagoda of *Sthala Sayana Swami* at *Mahabalipuram*, no date."

P. ccv (no. 36): "Ditto [i.e. translation of an inscription] in *Tamul* on the base of the *Vagana Mantapam* at *Mahabalipur*."

Under the heading "Ancient coins".

P. ccv (no. 40): One hundred and seventy Coins found at *Mahavalipur* and *Cudapa*."

Under the heading "List of Plans":

P. ccxxii (no. 39): "Plan of *Mavellipuram*."

Under the heading "List of Drawings":

P. ccxxiii (no. 14): "Ditto [i.e. Drawings] of *Mahabalipuram*. 42 [originals] 29 [duplicates]" (See Items 1813, 1816, 1850, 1962(4) ).

P. ccxv (no. 40): "Ditto in ditto [i.e. translation of an inscription in Tamil] at *Chellavamkupram*" in the *Zillah* of *Kayur* 3 miles north of *Mahabalipur*."

P. ccxvi (no. 47): "Ditto [i.e. translation of an inscription] in *Tamul* in the inner apartment of the Pagoda of *Mahabalipuram*."

Under the heading "Specimen of a Report" Wilson printed, beginning on p. ccxlvii, the whole of a typical report from one of Mackenzie's assistants. It is of exceptional interest, and I here append a few extracts from it, re-punctuating slightly:

"25th . . . . . Thence proceeded to *Mahabalipuram*, collected some coins on the way at *Patipollam*, *Devanairi* and *Salvakupam* and the other places along the Coast where ancient Coins are usually found."

"26th . . . . . By order I waited upon Messrs Clark, Gwatkin and the other Gentlemen, who were on an excursion here. They ordered me to show them all the curiosities. Accordingly I shewed them all the remarkable places as *Mahish Asura Mardhani* and *Ashta Grama Devati* . . ."

"27th . . . Proceeded with those gentlemen to *Sadras* and shewed them the *Kasi Modu* or Eminence where Coins are found at *Kalipakam* on the further or South side of *Sadras*. At their desire I procured some ancient copper Coins, which I shewed them; they did not return to me the Coins."

"28th . . . Mr. Clarke sent for me and expressed his wish to visit the *Mantapam* that was lately discovered on the South [i.e. north] side near *Salvakupam* together with *Kassi Modu*. I accordingly went there and shewed them all the curiosities there."

A footnote states: "This Temple, excavated in a Solid Granite Rock, was laid open by the removal of the Sand that had covered it for Ages on the — 1816, by Col. Murray and Mackenzie, C. M." It is the Atirapachanda Cave immediately to the north of the "Tiger's Cave" at Saluvankuppam three miles to the north of Mahabalipuram. The Kasi Medu here mentioned is the local coin-yielding mound, not the one at Sadras, referred to on the 27th.

- 1821(2) **LANGLÈS, L.** *Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Indou-  
sian décrits sur le double rapport archaéologique et pitto-  
resque.* 2 tom., Paris 1821, tom. ii pp. 47-53.

Langlés' account is based on Items 1788(2) and 1798. Plates 23 and 24 are freshly engraved reproductions of the two Daniell drawings referred to under Item 1812.

- 1821-8 **HEEREN, A. H. L.** See Item 1846(1).

- 1825 **MILBURN, W.,** *Oriental Commerce: or the East India  
Trader's Complete Guide,* London 1825.

"About seven miles to the N of Sadras in  $12^{\circ}08'09''$   $95^{\circ}00'15''$  are the *Seven Pagodas* or Mahabalipooram, containing some curious antiquities."

- 1828 **HEBER, R.** (i.e. Lord Bishop Heber of Calcutta), *Narrative of  
a Journey through the Upper provinces of India, from  
Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825. With Notes upon Ceylon.  
An account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern  
Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India,* 3 vols, London  
1828 (3rd edn), vol. 3, pp. 215-219 and 451.

A most interesting, sympathetic description, with allusions to Kehama. See Items 1850, 1855(2), 1962(5). Fergusson, in Item 1880, p. 107, says: "Bishop Heber . . . . . described them [the monuments] with his usual taste and discrimination."

- 1830 **BABINGTON, B. G.,** "An Account of the Sculptures and  
Inscriptions at Mahamalaipur; illustrated by plates", in  
*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii, London  
1830, pp. 259-269.

By Babington's day a fair amount was known about the contents of the Mahabalipuram inscriptions, presumably purveyed by Mackenzie's Brahmins. Babington must be

given credit for making the first translation of the pair found on the north and south walls of the verandah of the Atrapa-chaṇḍa Cave at Salavankuppam, sent to him by Colonel de Haviland; this cave, it will be remembered, had been excavated ca 1816 by Mackenzie and Murray (see Item 1821(1)).

Babington also notes the textual and paleographic differences between the inscription on the Gaṇeśa Ratha and others of the Mahabalipuram group which carry in part identical text namely the Atrapaṇḍa, Dharmaraja and Ramanuja Maṇḍapams. "My inscription" he says on p. 167, "is in a character differing again from any of the rest . . . The first three *slocas* in my inscription are not found in the others; my fourth *sloca* is the same as theirs. The fifth, sixth, and seventh *slocas* of my inscription are wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth *slocas* are their first and second, and my tenth is their third." That the inscriptions have *slokas* in common is a fact noted subsequently by Hultsch (Item 1910) and Venkoba Rao (Item 1923); it is the foundation stone of Nagaswamy's view as to their common authorship. See Item 1962(7).

Babington notes in passing that Mackenzie and a Mr. Ellis made attempts to discover the existence of submerged buildings at Mahabalipuram by careful soundings taken offshore.

Babington's fine monograph is illustrated by 18 drawings by the author and one Andrew Hudleston, engraved by J. Netherclift. These come under heavy fire from the extraordinary Mr. Caunter, whose authority is impugned in Item 1834, but the truth of the matter is that they are the first really accurate drawings of the site; those made by Babington, having a charming Flaxmanesque quality, are particularly exquisite. Fergusson, in Item 1880, p. 105, describes them as "among the best and most trustworthy of any that up to that time had been published of any Indian antiquities." Following are the subjects depicted, all of them, with the exception of Plates 1 and 2 and possibly 9, being the work of Babington:

1. This is a folding plate in three sections depicting the Great Bas-relief. It shows the *rishis* seated near the foot of the cleft as minus their heads, the left tusk of the large elephant broken off, and the torso of the *nāga*-king in the cleft missing. See Items 1848, 1870(ca), 1871(1), 1872, 1929(1). Babington does not identify the subject of the relief.
2. nos. 1 and 2. These show the Krishna Mandapam. Babington speaks of a stream of water constantly flowing over the surface of the reliefs from above, and supposes "that in the course of a few years it will be entirely decomposed." He recognises many modern elements in the pastoral scenes portrayed.
3. no. 1. The Somaskanda panel in the Mahisasuramardini Cave.
3. no. 2. The Vishṇu Anantā-śāyī panel in the same cave.
4. The Mahisasuramardini panel in the same cave.
5. The Varāha panel in Varāha Cave Two.
6. The Trivikrama panel in the same cave.
7. no. 1. Panel in Varāha Cave Two.
7. nos. 2 and 3. Pillars with lion bases in Varāha Cave Two.
8. no. 1. Gajalakshmi in Varāha Cave Two.
8. no. 2. Dvārapāla in Varāha Cave Two.
9. A lithograph of the elevation of Varāha Cave Two. The tank which forms its forecourt is not visible in this sketch.
10. nos. 1, 2, 3. (?) The Draupadī Katha.
11. no. 1. The Dolotsava Maṇḍapam.
11. no. 2. The Shore Temple.
12. Vishṇu Anantā-śāyī in the Shore Temple.
13. "Ancient Tamil alphabet".
14. Inscription on the Gaṇeśa Ratha.
15. Inscription in three scripts found near Mahabalipuram.
16. Sculptures on the Dharmarāja Ratha.

*Plate Five.*



1832 PERCIVAL, P. (Rev.), article in *Calcutta Christian Observer*.  
See Items 1854, 1855(2).

1834 CAUNTER, HOBART DAVID (Rev.), *The Oriental Annual or Scenes in India; comprising Twenty-Five Engravings from original drawings by William Daniell, R. A. and a descriptive Account by Rev. Hobart Caunter, B.D.* London 1834.

This purports to be the account of a journey made by Caunter and the Daniells, William and Thomas, in the winter of an unspecified year. According to Mildred and W. G. Archer (See Item 1820(ca) ) the two Daniells were in India between 1786 and 1794, and toured the South during the winter of 1792-3. They had already left India for good when Caunter was born on the 21st of July, 1794.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* says Caunter went out to India as a cadet, joining the Bombay Establishment about 1809, though according to him he was already of age at the time of his arrival. In any case he resigned the service in 1814, for he was "soon disgusted with Oriental life", having "discovered much to his disappointment nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him." Certainly there is no reason to suppose that he ever saw Mahabalipuram or the rest of the places he describes, and the bizarre anecdotes à la manière Munchausen that litter the pages of his text are either wholly fictitious or mangled hearsay. Presumably some relevant information was supplied to Caunter by the Daniells not long before the publication of the first of the *Oriental Annual* series.

Considering his lethargic admissions concerning India quoted above, Caunter's unbounded admiration for the monuments of Indian antiquity, as it would now appear, comes as a complete surprise: "there is certainly nothing in the whole world that exceeds them for magnificence of design and grandeur of effect. The mighty dome and gallery of St. Peter's sinks into comparative insignificance . . .", etc., *ad lib.*

Hence Mahabalipuram inspires in him feelings of the sublimest wonder: "imposing and picturesque . . . [of the

Shore Temple] chaste blending of the simple with the ornamental: it is remarkably beautiful . . . sculpture . . . of the very highest quality . . . [of the Great Bas-relief] the impress of true genius . . . The dress of the women . . . is much the same as that now so common on the coast of Malabar, where the lovely Hindoo, as perfect in form as the finest antique, goes uncovered to the waist . . . ”

Caunter's text, it is abundantly clear, was designed for no other purpose than to sell as many copies of the *Oriental Annual* as possible. Hence he launches a terrific assault on Babington, whom he names, and whose productions he dismisses as “miserable failures . . . positive libels . . . monstrous exaggerations . . . bungling amateurs in art . . . absurd importance which has been attached to the rude sketches of persons who know nothing of drawing . . . deplored and reprobated . . . imposition upon public credulity”. Needless to say he extols the Daniell's rather prim productions in equally extravagant terms.

So thorough is the misrepresentation involved in Caunter's strange production, so utterly disregardful of the truth, one inclines to see him (reverend or no) as some sort of natural delinquent. The very remoteness of the places he allegedly visited gave him adequate protection against public exposure, no doubt. But when he talks so grandiloquently, in such mechanical phrases, and with so little inherent seriousness of purpose about monuments so seriously conceived as Mahabalipuram, one feels he is in some way betraying India to the West, almost, one might say, prostituting her to the polite society on whose drawing-room tables the *Oriental Annual* lay, and for whom the thought of such places might perhaps have created a faint exotic diversion, nothing more.

1835 ANON, “Cave-temples of India”, in *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xviii, new series, London 1835, pp. 41-48.

An account of Mahabalipuram is given between pp. 41 and 45. In part it reads: “On the extremity of the beach there is, or was, for its situation might not always be tenable, a stone pagoda, of very peculiar construction, put together

without cement; immense masses of fragments lie around it, the surf dashing against them with a degree of violence which seems to threaten instantaneous destruction. There were formerly several other temples in the neighbourhood of these ruins, now literally covered by the sea, and from these the place has taken its name of the Seven Pagodas, an appellation given to it by the navigators of the coast." The author supports the 'Arjuna's Penance' theory as to the meaning of the Great Bas-relief.

- 1838 TAYLOR, W. (Rev.), "Third Report of Progress made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined", in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. viii, Madras 1838, pp. 1-86.

On p. 64 we find, under the entry "Manuscript book, No. 33 — Coantermark 787", the following:

"Section 6. Details of caves and sculptures at *Mavaliveram* (or the seven pagodas near Sadras)". This is the report made by Kavali Lakshmayya in 1803 (Item 1821, *Local Tracts*, vol. xxxiii, no. 6), of which an account with extracts appears in Item 1869.

"Section 9. Legendary account of *Māvalipuram* in the Arcot District." This is the *Sthalapurāṇa* (Item 1821, *Local Tracts*, vol. xxxiii, no. 9) published with a translation in Item 1869.

Of Lakshmayya's account the writer says: "The account is meagre and inane . . . [but see however my comments in Item 1869]. The document gives evidence of the rapid encroachment of the sea, since at the time of its being written by C. Laeshmaiya (sic) in 1803, the walls of a fane on the edge of the sea were visible, which ceased to be the case in 1826, when I last saw the place." On the perennial question of possible encroachment by the sea, see Item 1930.

- 1844(1) BRADDOCK, J., *et al.*, "A Guide to the Sculptures, Excavations, and other remarkable objects at Mamallaipur, generally known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas", by the late Lieutenant JOHN BRADDOCK, of the Madras Establishment. To which are added some Archaeological Notes by

the Reverend WILLIAM TAYLOR [See Item 1838], and a Supplementary account of the remains at Salvan Kuppam by WALTER ELLIOT, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service. — Communicated (with an introduction) by the Reverend GEORGE WILLIAM MAHON, A.M., Garrison Chaplain, Fort St. George", in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xiii, pt 1, Madras 1844, pp. 1-56.

Mahon mentions a 'little booklet' on Mahabalipuram by Braddock written a few years previously (1840); Braddock died about 1842, and there is a monument to his memory in Vepery Church.

Braddock's *Guide* was generally considered to be the best available in his day. It includes a sketch by the author of the Five Rathas, as well as plans of Mahabalipuram and Salavankuppam. The author supports the 'Arjuna's Penance' theory. Item 1844(1) is incorporated in Item 1869.

- 1844(2) ELLIOT, W., "On the inscription near the Varaha Swami Temple, at Mamallaipuram or the Seven Pagodas, with a transcript and translation", in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xiii, pt 2, Madras 1844, pp. 36-47.

The inscription commemorates two grants of land made for the Alwar of the Parameswara Mahavaraha Vishnugrha (i.e. Varaha Cave 1), both dated to the year 1115 AD.

The author refers the reader to p. 184 ("Proceedings of the Managing Committee of the Madras Literary Society of the 6th July, 1844") for the circumstances under which the inscription came to be read: "Mr. Elliot having brought to the notice of the Committee, that the wall concealing the inscription in the Varaha Swami Temple at the Seven Pagodas . . . for removing which the Pujaris formerly asked an exorbitant sum, might now be taken down and rebuilt for 30 Rupees. Resolved,—That this sum be raised by a Subscription of 3 Rupees each by the Members of the Committee, for the purpose of laying open and copying the inscription."

- 1845 FERGUSSON, J., *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India, 18 Plates in Tinted Lithography, folio, with an 8vo. volume of Text, Plans, &c.* London 1845.

Apparently Fergusson's début. See also Item 1846(3), 1847(1), 1855(1), 1864, 1873, 1876, 1880, 1910.

- 1846(1) HEEREN, A.H.L., *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Anliquiry*, 2 vols, London 1846 (4th edn), vol ii, pp. 78-83 and 298.

This is a translation of the original German edition published at Göttingen between 1821 and 1828. In describing Mahabalipuram Heeren uses as his authorities Chambers, Goldingham, Haafner, and Langlès, among others. He seems to have been the first to suggest that Mahabalipuram might represent Ptolemy's Maliarpha.

- 1846(2) NEWBOLD, T. J., "Notes, chiefly geological, on the coast of Coromandel, from the Pennaur to Pondicherry", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xv, Calcutta 1846, pp. 204-213.

- 1846(3) FERGUSSON, J., "On the rock-cut temples of India", in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. viii, London 1846, pp. 30-92.

Mahabalipuram is dealt with between pp. 85-89, while one of Babington's drawings is reproduced as Plate 10 (See Item 1830).

Fergusson is not disposed to date Mahabalipuram earlier than about the end of the 13th century: ". . . I fear five centuries and a half is all the antiquity we can allow to these boasted monuments of primeval times".

- 1847(1) FERGUSSON, J., *Picturesque illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan. 24 Plates in Coloured Lithography, with Plans, Woodcuts, and explanatory text, &c.*, London 1847.

Plate 17.

- 1847(2) LASSEN, C., *Indische Alterthumskande*, 4 vols, Bonn, 1847. Second edition, Leipzig 1861, pp. 874-876.

His authorities are Goldingham, Babington, and Fergusson. Map at end is labelled 'Mahamalajapura'.

- 1848 HOFFMEISTER, W., *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India, including Nepal and other parts of the Himalayas, to the Borders of Thibet*, Edinburgh 1848, pp. 189-191.

Hoffmeister was travelling physician to H. R. H. Prince Waldemar of Prussia. They went to Mahabalipuram by sea from Madras "upon a rough and tempestuous sea" on 28th December, 1844, accompanied by Mr. (Walter) Elliot (see Items 1844(1) & (2)).

Hoffmeister gives the 'Arjuna's Penance' explanation of the Great Bas-relief, and notes that the tusk of the large elephant is broken off. (see (Items 1830, 1870(ca), 1871(1), 1872, 1929(1) ).

- 1850 SOUTHEY, R., *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey Esq: L. L. D.*, 10 vols, London 1850.

The frontispiece (recto) of vol. viii, containing *The Curse of Kehama* (see Item 1810), has a vignette showing the Shore Temple (labelled "The Three Pagodas") reproducing a drawing by Colin Mackenzie, painted by T. Creswick and engraved by W. Finden (see Item 1962(4).) The vignette opposite reproduces another drawing by Mackenzie showing the *Surya deul* at Konarak with much of the *vīmāna* still standing.

- 1853 GUBBINS, C., "Notes on the Ruins at Mahabalipuram on the Coromandel Coast", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxii, Calcutta 1854, pp. 656-672.  
*of Bengal*, vol. xxii, Calcutta 1854, pp. 656-672.

Includes a sketch map and a lithograph of the Shore Temple. On p. 155 the writer notes: "At the extreme south of the ridge, and separated from it by a small level space, along which runs the lower road from Madras to Cuddalore, stand a group of monoliths, seven in number, surrounded by a grove of coconut trees. Five of them are pagodas . . . the two remaining rocks are fashioned to imitate an elephant and a lion, in colossal proportions." In Item 1869 Carr comments that if we include also the colossal *nandi* there are eight monoliths here, so that no connection can exist between them and the name 'Seven Pagodas'.

Gubbins rejects the 'Arjuna's Penance' explanation of the Great Bas-relief.

- 1854 PERCIVAL, P. (REV.), *The Land of the Veda*, London 1854, pp. 363-64.

A footnote on p. 364 states. "More than twenty years ago I wrote an account of this Place [Mahabalipuram], which appeared in the "Calcutta Christian Observer", along with some lithographic prints from original drawings sketched on the spot by a missionary friend, the Rev. Thomas Hudson." See Items 1832, 1855(2).

- 1855(1) FERGUSSON, J., *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 2 vols, London 1855, vol. i, pp. 64-67.

A description of the Five Rathas, and a great improvement on Item 1846. He is beginning to see the real connexion between the antecedent Buddhist architecture of the cave-shrines and buildings like the Sahadeva Ratha. He conjectures that the Dharmarāja Ratha is an imitation of a multi-storied Buddhist *vihāra*, thus anticipating Havell (see Item 1920).

On p. 65 is a tolerable steel engraving of the Five Rathas from a sketch by the author.

- 1855(2) PHAROAH and Co., *A Gazetteer of Southern India, with the Tenasserim Provinces and Singapore. Compiled from Original and Authentic Sources. Accompanied by an Atlas, including Plans of all the Principal Towns & Cantonments*, (lacks atlas), Madras 1855, pp. 253-258.

The description is by a traveller visiting Mahabalipuram in 1831; he speaks very favourably of Bishop Heber, and I am inclined to think he may have been the Rev. P. Percival (see Items 1832, 1854). Whoever he is, he notes the resemblance between the sculptures of Mahabalipuram and those of Ajanta and Ellora already previously observed, he says, by Messrs Goldingham and Fullarton. On discussing the *Sthalapurāṇa* with the local Brahmins, they told him it contained nothing to elucidate the monuments, but recounted instead the version current among themselves as to the origin of the place: that a certain prince in the north, about a thousand years before, had proposed to build a huge temple. His artisans refused to work for him on the terms offered, and migrated *en masse* to southern country, where they began the work at Mahabalipuram. After five

years or so they were prevailed upon to return to the north "which they did, leaving the works unfinished as they appear at present." This story first appears in Item 1798.

In this Gazetteer Singapore rates four pages, Mahabalipuram eight.

- 1864(1) MOORE, E., *The Hindu Pantheon. A New Edition, with Additional Plates, condensed and annotated, by the Rev. W.O. Simpson, Madras 1864.*

On pp. 358-9 the editor evokes a brief picture of Mahabalipuram: "A dark grove of palmyra trees furnishes a rich background, amidst which granite boulders rise, some in the bare rough outline of nature; others excavated with rooms and pillars, thick with the images of gods. Among these are the five Rathas; fanes hewn from the solid rock; niches there are but no images (!); and the shrines once spoken trod save by the foot of strangers, men of foreign blood and foreign faith."

Amongst the Additional Plates, E and F show Mahabalipuram.

E is lithographed by A. Barren from a photograph by Captain Tribe; it shows the Sri Sthalasayana Perumal Temple with the Dolatsava Mandapam and the Shore Temple more or less on axis, and the sea beyond F, also by Barren, shows the Five Rathas with two travellers seated on camels in the foreground.

- 1864(2) GILL, Major and FERGUSSON, J., *The Rock-cut Temples of India: illustrated by 74 photographs taken on the spot by Major Gill described by James Fergusson, London 1864.*

See Item 1880 for a reference to this set, which I have not myself seen.

- 1869 CARR, M. W. (edit.), *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast, Madras, 1869.*

A key work, published on the orders of the Government of Madras. It is a reprint of Items 1788(2), 1798, 1830, 1844(1), 1844(2), 1853, above, together with all illustrative materials published therein, and a fine folding chart of the site based on the Revenue Supply map, lithographed on transfer paper



by Alex. Barren, Revenue Survey Officer, February 1869, in a folder. It includes also an appendix containing the following items:

1. *The Sthalapurana* by the editor, an analysis of the local legend of Mahabalipuram with extensive extracts (see Items 1821, 1838). The conclusion is that the *Sthalapurāna* is a Vaishnavite tract of recent authorship and sheds no light on the early history of Mahabalipuram (see Item 1855(2)).
2. *Description of the Pagodas, &c., at Mavalivaram, written in the Telugu language by KAVALI LAKSHMAYYA in 1803 (With a translation).*

A most erudite, acute, and curious item. It asserts, among other things, that Robert Lord Clive took away the *nandi* of the Īsvara Temple at the north end of the hill, and that the *liṅgam* of Arjuna's Ratha (today called the Gaṇeśa Ratha) was "carried off by Bu\*\* (sic)". Item 1798 mentions the *liṅgam* of the Gaṇeśa Ratha, so that its rape must have been roughly between 1798 and 1803. Who was Bu\*\*? A footnote by Carr on p. 56 says that according to an old Vaishnavite Brahmin the *liṅgam* was taken away by Lord Hobart, together with an image of Hanuman, and sent to England, and that Lady Hobart gave 20 pagodas to the villagers in recompense. Hobart was Governor of Madras between September 1794 and February 1798.

The writer correctly refers to the Rathas as *vimānas*. He gives a detailed description of the Great Bas-relief, which he identifies as a depiction of Arjuna's Penance.

3. Readings by A. Burnell in 1867 of an inscription on the Ganesa Ratha and another on the Atiraṇaḥaṇḍa Mandapam at Salavankuppam, both previously translated by Babington (see Item 1844), also a sketch of the Atiraṇaḥaṇḍa Mandapam partly covered with sand. It will be recalled that Mackenzie and Colonel Murray originally excavated the shrine in 1816 (see Item 1821(1)).
4. The story of Arjuna's Penance taken from the *Mahābhārata*, and of the Death of Mahiṣāsura from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*.

5. A bibliographical list, especially interesting in view of its early date. Entries have been incorporated in the present bibliography.

1870(ca) LYON, Captain, *Southern India*, a series of six landscape portfolios containing original photographic prints from negatives made by Captain Lyon. This copy is in the Connemara Public Library in Madras. See Item 1881.

In vols iv and v are twenty-three photographs of Mahabalipuram, each numbered, as follows:

- 423 The Great Bas-relief, right section and central cleft. The heads of the rishis are missing, and so is the elephant's left trunk. The *nāga* king's head is off, but is visible at the foot of the photograph. See Items 1830, 1848, 1871(1), 1872, 1929(1).
- 424 Ditto, left side.
425. Pañchapāṇḍava Maṇḍapam. Pillar 5 counting from the left is destroyed.
- 426 The couchant bull in the Krishṇa Maṇḍapam.
- 427 The left section of the bas-relief in the Krishṇa Maṇḍapam from the figure of the cowgirl, right, to that of the Brahminy bull, left.
428. Ditto, the milking scene.
429. The Gaṇeśa Ratha.
430. Varāha Cave Two, the Varāha Avatāra panel
431. Ditto, the Trivikrama panel.
432. Ditto, the Gaṇalakshmi panel.
433. Ditto, the Durgā panel.
434. Mahisasuramardini Cave. The Vishnu Ananta-śarī panel.
435. Ditto, Durgā slaying the Buffalo Demon.
436. A general view of the south end of the hill with the Small Bas-relief on the right. Visible are the Olakkanaṭha Temple, Mahisasuramardini Cave, and Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam.
- 437 The Shore Temple. No sea is visible, but as though the land falls away completely on the seaward side.
438. The Five Rathas from the north.
439. The Draupadī Ratha.

440. Ditto, and Arjuna's Ratha from the south-east, the *nandī* deep under sand.
  441. The Bhima Ratha seen from the south-east, a huge vertical crack at middle.
  442. Ditto, from south-west, no crack being visible.
  443. The Dharmarāja Ratha from the north-east. showing Ardhanariśwara, etc.
  444. The Five Rathas from the south-west.
  445. The Sahadeva Ratha with the monolithic elephant.
- 1871(1) HUNTER, ALEXANDER, *Photographs of Mahabālipuram*, 3 vols, landscape folio, Madras 1871. Vol. 1 with 21 plates, vol. 2 with 20 plates, and vol. 3 with 21 plates. Each measures about 10" x 8".

Dr. Hunter founded the Madras School of Arts in 1850, dividing it into a School of Industrial Art and a Drawing and Painting Academy. Under his supervision a large number of photographs of places of interest in Madras Presidency were prepared, of which a set is preserved in the School, now known as the Madras Government School of Arts and Crafts. The albums are dated 1862-76, but it can be shown that the photographs of Mahabalipuram were taken in 1871 (see Item 1871(2) below).

Many have a historical interest. For example, in the volume numbered 4, the 6th photograph (numbered 15) shows the right section of the Great Bas-relief with the *nūqa*-king's head and torso set up in the sand beside the foot of the leading elephant, and the elephant's tusk is broken off (see Item 1830, 1848, 1870(*ca*), 1872, 1929(1) ). In the volume numbered 5, the first photograph (numbered 35) shows the village, with the Monkey Group in its original position (see Item 1871(2) below). The second in the same volume (numbered 28) shows the outer appearance of Varāha Cave I; the sixth (numbered 30) shows the Tiger Cave at Saluvankuppam islanded by sand; the tenth (numbered 60) shows the Atiraṇachaṇḍa Maṇḍapam buried in sand up to its *kapota*.  
*Plates Six and Seven*

## 1871(2) NAPIER, LORD. Governor of Madras.

In Item 1875 R. C. Temple tells us that Lord Napier visited Mahabalipuram four years previously, i. e. in 1871, and that he removed the Monkey Group from its old site just south of the Īsvara Temple and placed it on a stone bed near the Great Bas-relief (its present position), to which it was fastened with rough shell *chunam*. This gives us a date for events recorded in Item 1872, and also allows us to date the Mahabalipuram photographs referred to in the previous Item, one of which shows Lord Napier's camels bivouacked in Mahabalipuram village.

*Plate Eight.*

- 1872 HUNTER, ALEXANDER, *Lecture on the Antiquities, Sculptured Rocks, Cave Temples, Monolithic Temples and Incriptions at Mahavellipooram or the Seven Pagodas Saluvankuppam and Pavarakkaram's Choultry 28 Miles South of Madras. Delivered at the Evangelistic Hall, Friday 22nd March 1872, pamphlet, 18 pp. Madras (Kalaratakaram Press), 1872.*

The author first visited Mahabalipuram in 1844, and again in 1846 on which occasion he made sketches. The purpose of the lecture in question was to exhibit the sixty photographs comprising Item 1871(1). It contains some curious information and ideas. Throughout Hunter sees Mahabalipuram as essentially and primarily a Buddhist monument, following Fergusson (Item 1855). Thus he regards the Tiger Cave at Saluvankuppam as "the Dragon Cave Temple from which Buddha is said to have commenced his Pilgrim life. At the southern end of the rock is Buddha's horse . . .". He later adds: "but this one does not appear to have been known as a true Buddhist Cave . . ." For the likely purpose of this strange Cave, see Item 1958(1).

In 1871 Hunter found the Atirapachanda Maṅḍapam buried in sand; but on a second visit he brought coolies from Madras, cleared the Maṅḍapam, and had casts taken of the inscriptions. Indeed Hunter seems to have taken casts of all the Mahabalipuram inscriptions. "While we were excavating

the sand from this cave Temple, we came upon a very perfect stone figure with Buddhist emblems... carved in close grained black Basalt..." The Somaskānda motive on the back wall of the same cave he interprets as the episode of the Buddha taking leave of his wife.

At the Great Bas-relief Hunter excavated the upper portion of the *nāga*-king and "got it set upright and photographed." This seems to have aroused some interest, for Hunter adds that Lord Napier visited the place a week or so later (see Item 1871(2) above) and had the ground in front of the Great Bas-relief dug to a depth of 7 or 8 feet, thus exposing "a great number of figures and animals and showed that the old road must have passed in front of the rock at a depth of five or six feet below the present level...". The Great Bas-relief is interpreted as a depiction of "the establishment of the Buddhist religion or one of peace...".

Speaking of the monolithic bull behind the Arjuna Ratha, he says that this was supposed to have been removed by Lord Lake, but was recently discovered by Lord Napier buried deeply in the sand "probably to conceal it." The *nandi* is not in fact detached from the parent rock, and without the help of dynamite nobody could hope to steal it.

Perhaps most interesting is Hunter's disclosure of a giant image of Bali visible from the spot where the Monkey Group used to be, near the Īśvara Temple, between 4 and 6 p.m. "The figure is formed by the whole mass of the rock sculptures coming in bold shadow against the sky. The figure must be from 1,500 to 1,800 feet in length and has evidently been originally accidental but assisted by the natives having rolled away loose masses of rock." I have personally never succeeded in deciphering this apparition, presumably the silhouette of a recumbent figure, and very much the sort of thing that has to be pointed out to one. It definitely does not form part of the legend or lore of modern Mahabalipuram.

Hunter believed that the land is subject to periodic encroachment from the sea. Speaking of the Shore Temple he says:

"Mr. Gantz, a former teacher in our school and a pupil of old Chinnery, had a sketch of this Pagoda taken about 20 years previously, or about 1825 [see Item 1820(ca)] when cocoanut trees grew between the Pagoda and the sea. On one occasion when I visited this spot the Pagoda was entirely surrounded by the sea...". See Item 1930.

- 1873 FERGUSSON, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship: or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ. From the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati*, London 1873 Second edition, pp. 73-74.

Description of the Great Bas-relief as representing a scene of *naga* worship ("... probably the grandest exhibition of Serpent Worship in India..."). See Item 1914(2), 1929.

- 1874 LEAR, EDWARD, author and artist.

Lear visited Mahabalipuram in 1874 and made 20 drawings at the site: "a very queer lot, and useless unless I can get photographs". Several sets were in fact already in existence (see Items 1864(2) 1870 (ca), 1871(1)).

Ray Murphy, the editor of Lear's Indian diary, does not reproduce any of the Mahabalipuram drawings nor does he give their present whereabouts; presumably they are in the British Museum. See Items 1953, 1962(6).

- 1875 TEMPLE, R. C See Item 1928-9

- 1876 FERGUSSON, J., *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture; forming the third volume of the new edition of the "History of Architecture"*, London 1876, pp. 134, 175, 262, 326-334.

Fergusson now revises his dating of the site to the 5th or 6th century A.D. "if not indeed earlier" (see Item 1846).

Of five illustrations, one reproduces the woodblock of the Five Rathas which first appeared in Item 1855. A second shows the Sahadeva Ratha. The three others show the Dharmaraja Ratha, Ganesa Ratha, and Tiger Cave at Saluvankuppam, all of them taken from Hunter's photographs [see Item 1871(1)].

- 1879 CROLE, C. S., *The Chingleput, Late Madras, District, Madras* 1879, pp. 92-106.

Entry under "The Seven Pagodas' or Mahabalipuram". The author goes a step further than Fergusson and Hunter, believing it to have been exclusively a Buddhist site. He notes its close relationship to the Badami cave-temples and accordingly dates it to the same period (ca 579 A.D.).

- 1880 FERGUSSON, J. and BURGESS, J., *The Cave Temples of India*, London 1880. Chapter V, Mahavallipur, or the Seven Pagodas. Chapter VI, Rathas, Mahavallipur. Chapter VII, The Caves, Mahavallipur. Pp. 105-161. Figures in text: 25-29; 31; 32-34; 36; 38; 40-41.

These chapters were written by Fergusson. In his Preface (xix-xx) he says that the wood-cuts of the Rathas (28-29, 31, 33, 36) were taken from a set of plans and drawings made by Mr. R. Chisholm of the Public Works Department at Madras; in a footnote on p. 106, Mr. Chisholm is described as Superintendent of the Government School of Art. Of the remaining illustrations, most appeared in Item 1876.

Fergusson now alights on the period 650-700 A.D. as the approximate date of the carvings (see Items 1846(3), 1876). Chapter 6 gives a careful description of the Rathas with measurements and some plans, the author continuing to stress the Buddhist origins of the architectural forms: "it seems almost impossible to over-estimate their importance to the history of Buddhist architecture."

Speaking of Varāha Cave I he says: "... it is not now accessible to strangers, and its contents are only known by hearsay, and from what can be seen from the outside. It contains (by report) the usual four-armed figure of Varāha holding up Prithvī, a four-armed Śaktī, figures known as Raja Hāriśekhara and his two wives; Śrī as Gaja Lakshmi (attended by elephants); Maruti worshipping Rāma; and others. In front of this rock-cut temple a modern mandap has been built, lighted only from the door, which now prevents the interior being seen" (p. 147). Burgess adds a footnote concerning the inscription on the left rock face, which he dates to 1072 A.D. (but see Items 1844, 1881).

On p. 143 Fergusson states: "no one . . . . . can doubt that the Rathas and the caves are of the same age."

On p. 105 he says of Babington's and Hudleston's drawings that they "are among the best and most trustworthy of any that up to that time had been published of any Indian antiquities (see Items 1830, 1834). He mentions sets of photographs by Lyon (Item 1870(ca) ), Hunter (1871(1) ), and a Mr. Nicholas, of Madras.

1881 BRANFILL, R. B., "*Descriptive remarks on the Seven Pagodas*", in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Year 1880*, vol. xxvi, Madras 1881, pp. 82-232.

A valuable but rambling and repetitious account. Chapter One (pp. 82-110) is called "Guide to the Seven Pagodas," and suggests an itinerary. The author accepts the 'Arjuna's Penance' explanation of the Great Bas-relief ("so at least they say"). Speaking of the Five Rathas he says "a small ladder should be got from the village or from the nearest *toddy-drawers'* huts by which to ascend to the roofs of the monoliths . . ." The author notes the similarity of the Somaskānda panels in the Mahisasuramardini Cave, Dharmarāja Ratha, Atiraṇachaṇḍa Maṇḍapam, Mukundanayanar Temple, and Shore Temple. He gives a lengthy description of Varāha Cave I, with dimensions. He dates the inscription here to 1073 A.D.

Chapter Two is entitled "Classification of the Ancient Remains".

Here he comments: "Besides the Sanscrit inscriptions engraved in or on the shrines, there are several old Tamil inscriptions engraved on the open rock here-about, referring to the Adivaraha (Vishnu) Temple in Mahabalipuram [i.e. Varāha Cave I], one of which is . . . dated . . . 1235 A.D."

Chapter Three contains (1) "On the prevalent style, ornaments and emblems"; (2) "Remarks on the Antiquities at the Seven Pagodas"; (3) "Conclusion". In this chapter we read: "If the name of Rāmānuja, the great anti-Śaiva reformer who strove for the Vaishṇava faith in the twelfth century A.D. is any indication, it would seem that his



followers may have been the iconoclasts who displaced the objects of Śaiva worship and destroyed its shrines, as has been done in the Rāmānuja, Kōnēri, and Dharmarāja's (No. 44) cave shrines, and in the Olakkannēśvara (No. 34) the built temple, which has been completely eviscerated, and other cases. To prevent there being any doubt as to who the desecrators were, it would seem that they have intentionally left their mark (the *caṅkha* and *cakra*, the conch shell and discus) in No. 48 and No. 52." There follows an Appendix in which the findings of Burnell and Elliot regarding the dates of the inscriptions are analysed.

Chapter Four, "Descriptive Notes on the Seven Pagodas", is a repetition, in much greater detail, of Chapter One. The author notes that Goldingham described the *liṅgam* in the Gaṇeśa Ratha in 1797-98 (Items 1798, 1869). He mentions the publication in London, in 1870, of a book of descriptions to accompany Captain Lyon's photographs of Mahabalipuram (Item 1870(ca)). On pp. 175-190 is a detailed description of the Olakkanātha Temple.

Branfill notes three timber ceiling beams in place in the Shore Temple, and says Kavali Lakshmayya saw four (see Items 1869, 1881).

- 1882(1) WILSON, H. H., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts . . . collected by the Late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie*, Madras (2nd edn), 1882. See Item 1821.

With a brief outline of the life of Col. Mackenzie and of the steps taken to utilize his collection. The editor observes in his introduction: "The most remarkable monuments in this class [of sculptured rocks] are the sculptured rocks of Mavelipuram or Mahabalipur, the city of the great *Bali*, who has proved so mischievous a Jack a lantern to European scholars, leading them astray from India into Palestine and Mesopotamia, and filling them with a variety of preposterous fancies."

- 1882(2) SEWELL, R., *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras 1882, pp. 189-190. A publication of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Sewell's chief authority is Fergusson. On p. 190 he says: "Everything, therefore, would seem to point to the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇapura as being the sculptors of the 'Seven Pagodas' ". He later envisages that the monuments were built by the Kurumbas under the supervision of the Chalukyas. He notes a striking resemblance between the 'waggon-back' roof of the Bhīma Ratha and "the shape of huts built by the tribes of the Nilagiri Hills to the present day." This resemblance has of course been widely commented on (see for instance H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, vol. I, pp. 10 and Text Plate A3); and the ultimate derivation of the former, as well as the Buddhist *chaitya*, "from the archetype of the primitive hut" is generally admitted.

1888 ANON., *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, vol. i, Madras 1888, p. 161.

Gives an explanation of the term 'Seven Pagodas' from a navigational point of view. "The Seven Pagodas of Mauvellipooram, about 7 miles to the north of Sadras, are not discernible except when well in with the land. Two of them are near the sea, one of which, standing on a rock, is washed by it, and is now nearly destroyed, although this pagoda, it is said, formerly stood at a considerable distance inland, the sea having encroached greatly on the land. Four of them, are in the valley near the foot of the south high land [meaning, evidently, the Five Ratha] and the other on its extreme point. The view of those in the valley is often intercepted by the woods, particularly when they bear to the west."

1889 GUIMET, E., "Huit jours aux Indes" in *Tour du Monde*, Paris 1889, vol. 56 (1440th part), p. 96.

"Spirituelle et pittoresque description" (see Item 1921, p. 27).

1893 ANON, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, vol. iii, Madras 1893, p. 806.

Vol. iii is the *Glossary*, and Mahabalipuram is there listed under the entry 'Seven Pagodas'. A general description.

- 1895(ca) VENKATA RANGAYYA APPAROU, *The Diary of Sri Raja V.R.A. Bahadur Zamindar of Kapilesvarapuram Estate, Nuzvid Zamindary, Madras n.d. (ca 1895), pp. 166-170.*

This section begins: "Fifth Tour (a trip of Mahabalipuram). From 2nd April 1893 to 5 April 1893. Our party in this tour consisted of Mr. Potts, myself, and the Minor Zamindars of Sripuram and Ettiyapuram, besides the Writer and several other servants."

A literary oddity; the young Zamindar was evidently out to please Mr. Potts, who was his tutor and moral guide, and a brightly informative and banal account in the manner of a fourth-form history essay results.

- 1902 REA, A., *Archaeological Survey of Southern India Annual Reports 1884-1902.*

In G.O. for 25th February 1887, No. 286, Rea says: "In the second week of December 1886, I proceeded in company with Dr. Hultsch to Mahabalipuram, to complete my notes for a report on the previous survey of its remains. Photographs of the monolithic and excavated temples were taken. I also made a few slight excavations, and, as noted in my No. 261, dated Mahabalipuram, 19th December 1886, to the Chief Secretary to Government, I discovered a hitherto unnoted cave temple. I removed some of the soil in front, which covered the floor to a depth of 10 feet, so that the facade is now exposed to view." I cannot identify this cave.

In G.O. &c., Nos. 827-829, 25th August 1902, he relates the *Sthalapuraṇṇā* of Mallavaram (Mahabalipuram), with interesting data on the worship of Śrī Sthalaśayana Perumal. In this report he also mentions the Olakkanātha Temple in use as a lighthouse (see Item 1929(1)).

- 1905 PURCHAS, S., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, Glasgow 1905, vol x, pp. 146-150.

Contains Gasparo Balbi's description of the Malabar Coast mentioning the Seven Pagodas as his landfall, the earliest recorded reference by a European. See Item 1582.

- 1907(1) IRVINE, W. (edit), *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708* by Niccolao Manucci Venetian, 4 vols, London 1907, vol. i, pp. 154-5.

See Item 1700.

- 1907(2) VENKAYYA, V., "The Pallavas", in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-7*, Calcutta 1909, pp. 217-243.

The author begins by saying that "the word Pallava is apparently the Sanskrit form of the tribal name *Pahlava* or *Pahnava* of the Puranas." On p. 219 he says: "The Pallavas of Kanchipuram must have come originally from Persia, though the interval of time which must have elapsed since they left Persia must be several centuries." He adds, p. 220: ". . . the term Pahlava or Pallava must denote Arsacidan Parthians." Referring to the early Chola inscriptions at the Shore Temple, he identifies Ksatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara as the larger Śiva shrine, Rajasimha-Pallava-Īśvara as the smaller Śiva shrine, and Pallikōṇḍaruliyaḍēvar as the Viṣṇu shrine, the three constituting "the temple called Jalaśayana, i.e. the Shore Temple." See Item 1917(3), 1937(2), 1952(2).

- 1907(3) COOMBES, J. W., *The Seven Pagodas*, ? place of publication. This guide is mentioned in Murray's *Handbook*, 16th edn, London 1949, footnote p. 624, and again by Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Item 1929(2); I have no further information about it.

- 1908 ANON, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xxii, Oxford 1908, pp. 182-185.

"To these last two [temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva, i.e. the Shore Temple and the Śri Sthala Sayana Perumal Temple] with five other pagōdas buried (according to tradition) under the sea, the place owes its English name."

- 1909 REA, A., *Pallava Architecture*, being *Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series volume xxxiv*, Madras 1909.

The full title is *Pallava Architecture of Kanchipuram*, and the title-page title is therefore misleading. On p. 10 Rea says he thinks the work 'Shore' in 'Shore Temple' may be a corruption of *Chōḷa kōvil*, this being what the locals call it.

- 1910(1) HULTSCH, E., "The Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas", in *Epigraphia India and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*: vol. x 1909 10, Calcutta 1910, pp. 1-14, 6 plates.

This article contains a reprint of Hultsch's readings and translations originally published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. i, pp. 1-8, with improvements and additions. On p. 3 he says: "the sudden collapse of the Pallava power at the hands of Vikramaditya II may have been the reason why so many of the excavations at the Seven Pagodas have remained unfinished. As I have remarked in *South Indian Inscriptions vol. 1*, we meet with the same plurality of alphabets in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchi"—and therefore, he rightly goes on to say, they can have no chronological value. He adds that the inscription on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam is repeated word for word on the Gaṇeśa Ratha, and its last verse occurs again on the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam, while verses 1, 2, and 4 are identical with those on the Atiraṇachaṇḍa Maṇḍapam (see Item 1923). He notes that most of the epithets used were applied to Rājasimha in his Kāñchī inscriptions, that the inscriptions on the Dharmarāja Ratha refer to the "Iṣwara Temple of Atyantakāma Pallava" and that one adds "Ranajaya." He advises that the best way to reach Mahabalipuram is by bullock-cart from Chingleput.

If now we combine the information provided by Item 1830 (concerning inscriptions in part identical on the Gaṇeśa Ratha and the Dharmarāja, Atiraṇachaṇḍa, Varāha I and Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam) with that in Item 1881 (linking the Mahisasuramardini Cave, Atiraṇachaṇḍa Mandapam, Dharmarāja Ratha, Shore Temple and Mukundanayanar Temple by virtue of the Somaskānda motive which they have in common), and with that in the present Item (linking the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam with the Gaṇeśa Ratha and the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam, and all three of these with the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kāñchī), we see clear indications of common authorship of every one of them at the hands of Rājasimha, as finally proposed by Nagaswamy (Item 1962(7) ).

- 1910(2) FERGUSSON, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. Revised and edited, with additions. Indian Architecture by James Burgess and Eastern Architecture by R. Phene Spiers*, 2 vols, London 1910, vol. 1, pp. 171-2, 217, 327-342, 361-2; vol. 2, p. 111, note.

Of the illustrations, the frontispiece volume 1 shows the Shore Temple. Figure 188-192 are plans and drawings by R. Chisholm (see Item 1880). Most of the other figures have been reprinted from earlier editions of 1876 and 1891, which this one supersedes.

Referring to Atiraṇachāṇḍa on p. 342 the author (or editor) mentions that he has the *birudās* of Atyantakāma, etc., "from which he appears to be identical with the Rājasimha-Narasimha who executed the Dharmarāja ratha and probably most of the excavated shrines at Mamallapuram."

The note in vol. 2 mentions the wood beams inside the Shore Temple (see Item 1881).

- 1911(1) SMITH, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Oxford 1911, pp. 36, 220-223.

Smith supports the "Arjuna's Penance" explanation of the Great Bas-relief, concerning which he says: "The picture is . . . lacking in composition. It is much corroded by the sea air, and when allowance is made for that, some of the individual figures seem to possess a certain amount of aesthetic merit." (well, well !). All this is omitted from the second edition of 1930, edited by K. de B. Codrington.

- 1911(2) HAVELL, E. B., *The Ideals of Indian Art*, London 1911, pp. 147-163 and plates 18-21.

According to Havell, the story of Arjuna's Penance "sufficiently explains the *motif* of the sculptures . . ."

- 1913 LOVE, H. D., *Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800*, 3 vols, London 1913, vol. 2, p. 206.

Contains the reference to Captain Boddam's diving project, Item 1727(2).

- 1914(1) JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G., *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde*. 1. *Architecture*. 2. *Iconographie*, 2 tom., Paris 1914.

There is a useful diagrammatic guide to the sculptures of the Dharmarāja Ratha; otherwise the value of this book was greatly reduced by publication, only a few months later, of Gopinatha Rao's titanic *Hindu Iconography*. Volume 2 has been translated into English by A. Martin under the title *Iconography of South India*, Paris 1937.

- 1914(2) VOGEL, J. Ph., "Iconographic notes on 'the Seven Pagodas' " in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1910-11, Calcutta 1914, pp. 49-62, 5 plates.

Vogel gives a full description of the images on the Dharmarāja Ratha. Of the Ardhhanarisvara he observes: "It is one of those curious creations of the Indian mind that are due rather to phantasy than to good taste." One wonders how many works of art have been created that do *not* depend on 'phantasy' rather than 'good taste.'

Vogel rejects the 'Arjuna's Penance' view of the Great Bas-relief. On pp. 59-60 he says: "Dr. Marshall has suggested the possibility that there had once been a detached image standing in front of the rock and forming the real object of worship. But excavation carried out on the spot has revealed no trace of such a figure.

"Can it be that once there existed here a sacred spring and that the water gushing forth from the cleft was the real aim and object of all the adoring figures? The presence of the nagas would then most easily be accounted for, as they are the water-spirits dwelling in lakes and springs."

What militates effectively against the theory that the Great Bas-relief represents the theme of *nāga* worship, which was the view originally put forward by Fergusson in Item 1873, pp. 73-74, is of course the fact that the *naga* and *nagini* in the central cleft are themselves in the posture of worship, *nagaskaram*. The implication certainly is that the object of their worship was something or someone facing them, in the *śrītham* to which the Great Bas-relief formed a backdrop (see Item 1929).

- 1914(3) GOLOUBEV, V., "La Falaise d' Arjuna de Mavalipuram et la Descente de la Gaṅgā, sur la Terre, selon le Rāmāyana

et le Mahābhārata, in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. II, vol. iv, Paris 1914, pp. 210-212, 1 plate.

This is the first attempted demonstration of the 'Descent of the Ganges' theory as to the meaning of the Great Bas-relief. He implies that Jouveau-Dubreuil supports it.

- 1915 HAVELL, E. B., *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India: a study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, London 1915, pp. 86-91, 100-101, 104-106, plates 23, 24, 26, 28.

The author is mainly concerned with the Five Rathas.

- 1916(1) KRISHNA SASTRI, H., *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*,

- 1916(2) JOUVEAU - DUBREUIL, G., *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. 1, London 1916, pp. 56-68.

The author assigns the Rathas and Mandapams to a period "anterior to that of Rājasimha . . . posterior to that of Mahendra." On pp. 66-68 he discusses the Atirapachanḍa Maṇḍapam at Saluvankuppam and says: "It is therefore probable that Atirapachanḍa is none other than Rājasimha." On p. 68 the Olakkanātha and Mukundanayanar structural temples, as well as the Shore Temple complex, are also ascribed to Rājasimha. This brings the Olakkanātha structural temple into the group of monuments specifically ascribed to Rājasimha by one author or another, which now includes as well: the Dharmarāja, Atirapachanḍa, Varāha I, Rāmānuja and Mahisasuramardini Maṇḍapams, the Dharmarāja and Ganēsa Rathas, and the Mukundanayanar and Shore Temples.

In this Item the author accepts the 'Descent of the Ganges' explanation of the Great Bas-relief (p. 66).

- 1917(1) JOUVEAU - DUBREUIL, G., *Dravidian Architecture*, Madras 1917.

Chapter 3 is entitled "Pallava Architecture." Jouveau-Dubreuil describes this Item as an epitome of his *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde* (Item 1914(1)) presumably meaning volume 1 of that work.

- 1917(2) JOUVEAU - DUBREUIL, G., *The Pallavas*, Pondicherry 1917.

Chapter 1 is headed "The Roman origin of Pallava art." On p. 10 the author says: "We can therefore conclude that



the Pallava kings reigned at Amaravati in the first half of the third century after Christ..." Again: "There is no doubt that in its origin the Pallava art was strongly influenced by the principles of the Latin art." On p. 28 he says: "the Pallava art of the time of Mahendravarman [ca 600-630 A.D.] had its origin in the Telugu country..." and throughout emphasises the Andhra origins of the dynasty. This accords with modern opinion (though not, of course, the view that Pallavas ruled at Amaravati in the 3rd century A. D.).

- 1917(3) KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, S., "The antiquities of Mahabalipur", in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlv, Bombay 1917, pp. 49-57, 65-73, 12 plates (of which nos. 7 and 8, (showing the Mahisasuramardini Cave) are wrongly labelled 'Varahavata', and no. 10 (Trimurti Cave) is wrongly called 'Atiran Chandeshvara, Saluvankuppam').

Dealing with the name of the place on p. 50 the author points out that its only concrete association with the legend of King Bali is the Trivikrama panel in Varaha Cave 2. He suggests that the name 'Mahabalipuram' is perhaps a memory of the dynasty of Mahabalis (commonly, Mavalis) or Banas, whose capital was at Tiruvallam in North Arcot, and who flourished between the time of the last great Pallava king Nandivarman (ca 715-775 A.D.) and the first great Chola, Parantaka (907-947 A.D.). On p. 51 he states that during the Pallava period the place was known as Māmalla-puram, after Narasimhavarman I, Māmalla, whom he regards as the founder of the historic site. However, he also points out that Tirumangai Ālwār, who he says lived a generation after Narasimhavarman I (or about 670-700 A.D.) refers to it as Kadal-mallai Talaśayanam, meaning 'The Mallai which is close to the sea' or otherwise 'lying on the ground', the qualification serving to distinguish it, perhaps, from some other Mallai.

He quotes from the Alvar's *Periya Tirumōli* as follows: "Oh my foolish mind, circumambulate in reverence those who have the strength of mind to go round the holy Talasayana,

which is Kadalmallai, in the harbour of which ride at anchor vessels bent to the point of breaking, laden as they are with wealth rich as one's wishes, trunked big elephants, and the nine gems in heaps." He suggests that a Vaishṇavite phase preceded the main Mahabalipuram period to which the Viṣṇu shrine of the Shore Temple belonged, and that the name "Kadalmallai" was used by the Āḷwārs for an indefinite period before Narasiṃhavarman's day.

Of the Shore Temple he says that the Viṣṇu shrine was probably surmounted by an apsidal *Vimāna* (but see Item 1962(5)). Following Item 1907(2) identifies this shrine as the Paḷlikoṇḍaruḷiya-dēvar of the Chola inscription, but unlike Item 1907(2) identifies the smaller Śiva shrine as the Kshatriyasimha - Pallavēśvara, and the larger or seaward facing Śiva shrine as the Rājasimha - Pallavēśvara. Whereas Item 1907(2) speaks of these three shrines as constituting the Jalaśayana of the inscription, our present author equates this Jalaśayana with the Kshatriyasimha - Pallavēśvara shrine, but says that in any case "Jalaśayana" is a mistake for "Sthalasayana", as referred to by Tirumangai Āḷwār, and is in no way connected with the siting of the Shore Temple at the edge of the sea. The term means, literally, 'sea bed', but our author says: "The mere proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name (i.e. Jalaśayana), and the Śiva shrine close to the sea has nothing of *śayanam* (couch) in it, containing as it does only a sixteen-sided prismatic *lingam*."

He believes Māmalla began the work of excavation at Mahabalipuram, but regards the 'Atyantakāma' of the inscriptions as a *bhṛudā* of Māmalla's second son, Paramēśvaravarman (ca 670-690 A. D.), who he believes inaugurated the majority of the monuments. He believes that construction continued until the reign of Nandivarman, a period of roughly a hundred years, and even then much had to be left unfinished.

He strongly supports the 'Arjuna's Penance' theory as to the meaning of the Great Bas-relief, thus crossing swords with Jouveau-Dubreuil (Item 1916(2)).

- 1918 JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G., *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. ii. Pondicherry 1918. See Item 1916(2).

In his 'Conclusion' the author enumerates four style phases within the Pallava period -- Mahendra [ca 600-630 A.D.], Māmallā [ca 630-668 A.D.], Rājasimha [ca 690-715 A.D.], and Aparajita [ca 870-890 A.D.]. Of the pillar incorporating a squatting lion at its base he says: "I think this *motif* was invented at Mahabalipuram about the year 640."

This volume is virtually a monograph on the Virattaneśvara Temple at Tiruttani.

- 1920 HAVELL, E. B., *A Handbook of Indian Art*, London 1920, pp. 74, 76, 92, 165, 172, 184; plates 22, 32b, 60a, 60b.

He makes the important point that the Dharmarāja Ratha is a model of a temple or *vihāra* and says "The topmost pavilion is octagonal and is crowned by the stupa-dome. This was no doubt the 'upper room' which was accorded to scholars of distinction."

- 1921 RODIN, A., COOMARASWAMY, A., HAVELL, E. B., and GOLOUBEV, V., *Sculptures Civaïtes*, being vol. 3 of *Ars Asiatica*, Brussels and Paris 1921.

The fourth brief notice in this volume is by V. Goloubew, and is entitled "La Descente de la Ganga sur Terre à Mavalipuram" (pp. 23-25). It is a restatement of his views contained in 1914(3), and is illustrated with 21 magnificent plates reproducing photographs taken in 1911.

- 1922 IYER, P. V. JAGADISA, *South Indian Shrines*, Madras 1922.

Mr. Iyer supports the 'Arjuna's Penance' theory.

- 1923(1) RAO, G. VENKOBĀ, *Madras Epigraphist's Report. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the Year ending 31st March 1923*, Madras.

Venkoba Rao was the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. In this Report interest centres on Varaha Cave 1. On p. 1, he says that at the end of August, 1922, K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar and G. V. Srinivasa Rao examined some Pallava inscriptions at Mahabalipuram and discovered others. Photographs of the sculptured royal groups in Varaha Cave 1 were taken, and a group plan made. Six inscriptions were copied in this cave.

Rao says: "the existence of these royal sculptures here was already noticed by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri in 1912" (but see Item 1880).

He also says that the last *śloka* of the two inscriptions found on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam and Gaṇeśa Ratha are also on the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam, "while Hultsch's 20, 21, 22 is found on the floor of Varāha Cave 2." There is no inscription in Varāha Cave 2, but that on the floor of Varāha Cave 1 is identical with *śloka* II of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam and the Gaṇeśa Ratha, it being repeated also on the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam; in it the words "the temple of Atyantakāma Pallesvara" appear. The concordance of other Mahabalipuram inscriptions is as follows: the first six *ślokas* on the south wall of the Atiraṇachaṇḍa Maṇḍapam are repeated on the north wall, while the eleven *ślokas* of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam are repeated word for word on the Gaṇeśa Ratha. *Ślokas* 1 and 2 on the Atiraṇachaṇḍa are *ślokas* 8 and 9 on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam and Gaṇeśa Ratha. *Śloka* 3 of the Atiraṇachaṇḍa differs somewhat in content from *śloka* 10 of the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam and Gaṇeśa Ratha (though all of them contain the dedication to Śiva of the buildings which bear them): but it also contains matter found in *śloka* 5 of the two latter inscriptions (i.e., "caused to be made this house of Śambhu (Śiva) . . . . ."); *Śloka* 4 is identical in all three inscriptions.

Rao also says that the Adivarāha Cave (Varāha Cave 1) was "probably the earliest of the cave-temples constructed at Mahābalipuram" and that it was started by Śimhaviṣṇu (ca 575-600 A.D.) and completed by his son, Mahendra-varman I. This is a staggering error, presumably based on the identification of the royal sculpture groups as portraits of these two kings with their consorts.

- 1923(2) JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G., "La femme indoue à Mahavali-puram", in *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*, no. 5 (1923), pp. 50-55.
- 1924 LONGHURST, A. H., "Pallava architecture Part 1 (Early Period)", being *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* no. 17, Calcutta 1924, 20 plates.

The first of Longhurst's trilogy (see Items 1929(1) and 1930).

- 1925 MARSHALL, SIR J., *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1922-23*, Simla-Calcutta 1925, pp. 78, 137.

There is a reference to conservation works at Mahabalipuram on p. 78. On p. 137 mention is made of the discovery of inscriptions naming the sculptured royal portraits in Varaha Cave 1, and from now on the identification of these becomes a preoccupation among scholars of Pallava history.

- 1926(1) KRISHNA SASTRI, H., "Two statues of Pallava kings and five Pallava inscriptions in a rock temple at Mahabalipuram", being *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 26, Calcutta 1926.

He identifies the standing male royal figure in the south-east niche in Varaha Cave 1, over which is the inscription 'Sri Mahendra Potradhirajan', as Mahendravarman I (ca 600-630 A.D.). The seated figure in the north-east niche, opposite, over which is the inscription 'Sri Simhavinna Potradhirajan', he identifies as Mahendra's son, Narasimhavarman (ca 630-668 A.D.). Longhurst in Item 1929(1) accepts these identifications.

- 1926(2) GANGOLY, O. C., "A panel of Gangadhara from Mahabalipuram, in *Rupam*, no. 26, Calcutta 1926, pp. 39-40, 1 plate.

" . . . in the gradual fading light of the afternoon these forms ebb away and melt into their rectangular niches on the walls, very like the waves of the sea melting away with the exhausting wind." There is reference to a similar essay in the first number of *Rupam*. The image of Gangadhara is in the north-west niche of Varaha Cave 1.

- 1926(3) GANGOLY, O. C., "Another panel from Arjuna's ratha", in *Rupam*, nos. 27-28, Calcutta 1926, pp. 73-1 plate.

He identifies one of the human couples on the south face of Arjuna's Ratha as (probably) Paramesvaravarman I and his wife (ca 670-690 A.D.). " . . . a frame of sinuous grace of stateliness and female form offers an exquisite parallel, in the suppleness of their contours as in the bashful modesty of their gestures [why always and invariably bashful?] Indeed the series of human couples carved on the face of

Arjuna's Ratha are given very characteristic deified forms, and the human personalities mingle imperceptibly with the personalities of the Gods."

This sugary prose is accompanied with an embossed sepia 'zincograph' typical of period and place.

- 1927 COOMARASWAMY, A., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London 1927, pp. 101-105, 198, plates 198, 200-202, 204-209.

Drawing attention to stylistic and other similarities between Pallava and Ceylonese sculpture, he remarks of the Isurumuniya bas-relief carvings and their setting: "This site, no doubt in the seventh century, has been treated very much in the manner of the Gangavatarana tirtham at Mamallapuram." An important observation (see Item 1929(1)).

- 1928(1) GOPALAN, R., *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, Madras 1928.

A master's thesis. On pp. 87-88 he identifies the two royal personages in Varāha Cave I as Mahendravarman (standing) and Simhavishṇu (seated), and is inclined to date the cave from Simhavishṇu's reign, thus following Venkoba Rao (Item 1923(1)). He mentions also that the writer of the Archaeological Superintendent's Report (Southern Circle) for 1922-23 (? Longhurst) identifies the two images as of Mahendravarman and Simhavishṇu respectively, which is at variance with Krishna Sastri (Item 1926(1)) as Gopalan goes on to point out in Item 1928-9 (see however Item 1929, p 34).

In his editorial notes Aiyangar is a good deal less dogmatic than in Item 1917(3). He now refers Tirumangai Ājwār to the reign of Nandivarman (ca 719-775 A.D.), says there is no evidence that Narasimhavarman founded Maibabalipuram, and does not assert categorically that 'Jalaśayana' is a mistake for 'Sthalaśayana'. He identifies the royal portraits as of Mahendravarman and Simhavishṇu.

- 1928(2) Archaeological Survey of India, *List of Archaeological Photonegatives of the Madras Presidency and Coorg stored in the Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Kotagiri (corrected up to the 31st July 1928)*, Calcutta 1928.

196 of these negatives are of Mahabalipuram, and are arranged according to their subject-matter.

- 1928(3) VOGEL, J. Ph., "Balarama in the sculptures at Mahabalipuram", a lecture delivered before the International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, 1928.

Mentioned in *Indian Art and Letters* n.s.; vol. 2, no. 2. pp. 87-88.

- 1928(4) RENGACHARYA, V., "The inscriptions of the Pallava King Rajasimha-Nara-Simhavarman II," in *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xix, Calcutta 1928, pp. 105-115.

Referring to inscriptions in Pallava *grantha* on the plinths of two platforms on the west side of the second courtyard of the Shore Temple, discovered in 1912, the writer says: "I am disposed to think that all the *birudas* attributed by Hultsch to this king must be attributed to Narasimhavarman II."

- 1928-9 TEMPLE, R. C., GOPALAN, R., AIYANGAR, S. K., 'Notes on the Seven Pagodas', in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. lvii, Bombay 1928, suppl. pp. 4-16; vol. lviii, Bombay 1929, suppl. pp. 17-32.

Comprising R. C. Temple, "A visit to the Seven Pagodas — Fifty years ago (1875)", reproduced from *The Madras Times* of February 4th, 6th and 9th, 1875 (see Item 1871(1)); R. Gopalan, "Notes on the Seven Pagodas"; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, "The antiquities of Mahabalipuram" (a reprint of Item 1917(3)); a "special note" on Varāha Cave I, presumably by S. K. Aiyangar. With 28 plates and a reproduction of the site-plan by Barren first published in Item 1869.

In Gopalan's article the author re-affirms the identity of the royal statues in Varāha Cave I as Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendrarvarman.

In Aiyangar's article mention is made of a guide to Mahabalipuram by "Mr. Coombes of the Education Department, better known by his connection with the Chingleput Reformatory". See Item 1907(3).

1929

LONGHURST, A. H., "Pallava architecture Part II (Intermediate or Mamalla Period)", being *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* no. 33, Calcutta 1928, frontispiece site-plan and 34 plates.

Contains the essence of Longhurst's work on Mahabalipuram. It is a thorough description, with many interesting incidental observations, and one or two strange inaccuracies. He mentions, for instance, the lighthouse built in 1900 (see Item 1962(1)). Of Vaishnavism at Mahabalipuram he says: "The few Tamil inscriptions dating from 1073 to 1235 A D that have been found at Mamallapuram, indicate that the Vaishnavite sect was dominant during that period, and its followers seem to have remained in the ascendant down to the present day. They still occupy the Varāha Temple (no. 14) and the large modern looking Sthalasāyana temple in the village."

Of the Great Bas-relief and its environs he has this to say (and it is of fundamental importance): "The visitor will find a number of rock-cut channels or footings immediately above the central cleft, showing that a brick or masonry cistern was built on this spot. This cistern was about 23' square with a concrete bottom and plastered sides. It was apparently filled by hand labour, because there are the remains of a flight of rock-cut steps leading up from the ground below on the north side. Here, the ascent up the perpendicular portion of the rock must have been by means of a wooden ladder. It would appear that on certain festival occasions, this cistern was filled and the water allowed to flow down the cleft in the form of a cascade into the tank below, simulating the descent of a mountain torrent" (pp. 40-41).

Longhurst adds that the "cornice stone now fallen into the tank" (meaning no doubt the rectangular block facing the Great Bas-relief near the bottom of the central cleft) no doubt came from the top of the cleft, where it was originally placed to protect the sculptures below from the downpour. He says that the débris from the tank, in falling, smashed the nāga-king and the elephant's tusk (see Items 1848,



1870(ca), 1871(1), 1872). He says that the P.W.D. replaced the tusk and the *nāga* torso and constructed a dwarf masonry parapet across the cleft, diverting surface-water down a drain on the north side. He speaks of 'the great tank measuring 85 by 30½ feet, discovered at the foot of the relief, and says that it was cleaned out, levelled, and its side walls revetted with stone so as to give it a neat and tidy appearance. He says that the two *nāgas*, male and female, are not part of the living rock, but were fixed on after the main work on the relief was finished.

All of this seems to be essentially true, and points irresistably to the idea of a *tīrtham*, as already suggested by several scholars. My own view is that we have here a *royal bathing pool*, whether intended for ritual ablutions or merely for recreation, and that it was built for Rājasimha, and belonged to him, and that the *nāga* king and queen face outwards in a posture of worship in deference to his presence in the tank. The parallel with the *tīrtham* at the Isurumuniya *vihāra* in Anuradhapura (see Item 1927) cannot be overlooked, for in each case we have the salient motive of bas-relief elephants grouped at the foot of a rock which overlooks a body of water. The carved bathing pools in the Royal Park of Mogul Uyana below the bund of the Tissavapi reservoir at Anuradhapura are of precisely the same order of conceit.

- 1930 LONGHURST, A. H., "Pallava architecture Part III (The Later or Rajasimha Period)" being *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no 40, Calcutta 1930, 13 plates.

Plate 3a shows a rough version of the 'false ascetic cat' motive from the compound wall of the Shore Temple (see Item 1952(1)). Of the Shore Temple itself Longhurst says: "from its present position it would seem that the sea has greatly encroached." I personally see no evidence for this. The Shore Temple, it may be pointed out, is not the only temple on the Coromandel Coast to be washed by the waves of the sea. Trichendur, for example, is one; Kanyakumari another.

Broadly speaking, two main factors are liable to affect the existing shoreline of the Coromandel Coast. Littoral drift

is the movement of coastal sand from south to north, which if impeded by man-made harbour works tends to pile up at such points, and so in fact extends the coast out towards the sea. The other is the devastation caused by seasonal cyclones accompanied by tidal waves which could conceivably wash a building into the sea, but would not permanently alter the line of the littoral. There is no reason at all to suppose that the shoreline in the vicinity of Mahabalipuram has changed perceptibly since Balbi saw it almost four hundred years ago

- 1931(1)<sup>a</sup> SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, R.,- "Vishnu's Paradevata Paramārthya sculptured at Mahābalipur", in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, Bombay 1931, pp. 101-104, 3 plates.

The author says the Great Baṣ-relief is an advertisement of the supreme divinity (*paradevata*) of Viṣṇu, announced to the world by Siva when holding a red-hot axe in his hand to give force to his testament. This the author says was a means by which local Śaiva worshippers were brought back to the original Vaiṣṇavite faith. about the time of Tīrumangaḷ Āḷwār; his arguments sound unconvincing.

- 1931(2) ARAVAMUTHAN, T.G., *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, London 1931, pp. 23-26, figs 2-5.

Aravamuthan identifies the seated figure in the north-east niche in Varāha Cave I, as Simhaviṣṇu. Mahendravarman I's father (ca 575-600 A.D.). The standing figure in the south-east niche, opposite, he identifies as Mahendravarman I (ca 600-625 A.D.). He thus follows Items 1923(1), 1928(1), 1928-9, in opposition to Items 1926(1) and 1929(1). He identifies the subject of an image on the Dharmarāja Ratha, bearing the *birudās* 'Śrī Megha' and 'Trailokya Vardhana Vidhi' as Narasiṃhavarman I (Māmallā)

It appears that of the figures on Arjuna's Ratha he identifies a pair on the north face as (possibly) representing Paramēśvaravarman I (ca 670-690 A.D.) and his wife, and states that O.C. Gangoly first made this identification in the *Modern Review* for January 11th, 1911. The figures identi-

fied by Gangoly in Item 1926(3) as also representing Parameśvaravarman and his wife are to be found on the south face of this monument, and Aravamuthan does not identify them. The truth is that, there being no inscriptions, we have no means of telling who the personages are meant to be. See Item 1941.

- 1933(1) RAMACHANDRAN, T. N., "The royal artist Mahendravarman", in *The Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. vii, Madras 1933. pp. 219-246, 303-330.

Paper read at the First Bombay Historical Congress, December 1931.

- 1933(2) HERAS, FATHER H. (S. J.), 'Studies in Pallava History, Madras 1933. Part III: *The Builders of Mahabalipuram* pp. 67-99).

He says that Mahendravarman built Varāha Cave 1, and the Dharmarāja and Koṭikal Maṇḍapams. He says Narasiṅhavarman I built the Trimūrti Cave, Varāha Cave 2, and the Mahisasuramardini Cave. He says Parameśvaravarman I built the Gaṇeśa Ratha and the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam. He says Rājasimha built the Olakkanātha, Mukundanayanar and Shore Temples, as well as the Aṭṭapachāṇḍa Maṇḍapam and Tiger Cave at Saluvankuppam. There were thus four periods of building construction at Mahabalipuram. Centuries later the Vijayanagar kings also left an ensemble of buildings there, which Heras attributes to Venkata II (1585-1614 A. D.).

On p. 77 Father Heras makes a perfectly reasonable methodological criticism, one which would have to be answered, for example, by anyone believing with Nagaswamy that Mahabalipuram in its entirety was built by Rājasimha. The question is this: if for such an attribution you advance the evidence of *birudās* or other inscriptions cut on the monuments, how are you to convince others that these inscriptions were not added long after the monuments were built? What was to prevent Rājasimha, or any other monarch for that matter, putting his own *birudās* on a monument built by one of his ancestors?

The strange fact is that, notwithstanding his own theoretical objection, when it comes to the issue, it is precisely upon the evidence of the inscriptions that Heras in many cases relies. So on p. 95 he asserts that 'Atyantakāma' was a *birudā* used exclusively by Parameśvaravarman I; and this allows him to attribute the Gaṇeśa Ratha and Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam to this king, since according to him both monuments bear inscriptions containing the title (in fact the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam does *not*). But, since the Dharmarāja Ratha also bears it, how, might one think, can Heras attribute this monument not to Parameśvaravarman but to his father? Heras says it is a case of a monument begun by one king and finished by his (second) successor.

Again, Father Heras attributes the Tiger Cave and Atiraṇa-chaṇḍa Maṇḍapam to Rājasimha on the ground that both bear inscriptions including a *birudā* used exclusively by Rājasimha, namely 'Atiraṇachaṇḍa' (p. 99). Even assuming we accept the evidence provided by the Mahabalipuram inscriptions as a means of dating the monuments which bear them (that is even if we over-rule Heras' own theoretical objection to so doing), the confused nature of his thinking still becomes apparent when we remember that the *birudā* 'Atyantakāma', which he says is the exclusive property of Parameśvaravarman I, occurs on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam, which he attributes to Mahendrarvarman, and on the Atiraṇachaṇḍa Maṇḍapam and Shore Temple, *which he attributes to Rājasimha*. Easy to see how Parameśvaravarman might have carved his title on a monument begun by his father; but how did he contrive to do so on monuments built after his own death?

Father Heras identifies the seated king in Varāha Cave I as Simhaviṣṇu, and the standing king as Mahendrarvarman I, thus following in the wake of Aravamuthan (Item 1931(2)) and his predecessors.

- 1937(1) LONGHURST, A.H., *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report for 1936*, Colombo 1937, pp. 16-18, pls. xv-xviii. He stresses the similarity between the Great Bas-relief and the Isurumuniya reliefs at Anuradhapura. See Item 1929.

- 1937(2) RAMACHANDRA CHÉTTIAR, C. M. RAO SAHIB, "The original name of Mahabalipuram", in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xxvii, Bangalore 1937, pp. 159 - 163.  
This is a confutation of Heras' translation of "Kadal - Mallai Talásayana' in Item 1933(2) as the mountain near the sea otherwise called Talaśayanam'.
- 1939 MINAKSHI, C., *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*. Madras 1939.
- 1941 MINAKSHI, C., "Historical sculptures of the Vaikuntha-perumal at Kanchi", being *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* no. 63, Calcutta 1941.  
She believes the royal portraits sculpted on the Arjuna Ratha to be those of Rājasimha and his queen and is thus the first scholar to associate Rājasimha with the building of the Rathas.
- 1943 AYYAR, V. VENKATASUBBA, *South Indian Inscriptions. Volume XII. The Pallavas (with Introductory Notes in English)*, Madras 1943.  
Dealing with inscriptions on the Dharmarāja and Gaṇeśa Rathas, Varaha Caves I and II, the Atiranachaṇḍa, Dharmarāja, Rāmānuja and Mahisasuramardini Maṇḍapams, and the Olakannātha and Shore Temples.
- 1946 ZIMMER, H., *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, New York and London 1946, pp. 137 - 148.
- 1947 VENKATASWAMI, M. K., "A Jain sculpture at Mahabalipuram", in *Notices and Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India*, no. 53, Madras 1947, pp. 2 - 4.  
Abstract of a paper read before the Society on January 21st, 1947. The lecturer said: "Literary evidence has led historians to think that Pallava Mahendra Varman I was originally a Jain . . ." and then claimed that the Great Bas-relief was a work of Mahendravarman, and that it represented a Jain subject, the legend of Sāgara and his sons.  
The sons of Sāgara were digging a moat round the Rishabhadeva Temple on Mount Kaiāsa, with the aid of the sacred Dandarātna tool. The Dandarātna broke through to the Patala world of the Nāgas. When Gaṅgā was diverted into the temple moat, the Nāga world was flooded,

The moment depicted in the bas-relief shows the Naga king rising up in fury to consume the sons of Sāgara. Doubts have been thrown on the identification by T. N. Ramachandran (see Item 1951).

- 1949 FYSON, D. R. (Mrs). *Mahabalipuram or Seven Pagodas*, Madras 1949. 32 pp. in text, 5 plates, numerous full-page and other drawings.

One of three recent guide-books, all out of print. See Items 1952(2), 1957(3).

- 1950 KRAMRISCH, STELLA, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vol., Calcutta 1946, pp. 166, 168, 182, 185, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202, 203, 273, 274, 334, 391, 413, 415.

Mainly an attempt to incorporate the Rathas, which she regards as models, into her classification of Indian temple-types.

- 1951 RAMACHANDRAN, T. N., "Kīratatjunyam in India art", being *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. xviii, Calcutta 1951.

This monograph is designed to show beyond all possible doubt that the Great Bas-relief is a representation of Arjuna's Penance. Examples of the theme are here described from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madras State, and Kerala. Between pp. 58-89 the Great Bas-relief is described in meticulous detail.

- 1952(1) HERAS, FATHER H. (S.J.), "The hypocritical cat", in *Tamil Culture (a Quarterly Review dedicated to the Study of Tamiliana)*, vol. 1, Madras 1952, pp. 286-319.

A most delightful account of the diffusion of the *niscesta survakarmasu* legend of the cat in the *Mahābhārata* (and of similar cat stories in the *Pāñchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*) into world literature. including Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Hebrew, Castillian, Latin, French, etc. He shows a bas-relief illustrating the story from the cloisters of Tarragona Cathedral, probably dating from the second half of the 13th century A.D., and concludes: "The plastic representation of the cat begins in Mahabalipuram and ends in Tarragona." He notes the existence of a second, rough version of the theme on a stone set in the compound wall at the Shore Temple. See Item 1930.

- 1952(2) SIVARAMAMURTI, C., *Mahabalipuram*, Delhi 1955, 39 pp. in text, 8 plates (15 illus.), folding plan.

This is the official Department of Archaeology guide-book. The author attributes most of the monuments to Narasimhavarman I, whose image, he says, is sculpted on the Dharmaraja Ratha (see Item 1931(2)). The royal figures in Varaha Cave I he identifies as Simhavisṣṇu and Mahendravarman, the conventional view. He describes the Great Bas-relief under the title 'Arjuna's Penance' but is somewhat critical of the identification. He follows Item 1907(2) in his identification of the shrines constituting the Shore Temple, as named in the Choḷa inscriptions on the outer walls (see also Item 1937(2) )

- 1953(1) MURPHY, R., *Edward Lear's Indian Journal; Watercolours and Extracts from the Diary of Edward Lear, (1873-1875)* London 1953, pp. 178-181.

See Items 1874, 1962(6).

- 1953(2) ROWLAND, B., *The Art and Architecture of India Buddhist Hindu Jain*, London 1953, pp. 180-183, plates 112, 113, 114, 115, 117(a).

On the 'Descent of the Ganges' he says on pp. 181-2: "We have here a perfect illustration of that dualism persistent in Indian art between an intensive naturalism and the conception of divine forms according to the principles of an appropriately abstract canon of proportions" (whew !).

- 1955(1) KRAMRISCH, STELLA, *The Art of India*, London 1955 (2nd edition), p. 38 pp. 38, 205, 206, plates 78-87.

On p. 205 is a very persuasive explanation of the Great Bas-relief as representing Arjuna's Penance. "By sculptural images", she says on p. 38, "this rock is translated bodily into the realms of myth and metaphysical truth" (uh-huh).

- 1955(2) BAZOU, FATHER L. (S.J.), "A sculptor's paradise in south India: Māmallipuram", in *Tamil Culture* (the Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture), vol. iv, no. 1, Madras 1955, pp. 12-39, 8 illus.

Bazou sees the Great Bas-relief as an expression of the nāga cult, and calls it "The Ascent of the Nagas." This view

was first favoured by Fergusson (see Item 1880, p. 156) who spoke of "the great Naga Raja, who was the principal personage for whose honour this great bas-relief was designed." See however Items 1914(2), 1929(1).

Note that Plate 4, no. 2. should be labelled 'Varāha Cave 2' not 'Varaha Cave 1'.

- 1955(3) ZIMMER, H., *The Art of Indian Asia. Its Mythology and Transformations. Compiled and Edited by Joseph Campbell*, 2 vols, New York 1955, pp. 10, 13, 23, 86-90, 211, 275-9, 357.

Magnificent plates (nos 266-298) accompany the text. Note that Varāha Cave 2 is wrongly labelled throughout as Adivaraha Cave (Varāha Cave 1), and the Krishna Maṇḍapam as the Pañchapaṇḍava Maṇḍapam.

On pp. 88-90 occurs a most beautiful description of the Great Bas-relief as illustrating the story of the Descent of the Ganges.

- 1955(4) CORNELIUS, J. T., "The Dravidian question answered", in *Tamil Culture* (the Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture), vol. iv, no. 3, Madras 1955, pp. 263-275, 4 plates 7 illus).

This is a serious attempt to prove a racial connection between the Dravidians and the Deltaic peoples of pre-Dynastic Egypt. The hypothesis is strengthened, according to the author, by a consideration of certain suggestive features found at Mahabalipuram and Tirukkalakunram: "All the sculptural representations on the Great Rock Panel (the Great Bas-relief) and Krishna Mandapam, and the visit of the two kites to the Sacred Hill at Tirukkalakunram bear witness to the doctrines of the Heliopolitan cult of the Libyans or Badarians who occupied the Egyptian Delta area around 4500 B.C."

Perhaps a final assessment of this theory must await complete critical analysis of H. Heras' *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Bombay 1953, for the one would seem to stand or fall by the other.

- 1955(5) The Films Division, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the Government of India, *Mahabalipuram* (Documentary Films of India), black-and-white, 35mm, 964 ft; 16mm, 386 ft; running time 10½ minutes.



The Catalogue says: "The monuments of Mahabalipuram... is the subject of this documentary, which not only describes all the monuments in vivid detail but also captures the atmosphere which pervades this ancient site, a relic of a glorious past." The film is stated to have won the President's Gold Medal, but I can't think why. Prints are available for sale.

1956(1) BROWN, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay 1956, 3rd edition, pp. 93-101, plates 59-63.

On pp. 94-95 Brown speaks of "a well-designed and extensive water system, drawn from the Palar river, and distributed by means of canals and tanks to all parts of the port. There are indistinct but none the less definite traces of this installation, so that in its palmy days such a constant supply of running water must have made it a very pleasant pleasing seaside resort. But this was not provided solely for public use, it was also maintained for ritualistic purposes, as is proved by the design of some of the temples in which cisterns and conduits appear to have formed an essential part of the scheme. The significance of what appears to have been a popular belief in water worship, combined with the Naga or serpent cult, is embodied in a remarkable scene sculptured on the eastern face of the main hill, and now misnamed Arjuna's Penance. This rock-cut drama is an allegorical representation of the holy river Ganges issuing from its source in the distant Himalayas, the water, fed from a receptacle above, cascading down a natural cleft in the rock in the centre of this magnificent picture in relief."

1956(2) LONGHURST, A. H., article in the *Madras Mail* of May 12th 1956.

I understand that in this article, which I have not read, Longhurst renounces the view he records in Item 1929, that the Great Bas-relief represents the Ganges flowing from Mount Kailāsa and the scene of Śiva's wanderings in the Himalayas in the form of Bhikshatana, and accepts the Descent of the Ganges theory *in toto*. See Item 1957(2), p. 19, ftn. 53.

- 1957(1) GANGOLY, O. C., GOSWAMI, A., and RAMAKRISHNA, N., *The Art of the Pallavas*, Calcutta 1957, 46 plates after photographs by Ramakrishna, of which 24 on Mahabalipuram. Frontispiece in colour shows the Five Rathas.

The authors attribute most of Mahabalipuram to Narasimhavarman I, Māmalā, but air the possibility that Mahendrarvarman and Simhaviṣṇu (wrongly named on p. 14 as Narasimhavarman's father) may have had a hand in it. They identify the portraits in Varāha Cave I as of Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendrarvarman.

Of the illustrations, plate 13, showing the Trivikrama panel in Varaha Cave 2, is wrongly labelled 'Trimurti Cave': and 14, 15 and 16 are all labelled 'Varaha Cave', whereas 14 and 16 show parts of Varaha Cave 2, and 15 a panel from Varaha Cave I. The authors support the "Descent of the Ganges" theory.

- 1957(2) NARAYANAN, PADMA TRIVIKRAMA, *Mahabalipuram*, Madras 1957, 60 pp., many 'silhouettes', i.e. white outline drawings on black, in the text.

The third of three extant though out-of-print guides (see Items 1949, 1952). It is pleasingly written, with abundant footnotes and notices of earlier accounts. On p. 19 Miss Narayanan draws attention to the figure of a dwarf, bearing the *udaremukha* motive, standing between Siva and 'Bhagiratha' in the Great Bas-relief panel. (For similar figures from Amaravati, Ghantasala, Ajanta, Badami and Prambanam see C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chalukya Sculpture*, Madras 1957, p. 10 and fig. 2).

- 1958(1) SRINIVASAN, K. R., "The Pallava architecture of south India", in *Ancient India* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), no. 14, New Delhi 1958, pp. 114-138, 24 plates (35 illus.).

An extremely important Item since it discloses, what must surely be obvious to anyone approaching the Mahabalipuram monuments with an eye on their style, that stylistic criteria are of no more value than those of paleography in attempting to assign dates for them. In the compressed period of

Pallava monumental rock-cut architecture, roughly a century from 600 to 700 A.D., it is unlikely that any architectural style could have become wholly obsolete; all must have been *au courant*.

Thus his thesis in no way conflicts with Nagaswamy, in Item 1962(7), who time and again stresses Rājasimha's personal eclecticism. For example, Srinivasan's first classificatory division (A) comprises the category of cave-temples or *maṇḍapams* in the style of Mahendra; these he assigns to three different periods. To period 1, the reign-period of Mahendra, he assigns not a single Mahabalipuram *maṇḍapam*. To Period 2, embracing the reigns of Narasimhavarman, Paramēśvaravarman and Rājasimha, he assigns the Koṭikal, Dharmarāja and Aṭṭaṇaṇḍa *Maṇḍapams*. To Period 3 he assigns no Mahabalipuram monument.

To his second classificatory division (B), namely *maṇḍapams* in the style (and period) of Narasimhavarman, he assigns the following eight *maṇḍapams*: Koneri, Mahisasuramardina, Pulipudar, Pañchapāṇḍava, Rāmānuja, an unfinished *maṇḍapam* near the Koneri *Maṇḍapam*, and the two Varāha Caves

A third group of *maṇḍapams*, comprising the Tiger Cave (which he calls the Yāḷi *Maṇḍapam*) "and similar ornamental pavilions", he assigns to the reign of Rājasimha. Of the Tiger Cave he observes that it "obviously served as a resting place during festivals, since the name of the place according to the inscriptions is Tiruveḷuchiyūr (*tiruveḷuchi* meaning 'starting in procession')."

The Rathas (nine in number if we include the Gaṇeśa, Valaiyankuṭṭai, and north and south Piḍāri Rathas) he assigns to Narasimhavarman, and the structural temples wholly wrought in granite or sandstone he assigns to Rājasimha or later reigns.

He has some extremely interesting remarks to make about the Pallavas as the first extensive users of granite for sculptural-cum-architectural purposes. He identifies the royal portraits in Varāha Cave I as of Mahendrarman I and Narasimhavarman I, thus following Item 1926(1).

- 1958(2) GAURISHANKER, C., "Animal sculpture in Mahabalipuram", in *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, February 9th, 1958.

The author notes that 150 separate animals and birds can be counted among the sculptures of the Great Bas-relief, including members of sixteen different species. He favours the 'Arjuna's Penance' explanation of the relief.

- 1958(3) CAMERON, R., *Time of the Mango Flowers*, London 1958. Of the Great Bas-relief, which he calls 'The Descent of the Ganges', the author says (p. 92): "One is conscious of a kind of suppressed excitement as if one were almost part of the scene, this extraordinary effervescence of carving that emerges from the matrix of stone."

- 1959 RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M. K., "The Rathas of Mahabalipuram" in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 18th, 1959, pp. 42-43, 6 illus.

"According to Silpasastra a temple dedicated to Brahma should have all gods and goddesses in it. Hence this ratha [Dharma-rāja] can be treated as a shrine for Brahma." Wherefore, then, the *liṅgam* shrine?

"It is very likely that the great King Mahendravarman, who bore the worthy title of 'Vichitrachittan' (a man with a wonderful mind) conceived of these [rathas] in his last years in consultation with his illustrious son, Narasimhavarman, who executed them during his reign."

- 1960 MAILLART, ELLA, "The Descent of the Ganges", in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, November 27th, 1960, pp. 28-30, 9 illus.

"In this great work, the Descent of the Ganga, they transformed the natural scene and expressed the deep unity of all things on Earth and in Heaven."

- 1961(1) KRISHNAN, Y., "The glory of Mahabalipuram", in *Indo-Asian Culture*, vol ?, no. ?, New Delhi, October 1961, pp. 199-204.

"The five rathas and the rock cut cave panels and "Arjuna's Penance" do not convey any meaning, are not parts of any integral plan... It appears that a guild of artisans found here an opportunity to practice the use of the chisel and

to model designs which they were to execute elsewhere for their patrons." Unlikely, but a school of sculptures for apprentices, the sons and grandsons of *silpins*, can be seen to this day at Mahabalipuram, run by the Madras Government.

- 1961(2) PARTHASARATHY, K., "Mamallapuram — the cradle of south Indian art", in *The Sunday Times* of January 8th, 1961, pp. 2 and 7.

This article is sub-titled "Archaeology lends gravity to history: history glorifies archaeology". The author favours the 'Arjuna's Penance' view of the Great Bas-relief.

- 1961(3) SASTRI, K. A. NILAKANTHA, "Mamallapuram", in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, December 10th, 1961, six plates in colour, two in black-and-white.

Professor Sastri believes the rock-cut architecture of Mahabalipuram may have been begun under Mahendravarman, and continued through until late in the reign of Rājasimha. He identifies the royal portraits in Varāha Cave I as Sīmha-vishṇu and Mahendravarman. He identifies the Great Bas-relief as depicting 'The Descent of the Ganges' and refers to it as "the vast open-air sculpture long known as "Arjuna's Penance" in spite of the fact that the crucial boar scene is nowhere to be found in this panorama."

- 1962(1) SRINIVASACHARI, K., "Mahabalipuram grandeur unlimited", in *Traveller in India*, vol. vi, no. 2, New Delhi 1962, pp. 16-19, 6 illus.

The author supports the 'Descent of the Ganges' theory.

- 1962(2) WILLETTS, W., "The road to Mahabalipuram", in *The Hindu*, April 14th, 1962, Weekly Magazine pp. 1 and 3.

A description of scenes and sights encountered on the coast road from Madras to Mahabalipuram.

- 1962(3) WILLETTS, W., "'Idle philosophical observor' of Madras Coast", in *The Hindu*, May 6th, 1962, Weekly Magazine pp. 1 and 2.

Originally entitled "Mahabalipuram through European Eyes — I", this article deals with early European visitors to the site — Manucci, Hamilton, Maria Graham.

- 1962(4) WILLETTS, W., "The Curse of Kehama", in *The Hindu*, June 3rd, 1962, Weekly Magazine, pp. 1 and 2.

Originally entitled "Mahabalipuram through European Eyes — 2", this article describes Southey's famous poem and its literary background. See Items 1810, 1850.

- 1962(5) NAGASWAMY, R., "Towers of the Shore Temple", in *The Weekly Mail*, June 23rd, 1962.

The author posits a rectangular waggon-back type of *vimāna* for the Vishṇu shrine at the Shore Temple, similar to those of the Gaṇeśa and Bhīma Rathas.

- 1962(6) WILLETTS, W., "The magic effect of Mahabalipuram", in *The Hindu*, June 24th, 1962, Weekly Magazine pp. 1 and 2.

Originally entitled "Mahabalipuram through European Eyes — 3", this article discusses the reactions of Bishop Heber and Edward Lear to the famous site.

- 1962(7) NAGASWAMY, R., "New light on Mamallapuram", in *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, vol. vi (Silver Jubilee Volume), Madras 1962, pp. 1-50, 14 plates (36 illus).

This is a published version of the paper read before the Society on February 6th, 1962, and might have been called "Mahabalipuram unveiled", since it draws together all the scattered stands of evidence that had been accumulating over the last century (see for instance Item 1910(1)) into a stout drawcord with which to pull the shroud from off the image of its maker, who stands revealed as Rājasimha.

It is perhaps the most important contribution to the literature of Mahabalipuram since the site was first attributed to the Pallavas. The author claims that the whole achievement belongs to Rājasimha's reign, his evidence being mainly epigraphic. He notes the concordance of Mahabalipuram inscriptions set forth in the notice of Item 1923(1). He notes that to 30 *birudās* appearing on the Dharmarāja Ratha, 16 also appear on the Kaiāsanātha Temple at Kāñchīpuram, built by Rājasimha. Moreover, the title 'Atyantakāma' appears on all the monuments with concordant inscriptions, namely the Atiraṇaṇaṇḍa Maṇḍapam, The Gaṇeśa Ratha,

the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapam, the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapam, and Varāha Cave I, as well as on the Shore Temple and the Vayalur and Tirupporur inscriptions of Rājasimha.

The great conquests of Narasimhavarman I and Paramesvaravarman I are nowhere mentioned among the Mahabalipuram inscriptions.

He also notes that the Somaśkanda motive found on the rear walls of the two Śiva shrines at the Shore Temple, as also in the Dharmarāja Ratha, Mahisasuramardinī Cave, Atiraṇa-chaṇḍa Maṇḍapam, and Mukundanayanar Temple, is the creation of Rājasimha, who compared himself with Subrahmanya. He attributes invention of the prismatic *lingam* to Rājasimha, and conjectures that the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ Temple at Kāñchī is also the work of Rājasimha. He considers that the royal portraits in Varāha Cave I represent Rājasimha himself (seated) and his son, Mahendravarman III (standing).

He considers that the Great Bas-relief represents Arjuna's Penance.

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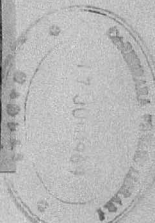
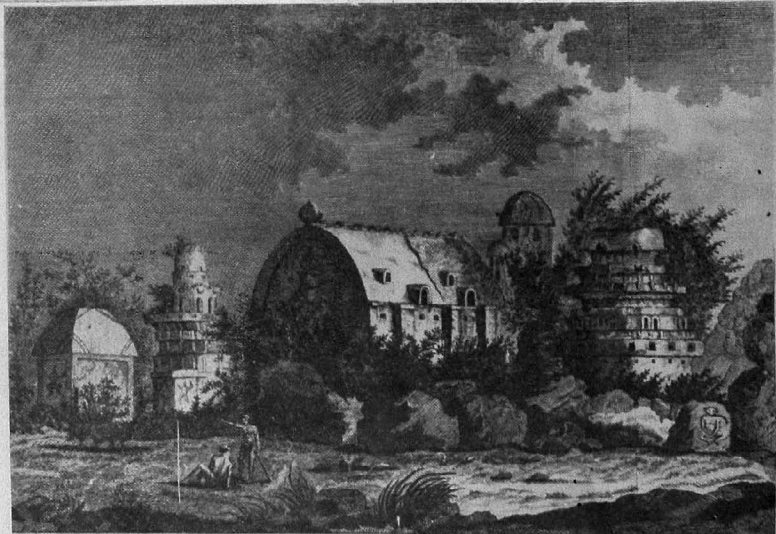


Plate 1

HAAFNER (1811) facing p. 478  
"Les Cinq Temples de Mawelewaram".



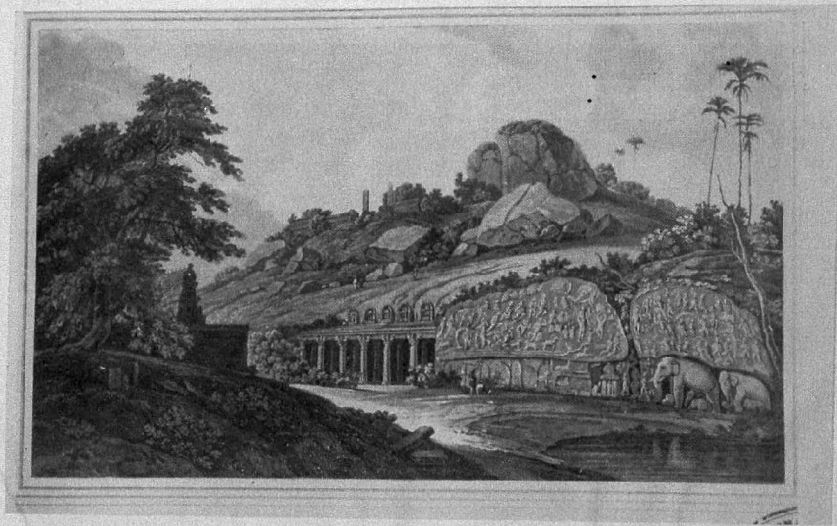


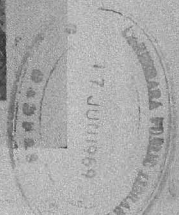
Plate 2

T. & W. DANIELL [1812-16] *Oriental Scenery*, vol. iii [Fifth Series] No. 2.  
"The Entrance of an Excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauvelepore".



Plate 3

T. & W. DANIELL, [1812-16] *Oriental Scenery*, vol. iii [Fifth Series] No. 2,  
"Sculptured Rocks at Mauvelepore on the Coast of Coromandel".





Published by A. Curwen & Co. 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4

Printed by W. G. & Co. 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4

*The Five Radums*

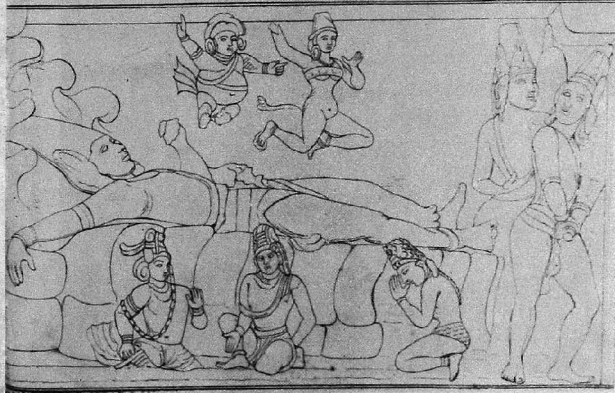
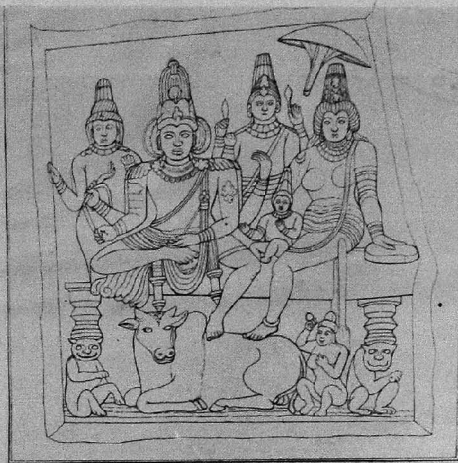


Plate 5

BABINGTON B. G., (1830) Plate 3

a. Somaskanda in Mahisasuramardini Mandapa

b. Anantasayi in ditto.

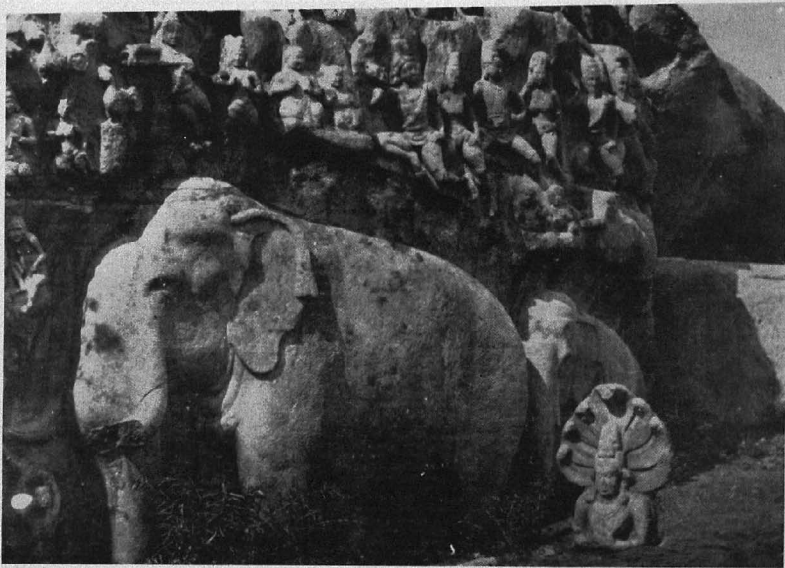


Plate 6

ALEXANDER HUNTER (1871)  
Photo by Photography Class, Madras School of Arts, Great Bas-Relief.

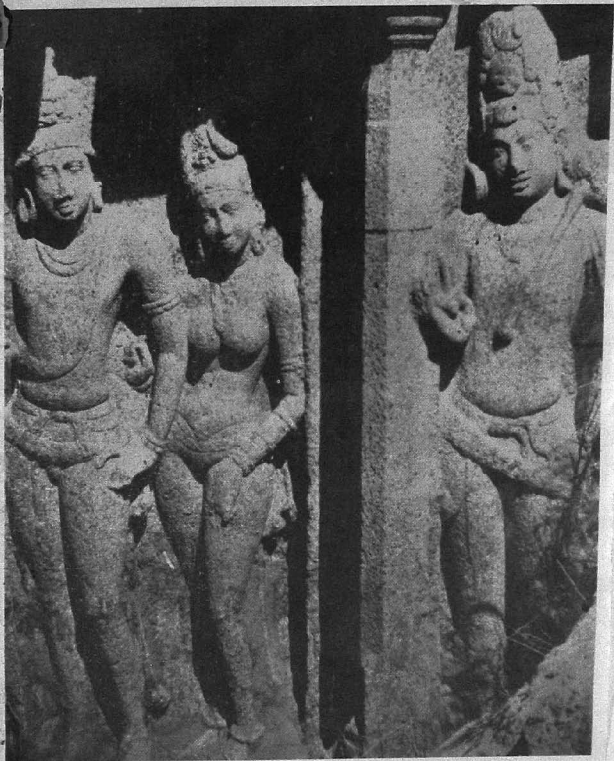


Plate 7

ALEXANDER HUNTER (1871)

Photo by Photography Class, Madras School of Arts  
Arjuna *ratha*, figures.

