Tree and Serpent Worship in IndiaTree and Serpent Worship (ABOUT)

James Fergusson 1869

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Tree and Serpent Worship in IndiaTree and Serpent Worship: Or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First andFourth Centuries after Christ. From the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi andAmravati by James FergussonAnthropological Review, Vol. 7, No. 26 (Jul., 1869), pp. 217-230Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and IrelandStable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3025152 .Accessed: 15/03/2012 22:57Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at .http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jspJSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range ofcontent in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new formsof scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.*Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserveand extend access to *Anthropological Review.*http://www.jstor.org

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. No. XXVI. JULY, 18G9. TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA.\* This great work, brought out under the patronage of our Indian government, in which Mr. Fergusson gives the crowning effbrt to the labours of his predecessors by restoring as far as possible two very ancient Buddhist topes, a word conveying a similar meaning to our word temples, of India, has an especially anthropological side, which has indeed been brought into view, and even discussed by Mr. Fer? gusson himself. Indeed it is an essentially anthropological book. Still, there is in it quite sufficient materials for other inquirers, and other views than those advocated by its learned author. His first attempt is to show that, among primitive superstitions, tree and serpent worship have been very general in all quarters of the globe, almost universal. In this he has fully succeeded. That trees clothed with beauty, and also with mystery, which soar far above the regions to which man can attain, which commune with the heavens, with the spirit of the storm, and are familiar with the lightning's flash, which teem with myriads of virtues, and of beneficent uses to man, should be associated with supernatural notions in his mind, might have been expected, if we had not learned their sacred character in almost every region, in the east as well as the west. The Kirgiss Tartar sees in them an object of adoration, and the native Irish vene- rate them. It is equally apparent that the mysterious gliding reptile, endowed with such lethal forces as to exercise the power of life and death, was certain to ensure the dread, and attract the devotion of primeval man. In Egypt, in Greece, and in India, serpents have \* 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 Amravati. Prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. With introductory essays and de- scriptions of the plates. By James Fergusson, Esq., F.B.S. London, Indian Museum, 1868. VOL. VII.?NO. XXVI. Q

218 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. been objects of worship of one kind or another in all ages. So that Mr. Fergusson has fully made out the position he has maintained in the introductory chapters of this book. The connection with the main subject of the work is not at once seen to be so intimate and so necessary as might have been expected. It is true that we have re- peated over and over again in the sculptures of these wonderful structures, the worship of both trees and serpents, as well as that of many other material objects. Mr. Fergusson's opinion is, that tree and serpent worship are the superstitions of a Turanian race, and that they are altogether antagonistic to the tastes and feelings of the Aryans. Hence his pointed allusions to these themes. The ancient topes of India were sacred structures of a somewhat similar nature in principle to barrows or tumuli, which cover the re? mains or relics of the dead, and in this way acquire sanctity in the eyes of succeeding generations. They appear to be especially con? nected with Buddhism. The more celebrated ones are of great mag- nitude, and have received such accessions and enlargements by the efforts of successive devotees, as to equal, if not exceed, in some re? spects, the grandest temples of other lands. In this way they became sacred places declicated to religious purposes, where numerous cere- monies were performed, and where great multitudes of people con- gregated, devoting their labours and their offerings to adorn and to magnify these topes. Mr. Fergusson's work is dedicated to the illustration of two of the ancient topes, that of Sanchi ancl that of Amravati. The former is situated in Central India, to the north of the Vinclhya mountains and the river Nerbuclda, between the towns of Bhilsa and Bhopal; the latter lower down in the Peninsula, in Guntoor, on the southern bank of the river Kistna, about sixty miles from its mouth. The remains of the Sanchi tope are more entire by far than those of that at Amra? vati. It is the largest of a series of topes in this neighbourhoocl, which extends over a clistrict of about seventeen miles in an east and west direction, and ten miles north and south, some of which descend to the size of an ordinaiy tumulus. But the great one " consists first of a basement of a hundred and twenty-one feet in diameter, and fourteen feet in height. On the top of this is a terrace or procession path, five feet six inches wide, within which the dome or tumulus rises in the form of a truncated hemisphere to a height of thirty-nine feet. This was originally coated with chunam to a thickness of about four inches." Chunam is lime or plaister, and forms upon the tope a coating, something like a coating of bricks. " The most remarkable feature connected with this monument is the rail which surrounds it at a distance of nine feet six inches at the base, except on the south,

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 219 where the double flight of steps leading to the berm, or procession- path, reduces the width to six feet four inches. The rail is eleven feet in height, and consisted apparently of a hundred pillars, exclu? sively of the four gateways, two of which remain, which were added about the Christian era, and are covered with sculptured decorations of the most elaborate kind." (P. 87.) The age of the Sanchi tope it? self is considered by Mr. Fergusson to date from the time of Asoka, 250 b. c. Mr. Fergusson is inclined, upon the discussion of all the evidence that can be obtained upon the date of the Amravati tope, to conclude " that like our own cathedrals, the erection of this tope may have lastedfor two or three centuries, or say from 200 to 500 a.d." (p. 162.) This tope is much more thoroughly destroyed than that at Sanchi, so that its remains are now only to be dug out of the mounds on the spot. Its entire diameter was originally about two hundred feet. It was surrounded by two sculptured rails, an inner and an outer one, between which was an elevated procession-path, paved with slabs thirteen feet long, running across the pathway. It seems to have been quite unlike the tope at Sanchi, for the inner rail surrounded an inclosure with buildings upon it, and having in the centre a Dagoba, or tumulus, only about thirty feet in diameter. The procession-path must have been, in its original state, of considerable magnificence. On the outer side it was surrounded with the rail of twelve feet in height; on the inner with one of six feet high, both of which with their pillars were sculptured with innumerable figures, representing a great variety of scenes, probably mainly sacred ; but some of them appear to be historical, ancl others domestic. It is difficult to give an idea of the elaborateness and elegance of the sculptures upon these rails, without an examination of the original marbles, or of Mr. Fer- gusson's photographs and lithographs. He says, those of the inner rail resemble ivory carvings more than anything else. He observes in one place, " /Vt Amravati there were apparently twenty-four pillars in each quadrant, and eight, at least, in each gateway, say 112 to 120 in all. This involves 230 to 240 central carved discs, all of which were sculptured ; and as each of these contains from twenty to thirty figures at least, there must have been in them alone from 6,000 to 7,000 figures. If we add to these the continuous frieze above, and the sculptures above and below the discs on the pillars, there probably were not less than 120 to 140 figures, for each intercolumniation, say 12,000 to 14,000 in all. The inner rail contains probably even a greater number of figures than this, but they are so small as more to resemble ivory carving. Except the great frieze at Nakhon Vat, there is not, perhaps, even in India, and certainly not in any other Q 2

220 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. part of the world, a storied page of sculpture equal in extent to what this must have been when complete. If not quite it must have been nearly perfect, in all probability less than a century ago." (p. 166.) This may afford some idea of the immense work of destruction done and doing by the great civilised nations of Europe in modern days, and in all parts of the world. The primary object of Mr. Fergusson's volume is to give the western world some adequate idea of these two ancient Indian topes, and of the profusion of sculptures executed upon their gateways and rails. Many of the marbles are in the Indian Museum in this country, and of others, very careful and accurate drawings have been made at both topes, some years ago, chiefly by two Indian officers, Lieut.-Col. Maisey and Col. Mackenzie. The marbles in London have been pho- tographed with great skill by Mr. W. Griggs, who has besides executed the lithographs, and to him, as well as to Mr. Fergusson, we are much indebted for the proper illustration of these wonderful structures. The latter carefully describes each of the subjects of the plates as they pass in succession before him, and gives the reader the aid of his great knowledge of art in general, and of Indian art in particular, and of his learned researches into Indian history and religion, in ex- plaining the design and purport of the scenes represented in the sculptures. As already hinted, Mr. Fergusson attributes both these topes, with all their elaborate decorations, to the disciples of Buddha, and of this there cannot be any doubt. They are both of them sacred structures of the Buddhists, whose disciples do not any longer tread the soil of this portion of India, or, indeed, any other portion of India proper. Buddhism was a very ancient religion in India. It maybe said with? out any hesitation that it originated in metaphysical speculations upon matter and upon man, his origin and destiny. It is probable that Brahmanism, the religion of India at this day, is as ancient, if not more ancient, than Buddhism, and it is not so essentially a dissimilar doctrine, at least in its origin, and its philosophy. General Cunning- ham, a very high authority, speaking of Buddhism, after the days of Sakya Muni, or Gotama, whom some regard as its founder, others as the great reviver and reformer of Buddhism, gives this view of the subject. " I believe that as Buddhism gradually attained an ascendancy over men's minds, the whole of the Brahmanical school, by an easy change of phraseology, accommodated their own doctrines, so as not to clash with those of the dominant party. At least it is only by a supposition of this kind that I can account for the great similarity which exists between the philosophical systems of Buddhism and those of the Brahmanical Sankhyas. This similarity, which has already

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 221 been noticed by Colebrooke, is, indeed, so great as to render it difficult to diseriminate the doctrines of the one from those of the other. The phraseology varies, but the ideas are the same ; so that there is a distinction, but without a difference."\* The disciples of these two religions, the doctrines of which we will pass over as they are very recondite and complicated, and may be safely said to be differently propounded by different authorities,t have manifested from the earliest period of Indian tradition a great anta- gonism, which has been displayed in fanatical opposition and strife. Still the similarity of doctrine has been vouched by one of the first of Indian scholars, as we have seen. Mr. Fergusson appears not to take this view. We shall see by-and-by that his hypothesis, as displayed in all parts of this volume, is quite different. He represents the religions as essentially at variance; so much so, that they are the difFerent re? sults or products of two very distinct races of people, whose minds may be said to be constructed upon difFerent, almost opposite, prin? ciples, operating upon the grand subject of religion ; so that Budd? hism and Brahmanism are the effects of two quite distinct causes. Brahmanism he regards from a higher point; probably in its supposed Aryan origin, as a pure and spiritual religion, the religion of the most exalted minds; whilst Buddhism is the religious manifestation of a much lower and baser intellect. In the commendatory tone he main? tains towards the former he is much influenced by the ancient Sans? krit poems called Vedas, which are considered to be the oldest and the purest expressions of this faith."}; \* The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India, p. 38. Lond. 1854. f Modern Darwinism may clearly claim a Buddhist origin. " The basis of the system is a declaration of the eternity of matter, and its submission at remote intervals to decay and reforination; this and the organisation of animal life are but the results of spontaneity and procession"; something like the "continuity" of a modern philosopher, "not the products of will and design, on the part of an all-powerful Creator."?Ceylon, by Sir Jas. Emerson Tennant. Third edition, i, 531. % The defmiteness, if not the exalted purity, of doctrine of the Vedic poems, may be judgecl of by the first sentence of Professor Max Miiller's " Prospectus of a Translation of portions of the Kig-Veda" : " After twenty years spent in collecting and publishing the text of the Kig-Veda with the voluminous Commentary of Sayana, I intend to lay before the public my translation of some of the hymns contained in that collection of primeval poetry. I cannot promise a translation of all the hymns, for the simple reason that, notwith- standing Sayana's traditional explanation of every word, and in spite of every effort to decipher the original text, either by an inter-comparison of all pas? sages in which the same word occurs, or by etymological analysis, or by con- sulting the vocabulary and grammar of cognate languages, there remain large portions of the Kig-Veda, which, as yet, yield no intelligible sense."

222 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. But it will be better to state Mr. Fergusson's views as far as we can in his own words. Mr. Fergusson tells us that the hardy ancl warlike Aryans, or Sanskrit-speaking race of people, derived from the countries now known as Bokhara and Afghanistan, entered India across the Upper Indus?there seems no good reason for doubting that it was at or near Attock?and eventually spread themselves throughout the whole of the valley of the Ganges and the countries between the Vindhya and the Himalaya mountain s. That, at intervals of from five to ten centuries, horde after horde of these Aryans have crossed the Indus and settled in the fertile plains of India. Another race,? " A Turanian race, known as the Dravidians, and speaking Tamul, or languages closely allied to it, entered India probably earlier than the Aryans, but across the Lower Indus, and now occupy the whole of the southern part of the peninsula nearly up to the Yindhya moun- tains. . . . It is not quite so clear whether there was not a third race occupying the countries north of the Vindhyas and between them and the Himalayas, of which they were dispossessed by the Aryans. The language of the superior race has so completely taken possession of every department of literature at the earliest period to which our knowledge extends, that we have no written record of the existence of this aboriginal people ; and the blood of all has in modem times been so mixed by migration and colonisation, that it seems impossible to dig back to the roots through the jumble of languages and races that now exist in the valley." (P. 57). There are few passages in which Mr. Fergusson explains his views on the subject of the races of India and other parts of the world more fully than that in which he speaks of the legendary tales collected by the brothers Grimm, concerning serpents, dwarfs, giants, and other monsters of fairy stories, which have hacl such an extensive prevalence over Germany, Scandinavia, and anciently Greece ; still, no doubt, with great variations. He says,? " The usual mode of accounting for this identity, which can hardly be accidental, is to assume that the tales were originally invented by Aryan nurses beside the cradles of the race in Balkh ancl Bokhara, ancl that they were carried east and west by the alumni when they set out on their travels some four or five thousand years ago. The results of my reading have led me to conclusions widely different from this fash- ionable hypothesis. My belief is that all the serpents and dragons, all the dwarfs and magicians of these tales, all the fairy mythology, in fact, of the east ancl west, belong to the Turanian races. These, as I have frequently had occasion to mention, underlie the Aryan races everywhere in Europe as in Asia, and occasionally crop up here and there through the upper crust, often when least expected. So far as I understand the idiosyncracy of the two races, nothing can be more antagonistic to the tastes ancl feclings of the Aryans than these wild imaginings ; while few things, on the contrary, could be more eon-

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 223 genial to the comparatively infantile intellect of the Turanian race." (P. 73). This view it may be safely said is an advance upon the " fashionable hypothesis," which is at the same time highly improbable, although it is by no means a relinquishment of the extravagance of deriving the Aryans from the east to come into Europe, to establish civilisation and the nations of Europe. This Mr. Fergusson appears still to sup? pose to be true. Taking the author's statement literally, it is the Turanian immi? grants who occupied the country of the Dravidians. Hence we should anticipate that this region would be the special seat of Buddhist remains, as Buddhism was especially the Turanian religion. But such is not the fact. Amravati is situated nearly on the border of this re? gion, and " though there were Buddhists in Dravida-desa, there are no traces of Buddhist buildings or establishments now to be found south of Amravati." (P. 58). And Mr. Fergusson says distinctly that it does not appear that the Dravidian races ever were converted to Buddhism. We appear thus to be thrown entirely upon the people who occu? pied Central India and the Valley of the Ganges, before the presumed immigration of the Aryans for the origin of Buddhism. In one place Mr. Fergusson says expressly, "the province now known as Upper Bengal, more especially the districts of Tirhoot and Behar, were assuredly the cradle of Buddhism." (P. 225). These people the author would have us to recognise as Turanians, or, what other ethnographers name, aborigines. And here we hope to be excused for saying, this seems to be a weak point in Mr. Fergusson's hypothesis. He assu? redly would not put back the origin of Buddhism to a period anterior to the earliest invasion of the Aryans; indeed, on the contrary, in some passages he appears to regard Sakya Muni (623-543 b.c.) as the founder of this religion. But, if we err in taking these expressions too literally, as is very probable, we are still justified in saying, he assuredly would not put back the origin of Buddhism to a period an? terior to the earliest invasion and settlement of the Aryans in this portion of India. Hence we must be reduced to the necessity of assuming that this peculiarly Turanian religion took its rise among a Turanian race, which had been invaded and conquered by Aryans and had mingled with Aryans for ages before this origin. A Turanian race thoroughly subdued by the hardy and warlike Aryans, or Sans- krit-speaking race, " to whom is to be attributed that language which has so completely taken possession of every department of literature at the earliest period to which our knowledge extends." Our author ascribes great importance to a mixture of blood, and

224 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. explains this singular phenomenon by such a mixture. He says, after making use of the term Hindus?" meaning by that term the civilised race who had been the dominant class in India for at least two thou? sand years before the time to which we are now referring. Originally these people were no doubt pure immigrant Aryans; but, before Sakya Muni preached his reform, their blood had become so mixed with that of the aboriginal and inferior races, as to render the success of that newgospel possible. They still, however, retained the civilisation and the pre-eminence which the original intellectual superiority of the Aryans had imparted to them." (P. 92.) This is as if we were to attribute a great religious reform in France at the present day, not to the Frankish blood which exists in that country, but to the Celtic blood, on the ground that we thought the new religion was essentially a Celtic faith, perhaps something like Druidism. It should also be recollected that Mr. Fergusson admits that Sakya Muni himself was an Aryan, and yet he preached a religion so repug- nant to Aryans, that our author says, " it may be safely asserted that no Aryan race, while existing in anything like purity, was ever con? verted to Buddhism, or could permanently adoj)t its doctrines." (P. 57.) Mr. Fergusson's work is of great interest in relation to serpent worship, or the manifestation of religious veneration towards ser? pents. He has striven to show that this kind of religious sentiment has prevailed in almost all countries. In India it is met with at the remotest period to which we can refer, and it exists now. It seems to us, as already explained, to be an expression of a blind sentiment towards the supernatural implanted in the mind of primeval man. In India it has always played an important and extended part in mythology, under the name of " Naga," the Sanskrit term for ser? pent. In the ancient poems there are endless fables about a naga race of people, and they constantly recognise naga royal families, as well as an infinitude of other absurdities. Mr. Fergusson con- siders that there is an intimate relation between this naga race, ancl also serpent worship itself, with the Turanian people. Besides the use of the term in the sense of a snake, it is also applied to some of the wild or aboriginal tribes of India, in the northern parts of Asam. These are not known to be devoted to serpent-worship ; but it will be readily seen how the fables of the Indian poems may have hacl their origin in the hill tribes. Mr. Fergusson, as just men? tioned, is much disposed to consider serpent-worship, wherever it exists, as a mark of a Turanian race. It may be doubtful whether these Buddhist sculptures carry out this view. He uses the term Turanian in such a comprehensive manner, as already hinted, that it has the meaning of an aboriginal race. He thus expresses his views upon this subject.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 225 " If there is one point which comes out more clearly than another in the course of this investigation, it is that serpent worship is essen- tially that of a Turanian, or at least of a non-Aryan people. In the present state of the inquiry it would be too bold a generalisation to assert that all Turanian races were serpent worshippers ; and still less can it be affirmed that all who looked on the serpent as a God belonged to that family of mankind. It is safer, however, to assume that the whole tendency of the facts hitherto brought to light, lies in that direction ; and it seems probable that eventually the worship of the serpent may become a valuable ethnographic test of the pre? sence of Turanian blood in the veins of any people among whom it is found toprevail." (P. 40.) When we come to examine the sculptures themselves, which are well represented in the plates, we find, apparently, judging chiefly from the dress and other peculiarities, different tribes, or races of people. Mr. Fergusson has directed his attention to the interpre? tation of these, but they will probably admit of much further study. He considers that the j)eople represented may be divided into two classes. The first he designates "Hindoo," or the original Aryan race, who had been the dominant class in India for at least two thousand years before the erection of the Sanchi Tope, during which time they hacl mixed their blood with the aboriginal and inferior races. These are generally distinguishablu by their costume, which is the dhoti, i. e., a scarf wound round the loins, and then brought uj) between the legs and thrust under the folds which cross behind, or sometimes before. This is the manner in which the dhoti is worn at the present day. The turban covers the head. Sometimes they have a cloth passed over the shoulders and obliquely across the back, which Mr. Fergus? son calls by the modern name Chudder. This costume is pretty much the same as that of the present inhabitants of India, not Mahomedans, which is distinguishable by not being shaped, not being needle-made, but worn as woven by the loom. For ornaments both men and women wear bangles round the wrists and round the ankles, and have a large ear-ornament, which is a thick object thrust through the lobe of the ear, the women having besides heavy bead necklaces. What is most remarkable in these women, is the exceeding scantiness of their dress. With a large bordered head-dress, hanging half way, and, in some cases, all the way down the back, the ear-ornaments and bangles above-mentioned, and a highly ornamental girdle, passing low down around the hips, they are many of them fully clothed. This nude condition is not universal, although very general, as a few wear dhotis. In many of the photographs, particularly of those from the Amra? vati tope, wc see people with handsome features, mostly of a heavy

22Q ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. east, some of them with pleasing countenances, with good noses, people who greatly resemble the Hindoos of the present day. There is much room for anthropological purposes, for a series of careful photographs of the most characteristic heads, of a good size, taken from the marbles, so as to afford studies of the people represented in the sculptures. All the photographic delineations in this volume have been taken as it were for architectural purposes, or at most for art purposes. The marbles should be studied more minutely for ethnological purposes. And it would be a very proper and also de? sirable thing if a few of such photographs as have been suggested of the ancient inhabitants of India, were added to the great work now issuing by the Indian government, under the title of " The People of India." But the photographs of this volume, the lithographs not possessing the same physiognomical value, which are mostly small, as far as the portraits of the people are concerned, may, like those of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, be quoted in proof of the permanency of race. All careful observers have concurred in the opinion, that the people represented in the sculptures and paintings of the Egyptian tombs are the same race as the people who inhabit the Nile valley at the present day. Those remarkably fine people of the most ancient civilisation on the face of the globe, who in a recent ethno? logical concatenation have been identified with the most uncivilised ancl most uncivilisable race of which we know anything in any period of the world's history, have left their lineal and unmistakable de? scendants among the subjects of the present Pasha. And it is the same with the Assyrian monuments, which depict a people quite con- trasted with the ancient Egyptians. Those who have studied them in juxtaposition with the present inhabitants of the valley of the Eu- phrates, tell us that there exists the greatest resemblance between the two. Here in India we have the same phenomenon, the Hindoos of the present day being sculptured in the marbles of the topes dating from the period of the Christian era. These are all striking evidences of the same law of permanence of type. Whether the re? semblance of the Hindoos of that remote period with the Hindoos of to-day, will afford any support, or otherwise, to the Aryan hypothesis, we will not say. For it does not appear that by going back from the present time, when the philologers consider themselves under the necessity of supposing an Aryan origin for the Hindoos, for nearly two thousand years, we meet with any proof of arriving nearer to an epoch when the supposition was not equally needed upon the same grounds. This, we are fully aware, is no difficulty in the way of those who maintain the Aryan hypothesis; for they tell us that at

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 227 least five thousand years ago the Aryans descended from Bokhara and Afghanistan to the Gangetic valley, and brought Sanskrit with them. Still, it cannot be denied that the appearances are all in favour of the endurance of the same race of people in India from the remotest times to the present. If there have been any great changes, which we are required to suppose even by Mr. Fergusson, there is no evidence of subsequent change from the time of the building of the Sanchi tope to this day. The other, or second great class of people of the sculptures dis? tinguished by Mr. Fergusson, have a difFerent costume. They are clothed in a kilt, fastened round the loins by a cord, a cloak, or tippet, and something like a conical cap, which Mr. Fergusson considers to be either their plaited hair, or a piece of cloth or rope wound round the head in this conical shape. But their most remarkable peculiarity is that they wear beards of a peaked shape, whereas all those of the first class are devoid of beards and even moustaches. Their gar- mcnts are shaped and made with a needle, not like those of the first class, which are worn just as they came from the loom. Mr. Fergusson is unwilling to affix any general name to the people of this second class, still he calls them " Dasyus," for this term, he says, has been given in the Vedas to the aboriginal people of India. He regards this second class as being the ancient representatives of the wild tribes of India, such as the Gonds, the Khonds, etc, of the present day. Their women also are readily distinguishable from those of the " Hin? doo" race. They wear a petticoat striped like the kilts of the men, which appears to be gathered in at the knees, and a cloak or tippet is thrown over one shoulder. Although our author is disposed to regard this really better clad people as the aborigines of India, and as the inferior race, among whom the " Hindoo" people, having some tinge of Aryan blood in their veins, stand out as their superiors, it should be noted that this was not the opinion of his predecessors in this inquiry. General Cunningham and Colonel Maisey were inclined to regard this second class as priests or ascetics, i. e., really a class superior in the eyes of the general population. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it must be admitted that Mr. Fergusson's opinion, the result of great research, must always have considerable weight. There does not appear to be that distinction among the worshippers, or in the objects of their worship, which we might have expected or desired. Whether this may arise from the unsectarian, tolerant spirit of Buddhism is doubtful. But in the case of Plate lxx, which represents one of the pillars of the great rail at Amravati, we have in the centre the beardcd people, who are there, wearing a breech-cloth and a close cap, worshipping a Buddhist emblem, the trisul; in the

228 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. compartment on the left hand, the same people also seated wor- shipping the serpent emblem, or five-headed naga, to which are actu? ally attached the sacred feet of Buddha; and, in the compartment on the right hand, we have a group of lamas, or Buddhist priests, fully clothed in flowing robes, no doubt of yellow silk, as they have come down to the present day, with shaven heads, worshipping the trisul on a pillar, to the base of which the sacred feet are equally attached. In the seventy-first plate we have, in figure 1, the beard- less and turbaned people, with their women, engaged in worship on one side of a pillar bearing the trisul, and having the sacred feet, and, on the other side, the lamas worshipping the same emblems. This confusion of people ancl of objects of worship is most embar- rassing in different ways, for it shows that there was no repugnance on the part of the worshippers, whether Hindoos or aborigines, to the worship of the serpent or of Buddha, that confusion was the rule in every respect, although the artist adhered to the delineation of each people and sect, if the term may be used, in their proper cos - tume. Still it is remarkable that they are generally represented in separate compartments ; for instance, the lamas are not mixed with the other people, but stand or sit by themselves. There is a hopeful expression of Mr. Fergusson's which must excite interest with anthropologists, where he says : " We are very far indeed from any such knowledge of the modes of sepulture among the aborigines, as to be able to speak regarding them with anything like certainty. Ample materials, however, exist in India, and so soon as any one will take the trouble to collect and classify them, we shall from their graves be able to discriminate be? tween the different races, and assign to each its proper locality, with a precision now entirely wanting to such researches." (P. 152.) In the photograph, Fig. 4 of Plate xci, which is, according to Mr. Fergusson, the representation of Suddhoclana, the father of Buddha, and his friends, a subject very similar in this religion to the annun- ciation of Christian artists, there is an appearance in the four men who are seated upon stools around the prince, which is not commented upon by the author. All these four persons have their right hands raised, the two first fingers extended, and the others closed, which reminds us of the sign used by Christian priests in " blessing," as it is called. In Plate lxxiv, Suddhodana is seated, with a halo round his head, holding up his right hand ; the forefinger and thumb are joined, ancl the rest of the fingers held upright,?no doubt, another sign. When speaking of the worship of the horse in one place, for this animal is introduced as sacred in the sculptures, the author evidently makes some acknowledgment of Aryan difficulties. He says: " This does not prcclude the idea of this form of worship being

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA. 229 borrowed from Scythia. On the contrary, everything we learn from either Sanchi or Amravati points to the north-west, and to countries beyond the Indus as the source whence everything took its origin. What the Buddhists derived from those countries was, however, directly antagonistic to anything which we know that the Aryans either pos? sessed or affected, and must consequently be derived from some other race." (P. 216.) Another singular anomaly in the views of Mr. Fergusson ought not to be passed over, especially as it is almost a postulate with our author that the Aryans are not an architectural race ; at first view, an extra? ordinary position, when it is usually affirrned that the Greeks were primarily Aryans. He says, that the Turanians are the great builders everywhere. In fact, he accounts not only for the temples but for the religion also of the Greeks from the prevalence of Turanian blood in Greece. This may seem to be a necessity if the Aryan hypothesis is to be upheld. " Assuming the Veda and Zend Avesta to be exponents of the re? ligious feelings of the Aryans, it is impossible to understand?if lan? guage is any test in such a matter?how a people speaking a tongue so purely Aryan as the Greek, could so completely have lapsed into a Turanian ancestral worship as we find that of Greece in its great age. Unless a great substratum of the inhabitants of Greece be? longed to the Turanian family, their religion, like their language, ought to have presented a much closer affinity to the earlier scriptures of the Aryan race than we find to be the case. The curious anthropic mythology of the Grecian Pantheon seems only explicable on the as? sumption of a potential Turanian element in the population, though the study of the language fails to reveal to us its existence." (P. 12.) In other words, language is the true and only basis of the Aryan hypothesis \ but the facts relating to religion require the admission of a non-Aryan race of people in Greece. On turning to language to support this admission, it at once becomes valueless as a test of the existence of this non-Aryan race. One of the most important principles laid down by our author, upon which Mr. Fergusson's opinion as an artist and architect has the greatest weight, is that which he everywhere expresses upon the influence of Bactrian art as seen in the most ancient monuments of India. He is inclined to consider that this influence is displayed in the purest form in the time of Asoka, 250 b. c, to which he re? fers the Sanchi Tope. He says : " We can now assert with confidence that all the permanent forms of art arose in India after its inhabitants were brought into contact with western civilisation, by the establishment of the Grecian king? dom of Bactria. It seems probable that such sculptures as we have of Asoka's reign were actually executed by Grecian, or at least by Yavana artists." (P. 221.) An earlier passage to the same effect, which is also connected with

230 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW. one of Mr. Fergusson's ethnological hypotheses, may possibly serve to explain this latter term. "The knowledge that we have now gained of the early history of the art of sculpture in India, from the study of the examples at Sanchi and Amravati, enables us to point with equal certainty to Bactria as the fountain-head from which it was introduced. We are now able to trace the Yavanas step by step, as they pene? trated over the Upper Indus, and spread their influence and their arts across the continent of India to the very shores of the Bay of Ben - gal, at Cuttack, and Amravati. . . But the people who did all this were not Greeks themselves, and did not carry with them the Pan- theon of Greece or Rome, or the tenets of Christianity. They were a people of Turanian race, and the form of worship they took with them and introduced everywhere was that of trees and serpents, fading afterwards into a modified form of Buddhism." (P. 98.)\* This, upon the origin of Indian art, is very significant testimony when derived from such a source. The taste of that great people, led by Alexander to his eastern conquests, confessedly laid the foun- dations of Indian art as we see it in all subsequent ages, and we know nothing of Indian art before that epoch. This is a very im? portant foundation should the scholars of a future period be led to in- quire, what was the full extent of Grecian influence upon the oriental world in other matters, especially language. \* To this passage of our author a little more attention, of an ethnological kind, ought to be directed. The Aryan system, it is well known, is a system of inferences from beginning to end; still it may be questioned whether this practice of inferring race after race, which is Mr. Fergusson's method, should not be under some restraint. Here we have him inferring the invasion of India by a Turanian race across the Upper Indus, we might reasonably sup? pose, after the foundations of the Bactrian province, as they appear to have brought Greek art with them. We do not wish to insist upon the interpre- tation of Mr. Fergusson's language too literally, and allow that he may mean that his inferred Yavana Turanians crossed the Upper Indus long before Alexander's invasion. What we especially wish to call attention to is the fact that our author in all other parts of his work regards these invasions across the Upper Indus as the work of the hardy and warlike Aryans. Here he is constrained to infer an invasion of Turanians from the same source too.