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Photo : Courtesy of Bhulabhai Desai Memorial Institute, Bombay.

EDITORIAL ARTICLES

THE DATE OF THE KARLE CHAITYA

THERE has been considerable divergence of opinion with regard to the date of the great Karle *chaitya* situated at the top of the Bhor *ghāt* only about 40 miles from Poona. Both from the architectural and sculptural viewpoint it is the greatest monument of what is known as Āndhra art. It is not sufficiently realized that the early sculpture of Karle[1] was never equalled for sheer plastic beauty either at Amaravati or Nagarjunikonda, the two great sites of the Eastern Āndhra sculptural tradition, where reliefs of surpassing excellence were produced.

(1) Fergusson and Burgess in *Cave Temples of Western India*, London 1880, p. 233, assign the excavation of the *chaitya* to the period 50 B.C.–1 A.D., apparently intending that period to cover its construction.

(2) Vincent Smith in *The History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Oxford 1930 (2nd ed.), p. 27, ascribes Karle to the 2nd century A.D. Whether the date refers to the commencement or completion of the *chaitya* is not indicated.

(3) Sir John Marshall in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1922, p. 637, says that a date earlier than the 1st century A.D. is precluded.

(4) A. K. Coomaraswamy in *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 29, suggests a date near to the beginning of the Christian era. Whether the date refers to the commencement or completion of the *chaitya* is not indicated.

(5) Stella Kramrisch in *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta 1933, p. 161, suggests about 100 A.D. Whether the date refers to the commencement or completion of the *chaitya* is not indicated.

(6) R. S. Wauchope in *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, Calcutta 1933, p. 41, following Fergusson and Burgess, places the excavation of the cave slightly anterior to the Christian era, (50 B.C.-1 A.D.). This period is apparently meant to cover the commencement and completion of the *chaitya* cave as it is suggested it is not likely to belong to a period after 1 A.D.

(7) Karl Khandalavala in *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Bombay 1938, p. 21, says that the *chaitya* was built in the beginning of the Christian era or even later, but in the caption under Pl. X. Fig. 27, suggests 1st or 2nd century A.D. This view is reconsidered in the present editorial.

(8) Percy Brown in *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*), Bombay, p. 26, suggests 1st century B.C., but in the captions to Pl. 19, Fig. 2 and Pl. 20, says 2nd century B.C. It is difficult to understand this dating but probably it is meant to indicate that the *chaitya* belongs

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[1] There are later sculptures at Karle belonging to the Deccan Gupta school of the 6th century, when the Mahāyāna orders were in occupation of Karle.

to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. The period of its construction and completion is not indicated.

(9) Benjamin Rowland in *The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953 (Penguin Books), pp. 71-72, suggests the beginning of the 1st century B.C. (80 B.C.) as the dedication of the *chaitya*. Where he gets that exact date 80 B.C. from, we do not know, but obviously it is given under some grave misconception. He then says all the reliefs are centuries later than the cave, apparently mixing up the Āndhra reliefs, which are contemporary with the *chaitya*, and the Deccan Gupta reliefs which are centuries later.

(10) H. Zimmer in *The Art of Indian Asia* (Ed. Joseph Campbell), New York 1957, Vol. I, p. 224 f.n., ascribes Karle to the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. but it is not clear if that period is intended to cover its construction or refers to its completion.

(11) Stella Kramrisch in *The Art of India*, London 1954 (Phaidon Press), apparently changes the opinion expressed in her earlier *Indian Sculpture*, and suggests 1st century B.C., but gives no indication of the commencement and completion of the cave.

(12) Douglas Barrett in *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1954-55, assigns Karle to first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. or somewhat later.

(13) The latest publication on Karle,[1] a small guide book by Douglas Barrett, Bombay 1957, states that though one cannot be absolutely sure of the date, the style of the architecture and sculpture suggests a date soon after 100 A.D. Whether this applies to the commencement or the completion is not clear.

This divergence in dates and the almost universal disregard of the fact that such a large and elaborate cave took at least half a century to construct, is a little surprising. In fact, however, there is no need to speculate on the date of Karle as being somewhere between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. Karle can be dated with reasonable certainty on the basis of well established historical and epigraphical data.

While considering this data we have summarily put aside all those patently fallacious theories which have unnecessarily clouded a clearer vision of Indian history. For instance, there has never been a sensible basis for the theory of R. C. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar[2] that Gotamīputra Sātakarṇī and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi ruled jointly. So also there has been no basis for the theory that Rudradāman and Chashṭana did not rule jointly. In fact, joint rule is characteristic of the suzerainty of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas. Moreover, there is not even a shadowy foundation for the oft repeated statement that the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas were viceroys of the Kushānas, even if the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas originally had some connection with them through Chashṭana for a short period of time. Sylvain Levi's theory in

[1] Douglas Barrett, *A Guide to the Karla Caves*, Bombay 1957, p. 4. It is reviewed in the present issue.

[2] 'Dekhan of the Sātavāhana period', *Indian Antiquary*, 1918.

Journal Asiatique, 1936, that Sandanes of the *Periplus* is Kanishka is one more instance of how hard facts can be ignored in an attempt to support well nigh fantastic conclusions.

Today, no one can seriously doubt that Nambanus of the *Periplus*,[1] the ruler of Ariake, is the Śaka king Nahapāna. For one thing the text, as based on the latest examination of the manuscripts of the *Periplus*, supports the view that the name was originally 'Nambanos' and eliminates the earlier reading 'Manbarus.'[2] But even if the reading were 'Manbarus' or 'Manbaros,' or 'Mambarus' or 'Mambaros', or 'Mambanes', as variously suggested, there is no genuine difficulty in equating any of these variations with the name 'Nahapāna.'[3] But what is much more important, though conveniently ignored by some writers, is the circumstance that if the king who held the premier port of Barygaza (Broach) and the entire Western seaboard at least down to Calliena (Kalyan),[4] in the time of the *Periplus*, was not Nahapāna, then is it not strange that not a coin, not an inscription, not a vestige of this mighty king 'Manbarus' (even assuming this reading of the name to be correct) has come to light! 'Manbarus' certainly cannot be equated with any Āndhra king. Only the most imaginative of our historians would today venture to put forward such a proposition. Therefore, the king of Ariake (in the *Periplus*) who controlled the port of Barygaza was undoubtedly a Śaka king.[5] Now which Śaka kings in the 1st century A.D. held sway in Western India and controlled the port of Barygaza save the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas, namely Bhūmaka and his successor Nahapāna. Even the bare existence of any third member of this dynasty of rulers in Western India is not known.[6] But though Bhūmaka appears to have controlled Barygaza, as can be seen from the fact that his coins are found both in Gujarat and Kathiawar and sometimes in Malwa,[7] there is no evidence at all to suggest that he ruled over any part of the country south of Gujarat. But the king of Ariake (in the *Periplus*) certainly ruled over the coast from Barygaza (Broach) as far south as Suppara (Sopara) and Calliena (Kalyan), which two ports, having regard to the

1 *The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, London 1912, (Ed. W. H. Schoff), para. 41.

2 J.A. B. Palmer, 'The Identification of Ptolemy's Dounga,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1946, p. 170. He states that the fact that the king of the *Periplus* is Nahapāna no longer admits of doubt. The earlier view of Kennedy in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916, pp. 836-37, that it is not possible to restore with confidence the name of the ruler of Ariake, is now discountenanced.

3 In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, p. 1043, Fleet has shown how a copyist's mistake could distort names. But apart from what Fleet has pointed out it is common experience how names passing from mouth to mouth get completely distorted. Ancient sea-faring traders and their informants could in such a process easily convert the name 'Nahapāna' into 'Nahapanus' or 'Nahapanos' and thence into 'Nambanus' or 'Nambanos' and finally into 'Mambarus' or 'Mambaros' or 'Manbaros' or 'Mambanes'. Indian history teems with such corruptions of names. For instance can anyone doubt that Ptolemy's 'Tiastenes' is the great satrap Chashṭana? In fact, in the *Periplus*, para. 42, the Narbada river is referred to as 'Nammadus' or 'Namnadios'.

4 *Periplus*, para. 52.

5 The capital of the king of Ariake who controlled the port of Barygaza is given in the *Periplus*, para. 41, as Minnagara, indicating by the prefix 'Min' that it was a Śaka city.

6 The inscription on the coin in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, p. 5, is too uncertain to support a theory of a third ruler of this dynasty.

7 Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Andhras, Western Kshatrapas, etc.), London 1908, p. cvii.

statement in the *Periplus*, could not have been in the possession of the Sātavāhanas[1] at the time when the *Periplus* was written. Moreover, no one has yet gone to the length of equating 'Manbarus' with the Śaka Bhūmaka! Now if 'Manbarus' (again assuming for argument's sake that that is the name in the *Periplus*) is neither Bhūmaka nor Nahapāna, then who can he be? To avoid this impasse we would be driven to the necessity of making a most unwarranted assumption, namely that 'Manbarus' must have been some Śaka king belonging to a line other than that of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna (the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas) and also other than that of Chashṭana (the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas) because Chashṭana (2nd century A.D.) and his line cannot possibly come into the picture during the time of the *Periplus*.[2] If, however, we do make this quite unwarranted assumption, we are still confronted with the fact that this ruler 'Manbarus', the most powerful and famous king of Western India in the 1st century A.D., controlling the greatest West-coast ports and a vast import and export trade, is only known to us in the pages of the *Periplus*. Not a solitary coin out of the numerous Kshatrapa coins, and not a solitary inscription out of the many Kshatrapa inscriptions, testifies to his existence! The only alternative to such a situation, which indeed puts an intolerable burden on all normal methods of reasoning, is to recognize the fact that there were only two Śaka Kshatrapa dynasties in Western India, namely that of the Kshaharātas and that of the Kārdamakas.[3] The latter dynasty, as already observed, cannot possibly figure at the time of the *Periplus*, and hence the Śaka king of the *Periplus* must belong to the Kshaharāta dynasty. Since there were only two members of the Kshaharāta dynasty and since 'Manbarus' cannot be Bhūmaka, it inevitably follows that he must be Nahapāna.

We have been at pains to establish that even apart from the latest emendation of the text of

[1] *Periplus*, para. 52, states that the city of Calliena became a lawful market town in the time of the elder Saraganus but since it came into possession of Sandares (or Sandanes) the port is much obstructed and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard. It is impossible to equate Sandares (obviously a viceroy of Nahapāna) who held the port of Kalyan, with any Sātavāhana king, though this has been done! While the Śakas did not entirely prevent foreign trade passing through Calliena, they probably refused to allow ships bearing certain special types of cargo, such as bullion, to land at Calliena or Suppara. Such ships were sent under guard to Barygaza. The text of the *Periplus* does not suggest a total ban on foreign shipping at these Deccan ports. That would have been unwise because the Śakas themselves held these two ports. The Śakas did not prevent the 'Roman' trade which entered the West Coast ports of Barygaza, Suppara and Calliena from proceeding into the interior cities of their rivals, the Sātavāhanas. Though they had defeated and driven the Sātavāhanas from the coast into the interior, the 'Roman' trade was allowed to proceed to the great marts of the Sātavāhanas such as Paithana and Tagara (Ter). This was good policy as it meant large port dues. But ships carrying bullion and certain other cargoes were forced to land their goods at Barygaza as the Śakas did not want these special cargoes to go to their rivals. This is probably the true interpretation of the ban against certain ships landing cargoes at Calliena. Kennedy's translation of the *Periplus* would indicate that the ban was in force at both Calliena and Suppara and that undoubtedly must have been the case.

[2] There are incontrovertible reasons why no writer has yet ventured to equate 'Manbarus' with anyone of the line of Chashṭana. It is not necessary to consider these reasons beyond pointing out that even the *Periplus* itself states that in its time Ozene (Ujjain), which became the capital of Chashṭana and his line, was no longer a royal city. In fact it became a royal city again only in the 2nd century A.D. under Chashṭana and his successors. In no event is it possible to place the *Periplus* later than 71 A.D. and all informed opinion today concedes it cannot be later than 65 A.D. and is probably still earlier.

[3] The so-called Mahisha Śakas, assuming that hypothesis to be correct, are not relevant to the problem which we are considering.

the *Periplus*, which yields the name 'Nambanos' and not 'Manbarus', there cannot be any doubt that the king of Ariake (in the *Periplus*) in whatever form his name appears in the text, is Nahapāna. In view, however, of the latest examination of the manuscripts of the *Periplus*, even the slender basis[1] on which some historians relied for not regarding Nahapāna as the king of Ariake in the *Periplus*, has disappeared. The latest reading, 'Nambanos', is obviously a corruption of Nahapāna.

Thus our first premise is that Nahapāna lived when the *Periplus* was written. Now the date of the *Periplus* is almost universally accepted as *circa* 50-65 A.D.[2] It can in no event be later than 71 A.D., but the better opinion is that it cannot be later than 65 A.D. Let us, however, take an extreme date, *circa* 65 A.D., as the year in which it was written. We are also safe in assuming that Nahapāna had been at least five years in power before the author of the *Periplus* began to compile or in any event completed his navigator's logbook. Our reason for so saying is that this log is based on the author's several voyages to the Western ports, and these must surely have been spread over a period of five years at least. On this basis Nahapāna was ruling in 60 A.D. (65 A.D. — 5 years). Now we know that Nahapāna ruled for at least forty-six years.[3] It may be noted that early Jaina chronicles,[4] namely the *Paṭṭāvali Gāthās* and Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa* also give Nahapāna (Naravāhana as he is termed therein) a long reign of forty and forty-two years respectively. Now if *circa* 60 A.D. was the commencement of Nahapāna's reign his rule ended in *circa* 106 A.D. and if we take *circa* 55 A.D. as the commencement then his reign ended in *circa*

[1] This slender basis was that the name given in the *Periplus* was thought to be 'Manbarus' and it was argued that 'Manbarus' cannot be equated with Nahapāna. Why, however, it cannot be equated with Nahapāna remains incomprehensible. One of the recent histories of this period, namely *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay 1953, (2nd Ed.), p. 179, Vol. 2, states that the equation of 'Mambarus' with Nahapāna is unwarranted because Nahapāna is known to have ruled in the period 119-125 A.D. This latter statement is itself quite fallacious and merely evades a solution of the problem. To dogmatize that Nahapāna's known dates must be of the Śaka era is to beg the very question at issue, namely, what is the period of his rule. No other arguments are advanced in the above named history to support the theory that the ruler in the *Periplus* is not Nahapāna. It may be noted, however, that most modern historians such as Nilakanta Shastri, A. S. Altekar, K. Gopalachari and Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya all accept the synchronism of the king of Ariake (in the *Periplus*) with Nahapāna.

[2] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1951 (2nd Ed.), p. 148 fn. The weight of the arguments against any date later than 65 A.D. is almost conclusive. In any event no one now seeks to place it beyond 71 A.D., the end of the reign of Malichos II, king of the Naebatians, who is mentioned in the *Periplus*. As Tarn rightly points out, the Kushāṇas are still in Bactria, therefore the *Periplus* cannot be later than *circa* 65 A.D. when the Kushāṇas, at the latest, entered Gandhāra. Moreover, it may be stated that the *Periplus* mentions that the metropolis of Scythia is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out. This almost certainly suggests a political situation that arose after the death of the powerful Parthian ruler Gondophares and the period therefore must be between *circa* 50 and *circa* 65 A.D. That the great Wema Kadphises had entered India (Gandhāra) by 65 A.D. is certain and it is difficult to believe that the author of the *Periplus*, who is most knowledgeable, would be ignorant of the fact if he wrote after 65 A.D., particularly when he pointedly mentions Bactria in para. 47.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London 1954, p. 127, also ascribes the *Periplus* to the third quarter of the 1st century A.D.

[3] *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. 4, p. 103. The inscription of Nahapāna's minister Ayama, at Junnar, of the year 46. The years in Nahapāna's inscriptions at Nasik and Junnar must be his regnal years and cannot be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. This has been conclusively established. See the reasoning at p. 17 of the present editorial and also K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras 1941, pp. 53-59; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Śakas in India*, Santiniketan 1955, pp. 43, 44 and 47; A. S. Altekar, 'The Date of Nahapāna,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress at Nagpur*, 1950, pp. 39-42.

[4] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1930, p. 283.

101 A.D. Even if we were to take the commencement of his reign in *circa* 65 A.D. the latest date for the end of his reign would be *circa* 111 A.D. Thus on the basis of the *Periplus* and Nahapāna's known regnal period of at least forty-six years we get the period 101-111 A.D. as containing the last year of his reign.

It may be queried why the commencement of Nahapāna's reign cannot be placed before *circa* 55 A.D. The reason is that if this were done then the undisputed synchronism between the end of Nahapāna's reign and his defeat by Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi, established not only by the evidence of the Nasik inscription of Balasirī[1] but also by the discovery of the vast number of restruck coins of the Jogalthembi hoard,[2] would be difficult as this event is not likely to have taken place prior to *circa* 100 A.D. We will therefore proceed to consider the problem of the date of this synchronism and see if the evidence relating thereto confirms the conclusion at which we have arrived on the basis of the date of the *Periplus* and the Junnar inscription of the year 46. That conclusion, be it again noted, was that the period 101-111 A.D. contains the last year (i.e. the forty-sixth year) of Nahapāna's rule. The assumption that Nahapāna's forty-sixth regnal year was the last year of his reign is a fairly safe one to make, as there is nothing to suggest that he continued to rule after his signal defeat at the hands of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi. He was probably slain in the struggle, because Balasirī's Nasik inscription tells us that the Kshaharāta race was 'uprooted'. In considering this problem of the synchronism of the end of Nahapāna's reign and his defeat by Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi we will formulate the argument step by step.

(1) The Andhau inscriptions[3] in Kutch of Chashṭana and Rudradāman as joint rulers[4] are dated Śaka era 52=130 A.D. This is an absolutely fixed point in Kshatrapa chronology. This establishes that Chashṭana and his grandson, who therein are both called *Rano* (equivalent of the *Rājan* of Nahapāna) were not only overlords of Kutch but also of Malwa because they ruled from their capital city of Ujjayinī. It is not possible to countenance the theory[5] that the Andhau inscriptions merely go to show that Chashṭana and his grandson had founded a small principality in Kutch, and that Malwa, which after the defeat of Nahapāna passed under the sway of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi, still remained a Sātavāhana possession in 130 A.D. It is because Chashṭana had established himself in Malwa, and because Kutch had also come under his sway, that his and his grandson's fame and power were widely known, and accordingly we get a private inscription in far-away Andhau mentioning their joint rule as *rājās*. It cannot

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 60-62.

[2] Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Āndhras etc.), p. lxxxviii.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 16, p. 23.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 12, pp. 105-106.

[4] The practice of joint rule was common amongst the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas. The view expressed by some writers that the Andhau inscriptions of 130 A.D. do not establish the joint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman need not detain us at all as it is contrary to overwhelming evidence of consistent joint rule of father and son as Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa in the line of Chashṭana.

[5] A. S. Altekar, 'The Date of Nahapāna,' pp. 40-41.

be otherwise, because Chashṭana's son, Jayadāman, who was dead in 130 A.D., had been a Kshatrapa under his father Chashṭana, and despite his very short joint rule his coins, as a Kshatrapa, have been found at Junagarh in Kathiawar and at Pushkar near Ajmer.[1] This could hardly be the case unless the Mahākshatrapa Chashṭana had wrested Malwa and other territories from the Sātavāhanas at least about five years prior to 130 A.D. Moreover, it is unlikely that Chashṭana would be a Mahākshatrapa with his son Jayadāman as a Kshatrapa during the period 125 to 130 A.D. if all that Chashṭana had conquered was a small principality in Kutch. Thus, even if we allow only a short period of five years joint rule to Jayadāman along with Chashṭana prior to 130 A.D., we arrive at the conclusion that Chashṭana had taken Malwa from the Sātavāhanas at the latest by 125 A.D.

(2) Now we know from Balasirī's Nasik inscription[2] that Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi had taken Malwa some time after signally defeating Nahapāna and there is nothing to suggest that the powerful Gotamīputra had lost any of his conquests in his lifetime. Therefore, it follows that the latest *possible* date for the death of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi could be 124 A.D. (taking only a year prior to 125 A.D.). Now, the Nasik inscription (No. 4 in Cave 3) of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi[3] and the Karle inscription No. 19, which must also be ascribed to him, go to establish that he had defeated Nahapāna in the year 18 or the year 17 of his reign. As his last regnal year is 24,[4] it follows that Nahapāna was defeated six or seven years prior to Gotamīputra's death. Since the latest *possible* date for Gotamīputra's death is 124 A.D., we are also able to fix the latest *possible* date for the end of Nahapāna's rule to 117-118 A.D. Incidentally, the above facts fairly shatter the theory that the dates of Nahapāna (41, 42, 45 and 46)[5], in the Nasik and Junnar cave inscriptions, are to be assigned to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. If they were assignable to the Śaka era then the end of Nahapāna's reign would be 78 + 46 = 124 A.D. and consequently Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi's death would have to be placed in 130 A.D. Moreover it would mean that Gotamīputra defeated Nahapāna in 124 A.D. and then conquered Malwa. If this were so, then we would arrive at the quite amazing result that in or about the very year in which Gotamīputra wrested Malwa from its ruler he lost it to Chashṭana since the latter was undoubtedly in possession of Malwa in 125 A.D. Such a result becomes all the more amazing when there is nothing to suggest that Gotamīputra ever lost his conquests in his lifetime or ever came in conflict with Chashṭana. In fact, it seems that the statement in Balasirī's

[1] Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Āndhras etc.), pp. 76-77.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 60-62. The inscription of Balasirī sets out the territories which Gotamīputra ruled over. They include Suratha (Kathiawar) and Akaravanti (East and West Malwa).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72. The Karle inscription seems to be of the year 17 and not 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74. Nasik inscription No. 5 in Cave 3, mentions a donation of Gotamīputra in the year 24 of his reign.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 82-83. Nasik inscription No. 12 in Cave No. 10 (donated by Ushavadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna) mentions the year 42, and later on in the same inscription the years 41 and 45 are mentioned. The year 46 is mentioned in the Junnar inscription. See *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. 4, p. 103.

Nasik inscription[1] that Gotamīputra 'rooted out the Khakharāta (Kshaharāta) race' and 'restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family' are indeed no exaggerations. Nahapāna must have fallen in battle against Gotamīputra and the Śaka power of the Kshaharāta dynasty was utterly crushed forever.[2] It appears that it was only after Gotamīputra's death that another Śaka family, the Kārdamakas, asserted themselves under Chashṭana and conquered Malwa and other territories from Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the successor of Gotamīputra.

(3) Even though we have fixed 118 A.D. as the latest *possible* date for the end of Nahapāna's reign we are in a position to arrive at the correct date with greater accuracy. Be it remembered that Ptolemy[3] makes mention of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the successor and son of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi. Now it is accepted that Ptolemy wrote his *Geographia* in *circa* 140 A.D. referring to the political set-up of a few years prior to that date—say *circa* 135 A.D. or so. We also know that Puḷumāvi was not ruling in 150 A.D. because that is the date (Śaka era 72) of the Girnar inscription of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman wherein he mentions that he twice defeated *Sātakarṇi*, Lord of Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan) but did not destroy him because of his 'not too distant relationship' *(sambamdh-āv(i) dūrayā)*[4] with hmi. Now this *Sātakarṇi* of the Girnar inscription of 150 A.D. (which is a fixed point for Āndhra chronology) cannot possibly be Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[5] because the latter never bore the name *Sātakarṇi*. It is not to be found in a single one of his inscriptions or coins nor does he bear that name in any of the *Purāṇa* lists. Nor is it a family name in the sense that it is applicable to every Sātavāhana king. Therefore, the Girnar inscription must have reference to some successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, bearing the name *Sātakarṇi* and we will presently see who this successor was.

(4) The inscriptional evidence at Kanheri goes to show that one Vāsishṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi was the husband of the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Ru . . . . (who can only be Rudraḍāman, by common accord). The existence of this king, Vāsishṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi, as a ruling monarch is further evidenced by a unique silver coin of his in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,[7] which closely imitates the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas as regards type, size and

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 60-62.

[2] No successor of Nahapāna has ever come to light and moreover in the enormous hoard of the Jogalthembi coins of Nahapāna about two-thirds are found to be restruck by Gotamīputra. This circumstance speaks for itself. Early Jain traditions also tell us that the Sātavāhana king killed Nahapāna who was ruling over Broach. See *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1930, p. 283.

[3] J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta 1927. Pulumāvi is referred to as Siro-Polemaios who had his royal seat at Baithana (Paithana).

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 44-47, where Kielhorn, however, translates the words as 'on account of the nearness of their connection'. But there is a consensus of opinion that the correct interpretation is 'not too distant relationship.' Altekar and Gopalachari both accept this reading.

[5] Moreover we learn from Ptolemy that Chashṭana and Pulumāvi were contemporaries, and it is hardly likely that the latter married the former's great-granddaughter, because we know that the Śaka princess was Rudradāman's daughter, and Rudradāman was Chashṭana's grandson.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. 5, p. 78, inscription No. 11.

[7] A. S. Altekar, 'Some Rare and Unique Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, p. 59. The close imitation of the Kshatrapa type was no doubt due to this king's relationship with Rudradāman.

Fig. 1. Mithuna couple on horse capital, inside *chaitya*. Karle. 70-100 A.D.
See p. 24.

Fig. 2. Elephants, verandah of *chaitya*. Karle. *Circa* 60 A.D.

Fig. 3. *Mithuna* couple on verandah of *chaitya*.
Karle. *Circa* 40-60 A.D.

Fig. 4. Elephant and rider capitals inside *chaitya*.
Karle. *Circa* 50-90 A.D.

Fig. 5. *Mithuna* couple on upper facade of verandah of *chaitya*.
Karle. *Circa* 70 A.D.

Fig. 6. Architectural view of *chaitya*. Karle.
Commenced *circa* 40 A.D., completed *circa* 100 A.D.

weight. There is no difficulty in identifying him as the Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva Śri Sātakarṇi of the coins.[1] Now the successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi in the *Purāṇas* is 'Śiva Śrī' (No. 25 of the *Matsya Purāṇa* list) specifically called Sātakarṇi-Śivaśrī in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. Hence we are fully justified in equating him with the Vāsishṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri inscription and Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi of the coins.

(5) But Sātakarṇi — Śivaśrī of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (who is Śivaśrī, No. 25 of the *Matsya* list), though undoubtedly the son-in-law of Rudradāman, cannot be the *Sātakarṇi* referred to in the Girnar inscription of 150 A.D., as 'twice defeated' by Rudradāman. The reason is that the *Sātakarṇi* of the Girnar inscription[2] is specifically described as 'not too distantly related' *(sambandhāv(i)dūr(at)ayā)* to Rudradāman. Now such a phrase could never be used of a son-in-law who, far from being 'not too distantly related' is in fact a very close relation and in all probability would be specifically described as such. Therefore, the *Sātakarṇi* of the Girnar inscription must be a successor of Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi (No. 25 of the *Matsya* list), but one bearing the name *Sātakarṇi*. Fortunately, it is not difficult to identify this successor for he can be no other than Śiva Śrī's immediate successor, Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (No. 26 of the *Matsya* list and No. 26 of the *Brahmāṇḍa* list), and probably the king known to us as Sri Skanda Sātakarṇi of the Tarhala hoard.[3] He cannot be Yajñaśrī, (No. 27 of the *Matsya* list) who was a very powerful king and whose widespread conquests indicate that far from being the 'twice defeated' king of the Girnar inscription he in fact wrested territory from the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas.

(6) Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (No. 26 of the *Matsya* list), perhaps a brother or a nephew[4] of Śiva Śrī (son-in-law of Rudradāman), would most aptly be described as *sambandhāvidūratayā* ('not too distantly related').

(7) Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi had a reign of seven years according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Now it would not be unreasonable to assume that about four years of his reign had elapsed when the second campaign, which resulted in his second defeat at the hands of Rudradāman, was concluded. On that assumption we arrive at Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi's accession year as 150 A.D. — 4 = 146 A.D. His predecessor, Śiva Śrī (No. 25 of the *Matsya* list), also had a reign of seven years,[5] according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and therefore his accession date would be 146 A.D. — 7 = 139 A.D. which incidentally would also be the last year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's reign, as he was the immediate predecessor of Śiva Śrī. We have so far assumed that the Girnar inscription of 150 A.D. corresponds with Śivaskanda's fourth regnal year, but if the year 150 A.D. of the

1 Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (Āndhras etc.), p. 29.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 42-49.

3 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 2.

4 But A.S. Altekar in 'The Date of Nahapāna' suggests that Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi may have been a son of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi through a queen other than the Śaka princess and hence was the step-son of the Śaka princess.

5 Some writers suggest that Śiva Śrī reigned at least thirteen years by equating him with Vāsishṭhīputra Catarapana of the Nanaghat inscription (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 15, p. 313). But this is not at all certain.

Girnar inscription is assumed to be the second, third, fifth, sixth, or seventh year of Śivaskanda's reign, then the last year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's reign would range between 136 A.D. to 141 A.D.

(8) If we take *circa* 139 A.D. as the last year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's reign, which is not unlikely, then his accession year would be either

(a) 139 A.D.—24 (being his last regnal year as per his Karle inscription No. 20)[1] = 115 A.D. or

(b) 139 A.D.—28 (the duration of his reign according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*) = 111 A.D.

The year 139 A.D. as the last of Puḷumāvi's reign fits in even with the theory that Ptolemy wrote his *Geographia* in *circa* 150 A.D., as has been suggested by some authors, and not in *circa* 140. Ptolemy's material, we know, was gathered several years before he wrote his work. If, however, we take the last year of Puḷumāvi's reign to range between 136 A.D. and 141 A.D. then it follows that his accession year (which would also be the last year of Gotamīputra) will range between 117-112 A.D. if Puḷumāvi ruled for twenty-four years, and between 113-108 A.D. if he ruled for twenty-eight years. On this basis, and having regard to the fact that Nahapāna's downfall is six or seven years prior to Gotamīputra's death, the last year of Nahapāna must fall within the period 110 A.D. (117 A.D.—7) to 101 A.D. (108 A.D.—7). His coming to power would range between 64 A.D. (110 A.D—46) and 55 A.D. (101 A.D.—46). This last mentioned date, 55 A.D. or alternatively 59 A.D. (if Puḷumāvi ruled only twenty-four years) is probably the correct date of Nahapāna's accession. But whether the date be 55 or 64 A.D. or an intermediate date, for all practical purposes it makes no difference to our problem of the date of Karle.

(9) It may be observed that the dates thus obtained for the end of Nahapāna's reign tally completely with the period 101 to 111 A.D. (as the end of Nahapāna's reign) which we had already obtained by reference to the *Periplus* and the Junnar inscription of the year 46.

(10) To all intents and purposes the above dates, particularly 55 A.D. to 101 A.D., as the period of Nahapāna's rule, which have been arrived at on purely factual data, approximate closely with the result (55 A.D.-105 A.D.) arrived at by A. S. Altekar in his article on 'The Date of Nahapāna',[2] though he arrived at his dates partly on the ground that all the known facts of contemporary history can be explained by these dates — a quite legitimate viewpoint and approach. S. K. Gopalachari in his *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 55, arrived at a result which placed the last year of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi at 106 A.D. and consequently the last year of Nahapāna at 106 A.D.—6 or 7 = 100 A.D. or 99 A.D. Even that is close enough though the reason why Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi should be given a reign of fourteen years when the *Matsya Purāṇa* only gives him seven years is not too convincing. The result is that Gopalachari has to place the last year of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi at 131 A.D. which may not be too early if

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 7, pp. 71-72.

[2] A. S. Altekar, 'The Date of Nahapāna,' p. 35.

Ptolemy (who mentions him as ruling at Paithana) wrote in *circa* 140 A.D. of events a few years prior. But if Ptolemy wrote in *circa* 150 A.D. then the date 131 A.D. as the last year of Puḷumāvi would become improbable.

The likeliest dates arrived at by us, namely *circa* 55 A.D.—101 A.D. or *circa* 59 A.D.—105 A.D., for Nahapāna's rule also eliminate the objection raised by S. Chattopadhyaya in his *The Śakas in India*, p. 44, to 106 A.D. being the last year of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi's reign as suggested by Gopalachari. Chattopadhyaya points out that the Kushāṇa emperor Vasishka controlled Eastern Mālwa in 106 A.D. because we have Vasishka's inscription at Sanchi[1] in the year 28=106 A.D.[2], and therefore if Gotamīputra died in 106 A.D. it means that he had lost possession of Eastern Malwa before his death whereas in fact there is nothing to indicate that in his lifetime he lost any of his conquests so proudly enumerated in Balasirī's Nasik inscription.[3] But the dates which we have suggested as being the most probable for Nahapāna's rule would place the last year of Gotamīputra either as 108 A.D. (101 A.D. + 7) or 112 A.D. (105 A.D.+7) and thus Gotamīputra's annexation of Eastern Malwa could well be some time after 106 A.D. for surely his wide conquests were not all accomplished at one and the same time. They may well have been spread over the last six or seven years of his life after his victory over Nahapāna. Other explanations can also meet this supposed difficulty.

The date given by Chattopadhyaya[4] for Gotamīputra's reign, namely 99-123 A.D., will not bear scrutiny[5] in view of all the factual data referred to herein.

Thus by two quite independent lines of reasoning we have arrived at the same conclusion, namely, that Nahapāna's last year of rule is limited by the dates 101 to 111 A.D.

This conclusion affords us valuable material for dating the Karle caves. In fact it is not possible to date the Karle caves with any degree of certainty without first arriving at the correct dates for Nahapāna's regnal period. We may therefore be pardoned if we have dealt with all the relevant data somewhat elaborately.

The proper elucidation of the date of Karle is of the highest importance not merely because it enables us to set at rest a marked divergence of opinion but because it provides a landmark which greatly facilitates the working out of a correct chronology of the Western caves and Āndhra art in general.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 2, pp. 369-70.

[2] This is on the basis that the years of the Kushāṇa kings pertain to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. This basis is still the most likely one even though new dates and new theories are constantly being put forward with regard to Kaniska, of which the latest in fashion is that he came to the throne in 144 A.D. put forward by Ghrishman on not very convincing material.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 60-62.

[4] *The Śakas in India*, p. 46.

[5] In an otherwise well conceived chapter on the Kshaharātas of Western India the author's sudden jump to 123 A.D. as the last date of Gotamīputra is inexplicable and illogical, being merely based on the circumstance that since Chashṭana came to power in Ujjayin in *circa* 125 A.D., Gotamīputra's death may be placed in 123 A.D. This is sheer guesswork.

Now it is well known from inscriptions at Nasik,[1] and Karle[2] that Nahapāna's viceroy in the Deccan, along the Western coast, as well as in certain other provinces was his son-in-law the Śaka Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta). In his Karle inscription[3] with which we are most concerned, he states:

> *There has been given the village of (Kara)jika for the support of the ascetics living in the caves at Valūraka without any distinction of sect or origin for all who would keep the rainy weather (there).*

It is quite clear that Ushavadāta's inscription was engraved after the completion of the *chaitya*. For one thing if Ushavadāta had any hand in the construction, completion or decoration of the *chaitya* there can be no doubt that with his somewhat self-laudatory tendencies—a weakness common to all ages—he would most surely have inscribed on the *chaitya* what help he gave or what patronage he extended for the construction, completion or decoration of this rock-cut cathedral. All the more so as it is called *'the most excellent one (rock-mansion) in Jambudvīpa (India)'* in the inscription of the merchant prince Bhūtapāla from Vaijayantī (Banavāsī) in North Kanara who apparently donated handsomely for its completion (not construction). We are aware that Ushavadāta took care in his Nasik inscriptions[4] to mention that he had caused the cave to be made and also the cisterns, and he further took care to state in this very inscription that he had donated rest houses *(dharmśālās)* at Bharukachchha (Broach), Sorpāraga (Sopara) and two other places. So also in his Nasik Inscription No. 12 in Cave 10 he has stated that he *'has bestowed this cave (Cave 10) on the Samgha generally.* Moreover in the text of Ushavadāta's Karle inscription, already referred to, there is internal evidence to indicate that the donation was made after the completion of the cave because the monks were already living there. But apparently the foundation was a new one and in need of support to maintain itself and hence the royal grant of a village by Ushavadāta to the monks of the Valūraka (Karle) caves. This seems to suggest that the completion of the *chaitya* is not far removed in time from Ushavadāta's inscription evidencing his royal grant. It may also be noted that if the foundation was an old one it is not likely that Ushavadāta would have said that it was for monks without distinction of sect or origin. This may have been difficult to say if the foundation had for long been in the hands of one established order. Now, even if we were to assume that Ushavadāta's Karle inscription was engraved in the last *possible* year of Nahapāna's rule, i.e. 111 A.D., yet it is abundantly clear that a great and

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 78-86, inscriptions Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14a.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, pp. 57-58, inscription No. 13.
[3] & *Ibid.*
[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, inscription No. 10 in Cave 10, pp. 78-79, and No. 12 in Cave 10, p. 82. He bestowed this cave on the Sangh.

elaborate rock-cut cathedral like the Karle *chaitya* could never have been completed in less than fifty to sixty years. We have indications that a far less elaborate structure, namely Cave No. 3 at Nasik, took twenty years[1] before it was ready to be dedicated by Balasirī in the 19th year of the reign of her son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Thus, on the above basis, the commencement of the Karle *chaitya* would be about 50 A.D. (111 A.D. — 60 = 51 A.D.). Though we have assumed, for the purposes of fixing terminal dates, that Nahapāna's last year was 111 A.D. and that Ushavadāta's Karle inscription was engraved in this year, yet in fact it is preferable to take a mean between 101 A.D. and 111 A.D. for fixing the last year of Nahapāna's reign. This would give us the date *circa* 105 A.D. and on that basis the construction of Karle *chaitya* began in *circa* 40 A.D. or somewhat earlier. It may be noted that Ushavadāta's inscriptions extend only from the year 41 to the year 45 of Nahapāna's reign, and as the year 46 was the last of Nahapāna's rule it does seem as if Ushavadāta was the viceroy in the Deccan only during the last decade or two of Nahapāna's suzerainty.[2] Before Ushavadāta there must have been some other viceroy of the southern possessions of Nahapāna and this earlier viceroy may not have been so keen on donations to religious foundations. For practical purposes we will take *circa* 40 A.D. as the commencement of the Karle *chaitya*.

If the Karle *chaitya* was commenced about 40 A.D. then we must ascribe its commencement to the period of Sātavāhana rule, because Nahapāna's predecessor, Bhūmaka, does not appear to have ousted Sātavāhana power from the Western Deccan.[3] It was Nahapāna himself who appears to have brought the Western Deccan and the West coast upto Sopara and Kalyan under Śaka rule. In that event the Western Deccan must have passed under Śaka supremacy while the great Karle *chaitya* was in the process of being built. The change of power does not, however, seem to have affected Buddhism and its activities in these parts of the country, for the Śaka ruler and later on his viceroy Ushavadāta appear to have been well disposed towards the Buddhists. It is interesting to note that seven donors of pillars at Karle are specifically stated in the inscriptions to have been *yavanas* and it seems that several other donors, not so described, were also *yavanas*. Most of them came from Dhenukākaṭa which appears to have been an important trading centre where many *yavanas* lived.[4] One of the donations to the Karle *chaitya* specifically states that it is by the '*community of traders*' from

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp. 60-74, inscriptions Nos. 2-5 from which it appears that Cave No. 3 (started by Gotamīputra in the last year of his reign i.e. year 24) was completed only in the 19th year of his successor Pulumāvi.

[2] Jain sources suggest that religious donations were made by Nahapāna at the instance of a new minister. See *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1930, p. 283.

[3] Bhūmaka does not seem to have been overlord of the Western Deccan. His coins have been found in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Malwa regions.

[4] No one has satisfactorily identified Dhenukākaṭa. See *Journal Asiatic Society, Bombay*, Vol. 30, Pt. 2. It cannot be Amaravati in Guntur District as suggested by some writers. It appears to have been a Śaka trading centre somewhere on the coast and accessible from Karle and Nasik. Its identification by Johnston with Ptolemy's Dounga (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1941, p. 234) is no more than a suggestion.

Dhenukākaṭa. This influx of *yavana* donors at Karle appears to be connected with the vastly increased influx of 'Roman' trade which took place in the first century A.D. as we can gather from the pages of Strabo, Pliny and the *Periplus*.

The magnificent *mithuna* couples (Pl. II, Fig. 3.) on the verandah of the *chaitya* are also to be ascribed to the period covered by the first two decades from *circa* 40 A.D. They were not sculptured after the completion of the cave. For one thing a *chaitya* so magnificent and elaborate as Karle could not have been built in a haphazard manner. We know that the construction of such works were entrusted to skilled monks called *navakarmikas* who regularly planned and supervised such constructions. Moreover on the right side[1] of one of the pillars which separates the left aisle from the nave there is, alongside the horse capital, almost hidden from view unless closely observed, a small *mithuna* couple (Pl. I, Fig. 1) exactly in the manner of the *mithuna* couples of the verandah of which one example is Pl. II, Fig. 3. It is fairly clear that this small *mithuna* couple forming part of the top of the pillar was suggested by the far more magnificent and perfect examples of the verandah. It is also clear from the manner in which the rock is cut and from the shape and pattern of the other pillars of the *chaitya* that this small *mithuna* couple at the top of the pillar was carved at the very time the pillar was cut out of the rock. It could not *possibly* be a later addition. Perhaps it was just a carver's fancy to sculpt this small *mithuna* couple in an out-of-the-way nook in the great hall itself. It has no structural or decorative purpose, unlike the magnificent 'elephant and rider' and 'horse and rider' capitals (Pl. II, Fig. 4) which crown the pillars separating the aisles from the nave. Moreover, it is the only example of a pillar *mithuna* in the entire *chaitya*. It is thus obviously unplanned and indicates that the *mithuna* couples of the verandah had already been completed, along with the verandah, before the rest of the cave was excavated. Those artisans who merely cut the rock and those who sculptured figures and ornamentation no doubt worked side by side. At several cave sites in Western India we find unfinished caves with unfinished sculpture inside, thus indicating the simultaneous co-ordination of the architectural and sculptural aspects of any particular rock-cut undertaking. In fact one of the inscriptions[2] at Karle itself establishes that the rail mouldings were the gift of the very donor who had the great elephants (Pl. I, Fig. 2) at the right end of the verandah sculptured, thus indicating that architectural and sculptural work proceeded side by side. Thus we are in a position to assign not only the commencement of the *chaitya* (Pl. II, Fig. 6) to a date probably a decade before the middle of the 1st century A.D. but we are also able to ascribe the great *mithuna* couples of the verandah (Pl. II, Fig. 3) to the period *circa* 40-60 A.D. The *mithuna* couples higher up on the facade (Pl. II, Fig. 5) are likely to be somewhat later, while the 'elephant and rider' and 'horse and

[1] Facing the pillars from the nave it is the fourteenth pillar from the entrance.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 7, p. 51, Inscription No. 3.

rider' pillar-capitals (Pl. II, Fig. 4) in the great hall would extend over almost the whole period of the *chaitya's* construction, as the excavation went deeper and deeper into the hillside, and hence would cover approximately the period 50 A.D. to 90 A.D. But even the upper facade couples and the rider-couples on pillar-capitals all adhere to the facial and physical type of the earlier verandah *mithunas* which no doubt provided the norm to follow.

To sum up the position :

(1) The construction of the *chaitya* extended over the period *circa* 40 A.D. to 100 A.D.

(2) The verandah *mithuna* sculptures (Pl. II, Fig. 3) and the verandah elephants (Pl. I) Fig. 2) are assignable to the period *circa* 40 A.D. to 60 A.D.

(3) The upper facade *mithuna* sculptures (Pl. II, Fig. 5) are likely to be somewhat later than 60 A.D.

(4) The 'elephant and rider' and 'horse and rider' capitals (Pl. II, Fig. 4) cover the period *circa* 50 A.D. to 90 A.D.

Even though the dating a structure or a sculpture by the method of stylistic analysis becomes unnecessary when we have clear-cut historical and inscriptional data at our disposal, it is of interest to note that the date which we have arrived at for Karle fits in completely with a stylistic analysis of the early Western caves and their sculpture. Though we cannot discuss here this aspect in detail, owing to the length of the topic and the necessity for a large number of photographic details and drawings, we will indicate briefly the salient points which, on stylistic analysis, support the dating of Karle already arrived at.

(1) Even the supporters of the Śaka era theory cannot put Nahapāna later than 124 A.D. (78 + 46 = 124 A.D.). Hence what is called the Nahapāna cave (Cave No. 10) donated by his son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik must be earlier than 124 A.D. in any event. Now stylistically the pillars of the Nasik Nahapāna cave are later than those of Karle. If we accept the Śaka era theory, which we have shown to be fallacious, we can legitimately assume that the Nahapāna cave was completed or nearing completion in whole or major part in about *circa* 120 A.D. (year 42 in the inscription), and was commenced about *circa* 105 A.D. As the pillars of the Nahapāna cave were clearly inspired by those of Karle, to which Ushavadāta made a royal donation, it can be assumed that Karle was near completion by *circa* 105 A.D. As it must have taken at least 60 years to construct, the commencement of the Karle *chaitya* would be 105 A.D. — 60 = 45 A.D. According to us, however, the Nahapāna cave must have been completed prior to 105 A.D. having been commenced before Karle was completed and being inspired by Karle. It probably took about fifteen years to complete.

(2) We have inscriptional evidence of the completion of the Kanheri *chaitya* in the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, whose regnal period of twenty-seven years, or twenty-nine years according to the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, can be fixed between the dates 161 and 190 A.D. Since we can assume on the basis of inscriptional evidence that the Kanheri *chaitya* was in the process of

construction before Yajñaśrī's sixteenth regnal year, the latest date to which its completion may be ascribed is *circa* 185 A.D. and it may be a little earlier. This date fits in well with the stylistic changes and the stylistic deterioration seen in the architecture and sculpture of the *chaitya* at Kanheri which again was based on the *chaitya* of Karle. We would normally expect such changes and deterioration to be separated from the completion of Karle by about half a century. If *circa* 90-100 A.D. is taken as an approximate date for the completion of Karle and if *circa* 150 A.D. (185 A.D. — 35 years for completion) is taken as the approximate date of commencement of Kanheri, we find a gap of about fifty to sixty years between the completion of one *chaitya* (Karle) and the commencement of the other *chaitya* (Kanheri).

(3) The commencement of the elaborate *chaitya* of Karle, on stylistic grounds, would be approximately 150 years after the commencement of the Bhaja, Kondane and Pitalkhora group, the earliest and simplest of the Western caves. This circumstance fits in with the available data which enables us to assign the commencement of this group to about the end of the 2nd century B.C. or the early 1st century B.C. Though we are not relying on paleographical evidence based on the inscriptions at Bhaja,[1] Kondane and Pitalkhora, all of which have been ascribed to the 2nd century B.C., one cannot quite ignore the marked similarity of the Pitalkhora pillar inscriptions to the Maurya Aśokan script. It is most unlikely that the pure Mauryan type of script lingered on in Western India much after *circa* 100 B.C. Therefore a date much later than 100 B.C. for the Bhaja, Kondane and Pitalkhora group seems improbable. Even the sculpture in the Bhaja *vihara* is far removed from that of the Karle *mithunas*. That of Bhaja evidences some relationship to the so-called Sunga idioms, while that of Karle approximates in the massiveness of its figures to post-Sunga idioms, such as the Kshatrapa art of Mathura in the early 1st century A.D.

Photographs : Pl I, Fig. 2 : Courtesy of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

THE RASAMANJARĪ IN BASOHLI PAINTING

THE *Rasamanjarī* is perhaps the most famous work which deals with the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-bheda*, i.e., the Hero-Heroine classification of *śṛiṅgāra* literature. The *Rasamanjarī* itself tells us that *śṛiṅgāra* is that which develops from the permanent mood called love. This love is between a man and a woman. A Western counterpart to this is found in the grammar of amorous sentiment evolved by the medieval troubadours of France and Italy.[2] There can be no doubt that the over-elaborate classification which characterises most *śṛiṅgāra* literature

[1] A recent discovery at Bhaja by Sri M. V. Deshpande and Sri Shankar Das of the Archaeological Department (Govt. of India) of inscriptions on a wooden rib is published in *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1955-56, p. 29. Dr. Chhabra has ascribed the script to the 2nd century B.C.

[2] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahāri Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958, p. 20.

Fig. 1. *Sākshāt Darśana.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms., and bearing the dated colophon on the reverse. Basohli. 1694-95 A.D. Painted by the artist Devīdāsa for Raja Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli. Approximately $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Note projecting monster head at base of pavilion.

Fig. 2. *Anukūla Nāyaka.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. 1694-95 A.D. Painted by the artist Devīdāsa. Approximately $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Same series as Fig. 1.

Fig. 3. *Veśyārata Nāyaka Adhama.* Illustration to a *Rasarnjarī* Ms. Basohli. 1694-95 A.D. Painted by the artist Devīdāsa. Approximately $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Same series as Fig. 1.

Fig. 4. *Vāgchatura Nāyaka.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. 1694-95 A.D. Painted by the artist Devīdāsa. Approximately $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$. National Museum of India, New Delhi. Same series as Fig 1.

is thoroughly artificial and pedantic, though it undoubtedly possesses a considerable sub-stratum of value evidencing shrewd observation, fairly accurate knowledge of the psychology of love and romance and also an insight into sex relationship and the ideal conditions for sexual union. But no matter how artificial or academic this form of thought may appear to us the fact remains that such classifications persisted and whatever may be their intrinsic value they were certainly instrumental in producing literature and painting of high interest. With regard to the *Rasamanjarī*, Dr. Raghavan states:

'The appearance of the *Rasamanjarī* of Bhānudatta marks a definite period in the history of this subject of *Nāyikā* classification; before his time the subject was dealt with in works on drama or *rasa* as one of the topics; Bhānudatta for the first time made it the sole theme of a separate book, and thereby gave rise to a class of works devoted exclusively to this subject. No doubt, even after him, the subject was dealt with by many as part of their larger works on drama and *rasa*, but it was after him that this subject came to gain a certain fancy and came to be written upon exclusively by some writers in Sanskrit as well as the vernaculars.'[1]

Though the *Rasamanjarī* came to be regarded as a standard work on the *Nāyikā* theme and was relied on by later writers, its classifications have also been criticised by commentators. There are many commentaries on the *Rasamanjarī*, such as the *Parimāla* of Śesa Chintamaṇi of Banaras, the *Amada* of Gurujala Rangaśayin and the *Śringaramanjarī* by the saint Akbar Shah. We are not concerned in our present study with the correctness or otherwise of Bhānudatta's classifications nor with the criticisms of the commentators.

The *Rasamanjarī* became very popular both in Rajasthan and in the Rajput Hill States during the 17th and 18th centuries. The 17th century was the period when the resurgence of Indian painting was taking place as a result of the growth of the Mughal school. The formation of the early Rajasthani school took place in the late 16th and the opening years of the 17th century, while the beginnings of what is termed Pahārī painting in the Rajput Hill States of the Himalayas does not, in our present state of knowledge, ante-date *circa* 1675.[2] It is of interest to note that the earliest dated Pahārī paintings consist of a series illustrating the *Rasamanjarī* painted for Raja Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli by the artist Devīdāsa in V. S. 1752 = 1694-95 A.D. The miniature which bears the colophon of this series (Pl. III, Fig. 1) was originally in the possession of Hirananda Sastri,[3] after whose death it passed along with three more miniatures (Pl. A; Pl. III, Fig. 2 and Pl. IV, Fig. 3) from the same series into the possession of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. The facsimile of the colophon together with Hirananda Sastri's translation thereof are reproduced herein.

1 V. Raghavan (ed.), *Śṛṅgāramanjarī of Saint Akbar Shah*, Hyderabad 1951, p. 27.
2 Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, pp. 67, 74, 75.
3 Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, Baroda 1936.

ओं ॥ ईश्वरस्यरचनास्वलुद्रष्टुंतुच्छतांचजगतःपरिचेतुम्
चित्र चित्रवपुचित्रयुतेयंकारिताहिकिरपालनरेण॥१॥
वत्सरेन्दुपतिविक्रमान्वितेनेत्रबाणमुनिचंद्रसंमिते ॥
माघमासिसितसप्तमीतिथौदेवकल्पदिवसेहिमंजरी॥ २॥
ऐरावतीतीरचारुवेसुरम्येविश्वस्थलीनामधरेपुरेच ॥
चित्रेष्वनिशंनहिदेविदासेनापारिनानाविधचित्रयुक्ता॥ ३ ॥ युग्मम् ॥

'In order to see the creation of God and to realise the hollowness of the world this (*Chittarasamanjarī*), containing many pictures, (which are) the wealth (i.e. creation) of mind, was caused to be prepared by Raja Kirpāla Pāla. (It was completed) on the auspicious day, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the Vikrama year (which is) counted by the eyes, the arrows, the sages and the moon, i.e., 1752, in the town called Viśvasthalī (the modern Basohli) which lies on the beautiful banks of the Airāvatī (the modern Ravi), by Devīdāsa, who is well-versed in the art of painting.'[1]

There is no doubt that the series was a very extensive one, but it must not be confused with two other well-known *Nāyikā* sets (both incomplete) which we have now been able to ascertain are also illustrations to the *Rasamanjarī*. Hitherto these two sets were regarded as illustrations to some unidentified text, verses from which appear on the reverse of these miniatures. Now, however, these texts have been identified by us as none other than the *Rasamanjarī*. The first and earlier of these two sets consists of an incomplete series of illustrations in the Boston Museum,[2] two of which are reproduced herein as Pl. V, Figs. 5 and 6 to illustrate the physical type which is characteristic of this set. We will refer to this set hereafter as the Boston set. The second set is in the collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad, which collection was originally the extensive Tagore collection of Calcutta. Five illustrations from this set are reproduced herein as Pl. VI, Figs. 7 and 8 and Pl. VII, Figs. 9 and 10 to illustrate the physical types of this set. See also p. 30. We will refer to this set hereafter as the Kasturbhai set.

With regard to the *Rasamanjarī* set of 1694 A.D., by Devīdāsa, the colophon makes it certain that we are dealing with a school of painting (in fact the earliest in the Hills so far known to us) practised in the State of Basohli during the last quarter of the 17th century. It also establishes that the usual dates given for the reign of Raja Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli,[3] namely 1678-1693, are incorrect and that he lived till at least 1694 if not 1695. The fact that this ruler got such an extensive series painted at his court indicates two things:

[1] Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, p. 9.

[2] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Pt. 5 (Rajput Painting), Cambridge, Mass. 1926, Pls. 92 to 96, Figs. ccc to cccix.

[3] Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Lahore 1933, p. 605.

(*a*) The existence of an atelier of artists at his court

(*b*) A great interest in the *Rasamanjarī*

This series painted by the artist Devīdāsa, of whom we know nothing beyond his name, is now dispersed. Four miniatures from this series (Pl. A ; Pl. III, Figs. 1 and 2; Pl. IV, Fig. 3) are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, several are in the Lahore Museum,[1] and one in the National Museum (Pl. IV, Fig. 4). Many are no longer traceable, but doubtless exist in private ownership. The male type in this series, though depicted in the typical Basohli idiom, has certain characteristics which enable us to distinguish the miniatures of this set. It tends to be somewhat short but not squat, with long ovoid face, very sharp projecting nose and prominent caste-marks on the forehead curving round the corners of the eyes. This last characteristic is very clearly seen in Pl. III, Fig. 2 and Pl. A.

The female type, though not peculiar to this series, also tends to be somewhat short with a similar sharp projecting nose set on a rather small face. The architecture is very typical of that seen in early Basohli painting, overlapping the margins. One peculiarity, however, requires to be noticed in this set. A grotesque animal head projects from the base of the wooden pavilion in some miniatures (Pl. III, Fig. 1). This architectural feature is not seen in Basohli painting save in this set painted by Devīdāsa in 1694 A.D. and in the Boston set to be dealt with hereafter.[2] This feature is thus apparently confined to the earliest paintings of this school.

The Boston set (Pl. V, Figs. 5 and 6), which has now been identified by us as illustrating the *Rasamanjarī*, is distinct from the set painted by Devīdāsa in 1694 (Pl. A; Pl. III, Figs. 1-2 and Pl. IV, Figs. 3-4). Nevertheless, it cannot be far removed in time from the Devīdāsa set. W. G. Archer in his *Loves of Krishna*, London 1957, p. 105, says that the Boston set must be at least fifteen years earlier than the set painted by Devīdāsa in 1694. But he adduces no reasons for regarding it as earlier. We prefer to regard the Boston set as also belonging to the period *circa* 1690-1694 A.D.[3] for reasons to be discussed hereafter. Both the male and female types in the Boston set have distinctly elongated bodies, while the females have very narrow elongated faces. There is no mistaking the difference between the types (male and female) in the Devīdāsa set of 1694 (Pl. A; Pl. III, Figs. 1-2 and Pl. IV, Figs. 3-4) and those in the Boston set (Pl. V, Figs. 5 and 6) Now this marked elongation of the body in the Boston set is first seen in Indian minature painting in the Mughal school towards the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707) and becomes a characteristic of that period, continuing into the Farrukhsiyar period (1713-1719). Its presence in Basohli painting is obviously the result of a painter or painters familiar with early Rajasthani painting but trained in the late Aurangzeb

[1] *Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1950, Pl. 97, Fig. 508.

[2] Though the projecting animal head is seen in one miniature of the Kasturbhai set (Pl. VI, Fig. 7) it appears from an examination of the original to have been crudely added later on.

[3] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, p. 65.

tradition, having migrated to Basohli[1] when patronage at Delhi was completely on the wane after Aurangzeb left his capital for the Deccan never to return to it. Thus this migration to a rather distant Hill State is not likely to have occurred much before 1694. We are, therefore, inclined to regard the Boston set and the Devīdāsa set of 1694 as more or less contemporary though painted by different artists. Apart from their differing types they have several features in common. In both sets we find the architectural peculiarity of a projecting grotesque animal head at the base of wooden pavilions.[2] It would seem that Raja Kirpāl Pāl was very interested

Parakīyā Utkaṇṭhā. Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1720 A.D
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. Same series as Pls. VI and VII.

in the *Rasamanjarī*, as he had at least two sets prepared, if not more. The Sanskrit verses of the *Rasamanjarī* appear on the reverse of the miniatures in Devanāgarī script. No colophon has been found of the Boston set but it contained at least 137 miniatures.[3]

The third set, namely the Kasturbhai set, is certainly later than both the Devīdāsa set of 1694 and the Boston set. The male and female types in the Kasturbhai set are distinct from those of the earlier two sets. The male figures are markedly squat like those in Pl. VII, Figs. 9 and 10 and the female types when analysed are closer to the known Basohli types of *circa* 1730[4] than to those of the Boston set. In fact the Basohli types of *circa* 1730-40 may well have developed out of the types seen in the Kasturbhai set which has been assigned to *circa* 1720.[5] It would

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1 Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, pp. 72-76.
2 Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Pt. 5, (Rajput Painting), Pls. 92 and 95.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 170.
4 *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 102.
5 Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, p. 80.

thus belong to the reign of Raja Dhīraj Pāl of Basohli (1694-1725 A.D.), the son and successor of Kirpāl Pāl, whose name is always associated with the Basohli *kalam* and the very beginnings of Pahārī miniature art. That the Kasturbhai set is also a product of the Basohli atelier seems more than likely in view of the general similarities with the Devīdāsa set of 1694 in regard to colouring, architecture, composition and treatment of subject matter. In fact the treatment of the theme in Pl. A and of the same theme in Pl. VI, Fig. 7 is too similar to avoid the conclusion that the illustrator of Pl. VI, Fig. 7 (Kasturbhai set) borrowed his ideas from the miniature Pl. A (Devīdāsa set) painted in *circa* 1694. In the Kasturbhai set of *circa* 1720 the female type has nicely rounded limbs, nose not projecting sharply from the face, hair tightly brushed back from the forehead, while the formation of the face gives the visual impression of being squarish rather than ovoid or elongated. It would thus seem that the great popularity of the *Rasamanjarī* during the reign of Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694) continued in the reign of his son Dhīraj Pāl (1694-1725).

We have seen several other Basohli *kalam* or Basohli type miniatures of *Nāyikā* themes evidencing the popularity of the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-bheda* in Pahārī painting. But in the absence of verses on the reverse it has not been possible to relate them to the *Rasamanjarī* though in all probability that was the text which the illustrator had in mind.

One fact which has emerged from our identification of the verses on the Boston set and the Kasturbhai set is that the *Rasamanjarī* was certainly very popular at the Basohli court and that at least three extensive sets illustrating it were painted during the period covered by the reigns of Kirpāl Pāl and Dhīraj Pāl. W. G. Archer's theory[1] that the Kasturbhai set is from Nurpur and is dated 1740 A.D. has been gravely doubted.[2] The fact that one or two paintings[3] having female types resembling those in the Kasturbhai set were found in a Nurpur collection, which once belonged to a Nurpur *vazir*, is too slight a circumstance on which to base a theory of Nurpur origin, particularly when we find that the Kartar Singh collection is a complete mixture of miniatures from different schools. Quite a number of paintings in this collection, which Archer has regarded as being of Nurpur origin,[4] can almost without hesitation be assigned to what is called the Kulu *kalam* practised in the Kulu-Mandi area. In any event the Kasturbhai set, as already indicated, is much more likely to have been painted in Basohli than elsewhere. It is a logical development from the two earlier sets.

In view of the popularity of the *Rasamanjarī* and with a view to achieve a proper understanding of the pictorial interpretation of its verses, we have set out below the main classification given by Bhānudatta together with the definitions as given by him. We are not concerned whether

1 *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3.
2 Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, pp. 236-237.
3 *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Fig. 14 on p. 16 and Fig. 7 on p. 12.
4 *Ibid.*, Fig. 12 on p. 9 ; Fig. 4 on p. 11 ; Figs. 3 and 5 on p. 12 and Fig. 13 on p. 17.

later commentators agreed or disagreed with or modified those definitions. We have also reproduced in facsimile the text on the reverse of (*a*) each of the four *Rasamanjarī* paintings of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; and (*b*) one example from the Kasturbhai set. We have not been able to secure facsimiles of the verses on the miniatures of the Boston set but have taken the text from the Boston Museum *Catalogue*, Pt. 5, pp. 170-176. The concordance between the verses on the Boston Museum miniatures and the text of Bhānuḍatta is as follows:

Boston Museum *Catalogue*, Pt. 5	*Rasamanjarī* by Bhānudatta[1]
Pl. CCC (p. 170)	p. 26, Ob., Śloka 16;
Pl. CCCI (p. 171)	p. 92, Rev., Śloka 4;
Pl. CCCII (p. 171)	p. 93, Ob., Śloka 5;
Pl. CCCIII (p. 172)	p. 95, Ob., Śloka 9;
Pl. CCCIV (p. 172)	p. 95, Ob., Śloka 10;
Pl. CCCV (p. 173)	p. 97, Ob., Śloka 14;
Pl. CCCVI (p. 173)	p. 95, Rev. Śloka 12;
Pl. CCCVII (p. 173)	p. 106, Rev., Śloka 35.

Dr. Raghavan, in the *Śṛṅgāramanjarī of Saint Akbar Shah*, p. 72, states that Basil Gray in his *Rajput Painting*, London 1948 (Faber & Faber), Pl. 1, has reproduced a fine illustration of the *Jyeshṭhā-Kanishṭhā Nāyikās* from the *Rasamanjarī*. But this miniature of the Basohli *kalam* is not an illustration to the *Rasamanjarī* at all. It is an illustration to a *Rāgamālā* series and is in fact labelled 'Rāga Vinoda son of Hinḍola'. Moreover, Dr. Raghavan states that according to O.C. Gangoly this illustrated manuscript of the *Rasamanjarī* (which in fact is not a *Rasamanjarī*) is dated Samvat 1752. Dr. Raghavan has apparently been misled.[2] As already pointed out, Pl. 1 of Basil Gray's brochure does not belong to any illustrated *Rasamanjarī* but to a *Rāgamālā* series, while the series which was painted in V.S. 1752 is the *Rasamanjarī* illustrated by Devīdāsa for Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli (Pl. A and Pl. III, Figs. 1-2 and Pl. IV, Figs. 3-4) the colophon of which was first made known by Hirananda Sastri.

Bhānudatta, also known as Bhānukara or Bhānu Paṇḍita, the author of *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasamanjarī*, probably flourished towards the end of the 15th century A.D.[3] In the *Rasataraṅgiṇī* he quotes Bharata frequently and a few verses of his own father. He also seems

[1] Bhānudatta, *Rasamanjarivyākhyā*, with the commentary 'Vyangyārthakaumudi', by Ananta Tryambaka Sharmaṇā,

[2] We are sure Dr. Raghavan never intended to give the credit of the discovery to O. C. Gangoly when in fact the discovery was made by Hirananda Sastri.

[3] P. V. Kane, *The Sahityadarpana*, Second Edition, Bombay 1923, Intro. CXVII, CXVIII, suggests end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century A.D. But Bhānudatta's date according to Dr. Raghavan in his study of the *Śṛṅgāramanjarī of Saint Akbar Shah*, p. 14, would be 15th century, having regard to the reference in verse 121 of the *Rasamanjarī* to Nijāma-dharaṇipāla, who is identified as Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who took Daulatabad between 1499 and 1507 and founded the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of the Deccan.

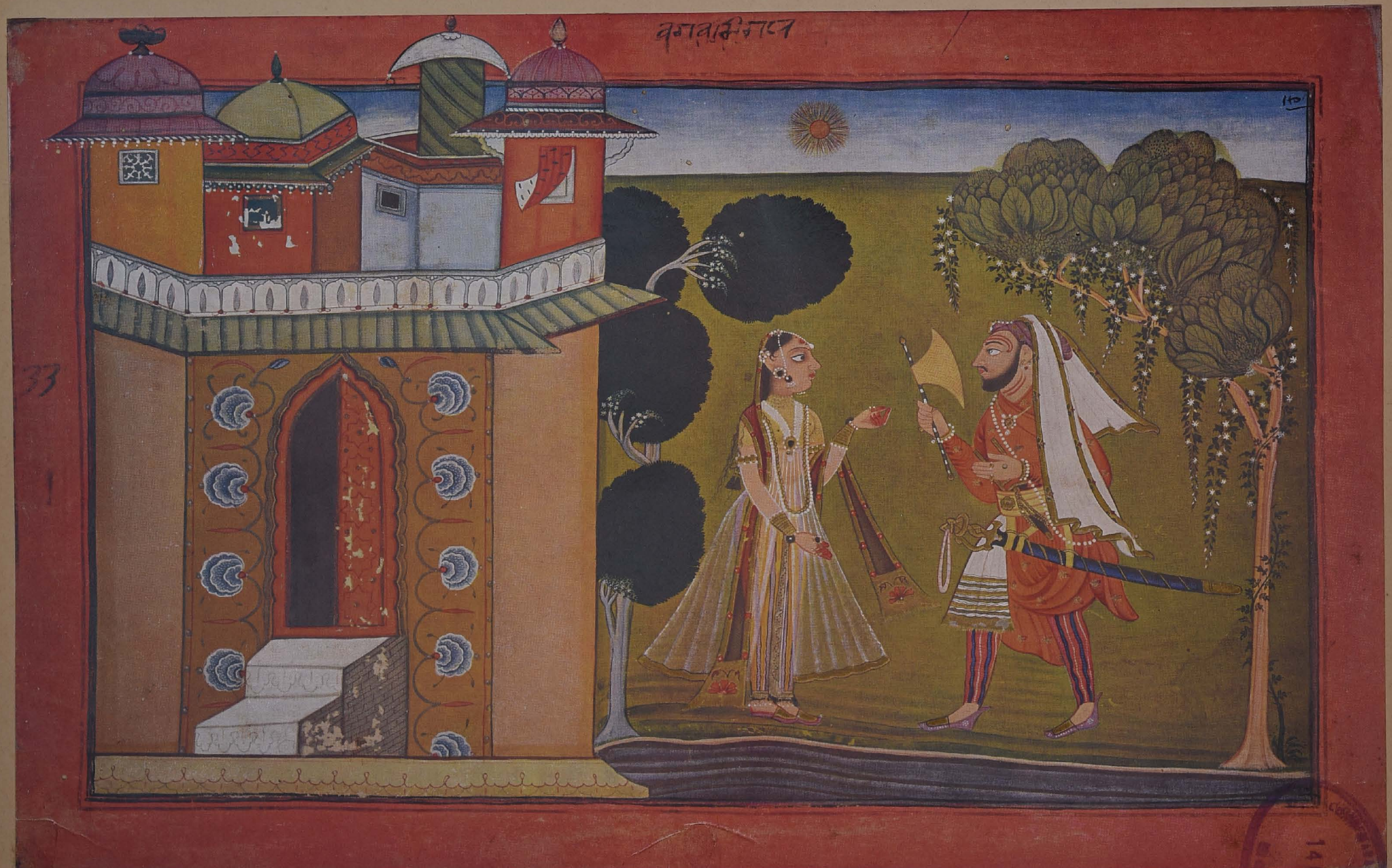


PLATE A. *Vāgvidagdhā Nāyikā.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. 1694-95 A.D.
Painted by the artist Devīdāsa for Raja Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$.
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Same series as Pl. 3, Fig. 1.

to have the *Daśarūpaka* in his mind, though he does not name it. Moreover in both works he quotes from the *Amarūśataka* and refers to ancient writings in general. He composed the *Rasamanjarī* before the *Rasatarangiṇī*.

Bhānudatta's father, Gaṇeśvara, is referred to in the colophon of the *Rasamanjarī*, which informs us that Bhānudatta was the son of a great poet named Gaṇeśvara and that he hailed from Videha (modern Mithila) watered by the river Ganga.

The *Rasamanjarī* opens with an invocatory verse to Śiva. The writer asserts that the work was composed for aesthetic enjoyment. It is a treatise which deals extensively with the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-bheda*, i.e. the Hero-Heroine theme of Indian love-literature and erotics. The definitions given here are from the *Rasamanjarī*. They do not always conform to those of later writers.

The author divides the *Nāyikās* into three classes:

(1) *Svīyā* (who loves only her legally wedded lord)

(2) *Parakīyā* (another's wife who is secretly in love with a person other than her own husband)

(3) *Sāmānyā* (a public woman)

Svīyā is again divided into:

(*a*) *Mugdhā* (one in whom youth and love have just sprouted)

(*b*) *Madhyā* (one who has gained enough confidence to have passed the stage when she would just allow herself to be fondled by her husband)

(*c*) *Pragalbhā* (one who is an adept in the art of love solely with reference to her wedded husband)

Mugdhā is further divided into:

(*a*) *Ankurita Yauvanā* (one whose youth is just blossoming)

(*b*) *Ajnāta* (one who knows that her youth has come)

(*c*) *Ajnāta Navoḍhā* (one who does not realize that her youth has come)

Madhyā and *Pragalbhā* are also divided into three classes:

(*a*) *Dhīrā* (one who only feigns anger)

(*b*) *Adhīrā* (one who openly shows her sarcasm and anger)

(*c*) *Dhīrādhīrā* (one who feigns anger and also openly shows her anger)

Then again *Dhīrā*, *Adhīrā* and *Dhīrādhīrā* are further classified according to the love sentiment, where the lover has two wives, into:

(*a*) *Jyeshṭhā* (love for the elder wife)

(*b*) *Kanishṭhā* (love for the younger wife)

Parakīyā is of two kinds:

(*a*) *Prauḍhā* (fully grown)

(*b*) *Kanyakā* (a maiden who is under the control of her parents)

Parakīyā is also:

(*a*) *Guptā Vidagdhā* (adept in art of illicit love)

(*b*) *Kulaṭā* (one who shows her physical charms when the lover passes by and entices men by indecent words)

Vidagdhā is of two kinds:

(*a*) *Vāg* (adept in speech)

(*b*) *Kriyā* (adept in actions)

Parakīyā is also classified as:

(*a*) *Lakshitā* (whose love is apparent)

(*b*) *Anuśayanā* (one who sorows at the loss of her lover)

(*c*) *Muditā* (one who is happy in her illicit love)

(*d*) *Sāmānyavanitā* (a prostitute)

The *Rasamanjarī* deals with many varieties of *Veśyās* (public women):

Apart from the above classifications *Nāyikās* are also divided into the well-known eight classes:

(*a*) *Proshitabhartṛikā* (one who is dejected as the result of the absence of her lover abroad)

(*b*) *Khaṇḍitā* (one whose lover comes to her in the morning with marks of his having enjoyed another lady)

(*c*) *Kalahāntaritā* (one who quarrels with her lover and when her angry mood has subsided feels repentance and sorrow at having brushed aside her lover's explanations and entreaties)

(*d*) *Vipralabdhā* (one who comes to the tryst but does not find her beloved there and becomes dejected)

(*e*) *Utkā* (one who waits at the trysting place anxiously thinking over the reasons for the delay in her lover's arrival)

(*f*) *Vāsakasajjā* (one who prepares the articles for love union because her lover is returning this day)

(*g*) *Svādhīnapatikā* (one who has a beloved or husband who is always obedient to her)

(*h*) *Abhisārikā* (one who goes to a tryst to meet her lover or who makes her lover meet her at an appointment place)

Abhisāriḳās are of three kinds:

(*a*) *Jyotsnābhisārikā* (one who goes out to meet her lover in moonlight)

(*b*) *Tamobhisārikā* (one who goes out to meet her lover under cover of darkness)

(*c*) *Divasābhisārikā* (one who goes out to meet her lover in the daytime)

The *Nāyikās* are further divided into innumerable classes on the basis of:

(*a*) *Uttamā* (she who acts favourably even when her lover does wrong)

(*b*) *Adhamā* (she who does the opposite of what her lover does)

(*c*) *Madhyamā* (she who behaves as her lover does)

Nāyikās are also classified as:

(*a*) *Divyā* (divinely superior)

(*b*) *Adivyā* (the opposite of *Divyā*)

(c) *Divyādivyā* (in between *Divyā* and *Adivyā*)

According to Bhānudatta the *Nāyikās* number about 1150.

The *Rasamanjarī* also describes different kinds of *Sakhīs* (a companion who is always by the Heroine's side, a companion in whom she confides or a companion from whom she derives relief).

The *Nāyakas* (Heroes) are classified as:

(a) *Pati* (husband)

(b) *Upapati* (paramour)

(c) *Vaiśika* (one given to the company of courtesans)

Patis (husbands) are divided into four classes:

(a) *Anukūla* (faithful)

(b) *Dakshiṇa* (courteous)

(c) *Dhṛishṭa* (audacious)

(d) *Śaṭha* (rogue)

Upapatis are also divided into four similar classes.

Vaiśikas are divided into three classes:

(a) *Uttama* (expert at propitiating a courtesan in anger)

(b) *Madhyama* (who treats the anger of his beloved as a manifestation of love and knows the working of her mind)

(c) *Adhama* (one who is without fear or shame in the sexual act)

Nāyakas are also described as:

(a) *Mānin* (touchy)

(b) *Chatura* (clever)

The helpers of *Nāyakas* are:

(a) *Narmasachiva* (adviser of a *Nāyaka*)

(b) *Pīṭhamarda* (one who propitiates an angry woman)

(c) *Viṭa* (one adept in arts of love)

(d) *Cheṭaka* (adept in carrying messages and making preparations)

(e) *Vidūshaka* (jester)

The author also mentions eight *Sāttvika-guṇas*:

(a) *Sveda* (perspiration)

(b) *Stambha* (limbs getting benumbed)

(c) *Romāncha* (bristling of hair)

(d) *Svarabhaṅga* (breaking of the voice)

(e) *Vepathu* (tremour of limbs)

(f) *Vaivarṇya* (loss of colour)

(g) *Aśru* (tears)

(h) *Pralaya* (unconsciousness).

Śṛiṅgāra or erotic sentiment is divided into *Saṁbhoga śriṅgāra* and *Vipralaṁbha śriṅgāra* (separation).

The state of separation is characterised by:

(*a*) *Abhilāsha* (desire)
(*b*) *Chintā* (moodiness)
(*c*) *Smṛiti* (remembrance)
(*d*) *Guṇakīrtana* (extolling the virtues)
(*e*) *Udvega* (anxiety)
(*f*) *Pralāpa* (delirium)
(*g*) *Unmāda* (madness)
(*h*) *Vyādhi* (illness)
(*i*) *Jaḍatā* (apathy)
(*j*) *Nidhana* (death)

The classification given above is not exhaustive but only illustrative of the treatment in the *Rasamanjarī*. Moreover there are many combinations of these definitions.

The text on the reverse of Pl. A is as follows:

निविडतमतमालमल्लिवल्लीविरचितराजिविराजितोपकंठे
पथिकसमुचितस्तवाद्यतीव्रे सवितरिनत्रसरित्तटेनिवासः २१

O wayfarer, it is proper that you should stay on the river bank, the beauty of which is enhanced by the dense foliage of tamāle *trees clustered close together in this hot sun.*

The inscription on the margin of the painting reads *Vāgvidagdhā.*

The text on the reverse of Pl. III, Fig. 1, is as follows:

चेतश्चेचलतांत्यजप्रियसखिव्रीडेनमांपीडयप्रान्तर्मुंचदृशौनिमेषभगवन्कामक्षणंक्षम्यताम्
वंहेमूर्धनिकर्णयोःकुवलयंवंशंदधानःकरेसोयंलोचनगोचरोभवतुमेदामोदरःसुंदरः १५०

O mind, give up thy waywardness. Bashfulness, O my companion, don't prick me. O dear winking, leave the eyes. O lord Kāma, pardon me for a moment. This handsome Dāmodara (Krishna) tying peacock feathers to his forehead, wearing lotus in his ears, holding the flute in his hands, has appeared before my eyes.

The text on the reverse of Pl. III, Fig. 2, is as follows:

दृष्टिर्लंभवकोमलादिनमणेत्वंशैत्यमंगीकुरुत्वंवर्त्मन्नुनोप्रयाहियवनत्वंवेदमुत्सारय ॥ ॥
सान्निध्येमयदंडकाननगिरेर्निर्गंतुमार्गाद्वहेःसीतासाविधिनेमयासहयतोनिर्गंतुमुत्कंठते ३१

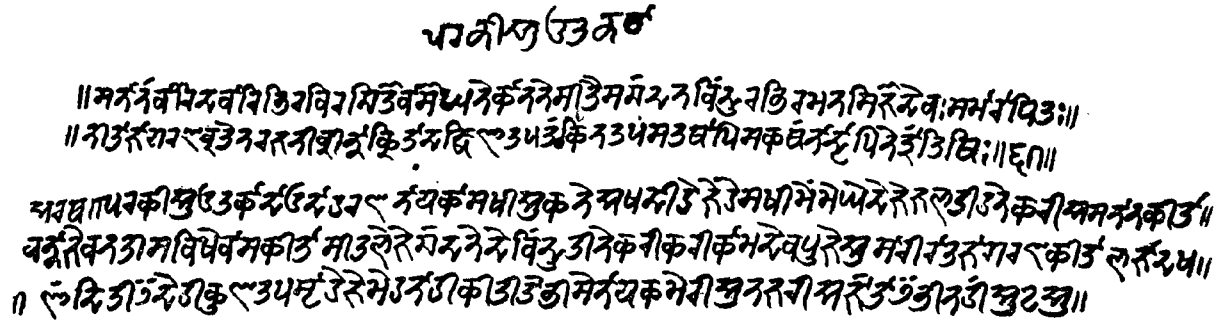
O Earth, be soft, O sun, turn cool, O path, become shorter, O wind, take the weariness away,
O the hills of the Daṇḍaka forest, move out of our path.
Sīta who is accompanying me is pining to leave the forest.

The text on the reverse of Pl. IV, Fig. 3, is as follows:

उदयति हृदि नैव यस्य लज्जा न च करुणा न च कोपि भीतिलेशः
बकुलकुसुमकोशकोमलां मां पुनरपि तस्य करे न पातयेथाः १७३

In whose heart neither shame nor compassion, not the slightest fear arise. In his hands do not deliver me, tender as the pistil of a bakula *flower.*

The text on the reverse of the plate on p. 30 is as follows:



I have been bathed by the raining clouds, I have made my habitation in the dense forests, I have propitiated the god of love with the drippings of sandal paste. I have passed the night taking the vow of sleeplessness. I have taken the vow of shyness. What penances have I not performed ? Why then even now does the guest of my eyes not appear ?

Photographs : Pl. III, Fig. 1 — Pl. IV, Fig. 3, Courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras ; Pl. IV, Fig. 4, National Museum of India ; Pl. V, Figs. 5 and 6, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

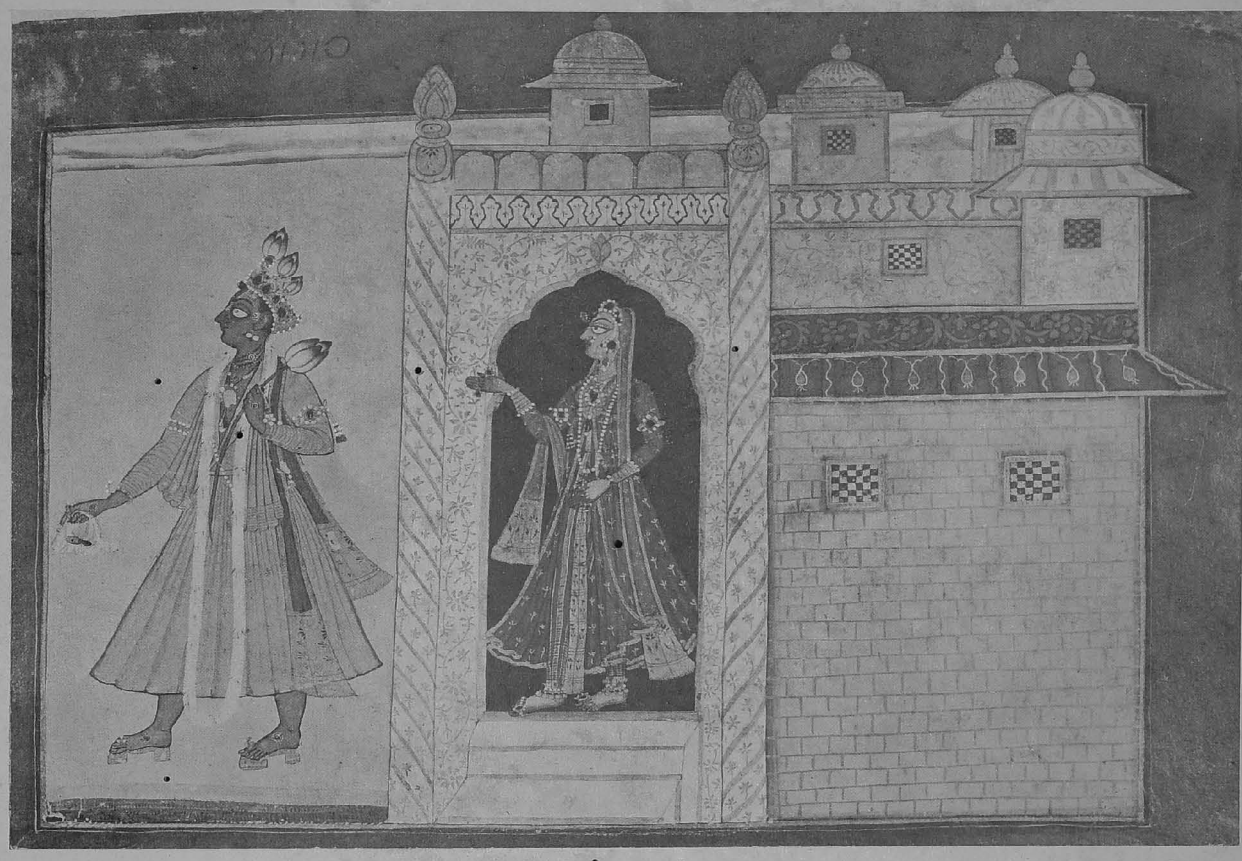


Fig. 5. *Mānīśaṭha Nāyaka.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1690-94 A.D.
Size ·321 × ·232 m. Museum of Fine Arts. Boston.
(Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

Fig. 6. *Chakshu Chatura Śaṭha Nāyaka.* Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1690-94 A.D.
Size ·326 × ·230 m. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Photograph: Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)
Note monster head at base of pavilion.

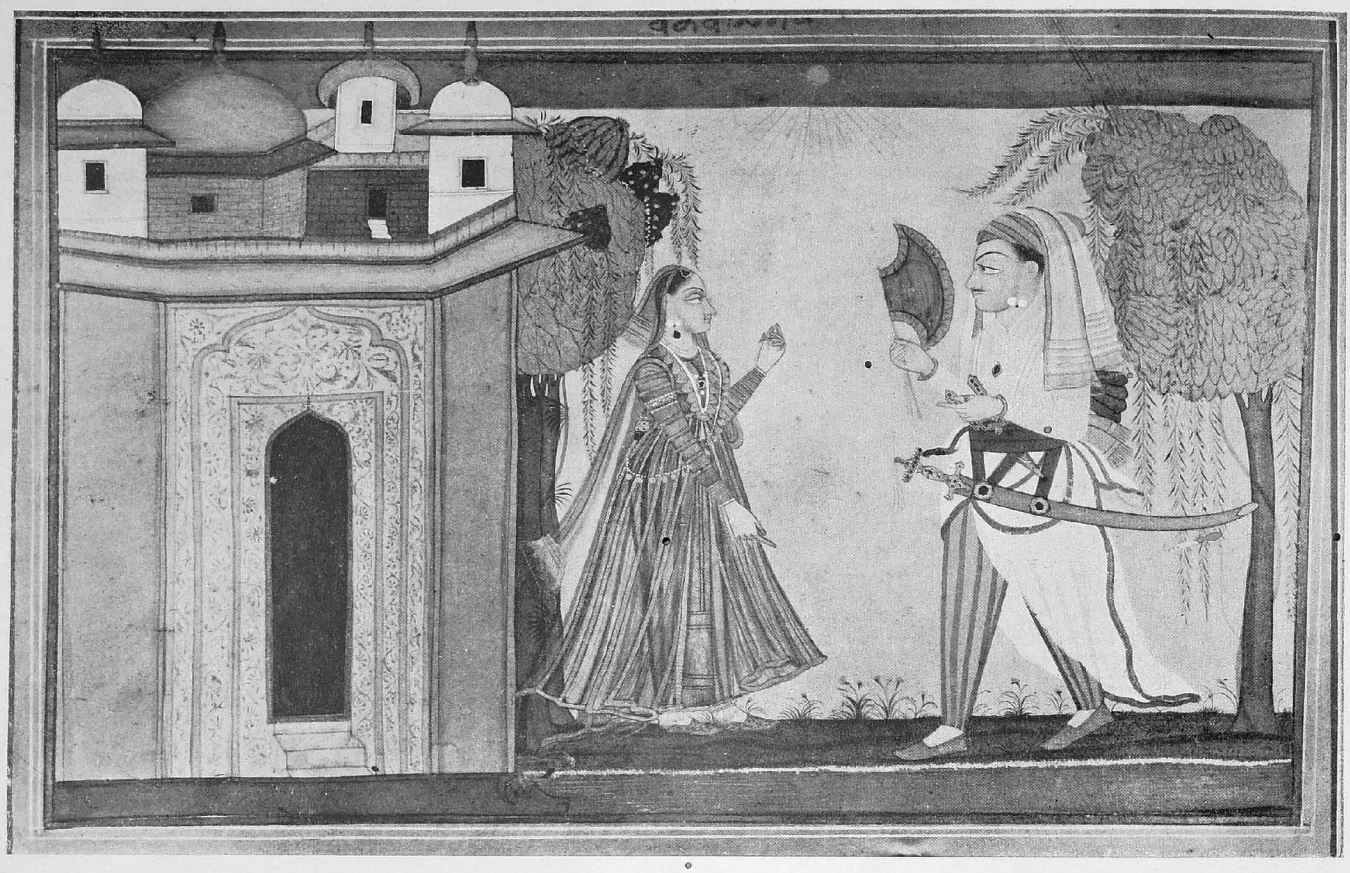


Fig. 7. Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1720 A.D. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. This series which includes Figs. 8, 9 and 10 and the reproduction on p. 30 has been ascribed to Nurpur by Archer and Randhawa but on quite insufficient grounds.

Fig. 8. Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1720 A.D. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

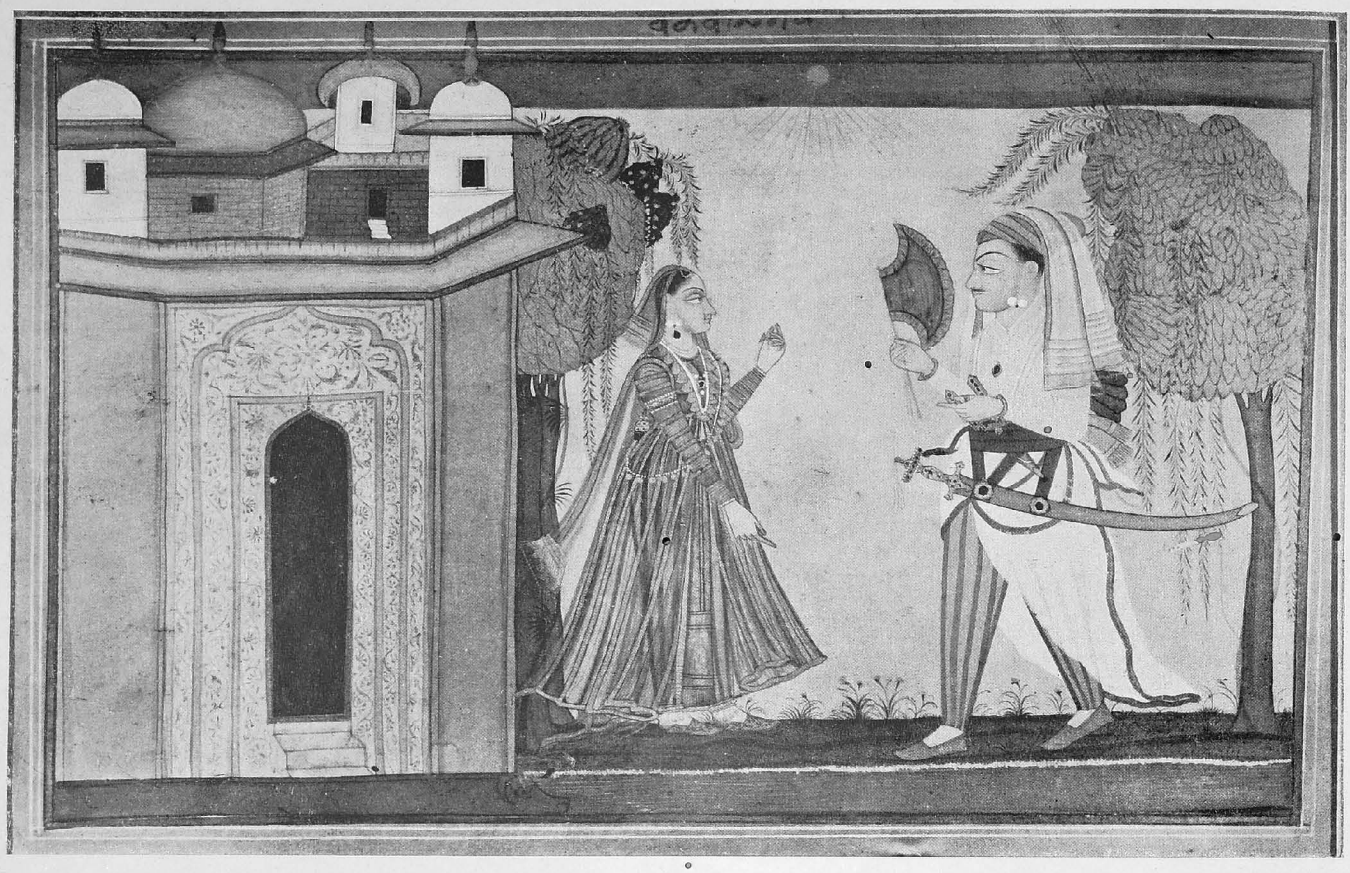


Fig. 7. Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1720 A.D. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. This series which includes Figs. 8, 9 and 10 and the reproduction on p. 30 has been ascribed to Nurpur by Archer and Randhawa but on quite insufficient grounds.

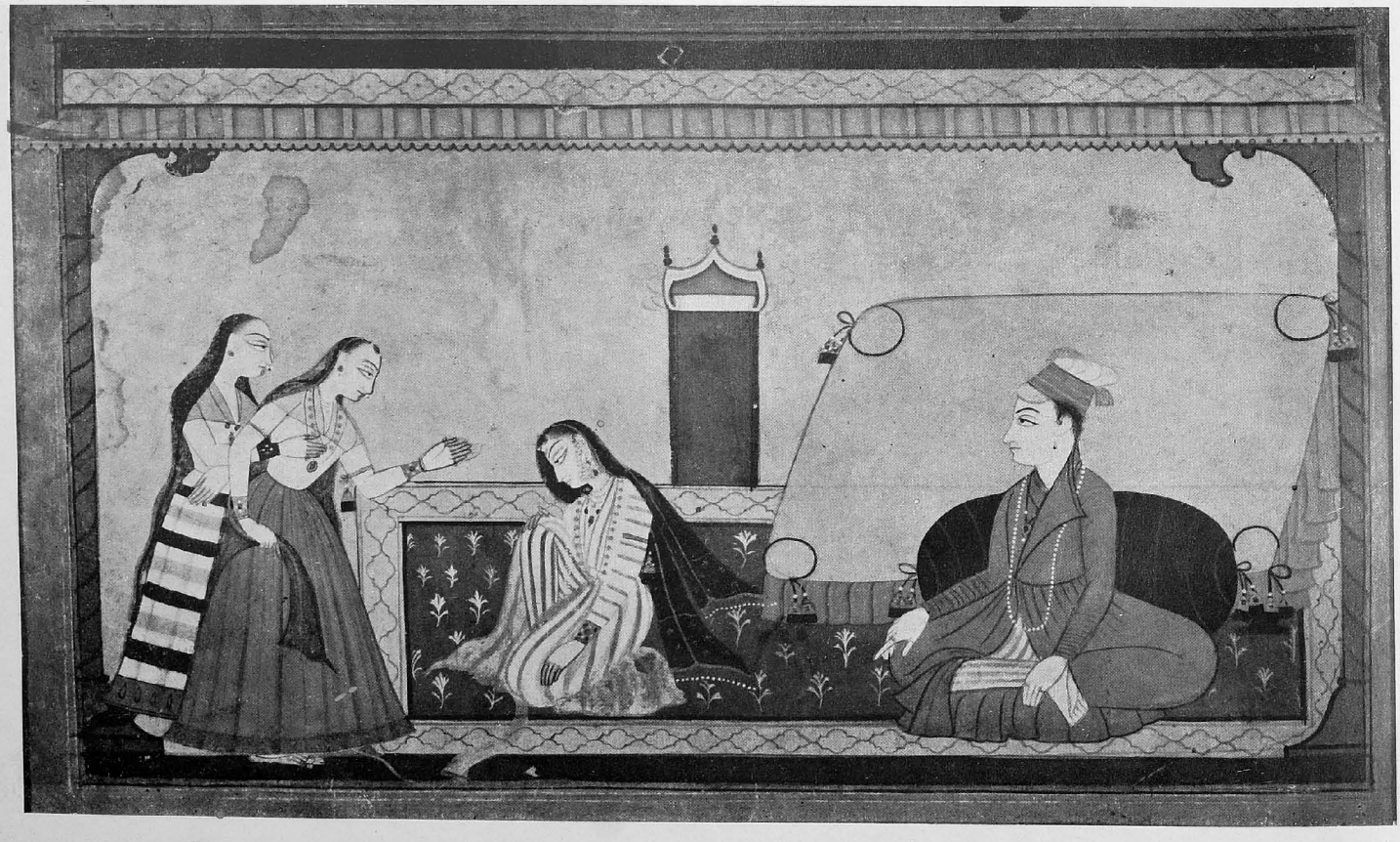


Fig. 8. Illustration to a *Rasamanjarī* Ms. Basohli. *Circa* 1720 A.D. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

Fig. 1. *Vipaśyī*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. $3\frac{5}{8}$″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 2. *Śikhī*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. $4\frac{1}{8}$″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 3. *Kanakamuni*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. $4\frac{1}{4}$″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 4. *Kaśyapa*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. $4\frac{1}{4}$″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

A GROUP OF BRONZES FROM THE DECCAN

DOUGLAS BARRETT

THE remarkable and sustained achievement in architecture and sculpture of the successive dynasties which ruled the Deccan is illustrated by a wealth of material hardly equalled elsewhere in India. Yet a mere handful of pieces of quality has been published to represent the art of bronze-casting from the Sātavāhana period to the end of the 13th century A.D. These pieces may be quickly reviewed. We have in the two Kolhapur hoards a small group of bronzes which may reasonably be called Sātavāhana and dated by the close similarity of several stylistic elements to what I have called the Middle Phase at Amaravati (150-200 A.D.). One piece, the elephant with riders, has more than archaeological interest. This tiny object is a work of sensitive observation and delicate craftsmanship, and whets the appetite for further discoveries. To the Kolhapur group may perhaps be added the charming small bronze relief of two girls, now in Baroda.[1] To the dynasties which intervene between the Sātavāhanas and the Early Western Chāḷukyas no bronzes have as yet been attributed, nor has the Early Western Chāḷukya period proved more fruitful. From the Eastern Chāḷukyas, however, a small series has survived, both Buddhist and Jaina, and extending from the 8th to the 11th century A.D. These bronzes are now distributed among the Government Museum, Madras, the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[2] For the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Later Chāḷukya periods we are a little more fortunate. The Jaina bronzes, which, as one would expect, predominate, include the piece from Chopda, East Khandesh ;[3] the hoard of twenty-seven pieces from Rajnapur Khinkhini, now in the Central Museum, Nagpur ;[4] and the one or more of the pieces from the Lilvādeva hoard.[5] From the northern Deccan comes also the attractive hanging lamp in the form of an elephant and decorated with a musician and dancer, found in the Jogesvari Cave.[6] A few bronzes may also be attributed to the southern Deccan, which during this period includes

1 B. L. Mankad, 'Amaravati Bronzes,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VI, 1950. Pl. III (a).

2 The loveliest piece in the group is the head and torso in the Victoria and Albert Museum, published as of Śiva, but in my opinion, of a Bodhisattva. An attempt to date this group and a bibliography may be found in Douglas Barrett, 'The Later School of Amaravati and its Influences,' *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, 1954.

3 Most recently published by S. N. Chakravarti, 'Note on an Inscribed Bronze Jaina Image,' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 3, 1952-53, Pl. XXVII.

4 U. P. Shah 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā,' *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, 1940, and 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī', Vol. X, Pt. 2, 1941.
Balchandra Jain, 'Jain Bronzes from Rajnapur Khinkhini,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, 1955.

5 U. P. Shah, 'Seven Bronzes from Lilvā-devā (Panch Mahāls),' *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, Vol. IX, Pt. 1-11, 1952-53 ;
S. R. Rao, 'Jain Bronzes from Lilvādevā,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, 1955.

6 *Indian Art*, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay 1954, Pl. XVI.

for our purposes Gaṅgavāḍi. They are exclusively Jaina — the Bāhubalī in the Prince of Wales Museum,[1] the Sarasvatī in Capt. R. Johnes' Collection,[2] the Ambikā in George P. Bickford's Collection[3] and a Rishabhadeva in the Pudukkottai Museum.[4] Finally mention may be made of the 13th century Chandraśekhara published by Karl Khandalavala,[5] and of the somewhat enigmatic Dīpa Lakshmī,[6] from Warangal and possibly of Kākatīya date. There are also small unpublished groups of Jaina bronzes in the British Museum, the Government Museum, Hyderabad, and the Mysore Government Museum, Bangalore. Obviously this material, when compared with that from North or South India, is meagre indeed. It is intended here to add to the corpus of Deccani bronzes ten pieces of Rāshṭrakūṭa date, eight of which are Buddhist, one Brahmanical and one Jaina.

The Buddhist group, from Sopara, was published in the last century by the great Indian scholar Bhagwanlal Indraji.[7] His account of his finds in the paper he contributed to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was full and exact, and only those details which affect the date of the bronzes will be repeated here. Since, however, he was compelled to use totally inadequate line drawings to illustrate the bronzes, their style and status as objects of art have hitherto remained unrecognised, though it must be acknowledged that Bhagwanlal made a pretty shrewd estimate of their age. Photographs of the bronzes are here published through the courtesy of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, to whose collections they belong.

Sopara has long been famous as the findspot of a fragment of the Eighth Edict of Aśoka, unique in Bombay State until the recent discovery of part of the Ninth Edict near Bassein. In 1882 Bhagwanlal visited Sopara and dug the large brick mound, known as Buruda Rājāchā Koṭa, which he immediately recognised to be the ruins of an ancient *stūpa*. He was able to establish that a circular drum about 18 ft. high and 268 ft. in circumference supported a terrace 18 ft. wide, from which rose the curve of the dome. It was not possible to determine the height or exact shape of the latter owing to its ruinous condition. The terrace may have been a processional path, but there were no indications of steps to it. The Sopara *stūpa*, which seems to have resembled the Sanchi type rather than that of the Andhradeśa, is important since it is the only structural *stūpa* which has a claim to Sātavāhana date to be excavated in the northwest

1 U. P. Shah, 'Bāhubalī: A Unique Bronze in the Museum,' *Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 4, 1953-54; and 'A Unique Metal Image of Bāhubalī' (Editorial Notes), *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56. The date given in *Lalit Kalā* is to be preferred.

2 Sir Leigh Ashton (Ed.), *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1950, Pl. 62. No. 329. (Now in British Museum).

3 Sherman E. Lee, 'Some Little-Known Indian Bronzes,' *The Art Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1954, Fig. 9.

4 T. S. Sundaram, 'Jain Bronzes from Puduokottai,' *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, Pl. XX, Fig. 2.

5 'A Chālukyan Metal Image of Chandraśekhara' (Editorial Notes), *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, Pl. 11. Fig. 1.

6 G. Yazdani, 'The Lamp-Bearer (Dīpa Laksmī ?),' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II, No. 1, June, 1934.

7 Bhagwanlal Indraji, 'Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana,' *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, 1881.

Deccan.[1] Exactly in the middle of the *stūpa*, a little below the level of the terrace, was a small brickbuilt chamber. Within the chamber was a large circular stone box with lid. In the centre of the box stood an egg-shaped copper casket, enclosing, one within the other, four other caskets, of silver, of terracotta, of crystal, and of gold (Pl. X, Fig. 11). Of the many small objects[2] contained in these caskets and described in detail by Bhagwanlal, one is of paramount importance — a well-preserved, unworn silver coin of Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. This coin, found in the copper casket, is well-known to numismatists. It bears on the obverse the head of the king — the only known example of a Sātavāhana coin-portrait — and closely imitates the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, especially that of Rudradāman. This type, of which two other specimens are known,[3] represents the silver coinage current in the province of Aparānta, of which Sopara (Sūrpāraka) may well have been the capital. Yajña Sātakarṇi, who ruled from about 175 to 203 A.D., was the last great representative of the Sātavāhana line. Inscriptions at Nasik and Kaṇheri, and at Chinna Ganjam in the Krishna District, and the wide distribution of his coins, show that he controlled the Deccan from the east to the west coast. The forms of the caskets, with the exception of the copper one, are familiar in deposits in early *stūpas* both in North India[4] and in the Deccan.[5] The design on the small gold casket, a pattern of interlocking spirals outlined by granulation in repoussé, is closely paralleled by the carved decoration on the dome of a circular shrine depicted on a drum-slab at Amaravati of the Early Phase (about 125-150 A.D.).[6] References to the people of Sopara and their religious endowments are found in inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period at Karle, Nasik, Nanaghat, and Kanheri. It seems probable then that the caskets were put together and deposited in Yajña Sātakarṇi's reign.

The egg-shaped copper casket was surrounded by a circle of eight copper images. Bhagwanlal says: 'The images seem to have been sprinkled with what looks like scented powder. This powder formed a layer about an inch thick on the bottom of the box, and lay on the images in a thick crust of verdigris.' This verdigris has been removed, and the images cleaned down to the metal. The most important of the images is a Maitreya (ht. $4\frac{15}{16}$″), which faced west (Pl. IX, Fig. 5). The Bodhisattva is seated in *lalitāsana*, his right foot resting on a lotus. His right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, his left holds a bunch of flowers, probably *nāgapushpas*.

1 The mounds on Elephanta Island and at Ajanta await excavation. The stone-faced polygonal *stūpa* at Kanheri, cleared by West, is presumably not earlier than the 7th century A.D. (E. W. West, 'Description of some of the Kanheri Topes,' *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, 1862).

2 A gold plaque ($1\frac{1}{8}$″ × $\frac{7}{8}$″) of a seated Buddha in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* is too small and rough to warrant further notice. A line-drawing, which does it more than justice, may be found in Bhagwanlal's paper.

3 E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty*, London 1908, p. 45.

4 *e. g.*, at Sonari (Alexander Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London 1854. Pls. XXIII, Fig. 6 and XXIV, No. 2 Box), and Mathura (Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1873, Vol. III, Pl. II).

5 e.g., at Gudivada (in the British Museum—unpublished) and Bhattiprolu. (Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras 1894, Pl. VI).

6 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, Pl. XXIX d. Now in the sculpture shed at Amaravati.

His hair, which falls on to his shoulders, is dressed in a *jaṭāmukuṭa* above a crown. He wears *patrakuṇḍalas*, necklaces, arm and wristbands, anklets, a *yajnopavīta* and an *uḍarabandha*. The girdle to his drawers is tied in a wide bow. The throne, a circular projection above a rectangular base, supports an oval *prabhā*. An oval halo and the *prabhā* are cast as one with the figure and throne. Supporting struts may be seen on the reverse of the image (Pl. X, Fig. 10). The remaining seven images represent the seven Mānusha Buddhas. They are seated in *dhyāna āsana* on an oval throne. Above the oval *prahbā* rises a tuft of foliage carefully varied to represent each Buddha, thus :—

1. Vipaśyī. *Bignonia suaveolens*. Facing northwest. *Dharmachakra-mudrā*. Ht. $3\frac{5}{8}''$ (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).
2. Śikhī. *Puṇḍarīka*. Facing north. *Dhyāna-mudrā*. Ht. $4\frac{1}{8}''$ (Pl. VIII, Fig. 2).
3. Viśvabhū. *Shorea robusta*. Facing northeast. *Varada-mudrā*. Ht. $5\frac{6}{16}''$ (Pl. IX, Fig. 6).
4. Krakuchchhanda. *Acacia sirisa*. Facing east. *Dhyāna-mudrā*. Ht. $4\frac{3}{8}''$ (Pl. IX, Fig. 7).
5. Kanakamuni. *Ficus glomerata*. Facing southeast. *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Ht. $4\frac{1}{2}''$ (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3).
6. Kaśyapa. *Ficus indica*. Facing south. *Abhaya-mudrā*. Ht. $4\frac{1}{4}''$ (Pl. VIII, Fig. 4).
7. Śākyamuni. *Ficus religiosa*. Facing southwest. *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. Ht. $3\frac{3}{4}''$ (Pl. IX, Fig. 8).

On each Buddha the head and *ushṇīsha* are covered with crisp curls. The robe is worn over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare. On some of the figures the folds of the robe across the body and legs are represented by incised lines.

Bhagwanlal realized that of the eight figures the Maitreya at least could not have been deposited in the Sātavāhana period. It is, in fact, the Buddhas which exhibit a feature of great importance for dating — the end of the robe is drawn over the left shoulder and hangs in a short, pleated fold. This feature is well-known in Pāla images, where it makes its first appearance about 800 A.D. or a little earlier. It is found both in this form simply and also with the line of the hem running down to the left hand. It is possible to determine with some accuracy the moment at which both forms make an appearance in the northwest Deccan. The only examples in the first ten caves of the Buddhist group at Ellora are the Buddha seated above the left shoulder of the unique Avalokiteśvara in Cave IV,[1] and the Buddha in a panel in Cave VI, which may be a later interpolation (unpublished). In Caves XI (Do Thal) and XII (Tin Thal), however, where we find an abrupt change of style, these two forms of representing

[1] James Burgess, *Report on the Elura Cave Temples*, London 1883, Pl. XVI, 2.

the robe predominate. Most of the great Buddhas in the shrines exhibit this feature. It is also interesting to note that on the east wall of the second floor of Tin Thal there are two groups of the seven Mānushī Buddhas, one on each side of the antechamber to the shrine. All show the fold and running hem to the robe, and the Buddhas on the north side, all of whom are in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, have behind them trees with foliage varied in each case.[1] There is pretty general agreement that Caves XI and XII are later than 700 A.D. I would prefer a date in the neighbourhood of 800 A.D., since the new method of representing the robe is not likely to have arisen in East and West India independently, and it was probably the overwhelming prestige of the great monasteries of Bihar which was responsible for the spreading of this innovation. That Buddhism was still a vital religion in the northwest Deccan in the 9th century A.D. is indicated by the inscriptions in Caves 10 and 78 at Kanheri, published by Kielhorn.[2] These record monetary gifts and the endowment of a hall of 843-4 (?) A.D., 854 A.D. and 877-8 A.D. under the Silāhāra vassals of Amoghavarsha I. I would suggest then that the eight bronzes were deposited in the *stūpa* in the 9th century A.D. It is hardly possible to use the Maitreya for more accurate dating, since the development of monumental sculpture in the period between the Early and Later Chāḷukyas is still obscure.

It is hoped that the reproductions clearly indicate that the Sopara Buddhist bronzes,[3] though lacking the suavity of the contemporary Pāla images,[4] are instinct with the spiritual dignity and power typical of Deccani art.

Next to be considered is an unpublished four-armed Vishṇu in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India[5] (Pl. XI, Fig. 12). The upper left hand holds the *chakra* obliquely, the upper right the *śaṅkha*, also obliquely. Small flames emanate from both *chakra* and *śaṅkha*, and the latter is held with the spiral end upwards. The two lower hands, the left presumably holding the *gadā* and the right in *abhaya-mudrā*, are broken away. The deity wears a rich crown, earrings, necklace, arm and wrist bands, anklets, *udarabandha*, *yajnopavīta*, and an elaborate girdle. He is flanked on his right by Garuḍa in *anjali-mudrā*, and on his left by a female *chaurī*-bearer. The form of the *prabhā* is closely paralleled by a slightly less elaborate one on a *yaksha-yakshī* image from Khinkhini.[6] A simpler variant of this form may be found on the Khinkhini[7] and Bickford[8] Ambikās. An interesting feature, to be noticed again

1 Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York 1955, Pl. 200.
2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, 1884, pp. 133 ff.
3 I am grateful to Pramod Chandra for taking the photographs and to the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute for supplying prints.
4 Compare, for example, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Reports, 1929-30, Pl. XXXIII (b) and (c) from Nalanda.
5 Museum No. 28. 5574; Height 11".
6 Balchandra Jain, 'Jain Bronzes from Rajnapur Khinkhini,' Pl. IV, Fig. 1.
7 U. P. Shah, 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā,' Fig. 9.
8 Sherman E. Lee, 'Some Little-known Indian Bronzes.'

later, is the 'scarf' knotted round the short pillars which support the *yālis*. I have only met with this on one other bronze, though a crude variant is occasionally seen on Pāla sculptures.[1] The Deccani features of the bronze are obvious. The flames on the *chakra* and *śaṅkha* preclude a northern origin. Moreover the *śaṅkha* held with the spiral upwards is an exception in the North, but the rule in the South. The form of the *prabhā* is also Deccani. The double curve of the arch makes its first appearance in the Deccan in the Jaina Caves at Ellora, and retains this form until the first half of the 11th century A.D., when the curves become multiple.[2] The date of the bronze is more difficult to determine. Stylistically it is close to the *yaksha-yakshī* image from Khinkhini already mentioned, which bears an inscription, unfortunately not visible in the reproduction, which Balchandra Jain dates to the 9th century A.D. The flames on the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* also suggest a date not earlier than the 9th century A.D., for in South India, though flames do appear rarely in stone sculptures of Nandivarman II Pallava-malla (about 730-782 A.D.) it is only in the 9th century A.D. that they become the rule.[3] The closest parallel to our bronze in stone sculpture is the four-armed Vishṇu on the back wall of the Laṅkeśvara at Ellora.[4] It also is flanked by the female *chaurī*-bearer and Garuḍa, though with positions reversed. The sculptures in the Laṅkeśvara are not likely to be earlier than 800 A.D. I would therefore suggest a date about 900 A.D. for our Vishṇu.

Closely comparable with the Prince of Wales Vishṇu is an image in the Seattle Art Museum (Pl. XI, Fig. 12). This, one of the finest bronzes outside India, has been published as Pāla, 9th to 10th century A.D., and identified as Jaṁbhala.[5] Its stylistic relation with the Vishṇu is, however, immediately apparent. Both figures also share the same form of crown and ornaments. The stands also are similar. The *prabhā* of the Seattle image is supported by pillars encircled by the knotted 'scarf'. The *prabhā* itself, shaped like a Kudu and lion-topped, is of the Deccani form first found in the Kailāsa at Ellora. A simpler variant, without the lion, may be seen on the lovely Sarasvatī from Khinkhini. The Seattle bronze may therefore also be dated about 900 A.D. The iconography of the figure presents a difficulty. It is seated in *sattvaparyaṅka-āsana*. Behind the figure may be seen the coils of the five-hooded cobra. The right forearm is broken away. The left hand holds an object, earlier called a mongoose, but now considered by the museum authorities to be a flower bud. I am informed that Dr. Stella Kramrisch considers the figure to be Vaishnavite. I would suggest that the

[1] e.g., *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1930-34*, Pl. CXXXVIII (a) and (b).

[2] e.g., Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 388 — a Vishṇu from the southern Deccan, attributed to Bengal; unaccountably, since it bears a Kanarese inscription.

[3] The flamed *śaṅkha* of the Vishṇu from Badami, Cave 111 seems to be the earliest example in the Deccan, but is unique.

[4] James Burgess, *Report on the Elura Cave Temples*. Pl. XXX. 3.—unfortuantely an inadequate line drawing.

[5] Ht.: 7". *The Art of Greater India*, Los Angeles County Museum 1950, No. 62. I am grateful to Mrs. Giacomo Pizzio-Biroli for information regarding this piece, and to the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, for permission to publish it.

[6] Balchandra Jain, 'Jain Bronzes from Rajnapur Khinkhini,' Pl. III, Fig. 2.

Fig. 5. *Maitreya*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. 4 15/16″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 6. *Viśvabhū*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. 5 6/16″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 7. *Krakuchchhanda*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. 4⅜″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig 8. *Śākyamuni*. Sopara. Rāshṭrakūṭa.
9th century A.D. Ht. 3¾″.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Fig. 10. Rear view of *Maitreya*, Pl. IX, Fig. 5.

Fig. 9. Vishṇu. Deccan. *Circa* 900 A.D. Ht. 11″.
Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

Fig. 11. Sopara reliquaries. Copper, silver, terracotta, crystal, gold. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

object in the left hand is a citron, that the right hand originally held a lotus, and that the figure represents the *yaksha* of Pārśvanātha.

Finally, a word may be said of a Sūrya in the Los Angeles County Museum, perhaps the finest bronze representation of the deity[1] (Pl. XI, Fig. 13). It has twice been published as Kashmiri and of 10th century A.D. date.[2] Though I do not think that a Kashmiri provenance is possible, the northern iconographic features of the bronze are obvious — the two full-blown lotuses held shoulder high and the cuirass (*udīchyaveśa*). A close iconographic parallel, though of course later, is the stone Sūrya from Rajasthan in the Ajmer Museum;[3] the cuirass is represented in the same way, and both have the knotted scarf over the chest. In one particular however, the Los Angeles bronze parts company with the northern figures; the feet are unshod. Though Sūrya images wearing boots are found at Ellora (Lańkeśvara), and as far south as Biccavole in the eastern Deccan, I know of no other example of an unshod Sūrya from North India. I would suggest therefore that the Los Angeles Sūrya comes from either southern Gujarat or Malwa, both areas being closely connected, politically and artistically, with the Deccan under the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and of course, earlier.[4] Stylistically our bronze comes very close to the inscribed bronze Jīvantasvāmī from the Akota hoard, now in Baroda.[5] I cannot believe that the Sūrya is later than the 9th century A.D.

Photographs on Pls. VIII-X: Courtesy of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay; Pl. XI, Fig. 12, Seattle Art Museum, U.S.A.,; Pl. XI, Fig. 13, Henry Trubner (Los Angeles County Museum, U.S.A.).

1 Ht.: 11¾. I am grateful to Henry Trubner for permission to republish this piece, and for an unpublished photograph.

2 *The Art of Greater India*, No. 64: Henry Trubner, 'A Rare Bronze Image of Sūrya,' *Bulletin of Los Angeles County Museum*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1954.

3 *Ancient India*, No. 6 (January, 1950), Pl. 111. E.

4 An interesting example of Deccani influence in Malwa is provided by the so-called Sanchi torso in the Victoria and Albert Museum, formerly called Gupta, and, more recently, Pāla of the 7th to 9th century A.D. (Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 384 and Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953, p. 155). The Gupta date and the Pāla attribution are both unacceptable. That the torso belongs to the 9th century A.D. or rather later, hardly admits of argument. That it fits uneasily in the body of Pratihāra or Paramāra sculpture — whichever label is preferred — is merely due to the fact that it owes its style to such Deccani sculptures as the famous *chauri*-bearer from Patancheru. (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 46. No. 284).

5 U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras 1955, Pl. X, Fig. 22.

A RĀGAMĀLĀ SET OF THE MEWAR SCHOOL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDIA

PRAMOD CHANDRA

THE early Rajasthani school of painting prevalent in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, the Braj country and adjacent areas during the greater part of the 17th century represents the rebirth of Indian painting after a long period of domination by convention. This school is responsible for some of the most beautiful works of Indian art, and the best examples, though lacking the cultured grace of the finest Indian painting, are marked by a remarkable primitive power that is not without aesthetic impact. The ideals that moved this art are essentially Hindu, its commonest themes being drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the musical melodies known as *rāgas* and *rāginīs*, traditional rhetoric describing the mutual relations of Hero and Heroine (*nāyikābheda*), heroic tales and romances popular with the people, and above all the life of Kṛishṇa, the cult of devotion to whom was undergoing a great revival during this period. The origins of this style are not yet clear, and though the stages of subsequent growth have been more or less established, a number of stylistic problems and questions of provenance remain to be solved. Recently, however, many new documents have come to light on the basis of which it is possible to affirm that the region of Mewar, with its centre at Udaipur, played the most important part in the evolution of this school. The publication by Khandalavala of an illustrated copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* painted by Sāhabadī and having a colophon according to which it was done at Udaipur in 1648[1] was a landmark in the history of Rajasthani painting for it established clearly the characteristics of the early Mewar school. The acquisition of a fine *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms illustrated by Manohar at Udaipur in 1649 A.D. by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India[2] placed beyond a doubt the existence of a well established school of painting in Mewar about the middle of the 17th century A.D. On the basis of these two dated Mss giving the provenance as well as the date, it is now possible to assign definitely to the Mewar school several other paintings of excellent quality, notably those of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the possession of Gopi Krishna Kanoria of Calcutta, the *Bhramara Gīta* paintings in the National Museum of India, a superb Ms of the *Bhāgavata* in the library at Kotah, and many more. The *Rāgamālā* set being discussed also belongs to the Mewar school of the middle of the 17th century as will be shown later.

[1] Karl Khandalavala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan: A Dated Bhāgavata Purāṇa of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, and Notes on the Chronology of Early Rajput Painting,' *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 2-24, 49-56.

[2] Twenty folios of this Ms are in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. The remainder are in the possession of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay, and a few leaves are with the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, and private collectors. Dr. Moti Chandra will publish an article on this Ms in the forthcoming issue of the *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 5.

A RĀGAMĀLĀ SET OF THE MEWAR SCHOOL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDIA

Mewar was an ancient centre of Indian painting and one of the earliest Mss of the Western Indian style comes from this region. This is a palm leaf Ms of the *Sāvaga-Paḍikkamaṇa-Sutta-Chuṇṇī* dated 1260 A.D. and painted in the reign of the Guhila Tejahsiṁha at Āghāṭa (modern Ahar near Udaipur).[1] Muni Punyavijaya has also published recently a fine illustrated Ms of the *Supāsanāhachariyaṁ*[2] containing 37 illustrations in a fairly elaborate style, some of them occupying the area of an entire page. According to the colophon, the Ms was written and illustrated in V. S. 1479-1480 = 1422-23 A.D. in the country of Medapāṭa at Devakulavāṭaka in the reign of Rājādhirāja Mokala. A lacquer red background in monochrome is a regular feature of these paintings. The line is fine, gold is sparingly used, and the human body is subjected to a stylistic distortion that is a peculiar feature of the Western Indian style. The early Rajasthani school inherited many characteristics of this style, though in a somewhat altered form, and much of its colouring as well as the ornamental and decorative emphasis can be traced to it.

The Western Indian style dominated Indian painting from the 11th century A.D. for a period of almost 500 years and throughout this length of time it showed a remarkable conservatism and disinclination towards change. It was only about the middle of the 16th century that the style began to undergo certain transformations, the nature of which is apparent from a Ms of the *Ādipurāṇa* dated 1540 A.D. and done at Yoginīpura (modern Delhi) referred to by Khandalavala in a recent article.[3] The projecting eye without which it is impossible to conceive of a Western Indian style is absent in the illustrations to this remarkable document and the costume worn by the figures is no longer conventional, but is realistic, imitating contemporary modes of dress. These are, without doubt, of a pre-Akbar period, and consist of long *jāmahs* reaching almost to the ankles, long narrow *paṭkās* and flat turbans which very often have projecting *kulahs*. Many elements of the Western Indian style, however, still survive such as the use of monochrome backgrounds, a very elementary sense of perspective, no attempt at distinguishing planes, and a certain angular and exaggerated draughtsmanship. The style of the *Ādipurāṇa* Ms is still somewhat stiff and awkward, but one can discern in it the seeds of a new life. The full page illustrations particularly, are imbued with a strange and fresh vitality, and signify the even greater changes to come.

Similar to the *Ādipurāṇa* Ms, though more advanced stylistically, is an illustrated Ms of *Mṛigāvatī* recently acquired by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. I have seen two illustrations of this Ms through the kind courtesy of Rai Krishnadasa, the Honorary

[1] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 'An Illustrated Śvetāmbara Jaina Ms of A.D. 1260,' *Eastern Art*, II (1930), pp. 237-240.

[2] Muni Punyavijaya, '*Supāsanāhachariyam nī hastalikhita pothīmānā rangin chitro*,' *Āchārya Śrī Vijayavallabhasūri Smārak Granth*, Bombay 1956.

[3] Karl Khandalavala, 'A 'Gīta Govinda' Series in the Prince of Wales Museum (in the style of the 'Laur-Chandā' and 'Chaurapanchāśikā' Group),' *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 4, pp. 1-18.

Curator, who informs me that he was unable to trace a single costume of the Akbar period in the illustrations. The date and provenance are unfortunately not given though there can be no doubt of a pre-Akbar period dating. The possibility that this style was prevalent in what is now Uttar Pradesh is very strong. The *Ādipurāṇa* Ms was painted at Delhi, and the language of *Mṛigāvatī* is Avadhī, a fact that is of importance if we consider that the paintings illustrating some incidents from the Avadhī romance of Lorik-Chandā, now in the Panjab Museum, mark the next stage in the growth of this style. These together with the *Gīta Govinda* paintings in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, the *Chaurapanchāśikā* set with N. C. Mehta, and some other paintings[1] testify clearly to strong Mughal influences, especially in the matter of costume, though they still retain the *kūlahdār* turbans and can be dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D. During this period, the Western Indian style which had continued to linger on side by side with the paintings of the Uttar Pradesh style, also received the Mughal impact and began to change rapidly. Both these styles were moving, roughly speaking, in the same direction, and must have certainly come into contact with each other. Out of this melting pot emerged what is now known as the early Rajasthani style proper, the earliest dated example of which is the *Rāgamālā* set of 1605 painted in Chawand in Mewar and now mostly in the possession of Gopi Krishna Kanoria. Henceforward, Mewar was to yield to none as the greatest centre of early Rajasthani painting.

The Mewar school was to reach the finest stage of its development in the reign of Jagat Singh (1628-1652 A.D.) when a series of excellent works were painted on which the reputation of the school chiefly rests. Jagat Singh himself was a lover of art and the famous palace on Pichhola Lake as well as the Jagdish Temple in Udaipur were built by him. Rāṇā Kumbhā, his illustrious ancestor of the 15th century, was also a great patron of art, and besides being an accomplished *vīṇā* player wrote *Saṅgītarāja* and several other important treatises on music. It would, therefore, hardly be surprising if a particular fondness for music survived up to Jagat Singh's time, very much as the traditions of Mān Singh Tomar were upheld at Gwalior in subsequent periods.

This love of music was one aspect of the artistic revival of the 15th century and was fostered not only by Kumbhā but by Ibrāhīm and Husain Shāh Sharqi of Jaunpur and Mān Singh Tomar of Gwalior. The renaissance of Indian music in the North greatly influenced Indian painting, and we begin to find visual representations of the musical modes about the same time. In the magnificent *Kalpasūtra* Ms belonging to the Devasānopāḍā Jñāna Bhaṇḍār in Ahmedabad, for example, are visual representations of various *rāgas* and *rāginīs*, though these only consist of individual figures. Later the representation becomes more elaborate and the early Deccani paintings of the Bikaner Palace collection, some of which are now in the National

[1] Karl Khandalavala, 'A 'Gīta Govinda' series in the Prince of Wales Museum (in the style of 'Laur-Chandā' and 'Chaurapanchāśikā' Group),' *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 4, pp. 1-8.

Fig. 12. *Yaksha* of Pārśvanātha. *Circa* 900 A.D. Ht. 7″.
Seattle Art Museum, U.S.A.

Fig. 13. Surya. Southern Gujarat or Malwa. 9th century A.D. Ht. 11″.
Los Angeles County Museum, U.S.A.

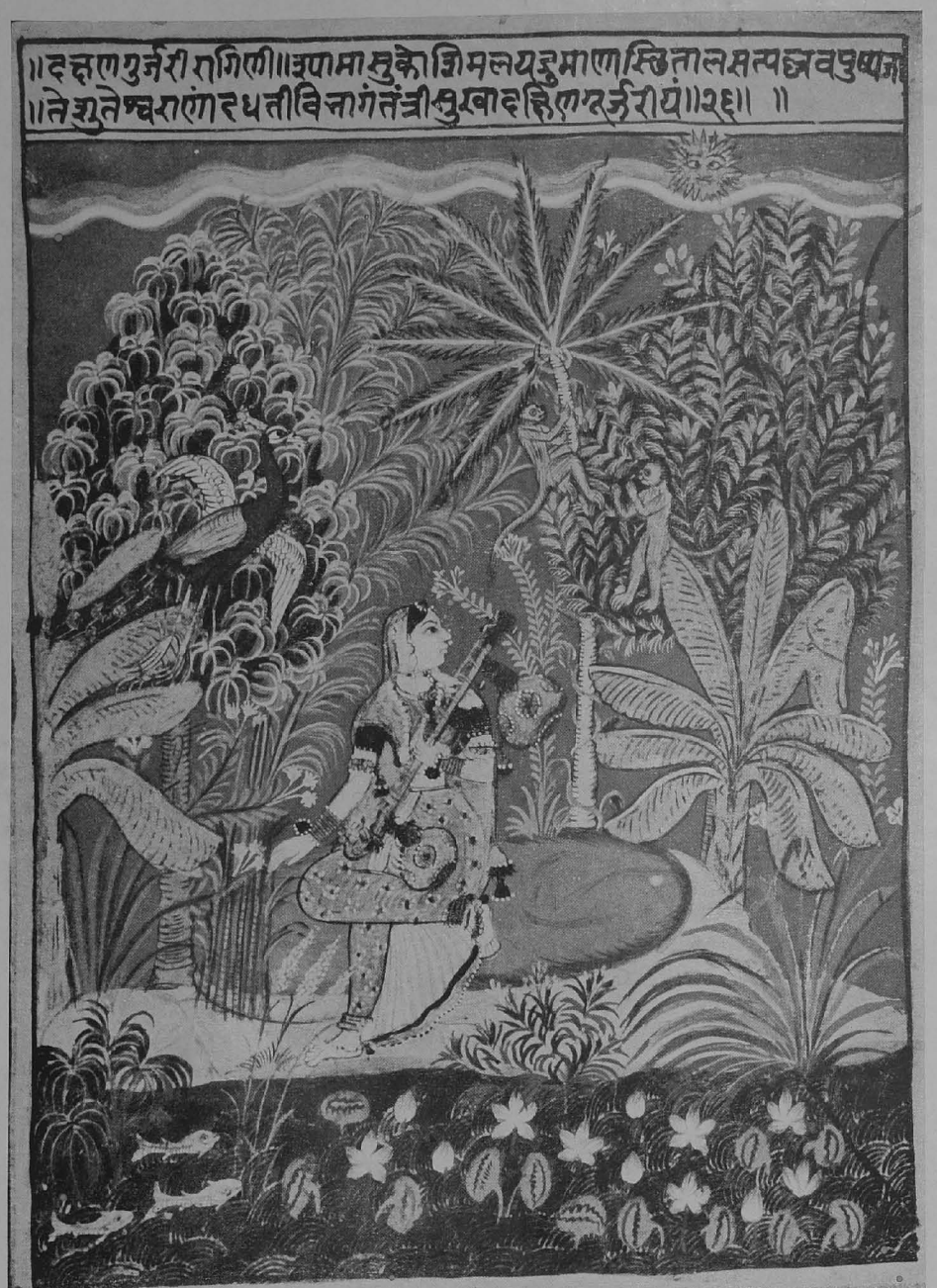


Fig. 1. *Rāginī* Dakshiṇa Gurjarī. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 2. *Rāginī* Asāvarī. Illustration from a *Rāmamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Museum of India, are witness to this new trend. The credit for this new development may perhaps go to the great Jagatguru Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II 'Nauras' of Bijapur (1580-1627 A.D.). This remarkable person was an enthusiastic patron of art and his love for music knew no limits. He was an accomplished poet and musician himself, and he maintained a veritable contingent of songsters which he called the *Lashkar-e-Nauras* at his court. Painting too received great encouragement so that it is not impossible that this new trend in the pictorial representation of *rāgas* and *rāginīs* developed at his court.[1]

The Rāgamālā set in the National Museum of India was originally the property of a firm of curio dealers of Jaipur known as The Gem Palace who loaned it to the Exhibition of the Arts of India and Pakistan held at London in 1947-48. It is described in the Catalogue of that Exhibition as a 'series of forty-one Rāgas and Rāginīs mounted in one album' and assigned to the late 17th century.[2] The set was also exhibited at the subsequent Exhibition of Indian Art held in New Delhi and was finally acquired by the National Museum of India. It is popularly known amongst scholars as 'The Gem Palace Rāgamālā'.

The size of the pictures, including the triple border of blue, dark grey and red is $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms. The following musical modes are illustrated: *Rāgas* Pañcham, Megh, Bheron (Bhairav), Dīpak, Aḍānau (Aḍānā), Sindhūrau (Sindhūr), Mālkauśika, Kāfī, Śrī, and Hiṇḍol; *rāginīs* Vasant,[3] Paṭhmañjarī (Paṭmañjarī), Bibhās, Mālaśrī, Kaumod (Kāmod), Dhanasirī (Dhanāśrī), Vilāval, Desākh, Megh Malhār, Malār, Guṇakarī, Madhu Mādhavī, Lalit, Soraṭh, Māru, Kāṇaḍo, Naṭa Nārāyaṇa, Varāḍī, Rāmgīrī, Malīgoḍo, Dakshaṇa Gurjarī, Khambhāichī, Goḍī, Āsā (Āsāvarī), Toṛī and Sāraṅga. The set consists of 41 paintings and is probably incomplete. The *dhyānas* of the *rāgas* and *rāginīs* were inscribed, after the painter's work was completed, in the vacant space provided at the top. We know this because finding the space insufficient the scribe often trespassed into the picture itself. The Sanskrit verses are written in hopelessly corrupt language. Not much discretion is exercised in assigning genders to musical modes, and often a painting is male in the title but female in the text and *vice versa*.

The colours are bold and bright, reminiscent of the indigenous traditions of the Western Indian school rather than the subtle tonalities of the Mughal school of the same period. Red, yellow, black, gold, silver, orange, blue, mauve, chocolate, green and grey are the colours most commonly used. Colour is also employed rather skilfully to provide relief to the human figures, and a monochrome background of yellow or startling red often infuses movement into the stylized human figures. In a certain sense, this use of colour reminds one of the Malwa school of the same period though it is probably not as conscious and effective. The colours,

[1] Moti Chandra, 'Portraits of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II,' *Marg*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 23-24;
Karl Khandalavala, 'Five Miniatures in the Collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir,' *Marg*, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 27, fn. 5.

[2] Leigh Ashton (editor), *Art of India and Pakistan*, London 1949, p. 118.

[3] The painting is reproduced in Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, Lalit Kalā Akadami, 1957 as Colour Plate 5.

however, form here as in other early Rajasthani schools, definite patterns on the flat surface of the picture, and these very often have great charm.

The depiction of the sky, too, owes much to the Western Indian style. Often a sinuous red line marks the horizon (Pl. XII, Fig. 1), and above it is the sky painted in azure blue, with light patchy wisps of colour (Pl. B) suggesting clouds. In night scenes, the sky is just a uniform wash of blue, with white dots representing stars while a white moon, often outlined in red, shines in the sky. The sun, whenever shown, has a human face (Pl. XIV, Fig. 5) and is painted in gold. The lightning in the sky is serpentine in form and also reminds us of earlier indigenous traditions (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6).

When it rains, light broken lines in white represent the raindrops that fall from the sky. The traditional *sāras* cranes are then shown flying in the air in a peculiar motionless manner (Pl. B). The peacock is brightly painted against the foliage (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6), but like other birds (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3) is somewhat wooden in treatment, looking very much like the bright coloured toys of the village market. The same is true of the animals represented. The cows and deer are somewhat stiff, but the artist's keen sense of sympathy with them is often clearly perceptible, especially when they are shown with their young ones. The camel with all its trappings is painted with confidence and reveals the artist's close intimacy with the creature. Monkeys abound (Pl. B and Pl. XV, Fig. 7), and we see a rat caught in a cage, squirrels climbing up trees (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3), a pet mongoose, war elephants, and horses (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4).

Water is represented in the traditional Indian manner, that is in a basket pattern, the colours employed being a black background with silver waves (Pl. XV, Fig. 7). This colour scheme for the representation of water is also popular with Mewar painters of subsequent periods. Another way of depicting the water, though used less often, is by means of a dark blue ground on which are drawn horizontal wavy lines. In the lovely painting of Āsāvarī *rāginī* (Pl. XII, Fig. 2), however, the Gaṅgā flowing from the mouth of a cow is painted in light blue with wavy black lines. The water often has luxuriant vegetable life such as water-lilies, lotuses and flowering reeds. The lotuses are generally five-petalled, the tips painted a bright pink, while the brightly coloured fishes contrast vividly with their immediate environment. In the water also swim ducks, bobbing nonchalantly ; and cranes are found either looking at the fish wistfully or making love to each other (Pls. XIII, Fig. 3 and XV, Fig. 7).

One of the most remarkable things about these paintings is the extraordinary feeling for landscape, seldom to be met with in Indian art. The picture teems with trees and other plants, and though these are sometimes painted in a conventional and inadequately decorative manner, they so crowd and dominate the scene in the best paintings as to give the picture the quality of pure landscape (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). In this painting it is the prolific vegetation that holds our attention, and not the *vīṇā* player who is assimilated to the forest landscape. The artistic

PLATE B. *Rāga* Hiṇḍol. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. **Mewar.** Middle of the 17th century A.D. Same Size. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

treatment of trees is of course conventional and formalised, but there is a sense of freedom and magical power which is quite unusual.

It is also interesting to note the technique employed to depict trees. In early Rajasthani painting, the usual method is to first make a dark background against which the leaves are drawn in small stylised bunches. The leaves are sometimes shaded but the arrangement of the foliage is decorative rather than realistic. The same method is also followed here, and is obvious in the representation of the constantly recurring mango trees. In addition, we find tall slender palms with green and sometimes bright orange-red fronds, and numerous flowering trees, the trunks of some being entwined by creepers. The langorous plantain with one leaf bent is also present, contrasting with the teeming foliage of the other trees by its calm simplicity. One of the important characteristics of the early Rajasthani style, the spray-like meandering foliage emerging from the sides of trees, is also present in these paintings. We also find tapering cypresses, recalling Persian and Mughal counterparts, and small flowering plants scattered throughout the ground. The trunks of trees are sometimes slender, with the bark clearly indicated, and at other times heavy and gnarled, the treatment being quite naturalistic and obviously derived from Mughal painting. The foliage of some of the trees is strictly conventional as when it forms an ornamental basket pattern, while sometimes this formalism is relaxed in deference to Mughal naturalism. The two kinds of trees, one quite conventional, and the other less so, stand opposite each other in Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.

Hills and rocks are not painted with great success. Mughal influence is obvious, but it has not been assimilated happily, and the clumsy rocks, crudely modelled, are often discordant elements. An exception, however, is the lovely representation of Āsāvarī *rāginī* (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). Low, level mounds, with the tops shaded are also used in the familiar way to demarcate planes, and sometimes also for landscape effect. In Pl. XIII, Fig. 3 they succeed in conveying a sense of distance which should be enhanced by the three small trees and temple in the background ; but this unusual sense of perspective, realistic in tone, and inherited from the Mughal *dūrnumā* is out of place and incongruous in the context of the treatment of space that is characteristic of the early Rajasthani style.

It is also interesting to analyse the composition of the paintings, and the organisation of the picture plane into various schematic patterns. Mainly the pictures are divided into four panels. The uppermost panel consists of a blue sky while the lowermost panel contains small stylised plants, vessels and trays, shoes, and a conventional staircase at one end. The main action takes place in the broad panel immediately above this and it is in turn often divided into two compartments, the interior of a pavilion and the space outside. This panel is less often just the interior of a building. The white domes, balconies, parapets or terraces of this pavilion project into another plane coloured black. This panel is distinguished from the main panel by rudimentary perspective, the trees being shown partially to indicate distance (Pl. XIV,

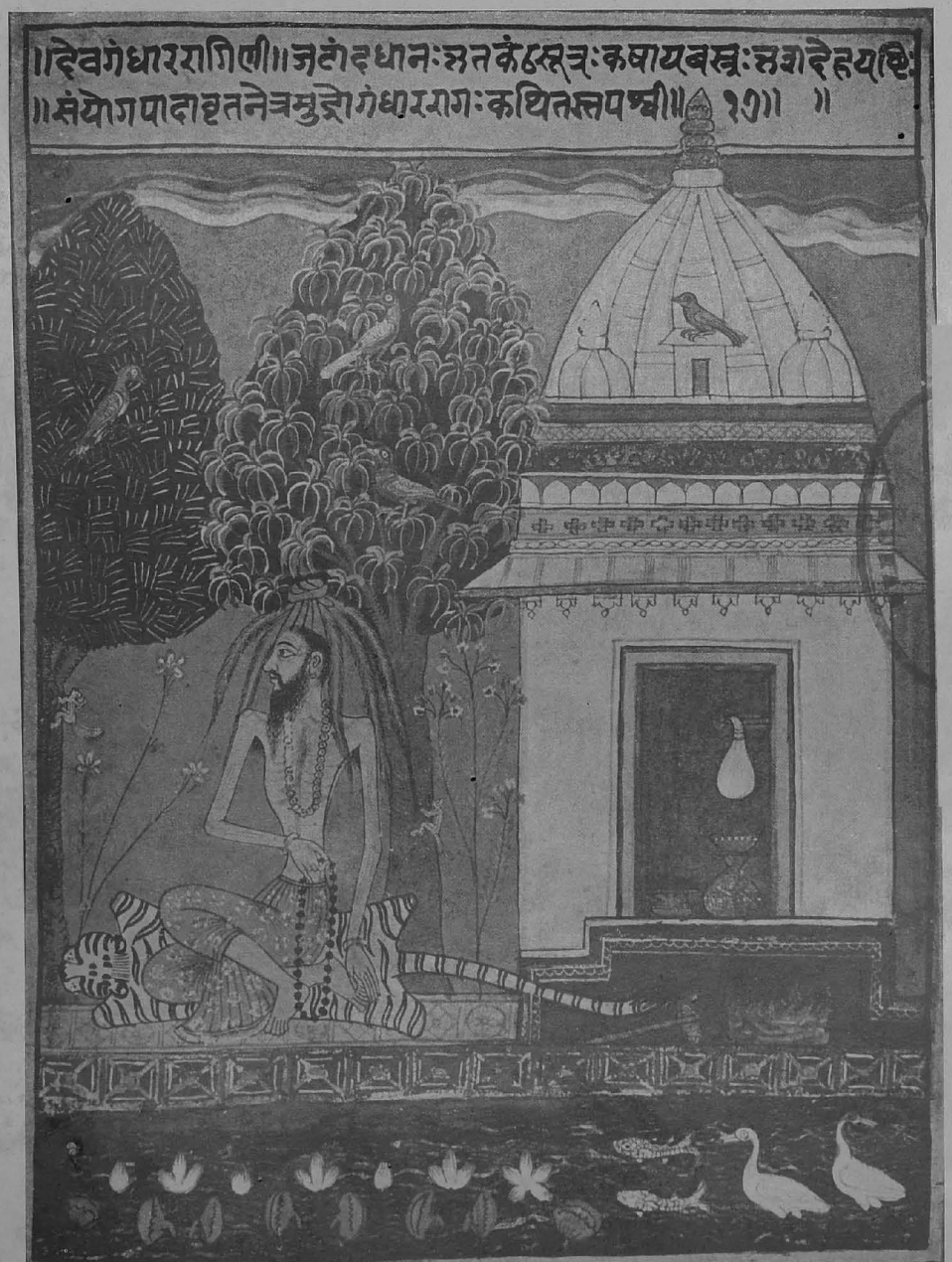


Fig. 3. *Rāginī* Devagandhar. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size 16½ × 21½ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 4. *Rāga* Sindhūr. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size 16½ × 21½ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

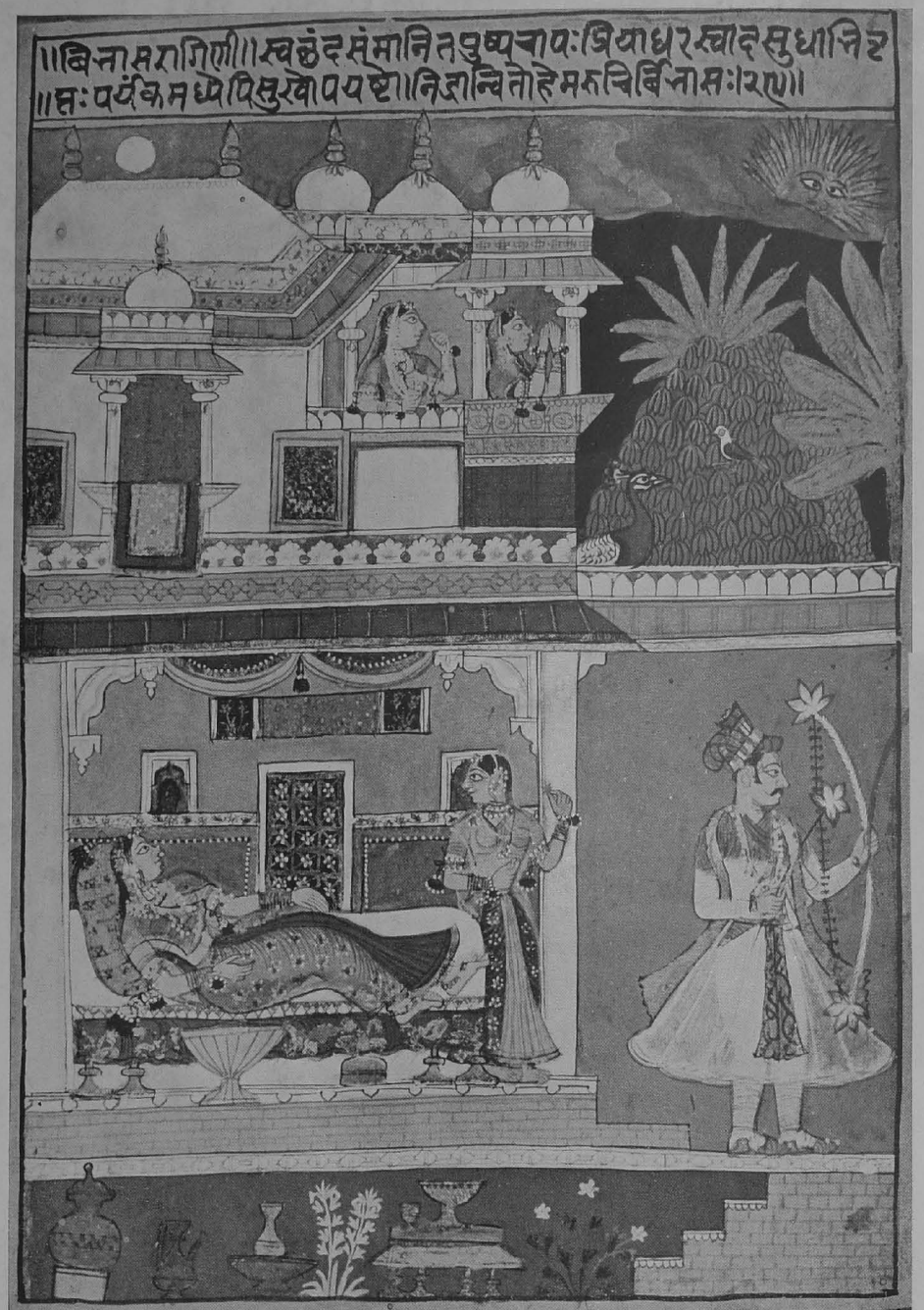


Fig. 5. *Rāginī* Vibhāsa. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 6. *Rāginī* Madhu Mādhavī. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 5). Compositions of this type are also very popular with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of 1649 in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

Another group of paintings is characterised by three panels, consisting of a sky at the top, a conventional lotus-lake inhabited by aquatic birds and fishes in the foreground ; and between these two is the panel of main action, separated from the lotus lake either by coloured rocks (Pl. XV, Fig. 7) or a palisade bordering the water (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3).

In paintings of the type of Pl. XV, Fig. 8, the sky consists of a narrow blue strip below which is a band of black, another panel depicting the outer wall of a house with balconies from which people look on to the main action that takes place below. In the foreground are conventional plants.

Rāga Sindhūr (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4) has a composition different from the other paintings in the set. It is divided into only two parts. On top is the blue sky with a stylised mountain and two trees on the horizon, while the main action, in this case a battle scene, takes place against a broad background of yellow below.

The human figures, both male and female, are shown with simple composed features, and are always postured gracefully. Two female types can be clearly discerned, one tall and freely drawn and the other somewhat stunted, with a heavy face (Pl. XIV, Fig. 5). The women have *paḍol*-shaped eyes, somewhat full chins, broad hips and full bosoms. Their apparel consists of the usual *ghāghrā, cholī* and *oḍhnī*, all brightly coloured and bearing the usual flower patterns, the *ghāghrā* being somewhat decorative with horizontal stripes and checks (Pl. B). Sometimes they are also shown wearing pyjamas, *shalwār* and *dupaṭṭā*. The jewellery consists of *sīsmāng*, nose-ring, necklace, armbands, bangles and anklets. Decorative black pompons, a characteristic feature of early Rajasthani painting, are also worn, though not profusely. Single pompons can be seen at the wrists, upper arms, and ends of pigtails, but very seldom at the waist.

The men are clad in *churīdār* pyjamas and *gherdār jāmahs*, both plain and flowered, and in a religious context wear *dhotī* and *dupaṭṭā*. The pointed *chāqdār jāmah* is nowhere to be seen. The turbans are of the late Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān period and are sometimes ornamented with an aigrette (*kalgī*). The armpits as well as the chest are often shaded by straight brown lines which are done in imitation of the armpit shading of early Mughal painting (Pls. XIV, Fig. 5 and XV, Fig. 7). The *paṭkā* tied round the waist is long and narrow and is usually decorated with geometrical designs. A red *tilaka* is to be seen on the forehead of both male and female persons. The architecture is of the Jahāngīr period with typical domes and pavilions. This, together with the treatment of landscape, costume, and other stylistic features indicates a period *circa* 1650 A.D. That this set belongs to Mewar and was painted about the time indicated above is placed beyond doubt by the remarkable resemblance it bears to the numerous illustrations from the Udaipur *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms of 1649 A.D. in the Prince of Wales

Museum of Western India. The similarity is indeed remarkable and there can be no doubt that the paintings were done not only at the same time but probably by the same school of artists.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Rāga Hiṇḍol (Pl. B). Rādhā and Krishṇa are shown on a swing in the centre with female attendants on either side. The conventional trees have peacocks and a monkey. Notice the curly white clouds in the sky, the broken white lines representing rain and the typical *sāras* cranes flying above. The green tree to the left is a mango and the peculiar fan-like manner in which the *oḍhnī* is spread across the right shoulder of the attendant at the extreme right. This feature is noticeable in numerous other paintings of the set as well and is particularly clear in the drummer of Pl. XV, Fig. 8, the reclining lady in Pl. XIV, Fig. 5, and the lady with outstretched arms in Pl. XIV, Fig. 6.

Rāginī Dakshiṇa Gurjarī (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). A woman holding a *vīṇā* sits on a rock in the midst of a profusely wooded landscape. Note the flowering lilies and reeds of the lotus lake in the foreground. Chocolate background; and a human faced sun in the sky.

Rāginī Āsāvarī (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). An aboriginal woman dressed in a skirt of peacock feathers and holding a serpent stands in front of two *liṅga* altars by the side of which flows a stream issuing from the mouth of a cow. The orange, mauve and grey rocks, bordered with gold, that make up the mountain are noteworthy. Numerous serpents have entwined themselves round trees. A human faced sun shines in the sky and there is water with fishes in the foreground.

Rāginī Devagandhār (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). An emaciated ascetic sits on a tiger skin outside a small temple in front of which burns a sacrificial fire. Note the double red line bordering the sky. The background colour is a pleasing lavender grey.

Rāga Sindhūr (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4). A battle scene is painted against a yellow background. A war elephant charges two armoured cavalrymen, one of whom pierces the beast with a spear while the other is seized by the elephant's trunk. One of the elephant riders holds a lion standard while the other is shooting arrows. In the foreground are two soldiers engaged in hand to hand combat while another lies bleeding on the ground. Above the scene of combat hovers a winged angel, obviously borrowed from Mughal painting where it was becoming increasingly popular towards the reign of Shāh Jahān. Note the interesting horse armour.

Rāginī Vibhāsa (Pl. XIV, Fig. 5). In the pavilion is shown a woman reclining on a bed and attended by a maid servant. Outside is the hero dressed in transparent white *gherdār jāmah*, turban with plume, *dupaṭṭā* and holding a lotus tipped bow and arrow. He is preparing to shoot the cock that has disturbed his dalliance by its crowing. Above are two women in balconies, one of whom worships the rising sun. It is early morning, and this is emphasised by the white moon visible in the sky to the left. Note the different proportions of the female figures, one tall and slender, the other shorter and squat. Typical foreground with vessels and stairway.

Rāginī Madhu Mādhavī (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6). A lady with one hand stretched towards a peacock and the other held by an attendant is running towards the pavilion. She is apparently frightened by the flash of lightning. Note the serpentine form of the lightning and the typical foreground with stylized stairway.

Rāginī Kedār (Pl. XV, Fig. 7). A *sādhū* seated on a tiger skin is shown conversing with a religious figure holding a *vīṇā*. Note the tapering cypress and the perspective attempted in the depiction of the temple and the trees in the background.

Rāginī Naṭa Nārāyaṇa (Pl. XV, Fig. 8). A female troup consisting of a drummer, a cymbal player, and a dancer, the latter dressed in pyjamas, *shalwār* and *dupaṭṭā*, is performing outside the walls of a palace. They are watched from the balconies by a couple and a lady. Note the shaded armpit of the male figure. Blue sky with crescent moon on top.

Photographs: Courtesy of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

Fig. 7. *Rāginī* Kedār. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

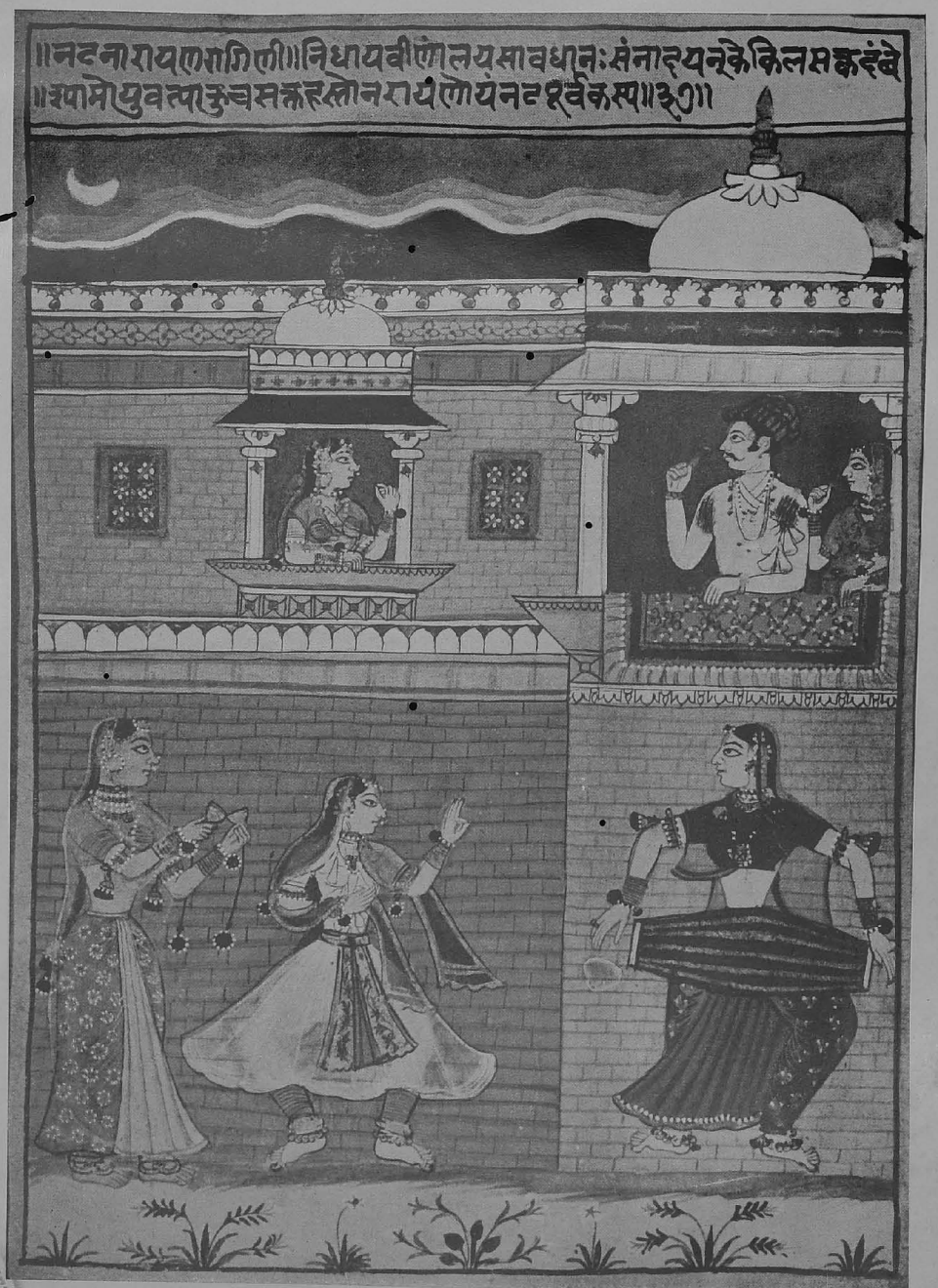


Fig. 8. *Rāginī* Naṭa Nārāyaṇa. Illustration from a *Rāgamālā* set. Mewar.
Middle 17th century A.D. Size $16\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ cms.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Fig. 1. Śiva Bhikshāṭanamūrti. Tiruvenkadu (Tanjore District). Chola. 1048 A.D.
Height 2′ 11″; maximum width 1′ 9″; Pedestal width 1′ $\frac{1}{2}$″.
Tanjore Art Gallery.

BRONZE IMAGES FROM TIRUVENKADU - ŚVETĀRAṆYA (TANJORE DISTRICT)

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

IN 1952 were discovered in the village of Tiruvenkadu, Tanjore District, a group of bronze images, while ploughing in a field in the village. They are now exhibited in the Art Gallery, Tanjore Palace, Tanjore. The images represent Śiva as Bhikshāṭana, Śiva as Vṛishavāhanamūrti or Vṛishabhāntikamūrti with his consort, and Kalyāṇasundaramūrti. Though the circumstances under which the images got buried are not known, a little careful search for particulars in the local temple of Aghoramūrti has revealed six Tamil inscriptions (numbers 444, 449, 450, 451, 456 and 457 of 1918 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1919) that throw light on the circumstances when the images under description were made or came into the temple. Inscription number 444 of 1918 mentions images made, and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakan Mādeviyār *alias* Sembiyan Mādeviyār, daughter of Malavaraiyar, mother of Uttama Choḷa and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Choḷa, in the fourth year of the reign of Rājakesari, in the third and tenth years of Parakesari and in the second year of Gaṇḍarāditya-deva *alias* Mummuḍi-Choḷa-deva. This inscription, possibly of Rājarāja I's reign (985-1014 A.D.), mentions the second year of Gaṇḍarāditya-deva *alias* Mummuḍi-Choḷa-deva, while taking stock of the gifts made by his queen Sembiyan Mahādevī at various times to this temple of Tiruvenkadu. As such it is a direct record of the second regnal year of Mummuḍi-Choḷa-Gaṇḍarāditya. In our search for ancient temples round about Kāveri-paṭṭinam, the ancient Choḷa capital, the only structure that could be cited as a unique example of antique art and architecture is the Aghoramūrti temple at Tiruvenkadu on the walls of which the inscriptions under survey were carved. According to the inscriptions engraved on the walls of its central shrine, we can take the origin of the temple as not later than 952 A.D. Another inscription from the temple (465 of 1918 dated as eight plus thirty-seventh year of the reign of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakesarivarman) records the gift of land to Tiruvenkāṭṭu Perumāḷ by a native of Koḍuṅgōḷur in Malai-nāḍu. It also mentions a *gośālā*. Madiraikoṇḍa Parakesari-varman is Parāntaka I (907-955 A.D.). While the earliest date for the temple to which the bronze images under description can be related can be cited as 950 A.D., about which time the temple was functioning in full swing, the actual date for the bronzes noticed here is supplied by four inscriptions, numbers 449, 450, 456, 457 of 1918. Number 449 is an inscription of Rājarāja I dated in the twenty-eighth year of his reign (1013 A.D.). It records gift of gold for offerings to Āḍa-vallār (Naṭarāja) in the temple of Tiruvenkāḍuḍaiyār by Kūttan Vīraṇiyār, a queen of the king. This image of Āḍa-vallār or Naṭarāja is not included in the present group of

bronzes under description, but the bronze image in the local temple which is now under worship and which is a masterpiece of early Choḷa art is probably the one referred to in the inscription. Inscription No. 450 of 1918 which is a record of Rājakesari Rājādhirāja I, issued in the thirtieth year of his reign (1048 A.D.) records that Amalan Seyyavāyār set up an image of Pichcha-devar, gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments to it, opened a charity house (*śālai*) and provided for its maintenance. We have thus the date 1048 A.D. for one of the bronze images in this group, which according to the inscription represented Pichcha-devar. Pichcha-devar is the Tamil for Bhikshāṭanamūrti. Inscription No. 451 of 1918 refers to the gift of gold and silver ornaments to this image of Bhikshāṭana by the same donor. Inscription No. 456 of 1918 which is a record of the twenty-sixth year of Rājarāja I (1011 A.D.) relates to the gift of money for offerings and jewels to the image of Vṛishabhavāhana-deva set up in the temple by Kolakkavan. Inscription No. 457 of 1918 which is a record of the same Rājarāja I in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (1012 A.D.) records the actual setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Vṛishabhavāhana-deva by persons of the *Rājarāja-jananātha-terinjaparivāra*.

Even a superficial study of the inscriptions in the local temple would show that the image of Vṛishbhavāhana-deva (we shall prefer to call the image by the name given in the inscription) was made in the year 1011 A.D., the *devī* or goddess to this image was added in 1012 A.D. to constitute a complete set of Vṛishabhavāhana-deva with consort, that an image of Naṭarāja or Āḍa-vallār was already in existence in the temple in 1013 A.D. and that the image of Bhikshāṭana or Pichcha-devar was added in 1048 A.D. to the temple series of images when Rājakesari Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054 A.D.) was on the Choḷa throne. It will also be seen that three of the important images, Vṛishabhavāhana-deva and his *devī* and Āḍa-vallār (Naṭarāja) were actually set up for worship in the local temple in the reign of the great Choḷa king, Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.). If we remember that the earliest inscription in the local temple is of Parāntaka I (952 A.D.) and the latest so far as our study relating to the images under description is concerned is 1048 A.D., it is fairly certain that all the images found in 1952 while ploughing the field, will have to fall in a period between 952-1048 A.D., or roughly 100 years. And within this period of 100 years will also fall the bronze group of Kalyāṇasundara in this collection, which was also found along with the other images under description while ploughing. It is heartening indeed to notice that the present find constitutes excellent representative specimens of the 'Golden Age of Choḷa Art', which was crystallized by Rājarāja I who is with justification hailed as the 'Great', for it was he who erected in his capital city Tanjore, the great Temple of Bṛihadīśvara, with its variety of sculpture, architecture, painting, bronze and dance *karaṇas*.[1]

Before describing the images, it is worthwhile noting the *sthalamāhātmya* or particulars of the shrine of Tiruvenkadu. Tiruvenkadu (Sanskrit Śvetāraṇya), which means the 'white forest',

[1] Description of the temple, its paintings and sculptures is being printed as a memoir of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, under the authorship of T. N. Ramachandran.

is described as a place which witnessed, on the one hand the Tāṇḍava of Naṭarāja's dance in *saguṇa*[1] ('qualified or concrete') aspect as opposed to Naṭarāja's dance at Tillai (Chidambaram) which was *nirguṇa* ('pure or abstract'), and on the other the advent of a furious aspect of Śiva called Aghoramūrti, who is the principal deity in the local temple. The Naṭarāja story is too well-known to be recounted here. Not so the story relating to Aghoramūrti, who is a terrible form of Śiva with tusks on each side of his mouth, and whose worship was resorted to by the early Choḷa kings including Rājarāja the Great. His worship was supposed to give victory, riches and expiation from sins for the worshippers. According to the *sthalamāhātmya* of Tiruvenkadu there was a demon, called Marutvāsura, who troubled the *devas*, compelling them to lie hidden in disguise in Tiruvenkadu. The *devas* propitiated Śiva and begged of him to come to their rescue. Śiva sent his bull (Nandī), who, overcoming Marutvāsura threw him into the sea. Thereafter the *asura* did severe penance and pleasing Śiva obtained from Śiva his *śūla* (trident). Armed with Śiva's trident, Marutvāsura challenged Nandī to fight. But Nandī dared not attack Marutvāsura, as he saw in the latter's hands the *śūla* of his own God. The demon did not mind foul play, took advantage of the defenceless condition of Nandī, mutilated the bull by cutting off its beautiful horns and tail and departed with them as war tophies. Even today, as we circumambulate in the temple enclosure, we will notice a sculpture representing the bull thus mutilated. News of his faithful mount having suffered foul treatment at the hands of Marutvāsura reached Śiva's ear, who became furious, and creating himself as Aghoramūrti (terrible form), crushed the *asura* to death.

Another piece of information interesting to students of Pallava history is that Tiruveṇkāṭṭu-Naṅgai hailed from Tiruvenkadu. This illustrious lady was the wife of one of the sixty-three Śaiva saints (Nāyanārs) called Siruttoṇḍa who before renouncing the world was a general of the Pallava King Narasiṁhavarman I (7th century A.D.) who was responsible for the rock-cut cave temples of Mahabalipuram, and helped his king to conquer the city of Vātāpi, present Badami, and then capital of Pulikeśi, the Chāḷukya king.

In Hindu iconography Bhikshāṭana takes a high place for inspiring the worshipper with the spirit of renunciation. Depicted as nude in a spirit of abandon, with the skullcap of Brahmā in his lower left hand, apparently for begging his food from the wives of the sages of the forest who were momentarily perturbed by his ravishing physical beauty, but certainly expiating his sin for cutting away the head of Brahmā, is in brief the story that the bronze image of Bhikshāṭana reveals. The *sādhanas* and the *dhyāna-ślokas* prescribed for the Bhikshāṭana form of Śiva in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama, Uttarakāmikāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Śilparatna* and *Kāraṇāgama* apply to the image under description (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1). The image, though

[1] निर्गुण सगुणविभेदात् तिल्लारण्ये तथा सितारण्ये ।
नृत्तप्रवर्तकाय द्वेधा बहुधा नमः शिवायास्तु ॥

strictly answering the canonical prescriptions, has transcended canonical limitations with the result that the *sthapati* who did this image has given an absolutely realistic study of human anatomy and a sublimated product of religious fervour and aesthetic gratification. The upper right hand holds the *ḍamaru* in a pose of rattling and announcing thereby his progress of expiation such as *Manusmṛiti* enjoins on every confessor of sins. In the present case Śiva is sinner for having cut off one of the heads of Brahmā and roams about announcing his sins by beating the drum in public place (*chatushpatha*), so that all can know his confession. Rattling the *ḍamaru* with his upper right hand, the god stretches out elegantly the lower right hand as though to fondle his pet deer, which is following him and springing up to his hand in rhythmic response to his fondling. The lower left hand holds the skullcap of Brahmā, the symbol that fixes his role as Bhikshāṭana for the sin of cutting off one of the heads of Brahmā. By the way, it is interesting to note that the skullcap of the cut head of Brahmā stuck to his hand like a leach (the nature of sin is so) and would not leave him till he reached *brahma-kapāla* in the Himalayas, where the expiation having been completed and the course of his sin having run out by the ardour of his penance, the skullcap automatically dropped out of his hand. The place where this occurs is called *brahma-kapāla*. The upper left hand of the image is in *kaṭaka*, or in position to hold the peacock's tail, as prescribed in *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*. That he is *trilochana* is borne out by the third eye on his forehead. His dishevelled *jaṭās* are elegantly arranged in a braided circle (*vṛittabandhajaṭā*) with the disc of the moon (*chandra-kalā*) showing prominently on its left side. Necklaces, *patrakuṇḍala* in the left ear, armlets, wristlets, *bājibandha*, waist-girdle, *bhṛingi-pāda*, anklets, *pādukās* for the feet and rings for the fingers are some of the decorations that enhance the beauty of the image. And lastly, and certainly the most attractive, is the juxtaposition of a cobra round the loin of this nude god, which recalls to our mind a very apt description of Bhikshāṭana that the great Śaiva saint Tirujñāna Sambandha gives in one of his classical hymns :

Tuṇiyār-uḍaiyāḍai
Tunniyaraitanmēl
Taṇiyāvaḷanāgaṁ
Tariyāvagaivaittār

'This (nude) god wanted to behave like people with dress who cover their vitals with clothes. What did he do ; did he resort to clothes ? No, he took hold of his coiling cobra with its spread poisonous hood and made a knot of it around his loin. Did he succeed in hiding his vitals ? Ha Ha Ha ! look at the picture for the answer'.[1]

[1] There is a beautiful sculpture of this god in the Great Temple of Tanjore, built by Rājarāja the Great. Bhikshāṭana here is a four-armed youthful god standing nude in graceful *abhaṅga* pose in the central niche, holding a skullcup (the begging bowl) in his front left hand, with a staff held by the back left shown stretched across his shoulders ; the objects held by the two right hands are not distinct ; the deer (*mriga*) jumps up at his right to touch his caressing arm and a dwarf (*gaṇa*) is shown carrying a bowl over his head. Pārvatī is shown on the right advancing to offer food to him ; a number of dwarfish *gaṇas* appear on the other side. A big *jaṭābhāra* on the head, and the bell tied to his right leg ((*bhringipāda*) are worth noting here.

Fig. 2. Śiva Vrishbhavāhanamūrti. Tiruvenkadu (Tanjore District). Chola. 1011-1012 A.D.
Śiva height 3′ 5″; maximum width 1′ 6″; Pedestal width 1′; Pārvatī height 2′ 11½″;
maximum width 1′ 1½″; Pedestal width 1′.
Tanjore Art Gallery.

Fig. 3. Kalyāṇasundaramūrti. Tiruvenkadu (Tanjore District). Chola. Early 11th century A.D.
Śiva height 3′ 1½″; maximum width 1′ 7½″, Pārvatī height 2′ 6½″, maximum width 8″;
Lakshmi height 2′ 1½″, maximum width 5″; Vishṇu height 2′ 6½″, maximum width 1′ 3½″.
Tanjore Art Gallery.

The bronze image under description is a masterpiece of early Choḷa sculpture.

The next bronze group represents one of the benign forms of Śiva called Vṛishavāhana or Vṛishabhavāhana and his consort Umā (Pārvatī) (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2 and Pl. XIX, Fig. 5). We prefer the name Vṛishabhavāhana as the temple inscriptions have recorded it so. We have plentiful representations of this god in late Pallava and early Choḷa sculpture (both stone and metal). The god is invariably shown as standing with one of his right arms (in cases where he has four arms) resting (or in position to rest) on the hump of the bull shown beside him to the right, while his consort (Umā or Pārvatī) stands to his left holding a lily or sportive lotus (*līlākamala*) in one of her hands. Sometimes the *devī* is absent, also the bull, and the god has only two arms. The credit of producing some of the best representations of this god goes to the Pallava kings. The panel in the Arjuna Ratha at Mahabalipuram is an example of the best Pallava sculpture of the 7th century A.D. The bronze group from the temple in Tandantottam in Tanjore District, is another, though perhaps of late Pallava origin. This god was popular under the Choḷas and there is no Śiva temple in the Choḷa country without an image (stone or metal) of him. In distant Aihole in Deccan, which was under the Pallava sway for a while, particularly under Māmalla, this god is equally popular. The Aihole sculpture shows him standing and reclining on his mount, with four hands, his back right hand holding *triśūḷa*, the front left hand a snake, the front right hand resting on the bull's horns in an obvious *varada* pose, while the back left hand is indistinct.

The Tiruvenkadu Vṛishabhavāhana has only two hands and stands with legs crossed (*kartari*) as though leaning against the bull. The bull is not shown. His right hand is in position to rest on the bull's head with the forearm hanging like a flag and fingers spread like the wing of a *haṁsa* (*Sa hasto haṁspaksho vā patākādho-mukhastu vā-Uttarakāmikāgama*). His left hand is in *kaṭyavalambita* pose. His locks of hair are collected in a turban, the like of which is not found in other bronzes of the area. Such an arrangement is described as *jaṭābandha-śirah* in *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* and *Śilparatna*. The third eye, *patra-kuṇḍala* in the left ear, necklaces, waist-girdle, thick-stranded *yajnopavīta*, loin cloth (knickers-type) with *Kīrtimukha*-clasp in front, *bājibandha*, wristlet, rings and *pādasaras* add decorative beauty to the physical figure which reveals excellent modelling and a fine and delicate finish even in regard to minute details of flexions and poise. Being in excellent company, the *devī* is a complement to her lord in physical beauty and decorative outfit. For feminine tenderness, graceful form and flexional beauty she is unparalleled. Standing in *ābhaṅga* to her lord's left, with her right hand in *kaṭaka* or in position to hold the flower (*utpala* or *līlākamala*) and her left hand hanging down like the tail of a cow (*govāla*), and with decorative exuberance displayed with taste on a graceful and charming physique, the *devī* lends enduring delight to the *sahṛidaya* world that beholds her and her lord together. The conical *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, with the *śiraśchakra* appendage behind apparently for holding but certainly for beautifying, necklaces, sacred thread,

armlets, plentiful wristlets grouped rigidly but elegantly around the wrist and at a distance from the solitary *bājibandha* (a characteristic feature of Choḷa art) and lower garment in wavy lines arranged in *kachchha* fashion are some of the decorative embellishments that enhance the charm of the figure.

The third and most attractive in the Tiruvenkadu collection of bronzes is the Kalyāṇasundara group (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3 and Pl. XIX, Fig. 4). Medieval sculptures (stone or bronze) representing Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī (Kalyāṇasundara or Vaivāhikamūrti) are popular throughout India and even in distant Java, examples being known from United Provinces (Municipal Museum, Allahabad), Bengal (Rajshahi Museum and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad), Bombay (Elephanta and Ellora) and Madras (Tiruvorriyur, Madura and Tanjore). The normal and earlier representation of this form of Śiva is as we have at Ellora (8th century A.D.) and Elephanta. At Ellora Śiva holds Pārvatī's hand in *pāṇigrahaṇa*, an act obligatory in the Indian marriage ceremony, and stands in the full stature of a bridegroom in the centre of a huge panel, while Brahmā officiates as priest kindling the marital fire on the left, around which the wedding couple should go (*pradakshiṇa*). Vishṇu and Lakshmī stand behind Pārvatī on the proper right in their characteristic role of givers of the bride (*kanyādāna*), and the Dikpālas on their respective mounts and Vidyādharas, Sādhyas and other demigods hover in the sky in a spirit of joy and celebration. As at Ellora, so also at Elephanta and Madura, the emphasis is on *pāṇigrahaṇa* or wedlock, the bride's right hand (always lowered) being completely grasped to the point of covering it by the bridegroom's right hand. At Elephanta, Himavān, the father of Pārvatī, along with his wife Menā, gives away Pārvatī to Śiva who gracefully clasps the right hand of the bashful Pārvatī as a token of their marital tie (*pāṇigrahaṇa* — wedlock). Thus *pāṇigrahaṇa* is as important an item in marriage ritual on the part of the wedding couple, as *kanyādāna* or giving away the bride is on the part of the bride's parents or brother.[1] Bengal (Rajshahi Museum and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad) shows another interesting item of the marriage ritual called *saptapadī* or the 'seven steps' that the bride takes with her husband as a token of their eternal and unbreakable companionship in this life.[2] Such a token is of sufficient value to the Hindu and is rigidly observed even today. *Āśīrvāda* or benediction or blessing the couple with clothes or sprinkling holy water or coloured rice on their heads is yet another important marriage ritual which has secured sculptural representation in Java (Barabadur), yet is rare in Indian sculpture, though in vogue even today in India.

The form of Kalyāṇasundara, as is popular and special at Madura revolves around a local *māhātmya* or sport (*līlā*) of Śiva as Sundareśvara wherein Śiva is said to have espoused

[1] *Rāmāyana*, I, 73, 27
इयं सीता मम सुता सहधर्मचरी तव ।
° प्रतीच्छ चैनां भद्रं ते पाणिं गृह्णीष्व पाणिना ॥

[2] *Mahābhārata*, III, 198, 24
प्राहुः सप्तपदं मैत्रं बुधास्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ॥

Fig. 4. Rear view of Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3.

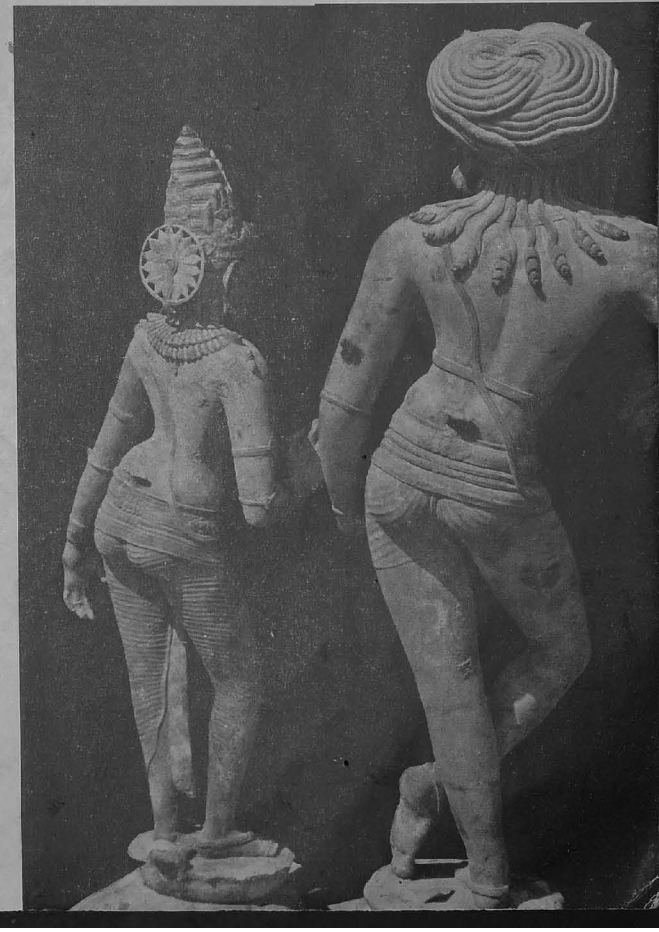


Fig. 5. Rear view of Pl. XVII, Fig. 2.

Fig. 1. Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 2. North side view of Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 3. Iravatana-Iśvara Temple, north side view, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 4. Two individual shrines in the courtyard of the Kailasānātha-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Mīnākshī, a South Indian princess, the daughter of the Pāṇḍyan king of Madura (*malayadhvaja pāṇḍyarājakanye mayi Mīnākshi kripāṁ vidhehi dhanye*). It is worth noting here that as Śiva has in South India Mīnākshī, a South Indian princess, as one of his consorts, so also Śiva's son Subrahmaṇya or Kārtikeya or Murugan as he is popularly known in South India has a South Indian consort called Vallī in addition to his more orthodox consort Devasenā.

The Kalyāṇasundara group in the Tiruvenkadu collection is not only the best representative specimen of the Kalyāṇasundara form of Śiva as described in *Aṁśumadbhedāgama, Uttarkāmikāgama, Śilparatna* and *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, but is also a masterpiece of classical early Choḷa art. Śiva in *abhaṅga*, as dominant figure in the group, holds the right hand of shy Pārvatī in *pāṇigrahaṇa* pose. Śiva's right leg is slightly bent while the left is erect. His lower left hand is in *āhūya-varada* or inviting and boon-conferring pose while his upper left holds deer. His upper right holds the axe. A *jaṭāmukuṭa* rests on his head. His third eye is prominent on the forehead. His body is profusely decorated with *hāras, keyūras, bājibandha*, armlets and wristlets, *mekhalā, udarabandha*, silken undergarment of knickers-type (*kshaumavastra*) with *kīrtimukha*-clasp, *makarakuṇḍalas* in the ears, one standing for Vāsuki and the other for Takshaka, *yajnopavīta* of several strands flattened into one thick strand, *śiraśchakra* behind, more for decoration than for support, and *pādasaras*. Pārvatī stands on his right inclined towards him, while her right hand is lowered and held by Śiva. Her left hand is elegantly raised in *kaṭaka* or in position to hold *utpala* or lily. Her head is slightly lowered suggesting her shyness. Her undergarment which is in wavy lines is a *dukūlavasana* or silken garment as described in *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*. *Karaṇḍamukuṭa* on head, *makarakuṇḍalas* in both the ears, necklaces, three-stranded *yajnopavīta*, armlets, broad wristlets (of the *pāṭali* type), *bājibandha*, and *pādasaras*, add beauty to the young and graceful figure of Pārvatī. Behind Pārvatī stands Lakshmī with her left hand encircling Pārvatī behind and her right hand extended towards Pārvatī as though leading her towards Śiva for *kanyādāna*. *Karaṇḍamukuṭa* on head, *patrakuṇḍalas* in both the ears, breast-band across the breasts, *hāras, keyūras, bājibandha*, broad wristlets, close fitting undergarment in wavy lines, *pādasaras* in the legs and *śiraśchakra* behind are some of the decorative features that the image of Lakshmī possesses. Her figure is smaller than that of Pārvatī and this is to stress the relative importance of Pārvatī in this group, as Lakshmī's role is only to chaperon the bashful virgin Pārvatī into the presence of the bridegroom, who is no less than Lord Śiva himself. Parenthetically it may be noted that Śiva and Pārvatī are the hero and heroine of this bronze epic, the others, viz. Vishṇu and Lakshmī are secondary and as such are shown in comparatively smaller form. At the extreme right end of this group and slightly behind Lakshmī stands her lord Vishṇu who acts here in the role of the giver-away of Pārvatī in *kanyādāna*. His description is as found in *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*. Standing in *samabhaṅga* with *kirīṭamukuṭa* on his head, *keyūras, kaṭakas* on hands, *hāras* on neck, *yajnasūtra* on body, waist girdle, *makara-kuṇḍalas* in the ears, *śrīvatsa* mark on his right chest, *pītāmbara*

as his undergarment, *pādasaras* in legs, *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in his upper left and upper right hands, and lower right and lower left hands so held as to suggest that they are in position to hold a water-vessel slightly inclined or tilted so as to pour water, are some of the descriptive features of Vishṇu who is here playing effectively his role as the giver-away of the bride, Pārvatī, fully observing the donation-ritual of *dhārāpūrvaka*, i.e., offering by pouring down water.[1]

Every member in this group plays the role assigned to each realistically. The bridegroom Śiva leaves in the mind of the beholder the impression that he is not only handsome but important on an occasion like his own marriage. He catches hold of the yielding hand of Pārvatī delicately but surely, yet does not betray any eagerness to behold her. He carries a demeanour well becoming a bridegroom. Pārvatī ably manages her role as a coy maid approaching her lord half willing to be led forward, a tendency to which Lakshmī's role is very helpful though she is not only helping her but introducing her to the bridegroom in the process of *kanyādāna*. At his stage Vishṇu takes up the role of Lakshmī, namely *kanyādāna* and grimly but pleasantly solemnises the ceremony of *kanyādāna* by his lower hands which are in position to hold a water vessel and tilt it in the direction of the marrying couple in a straight *dhārā* or water-libation ceremony thereby concluding the marriage.

The occurrence of Vishṇu in this group in contrast to the appearance of mount Himavān in Ellora and Elephanta is not only to give publicity to the other version declaring Vishṇu as the brother of Pārvatī and the giver-away of Pārvatī or Pārvatī as Mīnakshī, the daughter of the Madura king Malyadhvaja but also suggests that the Pāṇḍya version had also spread to the Choḷa artist-world. The proverbial military strife between the Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas so often chronicled by history was left alone in the battlefields, while monuments, sculptures, bronzes and art and craft products of the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya worlds acted in mutual complement and blend as the present Kalyāṇasundara group, a *chef-d'oeuvre* of the classical Choḷa art of early 11th century A.D. will show.

Photographs: Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology (Government of India).

[1] तोयकुण्डिकयोपेतो विष्णुरेष उदाहृतः।
तदूर्ध्वे दक्षिणं हस्तं धारापाताय कल्पितम्॥ —उत्तरकामिकागमे.
श्यामवर्णसमायुक्तं शङ्खचक्रौ परे करे॥
हिरण्यकरकेणापः पूर्वहस्तद्वयेन तु।
संगृह्य वरदे हस्ते दद्यादुदकपूर्वकम्॥ —शिल्परत्ने
शंखचक्रधरं कुण्डं हस्तद्वयेन धारिणम्।
जलधारो-मुखं किंचिद्वक्त्रेणैव समायुतम्॥
विष्णुरूपं समाख्यातं —पूर्वकारणागमे.

TWO MORE PALLAVA TEMPLES IN RĀJASIMHA STYLE

V. M. NARASIMHAN

Two very interesting Pallava temples (690-800 A.D.) at Kanchipuram, till now not recognized nor written about, are described below.

Two more temples of the Rājasimha style (690-800 A.D.) were recently recognised by the author at Kanchipuram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, about 55 miles to the south of Madras. One is the Piravatana-Īśvara temple on the south bank of Chakkara-Thirtha or Vellai-k-kulam situate in the locality popularly known as Konneri-kuppam or Guhaneri-kuppam, near Kammala Street. The other is the Iravatana-Īśvara temple in Kammala Street. Originally the two temples were built facing one another with some open space in between them. But as time passed, the space was taken up for roads and houses and accordingly one is no longer visible from the other.

Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2, give the front and side views of the Piravatanam temple. In Pl. XX, Fig. 1, it should be noted that the front wall is a modern brick wall raised in place of the old pillars which must have crumbled through decay. Pl. XX, Fig. 3, is the northwest side view of the Iravatanam temple. A photo of the front view of the Iravatanam temple is not given as it is likely to mislead readers, having regard to the fact that a modern *mukhamaṇḍapa* has been added in front, completely hiding the original Pallava shrine.

Several special features noticed in the famous Kailāsanātha-Īśvara temple of Kanchipuram such as (*a*) the continuous sculptured panels chiselled on the interior and exterior faces of walls (*b*) the *Somaskanda* panel behind the *liṅga* in the *garbhagṛiha* (*c*) the conventional rearing lions at all corners and pilasters (*d*) the peculiar *kalaśas* on top *vimānas* (*e*) the entire construction in stone with crowning white granite slabs on top of basements and (*f*) the style in general — make one conclude without hesitation that the two temples which form the subject matter of the present article are in what is known as the Rājasimha style of Pallava architecture. Both the temples form a pair like the better known Mukteśvara and Mātaṅgeśvara temples in the same locality. Architecture in stone began in the Tamil country with the cutting out of caves in living rock, such as the monolithic cave temples excavated by King Mahendravarman I. This is known as the Mahendra style (610-640). The monolithic *rathas* at the Seven Pagodas (Mahabalipuram) probably came next, in what is known as the Māmalla style (640-690). Then follow the structural temples of Kailāsanātha-Īśvara, Vaikuṇṭha-Perumal and the shore temple at Mahabalipuram in the Rājasimha style (690-800). The last phase is known as the Nandivarman style (800-900). The style of Rājasimha is distinguished by (*a*) *liṅgas* fluted and sixteen-faced (*b*) Somaskanda panels found on the inside rear walls of *garbhagṛihas* (*c*) single arched *toraṇas* in niches, and

(*d*) a large number of rearing lions on the pilasters. Compare Pl. XX, Fig. 4 showing two small shrines from the courtyard of the Kailāsanātha-Īśvara temple with Pl. XX, Figs. 1 and 2, showing the Piravatanam shrine. Also compare the rearing lion in the Piravatanam temple (Pl. XXI, Fig. 6) with a rearing lion from the Kailāsanātha temple (Pl. XXI, Fig. 7). In the Nandivarman style, the sanctuary contains no Somaskanda panel, the *liṅga* is cylindrical, the *kuḍu* is differently shaped and the rearing lions are absent.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PIRAVATANAM TEMPLE

The Piravatana-Īśvara temple has a square *garbhagṛiha*, measuring 5′ × 5′ inside and 10′ × 10′ outside with a porch or *ardhamaṇḍapa* without pillars, just half the size of the *garbhagṛiha*. The temple stands facing west. Like the Mātaṅgeśvara temple, referred to above, it has a very high basement, namely six feet in height, consisting of a lower sub-base with plain panels and a square white granite moulding on top and another sub-base having plain and octagonal mouldings crowned by a white granite moulding. The walls from the basement to the top of the *kodungai-vari* (cornice and blocking course) measure eight feet. The *kodungai-vari* is about two feet in depth and is similar to that seen in all Rājasimha period temples. The exterior walls of the superstructure are divided into panels by pilasters placed at intervals. Pilasters at the angles and corners have rearing lions sculptured on them, as at the Kailāsanātha temple. The two side walls of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are each treated as a single panel while the *garbhagṛiha* side walls are each divided into five panels consisting of a big central panel and two small panels on either side thereof. But the east wall (i.e. rear wall) has one big central panel and two small ones on either side. All the small panels are occupied by *dvārapālakas* such as the one in Pl. XXI, Fig. 8 and all the big ones contain sculptured figures of gods. On the north wall we see Mahishāsuramardinī and Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa with Īśvara in the central panels (Pl. XXII, Figs. 9 and 10). Correspondingly, on the south wall we find Lakshmī and the usual Dakshiṇāmūrti panel with his *ṛishi* disciples. On the east wall, the centre panel is occupied by one form of a peculiar Ūrdhava Tāṇḍavamūrti. Inside, the east, north and south walls of the *garbhagṛiha* and the south wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* (porch) are fully sculptured. Probably all other walls also had sculptured panels though now only a plastered surface is to be seen. The rear *garbhagṛiha* wall, behind the *liṅga*, is adorned with the usual Pallava Somaskanda sitting on a *simhāsana* (lion throne) with Vishṇu, Brahmā and other *devas*. On both the side walls, are bas-reliefs of six persons in the act of worshipping Somaskanda. On the north wall the centre figure has four hands and three heads ; and, on the south wall the second figure has one head and four hands, probably denoting a divinity. A partial view of both the panels is given in Pl. XXII, Figs. 11 and 12. The figures in the interior of the temple are heavily covered with plaster work of a much later period, utterly ruining their sculptural beauty. The *vimāna*, somewhat square in shape, is built in three storeys with a peculiar surmounting circular *kalaśa*. The entire temple structure is in cut-stone with some plaster remaining.

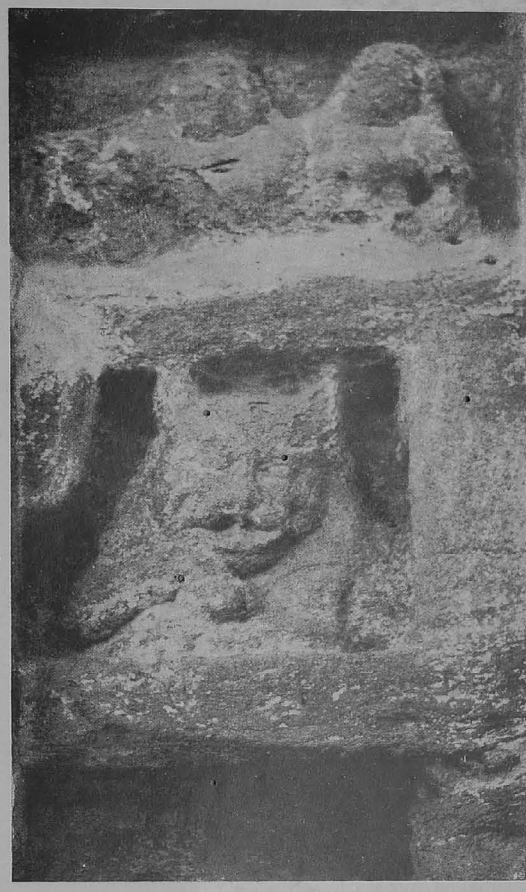


Fig. 5. Cat sculpture on the outer south wall of the Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

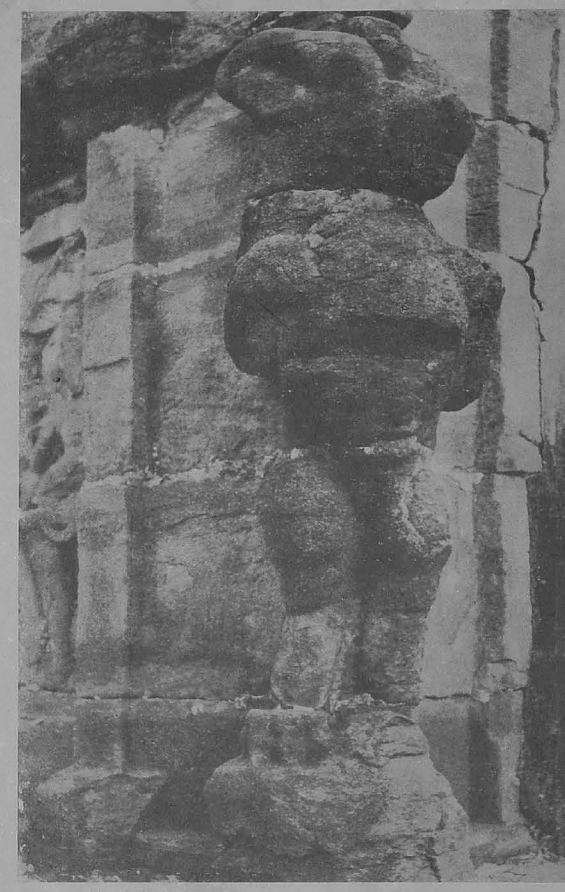


Fig. 6. Detail of rearing lion from Pl. XX, Fig 1, Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 7. Detail of rearing lion from Kailāsanātha-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

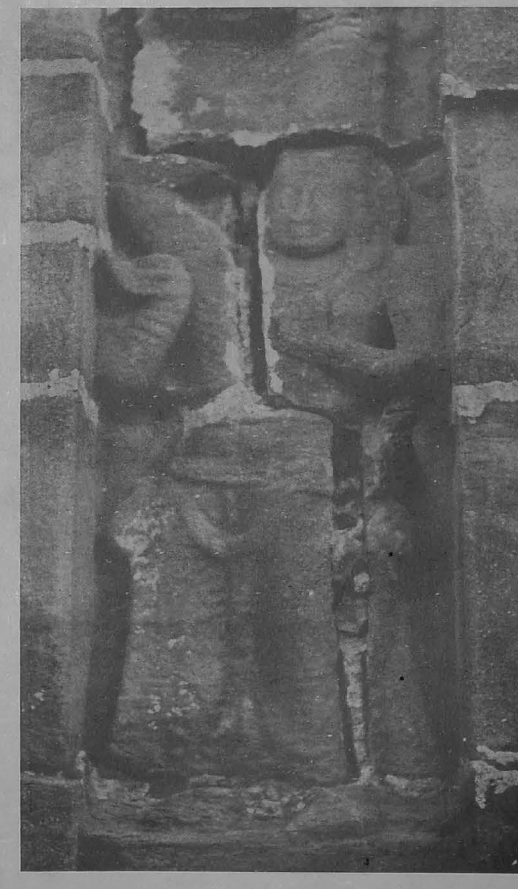


Fig. 8. Dvārapālaka. Detail from Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 9. Mahishāsuramardinī panel from Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

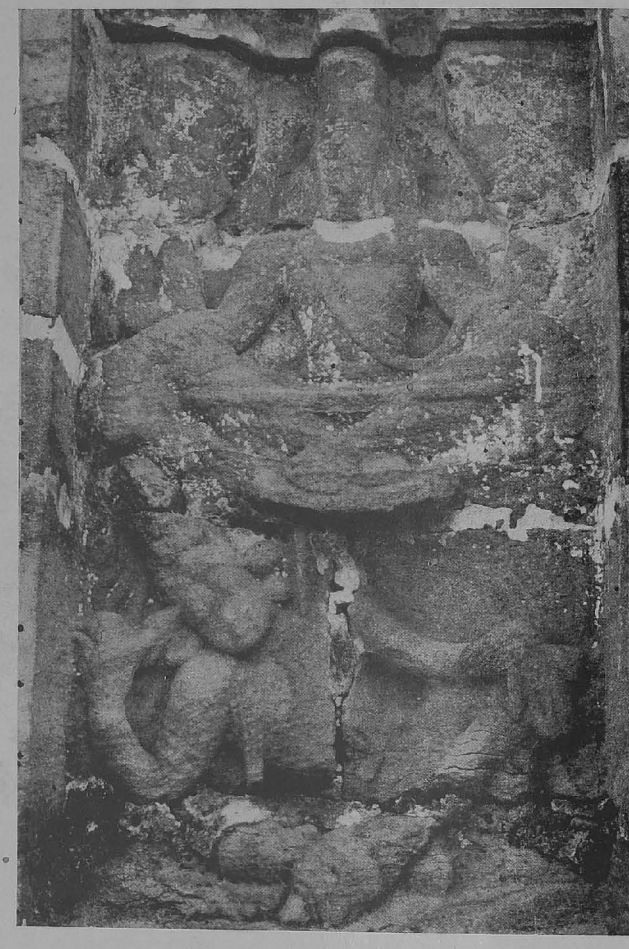


Fig. 10. Rāvaṇa - Kailāsanātha panel from Piravatana - Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 11. Detail of panel from interior *garbhagriha* wall of Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

Fig. 12. Detail of panel from interior *garbhagriha* wall of Piravatana-Iśvara Temple, Kanchipuram (Madras State). Pallava (Rājasimha period). 690-800 A.D.

The Piravatanam temple is the smallest structural temple of the Pallavas. It is practically identical in plan and shape with any one of the numerous cell-like shrines seen in the courtyard of the Kailāsanātha temple (Pl. XX, Fig. 4). Different from the compressed plan of the monolithic *rathas* and the more loosely-knit elements of the Shore Temple of Mahabalipuram, we observe in this temple an effort to present the *vimāna* in a suitable form, well-proportioned, substantial and elegant in its outline, which marks a further stage of evolution in the development of *vimānas*. Another feature is the high quality of the sculptures on its walls in keeping with the classical style of this period.

THE IRAVATANAM TEMPLE

The Iravatana-Īśvara temple situated inside an enclosed *prākāra* (compound) is similar in plan and shape to the Piravatana-Īśvara temple described above though almost double its size Besides, it has a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, without any architectural features, added to it in later times, standing in great contrast to the ancient structure. The *maṇḍapa* is built blocking up the original *ardhamaṇḍapa* and encasing it. The shrine proper is square in shape and like the Piravatanam temple, is enclosed by very thick walls. Its basement also is several feet above the ground level. On the outer walls of the original temple we see a continuous series of sculptured panels representing scenes from the Śaivite *Purāṇas*, as in the Piravatanam shrine. Inside, are sculptured panels on the two side walls of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The walls of the *garbha-gṛiha* as seen today are plastered clean and so it is not possible to say whether they had once sculptures on them or not. The *vimāna* which is slightly taller than that of the Piravatanam temple, is throughout of stone. The temple faces east while its counterpart the Piravatanam faces west, but the entrance to it is through the south side of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*. The original Pallava *liṅga* is missing. The present *liṅga* in worship appears to be a later installation.

REFERENCES IN TAMIL LITERATURE

In the *Periya Purānam*, Sekkizar (about 1070 A.D.) has referred to these two temples—*vide Tirikuripputthonda Nayanar Purāṇam*. Therein one also finds a description of Kanchipuram and its numerous sacred *sthalas* and *tīrthas*. In the *Kanchipuram* in Tamil by Sivajana Swamigal, full details about the sacredness of the Iravatanam and the Piravatanam are given—*vide Meykandar Kazhakam Publication* (1937), pp. 534-538. When Vāmadeva Ṛishi was in the womb of his mother, he prayed Lord Śiva to save him from rebirths. In response to his prayer, Śiva appeared to him and asked him to take birth in this world, to go to Kanchi, to worship Him (Śiva) in the form of a *liṅga*, and thus get rid of all births. Accordingly, the *ṛishi* fulfilled the commands and was freed from rebirths. The *liṅga* worshipped by the *ṛishi* came to be known as Piravatana-Īśvara. So it is believed that any one who offers *pūjā* to this *liṅga* will be freed from rebirth. About the origin of the Iravatanam, it is narrated that when some *ṛishis* did penance to escape from death, Brahmā appeared before them and asked them to go to

Kanchi, to consecrate a *liṅga*, to worship it and thus be freed from death. The *ṛishis* carried out the above command and obtained the boon of eternal life. The *liṅga* worshipped by these *ṛishis* is the Iravatanam-Īśvara. Persons desiring to live a long life must go and offer worship to this *liṅga*. In the *Kandapurāṇam* in Tamil, by Kachchiappa Śivāchārya Swamigal, while referring to the various wonders of Kanchi, special mention is made about these two places where the Lord grants freedom from death (*iravatanam*) and birth (*piravatanam*) to all living beings.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE TEMPLES

Piravatanam temple is very dilapidated and needs urgent conservation and restoration work. Its entrance is blocked by a crude masonry wall having an ill-fitted dwarfish door and over it is built a big masonry niche to place a big *dīpam*. It is an uncouth construction and mars the original beauty of the temple. The *vimāna* is much weatherbeaten and full of wide gaps. Fortunately, on my repeated representations, the Department of Archaeology has now included this temple in their list of protected monuments by necessary legislation passed in 1956. The second temple is in a somewhat better condition with less plant growth over it. But urgent maintenance work such as reflooring, filling up all wide joints, cleaning and repairing the damage caused by plant growth, needs to be taken in hand quickly. Both the temples are very poor having practically no income. But since the monuments are very ancient and interesting, probably being contemporaneous with the Kailāsanātha temple, it is but proper that the Iravatanam temple should also be declared a protected monument and placed under the Archaeological Department.

TEMPLES IN RĀJASIMHA STYLE

The temples hitherto known to us in the Rājasimha style were Airāvateśvara and Kailāsanātha temples at Kanchi; the Shore Temple and Mukunda Temple at Mahabalipuram; the temple at Panamalai and the Vaikuṇṭhanātha Perumal temple at Kanchi built by Parameśvaravarman II. To this list must be added the two temples which form the subject matter of the present article. Their style suggest that they are either contemporaneous with the Kailāsanātha temple or forerunners of it.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE RASIKAPRIYĀ FROM BUNDI-KOTAH

ADRIS BANERJI

THE existence in the 18th and 19th centuries of a well defined school of painting in Bundi and Kotah can no longer be denied. A mass of material has been garnered at the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and the National Museum of India, New Delhi. The miniatures of the National Museum were purchased from a well-known family at Kotah. With regard to an earlier school of painting at Bundi, Raja Chhatrasāla (1650-58 A.D.) is reported to have had painters attached to his court. A search in the palaces of Bundi and Kotah may resolve the problem.

In subject matter these paintings are stereotyped, and if our interest is roused it is because of the specific qualities of treatment and representation. The stock themes include the *Rāgamālā, Devī-Māhātmya, Bārāmāsā, Nāyikābheda* and portraits of historical personages.

An incomplete *Rasikapriyā* set in the Bundi *kalam* illustrates this famous work of Keśavadāsa. The folio containing verse No. 246 mentions the Rasikapriyā: *'Iti Rasikapriyāyām dvādaśam prabhavam sampūrṇam // 12 // Srī,'* while verse No. 280 mentions the poet Keśavadāsa.

Though he comes after Kṛipārāma, Keśavadāsa Miśra is indeed the father of the *śṛiṅgāra* literature of medieval India. He was born in V. S. 1612 (1555-56 A.D.) and died about V. S. 1674 (1617-18 A.D.).[1] The *Rasikapriyā* was composed about V. S. 1648 (1591-92 A.D.). It has now become fashionable to regard every *Nāyikābheda* set as a *Rasikapriyā* set, but such an attitude is unscholarly. There were hundreds of works on *Nāyikābheda*, composed by known and unknown authors, which were illustrated by the painters of Rajasthan. To this class belongs *Hitatarangiṇī* by Kṛipārāma, *Baravā-Nāyikā-bheda* by Rahīm, *Kavikula Kalpataru* by Chintāmaṇi, *Rasarāja* by Matirāma and the works of poets such as Deva, Surati Misra, Śrīpati, Tosha and Raghunātha.

Keśavadāsa Miśra was a native of Tehri who settled in Bundelkhand and received the patronage of Indrajit Singh of Orcha, himself a poet. Amongst his friends were such famous persons as Bīrbal and Raja Ṭoḍarmall. He was a sound Sanskrit scholar and a profound student of *alaṁkāra* and *kāvya*. His school of thought has marked affinities with Ḍaṇḍin-Ruchyaka *vis-a-vis* Mammaṭa-Viśvanātha.

He first divides Eve's descendants into the four traditional classes, and then having defined *prauḍhā, mugdhā* and *madhyā* as belonging to the *svakīyā* class, he divides each of them into four groups. This classification, however, was not accepted by the poet Matirāma and others. The total number of *nāyikās* mentioned by Keśavadāsa comes to 360.

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[1] Hiralal Dikshita, *Acharya Kesavadasa*, Lucknow V.S. 2011, pp. 31-33.

A *nāyikā* is a heroine whose very sight fills a male heart with *śṛiṅgāra-rasa* (love sentiment). *Nāyikās* can be divided into four classes according to their *jāti* or genus, viz. *padminī* (soft as a lotus), *chitriṇī* (graceful and well proportioned), *śaṁkhinī* (gawky) and *hastinī* (heavy and coarse). This is a classification well-known in later *Kāmasūtra* literature, and each author's definitions vary. If the classification is according to their *dharma* (which may be defined as behaviour) they can be divided into three classes, viz. *svakīyā* (one who loves her own lord), *parakīyā* (one who loves a man who is not her legitimate lord) and *sāmānyā* (a common woman, a prostitute). Each of these possessed eight *guṇas* or essential qualities, viz. *yauvana* (youth), *rūpa* (beauty), *guṇa* (qualities), *śīla* (behaviour), *prema* (love), *kula* (family), *vaibhava* (wealth) and *bhūshaṇa* (ornaments).

The *svakīyā nāyikās* are themselves divisible into three classes, viz. *mugdhā* (not experienced), *madhyā* (balanced) and *prauḍhā* (experienced). The *mugdhā* class itself can again be divided into two groups, viz. *ajnāta-yauvanā* and *jnāta-yauvanā*. The latter is again divided into two sub-groups, viz. *navoḍhā* and *viśrabdha navoḍhā*.

Prauḍhā nāyikās are also divided into two groups, viz. *ratiprītā* and *ānanda-sanmohitā-svakiyā*, the latter being a married female so loyal to her husband that even by mistake she can never think of other males.

A *mugdhā* is an immature and bashful maid who is reaching her adolescence. *Ajnāta-yauvanā* is a girl who is not conscious of her youthful charms and *jnāta-yauvanā* is vice-versa. *Navoḍhā* is a newly wed girl who due to fear and inexperience shows a reluctance to take advantage of conjugal love. But after the first experience of marital relations the young bride becomes devoted to the company of her consort and then she is known as *viśrabdha navoḍhā*.

A *madhyā* is a *nāyikā* who is extremely bashful but has a romantic bent of mind. A coquette who is passionate and well-versed in the arts of love is known as *prauḍhā*. This latter class of *nāyikās*, as already observed, is divided into two groups, viz. *ratiprītā* and *ānandasanmohitā*. The former is desirous of the company of her husband only ; while the latter remains immersed in thoughts of her experiences with her spouse.

When the *svakīyā nāyikā* becomes aware of her husband philandering with other females she is divisible into three groups according to her mood, viz. *dhīrā, adhīrā* and *dhīrādhīrā*. A woman who can keep her vexation suppressed is called *dhīrā* ; who vents her mood is called *adhīrā* ; and the woman who can keep her temper cool but gives way to her feelings on occasion is known as *dhīrādhīrā*. The expression of her feelings takes the form of sarcasm and lack of sexual desire ; *adhīrā* manifests her feelings by hard words and an aggressive attitude ; while *dhīrādhīrā* resorts to weeping. These three classes of *nāyikās* can again be divided into six types, viz. *madhyā-dhīrā, madhyā-adhīrā, madhyā-dhīrādhīrā, prauḍhā-dhīrā, prauḍhā-adhīrā* and *prauḍhā-dhīrādhīrā*.

A *parakīyā* is a *nāyikā* who has immoral connections with men who are not lawfully wedded

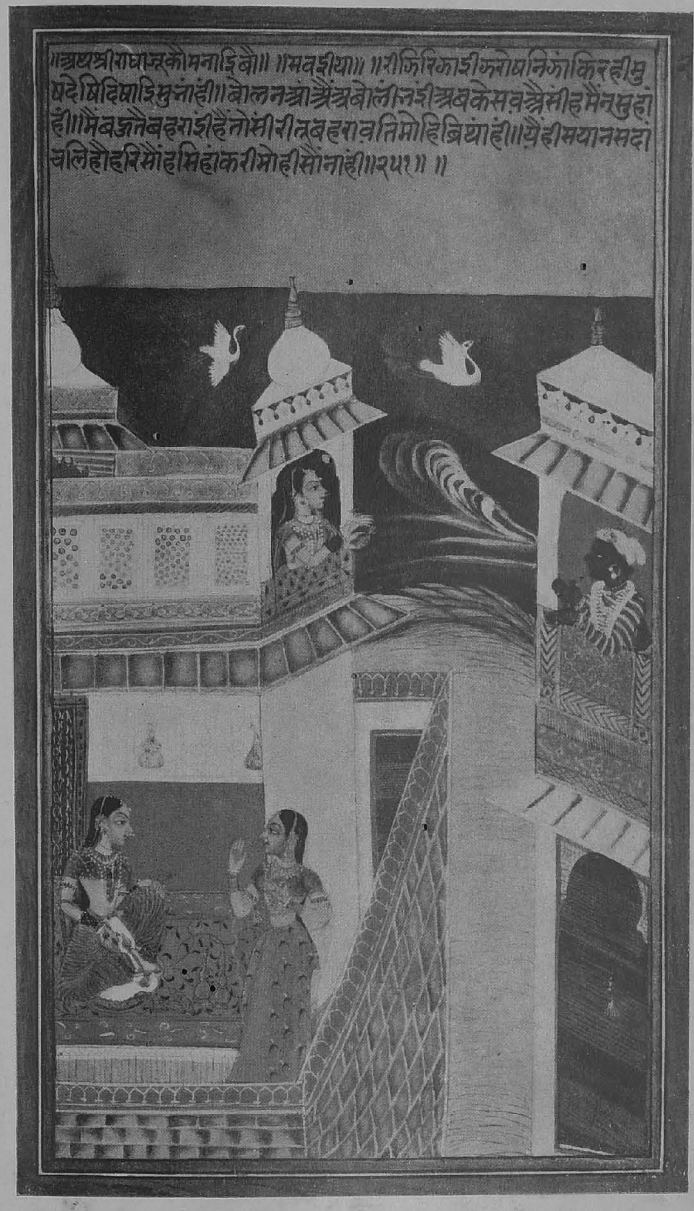


Fig. 1. Propitiating Rādhā. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

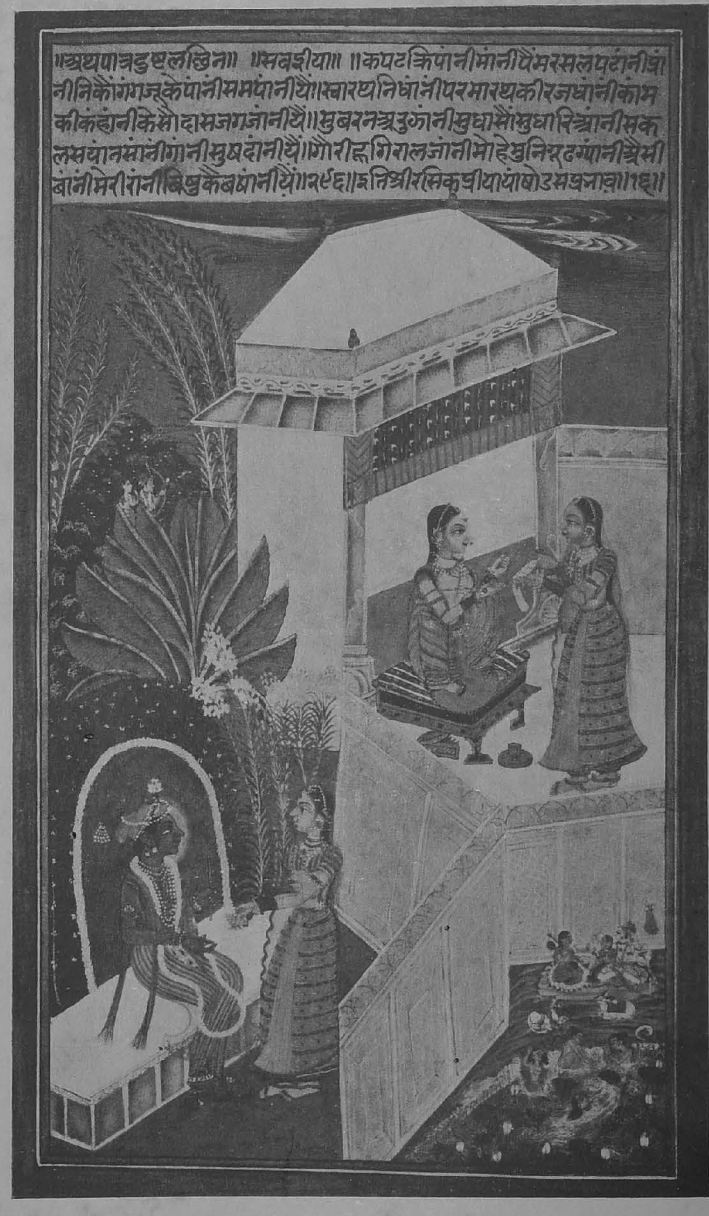


Fig. 2. The Wicked Hero. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

Fig. 3. *Karuṇa Rasa* of Rādhā. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

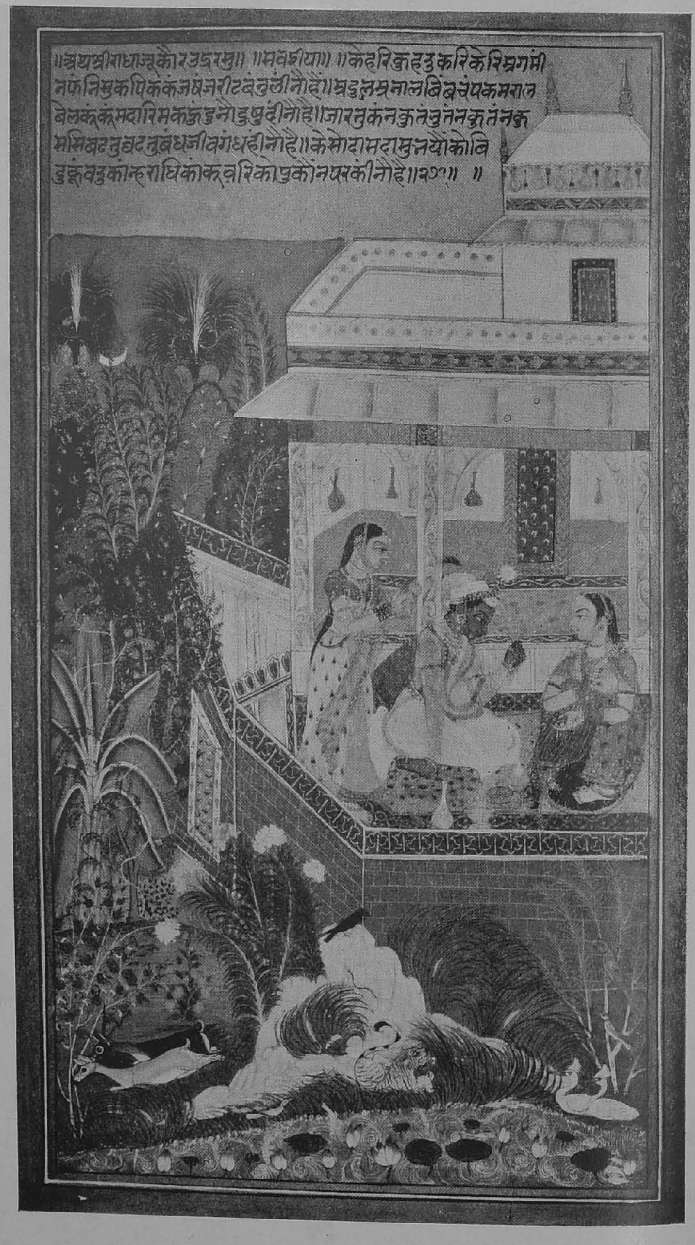


Fig. 4. Extolling Rādhā. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

to her. This class is divided by Keśavadāsa into two groups, viz. *anūḍhā* and *ūḍhā*; but other writers have a six-fold division.

A *sāmānyā nāyikā* was the medieval equivalent for a *veśyā* or *kulaṭā*, i.e., a public woman — one who has no other motive except materialistic gain by the use of her body.

Keśavadāsa divided the *nāyikās* into eight classes. These were: *svādhīna-patikā, utkā, vāsakasajjikā, abhisamghitā, khaṇḍitā, proshitapatikā, vipralabdhā* and *abhisārikā*. Each of these classes are divisible into two categories: *prachchhanna* and *prakāśa*.

Nāyikās were also divided according to their *guṇas* into three groups, viz. *uttamā, madhyamā* and *adhamā*. An *uttamā* is a woman who being aware of her husband's immoral nature and being well aware of his evil intentions against her, nevertheless never wishes ill of her husband. A *madhyamā* is a *nāyikā* whose relations with her lord are of a reciprocal character. An *adhamā* is a shrew.

This is a brief summary of Keśavadāsa's theory of *Nāyikābheda*. It clarifies the concept of the *nāyikā* which does not imply a courtesan, a prostitute or a merely amorous lady. The term implies a woman who has a certain sex appeal.

There are forty-eight miniatures in the set covering a variety of themes. Each miniature is 26.6 × 14.7 cm. of which some space at the top is occupied by a *dohā* (verse) from the *Rasikapriyā* and by the serial number of the verse. The characters of the *savaiyās* are painted on a yellow ground with a brush and not written with a reed or wooden stylo.

The design of these miniatures calls for notice, being broadly divisible into three classes. The first category is architectural (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1 and 2 and P. XXIV, Figs. 3 and 4) showing either an individual room or the roof of a house, a peristylar verandah, single or double storied elevated terraces facing a garden, a lane between two rows of houses, the backyard of a house or the walled enclosure of a mansion with open courtyard. In the second category the scene is set in a bower (*kunja*) (Pl. XXV, Fig. 5), or garden (*udyāna* or *upavana*). In the third category we have an open space such as a street (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3), by-lane, green sward or fields. Each miniature is framed in by a broad red border. The illusion of depth and distance is created by the 'vertical alignment' of forms and motifs; those in front freely overlapping those at the back, with the result that a sort of bird's-eye view of the landscape is obtained (Pl. XXV, Fig. 6).

The sky is often overhung with masses of vaporous clouds, variegated in colour. This treatment of the sky which appears in Mughal painting in the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719)[1] is nowhere so exquisitely romantic as in the Bundi-Kotah school. Bundi-Kotah miniatures are painted dreams. It was a highly subjective art borrowing from the world of materialism what was necessary to use as a framework for conveying the artists' inner vision. Yet in this

[1] Rai Krishnadasa, *Mughal Miniatures*, New Delhi 1956, in the 'Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art,' Note to Pl. 9.

process the artists have revealed a comprehensive vista of the life of those times in a medieval Rajput state. Milky white domes of manors silhouetted against an indigo-blue sky are a feature of this series (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1 ; Pl. XXVI, Fig. 7), while another characteristic is the distant horizon, with a sky streaked with lurid red (Pl. C). Sometimes divinities are shown against the sky (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3) while water is always grey and the ripples and waves are shown either by curves or parallel strokes.

Waterscapes are full of lotuses and other marine flora and fauna (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 4).

Like the Malwa artists of the late 17th century A.D.,[1] the Bundi-Kotah painters were very fond of introducing various types of buildings into their pictures. These structures were either palaces, mansions or villas and were usually multi-storied. They were provided with verandahs and *havāghars*. These and other features enumerated herein can be seen in the accompanying illustrations. They often had gardens at the back, with elevated terraces to sit in during the evenings. The gardens had pools, fountains, large trees and shrubberies (Pl. XXV, Fig. 5). The buildings were generally multicoloured with *chhajjās* (structural sun-shades), turrets, cupolas and whitewashed exteriors.

The interiors are sumptuous. The floors are paved with stones of different colours of which Bundi-Kotah still has an abundant supply. The walls are variously coloured and contain niches, while murals of animals, gods and goddesses are sometimes painted on the walls. The pillars too are painted in a variety of colours. The fact that gardens and gardening was a passion with the well-to-do classes of Bundi-Kotah is amply borne out by the sight of well maintained lawns and flowerbeds inside the walled courtyards and outside the living rooms. Small fountains played inside rooms as well as in courtyards, no doubt to cool the atmosphere.

Some late Bundi-Kotah paintings have been briefly dealt with by Moti Chandra[2] and R. von Leyden[3] while a large group in the Prince of Wales Museum is fully discussed by Karl Khandalavala,[4] who has enumerated the characteristics of the Bundi school. Important features are the floral borders of silver on black, the male and female types and the treatment of clouds. The women can be classified into two groups. First, a short and slender type, with a prominent forehead, straight black hair, small nose, almond-shaped eyes, a receding chin and not too obese cheeks. The second type is also characterised by slender bodies and almond-shaped eyes, but with obese cheeks almost making double chins. Both types have red lips, a red curve between eyebrows and eyes and outline drawn in red. Usually in the second type, the hollows below the eyes and the sides of the cheeks are shaded heavily, while in the first type usually the upper part of the throat is shaded. The female figures have no

[1] Compare Malwa school illustrations in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2 (1951-52), Pls. I-VI, accompanying Moti Chandra's article on an Amaru-Sataka series.

[2] *Western Railway Annual*, 1953, p. 89.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[4] *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3 (1952-53), p. 25.

PLATE C *Dāna Līlā* — The taking of toll. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series. **Bundi-Kotah school.** 1760-81 A.D. National Museum of India, New Delhi. Size 24 × 18 cms. (Superscription and red border omitted in this reproduction).

caste marks on the forehead. The shading on male faces often creates the illusion of an unshaven appearance.[1] The elegance of the figures is undeniable. In some male figures there is no shading on the faces and the complexion is a pink colour.

Bundi-Kotah artists were fond of introducing animals and birds into their paintings (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 4). These include herons, peacocks, swans, geese, doves, flamingoes, green parrots, mainas, ravens, spotted deer, and tiger, while fish abound in the ponds and rivers.

The flora is stylized, but cypresses, palm-trees and plantain trees are easily recognizable (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2 and Pl. XXV, Fig. 5). A favourite motif is stretches of emerald green verdure amidst gardens, along river banks (Pl. C), and near watersheds.

Apartments were furnished lavishly. Wherever the floors do not show mosaic work they are covered with colourful rugs and carpets (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 8). The designs were generally floral and worked in gold, black, red and green. The doors and windows have velvet-like curtains of red, blue, orange, jade, emerald green, mauve and yellow with designs thereon in gold. Frilled canopies supported by gilded posts are set up over roofs, on elevated terraces and projecting balconies (Pl. XXV, Fig. 6 and Pl. XXVI, Fig. 8). Bedsteads had thick mattresses draped with bedcovers of various hues many of which were embroidered in *zari* (gold and silver work) or other coloured threads. Pillows had covers of *kimkhāb* (gold and silver weave) or printed material.

The miniatures reveal that the Bundi-Kotah households had many amenities. In one of the miniatures (51.64/2) illustrating the theme *prauḍhā-dhīrādhīrā* we meet with a *takhtposh* having four gilded posts, supporting a hut-shaped white canopy. The designs on it are in black colour enclosed by thick gold parallel lines on the borders. Hanging from this is a voluminous but diaphanous mosquito-net in a light yellow colour. Long-necked jars of clay or metal, tumblers, wine sets, betel-nut sets and dishes of gold or other metals are also used. There are tripods to support pitchers, mirrors and hand-fans and many other miscellaneous objects.

The female costume consists of a *lahangā* (skirt), *cholī* (bodice) and *oḍhnī* (wimple). *Lahangās* are coloured deep brown or are white decorated with gold stripes or floral patterns in black, red and green ; or made of gold tissue with green leaf-motifs ; or yellow coloured with white and black circles; or dyed plain orange or plain carmine. *Oḍhnīs* are of grey, gold, blue, orange, with gold borders, etc. The *eholīs* are usually very short and the predominating colours are green, gold, orange and red.

The male costume consists of a *gherdār jāmah* (round skirted long coat) *churīdār* pyjama, *paṭkā* (waist sash with hanging end) and a turban. Sri Kṛishṇa usually wears a *jāmah* of diaphanous material, pink or striped pyjamas and headdresses peculiar to him (Pl. C). Only in one miniature is he shown wearing an orange coloured *dhotī* with *zarī* border and a diaphanous

[1] *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3 (1952-53), p. 26.

Fig. 5. *Prakāśa Vāsakasajjā.* Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

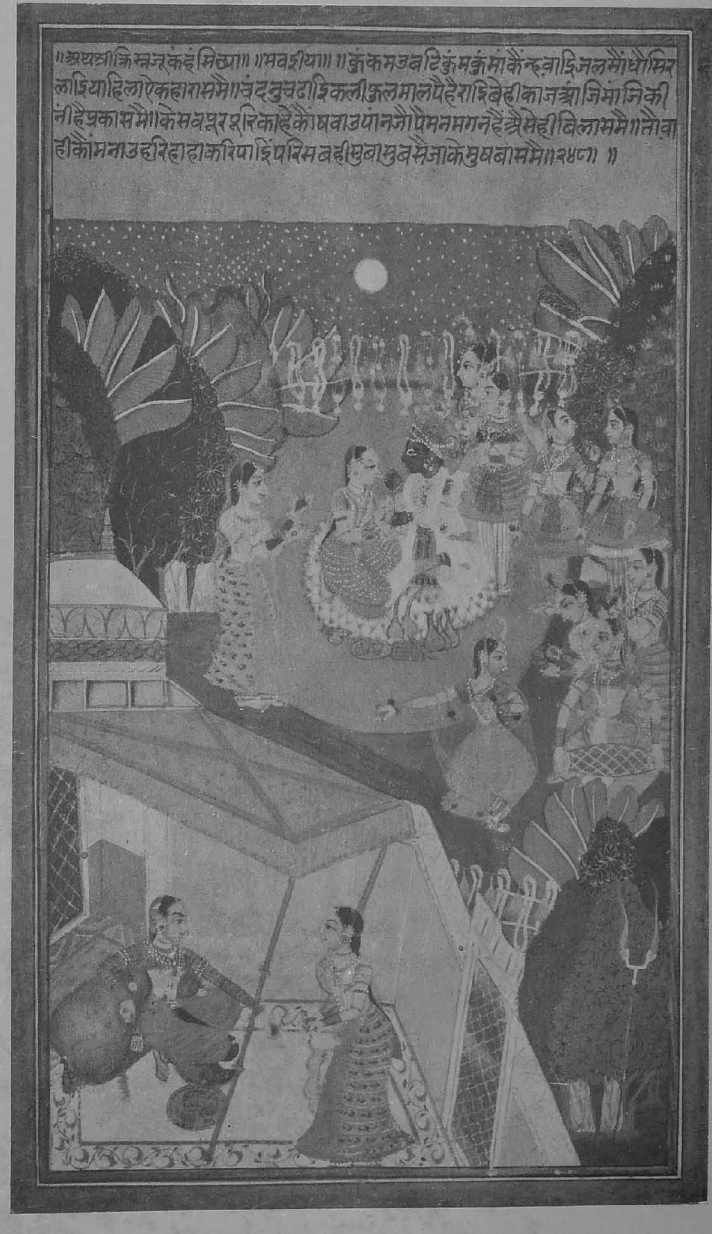


Fig. 6. Teaching Krishna a Lesson. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series. Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

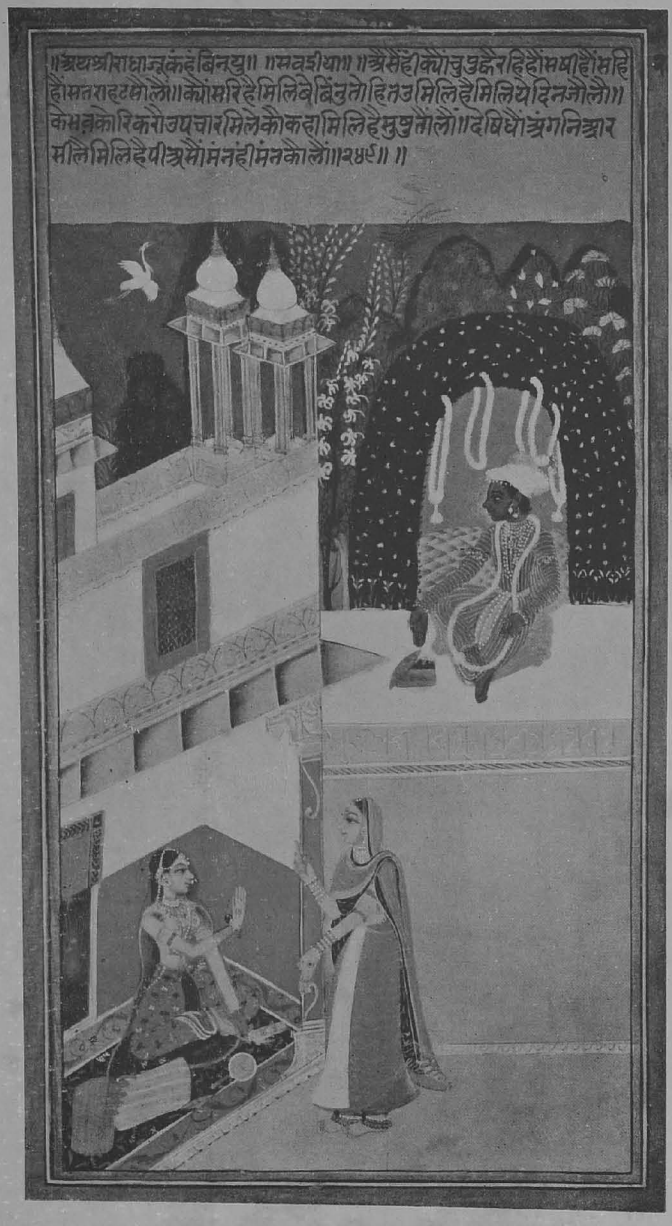


Fig. 7. Awaiting Rādhā. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

Fig. 8. The Loves of Krishṇa. Illustration to a *Rasikapriyā* series.
Bundi-Kotah school. Mid 18th century.
National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Size $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ cms.

uttarīya. His headdresses are of several types: (*a*) the *khanjarīdār*[1] type with peacock bird feathers; (*b*) peacock feathers with a lotus-like globular object in front; and (*c*) a coronet with a full-blown lotus in the front and a bud at the back. As regards ornaments, these miniatures are a veritable encyclopedia of arts and crafts such as those practised by lapidaries, textile weavers, bronzesmiths, carpenters, masons, shawl and carpet manufacturers, wall painters and architectural decorators.

In no other set of miniatures has the peculiar genius of the Bundi-Kotah artists been so amply demonstrated as in the *Rasikapriyā* set under consideration. Yet there is no crowding or turbulence. It may incidentally be noticed that the painters were adept in creating chiaroscuro effects without introducing neutral dark colours.

With regard to the date of the *Rasikapriyā* set we find a Bundi miniature in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, of *Ṭoḍī Rāginī* (53.77) dated 1742 A.D.[2] But the very baroque character of these paintings prevents such dating. The system of shading the face with fine lines, which is a characteristic feature of this unfinished set, is met with also in Mughal paintings belonging to the reign of Shāh Ālam (1759-1806 A.D.) and Muhammad Shāh (1720-1748 A.D.) as well as the art of Meher Chand of the Avadhi school.[3] The situation in Bundi and Kotah at this time was not very peaceful. The Maratha irruption in Rajasthan had already taken place. The advent of the East India Company was not remote. Therefore a date 1760-80 A.D. may be possible.

Photographs : Courtesy of the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Editors' Note :

In the article in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3, p. 25, the Bundi school miniatures of the National Museum, including the present *Rasikapriyā* series, were taken into consideration along with those in the Prince of Wales Museum, and the date 1760-1770 A.D. was suggested for the Prince of Wales Museum group. Thereafter the Editors came across a dated Bundi miniature in a style resembling that of Pl. 17 in the above mentioned *Bulletin*, but obviously a little later, having regard to the coarser line and execution. It was dated 1781 A.D., thus affording valuable corroboration of the dates 1760-1770 A.D. suggested in the said *Bulletin*. The most suitable date for the *Rasikapriyā* set discussed by Adris Banerji would be *circa* 1750 A.D. or even a little earlier.

1 *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3 (1952-53), p. 26, where the *khanjarīdar* type turban is referred to.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

POTTERY DESIGNS FROM AHICHCHHATRA

V. S. AGRAWALA

THE excavation at Ahichchhatra in Bareli District carried out by the Department of Archaeology under the direction of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit during the years 1939-44 proved extremely fruitful with respect to the finds of clay figurines and pottery. I have already discussed the material of human terracotta figurines.[1] Animal clay figurines were also found in considerable numbers and await to be published. Our present purpose is directed to the study of decorative motifs on a number of fragmentary bowls, found during the first two years of work. This study is based on the notes that I had taken in February, 1941, during my visit to the Ahichchhatra excavations.

These pottery bowls furnish unique evidence so far as Indian pottery is concerned, for rarely do we come across such fondness of decorative patterns stamped, embossed and incised on the wet surface of clay in ancient India. The fragments were found mostly in layers which, on the basis of excavation records, could be assigned to the Gupta period. It may therefore be assumed that this particular pottery represents the popular aesthetic taste in the 'Golden Age' of Indian history. The shapes of these drinking cups, bowls and platters, etc., are extremely well made, of which some idea may be formed from the drawing and restoration published in *Ancient India*, No. 1.

We shall refer to the line drawings according to their figure numbers and shall also record within brackets the fragment number on which the design was found.

Figs. 1 and 2 represent rosettes with varying number of petals. We usually find a thin groove or two running round the rim and rows of floral and geometrical patterns below. The floral designs are either small rosettes with seven, nine, ten, twelve or thirteen petals arranged round a central circle or a blossoming lotus flower with bigger petals as in Fig. 3. Bowl fragment 2186 is decorated with two bands, one of small rosettes and the other below it consisting of five conches more as shown in Fig. 4. The conch is embossed with its spiral portion above and tapering portion below, i.e., placed on end. On Frag. 1964 alternating *śaṅkha* and *padma* are treated in the same band. Conch and lotus in combination may be recognised as the two *nidhis* of Kubera, the god of wealth, and we find them both in sculpture and painting as charming symbols of Gupta decorative art. They are mentioned in the *Meghadūta* as the two painted motifs on the door-jambs of the entrance to the house of *yaksha*—*'Dvāropānte likhita-vapushau śaṅkha-padmah cha drishṭvā'* (*Uttara Megha*, 17). The pilasters framing the

[1] V. S. Agrawala, 'The Terracottas of Ahichchhatra,' *Ancient India*, No. 4, January 1948, pp. 104-179.

[2] A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi, 'The Pottery of Ahichchhatra,' *Ancient India*, No. 1, January 1946, Fig. 5, types 57-60.

niches in the walls of the Deogarh temple also show these symbols with long flowing scrolls issuing from them.

Fig. 5 is taken from Frag. No. 2187 on which is shown an eight-petalled rosette alternating with a three-pronged weapon with a shaft which may be taken as a *triśūla* emblem, which was a favourite design on Gupta seals and pottery. Fig. 6 shows the boat-shaped or elliptical form of frag. 2184, beautified by the *hairika* or check pattern and fantail design with terminating circles (*chandraka*) and below them a band of ovals. Fig. 8 shows a floral arabesque taken from a boat-shaped cup (frag. 2185). This design was a charming textile pattern which we find represented on the outer stone casing (*śilāchchhadana*) of the Dhamekh stupa at Sarnath. Fig. 9 is from a bowl of elliptical shape (frag. 2011), showing a handsome combination of lotus flower and petals. Fig. 10 (frag. 1952) has a conspicuous double petal design enclosing a flower with lines of small circlets above and below. Fig. 11 shows a lotus flower in the blank space by the side of slanting rib decoration. Fig. 12 represents only a small portion of the peacock fantail spread in bold sweeps over the surface of a bowl three inches in height (frag. 2002). Fig. 13 consists of a bold check design covering the sides of a small cup of three inches diameter and two inches height preserved intact (frag. 1962).

Fig. 14 depicts a running boar which was a common motif, in the form of the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu, in the Gupta period. The man-lion and the boar were special symbols in the religious repertoire of the Pāñcharātra Bhāgavatas, but the boar in the Varāha form combined the human figure with an animal head to depict the figure of the deity. The pure animal figure of the boar had a stronger fascination for the Sassanians, and it is very probable that the increasing use of this figure in Indian decorative art was due to the growth of Iranian influence on the art of the Gupta period, as is abundantly seen both in painting and sculpture of this period.

Fig. 15 (frag. 2199) is a pattern produced on the basis of petals. Fig. 16 is a simple treatment of oblique lines forming open angles enclosing a bold rosette which imparts beauty to the design (frag. 2198). Fig. 17 shows a thatched house with a gabled roof end (frag. 1955). Fig. 18 (frag. 2008) shows a series of panels with slits in the centre. Fig. 19 (frag. 1998) is a simple border of net design. Fig. 20 depicts a wall surface made of parallel panels held together by a horizontal coping (frag. 2018). Fig. 21 is based on a facade showing a broad doorway surmounted by a semicircular *chaitya*-window design which in turn is beautified by a series of frame radiating petals. Fig. 22 is derived from a fluted pillar which in this period was a conspicuous type known as *bahu-nāḍika stambha*. The beaded border most probably represented a girdle of semiprecious beads fastened round the pillar (frag. 1965). Fig. 23 consists of a band of conspicuous petals topped by a beaded border (frag. 2190). Fig. 24 shows a typical net design with knotted corners in each weave (frag. 1947). Fig. 25 depicts

most probably a wall surface consisting of vertical pilasters and horizontal leaves capped by a border of headed nails (frag. 1953). Fig. 26 is based on overlapping petals (frag. 1675).

Fig. 27 is a wicket-gate made of vertical and oblique poles at the entrance of a barn, the pile of corn being indicated by grains of rice on either side (frag. 1661). In Fig. 28 may be seen four concentric circles of which a quarter portion makes up the design (frag. 2009). Fig. 29 consists of several props each showing a stake with a forked head. This particular motif is often seen in the decorative art of late Kushāṇa and Gupta periods and is also a typical feature of Sassanian art. We may see it in the round solar orb found at Ahichchhatra.[1] Fig. 30 consists of several needles or clubs placed vertically (frag. 1986). Fig. 31 shows the familiar net design with knotted corners (frag. 1998). Fig. 32 shows the one-half portion of the spiral, *āvarta*, (frag. 2196), and Fig. 33 the usual criss-cross design (frag. 2197).

Fig. 34 is a simple rosette within a circle (frag. 1973). Fig. 35 shows a fluted bowl with oblique ribs radiating towards the rim (frag. 1949). Fig. 36 consists of two beaded borders enclosing an upper row of rosettes and a lower row of domes with a slit (frag. 296). Fig. 37 depicts a *mayūra-pichchha* or fan of peacock feathers, repeated on the four sides (frag. 1942). Fig. 38 illustrates a big mound of earth covered with a casing of stone slabs.

Fig. 39 is based on combination of two swastikas, one aligned to the four cardinal points and the other to the diagonal points (frag. 2021). Fig. 40 consists of a lotus and a vertical band of seeds (frag. 2024). Fig. 41 shows a double row of six-petalled flowers (frag. 2171) and Fig. 42 a double pillar with buttresses at the bottom and brackets above (frag. 1723). It is a bowl of 4″ in diameter at the base having a slightly convex bottom.

In Fig. 43 we find a number of big and small medallions made of pearls with pendant strings in between them. This must have been a textile design specially in vogue with the Scythians and Sassanians. They appear on the dress of the images of Sūrya and his attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala in Gupta art (frag. 1793). Fig. 44 seems to be the facade of a cottage of which the left half is a small room and the right half an open verandah (frag. 1784). Fig. 44 shows an eight-petalled flower with a beaded border inside a circle (frag. 1663). Fig. 46 consists of slanting lines with arcs of a circle attached to them (frag. 1976).

Fig. 47 depicts a motif combining a swastika with a four-petalled flower, the petals being shown in the corners (frag. 1971). Fig. 48 shows part of a net woven with broad spaces (frag. 1940). Fig. 49 depicts a well with arrangement for drawing water on the four sides and having a feeding trough on one side (frag. 2023). Fig. 50 shows a textile decoration consisting of pendant pearl strings. A fabric bedecked with streaks of pearls was specially manufactured in Iran in Sassanian times, and was famous in foreign lands as *istabrak*. In India it was known as *stavaraka*, a trade-name mentioned in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa and borrowed from the Pahlavi

[1] V. S. Agrawala, 'Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra,' Fig. 106.

POTTERY DESIGNS FROM AHICHCHHATRA

Decorative motifs from pottery fragments. Ahichchhatra (Bareli District). Gupta period.

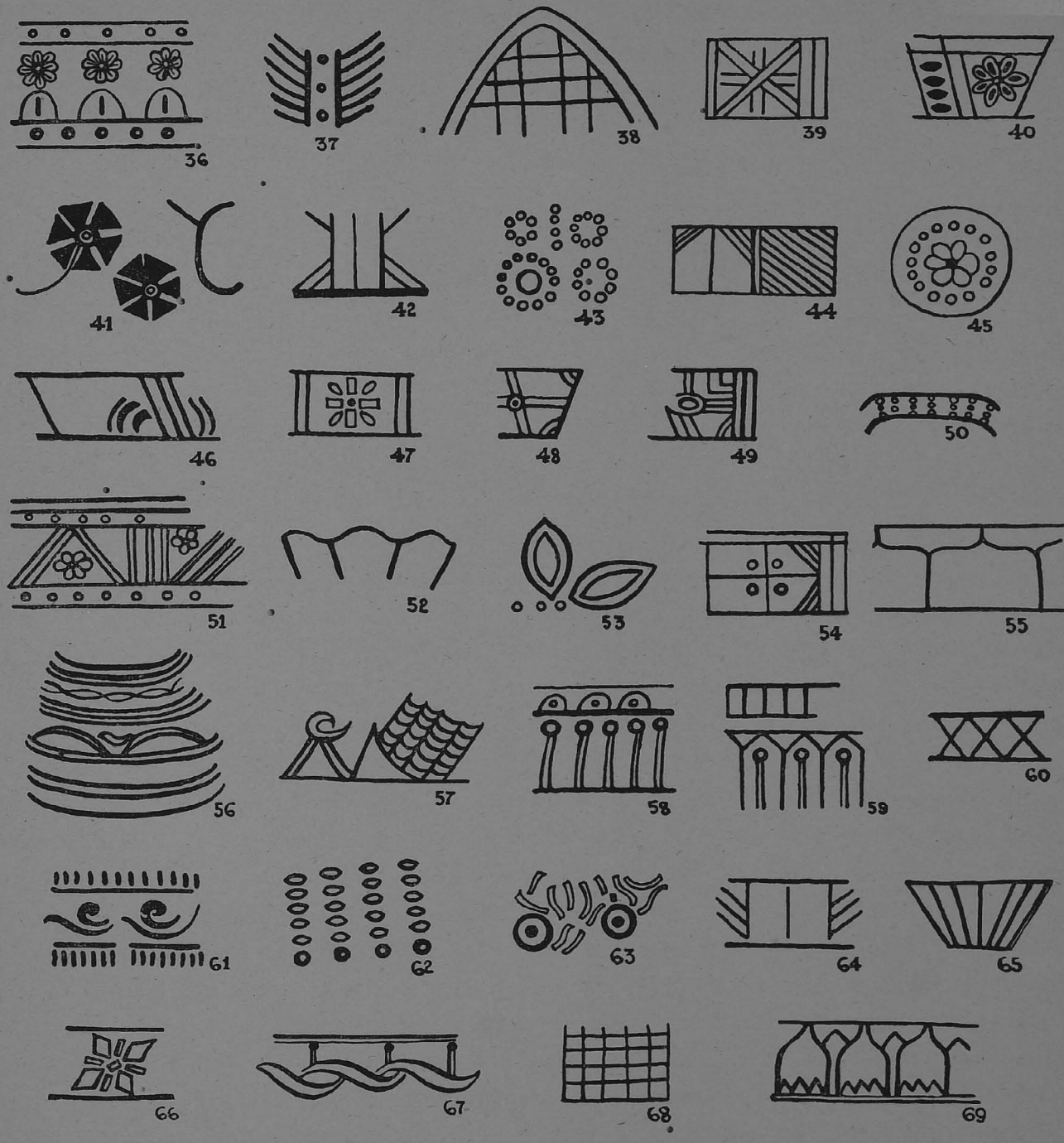
language of Iran. This design is found on two terracotta figures from Ahichchhatra.[1] Obviously this textile design was adopted in pottery, as was the case with several other motifs also. Pendants of pearl, each consisting of four or more seeds, were sewn to the cloth for this purpose (frag. 2127). Fig. 51 also appears to be a textile pattern in which rows of pearls and floral design in separate compartments are introduced (frags. 1682 and 1689).

Fig. 52 shows a ribbed design with an undulating rim (frag. 1635). Fig. 53 is a design with several eyelets (frag. 1701). Fig. 54 is a panelled leaf with four nails in the centre (frag. 1974). Fig. 55 consists of repeated lotus petals in conspicuous size (frags. 1741 and 2001). Fig. 56 is an intricate motif showing in the upper row a cabled design and in the lower a pair of arches joined by a bridge (frag. 2175). Fig. 57 depicts in its right half portion a squamellate design consisting of four lines of parallel scales. Its left half portion perhaps depicts an angling appliance (frag. 1791). Fig. 58 is taken from a very beautiful bowl fragment about 3″ high, having a diameter of 8″ at the top of the rim (frag. 1768). The design consists of fantail plumes. Fig. 59 shows a design comprising conical arches in the lower row and a barred frame in the upper (frag. 1722). Fig. 60 shows a simple design of small lozenges (frag. 2170). Fig. 61 occurs on a bowl (frag. 2169) showing a band of conches decorating the middle portion of a comb, which must have been an attractive design on original specimens of ivory or sandalwood.

Fig. 62 is a design comprising vertical rows of parallel crescents (frag. 1984); but perhaps it would be more appropriate to identify it as the pattern of 'Hundred Eyes' (*śatākshī*) referred to in the *Virāṭa Parva* (30.12) in the description of the designs on the armours of the heroes. Other relative motifs were *śatasūrya* ('Hundred Suns'), *śatāvarta* ('Hundred Whirls'), *śatabindu* ('Hundred Dots'). These appear to have been textile motifs current in the fashions of Gupta and also Sassanian society.

Fig. 63 again seems to have been a decorative pattern used on ornamental fabrics in the form of what is now called *salmā-sitārā*, i.e., a kind of embroidery consisting of small stars and streaks (frag. 2167). Fig. 64 shows a simple pattern of straight lines in the centre and oblique lines on the sides (frag. 2151). Fig. 65 is a ribbed bowl of fluted shape (frag. 1794). Fig. 66 combines the four arms of a swastika with the four petals of a flower, both of them being aligned diagonally (frag. 1709). Fig. 67 was based on the cable design on what has been known since early times as the running sigma-pattern (frag. 1646). Fig. 68 shows the girdle pattern consisting of a series of rectangles (frag. 1691). This was based on the latticed window pattern called *śalākā vātāyana*. Fig. 69 combines petals and sepals in a conventionalised manner, the patterns being indented at the lower end and thus appearing as a palmette or *panjaka* design (frag. 1629). Fig. 70 shows a petal with a half-opened bud. Fig. 71 shows two *nāgas* flanking a spear. In Fig. 72, a trident replaces the spear (frag. 5748). On this potsherd besides the *triśūla* and

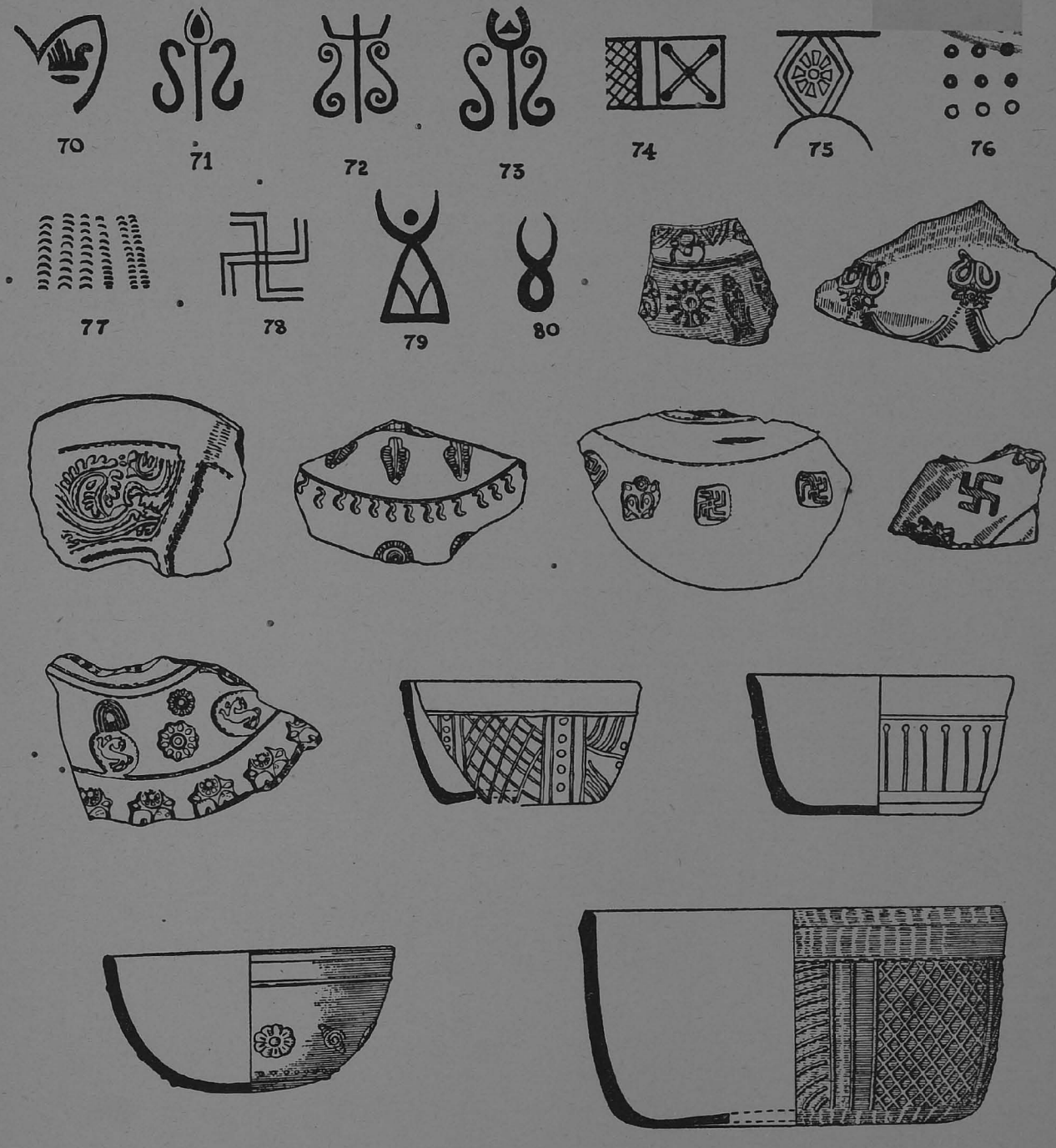
[1] V. S. Agrawala, 'A Note on the Stavaraka Cloth,' *Ancient India*, No. 4, January 1948, p. 178.



Decorative motifs from pottery fragments. Ahichchhatra (Bareli District). Gupta period.

nāgamudrā motifs, there are also other symbols such as the lotus and the twin fish (*mīna-mithuna*) symbol. Fig. 73 shows a variant form of the same symbol. On another potsherd the two *nāgas* are shown embracing each other round a central post as in the caduceus. This *nāgamudrā* symbol was found on potsherds exposed in pre-Gupta levels and may thus be assigned to the Kushāṇa period. Fig. 74 shows the familiar criss-cross pattern and two bisecting diagonals (frag. 1694). Fig. 75 is a flower in a parallel frame (frag. 1680). Fig. 76 depicts vertical rows, each of three dots embossed with a tubular instrument, the raised pellets being intended for pearls (frag. 1652). Fig. 77 shows a pattern consisting of vertical rows of small knotched crescents (frag. 1760). Fig. 78 is a double swastika embossed in bold relief. Digging in the site named A. C. V. near the city wall, a number of pottery fragments were found assignable to the Śuṅga period, on which these and other typical symbols like the *dharmachakra chaitya* with crescent (Fig. 79, frag. 5849) and *Nāndīpada* or taurine (Fig. 80) were found.

We have here confined ourselves to the decorative motifs stamped or engraved on Gupta pottery bowls only, some of which are of very attractive shapes and fabric. But the Ahichchhatra excavations yielded a considerable quantity of very fine grey pottery comprising bowls and shallow plates, all from site A. C. V. They are assignable to the Maurya-Śuṅga period and bear a fine glazed polish of shining black colour. This ware was skilfully fired and preserved for aristocratic use. It would be useful if the entire Ahichchhatra material could some day be published in the form of a monograph.



Decorative motifs and pottery fragments. Ahichchhatra (Bareli District). Gupta period.

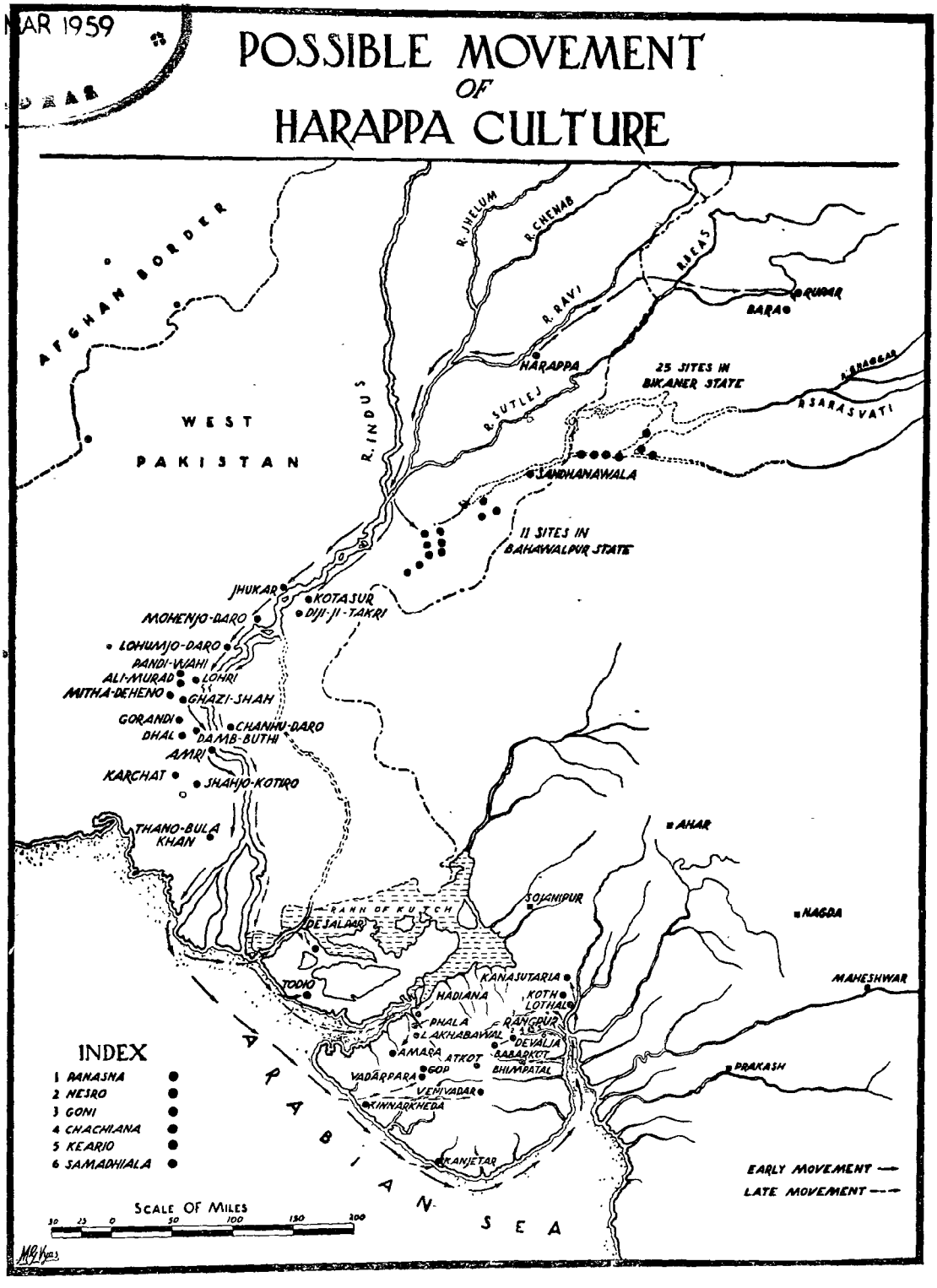
THE EXCAVATIONS AT LOTHAL

S. R. Rao

The discovery of the remains of the cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the years 1920-22 gave India a place of honour among the countries of the world which can be rightly proud of their ancient civilization. At the same time it underlined a major gap in Indian history between the mid-second millennium B.C. and the mid-first millennium B.C. It also presented problems concerning the origin, development and end of the Harappa Civilization.

Till recently it was believed that this civilization, static and confined to the Indus Valley, came to a sudden end in *circa* 1500 B.C. without leaving any trace of its survival anywhere. Normally this does not happen. Cities and villages may be destroyed by natural calamities or invading forces, but a highly developed civilization as a whole cannot be completely wiped out of existence because of its very vitality. The recent discovery of the remains of a full fledged Harappa settlement at Lothal in Ahmedabad District and relics of the Harappa civilization at Rangpur in Zalawad District in Bombay State have added a new chapter to the history of India by extending the geographical limits of the Harappa civilization as far south as the Gulf of Cambay. The circumstances leading to the survival, degeneration and devolution of this civilization in a relatively isolated region like the peninsula of Kathiawad have been made known for the first time. The excavations have forged a link between the Harappa civilization and the late chalcolithic cultures of the 1st millennium B.C. as made known to us at Maheswar in the Narmada Valley, Nagda in the Chambal Valley, Ahad in Mewad plateau, Bahal and Prakasha in the Tapti Valley and Nevasa in the Godavari Valley. Lastly, a continuous cultural sequence, without any break from the time the Harappans arrived at Lothal in *circa* 2500 B.C. upto the emergence of the Lustrous Red Ware culture from the degenerate Harappa culture at Rangpur in the 1st millennium B.C., has been established. The importance of the sequence in throwing new light on the dark age of Indian history cannot be exaggerated.

An intensive survey of the peninsulas of Kutch and Kathiawad was undertaken by the author in the years 1953 to 1956 as a result of which as many as thirty Harappa and post-Harappa sites have been discovered (Map, p. 83). The earliest among them are Lothal near Dholka and Desalpar in Nakhtrana Taluka of Kutch. Rangpur near Dhandhuka is a slightly later settlement. The remaining sites are settlements of the Harappa refugees fleeing from the Indus Valley several centuries later as a sequel to a calamity that overtook them. They came in wave after wave to Saurashtra and established temporary settlements near ancient ports like Jamnagar, Porbandar, Kodinar, etc. only to move further interior in course of time.



These sites represent a degenerate Harappa civilization with poor material equipment. The recent excavations at Amara and Lakhabaval near Jamnagar have confirmed the author's findings at Rangpur regarding the degeneration of the Harappa civilization. The pottery forms are not only limited in number but also undergo a change. The inhabitants could not afford to have as large a number or as large a variety of personal ornaments and objects of domestic use as their once-rich predecessors possessed. Thus we find there were two

movements, one early, as noticed at Lothal, and the other late, represented by Amara, Lakhabaval, Kinnerkheda and Kanjetar along the northwest and south coasts of Saurashtra (Map, p. 83).

It is interesting to find that both the times the Harappans followed a maritime route to reach Saurashtra. This fact has been borne out by the conspicuous absence of any Harappa settlement, early or late, in the northeast part of Saurashtra through which lies access to the peninsula from the mainland. On the other hand most of the Harappa settlements are found situated on the coast of Kutch and Kathiawad. In both the peninsulas the interior is hilly and infertile. Later on with the influx of the refugees settlements sprung further inland. The more interior a site is situated the greater the degeneration in the cultural equipment of the Harappans.

It is stated in the previous paragraphs that Lothal was the earliest Harappa settlement in Gujarat. Lothal is the name of a mound in Saragwala village of Dholka Taluka approachable by a cart-track from Bhurkhi, a railway station in the Ahmedabad-Botad meter gauge section of the Western Railway (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1). It is situated in the rich cotton and wheat growing region of Bhal. The Bhogavo river which rises in the hills in the central parts of Saurashtra flows past the mound at a distance of two miles and joins the Sabarmati river before it empties itself into the Arabian Sea near the Gulf of Cambay. The nearest point from the sea is not more than ten miles as the crow flies. With a rich hinterland and easy access to the sea, Lothal must have attracted the seafaring and commercially-minded Harappans with prospects of trade with Saurashtra. It was not a mere port where the local inhabitants and the Harappans exchanged their goods but a full-fledged Harappa settlement. As we shall presently see Lothal can be considered a miniature Harappa.

The excavations have revealed three main phases of occupation represented by a total habitation debris of 22′ with five building periods (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3). An eight feet thick clay filling between two huge blocks of platforms of mud-bricks marks the intermediary phase of occupation (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4). The earlier phase had also a platform over which houses must have been built. In the latest phase the area of habitation was extended by building houses on the clay filling itself (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5).

The purpose of constructing solid blocks of sun-dried bricks over vast areas was to prevent submergence of the houses by achieving a particular height above the normal flood level. Similar constructions have been noticed at Rangpur,[1] Harappa,[2] and Mohenjodaro.[3] At the last mentioned place high plinth walls of kiln-burnt bricks were built and the interior was filled with mud-bricks. The Indus river used to overflow its banks frequently and submerge

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[1] *Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1953-54*, Pl. VIA.

[2] Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, p. 7.

[3] Marshall, *Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

Fig. 1. The Lothal mound.

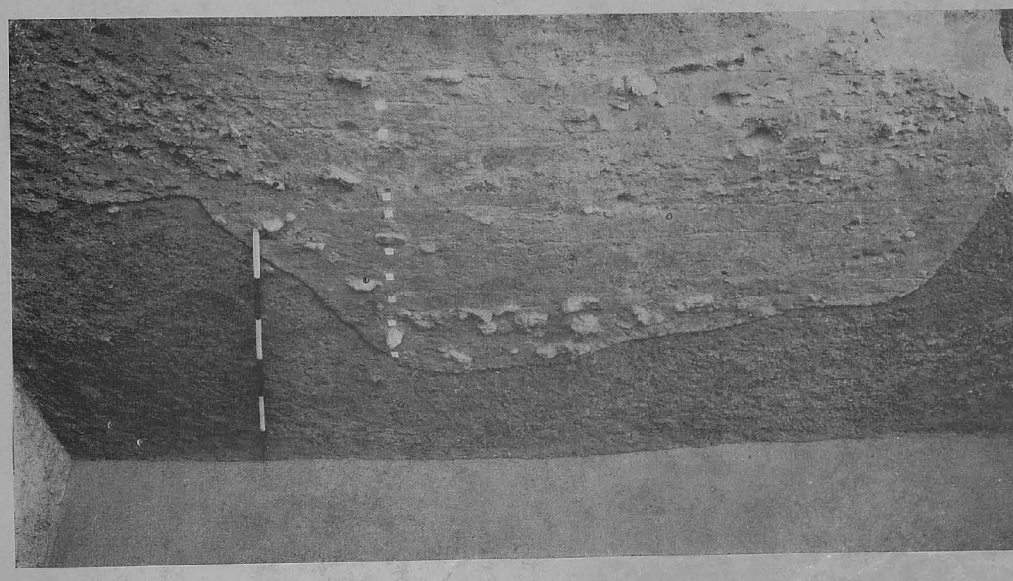

Fig. 2. Flood deposit and breach in clay-filling, Lothal.

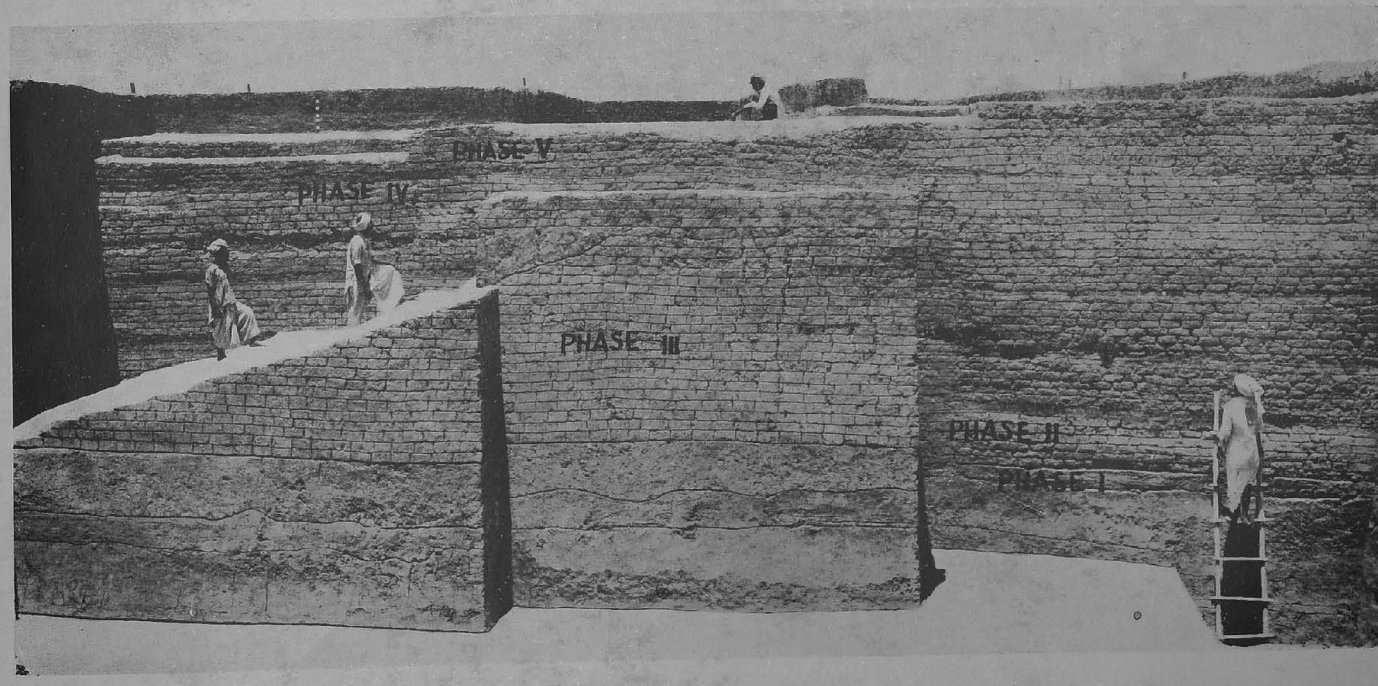

Fig. 3. Main phases of occupation and damage by flood, Lothal.

Fig. 4. Occupation phases and structures built over the clay filling, Lothal.

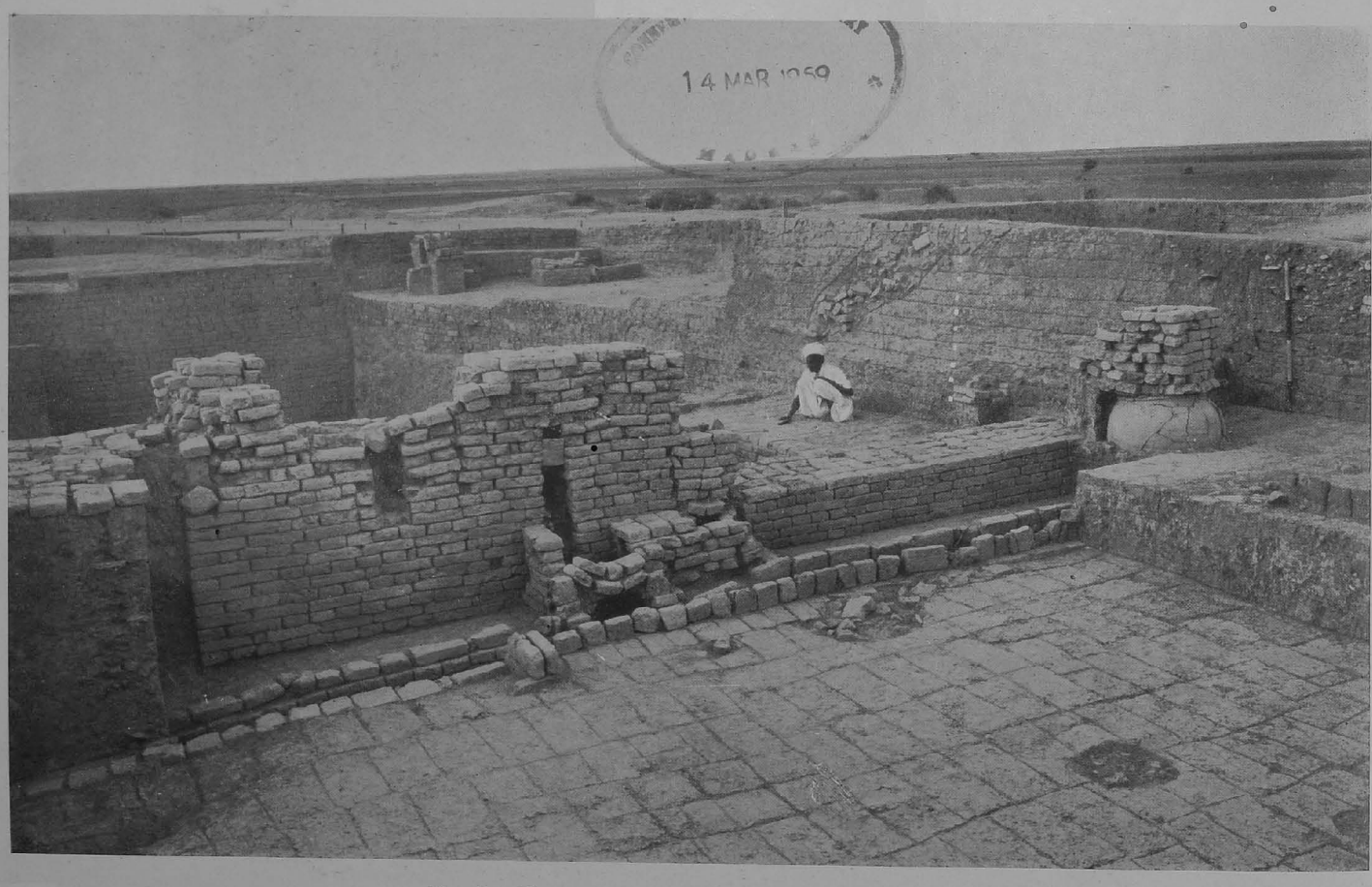

Fig. 5. Houses with drains and soakage jars, Lothal.

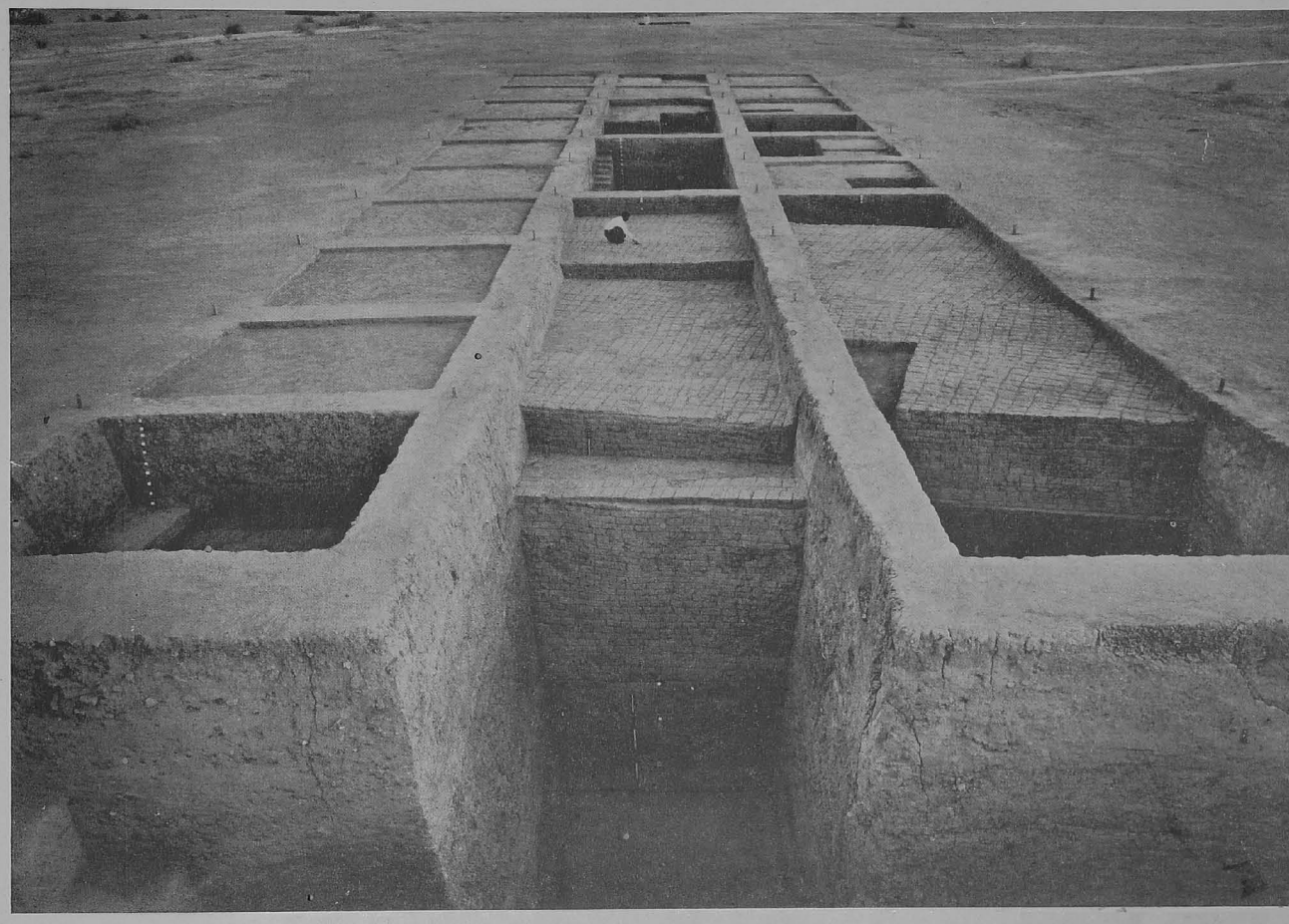

Fig. 6. General view of platforms, Lothal.

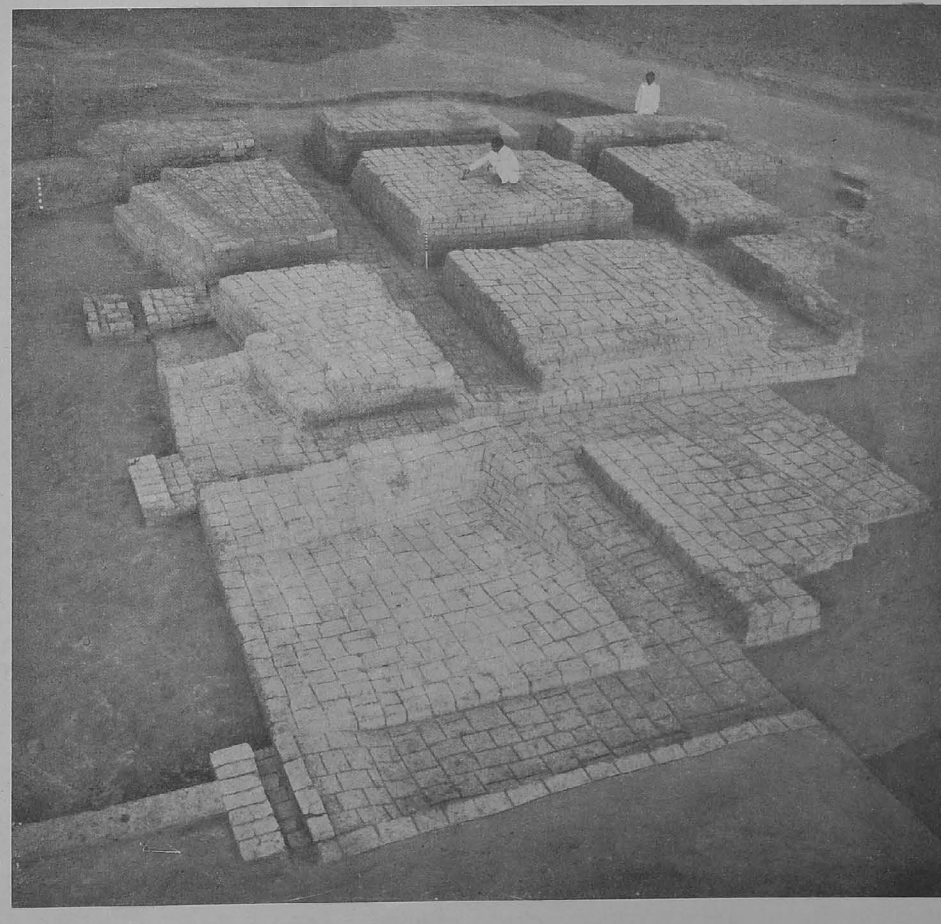

Fig. 7. The kiln, Lothal.

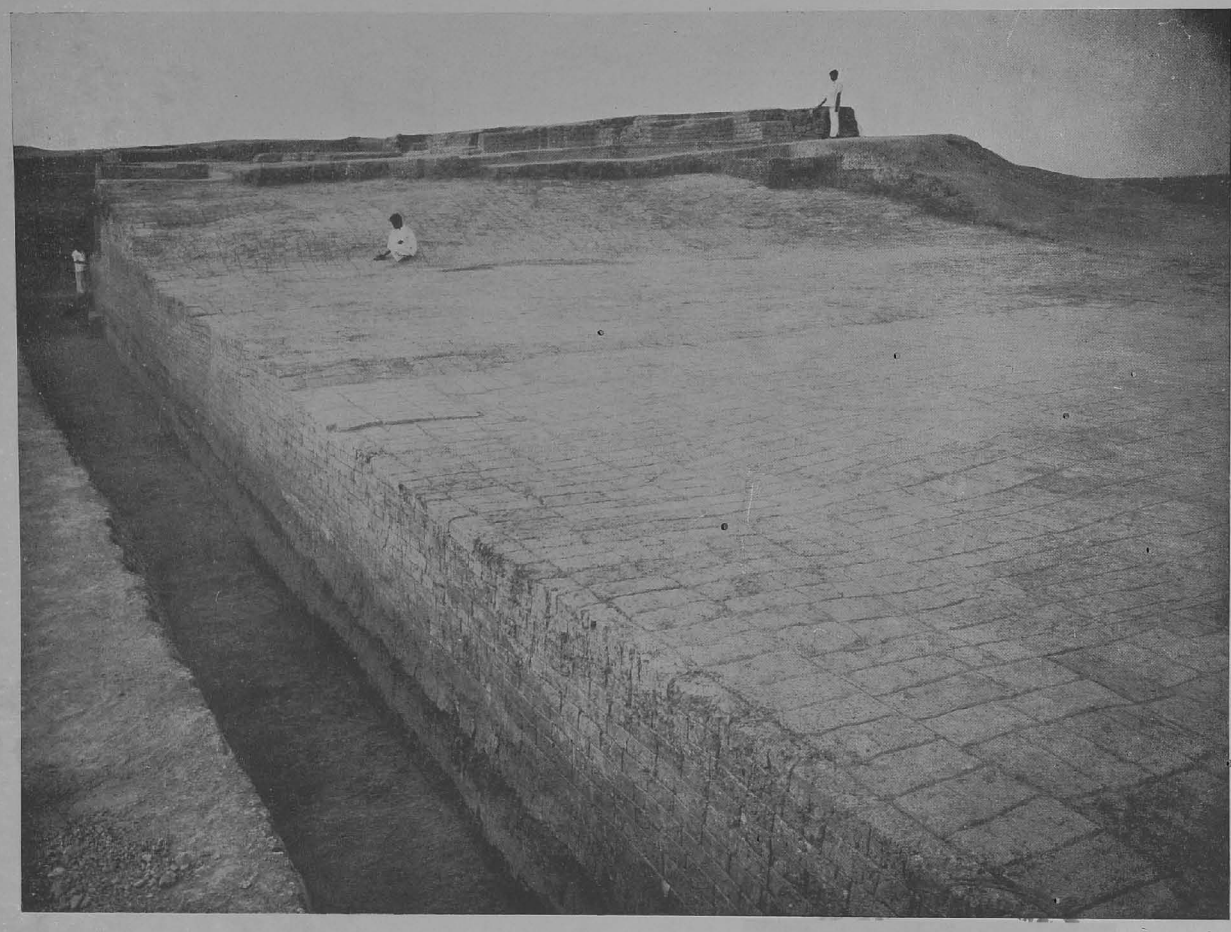

Fig. 8. The kiln standing on a vast platform, Lothal.

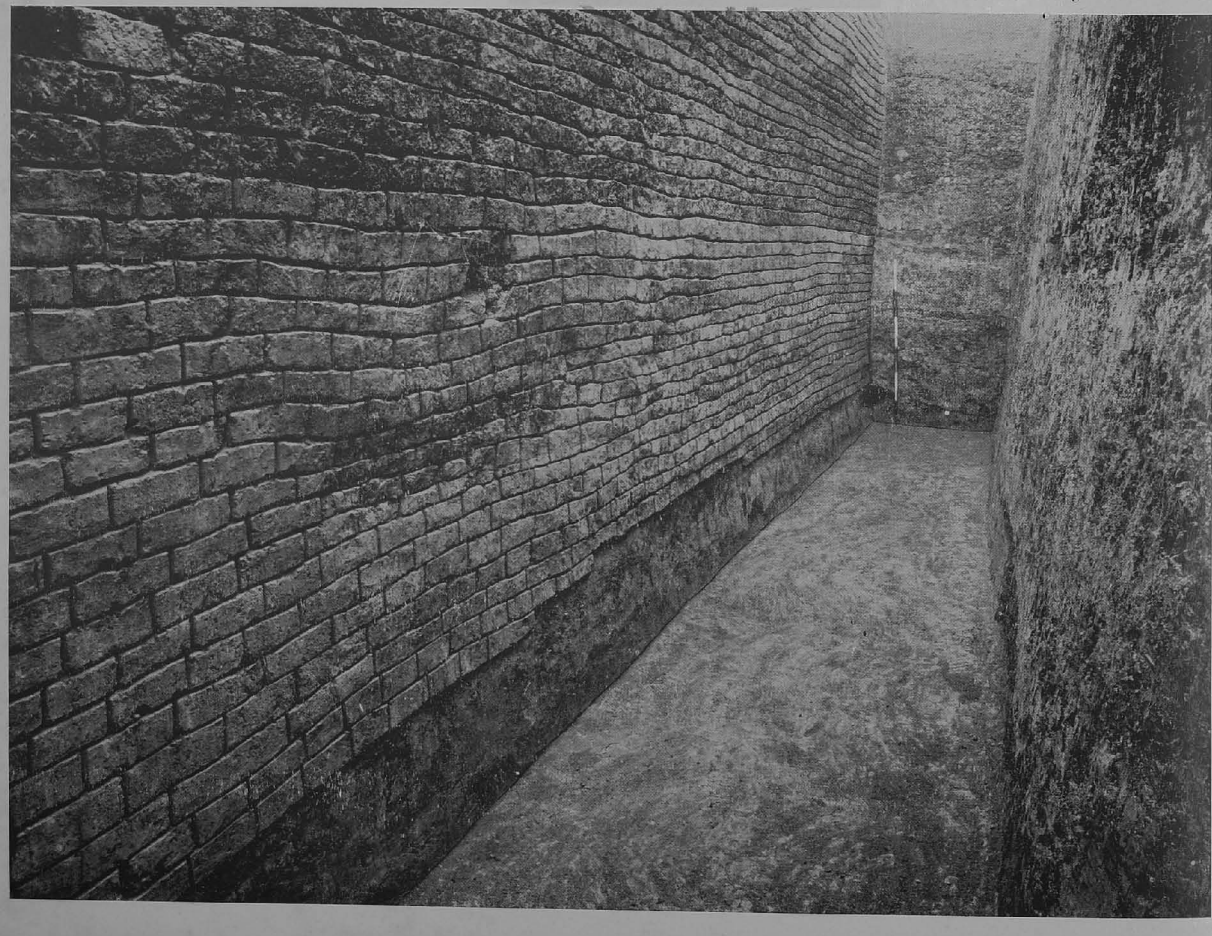

Fig. 9. A section of the platform of the kiln, Lothal.

the villages and towns situated in the valley just as the Sabarmati, Bhogavo and Bhadar rivers in Saurashtra and Gujarat are known to have done.

In order to prevent inundation by the overflowing rivers the Harappans had to devise a measure of safety by building platforms unmindful of the labour or cost involved. It is noticed at Lothal that every time the flood rose above the previous level and damaged structures built over platforms the height of the platforms was raised and houses were built over them once again (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). There were floods at least four times during the occupation of Lothal and one of the severe floods caused a breach in the clay filling and damaged the platforms (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2). Besides necessitating immediate repairs, it seems to have forced a part of the population to move further into the interior to Rangpur. In *circa* 1500 B. C. several rivers in Sind, Punjab, Kutch and Saurashtra seem to have swelled beyond expectation and flooded vast areas converting them into huge lakes. Sahani attributes the destruction of Harappa and Mohenjodaro to an unprecedented flood of long duration in the Indus and its tributaries. A hill of silt left by such a flood can be seen at Budh Thakkar in Sind.[1] Though Wheeler is of the opinion that destruction of Harappa was due to the invasion of the 'marauding tribes' he has noted that platforms were built to achieve a certain height above the surrounding area which was subject to inundation by the overflowing rivers.[2] According to Vats[3] and Marshall,[4] the excavators of Harappa and Mohenjodaro respectively, the constructions of platforms and the revetments were necessitated by recurring floods. It is, therefore, most likely that Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other smaller settlements in the Indus Valley were destroyed by floods. The dwellings at Desalpar, Rangpur and Lothal are found to have been washed away by a similar flood in *circa* 1500 B.C. Whereas Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Lothal and Desalpar had to be finally abandoned on account of total destruction, Rangpur is the only Harappa settlement in Saurashtra where the inhabitants moved to the central parts of the mound and continued to live for several centuries more but in a poorer condition.

Apart from the platforms described above, another important structure laid bare at Lothal is what is supposed to be a kiln (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7). It stands on a fifteen feet high platform measuring 140′×60′ (Pl. XXX, Figs. 8 and 9). Twelve cubical blocks of sun-dried bricks are built in four rows of three blocks each. The intersecting channel between each block is 2′ 9″ wide. At the north end of each channel is a small drain of kiln-burnt bricks (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 10). The side walls of the channels and the top of the cubical blocks have turned red owing to burning. In all the channels, baked lumps of clay, terracotta triangular

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1 M. R. Sahani, *Man in Evolution*, p. 153.
2 Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 66.
3 Vats; *Ibid.*
4 Marshall; *Ibid.*

cakes, sling balls, cinders and ash were found in large quantities. In the southeast corner of the easternmost channel as many as seventy-five sealings (Pl. XXXII, Figs. 12-16) were found placed over a layer of bricks on the floor and the southern end was closed with kiln-burnt bricks (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 11). The above mentioned facts suggest that the structure was used as a kiln for baking small terracotta objects on a mass scale. But, however, unless the pictographs on the seals and sealings are read, the real intention of the builders cannot be made out.

For the first time we are in a position to know the process of manufacturing sealings. A lump of wet clay was held by means of a stick and impressions of one or more seals were taken on it (Pl. XXXII, Figs. 12-16). The clay lump along with the stick, was then placed on the floor of the channel over a layer of bricks. The sealings and other terracotta objects were covered with reeds and husk for burning. After baking, the objects were taken out and cooled. The burnt-out stick left a hole in the sealing and thus made it possible to fasten it with a string. If sealings are any indication of commercial activity, Lothal must be supposed to have been an important commercial centre. But, however, the idea of having impressions of more than one seal as a trade mark is confusing.

Among other important structural remains there are three rectangular kiln-burnt brick structures which were found to contain animal bones, beads of copper and faience, terracotta bangles and earthern vessels. In one of them charred bones and a gold pendant and beads have been recovered. These structures seem to have served a ritualistic purpose.

The houses were built of kiln-burnt or mud-bricks (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 17 and Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 20) and each house had a bath and a drain with a soakage jar at its end (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 18 and 19). In most of the houses circular and rectangular fireplaces were found to contain ash and triangular terracotta cakes. It is suggested by certain scholars that they indicate places where rituals were performed (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 21). Houses were built in a straight line (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 23) and there were public drains to carry sullage water from baths (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 22). Personal ornaments, tools and weapons, toys and domestic objects and seals and sealings found in large numbers at Lothal are identifiable with those of the type-site Harappa. The main occupations of the inhabitants were agriculture, fishing and trade as suggested by copper fish hooks (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 24) and agate and chert weights (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 25). It is interesting to find that the weights conform in size and weight to the standard that obtained in the Indus Valley. Earthern vessels, beads, terracotta bangles and chert blades were locally made. The pots are thick and sturdy and the colour scheme adopted for painting them is pleasing. Usually black colour was used over a red surface and occasionally chocolate over a buff background can also be seen. Bowls, goblets, beakers, troughs, perforated jars and dishes-on-stand are common pottery forms (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 27). Another distinct ceramic ware, namely the Black and Red Ware, has enhanced the importance of Lothal in forging a link

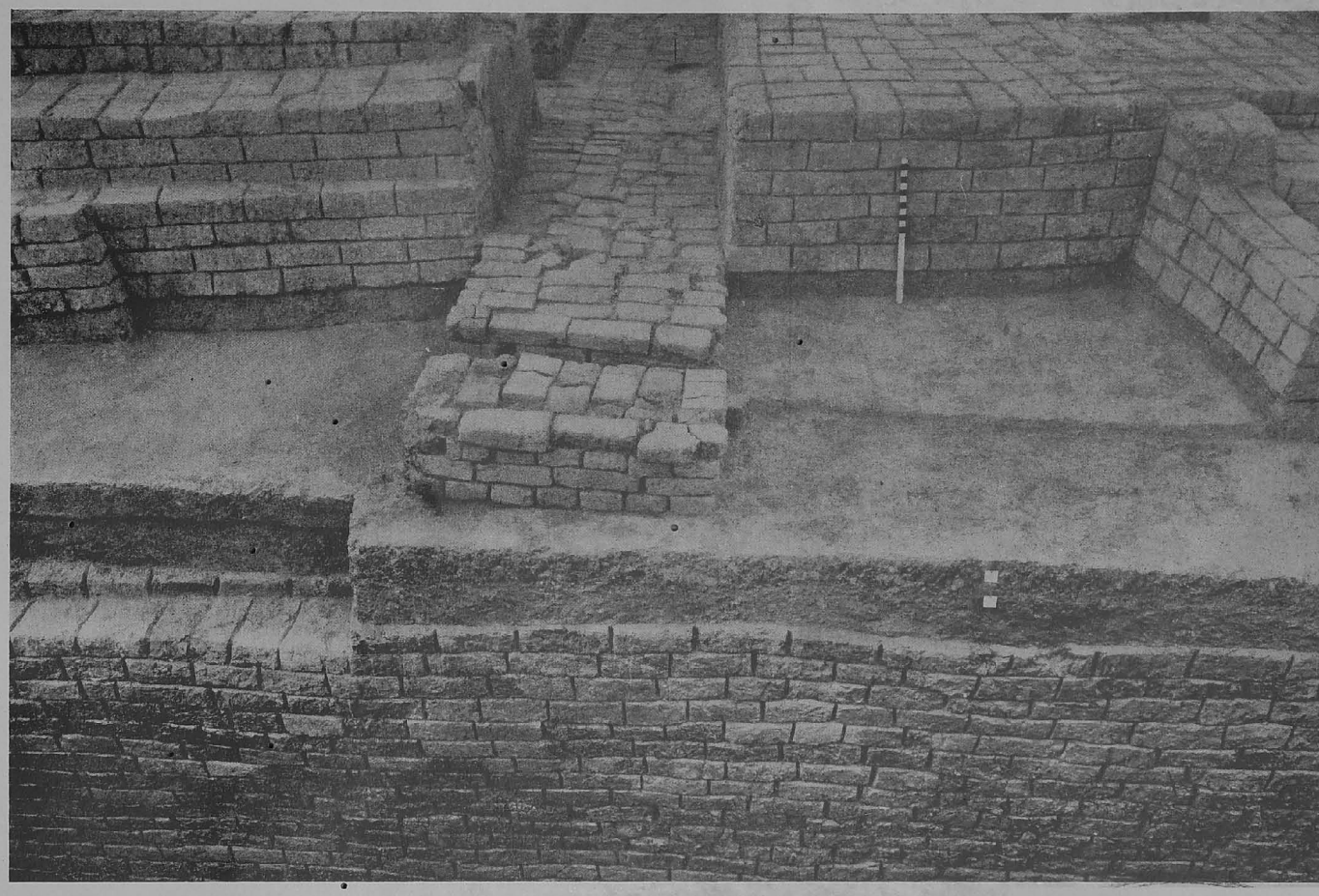

Fig. 10. A drain at the end of a channel of the kiln, Lothal.

Fig. 11. Findspot of sealings in the kiln, Lothal.

Fig. 12. Terracotta sealing with elephant and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 13. Terracotta sealing, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 14. Terracotta sealing with unicorn and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

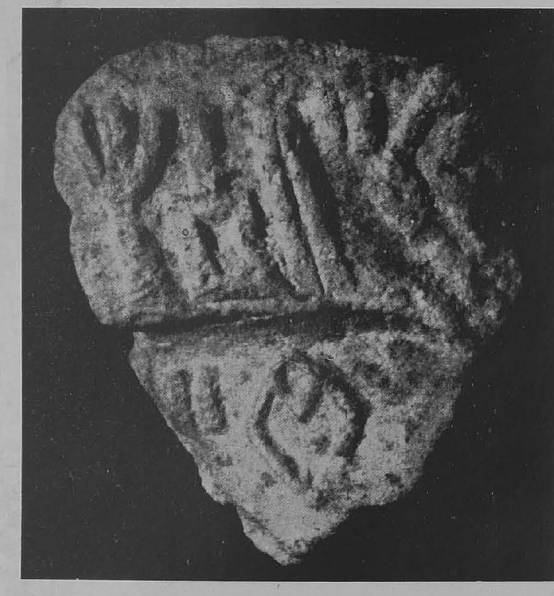

Fig. 15. Terracotta sealing with impressions of two seals, Lothal. Size 2/1.

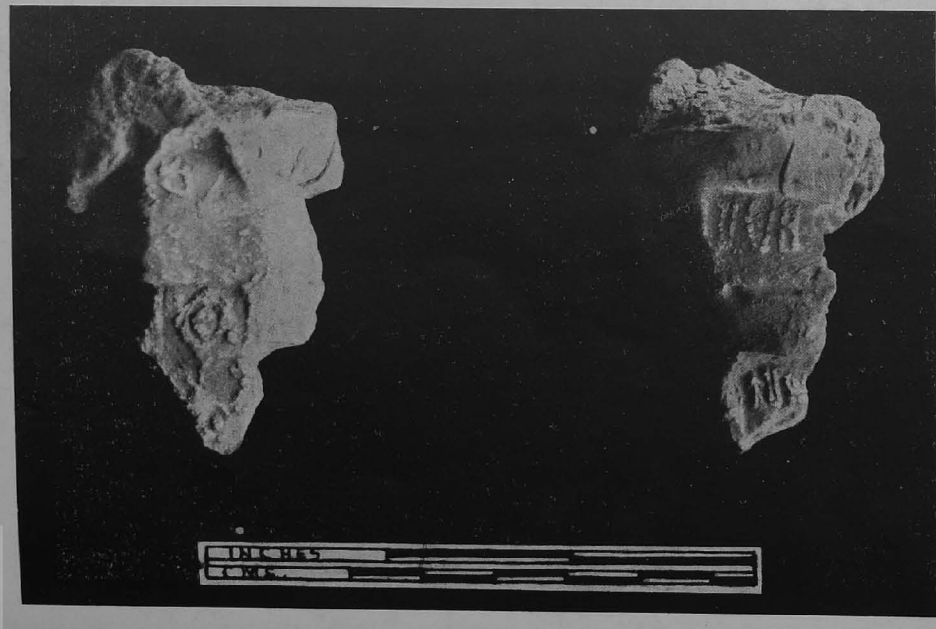

Fig. 16. Terracotta sealing (Obverse and reverse), Lothal. Size 2/1.

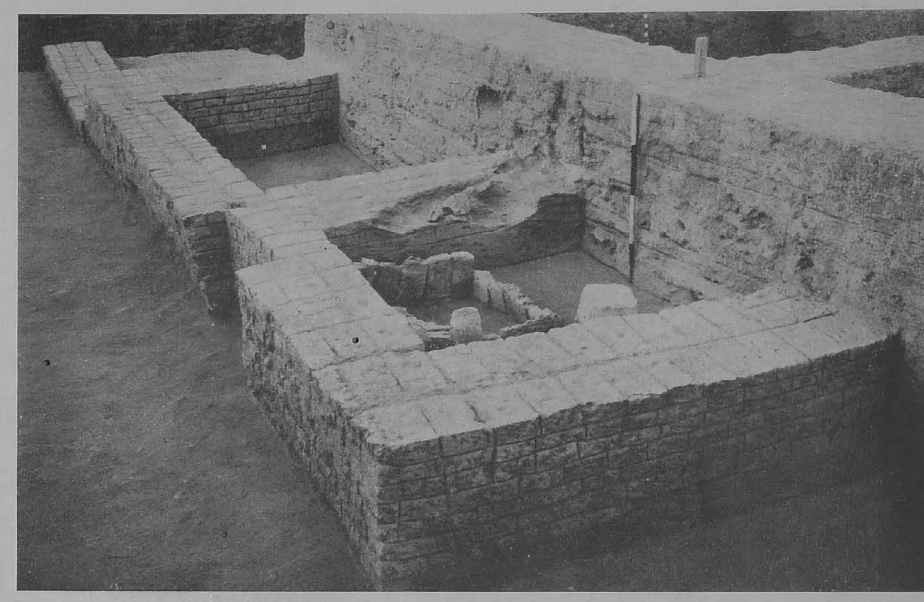

Fig. 17. Mud-brick house, Lothal.

Fig. 18. Remains of a bath on a platform, Lothal.

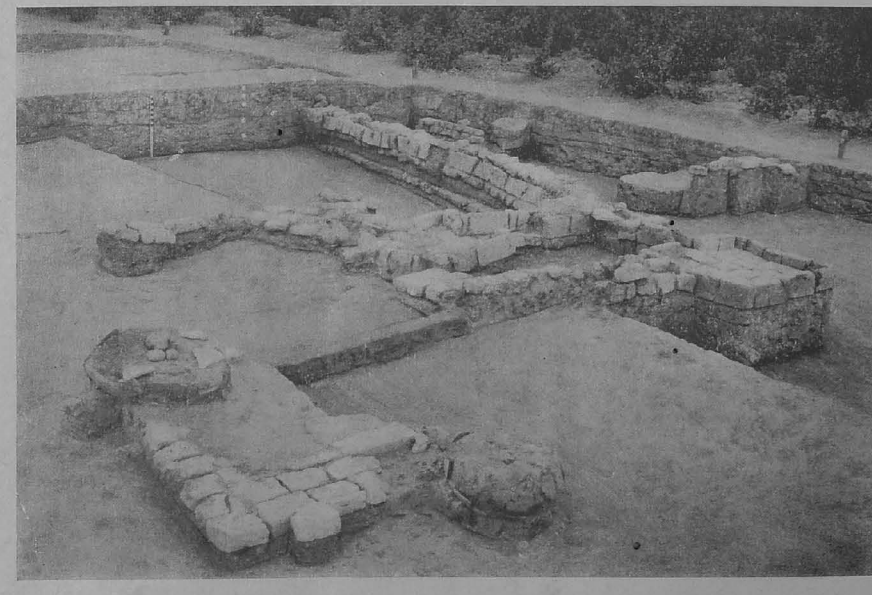

Fig. 19. A group of five baths interconnected by drains, Lothal.

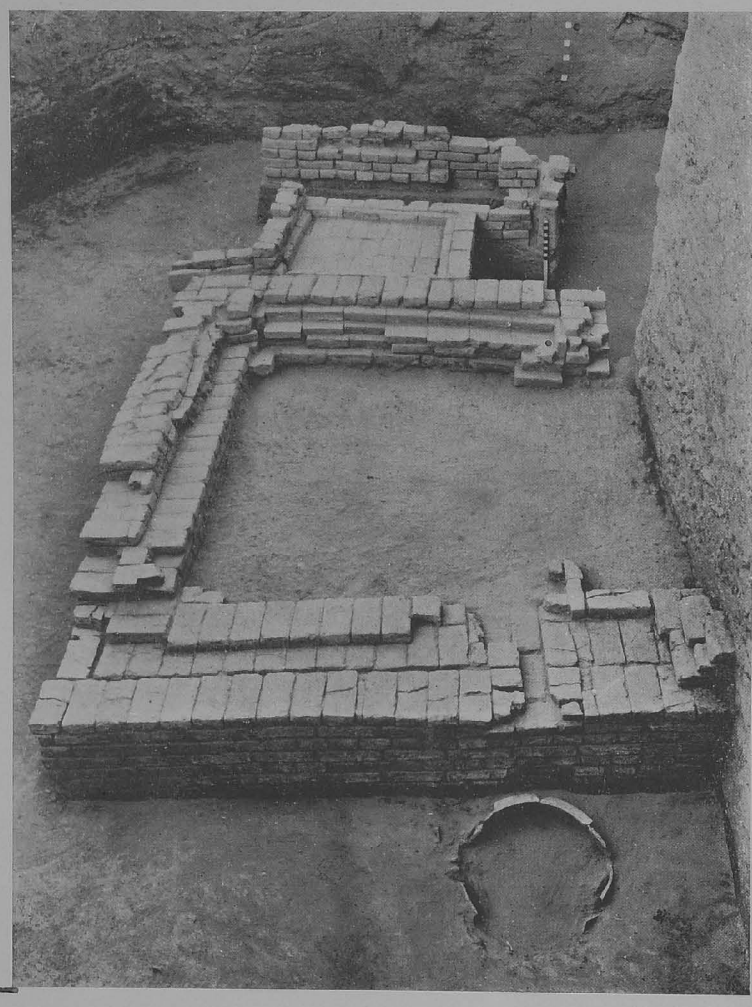

Fig. 20. Part of a house with drains and soakage jar, Lothal.

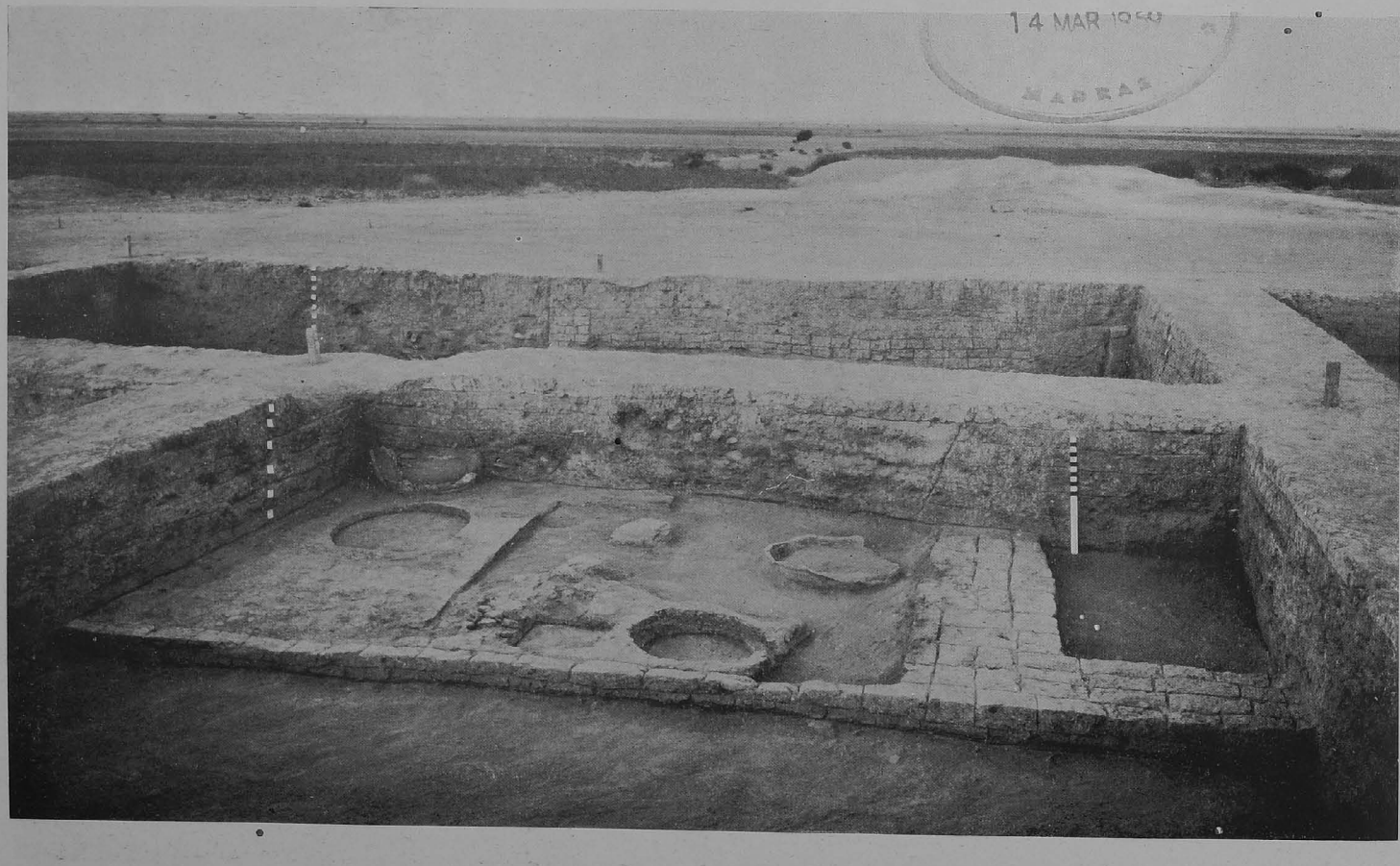

Fig. 21. House with fireplaces, Lothal.

Fig. 22. Drains connected with a bathroom, Lothal.

Fig. 23. A row of houses, Lothal.

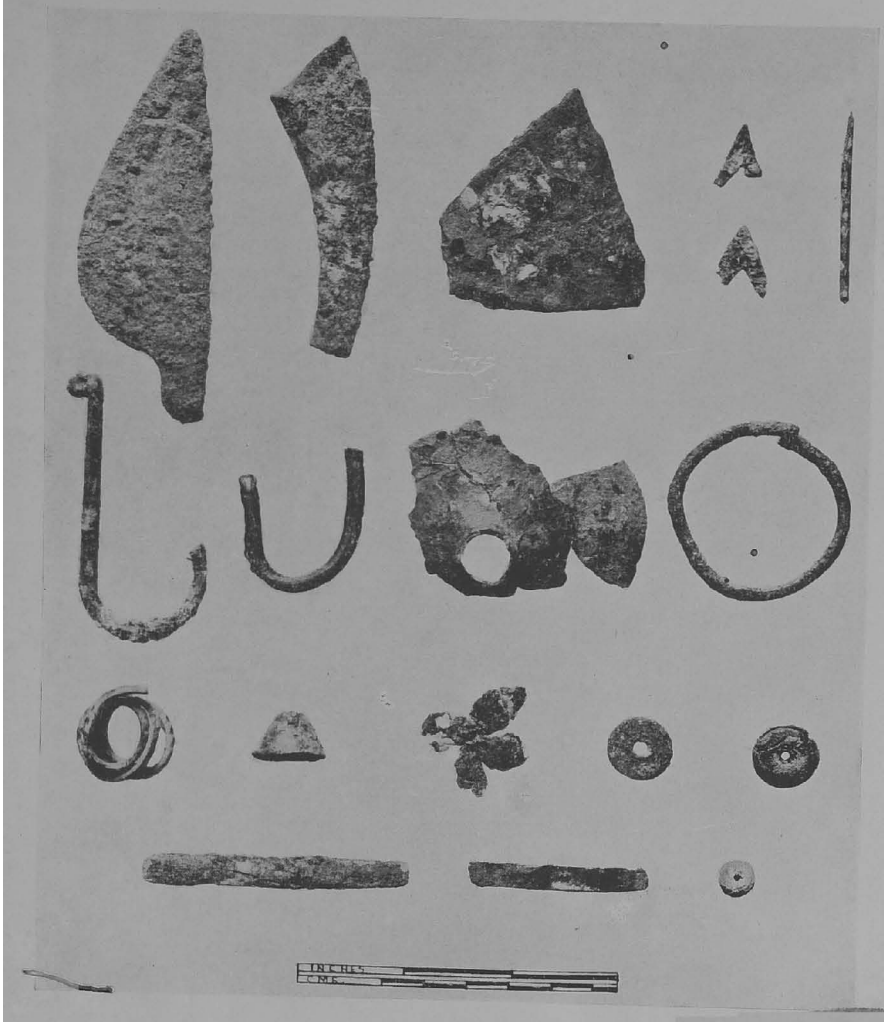

Fig. 24. Copper and bronze objects, Lothal.

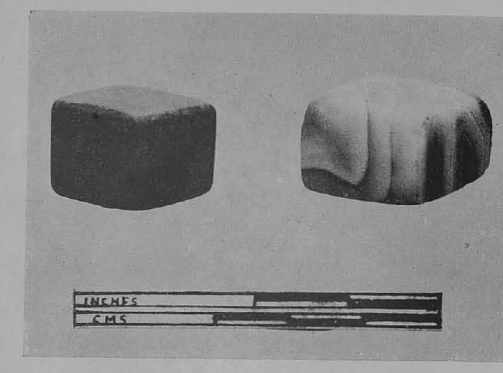

Fig. 25. Agate weights, Lothal.

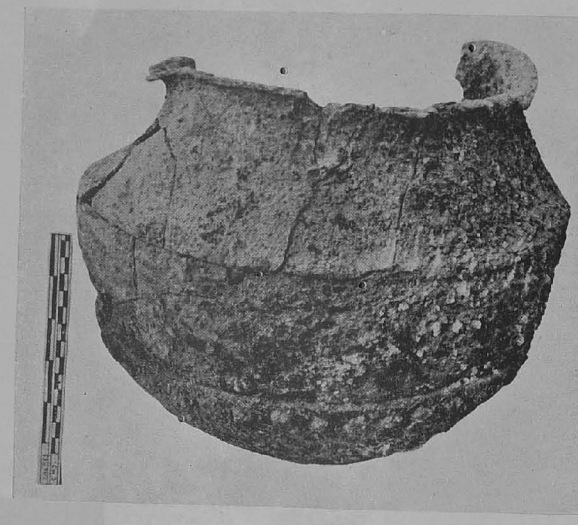

Fig. 26. Revetted copper jar, Lothal.

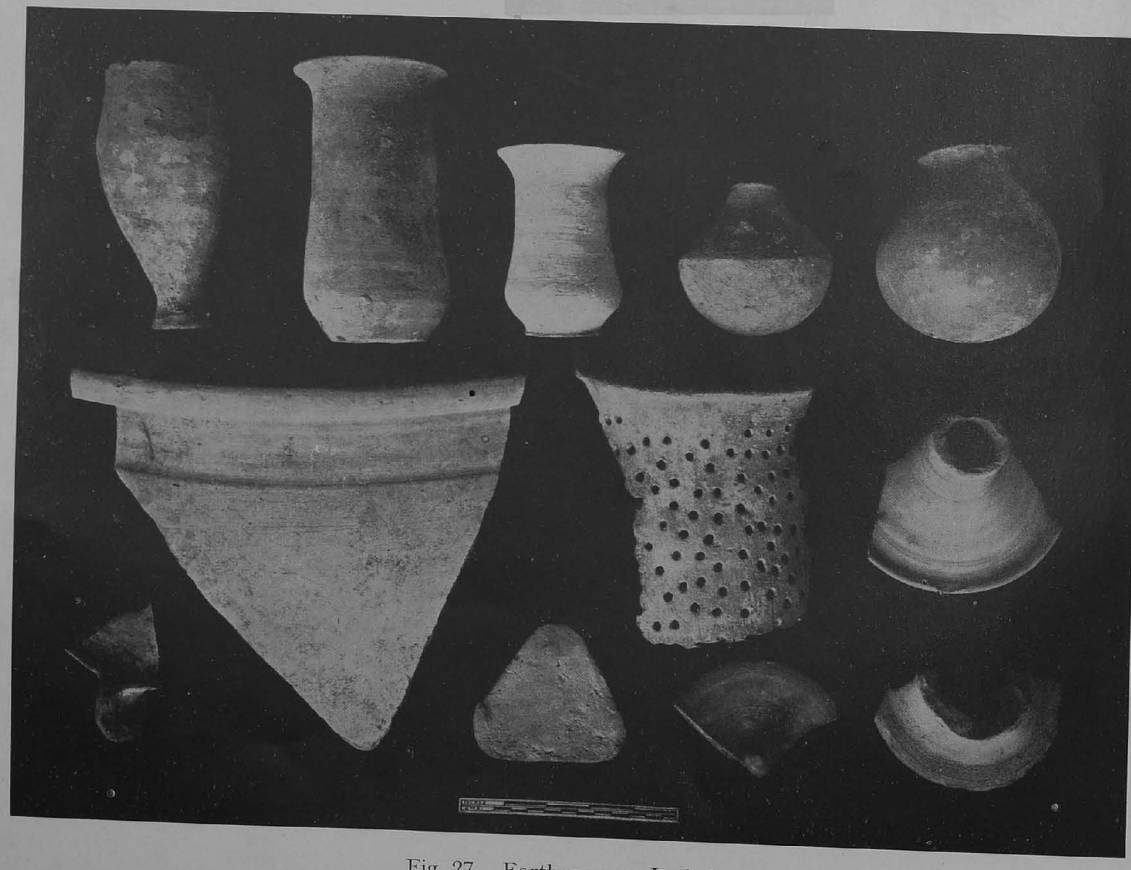

Fig. 27. Earthenwares, Lothal.

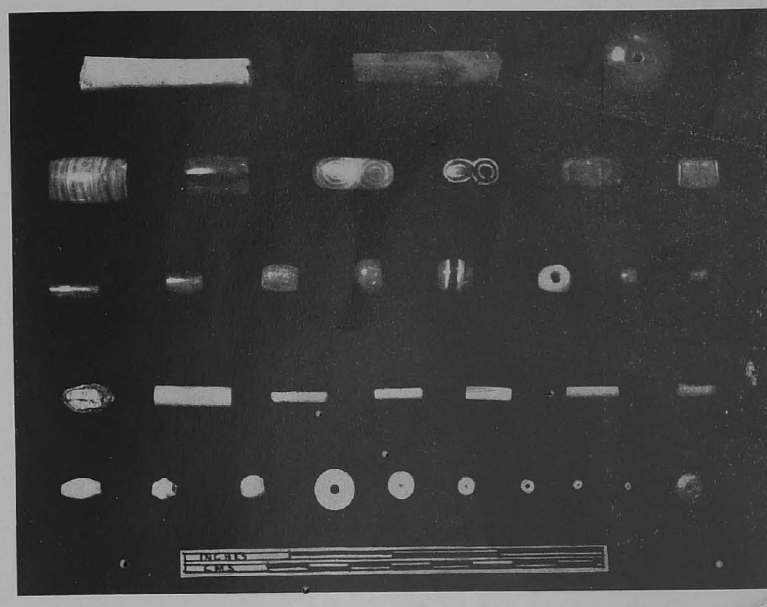

Fig. 28. Beads of steatite, faience, gold, carnelian, agate and jasper, Lothal.

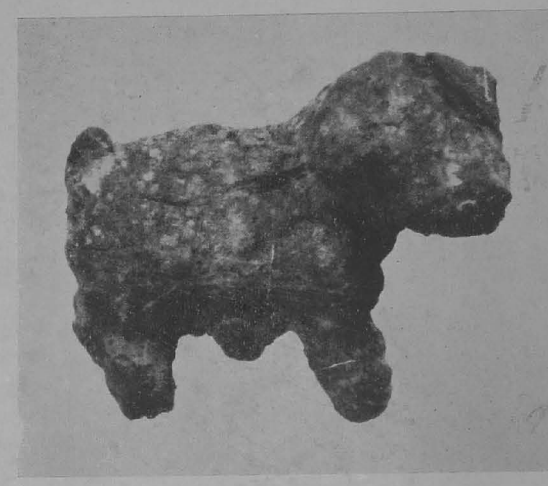

Fig. 29. Dog, Copper. Size 4/1, Lothal.

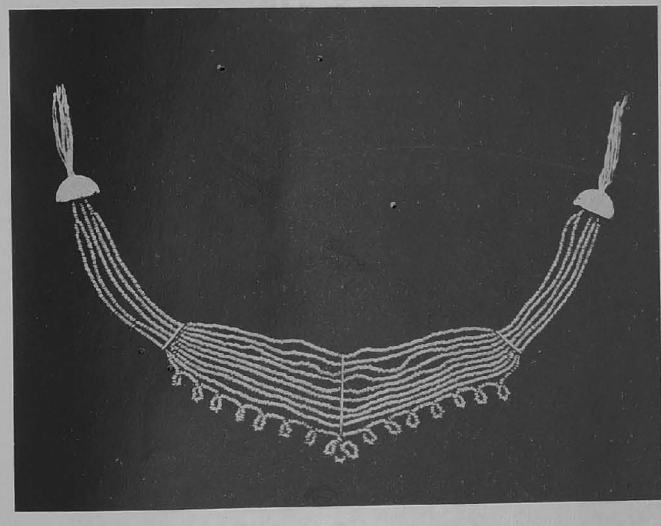

Fig. 30. Necklace prepared from microscopic gold beads found in a pot, Lothal.

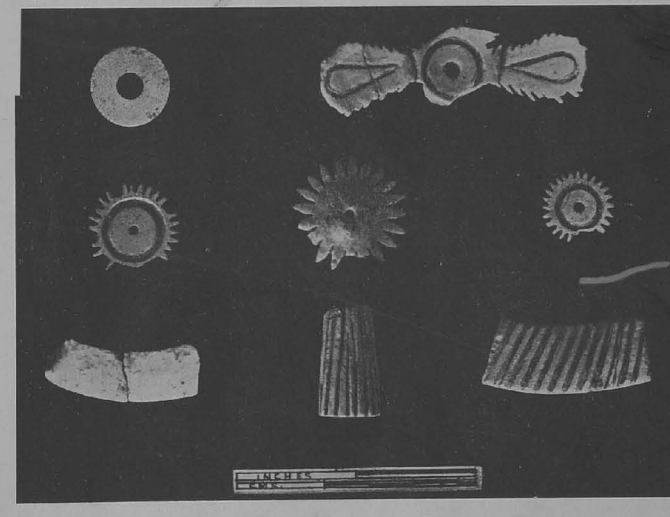

Fig. 31. Steatite and faience ornaments, Lothal.

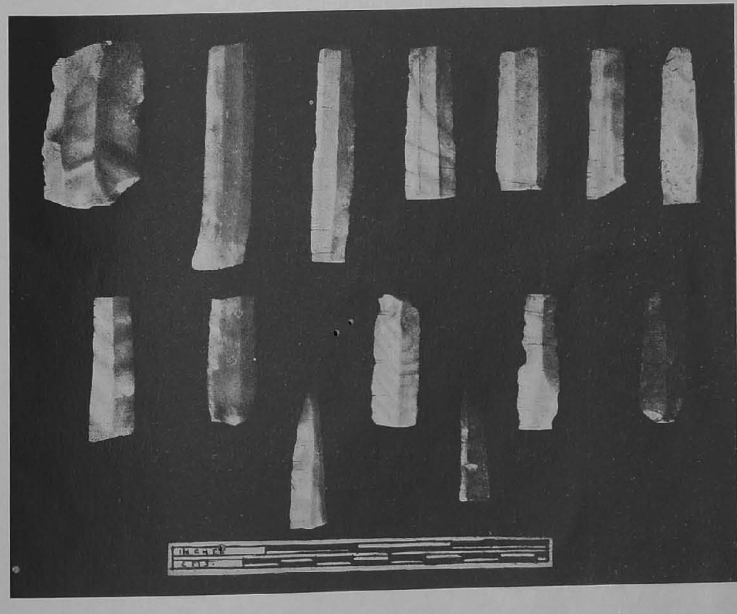

Fig. 32. Chert blades, Lothal.

Fig. 33. Bone and ivory pins, Lothal.

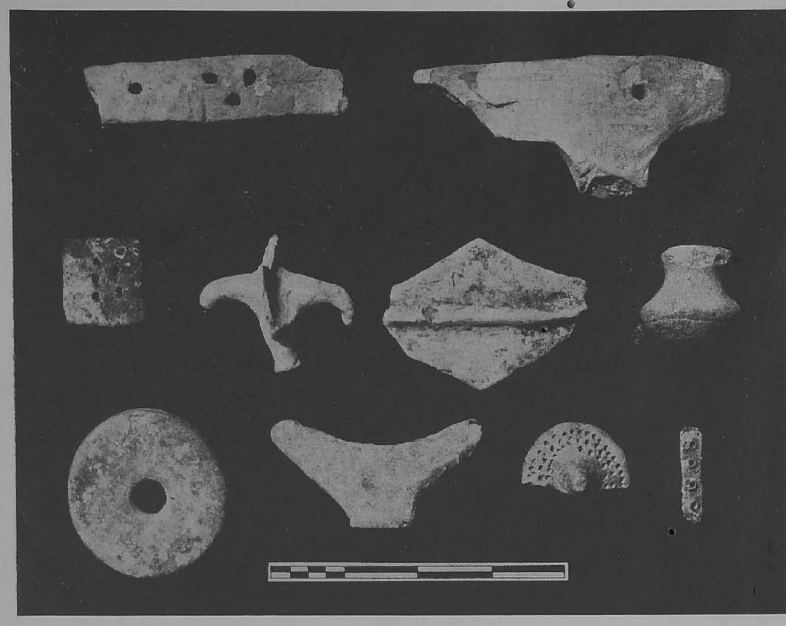

Fig. 34. Terracotta beads, pendants, dice, cart frame, etc., Lothal.

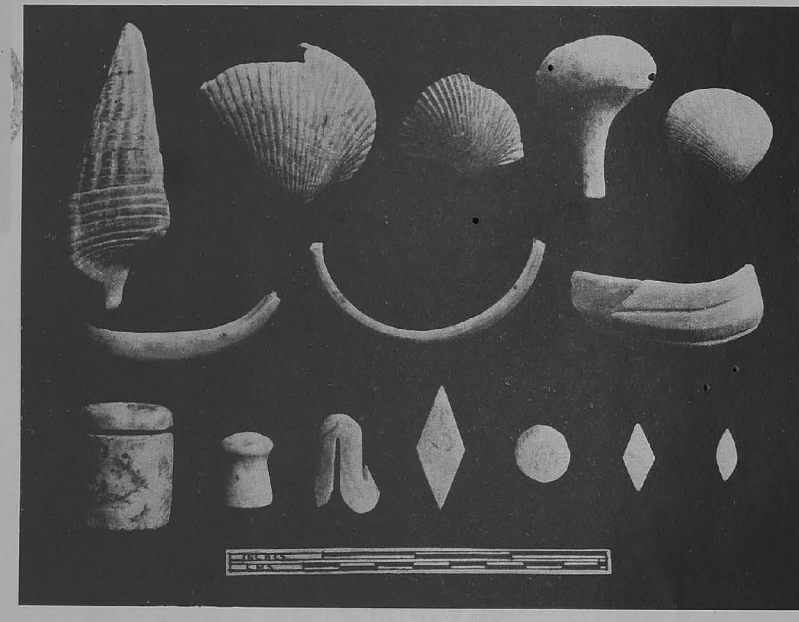

Fig. 35. Shell and ivory objects, Lothal.

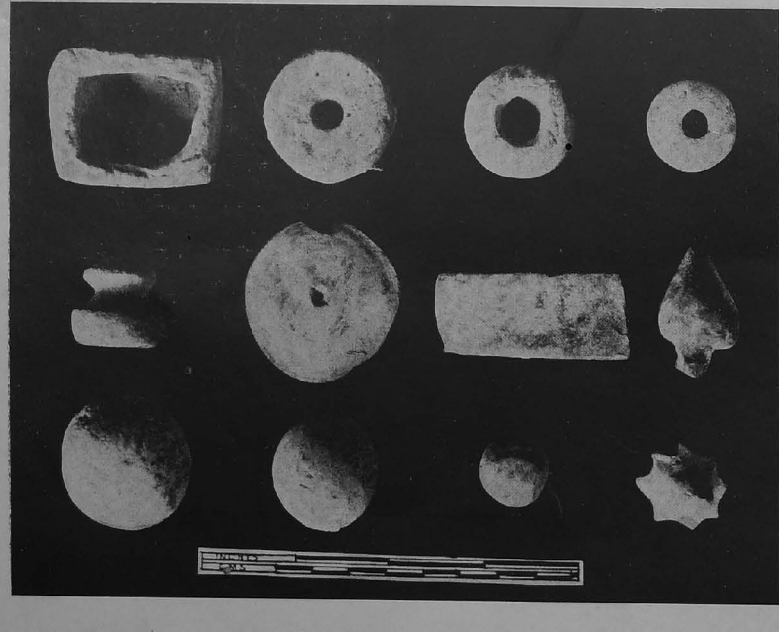

Fig. 36. Terracotta ornaments and toys, Lothal.

between the Harappa civilization and the chalcolithic cultures of Central India. The vessels in this ware have a black interior and red exterior. It is now certain that the technique of inverted firing was known to the Lothal folk. The same technique, continued in later times by the Harappans and their successors at Rangpur, came into great prominence in the 1st millennium B. C.

Lothal is known for an enormous quantity of beads of various kinds (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 28). About five lakh steatite and faience beads and a thousand gold beads smaller than a pin-head in size and carefully cut with a fine instrument are an example of unexcelled craftsmanship. Such microscopic gold beads, used along with spacer and D-type end-beads for a necklace, were found in a pot (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 30). Agate, carnelian, jasper, chert, copper, shell and ivory were all used for bead-making. Bangles are mostly of terracotta but copper, silver and shell were also made use of for the purpose. Ear ornaments of gold, copper, faience, steatite (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 31) and terracotta (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 34) and pendants of ivory were in considerable use. Toys such as carts, terracotta animal figures, marbles and miniature earthern vessels were known to the Lothal folk. A number of gamesmen of shell, ivory and terracotta found at Lothal are suggestive of the games they played (Pl. XXXVIII, Figs. 34-36). Earthern-wares and copper vessels (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 26), querns, mullers and pestles of stone give us an idea of the objects of domestic use.

Their tools consisted of chert blades used as penknives (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 32), copper razors, copper pins and knives (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 24) and needles of ivory and bone (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 33). The inhabitants of Lothal were essentially a peace loving people. The only weapons found so far are terracotta sling balls, a copper axe and a few small copper arrowheads. The use to which terracotta balls were put is still uncertain. A remarkable tradition of creative artistry is noticeable at Lothal. A beautiful figurine of a dog in copper (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 29), is an excellent example of the art of metal-casting. Terracotta human figures are no doubt found at Lothal but they are very few in number. Two of them are female figurines probably representing the Mother Goddess while the other one is a male figure (Pl. XL, Fig. 44). Terracotta animals such as humped and humpless bulls, dog, boar, tiger, peacock and the rhinoceros reveal a careful study of the fauna (Pl. XL, Fig. 43). The life-like representation of animal figures such as unicorn (Pl. XXXIX, Figs. 37-40), elephant (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 12), bull, goat (Pl. XXXIX, Figs. 41 and 42) and bird on the seals and sealings of Lothal in a space of 1″ square or even less bears testimony to the skill of the artist. He had a good grasp of the elements of form and decoration. The art of painting on earthen vessels was of no mean order. The perfect control of the brush becomes evident from the many complicated geometric and naturalistic designs painted over and over again on the surface of the vessels without variation from panel to panel (Pl. XLI, Figs. 49 and 50).

Thus we have at Lothal almost the entire range of objects found at Harappa even though the

area excavated is extremely limited. Seals and sealings are found in large numbers. So far forty-three seals of steatite, soapstone and terracotta have been found. A majority of them bear the Indus script and the unicorn. But other creatures represented are the mountain goat, bull and bird. Some seals bear the script only (Pl. XL, Figs. 45-48). What is very interesting in the script is the combination of symbols in two cases.

Formerly it was suggested that the Indus seals might have been used as amulets. With the discovery of a large number of sealings some of which bear impressions of more than one seal, it is now certain that the seals were meant for preparing sealings. It is observed that in the sealings the script was more important than the animal. The reed marks, finger impressions and the grooves left by the burnt-out stick indicate the process of manufacturing sealings as described above.

The religion of the inhabitants of Lothal is not known. Hardly any cult object, except terracotta human and animal figurines and seals and sealings which are of doubtful cult value, has been recovered so far. The method of the disposal of the dead is yet to be ascertained. Similarly the purpose of depositing animal remains along with ornaments in rectangular structures (Pl. XLI, Figs. 51) and huge earthern vessels is not clear.

The story of the spread of the Harappa civilization does not end with Lothal. On the contrary it begins with Lothal. It was noticed before that a part of the Lothal population moved further into the interior to Rangpur some time in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Map, p. 83). With the destruction of most of the Harappa sites in *circa* 1500 B.C., the prosperity of surviving Harappans in Saurashtra declined. The earthernwares which they prepared were inferior in fabric and treatment of surface. Certain ceramic types like the goblet, beaker and perforated vessels are completely absent. Chert blades and weights ceased to be in use. Ornaments are limited in number and variety and the characteristic disc-type beads are absent. In the course of the next five hundred years burnishing was adopted for the decoration of vessels though the fabric of the vessels was very much inferior. New types were also slowly evolved from the former Harappa types. The lustrous red colour of the vessels makes it distinct from the earlier Red Ware. Another technically distinct ware known as the Black and Red Ware which the Lothal folk had been using became popular in the first millennium B.C. The post-Harappa culture of Rangpur termed here the 'Lustrous Red Ware Culture' had for its equipment not only the two ceramic wares mentioned above but also short parallel-sided blades of chalcedony instead of chert blades and also copper celts, pins and needles. The evolution of the Lustrous Red Ware culture from the degenerate Harappa culture is demonstrated at Rangpur. At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. there appears to have been a further movement of the Lustrous Red Ware folk towards the mainland through North Gujarat.

A similar movement from the Sarasvati to the Sutlej on the one hand and towards Central

Fig. 37. Steatite seal with unicorn and Indus script, Lothal. Size 3/2.

Fig. 38. Steatite seal with unicorn and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

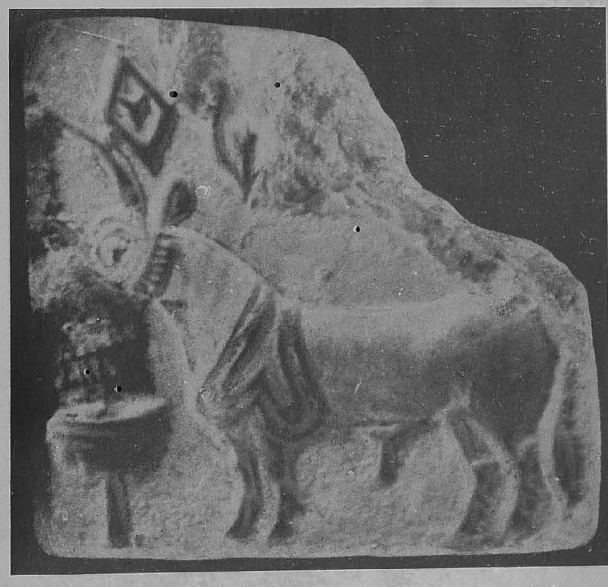

Fig. 39. Steatite seal with unicorn and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

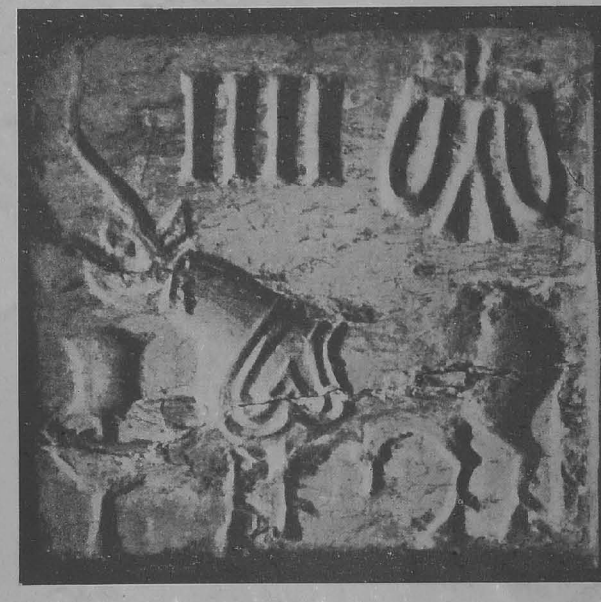

Fig. 40. Steatite seal with unicorn and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 41. Steatite seal with bull and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 42. Steatite seal with goat and Indus script, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 43. Terracotta animal figures, Lothal.

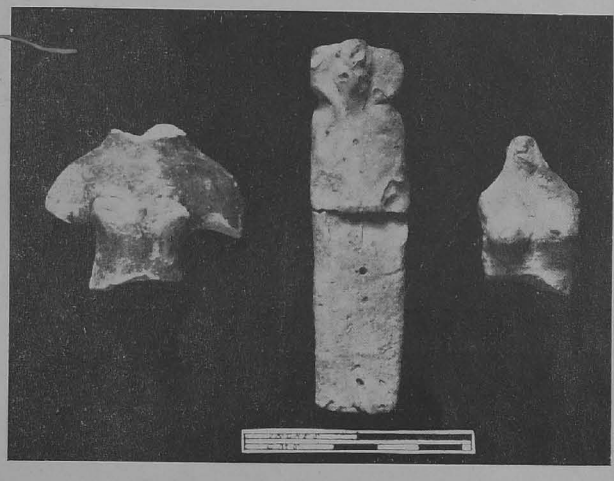

Fig. 44. Terracotta human figures, Lothal.

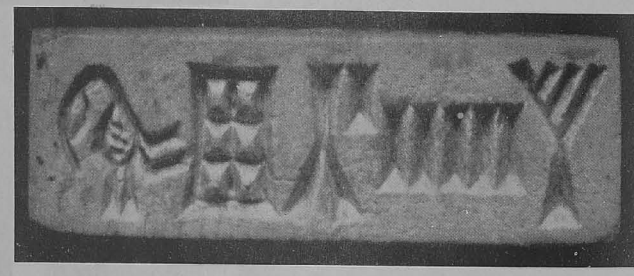

Fig. 45. Steatite seal with Indus script only, Lothal. Size 4/1.

Fig. 46. Terracotta seal with Indus script only, Lothal. Size 2/1.

Fig. 47. Steatite seal with Indus script only, Lothal. Size 4/1.

Fig. 48. Soapstone seal with Indus script only, Lothal. Size 2/1.

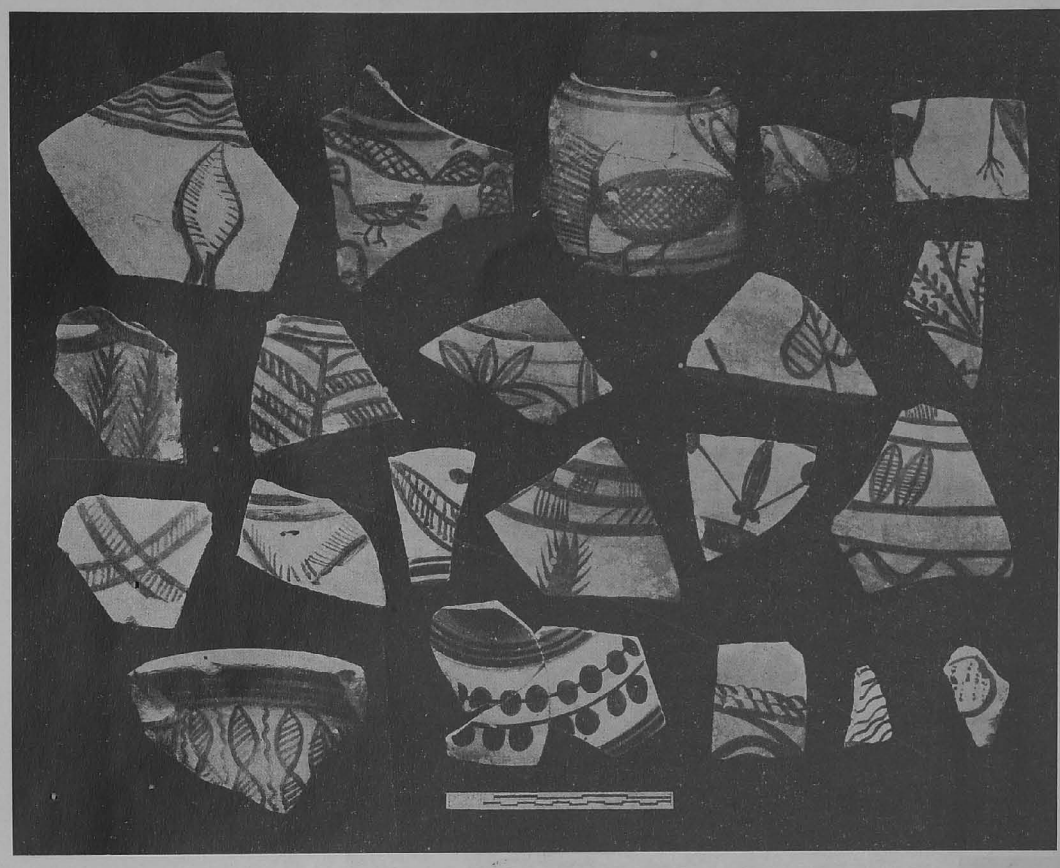

Fig. 49. Painted pottery, Lothal.

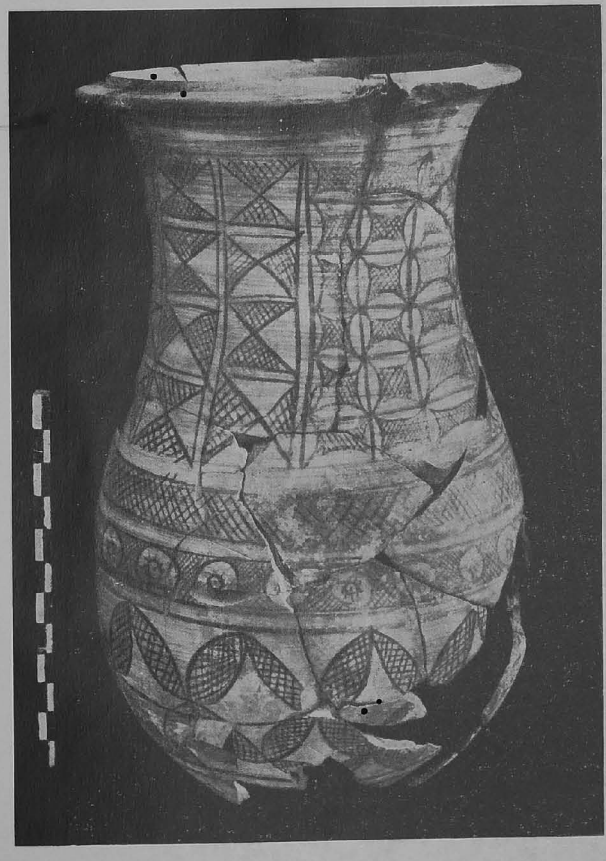

Fig. 50. Painted vessel, Lothal.

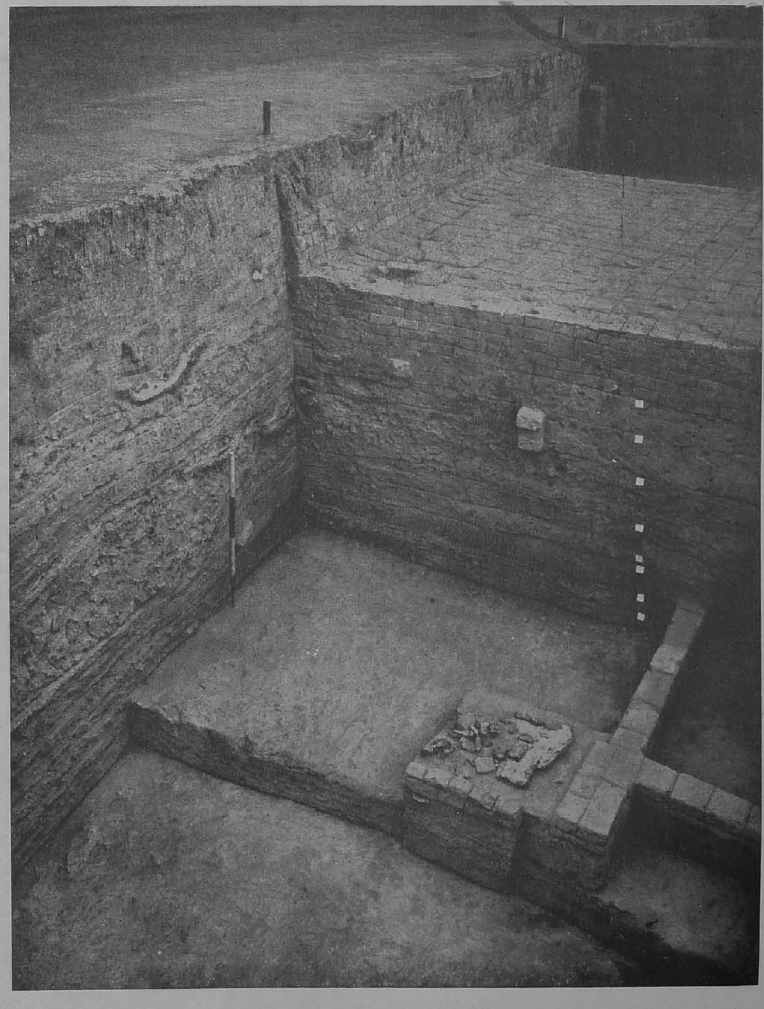

Fig. 51. Animal skeleton and gold objects found in a built-up structure, Lothal.

Fig. 1. *Panchama-Bhairava.* Kulu school. Raja Prītam Singh Period. 1767-1806 A.D.
Size $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 2. *Rāginī Gujari-Dīpaka.* Kulu school. Raja Prītam Singh Period. 1767-1806 A.D.
Size $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 3. *Rāginī Sanchi-Bhairava.* Kulu school. Raja Prītam Singh Period. 1767-1806 A.D.
Size $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 4. *Goud, Sri Raga.* Kulu school. Raja Prītam Singh Period. 1767-1806 A.D.
Size $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

India on the other cannot be ruled out. In this connection the occurrence of the Black and Red Ware at Lothal, Rupar, Rangpur, Ahad and several places in the Ghaggar Valley is of great significance.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Harappa civilization extended far and wide beyond the confines of the Indus Valley right up to the Gulf of Cambay in the south,[1] Rupar and Bara in the north and Suratgadh in the east. The excavations at Lothal supplemented by the excavations at Rangpur have convincingly demonstrated that this civilization did not come to a sudden end as hitherto believed but survived in a degenerate form up to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. and transformed itself into another culture.

The late chalcolithic cultures of Central India and the Deccan seem to have been influenced by the degenerate Harappa culture in its transitional phase. Though it is too premature to say whether the Harappa civilization represents the civilization of the Ṛigvedic Aryans or the Dravidians, an important result of the recent archaeological explorations in Saurashtra is that we have gone one step forward by establishing a link between the Harappans and the later chalcolithic people of the 1st millennium B.C. living at places like Māhishmati (Maheswar) and Somnath which find mention in the Epic and Puranic literature.

Photographs and line map : Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

[1] *Note*:—Exploration of the Narmada valley undertaken by the author in June 1957 has brought to light two Harappa sites, viz. Mehgam and Telod at the mouth of Narmada near Broach. Dishes-on-stand, jars, etc. are characteristic Harappa types obtained from those sites. It can be said therefore that the Harappa culture extended up to the Narmada estuary. Another Harappa site known as Bhagertarar in the Kim statuary between Broach and Surat was discovered by the author in November 1957. It is the southernmost site known so far.

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF MADHU-MĀLATĪ AND OTHER PAINTINGS FROM KULU

JAGDISH MITTAL

THE Madhu-Mālatī romance tells of the love of Mālatī, a king's daughter, for Madhu, the prime minister's son—a romance of a royal princess and a commoner. Mālatī falls in love at first sight with the handsome youth Madhu and is helped by her faithful companion Jaitmal to marry him in secret. Mālatī's father is enraged on hearing the news of this marriage and sends his army to capture Madhu. Due to the heroism of Madhu, who is helped by the gods, the army is routed and the king is finally reconciled to the situation. The marriage of Madhu and Mālatī is celebrated in the palace with due pomp and show.

There is a well-known version of the Madhu-Mālatī story written by the Sūfī poet Manjhan in Avadhī Hindi. Some say it was composed in V.S. 1554 and others suggest V.S. 1597. The story was so popular that it became a theme for many other writers. There is the *Gulshan-e-Ishk* of the Deccani poet Nusratī of the 17th century—while Chaturbhujdās wrote on the same theme in the same century.[1]

It has yet to be proved whether or not there existed in Kulu a distinctive school of painting. So far the only systematic and authentic study of the pictorial art of Kulu has been done by Karl Khandalavala.[2]

Why is so little known of art in Kulu? It is because (*a*) the production of paintings appears to have been limited, and (*b*) very few paintings are available, apart from the folk-art types which belong not exclusively to Kulu but to the Kulu-Mandi region.

It is difficult to trace the origin of the school or to give an idea of the type of paintings done in the Kulu region before the reign of Raja Teḍhī Singh (1742-1767), a contemporary of Raja Ghamaṇḍ Chand of Kangra. Two portraits of this Raja are known to us. One was published in *Marg*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Fig. 13, on p. 17, from the collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, and the other is in my collection (Pl. D). However, paintings and murals belonging to the reign of his son, Raja Prītam Singh (1767-1806) have been found recently and throw light on the style then prevalent in Kulu. These paintings and the portraits of Raja Teḍhī Singh have marked stylistic similarities and we can thus confidently say that the Kulu school existed at least as early as the period of Teḍhī Singh (1742-1767). Prītam Singh's son, Bikram Singh (1806-1816), also was a patron of art, though after him the political conditions in the state precluded its patronage.

[1] An article on an illustrated version of Chaturbhujdās appeared in *Rupam* Nos. 33-34, p. 9.

[2] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958, p. 103 and Addenda.

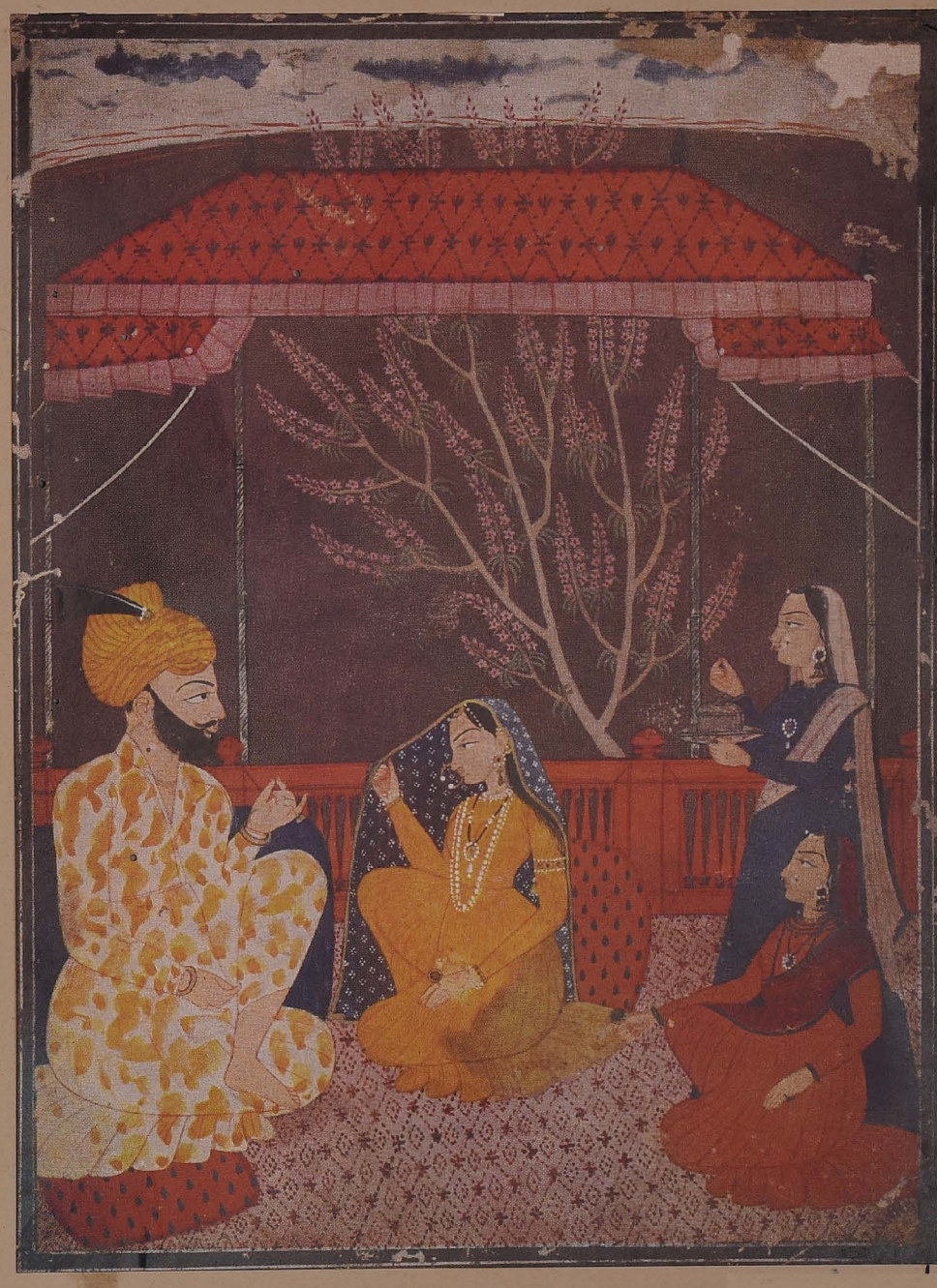

PLATE D. Raja Tedhi Singh with favourite. Contemporary Portrait. (1742-1767 A.D.)
Kulu school. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}''$. Author's Collection.

In March 1956 my wife and I visited Sultanpar, the capital of Kulu, to copy a large Kangra style mural called 'The Abode of Devī', for the Lalit Kalā Akadami, New Delhi. This mural was in the palace of the Rais of Rupi who were the rulers of Kulu. By chance, my wife discovered through an old resident of the palace, that there were also paintings in a room adjoining the verandah where we were working on the mural of ' The Abode of Devi '. This room had been locked for many years, and when it was opened we were in a new world surrounded by beautiful murals of Bikram Singh's time.

These murals depict (1) The marriage of Rāma and Sītā (4′ × 11′), (2) Lord Kṛishṇa with the *gopīs* (four murals of different sizes), and (3) an excellent equestrian portrait of young Raja Bikram Singh with his retinue. On the other side of this room is a Kālī temple. One of the murals on the verandah of this room is an inscribed portrait of the young Raja Bikram Singh with his army. The above mentioned murals are all that now remain in the Shīsh Mahal palace of the Kulu kings which suffered greatly in the tragic Kangra Valley earthquake of 1905.

The characteristics of the paintings done during Bikram Singh's reign are similar to those of the reigns of Teḍhī Singh and Prītam Singh. The major influence on the pictorial art of Kulu appears to have been that of Basohli, while one also observes the influence of the late eighteenth century Guler school.

The manuscript of *Madhu-Mālatī*,[1] now in my collection, was written in 1799 A.D. during the reign of Raja Prītam Singh and illustrated by an artist named Bhagvān.[2] The colophon (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 7) reads as follows: 'The story of Madhu-Mālatī has ended with ease. It gives equal pleasure to all the reciters and hearers and removes pain. Thus ends the story Madhu-Mālatī, distinguished by its auspicious art. In the city of Raghunāthpura, in the reign of Prītam Singh, the painter carefully illustrated this work.[3] The work was completed on Wednesday, the fifth of the month of Bhādra. The reciter was Kāyastha Sagarā and the painter Bhagvāndās. Śrī Saṁvat 1856.'

We know that the Braja Bhashā literature because of its emotional nature and lyrical qualities, was in great favour even at the courts of the remote Hill States of the Panjab Himalayas. Here also the legends of Srī Kṛishṇa and the story of Rāma were dearly loved while the *Rāgamālā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* themes were always in vogue. Curiously enough the story of Madhu-Mālatī also found a place in Pahārī painting. The present one which is an illustrated manuscript is the second one discovered in the Pahārī style. The other has already been published in *Rupam* No. 33-34, p. 9. The theme was even more popular in Rajasthan and there are several illustrated manuscripts of the Madhu-Mālatī story in the Rajasthani style.[4]

[1] Two illustrated manuscripts of *Madhu-Mālatī* are in the collection of Sri Agar Chand Nahta of Bikaner.

[2] Karl Khandalavala in his *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, p. 108, has reproduced the colophon and an example from an illustrated *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also painted for Prītam Singh of Kulu in 1794 A.D. by the same artist, Bhagvān. The style of both the manuscripts illustrated by Bhagvān is identical.

[3] See *ibid.*, p. 108, where it has been pointed out that Raghunāthpura can only be Kulu and that Prītam Singh must be Prītam Singh of Kulu.

[4] Sri Harihar Nivas Dwivedi of Gwalior is publishing an illustrated book based on one such Rajasthani manuscript.

Fig. 5. A tiger comes when Chand and Roopmala are making love. Chand pierces the mouth of the tiger with his arrows. Illustration from a *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms. Kulu school. 1799 A.D. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 6. Raja Bikram Singh on a war expedition. Detail from a fresco. Sultanpar, Kulu. *Circa* 1810 A.D. Size 3′ 2″ × 4′.

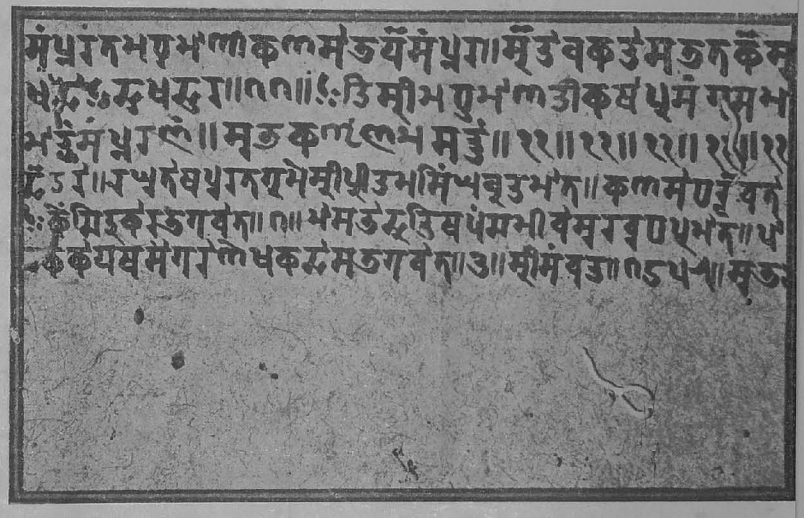

Fig. 7. Colophon, *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms. Kulu school. Author's Collection.

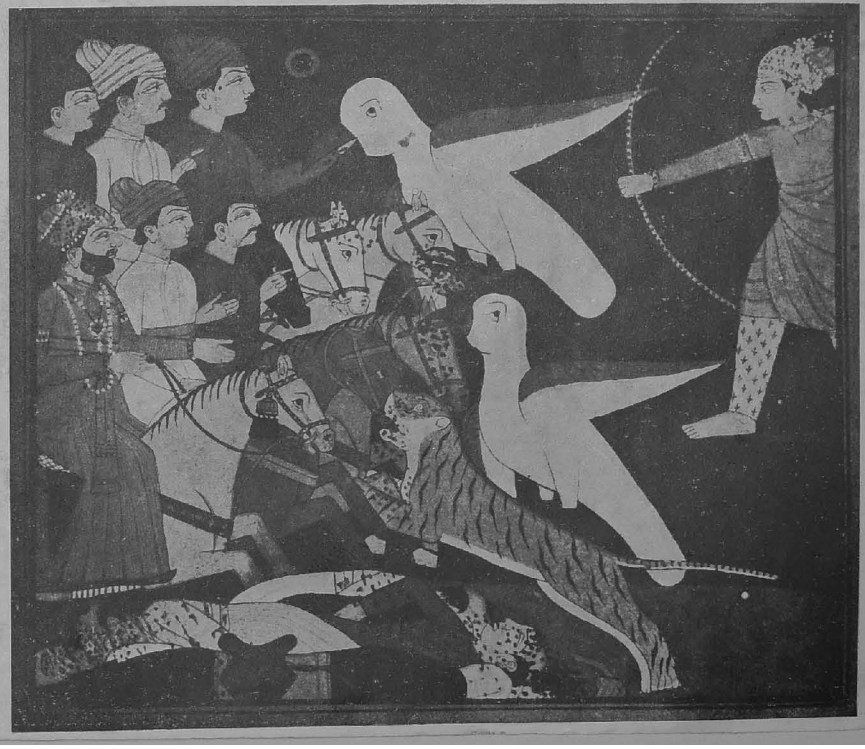

Fig. 8. Garuda sends the great birds Maranda to aid Madhu. The birds along with tigers attack the army of Chandra Sena. Illustration from a *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms. Kulu school. 1799 A.D. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 9. Madhu attacks the horsemen of Mālatī's father, Chandra Sena. Illustration from a *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms. Kulu school. 1799 A.D. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 10. Jaitmala consoles Mālatī when she is frightened to see Madhu attacked by a large army. Illustration from a *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms. Kulu school. 1799 A.D. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

Fig. 11. Detail from a *Rāmāyana* fresco. Sultanpur, Kulu. Period of Raja Pritam Singh 1767-1806 A.D.

The illustrations in this manuscript painted by Bhagvān are nearly all on a full page and are for the most part on a brown ochre background (Pl. XLIII, Figs. 5 and 8 and Pl. XLIV, Figs. 9 and 10). The colours though bright are so arranged that the tonal effect is never garish. The palette is limited to the following colours: mango green, orpiment yellow, yellow ochre, brown ochre, *singrafī* (crude cinnabar red), vermilion (used only in three or four paintings) *mahāvarī* (carmine), light and deep shades of indigo, three shades of grey, white and lamp-

PLATE E. Illustration of *Madhu-Mālatī*. By the artist Bhagvān. Kulu school. 1799 A.D. Size $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

black. Gold is also used but in very thin coatings. To tone down a particular colour, dots, trefoils and quatrefoils of white, black and *mahāvarī* are used. Modelling is done by the use of the deeper shades as also by the use of *mahāvarī*.

The figures in the paintings are tall and well built. There are two facial types (1) with forehead sloping backwards and (2) squarish forehead with the nose and forehead almost in a line (Pl. E). Facial expressions do not vary much. Feelings are expressed by gestures. The lines are confidently drawn and the finishing outlines are done mostly in *mahāvarī* and rarely in black. The compositions are simple and bold and could be adapted easily for murals. This may be so because the very artists who painted murals probably painted the miniatures. Some murals of Bikram Singh's time are definitely known to be the works of the very same family of artists or *ustāds* who painted miniatures.

In these compositions unnecessary detail has been avoided, which makes the themes intelligible. Three varieties of trees are seen, all stylized (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 5 and Pl. XLIV, Fig. 10). The border enclosing the pictures is in yellow with an outline in *singrafī*. One of the peculiarities in these pictures is that the sky is nowhere to be seen.[1]

The costumes and ornaments of womenfolk are similar to those seen in other Pahārī schools but the treatment differs.

Men of high rank wear long *chaubandī jāmah, paṭkās* and tight fitting pyjamas (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 8). The *paṭkās* are usually of the same colour as the *jāmah*. Their turbans are tight fitting with a projection (*kulāh*) in the centre. Men of inferior rank wear a shorter *jāmah*. Men of rank also wear the Vaishṇava *tilak* on their foreheads. The king, *vazir* and some warriors are shown with black moustaches and beards which are painted in wash only (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 9).

The number of leaves in this manuscript is 117 and the size of each page is $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Nine pages including page no. 1 and two paintings are missing. In all there are 511 *padyas* in Hindi, written in Kulu Takri script.

The characteristics of the *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms illustrations are also to be seen in *Rāgamālā* paintings from Kulu (Pl. XLII, Figs. 1-4.) These were probably painted during Raja Prītam Singh's time. There is a Nāgarī text on the reverse of each picture. The distinguishing feature of these *Rāgamālā* paintings is refined workmanship. The colours used are the same as in *Madhu-Mālatī* paintings, but with more variety in combinations. The trees in the *Rāgamālā* paintings are more naturalistic than those in the *Madhu-Mālatī* Ms.

Like his father Raja Prītam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806), the son Raja Bikram Singh (1806-1816) was fond of the fine arts as is proved by several incidents associated with him. His short reign was full of misfortunes after 1810. As such, whatever patronage there was of painting was before that date.

A NOTE ON THE MURALS IN THE SHĪSH MAHAL PALACE

The whole scene of the marriage of Lord Rāma is laid within cusped arches having pillars on both sides. The ground of all these paintings is white, and the colours, costume, jewelry and types are similar to those seen in paintings done in the reign of Prītam Singh. There is, however, a little shortening of the figures to be observed. This room has two very small trellis windows just opposite the wall on which Sītā is shown garlanding Lord Rāma (Pl. XLIV, Fig. 11). The light which falls on the other figures being hazy they look as if they were spectators in the dark. Apart from some Kṛishṇa Līlā murals done in this room containing the Rāma mural, there is also a mural of Raja Bikram Singh with his retinue, about 3′ 2″ × 4′ (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 6). Here the young Raja—who is about eighteen—is riding on a dappled horse. The upper part of the retinue

[1] Clouds are depicted by a narrow strip in Kulu paintings.

consists of *chobdārs*, *chhaḍīdārs* and flag carriers. The lower party consists of musicians playing *ḍaph* and flutes in pairs. The features of the Raja are sharp but pleasing. The identification of this portrait of Bikram Singh would have remained in the realm of guess work had I not been fortunate enough to discover under the smoke covered walls in the Kālī temple verandah another portrait of the same Raja on a war expedition bearing an inscription which sets out his name. The size of the fresco is 5′ × 3′. The Raja is mounted on the same dappled horse. His own costume as well as the costumes of his retainers are similar to those seen in the uninscribed mural just described. The figures are smaller than in the other murals of this room, because of the large number, which fill the picture space. The inscribed mural is painted on the top of the entrance to the verandah. The inscription reads: 'Mahārājādhirāj Vikram jīt Singh'. Just opposite it there is another mural showing the royal hunting party. The names of important persons in both of these murals are inscribed thereon.

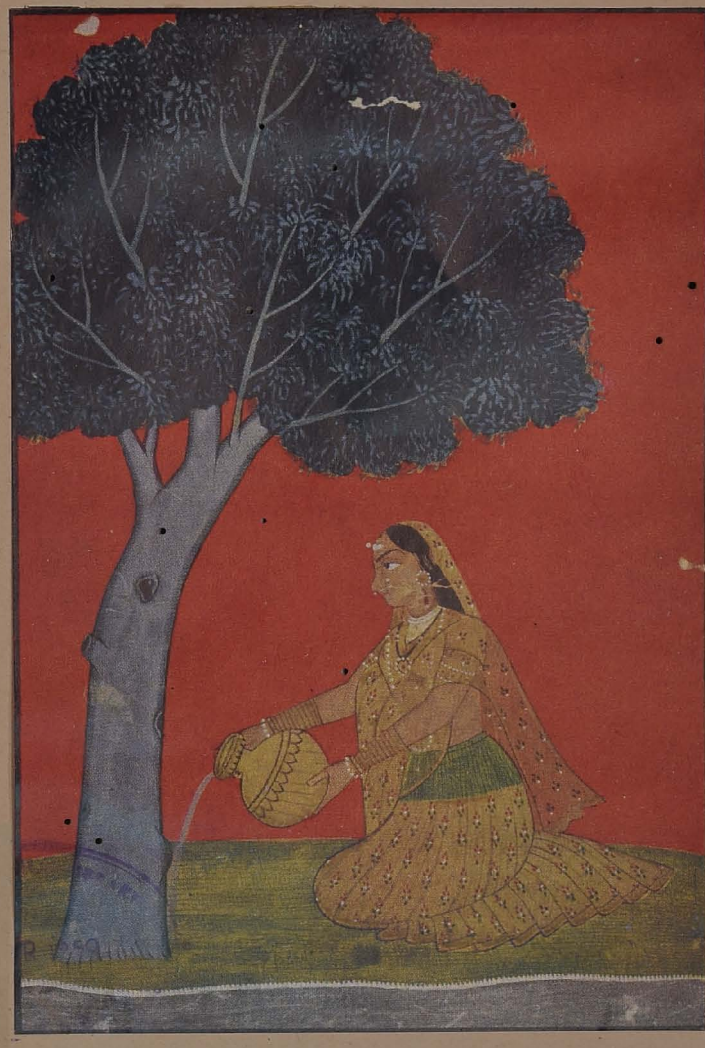

PLATE F. *Rāginī*. Kulu school. Raja Prītam Singh Period. 1767-1806 A.D. Size $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Author's Collection.

The date of these murals must be between 1806-1810 A.D., i.e., soon after Bikram Singh came to the throne, as the inscription refers to him as 'Mahārājādhirāj'. The war expedition seems to be that against Mandi during the early part of his reign.

A REASSESSMENT OF SOME PAINTINGS DESCRIBED IN GANGOLY'S *MASTERPIECES OF RAJPUT PAINTING*

M. S. RANDHAWA

SINCE the publication of Archer's *Painting in the Punjab Hills*, London 1952, a good deal of information has been collected on the various schools of painting which flourished in the former Punjab Himalaya states. The rediscovery of the collection of paintings of the Rajas of Guler[1] by the present author has provided new clues to the paintings of hill schools and their origin. In the Guler collection, there are paintings of the Rajas from 1720 A.D. to 1890 A.D. The style of these paintings, in which apart from portraits and family groups are to be seen *shikār* parties, processions, and dance performances, provides a key to the identification of paintings from Guler as well as to their dating. A study of these paintings has shown that right up to 1890 A.D. a number of artists continued to work at Guler. The discovery of another set of Guler paintings with Capt. Sundar Singh, a descendant of the Wazir family of Guler, has further filled up gaps in our knowledge of the Guler school.

Paintings of Sansār Chand's school which flourished at Sujanpur Tira, Alampur and Nadaun, were discovered from among the family collections of the Raja of Lambagraon[2] and his collateral, Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna.[3] These paintings show that even after the death of Sansār Chand, the art of painting continued to flourish at Tira Sujanpur and Alampur. There are a number of paintings in which the chief figure is Anirudh Chand. In fact most of the paintings discovered in the collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna belong to the last period of Sansār Chand, or to the period of his son Anirudh Chand.

Apart from these paintings, the landscape of Alampur, Sujanpur Tira, Haripur-Guler and Nadaun provides a clue to the origin of some of these paintings. The types of buildings as well as riverside scenes shown in the famous *Bārāmāsā* set of paintings with the Raja of Lambagraon (Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Delhi 1955, Pls 3-5) are strongly reminiscent of the landscape of Sujanpur Tira which was the capital of Sansār Chand. The rugged rocks flanking the Ban Ganga at Haripur-Guler are seen in a number of Guler paintings, while the *ghāṭ* on the river with a long flight of steps shown in some paintings reminds us of Nadaun.

Kangra painting was usually regarded as anonymous. Though most of the paintings are unsigned

[1] The Raja of Guler's fine collection is referred to in J. C. French, *Himalayan Art*, London 1931, pp. 52-53 and Pls. 6, 7 and 9.

[2] The Raja of Lambagraon's collection has been referred to by J. C. French, *Himalayan Art*, pp. 67-70 and Pl. 22.

[3] Ram Singh's collection has been referred to by French in his above mentioned book at p. 69, para. 2.

there are some paintings which bear attributions to certain artists. There are a number of paintings which bear the name of Gur Sahāi,[1] a well-known artist of Haripur-Guler.

In the light of these discoveries, it is desirable to reassess the material which has already been published in books on Kangra paintings. In this note I will deal with paintings described in O. C. Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, Calcutta 1926.

Pl. V (in colour)—Padumāvatī and Hīrāmaṇi, author's collection. Gangoly has ascribed this painting to the Jaipur school, but there is no doubt that it is a Pahārī miniature and appears to be a late Kangra painting of the early 19th century. It bears strong affinities to some of the work done at Sujanpur Tira.[2]

Pl. VII (in colour)—Vishṇu Riding on a Garuḍa, Indian Museum, Calcutta. This has again been wrongly ascribed by Gangoly to the Jaipur school. It is a Pahārī miniature. The style of the wind-blown flowering shrubs and the birds suggest a Garhwal origin like that of *'Gāi Charan Līlā'* (Pl. XLV) and *'Kāliya Damana'* (Pl. XLVI).

Pl. IX (in colour)—*Agatapatikā,* Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Gangoly tentatively ascribed this painting to the Rajput school of painting but this again, without doubt, is a Pahārī painting. The turbans and costumes indicate affinities with paintings from Guler done during the reign of Bhūp Singh (1790-1826).

Pl. XIV—Krishṇa and the Cows, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

This has been ascribed by Gangoly to the Jammu school. This painting resembles a number of paintings discovered from Kulu which are now in the collection of Raja Raghbir Singh of Shangri, a descendent of Raja Prītam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806) who was a well-known patron of art. The type of face, slightly stupid looking, is very characteristic of the Kulu school of painting. A large number of such paintings were purchased from the collection of the late Mr. Justice A. N. Sen by the present writer for the Chandigarh Art Gallery.

Pl. XV—Siege of Laṅkā, Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta, as also Pls. XVI (*a*) and XVI (*b*).

These have been ascribed by Gangoly to the school of Jammu. The paintings are of large size, 37″ × 24″, and closely resemble in style paintings from Guler described by Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* and Pl. XVI (*a*) and (*b*) belonging to the Boston Museum which later were sold by R. K. Bharani, a dealer from Amritsar, to A. K. Coomaraswamy. I learnt from the Bharani family at Amritsar that these paintings were procured from Haripur-Guler.[3] Archer has also identified these paintings as belonging to the Guler school of Kangra art.

1 It may be noted there were two artists named Gur Sahāi. The well-known artist Nainsukh had a son Gauha = Gur Sahāi. The artist referred to by Randhawa also named Gur Sahāi was a grandson of Nainsukh and not as fine a painter as his uncle, Gauha.—*Editors.*

2 This miniature is a genre painting of a popular theme, namely a girl and her parrot which has escaped from its cage. It has nothing to do with the Padumāvatī romance.—*Editors.*

3 J. C. French pointed out the Guler origin in his *Himalayan Art*, Frontispiece (in colour). They have long been recognized by critics as belonging to Guler. They were once the property of Raja Ragunath of Guler (1884-1920) as stated by Ajit Ghose as far back as 1929 in *Roopa Lekhā*, No. 2, April 1929, 'The Schools of Rajput Painting.' In fact, Ajit Ghose's example, reproduced by French, as also those reproduced by Gangoly are from the same series as the Boston examples.—*Editors.*

Pl. XVII (in colour)—Kali, Author's Collection.

This painting has been ascribed by Gangoly to the school of Jammu. The curved horizon, the shape of the hills, the headdress of Durgā and shape of the lion on which she is riding, are features which suggest that it belongs to the Guler school. In fact, the present author purchased a number of paintings in which Durgā is painted in this style from Capt. Sundar Singh of Haripur-Guler. Archer has also described some of the paintings painted in this style as hailing from Guler.

Plate XIX—Flower Gathering, Central Museum, Lahore.

This painting has been ascribed by Gangoly to the school of Basohli. Some paintings of a *Gīta Govinda* series discovered from Basohli are said to have been painted during the reign of Raja Dhīraj Pāl (1693 A.D.).[1] During his travels the present writer found that paintings in the so-called Basohli style were also painted at Nurpur, Haripur-Guler, Sujanpur Tira, Mandi, Nalagarh and Bilaspur as well as at Kulu. The Kangra school of painting is said to have evolved from the fusion of Mughal and Basohli styles. This again is one of the clichés which have been perpetuated by some writers by the use of flowery language. The Kangra school of painting in fact developed from the adoption of Hindu themes from the *Purāṇas* and the epics by artists who were conversant with the Mughal technique of paintings. The Mughal style coupled with the beauty of Hindu themes plus the beautiful landscape of Kangra valley ultimately produced that style of painting known as Kangra. The Basohli style of Rajput painting also continued to flourish side by side as a parallel development, and achieved refinement in its own sphere. The style of 'Flower Gathering' resembles that of some of the paintings from Nurpur seen in the collection of Mian Kartar Singh of the Wazir family which have been described by Archer in *Marg*. Vol. 8, No. 3.

Pl. XXIII—Portrait of Raja Prakāś Chand, Central Museum, Lahore.

This has been described as belonging to the school of Chamba. There are a number of paintings of Raja Prakāś Chand and his queens from Haripur-Guler. Unless there are special reasons to the contrary such as an inscription, there seems to be no special reason why this painting should be ascribed to the school of Chamba.

Pl. XXIV—*Śīta-Vihāra*, Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

This has been described by Gangoly as belonging to the school of Chamba. The headdress of the prince closely resembless that of Raja Bhūp Singh of Haripur-Guler. There are a number of erotic paintings painted by Gur Sahāi in which the facial formulae for women very much

[1] It may be noted that Randhawa's statement that some paintings of a *Gīta Govinda* series discovered from Basohli are said to have been painted during the reign of Dhīraj Pāl (1693 A.D.) has been caused by some confusion as to the real facts. We know of a Basohli *kalam* series illustrating the *Rasamanjarī* painted at Basohli in Kirpāl Pāl's reign in 1694-1695 A.D., and we also know of a Basohli *kalam* series illustrating the *Gīta Govinda* painted in 1730 A.D., probably at Basohli during the reign of Medinī Pāl (1725-1736). But there is no *Gīta Govinda* painted in Dhīraj Pāl's reign in 1693. Dhīraj Pāl we now know did not come to the throne till at least 1694 or 1695. This is clear from the colophon to the illustrated *Rasamanjarī*, which shows that Kirpāl Pāl was living till at least 1694.—*Editors*.

resemble those adopted in *Śīta-Vihāra*. The columnar cypresses alternating with round mango trees is also another feature of Guler painting. It seems likely that this painting belongs to the Guler school. In fact a number of paintings which are available in Chamba were painted in the Kangra valley. The present author recently purchased a collection of paintings from Mian Nihal Singh of Chamba, and he is also of the same view.

Pl. XXV (*a*) and (*b*)—Hour of Cow Dust.

These are very characteristic Kangra paintings from Sujanpur Tira. They have been wrongly described by Gangoly as belonging to the school of Chamba.

Pl. XXVI—*Navoḍhā*, Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

It closely resembles some of the paintings from Guler. The structure of the minaret and the faces of the ladies resemble those painted by Gur Sahaī, *circa* 1820.

Pl. XXVII (in colour)—*Utkaṇṭhita Nāyikā*, late P. C. Manuk Collection, Patna.

This has been ascribed by Gangoly to the school of Kangra, and has been identified by Archer as a Garhwal painting.

Pl. XXIX (in colour)—Sohnī and Mohinwāl, late P. C. Manuk Collection, Patna.

This painting very likely belongs to the Guler school. The landscape seen in this painting is very characteristic and suggests the Ban Ganga at Haripur-Guler. Its likely date seems to be *circa* 1860. It may also be mentioned that the name of the lover is Mahiwāl and not Mohinwāl.

Pl. XXXII (in colour)—Śiva and Pārvatī, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Possibly belongs to the Garhwal school.

Pl. XXXV—The Birth of Kṛishṇa (in colour), late P. C. Manuk Collection, Patna.

This painting resembles a number of paintings from Haripur-Guler. The musicians who are beating drums and blowing trumpets closely resemble those shown in the famous painting of 'Raja Govardhan Chand Listening to Musicians.' This painting, possibly *circa* 1750, must have been painted by one of the Mughal artists who had adopted the new style. The faces of some of the men resemble those of Mughal nobles.

Pl. XXXVII (in colour)—Crying for the Moon, author's collection.

This painting belongs to the Guler school and has features similar to 'Toilette of Rādhā'. (Pl. XXXVIII). It is possibly the work of Gur Sahāi. It appears to have been painted during the reign of Raja Bhūp Singh (1790-1826).

Pl. XXXVIII (in colour)—Toilette of Rādhā, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This has been identified by Archer as a Guler painting. It seems to be the work of the famous artist Gur Sahāi, who was very fond of painting plantains in the background of his paintings. The spout-like *loṭā* and other utensils are also characteristic of his paintings. The facial formulae of the ladies is characteristically that of Gur Sahāi.

Pl. XLII (in colour)—*Svādhīnapatikā*, Chandigarh Art Gallery, formerly Central Museum, Lahore.

It is similar to a painting purchased from Mian Sundar Singh and belongs to the Guler School.

Pl. LII—Bāzbahādur and Rūpamatī, author's collection.

This painting has been described by Gangoly as a Mughal painting. A similar painting in the same style has been seen by the present writer in the collection of the Raja of Lambagraon. In this painting many more birds are seen in the trees as well as on the island in the river. This also appears to be a Kangra painting by an artist who may have originally painted in the Mughal style.

Editors' Note.

The Pahārī miniatures in O. C. Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* have also been re-assessed in some recent publications, namely :

W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, London 1952 ; *Kangra Painting ; Garhwal Painting ; Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3.

Karl Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958.

O. C. Gangoly, *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, Vol. X-XI.

These re-assessments are set out below for comparison where they differ in any way from Randhawa or are not dealt with by Randhawa.

Pl. IX, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) belongs in all probability to the Garhwal idiom, late 18th century.

Pl. XIV, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) belongs to a provincial Basohli-type *kalam* of the mid-18th century. It is not included in his Kulu *kalam* group. Of course, even the Kulu *kalam* was influenced by the Basohli school.

Pls. XV, XVI(a) and XVI(b), according to Archer (*Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*) belong to Guler and are ascribed by him to the period *circa* 1720. According to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) they belong to Guler but cannot be so early as 1720 and are ascribed by him to the second half of the 18th century.

Pl. XIX, according to Archer ('Some Nurpur Paintings,' *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3) belongs to the Nurpur school *circa* 1710, but according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) the Nurpur attribution is problematic, and he classifies it as Basohli derivation of uncertain provenance *circa* 1730-1750.

Pl. XXIV, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) could equally well be painted in Chamba, Guler or Kangra, at the end of the 18th century. He does not hazard its provenance.

Pl. XXVI, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) is Kangra *kalam* about 1790-1800. He does not hazard the provenance, which may be Chamba rather than Guler.

Pl. XXVII is ascribed by Archer (*Garhwal Painting*) to Garhwal *circa* 1775 A.D. Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) also ascribes it to Garhwal but maintains that the date is *circa* 1800.

Pl. XXIX, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) is 'pre-Kangra' *kalam* at Guler *circa* 1760.

Pl. XXXII would, according to Archer (*Garhwal Painting*) belong to Garhwal *circa* 1775 A.D. as he attributes the companion painting 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati' to the same school and date. According to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) also it belongs to Garhwal but not earlier than *circa* 1800 A.D. He further states that it is quite impossible that a mediocre artist like Molarām should have painted this masterpiece as has been suggested by Mukandi Lal on the basis that Balak Ram, the grandson of Molarām, attributed this painting to his grandfather.

Pl. XXXV is ascribed by Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) to the *Bhāgavata* type of the Kangra *kalam*, 1780-1800.

Pl. XXXVII is ascribed by Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) to the Kangra *kalam*. He gives the date as *circa* 1800. It is more likely to be Tira Sujanpur than Guler.

Pl. XXXVIII is ascribed by Archer (*Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*) to Guler *circa* 1770. Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) also ascribes it to Guler but dates it to the end of Prakash Chand's reign *circa* 1790.

Pl. XLII is ascribed by Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) to the late Kangra *kalam*, the date given being *circa* 1825.

Pl. LII, according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) is not a Hill school painting. He supports Gangoly's ascription of it as belonging to the Mughal school and dates it mid-18th century.

The following plates from Gangoly's book have not been dealt with by Randhawa.

(1) Pl. VI (*Guṇagarvitā*) labelled Jaipur school by Gangoly, is ascribed by Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) to the Kangra *kalam*, about 1800. The idiom is probably that of Garhwal.

(2) Pl. VIII, (*Tamvula Seva*) is ascribed by Gangoly to the Jaipur school. Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) ascribes it to the 'Pre-Kangra' school *circa* 1760. Recently Gangoly in the *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum* Vol. X-XI (1953-55) has himself recognised it to be a Pahārī painting and not an example of the Jaipur school as he once thought. It must not be forgotten that Gangoly's book was a pioneer work.

(3) Pl. XIII (*A Lady's Bath*) ascribed by Gangoly to Jammu, is ascribed by Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) to the Basohli *kalam* of the post-Kirpāl Pāl period (1695-1730) and dated not later than 1730. Coomaraswamy, who reproduced it in his *Rajput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Pl. 32 B, ascribed it to the late 18th century. But that is an impossible date.

(4) Pl. XXVIII (Ladies Bathing) is ascribed by Gangoly to Kangra. Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) also ascribes it to the Kangra *kalam*, about 1800. It is probably the Garhwal idiom of the Kangra *kalam*.

(5) Pl. XXXIII (*Śiva* and *Pārvatī*) is ascribed by Gangoly to the Kangra school. Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) ascribes it to the 'pre-Kangra' *kalam*, about 1765-1775.

(6) Pl. XXXVI (*Yaśoda and Krishṇa*) is ascribed by Gangoly to Kangra. According to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) it belongs to the Guler school of the Prakāsh Chand period (1773-1790).

(7) Pl. XLIII (*Sheltering from the Rain*) is ascribed by Gangoly to the school of Kangra while Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) definitely ascribes it to Garhwal *circa* 1800.

(8) Pl. XLV (*Gaicharan Lila*) and Pl. XLVI (*Kaliya Damana*) are ascribed to Kangra but according to Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) they both belong to Garhwal *circa* 1800.

(9) Pl. XLVII (*Holi Līla*) is ascribed by Gangoly to the Kangra *kalam* while Khandalavala (*Pahārī Miniature Painting*) ascribes it to the late 'pre-Kangra' phase or very early Kangra *kalam* at Guler (1765-1775). Archer (*Kangra Painting*) ascribes it as Kangra *circa* 1780.

NEW BUDDHIST FINDS FROM MATHURA

K. D. BAJPAI

SCULPTURES INCLUDING SIGNED IMAGES

DURING the last winter when digging operations were being conducted on the western skirts of Mathura town for construction of a by-pass for the Delhi-Bombay Highway, a collection of eleven Buddhist sculptures, all in a perfect state of preservation, was obtained at a site called Sarai Azampur, about three miles northwest of Mathura. From this ancient site several Buddhist relics, including fragmentary railing pillars, had already been acquired for the Mathura Museum, attesting thereby to the existence of a Buddhist establishment on the site during the early centuries of the Christian era. The acquisition of the new pieces marks an unusual chance discovery of the year. These finds came from a depth of only two to three feet from the surface and were obtained in two lots of six and five respectively from an area of about 20 × 15 feet. Thanks are due to Sri C. P. Malaviya, the District Engineer, P.W.D., Mathura, who not only directed the digging very carefully, but also was good enough to present the relics, almost all in very good condition, to the Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

The new finds can be classified as follows :—

(*a*) *Standing Bodhisattva Figures* holding lotus garlands—four statues (Museum Nos. 4237, 4238, 4243 and 4244).

(*b*) *Seated Buddha Figures* (Museum Nos. 4240, 4241 and 4247).

(*c*) *Seated Image of Maitreya* (Museum No. 4246).

(*d*) *Buddha's Crown* (Museum Nos. 4239 and 4245).

(*e*) *Architectural piece* with a lion-rider (Museum No. 4242).

They are described below :—

(1) *Bodhisattva* (No. 4237, ht. 3′ 5″)—Pl. XLV, Fig. 1. In this standing figure, the Bodhisattva holds a heavy lotus garland in the right hand and a basket full of flowers in the left. He wears a crown, heavy earrings, torque, necklace, armlets and bracelets. The upper garment (*uttarīya*) falling over the left shoulder rests on the left hand. The mode of wearing the lower garment (*dhotī*) is similar to other Kushāṇa statues of Mathura. It is tied with a waist-band. The image was broken in two parts, which have now been joined together. There is a simple halo at the back, above which is a rough tenon for fixing up the figure. Stylistically this piece can be assigned to the later half of the 2nd century A.D.

(2) *Bodhisattva* (No. 4238, ht. 3′ 2″)—Pl. XLV, Fig. 2. This is similar to No. 4237. The only remarkable addition is the Brāhmī inscription on its pedestal reading '*Vishṇunā*'. This presumably refers to the name of the sculptor Vishṇu. The paleography assigns it to the second half of the 2nd century A.D.

Fig. 1. *Bodhisattva* from Sarai Azampur near Mathura. Mathura red sandstone. Latter half of 2nd century A.D. Ht. 3′ 5″. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 2. *Bodhisattva* from Sarai Azampur near Mathura. By the sculptor Vishṇu. Mathura red sandstone. Second half of the 2nd century A.D. Ht. 3′ 2″. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 3 a and b. Seated Buddha figures. From Sarai Azampur near Mathura. (Left) By the sculptor Vishṇu. Mathura red sandstone. *Circa* 200 A.D. 1′×1′. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 4. Lion-rider. Architectural fragment from Sarai Azampur near Mathura. Mathura red sandstone. Ht. 1′2″, length. 2′ 7½″. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 5. Couple in adoration. Detail of Pl. XLVII. Fig. 8. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opposite Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 6. *Bodhisattva* from Sarai Azampur near Mathura. Mathura red sandstone. Ht. 1′ 6″. *Circa* 200 A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 7 a and b. Buddha's crowns, from Sarai Azampur near Mathura. By the sculptor Simhasya. Mathura red sandstone. 1′×1′. Latter half of 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 8. Pillar, fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opposite Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. Ht. 16′. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 9. Pillar, fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa*, opposite Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. Ht. 11′ 8″. 2nd century AD. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 11. *Chaitya*-window detail from a coping stone. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opposite Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 10. Couple in adoration. Panel detail of Pl. XLVII. Fig. 8. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opposite Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 12. Lotus creeper detail from Pl. XLVII. Fig. 9. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opp. Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 13. Asoka creeper detail from Pl. XLVII. Fig. 9. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opp. Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum.

Fig. 14. Prince in adoration. Panel detail of Pl. XLVII, Fig. 8. Fragment of a Buddhist *stūpa* opp. Chaurasi Tila, near Mathura. 2nd Century A.D. Mathura Museum.

(3) *Bodhisattva* (No. 4243, ht. 3′ 2″).—Similar to the above figure. No inscription on pedestal.

(4) *Bodhisattva* (No. 4244, ht. 1′ 6″)—Pl. XLVI, Fig. 6. The style of this figure is the same but it is much smaller in size. The pedestal bears one Brāhmī letter '*Su*'. It appears there were a few more letters before '*Su*', which have been obliterated. The surface of the pedestal is uneven. Period about 200 A.D.

(5) *Seated Buddha Figure* (No. 4240, 1′ × 1′)—Pl. XLV, Fig. 3b. Buddha is shown seated in *padmāsana* inside a niche. His right hand is in the *abhayamudrā*, while the left rests on the right foot. The *uttarīya* is *ekāṁsika*, covering only the left shoulder. There is an *ūrṇā* mark between the eye-brows and *ushṇīsha* on the head. Behind the head is a scalloped halo. Outside the niche are shown two complete pillars, one on each side. Period about 200 A.D.

(6) *Seated Buddha* (No. 4241, 1′ × 1′)—Pl. XLV, Fig. 3a. Here Buddha is similar to No. 4240 above. The left hand, instead of holding the right foot, holds part of the upper garments (*uttarīya*), which covers both the shoulders (*ubhayāṁsika*). The facial expression here is lovelier than in the previous figure. There is a scalloped halo behind the head. It is marked by three circular bands. Outside the niche are pillars similar to those in No. 4240. On the pedestal are incised two Brāhmī letters '*Vishṇu*'. The third letter '*nā*' is damaged. Period about 200 A.D.

(7) *Seated Buddha* (No. 4247, 1′ × 1′)—Similar to No. 4241 and same period. There is no inscription on the pedestal.

(8) *Seated Image of Maitreya* (No. 4246, 1′ × 1′)—Bodhisattva Maitreya is shown seated in *padmāsana* inside a niche. His right hand is raised in the *abhayamudrā*, while in the left he holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. He wears earrings, necklace, torque and bracelets. The halo behind the head is simple and bears scallop marks. On the pedestal are three Brāhmī letters '*Vishṇunā*'. Period about 200 A.D.

(9) *Buddha's Crown* (No. 4239, 1′×1′)—Pl. XLVI, Fig. 7a and b. The ornamental crown of the Buddha rests between two pilasters. The crown bears rosettes and bead designs. On the pedestal is the Brāhmī inscription '*Siṁhasya*' (=of Siṁha). The continuation of carving the Buddha's crown along with his anthropomorphic form indicates that his symbolic representation continued at Mathura much after the time of the carving of his early statues in the 1st century A.D. Period later half of the 2nd century A.D.

(10) *Buddha's Crown* (No. 4245, 1′×1′)—Pl. XLVI, Fig. 7a and b. Similar to No. 4239 and same period. The Brāhmī inscription '*Siṁhasya*' is very clear.

(11) *Lion-rider*. (No. 4242, height 1′ 2″, length 2′ 7½″)—Pl. XLVI, Fig. 4. This architectural piece shows a male figure riding on a lion. He holds the reins in both hands and wears an ornamental turban bound with a fillet. The lion is winged like several other figures in Mathura art (cf. No. 491, 492, 1504 and 3625 in the Mathura Museum). The carving resembles the

Persepolitan style. The back half portion is uncarved, which shows that it was attached to some structure and remained covered.

All the pieces described above are made of the usual spotted red sandstone of Mathura. Besides revealing the existence of a Buddhist monument on the site of the present Azampur Sarai, these finds have brought to light the names of two sculptors, Vishṇu and Siṁha, who can be credited with the carving of a number of images of good workmanship.

THREE NEW ARCHITECTURAL PIECES

Recently two big upright pillars and one coping stone, all belonging to a Buddhist *stūpa* of the 2nd century A.D. have been discovered while digging for the by-pass opposite Chaurasi Tila of the Jains. The first pillar (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 8) is the biggest Buddhist architectural piece so far discovered in Mathura. It measures 16 feet and is carved on three sides. The front is decorated with a long palm-leaf design, running throughout in a zigzag manner. It is embossed with the figures of dancing peacocks. The other two adjacent sides are divided into eight panels each. The lowermost panels show a princely figure standing in adoration (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 14). By his side stands a dwarfish figure holding a basket of flowers on his head. The uppermost panels show Buddha seated on a high pedestal. Two attendants are shown one on each side. The intervening panels bear a male and a female figure in the posture of adoration (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 5, and Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 10). These couples are shown in the most attractive form and are very well preserved on one of the two sides.

The second pillar (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 9) was broken in two. The parts have now been joined together. This pillar measuring 11′ 8″ is carved on two sides. The obverse shows at the bottom the full vase (*pūrṇaghaṭa*) from which a lotus creeper is seen emerging (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 12). The reverse similarly shows an Aśoka creeper sprouting forth from the *pūrṇaghaṭa* (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 13). These creeper-motifs are very attractively designed.[1] The top of the pillar is adorned with winged lion figures.

The third piece is a coping stone measuring 10 feet. On the front and back it contains *chaitya*-windows, bearing the upper parts of the figures of amorous couples (Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 11). The faces of the couples bear remarkable expressions.

These antiquities, undoubtedly, are among the outstanding discoveries from Mathura during the year. They have been acquired for the Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

Photographs : Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

[1] A similar doorjamb (ht. 7′ 6″) was found in the ruins of Mora village, about seven miles west of Mathura. See V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, Allahabad 1901, p. 28, Pl. XXVI. It has also been published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. V (October, 1893), No. 44, Pl. 87. The pillar bears on one side the vine-creeper motif sprouting from the novel of a standing corpulent male *yaksha* figure while on the other side is seen the lotus creeper emerging from the mouth of a crocodile. The uppermost part of the pillar is broken.

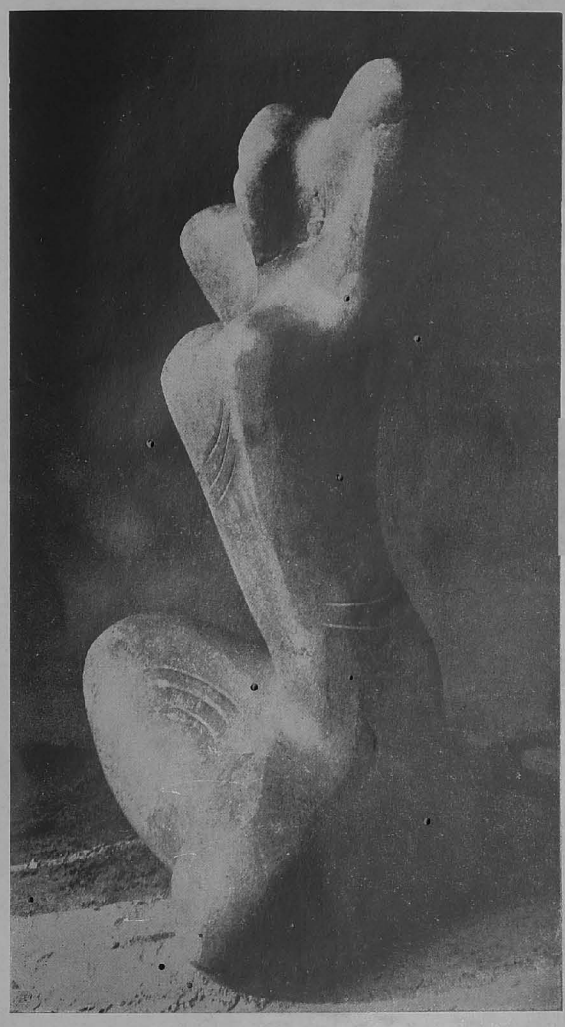

Fig. 1. *Seated Figure*, by Sankho Chaudhuri. Limestone. 1949. Ht. 2′ 4″.

Fig. 2. *Toilet*, by Sankho Chaudhuri. Black zebra. Ht. 2′ 9″.

Fig. 3. *Woodcarving*, by Sankho Chaudhuri. Teak. 1956.

Fig. 4. *Portrait of a Lady*, by Sankho Chaudhuri. Cast stone. 1956.

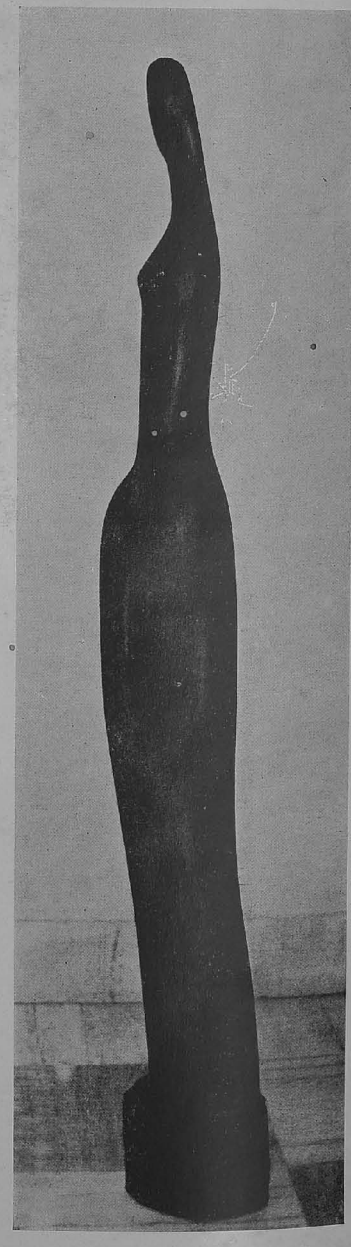

Fig. 5. *Carving*, by Sankho Chaudhuri, Indian ebony. 1955.

THE SCULPTURE OF SANKHO CHAUDHURI

S. A. KRISHNAN

'GREATNESS is another question and not wholly an aesthetic one.' It is, therefore, of small interest to us to determine this question while estimating the work of Sankho Chaudhuri. But there is no denying the fact that his art has a force that must be reckoned with and that the philosophy which sustains it is a compelling one.

The art of sculpture is understood the world over with a strong bias towards literary and representational contents. In India, because of the intimate association of sculpture with architecture and because of the stronger, conventional attitude to art in general (religious and social) it becomes even more difficult for us to comprehend the specific nature of sculpture and more so the modern interpretation of it. We appear to have lost sight of the basic aesthetic principles governing the art of sculpture. One has, therefore, to rid oneself of this bias and limitation imposed on us, before attempting to see some meaning in modern sculpture which has not had its last say yet. Such a revaluation becomes all the more urgent if one braves to pass verdict on a young and growing sculptor such as Sankho Chaudhuri.

Sankho Chaudhuri is a brilliant pupil of that great sculptor, Ram Kinker Baij of Santiniketan. One might trace his disregard of the representational and naturalistic element to the latter. He might have likewise fortified his ideas about the significance of space and volume in sculpture at the same fount.

This apprenticeship with Ram Kinker Baij has been, in the artist's own words, his 'greatest inspiration'. Later, he was a student at the Anglo-French Art Centre in London. For a while, he also worked with Henges of the Royal College of Art. What Sankho Chaudhuri benefitted in Europe is best summed up by him again: 'It awakened in me a new understanding of materials. I realised that the various materials used by the sculptor had their intrinsic and specific quality and character which finally determined the life and expression of the sculpture. This character had effect on the very structure of the sculpture, as the material invariably controlled the flow and development of the embryonic image and deeply governed the processing and shaping of it.' It is this understanding of the nature and scope of the materials that contribute to the success of most of Sankho Chaudhuri's sculptures.

Our approach to modern sculpture is made difficult by yet another factor — the flight towards extreme non-objectivity which is fast becoming a tendency. I am not of the view that a good sculpture must of necessity retain some semblance to objective imagery. But the non-objective character must bear a genuine feeling and not a stamp of overt intellectual deliberation. The argument whether it is possible to extend a work of sculpture, or any work of art, to the logical extremes of non-objectivity cannot be initiated here. Every work of art embodies a content

of some kind. Much of the quarrel in regard to the validity of modern sculpture, and modern art, is caused out of the basic misconception and limited understanding of content, form, volume and design.

Sankho Chaudhuri reveals an intense awareness of the supremacy of space and volume as the most significant aspects of sculpture. But he is not an extremist. There is no evidence in his work of any attempt at conscious subordination of the content to the overall design of the sculpture. This attitude has no didactic or sentimental import. It is astonishingly simple. This is one of the most praiseworthy features of Sankho Chaudhuri's work, which is never sentimental although it has a grace which is hardly seen in the work of any other contemporary Indian sculptor.

Sankho Chaudhuri has been known for long for his work in wood and stone. His simple compositions, like 'Seated Figure' (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 1) has a quality which impresses one instantaneously. There is something very subtle in the way he uses the natural grains of the stone or wood as for example in 'Toilet' (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 2). The curves and contours of his sculptures have a fullness and grace which has now become a well-known characteristic of Sankho Chaudhuri's art. He is an excellent sculptor not only in stone but also in wood. 'Wood Carving' (Pl. L, Fig. 3) and 'Carving' (Pl. L, Fig. 5) are some of the finest works he has produced so far.

Sankho Chaudhuri has been experimenting seriously with metal for some time.

The art of sculpture in contemporary India is in as much a confused state as painting and is as young. The sculptors are legion but when we bring the number down after a critical enquiry we are left with only a handful in whose work we may justifiably hope to see the promised fulfilment of contemporary sculpture. Sankho Chaudhuri is an outstanding member of this small group and we may say without any exaggeration that his work is very highly regarded and looked for with much expectation.

NINTH ROCK EDICT OF THE MAURYA KING AŚOKA AT SOPARA, BOMBAY STATE

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI

THE Aśokan edicts are of an almost purely religious character and have been found throughout the length and breadth of Aśoka's empire. The rock edicts were engraved along the very confines of his territories. Thus in the west they are found at Girnar in the Kathiawar peninsula and at Sopara on the Bombay Coast; in the south in the Rainchur district of the Nizam's former dominions, in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State and in the Kurnol district of the Āndhra State; in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts; and in the north at Shahbazgarh and Mansehra in the Peshwar and Hazara districts and at Kalsi in the Dehra Dun district.

In 1892 Bhagavanlal Indraji discovered the eighth rock edict (Pl. LI, Fig. 1) of Aśoka at Sopara, an ancient town in the Bassein *taluka* of the Thana district, Bombay. The German Indologist Dr. E. Hultzsch, who edited the *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, remarked in connection with the Bombay-Sopara eighth rock edict of Aśoka that the complete set of Aśoka's fourteen rock edicts must have been engraved near Sopara, as at Girnar and other places. This statement is now confirmed by the discovery of the ninth rock edict (Pl. LI, Fig. 2) at Sopara.

Indraji found the eighth rock edict near the Bhatela pond, east of Sopara town. N. A. Gore, librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, discovered the ninth rock edict in Bhuigaum village in January, 1956. Both edicts are engraved on blocks of basalt, and both are fragmentary. They are now housed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The inscription, written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī alphabet, occupies an area of 2′ 3″×2′ and runs to twelve lines. A noteworthy feature is the use of *r* throughout in place of *l*.

In the present edict the king says that men practise various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter, or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey. In the opinion of the king these ceremonies bear little fruit. But the following religious practices bear much fruit, viz. proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals and liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas.

TEXT

1 (*A*) *Devānāṁpiye Piyadasi raja evaṁ*

2 *āha* (*B*) *Jane uchāvuchaṁ maṁgaram karati*

3 *ābādhasi avāhasi vivāhasi pajupadāye pavasa-*

4 *si etāye aṁnaye cha edisāye jane bahū ma[ṁga]raṁ kara-*

5 *ti (C) eta chu abaka-janika bahū cha bahūvidha cha khudaṁ cha*
6 *nitrathaṁ cha maṁgaraṁ karati (D) se kaṭaviye cheva kho maṁ-*
7 *garaṁ (E) apapharaṁ cha kho esha (F) iyaṁ cha kho mahapharaṁ e dhaṁ-*
8 *ma maṁgare (G) tata iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi samiyapaṭi-*
9 *pati gurunaṁ apachiti pānānaṁ sa[yamo] [bamhaṇa-]*
10 *samaṇānaṁ dānaṁ esa aṁne cha edise dhaṁma maṁ-*
11 *[garaṁ nāma (H) se va]taviya pitinā pi putena pi*
12 . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

A King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

B Men perform various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child, (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men perform many ceremonies.

C But in such (cases) mothers and wives perform many and various trifling and useless ceremonies.

D Now, ceremonies should certainly be performed.

E But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

F The following, however, bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

G The following (are included), in this (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

H Therefore a father, or a son.....

Photographs: Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology (Government of India).

Fig. 1. Eighth rock edict of Aśoka. Sopara (Bombay State). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

Fig. 2. Ninth rock edict of Aśoka. Sopara (Bombay State). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

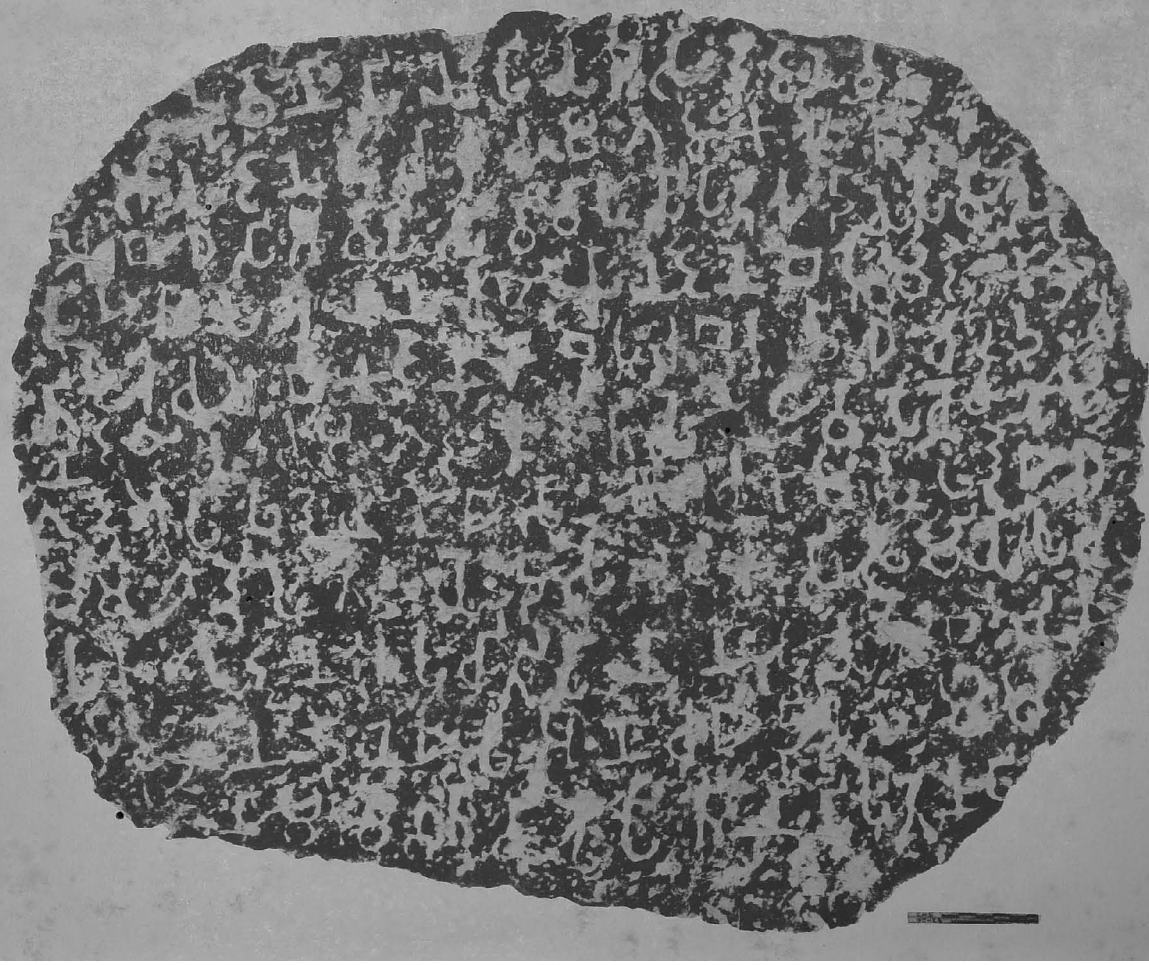

Fig. 1. Skånda-Kārttikeya. Nagar.

Fig. 2. Six-handed Skanda-Kārttikeya. Kakuni, 2″×1½′. Now in the Museum and Saraswati Bhandar, Kotah.

SKANDA-KĀRTTIKEYA IN SCULPTURES FROM RAJASTHAN

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE Yaudheyas, who inhabited northeastern Rajasthan in the early centuries of the Christian era, were ardent devotees of Skanda-Kumāra. The reverse of a few coins of these people even depict a six-headed goddess who has been identified as Shashṭhī or Devasenā —the consort of Skanda.[1] An inscription of V.S. 718 (661 A.D.) from Nagda, now preserved in the Udaipur Museum, praises Skanda thus : 'His strength was never broken and he assailed his wild adversaries like Śiva's son Skanda, whom Indra had chosen for his general, whose spear is never broken and who rides on a peacock.'[2] A much later inscription of V.S. 1174 (1117 A.D.) from Jalor describes him as the ' commander-in-chief of the army of gods.'[3]

SKANDA FROM NAGAR (KARKOṬA-NAGARA)—(Pl. LII, Fig. 1)

In this beautiful sculpture, a two-handed Skanda is shown seated on a peacock. He holds a spear in the left hand, the right hand being damaged. The typical *ekāvalī* round the neck is decorated with a pendant. The details of this sculpture may be compared to the well-known image now preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Our hitherto unpublished image from Nagar may thus be taken to be the earliest example of Skanda so far discovered from Rajasthan. The influence of Gupta traditions is evident. The sculpture is weatherbeaten.

KĀRTTIKEYA IN AN ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA SCULPTURE

The Archaeological Museum at Jhalawar has an interesting early medieval sculpture of Ardhanārīśvara which shows a two-handed Skanda standing in front of his *vāhana*, the peacock.[4] Here he is seen with a typical Gupta headdress quite close to the left half of the image represented by Pārvatī, also known as Skandamātā. The sculpture may even be late Gupta.

GODDESS KAUMĀRĪ

The rock-cut statues in front of the railway station at Mandor (near Jodhpur), popularly known as the Aṣṭamātṛikās in the company of Gaṇapati, also include a figure of a two-handed Kaumārī. This female deity, the sixth from the left, has up till now been identified as Brahmāṇī,[5] the

1 Cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. V, Bombay, pp. 29 ff.; *Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay 1953, pp. 166-7.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, p. 30 ; *Śivātmajo-khaṇḍita-śaktisampada-dhuryah samākrānta-bhujaṅgaśatruh. Tenendravat Skanda iva praṇetā vrito.*

3 *Senānīriva Śāmbhoh ; Indian Antiquary*, Vol. lxii, p. 41.

4 Sculpture No. 88. Cf. *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. IX, Bombay 1953, Pl. XI, for the depiction of Skandamātā theme in early sculptures of Western India.

5 This was previously my opinion also. Cf. my notes in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, December 1953, pp. 393-5 ; *Brahma Vidyā*, Adyar, XX (1-2), pp. 67-8.

consort of Brahmā. But a careful analysis of the bird appearing behind her suggests instead that she is Kaumārī and that the bird is not a swan but a peacock (*mayūra*). In addition, the fifth figure is not that of goddess, but a four-handed Śiva in a dancing pose. Thus we find Kaumārī appearing to the left of Śiva and Māheśī to the right.[1] The inscription of V.S. 742 (685 A.D.) carved in the rock-cut stepwell below also invokes Lord Śiva and it appears that these nine figures (Gaṇapati, Śiva and seven goddesses) were perhaps sculptured at the time of the opening ceremony of this early stepwell. This early image of Kaumārī is very interesting from an iconographic point of view.

An early medieval (8th-9th century A.D.) relief from Abaneri, now perserved in the museum at Amber, also depicts a dancing Śiva and divine mothers.[2] Here the fifth figure (from the left) is that of Kaumārī, holding a cock in the right hand. The absence of the peacock is interesting here. No independent sculptures of Kārttikeya have as yet been found at Mandor and Abaneri.

A SCULPTURE OF KĀRTTIKEYA FROM BAIRAT—(P. 112).

The Central Museum at Jaipur preserves a huge stone block representing a three-faced Skanda on his *vāhana* (a peacock) appearing below.[3] Some of the hands of the deity are completely broken but a cock and a shield held in the left hands are quite clear. The remnants of a *śakti* in the right upper hand are equally interesting. Skanda wears an *ekāvalī* round the neck. The peacock below turns its neck towards the deity and the pose of bird and rider adds to the attractiveness of the sculpture. We may also note a halo of serpent hoods behind the head of Kumāra; flying *gandharvas* with garlands in their hands and *makaravyālas* on either side of the deity. Just below the *vyālas* on either side is seen a group composed of a standing bearded *sādhu*[4] with a garland in his right hand and a seated hermit with knees tied by the thread popularly known as *jānubandha*. The dress and ornaments of the flying *gandharvas* suggest the influence of Gupta art traditions.

A RELIEF OF KĀRTTIKEYA FROM KAKUNI, NEAR KOTAH—(Pl. LII, Fig.2)

A red sandstone relief,[5] now preserved in the Museum and Saraswati Bhandar at Kotah, is another important and finely sculptured specimen of the early medieval art of the region. It has remained unpublished so far and presents a six-handed Kārttikeya in an elegant pose. The

1 Māheśī is two-handed and stands before a bull. It will now be proper to call the Mandora rock-cut statues (excluding Gaṇeśa) as 'Dancing Śiva in the company of Saptamātrikās'.

2 R. C. Agrawala, 'Sculptures from Abaneri,' *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, p. 133.

3 It appears to have been originally used in the outer portion of an ancient temple at Bairat (i.e. Virāṭapura). I am thankful to S.P. Srivastava, Director, Archaeology and Museums, Jaipur, for the photograph. The depiction of three-faced Skanda can also be noticed in the temple of Ranachhoḍarāyajī at Kheda, near Jodhpur; *Progress Report Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, Poona 1912, p. 56.
Cf. T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II (2), Madras, pp. 415 for the faces of Kārttikeya in sculptures and literary texts.

4 Putting on a *laṅgoṭā* (i.e. a small piece of cloth tied to the waist girdle) as a nether garment that suits the context well.

5 Measuring about 2′ × 1½′. It also served the purpose of a niche in some Brahmanical temples of the locality.

deity is seated on his peacock, which he is feeding with a ball of sweets held in the lowermost left hand. Kārttikeya holds a bow and a shield in the remaining left hands. His right hands bear a sword and *śakti* (?) while a quiver of arrows hangs behind his right shoulder.[1] The standing females on either side of Skanda are also attractively poised.

RECENT DISCOVERIES

During my exploratory tours in southwestern Rajasthan I have been able to discover more than two dozen sculptures of dark-blue schist and resembling the interesting specimens of the late-Gupta period from Samalaji (Idar), Roda and Devani Mori, a detailed note on which will be published shortly. Of these, the image of standing Skanda (about 2″ high) from 'Hathai'[2] and sculptures of Kaumārī and Skandamātā from 'Anjhara' are quite unique in the realm of the plastic art of the region. The well preserved statue of Harihara at Bedla (near Udaipur), the Jaina Kubera from Bansi and Aīndrī from Jagat, now preserved in the Udaipur Museum, are representative examples of this particular art. (Cf. my paper in *Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay 1956.) The material in which these images are carved is available in large quantity even today, and it is quite possible that the images of the Idar group were manufactured in Dungarpur district of Rajasthan and thence taken to various places in Western India. Equally interesting is the early medieval stone image of a four-handed Kaumārī from 'Mālgāon' (near Sirohi) and now preserved in the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer (No. 323). In this particular relief, the goddess is shown in the seated pose and the bird can be understood both as a cock and peacock.

1 All the *āyudhas* (weapons) are worthy of Kārttikeya who is regarded as the tutelary deity of war.

2 The two-armed deity holds the *śakti* in the left hand and a citron fruit in the right one. His *vāhana* (i.e. a peacock) appears near the left leg. It is a well preserved image and the cock is conspicuous by its absence. The image is in no way inferior to the contemporary relief of *stānaka* Kārttikeya from Samalaji. Cf. *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. IX, Bombay 1953, Pl. XV, figs. 30 and 30A.

Three-faced Skanda. Bairat. Now in the Central Museum, Jaipur. See p. 110.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE :

A Retrospective View of the National Exhibition of Art

THE Third National Exhibition of Art, 1957, organised by the Lalit Kalā Akadami, was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, in the galleries of Jaipur House, New Delhi, on January 23, 1957.

It might have been realised by the visitor to the second and third exhibitions that there was no material difference between them, except for a few details. Indeed, there was very much in common between the two in so far as they presented the spirit and form of contemporary Indian art almost identically. The exhibitions together portrayed the contemporary scene focusing attention on both its dark and bright areas, its merits and defects.

The misgivings that may have arisen in the mind of the inquiring visitor to the Second National Exhibition were somewhat confirmed by the 1957 Exhibition. A year is much too short a period for anything spectacular to happen or for any noticeable changes to occur in the work of our artists. The period is again inconsequential to fear any worsening of the few unwelcome tendencies that have inevitably formed a characteristic of contemporary Indian art. The absence of the work of a well-known artist in one exhibition or the emergence of an unknown one in another does not change the essential character of the exhibition. Likewise, it may be observed, the awards made by the Akadami during the two years do not add to or alter the over-all scene.

What is a National Exhibition of Art ? Do we imply merely the presence of works produced by nationals of the country or do we suggest that there is a spirit in our art which might be described as essentially Indian and, therefore, national ? If there is such a spirit, what can that be ? All these questions are highly involved and lend themselves to easy misinterpretation and wrong conclusions. There is no limit to the controversy on the meaning and significance of the term 'contemporary' and it has provided occasions for indulgence in excesses.

What is national ? This is a basic question and it would not profit anyone to brush it aside. And is the National Exhibition of Art really National ? There cannot be any definite answers to these questions. Yet one has to answer these questions, however inconclusively, before forming an opinion on the Akadami's efforts.

In determining the nature and scope of the National Exhibition the Akadami has adapted a policy of catholicity which permits the National Exhibition to include all forms of art produced by artists today. The Akadami has, in its three National Exhibitions, avowedly tried to display such works which, in the opinion of its jury, represented the artistic talent of the country as a whole. Unfortunately the result has not been wholly satisfactory or significant. We have a plethora of styles, from the purely academic to the most unconventional and abstract ; from

the purely imitative and sentimental to the most unorthodox, undigested modernism. It is true that the Akadami cannot take sides with any particular school of painting. Nor can it act in any manner which will perforce interpret or justify a particular school of painting. Although such a policy might appear to be safe and reasonable, it entails drawbacks, the most important of which is the absence of a sense of direction. It is said of its detractors that the Akadami has been doing grandly what art societies and associations have been doing all these years. That is not quite untrue. The Akadami has to find out an alternative, in line with its policy of catholicity, which will succeed in giving a really significant portrayal of the contemporary artistic scene.

Our first impression after visiting the three National Exhibitions (this is generally true of any similar exhibitions organised today in India) was that contemporary Indian art has not yet found its roots. It is still in its infancy and has a long way to go before reaching adolescence. It has no definite form or character, national or otherwise. There was no recognisable, living contact with our artistic tradition. We must admit that our art today is not running alongside the main current of our tradition. I am not suggesting that our artists are indifferent to our heritage. But one is compelled to regard this heritage, as just one more major source of inspiration and, unfortunately, even this inspiration rests on flimsy foundations. It is not a living inspiration.

Let us now inquire into the nature of the various forces that have given a character to contemporary Indian art. What are the styles and schools of thought that go to make this admittedly confusing canvas ?

Right at the beginning, we have the academic painters and sculptors who hardly strive for anything beyond intricate imitation. We might as well treat this as the most un-Indian aspect of contemporary Indian art. Immediately in its wake, there followed a near revolution which even those who decry it admit it to be a chapter of consequence in contemporary Indian art. This revivalist school inspired an entire generation of Indian artists and had a unique but limited mission which it has fulfilled more or less successfully. At a time when our artists were about to be involved in an imitative and unspiritual form of art, the illustrious pioneers of the revivalist school gave a sense of direction to our artists, leading them back to our own tradition and to that of the East in general. And it was all right in the beginning. But the original inspiration flagged and the subsequent practitioners of the style evolved a form of art which has often tended towards the sentimental. It failed to emerge anew as a living force or as a continuity of our tradition and, what is more, it lost touch with the contemporary world.

Then came an art which was directly inspired by the artistic traditions of our indigenous artists and craftsmen. It marked a welcome change having in the background the doyen of this school — Jamini Roy. Again, the original models which inspired this urban version of folk

PLATE G. *Rasikapriyā*, by Jeram Patel. Awarded prize at 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

art were worked by artists and craftsmen who maintained the particular tradition in their own humble, unsophisticated way. The artists from the city denuded it of its naive charm and gave it, instead, a cogitated character. It is, therefore, torn from its roots and is too often bereft of the vitality.

What about the artists trying to bring back tradition in a much too obvious and ill-fitting new garb ? This style has, again, gained currently more as a fashion than as a convincing, enduring force. These artists appear to have failed to realise that tradition does not permit blind re-creation and that the past cannot be repeated. Every expression of art is a cognisable expression of a particular society and people, true only in the light of a specific philosophy and background of thought. At its best, therefore, this school reveals a style which presents feebly some glorious phase of the past and, at its worst, it descends invariably to imitation.

And lastly there are the various modernistic groups usually influencing the trends of European art.

This is the overall picture provided by the three National Exhibitions. The case appears to be hopeless and yet we have reason to hope, for there are some healthy signs. The search for a solution, may be haphazard, is there. It is genuine and must bear fruit. Our art today is in a transitional stage.

Our artists find themselves in an expanded world confronted by new forces, new art forms and a new philosophy of art. They are in a dilemma between the great, hoary past and the young modern world which baffles them with its fresh brilliance. One must regard this predicament as an inevitable crisis which must give way to a period of calm imagination and activity.

The youngest of the forces activating contemporary Indian art is the modern school. It is also admittedly the most formidable contemporary force. While the inspiration and philosophy of modern art may have come largely from the West, it is accepted that it is much too complicated to bear ascription to any one particular region. It is a child of the modern age, which is above all an age of universalism in all respects and particularly so, in matters of art. It has a philosophy, the sources of which have to be sought far and wide, and a catholicity which defies the geographic or strictly national conception of art. Being eclectic in its spirit and form it owns the whole world as its domain. In short, it fits in with the spirit of the age. It has opened art to limitless possibilities and daring. Is it of the West or of the East ; is it old or new ? No one can say conclusively.

This new conception of art is acquiring significance day by day in the world of contemporary Indian art. It has captured the imagination of the largest number of our talented artists, despite the fact that its eclectic nature and its opposition to parochialism have come in for much unintelligent and unkind criticism. Here we have the nucleus of a generation of artists who might make a rich contribution to Indian art. The unlimited variety of the works offered

Fig. 1. *Load*, by N. S. Bendre. Exhibited at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 2. *Chabina*, by H. A. Gade. Exhibited at the 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 3. *Back with the Bride,* by Khitin Chakraborty. Exhibited at the 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 5. *Bahar,* by K. Rajiah. Exhibited at the 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 4. *Steps towards Devotion,* by K. Rajiah. Exhibited at the 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 6. *Song of Field,* by K. K. Hebbar. Awarded prize at 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 7. *Divine Love*, by A. A. Almelkar. Awarded prize at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 8. *Peace* by Santosh. Awarded prize at 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 9. *Gita Govinda*, by Laxman Pai. Exhibited at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 10. *Buffalo Boy*, by Dinkar R. Kowshik. Exhibited at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

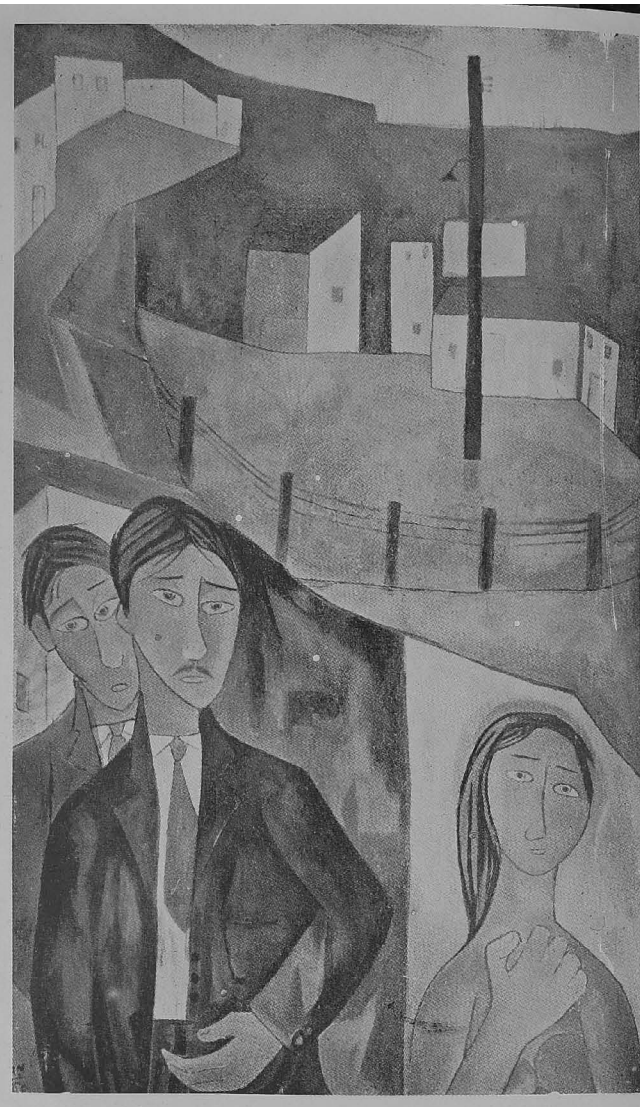

Fig. 11. *Sad Town*, by Ram Kumar. Awarded prize at 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 12. *Rhythm*, by K.K. Hebbar. Awarded prize at 1956 National Exhibition of Art

Fig. 13. *Malabar Peasant Woman with Child*, by K. C. S. Paniker. Exhibited at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

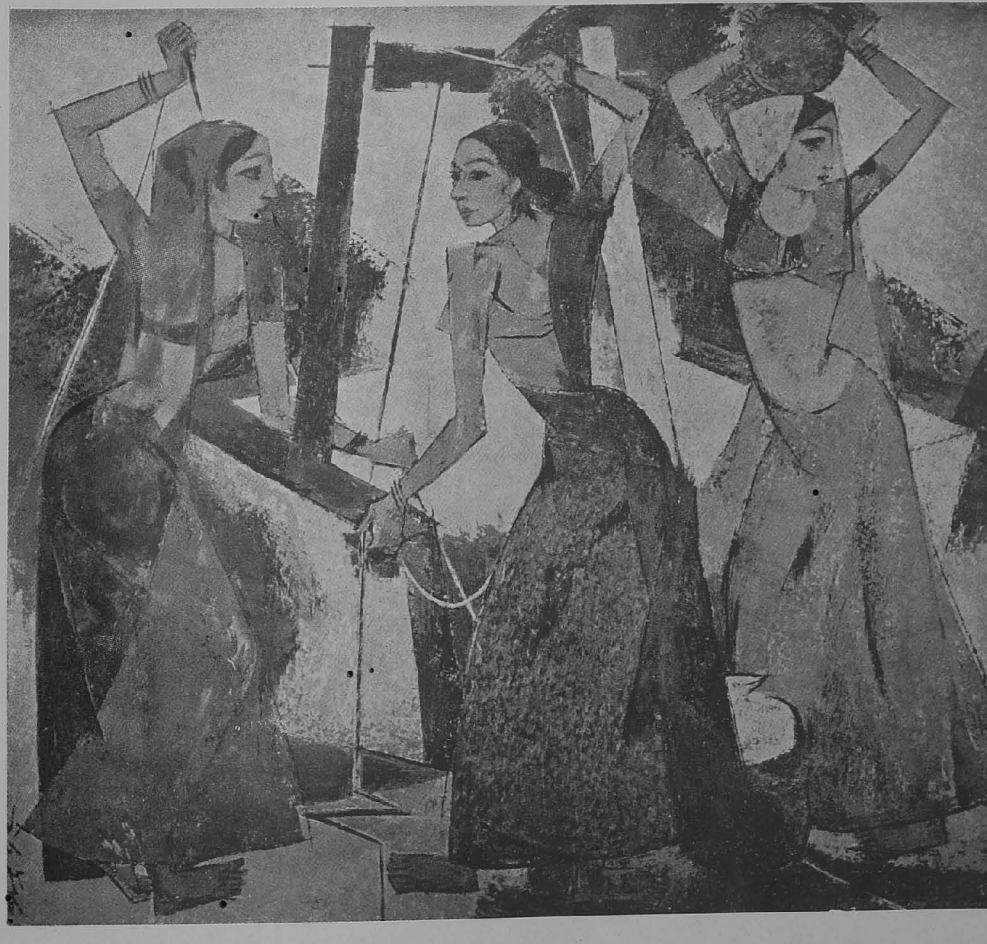

Fig. 14. *Women at the Well*, by N.S.Bendre. Exhibited at 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 15. *Jesus at the Cross*, by S. Dhanapal. Exhibited at the 1957 National Exhibition of Art.

Fig. 16. *Sunny Day*, by A. A. Raiba. Exhibited at the 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

by these artists may bustle us and we may probably be irritated by the inevitable complexity confronting us. But this talent is in tune with this age of individualism.

Experience has revealed that our art today does not lend itself to being shown as large collections of works by a multitude of artists. This conventional method has proved useless. What is the alternative? It is now largely appreciated that collective exhibitions organised on the basis of piecemeal representation are pointless and do not serve any significant purpose.

The selection of exhibits and making of awards, as is the practice now, is also a doubtful and controversial convention.

But as things are, what is needed is a stricter selection of works representing the salient trends of the year in all effective styles. Such an exhibition should result in a clearer and more compact presentation of contemporary Indian art and as such may be expected to meet the challenge of a National Exhibition.

S. A. K.

APPENDIX

The Selection and Judging Committee of the National Exhibition of Art, 1957, was composed of D. P. Roy Chowdhury (Chairman), J. D. Gondhalekar, B. C. Sanyal, Rai Krishnadasa, G. Venkatachalam, N. S. Bendre and K. C. S. Paniker.

Seven-hundred-fifty-one paintings and sculptures by 298 artists were received out of which 139 paintings and sixteen sculptures were selected for exhibition. The following were the awards of Rs. 1,000/- each :

1. Shanti S. Dave, ' Life '.
2. Satish Gujral, ' The Condemned '.
3. K. K. Hebbar, ' Song of the Field '. (Pl. LIV, Fig. 6).
4. B. Parmar Khodidas, ' Marriage in Saurashtra '.
5. Jeram Patel, ' Rasikapriyā '. (Pl. G.)
6. Ram Kumar, ' Sad Town '. (Pl. LVI, Fig. 11).
7. A. P. Santhana Raj, ' Through the Forest.'
8. Santosh, ' Peace '. (Pl. LV, Fig. 8).
9. Amar Nath Sehgal, ' Onward March '.

The Akadami's Gold Plaque was awarded to Vidya Bhushan of Hyderabad for his ' A Street in Venice ' in addition to the cash award.

The Selection and Judging Committee of the National Exhibition of Art, 1956, was composed of R. M. Raval (Chairman), E. Schlesinger, Pradosh Das Gupta, Shiavax Chavda and Sailoz Mookherjee.

The Committee considered 650 entries by 217 artists out of which 171 exhibits were selected for exhibition.

The following were the awards of Rs. 1,000/- each :

1. Sankho Chaudhuri, ' Wood Carving '.
2. Satish Gujral, ' Despair '.
3. Shanti Dave, ' Goats'.
4. Mohan B. Samant, ' Lovers in the Palanquin '.
5. Arup Das, ' Christ '.
6. A. A. Almelkar, ' Divine Love '. (Pl. LV, Fig. 7).
7. Bimal Das Gupta, ' The Blue Infinity '.
8. K. K. Hebbar, 'Rhythm '. (Pl. LVI, Fig. 12).
9. Jitendra Kumar, ' Dipping Hairs '.

The Akadami's Gold Plaque of this year was given to Jyoti M. Bhatt for his 'Krishna-Lila' (Pl. H) in addition to the cash award.

PLATE H. *Krishna-Lila*, by Jyoti Manshanker Bhatt. Awarded gold plaque at 1956 National Exhibition of Art.

CORRESPONDENCE

A CORRECTION

In our Editorial on 'A Contemporary Portrait of Tānsen' in *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1 and 2, we translated the Hindi inscription (reproduced on p. 19 thereof) which appears on the reverse of the Tānsen portrait in the Prince of Wales Museum as follows:

'the singing of *Dīpaka Rāga* was the cause of his death.'

Gopi Krishna Kanoria, in a letter to us, has drawn our attention to the fact that our reading of the inscription is incorrect, and that instead of

Rāg Dīpaka gāyo, tethī maraṇa pāyo

the correct reading should be

Rāg Dīpaka gāyo ta . . thi śyām ranga pāyo

which means that Tānsen sang *Dīpaka Rāga* whereupon his complexion became dark. There is no doubt that Gopi Krishna Kanoria's reading is correct. We were influenced by a well-known legend that Tānsen was consumed by fire while singing *Dīpaka Rāga*, and therefore, in order to relate the text to the legend, we read *śyām ranga* as *maraṇa* by omitting the *śyā*. But we now agree with Sri Kanoria that this was not justified. Even the correct reading, as Sri Kanoria points out, is very interesting because of the fact that Tānsen in all his portraits is depicted as a man of very dark complexion. We have reproduced a detail in colour of the Prince of Wales Museum portrait, (Pl. J), from which it can be observed that Tānsen was indeed a dark man.

Sri Kanoria writes that 'It is quite within the bounds of probability that by concentrating on *Dīpaka Rāga* Tānsen's system got so much disturbed (heated) that his complexion became dark. Even within our experience it is found that due to some circulatory disturbance as also due to exposure to heat the complexion suddenly becomes dark, and strangely enough the Ayurvedic practitioners prescribe in such cases medicines which purify the blood and remove heat from the system. This legend may supply the additional information that when other singers saw this happen to Tānsen they refrained from singing or practising *Dīpaka Rāga* and hence no traditional singers of this *Rāga* are found in our time. It is of further interest and information in explaining the dark complexion which is found in all authentic portraits of Tānsen including the National Museum, the Kishangarh and the Allahabad Museum examples. The Kishangarh and the Allahabad Museum examples show Tānsen as a younger man and the National Museum example shows him as an older man but in all these examples his complexion is dark. On the authority of this inscription all portraits which do not show the complexion to be dark may be dismissed as not belonging to Tānsen.'

PLATE J. Tansen. Mughal. 17th century. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.
See p. 120. Reproduced through the courtesy of
Tata Industries Private Limited.

We feel that perhaps the true explanation for the origin of the verse is that over-zealous admirers of Tānsen sought to invent a theory to account for his very dark complexion. We have incidentally published a colour reproduction of the Akbar period portrait of Raja Bīrbal (Pl. K) which we had referred to in our Editorial Note as being the finest of that rare group of portraits of the Akbar period, to which the National Museum study of Tānsen belongs.

REVIEWS

A GUIDE TO THE KARLA CAVES: DOUGLAS BARRETT, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay 1957. Twenty-two plates and map. Rs. 1/4.

This very attractive guide book is the first of a series of such booklets contemplated by Mrs. Madhuri Desai, who is the moving spirit behind this excellent venture. For the price at which it is sold, it is profusely illustrated, and our only comment on the illustrations, which are for the most part uniformly good, is that a better photo of the lion pillar should have been included, and that Pls. XI and XIV are too flat. One more suggestion is that Pls. II and III should not be juxtaposed in the manner done. They give a confused impression of the entrance of the cave.

The text, which is suitably limited to twelve pages, gives a short but important historical background, and then proceeds to describe the caves in some detail. It thus imparts all the information that any interested visitor could require. The date given to the *chaitya*, however, namely soon after 100 A.D., is too late.[1] Nor can we agree that the Sātavāhanas were driven from Karle, Nasik and Junnar early in the 2nd century A.D. This happened almost certainly in the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. We also find it impossible to accept Gautamīputra's reign as 106-130 A.D.[2] It follows that the dates of Gautamīputra's successors as given by Barrett would not hold good and Puḷumāvi could not be living in 153 A.D. The date of Karle and the reigns of Gautamīputra and Nahapāna have been discussed in an editorial note in the present issue of this Journal. The conclusion is that the *chaitya* was commenced about *circa* 40 A.D. and completed towards the end of the 1st century. Gautamīputra's most likely regnal years are 87-111 A.D. and Nahapāna's rule *circa* 59-105 A.D.

We are very happy that Barrett has stressed the exceedingly high aesthetic merits of the Āndhra sculpture of Karle. This was particularly necessary in view of the fact that the majority of

[1] See Editorial Notes in this issue, 'The Date of the Karle *Chaitya*'.
[2] *Ibid.*

PLATE K. Raja Birbal. 16th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.
See p. 122. Reproduced through the courtesy of
Tata Industries Private Limited.

students of Indian art are obsessed by an age-old complex that no sculpture can compare to that of the Gupta period.

A GUIDE TO THE ELEPHANTA CAVES: PRAMOD CHANDRA, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1957. Thirty-two plates and map. Rs. 1.50.

The second of these guide books deals with the great Elephanta cave, and is written by Pramod Chandra, the Assistant Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Here again a short historical introduction is followed by a detailed description of the cave and its sculptures. The text maintains the standard and brevity of the first guide, while the thirty-two plates are definitely superior. The last folding plate is indeed a happy idea. We look forward to the issue of more guides through this laudable venture.

We are glad that the writer guardedly and correctly points out that the Idar sculptures (which according to us are in all probability early 7th century A.D.) *may tend* to indicate *connections* with Western Gupta art though this nomenclature is, in our opinion, not a happy one.

The date suggested for Elephanta, namely 600-635 A.D., may well be correct. In any event we would not put the Elephanta caves later than the mid-7th century. Sri Chandra in supporting Hirananda Sastri's theory for an early date for Elephanta rightly relies on the fact that it cannot be very far off from the Gupta age. That the Gupta style was in vogue in the Deccan and the coastal region near Bombay during the late 5th and the 6th century admits of no doubt, and it is most suitably described as the Deccan Gupta style. It is typified by some of the best work at Kanheri and some of the sculptures at Ajanta. It did not come to the Deccan via Gujarat nor have we yet adequate material to say that sculptures such as those from Samlaji, Kotyarka and Akota belong to the Gupta period proper, though undoubtedly they were influenced by the Gupta tradition. The phrase ' Western Gupta art ' is misleading, firstly because its existence is not established if that phrase is meant to apply to the sculptures of Idar and Akota ; and secondly it might embrace Deccan Gupta sculpture which belongs to a different idiom. Be it noted that stylistic unity is something quite different from mere enumeration of similarities in ornament, etc. Whether Elephanta was excavated by the Konkan Mauryas or not is indeed difficult to decide, but the probabilities are in favour of that suggestion made by the author, that they are the builders of Elephanta. The idea of including the fragments from Elephanta, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, amongst the illustrations deserves commendation.

A GUIDE TO THE AURANGABAD CAVES: DOUGLAS BARRETT, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1957. Twenty-five plates and three maps. Rs. 1/8.

This is the third of this excellent series of guide books. It is again by Douglas Barrett who, after giving a short historical background, has described the caves in some detail. The text is

very readable and the descriptions though not over long are more than adequate. Some of the twenty-three photos (excluding those on the cover) are pleasing, but the printing of some could have been better. Anyway the guide is most profusely illustrated and very good value for Rs. 1/8.

Some historians will contest Mr. Barrett's statement that the homeland of the Sātavāhanas was Maharashtra and that they spread during the 2nd century A.D. eastwards towards Āndhradeśa. The point is a debatable one.

But we do not agree with Mr. Barrett in ascribing the Das Avatara cave at Ellora to the period 725-750 A.D. which has probably been done on the basis of the Dantidurga inscription. The cave is definitely earlier than 725-750. The inscription does not establish the date.

Mr. Barrett dates the Aurangabad caves (apart from Cave 4) to 700 A.D., that is, the end of the 7th century. We would prefer to be less definite and say 7th century, without contesting Mr. Barrett's date.

K. J. K.

THE KRISHNA LEGEND: M. S. RANDHAWA. General Editor: KARL KHANDALAVALA, Lalit Kalā Akadami, New Delhi 1956. Rs. 8/12.

The second album in this series which seeks to popularise the masterpieces of Indian art lives fully up to the standard of its predecessor, namely *Mughal Miniatures*. The album contains twelve reproductions in four colours and gold of Kangra paintings in different collections. One regrets, however, that the selection was not on a broader basis. No examples, for instance, from the Manuck or N. C. Mehta collections are included. One also regrets the failure to attempt a chronological presentation of Kangra painting; just as one misses a discussion about its origins, development and final disintegration.

It is a pity that the author did not think it fit to give a historical background, which is as romantic and thrilling as the miniatures themselves. Kangra art was essentially a refugee art, imposing itself on an autochthonous tradition. When life in the plains became impossible, and when court patronage from emperors was not forthcoming to meet the daily needs of life, painters, musicians, singers and dancers, migrated to the safety of the mountainous regions. In the courts of their new patrons, the work of the artists from the sun-scorched plains betrays its Mughal origins. In course of time, environment, topography and local styles influence the *emigré* school. This phase was not limited to any particular hill state, all of which had some existing artistic activity from a pre-Muslim past which can be hypothetically assumed, though difficult of proof.

Then came Raja Ghamand Chand (1754-1774) in the wake of the Durrani invasion, with his prestige heightened by recognition of the conqueror. His court became the rendezvous of

artists, literateurs and musicians. It was in the reign of his grandson, Sansār Chand, that the classic phase of Kangra art with an original type of female beauty was reached. But Sansār Chand's glory was ground to dust by the hardy Gurkhas from Nepal and his heirs fled to Kumaon and Tehri Garhwal.

In Pl. III, *'Rustic Sports'*, the poses are academic and the art is stereotyped, but the glowing tones and boldness of design eliminate monotony. Pl. IV, *'Kāliya Damana'*, betrays inheritance from the Mughal school by the various figures of twin water birds that decorate the border. Pl. VII, *'Kṛishṇa Swallowing the Forest Fire'*, from the National Museum collection, is a great masterpiece. Pl. X, *'Līlā Hāva'*, probably belongs to the last phase of Sansār Chand's reign. Pl. XI, *'Rāsa Maṇdala'*, is wrongly chosen at the wrong place. Basohli paintings are the primitives of the Hill School of painting in the Punjab, while Kangra art is its last phase. Basohli painting is remarkable for the significance of forms, while Kangra art is more sophisticated. The sudden intrusion of Pl. XI creates a jarring note.

A. B.

STUDIES IN JAINA ART: UMAKANT P. SHAH, Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras 1955. Rs. 10.

Dr. U. P. Shah is a well known writer on Jaina art and iconography, and the present volume is in keeping with the standard of scholarship expected of him. The book is divided into two parts. The first is a rapid but fairly exhaustive survey of Jaina art in Northern India, and the second part is a detailed and most excellent account of symbol worship in Jainism. Though the first part is really a summary of known facts relating to Jaina art in Northern India, nowhere has all this information been collected together and so fully documented. Every serious student of Jaina art should possess this volume which is most reasonably priced at Rs. 10, considering that it has eighty-nine illustrations fairly well reproduced.

There are, however, some important matters on which we find it difficult to agree with Dr. Shah, and they are as follows :

(1) To predicate the continuity of Indian art from the Harappan period to the Mauryan merely on the basis of a supposed similarity between the Harappa torso and the Lohanipur torso is to rear a vast edifice on a most scanty foundation. To us, even the supposed similarity is wanting, if the two torsos are stylistically analyzed with care. There may have been a continuity, but we have no evidence to establish it.

(2) With regard to the Prince of Wales Museum's Pārśvanātha (Fig. 3) it is stated that it cannot be later than 100 B.C. and may be earlier by a century or two. It seems to us it could never be earlier than 200 A.D., having regard to the face and hair. Even that may be too early a date for it has yet to be decided whether the figure is an early image or is merely archaistic.

(3) Dr. Shah says 'Mathura art is rather primitive and the human figures are stiff and heavy.' If this remark is meant to be a generalisation, it is entirely untrue, considering the superlative examples of Buddhist Kushāṇa sculpture. If it is limited to a few Jina figures of the early period from Mathura, and some figures like those of the Amohinī Tablet, it is not quite unjustified. Incidentally, it is a pity that Dr. Shah did not take the opportunity to discuss the date of the Amohinī Tablet to show how the Kushāṇa style is a logical development from the art of Mathura under the Mathura satraps.

(4) The statement that some of the Chausa bronzes belong to the Kushāṇa-Gupta transition period is correct enough, but the writer proceeds to say that the transition would be better marked when stone specimens are discovered. No doubt Dr. Shah is referring to the absence of Jaina transition-period figures in stone. But when one is dealing with matters of style, it is immaterial whether the transition-period stone figures are of the Jaina faith or Buddhist faith. We have a number of Buddhist stone sculptures of this transition period at Mathura.

(5) We would willingly agree that the Jīvantasvāmī torso from Akota (Figs. 20 and 21) is the finest bronze ever discovered in Western India, but unfortunately Dr. Shah attempts to give this pride of place to a lesser masterpiece, namely the fragmentary Ṛishabhanātha (Fig. 19), which is wrongly assigned to *circa* 450. It is at least a hundred years later, if not more. While it is a beautiful piece, it has already developed that marked facial stylization which is quite inconsistent with the Gupta style of the 5th century A.D. Dr. Shah in his enthusiasm goes to the length of saying 'in the proportionate modelling of the torso and legs, this bronze, though smaller in size, is superior to the Sultanganj Buddha'. Now not only do the mutilated torso and legs of the Akoṭa figure afford no basis for comparison, but it is far fetched to liken this Ṛiṣhabhanātha, good as it is, to a mighty masterpiece such as the Sultaṇganj Buddha.

(6) Dr. Shah, while dealing with the inscribed standing Jīvantasvāmī from Akoṭa (Fig. 22), dates it *circa* 550, on the ground that the inscription is in characters of *circa* 550. We have more than once pointed out that no art historian should ever attempt such close dating of an icon merely on paleographic grounds. Paleography is all very well within certain wide limits, which frequently extend to as much as two centuries. We have only to remember that paleographists still wrangle whether the Hāthīgumpha inscription belongs to the second half of the first century B.C. or the first half of the second century B.C. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, who was once consulted by the reviewer in this behalf, quite frankly stated that it would not be possible to say on paleographic grounds that an inscription belonged to the 5th century A.D. and not to the 6th century A.D. or vice versa. This is true of all periods and scripts. Paleography has limited uses. Sometimes, not always, it enables us to fix upper and lower limits for a space of about two hundred years. It can be made use of by the art historian to corroborate stylistic analysis, but the latter method must prevail against conclusions based solely on paleography. The Jīvantasvāmī (Fig. 22) is in all probability an early 7th century

image removed about half a century from the two bronzes of the Vasantagarh hoard dated 687 A.D. (*Lalit Kalā* Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. IX, Figs. 1 and 2).

(7) Dr. Shah's treatment of Tārānātha's 'The School of the Ancient West' rather suffers from historical inaccuracy. As far back as 1949, before the Akota hoard of bronzes had been discovered, the present reviewer was the first to draw attention to the fact that the Pindavada bronzes, cast by Śivanāga in 687 A.D., probably represented the last works of 'The School of the Ancient West', and that perhaps the *masterpieces* of this school were represented by works such as the Samalaji sculptures from Idar State ('Commentary on Taranatha's Chapter on Buddhist Art,' *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 62-63). Since then other critics have followed this clue. But Dr. Shah in doing so has ignored the precise description given by Tārānātha of 'The School of the Ancient West'. Tārānātha is quite explicit that the school came after the school of Bimbisāra in the reign of Budhagupta, and this is confirmed by the fact that he expressly states that Śriṅgadhara of Marwar, the *founder* of this school, lived in the reign of King Śīla, i.e., Harsha of Kanauj (606-647 A.D.). Thus 'The School of the Ancient West', as known to Tārānātha and those who lived before him, could never have come into existence earlier than the last quarter of the 6th century, even if we assume that Śriṅgadhara was fifty to sixty years of age —in 615 A.D. to take a date only about ten years after Harsha came to the throne. If, however, one chooses to be arbitrary and invent 'A School of the Ancient West' prior to *circa* 575, it will not be Tārānātha's 'School of the Ancient West', and we know of none other to which we would be justified on historical grounds in applying this nomenclature. Bearing this fact in mind, we find that Dr. Shah, after dating the Karachi bronze Brahmā *not later* than *circa* 500 A.D., the broken Jīvantasvāmī torso from Akota to the same date, and a Ṛishabhanātha from Akota to a slightly later date, goes on to say that these three bronzes are the earliest specimens which can definitely be assigned to 'The School of the Ancient West'. Now if that was their date (which is very doubtful) they could not, by reason of what we have just pointed out, belong to Tārānātha's 'School of the Ancient West'. In fact, however, the first two images are probably a century later than suggested by Dr. Shah, and accordingly could legitimately be classified as belonging to Tārānatha's 'School of the Ancient West' of the late 6th and early 7th century A.D. As regards the third image it is somewhat later than the first two. Dr. Shah appears to have erred on the question of dates by making unwarranted comparisons between the Vasantgarh-Akota bronzes and Ajanta on the one hand, and between Samalaji sculptures and Elephanta on the other. In looking for similarities in matters of ornamentation, etc., Dr. Shah has failed to sense the fact that, stylistically speaking, we are dealing with quite different idioms. The Samalaji sculptures from Idar (probably early 7th century A.D.) may well be representative of the best products of Tārānātha's 'School of the Ancient West'. Those who date the Samalaji sculptures earlier are overlooking the entire historical background of cultural development in Idar State. But that topic cannot be gone into in the present review. Ajanta

of the Vākāṭaka period and Bagh, be it remembered, were already a *fait accompli* before the birth of Tārānātha's 'School of the Ancient West'. That this school, founded by Śriṅgadhara, was greatly influenced by late Gupta art and its tradition is abundantly clear. It is the failure to give proper importance to this fact that has led Dr. Shah and others to ascribe dates much too early to many of the Akota finds and to the Samalaji and other sculptures from Gujarat. Even the beautiful Jīvantasvāmī torso (Figs. 20 and 21) from Akota with marked Gupta influences is no earlier than the late 6th century A.D.

(8) Dr. Shah has hardly dealt with the Jaina painting of the 9th century in the Indra Sabha and Cave 32 at Ellora. They are much more than 'traces', and are of the highest interest in the history of Indian wall painting and in any discussion on the origin of manuscript illustration.

(9) With regard to the famous book cover of the disputation between Śri Devasūri and Kumuda Chandra, which Dr. Shah inclines to ascribe to the 13th-14th centuries, we have come to the conclusion that it undoubtedly belongs to the reign of Siddharāja Jai Simha himself (1094-1143 A.D.). Muni Jinavijayaji agrees with us in this opinion.

(10) In referring to Jaina contributions, so far as painting is concerned, from outside the limits of Western India, Dr. Shah mentions the famous Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* Ms of 1465 A.D., but makes no reference to the other exceptionally fine *Kalpasūtra*, namely the one from Mandu dated 1439 A.D. The *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D. could not be referred to, as it was not discovered until after Dr. Shah's book was out. (This *Mahāpurāṇa* has been referred to as 'The Digambara Ms', in the reviewer's article on certain *Gīta Govinda* paintings in *The Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 4.) Dr. Shah's suggestion that the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* is painted by a lady, namely the daughter of the merchant Sahasarāja, is at best purely conjectural.

But undoubtedly the most valuable part of Dr. Shah's book is the section dealing with the various symbols of worship — *chaitya, stūpa, stambha, chaitya-vrikshas, āyāgapaṭas, samavasaraṇa, siddha-chakra* or *navadevatā*, auspicious dreams, *ashṭamaṅgala, sthāpanā, ashṭāpada, Sammeta-śikhara, Pancha Meru, Nandīśvara-Dvīpa.* A most welcome feature of this section is the circumstance that Dr. Shah has dealt with all the Mathura *āyāgapaṭas* and reproduced most of them. This section gives a great deal of information from the Jaina sources, invaluable to the vast majority of scholars who cannot read the Prākrit of the Jaina texts.

K. J. K.

ROOPA LEKHĀ, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, New Delhi 1956.

In this issue, M. S. Randhawa's article 'Kangra Artists', already published in *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, is reproduced, but some of the genealogies have been altered, which makes confusion worse confounded. This reviewer has already pointed out in his *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, 1958, that all these genealogies and family place-origins, cannot be relied on. Some

of the information supplied to Sri Randhawa by living artists or others is demonstrably incorrect. But these genealogies can be useful for more intense research into this matter, though the investigator is now faced with a complicated problem, namely that Sri Randhawa has considerably changed certain genealogies without assigning any reasons for doing so.

The fallacious theory that Guler is the birthplace of Kangra painting is again reiterated here. Needless to say it is entirely without foundation. Though Pandit Seu was almost certainly a Kashmiri, he did not come to the hills from Kashmir as Sri Randhawa surmises. He was obviously an artist who came from the plains, about 1740, and who had been thoroughly trained in the Mughal style of the Muhammad Shāh period. It is also incorrect to say that Gur Sahāi, grandson of Nainsukh, was the most brilliant member of Pandit Seu's family. In fact, his art bears the unmistakable stamp of the period of decline in Bhūp Singh's reign during the early 19th century, and is markedly inferior to that of his illustrious forbears.

'Buddhist Art and Architecture in India after 250 A.D.' by Nihar Ranjan Ray is very elementary with nothing new to say. It may be noted that the Bodhisattva from Nagapattinam (opp. p. 17) is not 10th century A.D., but is without question a Pallava period bronze of the 8th century.

P. R. Srinivasan continues with his 'The Naṭarāja Concept in Tamilnad Art'. This second instalment is of much greater interest than the first, and we look forward to its continuation. The author rightly stresses the importance of the Poruppumettepatti bronze Naṭarāja of the Pāṇḍyan school now in the Madras Museum. This unusual image (Figs. 6 and 6A), strange to say, is little known. It may be wiser to date it 900-1000 A.D., rather than *circa* 900.

Adris Banerji writes interestingly on 'Romanticism in Indian Painting', and illustrates his theme with some appropriate examples from the National Museum.

N. K. Rangaswamy Ayangar has a short note on the Nayak period sculptures of the Ramaswami temple at Kumbakonam. They are of interest as examples of the late Vijayanagar tradition merging into the working of the Nayak period of the first half of the 17th century.

The Second National Exhibition of Art is reviewed. There is not much else of interest to the scholar, but there are several articles for the general reader. A banner from Sikkim, which is one of the two colour plates, was not worth reproducing in colour.

K. J. K.

ROOPA LEKHĀ, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, New Delhi 1957.

This issue contains the last instalment of Srinivasan's article on the Naṭarāja theme. The article deals with familiar material and breaks no new ground. The dating of the famous Tiruvalangadu Naṭarāja to the first half of the 11th century A.D. is probably a bit too early. Srinivasan thinks it is very similar to the Velankanni Naṭarāja, but in fact there are

wide differences. The Tiruvalangadu example is much greater as a work of art, and so also is the Bṛihadīśvara Temple Naṭarāja which can be dated in the first decade of the 11th century. But we agree with the author that the Velankanni example is likely to be earlier than the Bṛihadīśvara image. Very few of the reproductions are satisfactory, being unnecessarily reduced in size. The well-known Nallur Naṭarāja is not early Chola. It definitely belongs to the Pallava group, as was pointed out by the present reviewer in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 19, and is late 8th or early 9th century A.D.

Dr. Reginald C. May's 'Buddhist Art and Architecture outside India' is only a very sketchy account intended for the novice. The article entitled 'Rembrandt' is just one of those 'fillers' which any journal with pretensions to any form of scholarship should avoid. The rest of the articles deal with modern Indian painting, music and reviews. On the technical side T. R. Gairola's 'Fakes in Bronzes and Paintings' is of real interest.

We suggest that *Roopa Lekhā*, whenever short of good material, can usefully fill its pages with a series of brief notes on the unpublished treasures of the National and other museums. The present policy of 'padding' with useless material of no originality or worth should be categorically abandoned.

K. J. K.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA: ANIL DE SILVA-VIGIER. Phaidon Press, London 1955. Pp. 199, 150 plates, 11 colour plates. 47 s. 6 p.

This book is an attempt to present the life of the Buddha through text and illustration. The photographs and blocks are on the whole of high quality, with a third depicting works of art from India proper. The author has retold the legend with a consciously scriptural feeling, and the result is both pleasing to the ear and has sufficient narration to assist the reader unfamiliar with the story.

However, the book raises the question to what degree Buddhist art can be said to exist as a separate and distinct tradition. Some examples included in the book, such as the Karle *mithunas* and the Sanchi *yakshīs*, are contrary to Buddhist principles both in subject-matter and intent. Other Indian works of art, though obviously illustrating the religious legend, cannot be separated in any stylistic way from the art of the country as a whole. In many works of Buddhist and Hindu art of this country, the techniques and subjects are often found to be interchangeable, emphasizing the close unity between the two religious forms and the existence of a common artistic tradition utilized by artists working for either of the community. In countries such as China, where Buddhist art remained for some time an exotic style, different issues arise with which the author might profitably have dealt.

Mrs. de Silva-Vigier has attempted to correct the prolonged simplicity of her account of the

Buddha's life with an epilogue relating briefly the spread of Buddhism to countries beyond India and the rise of the two schools of theology, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The notes on the plates also expand the first account. Some elementary diacritics might also have been helpful to the general reader, for whom the book is obviously intended.

Though the quality of the photographs is on the whole excellent, one would have wished for the same standard of excellence to be maintained for the stone reliefs, particularly Amaravati and Sanchi, which are half obscured in black shadow. The layout of the book has been done with care, with due attention paid to the coupling of photographs, the sequence followed being in general that of the Buddha's life. Here again a historical or geographical grouping might have been of greater use to the art student.

H. C.

BUDDHIST CENTRES IN UTTAR PRADESH : K. D. BAJPAI and R. K. DIKSHIT. Published by the Information Directorate, Uttar Pradesh. Rs. 1/8.

This brochure deals with the famous sites of Lumbini, Sarnath, Sankissa, Kusinagara, Srāvasti, Mathura and Kausambi. Its text is almost a model of what such a brochure should contain. It is a most happy combination of scholarship and simple narration. It is thus useful to the layman and scholar alike. The illustrations are very poor in quality and do no justice to the excellent text. We recommend all those interested in Buddhist sites and Buddhist art to buy this inexpensive and useful publication.

K. J. K.

HASTINAPUR : JYOTI PRASAD JAIN, Re. 1 ; *MATHURA :* K. D. BAJPAI, Re. 1 ; *AHICHCHHATRA :* K. D. BAJPAI, Re. 1 ; *KANAUJ :* RAMKUMAR DIKSHIT, Re. 1 ; *YUG-YUGO ME UTTAR PRADESH :* K. D. BAJPAI, Re. 1.

This series of brochures in Hindi are written on the same principles as *Buddhist Centres in Uttar Pradesh* reviewed above, but the illustrations are a great improvement on those of the latter publication. We hope that the Uttar Pradesh Government will see its way to publishing English translations of these useful books.

K. J. K.

MARG, Vol. X, No. 1, Bombay, December 1956. Rs. 5/8/-.

The December 1956 issue of *Marg* contains some readable material. Robert Skelton's article on Murshidabad is of great interest to the history of Mughal painting. So far as we know he

is the first scholar to deal with this interesting phase of Indian painting. He has very rightly ascribed the dispersal of the Mughal School during the reign of Aurangazeb, when bereft of the court patronage the artists, whose number must have swelled by the closing years of the 17th century, migrated to provincial centres in search of livelihood. As was natural in the early 18th century, the painters made Murshidabad, the provincial capital, their home. It is suggested that Murshid Quli Khan (1700-1727), though a strict Muslim, and therefore averse to painting, patronised it indirectly by getting the sheets of mica painted for certain Muslim festivals. But one need not stretch this viewpoint of orthodoxy too much, as there are quite a number of Mughal paintings of Aurangzeb's period painted by the court painters which give the lie to the popular notion that painting and other arts were totally banned by the royal command. In its formative period, the school of Murshidabad developed on the same lines as other provincial schools in which pure Mughal technique was being modified by Rajasthani conventions of figure drawing, treatment of landscape and subject matter. It is interesting to note from the examples reproduced that after 1757 A.D., when the power passed to the British, the school of Murshidabad developed new trends. There is a definite attempt to revive, with modifications, the ancient *paṭ* tradition of Bengal, though the old mixed Rajput-Mughal style continued to flourish. Under the British, European influence also made headway. The author has perhaps purposefully avoided the 19th century mica paintings of Murshidabad, as they belong to a different tradition.

M. C.

MARG, Vol. X, No. 3 (June 1957)

The recent issue of *Marg* is 'Homage to Khajuraho', and though the contributions are limited in number, they strive to focus our attention to the artistic, aesthetic, philosophical and socio-religious aspect of the temples and their superb wealth of sculptures, discriminately selected and splendidly reproduced. Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her usual vein gives her 'Reflections on the House and Body of God'. She stresses the metaphysical interpretation of Khajuraho temples and the interrelation of sculptures with the temples. 'Shrines in the Landscape of the Absolute' is a sort of straightforward running commentary on Khajuraho introducing the readers to the history and architectural and sculptural wealth of the temples. Dr. Anand in 'Some Notes on the Philosophical Basis of Hindu Erotic Sculpture' restates the fundamental postulates behind Hindu erotic art. He analyses clearly the Hindu point of view on love and sex and though one may or may not agree with him that the 'whole subject is treated as a profound concept in the sense of the whole mystery of life', there is enough material written and sculptured which shows that prudery in the matter of sex was not one of the traits of Indian culture and that even the puritanism of early Buddhism had to temporise with the feelings

of the people about sex and its mysteries. However, the eroticism of medieval Indian sculpture has another religio-social basis, namely the growth of the Kaula cult in which sex is exalted to the point of religious esctasy. Dr. Anand has extensively quoted Sri Pramod Chandra (*Lalit Kalā* Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 98-107.) in this connection. On the whole this is a splendid issue of *Marg* and Dr. Anand deserves our congratulations.

M. C.

ORIENTAL ART, New Series, Vol. III, No. 1 (Spring 1957).

This journal continues to fulfill a very useful function, and we hope that it will receive the support it so well deserves. It has a definite policy and adheres to it. The present issue has very readable and succint articles on certain aspects of Chinese and Japanese art, while the art of India is represented by C. Sivaramamurti's 'The Story of Gangā and Amṛita at Pattadakal'. This is an excellent article interpreting the pillar panels which deal with these themes in the Virupaksha Temple. Sri Sivaramamurti has been doing much excellent work in the identification of sculptural themes.

The bibliography relating to oriental art is one of the most useful features of the journal and efforts should be made to make it more complete at least as far as India is concerned. Occasionally articles of interest are to be found in the 'Illustrated Weekly of India', 'The Sunday Statesman' and 'The Hindu', while the Hindi art journal '*Kalā Nidhi*' has many authoritative contributions.

K. J. K.

ORIENTAL ART, Vol. III, No. 2 (Summer 1957).

Another excellent number. This issue, amongst other articles on Far Eastern art, has an informative account of the exhibition of the art of the Tang Dynasty sponsored by the Los Angeles County Museum, Calif, which some years ago held such a successful exhibition of Indian art.

Arthur Waley's 'The Green Bower Collection', being a series of notes upon the careers of a hundred singing girls, many of whom took part in Chinese dramas, makes delightful reading. We look forward to its second instalment.

Douglas Barrett contributes the article on Indian art, namely 'Sculptures of the Sahi Period'. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Scorretti marble is Mahishamardinī, as stated by Mr. Barrett. His article breaks new ground on certain aspects of Indian sculpture to which little attention has hitherto been paid, and as such his suggestions are welcome for further study. Incidentally we are surprised that Mr. Barrett should at all countenance the

theory that one of the faces of the Elephanta Maheśvaramurtī is that of a female. But apart from this minor lapse the article is full of interest. We are glad that Mr. Barrett does not subscribe to the cult which sees the Gupta period in every curled coiffure and every full, rounded face. We are inclined to agree with his dating for the Akhnur terracottas.

The Lalit Kalā Akadami's *The Krishna Legend* is reviewed by W. G. Archer. It is true that Pl. 12 may be by a different hand from Pls. 1, 2 and 7, but they all come from a series in which more than one artist must have collaborated. The master painter of the series was probably Sansar Chand's favourite artist Kaushala (Kushan Lala). It is almost certain that Purkhu, whom Archer suggests was the painter of Pls. 1, 2 and 7, could not have painted these particular miniatures, which are all outstanding for their treatment of colour. We have the definite evidence, of one who saw Purkhu's work, that this artist was not a great colourist. But Purkhu may have painted some other miniatures of the series, which is a very extensive one and unequal in quality and colour. In fact we may be dealing with two *Bhāgavata* sets and in that event it is probable that some of Sansar Chand's painters were common to both sets. Even the so called 'moonlight pictures' are not all by one hand, nor do they constitute a separate series as some collectors wrongly imagine. Pl. 6 is attributed by Archer to Guler (1810-1815) but surely miniatures of such high quality can never be so late. Moreover, the facial types are not in the Guler idiom. On the contrary, Pl. 6 has affinities with Pl. 12, which was almost certainly painted in Kangra itself. We feel it is always wise to use the generic term 'Kangra *kalam*' when one cannot be definite to which local idiom of the 'Kangra *kalam*' a particular miniature belongs. Though Archer has still not abandoned his 'Guler-Garhwal' theory, the truth increasingly appears to be that it was not Guler artists who went to Garhwal but that two or three of Sansar Chand's artists from Kangra, towards the end of the 18th century, migrated there and they were responsible for what are known as the 'Garhwal Masterpieces'. The sojourn of these artists was very brief and they fled when the Gurkha invasion took place in 1803. Hence the very limited number of these 'Garhwal Masterpieces'. It was only after 1815, after Guler was annexed by the Sikhs and the Gurkhas were driven out of Garhwal that some 19th century Guler artists appear to have gone to Garhwal. The Guler influence at Garhwal is only discernible in the late Garhwal school. Pl. 8 and Pl. 10 are assigned by Archer to 1820 A.D., but here again it is unthinkable that such refined and delicate work should be so late. We agree with Archer that Pl. 11, the only Basohli painting in the book, is *circa* 1770, and personally we have little doubt that it represents the Basohli idiom at Kangra during the reign of Ghamand Chand of Kangra (1731-1774).

K. J. K.

TEXTILES AND ORNAMENTS OF INDIA : Texts by PUPUL JAYAKAR and JOHN IRWIN, The Museum of Modern Art, New York 1956. $4.00.

Textiles and Ornaments of India surveys the wealth of designs of Indian ornaments and textiles based on an exhibition held under the auspices of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1955. Its 110 plates including several colour plates illustrate the wide range of Indian textiles and the art of jewellers, goldsmiths and metal workers. The examples selected belong to the last few hundred years, but they share the continuity of tradition for untold generations. Modern works have not been neglected. This picture book is accompanied by interpretative essays by experts. Mrs. Pupul Jayakar deals in a popular way with the place of Indian fabrics in Indian life. Her remarks on the geographical factors governing the techniques and patterns are interesting, though one would have wished to know more about the racial and social factors governing the textile patterns and how the classic designs laid down standards which were modified in folk tradition. While stressing the traditional aspect of textile patterns one should not forget the assimilative character of Indian crafts which changed according to the exigencies of time, introduction of new racial elements and development of new techniques. Symbolical explanation of some textile patterns is possible, but aesthetic taste is the only explanation for the majority of these patterns. Moreover, as rightly pointed out by Mrs. Jayakar, India produced two categories of textiles, one for the home consumption and the other for the foreign market. For the proper appraisal of Indian textile patterns, this must be borne in mind, otherwise by mixing decorative elements of the textile patterns of home and foreign markets, confusion is bound to arise.

Mr. John Irwin interprets 'Indian Textiles in Historical Perspective'. The perspective is instructive and useful. While speaking of the term 'Indo-Persian', he is of the opinion that it could be applied to the products of the court workshops, while beyond the immediate sphere of the court, 'Persian motifs were adapted by Indian craftsmen for their own purposes and made subservient to the more earthy and dynamic qualities of Indian art as a whole'. This statement opens up a new field of research, though it must be admitted that even in the textiles produced by court workshops the synthesis of Persian and Indian elements give them distinctly an Indian character. Of course the further these Persian elements travelled among the people, the more they were bound to be utilised by the people in their own way, resulting in a simplification of intricate patterns.

As was expected, the printing reproductions and get-up of the brochure are excellent. The spelling of Hindi and Sanskrit words do not follow any uniform pattern and are often wrongly transcribed. As essay on minor arts would have been welcome.

M. C.

AN ALBUM OF NANDALAL BOSE WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE : Published by SHANTINIKETAN ASHRAMIK SANGHA, Calcutta. Rs. 20/00.

In order to make a true assessment of an artist's creative genius it is necessary to know his background which necessarily plays a significant part in shaping his talent and vision. Without a careful analysis and understanding of his life it is not possible to fully appreciate his work. The Ashramik Sangha has, therefore, done a valuable service to Indian art by publishing this volume on Nandalal Bose, whose work will, for all time to come, be considered as one of the outstanding landmarks of Indian painting. An appreciation of Nandalal's work, which undoubtedly this volume strives to foster, will create an understanding of an important chapter of India's cultural heritage. To present a true picture of the intellectual and aesthetic development of an artist of the calibre of Nandalal is not an easy task, for, he stands at a period of our country's history which is charged with vital idealistic adjustments. It is equally difficult to present a comprehensive and representative collection of his masterpieces. Many of these have been destroyed by the ravages of time and accident (including a ship wreck) and are not even available as reproductions. Many others are stored in collections which have, unfortunately, remained inaccessible. It is for this reason, I believe, that this volume does not contain some of the notable works of the artist. I have particularly in mind his Saivite paintings which should rank among the best specimens of India's pictorial art.

This volume consists of twenty-nine reproductions 'representative of Nandalal's art from the standpoint of aesthetic realisation as well as of technical achievements'. The originals of these were executed in a variety of media generally in wash, tempera or gouache. The subjects cover an equally wide range, from mythology to every-day-life, portrait and landscape. Quite a few of these are well-known, such as ' Sati ', which is one of the earliest works of the artist, ' Parthasarathy ', ' Guru Abanindranath ' and ' Dandi March '. There are few contemporary artists whose vision and aesthetic genius have found such free and joyful expression, so varied in style and technique.

The artistic career of Nandalal started at the dawn of this century when all indigenous talent was stunted, if not frustrated, by overwhelming foreign influence. The intellectual, emotional and political aspirations of the nation were struggling to break through the smoke screen of foreign domination. Nandalal with his Guru Abanindranath tore through this mist and successfully infused in the art movement of this country a character which was truly national. Much of what he did was on the basis of a synthesis of our past. It is no exaggerated claim that his genius and uninhibited aesthetic outlook have served as a sign-post for the artist of to-day. This volume has successfully brought out this significant aspect of Nandalal's pioneering effort. The get up of the volume and the quality of reproductions is commendable.

R. C.

PREHISTORIC INDIA AND ANCIENT EGYPT: SUDHANSU KUMAR RAY, New Delhi 1956. Rs. 5.

This little booklet has tackled a novel theme. It is not meant to be a treatise but just a few suggestions. Though they cannot be regarded as proved, they serve to emphasize the fact that motifs in the ancient world were not confined to one single territory. Much research remains to be done in this field. But it is important to remember that far-reaching conclusions should not be based merely on a few similarities in form, shape or design. Many of the author's conclusions are much too facile and dictated largely by a bias in favour of a preconceived theory. In such a highly problematic field more precise marshalling of material is necessary, as also avoidance of all that is patently far-fetched.

K.J.K.

AJANTA PAINTINGS, Lalit Kalā Akadami, New Delhi 1956. Twenty Colour Plates. Rs. 10.

'He ne'er consider'd it, as loth
to look a gift-horse in the mouth.'

Ten rupees for a portfolio of twenty plates of an average size of 11″ × 14″ is certainly a gift for which our thanks are due to the Lalit Kalā Akadami. The effort to broaden the knowledge and appreciation of masterpieces of Indian art by bringing out publications at reasonable prices deserves the highest praise. All the more would one wish that this effort was made more valuable and useful by adding, probably at little extra cost, an informative introduction and short factual notes for individual plates. Syed Ashfaque Husain's foreword overflows with the usual exuberant and vainglorious praise without ten lines worth of essential information that would put the art and culture of Ajanta in their proper perspective. People need guidance if superficial looking and liking were to be deepened into seeing and real understanding. There is so much to learn from these reproductions if only a few hints were given. How significant is, for instance, the difference of styles visible in the work of one cave (Cave No. 17) only. One has merely to compare Plate 14 with Plate 11 to witness two totally different styles. In Plate 11 a strongly linear style begins to emerge which foreshadows the development of medieval painting with its many mannerisms and which is certainly the style that travelled north into Central Asia and into China and Japan. It contains a distinct popular flavour as compared with the languid elegance of the (probably earlier) paintings.

The plates have been reproduced from the same colour photographs that were used for the UNESCO publication on Ajanta paintings. That means that, unfortunately, the selection is equally limited. There are ten plates of Cave No. 1, eight of Cave No. 17, one each of Caves 2 and 16 and none of the so important Cave Nos. 9 and 10. The reproductions in this publication look insipid compared with the reproductions in the UNESCO volume. The famous Ajanta greens and blues are all of a monotonous grey or mauve. One wonders whether the photo-

graphic originals have deteriorated during the interval that occurred between making the UNESCO and the Lalit Kalā Akadami reproductions. The plates certainly lack the lustre and the definition of the originals. Even with these shortcomings, the publication is a welcome addition to the all too meagre popular library on works of Indian art and must be recommended for widest possible distribution among schools and families who want to be near to the cultural heritage of their country.

R. v. L.

INDIAN TEMPLE SCULPTURE: edited and compiled by J. A. GOSWAMI, Calcutta 1956. Rs. 100.

This volume consists of a collection of photographs dealing with Indian temple sculpture. Some are well selected but quite a number are of secondary importance. The reproductions also are unequal in quality. Some are well reproduced while others are indifferent.

No system has been followed in the selection. In this connection it may be observed that nine plates are devoted to Mahabalipuram and only one to Elephanta. Dilwara, though remarkable as a *tour de force*, has few panels which have any claim to real plastic beauty, and yet nineteen plates are allotted to this site out of the 141 plates in the entire volume. But what is even more disproportionate is the fact that there is not a single example from Aihole or Pattadakal, and not a single example of Chola art, though seventeen plates are allotted to the excessively ornate art of the Hoyśālās. One could point out a deal more of this want of balance which makes the title of the book a misnomer. No thought has been given to the dates in the captions and text, and no use has been made of modern research. Dates have either been bodily taken from out-of-date treatises, or quite unaccountable dates given such as 4th century A.D. to the Varaha of Udaigiri when it demonstrably belongs to the 5th century. Elephanta is dated 750-775 and ascribed to the Rāshṭrakūṭas ! Surely the compilers of the book could have taken expert advice to avoid such absurd misstatements of which there are many more.

The text by Sri K. M. Munshi does not relieve the situation. If the writer had remained content to express only his personal reactions to the sculptures reproduced then there would have been little cause for complaint, but Sri Munshi, after disclaiming expert knowledge, has wandered into the difficult arena of art history, with the result that the text meanders about without any focal point, adequate chronology or clear cut analysis of style. Moreover, the text contains many statements which would have been better omitted.

For instance,

(1) Nagarjunikonda is said to be distinctly inferior to Amaravati, and it is also said that the Āndhra school reached its perfection in the Krishna-Godavari delta. But all discerning critics regard the sculptures of Karle in the Western Ghats as the finest *plastic* achievement of Āndhra art and recognise the fact that Nagarjunikonda is in no way inferior to Amaravati.

(2) It is stated that Gupta sculpture eliminates the folds of the Buddha's garment. But this statement is surely not correct. It is true of the Sarnath school, but the folds of the *sanghāṭi* are very much in evidence in the equally brilliant Mathura school of Gupta sculpture.

(3) Under the heading 'The Gupta Classicism' we have only one sub-title, 'The Western School,' as if that were the only school to which Gupta influence can be traced. Such sub-titles are unsystematic and misleading and in this case inappropriate.

(4) The chapter 'Art under the Empire of Kanauj' is a rambling affair for the simple reason that it is not possible, from the stylistic point of view, to talk of the art of the Kanauj Empire in the manner that one talks of the art of the Śuṅgas, Āndhras or Guptas. This facile new terminology is apt to confuse the true issues which one has to deal with in the classification of the various schools of post-Gupta art in Northern and Central India.

(5) We are told that the earliest masterpieces in architecture and sculpture of the Pallava school are the 'Seven Pagodas' of Mahabalipuram. But the writer does not seem to be aware that Mahabalipuram belongs to the reign of Narasimha I and that the earliest masterpieces of Pallava architecture and sculpture belong to the reign of his predecessor, Mahendravarman.

(6) The writer is also unaware that Chola sculpture does not reach its highest form in the 11th century images of the great temples of Tanjore and Gangaikondachalapuram. No one has yet ever doubted that by far the greatest Chola sculpture is that of the late 9th and early 10th century such as the sculptures of the Nagesvara Shrine at Kumbhakonam; the Vasisthesvara Shrine near Tanjore; the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur and those of several shrines in the old Pudukkottai State, to all of which no reference is made.

These above mentioned matters are not intended to be a complete list of shortcomings in the text but are taken at random to illustrate the kind of errors which could so easily have been avoided.

Since this volume can only have a popular picture appeal and is of no value to the scholar, the price of Rs. 100 seems to defeat the purpose of the publication. In any event, when the price is so high, the selection of plates should have been made with greater care and on a systematic basis, and every photograph should have maintained the standard of the best ones in the volume.

K. J. K.

CATALOGUE OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS IN THE BAYANA HOARD: Dr. A. S. Altekar, Numismatic Society of India.

We wish to draw the attention of all Indologists as well as those interested in Indian culture

in general to the excellent publications of the Society, including the journal. In particular we would draw the attention of our readers to the splendid volume of Dr. A. S. Altekar on the Bayana hoard, published in 1954. Copies of this monumental work are still available. It is absolutely indispensable to every student of Gupta art and history, and its interest is not limited to numismatists. The discovery of the Bayana hoard is the greatest numismatic discovery of this century, and this publication is a complete catalogue of the find, with forty-eight plates. The reproductions are sharp and distinct, and minute details can be examined satisfactorily with a magnifying glass. The textual matter comes to 363 pages. The price of Rs. 60 for the volume cannot be regarded as high for such a work. It is common experience that such works are not reprinted, and once they are sold out, a copy can only be obtained at a prohibitive price.

Copies are obtainable from the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

K. J. K.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN : by Shanti Swarup. Taraporevala's, Bombay 1957. Rs. 44.

This volume is in the nature of a compendium and deals briefly with Indian dancing, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, art-crafts and ritual decoration. It will be useful to those who want a bird's eye picture of Indian arts and crafts as it is profusely illustrated. For its price it is well produced and includes six colour plates from N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, which is now out of print. That is an added attraction.

The author should in a future edition take more notice of modern research and avoid some obvious errors. The dance scene on Pl. XLII is not on a palm leaf ms. but on the wooden cover of a palm leaf ms.

The frescoes at Ajanta are not the work of artist-priests. They are so obviously painted by secular artisan-guilds. Of course there may have been an occasional artist-monk collaborating with the guild craftsmen and the supervision of the work as a whole was no doubt in the hands of monk-overseers known as *navakarmikas*. Mr. K. T. Shah is hardly a writer to quote as an authority on Ajanta !

The two miniatures from the Wantage Collection on Pl. LVIII are Shah Alam period of the second half of the 18th century and not Mughal miniatures of the 17th ceutury. That is now beyond dispute.

It is time it was recognized that the 17th and 18th century miniature schools of painting

in India are widely different from the old fresco schools, even though Coomaraswamy has expressed an opinion to the contrary.

A succinct outline of the development and the schools of Rajasthani and Pahārī painting, based on recent research, was necessary, while many captions require to be revised. So also in the chapter on sculpture, more care should have been bestowed on dates. Those of the Gandhara sculptures illustrated are mainly incorrect, while Karle it may be noted, is 1st century A.D. and not 1st century B.C. But if these and other similar errors are rectified in a future edition the value of the book as a bird's eye account will enhance.

K. J. K.

Correction :

In *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 1-2, the caption under Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1, may be read "Now preserved in the Amber Museum, near Jaipur" not in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.