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Bronze Sculpture 9th Century AD

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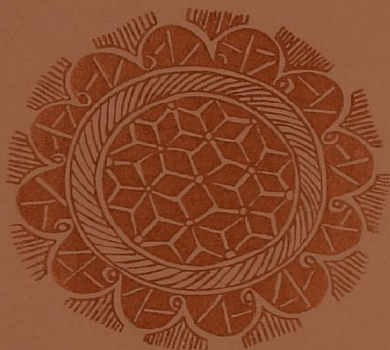
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"IN BHARATA NATYA, BHAVA IS CONSIDERED THE HEART OF THE ART. MANY CONSIDER BHAVA TO BE THE ABILITY TO PORTRAY EMOTIONS. THIS IS TRUE, BUT BHAVA IS MORE. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF INTELLECT AS WELL, AND THERE IS BHAVA AS MUCH IN NRITTA (PURE RHYTHM) AS IN ABHINAYA (EXPRESSION). PEOPLE OFTEN THINK THAT THE TILANA, OR THIRMANAMS WITH ADAVUS AND INTRICATE FOOT WORK, ARE AN ASPECT OF LAYA OR RHYTHM, AND THEREFORE BEAR NO RELATION TO BHAVA. IN REALITY THERE IS THE BHAVA OF THE BODY AS MUCH AS OF THE FACE, THE EXPRESSION OF MUSIC AS WELL AS OF THE EMOTION. IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS PERFECT BLENDING OF THE BODY, THE EMOTIONS AND THE INTELLECT THERE YET IS NEEDED KNOWLEDGE A KNOWLEDGE NOT ONLY OF THE BOOKS WHICH IN INDIA ARE UNIQUE, BUT ALSO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE GREAT PHILOSOPHIES, LITERATURE, POETRY, MUSIC AND RELIGION, A KNOWLEDGE BY WHICH THE MIND TRANSCENDS ITSELF IN THE WORLD OF WISDOM. WHEN THIS IS ACHIEVED, BHARATA NATYA IS JUSTIFIED BY THE DANCER, AND IT BECOMES A PERFECT EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE DIVINE; THE DANCE BECOMES A VEDA AND THE DANCER A YOGI."

RUKMINI DEVI

Impact of Religious Art on Industry

SRINIVASA DESIKAN

India is a land of temples, pilgrims, religious festivals and rituals. Religion is the very frame work of life which inspires Indian art and architecture. The Hindu religion has survived many vicissitudes in the past because of its temples and people's faith in the festivals associated with them.

It is well known that all our great art creations stemming from ancient times, had a religious inspiration. Even in day to day life, in the making of articles of daily use, in decorations at festival time, religious motifs guided the production of objects, which to us of a later time, reveal unique artistic sensibility. This is further established by the fact that our greatest monuments surviving from a distant past have been temples which have fascinated art lovers by their artistic features, architectural design and engineering skill. The people of ancient India appear to have excelled themselves in the fashioning of religious art. In their quest for perfection in articles for worship they had invariably amassed knowledge of artistic design and scientific principles.

Architecture is defined as a great cultural movement in the art of building activities. Though many civilizations of the world have had a rich architectural heritage, India's cultural heritage is unique and incomparable as far as architectural monuments are concerned. In India temple building activities represented the religious consciousness of the people. In the words of Percy Brown "It is mind materialised in terms of rock, brick or stone." The struc-

tural development of the temple, particularly of the South Indian temple, followed a corresponding development of temple rituals. When the ceremonies and festivals were elaborated with the advent of the Bhakti cult propagated by the *Nayanmars*, *Alwars* and *Acharyas* there was a corresponding reaction in the arrangement of the building in which these festivals or ceremonies were held. When the temporal capacity of the presiding deity is manifest on certain occasions called "*Utsavas*" and when He is taken out in processions in a physical form called "*Utsava Vighrahas*" the temple precincts correspondingly expand. Thus open and closed corridors, pillared halls and buildings connected with the ceremonial aspect of the temple, formed the outer part of the temple complex. The expansion of building activities is well perceived in the Pallava period as exemplified by the number of cave temples, monolithic temples and structural temples. Similar expansion is noticeable in the Chola and Vijayanagara periods.

With the enlargement of the temple complex, rituals such as worship, bathing etc., connected with the temple were gradually elaborated. Festivals occupy a pre-eminent position in the mode of worship. An inscription of the eighth century A.D., mentions the celebration of the "Chitrai" festival which was carried on for seven days. Again another inscription of Raja Raja I refers to thirty four festivals to be performed in a year at the Brahadesvara temple, Tanjavur. When such rituals and festivals were observed in the temples, the images were taken out in



ORNAMENTAL BRASS DEVOTIONAL
LAMP WITH HIGHLY DECORATED
PEDESTAL

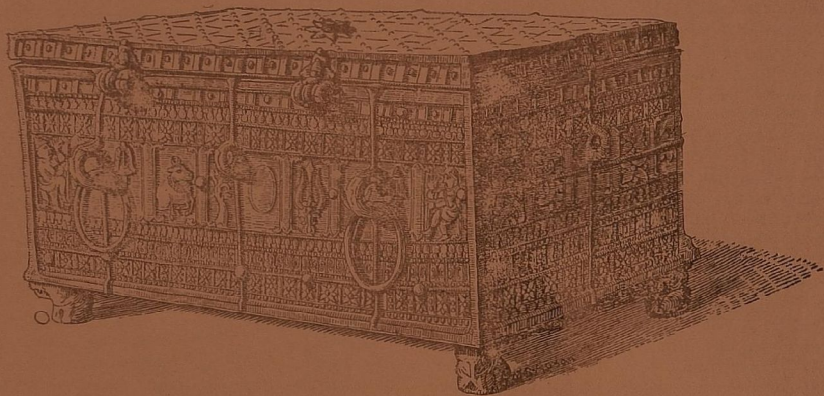
procession. Thus the necessity for processional deities (*Utsava-murtis*) in metal arose and a number of *Utsavamurtis* were fashioned to meet the needs of the temples. Various forms of Siva and Vishnu were dedicated in the temple complex. Certain images were meant for procession on certain occasions, such as *Alinganachandrasekhara* or the *Pradoshamurti* which are taken out on *Pradosha* days (i.e.) two days before the full moon and the *Nataraja* image which is taken out on the *Tiruvadirai* day every year. When this custom was started the images were fashioned in small sizes and bigger ones were made only during latter periods. It may be noted that early Pallava icons are small and in some cases are less than one foot. The bronzes that were made during the late 9th Century A.D. and the early 10th Century A.D. are bigger than the Pallava ones due to the Bhakti cult propagated by the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints.

Temple worship is a form of *yagna*, where offerings are made to God. Offerings are made to God in the temples on behalf of the entire community. These offerings are known as *pancha-upacharas*, *shodasa-upacharas* and *chatus-shashti-upacharas*. All these *upacharas* or offerings come under the ambit of the rituals of worship. Incense burners and lamps are the most important metal objects that were used for offerings. *Silpasastras* devote one full chapter to the characteristics, classifications and productions of devotional lamps. It is prescribed in the *Silpasastras* that these incense burners and lamps should have pedestals for "Mother earth is accustomed to undergo all sorts of sufferings, but she will not put up with the heat of the lamps and incense burners". The artists gave full rein to their imagination in beautifying such lamp stands. In course of time, the stands became an integral part of the lamp, which gave rise to the concept of the tree-lamp (*Vrksha dipa*). With the expansion of temple rituals

the varieties of lamps were also increased. Such as *Arati* lamps, standing lamps, *Dipalakshmis*, hand lamps and chain lamps. The commonest form of temple lamps is in the form of a female figure holding in her hands a shallow bowl which contains the oil and wick. Many inscriptions are available in South Indian temples which record the endowment of "*Dipalakshmi*" with due provision for lighting them. Though cast by the *sthapathis*, according to strict injunctions of temple worship they show no stereotype uniformity. The creations of the South Indian craftsman are infinite in shape and are of a high artistic order.

Wood was used for god images for consecration in brick temples according to the *Agamas*. But the moment temples came to be built of stone, the wooden image was replaced by its stone counterpart. With the increased use of stone in temple architecture the wood carver had to move outside the temple to exhibit his skill. When festivals were conducted and patronised by kings, the wood carver demonstrated his skill in the *vahanas* and *rathas*. The shape of the wooden temple car simulated the stone *vimana* over the *garbhagrha* and the variety of stone sculptures also transferred into the medium of wood, were fixed to the sides of the *rathas*. It is known that erotic art which was popular in the North from very early times was conspicuously absent till the 16th or 17th Century A.D. in the South Indian temple complex, except for some low reliefs in the *mandapas*. From almost the same period, they are profusely carved in the temple cars which may be due to the impact of the Tantric school which was previously either nil or negligible.

One of the richest expressions of the indigenous art tradition was the production of temple cloths used as decorative hangings in wooden *rathas*, in temple processions.



CAST COPPER CHEST USED FOR STORING
TEMPLE JEWELS, FOUND BURIED IN TIRU-
VALANGADU TEMPLE, SOUTH INDIA

The industry of dyeing and printing cloth with vegetable colours is known as *Kalamkari* work. The mural paintings on temple walls at Kanchipuram, Tanjavur, Cochin and Padmanabhapuram inspired the artists of great printing centres like Masulipatnam, Pallakollu, Kalahasti, Nagapattinam, Salem, Madura and Tanjore to produce *Kalamkari* cloth that are unsurpassed in vigour of design, freshness and richness of colour. These painted cloths were really an extension of the mural technique. They often depict stories from the great epics and were used as canopies over the idols during festival occasions and as panels on temple walls to give a religious atmosphere.

In Hinduism, the social fabric is deeply rooted in religion. The temple was the

centre of all the social and religious activities of the people and it is no wonder that it has left a deep impact on the arts and crafts which developed into important cottage industries in course of time.

Thus it may be seen that crafts like stone carving, metal casting, manufacture of utensils for temple rituals, wood carving and painted or printed textiles have been greatly helped by the religious influence of Temple Art.

Even today Mahabalipuram, Swamimalai, near Kumbakonam, and Nagercoil are great centres of stone carving, metal casting and wood carving industries respectively.

Courtesy : A.I.R. Madras

Kandyan Dance

TARA GANDHI

The dances of Sri Lanka are divided into two distinct categories—the *Udarata Natum* which belongs to the central hilly area of the island, and the *Ruhunu Natum* which is performed in the southern coastal areas.

“*Udarata*” literally means up-country and refers to the Kandyan region, from which the well known Kandyan dance originates.

The low country dances are popularly called “Devil dances”. These include the masked *Kolam* dance and folk dance-dramas which depict the folk traditions of that area.

Folk dances are found in the Kandyan area as well, but the term “Kandyan dance” refers only to the classical dance form which has distinguished itself from all the other dances by the great refinement and systematisation of its movements and intricate patterns of the drumming and music.

Apart from the broad term *Udarata Natum*, the Sinhala name for Kandyan dance is *Ves* meaning guise or costume.

Origin and Legend

Though Kandyan dance has emerged as a classical dance, it has its roots in folk culture. A ritualistic dance is performed in Kandyan villages in honour of a folk deity called *Kohomba Yaka*. This ritual is called the *Kohomba Kankariya* and has a colourful legend behind it.

It is said that King Vijaya, the first conquerer of Lanka, deserted his queen in order to marry another princess. Enraged by his infidelity, the queen used witchcraft to take Vijaya's life. She transformed herself into a leopard, which entered Vijaya's chambers and caused him to die of fear.



Born on 21st February 1949, Srimati Tara Gandhi's subject in College was Microbiology, a subject she pursued later as research assistant in the CIBA Research Centre. However her deep love for the Fine Arts led her to learn vocal Carnatic music and Bharata Natyam. Keenly interested in folk dance, she has participated in many folk dance programmes.

The present article written and illustrated by her, is the result of her study of the Ceylonese dance forms during her stay in Sri Lanka in the past three years.

The *Divi dosa* (curse of the leopard) continued to affect the royal family, and Vijaya's successor, King Panduvasudeva fell incurably ill after dreaming of a leopard.

It was found that the only person who could cure the King and lift the curse was King Male, who had to be lured to Lanka from India with the aid of God Sakra. Sakra took the form of a wild boar and started to devastate King Male's garden. The King chased the boar, which ran to the tip of the land, jumped across the sea, and landed in Lanka. At this point, the boar suddenly turned into stone, making the King realise that his arrival in Lanka was part of a divine scheme.

King Male is said to have performed a ritual of dance and music which exorcised the evil spirit completely, freeing King Panduvasudeva of his malady, making him healthy and happy once again.

In honour of King Male's ritual, the elaborate *Kohomba Kankariya* ceremony is performed. It takes the form of a grand all-night festival of dance and drumming, which even now is believed to bring good luck and prosperity.

Several dancers take part in this ceremony. They are *Yakdessa*s or folk priests belonging to the dancer community. These dancers are supposed to assume the guise (*Ves*) of the Malaya Raja, which is how the traditional dance got its name.

Originally, the *Ves* dance was exclusively performed in the *Kankariya*, but later it was introduced in the annual *Esala Perahara* pageant in Kandy, and is now performed on several cultural and religious occasions.

Costume

Formerly the *Yakdessa*s' costumes were kept in *Devalas* or temples because they were

supposed to possess divine powers. The dress is symbolic of the royal adornments of King Male, and is called *Su-seta—Abharana*, consisting of sixty-four ornaments.

The *Yakdessa* considers his costume to be almost sacred, and from the time he ceremonially wears it at his initiation, he is not supposed to perform without his full outfit.

The *Ves* costume is a regal ensemble of gorgeous ornamentation set off by a flowing white skirt-like dhoti. The most important part of the costume is the head-dress which symbolises the King's crown. It is shaped like a broad brimmed peaked hat, and is made of wood and silver. The wooden base is covered with a silver tiara, from which several broad petals radiate, framing the face like a sun-shade. Each of these petals is decorated with a fringe of hanging silver leaves which shimmer as the dancer moves his head.

From the top of the crown hangs a trailing embroidered ribbon several feet long. This crown-like head-dress can be worn only by those who have completed their training, and



DETAILS OF HEAD DRESS OF KANDYAN DANCER



KANDYAN DANCE COSTUME

have mastered the full art consisting of over twenty three components.

The colour scheme of the rest of the costume is red and white. Tied at the waist is an ankle length white cloth about three and a half yards long. Over this is worn another white cloth twenty yards long which is pleated and tucked ingeniously to make stiff frills and flounces at the hips. This skirt-like dhoti is held in place by a broad, richly decorated silver belt from the centre of which hangs a red velvet or satin strip studded with silver bosses. The chest is covered with intricate beadwork made of ivory discs with radiating strings of beads. Colourful beads also adorn the neck, and a variety of silver armlets and bangles decorate the shoulders and arms. At the wrist is a silver bracelet with a butterfly shaped clip. Two large mango-shaped silver ornaments are worn over the ears. The anklets are of silver or brass, and are held in place by a string looped around the toe. Bells are tied to the calves above the anklets.

Formerly, Kandyan dance was performed exclusively by men, just like the Kathakali of Kerala. But during modern times women have also entered the field, and there are now several women who are exponents of the art.

The costume for the woman dancer is a modified and simplified version of the *Ves* outfit. The skirt is almost identical but with fewer frills and decorations. Above this is a short blouse or bodice with decorative borders. The head-dress is a simple flame-shaped silver tiara that covers the hair which is drawn up and tied into a knot on top of the head. The white and red colour scheme is not strictly adhered to, and costumes of various colours are worn for stage performances.

The woman dancer's movements are more graceful and light and some of the vigorous acrobatic steps are left out in their performances.

Training

Students of Kandyan dance are trained according to the traditional system. Initially, twelve basic exercises called *Dandiya Saramba* are taught. These are exercises intended to master the basic foot work involving floor contacts with the heels, toes and soles of the feet, and turning of the ankles. The students hold on to a horizontal bar and practise these steps keeping time to the *tala* played on the *Magul Bere* or drum.

The next set are the *Goda Adambe* which are simple movements of the arms and hands synchronising with the footwork. After this the *mudras* and more detailed dance steps are taught, by which time the pupil is ready to learn the *Vannams* and *Padas*.

Eighteen *Vannams* are found in Sinhalese music. They were originally songs that were sung in the royal courts describing the heroism of kings and soldiers, and religious songs praising the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. These songs were later adopted for dancing. Some describe the movements of animals and at the same time celebrate events in the life of the Buddha. For instance the words of *Thuranga Vannama* (dance in imitation of a horse) describe how Prince Siddhartha went into retirement riding the horse Kanthaka. *Dalada Sindhuva* is in praise of the sacred Tooth Relic in Kandy and *Gajaga Vannama* is a magnificent dance describing with dignified and graceful steps the movement of an elephant.

Other animals described in the *Vannamas* are the rabbit, peacock, eagle and serpent.

Pada is a dance with a variety of classical steps, starting with slow movements, with the tempo building up to a very

vigorous pace. *Asne* is another dance which is performed as a part of the *Kohomba Kankariya* ceremony.

Drumming

Drummers and singers stand beside the dancers throughout the performance to provide the accompaniment of music and rhythm. Sometimes the dancers also join in the singing.

The drummers are dressed in a simple white dhoti with a broad red sash at the waist. They wear turbans on their heads, and a "collar" around the neck and shoulders, decorated with applique work.

The drum called *Magul Bere* is 28 inches long and is made of Jak or Margosa wood. The percussion faces are made of two different types of skin to produce different tones when beaten with the hands.

It is the drums and the cymbals played by the singers that provide the *tala* for the dance, giving it its basic character.

M. D. Raghavan in his scholarly book "Singhala Natum" says: "That the drum is the soul of Kandyan dance cannot be over emphasised. True of all dances, this is particularly true of Kandyan dance an art in *nritta*, pure dance. The drum scale, the *tala* is both simple and most involved, skillfully developed, built up from the primary fourfold symbolic beats - *tat*, *jit*, *tom*, *nam*. Sanctity has been ascribed to these scales.

"*Tat*, is a salutation to Lord Buddha; *jit*, to the gods; *tom*, to the guru, the preceptor; and *nam*, to the audience." Based on these primary scales, have grown the manifold combinations of the Singhalese drum scale."

Kandyan dance and South Indian dances

At the time when Kandyan dance was developing to its present form, there was considerable South Indian influence on the Arts in Sri Lanka. Ancient historical records and sculptures depict dancers in costumes and poses reminiscent of South Indian dances. The *Tissara Sandesaya* while describing the dances performed in the court of King Parakrama Bahu V, describe the dancers as "glancing with the corners of their eyes", and their eyebrows "quivering like rows of bees". Others describe how the girls follow the movements of their hands with their eyes. These descriptions indicate that a dance similar to Bharata Natyam was being performed by the women dancers who entertained the royalty and the elite.

Though Kandyan dancing undoubtedly takes its origin from the rural rituals of the Island's central province, it is evident that it has been influenced by Bharata Natyam, as well as by Kathakali. As a result, these three forms of dance though distinct from one another in their totality, have several points of similarity.

The manner in which the *Vannams* are performed and some of the basic foot-work are very similar to Bharata Natyam. Also the *nritta* aspect of Kandyan dance where there is pure dance without *abhinaya* or facial expression, is reminiscent of the *tillana* of Bharata Natyam.

Both Kathakali and Kandyan dance are basically of the *tandava* or forceful type, characterised by high leaps and vigorous movements. In Kathakali as well as in Kandyan dance the dances and rituals go on throughout the night, often in the open air, and are dramatic narratives of mythological events or stories. However the basic stance adopted for the two forms are totally different. The Kathakali dancer bends forward from the waist,

and curves his feet inwards so that the weight of the body is carried on the outer edges of the feet. On the contrary, the Kandyan dancer is straight-backed with feet apart, and toes pointing outwards.

Facial expressions and movements of the eyes and eyebrows which are so important in both the Indian dances are not found in Kandyan dance. The traditional Kandyan dancer displays no emotion on his face, and dances with serious concentration.

Researchers have discovered from ancient Indian texts that certain aspects of dance that are not found anymore in India, are still being preserved in Kandyan dance. One of these is the spinning or whirling movement called *brahmari* in Sanskrit. Other distinguishing characteristics which exclusively belong to Kandyan dance are the acrobatic somersaults that the men perform without touching the ground with the hands or the head, and the manner in which they turn the torso so that the tasseled ribbon attached to the head-dress swirls around them. Also characteristic are the shuddering movements of the shoulders and side-ward movements of the head that make the silver leaf fringe glint, and make the dancer "look like he has a dozen faces".

Contemporary Kandyan Dance

In modern Sri Lanka, Kandyan dance is very much an integral part of social life. Unlike the present day Bharata Natyam, it is not solely restricted to stage performances in auditoriums, but occupies an important place in cultural and religious events.

In traditional Kandyan weddings the bride and groom are ceremonially led up to the *poruwa* or marriage platform, by a group of dancers and drummers resplendent in their full costume. This custom is also followed to welcome important personages and dignitaries.

An Interview with Dance Guru Tittapajjala Suramba

Tittapajjala is a small village near Kandy, in the heart of Sri Lanka's central province. Surrounded by high mountains, this part of the island, also known as the Kandyan area, is blessed with plentiful rain and a fertile soil, where since times immemorial the Kandyan people have lived off their land's generous harvest of rice and spices.

The high mountains also protected this green bowl from invading forces and outside influences, so that the indigenous art forms were able to develop without hindrance. Classical dance and music flourished under the patronage of the Kandyan kinds, and the distinctive Kandyan dance was given a place of importance. Dancers were taught in the *Guru Sampradaya* tradition in which the students lived in their teacher's homes for several years, where they were given rigorous training in dancing, drumming and music.

Kandyan dancers and drummers were all men who performed at temples, and on special occasions at the king's court. They were given land in payment for their services, which they cultivated and used as a source of income. Thereby they never lost their connection with the soil, even though they were dancers by profession. Their life-style was a unique combination of agriculture and art.

Guru Tittapajjala Suramba belongs to this ancient tradition, training students in his ancestral home in the village Tittapajjala. His dance school 'Kalayatana', is the oldest in the country, where students from neighbouring villages and towns come to study.

Unlike other types of dance, Kandyan Dance is not meant to be performed for entertainment alone, but for *mangalkarya* or auspicious occasions. The dancers also take on the role of folk-priests or *yakdessas* who officiate at rituals which are believed to bring prosperity and good fortune. The most important of these is the *kohomba kankarya*, which is a night-long dance ceremony in which several *yakdessas* participate, wearing their gorgeous costumes.

The elderly guru is the descendant of a long line of dance teachers and *yakdessas*. Now whenever a *kohomba kankarya* is held in the Kandyan area, he is always the '*mulyakdessa*' or chief priest. His, full title is 'Karunadhipati Ilangam Mulyakdessalage Tittapajjala Suramba'.

His red-tiled house is set amidst the lush greenery of coconut palms and clove trees, and has a large school room adjoining it. Several dignitaries who have visited him here have been lavish in their praise for his institution.

Over the years, he has received innumerable awards and certificates from prestigious cultural organisations in Sri Lanka, and in the many countries overseas where he has given performances.

GURU TITTAJAJALA SURAMBA
(RIGHT) WITH A WELL KNOWN
DANCER, AMUNUGAMA
SURAMBA.



Guru Tittapajjala Suramba is now 64 years old, and is small-built and frail-looking. Seeing him in his normal clothes—a white 'sarong' and loose white shirt, with his grey hair tied to a small knot at the back of his head in the old style of typical Singhalese elderly gentlemen, one cannot imagine that he would have the strength to dance. But once he puts on his magnificent silver and white costume with its glittering crown-shaped head-dress, he is completely transformed.

Dancing with vigour that is amazing for his years, he fills the room with his presence, creating a wonderful picture of colour and movement.

The following interview was conducted in his home with Dr. Anuradha Seneviratne of the University of Peradeniya acting as interpreter.

Q : For how many generations have the members of your family been dance teachers ?

A : The tradition of dance and music in my family can be traced back to the time of the kings of Kandy. I remember my father telling me that his ancestors were drummers in the *Dalada Maligawa* (Temple of the Tooth). Only the best drummers were chosen to play there and they were given *Rajakarya* lands in return.

My great-great grandfather took part in the very first *kohomba kankarya* ceremony, and ever since then our family became *yakdessas*. This was around the time of King Rajasinghe II. We still own the land that was given to my ancestors by the King.

In 1927 my father inaugurated this school with the help of the *Dissawas* or Kandyan chieftains. The British Government Agent, H.W. Codrington, also helped and encouraged my father in his venture. At that time there was not a single school of fine-art in the country, and ours was the first.

Q : At what age did you start learning to dance? Who was your teacher?

A : I was born into an atmosphere of dance—so ever since I can remember, I have known dancing. But my formal training started when I was 12 years old, and after that it was only when I became 24 that I was given the *Ves* head-dress.

My first teachers were my father, of course, and my father's elder brother, but later I came under the guidance of Rangama Gunamala, another famous dance teacher of that generation. I also attended regular school at Nugawela till the 4th. Std. Later on, I was taken out of school and sent to a *Pirivena* where Buddhist monks are educated. There I studied Buddhism, Sanskrit and Pali.

Q : Could you describe the traditional way of teaching dance? Do you follow the same system?

A : A student of dance has to leave his house, and go to the Guru to become a part of his household.

Generally only members of our own community or *Nekati parampara* are taken as students, and we look after them like our own children. It is usually the eldest boy in the family who is formally handed over to the teacher.

Astrologers are consulted for an auspicious date and time for the child to move to his master's house, and there is a small ceremony to celebrate the event. *Attamangala* signs are drawn on the floor, and next to these are placed other auspicious symbols like a conch-shell, a pot, a brass-lamp, a coconut & coconut flower, a tiger-skin, etc. Alongside all these, the *dandiya* (horizontal bar which the student holds for support while learning the first basic steps) is kept, and *astakas* are sung by relatives and friends. From that day onwards, the student remains at the guru's house till he completes his training. The guru also invites his teacher to this function to bless his new student.

I am also following this same system of teaching, and I have several students living in my house whom I bring up as my own children.

Q : How do dance masters earn their living ? Do the families of the students make payments to the teachers?

A : All of us are also cultivators. We have our lands and fields which we use for growing crops. Apart from that, many are also astrologers and numerologists.

Our students don't pay us in cash, but bring gifts from their homes. This is called *Guru Panduru*. The students also help in the household chores and work in the fields. During the daytime the teacher goes along with his children and students to the fields, and they do all the usual cultivation work. The girl students help his wife at home. It is only in the evening, when all the work is over, that the dance classes are held.

The younger children are sent to school, and some of them also go for higher education after that.

Q : How long does it take for a student to become a full-fledged dancer?

A : About 12 years. It is only after he has completed this training that he is allowed to wear the head-dress or *Ves Tattuva*. This is a very important occasion in his life because only after his "*Ves palandini mangalya*" or "crowning" ceremony, he can take part in *Kankarya* rituals. Even then he is not given a completely free hand, and is observed by his teacher on his first few performances, and has to go back to him for more lessons from time to time.

Q : Is there separate training for drumming and singing? Do you teach any other types of Sri Lankan dance ?

A : We never teach Masked dances or other dances of the lowcountry (coastal areas), but we do teach the folk dances of the Kandyan area. The course is all-inclusive with drumming, singing, and dancing all taught together.

Q : During the time of the kings of Kandy, was Kandyan dance performed only for rituals or was it for entertainment as well?

A : When the King wanted entertainment they would perform in the court, but otherwise it was always for *poojas*. There were women court-dancers who performed only for the Queen. This was the '*digge*' dance, another type of Kandyan dance.

Q : Kandyan Dance was originally supposed to be only for men. Since when have women also started taking part?

A : The *digge* dancers were always there. But women dancing on stage is quite recent. Earlier there were separate women teachers for the *digge* dancers.

Even though the basic style of dancing is the same, the women's dances are quite different in the sense that their movements are always very gentle and graceful, whereas

the men have all the forceful, vigorous steps. For instance the typical dances that women do are the *Savaran* or *Chamara* dance, the *Kalagedi* dance with a pot, and *Mal-Savaran* or flower dance.

Q : Do you think there is any major difference between the dance of olden times and the present-day Kandyan Dance ?

A : The dancing is quite different now, and so is the music. But the drumming is exactly the same as it was many years ago. Formerly this dance was only performed in temples or at *Kankaryas* or at the *Perehara* festival. Now that there are also popular stage performances, the style has changed a great deal.

Q : Tourists are very keen to see Kandyan Dance, and one often finds dance troupes performing in hotels and auditoriums for them. Do you think that tourism has encouraged the dance by giving it some publicity ?

A : On the contrary, I think these popular tourist performances have done great harm to traditional Kandyan dance. The dancers are not trained properly because their training period has been shortened. The dance has been simplified too much to suit the tastes of the tourists. It is always good to introduce innovations and original ideas but the basic style should never be changed.

Q : Have your sons also taken to dancing or have they chosen other careers?

A : Both my sons are dancers, and the eldest son is a dance teacher. Though it is difficult to survive on dance alone, I am happy that my children have decided to stay in our line.

In fact, as an artiste it has given me great satisfaction to know that I have been able to pass on my talent to the future generation. Many of my students are also earning their living through dance, and some are teachers as well.

Q : You have visited several foreign countries and have given performances there. Where did you get the best response and greatest appreciation ?

A : I have performed in England, Europe, Russia, and Eastern European countries, and also Tibet, Burma, & Cambodia, apart from India.

In all these countries I was given a very warm welcome, and our art was greatly appreciated, particularly in Germany and Russia. In India, I spent one month in Madras, and also visited Kerala. I went to Shantiniketan too, not to perform there, but just for a visit.

Q : How would you compare Kandyan Dance with Indian dances and the dances of South-East Asia?

A : The dances of South-East Asia have a rhythm that is very different from ours. When I was in India, Ram Gopal, Uday Shankar and I together compared Kandyan Dance and Indian dances. I have come to the conclusion that Kandyan Dance and the South Indian dances, Bharata Natyam and Kathakali are like three brothers-individually different, and yet moving together.

Oriental Influence on Western Art

ASAD ALI

Since art has both visual and metaphysical content, it is a philosophy as well as an attribute to the human vanity. Whatever is seen is interpreted under certain logic, where the aesthetic and the theoretic components are indefinitely united. The art of the orient for the major part has investigated realism in its spiritual content while the accident has investigated the theoretic aspect. Each system has something unique to contribute to the contemporary world.

Aryan settlers in North India were so bewitched by the serenity of the mighty Himalayas that they chose it as their ideal abode for meditation, where they evolved new guide lines for an ideal religion based on the Upanishads and Vedas. However the orient cultural tradition is extremely complex comprising as it does the myriad beliefs of people of different regions divided

by geographical boundaries and climatic conditions. Buddhism and Hinduism have been powerful forces which have left an impress not only on the art forms of the Eastern countries but have also influenced the major part of the world.

The similarities and interconnections which exist between various philosophies of art are inevitable. Since art is an activity based on visual experience it is not surprising that it brings about identical produce, for human senses are intuitively drawn to the same conclusions. The Universality of the human spirit is therefore more evident in art expression. Here the conflicts are less and cohesion is more.

However one basic difference which has often been commented upon is that the western painter has been content in painting the outer form while the oriental artist



Mr. Asad Ali, Lecturer, College of Fine Arts, Lucknow, is a practicing artist who has established himself both in sculpture and painting.

Keenly interested in history of art and art appreciation, he speaks and writes on art subjects for the Press, Radio, and Television. Many of his works find place in private and public collections here and abroad.

visualises it from within, with a feeling of identification. According to Oriental Aesthetics a person who is incapable of contemplation cannot be an artist but only a skillful workman. What is implied by contemplation is the raising of the level of reference from the empirical to the ideal, from observation to vision, from mere auditory sensation to audition. In India both in classical and folk art the personality of the artist remains submerged. He is anonymous and many works of art remain unsigned, seemingly without reference to any person or place. In Indian art tradition only what was created was important and not who created it. The artist was merely an instrument of the divine.

In all the religions of the world, art has been the most ideal medium for propagating and popularising theological principles. It therefore assumed a very important role in human society. A need, or indigence as Plato calls it, is thus the first cause of the production of a work of art both for spiritual and physical needs.

The secularisation of art and the rationalisation of religion are inter connected, however unaware of it, we may be. The philosophical and religious doctrines of the East whether of Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism, have in many ways influenced the West, leaving in turn their impress on Western art forms. The Oriental influences on Christian art is evident in the calligraphic draperies and linear images of the saints in frescoes, mosaics and reliefs similar to the Mathura school of sculpture which Romanesque art later mastered to a classical standard. The mysterious smile on the lips of Mona Lisa, and the eternal smile of the Buddhas of Sarnath and Mathura, the portraits of St. Peter on bronze medallions and the portraits on Kushan coins,

show remarkable similarity of treatment. Rembrandt, the great master, was so greatly influenced by oriental art that he actually copied Indian Miniatures to develop his creative expression. Similarly Gauguin and Van Gogh, the master of Impressionism copied Japanese colour and black and white prints to acquire the strength of line for which they are famous. Modigliani is yet another painter of Post Impressionism, who depicts his figures with powerful sensitive lines strongly reminiscent of Ajanta paintings. His figures have no anatomical detail, but are executed in flat colour with slight gradation to suggest the different planes of anatomy. The great sculptor Rodin was also fascinated by Indian art and has paid glowing tributes to the figure of Nataraja as conceived by the Indian artist. It was his opinion that it was the most complete sculptural composition existing in the world, combining rhythm, balance and movement in perfection. Constantine Brancusi, the world renowned Rumanian sculptor visited Puri and was so much influenced by its mystical qualities that he adopted many Indian ideas in his style, with the result that he has contributed to western art a highly simplified, imaginative, symbolic creation of a metaphysical concept.

Even a modern concept of art like Abstract Expression in its basic principle of colour and image seems to follow the ethos and symbolism of Tantra.

The art and religious philosophy whether of the Orient or the Occident can be a vital source for bringing peace on earth and an understanding of the Universality of the human spirit. Differing cultures and attendant different ideals, grounded in their art forms can be so combined that they will reinforce and sustain rather than convert, combat or distress each other.

Bhopa Mud - Carvings

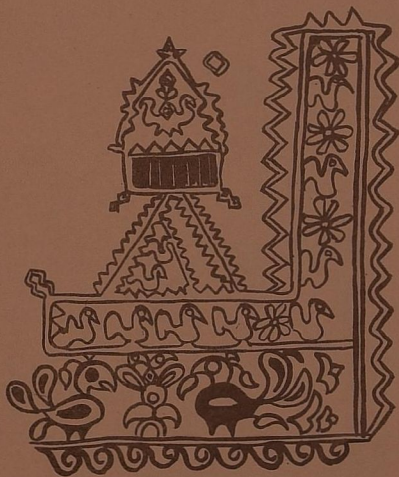
PUSHKER CHANDERVAKER

On the western part of India, lies the peninsula known as the land of Saurashtra; Saurashtra has five districts. One of them, the Jamnagar district in Gujarat State includes the major part of the Halar region.

The derivation of the word Halar has a historical background. Hala Jam was one of the mightiest of the old Jamnagar rulers who paved the way for the Rajput clan known as Jams to come to Saurashtra from Sind. Jam Halaji conquered the northern part of the land of Saurashtra, touching the south of the Gulf of Kutch. This part of the land, originally, belonged to the Kathias and Jethava-Rajputs the two ruling clans of the 11th Century. On the north and east, the Halar region was surrounded by the Gulf of Kutch and the Arabian sea, on the south by the Junagadh district and on the east by the Surendernagar district. This region was named after Halaji by his descendent Jam Lakhaji.

In the fifteenth century the ruling Jams consolidated the conquered areas of the land, which has been known as Halar desh since those days. Jam Halaji changed the scene. He cultivated the land and encouraged cattle-breeding. In the sixteenth century Jam Sataji after founding Jamnagar, invited many tribes and castes from Rajasthan, Sind and Kutch to Halar desh. They were Sindhis, Charans Langhas etc. It is believed that the Bhopas, a cattle-breeding tribe, came from Kotah to Halar desh during the time of Raval Jam, one of the descendents of Halaji. Hence it can be assumed that the Bhopas came to Saurashtra by about the 16th Century.

Bhopas, by profession, are cattle-breeders and are found in small village settlements spread all over the Jamnagar district. Their chief occupation is the rearing of cattle especially goats and sheep. They also keep dogs and camels as well as donkeys. Camels are their constant companions in their wanderings. Migrating from place to place in search of food, fodder and water for their animals, the Bhopa men-folk hardly enjoy a settled life. Due to their nomadic life, they are totally illiterate but have inherited a



DETAILS OF MUD CARVING SHOWING PEACOCKS, PARROTS AND FLOWER MOTIFS COMMONLY USED.

folk-art tradition which is highly developed and aesthetic.

They have their own peculiar and isolated habitations and settlements in villages known as *Vas* or *Nesadas*. One of the most important villages of the Bhopas is Bed, once a minor sea-port and a hunting and fowling resort for the rulers of the Jamnagar state of the Halar region. Bed village is situated where the rivers Sasoi and Poona (named after the heroine and hero of a Punjabi folk tale) meet the gulf of the Kutch on the Saurashtra coast. Singach on the northern coast of the gulf of Kutch is the second important village of the Bhopas, where their culture has been preserved intact.

The art of the Bhopas is untouched and unpolluted by the age of machines. Hence it is of interest to scholars of Anthropology and

Folklore. The folk-culture of the Bhopas has been preserved by their women-folk, who enjoy a more settled life in their *Kubas* (huts) and while away their time practising their traditionally inherited folk-arts such as mud-carvings, knitting, bead-work embroidery, folk dances and folk songs.

The Bhopa women are thus the true custodians of their culture, which finds artistic expression on the mud walls of their circular *Kubas*, and other articles of everyday use.

Their love for beauty, and artistic temperament is amply exhibited in the beautiful mud-carvings on the walls of their huts and the decorated mud-boxes used for storage, the colourful garments of the young boys and girls, their patch-work quilts, and the decorated cloth boxes known as *Mali*. Their ornaments



CIRCULAR BHOPA HUTS KNOWN AS KUBAS

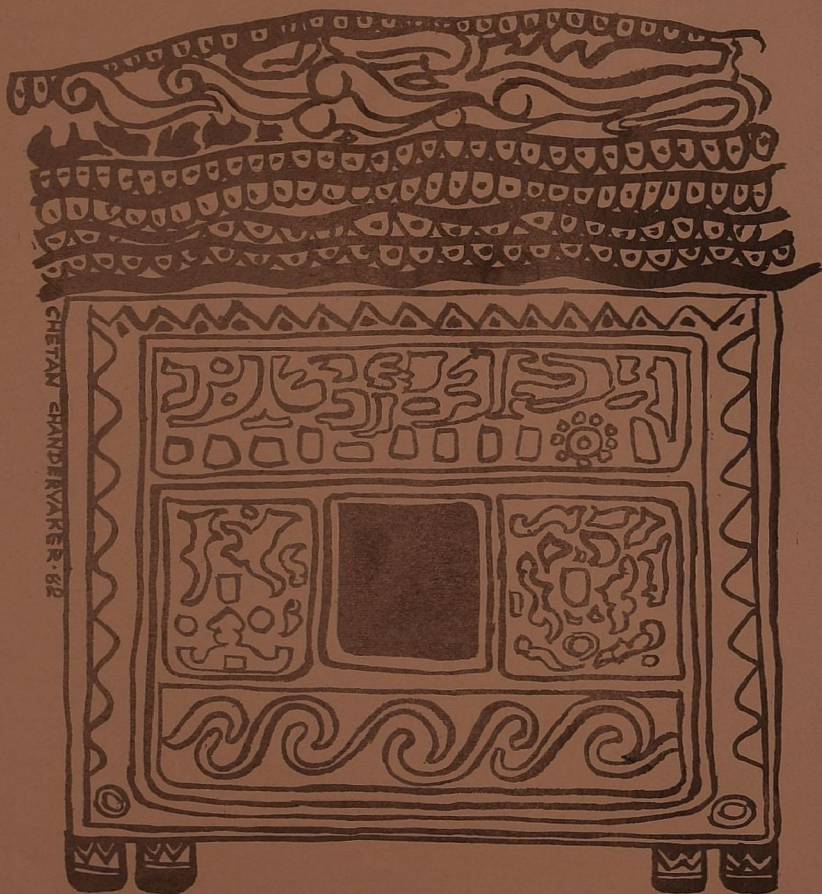


DETAIL OF MUD CARVINGS ON THE WALLS OF THE HUTS.

of gold and silver and elaborate bead-work embroidery also show a high degree of skill. "Janmashtami", the birth-day of lord Krishna, is an important festival for the Bhopas when an image of lord Krishna is made out of mud and worshipped with song and dance long into the night. But of all these arts, which the art loving Bhopas display the mud-carvings on the walls of their dwellings and other mud articles are the most striking and beautiful.

Bhopa *Kubas* (huts) are fashioned out of rammed earth and bamboo-strips, with stout wooden logs to bear the weight of the

thatched-roof. An outer circular wall is sometimes built on to the main structure which serves the purpose of a verandah. The walls are circular and are prepared with rammed earth besmeared with *gar* mud which is a mixture of wet earth, horse-dung and sand. This plaster is later decorated with mud-carvings locally known as *Chitar* (drawings). The walls are white-washed with a watery liquid of snow white colour from calcium-dust mixed with earth. This is known as the *Dhol* (wash). While still wet, designs are carved on the inner walls of the *Kubas* by the Bhopa women with the bare fingers, sharp



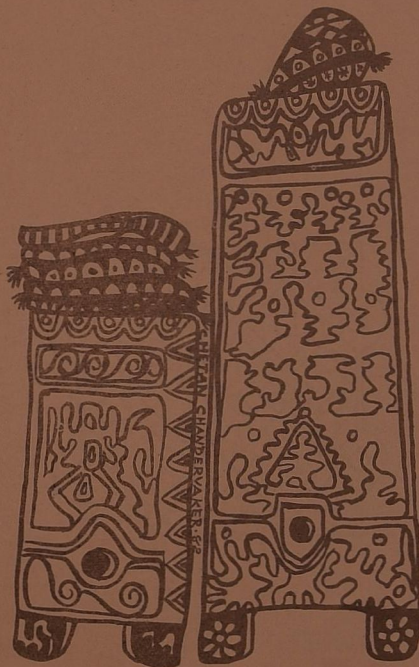
KOTHALA - MUD BOX USED FOR KEEPING ORNAMENTS AND CLOTHES. QUILTS ARE STORED ON TOP.

lines being etched with the nails. Some Bhopa huts have a rectangular shape with four walls, consisting of two rooms and a long verandah. The three walls of the verandah are often decorated with mud-carvings. Apart from the decorations on the walls some of the most interesting and attractive mud-carvings are seen on the earthen boxes known in the Bhopa dialect as *Kothis*, used for storing grain and on *Kothlas*, hollow boxes for keeping cooked food, milk, butter, curds etc. *Majus* derived from the Sanskrit word *Manjusha*, is also a mud-box, prepared from rammed earth and *gar* mud in which the Bhopa women keep their clothes, ornaments and many other precious things. *Paniyaras* are stands for keeping water pots which are also decorated.

The upper surface of all these articles are carved and decorated with naturalistic designs of trees, creepers, plants, and birds of quaint shapes.

These large mud storage boxes for the houses are constructed in a shady place in the open, away from direct sun. The ground is swept clean and spread with cow-dung ash. Long strong bamboo strips cut according to the size of the article needed is then tied with strings to prepare a frame of requisite shape. For making a *Majus*, a rectangular frame is prepared and for a *Kothi*, a round-frame. After this primary work, the bamboo frame is plastered with mud about two or three inches thick. Everything is done with the bare hands and no implements are used. The second layer of mud is then put over this with more strips of bamboo imbedded for added strength and to form an outline for the work. Cow-dung ash is frequently used in the construction. Usually the bottom part of a *Kotha* is made separately and later fixed to the main frame. The bottom is made about five to seven inches thick for added strength and is allowed to dry for two days. The legs which are attached to the bottom are also strong and thick, approximately

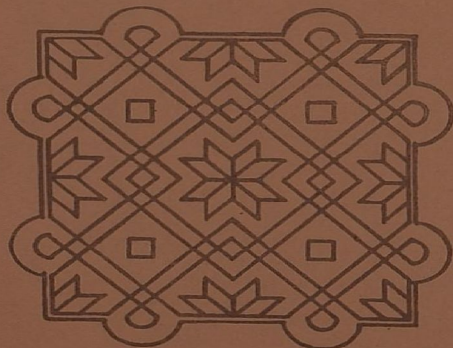
six to seven inches in height and eight inches thick. A *Kothala* has either four or six legs depending on its size. Generally the legs are square in shape and are beautifully carved. A *Kothi* has usually four tapered legs which are thick at the top and thin at the bottom. After the base and legs are prepared and dried carefully they are joined to the upper or body part of the *Kothas*, *Kothalis* or *Majus*, again with wet mud. The sides of these articles are built up gradually day by day with great patience to avoid sagging and cracking of the mud. With each additional layer bamboo



KOTHI - STURDY MUD CASKETS FOR STORING GRAIN.

GETTING RID OF ALL MY MISERY IN ONE
DAY, THE LORD OF LOVE, THE LORD IN
THE ETHERIAL SHRINE GAVE ME THE
EFFULGENCE OF GRACE THAT I MAY THRIVE
IN JOY ETERNALLY, AH! AH!

THIRU ARUTPA



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ships are inserted half inside and half outside the mud plaster and the wet mud is constantly sprinkled with ash for quick drying.

The four sides are almost always straight and erect. *Kothalas* are about four to six feet high, a *Majus* about four to five feet, and a *Kothi* can be anything between five to eight feet in height. A *Kothi* is round in shape like a barrel, slightly narrow at top and bottom and wide in the middle. The lid is made to fit, fashioned like the rest, out of mud plaster on a frame-work of bamboo strips. The *Kothis*

have a hole at the bottom for taking out the grain. This hole is about eight inches in diameter and is closed with rags. A *Kotha* has a square-lid and *Majus* has a wooden door, usually made by a carpenter.

The mud-carvings decorating these articles have typical motifs reflecting the Bhopa life, and culture. Hence, trees, plants, peacocks, parrots, elephants and creepers as well as human figures like *Mahiyaris*, (milk-maids) and Radha-Krishna their favourite divinities, are often repeated in their art. Another interesting motif often found, is the *Khagio*, which like the divine bird "Garud" is depicted with the beak and head of a bird on a human body. The word *Khagio* might have been derived from the Sanskrit word *Khag* which means a bird. It is their favourite bird as can be seen by its repetitive use in their fresco drawings. Usually the upper part of the *Kothas* are decorated with floral, plant and bird-motifs, but a little below the top, the sun and moon motifs are depicted carved out with the fingers and studded with pieces of mica. The rising sun known as *Benu* as *Bij-Chandra*, the crescent moon, are oft repeated motifs. It is noteworthy that the full moon is never depicted in any of the decorations.

The many different drawings and designs embossed in mud are decorated with pieces of glass, mirrors, cowries, mica etc.,. Colours are also used to make the designs more realistic as well as to give light and shade to the carvings. Dark green is most often used. Other colours used are parrot-green, indigo-blue and bright yellow. Indigo is used for blue colour and turmeric powder for yellow. Bhopas are far removed from the culture of the sophisticated and so called cultured races, but are imbued with an innate sense of the artistic which is vibrant and unspolited by outside influences.



PANIYARUN - WATER POT STAND



GOLAMATHA TEMPLE MAIHAR - VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

GOLAMATHA — A little known temple in Maihar

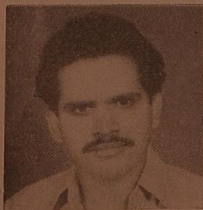
TAHSILDAR SINGH

Maihar, the headquarters of the former 'Maihar State' and now of a Tahsil in Dist. Satna of Madhya Pradesh, is a well-known historical place of Baghelakhanda region. It is celebrated as the auspicious seat of *Sarada* (Sarasvati) the goddess of learning. An ancient image of Sarasvati seated on a swan and playing on Vina with a short inscription on its pedestal, is enshrined in the modern *Sarada Devi* temple and a stone slab engraved with a long eulogy consisting of 51 stanzas, have already been reported. However, there is one important ancient temple (plate 1) which, unfortunately, escaped the notice of the scholars who explored this region and reported this site.

This temple is nearly 2 kms. northeast of the modern sacred *Sarada Devi* temple. It is locally known as *Golamatha* and apparently, given lesser significance by the devotees and visitors of *Sarada Devi*. However, it is a

well-preserved monument in Maihar and one of the very few extant temples of the Kalacuri period. The Kalacuri (Haihaya or Chedi) tribe was a powerful dynasty which ruled Narmada Valley in the sixth century acquiring later most of the Bundelakhanda and Baghelakhanda regions. The region in which Maihar lies, is of considerable archaeological interest. Remains are numerous throughout the State (Maihar) especially of temples in the medieval style of the 11th to the 13th cent. A.D.

Golamatha is a *saptaratha prasada* on plan. It consists of a *garbhagrha*, (inner Sanctum) an *antarala* (porch adjoining Sanctum) and a *mukhamandapa* (front hall). Facing east it is elevated on a low *jagati* (raised platform on which the temple stands) recently modernised and renovated and approached by three flights of steps, on the east, north and south.



Born on 22nd January 1956 in Pratopgarh, Uttar Pradesh. Dr. Tahsildar Singh has been a keen student of History, English and Sanskrit literature, submitting his doctoral thesis in 1978 on the "Evolution of Sculptural embellishment in North Indian Temples of 4th-10th century A.D." He is the author of many research articles dealing with temple architecture, Hindu Polity and Secularised religion as found in the Epics and Puranic texts.

Tahsildar Singh is at present working as research assistant at the American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Varanasi.

The entire exterior is richly carved and adorned with sculptures. Every projection is engraved with sculptures depicting mostly groups of dancers and musicians, except the main projection. With small niches in which are *Parvati* (standing) on north face, *Surya* (seated in *utkutikasana*) on west and *Ganesa* (dancing) on south.

The *Jangha* (divisions on the wall corresponding to the pillars) is in two tiers. The lower tier is broader than the upper one. The lower tier comprises *apsarases* (divine dancers) *dikpalas* (guardians of the directions) and other divine figures in their appropriate and respective places on the eight corners of the cardinals. These are supported by projected bracket. On this level the principal *bhadras* have bigger niches enshrining an eight-armed goddess (*Sarasvati*) on the west, sixteen-armed goddess (*Durga*) on the north and *Gajasurasamharamurti* of *Siva* on the south.

The upper tier i. e. second band of sculptures consists of beautifully modelled *mithunas* pairs in various poses, invariably standing on a projected lotus-shaped bracket. On this level all the projections and recesses are monotonously treated.

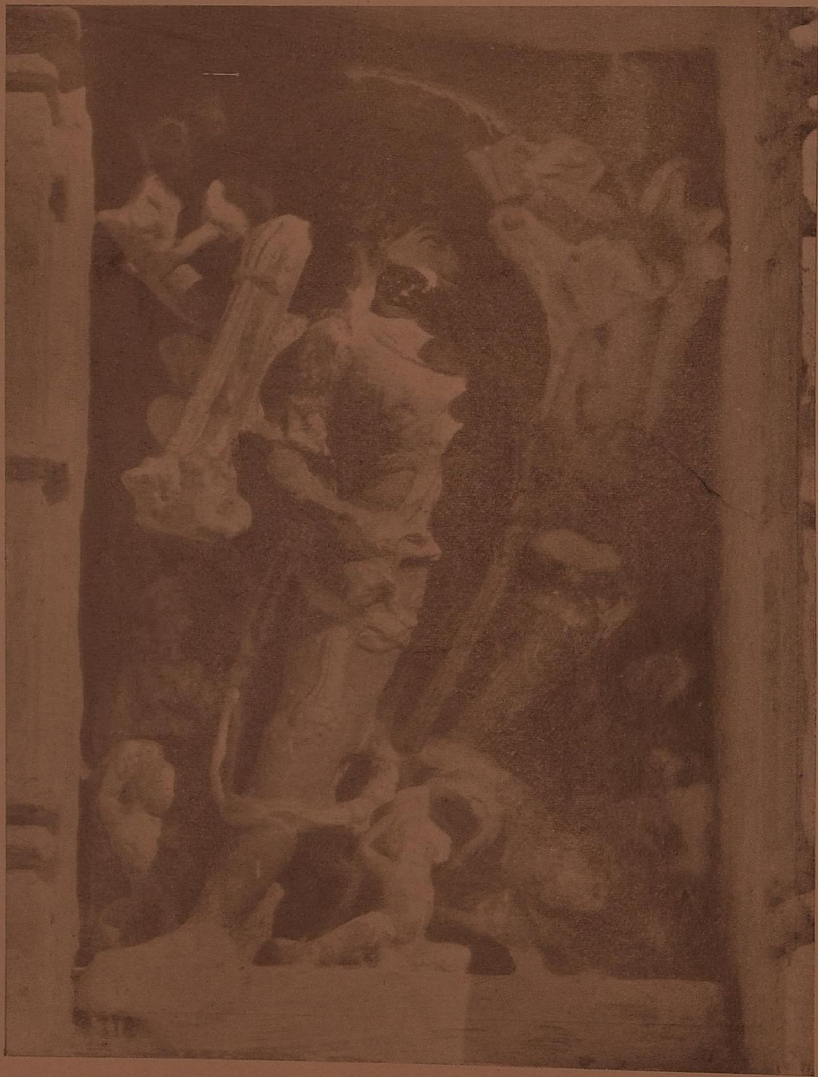
The continuation of all the projections and the recesses of the *jangha* above the *varandika* constitute the *sikhara* or superstructure. It is of *navabhuma* (nine tiers) variety. The *bhumis* (tiers) are indicated by *amalasaras* (separated woodapple like ornamentation) on the corners, each of them consisting of nine divisions. The rest of the superstructure is exhuberantly carved. The pinnacle seems to be a later restoration though the ribbed *griva*, the *amalaka* and the *bijapuraka* belong to the original structure. On the front facade the super structure is ornated with *sukanasa* erected exactly above the *kapali*.



“VYALA” FIGURES ON SOUTH JANGHA



ONE OF THE LARGER NICHES CONTAINING FIGURE OF DURGA.



SIVA AS "GAJASAMHARA MURTI" ON SOUTHERN WALL.

The *mukhamandapa* is reconstructed on a modern platform with original pillars, pilasters, architraves and ceiling. The most interesting feature of this *mukhamandapa* is the decoration of the capitals of the *stambhas* (pillars) and *pilasters*. The *pillars* may be divided into three vertical sections namely *kumbhaka*, *yasti* and *bharani*. The *kumbhaka* with octagonal shape is engraved with four mouldings. The *yasti* is octagonal on lower portion, sixteen-faced in middle and circular on the upper. The *bharani* has three circular mouldings, supporting the cruciform *sirsaka*, the first being plain, second carved like a *garland* and the third and last one bevelled, ribbed and chamfered. The really rare thing is the *vidyadhara-mithunas* (celestial pairs) decorating the top. On every pillar there are four *vidyadharamithunas*. In between the two wings of the cruciform bracket there is a *naga* figure with folded hands. Represented four-armed they support the capital with two hands and in the remaining two hold a variety of articles e.g. musical instruments like *flute* and *lute* as well as *flowers*, *fruits* and other offerings for the worship. The *gandharva-mithuna* with the female holding *vina* and the male *vamsi* is an excellently modelled masterpiece enchanting by its liteness and buoyancy. The *lotus* shaped *ceiling* is made of three inter-secting squares. The corners are embellished with *kirtimukhas* (lion faced figures) and the central part exhibits a full-blown lotus. The pilasters of the *mukhamandapa* front hall which flank the doorway are decorated on the same pattern of the pillars of *mukhamandapa*. They belong to *Bhadra* variety. Corresponding to the *pratihari* (gate-keeper) figures of the doorway they have *cauri*-bearers who stand in graceful *tribhaya* pose holding a *lotus* and a *fan* in either hand. Being a pilaster they show two single *vidyadharas* one on each side and a *pair* on the front. The single *vidyadhara* carved on the southern pilaster is an interesting and unique sculpture.



DECORATIVE SCROLL AND CREEPER
DESIGNS ON THE PILLARS

The doorway of the *sanctum* is of *catussakha* variety with four fully ornated branches. There are sculptured *doorkeepers* with their retinue. The main *doorkeeper* *kamaladharini*, one on each jamb, carved in centre with two female attendants. *Ganga* as a river-goddess with her *vahana*, the *crocodile* and a female attendant is on the left jamb while *Yamuna* is on the right jamb with the *tortoise* as her mount. In the left most corner is carved the *Mahakala* form of Siva and on

the right is his counterpart *Nandi*. With a *fierce* expression of half opened mouth, big protruding eyes and *flying hair* *Mahakala* holds a *khatvanga* in left and a *skull* in the right hand while *Nandi* is shown in *benign mood* holding a *club* (mutilated) in the left hand and the right in the boon giving *varadamudra*. In the front there are three sculptured friezes namely a row of flying *vidyadharas*, carrying flower garlands, a row of standing *navagrahas* and a row of seated

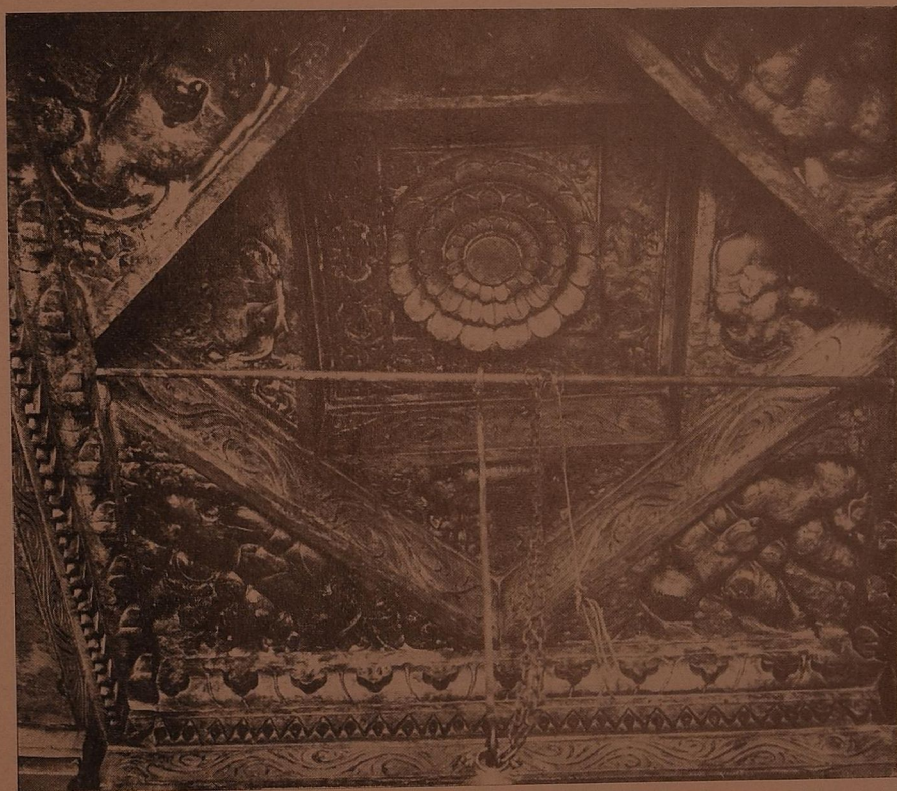


"GANDHARVA" COUPLE WITH FEMALE PLAYING THE VINA AND THE MALE PLAYING THE FLUTE.

saptamatrkas. In between the rows of *vidyadhara* and *navagrahas* is a figure of *Siva* holding a trident in the upper right hand while the lower right is in *varada*. The corresponding deities of the Hindu triad namely *Brhama* and *Visnu* are depicted on the left and right corners with their usual iconography. The upper most strip shows the *saptamatrkas*

flanked by the figure of *Virabhadra* (holding a vina) on left and Ganesa on the right. Also are engraved dancers and musicians on the ends.

The temple is under active worship. A *Sivalinga* of considerably later date is installed on a *pedestal* and worshipped as the *mulanayaka* (main deity).



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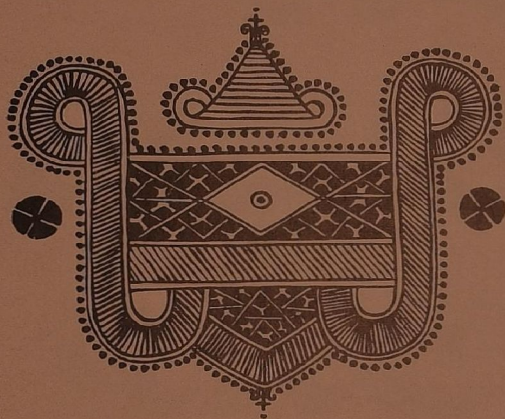
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- (i) The problem of alkali supplies had been solved by Leblanc developing a new process for producing caustic soda from common salt.
- (ii) Advertising, another essential (sic) in the soap business had had its first brush with art. Sir John Millias, a future President of the Royal Academy created around this time his famous "Bubbles" poster for Pears Soap... bringing his work and the soap to the notice of the queen and the great unwashed.

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