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I.—A GUPTA HEAD: A FRAGMENT.

By THE EDITOR.

THE art of the Gupta period is justly regarded as the classical phase of Indian Art. In the domain of sculpture, the "joyful affirmations" of form of the magnificent "primitives" of the earlier Mathura school give place, in the Gupta era, to self-possessed and exuberant forms definitely accepted in crystallized formulas—not of dead forms—but marked by the rich flexibility and expressiveness of a fully developed classical tongue, learned and organized, but yet richly expressive. In the mid-Gupta, if not in the early Gupta phase, sculpture is almost a plastic parallel to the grace, richness, fluency and effulgence of the poetry of Kalidasa. To cite an example at random, the dreamy voluptuous figure of an *apsaras* (in the Gwalior Museum) (1) with her waist marked with *trivalis*, suggestive of the ornate iconography of Indian erotics, is almost an excerpt from a stanza of *Kumārasambhava*. Both in Buddhist and Brahminical phases, Gupta sculpture is marked in the rich energy of its form as well as contents, with a curious fusion of antithetic qualities, a peculiar mingling of the abstract with the sensuous, the passionate with the reserve and the reticent. Even the images of Buddhas are incarnated in a facial expression which has a quality of spirituality akin to voluptuousness. These antithetic, almost contradictory, phases have been explained by a philosophy which regard the sensuous as the legitimate gateway to the regions of the super-sensuous, the five senses being regarded as "the chief inlets of the soul," the experiences of

finite existence being interpreted as revelations of the infinite. Forms of spiritual and sensuous conceptions, alike, are interpreted by an identical formula.

The magnificent fragment of a head (Frontispiece), evidently of the Gupta period, wrenched from its context offers a conundrum which it is not easy to answer. Is it a heavenly nymph—an *apsaras*—with her wavy wringlets of hair, or is it a young *dwārapālā* in its round, boyish chubby face? Its half closed eyes and its submerged "illegible smile" have all the dreamy introspection of the face of a Buddha. The horizontal line of the upper eye-lid, the subtle outline of the eyebrow, and the soft indications of the outlines of the lips are merged in a delicately rounded form, very sensitively modelled, having a latent and a reserve power of expression which lends to the face a depth and a concentration which is hardly ruffled by the gentle breath of smile playing on its surface. The horizontal lines of the eyes, giving a peculiar slit, and the conventionalized wavy formulas of the hair, in *stylizée* decorative curls, are significant details repeated in T'ang sculptures. They are obviously derived from Indian models as the evidence of this important find amply demonstrates. Its fully developed and highly flexioned form and its close proximity to some phases of T'ang sculpture, attribute to the piece a date very much late in the Gupta period, somewhere about the early seventh century, representing Gupta sculpture in the pinnacle of its perfection. We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Heeramanek, the owner of the fragment, for a photograph specially taken for *Rūpam* and reproduced in the Frontispiece.

(1) Fig. 173, Coomaraswamy: "History of Indian Art."

II.—INDIAN SCULPTURE⁽¹⁾: A REVIEW.

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

IT should be normally the case that art of our own time should need neither explanation nor justification. In what we think of as great periods of art (really periods of great energy, recognized by their record preserved in works of art), this held good, because the artist was not thought of as a peculiar individual, exploiting personal sensibilities or pursuing a personal ideal, but as a skilled craftsman whose profession it was to set forth certain themes, for the clear and repeated presentation of which there was felt a general necessity, such necessities usually inhering in theories of life, commonly termed religious. Now, on the contrary, the artist himself is expected to be a person especially gifted, who must choose his own themes, express them in a language peculiar to himself (if he is "in advance of his age"); and if, after a life devoted to these egotistical aims, he dies of starvation, he may expect to be canonized as a genius.

Two other causes of the present unpopularity of art may be mentioned. First the popular conception of art as constituting, not a comprehensible language wherewith to express thoughts and feelings, but as a mirror held up to nature, the observer feeling offended if he cannot always exercise the pleasant faculty of recognition; much as if he expected to recognize in music the actual sounds and sequences of sounds familiar to the ear in daily life. Second, in the opposite direction, the insistence of many modern aestheticians on the unimportance of subject-matter, and the sole validity of æsthetic pleasure derived from forms and colours abstracted from all associations or meanings. Thus the plain man does not know what even the art of to-day is all about, and on the other hand he is annoyed by the fact that what he is told to admire neither deals with matters of interest to him, nor corresponds to appearances of things he has himself seen.

It is no wonder that he finds the art of another age and race still more unintelligible. Even that of mediæval Europe, although its themes are Christian, and thus theoretically familiar, is strange to him; still more strange is the art of a country like India or Egypt, where both matter and language are unfamiliar. For a very small group of professed aestheticians, indeed, whose approach is purely æsthetic, the situation is different; but here experience is

limited in the opposite direction, by the very fact of indifference to subject and formula. The archæologist, on the other hand, may be interested only in iconography and dates. Finally there are the sentimentalist who like what they call exotic and mysterious, forgetting that Oriental art is mysterious only to their ignorance, and was originally regarded as embodying simple and matter of fact statements.

Apart from these, why should a man of plain intelligence, not himself professionally involved, nor suffering from peculiar sensibilities, be interested in any unfamiliar art, such as that of India? Because at the present time, at the close of a cultural cycle, and in an age of transition, a profound interest in history is altogether normal; when all traditions have broken down, we can only envisage the growth of new traditions, we can only understand what is going on, when we realize that innumerable cultures have already passed through their stages of youth, maturity, decay. When this is understood, those who despair of the present may take comfort in the thought that a classical condition must inevitably reappear at some future time; but those are more vitally a part of the present, who have become aware of it as a man becomes aware of his youth, and enjoys it, although equally aware that it will be followed by maturity and by decline.

It is by a natural and normal instinct that we turn to record and to appreciate past values at the very moment of their imminent disappearance (India, for example, is the last surviving province of the ancient world). If we no longer live by these past values, we cannot afford to forget them; loss of memory is equally disastrous to individuals and to groups. Intuitively aware of the future, of culture now only possible as world culture, and of the fact that a world culture, however "contemporary" its character may be, could not be born without inheritance of tendencies that have been the particular determining forces of pre-existing civilizations, we feel an imperious instinct to know what men have known and felt in past ages. Historical studies then, the investigation and theoretical enjoyment (history is both science and dramatic art) of past human experience, are not activities of idle curiosity, but essential to self-possession, to any kind of life not merely functional, not altogether blind. The best key to history in this sense lies precisely in those

(1) Ludwig Bachhofer, *Indian Sculpture*, 2 vols., pp. xvi + 137, and 161 collotype plates. London, Pegasus Press, 1929. There is also a German edition, *Die frühindische Plastik*, from which the English is evidently translated. (Dr. Bachhofer is a Privat-Docent at the University of Munich, Germany, and has previously published a smaller work entitled *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik*, Neubiberg, 1925; *Eine Pfeilerfigur aus Bodh-Gaya*, Jahrb. As. Kunst, II, 1925; and *Eine Bronzestatue aus Sudindien*, Pantheon, February 1928.)

records which we elect to describe as works of art, though they were once the common objects of every day experience.

These products of human activity must not be isolated, they must be visualized as having been, not luxuries, but necessities; felt as such, for example, equally by primitive hunters, by merchant princes, or by rulers of vast empires, that is to say, by ordinary men engaged in the practical business of living. We must realize, again, that theology had once an interest as absorbing a pertinence to daily life at least as great as that which we now find in science; in the last analysis, science is nothing but our current theology, amply provided with a pantheon, though still deficient in visual iconography. We must realize that ornament was not originally a kind of upholstery, but a deliberate incitement to more abundant energies.

In dealing then with historical sequences in works of art, we are primarily concerned to explain their actual necessity, just why they are what they are and could not have been otherwise. The impartiality imposed upon us by this scientific method of approach has incalculable cultural value; for we cannot judge another culture by our own, we can only estimate its perfection in terms of the degree to which it realizes its own tendencies, and becomes itself. First of all we must make its meaning clear, for this, and not a vague aspiration for the beautiful, was the immediate cause of its production; meaning has created shape (iconography), and without understanding meaning, unfamiliar shapes will still appear to us as arbitrary, quaint, or "exotic." Secondly with respect to form (aesthetic quality) we must recognize degrees of vitality and grace, in order that the movement within the given historical cycle may be realized, and given culture comprehended as an organism. In other words we have to speak in the first place of significance, in the second of style.

Dr. Bachhofer's really remarkable and important work, which covers the critical period in the history of Indian art, i.e., the half millennium from Aśoka to the beginning of the third century A.D. approaches the subject mainly from the latter point of view; it is a study of stylistic development, so carefully undertaken that we are bound to treat the conclusions reached as relatively secure, notwithstanding that the precision of the dating seems at times a little daring. The author is at some disadvantage in ignoring everything before Aśoka, since after all, the fundamental motifs and qualities of Indian art must have been established long before his time, and he overlooks the fact that Aśoka himself speaks as though some of the columns on which the Edicts are inscribed had existed before his own time.⁽²⁾ With regard to supposed Mesopotamian and Persian elements

in Indian Maurya and Śunga art, I have pointed out elsewhere that these are really the cognates of, and not contemporary, borrowings from Western Asiatic art, and their idiosyncratic character is evidence enough of this. Moreover, if the art preceding Aśoka did not already possess the motifs recognizable in Maurya and Śunga art, the pre-Maurya art must have been of some strange and unknown kind, unable to perpetuate itself even in a country so governed by tradition as India. It is unthinkable that Indian art began with a clean slate in the third century B.C., and from this point of view the recent Indus Valley discoveries cannot be said to be surprising.

The early terra-cottas are scarcely mentioned, and the Lauriya-Nandangarh gold plaque of the nude goddess is treated as almost unique, though actually the form occurs not only very commonly amongst the early terra-cottas, but also on the stone discs from the Bhīr Mound and Sankisa.

Then "In the third century B.C. the darkness shrouding the history of India begins to disperse. Only later, when the great religious systems had grown up, the sense of the Indian people for sculptural creation was awakened. The impulse came from outside * * * from Persia." Are we to understand by this that from Persia came the motivation of the Indian devotional theistic systems, which determine the subsequent development of Indian art? The author naturally does not mean this, but is referring only to those technical peculiarities of Maurya art which have usually been referred to Achaemenid influences; for example, "the bell-shaped capital comes from Iran, as does also the technique of imparting a lustrous polish to stone." But as has been pointed out by Chanda, *Mem. A. S. I.*, 30, p. 29, and now again by Bachhofer (p. 5), the lotus capital (we may as well call it by a name that really describes it) and monolithic columns of India are very different from their Persian analogue, and it is far easier to suppose that both are developments from older sources common to both, than to suppose that one was borrowed and deliberately altered in the third century; I have myself shown (*Eastern Art*, I, 1928, p. 179) that the cosmic concepts underlying the use of the lotus as a support are already present in the Vedas. The trouble that always results from a too ready reliance on "foreign influence" is that the said influences explain too much, and would in fact force us back on to an untenable "clean slate" assumption. Can anybody seriously doubt that wooden "bell" capitals, and others with adorsed animals, existed in India before the time of Aśoka? The technique of polishing sandstone may perhaps be of foreign origin; but we must remember that the Indians were expert in polishing small hard stones (gems) and even in working sandstone (Bhīr Mound and Sankisa discs) before Aśoka. It is to be borne in mind, too, that the Indians, when they first used stone, began not like the Greeks with marble, but with a very hard

(2) Sahasram Edict: "Where there are stone pillars * * * there cause to be engraved."

sandstone: it may very well be that the whole development had something to do with the invention of steel, which was certainly known to India in the second century B.C. but may not have been very much earlier.

With regard to the Patna Yakṣas, when one reads that "With laudable national sentiment, an Indian has endeavoured to assign several sculptures to the fifth century B.C.," one is obliged to smile, not only because Mr. Jayaswal has as much right to be regarded as a serious and disinterested scholar as has Dr. Bachhofer himself, but still more because, as we learn from the notes, the refutation of this view was made by Rāmāprasād Chanda, with whom a majority of Indian students, myself included, are in agreement, and we are not informed as to whether this lack of national sentiment (?) on our part is laudable or otherwise! One is reminded of M. Foucher's method of argument, by reference to "engouement d'esthéticien ou rancune de nationaliste."

Obviously, the art of the Aśoka columns, as art, is more mature than the art of Bharhut, a century later. The explanation by means of Græco-Bactrian art (of which we know nothing) may be dismissed, in the words of Rostovtzeff, as a futile attempt to explain *ignotus per ignotum*. In all probability, however, some Western, probably Achæmenid, influence is present in the Aśokan art; but there is also a psychological explanation to be found in the fact that the æsthetically late and naturalistic Mauryan art is already *vieux jeu*, and for this reason it soon loses what intrinsic energy it still possesses; whereas the art of Bharhut and the subsequent development to Amarāvati represents a popular, almost a folk art, with deeper though less cultivated roots.(3)

This latter is an æsthetically primitive art in the full tide of adaptation to the expression of new ideas, and exhibits corresponding qualities at once more vital and less sophisticated. Bachhofer interprets it in a quite opposite way. "One notices throughout how a highly developed art, mastering all the devices of plastic creation, is being adapted to a new and simple level of conception" (p. 10). The five early Yakṣa statues are said to be "closely related to the animal capitals of Aśoka"; so far at least as the Sāñcī capital is concerned, I cannot see this.(4) But then, I think the Pārkhāma figure, which Bachhofer

calls clumsy, is infinitely superior as art to the Sārnāth capital, though the latter belongs to a very much more mature kind of art.

The term *rūpa-bheda*, introduced in connection with the earliest sculpture, though really we have authority for the term only in the twelfth century A.D., is misunderstood; it means "the distinguishing of ideal types," or in other words, "iconography"—not the separation of the parts of a single figure. The inorganic relation of the parts of a figure or composition, discussed on page 18, so far as it occurs in the early art, is a primitive quality, and as such certainly quite overcome by the time of Amarāvati; so far as it occurs in the later art, as has been so admirably pointed out by Zimmer, in *Kunstform und Yoga*—(a work which Bachhofer has evidently not "come across") it is a consequence of the Indian mode of visualization, which involves an ideal unity rather than organic relationship of parts. Indian art is not concerned with representations, but with statements.

The five *torāṇas* at Sāñcī are assigned to the period 50 B.C. to 75 A.D., and this is called the "golden age." Personally, I would not exclude the late reliefs of Amarāvati about 200 A.D., from this designation; but Bachhofer seems to feel that Indian sculpture is becoming rococo even before the Gupta period. At Sāñcī, "the art is distinguished by a keen interest in worldly things rather than by a deep understanding of the pessimistic truth of salvation for the purpose of which these legends were after all intended to be made manifest to the people. There is a keen delight in existence and in all things mundane which is unknown, nay, has become impossible to subsequent generations. The delight taken in reality is a trait characteristic of the entire early Indian plastic art, but the stream is now running clearly and rapidly; it is no longer impeded as in the beginning, nor is it so rapid and precipitate as at the end of its course. Man is conceived to be happy and beautiful. The human body now appears as a beautiful and harmonious union of the single parts, emphasizing their functional values; it is a well-constituted mechanism." Everyone will agree with the eulogy of the figures of donors at Kārli: "Man and woman stand here one by the side of the other, truly noble vessels of a free and proud humanity, heroic bodies full of strength and self-assurance. If they are not gods themselves, they at least challenge with their happiness the celestial ones." Or, as I have myself said elsewhere "these human figures have all the perfection of animals, and at the same time the intelligence of man."

When it is said that "this period knows nothing of depth-extension in a spatial sense, and is capable only of imagining bodies or groups of bodies either in juxtaposition or place one behind the other," not only is the extraordinary special quality of the older reliefs at Bhājā overlooked, but, I think, the pre-occupations of one accustomed to modern scientific perspective must be inferred.

(3) It has almost as much to do with Yakṣas, Śrī, and the water-cosmology as with Buddhism itself; its patrons are not only kings, but also as the inscriptions attest, the common people.

(4) As Bachhofer points out "the Hindu feels the volume of things with extraordinary intensity," but it is claiming far too much to say that "for more than twenty centuries the strong feeling for the cubic has" persisted in Indian sculpture. Indian sculpture after the Gupta period, whatever its merit or depth may be, is hardly ever plastic.

To one who has accustomed himself to representations in the method of vertical projection, where what is above is also to be understood as behind, the feeling for space expressed in an Asiatic landscape (for the method is not only Indian, but generally Asiatic) is even more convincing than when the landscape is represented scientifically as seen from normal eye-level, as we now commonly look at it. Bachhofer speaks of "overshadowing" without realizing that this is special representation; that the language is different ought not to confuse our perception. I, at least, am never unaware in Indian representations, whether those of Bhārṇhūt, or those of Rajput painting where the same method persists, of an extended recession to a distinct horizon, though this horizon may actually be drawn almost on the upper margin of the composition.

At this point the situation with respect to foreign influence and internal development is at last brought out as follows: "Marshall believed that the substitution of the alto-relievo at Sāñcī for the flat relief at Bhārṇhūt was due to West-Asiatic influences. He may have been confirmed in his assumption by the existence of certain motifs which are of undoubted Western-Asiatic origin, (5) such as the bell-crowned capital—usual from the very beginning but naturally also in its Indian form—winged monsters and vegetable ornaments, such as the 'honeysuckle.' But the fact that certain motifs have been adopted does not at all warrant the assumption that the entire form apparatus has also been taken over. The tendency to confound contents and style has already caused so much confusion in the history of Asiatic art that the necessity of drawing a distinction between the two cannot be sufficiently emphasized in the interests of exact knowledge. In this case there is no trace of either Persian or Assyrian influence in the reliefs of Sāñcī. But if Marshall pretends that their black and white is 'peculiarly characteristic of the Græco-Syrian art of this period,' that is to say of the latter half of the last century B.C. then one might object that a Græco-Syrian art does not exist at all in this period and the entire problem of foreign influence is thus solved."

In the "late" period, 75—200 A.D., we are mainly concerned with the Kuṣāna art of Mathurā and the late Andhra art of Amarāvati, etc. By means of dated works it is possible to make out the Mathurā sequence clearly enough (remembering that Bachhofer dates Kanīṣka A.D. 78, while many others, myself included, make his accession 120 or 129). The early development at Mathurā is rather slow, but "it is no mere coincidence when the new impetus appears at the very time of the reign of the greatest of the Kuṣāna kings. Under the firm rule of Kanīṣka, the North enjoyed peace, in spite of the fact that from time to time struggle and war blazed up on the borders. There was also

the support which from the beginning art and religion had met with at the hands of this wise prince. It was under his reign that plastic art of the Gandhāra country, a district under his immediate sway, reached the summit of its development, although only on the quantitative side. It was the same at Mathurā, with the difference only that here artistic quality kept pace with the magnitude of the task."

"Those who bear in mind something of the composed and calm forms of the golden age will recognize with amazement to what an extent the later period knows how to enliven its productions. The change from the stable and permanent to the transient and mobile will of course not come as a surprise, for it is in absolute agreement with the laws of optical development. Whereas in the North almost unsurmountable obstacles were placed in the way of this natural growth but were overcome in a comparatively short time; at Amarāvati, on the contrary, the path was free from the very start, and the elegant growth of Southern art could develop without any hindrance."

"That calm strength which emanates from the couples of Kārli we shall never encounter again"; a "beautiful carelessness" of demeanor is characteristic of Mathurā (the Buddha-Bodhisattva types apart), but at Amarāvati "a trembling, almost hysterical unrest" has taken hold of man * * * "there is neither measure nor goal, everything being done with exuberance and extravagance * * * understanding for natural form is lost * * * a lazy inactive lolling about in the easy chair is a subject which particularly attracts the artist." I cannot agree with this depreciation of the qualities of later Andhra art. What I think, I have said elsewhere as follows: "A conception of life is reflected here in which all sensuous and spiritual elements are warp and woof of a single texture; so far from conflicting with each other, as they conflict in Christian thought, each is the inevitable expression of the other. Physical beauty is the outward form of innate virtue; luxury and pleasure are not seductions, but naturally befit and are inevitably evoked by psychological maturity. The sculpture of Amarāvati may be compared with the early *kāvya* style in poetry * * * because there is as yet no display of technical proficiency cultivated as an end in itself, and because the ornament, rich as it may be, is always organic, never before the Gupta period dissolved in arabesque, the visual equivalent of euphuism." I fear I shall myself be using the *argumentum ad hominem* if I suspect that Bachhofer, who, whatever his personal beliefs may be, cannot but inherit European and Christian traditions, is here simply disconcerted by the fusion of sensuous and spiritual elements, as many a good European has been disconcerted by the eroticism of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics or Sufi ghazals. At any rate, my understanding of the late Andhra sculptures represents what is, I think, a purely Indian point of view:

perhaps I might call it an inside view. Besides this, innumerable examples could be instanced in which the Amarāvati sculptor shows an extraordinary comprehension of the human figure, and especially of movement; for example, the *abhiniskramana* relief now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Incidentally, I cannot see that the Amarāvati representations of stupas show evidence of inner and outer railings, but only of one railing, and a decorated plinth or basement of the stupa itself.

A point of interest is that now for the second time we are able to recognize a stylistic correspondence of Northern and Southern art for which we have hardly any positive evidence during the first century and a half of the Christian era.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the art of Gandhāra, Bachhofer remarks "The trend of early Indian plastic art from Bhārūh to Amarāvati must be considered as a naturally consistent growth, as an organic development carrying its goal in itself." How great, then, is going to be the importance of the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra for the future development?

The vexed question of the origin of the Buddha image is treated at considerable length and to a large degree from an original and independent point of view. The discussion falls into four parts, (1) concerned with the dating and development of the Gandhāran (Bachhofer writes Gandharian), Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, (2) the development of the Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva type, (3) where the question is raised, at what point can a contact of the two styles be recognized, and what did it amount to; the scheme of the book does not permit a full treatment of the question, and (4) what elements prevail in the final Gupta and mediæval Buddha formula.

Before taking up this subject, a few preliminaries must be disposed of. Bachhofer takes the date of Kaniska as A.D. 78, whereas I accept the A.D. 120 of other scholars, or more precisely the A.D. 129 of Konow and van Wijk. This does not much affect the problems (2) and (3), since the question here is one of relative rather than absolute dating. It affects the first problem to this extent, that the antedating of Kaniska makes it easier to assume a continuity in Gandhāra from the Bimārān reliquary onwards, whereas if we take Kaniska as A.D. 129, and interpret the Gandhāran dates as Konow, for example, does, then the Bimārān reliquary is left in an isolated position a hundred years before any other Gandhāran Buddha figure. It should be understood that in what follows, the dates quoted are those of Bachhofer when not otherwise stated.

If as regards (1) I am not prepared to agree with Bachhofer, I may be wrong, but the decision on this point will not essentially affect (2), (3) and (4), (6) i.e., the problem of the source of the

(6) As already said in the Art Bulletin, IX, 1927, reprint, p. 33.

style and iconography of the Buddha figure in India proper, as to which I, Bachhofer, Codrington, (7) and in part also Scherman, (8) seem to be in fundamental agreement. The dating of the Gandhāra types is nevertheless an interesting, important, and difficult problem; I shall confine myself to an indication of a few of the difficulties inherent in Bachhofer's solution, which is not the only one possible or current. He takes for granted the reliability of the evidence of the coins of Azes, recorded nearly a hundred years ago, and assigns the Bimārān reliquary to the latter half of the first century B.C. He thinks that this evidence for the early dating of Gandhāra Buddhas does not stand alone.

Assuming the Seleukid era (he thinks the Maurya and Seleukid eras are the only ones possible to be considered) we have A.D. 6 for the Lauriyān Tāngai Buddha, and A.D. 72 for the Hastnagar Buddha pedestal, and A.D. 87 for the Skarah Dheri Hārīti. But such an assumption is very hazardous, for actually we do not possess a single example of the use of the Seleukid era in any Indian document, and we possess no proof whatever that a Maurya era was ever used anywhere.

If, as Fleet thought, we have to do with the Vikrama era (which he erroneously connected with Kaniska), which is the one apparently employed in the Dharmarājikā silver scroll (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 58) we get the dates A.D. 260, 326 and 337; or if we follow Konow and take van Wijk's era of 84 B.C., then A.D. 234, 300 and 315 for these statues. These dates tally well enough with that of the recently discovered Chārsadda (Māmane Dheri) figure dated 89, certainly in the Kaniska era, and therefore A.D. 167 or 218, according to how we date Kaniska himself. (9)

Then we have the significant fact that the Scytho-Parthian and early Kuṣāna strata at the Dharmarājikā site have not yielded a single fragment of Græco-Buddhist sculpture; nor has any been discovered at Sirkap, which was in occupation until the first part of the reign of Kadphises (there is anyhow good coin evidence that the Hastnagar figure is not earlier than Kadphises).

(7) Ancient India, p. 47.

(8) *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen*, Münchner Jahrb. f. Bildenden Kunst, V and VI, 1928-29.

(9) For the whole problem, see Konow and van Wijk, *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions*, Acta Orientalia, III; and Konow, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buddhabildes*, Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1928. Also my *Origin of the Buddha image*, Art Bulletin, IX, 1927; and Scherman, loc. cit. supra.

Excavation has proved no more than that Buddha figures must have appeared a little before the time of Kaniska; the negative evidence suggests that it was not long before his time. All are agreed that the Gandhāran school was flourishing during his reign, and, of course, subsequently. Then Bachhofer's interpretation involves the awkward necessity of assuming a decadence of Gandhāran art in the second century A.D., followed by an archaizing renaissance returning to the ideals of the first century; and this is a little difficult to accept, especially when we reflect that some others (e.g., Marshall, C. H. I., I, p. 648) have thought it impossible to establish any stylistic sequence in Gandhāran art (10). *Per contra*, it is fair to say that Bachhofer brings together a good deal of evidence showing a rather frequent association of coins of Azes with Græco-Buddhist sculptures, and this observation cannot be too lightly brushed aside, even though it contradicts the general evidence of the excavations as interpreted by Marshall. It might also have been argued that the completely developed form of the Mahāyāna sūtras translated into Chinese in the first century A.D. seems to imply a corresponding formulation of Mahāyāna iconography towards the beginning of the same century. On the other hand it is hard to believe that Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture could have existed for a hundred and fifty years before it had any effect on Mathurā at all. Evidently, the dating of Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture cannot be regarded as a settled question.

In what follows, however, it must be remembered that Bachhofer assumes a beginning in the first century B.C., and long before the appearance of any Buddha figure in India; this lends a certain piquancy to his solutions of (2) and (3). The first dated example of the early Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva type is that of Friar Bala's image at Sārnāth (Plate 79), of the year 3 of Kaniska, A.D. 81 according to Bachhofer. Closely related to this are the Katrā (Plate 81) and Anyor seated images, and numerous other fragments. One of these bears a date equivalent to A.D. 117, and a Jain figure in the same style falls in 127. This gives us the years 81 to 127, during which the independent Mathurā type prevailed. However, it is not at all likely that the image exported to Sārnāth was the first of its kind ever made, so that we may very well take the three quarters

of a century ending A.D. 127 as the time during which the purely Indian type prevailed, and during this time, as pointed out by Bachhofer, no trace of Gandhāran influence can be recognized either in style or iconography; the already existing Græco-Buddhist Buddhas and Bodhisattvas remained unknown to or ignored by the schools of Mathurā during nearly a century and a half! This remarkable conclusion is the only one open to Bachhofer on the facts as stated.

With the Anyor Buddha (Plate 83) of the year 51, A.D. 129 according to Bachhofer the situation changes; similar to this are the Sitalā Ghāti figure (Plate 84) and many others. Here we get the drapery treated for the first time as if it possessed some substance, and covering both shoulders; figure reliefs appear on the pedestal; the lions of the throne are shown full face and with open jaws. It is then "only in the year 51" that Gandhāran influence can be recognized at Mathurā: "This comparatively late date of the North-Western influence upon Mathurā appears at the first glance rather disconcerting. But the testimony borne by the inscriptions is irrefutable." The same conclusions had already been reached by Codrington (*Ancient India*, p. 47) and by myself *Art Bulletin*, reprint, p. 32) "it can be recognized in the middle Kuṣāna period."

The question (4) of the further development is not altogether ignored. Starting from the position that only after A.D. 127 "Gandhāra exercised any influence over the religious sculpture of Mathurā," the nature of the influence is discussed. It appears mainly in the treatment of the hair and of the drapery. We have already spoken of the latter. As to the hair, for a short time we find in Mathurā a type with abundant hair knotted on the crown of the head, as in Gandhāra. This soon gives way to a type with a conspicuous rounded *uṣṇīṣa*-bump covered with short curls. This in turn finds its way to Gandhāra, and continues there to flourish side by side with the older Gandhāran long-haired type. Foucher's interpretation of the spiral hair is thus rejected in favour of a Mathurā origin.

I still cannot feel, however, that Bachhofer's understanding of the Buddha coiffure problem is complete. He nowhere acknowledges that *uṣṇīṣa* originally meant nothing but "turban," and certainly not a "bump" at the time of the first lists of *lakṣaṇas*. He assumes that the head of the early Mathurā type is bald, with a single lock wound spirally round a small conical *uṣṇīṣa*, and this again seems to me quite implausible, for the thickness of the hair is clearly seen all over the head, and the projection is evidently made entirely of hair. Besides, the question of whether or not the Buddha's head should be represented as bald could hardly have arisen at any period, in face of the old tradition that when the hair was cut off, two inches remained; and that this hair remained ever afterwards of that same length, curling to the right. I have tried to show

(10) In this connection it seems to me worth noting that out of thirty-two illustrations representing Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture, one is assigned to the end of the last century B.C., nineteen to the first and second centuries A.D., two to the third or fourth, and eleven to the fourth and fifth; what is the cause of the almost total lack of illustrative material from the third century, when certainly Græco-Buddhist art was flourishing?

elsewhere(11) that this could have been interpreted (1) as a single lock curling to the right, or (2) as many locks curling to the right, and these two different solutions correspond to the two Mathurā formulae. Between the two there came a short period of hesitation in Mathurā, during which time we meet also with the Gandhāran long-haired type, but in India "this type prevailed only for a short time." In fact, at Mathurā, about A.D. 142, the Indianization of the newly introduced Gandhāran elements was completed—"an entirely new Buddha appeared, his head was covered with snail-like curls, and he was arrayed in a garment thrown only over the left shoulder." "In this shape the Buddha coming from his home in Mathurā conquered the South." All the Buddhas of Amarāvati have spiral locks. Very few have both shoulders covered, and both types occur side by side; but the fact that there are any of the former kind and some of both shows that there must have been contact with Mathurā about the time when both were current in Mathurā, i.e., between 129 and 142 A.D. And further, the Amarāvati Buddha drapery, whether covering one or both shoulders, retains that aspect of thickness and solidity, which is one of the most distinctive marks of Gandhāran influence; and since in the North a return had soon been made to the purely Indian ideal of thin schematic folds, we have a further proof of the derivation of the Southern type from Mathurā precisely at that moment, about 129 A.D., when the Gandhāran influence was there first and most strongly felt.

In the North, the history of the Buddha figure is not carried beyond the splendid figure from Bodhgayā, Plate 89, in which the treatment of the drapery illustrates the return to purely Indian conceptions. This figure, called a Bodhisattva in the inscription, is dated 64, which is read as of the Kanishka era, making A.D. 142, or according to the later dating of Kanishka A.D. 193; however, according to Ramāprasād Chanda (in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1922-23, p. 169) the Gupta era must be assumed, making A.D. 383-84, and I agree with Scherman that the plastic quality of the features is early Gupta. It would be attractive to accept the earlier date, and to assume that this Buddha figure was enshrined in the Great Gandhakuti of the Vajrasana (the "Mahabodhi" temple) when first erected, perhaps in the reign of Huvishka, but I fear we cannot do this.

To resume: according to Bachhofer "No doubt that the Buddha representation of Mathurā has nothing to do with the North-West": a further proof of this appears in the dogmatic confusion of Buddha-Bodhisattva at Mathurā, and the clear distinction of the types in Gandhāra; I may add, in the use of the lion throne exclusively in Mathurā, whereas the lotus throne is common

in Gandhāra. Then "shortly after A.D. 127 * * * Gandhāra begins also to exercise an influence. A few years later Mathurā openly returned to its old ideals. It was then that appeared that characteristic trait of the Buddha head which was destined to conquer the whole of India and to prevail even in Gandhāra, viz., the spiral, snail-like locks put over the crown of the head and the *uṣṇiṣa*."

The 161 plates, admirably reproduced in colotype, illustrate for the most part already well known pieces, but in some cases new ones, and in others new and better photographs of known pieces. Each plate is faced with a tissue giving a brief description of it; but in very few cases has the space available been utilized to give a full account of the object illustrated, and it seems worth while here to add a few notes and make a few corrections, following the plate numbers consecutively.

Plate 11, Pārkhām Yakṣa: references to some other readings of the inscription would have been desirable, and to the existence of a similar figure at Deorīyā. Plates 15-45, Bhārhit and Bodhgayā: the use of an unfamiliar and largely inaccurate architectural nomenclature is to be regretted—"hedge" and "jamb" for railing and railing post, and "beam" or "roof-beam" for coping, are not really English, and "tondo" for medallion is pedantic; as regards Bhārhit, it is much to be regretted that Barua and Sinha, *Bhārhit inscriptions* (1926) was not consulted. (12) Plate 21, Sirimā Devatā, i.e., Śrī or Lakṣmī. Plate 23, the story of Erakapatta could have been more accurately cited from the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (for translation, see Harvard Oriental Series, 35, p. 56: the Buddha—there represented by the *sirisa* tree—is Gautama who was residing "in a grove of seven *sirisa* trees near Benares"); on the inner side, centre, not only the Eastern gods are represented, but those of all four quarters, only the fourth inscription being lost; on the same panel, lower left corner, Māra is represented seated "writing on the ground," see *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, p. 392(13); the inscriptions beside the so-called donors on the edge are neglected—the upper of these reads *Kamdari Ki (narā)*, probably with reference to the king and queen so named in Jātaka, No. 536 (less likely, the *Kamdari Jātaka*, No. 341), while the lower pair have *Vijāpi Vijādhara*, "the spell-muttering Vidyādhara," possibly with reference to the

(12) I take this opportunity to suggest that Cunningham, Bhārhit, Plate XLIV, fig. 4, illustrates the *Gahapati Jātaka*, No. 199.

(13) *Nidānakathā*, "sad at heart, writing on the ground." Cf., later, *Amaru, Śataka*, cited by Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 185, "The beloved of thy life standeth without, his head bowed down, drawing figures on the ground."

(11) See my *The Buddha's hair, cūdā, uṣṇiṣa, and crown*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1928.

Samugga Jātaka, No. 435. Plate 24, the inscription is rather "the Sudhamma sabhā of the gods" the other inscription, *Vejayanto pāsādo*, is ignored, though of great interest, because this is the only labelled picture of a *pāsādo* we possess; in the panel below, an Annunciation of the Bodhisattva's conception would be out of place chronologically, and actually, we have to do with an assembly not of men, but of gods, two of whom, be it noted, are winged; actually the Mahāsamaya Suttanta (*Digha Nikāya*, II, 253—262, *Dialogues*, 2, 284—293) describes just such a concourse of gods (cf. *Mahāsamaya* of the text with *Mahāsāmāyika* of the inscription)—"at Kapilavattu * * * the gods from the ten thousand world-systems * * * are assembling there to see the Exalted One," and even the two Suparṇas, Citrā and Suparṇā, are mentioned by name; why not, since an Arhaddgupta is unknown to the literature, take *arahaguto* as qualifying *devaputo*, thus "the god who is the protector of the arhats?"

Plate 25, the left hand scene, is labelled *Isimigo Jātaka* (No. 12 of the Jātaka book); the right hand scene is labelled *Miga-samadaka cetiya*, (14) best to be rendered "Shrine of the friendship of the wild animals," since here the deer and lion lie down together (same subject at Sāñci, Plate 51, middle)—the *Vyaggaha Jātaka*, No. 272, suggested by Barua and Sinha is implausible, and following Hultsch and Lüders I take *samadaka* = *sommodaka*, which is in agreement with the representation, certainly not suggestive of a place where lions feed on deer! Plate 26, top left, the actual inscription is *Uda Jātaka*; below, the inscription is *Bhisaharaniya Jātaka*, right "Vadika milks the plant on Mt. Nadoda" (Bachhofer has Nadodha, here and elsewhere)—Barua and Sinha ingeniously cite the *Avadāna Śataka* story of Vadika. Plate 27, upper right, the inscription reads *Secha Jātaka*, probably another name of the *Dubhiyamakkata* J. Plate 30, Dream of Māyā, the so-called Guardian, supposed to represent the Four Great Mahārājas, is a woman, and her hair is dressed in ascetic fashion, whereas the real Guardians are all male, and wear royal costumes; below, for Mahāmagga, read Mahā Ummagga; the inscription reads *Yavamujhakiya Jātaka* (*Yavamajjhakiya*, lit. "amongst the barley," means a village or suburb, hence the title means The Village Birthstory); the Ummagga Jātaka story is told of Amara and Mahosadha (15) hence

(14) Perhaps there is a reference to the Miracle of the cessation of all hatred, at the time of the Great Enlightenment (represented by the Bodhi tree and throne. The interpretation of Chanda, in *Mem. A. S. I.*, 30, is the same as mine.

(15) In the Cowell Jātaka translation, *kilanapacchisa*, "in withy baskets," is mis-translated "in rolls of matting."

the designation "Mahosadha Jātaka" in Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 363), and there is another Bharhāt illustration of the same tale, see Cunningham, Plate XLII, lower panel, left. Plate 31, Jetavana scene, the pouring out of water is not to consecrate the ground, but is the ordinary method of ratifying a gift. (16) Plate 33, the Sanskritization Indrasāila of Indasāla is probably without justification (also on Plate 60); the cave is the "Cave of the Indasāla tree." Plate 42, lower left, a male figure, therefore not Sujātā; it is perhaps that of Suddhodana or Ajātasatru.

Plate 46, upper architrave Abhiṣeka of Lakṣmī, cf. Plates 17, 42, 45 and 133 (the latter a Jaina cave, where the motif cannot have a Buddhist significance), and see my *Śrī-Lakṣmī* in *Eastern Art*, I, 1928. Plate 47, upper ends, not merely Kanthaka, but the whole Abhinīṣkramaṇa. Plate 49, middle, the "demons, personifications of human passions" are simply Māra's musicians and dancers. Plate 51, middle, probably the Miga-samadaka cetiya, as on Plate 25; below, the Rāmagrāma identification is improbable (cf. Plate 46, and Plate 129, left, where the Rāmagrāma stupa is correctly represented with attendant guardian serpent-Nāgas); although the ambiguity, *nāga* = elephant, and *nāga* = serpent, has often been used to explain away difficulties of one kind or another, I do not believe that a confusion or substitution in actual iconography has ever been demonstrated. Plate 52, why "Park of Stags" in place of the usual "Deer Park"? There is no reason to suppose that all the deer in the park were male! Plate 58 and p. 44 (wrongly referred as p. 45): the "rampart covered by plants" is really a *cankama* representing the miracle of the Buddha's walking in the air, as correctly explained by Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 64. In saying "covered by plants" Bachhofer forgets for the moment that in vertical projection, *above is behind*; hence the trees are not on the *cankama*, but both in front of and behind it, or rather, the *cankama* is in the air between the tops of the trees in front and the trees behind. Ramparts, of which there are many examples, at Sāñci, are always represented in a perfectly intelligible manner, and even in the present panel a small portion of the city rampart can be seen, right centre above the horses' heads. Plate 61, the first century B.C., is a late dating for the Besnagar Yakṣi; the form of the head-dress suggests at least the second century B.C. Plates 63 and 64 the same applies; on Plate 64, the lower relief is in part at least a dancing scene. Plate 65, these "transformations of wooden construction into the living rock" prove clearly, what has not been generally realized, that the *cetiya-gharas*

(16) Cf. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, p. 473. Such water of gift is called *dakṣhinambu*, and the vessel from which it is poured, a *bhīṃkāra* cf. *Jātaka*, VI, 344.

were not always simple free-standing buildings like the one surviving at Chezārī, but formed an integral part, in fact the main part of the ground floor of a many-storeyed monastic structure, the upper parts of which were provided with chambers and balconies.

Plate 67, compare the figures with those from Amarāvati, Plate 122, lower right; I do not see that the figures are clumsy, nor why the *caitya-ghara* itself (Plate 69) should be called of later date than the figures of donors on the façade. Plate 70, for Śākya read Śāka. Plate 71, showing an early Mathurā type almost identical in style and detail with Bhārūt. Plate 82, where is the "landscape?"

Plate 87, top: part of a door lintel; the kneeling worshipping figure on the right is Indra, next is Maitreya, recognizable by the *amṛta* flask held in the left hand, then Gautama Buddha, then two of the six previous Buddhas, viz., Kassapa and Koṇāgamana (Scherman, Münchner Jahrb. f. Bildenden Kunst, 1929, Bd. VI, Heft 2, fig. 23, wrongly identifies the left hand figure as Gautama—actually, the logical order is always preserved). Plate 89, perhaps early Gupta, see above. Plates 102 and 103, for "panel" read "tympanum." Plate 105, the garland is really a lotus rhizome, the bearers yakṣas; for an early form, see Plates 55 and 56, later forms Plates 112, 123 and 124; Gandhāran form in which the pairs of yakṣas face each other, destroying the sense of movement, Plate 149, above.

Plate 107, for the Cakravartin panel, see my *A royal gesture, and other motifs*, in the Feestbundel of the K. Bataviaasch Genootschap, 1929; the slabs are from an enclosing wall (*pākāra*), not stupa panelling (*kancuka silāmaya*); both panels are of great interest from the standpoint of special representation (cf. Bhājā); for "staṛ" read "gem." Plate 109, torso, surely somewhat earlier (cf. Bhārūt); in any case the early Andhra sculptures are of the highest interest, and prove artistic connections with Northern India.

Plate 110, the various scenes and motifs might well have been described, and something said about the inscription, which records the slab as the gift of a merchant from Adhiṣṭhāna. Plate 112, see above re Plate 105; for the lower panel, see my *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, 1928. Plate 113, right, remains of a Garuḍa, like the brackets of Plate 131. Plate 117, the left hand medallion is in the British Museum, not Madras. Plate 118, rather, the "Elevation of the Bowl-relic." Plate 119, probably the Ahigundika Jātaka, where we have a man who owns both a performing snake and monkey. Plate 122, upper right, Śaddanta Jātaka. Plate 124, upper centre, Garuḍa holding Nāga; lower left, Mucalinda sheltering the Buddha, represented only by footmarks on the coils.

Plate 125, the Birth of Rāhula is a good suggestion; the central compartment illustrates the Mahāsambodhi and attendant events—above, the

gods circling round the tree (*pradakṣiṇā*), below on the left perhaps the daughters of Māra, the presentation of Rāhula, and the gift of Sujātā, on the right perhaps the visit of the gods; left of the centre, probably Yaśodharā grieving for the loss of Siddhārtha, and unconsoled by her dancers and musicians. Plate 126, the prince (Siddhārtha?) on horseback is repeated several times, and perhaps the subject is the "Four Signs," the much damaged figure of the monk occupying the centre, the dead man upper right (that this could represent the Parinirvāṇa is utterly impossible); the scene is continued on Plate 127, right. Plate 128, right, the complete stela is reproduced in my *History*, fig. 140; in the Conversion of Nanda, on the left, the representation is not quite as described (17)—in the lower panel, left, we see Nanda and his bride, and right, Nanda following the Buddha and carrying his bowl; next above, Nanda still in secular costume, but about to receive ordination, with Yaśodharā veiled and weeping on the left (for the covering of the head in mourning, cf. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, figs. 276, 279); above this, the Buddha and Nanda, both now in monastic costume, viewing the abode of Sakka (Indra), (18) who is seated on the Paṇḍukambala stone throne, surrounded by the most beautiful *devaccharās* (apsarases). Plate 129, left, the Rāmāgrāma stupa; the Nāgas head-dress shows perhaps the earliest known example of a *kirttimukha* in purely Indian art, and the raised right hand certainly the earliest known example of the use of the *kartarimukha hasta*, holding an attribute at shoulder level (cf. *The Mirror of Gesture*, p. 28, note 2). Plate 131, for "representation" read "presentation," the "griffons' heads" are complete *garudas*, cf. Plate 124.

Mis-prints throughout are all too frequent (cf. the Index in particular), especially as regards the use of diacritics, and in a few cases a positive error, e.g., Jātaka, is several times repeated; but personal experience has proved to me the difficulty of avoiding faults of this kind. More astonishing are the omission of all reference to the Gudimallam lingam, and the dismissal of the Bhājā reliefs, so fundamentally important for the understanding of special representation, in a couple of lines. It is very surprising too to find that the author of a book published late in 1929 should only have "come across" Codrington's *Ancient India* (1926) and my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927) too late to do more than mention them. Is it then two years since the author parted with his manuscript? In any case, one does

(17) What follows corrects also my account in *Rūpam*, 38-39, p. 73.

(18) Wearing the characteristic mitre-like *kirita* with lateral projections, which first appears at Sāñcī.

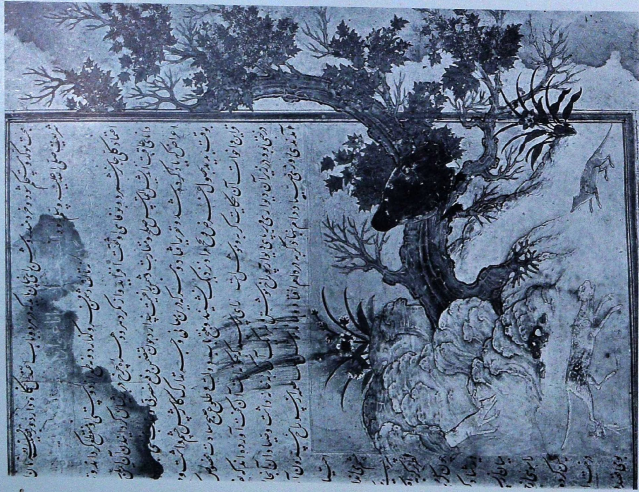


FIG. A. STORY OF THE RAT AND THE CAT

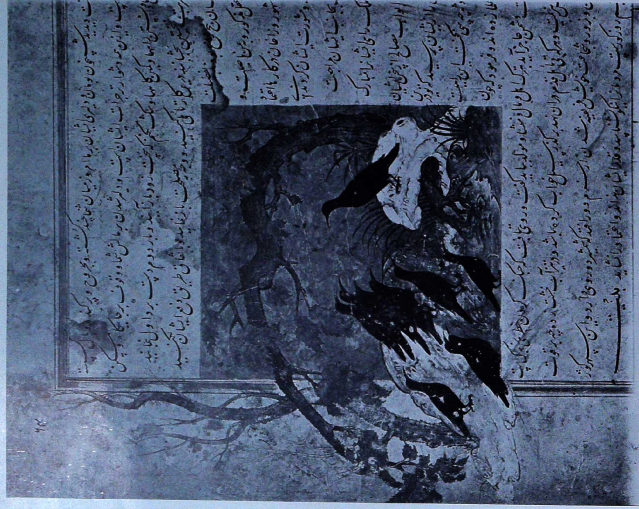


FIG. B. STORY OF THE BIRDS ELECTING A CHIEF

AN ILLUSTRATED MS. OF ANVĀR-I-SUHAILĪ

Collection of H. H. The Nawab of Rampur.

not "come across" important works in one's own field of study, but takes care to receive them immediately on publication. Like all works on Indian art, in the present state of our knowledge, Bachhofer's book must be read critically, and few

will agree with all the conclusions he has arrived at; on the other hand, the author has made a very definite advance in our comprehension of the stylistic development, and certainly cannot be ignored by any serious student.

III.—AN ILLUSTRATED MS. OF ANVAR-I-SUHAILI: A NEW VERSION.

By THE EDITOR.

ONE of the most controversial features of M. Arménag Bey Sakisian's monograph on Persian miniatures (*La Miniature Persane*, XII—XVII, Siècle, Paris, 1929) is furnished by a series of illustrations from the *Fables of Bidpay* reproduced after a MS. in the Yildiz Library, Constantinople (Plates III to X, Figs. 1 to 9), and the author's comments thereon (pp. 9 to 17) which have raised a good deal of protest principally on the part of M. Blochet (*Rûpam*, No. 41, January 1930, pp. 2 to 10) and the anonymous reviewer of *Rûpam* (No. 40, October, 1929, pp. 133 to 135).

M. Sakisian has been led to attribute these illustrations somewhat rashly to the twelfth century, postulating an Oriental school in Persia in the pre-Mongol epoch, that is to say, before the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols (Tartars) in 1258. The crux of the problem is involved in the exact period during which the influences of Chinese pictorial Art may be said to have been planted on Persian painting. The Yildiz illustrations bear an obvious Chinese stamp, particularly in the treatment of the landscape backgrounds—the peculiar manner of rendering rocks, trees, plants and clouds. Armed with the early references to the influences of Chinese Paintings in the *Shāhnāmāh* of Firdoushi, and the general references to Persian admirations for Chinese Art in literature much prior to the thirteenth century, M. Sakisian takes for granted that a wave of Chinese pictorial traditions had taken root in Persia before the twelfth century. It has undoubtedly to be conceded that Persia and Mesopotamia came in contact with diverse phases

of Chinese Art and Chinese æsthetic conceptions long before the actual Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century. The influence of Chinese ceramics of the T'ang dynasty have been traced in Islamic pottery of Samarra and Susa. The more important data is furnished by the fact that Houlagu Khan, the Mongol conqueror, actually imported into Persia, in 1256, a hundred families of Chinese artists. But these facts do not touch the problem of the dating of the Yildiz illustrations. They show in a very striking manner the influence of a realistic phase of Chinese painting which could not have come into existence in China itself before the end of the thirteenth century.

Plotinus, in his review (*Rûpam*, October, 1929, p. 134), has very ably analysed the quality of the realism of these illustrations:—"The gross tactile realism of these miniatures is very different from the 'subtle realism' of Southern Sung Painting (1127—1280)." It is well known to students of Chinese Painting that the realistic movement does not take its rise before the retirement of Li-Lung-Mien (1100) from court, and it was after this date that Emperor Hui-Tsung ordered the painters of the Academy to draw from life. (1) The dreamy romanticism and the mystical quality which Zen Buddhism imported into Southern Sung Painting, invested the brush of the Sung masters with an enchanting illusiveness and a transcendental mystery to which one would hesitate to apply the word "realistic" in the

(1) A. Waley. *An Introduction to Chinese Painting*, p. 197.

generally accepted sense of the word. And it was not until the Yüan dynasty (1280—1368) that Chinese Painting enters the really realistic phase of its history. And it is the realism of Yüan Painting that we see in the rendering of the trees, plants, and rocks depicted in the Yildiz MS. on which M. Sakisian has laid the basis of his theory of a so-called pre-Mongol Chinese influence on Persian Painting. In fact the Yildiz MS. is not the first of its kind, and is probably a later and a somewhat cruder version of an earlier original.

This will be evident from the reproductions here, offered for the first time, from an illustrated MS. of *Anvar-i-Suhaili* (The Lights of Canopus) in the collection of H. H. The Nawab of Rampur. A comparison with the Yildiz version leaves no doubt that the Rampur recension is a little earlier, and may have been the basis of the former, or probably both are derived from a common original. There is an obvious difference in the style in the two versions, though the designs and the drawings are in many cases almost identical. There is a freshness, and a freedom and an impressionistic quality particularly in the treatment of the leaves of the trees, in the Rampur version which contrast very strongly with the somewhat cruder, harsher, and stereotyped realism of a "concrete" type which characterizes the illustrations of the other MS. In the latter copy the illustrations are cut up and mechanically attached and grouped together haphazard, while in the Rampur MS., though somewhat water-stained at places, the leaves are intact which help us to study the method of the illuminations, and its peculiar relationship to the text which is such a well known characteristic of Persian illustrated MSS. As will appear from the two leaves reproduced in Figs. A and B, the text of the stories is given in a rectangular panel encased with a ruled border of gold, red, and black, across which the boughs of the trees frequently extend their wild ramifications to encroach on the margins beyond the ruled borders, sometimes with very daring pictorial and decorative effect, as in Fig. A. The rhythmic sway of the lively branches of the plane tree, with its fine and subtle curves, punctuated at

every step by fine cluster of leaves, refuse to confine its growth, as it were, within the tiny space, under the text of the writing, allocated to the illustrations and sought to be bounded by the ruled borders. The story illustrated in Fig. A is probably "The story of the Rat and the Cat: to impress upon one the necessity of foresight and reflection, in order to avoid evils and secure benefits" (2). The magnificent tree in this composition follows literally the words of the text which describes "That in the wilderness of Barda'a there was a tree which in height surpassed all trees, and was pre-eminent in the forest by its size and firmness. 'Trees that bear fruit best decorate the garden and enrich its state.' " The raven on the tree and the ichneumon "crouching in ambush" occur in the story, and are necessary elements in the composition. "The Story of the Birds who assembled to make a Chief; and of the origin of the Enmity and Hostility of the Owls and the Crows," (3) (Fig. B) is a very lively composition, of great strength and charm. The composition itself seems to recall the earlier version of the illustration in the MS. of the Baghdad School (thirteenth century) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, reproduced by M. Sakisian (Fig. 13, Plate XIII). The owl does not figure in this picture, so that it is not quite clear if it is the same story as illustrated in the British Museum *Anvar-i-Suhaili* (Wilkinson, "The Lights of Canopus," Plate XIX). The illustrations reproduced in Figs. C and D respectively relate to "The Story of the Two Partners, Sharp Wit and Light Heart" (4) and "The Story of the Three Fishes.—'Very Cautious,' 'Cautious' and 'Helpless': inculcating the Value of Wisdom and Caution" (5). We have here (Fig. C) a very happy opportunity to study the differences in the treatment in comparison with the three versions of the Yildiz MS.

(2) *Anvar-i-Suhaili* or "The Lights of Canopus" being the Persian version of "The Fables of Pilpay," translated by Edward B. Eastwick, Hertford, 1854, Chapter VII, Story 1, pp. 419 to 425.

(3) *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, Story 3, p. 313.

(4) *Ibid.*, Story 25, p. 172.

(5) *Ibid.*, Story 15, p. 130.

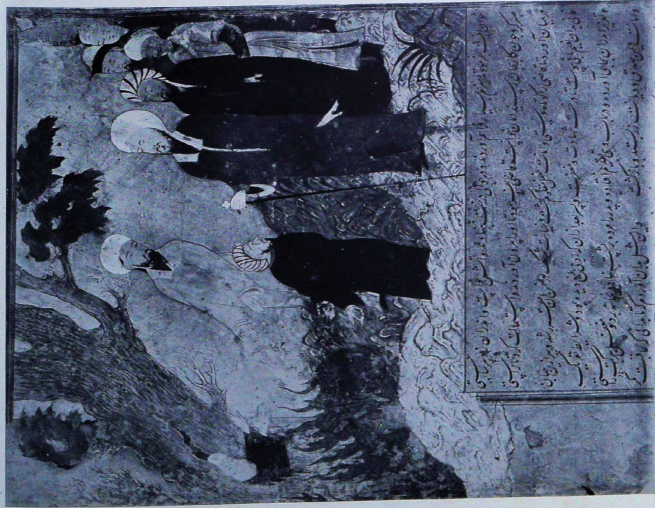


FIG. C. STORY OF THE SHARP WIT AND LIGHT HEART.

AN ILLUSTRATED MS. OF ANVĀRI-SUHAĪLĪ

Collection of H. H. The Nawab of Rampur.

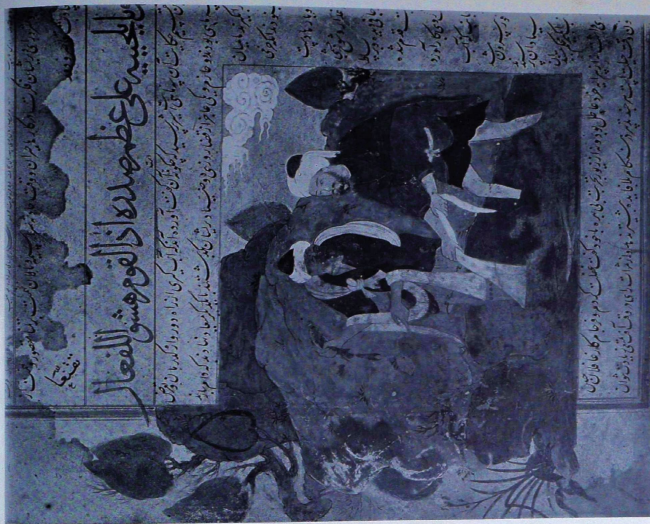


FIG. D. STORY OF THE THREE FISHES



• FIG. E. STORY OF THE CROW, THE WOLF AND THE JACKAL

FIG. F. STORY OF THE TORTOISE AND THE GEESE

AN ILLUSTRATED MS. OF ANVĀR-I-SUHĀĪLĪ

Collection of H. H. The Nawab of Rampur.

while the drawing and the general details of the design, including the figures with the drapery, are identical—there is a wide difference in style. In the Rampur copy the treatment is flat and decorative and there is a general disinclination to emphasize on the shadows and a “chiarascuro” is obtained by a relative degree of depth accorded to the different elements of the composition treated as so many separate entities of space, the flames being distinctly decorative and conventional. In the Yildiz version the treatment is throughout in a deliberately realistic manner, the barks of the tree being rendered with a crude emphasis. In the story illustrated in Fig. D, there is a considerable discrepancy in many details of landscape. The rhythmic convulsions of the tree shooting out of the rocks in the Rampur version is replaced by a craggy rock with patches of dwarf trees and bamboo leaves here and there, every detail being emphasized with crude and exaggerated lines and incisions. The most significant feature is the treatment of the water in conventional and schematic curves in a regular series of waves so common in Yüan and Ming Paintings. This data alone is a decisive factor in pulling down the date of the Yildiz version to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Relatively, the Rampur copy may be earlier by about half a century. There is an almost epic quality in the design of the composition illustrating the “Story of the Crow, the Wolf and the Jackal: showing that the crafty confederate can overthrow the Innocent” (6) (Fig. E). The figures of the different animals—a lion, a crow, a wolf, and a jackal—between the legs of the prostrate camel, are given almost in silhouette, but they combine to make up a very happy pattern and an effective and dramatic composition. The gruesomeness of the picture is set off by the lyrical touches of the bamboo leaves, a group of which oversteps the limits of the border line. Equally dramatic and original is the composition

(Fig. F) illustrating the story of the “Tortoise Geese” (7)—the origin of which Dr. Coomaraswamy has traced to a very early source in the *Kacchapa Jâtaka* and illustrated in a late Gupta relief at Bodhgaya (“Miniatures from Turkish and Persian Books of Fables,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1928, Vol. XXVI, p. 89*). The illustration cited by Dr. Coomaraswamy is one of five pages of a Turkish *Humâyûn-nâmâh*, a work composed by “Ali Celebi” in the first half of the sixteenth century, being a translation of the Arabic version of *Kalîla va Dimneh*, the Persian version being known as the *Anvar-i-Suhaili*. The miniature in the Turkish MS. has been attributed to the end of the sixteenth century. The Rampur version is undoubtedly the finest rendering of the story told with much grace, force and imagination. The moment of the story chosen to illustrate the subject is when the tortoise drops down from its elevated position in the clouds when carried by two geese on a pole held in their beaks. The fall is very significantly and effectively depicted by a spray of clouds with a long tail, indicating the path of the downward course of the tortoise as it is landed on the earth, the accident being keenly followed by a pair of men who throw out their hands in intense surprise.

The series of illustrations given in the Rampur MS. offer a very significant phase of Persian Painting under the dominating influence of Chinese Pictorial Art. We have attempted to establish, we hope successfully, that the character, evident in the style clearly, relates to the late traditions of Sung Painting and the early phases of Yüan Painting and cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be attributed to the twelfth century. It undoubtedly represents that period of Persian Painting during the

(7) “The Story of the Tortoise who fell while being carried by the Geese.” Illustrating the evil results of not attending to the advice of well-wishing friends. Story 23, p. 159, in Eastwick's translation. In the translation of Arthur M. Wollastan (London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1877) the titles of the stories are slightly different, though both Eastwick and Wollastan's translations are based on the Persian version of Mulla Husain Bin 'Ali 'Al Wai'z-al-Kâshifi.

(6) *Anvar-i-Suhaili* or “The Lights of Canopus” being the Persian version of “The Fables of Pilpay,” translated by Edward B. Eastwick, Hertford, 1854, Chapter VII, Story 21, p. 153.

middle of the Mongol period (about middle of the fourteenth century) when the local Persian style was about to emerge in an indigenous dialect after having assimilated the Chinese elements and having emancipated from the grips of the Chinese models. In the Rampur illustrations the emancipation

has not yet taken place and, excepting the types of the faces and the drapery of the figures, the pictorial language is essentially and fundamentally Far Eastern in technique and in ideas. From this point of view these illustrations offer a valuable data for the history of Persian Painting.

IV.—A PASTORAL PARADISE.

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE connection of Krishna, the Divine Cowherd, with the idealised pastoral life of Gokula, or Brindāban in the Braja Maṇḍala, where he was brought up as the foster child of Nanda and Yasodā and was the friend of herdsmen and the lover of the milkmaids, will be familiar to all students of Rajput painting. In the Museum of Fine Arts collections, there is no more lovely painting of the Kāṅgrā school than the well-known "Cowdust," where Krishna is seen returning with the herds and herdsmen to Brindāban at sunset.(1) In all these legends the cattle are not less devoted to Krishna than are his human-lovers:(2) he is an Orphic power, whose music charms and beguiles all nature, animate and inanimate alike, and the very rivers stay their courses to hear it, indeed, the cows and the River Jamna are said to be incarnations of his lovers in heaven. In innumerable paintings we find varied combinations of the theme; very often Krishna stands cross-legged with his flute beside the Jamna, served by *gopīs* (milkmaids) and surrounded by herdsmen (*gopas*) and cattle.(3) But it is not often that large versions of these themes, executed on cloth, are met with; the Mahārāja of Cossimbazar possesses a fine example, dated equivalent to 1799.(4)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, owns an example (here reproduced for comparison) in which almost the whole space available (about 1'25 m.) is taken up by a herd of cattle, formally arranged about a tree under which stands Krishna with his flute; amongst the cows are two herdsmen and two milkmaids, and all eyes are turned adoringly on Krishna. The stem of the tree extends nearly from top to bottom of the picture, but there is a narrow strip of water in the immediate foreground, and of landscape and sky at the upper margin; the whole is enclosed in a formal floral border. Krishna is represented as very dark, and entirely according to the mannerism of the local style of Nāthadvār, in Mewār, the centre of the Vallabha cult of Krishna as Śrī Nātha-jī.(5) The rapt gazing cows are drawn in the same fashion, which clearly represents a continuation of the traditions of the older Gujarātī and Mewārī manuscripts; in fact, the relation of Rajput to the preceding Western Indian painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is becoming more and more evident,(6) and it may be mentioned here that the Museum of Fine Arts has recently acquired a manuscript of the Gujarātī school dealing mainly with the life of Krishna, and here

(1) *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, IV.* No. CCXXXIII, and in colour in my *Rajput Painting*, Plate LI.

(2) *Catalogue*, Nos. CCXXIV, CCXLI.

(3) *Catalogue*, Nos. CCXXXVII, CCXXXVIII.

(4) *Rajput Painting*, Plate XI.

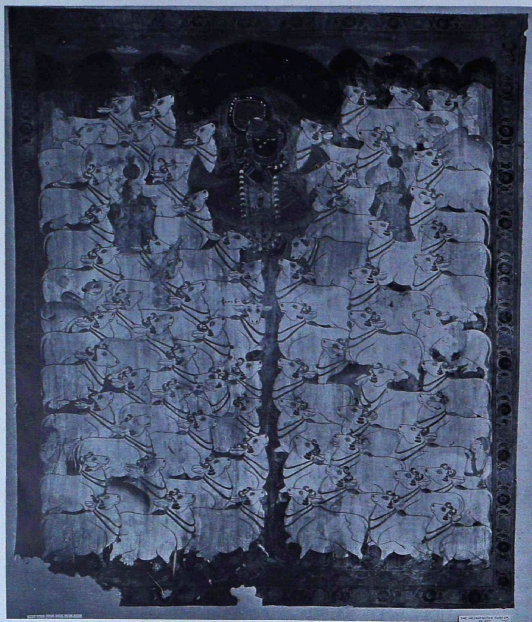
(5) See my *Rajput Painting*, p. 41, and Plates XIV, XV; also Karshandass Mulji, *History of the Sect of Maharajas or Valabhacharyas*, London, 1865.

(6) Particular attention has been called to this fact by Ivan Stchoukine in *La peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929.



A PASTORAL PARADISE.

Rajput School, 17th Century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



A PASTORAL PARADISE
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

the similarity of the theme makes the relationship especially clear. Many of the same formulæ can indeed be traced back to a much earlier period, when they are extant only in sculptured reliefs. (7)

The large painting now to be described, and recently purchased for the Museum of Fine Arts from the Maria Antoinette Evans Fund is, like the two last described, of southern Rājasthānī origin and may be assigned to the seventeenth century. It measures 1'76 by 1'885 m., and is painted in tempera and gold on a deep blue green, almost black, cotton ground, probably with a glue medium. The colours employed are greys and a silvery white, buff, browns, green, pink, vermilion, and a little blue; the predominating tone is quite warm. In its present condition the colour is not easily affected by water, but it flakes off readily when the material is folded. Some injurious quality in the sage green used for the leaves of the central tree has partially destroyed the fabric, a fact hardly noticeable in the reproduction, as the whole has been remounted on a dark background, almost indistinguishable from that of the original material.

The composition is fundamentally similar to that of the Metropolitan example, with slight variations. The herd is composed entirely of cows with suckling or frisking calves, to which their attention is directed, though some are grazing; they are attended by herdsmen, and are gathered round the large central tree, of which the tall trunk divides the group into two symmetrical halves. The sun and moon shine in the sky; the water in the foreground is full of lotuses and fish, and shows the usual wreath of foam along the shore line. There is no figure of Krishna; and yet the presence of the Divine Cowherd is so essentially implied and felt that one only becomes assured on closer inspection that we are really given the environment and not the actuality of the Krishna Līlā.

For this reason there is used above the designation "A Pastoral Paradise," without

mention of the name of the essential figure. The word Paradise is employed advisedly. Let us briefly refer to the Vallabha theology. (8) Here Krishna is the Supreme Deity, identified with the Absolute, Brahman, or Puruṣottama; and Vishnu is a form of Krishna, not as more usually in Vaiṣṇava theology, *vice versa*. Above the heaven (Vaikuṇṭha of Vishnu is that of Krishna, who manifests himself variously to his various devotees (Bhaktas) who have attained spiritual freedom. To those whose freedom has been reached by the path of altogether self-less impassioned love (*prema-bhakti*) he manifests as Krishna with Rādhā in Goloka (the "Cow-sphere"), that portion of Paradise which is the divine prototype of the earthly Braja Maṇḍala. There the emancipated Bhaktas take part with him in a cycle of eternal sports, assuming the form of herdsmen, milkmaids, cows, birds, trees, rivers, etc., and enjoy his company forever. The true Bhakta prefers this heaven of association with the Lord to the realisation of Unity with him, which is attainable otherwise than by love alone. In the words of Nārada, speaking in the *Caitanya Candrodāya Nāṭaka*. "On the banks of the river Virajā, where earth, groves and creepers are supersensual, there is a place abounding in birds and kine, all saturate with uttermost bliss, and I see before me in Brindāban its earthly counterpart." In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* this place is described as "all-absorbing, endless, and immanent as Krishna himself." In various places the river Virajā is identified with the earthly Jamna; the word itself means "free from attachment" and it is clear that in this sense it represents that last river which all must cross who would reach the Paradise upon the further shore—and this accords well with its physical position in the immediate foreground.

We may feel assured that paintings such as this implied to a Vaiṣṇava not merely a pastoral genre (to any Hindus a representation of cows would mean more than this),

(7) Cf. H.I.I.A., fig. 102; Banerji, *The Bas-reliefs of Bādāmi*, Mem. A.S.I., 25, Plate 25a, right side ("The tending of cattle in Braja").

(8) See Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Sāivism, etc.*, pp. 76 ff.; Bose M., *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā cult*, Journ. Dep. Letters, Calcutta University, XVI, 1927, pp. 54 ff.

but also more than a mere illustration of the Krishna Līlā conceived as an historical event. (9) Like the Līlā, it represents not so much a given time or place, as a condition of being, a haunting passion of devotion, a presently accessible experience. One is reminded of Fra Angelico, and of St. Francis. At first sight such ideas may seem to be but remotely connected with art, as we now think of art in terms of vision rather than of content. Design, however, cannot be understood alone in terms of

(9) The commentator Nilakantha says of the Krishna Līlā that it is based upon the permanent relation between man and God: "The heart of man is the seat of this Līlā, which can be reproduced at all times, in the heart of every true Bhakta."

space, nor even merely as style (ethnic "form"); to fully appreciate any art one must do more than note its themes, one must at least potentially experience the feelings that are interwoven with its actual renderings. Preconcepts cannot be separated from the form of the work itself; they, and not a theory of design or any decorative purpose, are the underlying causes of the arrangement of all its parts. If the result is sympathetic (and few spectators will be untouched by the charm of the "Pastoral Paradise"), even to those who may be unaware of or indifferent to the theme, this only demonstrates afresh the fact that real necessities (the determinants of iconography) are more than any direct pursuit of picturesque effects productive of art.

V.—AN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN "BRONZE."

By STELLA KRAMRISCH.

THROUGH the courtesy of the Editor of *Rūpam* two photos of a South Indian metal figure lie before me. They show front and back view of an image of Gaurī, the Śakti of Śiva, or Śiva Kāma-Sundarī, as she is called, the beautiful lady of Śiva's desire. (1)

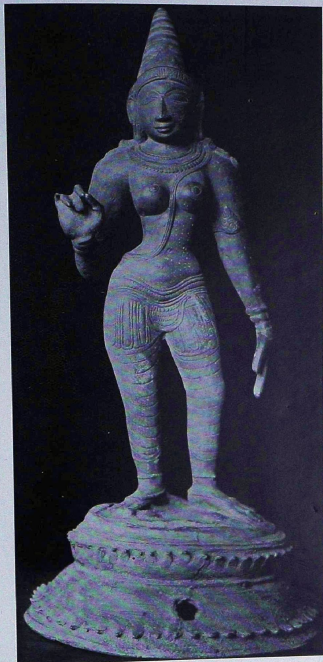
The figure stands in ābhanga posture on a rounded pedestal. Her very large right hand is raised in *kataka hasta*, whereas her left hand, with fingers long and heavy, points downward in *lōla hasta*. This is the attitude, sanctioned by tradition, for the metal figures of Gaurī.

The pedestal suggests a full blown lotus, its bold profile is relieved by two fringes of small and pointed petals; they do not mar the architectonic simplicity of its design. Above and below these fringes further simple profiles are added and the feet of the figure firmly rest on the upper disc, borne by the pedestal, of which the round movement, as if turned on a potter's wheel, comes to conclusion.

The figure with broad shoulders and heavy arms carries a large head on a short neck. A slim and flat body with very young breasts is supported by wide hips. They rest on heavy and round legs.

A high conical *karanda mukuta* which rises in spirals of rounded fillets and strings of beads and has an elaborate triangular ornament at the bottom, in the centre of front as well as back view, is fastened round the forehead by a broad *śiro-bandha*. Large ears with elongated earlobes without jewelry surround the face, with a broad, slightly bulging forehead, into which quietly rise the long curves of eyebrows. They start from a circular mark at the root of the nose. The large almonds of open eyes are not marked by pupils. They are not in one line, the angle of the right eye being different from that of the left, which appears as if raised. The flatness of the eyeballs corresponds with a flatness of full cheeks; their long oval terminates in a short and rounded chin. A straight long nose, with sharp ridge, shows broad nostrils over an upper lip, still broader, full, inarticulate, raised at the corners and slantingly set into the face. It is gently parted from a much smaller

(1) The original belongs to the collection of B. N. Treasuryvala, Bombay. It is over 2 feet approximately high and it is covered with green patina.



AN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN BRONZE

By the courtesy of Mr. B. N. Treasurywalla.

lower lip, on the bulging fulness of which it seems to rest. The slanting right eye and the upper lip, raised in its left angle considerably higher than in its right, impart to the face the impression as if perpetually and slowly turning towards the right.

A number of necklace chains are flatly laid on the chest, they consist of a string of beads, of plain bands and of a row of petals. A threefold plain upavīta passes under a heavy knot, in threefold curve across the left shoulder between the breasts⁽²⁾ and rests on the right hip. Two heavy knobs form the shoulder ornaments. A massive chain dangles along the outline of the arm. Armlets with triangular scroll motif, and a thick, spiralic wristlet complete the decoration of the arms.

From the hips downward a plain cloth with folds indicated by horizontally curved and incised lines covers the legs and ends considerably above the ankles; anklets clasp the legs above the ankles and a chain-like ornament rests on the heels and clings to the feet. The tightly clinging paridhāna seems to be drawn up between the legs, and is fastened at the back. It is held in position by a number of chains, similar to those of the necklace; the lowermost forms an apron-like shield, filled by fourfold rows of petals, and dangling across the festoons (urumālai) that embellish the thighs.

The back view shows the various ornaments sketched in only. Its narrow flatness justifies a thin and flat waist. The transition however, from the upper to the lower part of the body, sinuous and organic in the front view, is abrupt and angular in the back view. The more striking appear the fully rounded legs, which appear quite nude, as neither folds nor hem of the paridhāna are marked.

Altogether the ornaments are treated without much care; love of detail is the last thing aimed at in this image. On the contrary, cloth and ornaments are treated as accents only on the flattened roundness of the figure, the modelling of which is as summary as it is spontaneous. So round are the single limbs that they appear

(2) Their surface is highly polished in irregular rings around the nipples.

not cast in metal but as if turned on a potter's wheel. Yet their bold roundness has all the soft touches that were impressed on the wax model. The way in which the abdomen slightly bulges, as if animated by breathing, the way in which the budding breasts slowly rise from the body, has the same rhythm of growth that also raises the pedestal with the feet of the goddess. The whole image is conceived as one, the same movement, measure and modulation in pedestal and body, the same architectonic quality again in pedestal and crown. The heaviness of feet, hands and face keeps the movement calmly suspended between their leisurely bigness. There is an elephantine grace, an innocent budding forth in this image of the "body of Śiva's desire."

Its balance and linear composition are of the surest. The parallel diagonals from right foot to left hand, and from right hand to left ear respectively, in their shortness and decisiveness, cross the languid sway of the movement that passes from the left leg to the right shoulder, and which is emphasized by the lōla hasta of the left arm. The diagonal between the two hands balances the slight turn of the head in opposite direction; the curves of the upavīta repeat vertically what paridhāna hem and waist jewelry perform horizontally.

An unfailing sense of organic composition distinguishes this "bronze" and marks it together with its bold simplicity and flatness in the rendering of the body itself as an early creation, a "primitive" among the Śaivaite bronzes of South India.

This is confirmed by comparing the figure with those of the stone reliefs from Māmallapuram as well as with some South Indian "Bronzes" of later date.⁽³⁾

Of these, the Gouri from Conjeeveram (Plate XXXI) bears an outer affinity, in its poise and proportion. But the details of jewelry and features are more pronounced, are consciously elaborate and impart rigidity to the figure, which is of later date than the present image.

This group of metal images is characterized by a heavy roundness of limbs

(3) O. C. Gangoly: South Indian Bronzes, 1915. Plates XXV and XXXI.

which show to a lesser degree the realistic organism of the body, but incorporate in the highest measure an organic plastic feeling. Subordination and relative simplicity of jewelry, heavy faces and hands and peculiar facial features, as specified above distinguish this group.

The statue of a "deified queen," dated about 1100 A.D.(4), although earlier in date than the Gouri from Conjeeveram, has little in common with the image under discussion. Apart from the high cone of the *karanda mukuta* and apart from a similar treatment of the abdomen in both the figures, the slender maturity of the "deified queen" realizes an artistic ideal widely different from the more boldly treated and heavy limbs of our Gouri figure. Various trends thus must have been at work in the plastic creations of South India, from the eighth to the twelfth century, some more conservative and indebted to the Pallava school, whereas others visualized the new spirit of the Cola period.

In the field of stone sculptures, those from Māmallapuram show as close affinities with our Gouri, although just in the opposite

(4) A. K. Coomaraswamy: *A New South Indian Bronze, Rūpam*, No. 41.

direction chronologically, as the metal figures, of the first group. The plastically organic perception of the body, with limbs rounded, as if on the potter's wheel, the small and flattened chest, the modelling of the breasts, as if growing, the broad hips and slightly bulging abdomen, the subordination of jewelry to the body, the high cone of the *karanda mukuta*, are typical features of female figures, as carved in Māmallapuram.

Our "bronze" is the work of a lesser artist than those who carved the rocks at Māmallapuram. Wherever in S. India he may have worked, the tradition of Māmallapuram was alive in him, although some motives, as for instance the pattern of necklace, *urumālai*, etc., as well as the conventional treatment of the left arm, point to a later date. The plastic conception as such, however, is intimately related to, and derived from Pallava art, the trend of which survived and co-existed with the more refined and less elementary efforts of the leading Cola sculptors.

Compared with their assured elegance the Gouri figure seems primitive in trend although it appears to belong to the earlier part of Cola rule.

VI.—SCULPTURE IN EASTERN BENGAL: A REVIEW.*

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

THIS is by far the most considerable work uptil now published on the art of pre-Musalman Bengal, and it forms a contribution of first-rate importance on Indian sculpture and Indian iconography. The author is a well known scholar and antiquarian of Bengal, besides being a Bengali literary man of distinction. His original contributions to the history and literature of early Bengal through his works on the Muhammadan numismatics of Bengal, his publication of pre-Muhammadan copper-plate grants, and his editions of early Bengali texts have each a permanent value. He has now brought out the present monograph, which is a substantial publication enhancing the

reputation of modern Indian scholarship, and which the students of ancient Indian religion, history, art and culture will welcome with pleasure and gratitude.

Mr. Bhattachāli's book professedly is a descriptive catalogue of the sculptures preserved in the Dacca Museum, with special reference to their iconography as treated in the old texts; and thus its main purpose is to explain the symbolism and the cult-ideals underlying them. But in reality it is a very good handbook to the later phase of Pāla sculpture as preserved in East Bengal districts. The majority of the sculptures described belong, as Mr. Bhattachāli tells us, to the last period of

* *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* by Nalinī Kānta Bhattachāli, M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum: with Preface by H. E. Stapleton, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. Illustrated by 83 plates containing 10 collotype and 146 half-tone illustrations and one map. Published by the Honorary Secretary, Dacca Museum Committee, Dacca, 1929. Royal crown 8vo., pp: 30 + 274, cloth bound with leather back. Price, Rupees Twenty-five.



MAHĀMĀYĀ FROM KĀGAJIPĀDA



TĀRĀ FROM SUKHAVĀSPUR

By the Courtesy of the Curator, Dacca Museum

the life-span of Bengal sculpture, i.e., the period from about 1000 to 1200 after Christ, and represent one school only—the Pāla school of Eastern India (Bengal and Bihar). This school is one of the most distinctive provincial forms of Indian art, and, originating in the eighth century out of the Gupta tradition as practised in Bengal, had a most flourishing existence in Eastern India for some four centuries, down to the conquest of Bihar and West Bengal by the Turks at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. After the conquest by the Turks, the history of this school in Bengal and in Bihar has been one of swift decay. Sculpture in stone as well as painting came to an almost abrupt end, and only a little clay-modelling and brass-casting survived. The art, however, had been carried into Nepal in pre-Muhammadan times, and there the Pāla tradition in all the branches of plastic art has had a glorious existence until the present age, and may still be considered to be a living thing there. From Nepal the art extended to Tibet, where it met with Central Asian and Chinese schools, and became the basis of the art of Tibet.

The artistic achievements of this school are of an exceptionally high order, and can take their place in the forefront among masterpieces of early Indian art. No history of Indian art can be complete without a reference to the Pāla stone images of Vishnu and Śiṛya and of Buddha and Tārā, or without a discussion of the Pāla miniatures which form a link between the classic art of Ajanta and the mediæval schools of Gujarat, Rājputana, the North Indian plains and the Panjab hills. And although any single large monograph is wanting on the subject of Pāla art, it has received some attention from scholars and connoisseurs. Pāla sculptures are fairly plentiful in different parts of Bengal and Bihar. Good collections, both public and private, exist in India and outside India, and these are fairly representative of the sculpture of this school. Among public collections are to be mentioned those at the Indian Museum and the Vangīya Śāhiya Parishad Museum in Calcutta, the Provincial Museum at Patna, the Varendra Anusandhāna Samiti at Rajshahi which has the richest collection of this school, the Museum at Dacca, and the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, U. S. A. Noteworthy private collections in Bengal are mentioned by Mr. Bhattachāli in his Introduction. Accounts, though not systematic, of Pāla sculpture are to be found in the handbooks to the sculptures and the journals and bulletins of the Vangīya Śāhiya Parishad, of the Varendra Anusandhāna Samiti and of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, as well as in Indian archæological and other journals and papers, like the Government of India archæological reports, besides the *Rūpam* and the Calcutta *Modern Review*. Some very fine Pāla pieces in the Paul Mallon collection in Paris have been published with descriptions by V. Goloubew (*Quatorze Sculptures Indiennes*, Paris, 58, Boulevard Flandrin). A short study of Pāla art by Mr. J. C.

French, I.C.S., has appeared, with 32 half-tone plates, some time ago (*The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal*, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 26), and this little work is suggestive in some points, and is of high documentary value owing to some of the illustrations. The well-illustrated paper on the subject by Dr. Stella Kramrisch published in *Rūpam* No. 40 (October 1930) is also to be mentioned. Cf. also the *Modern Review* for January 1930. The late Mr. Rakhil Das Banerji's big work on Mediæval Sculpture in Eastern India with pictures of over 400 objects is now printing, and it may be hoped it will be soon available as a Government of India Archæological Survey publication: that *magnum opus* when published will be the standard work on Pāla sculpture, at least for some time to come.

In the meanwhile Mr. Nalinī Kānta Bhattachāli has published the book under review. Mr. Bhattachāli gives very good illustrations, and these, apart from the scholarly aspect of the work itself, render his work particularly valuable, especially to the students of Indian art. He has not, fortunately for the subject, confined himself to the examples preserved in the Dacca Museum only: he has described and given photographs of some rare and unique images in different places in Eastern Bengal, whether in the collection of private gentlemen or preserved in village temples and actually worshipped by the local people who would not easily allow them to be seen or photographed. Thus here are numerous documents of this school which have never been published before. One remarkable image, for bringing which to light we are indebted to Mr. Bhattachāli, is a figure of Mahāmāyā, or Śakti, emerging from Śiva (Plate LXIV). This is reproduced in the present number of the *Rūpam*. We have not seen the original, but the unique beauty of the composition and the treatment will be noted by all who appreciate the spirit of Indian art. The image is still being worshipped in a tiny village shrine in the Dacca district, and Mr. Bhattachāli gives a good description of it in his book. Later, Mr. Bhattachāli found out a passage in the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (IV, 18) which would seem to have furnished the text for the relief:—

Yadā 'tamas tan na divā na rātrir
na san na cāsan, Śiva eva kevalah:
tad akṣaram tat savitur vareṇyam—
Prajñā ca tasmāt praṣṭā purāṇi.

"When there was the Light, there was neither Day nor Night, neither Being nor not-Being; only the eternal Śiva existed. That Śiva is the Unending One, the One adored by the creator, the Sun: and from this Śiva, the Ancient Prajñā or Wisdom (i.e., Umā, or Śakti) emanated."

It is a most successful visualization of a spiritual and a mystic conception in terms of symbol and form, and is certainly a masterpiece in its way.

Mr. Bhattachāli prefixes to his Iconographic Description of the Sculptures a General Introduction, in which, in addition to notes on the history of the Dacca Museum collections and other matters, there are some important observations on temple architecture in pre-Muhammadan Bengal (pp. xii-xvii), on the materials used in Bengal sculpture, on the æsthetic achievements of these sculptures, and on the evidence for culture and society such as is afforded by them. By comparing with the structure of temples or niches which are carved in Pāla reliefs as covering the images with actual remains of pre-Muhammadan temples, Mr. Bhattachāli comes to some conclusions about the style of temples in vogue in Bengal at the time. In this way some important side-light is thrown on the history of architecture in Eastern India. From the sculptures themselves, Mr. Bhattachāli draws some conclusions about contemporary dress, ornament and furniture. In the matter of dress, it is not always safe to draw conclusions from religious art, as the figures of the deities with costumes are based on earlier traditions, and can refer to conditions prevailing in other tracts and other times. Thus, the ivory-carvers of Travancore now always dress the goddesses in the Mahratta fashion, in which the *sārī* is worn with one end tucked in between the legs,—the local Tamil and Malayali ways of wearing it are not usually followed by them. From the sculptures, we note that at least two styles of wearing the *sārī* were known in ancient Bengal—in both of which the bust could not be covered by it: for that another piece of cloth was used. One way has been carefully noted by Mr. Bhattachāli, in which one end of the *sārī* was tucked between the legs and gathered above the waist at the back. The other was what may be called the petticoat-way of wearing the *sārī* (like the *kain* of Bali Island), without covering the bust, which still obtains in Malabar: as, e.g., in the figure of Tārā from Sukhaspur (Plate XX), of Gaurī at Paikpara (Plate LXVIII a), of Gaurī from Arial (Plate LXVIII b) and of Sārāni from Deulbari (Plate LXX). This latter way is found in the sculptures and terra-cottas at Paharpur in North Central Bengal dating from the sixth century. It cannot be definitely said which of these two styles was in popular vogue in Bengal. Probably, classes and communities distinguished themselves by their styles of wearing the *dhōtī* and the *sārī* as at present.

In the main body of his book, Mr. Bhattachāli takes the Buddhist and the Brahmanical subjects separately, with illuminating introductions on the iconography of the two creeds. Here the spirit of the scientific historian has enabled him to give a good sketch of Buddhism and Buddhist art in East Bengal, with a preliminary introduction to the scheme of Buddhist mythology, and a short schematic survey, following the scriptures, of the

Brahmanical deities. The descriptions of the various images are given with full details, and the author's deep and wide knowledge of the subject is amply evidenced in the sober and scientific accounts he has given, forming a model of what such studies should be. The subject has been made eminently readable by the very sobriety of its treatment, and Mr. Bhattachāli has written not merely for the specialist—he has not forgotten the uninitiated layman who, without immersing himself deeply into the subject, would desire to have the cultured man's information on this fascinating topic—namely, Buddhist and Brahmanical religions in relation to their cult-images; and this class of readers will thank our author both for his freedom from pedantry and for his care in never omitting the essentials. The work may be said to form a convenient handbook of Hindu and Buddhist mythology, both for the general reader and the specialist, and one is reminded of Mr. Gopinatha Rao's well known *Elements of Hindu Iconography* and Mr. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*. Mr. Bhattachāli never misses anything important or interesting in an image, and he frequently cites a text to explain a point. We may refer for instance to his most admirable account of Sūrya, the Sun-God, with constant references to the actual images. In his account of the Śakti images, Mr. Bhattachāli it seems has given the real explanation to the puzzling Mother and Child reliefs of Pāla art, as being that of *Śiva Sadyojāta* (pp. 134 to 142).

The Dacca Museum has got together a few pieces of pre-Muhammadan wood-carving, and Mr. Bhattachāli has described them with photos. These are the only relics of what must at one time have been quite a common art—commoner indeed than stone, which had to be fetched laboriously from the Rajmahal Hills. But the climate of Bengal is not at all propitious to wood, which gets worm-eaten and decays quickly; and we are thankful for the fine fragments, quite typical ones indeed, with images as well as decorative floral and erotic motifs, as specimens of a great art that, like stone sculpture, has vanished for ever.

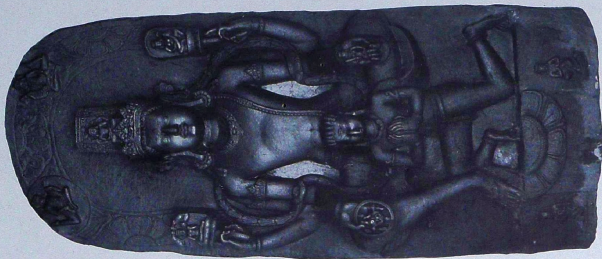
The get-up of the work is quite good for an Indian provincial press. The Sanskrit texts quoted, however, are given in Bengali characters instead of Devanagari, but one may hope that this will be treated with indulgence. The plates are generous in number, considering everything, and they are well reproduced too, not a single important item has come out indistinct or blurred. It was a good thought to give some of the best specimens in collotype plates printed in Germany: they will delight all lovers of Indian art.

No good collection of books on Indology will be deemed complete without this work; and we congratulate heartily both Mr. Bhattachāli and the authorities of the Dacca Museum on producing and giving to the public such a fine and valuable work.



BHṚKŪṬĪ FROM BHAVĀNĪPUR

By the Courtesy of the Curator, Dacca Museum



VIṢṆU FROM LAKṢMANĀKĀṬĪ

VII.—VEDIC ICONOGRAPHY.

By Prof. S. V. VENKATESWARA.

IT has been tacitly assumed by scholars that iconography is very late in Indian Culture and that in Rg-Vedic religion gods are described only as abstract forms. It is true that the words for "god" in the Indo-European languages involve no conception of a personal deity. But in Asia concrete representations of gods were in fashion as early as the Copper Age, and the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro show some niches on the walls of two rooms and some figures of gods and goddesses on the seals. It is therefore necessary to re-examine Vedic evidence in regard to this subject, and to consider what indications the verbography of the Veda yields in the direction of iconography.

First, in regard to the canons of interpretation. The characteristic mark of Vedic style is its suggestiveness of progressively higher meanings in accordance with spiritual improvement in the reflecting student. When Yaska refers to canons of Vedic interpretation, this very varied suggestiveness, pliability and flexibility, contrasted with the definitiveness and certitude of plain prose, were to his scientific mind obstacles in the way of a clear-cut interpretation. He is therefore content with grouping the opinions of scholars into four main schools—the Aitiḥāsika, Ādhiyajnika, Svābhāvika, and Ādhyātmika (*Nirukta* IV, 6). He notes that some scholars were for a synthesis of the different modes of interpretation, Aurnavābha, for instance (*Nirukta* VII, 15, VI, 13, XII, 1, 19). But the caution of Yaska and the example of Aurnavābha have been lost in their successors who have suffered from some sort of intellectual myopia and sought to explain all Vedic texts from a single or particular point of view—the mythological, ritualistic or philosophical. This has led to their torturing texts in some cases or explaining away expressions which do not tally with their preconceived mode of interpretation. It is important to bear this fact in mind and to consider whether obscure verbographical passages would yield better sense if iconographically interpreted.

I. ICONISM.

In the earliest stratum of the Rg-Veda (Mandalas II to VII), there are some passages which give the student to think: R. V. IV, 24, 10, for instance:—Ka imam daśabhir mama Indram kṛṇāti dhenubhiḥ yadā Urtrāni janhanat athainam me punar dadat, "who will purchase (on hire) this my (image of) Indra at a price of ten cows, and return it to me after the Urtras are slain." "This my Indra" (imam mama Indram) would make best sense if referred to an image of Indra which was hired out for temporary use. The context shows that there were permanent

images of Indra made and hired for what was in all probability an Indra festival, and there were apparently images of Urtra made for each occasion whence the plural *Urtrāni* to be slain by Indra. (1) That this *r̥k* is a truly ancient one is shown by its appearing again in the Erihadā-ranyaka Upanishad (IV, 133).

In the fifth Mandala of the Rg-Veda is this reference to the Maruts: Nū manvānāḥ eṣām devān accha (R. V. V, 52, 15). "We pray to the gods of these (images) so as to get to them." *Eṣām* in this passage may be compared with *imam* in that cited already, and would make no sense unless it is referred to some concrete objects which could be pointed to on the spot. What could these be but images of the Maruts, as Bollensen conjectured long ago? (2) This passage is also interesting in that it shows that there was no idol-worship, but that images were used as concrete representations of gods whose real form and existence were conceived as different.

The existence of two forms of each god apparent in this passage, one the concrete and finite and the other the abstract and infinite, is referred to in very clear terms in a passage of the Yajur Veda which also appears in the Atharvan: Svayā tanvā tanūm-airayata. "With your own (real) body enter this (concrete) body" (T. S. I, 7, 12; A. V. VII, 31). The difference is that while in the Rg-Veda text we have the image regarded merely as a physical tenement of the real form of the god, in these texts we have two forms of god mentioned—that in the image being only an apparent and evanescent form, and that in the universe being the real and permanent form (*Svā tanūh*).

A passage in the seventh Mandala of the Rg-Veda shows the relationship of these forms of the god—the finite and the infinite: Yadanyarūpaḥ Samithe babbhūtha (R. V. VII, 100, 6. Also Sāma Veda II, 975; Tait. Sam. II, 2, 12; Mait. Sam. IV, 10, 1). The context shows how Vishnu changed his shape in battle. In his finite form he was the vehicle of Indra at the conquest of Urtra. Indra who was on Vishnu (*Vishṇvanuṣṭhitah*) asked Vishnu to expand into the infinite space (*Sakhe Vishṇo Vitarām Vikramasva*) elbowing Urtra out of existence till he begged to be received into the body of Indra himself. The belief was that the finite cabined in a particular form was not cribbed or confined by this fact but was capable of infinite expansion.

(1) Cp. *ghanam Urtrāṇām janayanta devān*. R. V. III, 49, 1; 51, 8.

(2) Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. XXII, pp. 587 ff.

II. CASTING OF IMAGES.

We may next consider the passages which seems to contain references to the fashioning of images. One such is in the sixth *Māṇḍala* of the R. V.: 'Asīram chit Kr̥ṇuta supratikam'—"Make that which was an ugly mass a beautiful image": (R. V. VI, 28, 6; cp. A. V. IV, 27, 6; T. B. II, 8, 12). Another in the fourth *Māṇḍala* praises the maker of Indra (images): 'Indrasya Kartā Svapastamo bhūt' (R. V. IV, 17, 4). Cp. 'Indra kārīnam Urdhantah' (R. V. VIII, 2, 29). 'Indrāya Vishnuh Sukrtā Sukrttarah' (R. V. I, 156, 5) uruh prthuh Sukrtā Kartṛbhīr bhūt (R. V. VI, 19, 1; VII, 62, 1). It is hardly possible to understand Kr̥ in these passages in the sense of 'praise' instead of 'make'.

Even the casting of metallic images would appear to be indicated in various places: R. V. VIII, 69, 12, A. V. XX, 92, 9, M. S. IV, 7, 8, have 'Sūrmayam sushirām iva' which Ballantyne (*Mahābhāṣya*, p. 34), has rendered 'a beautiful perforated iron image.' A variant of this expression occurs in the Taittiriya Samhitā (I. 5, 7): 'sūmi karpakāvati' which Commentator Bhatta Bhāskara, a high authority on rituals, explains as 'a metallic body full of holes' (lohamayī sthūpā antah sushiravati). I consider this explanation as probable in view of T. S. IV, 2, 5, which has: Ayasmayam Vichrta bandham etam—"Enter this copper (or iron) mould," and of T. S. II, 2, 7, which has: Indrāya gharṃavate Indrāyārkavate—"To Indra with the thunder bolt, and Indra with heat" (Bohtlingk). In other recensions of the Yajur Veda we have such expressions as Tvashtā dadhat Indrāyāśushmam: 'Tvashtā endowed Indra with heat' (V. S. 20, 44; K. S. 38, 6; M. S. III, 11, 1; T. B. II, 6, 8).

The last citation also indicates that the caster of images was Tvashtā. This can be supported by numerous passages: Tvashtā rūpena takshyā (R. V. VIII, 10, 2, 8. Also S. V. II, 297). Tvashtā rūpāni pimsatu (R. V. X, 184, 1; A. V. V, 25, 5). Tvashtāsmā Vajram Svaryam tatakscha (R. V. I, 32, 2; A. V. II, 5, 6). Tvashtā yad vajram sukr̥tam rūpānyayam (R. V. I, 85, 9). Tvashtā yeshām rūpadheyāni Veda (A. V. II, 26). Tvashtā pīṣeṣa madhyato nu yadhrān (A. V. XIV, 1, 60), would fit in very well with the casting of an image where the beauty of the bust depended on the fashioning of the waist. Though these texts are from the later books of the Rg-Veda and from the other Vedas, the continuity of tradition is borne out by stray references in the earliest texts. R. V. IV, 17, 4, says that the maker of Indra was a most stalwart being, a most skillful workman:—

"Svīras te janitā Manyatā Dyaur Indrasya Kartā svapastamobhūt Yastam jānāna svaryam suvajram anapachyātām sadaso na bhūma."

And Indra had weapon in hand as soon as he was born: A bundām Urtahā dade jātah prchad vi mātaram (R. V. VIII, 45, 4). The weapon is described elsewhere as the panchadasarātā-Vajra (R. V. VII, 2, 10, 2).

In the fourth *Māṇḍala* we have Tvashtur gṛhe apibat somam Indrah 'Indra drank the soma juice at the house of Tvashtā' which would yield sense if understood as referring to the washing of the Indra image after it was finished in a decoction of Soma at the smith's house. Cp. Yaj jāyathāh tadahar asya Kāmam Amśoh piyūsham apibah girishtham (R. V. III, 48, 2). 'Thou didst drink the Soma juice the very day thou wert born.' Tam te mātā pari Yoshā janitri mahah pitur dame Asinchad agre. 'Thee thy genetrix who carried thee about, soaked in this juice at the house of thy father.' Reference, obviously, to the further bathing of the idol in Soma after it had reached the owner's (pitur) house from the maker's (mātā). It is in this sense, probably, that Soma is styled the father of Indra (R. V. IX, 69, 5), and to have attained his godhood after having been heated (tapah paritapyā ajayah svah X, 167, 1).

A well-finished image was a *Samdrś*. This is shown in some of the later texts: na Samdrś tishthati rūpam asya na chakshushā paśyati Kaścha nainam (Tait. Ar. 10, 1, 3; Kars. Up. 6, 9; Svct. Up. 4, 20; Maha N. Up. 1, 11). 'His form does not lie in the compass of any image, his shape none can see with the mortal eye.' This would explain such expressions as Samdrśas te mā chitsi (T. S. I, 6, 6). 'May I not be put away from the sight of thy form (or image)'. Cp. Samdrśtā Gupta vah Santu (A. V. II, 9, 2) and the earliest Rg-Vedic references: Samdrśhtir asya hiyanasya dakshoh (R. V. II, 4, 4). Taya spārhe varne a Samdrś Śrīyah (R. V. II, 1, 12). Asya Śreshthah subhagasya Sandrk (R. V. IV, 1, 6). Sudrśika Samdrś (R. V. IV, 5, 15). Another word is *Śilpa* used in the Yajur Vedic texts: Rk Sāmāyoh Śilpe sthah 'images of rk and sāman' (Keith) when Śilpa has only the general sense of representative or reminder (T. S. I, 2, 2); Śilpah paśuh (V. S. 29, 58), where the reference is to a manufactured image of the animal. The word *pratīka* is most commonly used in later times, and it appears in R. V. VI, 28, 6, already cited above. Another word familiar to us in later literature *pratimā* (cp. Devatā *pratimā*) does not clearly possess this sense in the Rg-Veda: Vidat dāsāya *pratimānam* Āryah (R. V. X, 38, 3). *Pratimānam* śatah Satāh (R. V. III, 31, 8), have the sense rather of value or weight. In Nārvaṅgīdram *pratimānāni* debhuh (T. S. II, 2, 12), we seem to have the first reference to an Indra *pratimā* contrasted with other *pratimās*.

III. ICONOMETRICAL DETAILS.

A few expressions in the later Vedic texts seem to point even to some iconometric details as known to us in later times. The RK—uru Vishno Vikramasya uru Kshayāya nah Kr̥dhi—is explained in the Kāthaka Samhitā (XX, 7):—"Fire is to be piled with 'the navel of Vishnu.' It is twelve angulas only, for this much is the navel of Vishnu." On turning to Varāhamu's *Bṛhad Samhitā* where we have the earliest detailed account of

iconometrical details we find (Book II, Chap. II) twelve angulas taken as the *māna* or standard of measurement from the heart to the navel of an image, and in other directions. But this reference to the angulas does not exist in the Tait. Sam. V. 2, 8, which also comments on this R.K. The inference is indicated that when the Kāthaka recension of the Yajur Veda was composed iconometrical ideas had come into existence.

The reference to the angulas in the Kāthaka puts one in mind of the *Purusha Sūktā* of the Rg-Veda (Mandala X) where the *Purusha*, obviously an anthropomorphic conception of the Universe, exceeds it by *ten angulas* (sa bhūmin Viśvato vrtva atyatishtat daśāṅgulaṃ R. V. X, 90, 1. A. V. XIX, 6, 1). This is perhaps a development of an earlier idea of man being *daśaritra* (Daśarītro Manushyah Svarshāh R. V., II, 18, 1). The hymn is for other reasons regarded as a later interpolation. It is clear that some anthropometrical ideas existed at the time. As the passage occurs also in the A. V. (19, 6, 1) and V. S. (XXXI, 1) but not in the Tait. Sam. recension of the Yajur Veda, and does appear in the Brāhmaṇa portion thereof (T. A. III, 12, 1) we get an indication of the date of this passage similar to that noticed in the previous paragraph. In fact, *purusha* in the T. A. (I, 25) came to mean an image: Pushkaraparnam rukmam puruṣam ityupa dadhāti (Cp. Puruṣam Kṛṣṇa pingalam T. A., X., 12, 1). In other passages we are told that the value or weight of a *purusha* was 21 māsas, a passage which has led to the grotesque interpretation as the price of a slave. Cp. *Śatamānam bhavati*, where the *māna* of a man is a hundred, where by giving a hundred gold pieces a man secures the boon of the full term of hundred years of human life. The weight of 21 māsas therefore was that of the standardized image of a man.

IV. ICONOGRAPHICAL DETAILS.

Some elevation of iconographical details may be detected in various passages: Aruṇo bhṛūman Indrasya rūpam. 'He is ruddy and has eyebrows' (T. S., II, 1, 6). Indra is conspicuous for the 'sīpra' as he is referred to in numerous passages as 'sūsīpra' and 'harisīpra' (R. V., I, 17, 3; VI, 29, 6). Sāyana explains *sūsīpra* as 'sobhane hanā sobhana nāsika vā' but *sīpra* most probably means the cheek or the chin as in one passage it occurs in the dual *Sīprābhyām* R. V., X, 105, 5). That this was an anthropological character is clear from the contrast of 'sūsīpra' and 'harisīpra' with 'viśīśīpra' in R. V., V, 45, 6, which says that Manu overcame the 'viśīśīpra' peoples (Yayā manuh viśīśīpram jigāya), i.e., people whose cheek-bones were prominent. The invisible Vāyu (Wind) is addressed as *darśata* 'of pleasing appearance,' which could only mean that Vāyu images were made to look beautiful. The epithet *Nāsatyan* appears to be one of the earliest applied to the twin-gods and occurs in the Boghazkeni inscriptions. Yaska explains the term as *Nā ikāprabhavan*, indicating the

prominent nasality of these gods. Here, again, is an anthropological feature of interest, as the aquiline nose of the Aryan shown in sharp contrast to that of the snub-nosed (*anāsa*) Dasyu. Varuṇa is conspicuous for his golden armour (bibhrad drāpim hiranyayam R. V., I, 25, 13). The individuality of Rudra is outlined by the epithets 'kapardin' (R. V., VI, 55, 2; I, 114, 1), 'tryambaka' (R. V., VII, 59, 2) 'kṛttivāsa' and 'pinākin' (T. S., IV, 5). The Vedic hymnist now refers to one, now to another of these attributes, the sum-total of which makes up the concrete representation of the god.

In addition to these anthropomorphic details there was the association of a god with some animal or weapon. Sūrya, for instance, is associated with horses whose number is variously given as 5, 6, 7 or even 1,000 (R. V., I, 50; V, 62; VI, 64). The number 7 is definitely associated with the steeds of Sūrya for the first time in a late text, the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, where other passages also occur which say that there is only one horse though it bears seven names (Eko hayo vahati sapta nāmā). And the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka explains that there were seven Sūryas and not merely seven steeds of Sūrya, and attempts various explanations which are all symbolical. In actual sculpture, even of the Gupta period, we find only three horses of Sūrya's car (Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum G. 36) and four horses on the coins of Græco-Bactrian Demetrios and at Bodhi Gaya. There is no evidence, therefore, that the seven horses of Sūrya were characteristic of the god.

Nor is it true to say that the two elephants pouring water over her are characteristic or represent the earliest form of Lakshmi. The *Śrī Sūktā* mentions the lotus garlands of the goddess (cp. a lotus in each hand, in the icons) but does not mention elephants among the characteristic accompaniments of Lakshmi, any more than horses or chariots. It is true that this *Sūktā* is a *khila* hymn, but it is considerably anterior to any piece of evidence relating to Lakshmi in verbography or in iconography (the earliest representations of Gajalakshmi—the goddess and the elephants—are on the Sanchi sculptures).

We have weapons of various kinds described in the Vedic texts but none of them is characteristic of a god except *Vajra* of Indra. It is mentioned in R. V. I, 100, 18 and II, 12, 10, and the Yajur Vedic texts describe it as *Yuktāgrāvā*: 'made of stone' (T. S. IV, 41). The guardians of the quarters are all Vedic deities, but none of their *Ayudhas* (except Indra's) is associated with them in the Vedic texts.

It is therefore impossible to accept the view that 'the individuality of the Vedic gods being vaguely conceived was differentiated either by the species of animals drawing their cars or by the distinctive weapons held in their hands.' There is much more evidence of the individuality than is implied in this statement, while there is not much evidence of the weapons or vehicles characterising gods in the Rg-Veda.

V. DECORATION AND ORNAMENT.

Images were decorated and were invested with ornaments from the earliest times: *nrpeśasah* in R. V. 4, 5, is explained by Roth as 'adorned by men' but is more likely to mean 'having the form of man.' Cp. Varuṇāya Rta peśase R. V. V, 61). *Pipisē hiraṇyāiḥ* (R. V. II, 33, 9) is translated by Wilson as 'shines with golden ornaments.' But other passages which contain derivatives from *piś* seem to indicate the general appearance or perhaps decoration rather than ornaments: *Viśvā vah śrīr adhi tanushu pipisē* (R. V. V, 57, 6); *tvastā rūpāni pimsatu* (R. V. X, 184, 1), *Sarukmehi supesāsā adhiśriyā Virajāta* (R. V. I, 188, 6) cp. *peśasvati tannuā samvayanti* of the Yajur Vedic texts (K. S. 38, 6; M. S. III, 2, 1; T. B. II, 6, 8). I think the sense is very clear in R. V. I, 92, 4 (*Uśā*), *peśāmsi adhipate nrtriva* *Uśas* puts on graces like a dancing girl.' Indra's decoration is described in the epithets *harikeśa* (golden-haired), *hari smaśāru* (golden-moustached), (*hari-varpah* (golden-bodied) (R. V. X, 23 and 96). Similar decoration of Rudra images is indicated by the epithets *kapardin* (with the braid) and *krttīvāsa* (with the skin or arm) of Rudra. Rudra has the epithets 'strong limbed, many-formed, awe-inspiring' (*sthirebhīr augaḥ pururīpah ugrāh* (R. V. II, 33, 9). Of course, the decoration of each image would be in conformity with the god's position in the pantheon and with the deeds attributed to him in mythology.

Adornments appear, too, in various passages: *Agni* is spoken of as *nishkagrīo* (R. V. V, 19, 3) and Indra's *nishkas* are mentioned (M. S. I, 10, 1). *Nishkāsaḥ* here must have reference to golden ornaments. Similarly, *Varuna* is 'bibhrad drāpim hiraṇyayam,' 'wearing a golden armour' (R. V. I, 25, 13). Jewels set in gold are certainly indicated in *hiraṇyayena mānina śumbhamānaḥ* (R. V. I, 33, 8). The general sense of *śumbh* in this connection is borne out by numerous passages: *Śumbhamāna Kanyā* (R. V. X, 106, 10) could refer only to the decoration or jewellery on the female person.

These references make it less difficult to explain such expressions as *Indrāgni Śumbhātā narah* (R. V. I, 21, 3). 'Oh men, decorate Indra and Agni with ornaments' (Wilson). *Sāyara* explains the passage as: *nānāvīdhair alankāḥaiḥ śobhitān kuruta*. Similar expression occurs also in A. V. VI, 54, 1. *Indram śumbhāmyashtaye*. Cp. *Tanvāh Śumbhātā Svāh* (R. V. X, 95, 9) and *Śumbhāmāna tanvāh* (R. V. VII, 56, 11; 59, 1). The *svāh* is significant as it means decorating or adorning one's person (*tanu*) oneself as contrasted with having it done by another. *Śumbh* in these passages cannot be explained in the sense of 'praise' merely.

VI. TEMPLES AND PROCESSIONS.

The word for temple is *gṛha* as apparently the houses of gods were fashioned after human

habitations. *Indrasya gṛhosi sam tvā prapadye* (A. V. V, 6, 11). 'You are the dwelling of Indra, I come unto you.' The worshipper went with his offerings 'you are *asti tena*.' These offerings at the temple formed the portion of the god known as *gṛhamedhiyam bhāgam*. Cp. R. V. VII, 56, 14: *Gṛhamedhiyam bhāgam maruto jushadhvam* 'Oh Maruts, accept this your portion offered at the temple.' The Maruts are described as benignant at the temple, in contrast obviously to the storm and thunder they caused in nature. *Kṛdan vah śarhah mārutam anarvānam gṛhe śrīe śubham* 'The troops of yours sporting in joy are benignant in the temple as they are not let loose.' In R. V. VII, 59, 10, the Maruts are styled *gṛhamedhasah*, and their 'gṛhamedhiyam bhāgam' may be contrasted with the 'devabhāgam' at a sacrifice. The inference from these passages is supported by the finds of images of the storm-gods in Babylonia.

There were processions and religious festivals associated with Indra and the Maruts. The clearest allusion is perhaps in R. V. I, 10, 1 (cf. also S. V. I, 342; 2, 694 and T. S. I, 6, 12): *Bṛamhānas tva Satakrata ud vamsam iva yamire* 'worshippers, oh Indra, reciting the Veda, hold thee aloft as if it were a pole.' It is probably a reference to the banner staff of Indra, and the planting of the flag-staff was a prominent event at the Indra festival. It is described in detail in *Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā*, in *Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa* and in the ancient Tamil epic the *Maṇimekhalai*. It was a festival lasting 28 days. The ceremonies connected with this are referred to as 'Indrakarma' (*Indrakarmasu*, no *avata* V. S. 20, 74; K. S. 38, 9) in the later Vedic texts.

The moving about of Indra images in processions appears indicated in R. V. IV, 18, 1: *Arilhan. vatsam charathāya mātā svayam gātum tanve icchamānam* 'His mother bore him in order that he may range abroad, along pathways he desired for his image to roam.' *Tanve* here apparently means a frame or image of Indra. The return of the idol to its resting place may be the reference in R. V. III, 53, 5 and 6 (an old refrain). *Yatra rathasya brhato nidhānam vimochanam vājino rāsabhasya* 'where thy chariot halts thy steeds are unharnessed.' This sense would be most appropriate also in such passages as: *Indram is Viśvatas-pari havāmahe janebhyaḥ asmākam astu kevalah*: 'We worship your Indra among the people at large as soaring high into the heavens. May he be entirely with us.' This passage shows, in fact, a transition to the idea in the *Mahābhārata*, of Indra being regarded as the highest of the gods: 'Brahmānam tvā Satakratum ūrdhvam kham iva menire.'

One can discover similar references to the festival of the Maruts where these gods were carried about in cars or chariots: *Sardho Mārutam anarvānam rathe śubh* — The substitution of *rathe* for *gṛhe* is significant and shows that the images were sometimes worshipped in temples and sometimes taken out in processions. Convivial

parties connected with these are referred to in *samad*, *sagdhi* and *sapiti*. Cp. Indrah samatsu (R. V. I, 130, 8), Indram samatsu bhūshata (S. V. I, 269). *Sagdhixha me sapitischā me* (T. S. IV, 7, 4). *Samad* (Sam + ad) like *Sagdhi* was an interesting party.

VII. SYMBOLISM.

There was also the development of symbolism side by side. Taking Agni for instance, we find this description of the god in the fourth *Māṇḍala* of the *Rg-Veda*: *Chatvāri Śruga trayosya pāpāh dwe śirshe sapta hastāso aśya! Tridhā baddho urshabho roraviti!* 'Four-horned is this great bull, three-footed, two-headed, and with seven hands. Bound in three places he roars aloud' (R. V. IV, 58, 3). The hymn occurs also in the various recensions of the *Yajur Veda* (K. S. 40, 7; V. S. 17, 91; M. S. 1, 6, 2; T. A. 10, 10, 2), with the single variant of *Tredhā* for *Tridhā* in the M. S., and in the *Upanishads*. There is a figure of Agni corresponding to this description in the *Chidambaran temple* (H. Krishnasāstri: *South Indian Images*, fig. 147). The seven hands of fire mentioned in these passages become the seven tongues of fire in the *Upanishads* and they are named *Kālī*, *Karālī*, etc., in the *Mundakopaniṣad*.

Other instances of symbolism are not far to seek. We have that of the year (*Samvatsara*) as a horse, the dawn being his head, the sun his eye, his breath the wind, etc., explained elaborately in the *Yajur Veda* texts (T. S. VII, 7). In the *Upanishads* we have the five sheaths of the body represented as birds, the *prāṇava* (om) as a bull, the senses as horses, the mind as a chariot, etc. In the latest (*khila*) Vedic texts we have the goddess *Śyī* represented as a golden antelope adorned with garlands of silver and gold.

It is an unwarranted statement that 'ideas of symbolism grew up in South India in the present century.' Primitive man, even of the stone age, made symbolical representations of the Sun and the Moon, and we have the circle and the crescent in Egypt in the 3rd millennium B.C. and in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in the 5th millennium B.C. The seals of the last named places are redolent of this symbolism throughout, and it has descended from them to the punch-marked coins.

VIII. EVIDENCE OF PRE-HISTORIC ARCHÆOLOGY.

The seals of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro belong to the Vedic age and are redolent of Vedic imagery and symbolism. The word Harappa itself is analogous to *Hariyūpiyā*, the site of a Vedic battle described in R. V. VI, 27, 5. The brick buildings are characteristic of the *Āryas* as the stone ones are of the *Asuras* (R. V. IV, 30, 20). The ground plan of the edifices and the seals are rectangular. The peepul (*Āśvattha*) is the tree of eternity in some Vedic texts and the tree of the folk in other texts. The tiger is prominently mentioned in the *Yajur Vedic* texts. The (black)

antelope was always a sacred animal with the *Āryas*, and the boundaries of *Āryāvarta* were defined in post-Vedic times as the regions in which this animal was found to roam. Lastly, the humped bull is distinctively Indian, and references to the hump, while rare in the earliest hymns, are abundant in the later *Rg-Vedic* and other texts (R. V. VIII, 20, 21; X, 7, 2; 101, 7). Some of the postures and attitudes of the figurines suggest Vedic life: the men with their hands about the knee-caps remind us of the *nijānuka* posture in the cold season vividly described in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*. One of the goddesses at Mohenjo Daro has the *padmāsana* and another the *sukhāsana* posture of later times. There is something also in the structure of Mohenjo Daro to suggest a temple or religious sanctuary. There are square niches in the walls of two of the rooms. Some of the icons on the seals would fit in with this view, that of the god cross-legged in meditation and that of the goddess with two animals on either side, for instances.

The representations on the seals have to be carefully considered. One is the cross-legged figure of a god on a tablet of blue faience with *Nāga* worshippers to right and left of him, and peepul leaves over the figure. Another shows twin heads of antelopes springing from the stem of a peepul tree. A third is that of a goddess fighting with a lion, possibly *Durgā*. We have it in later legend that she fought with the buffalo (*Mahisha*) who later became, like the lion, her accompaniment at worship. A fourth is that of the goddess of the Lamp at Harappa, whose figure has extended ears to serve as cavities for holding the oil of the wick on each side. Such *Dipalākshmi* figures (but holding the oil in the hollow of the joined palms instead of in the ears) appear in the metal work of later India. (The earliest literary reference is in the *Manimekhalai* Bk. I). Lastly, we have the figure of the goddess which was discovered by the Archaeological Survey when I was at Mohenjo Daro last November. It is a goddess in Buddha-like (*padmāsana*) posture with horns, on a square seal and beneath pictographs. To the upper left of the goddess is an elephant, and a lion or tiger lower down; to the upper right is a crocodile and below it a buffalo. Students of Indian sculpture know that lion and tiger figures are not easily distinguished in early, nay, even in mediæval, art. In Hoysala sculptures, for instance, the tiger slain by Sala looks more like a lion than a tiger. Similar representation of four animals round a central divine figure is expressed verbographically in the *Yajur Veda*. We read in T. S., V, 3, an account of the central figure of *puruṣa* surrounded by the goat, sheep, tiger and lion.

IX. CONCLUSION.

It will be clear from the foregoing that while there were general sacrificial sessions in Vedic times where all the gods were invoked and prayers

and offerings in fire were made to them, there were also special worships of individual gods in temples and periodical festivals in their honour during which their images were decorated and adorned and taken out in popular processions. The former class of worship appealed to the more advanced sections of the community, and the latter was for the masses at large. Consequently the popular gods the Maruts and Indra associated with them, were more generally worshipped in temples and processions, and expressions of iconographic interest appear largely in the Vedic hymns relating to them. The Indra festival was in universal observance in post-Vedic India, and must have originated in Vedic times. The goddess was also one of the popular forms of iconographical worship, as is shown by the concrete figures on the Indus Valley belonging to the 5th and 4th Mm. B.C. and the figure unearthed from Lauriya Nandangarh, assigned to the 9th or 8th century B.C. This worship of Indra the Maruts and the goddess in its popular form appears to stand in contrast to the worship of Agni and Soma which was in the old abstract form and in the old manner of sacrificial religion. But the individuality of gods was clearly outlined and many of them were represented with anatomical features and associated with weapons or vehicles corresponding to the phenomena of nature over which they were considered to preside.

Were painted images of gods in vogue in the Vedic age?

The learned editor of the 'Rūpam' has drawn my attention to R. V. I, 145. In this Agni hymn, the last mantra runs as follows:—

'Sa yimmṛgaḥ apyō Vanarguh upa tvachi upamasyām nidhāyī | Vyabrāt vayanū mar-tyebhyaḥ agnīh Vidvān rta chiddhi Satyah'.

This passage has been interpreted as a pictorial representation of Agni on a cow-hide. But neither 'mṛga' nor 'apyā' necessarily refers to painting.

'Mṛga' implies that Agni to whom this hymn is addressed is usually 'fierce like a beast.' Compare 'Mṛgo nā bhīmā kncarō girishthah' which is applied to Viṣṇu as Trivikrama spreading out into the three worlds (R. V., I, 154, 2); and to Indra as the conqueror of enemies (R. V., X, 182). A similar passage (Tait. Sam., IV, 5) 'Mṛgam nā bhīmā upanātum ugram,' has a direct reference to the fierce Agni as Rudra *udrō vā esha yat agnīh*.

'Apyā' is apparently a reference to Agni as born of the waters (*Apām napāt*). In the same sense the Devas also are spoken of as 'Apyāḥ' in R. V., VI, 50, 11 and VII, 35, 11, probably because the 'shining ones' are seen emerging from the ocean. That Agni is born of the waters is a well-known Vedic idea. Compare 'Apsu me Sōmō abraūt antarvīṣvāni bhehajāḥ Agnimcha vīśva sambhuvan.' 'Some told me that in the waters are all the medicaments and Agni, the giver of all happiness.' The same idea is reflected in later

Sanskrit literature; e.g., *Raghuvamśa*, XIII, 4: 'Abindhanam vanhim asan bibharti' 'the ocean bears the fire which feeds on water.' In Vedic ritual we also have 'Agnichayana' in the waters: 'Apsu hyayam chiyate' 'Agni is kindled in the waters.' In one passage, however, 'Apyā' seems to have the sense of belonging to mid-air (antariksham). Cp. 'Sanno divyah Sanno apyāḥ' (R. V., VII, 35, 11).

'Vanarguh' occurs only in one other passage in the R. V. (X, 4, 6): *Vanargū taskarā*, and the *Tait. Sam.* (IV, 5) suggests that the thieves of the forest were armed with bows and arrows (*vishanga* and *ishudhi*).

'Upamā' has the sense of lofty or holy in 'several passages: *upamā divō vishatmbhah* (R. V. IX, 86, 35). Indra is described as being in '*Upame rōchane divah*,' the bright heavens on high (R. V. VIII, 82, 4). Pavamāna is *divō vishatmbhah upamō vichakshapah* (R. V. IX, 86, 35). In R. V. VIII, 61, 2, we have '*uta upamānām prathamō nishidati*' applied to Soma who was placed between the two pressing planks (*Dhishane*). The idea of loftiness has here given place to that of holiness.

'Tvachi' means the skin and combined with 'upamā' may refer to any of those hides which were used in Vedic rites: '*Gavye adhi tvachi* (cow hide, R. V. IX, 101, 11), which is something spoken of as bright and yellow; '*Hiranyayā tvachā*' (R. V. VIII, 1, 32); '*Ayue pari tvachi*' (hide of the sheep); *Krishnājina* (hide of the deer) which is spoken of as the 'tva k' of Aditi in *Tait. Sam.* I, 1, 6. In some passages the skin of the Earth, *Bhūmi* or Aditi, is referred to: '*Bhūmyā udneva*' '*vitvacham bibheda*' (R. V. X, 68, 4), which is also found in A. V. XX, 16, 4. In these passages 'Upamā tvak' would acquire significance if 'tvak' is taken in the original sense of skin or hide.

'Vayuna' means the way or path of wisdom as leading to perfection. Compare *Viśvāni deva Vayunāni Vidoān* in the Agni hymn (R. V. I, 189, 11).

'Vyabravūt': uttered or expounded, compare '*Adhyavōchat*' in the Rudra hymn T. S. IV, 5, 1.

'Agnirvidvān rta chiddhi satyah': Agni the Knower of the Truth, who can be thoroughly relied upon' Compare R. V. I, 1, 5: *Kavikratuh* and *satyah* and R. V. I, 1, 8: *ṛtasya didivih*.

The trend of the passage would, therefore, be a prayer to an image of Agni on a sacred skin.

It is possible that the image was painted. Painted images of gods were in fashion in India in post-Vedic times. They are referred to by Patanjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*, by Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita* and in *Jaina Works* of a later date: It is not impossible, therefore, that the institution of 'Yamapatika' may go back to much earlier times and was based upon some mode of iconographic painting (Trend of *Harshacharita* by Cowell and Thomas, page 19). But the use of painting for religious purposes was generally

looked down upon by the Aryas. It was the art of Maya as contrasted with that of Viśvakarma who was the father of plastic art. This contrast of plastic and pictorial art is significant. There are several hymns to Viśvakarmā and Tvashtā in the Vedic texts, but none to Maya. In the epic period Maya is looked upon as the author of non-Aryan edifices and as a Rākshasa by race, Maṇḍi-lārī, the wife of Ravana being described as one of his daughters. The Rākshasas were experts in the art of painting and their painted images were true to life like those of Rāma and Sita, which were life-like viewed from a distance. Aryan objects of worship were images in the round. I am therefore inclined to consider whether the word 'tvak' could bear the meaning of 'form' rather than of 'skin'.

Indeed in several Vedic passages 'tvak' seems to have a secondary meaning of 'form'. Some of these passages would make nonsense if we substitute, 'skin' for 'form': *Ā Krishṇah im juha-rānō jigharti tvachō budhne rajasō asya yōnah* (R. V. IV, 17, 14); *Tvacham pavitram Kṛnuta svadhāvān yad im Sūryam na haritō vahanti* (R. V. X, 31, 8). Similarly, in Atharva Veda XII, 5, 68. *Tvachamasya Viveshtaya, tvacham prṁsanti uparasya yōnān* (R. V. I, 79, 3), *tvache rūpāya samdr̥se* (A. V. XI, 2, 5). *Tvacham gr̥nhishva* (T. S. I, 1, 8) can only mean in the context "assume the form (of Purōdāsa)." Similarly we find *Tvacham mṛtyorjuhōmi tvachā mṛtyum vāsaye* (Vā. Dh. S. XX, 26; Gau. Dh. S. XXIV, 6).

It appears to me that the secondary sense of 'tvak' in these passages can be derived from the root *tvach* or *tvaksh* (compare *ldrk*, *ldr̥sham*, *ldrksham* in later Sanskrit). *Yatrā narah dēdī-sate tanushū tvakshāmsi bāho off their contour, muscles, etc.; Unmā mamanda vṛshabhō marutvān tvakshiyasā vayasā nādhamānam* (R. V. II, 33, 6) 'Endowed my limbs with strength' cp. *Toakshānah ati viśva sahāmsi* (R. V. X, 44, 1). Grossman in the *Worterbuch* (p. 563), notes that *tvakshiyasā* is a comparative of *tvaksh*: 'A compar von *tvaksh* (dem vari-bale von *tvaksha*), a point missed by Sāyana in his rendering of *tvakshiya* as *diptena*. In other passages also like 'manave śāsāt aratān

tvacham' *Kṛishṇām Arandhayat* (R. V. I, 130, 8), '*tvacham*' would make much better sense if taken as meaning 'form' instead of 'skin'—dark figured rather than 'dark complexioned' as has been taken by scholars till now. I am led to this consideration by expressions like *Kṛishṇa-garbhāh* and *Kṛishṇa Yōnih*.

It is possible that '*tvaksh*' is allied derivatively to *tvashta*, the fashioner of 'form'? Cp. *Tvashta, rūpāni pīm̐sati* (R. V. X, 184, 1. (3) No doubt it demands a *Varna Vyatyaya*, i.e., a 't' for 'k' and a interposition between '*sha*' and '*ta*.' As regards the former compare '*Skambha*' and '*Stambha*'; and instances of interposition are numerous in the Veda, e.g., *Saspinjara* for *Sapsinjara* (T. S. IV, 5, 2). And in the later Vedic period such interposition was definitely recognized, e.g., '*Kāsyapah pasyakō bhavati*' (T. A. I, 1, 8). In any case there is intimate connection between '*tvaksh*' in these passages and '*taksha*' which later on came to mean only a worker in wood, as wood was the most common material in use in ancient India.

The original meaning of '*taksh*' survives in the Indo-Germanic languages: *techtonic*, *teixos* in Greek, *tvaksh* in Avesta. (4)

I would therefore render the passage as referring to a fashioned image of Agni in the round which was made an object of public or congregational worship. The passage may then be freely translated as follows:—

'This god, child of the waters, was fierce like a beast roaming at large and devouring the forest. He has been quieted down and placed as an object of concrete representation. This god Agni, through this image expounds to the mortal men who worship him the ways of spiritual living. This god, indeed, knows all the paths of spiritual progress. He is the Great Illuminator of the Path. He never fails to take His worshippers to their goal?

(3) In V. S. VII, 47, '*tvakdātre*' is found as a variant of '*Vayō dātre*' in T. B. II, 2, 5 and K. S. IX, 9.

(4) Even Sāyana takes '*tvachi*' metaphorically: '*Upamasyām upamāyām upamā-padāyām tvachi ōshadhāyādibhih ācchādī-tāyām vēdyām upanidhāyī upasthāpyate*'.

VIII.—RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S DRAWINGS: POET AS ARTIST.

FOREWORD.

AN apology is due from me for my intrusion into the world of pictures and thus offering a perfect instance to the saying that those who do not know that they know not are apt to be rash where as I am timidly careful. I, as an artist, cannot claim any merit for my courage;

for it is the unconscious courage of the unsophisticated, like that of one who walks in dream on perilous path, who is saved only because he is blind to the risk.

The only training which I had from my young days was the training in rhythm, the rhythm in thought, the rhythm in sound. I had come to

know that rhythm gives reality to that which is desultory, which is insignificant in itself. And therefore, when the scratches in my manuscript cried, like sinners, for salvation, and assailed my eyes with the ugliness of their irrelevance, I often took more time in rescuing them into a merciful finality of rhythm than in carrying on what was my obvious task.

In the process of this salvage work I came to discover one fact, that in the universe of forms there is a perpetual activity of natural selection in lines, and only the fittest survives which has in itself the fitness of cadence, and I felt that to solve the unemployment problem of the homeless heterogeneous into an inter-related balance of fulfilment, is creation itself.

My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and not for any interpretation of an idea, or representation of a fact.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

28th May, 1930.

The following is a translation of extracts from an article on the subject of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings, by M. Henry Bidou, which appeared recently in the Paris Press, on the occasion of the exhibition of some of these drawings at the Galerie Pigalle:—

Rabindranath Tagore says that there is no connection between his work as a poet and his work as a painter. As a poet, he has before his eyes a vision which he describes, or, as he calls it, a mental representation. He sees a landscape, a garden, or a face; he imitates, as a painter imitates, this model impressed upon his mind. His verses communicate images seen or created. On the contrary, when he becomes a painter (and this is the strangest part of the story), exactly at the point at which others begin to copy, he ceases to copy. His pictures do not represent a scheme preconceived in his mind. So far from seeing them beforehand, he actually does not know, while he is doing them, what they are going to be. So, in producing his poetry, he worked as a painter; now that he is a painter, he works like a poet. The whole of this new work is on the borderline of two sciences or of two arts.

I have seen the first drawings that he made. On the manuscripts of poems written in Bengali, he had made erasures. Poets are calligraphers. These corrections took the form of horizontal crossings-out, with thin threads of white between the black lines. This delicate surface of black striped with white was enclosed by him in an outline like a cartouche. Sometimes it extended over two lines. It was then as though the cartouche had become a capital. It was finished at the top by a torus which rested on an ogee, but if the lower line of erasure extended towards the left,

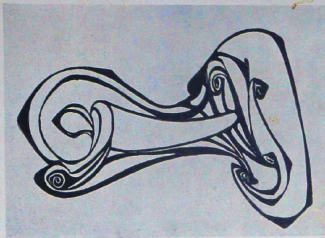
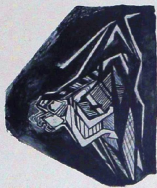
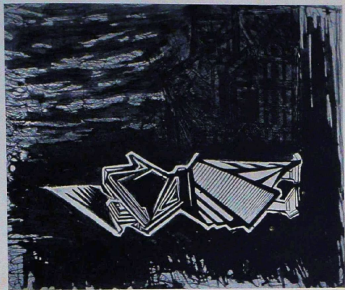
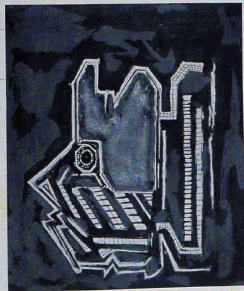
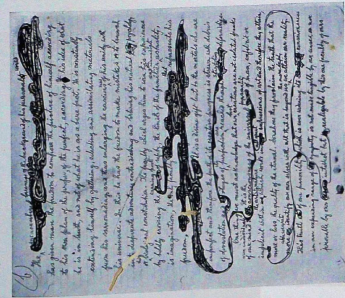
the general form changed again. It stretched out into a beak or a keel, and behold, a bird was flying towards the west.

Various erasures scattered over a page became so many islands, each one with its own form and volume. This archipelago of reserves rising out of the waters at the caprice of inspiration, sometimes was grouped in a corner, and sometimes spread over the whole page, bound together by the slender Hindu characters which looked like the crests of waves under a steady wind. Tagore had joined up these islands of erasures, not by dead straight lines but by soft and flowing curves which seemed almost to breathe, and the stylised erasures and linking curves made between them a single arabesque with masses and disconnections, nerves and flexures, all obeying organic law.

This law held the poet's hand in its control. Far from realizing the preconceived idea of a decoration, he merely aided in the birth of a line of which he knew nothing, and which was waiting to be born. This line was not foreseen by the mind. On the contrary, in the infinite number of possible figures, all that the mind could do was to recognize the particular one which was striving to appear in that particular space, and which was, so to speak, already completely traced and only needed to be made visible. Naturally the reasoning mind with the subdivision of its calculations and the experimental nature of its researches, is incapable of discovering all at once so subtle a truth, and so it was simply the hand itself animated by its own elemental spirit, the hand which has inscribed so many verses and in which rhythm is already inherent, which, without consulting the poet, produced from the immense number of possibilities, the one predestined design. I have seen several of these curves traced by Tagore across the page. Their grace, their animated suppleness, their inherent life, are unrivalled.

Nevertheless, sometimes he makes mistakes. He himself has told me so. It is as though he had broken the stem of a flower in trying to bend it. The curve drawn amiss can only die. He abandons it sadly, conscious of having led it to its destruction. For all these shapes are like so many little souls which expect their salvation from him, and which he has to lead to their fruition. It was a touching spectacle, this of the aged poet with all his glory on him, turned shepherd of arabesques and gently leading them from the limbo in which they had slept until the moment of the determination of their form; and what mysterious beings are these curves in which nature has hidden the most subtle secrets of mathematics.

One line has scarcely been drawn before another follows it, as though called into existence by it, and demanding to be created in its turn. So, they begin a kind of canticle and response, and even in the singing they are modified and changed. They draw together, they draw apart, they become enriched with ornament, then blossom, they arrive eventually at having traced upon the page the



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By the Courtesy of Visvabharati

outline of a vase decorated with incisions and designs and whose lines, in their movement towards and apart from one another, retain a marvellous purity. It is the exact counterpart in terms of space to a fugue in terms of time, with its theme, its response, its counter-subject and its variations. When, wearied with the work of copying in his lovely handwriting for all time, a page of the "*Clavecin bien tempéré*," Bach allowed himself to dream for a moment, his pen might in just such a fashion have wandered of its own accord over the paper, tracing just such designs in play.

Rabindranath Tagore has long since abandoned the starting point of turning erasures into a design. Fate and the gods give him nowadays other starting points, but there are recognizable traces of this first manner even in his latest work, and these explain certain forms that it takes. Sometimes it is a design in layers which give to the picture the appearance of masonry; often it is the actual lines of writing themselves; at another time, one motive superposed upon another, all animated by a horizontal movement, and turned towards the left. Such a one is a double figure, a galloping steed ridden by a nude woman, who leans forward and clutches the mane of her mount. Given a word of which the sound was not pleasant, and lower down a verse struck out, no more was needed to bring about the birth of the form which, seeking in the familiar world for external resemblance, developed into this cavalcade.

The starting point is changed, but the work is the same. There is always, to begin with, a given cell around which the work develops itself, a nucleus, as Tagore says, and from this moment onwards, the unknown laws which govern the evolution of forms direct the hand of the creator. These forms begin by having an abstract character. Little by little whether by a kind of self-produced evolution or because the influence which guides them is touched by some memory of the common world, they acquire a certain resemblance to what we call nature. They become a face. Sometimes they hesitate to choose their destiny. A very curious design shows curves lying across the page, which seemed to be shaping into an orchid, but they changed their minds, and, the petal becoming a wing and the foot a claw, a fantastic bird was born from the flower. The resemblances so created, reduced to their mathematical elements, are sometimes astonishing in their firmness and truth. At other times, they possess a pathetic strength which is very touching. The curves which form them, moving freely, reinvent every style and recall every kind of genius. One figure is such as Modigliani might have drawn, and another might be the work of Pollaiuolo, or again, if the destiny of the lines was that they should end in cloudiness, the page upon which they are traced becomes covered by a sky. Only those who have never recognized those mysterious currents of thought and feeling, the outcome of the age itself, which penetrate all souls as by osmosis, and

give its direction to a whole epoch, will be surprised that this pure painting, absolutely sincere and wholly uninfluenced by our studio customs, should resemble now and then the most recent researches of the painters of the west. There can be no question of imitation, but the convergence of spirit is remarkable.

This work is not a hobby or a plaything. For the last two years, Rabindranath Tagore has been wholly occupied by this new form of creation. The drawings which he produces with pens and inks, and which have the appearance of singularly skilful and sumptuous water-colours, take possession of him, and once begun, leave him no peace until they are finished. They are done at a sitting, and in a very short time, scarcely more than an hour, without a single mistake of the pen, as it threads the maze of intersecting curves and blank spaces. This new vocation is not so mysterious after all. A latent genius was asleep; that is made plain by the sureness of the design, the beauty of the tones, the liveliness of every detail, the sense of ornament. For almost a lifetime, this genius has been kept in the shadows, for the highly developed faculties of the conscious mind left no room for the expression of this hidden force. One fine day it revealed itself, and the poet felt that another person was being manifested in him, but the new minister has not changed the laws of the state. In a story translated in 1929, "*Shipwreck*," Tagore the writer created a very wise man, named Ramesch, who carefully avoided crossing the will of destiny, and whose obedience to its orders dragged him into some most complicated adventures. Tagore the painter designs in the same way that Ramesch lived.

POET AS ARTIST. WORK OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE. BIRMINGHAM EXHIBITION.

(Reprinted from the *Birmingham Mail*.)

It is impossible to apply the ordinary standards of artistic criticism to the drawings by Sir Rabindranath Tagore now on exhibition at the Birmingham City Art Gallery. Their classification according to the date of their production, the whole of which falls within the last three years, is a sufficient indication of the fact that they are intended to be regarded as evidence of the evolution of the poet's mind, as a new means of self-expression, rather than as a progressive development of technique. Indeed, it is noticeable that the latest drawings of the group are apparently less spontaneous than the earliest—that to some extent they have become tinged with the deliberate intent towards representation which is so conspicuously absent from the work of 1928.

The first exhibit of all, a page of manuscript in which the erasures have been linked together into a harmonious whole, gives us the clue to the form taken by the original impulse which brought all the drawings into being, and their author has

himself pointed out that there is in them no primary intention of representation, but they are rather an almost automatic submission to a rhythmical impulse.

LINK WITH EXPERIENCE.

That this rhythmical impulse should almost immediately link itself up with visual experiences in the material world, is a perfectly natural thing, but if we compare the second exhibit with some others of the 1928 drawings, which definitely suggest human figures in movement, we see how very sure and natural is the step from the one, a design entirely devoid of material representation, to the others, in which reminiscence of natural forms is so strongly marked. There is no essential difference between the two, for in both rhythm is the commanding feature.

When we come, however, to the group of masks in the early part of the 1929 series we are immediately struck by the fact that although the artist is not in any way trammelled by close association with things seen, he has, in fact, become a representational artist, and the human face is, except in one or two instances, the dominant factor in these masks.

Later on we come to a very interesting development, that in which the design is a deliberate aberration from natural forms, approaching in some instances the deliberately grotesque.

GERM OF DESIGN.

There is an immense amount of enjoyment in this group of drawings, but again the artist has started from what may be called a fortuitous germ of design and has taken an animal form exactly as he took the accidental form of his erasures as the beginning of an entirely fanciful development of design. In one or two instances we have exquisite handling of line and form in which human figures derive their beauty and their value as design, not from direct resemblance to human figures, but rather from the quality of the line by which those figures are expressed.

These are seen at their best when the line is extremely fine, and very formal, and enhanced by no colour whatever, and the range of artistic perception is very strongly emphasized when we come to the designs which depend wholly for their visual satisfaction on the colour.

Some of these latter are of astounding power. Their very deep tones and wonderfully harmonious sequence produce exactly the same effect of rhythmical balance as that which is to be observed in the purely linear work, and indeed we might sum up the whole of this exhibition as being a marvellous example of the sense of balance and of harmony, even in the most fortuitous of its forms.

LANDSCAPE IMPRESSIONS.

The latest drawings, more especially the large heads which form the conclusion of the exhibition, are, as has been said, more closely related to

representational art than the rest, and a very interesting small group of the 1930 drawings, consisting of landscape effects, might be compared without extravagance, to landscape impressions by artists of the Barbizon school.

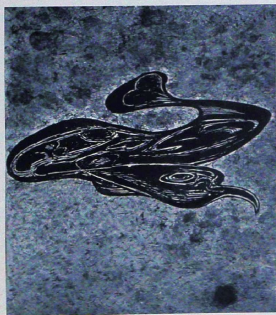
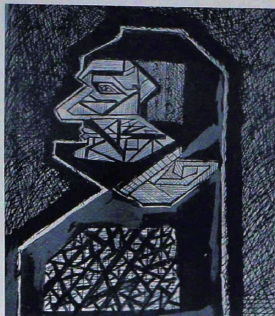
But even in these, the rhythmic quality, whether of colour or of line, is the predominant factor, and it is a most instructive exercise to accompany the study of these drawings by a reading of the poems of the artist, for in both there is an outstanding quality of quietude.

Even those drawings which display the greatest action, even those poems which contain the greatest fire, are calm and steadied by a wonderful unity of spirit which delivers them from extravagance without depriving them of power.

DRAWINGS BY AN INDIAN POET. LOAN EXHIBITION AT THE BIRMINGHAM GALLERY.

The Keeper of the City of Art Gallery has been fortunate in obtaining the loan of some hundreds of drawings by the Indian poet and philosopher, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and these are admirably displayed in the Loan Gallery, where they will be available for public inspection from to-day. One cannot call to mind any previous instance of a poet of world-wide reputation after a long and fruitful literary career taking up the serious practice of decorative design; and on being confronted with this extraordinary collection one is filled with amazement that the pictorial faculty should have remained so long dormant, and that, being awakened, so much should have been accomplished in the space of about three years. To communicate any idea of the general character of the result of his labours the artist's own words are the most apt. In a foreword he remarks: "My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and not for any interpretation of an idea, or representation of a fact."

If in conjunction with this statement we glance at the history of the development of these strange harmonies of line and colour, we will perhaps enable us to obtain some additional light on the mysteries of artistic creation. We are told that the artist's earliest drawings were mere developments of manuscript corrections, which as a rule render a written page unsightly. With no clear aim save that of bringing these correcting marks into harmonious relation with each other and the written page, he allowed his pen to roam at will, and some mysterious rhythmic urge has guided his pen along lines of beauty, sometimes running very near to the expression of natural forms, and this, in all his early works, independently of any volition on the part of the artist, he being only the medium as it were, subject to the control of this mysterious force, which may be in some way related to that which determines the form of objects in the natural world.



DRAWINGS OF Dr. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By the Courtesy of Visvabharati

This brings us face to face with but one of the dual origins of art creation. It is not disputed that some of the earliest known examples show no concern with even the suggestion of natural forms, but present simple units of arbitrary character repeated at rhythmic intervals, and from these styles of decoration developed full of intricate and beautiful patterning. On the other hand, it is equally certain that other pre-historic specimens exhibit a motive entirely different. We see the artist primarily occupied in telling a story—say of a monstrous beast; how it was slain, and incidents of like nature which happened to touch his eye at vital points. These two streams persist in the pictorial and plastic arts all through the ages, and it is a very narrow art criticism which would deny the importance or relevance of either. From time to time we see one or the other of these two motives predominate, but they frequently mingle and the one is rarely entirely absent from the other.

With the close approximation to nature, Western art has been mainly concerned, but more intimate acquaintance with the Orient has taught

us that there are other and very beautiful styles whose contact with Nature is remote, since they depend upon harmonious lines and colours, and it is upon these grounds that the quaint drawings by Tagore make their appeal. It is almost possible to trace in them the normal development of a school, for beginning with the unconscious groping for order and rhythm, forms such as are born of half-forgotten dreams appear, some formidable, others grotesque, but all taking their place in a beautiful colour scheme. In the latest examples there are not wanting evidences of a pre-conceived design, and in others there are unmistakable signs of contact with some of the latest developments of Western art and a tendency towards a more naturalistic rendering of the human form. At this point they seem to lose much of their particular charm, and although there is in evidence a large accession of technical resource, it does not seem to give the same results as the artist's earlier and more complete surrender to that force which is the primal urge to artistic creation.

E. S. H.

IX.—DRAWINGS BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

AN exhibition of drawings by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is of particular interest because it puts before us, almost for the first time, genuine examples of modern primitive art. One may well wonder how those artists and critics who have so long striven for and praised the more calculated primitivisms, archaisms, and pseudo-barbarisms of European origin will respond; will they admire the real thing?

Because Rabindranath is a great and sophisticated poet, a citizen of the world, acquainted with life by personal experience and by familiarity with the history of culture in Asia and Europe, it must not be inferred that these paintings, all a product of the last two years of the poet's activity, are sophisticated or metaphysical. It would be a great mistake to search in them for hidden spiritual symbolisms; they are not meant to be deciphered like puzzles or code messages. Nor do they bear any definite relation to the contemporary Bengali school of painting led by his nephews Abanindranath and Gogonendranath Tagore, or to the contemporary movement elsewhere. It is obvious that the poet must have looked at many pictures in the course of his long life; but there is nothing in his own work to show that he has seen them. This is a genuinely original, genuinely naive expression; extraordinary evidence of eternal youth persistent in a hoary and venerable personage.

Childlike, but not childish. It is perfectly legitimate to be amused by, to laugh at or with some

of these creations, as one is amused by a child's vision of the world; it is not legitimate to ridicule them. From a few examples one might gather that the artist "knows how to draw"; but this is not a consistent quality, and it would be as much beside the mark to praise this apparent knowledge when it appears, as to criticise the work as a whole as that of a man who does not know how to draw. In these days we have become familiar with the cult of incompetence, and have professed to admire the work of countless artists who do not know how to draw, and in addition have voiced sufficiently loudly their contempt of training. Rabindranath, on the other hand, has no contempt for training or virtuosity; he simply does not possess it, and knowing this he puts before us in all simplicity, certainly not cynically, the creations of his playful vision, for us to use as we will. There is, indeed, one quality in respect of which these pictures may be called at once typically Indian, and adult in spite of their naivete; this quality finds expression in satisfying composition, clear-cut rhythms, and definition of forms. They do not mean definite things, but are in themselves definite; in this sense they may be called truly mystical, and offer a refreshing contrast to the vague and sentimental works of the pseudo-mystics, in which more recognizable forms appear, but which none the less "sprechen immer nur im Luft herein." A comparison with the work of William Blake is naturally suggested; for here too was a mystic poet who from the resources of

a vivid visual imagination created forms not to be seen in nature, but yet endowed with the precision and definition of natural forms. The parallel can be carried even further, for most of the work of Blake is actually a kind of marginal comment to poetry; while the separate paintings now exhibited by Rabindranath are actually, as he himself tells us, a development from marginal and interlinear pen-play enjoyed when composing, or correcting manuscript.

The poet gives no descriptive titles to his pictures—how could he? They are not pictures about things, but pictures about himself. In this sense they are probably much nearer to his music than to his poetry. In the poetry, so far at least as the content is concerned, he is primarily the sensitive exponent of a racial or national tradition, not an inventor, and therefore his words are more profoundly sanctioned and more significant than those of any private genius could be; all India speaks and understands the same language. The poetry reveals nothing of the poet's personality, though it establishes his status. But the painting is an intimacy comparable to the publication of private correspondence. What a varied and colourful person is revealed! One picture, that might be taken for a representation of a cross between Shylock and Ivan the Terrible has qualities strangely suggestive of a stained glass window; others, in the poet's own words, depict "the temperate

exaggeration of a probable animal that had unaccountably missed its chance of existence," or some "bird that can only soar in our dreams and find its nest in some hospitable lines that we may offer it in our canvas"; in others, human seriousness is made ridiculous by animal caricature; others representing a crowd attentive to a flute player may embody some allusion both to Krishna, and to the call of the infinite in the poet's own songs; another is a dancing Ganeśa, far removed from the canons of Hindu iconography; there are portraits, including one of a young Bengali girl, the direct antithesis of "Ivan the Terrible"; groupings of coloured flowers; pages of actual manuscript; and soft ethereal landscapes. The manner is as varied as the theme, and this, despite the fact that all the pictures are done with a pen, usually the back of a fountain pen, and coloured inks or tints; any method is employed that may be available or that may suggest itself at the moment. The artist, like a child, invents his own technique as he goes along; nothing has been allowed to interfere with zest. The means are always adequate to the end in view; this end is not "Art" with a capital A, on the one hand—nor, on the other, a merely pathological self-expression; not art intended to improve our minds, nor to provide for the artist himself an "escape"; but without ulterior motives, truly innocent, like the creation of a universe.

REVIEWS.

AT AJANTA. BY KANAIYALAL H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B., 82 PP., WITH 38 ILLUSTRATIONS. D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO., BOMBAY (1929). PRICE, RS. 3, OR 6 SHILLINGS.

TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO. of Bombay has, of late, started paying some attention to Indian Art and Culture and a few books, of different degrees of merit and authority, have seen the light of day. Probably there is a demand of such book from the public and the task of "vulgarization," in the French sense, should devolve upon those who are more than mere publishers or enthusiasts in Art. The book under review brings these considerations the more to our mind because "At Ajanta" by Kanaiyalal Vakil, a real lover of Indian art, has failed according to our opinion to serve the purpose of a real and handy key to the treasure chamber of Ajanta. The illustrations, the most important elements in such a work, are generally speaking hackneyed and below average, while the style of exposition is erratic and sophisticated—just a little below the consciously academic and above the naively popular. Hence we are at a loss to discover exactly for which group (excepting to all-knowing all-forgetting tourists)

the booklet is meant. As a commercial production it may be a success but as an æsthetic torch into that primeval forest of Indian Art—Ajanta with her pillared lyrics and painted epics—the book will, we are afraid, be considered as "Love's Labour Lost." With this book we are "At Ajanta," yet feel perpetually out of it. Mr. Vakil's genuine enthusiasm for Indian art leads him occasionally to transgress the fateful limitation of publication and to blow through the magic flute of profound communion broken also too often by the intrusion of ill-digested quotations. Mr. Vakil, a charming conversationalist and companion in art promenades, has here by irony of fate posed now a scholar than as a critic and consequently lost the paradise of perfect *entente* between the Man and the Monument which, as a self-denying guide, was his "grand prerogative" to evoke. Mr. Gladstone Solomon, who has foreworded the volume with a very non-committal tribute to the "enthusiastic fraternity" of Indian art, has opined that "the opportunist is badly received in Indian art to-day." Neglecting his word to-day which sounds a strangely belated note, we may submit that unqualified optimism in dealing with art and Indian art in particular is an equipment of doubtful value. Optimism breeds a sort of self-complacency which

leads the optimist to imagine that all he is doing is provisionally called for and perfect. Thus optimism may degenerate into a naive dogmatism and lead to all sorts of æsthetic vandalism to boot. The "Guide to Ajanta" published by the Archæological Department of Hyderabad, with a more modest price and infinitely superior illustrations as well as letterpress, should have warned the Bombay publisher against issuing this booklet with so much unceremonious haste and *fanfaronnade*. More taste and less haste. Amen!

GUNA-SEKHARA.

JORG TRUBNER: YU UND KUANG, ZÜR
TYPOLOGIE DER CHINESISCHEN BRON-
ZEN, KEINKHARDT AND BIERMANN
VERLAG, LEIPZIG, 1929, 32 PP. TEXT, 69
PLATES. PRICE 66 MARKS.

THE text, concise and sober, succeeds in assigning relative chronological sequence to a series of ancient Chinese ritual bronze vessels, on the basis of stylistic analysis. The Chou bronzes, it is definitely shown, date from a period prior to the Han dynasty. Vessels of the Yu type are selected as a paradigm for demonstrating the inner evolution from the primitive stage, with its uncouth vigour, of architectonic boldness and realistically treated animal forms, jutting out in bold relief from the shape of the vessel, to the classical type with its sophisticated smoothness of the metal surface, sparing in ornamentation and elegant in general appearance, replacing by an abstract, i.e., abbreviated form the poignancy of the earlier decorations. It is also convincingly shown that the early Yu vessels must have been copied from wooden prototypes, and that slowly only a treatment more and more "bronze-like" in character had been adopted. This development goes hand in hand with a change from an architectonic conception and squarish forms, to shapes more rounded and vessel like. The bronze, too, very thick at the beginning ends by being as thinly used as possible, and here, too, refinement replaces vigour. These conclusions are arrived at by an almost mathematical exactitude of observation. Inscribed vessels, etc., are brought in at the end of the paper only, to corroborate the stylistic findings of the author. Vessels of the Kuang type then are treated analogously. From the point of view of stylistic analysis nothing more exact can be expected. With regard to certain details, however, errors occur, due partly to an influence of the all-powerful notion of Western art criticism of a development from the primitive to the baroque, and partly to an insufficient discrimination of the single motives. The first is apparent with reference to Plate XXXIX, on p. 22, where baroque tendencies are seen into a vessel, in order to justify the author's conclusion—right in itself—of assigning a relatively very late date to the vessel. A conscious and methodical way of arriving at an

æsthetically satisfactory form is surely far away from the "primitive," but need not be "baroque" on account of this. The definition too of "baroque" (on p. 21) is slipshod. Referring to the single animal motives the derivation of the Tao-tieh from a fusion (p. 16) of a stag's or buffalo's head in front view, with two elephant-like animals and two dragons in side view is not convincing. The spelling of names is frequently irregular and Plate VIII appears twice, instead of Plate XXVI, for the second time. Apart, however, from such minor shortcomings the text has its definite value and is full of suggestions. The objects illustrated too, except Plate LXIV, maintain a high standard of quality and the chromolithographic plates are excellent.

St. K.

GUSTAV MENSCHING: BUDDHISTISCHE
SYMBOLIK, LEOPOLD KLOTZVERLAG,
GOTHA, 1929, 46 PP. TEXT, 68 PLATES.

IT is expressively stated in the book under review that it is written from the point of view of a historian of religion. It has no aspirations to deal with Buddhist art. A very detailed table of contents gives a fair idea of how the author tackles his subject. In the introduction Hinayana and Mahayana; the spread of Buddhism; Lamaism as a "sunken" form of religiousness; the mutual inter-penetration of religions and their symbols; the attitude of Buddhism towards religious art and the philosophical structure of the symbol are discussed, with a few words (in 6 pages) so as to give an idea to anyone who hitherto has been unacquainted with the subject. In the first chapter, dealing with "general symbols of the doctrine of Buddha, the following subdivisions are made." The idea of "evil"; the wheel of life; the redeeming force of the "doctrine"; general conceptions of the creed and their symbols. The second chapter, Buddha and his community treats of the three great events in the life of Buddha and their symbols; the three great miracles in the life of Buddha and their symbols; the representation of Buddha; the Mudrās; the form of Amitabha; the attributes of Buddha; the community of the disciples and their symbols. The third chapter describes the symbols of the cult, such as worship; the altar; the implements on the altar; drum and bell; the prayer-wheel, a symbol of cult-mechanism; and the Yantras. The fourth chapter insufficiently deals with the "symbolism of temple-construction." The author refers to the stūpa only, further, to the pagoda and its significance, to the lanterns of the world-law in Borobudur and to the bell on the stūpas. It is evident that the author ignores the "symbolism" of Buddhist buildings other than the stūpa and that altogether India in this book appears as a "terra incognita" almost of Buddhism. Out of 68 plates only two Indian monuments are shown, the Dhāmek

stūpa (Plate 41 and Plate 9, detail, and the Lyon capital from Sarnāth on Plate 61). In the fifth chapter the Borobudur is tackled under "symbolism of the building-plan" under the able guidance of Zimmer. Its character as Mandala, and the idea of the "path" are emphasized. The sixth and last chapter speaks about animal symbolism. The attitude of Buddhism towards the animals is indicated and the lion, elephant, bull and other animal symbols are mentioned and superficially explained. It is clear from the above that the book, far from saying anything new, alludes, rather systematically, to most of the well known Buddhist symbols, no attempt is made to trace their origin or the growth of their significance or to analyse the frame of mind that created and realized the meaning of these symbols. The illustrations, as far as they are new, i.e., the majority of them are taken from Far Eastern temples, of later date and are of little artistic consequence. More than one-third of them lacks indication of the locality. To readers unacquainted with Buddhism, the text will be of interest. To those, however, unacquainted with Buddhist works of art, the illustrations largely are likely to serve as a deterrent. The merit earned by the text, not as a scholarly, but as a popular treatise, is counteracted by many of the objects selected for reproduction.

St. K.

**BURIED TREASURES OF CHINESE TURKES-
TAN. AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIVITIES
AND ADVENTURES OF THE SECOND AND
THIRD GERMAN-TURFAN EXPEDITIONS.
BY ALBERT VON LE COQ. TRANSLATED
INTO ENGLISH BY ANNA BARWELL.
177 PAGES AND 52 PLATES WITH 96 OTHER
ILLUSTRATIONS, 1928. PUBLISHED BY
GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD.,
RUSKIN HOUSE, MUSEUM STREET,
LONDON. PRICE 18 SHILLINGS NET.**

THIS volume which is the outcome of the second and third expeditions led by the eminent German archaeologist Albert von Le Coq, under the orders of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin, and covering the period from September 1904 to June 1907, was first published in German under the title "Auf Henas Spuren in Ostturkistan" in 1926. Coming as it does from one of the pioneers of explorer archaeologists who have unlocked the gates of mystery into Central Asian antiquities, the book makes an important contribution to the library of literature on the rich discoveries made in the same field by Russian, English, German, French and Japanese archaeologists.

The exploration of the first of the two expeditions related in this book was concentrated on the old ruined town at Khocho where were discovered beautifully modelled heads of clay (Plate 7) with

sharp classical lines; aquiline features, that wavy dressing of the hair, and, above all, that pleasing smile characteristic of the early Gandhāra sculptures. They can well be compared with the innumerable stucco heads found at the ancient sites of Gandhāra, and a study in comparison is sure to lead us to believe that this art was carried along with the Buddhist propaganda into Turkestan sometime during the first century of the Christian era. Dr. Le Coq thinks that this penetration was made along two roads, viz., "The longer but easier way through Bactria over the Pamir Plateau to Keshgar, Yarkand and Khotan, or by a second route, probably not used until a later date, through Kashmir and over the Karakorum passes to the same destination. On the first of these routes this art would come under modifying Iranian influence, on the second under Indian," the two most determining factors of the art of Central Asia. This is confirmed also by the ruins of old buildings which are all invariably religious edifices. "The architecture in every case is either Iranian (with dome-shaped roof) or Indian-stūpa. No Chinese building is to be found either in Turfan oasis or in any other of the old settlements visited by us." There are no doubt temples that show a combination of the two types just noticed, where the stūpa takes the form of a simple rectangular or square pillar in front of which is built a square centre with a domed roof and from this narrow corridors covered with cylindrical roofs surround the pillar. Of the important sculptures found at Khocho, one is a magnificent torso (Plate 10), five feet high, which certainly is reminiscent of types in the Gandhāra art, this is discernible in the drapery that falls in noble lines and the heavy side folds that hangs down from the shoulders. Such sculptures and heads of the type referred to above have been found in abundance, and stylistically they cannot but be taken to belong to the early Gandhāra school. We would have set down with this conclusion had it not been for the fact that whilst in paintings discovered in the same locality and adjoining districts, the Hellenistic elements already showed signs of Eastern Asiatic influence. The sculptures still retained the modelling of the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra. This proved an enigma to the discoverers of these sculptures. The question before them was: "The sculptures most undoubtedly belonged to the same period as the paintings—why had not they too been affected in the same way? At the time of the discovery we did not yet know that the sculpture of Eastern Turkestan is a casting art and that they used moulds for making all statues."

The discovery of some specimens of casts made of stucco in the monastery workshops of Kyzyl during the third expedition showed this ridiculous "for the old type was just cast again in their moulds, and if a mould happened to get either broken or was worn out, a new one was modelled by a mechanical process over the original type, and then fresh ones were cast as before."

But the most important of all discoveries of the second expedition at Khocho were the rich relics of remarkable Sassanian-Hellenistic paintings and Manichean manuscripts. The mural paintings discovered here mostly belong to a comparatively later period when Hellenistic types had already come under the modifying Sassanian influence. On Plate I is an illustration representing a man over life size in the dress of a Manichean priest, surrounded by Manichean monks and nuns also dressed in the white garb of their order. Their very features, lines, drapery and no less their composition would warrant us to relegate this kind of paintings to what Prof. Grünwedel has christened, *earlier Turkish style*, displaying somewhat mixed character, since it embodies latent traces of Gandhāra style and the Indo-Scythian (= Tocharist) style which, from time to time, modified itself under the influence of the subjects represented. Moreover, in this earlier Turkish style, Chinese elements are marked in the framing of the pictures on walls and ceilings by a rich floral ornamentation of unusual charm, as also in the features of the personages portrayed.

Amongst other more or less interesting discoveries made at Khocho we would like to take into account two many-terraced pyramids, one with three terraces illustrated on Plate IV and the other with not less than six on Plate XV. In former times the many niches at the different terraces of the former were filled by large figures of the Buddha. The second one is a similar monument only with less sharply defined terraces, but in the arched niches of the monuments there still survive remnants of painted Buddha figures. As regards the architecture of these two monuments we would like to make one suggestion that may throw some light on M. Parmentier's theory about the "common origin of Hindu architecture in India and the Far East" (*Rūpam*, January 1929). We have no extant examples of this type in India or in the Colonies, but from the descriptions of brick-storied Sanghārāmas as supplied by Fahien we are not very far from facts if we imagine that they were not much unlike the buildings referred to here.

It is difficult to agree with M. Parmentier that the Indo-Aryan *Sāṅghāra* was an adaptation from these many-storied Sanghārāmas but it is not so difficult to see in these buildings attempts at adaptations from this particular type of monuments with domed cells at every terrace with a corridor running on all sides.

The expedition next transferred its activity into the gloomy ravine of the Sangim situated to the north of Karakhoja. The left or western side of the ravine is studded with a line of temples (Plate 16), whilst the heights of the right were found to be occupied by many Indian relic memorials, in one of which, the almost perfect page of a Manichean book was found amongst the fragments of many Buddhist Indian manuscripts. From the Sangim ravine the great monastery settlement of Bazakalik, which lies to

the south of the great village of Murtuk, was discovered. A total of some hundred temples are still in existence there, and on the walls of these temples Dr. Le Coq discovered a rich treasure of "splendid paintings in colours as fresh as if the artist had only just finished them." There were on the entrances of the corridors of a temple paintings of Indian monks in yellow robes, and of Eastern Asiatic monks in violet—the names of Indian Kings being in Indian (Brahmin script of Central Asia), whilst those of Eastern Asiatics being in Chinese and Uighur character. There is, in these paintings, plain evidence of an attempt to individualise the face of each of those represented—in other words to paint portraits (Plate 20). Apart from Indians (including Buddhas, Princes and Brahmanas) and Central Asiatics, there were representations of Persian, of red haired, blue-eyed men with faces of a pronounced European type, as also of personages of pronounced Semitic character, probably Syrian.

The most important discoveries of the third expedition were made in the cave temples in the mountains near Kyzyl close to Kucha. In contrast to the Turfan settlements where were found paintings almost exclusively dating from the Turkish period (after A.D. 706), these Kyzyl paintings mainly belong to a more remote period (up to A.D. 800), when Aryan peoples still occupied the country. Yet here, too, there were temples where the paintings began to show signs of their Chinese origin. The temples of Kyzyl belong to two different styles: "the most frequent of these consist of an elaborate entrance hall opening at the back into the shrine, the square or rectangular cells. On the farther wall of the cells is fixed the sacred image, a clay statue of the Buddha. To the right and left of this sacred image corridors are hewn out of the rock and joined to each other by a third corridor at the back." The second type is the Persian buildings with a dome-shaped roof—the sacred image being placed on a finely moulded pedestal in front of the farther wall of the cells. Here, in these temples, were made discoveries far surpassing any earlier achievements. Everywhere were found fresh untouched temples, full of the most interesting and artistically perfect paintings all of early date, earlier than those hitherto found. There were no signs in these paintings of any East Asiatic influences. "Everything in sculpture and painting alike was Indo-Iranian, following late antique principles." According to Dr. Le Coq, this settlement flourished between the fifth and eighth century A.D. The two sketches on page 125 would show in the features of the personages represented in their dress and costumes, pose and composition, that they are entirely Indian in character. From Kyzyl the expedition moved to the oasis of Korla-Karashahi—along the west of which on the two parallel mountain chains were found innumerable temples and a great number of Persian-domed buildings. These temples yielded a splendid harvest of pieces of sculpture and

manuscripts with whole layers of splendid big pages written in early Indian script as well as numerous Tocharian manuscripts. This was in fact the last important discovery by Dr. Le Coq in course of his third expedition, which shortly came to an end. But as we read this very amazing and readable account of these discoveries, we must keep in view that the book is strictly "a personal narrative—free from scientific ballast—of our experiences" as the author himself says, "in those distant sunny lands, which remote and dusty as they undoubtedly are, will ever be endeared to us by the memory of many efforts crowned with success. * * * * * This narrative is interspersed with all kinds of remarks referring to the life and character of our native friends—Eastern Turkestan and Chinese alike—and to interesting developments of the history of art, etc. But the main object of the book is to give to the public at large a general idea of our expeditions and their results." And this has been so admirably and so beautifully done that even lay readers would find here materials as attractive as in a book of adventure, as interesting as in a book of romance. Throughout, the style is lucid and delightful and even where there are passages for the specialists to take interest in, the ordinary reader is sure to find something that would enlighten his knowledge and enliven his imagination. Dr. Le Coq knows his business well, and knows too what he is required to do in such a narrative—he never burdens his account with scholarly treats, on the contrary he lightens his story of adventure by many humorous touches and amusing anecdotes. Nor does he lack in presenting before us his admirable pen pictures of frightful sandstorms of the desert for instance, or of the spurs of the great mountain ranges. The book is profusely illustrated and a useful bibliography for readers desiring more detailed information regarding Central Asiatic studies appears as an appendix to the narrative. Not in the way of criticism, but just to caution our readers we would like to point to one short para on the opening page (page 17) of the narrative: "When Buddhism first penetrated these districts, the type of Buddha was not yet fixed, since the Indian artists lacked either ability or courage to venture upon a graphical representation of *All Perfect*. But the artists of Gandhāra, by virtue of their mixed parentage, created the image of Buddha after the type of Apollo or of Dionysus." We know that old theories die hard, but this is nothing if not a very summary presentation of the facts of the case, with which we, on our part, cannot unfortunately agree. We would like our readers to refer to the admirable monograph on the subject by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy (*The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1927), where the whole theory has been very carefully examined and where, according to our judgment, the right attitude has been taken.

N. R.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT (BULLETINS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM: NEW SERIES, GENERAL SECTION, VOL. I, PART I). BY T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSISTANT, MADRAS MUSEUM. QUARTO, 44 PP., 12 PLATES. MADRAS GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1929. PRICE Rs. 2-12.

THIS beautifully got-up volume gives a very well-written account of some important documents of Indian sculpture now housed in the Government Museum at Madras. These consist of a number of relief sculptures in white marble—friezes depicting the life of Buddha. These in their provenance, material, subject-matter, style and execution, and date, form a pendant to the better known Amaravati and Jagayyapetta sculptures. Mr. Ramachandran has given a very full account of these beautiful relics from India's past, and he has done it in a way which deserves high commendation for attention both to clear and accurate exposition of details and to the statement of the wider issues. There rather longish friezes, one of which is rather fragmentary, form the greater part of these remains, and they narrate in the characteristic Amaravati style the following scenes, in addition to giving some Nāgarāja and Mithuna figures: the Chaddanta Jātaka, the Buddha's visit to Yasodhara, Subjugation of the Elephant Nalagiri in the first frieze; the Vessantara Jātaka, and scenes with a Yakshi figure in the second frieze; and scenes from the life of the Buddha—his temptation by Māra, and Sujātā's bringing food to him, in the third.

Mr. Ramachandran has given a comparative table showing the variations in the treatment of the same episode in these slabs and in the various Amaravati sculptures in Madras and in the British Museum and elsewhere. This forms a valuable addition to the literature on the Amaravati sculptures.

From a consideration of their style, Mr. Ramachandran places these sculptures in the same age as the fourth or last period of Amaravati, i.e., the third century after Christ. The general artistic value of these ancient pieces of sculpture is of a high order. The sculptures show a wonderful exuberance of life and movement, and although as in a finished school there is a facility and a volubility, contrasting with the calm restraint and spiritual tenderness of the Amaravati school at its best, the general effect is not merely charming—it is deep as well. In some of the female figures, especially in the Mithuna groups, there is a tendency to exaggerate some parts of the human body. The story of taming of Nalagiri is less happily conceived than in the famous medallion from Amaravati—the charming suggestive background of the life of the people in the town as indicated in the Amaravati medallion by the

women looking from the window and the girl clinging to her lover in fear of the raging elephant, is absent in the Goli relief, but there is plenty of excitement and movement. The Vessantara Jātaka series is also very fine, and present a vivid panorama of the moving stream of the life of the period: some small groups, like Vessantara and his wife Mādri carrying their children, with pigs and deer in the foreground, are like a moving scene out of the life of the times, which was after all not so different from that of the present day.

On the whole, both from the worth of the subject-matter and from the admirable way in which it has been treated, the work is a contribution of high value for the history of Indian art, and we hope more of this nature will be forthcoming from Mr. Ramachandran.

S. K. C.

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND: A SURVEY OF INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF EMPEROR AURANG-ZEB: BY N. T. SHAH, B.A., B.Sc. (LONDON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY. WITH A FOREWORD BY THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (FORMERLY EARL OF RONALDSHAY, EX-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL). WITH 11 ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR, 324 HALF-TONE ILLUSTRATIONS AND 5 MAPS. BOMBAY: D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS AND CO., "KITAB MAHAL," HORNBY ROAD. QUARTO, PAGES XXV + 26, FULL CLOTH. PRICE RUPEES THIRTY.

THE author of this rather voluminous work has had a laudable end in view: to give the general reader some idea of the culture and civilization of India—especially of Hindu India. As it is always easy to conceive of something better, one should judge a work on its own merits, and should try to find out the best that is in it. But from both a rapid survey of the present work and from a careful study of considerable portions of it, one feels a great disappointment, wondering to what extent the book will serve its purpose, and one cannot help thinking of something better. The author seeks to bring before the world outside Indian wisdom and Indian learning, Indian art and Indian literature, Indian legend and Indian history, Indian economic life and Indian social ideals, all in one parcel, as it were. He has scholarship, and he has imagination for the work he has taken in hand,—although at times he relies more on imagination and hearsay than on actual information; and, above all, he has patriotic enthusiasm. This last trait in our author is not so obtrusive; and it ensures that sympathetic and appreciative standpoint without

which no proper approach is possible for any subject of human interest. The task he undertook, however, is not a very easy one. Indian life and culture in all its aspects and throughout the greater part of its history extending over three thousand years, is a subject of unparalleled complexity, presenting the bewildering growth of a tropical forest. To cut out a path through that jungle which will enable the average intelligent person, especially of the West, to form some clear idea of the nature of the ground traversed, would indeed be an achievement of which any writer can well be proud. To be able to do this successfully, a profound knowledge of the main currents of religion, art and culture, a requisite power of visualization, as well as literary gifts of an exceptionally high order will be necessary. The late Romesh Chunder Dutt sought to do that in his *History of Hindu Civilization*, and he succeeded in his day in a most conspicuous manner. His book is still an authoritative work on the subject—only it did not bring down the tale to the Turki, Pathan and Mogul periods of Indian history. Before him, Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra attempted something in a smaller compass in his *Indo-Aryans*. Indian art had to be studied and appreciated in relation to Indian history and civilization, and recent writers on Indian art, which is at last coming to its own, had to take up the study and exposition of Indian civilization and Indian ideals. We have a number of brilliant contributions in the shape of entire works or articles from acknowledged authorities on one or more aspects of Indian art, like E. B. Havell, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, V. Goloubew, and René Grousset; and there have been other writers, both Indian and European, who have discussed Indian art and culture with more or less sympathy and insight.

Mr. Shah comes latest in the field; his end is more definitely and avowedly popular, and he treats the whole of Indian culture and civilization. He has been inspired by J. C. Stobart's popular books *The Glory that was Greece* and *The Grandeur that was Rome* (the name has been given as "Stoddart" by Mr. Shah) in finding the title for his work as well as in its treatment of the subject. The title concentrates the sixteenth and seventeenth century European view of India: "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" as Milton wrote. Mr. Shah writes 'Ind in the title of his book. *Sindhu*, of course, became *Hindu* in Iranian, whence the Greeks got their *Indos*, *Indoi*; Greek had ignored the *h*-sound of the Iranian form in the beginning and there was no *h* in the Græco-Latin name for the country, *di Ina*; and as the English names for our country came from Latin, one cannot understand the *raison d'être* of the inverted comma at the head of this poetic contraction of *India*, since the English *Ind* is not a contraction of *Hind* or *Hindustan*, the Arabic or Persian names of India. Mr. Shah indulges in other alterations in the orthographies of names—he corrects the spelling of Dr. Coomaraswamy's

name—in which the older English usage is consciously followed—to “Koomara Swamy” and “Kumaraswamy.” But this is by the way.

The topics he discusses in the various chapters of his book indicate sufficiently the wide scope of the survey he has attempted. Chapter I has the caption “India: A Panoramic View.” In this a rapid bird’s-eye view of the geographical situation of India as a background to her cultural evolution has been sought to be made. In his desire to emphasize duly on the vastness of the geographical limits of India—on its continental character—he has not been able to avoid a grandiloquent and sentimentalizing verbosity, and has brought in references to a variety of topics which would only bewilder one who has not lived in the atmosphere of Indian history and culture like Indians of better education. Incidentally he speaks of “the broad fair bosom of the Daughter of the Creator—Brahmaputra.” “Brahma-putra,” as the name shows, means the son of “Brahmā”: it is a *nada*, like the Son not a *nadī*. Mr. Shah’s rhetoric takes no note of the Indian way of speaking of these things. One might similarly refer to the *mother* of the mountains—the goddess *Himalāya*.

The second chapter, with its heading “The Pageant of a People,” gives a sketch of Indian anthropology and history. Mr. Shah is content not only to take the arbitrary official classification of the Indian people into various groups, but his account also is vague, and does not give the uninitiated any clear notion of the problems connected with the race-types and races in India. Under one of the anthropological types (Plate XVIII) we find printed “Oraon Cole” which is quite curious indeed as a bit of aboriginal nomenclature, despite the authority of Watson and Kaye’s book “The People of India” from which the picture and the description both are taken. About the Vedic god Indra it is said that “drunk with *soma*, and fed by welcome oblations of milk and meat and curds and ghee,” he slays the Dragon *Vritra*, set at liberty the fairy princess *Ushas* (the Dawn), and brings home to the Aryan the much needed kine (rain clouds). In our artistic consciousness we in India do not always appreciate the difference between the epic and the romantic; we do not always appreciate the brutality and the *rudesse* of the heroic, as in the Vedas and in the *Mahābhārata*; we are nurtured in the romantic and softer if pleasanter atmosphere of *Kalidāsa* and the classics. Evidence of this is not wanting in the book under review. As a result the Goddess of the Dawn as conceived by that race of splendid barbarians who invaded India, the Aryans, becomes a “fairy princess”: the elemental and the superb is whittled down to the pretty and the dainty. We need not refer to the Mediæval and Christian paladin St. George as the rescuer of the distressed lady from the dragon, which character is attributed to Indra in this connexion by Mr. Shah.

The question of the inter-relation between Indian culture and Islam is generally lost sight of in its true aspect, and unfortunately instead of attempting to look into the matter more closely, Mr. Shah is content to quote and dilate upon the fallacious generalities which are current. Surely with the advent of Muslims, “a few surface changes” only do not seem to be manifest. Deeper than anything in the past of India during the historical period has been the impress of Islam on the culture of India, especially in the North. The range and extent of Persian and Perso-Arabic vocables which are in common use in the Aryan languages of the North are a sufficient proof of this. Then, in talking of the Muhammadans in India, the erroneous notion that the Muslims of India are an alien people who came to India from Central Asia and Persia and settled down as conquerors has been tacitly accepted: otherwise we would not talk of “Muslims [evidently of foreign origin] being Indianised” when we refer to the prevalence of caste usages and of hagiolatry among the masses of Indian Muslims. As a matter of fact it is nothing but imperfect Islamization of certain forms of Indian worship and religion. The real conversion of the Indian Muslim masses to Islam has commenced only a few decades ago: and this conversion in many quarters has very little positive about it, except in the closer observation of the ritual of Islam and a greater acquaintance with and acceptance of the creed as well as the mythology of Islam (for popular Islam with its hierarchy of angels and miracle-working saints and heroes has a mythology, like any other religion): and frequently this conversion has degenerated into something merely negative only—by denying the art and culture of the Hindus as something foreign to the converts;—and this is one of the strangest and at the same time most grotesquely tragic things in the world. It is time that our Indian Muhammadans, and others who ought to know better, ceased to think of these Muslims as a race apart. Indian Muhammadans who are over ninety-nine per cent. Indian, and who are in many cases the descendants of those very Hindus—Brahmanists and Buddhists—who fought the Arab, the Turk and the Pathan invader, now frequently claim racial kinship with these latter, and their hearts often glow with patriotic pride when they talk of the conquest of India by the Muslims, and of the achievements of a Khalid and an Omar, a *Shāhin* and a *Solyman*, a *Tamerlane* and a *Nadir Shah*, and even of a pre-Mohammadan hero of Persia like *Rustam*. It would be like an Indian convert to Roman Catholicism waxing eloquent over the achievements of *his* people in discovering the New World and in conquering the empires of the Aztecs and the Incas and in building up a great Empire in Asia—that of the Portuguese.

The third chapter is on the “Heroes and Saints,” in which the Sanskrit epic legends and the legends and tales of Rajput and Mogul

history are narrated. There is not much about the saints in this chapter, despite the title. The next chapter (IV) is on the "Makers of History and Builders of Empires," in which the main current of the political history of India is narrated. In Chapters V ("Poetry and Drama") and VI ("Religion and Philosophy") we wish these subjects were treated a little more systematically, and the essentials were not overlaid by what painfully strikes one as mere verbiage. Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, is, as our author gravely observes, "a genius, in no way inferior to a Freud or even a Marie Stopes." The author's treatment of these most essential things in a nation's culture is not very convincing. Lack of a systematic treatment of the subjects under discussion is equally evident in the next two chapters (VII and VIII, on "Music and Dancing, Painting and Sculpture" and on "Temples and Tombs: Palaces and Pleasantries"). Mr. Shah indulges in a linguistic *plaisanterie* in suggesting the derivation of "Ajanta" (as he spells it) from Sanskrit *ādi-anta* = "the beginning and the end"—the junction of the Aryan North and the Dravidian South. The "spiritual" and "creative" character of Indian art, as contrasted with the "material" and "imitative" character of Greek art, is digressed upon, with the usual complacency of many educated Indians, but here the author himself appears to have his misgivings. These chapters are disappointing: indeed, Mr. Shah does not evince much knowledge of the subjects—he has nothing special to say, and he seeks to make it up by giving strings of indiscriminate quotations praising Indian art. In his treatment of architecture, Mr. Shah is equally content to follow the standard or popular books on the subject. The connexion between the fire-hall of the Aryan worshipper and the sanctum of a later Hindu temple with its *vimāna* is open to objection. Aryan fire-worship and later Indian *pūjā* with an image or symbol represent two distinct religious ideals and rituals, and the evolution of the temple spire, to adorn the shrine containing the image or symbol, from the bamboo hut of the Aryan fire-worshipper, as proposed by some, is exceedingly problematical. Mr. Shah does not seem to be familiar with the latest discussions on the subject, e.g., in the pages of *Rūpam*. Chapter IX ("Industry and Commerce") gives a sketch of Indian foreign trade from the earliest period. The last chapter deals with the social period. The caste, and the position of women in society, and slavery; with ancient Indian polity; with dress and ornament, the home and its furniture; food and drink; travel, camping and vehicles; and manners and customs; all exceedingly insufficiently treated.

The subject-matter has frequently been inflated by unnecessary verbiage. The result has been rather unhappy. Singularly little illumination is obtained after going through a number of closely printed pages, in which the typography looks small and insignificant when compared with the size of the page.

A word about the illustrations. Unhappily there is no correlation between the pictures and the text. We wish that some competent person had seen to the matter of selecting and arranging the illustrations. It seems there was an anxiety to make a brave display, and a quantitative one: "Eleven illustrations in colour, and Three Hundred and Twenty-four half-tone illustrations" of course sounds very nice. Here the absence of taste and discrimination and the very apparent journalistic attitude are often painfully evident. The publishers had a wide selection of *clichés*—half-tone blocks of all sorts—to choose from, and evidently the desire was not to miss any that could be put in somewhere. But a judicious selection restricting the number to less than even 200 would have been far better. A number of good illustrations of Indian art would never lose their value: but they have suffered by being juxtaposed with others which ought not to have featured in a work professing to give an exposition of Indian art and culture. We have Mogul paintings cheek by jowl with Southern Indian bronzes and early and late North Indian sculptures, and with Ajanta frescoes and Gupta pillars, all in the same plate; and Asoka inscriptions and legends from ancient and mediæval coins occur side by side with hideous bazar lithographs of epic scenes done in a most atrocious style, emulating the modern Indian theatre in theatricality and lack of taste and sincerity. The modern paintings could have been all omitted, including Rao Bahadur M. V. Dhurandhar's sketches in water-colour of types of Indian womanhood—offered here as a *rechauffé* from Mr. Otto Rothfeld's book on Indian Women. The coloured frontispiece which seems to give the tone to the book is a very weak sketch, with a Sanskrit title "*jagad-vandyaṁ devīm uśhasam api vande bhagavatīm*" (I also adorn the Goddess Ushas, the adorable one of the world, endowed with all wealth), which has been Englished as "Hail Ushas! Virgin goddess of the Dawn." It depicts a dwarfish lady with European complexion, dressed in a pink *sārī* in the Mahratta style in vogue at the present day, floating through the air like a regular fairy and turning back in a pose made familiar by a popular picture by the late Raja Ravi Varma. At her back is the Sun's chariot, with rays flashing forth, and a stream of light issuing from the Sun has pierced the brow of an ogre in the other end of the picture half hid among dark clouds, much to the latter's discomfort. Vague figures of cows are seen in the clouds below Usha's feet. The Vedic Ushas is here in a worse plight than her transformation into a fairy princess in distress. The most attractive feature of the book is in the pictures—in monochrome and in colour—reproduced from Mr. N. C. Mehta's well-known book "Studies in Indian Painting," of which also Messrs. Taraporevala are the publishers. One might also mention a few other small reproductions of old Indian art.

DIE AUSSEREUROPAISCHE KUNST: BEING VOL. VI, OF ANTON SPRINGER'S HANDBUCH DER KUNSTGESCHICHTE. LARGE QUARTO: 719 PP., WITH 812 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT AND 16 FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOURS. LEIPZIG: ALFRED KRONER. PRICE, FORTY MARKS.

THIS handsome and magnificently illustrated volume deals briefly and succinctly with all the higher manifestations of art outside Europe, literally from China to Peru.

The six sections are apportioned as follows:—Professor Glaser of Berlin deals with Chinese and Japanese Art; Dr. Stella Kramrisch of Calcutta with Indian Art; Prof. Kühnel of Berlin with Islamic Art; Dr. German of Leipzig with African Art; Dr. Ubbelohde-Doehring of Marburg with the Art of Amerindia; and Prof. Krämer of Stuttgart with Malay-Pacific Art. Naturally the greater part of the book, four-fifths to be accurate, is taken up by the Survey of Oriental Art. It is recorded somewhere that in the youth of Herder and Goethe the poetical spirits of this great period of awakening to the beauty of the world were roused to enthusiasm by any new mode of appreciating a work of art. How this precious book, which is in direct descent from the efforts of Herder himself in comparative literature, would have stirred the immortal pair of Weimar days! And where are the poets of to-day who are to respond to the appeal of the East as Goethe and Kants to that of the classical world?

The book is full of a kind of criticism whose object is to take us back to the days when these monuments of art were created, to give us the stark facts, and let who will draw the conclusions, historical or hysterical, and so to give the study of art a sound basis for academic treatment in the best sense of the term. It is, to speak typically, Socratic as opposed to Platonic criticism, austere objective to the exclusion of the lyrical mood, yet something of the latter has to be countenanced before any hierarchy crystallizes in the mind. It is a treatment which is artistic in this extent, that as much is left as possible to the imagination of the reader. What it does not provide is to be found in the exemplary series of illustrations, one of the finest achievements in modern popular education. One of the colour plates is here reproduced by the courtesy of the publishers. Without these illustrations the criticism would often have little meaning for the general reader. And, of course, both pictures and letterpress have to be supplemented by actual and lingering experience of the works of art themselves, before their fuller significance can be understood or their deep human appeal felt. In this notice we are limited to an account of what Dr. Stella Kramrisch, whose work is so well known to readers of *Rūpam*, has done with the opportunities presented to her. In brief, this volume, if understood aright, shows that she has

presented to India a new subject of study, the only one, perhaps, in these troublous times, which could bring joy and alleviation into Indian classrooms.

This is the first time that a history of Indian Art has been able to lay down the lines along a range comparable with that of Egyptian, Mesopotamian or Chinese Art. A few years ago such a beginning as this would have been impossible: "In the third millennium B.C., and assuredly still earlier, India had a culture whose remains in the Indus Valley bear witness that here are later products of very ancient traditions. The temples and houses of Mohenjo Daro in Sind and of Harappa in the Punjab had foundation walls of burnt or sun-dried tiles, tile flooring, bathroom and wells. The house-plan typical in later times, a square court, surrounded by dwelling rooms and verandah, is also found here. There are no columns at all, but square tiled pillars. The disposition of the towns consists of rectangular arrangements of streets, and gives the impression of a uniform plan, and not of one developed to suit growth.

Both these sites of finds are for the present isolated examples. The high culture of the Indus Valley is not confirmed by the other pre-Aryan monuments. The dolmens and kist-graves of South India are to be regarded as the work of a pre-Aryan Dravidian population, although they belong to the Iron Age of India. To the same period are to be ascribed the erections in stone of Central India. The people who introduced them, however, are not the Mediterranean Dravidians, but the Austro-Asiatic Munda tribes who migrated in after them. These three layers of population, the Aryan, recognizable about 1000 B.C., the Dravidian, who have left their most characteristic monuments in South India—though there are linguistic traces (Brahūi) in Beluchistan—and the group of Munda tribes, are later in the historic period responsible for the development as well as for the reactions within Indian Art. The successive immigrants, the Mediterranean Dravidians, then the Austro-Asiatics, and finally the Aryans, mingled with each other, and also with the primitive Melanid population of India."

After a vivid account of the Indus finds, Dr. Kramrisch contrasts them with the pre-historic rock monuments. "The pre-historic rock-drawings of Ghātīla, Singbhum (Orissā), Singanpur in the district of Raigarh, are of mesolithic and neolithic character. The medium is hematite, oxide of iron. Reduced to outline drawings, they present at times detailed and lively, at other times extremely abbreviated and stereotyped pictures of beasts, human beings, hunting scenes, etc. Between their form and that of the Mohenjo Daro finds there is no close connection. While the works of the Indus Valley pertain in descent to high art, the rock-paintings are familiar or trite formulæ of popular work."

The author next treats of the art of the time from Bimbisāra to the end of the Maurya period (c. 550 to 185 B.C.), of the city types of Rājagṛha



Rajput School, 17th Century.
Collection of Professor F. SARRE.
By the courtesy of A. Kroner, Leipzig.

and Pataliputra, and of the cave-temples of Aśoka's time. She also gives a careful summary of the facts relating to the early stūpas, of which legend says that Aśoka erected 84,000.

"From his time the stūpa, originally a grave-mound over the remains of a chieftain, became a Buddhist monument, an object of worship, and a symbol of the last extinction. The round tumulus form of the stūpa goes back to Eastern Indian tradition, in contrast to the square stūpa mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmana. The few stūpas remaining from the time of Aśoka, which have generally been overmantled later, are composed of sunburnt tiles. On the high foundation rests the hemisphere (anda), crowned by a small square enclosure (harmikā) from which a stone umbrella rises. Such stūpas still remain at Pāṭaliputra Sārnāth, and Sāñci, and the relics of a stone umbrella, with fine ribs, like a mushroom underneath and highly polished, in Sārnāth. There is often a separate pillar attached to the massive monumental structure of the stūpa and the round grave-mound, whose origin goes back to the menhir. Such pillars (sthambha) also, though very rarely, stand isolated. They all bear, on a smooth polished shaft, a lotus capital over a round abacus, and over that one or more pairs of animals, such as the lion (Bāsārḥ, Rāmpurā, Lauriyā Nandangarh) or four of paired of the fronts of lions (Sārnāth, Sāñci), the bull (Rāmpurā) the elephant (Sankīsa), and in later times Makara (Besnagar), or even a palm-capital. Often (Sārnāth) the lions bear a wheel. The smooth monolithic pillars are in many cases inscribed with the Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi characters of the edicts of Aśoka. Many pillars were specially raised with the object of making conspicuous and enduring the Dhamma of the message proclaimed in the edict. In other places these edicts were carved on already existing pillars, while there are others that are simple monuments without inscription. From which it follows that the erection of pillars was in vogue before the time of Aśoka. That they are generally crowned with the animals which are known as conveyors (vāhanas) of gods, such as the lion, the bearer of Durgā, the bull of Śiva, the garuḍa of Viṣṇu (Lauriyā Araraj) and others, on the one hand shows that the objects of worship were of a time when the deity was represented by the animal dedicated to it, and not in human form, but on the other hand the use of the figures of animals is no denial of their original connection with the cult of the dead. These pillars were employed by Aśoka for his new teachings, his new justice. The relationship of these pillars with similar ones from Persopolis and earlier Mesopotamian reliefs goes far back. Starting from a common aspect and a basic form, the fully developed type asserts its peculiar Indian character in a smooth shaft without a base, in the downward turning lotus-bell with double profile, and in the round drum of the abacus bearing the animal symbol fully modelled in sculpture in the round.

The round shaft are connected with the capital by the help of a copper wedge. The bell of the capital, at the beginning low and broad, became in course of time higher and slenderer. The pillars of Kolhua (Bakhra), and of Lauriyā Nandangarh, with their wholly flattened, plump bells, form the oldest extant types." One is tempted to quote from every page of the richly detailed survey of the eclectic nature of Maurya Court sculpture, and its connection with Persian and Babylonian Art, strengthened as it is by anatomical, technical and æsthetic criticism of such a fresh and convincing order. These unresting eyes have seen everything, and have an uncanny power of giving things their place in a new hierarchy. Much is written on the architecture of the Śunga, Āndhra and Kṣatrapa period which we must pass by with admiration, enjoying too the choice illustrations. Of the painting of the period Dr. Kramrisch writes: "The early paintings of the Jogīmāra cave, a rock-hall in Sirgūja, Orissā, established as a theatre-hall, are badly preserved. Those of Cave IX at Ajantā signify in the development of Indian Art what the reliefs of Sāñci do for sculpture. A rougher, mortar-like layer with a chalky finish, thin and smooth as egg-shell, preserves the painting from damp. The outlines, which were first drawn with the brush in red modelling lines and at a later stage in brown or black, are filled with uniform planes of colour. Competition and types show that the painting of the Dekkhan throughout kept pace with the sculpture of Central India, but what the modelling of the stone shows there in bodily rounding, is here only preserved in the modelling of the line: the colour as yet contributes nothing towards it. Also the painting operates as clearly as the sculpture, with artistic conventions. So the usual space formulæ are also used here, above instead of behind each other, as cubic abbreviation for buildings, mountains, etc., but the main thing is that a peculiar spaciousness is brought about by shortenings which lead into the depth, but only so far as the bodily extension of the grouped bodies demands. In this way the figures are embedded softly within their surroundings. They are far from being harshly set into planes, and their increasing and decreasing contours give them roundness and lively charm. Here, as also in the reliefs, miracles frequently are illustrated that carry the same evidence of conviction.

Here also again the representation of a flying figure whose hovering without wings has a compelling appearance of reality, just as the impetuous flight of the Gandharvas in the Orissā reliefs. Only the tempo here is slower, the spiritual atmosphere more languid than there. Like the Buddhist monuments of sculpture, the Buddhist paintings also give clear stories and representations of the life and the earlier incarnations of the Buddha, who appears during this period not in human form, but only by suggestion in the form of symbols, or by the void that is present." The

next section, on Kuṣāṇa and late Āndhra Art (first to third century A.D.) contains a discussion of Gandhāra architecture and sculpture. Of the former Dr. Kramrisch says:—

"The architecture of Gandhāra is in the main a corresponding separate form of Indian building method, belonging to a rocky mountain region, among which isolated buildings of Hellenistic origin are scattered. In the decoration the Hellenistic pillar plays an undoubtedly great rôle."

After an evaluation of the contribution made by Gandhāra to Indian sculpture, Dr. Kramrisch proceeds, before treating of Mathurā sculpture, to an examination of the wider influences of the movement.

"The influence of the Gandhāra school on the other art-centres of India is seen in the migration of motives, such as the acanthus, or in the treatment of drapery; but in the new art narrative reliefs, no longer continuous, but in a series of separate illustrative relief panels, have become standard. The Hellenistic Art of modelling the body at best finds limited imitation in Mathurā, and has penetrated in single instances far into the country. The statue of Mañibhadra from Pawāyā, Gwalior, is one of the least happy results of the influence (first or second century A.D.). Hellenistic motives of movement are found, much livelier than in Gandhāra, in many reliefs from Amarāvati in South India, where they are in strong contrast with the flowing rhythmic swing of the majority of figures." The next two sections deal with Gupta and post-Gupta Art, covering the period from the fourth to the ninth centuries. They discuss work from such important localities as Ajantā, Aihole, Sārnāth, Bādāmi, Udayagiri, Māmāllapuram, Pattadakal and Elūrā, and contain much necessarily abbreviated but valuable description, based on personal observation. It is only possible here to quote from what is perhaps the most generally interesting of these descriptions, those of Caves XVI and XVII of Ajantā. "The paintings illustrate the life and legends of Buddha, and are the last collection of clearly Buddhist forms of narrative, as first they appeared in stone at Bhārhut. They cover the walls like 'tapestry, scene after scene, and their close connection appears to-day violently broken only where the door openings lead to the cells of the rōnks. The original wooden doors were certainly covered with continuations of the scenes, so that the complete wall-space offers an uninterrupted wealth of figures. The human form is the main motive, and to these forms the open houses or scenes of landscape serve as frames. The houses are done in 'grotesque' perspective; the landscape, mostly mountain scenery, unfolds a rising background; the rock often lies bare, and is always rendered cubically abstract with irregular ashlar whose arrangement produces just as much depth as the ramifying inner chambers and balconies do, so that the groups of people have just room enough to be able to move unhindered with free use of all shortenings. Far from aiming at

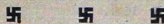
a suggestion of spatial depth, the pictures represent a kind of stage, whose wings lead from the background, to the foreground and back. The separate groups are arranged in shallow curves; space formulae and actual observation counter-balance each other. The movements of extraordinary diversity and grace are calm, in spite of all the vivacity, and charged to a certain degree with sadness; the expression of the faces, which render the various types, in the various stages of devotion, joy, resignation, and many other states of mind, remains at bottom possessed by a feeling for life that, in spite of all sympathy with the immediate action, is not moved by it and remains sunk in itself. This sinking back into all the fullness of life, in all wisdom of life into a vegetative state of existence, at times receives stronger accounts of an erotic kind that blaze up here and there. The landscape bears its own significance, in the full blossoming, in the sprouting of plants, in the presence of water, rock and creatures. It is background and basis; it bears man and encloses him. Of the same season are their meadows strewn with flowers, with the stripes and patterns of garments forming a light scale of tones to the heavy flow of the whole picture." The remaining sections, from which it would be difficult to choose more characteristic quotations than those already given, deal with the art of the middle ages, including such subjects and such scenes as Madura, Halebid and Bhuvanesar, Khajuraho, Mount Abu, Elūrā and Kāngrā. There are also chapters on the art of Ceylon, Further India, Siam, Indonesia, Nepal and Tibet, all most attractively illustrated. It should be noted that Moghul Art is treated of by Prof. Kühnel in the portion of the book on Islamic Art. Whether the technical investigation detailed in this last volume of Springer's *History of Art*, with all its suggestive as well as factual value, says anything like the last word is for the poet and psychologist to say, and that they will have a great deal to say during the coming renaissance of Indian life and culture is as certain as that we in the West are only at the beginning of even a superficial knowledge of the history of Oriental culture. It is a collection which invades the calm finality of the Springer series with strangely disturbing effects as though into a quiet sunlit and rock-shadowed stream one should cast rare tinctures which in the slowly moving water expand to wools of wonderfully rich colour and unfamiliar forms of arrangement, taking on here and there the most bizarrely suggestive outlines. It forms a most pungent criticism on the use we have made of our eyes and our reason, on the extent to which we have shaken ourselves from tradition or mastered it, and on the extent to which we have withheld our sympathies. It affords fascinating contrast in vital, æsthetic and even ethical values, and especially in the manner in which artists of the East and West visualize and turn to account the many grounds and planes of infinity in which their concentrations into formal apparitions of

beauty are framed. And above all, perhaps, such a comprehensive assemblage of masterpieces for our calm contemplation will play a very great part in bringing about an entirely new valuation of the world of humanity outside our own, for there is nothing which can so surely bring home to men

the quality of their fellow-creatures as their gifts of song and picture, of music and poetry and other spiritual creations. To return to Goethe: "There is no surer way of evading the world than by Art; and no surer way of uniting with it."

E. E. S.

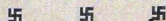
NOTES.



RABINDRANATH TAGORE AT THE INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON.—There was a meeting of the India Society on 4th June, when Dr. Arnold Bake lectured on "Indian Music and Rabindranath Tagore." A notable feature was that the poet himself was present, and the company also included: The Netherlands Minister, Sir Thomas Arnold, Mr. Foxstrangways (author of the *Music of Hindostan*), Mr. and Mrs. H. S. L. Polak, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Lady Chevenix Trench, Mr. A. L. Saunders, Mr. and Mrs. de La Valette, Mrs. Given Wilson. Sir Francis Younghusband presided. In introducing the lecturer he explained that Dr. Bake had been for over two years at Santiniketan with Rabindranath Tagore, and had made Indian music his special subject. Later he had travelled with the poet in Java and Bali. He was a Doctor of Sanskrit at Utrecht University, and was now at the Kern Institute in Leyden, which was well known to members of the India Society through its publication of an Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology. Before calling upon Dr. Bake he expressed the great pleasure of the India Society at the presence in their midst of Rabindranath Tagore, whose connection with the Society in its early years had been of the closest, and who was now its honoured Vice-President. He called attention to the very fine drawings that had been loaned by the poet to the Society that evening, and which had been executed by the poet's hand. He then called upon Rabindranath Tagore to address the meeting.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore said that until he arrived in Europe recently he was very diffident as to the merits of his paintings, but he was encouraged by the enthusiasm for them shown by some artists he chanced to meet in the South of France, who insisted on his exhibiting some of them in Paris. The judgment of some of their famous critics was extremely favourable. Consequently he came to have some faith in his own powers as an artist. He was asked what preliminary training he had received, and his answer was that his training from childhood was in words, not in lines. He had an inborn sense of rhythm, even when he did not fully understand poetry. Verse, especially Sanskrit verse, had an intense fascination for him, and since then, as they knew, he had been doing nothing better than turning out

verse, a task which he found a sort of deep ecstasy. Only those creations of the poet or of the artist had a right to survive which had their proper balance, for inter-relation was a principle of creation. He might be told that some of the pictures before them were weird; but, then, there were weird pictures in the history of creation. Camels were very weird; but in its own surroundings in the desert the camel was complete. He had found in his paintings a means for the expression of reality. His discovery of this medium had given him intense satisfaction and pride—a price such as all artists should have in achievement. They would think that he grew more and more vain with the years; but he could plead the excuse that painting was new to him, that he had not grown used to, and hardened in, this form of expression. Dr. Arnold Bake in the course of his address said: "Now one would think that the music to which the poet thus attaches the highest spiritual value is kept as carefully as the words. It is just the opposite. Rabindranath Tagore himself can't create his songs. The words he can write down, but he is not able to fix the music. One of his nephews, the intensely musical Dinendranath Tagore, who has a memory of steel, then comes to his help. The poet sings what he has made, Dinendranath stores it in his memory. At Dinendranath's death half of Rabindranath's life work will be lost. The Bengali system of notation is insufficient, and consequently even those songs which have been taken down in that way are bound to be spoiled and get lost after Dinendranath's death. Three to five years' steady work would be sufficient for saving this treasure for posterity."



A MUSEUM AT HYDERABAD.—According to a newspaper report H. E. H. The Nizam has sanctioned the scheme providing for a museum at Hyderabad. A curator has already been appointed and a Hyderabad graduate awarded a State Scholarship to enable him to study in the museums of British India. The museum will probably be located in the Industries Exhibition building. The scheme involves an annual expenditure of Rs. 29,000. The news is certainly of great interest to readers of *Rūpam* and to all lovers

of art and archaeology and we must congratulate H. E. H. The Nizam's Government for a laudable step in the right direction. Details are not available as to the exact scope of the museum—but we should like to be assured that it will not copy the imperfections and the general policies of the museums in British India—which for want of adequate funds generally remain still-born child, incapable of further growth, development, or expansion. It will be in the fitness of things if the Hyderabad scheme specialized in the *objets d'art* of the Islamic countries and outlined and fitted out a representative museum of Islamic art. There is a great desideratum for such a museum in India. For although there are sections of certain European museums (Louvre, Paris, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), there are no museums especially devoted to the art of the Mussulmans, save and except the Evkaf Museum at Constantinople. It would therefore be a signal service to the cause of Oriental art, if a museum adequately representative of Mussulman art were planned and established in India. In Hyderabad itself and other parts of India, there must be numerous examples of Islamic arts and crafts, lying buried in private collections which could offer many valuable items of great interest for the history of Islamic art, and once a museum was established many such works of arts will easily gravitate to such a repository. It is generally believed that all available Persian miniatures and illuminated MSS. have already found their way to the museums of Europe and that there are very little chances of worthy exhibits being available for a local Indian museum. No doubt important examples of works of Mussulman art have to be acquired from numerous dealers in Europe, particularly in the department of Mussulman ceramics. But it is quite likely that if organized searches were planned and carried out by competent experts, valuable art treasures representing the culture of Islam may yet be found in India. This is amply proved by the rich discovery in India of a very rare and valuable MS. of an early Shahnamah described by Monsieur E. Blochet in a long and illustrated article in the last

number of *Rūpam*. We hope our suggestion for a museum of Mussulman art would commend itself to the Government of H. E. H. The Nizam. It will provide for an educational institution of unique significance to the culture history of Islam. We have no doubt that friends of Islamic culture and lovers of Oriental art would join hands to offer their support to a cause of educational enterprise of remarkable significance. The Editor of *Rūpam* will indeed be very glad to extend his cordial co-operation in devising and carrying out the scheme for such a museum.

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DEATH OF MR. RAKHAL DAS BANERJEE.—Closely following the demise of Mr. Akhaya Kumar Maitreya, has occurred the regrettable loss of another learned archaeologist, Mr. Rakhhal Das Banerjee, formerly a valued member of the Department of Archaeological Survey of India and, latterly, a Professor and the Head of Department of Indian History at the Benares Hindu University. A numismatist, and an epigraphist of singular brilliance and keen insight, the crowning achievement of his career was the discovery of the pre-historic sites at Mahenjo-dharo in Sind. As a scholar and an original investigator of the data for building up the history of India, Mr. Banerjee's researches have offered valuable materials for many obscure periods of Indian history. His earliest contribution to the "Scythian period of Indian history" still remains a worthy monument of his ability as a scholar and a historian of singular gifts and insight. Though not directly interested in Indian art, *qua* art, his many essays and monographs in the archaeological survey reports are valuable contributions to the history of Indian art. During the last two years he has been contributing short and popular illustrated articles on various phases of Indian art in the pages of *Modern Review* and the *Pravasi*. In him Indian history has lost a scholar, and Indian archaeology an investigator of rare gifts and abilities.

