KALAKSHETRA

"The creative spirit does not mean always new ideas, nor that everything you do must be done differently. The person who has the creative genius can do the same thing a hundred times, and yet it must seem different, because to him each time it is new. If you have devotion to the ideal and this religious spirit, you will find each day is a new day; each time you sing the same song, it is a new song; each time you dance, it is a new dance. If you experience that freshness every day, you are bound to make other people feel you are inspired, and the other person will never be bored. In fact it is almost a sign, if your audiences are not bored, that you are not bored. If the artist is bored, in other words if the art is tired of the artist and is trying to get away from him, then the audience also gets tired of the art, for it is no longer creative art.

That is where the master hand is different from the ordinary one.

I have seen dancers who were very great in the world's eye, who turned and jumped and performed extraordinary gyrations with the body, and every body said, "How splendid!" But to me it was just like a circus. What is the difference between the acrobat and the good dancer? The acrobat can jump much higher, turn a greater number of times. The dancer is not able to do one third of the tricks of the acrobat. The real dancer can make just a few gestures—but one look of the eye, one turn of the head, every little movement is so full of meaning, so full of expression, that you notice it. A tiny finger lifted with meaning is far more thrilling than all the turns and gyrations and tricks of the circus performer."

—RUKMINI DEVI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RAMANUJA

P. NAGARAJA RAO

The philosophy of Ramanuja represents one of the most prominent forms of Vedanta arising from interpretation of the triple texts, i.e., the Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahma Sutras. Long before Sri Ramanuja, à cluster of twelve God-intoxicated mystics in South India poured out in the regional language, Tamil, their love of God and their visions and experiences and longings, in the form of exquisite, soul-stirring and moving imagery. Their outpourings constitute the *Divya Prabandha* of four thousand songs of the mystics called *Alvars*. They belonged to all the castes and one of them was a woman. The songs constitute the source-book for the philosophy of Ramanuja. They were lost to posterity and it was Nathamuni who restored them and set them to writing by the strength of his austerity and devotion. Nammalvar alias Satagopan revealed these songs to Nathamuni in his yogic trance. Nathamuni restored them for us.

The next great figure in the pre-Ramanuja period was Yamuna later known as Alavandar This great soul picked up Ramanuja as his chosen instrument for propagating the philosophy of the Vedas. He wrote several works, e.g. *Siddhitraya*, which seeks to establish the three categories, *Atma Siddhi, Iswara Siddhi* and *Samvit Siddhi*. Ramanuja expresses his indebtedness to Yamuna by singing his glory in his works.

Ramanuja, in his plan of temple-worship, ordered the recital of the songs of the *Alvars*, but he has never cited any passage from the writings of the *Alvars*. Visishtadvaitins regard the *Divya Prabandha*, particularly the thousand hymns of Nammalvar, as *Dravidopanishad*. There are several commentaries on it by later *Acharyas*. The outpourings of the *Alvars* are a staple source of inspiration. It is the fact of there being two sources, i.e., the triple texts and the hymns of the *Alvars*, in Tamil, that has led to the description of Ramanuja's philosophy as *Ubhaya-Vedanta*.

Sri Ramanuja, unlike Sankara, accepts both the parts of the Vedas, the *Karmakanda* and the *Brahmakanda* as valid. He sees a unity of outlook in them. He differs from the Mimamsakas who regard that the Karmas prescribed in the Vedas give, of their own accord, worldly pleasures as well as liberation; he holds that only the efficacy of their being a form of worship of the Supreme Being is the cause.

The philosophy of Sri Ramanuja is generally expounded under five *(arthapanchaka)* heads, which five are: the nature of the Supreme Being to be attained; the nature of the soul; the way to attain the Lord; the nature of the spiritual ideal to be reached, and the obstacles in the path of God-realisation.
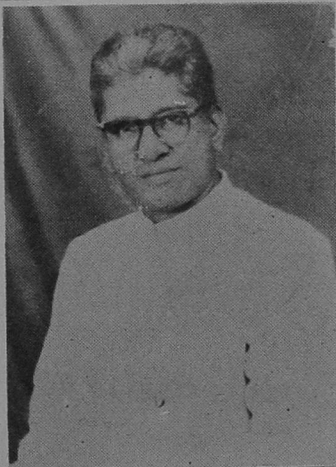
Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao is a distinguished philosopher, who has served as the professor of philosophy in the Universities of Gujarat, Karnataka, Benaras, Mysore and Madras. He was the Tagore Professor of Humanities at the University of Madras from 1969 to 1974. He has been called upon by a number of universities to deliver endowment lectures. He is the author of several important books on philosophy, such as "Dr. Radhakrishnan's Reader," "Introduction to Vedanta" and "The Essentials of Hinduism."

Ramanuja has made two significant contributions to philosophy in general and to Indian philosophy in particular. On the ontological side is the concept of Reality as one inseparable unity of three factors *(Tattva-traya)* of *Chit*, *Achit* and *Iswara* (Matter, Soul and God). The first two are dependent on the third. The relation is envisaged as a unity in which God predominates over the other two and controls them. The subordinate elements are the attributes *(Viseshanas)* and the dominant element i.e., God, is the substance *(Viseshya)*. The attributes cannot exist by themselves separately, and the whole in which they are included is described as a *Visishta* (complex unity). It is not correct and fair to describe Ramanuja's Vedanta as a form of qualified Absolutism. It is not Sankara's Advaita diluted, nor is it a compromise with its tenets. It is a creative and constructive effort to systematise the teaching of the Upanishads and the Gita and the Brahma-Sutras, keeping in view the great mystic insight of the *Alvar's* experiences.

The systematisation is not the reading into the texts of preconceived doctrines, which are not there. It is not a distortion of the texts. The genius of Sri Ramanuja is disclosed in his masterly harmonisation of the different types of Upanishadic texts in a comprehensive manner. He gives equal attention to those texts that uphold an identity between Brahman and Atman, and to those texts that uphold radical differences between the Lord and the souls. He does not subordinate the one to the other.

The most substantial Upanishad, Brihadaranyaka, has an entire section describing the intimate relation between the Lord and the soul and illustrates it by twenty-three examples. The Upanishad says: "He who dwells in all beings, yet is within all beings, whom no beings know, whose body is all beings, who controls all beings from within, He is your inner controller, immortal" (III-7-15). The Gita reiterates the same truth: "The Lord dwells in the hearts of all beings and by His power causes all beings to revolve as if they were mounted on a machine' (XVIII-61).

To Ramanuja, God is not one who is watching the universe and the human drama from the wings. He is actively interested in helping men. He is imminent, and is transcendent, and is organic to the world. Ramanuja's God is not like the God of the deist, who creates the world and leaves it to run itself. God for Ramanuja is not to be equated with Nature as in Pantheism. God minus the world is still God, and not zero as in Pantheism. Ramanuja's God is responsive to the wishes of men, sensitive to their needs and akin to their spirits. He has metaphysical as well as moral attributes. He combines justice and love. He loves mankind more than any earthly father or mother does. He, out of infinite love for men, incarnates himself as lovely idols in sacred shrines to afford men easy access to Him. These idols are the expression of His *saulabhya* and infinite concern for mankind.

To restore himself the right relationship to God and live in that inseparable relationship with the Lord as His body—such is the high destiny of man. The *Alvars* exclaim: "Those days in which we live apart (in mind) from the Lord are as good as days of death". Alienation from the right relationship to the Lord is sin and bondage. The recovery of it is *Moksha* (liberation).

Ramanuja holds that bondage *(samsara)* arises on account of ignorance *(avidya)*. The essential nature of *samsara* is pain and sorrow. We are born, in the words of Blake—"in other people's pain and die in our own". Any pleasure in *samsara* arises on account of a privation. For instance, food is not a pleasure, if there is no hunger. Plato calls pleasures of this kind "negative pleasures". Most of the pleasures are transient and cease to be pleasures with the wearing out of our sense-organs through which alone we can experience them. The law of diminishing returns operates in the realm of pleasures. Further, very few of us get the good things of life, and when we do

get them, we do so, for a very little time. The majority of us are condemned to misery and want. The pleasures of human life are precarious. In obtaining them, we are open to the jealousy of the competing others and are troubled by the anxiety to preserve them even while enjoying them. When pleasures are snatched away from us, we are left bemoaning.

Spinoza in the West, and Patanjali in the East, have shown that the love of finite things is bound to land us in sorrow and misery. There may be a few unimaginative souls to whom human life and existence, here and now, may seem to be eternal bliss. To reflective and discerning minds the imperfections in *samsara* are obvious. *Samsara* is infested with the three-fold sufferings (sufferings arising from supernatural factors). The so-called pleasures of human life are mixed with a lot of ill. The unreflective, the insensitive and the unimaginative alone can hold the view that human existence, as it is, is an excellent thing.

The poet Bhartrhari describes thus the complex nature of the world—"Here the sound of vina, there the voice of wailing, here pretty women, there tottering, withered dames; here the meeting of learned men, there the brawls of the drunkards. I do not know whether *samsara* is heaven or hell."

The call of *Moksha* is indeed the message of all the schools of Indian Philosophy, Vedanta included. *Moksha* according to Ramanuja is the realisation of the true nature of the self and its right relationship with the Lord. The ignorance of this relationship and the wrong conception of the nature of the self, hold men in bondage. The average individual suffers from a two-fold ignorance which prompts him to do sins and act in a wrong way. In his unregenerate way, the human being takes his body to be the self. He wrongly identifies the self with the body. He entertains *dhehatmabhava* and lives the life of the indulgent sensualist. He is ignorant of the true divine nature of the self. This forgetfulness leads him to the suffering of all kinds

of pain. He also feels he is "the master of his fate and the captain of his ship." He feels in the manner of the demoniac natures *(asuras)* mentioned in the Gita, that he is all in all and that there is no God. Man becomes proud and overbearing and vain. He forgets the creator, the Lord, and feels that he in himself is the creator. "Man dressed in a little brief authority, plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven, as make the angels weep." Man's delusion about his own true nature and his ignorance of the real nature of the Lord and of the Lord's relationship to the soul, repeatedly land him in the cycle of births and deaths. His ignorance-prompted activities lead him to sin, and sin produces impressions, *(vasanas)* in the soul, and a kind of taste *(ruchi)* which goes with the *vasanas*. All these subject him to almost endless births and deaths. The cycle keeps on as long as ignorance persists.

Even an unregenerate man may, due to some unconscious or conscious acts of merit, happen to be thrown into the company of God-lovers *(bhagvatas)*. It is this good company *(sat-sanga)* that prompts and propels man to seek a way out of *samsara*. Reflection *(vichara)* then sets in, and man finds on examination that most of the remedies offered by secular knowledge cannot put a radical end to all human sorrows. Medicine may cure a disease once, but it cannot ensure that the disease will not recur.

Hence the reflective man starts on the quest for *Moksha*, which promises a state of existence which is free from doubts and disbeliefs, and tensions and strifes, and which puts an end to rebirths, and ensures bliss eternal. Such a man understands the supreme importance and the urgent necessity of the quest for emancipation and dedicates all his energies to that quest. The way to *Moksha*, Ramanuja says, is through *Bhakti* and *Prapatti*. *Bhakti* has been described by him at great length. *Bhakti* normally presupposes the fundamental duality of the worshipper and the worshipped.

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Bhakti is the most popular, the most natural and the easiest mode of God-realisation. It is intense love of God and is a powerful emotion, arising in man from a vivid sense of the greatness of God, and of His goodness and love for all. *Bhakti* is reared on faith in the existence and the majesty and the accessibility of the Lord. And faith is the precondition of all systematic knowing, of all purposive doing, and of all decent living. *Bhakti* is "popular", because it is basically founded on a human emotion. To love and be loved is the only way to avoid loneliness. The human heart naturally loves and the human mind naturally believes. Under normal circumstances, men in general are prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices for the sake of love. They count no cost too great, in their venture to satisfy love. Love is an all-consuming and universal emotion. It is a total emotion and is at times self-effacing and self-emptying. Its divine analogue is *Bhakti*. Human love is directed to other fellow-beings who are imperfect and are of unequal worth. It is based on infatuation *(moha)*, and rests on a projected picture (of the object of attachment) of the loving mind steeped in imperfection. With the dawn of true sense, men feel disappointed and frustrated with the course their love has been taking. Imperfection can lead to no reaction other than imperfection, incompleteness, unsubstantiality.

Bhakti is affection for the perfect Lord based on a clear knowledge and a deep conviction of His majesty and His tender love. It is based on *Jnana*, not *Moha*. It is the replacing of self-love by God-love. The devotee realises his creatureliness *(akinchanya)*. The root-meaning of the word *Bhakti* is "resorting to." It brings order and beauty into the confused and tangled facts of life. *Bhakti* is an ineffable emotion. It is likened to the feeling of a dumb man who has tasted delicious food and is unable to express his delight.

Ramanuja outlines the methods of *Bhakti* and marks out clearly its accessories and aids. There are certain external aids to *Bhakti*. The aspirant must have deep faith in the scriptures and must imbibe the truths of the scriptures from an illumined Guru. This is the process of *Sravana*. After learning the central and saving truth from the Guru, one has to meditate on it till it becomes one's unshakable belief and firm conviction. Once the conviction is secured, one has to meditate on the Lord. This is described as *nididhyasana*. *Sravana*, *manana* and *nidhidhyasana* constitute the dialectic of spiritual life on the intellectual side.

The Vedanta affirms that mere intellectual probity and mental agility are not enough for the seeker. He has to secure moral excellence and has to learn to see things clearly and not through passion. We must get rid of our bondage to passion, and must exercise our inborn freedom to cleanse our minds of all lusts and perversities and stupidities. To secure moral excellence, we need self-control and also the grace of God. The worship of the Lord is the sovereign means. And this worship of the Lord is better done according to rules laid down in the scriptures by the great seers of the past. To become eligible to worship the Lord, we have to observe ceremonial purity too. But the more important need is purity of mind.

—Courtesy: Dilip.

AN ICONOMETRIC STUDY OF PALLAVA SCULPTURES

GIFT SIROMONEY
M. BAGAVANDAS
S. GOVINDARAJU

Computer methods are used for the analysis of facial proportions of South Indian carvings. The study is based on measurements made by anthropometric instruments on thirty-nine well preserved carvings in sandstone from Kailasanatha temple, Kanchipuram, one of the earliest structural temples of Tamil Nadu built around 700 A.D.

Cluster analysis is used, instead of visual judgement, for grouping the sculptures into groups that contain most similar carvings. Some of the most similar carvings would have been carved by the same sculptor. Special features of these sculptures, such as extraordinarily long nose and a small chin are not to be seen in either the earlier or the later periods.

The average values of the facial proportions are given and these may prove useful in restoration work. These values are quite different from the proportions prescribed in the Indian canonical texts. There is no reason to believe that any canon of iconometry was followed by the sculptors of Kailasanatha temple.

It is also shown that Indian canons have many general features in common. There were two systems of iconometry and they had got mingled together in the canonical texts and the existence of the two systems had been overlooked by scholars.

1. INTRODUCTION

Art historians have been aware of the existence of canonical texts on Indian *iconography* and *iconometry* and have taken for granted the increasing influence of these Sanskrit texts in the actual making of the sculptures. Some have even gone as far as to say that the very existence and the increased use of these texts in practice had led to the decadence of Indian art during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gopinatha Rao 1914). A vast majority of art historians have assumed that the existence of iconometric canons actually led to the incorporation of canonical proportions in Indian sculpture (Khandalavala 1974). Almost all the studies done to date have not made any attempt to compare the canonical proportions with proportions of South Indian sculptures (Banerjea 1956).

The vigour and the freshness in the South Indian art of the Pallavas of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. have been noted by several scholars and so have been the stereotyped forms of deities of the Vijayanagar period of the sixteenth century. It is generally held that the peak of artistic excellence was reached during the reign of the Imperial Cholas around 1000 A.D. The iconographic portions of the texts indicate the standard postures, gestures and weapons associated with different forms of deities of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain pantheons. Some of the canonical texts are mistakenly believed to be very ancient because of the mythical names associated with them. Some scholars claim that the canonical texts were followed in the creation of seventh century Pallava images (Nagaswamy 1973).

2. INDIAN CANONS OF ICONOMETRY

The canons of iconometry follow a complex system called *talamana* (Gopinatha Rao 1920), in which the basic units are called *angula* and *tala* and the latter stands for the length of the palm. The *angula* is either a fixed length *(man-angulam)* or a proportion *(dehalabdhangulam)*. A piece of sculpture may be made according to one of the ten main divisions of proportions. Each main division can be further subdivided into three other types. A basic type is the *madyma navatala* (or the standard nine face-length). The face is of length one *tala*, (or twelve angulas) the length from throat to navel is two *tala*, from navel to top of knee is three *tala*, from the lower knee to ankle is two *tala* making a total of eight *tala*. One *tala* is distributed equally between the heights of foot, knee, the neck and topknot. The *nava tala* thus has a total of *nine tala* units, in height (108 angulas). There are two other types in the *nava tala* division. The *uttama nava tala* type is four *angulas* taller and the *adhama nava tala* type is four *angulas* shorter. The four *angulas* are distributed evenly between the heights of the foot, the kneecap, the neck and the topknot. The *angula* unit *(dehalabdhangulam)* that we discuss here is a proportional unit, and figures of different sizes can be made following the same proportion. The system makes use of the fact that persons with disproportionately larger face length appear shorter and persons with disproportionately shorter face appear taller. Dwarf figures are made following a *chatusra tala* or a four *tala* system where the total height is four times the face length. Canons of iconometry describe ten divisions from the *eka tala* (or single *tala*) to *dasa tala* (or the ten *tala*).

On close scrutiny we find that the surviving texts do not follow this system uniformly. A second system must have got superimposed on this ancient canonical system and both the systems are found in the texts. We shall illustrate with some examples of the possible origins of this dual system of proportions in the texts. In Indian art the important figures in a group are often represented as taller figures and inferior beings are represented as smaller figures. To such smaller figures a lower *tala* is often prescribed. However, if both the larger and the smaller figures were to represent deities of equal rank (say Siva and Vishnu) then strictly speaking they should be made in the same proportion, or in other words in the same *tala*. To the sculptor then it would involve using different lengths to represent the *angula*—a larger size for the *angula* of the taller figures and a smaller size for the *angula* measure of the smaller figure and both figures may occur in the same sculptural panel. To overcome this difficulty sculptors would have recalculated the size of face, limbs etc., maintaining the same proportion for figures of different heights. Taking the larger figure as standard and assuming that it is in standard *nava tala* it would have a height of 108 *angulas*. Other figures could be made in different sizes but in the same proportion. A shorter figure could be made in the same proportion but with a height of only 96 units where the unit may be equal to the *angula* of a standard *nava tala* figure. A much larger figure also made in the same proportion could be of height 120 *angulas* of the standard figure. Twelve *angulas* (10x12) make ten *talas* or *dasa tala*. This larger figure may be reckoned to be made according to the second system in *dasa tala* even though its proportions would be close to the standard *nava tala* figures. Then its face would not be 12 *angulas* but more. These examples illustrate the possible origin of the second system. This second system has also got mingled in the texts with the first system. When the proportions of a figure are given in *dasa tala* one has to check carefully whether it belongs to the first system or the second system. If it belongs to the first system, its face length would be 12 *angulas* irrespective of its total height. The existence of the two systems in the texts has not been fully realised so far by scholars. We shall call the first system the pure *tala mana* system and the second system the derived *tala mana* system.

The different texts give the iconometric measurement often using both the systems. The measurements relate to height, width and sometimes the circumference of the different parts of the figure. Even though there is a lot of variety in measurements between the different texts, we claim that there are certain common general features. First the face length is equally divided between the fore-head, nose and nose-to-chin irrespective of the system. Secondly the pubis (base of the male organ) is the midpoint of the height of a nude figure. In other words the distance from the sole of the feet to the pubis is equal to the distance from the pubis to the topknot. Thirdly deities are prescribed a higher *tala* compared to human figures. One may interpret it as belonging to the pure *tala mana* system or the derived system depending upon the text as well as the theme. Fourthly children will be represented in a lower tala like the *chatusra tala* (four *tala*) of the pure system. The face length will be comparatively large for children. There are a few exceptions to the general features that we have described but we are not sure of the authenticity of such texts.

3. PALLAVA SCULPTURES

Around 700 A.D. King Rajasimha Pallava built the famous Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram in South India and the temple is adorned with exquisite sandstone sculptural panels. The main sanctum tower is enclosed by a group of small shrines forming a rectangular enclosure. In front of the temple there are eight small shrines, also with sculptural panels. King Rajasimha also built the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram and the hill top temple at Panamalai. There are many other Pallava monuments at Mahabalipuram but they belong to the pre-Rajasimha period.

Did Rajasimha and his architects follow any of the Silapasastras that have come down to us? So far scholars have concentrated on comparing the iconographic details of the texts with the sculptures of Rajasimha. In a study of the

Somaskanda panels we found that there were enough uniformities in all of the panels of Rajasimha but these panels differed in iconographic details from the later traditions that have come down to us in the *agamic* literature (Lockwood, Siromoney, Dayanandan 1974). Then our main interest was in dress and ornaments and the various gestures and weapons. Now we add a new dimension to the study of Pallava sculptures by taking iconometric measurements. All the measurements reported in this paper were taken by one of the authors using anthropometric instruments.

If some canon of iconometry had been strictly followed one would expect the sanctum figures (of Somaskanda) in the front shrines of Kailasanatha complex to be of the same size since most of those shrines are of the same dimension. However, it is easy to check that the relief carvings of Siva in the back wall of the front shrines are of different sizes.

At Kailasanatha temple, if figures with tall *makutas* (crowns) are closely examined, the upper portion (or the head and torso) exclusing the crown will be seen to be significantly shorter than the lower half (below waist). According to the canons both portions must be of equal height. Furthermore, in some figures the upper half of the leg is longer than the lower half but according to the canons the portion of the leg above the knee-cap must be equal to the length between ankle and knee-cap. If any of the canons that have come down to us had been used these would have been avoided. Canonical proportions (which would go well with Jain and Buddhist figures) and tall crowns do not go very well together. If a tall crown is added on to a well proportioned figure, that figure will appear out of proportion. This can be seen from the Manmata figure of Sundaravaradaperumal temple of Uttiramerur.

For male figures the canons propose that the face length be divided equally between the length of the fore-head, nose and nose-to-chin. This general rule is followed in the early

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Plate 1. Buddha figure from Sarnath 500 A.D. This pre-Pallava figure is in Madras Museum. The face length is divided into three equal parts. This is in accordance with the *Silpa Sastras* and human anatomical proportions as far as nose length is concerned.

sculptures of North India (Plate 1). It also agrees with the general anatomical features (Plate 2). The early Chola sculptures from Kodumbalur follow these proportions (Plate 3). However, in Kailasanatha temple, gods, goddesses, chauri bearers (Plate 4), drummers and male worshippers are all represented with extraordinarily long noses. Compared to the distance from nose to chin, the nose is about one and half times long. The eyes are long and narrow. The lips are thick. These features differ from the features of *ganas* and the *dwarapalakas* who have bulging eyes and shorter noses.

These special proportions of the *stapati/s* of Kailasanatha temple have not come down to us in any text. We have made an attempt in this

paper to get at these special proportions. These will be of value in restoration work. We give here the average values of these proportions of facial measurements taking the face length to be twelve *angulas* (Table 2). Ten different facial measurements were taken from each sculpture (Table 1). The total face length was taken from the base of hairline (or head-dress) to the chin. The morphological face length was taken from the top of the nose to chin. In the canons the nose was supposed to start from a point in line with eyes. At Kailasanatha temple the nose starts from the brow.

4. COMPUTER METHODS

When statistical techniques and computer facilities were not available it was the practise to rely entirely on visual comparison of figures. Recently in the study of proportions of Greek sculptures computer aided cluster analytic techniques have been made use of (Guralnick 1976). In this study we make use of similar techniques to compare South Indian sculptures.

First the ten facial measurements (Singh, Bhasin 1968) are taken and standardised by dividing throughout by face length. Then the figures are taken two at a time and compared. The dissimilarity between two figures is measured in terms of the Euclidean distance between them. In other words, each figure is imagined as a point in nine-dimensional space (since there are nine measurements for each figure) and the distance between the points calculated. If the distance between two figures is small then the similarity between them is high. This distance function is a common measure used in cluster analysis. On the basis of the distance measure the figures are grouped using a cluster analysis algorithm (Hartigan 1975). We have chosen the single linkage method since it is the simplest. In the single linkage method figures A, B, C will belong to a single group if A and B have a small distance between them and (say) B and C. Even if A and C are not very close they will

belong to the same cluster (but A and C cannot be very much apart). An artist may draw two similar figures A and B and some features of B may be incorporated in the third figure C so that B and C may be very similar. Instead of the single linkage method, one would use other methods of clustering, if necessary. We give here only the main findings of our study. Even though we have given the average values for four different categories of figures (Table 2) a cluster analysis shows that gods, goddesses, chauri-bearers and male worshippers have close resemblance. The figures that are most similar to each other are two human male figures and a *Bikshadana*. One male figure and the *Bikshadana* are on the western end of the southern side opposite to *prakara* shrines no. 22 and no. 23. This close facial similarity would support the theory that the same artist was responsible for both these figures which are in fairly close proximity. Furthermore the similarity with another male

Plate 2. South Indian girl. The facial proportions are quite different from the carving of the Chauri bearer.

TABLE 1
FACIAL PROPORTIONS

No.	Variables	Description
1.	Nose Length	Straight distance between the root of the nose and subnasale.
2.	Nose breadth	Straight distance between the most laterally placed points on the nasal wings (alaria).
3.	Lip Length	Straight distance between the two corners of the mouth (Chelion).
4.	Lip breadth	Straight distance between labrale superior and labrale inferior.
5.	Face breadth	Straight distance between the two tragia.
6.	Eye length	Straight distance between the internal and the external corners of the eye.
7.	Eye breadth	Maximum distance between the eye lids.
8.	Nose to Chin	Straight distance between sub-nasale and chin (gnathion)
9.	Face length	Straight distance between trichion (hair line or crown base) and chin (gnathion).
10.	Morphological Face length	Straight distance between the root of the nose and the chin (gnathion).

TABLE 2

AVERAGE PROPORTIONS IN ANGULAS OF KAILASANATHA FIGURES.
THE FACE LENGTH IS TAKEN TO BE 12 ANGULAS.

Variables	A	B	C	D	Overall average
1. Nose length	5.28	5.30	5.34	5.51	5.37
2. Nose breadth	3.67	3.41	3.72	3.39	3.57
3. Lip length	4.61	4.25	4.44	4.06	4.36
4. Lip breadth	1.79	1.50	1.74	1.78	1.75
5. Face breadth	11.21	10.51	11.19	11.39	11.21
6. Eye length	3.28	3.24	3.46	3.50	3.40
7. Eye breadth	0.76	0.66	0.88	0.76	0.79
8. Nose to chin	3.64	3.53	3.64	3.41	3.56
9. Morphological face length	8.97	8.85	9.00	8.92	8.95
10. Nose/Nose to chin	1.45	1.50	1.47	1.62	1.51
11. Eye In./Eye br.	4.32	4.91	3.93	4.61	4.35
12. No. of carvings	13	3	11	13	40

A: Gods; B: Goddesses; C: Human Males; D. Human Females

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Plate 3. Tripurasundari from Kodumbalur. Early Chola sculpture from Madras Museum. The nose is not unusually long as in Rajasimha's sculpture.

figure which is on the northern side opposite to *prakara* shrine no. 38 would support the theory that the same artist worked on the northern side also. Other evidences make one believe that the same artist was responsible for a large number of figures on the main sanctum walls. The slight differences in facial resemblance between three human figures opposite to shrine no. 22 are brought out. These three figures form a part of single panel and most likely to be the work of a single artist.

When the facial features of Siva of the east-facing Shore Temple are compared with the Kailasanatha figures, there is very close similarity between that figure and that of *Kirata* on the *prakara* shrine no. 16 and other figures. This would support the theory that the artist of the Shore-Temple Sanctum also worked on the sculptures at Kanchipuram. Or one may argue that the craft school or guild had reached such a level of perfection that they produced very similar figures.

In addition to the method of cluster analysis, another method called factor analysis was applied to the analysis of facial proportions of the sculptures of Kailasanatha temple (Siromoney, Bagavandas, Govindaraju, 1979). Factor analysis would reduce the number of variables from nine proportions to a smaller number of variables or factors. Each factor would be a linear combination of the proportions. If the sculptors had strictly adhered to any canon based on the

TABLE 3

AVERAGE PROPORTIONS IN ANGULAS OF KRISHNA MANDAPA FIGURES.
THE FACE LENGTH IS TAKEN TO BE 12 ANGULAS.

Variables	A	B	C	Overall average	Variables	A	B	C	Overall average
1. Nose length	4.56	4.22	4.68	4.04	8. Nose to chin	4.56	4.76	4.41	4.54
2. Nose breadth	3.10	3.24	2.97	3.07	9. Morphological face length	9.32	8.50	8.94	8.93
3. Lip length	3.54	2.11	3.06	2.94	10. Nose/Nose to chin	1.00	0.89	1.06	1.00
4. Lip breadth	1.86	1.43	1.77	1.71	11. Eye In./Eye br	2.34	1.33	2.13	1.98
5. Face breadth	10.02	9.74	10.61	10.25	12. No. of carvings	2	2	4	8
6. Eye length	2.18	2.61	2.58	2.49					
7. Eye breadth	0.93	1.97	1.21	1.33	A: Gods; B: Human Males C: Human Females.				

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talamana system, one would expect to find one major factor in terms of which the other variables can be expressed. This factor would represent the *angula* or a multiple of it as a basic unit used in the sculptures. A computer analysis, however does not reveal any single major factor. In other words there is no evidence to support the theory that the sculptors followed closely a canon of iconometry based on the *angula* or a *tala*.

The unusually straight long noses and long narrow eyes are the main characteristics of the Kailasanatha sculptures. These features are found in the Shore-Temple and at Panamalai. We shall proceed with the assumptions that these are Rajasimha characteristics. These features are not found at Krishna Mandapa of the pre—Rajasimha period and other monuments of Mahabalipuram. These special features are not found at Muktesvara, Mathangesvara and the Vaikuntha Perumal (Srinivasan 1971) temples of Kanchipuram. These temples belong to the period of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the post-Rajasimha period. The Mukundanayanar temple at Mahabalipuram that does not have any inscriptions is likely to belong to the post-Rajasimha period, since the figures on the Somaskanda panel do not exhibit the typical iconometric characteristics of Rajasimha period (Soundararajan 1969). However, some of the sculptures on Airavatesvara temple exhibit typical Rajasimha features and this temple is generally attributed to the Rajasimha period.

We have examined the facial features and found that the proportions are quite different from the canonical prescriptions. Because of the strictures against non-conformity with canonical proportions, *Stapatis* may often redefine the features in such a manner that the proportions may appear to fit in with the canonical prescriptions.

Plate 4. Chauri bearer from Kailasanatha temple Kanchipuram. This beautiful Pallava piece of Rajasimha's period has an unusually long nose. Early eighth century. This is not in accordance with any of the Silpa texts nor with common human anatomical proportions.

We have shown that sculptures of the Kailasanatha temple have peculiar stylized characteristics that are different from features prescribed in canons of iconometry and different from the natural face. Many of the features prescribed in the canons follow the natural human face to some extent. Only when the characteristics of sculptures of a particular period differ clearly from the canonical proportions we conclude that either there were no canons or that the canonical proportions were not strictly adhered to. If there is not much divergence between the canonical proportions and the proportions of a sculpture then one

may conclude that the canons were followed or alternatively that the sculptor was inspired by a particular human face.

We wish to examine more closely whether the Rajasimha characteristics are found in sculptures of the period preceding the Rajasimha period and also during the period following it.

5. SCULPTURES OF PRE AND POST RAJASIMHA PERIOD

The Krishna Mandapa is a well-known rock-cut panel of Mamallapuram. Judging from the costumes and jewellery depicted on the sculptures, it is closer in style to the period of Mahendra of the early part of the seventh century than to the style of Rajasimha. We shall treat Krishna Mandapa as a monument of pre-Rajasimha period. We give the facial measurements taking the face length to be 12 *angulas*. (Table 3).

The average values are quite different from the values of Kailasanathan sculptures. The nose is not unusually long. The ratio between average nose length and average nose-to-chin length is less than one (0.89) for human male figures and just a little over one (1.06) for female figures. The eyes are not long and narrow as in the Kailasanatha sculptures. The eye-length to eye-breadth ratio is 1.33 for the male figures and 2.13 for the female figures. The size of eyes prescribed in the canons is two *angula* long and one *angula* broad. The faces are quite elongated.

In Krishna Mandapa there are some figures of children depicted on the panel. The problem of depicting a child figure was solved by the authors of the canons who proposed that a four-face length proportion should be used for such figures. If the sculptors who created the Krishna Mandapa were aware of the canonical solution they would have used it to depict the standing child figures. Instead we find a standing child figure representing almost in adult proportions but on a smaller scale and shown

as holding the hand of an adult. Its total height is a little over seven times the face length! In this case it is unconvincing to argue that the sculptors knew the canons but did not make use of the knowledge to depict a child with longer face length.

Another panel of the pre-Rajasimha period is the large rock-cut Penance Panel of Mamallapuram. The central yogic figure (commonly identified as Bagiratha or Arjuna) is certainly not made according to canonical proportions. The upper half of the body is much shorter than the lower half. According to the canon both halves must be equal. However the figure looks proportionate because the hands are held above the head. Further more according to the canons, the upper portion of the leg above the knee must be equal to the lower portion of the leg from ankle to knee. In the sculpture, the upper part of the leg is longer than the lower part. If the sculptor was aware of the canonical prescriptions he would have followed the canonical proportions at least for the leg, if not for the whole body.

As we have mentioned earlier, the Rajasimha characteristics are not found in the Pallava Sculptures of the post Rajasimha period. The sculptures of Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Kanchipuram look quite different from the Kailasanatha sculptures. This sudden change of nose length from the Rajasimha period to Nandivarman Pallavamallas period could be attributed to the forcible or free migration of sculptors to the Chalukya country, death or mutilation of the sculptors or some other cause. Some temples in Pattadakkal in Chalukya territory have sculptures with unusually long noses too, and this might support the migration theory. On the other hand, the Pallava ideal of a long nose could have been inspired by the face of a particular Pallava queen who had an unusually long nose and a pretty face, and this later went out of fashion.

The Rajasimha characteristics are also absent in the sculptures of the Early Chola period in

which the nose length is almost equal to nose-to-chin. This tendency of depicting the nose not too long and the eyes not too large continues till around 1000 A.D. When we examine the Chola bronzes of the period following 1000 A.D. We find that the noses are longer than prescribed by the canons and that the eyes are also longer. During the Vijayanagar period the eyes are depicted unnaturally large. They are both long as well as broad. We took measurements of Vishnu figures on the hundred pillared *mandapa* of Varadaraja temple of Kanchipuram built in the sixteenth century. The cannons had been well-established by then. Even here many of the prescriptions of the cannons are not fully made use of. For example, baby Krishna is represented with a head larger than one for adult figures but proportionately not as large as prescribed by the canons. Furthermore canons prescribe that deities must be made in a higher *tala* than human figures. However there are many female figures in that *mandapa* which are represented with proportionately smaller heads than the standing Vishnu figures.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion we have shown that there exist two systems of proportions which have got intermingled in Indian canonical texts. Computer methods are very useful in analysing sculptures and for finding those pieces which resemble each other closely. The sculptures of Rajasimha Pallava were not made according to any of the canonical proportions that have come down to us. The Rajasimha characteristics of facial proportions are not found in the pre-Rajasimha or post-Rajasimha periods. Even during the sixteenth century when canons were well-established the sculptors did not follow closely the canonical prescriptions.

It looks as though the South Indian texts on iconometry were generally treated purely as theoretical exercises in proportions and seldom as practical guides by the sculptor for depicting in detail ideally proportioned figures.

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BUDDHIST ART FORMS AS MASS MEDIA

D.N. VARMA

In the contemporary setting the word mass media conjures before us the vision of a rotary press running at break-neck speed, an array of newspapers and magazines, and of radio and television. The painting and sculpture of ancient India do not fit in with this vision.

Appearances, however, are deceptive. There has been so much emphasis on the aesthetic qualities of early Buddhist art that many scholars fail to take adequate note of its basic purpose, namely, propagation of the Buddhist ideology.

Once we consider the necessity which brought into existence the whole gamut of Buddhist art and give due regard to the difference of outlook between the pre-printing press audience and the later audience, we would realise that in India there has been more in common between pristine painting and sculpture and the modern instruments of mass media than we recognise at first sight. After all, the basic urge of man to communicate with his fellow-beings cannot be restricted to modern times only. Pure art which appears an anachronism in the context of mass communication, and the complex structure of contemporary mass media both have their foundations on the basic urge of man to communicate with his fellow beings.

It may appear surprising but it is a fact that the earliest art of historical times in India was created not for art's sake but solely for the purpose of propagating religious ideas. The Indus Valley script remains undeciphered and that civilization is not considered a civilization of historic times. Vedic literature throws sufficient light on the India of those times but material vestiges of art of Vedic times have not yet been found. The first evidence of art of historic India can be assigned to the couple of centuries before the beginning of the Christian era and it is Buddhist in content.

How did this art come into existence? An enquiry reveals that this early art was preceded by the written word employed for mass communication. The credit for this idea goes to the emperor Asoka the Great. He made use of pillar and rock edicts for propagating his personal views, his views about Buddhism and the moral laws which he expected his subjects to observe.

Asoka had also made use of the spoken word for propagating Buddhism. He had appointed *Dharma Mahamatyas* for addressing individuals, and groups for the purpose of pagating religion. It is obvious that very soon he became aware of the limitations of the spoken word

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and thought in terms of rock and pillar edicts.

The written word, however, had its own limitations, specially in an age when paper and ink were not known. Literacy has never been a strong point of Indians. If the people were really to be informed about the life of Buddha and the commandments of Buddhism, symbols had to be brought into use for the purpose of communication. The artists performed precisely this task and crossed the barriers of diverse languages and scripts. The diversity in the background of the recipients and lack of feedback were of course to be reckoned with, but this difficulty is a part of the character of mass media and has always remained there whatever be the medium. The test of successful mass communication, however, is whether it serves as a person to person contact repeated a thousand times. The early artists achieved success in this endeavour.

The earliest sculptures which were carved for the purpose of communicating religious ideas are to be found in the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut, Sanchi and Peshawar and belong to the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the beginning of Christian era. Cave Nos. 9 and 10 at Ajanta were also painted during this period only, for the same purpose. At Amaravati and Nagarjunkonda the use of sculpture for the propagation of Buddhism was made a couple of centuries later.

What specifically was the message which these early communicators in the service of Buddhism were supposed to communicate to the masses? A perusal of early Buddhist literature clearly reveals that Buddha rarely involved himself with the complexities of philosophy. His teachings had simple ethical content in keeping with the expectations of the majority of his followers who expected simple rules of conduct from him. Buddha prescribed these rules of conduct in his eight-fold path which consisted of: Right Faith, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration. The idea was that those who were to follow these rules of conduct would attain cessation of desire, which would free them from the cycle of birth and death and hence from all sorrow. Buddha prescribed the ten commandments also-not to kill, steal or commit adultery, not to lie, speak ill of others, indulge in fault finding or profane language, to abstain from covetousness and hatred and to avoid ignorance. As a corollary he valued highly the values of self-sacrifice, non-possession, good character and truth.

Indeed there was not much of philosophical abstraction in such a gospel but all the same it was not easy to communicate such injunctions visually. Fortunately for the executors of this task Gautama Buddha himself was an excellent communicator and had invented an excellent device for the communication of these abstract ideals to his followers.

The device consisted of weaving these virtues into the Jataka stories or the stories of the previous births of Buddha. Buddhism, like Hinduism, believed in *karma* and rebirth. The effect of the good or evil acts that we perform in one life, follows us in future lives and also influences the position and states of our lives in future births. An aspirant after spiritual perfection, therefore, continues his efforts for several births till he reaches his aim. The Buddha was never tired of telling his disciples how he himself struggled upwards through many births. Early Buddhist literature records that he was born more than five hundred times and in his last birth gained the supernatural gift of knowing his own past, as also the present and the future. As such he could enlighten his disciples, by recounting the various incidents in his previous lives. Invariably these Jataka stories extolled the virtues which Buddha wanted his disciples to cultivate.

These stories of the previous births of Buddha were current among the people for about three hundred years before the painters of Ajanta and the sculptors of Bharhut and Sanchi
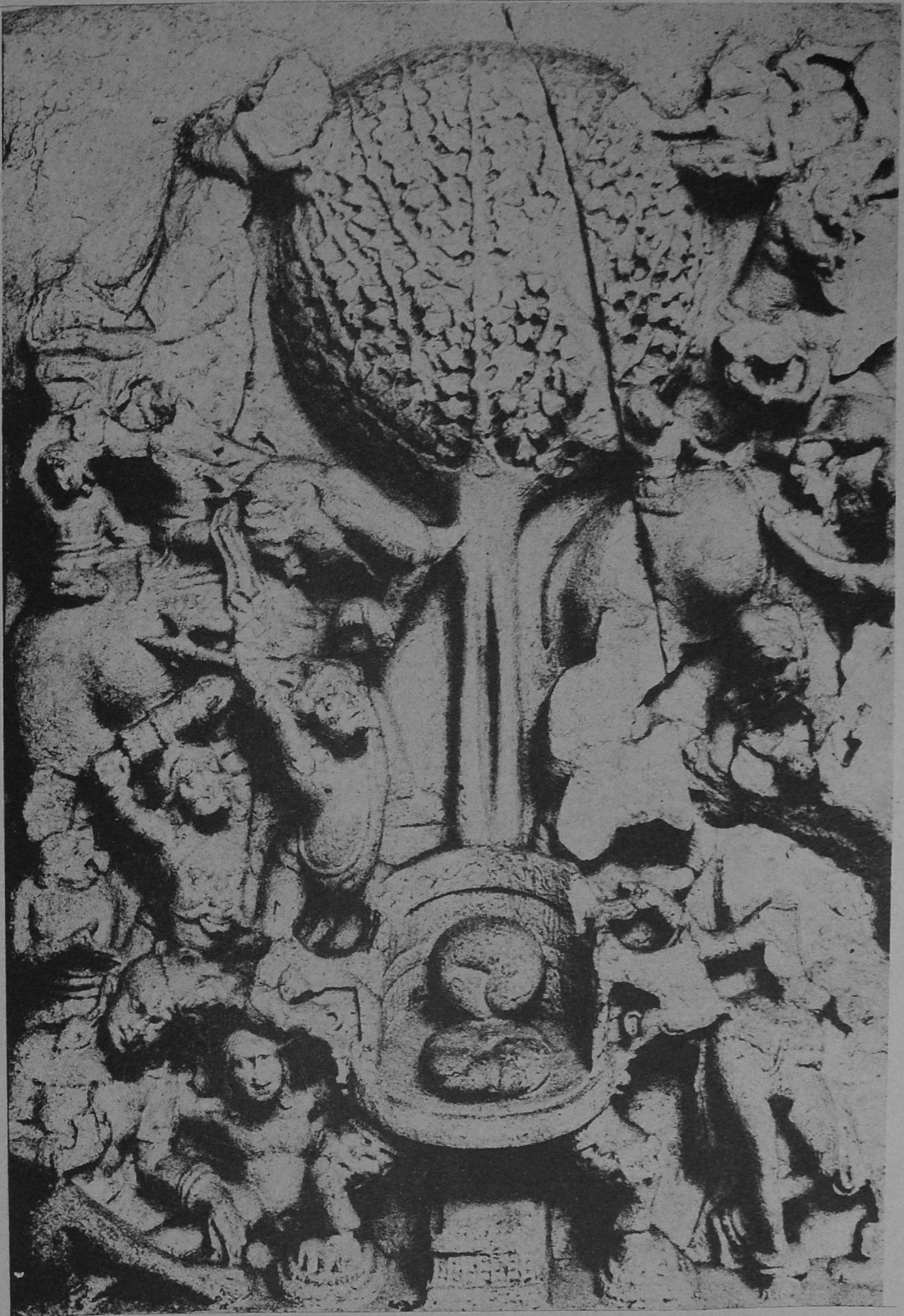
Attack by Mara. Buddha's presence is indicated by the throne under the Bodhi tree and the footprints of the Buddha. Mara's demons are seen brandishing their weapons. The daughters of Mara try in vain to seduce the Buddha to prevent him from attaining enlightenment. Amaravati C. Second century. Marble.

Bas-reliefs of scenes from the Jataka on Buddhist. STUPA Amaravati; Second century.
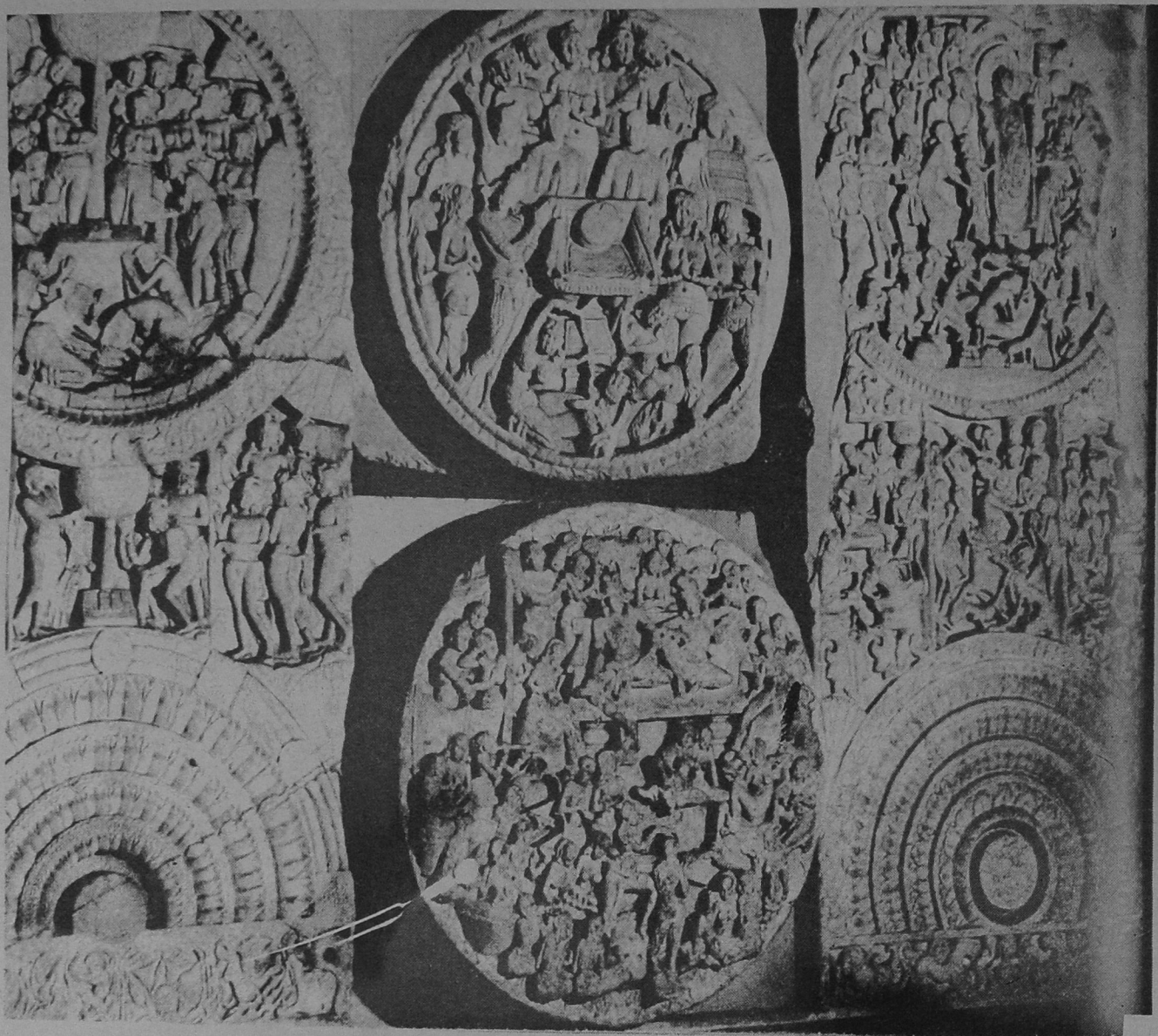
Bas-reliefs of scenes from the Jataka on Buddhist. STUPA Amaravati; Second century.

undertook to give them visual representation. A study of the later Indian didactic poetry shows that the moral narratives, sayings and pious legends of the Jataka tales were treated as common property. These include romances, adventures and narratives, but the Buddhist origin of these tales is always clear, in that the hero is always the Bodhisattva. As such, the Jataka stories must have been fresh in the minds of the people just three hundred years after the death of Buddha when the artists took to this visual representation.

It must be said to the credit of these sculptors and painters that their work has remained an ideal and despair for the later ages. The Ajanta painter was not merely a painter but a communicator who had an excellent grasp over his medium. Not only the individual figures and the group of figures in the Jataka illustrations tell their story but even the tilt of the head, the positioning of the body and the gestures of the hands are eloquent. One has only to see the earlier and later paintings of Ajanta to understand how mere gesturing of hands and the

posture of the body can successfully convey the emotions of love, affection, disgust, cruelty, and tranquillity.

The caves at Ajanta consist of *Caityas* i.e., Buddhist temples and the *Viharas* i.e., the abode of the monks. It is almost certain, however, that these huge structures did not cater to the needs of only the monks. These monuments must have been extremely popular with the common folk as well, the lay devotees who formed the majority of the Buddhist creed. Did the Ajanta communicator believe that he would be able to catch and sustain the attention of this audience with the austere content of his message?

The fact is that the Ajanta communicator knew what would sustain the interest of his audience. He was engaged by austere Buddhist monks but his audience was not all that austere! So he made full use of the feminine form in his illustrations.

Lady at her toilet. Line drawing of an Ajanta painting.

Bodhisattva cutting his own flesh to save a dove. Scene from Jataka carved on a STUPA; Amaravati third to fourth century.

The Ajanta artists had a genius for visualizing woman as an embodiment of beauty and introducing her in their panels in the most imaginative manner. They depicted woman forming rings, like garlands round the princes, embellishing their palace scenes, dominating their street scenes, crowding the windows of their cities and perhaps sometimes for the sheer joy of painting a woman without any religious or literary significance.

They painted women as Apsaras floating in the air, they depicted them as sirens luring the sailors to their doom and as mortals engaged in toilet, repose, sitting, standing and gossipping. They studied woman with the keenest interest and struggled to reproduce every turn of her head, every curve of her form and every glance of her eye. In the matter of hand gesturing few women are as communicative as the woman of Ajanta.

The presentation of the life story of the Buddha in visual form must have been a hard task for the artists. How does one go about representing a person in visual form who has departed from this world some three hundred years back and whose photographs and sculptures are not available? Buddha died in the 5th century B.C and the artists were engaged to communicate his life story in the 2nd century B.C.

The artists had to invent symbols for this purpose and the originality of the symbols they invented is an excellent testimony to their genius in communication. What better symbol than a lotus for indicating the birth or presence of the Buddha? The lotus springs up in a dirty marsh but remains the cleanest conceivable thing. In fact it always remains above the level of the dirty water from which it springs up. The birth of Buddha was, therefore, represented by a lotus. The other important incidents of his life were his great renunciation his enlightenment, his first sermon and his ultimate demise-the *Mahaparinirvana*. The symbol invented for his renunciation was a rider-less horse. His en-

lightenment was depicted either by the Bodhi tree or railings. His first sermon was figuratively referred to as rolling the Wheel of Law, so it was symbolised by a wheel. As *stupas* were erected over the ashes of Buddha after his mortal body was consigned to flames following his death, his *Mahaparinirvana* was symbolised by a *stupa*. All the early Buddhist monuments e.g., at Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodhgaya have only these symbols for communicating the story of Buddha and Buddha does not appear there in the human form.

The communicators themselves, however, were not satisfied by such symbols. They wanted to depict the Buddha in the human form. Perhaps it will come as a shock to those who are not well acquainted with the history of Indian art, that the accepted figure of Buddha is nothing but the conventional form of an ascetic which was evolved six hundred years after his birth.

Once the Buddha came to be represented in the human form his hand gestures could be made to communicate a lot. It may be mentioned here that the language of hand gestures was a highly evolved science in ancient India and Vatsyayana treated it as one of the sixty-four accomplishments to be cultivated by the sophisticated. The language of the *hasta-mudras* was an important feature of the dance and messages thus encoded could be decoded by a large number of people.

One who pays the piper dictates the tune. The interest of the patron came first when the artists started making use of hand gestures in the image of Buddha. The worshipper who financed the sculpture was primarily interested in being assured that he had gained freedom from all sorts of fears. They also wanted boons. Thus thousands of images of Buddha were created with his hands in the *Abhaya-dana-mudra* and the *Varada mudra*.

In the *Abhaya mudra* the hand is slightly raised, the palm faces the onlooker and the fingers

point up. In the *Varada mudra* the hand is slightly bent down, the palm faces the onlooker but the fingers point down. Both the poses are natural gestures, for almost everybody reassures people or gives things to others in the same manner.

In the *Dhyana mudra* the open palm of the left hand is kept in the lap of the Buddha figure sitting cross-legged and the open palm of the right hand is kept over the open palm of the left hand. Sitting cross-legged signifies meditation. This tradition is quite old and a seal of the Indus valley civilization depicts a figure, which is usually taken to be that of Siva Pasupati, sitting in the same pose.

The *Bhumisparsa mudra* has an interesting story behind it. When Siddhartha Gautama was about to attain enlightenment, Mara, the god of the evil, did his best to dissuade him from continuing his meditation. An army of devils tried to frighten him, the charming daughters of Mara tried to lure him and almost every conceivable stratagem was used to divert the prince from his meditation. Finally Mara challenged Siddhartha that he had no right to sit on the seat of meditation as only those who had given up the lust for personal belongings, deserved that honour.

In fact Prince Siddhartha had donated every item of his personal belonging; even his children in his immediate previous birth as Prince Vessantara. Every time he gave anything in *dana*, gift, he had to scatter a little water from his palm to perform the symbolic ceremony of giving a gift. The amount of water scattered in this manner was so great that the entire earth had got wet.

When Mara asked Siddhartha to give up his seat of meditation he touched the earth to appear as witness and testify to his right to the seat. In sculptures the earth is represented as a maiden with a pot of water. This scene is represented at Ajanta in a sculpture in cave No. 26 and in a painting in cave No. 1. However,

all the sculptures which depict Buddha touching the earth do not show the complete scene of Mara's attack on Buddha and the Earth Goddess coming to speak on behalf of Buddha. The figure of Buddha touching the earth was sufficient to communicate the entire story to his devotees in the ancient days.

Finally Siddhartha became the enlightened one; the Buddha. A specific *hasta mudra* depicts this idea also. It is called the *Gyana mudra* and in this pose the second finger touches the thumb and the palm is turned towards the body of Buddha near the heart.

The act of preaching in sculptures is communicated through the *Vyakhyana, Chin* or *Vitarka mudra*. In this gesture the index finger of the left hand touches the thumb and the palm faces the onlooker.

Buddha after attaining enlightenment was for some time not sure whether he should keep his knowledge to himself or preach to others also. Finally he decided to communicate his views to others. In Buddhist parlance this is known as turning the Wheel of Law.

The depiction of the turning of the Wheel of Law, remained a problem for the sculptor for quite sometime. In fact, it is an abstract concept which expresses Buddha's decision to propagate an altogether new religion based on his own philosphy. In early Gandhara sculptures, the figure of speech of turning the Wheel of Law was actually translated in stone and Buddha is shown with his hand on a wheel in quite a few sculptures. Such sculptures can be seen in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

However, the sculptors were not satisfied with this solution. The solution, when it came, was extremely simple. Buddha could start a religion only by the combination of enlightenment and preaching. So, the two mudras of *Dhyana* and *Vitarka* were joined together to depict the *Dharma Chakra Pravartana Mudra*. In this gesture, the right hand is shown in the preaching

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gesture and the left hand in the *Gyana mudra*. A finger of left hand touches the right hand. (See illustration on page.10) After the initial uncertainty in the Gandhara sculptures, this became the accepted mode of depicting the turning of the Wheel of Law.

Abhaya, *Varada* and *Vitarka* mudras were used to communicate certain incidents in the life of Buddha as well. In mediaeval sculptures, we quite often find smaller secondary carving round the main figure of Buddha in one of the five gestures described above. These carvings depict some major incidents of his life e.g., his birth, his going out for penance, the attainment of enlightenment, the preaching and the sub-jugation of the mad elephant Nalagiri, his going to heaven to preach to his dead mother, his descent from heaven at Sankissa and his death, the *Mahaparinirvana*.

The *Abhayamudra* is used to depict his subjug-ation of the mad elephant Nalagiri which was set loose after him by his enemies. The *Vitarka mudra* represents his sermon to his mother who was in her heavenly abode. The *Varada mudra* signifies his descent from heaven after preach-ing to his mother at Sankissa in Uttara Pradesh.

It becomes obvious therefore that the quiet stone images of Buddha are in fact quite eloquent if one knows their code language. They unfold the entire career of Buddha to his devotees. The representation of the Jataka stories in stone, in and around the Buddhist monuments and in colour on the walls of the *Caityas* and the *Viharas* was nothing short of the application of the mass media for com-municating the essence of Buddhism to the followers of the creed.

It is obvious that the audience was not limited to the monks and the lay followers of the creed. The richest Buddhist monuments are situated on the ancient highways which ran from the North of India to the South. Their positioning on the highways is itself an indi-

cation that they also served as modern hoardings.

One wonders whether with all its effective communication the frequent perusal of Buddhist art could have converted a non-Buddhist to the Buddhist faith. In this context one has to remember that no recorded survey of the effectiveness of visual communication is available to the modern researcher. However, one can draw conclusions. Even today the remains of Buddhist monuments outnumber other monuments and the accounts of con-temporary Chinese pilgrims in the heyday of Buddhism in India reveal that such monuments could be seen every few miles throughout the length and breadth of the country. This hectic activity in art and architecture could not have taken place had it not yielded results.

In any case there can hardly be any doubt that a tasteful visual representation of Buddhist ideology would have aided the monks in their proselytising and missionary activities. An in-scription of the first quarter of the fifth century in Cave No. 26 at Ajanta lends support to this view. The author of this inscription Bhikshu Buddhabhadra is highly critical of the short-comings of Hindu gods and extols the Buddhist gods.

In this context the sculptural representation of the Buddhist litany on the ancient highways also forms an interesting study. Such sculp-tures show the Buddhist god Avalokitesvara protecting the faithful from the hazards of travel, like thieves and bandits, snakes and wild animals, fire and drowning. Such sculptures are nothing short of the modern advertisement.

It is not only Buddhism which has made use of art for religious purposes. Other religions in other parts of the world have also employed art sometime or the other for the furtherance of their message. However, the way Buddhism used art for mass communication in early India is rather unique.

IMPACT OF VAISHNAVA BHAKTI ON INDIAN MUSIC

B. CHAITANYA DEVA

An early movement which had a lasting influence in moulding Indian music was the Vaishnavaite *bhakti* movement in India. The principal figures behind the Vaishnava movement were the *Alwar-s*. Starting with Poygai (5th Cent.) there is a galactical stream of them with Tirumalisai, Tirumangai, Periyalvar, Andal (the poetess) and Nammalvar. These luminaries poured forth beautiful hymns addressed to Vishnu or his incarnations and the Vaishnava cannons were gathered into an anthology by Nathamuni (10th-11th Cent.) into the *Nalayara divya prabandham*, (the Four Thousand Sacred Hymns).

All these and many more find place in the musical culture of Tamil Nadu. They have become an integral part of the religious festivals, ritualistic worship and domestic life. Much of this psalmody is recitative and musically simple. They have a prosodic structure without a recognizeable *raga;* that is, they are recited to a metric mould-what is called the *cchandam* or *nadai*.

Similarly in the Telugu country there were the Tallapakkam family of singers and later on, Bhadrachala Ramadas (17th century) whose simple folk style music was one of the main forces sustaining devotional singing in Andhra. Whereas the songs of Annamacharya his son and grandson have gone into oblivion, those of Ramadas are still alive on the lips of even beggars and mendicants seeking alms. Ksetrayya and his love songs addressed to *Muvva* Gopala can be classed only with the *Gita Govinda*.

Kannada language is rich in such devotional songs. The worthiest treasures from this area are the *padas* or *devarnamas* of the *dasas*. These were a set of religious singers with no wordly possessions, belonging to the Madhva faith who wandered, singing of adoration, social injustice and true worship.

One such *dasa* (servant of God) was Purandara, (15th Cent.), a great *bhakta* and musician. He was also an eminent scholar in the grammar of music, and is said to have

A student of the Theosophical High School, Adyar and also Rishi Valley, Dr. B.C. Deva pursued his studies in the Universities of Madras, Benaras and Poona. He was awarded a Ph.D. by the University of Poona for his work in the psycho-acoustics of speech. A summary of his dissertation was published by the University of Berlin. The Akhil Bharatiya Ghandarva Mahavidyalaya Mandal honoured him with its first Doctorate in Musicology (Sangeet Acharya) for his pioneering work on the tonal structure of the 'tambura'. In addition to having specialised in the psychophysics of Indian Music, and in musical instruments he has also studied ethnomusicology. He had his practical music training in Shantiniketan (Rabindra Sangeet) and under Pandit V.N. Patwardhan, Ustad Amanali Khan and Pandit Kesavbua Ingale (North Indian Classical.)
Dr. Chaitanya Deva is at present on the staff of Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi. He is a regular contributor to the Kalakshetra Quarterly. His article entitled "Problems of Music Education" has already appeared in the Quarterly.

standardized the Karnatak music scale for teaching. He is said to be the author of *Janta varisai* (scales with paired notes), *Saralivarisai* (scale exercise), *Pillari gita* (elementary songs for practice) and so on. Hence Purandara is known as the *Adi guru* (the first *guru)* and *Karnataka Sangita Pitamaha* (Father of Karnatak music). His has been one of the most enduring influences in Karnatak music for, it is from him that even Tyagaraja draws inspiration for his text and music.

Abhanga-s are the typical devotional songs of Maharashtra. Short and crisp, they are suited to both solo and group singing. The songs of Namadev (14th Cent.), Tukaram (17th Cent.), Eknath (16th Cent.), Muktabai (13th Cent.), and such mystics have given us *abhanga*-s of invaluable beauty, treasured to this day.

Throughout the north the *bhajan:* (singing the praises of the Lord) is popular. This again is sung singly or in congregations called the *samaj.* Narsi Mehta of Gujarat (15th Cent.), Mira the Princess of Mevad (16th Cent.), Kabir (15th Cent.). Tulsidas (16th Cent.), Vidyapati and a number of others have given us excellent *bhajans*. The difficulty, however, is that in most cases we know only the words of these songs to be authentic but not the music, except in cases like the Haveli music (of Gujarat and contiguous areas) which is sung more or less in the *dhrupad* style. In the temple music of, for instance, Brindavan we have some known tradition and grammar.

A landmark in the music of North India, are the songs of devotion by the eight poets called collectively the *Asthaccaap* or the *Astha Sakha.* The origin of this group of devout poet-singers is to be traced to Sri Vallabhacharya (16th Cent.), a central figure in the bhakti movement. Kumbhandas, Surdas, Paramanandadas and Krishnadas were four of his disciples. Goswami Vitthalnath, the son of Vallabhacharya, brought together these four and his own disciples, Govindaswami, Ccheetsvami, Caturbhujadas. and Nandadas, to form the 'Eight friends' (17th

Cent.). The purpose was to establish a coherent 'congregation' of bhakti poets and musicians to sing of the life and glories of Lord Krishna; this *Asthacchap* seems to have taken shape between 1602 and 1608 A.D. Of the eight, Surdas, Paramanandadas and Govindaswami were also musicians of a very high calibre. The songs of these and others in Hindi and its dialects are today sung as *dhrupads* and *bhajans* around Mathura in a more or less traditional form.

The *kirtan*-literally meaning to sing the praises of-is a typically Vaishnavite congregational singing of Bengal. Starting with the *kirtans* of Chaitanya Deva (1485-1533) it blossomed out into many varieties. There are in general four main types of this kind of music. The Garanhati and the Padavali styles, which have an *alap* and are highly influenced by classical music, were introduced by Narottam Thakoor at the end of the 16th century. The *Manahara sahi* incorporates the qualities of Chaitanya's and Narottam's *kirtan*. There is also *Reneti* and the *Mandarini*. Besides, these *Jarkhadi* and *Dhap kirtans* are popular too.

It is believed *kirtan* singing developed out of the early chants of Buddhists. It seems to have been influenced also by the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva. It is, therefore, possible that the *kirtan* got some of its grammar, at least, from the *prabandha;* for both its melodic and rhythmic structures are highly codified. In due course the *Krishna kirtan* was developed under the inspiring guidance of Chandidas and Vidyapati. The type introduced by Chaitanya is however, generally called *Nama kirtan* (singing of the Name). But when the song describes the *lila* (sport) of Lord Krishna, it commonly goes by the name *Lila kirtan.*

The development of *bhakti* music in Assam was principally due to the towering personality of Sri Sankaradeva (1449-1568 A.D.). Many monasteries, *(sattra)* were established and the music sung therein came to be called *sattriya* music. Sankaradeva and his disciple,

Madhvadeva, have given us many types of songs. The *Bargit*, the *Ankiya* git, the *Nama ghosha*, the *Kirtana*, the *Bhatima* and so on. All these are Vaisnavite in spirit but differ in textual content and musical form.

The *kirtan* in Orissa is essentially a branch of the type established by Chaitanya Deva. It was popularised there by his disciples Ray Ramananda, Murari Gupta and Svarupa Damodara.

The crowning jewel among these poet-musicians was Jayadeva (12th-13th Century). Some say he was born in Kendubilva in Bengal. While others contend that he was from Bindubilva in Orissa. Jayadeva was a mystic poet with little attachment to wordly life, though he was married and was even the court-poet of Raja Lakshmana Sena. He was the author of the celebrated *Gita-Govinda*, a musical work describing the love-play of Lord Krishna. It is an allegorical opera with twenty four *Ashtapadis* and connecting verses (*slokas*). The *Ashtapadi*, as its name implies, has eight (*ashta*) sections of feet (*pada*). Each of these songs has been given a *raga* and a *tala* and, perhaps, this is the first work wherein both these are mentioned. Unfortunately, we do not have an inkling of the original rendition. Nevertheless, its influence in the country has been far and wide. While the text is common all over the country, the music is regional.

The *Gita Govinda* has been a unique phenomenon in Indian music. True, the musical values of Tyagaraja's or Rabindranath Tagore's songs are not inferior. Nor is the literary beauty of the Tamil hymns or the religious fervour of Tukaram of Maharashtra less powerful. But because they were all in regional languages, they did not cross over linguistic barriers. But Jayadeva's opera was in Sanskrit, the language of the learned everywhere in the country those days. The simplicity of its literary structure and the easy flow of its prosody made it amenable to any style of music. The beauty of expression in the *Gita Govinda* made it also a favourite of

dancers and painters. Thus it is that Jayadeva's work found an appreciation, bordering on veneration, throughout the land.

In essence *bhakti* of whatever faith is the adoration by the individual soul of the Godhead. This sublime devotion is expressed in the garb of human relationship and sentiment-even the frailties. The relationship is that of a friend (Arjuna and Krishna), of the servant and master (Hanuman and Rama) and so on. But the most powerful amongst these relationships which takes hold of the *bhakta's* imagination is that of the lover and the beloved. This is often called the *madhura bhakti*. *Madhura bhakti* finds a prominent place in *bhajan-s*, *padam-s*, *javali-s*, *dhrupad-s*, *kheyal-s* and *thumri-s*, though in the latter two it is very often banal, bordering on the vulgar.

However the *dhrupad-s* of Swami Haridas are epitomes of *madhura bhakti*. The Swami lived sometime at the end of the fifteenth century. Even at a very young age he became a *sanyasi* (a recluse) belonging to the *yogic* lineage of the Andhra philosopher saint, Nimbarka. His songs are abundant with *bhakti* or adoration and stem from a state of *rasa*, a word difficult to translate. In common parlance it can be "taste." It can also be "essence." But in aesthetics, it means more. It is not mere experiencing or being in a state of emotion. It is a condition of 'observation' of one's involvement. In mystic experience this non-attached 'observation' is even more sensitive and creative. It is this state which is called *rasa:* a condition of blissful 'looking.' Haridas evoked this *rasa* as he sang of *kunj bihari* (one who wanders amongst bowers), the Lord of Brindavan.

These various tributaries of Vaishnavite *bhakti* have flooded the entire art field of India, just as much as the Saivite movement and other religious experiences which have enriched the culture of our country.

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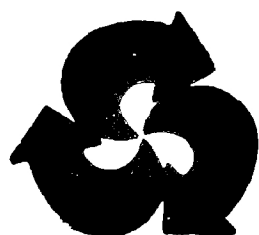
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RAMAYANA, THE EPIC OF ASIA

LOKESH CHANDRA

Born as a primaeval poem, the *adikavya* in Valmiki's metrical measure welling forth in all spontaneity at the grievous sight of the death of a love-lorn avian couple shot by a hunter, the Ramayana has become the lyric of the men of Asia from Siberia to Indonesia.

A literary oeuvre of sweeping majesty, it has gathered a certain momentum of its own, manifesting itself in the narrative arts of recitation by story-tellers, in declamations (like the *babahasaan* in Indonesia), in the Performing Arts of classical ballet, theatre and shadow-play, or featured in the Plastic Arts of stone-sculptures, wood-carvings, and paintings; and lastly flourishing in creative writing in prose and poetry. It has been a force, a movement, to translate social patterns, eternity of ideals and to explore realities of human existence, and to bring about better means of integrating *Homo ludens* and *Homo sapiens*, transcending all barriers to enlarge and intensify cultural understanding in our part of the world.

As early as A.D. 251 we find K'ang-seng-hui rendering Jataka form of the Ramayana into Chinese, and in A.D. 472 appeared another Chinese translation of the nidana of Dasaratha from a lost Sanskrit text by Kekaya. A long tradition in narrative and dramatic form created the great episodic cycle of the 16th century classic Chinese novel known as "Monkey" or the Hsi-yu-chi which amalgamated among other elements the extensive travels of Hanuman in quest of Sita. This motif enriched popular culture and folklore and also contributed to the development of Chinese secular literature.

In the sixth century the Sinhalese poet-king Kumaradasa, identified with Kumaradhatusena (who reigned during A.D. 517-526) composed the Janakiharana, the earliest Sanskrit work of Ceylon. Its verbatim Sinhalese paraphrase was done in the 12th century by an anonymous writer. It has been eulogised in several Sinhalese works. In our times, the Sinhalese translation of the Ramayana by C. Don Bastean has been a decisive influence on the Sinhalese novel. Modern dramatists like John de Silva, an outstanding playwright, have adapted the Ramayana. The popular appeal in Ceylon has been the ideal of the Ramayana in general, and the virtues of Sita in particular which have ever been extolled, as in Indonesia.

In seventh century Cambodia, Khmer citations attest that the Ramayana had become a major
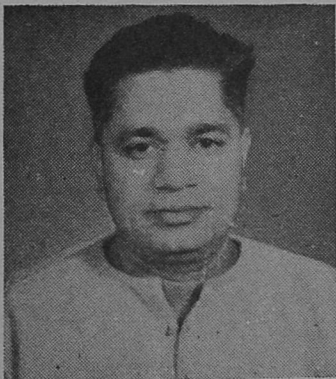
The son of Prof. (Dr.) Raghu Vira who contributed in no mean way to the general understanding of Asian culture and to India's linguistic development, Dr. Lokesh Chandra is a scholar and a linguist. His deep knowledge of several Indian languages, classical languages (Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Old Persian) and also Chinese and Japanese has enabled him to publish a number of rare dictionaries. An authority on Buddhism and Lamaism, he has brought out scholarly works on Tibetan art, culture and religion and also studies on the use of Sanskrit *bijas* and *mantras* in Japan, and the Sanskrit texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking.

Dr. Lokesh Chandra is the Honorary Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture. He has been a regular contributor to the Kalakshetra Quarterly from the beginning. Two of his articles have appeared so far. They are "India and Japan—a cultural symphony" and "Narrative art of Tibet."

and favourite Epic. Its episodes symbolised great historic events in sculptured monuments That the Khmers had been impregnated with the Ramayana is evident from the fact that a name or a scene was sufficient to characterise a historic episode or to endow a socio-ethical problem with moral authority and special emotion The depiction of the victorious exploits of Jayavarman VII against the Chams, on the exterior gallery of the Bayon, often follow the plot of the Ramayana, and the Khmer king was a new Rama to crush the king of Chams. Since Jayavarman VII, the Ramayana became an integral part of Khmer life, played at feasts, figured on frescos, and told by story-tellers. It is in fact the loveliest poetic expression of the soul of the Khmer people. A fact that merits particular attention is that the text followed at Angkor is closer to that of Java than that of Valmiki.

In the ninth century (according to the inscriptional evidence as interpreted by De Casparis) the Ramayana was sculpted on Prambanan's Chandi Loro Jongrang, the Temple of the Slender Maiden. These differ from the classical Indonesian epic Ramayana Kakawin, which means that the Ramayana was prevalent in Indonesia in several versions. The Ramayana reliefs at Panataran display the predominance of local style. The entire story is not shown but only those scenes in which Hanuman and his simian army play a role. It points to the crystallisation of particular Ramayana scenes as prominent among the repertoire of the performing arts.

About the end of the ninth century we even find an East Iranian version of the Ramayana in Khotanese, an Iranian dialect prevalent in Khotan in Central Asia.

Since the 18th century the Ramayana became a dominant element in the Performing Arts of countries of South East Asia. In Laos, Phra Chao Anurut (King Aniruddha) constructed the Vat Mai (New Pagoda) Pagoda' over the Vat Si Phum. On its pylon are carved episodes

from the epic. Of about the same period is the Vat Pa Ke with the most complete paintings of the Ramayana in Laos. Needless to mention, that the Ramayana plays a premier role in the Laos ballet. The *Natya Sala* or Ballet School at Vientianne teaches it regularly with its appropriate music and dance. When princess Dala (Tara), daughter of King Savang Vatthana was married, the Ramayana was danced in full regalia and splendour at Luang Prabang. The King of Laos composed a new Ramayana in the Laotian language with an elaborate choreography. A complete manuscript of the Laotian Ramayana exists in 40 bundles of 20 leaves each at Vat Pra Keo, and another manuscript at Vat Sisaket. Mr. P.B. Lafontont has published summaries of the P'a Lak P'a Lam (dear Laksmana and dear Rama) and the other version entitled P'ommachak (Sanskrit-Brahmachakra).

The Ramakien or Ramakirti is known to Thai choreography as masked play or Khon, as the Nang or shadow-play and as literary compositions emanating from the Thai monarchs themselves. The only complete version is of King Rama I, and the most representable on the stage is that of Rama II. The Silpakon or Royal Fine Arts Department, Bangkok adapts these versions to suit the occasion or the performers, but the sung portions follow the aforesaid two versions. The version of King Rama VI is the best known, and for it the King used the classical Ramayana of Valmiki as authority. Thai scholars, like Prince Dhaninivat, derive their Ramakien "from the Indonesian version no doubt prevailing in the epoch of the Srivijaya Empire." The Nang or shadow-play with "hide-figures" is mentioned in the Palatine Law of King Boromatrailokanath enacted in 1458. The Nang reached the valley of Menam Chaophya via the Malay Peninsula from Indonesia.

The Malaysian Hikayat Seri Rama (A.D. 1400-1500) has been a basis for the repertoire of Malay shadow-plays: the Wayang Siam and Wayang Java. Inspite of the marked toponymic

The war between Rama and Ravana in the Burmese theatre.

Maya Sita and Ravana in the Burmese theatre.

nomenclature both have assumed distinct Malay forms. The similarity of technique indicates its Indonesian origin, which is conclusively proved by the use of Indonesian technical terms like *kelir*, *panggung*, *wayang* and *dalang*. The popularity of the Rama saga in Malaysia is attested by a variety of local literary versions. The Malaysian *dalang* may perform two to three hundred shows an year, but they are not mere entertainment. The performances are preceded by a ritual, offerings are made and invocations directed to ensure harmony. It is an urge, an *angin (prana)* to perform; a "susceptibility to be moved greatly by the rhythm of the orchestra and a capability of identifying oneself completely with the characters of the drama, causing one to experience intense emotions. If an individual does not continue his *angin* he may lapse into a trance, a state of autohypnosis." (Prof. Amin Sweeney, London).

Burma too has known the Ramayana since the early centuries of the modern era. King Kyanzittha (A.D. 1084-1112) styled himself a descendant of Rama. But, the performance of the Yama-pwe (Yama = Rama) was introduced into Burma in 1767 from Thailand after the Burmese conquest of Thailand. The performance of the Yama-pwe used to continue upto twentyone nights, but these days it is a series of performances extending upto twelve nights.

The story of Rama spread into the northernmost lands of Asia, via Tibet where it is found in two versions in manuscripts of the 7-9th centuries from the grottoes of Tun-huang, in an early 15th century poetical version of Zhang-zhung-pa Chowang-drakpaipal, in the now-lost translation of Taranatha, and in several versions scattered in commentaries on works on poetics and didactics, like the Kavyadarsa and Subhasita-ratna-nidhi. From Tibet, the Ramayana reached Mongolia and thence spread far to the West, to the banks of the Volga. A folk version in Kalmuk language from the banks of the Volga, is known from the manuscript of Prof. C.F. Golstunsky, now preserved at the Siberian Branch of the Academy

Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the forest. Sculptured relief at the Yogyakarta airport, Indonesia.
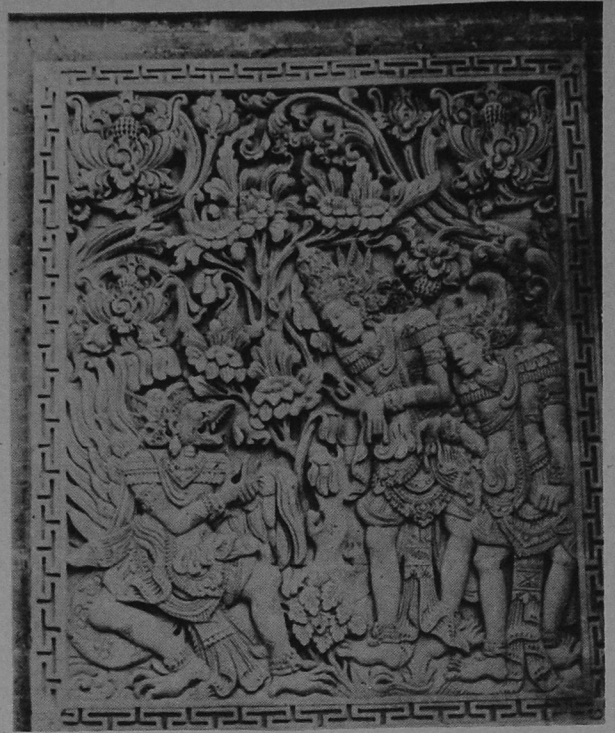
Rama and Lakshmana are shown the way by Jatayu. Sculptured relief at Denpasar, Bali.

Rama and Lakshmana: Sculptured relief at the Yogyakarta airport.

In the continuity of the cultural space of Nepal, coterminous with its depth and beauty, is the Ramayana effecting all its dimensions, both individual and collective. Nepal has the glory of preserving the oldest manuscript of the Ramayana of Valmiki dating to A.D. 1075. The legend of Rama has ever found echoes at all levels of existence and consciousness, and it is but natural that the highest expression of modern Nepalese poetry should be Bhanubhakta Acharya's Ramayana in Nepalese verse, written around A.D. 1840.

In the Philippines are repeated resonances of the epic of Rama. In 1968 Prof. Juan R. Francisco discovered among the Muslim Maranaw a miniature version of the Ramayana as an *avatara* of the remote literature of pre-Islamic Philippines. Among other Muslim tribes of the Philippines like the Magindanao and the Sulu too, folk recitations of this great epic survive in diluted versions.

of Sciences of the USSR. Prof. Damdin-Suren of Ulanbator (Mongolia) is working on the Mongolian Ramayana in its literary and folk forms, in manuscripts preserved at Leningrad (USSR).

In this century when we have replaced political colonial orders, our rhythms seek a new *forma mentis*. Let us be pilgrim beings in ideas, walking together in the shadow of common aims.

32

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THE COURT DANCES OF CENTRAL JAVA

CLARA BRAKEL

Dancing has played an important role at the courts of Java throughout the centuries, as is evidenced by descriptions in various manuscripts of dances being performed at the court. We find, for example, in the 14th C. A.D. *Nagarakertagama* a description of King Hayam Wuruk playing the leading role in a (masked) dance drama. Later, at the Central Javanese courts, the ruler did not usually dance himself, but was often a great enthusiast for the art, staging numerous and splendid performances. Many inhabitants of the royal palace, the *kraton*, practised dancing; whilst a number of girls were trained regularly for the performance of sacred women's dances, many soldiers learned dancing too. Of these, the *Panyutro* corps, armed with bow and arrow and serving as the ruler's personal bodyguard, were especially well known dancers. Moreover talented artists from outside the court were often invited to perform in the *kraton*.

The dances were performed in front of the ruler in an open pavilion, called *Pendopo*, on a smooth square dance floor. This pavilion served as a reception hall too, and had four main pillars. These pillars were placed in line with the front doors of the *dalem*, the central room of the palace. On the wall behind this room was the ceremonial bed of Dewi Sri, so ultimately the dancers were facing this bed.

Because of the presence of the ruler, the dances were subject to court ceremonial and rules of behaviour, such as entering the dance floor in a prescribed way (the warriors would crouch as a sign of submission), and saluting the king with the devotional greeting called *sembah*.

1. Women's dances.

Bedaya is a most sacred dance, performed by nine girls of noble birth. If occasionally the dance is performed outside the *kraton*, there are only seven dancers. Its movements are extremely slow and refined, creating a dreamlike impression. There are some differences in movement and floor patterns, as well as costume, between the Surakarta and the Jogyakarta style of Bedaya dance. To cite but one, and basic, difference; in Surakarta the dance consists of abstract, non-symbolic dance movements, that do not bear any reference to the text of the accompanying songs. This text is usually not even known to the dancers. In Jogyakarta the dance is divided into two separate parts; the first part is the most sacred and uses only abstract movements; however, the floor patterns have a symbolic meaning. The second part of the dance relates in its floor patterns to the story contained in the accompanying songs (taken from Mahabharata, Panji

Mrs. Clara Brakel-Papenhuijzen, a graduate from London University is a specialist in Indian and Indonesian languages and culture. In addition, she has been trained in several types of traditional Indian and Indonesian dance forms such as Bharata Natyam, Kathak, Yakshagana and the Javanese Court dance. The Indonesian Government provided her with a grant which enabled her to learn traditional dance and music in the country for one year. She has given many performances, lecture demonstrations and seminars in the Netherlands, Australia, India, Indonesia and the U.S.A. At present, she is training a number of dance and drama groups in the Hague and Utrecht, Netherlands.

or Menak, or referring to a specific historical event).

The most sacred *Bedaya* dance is the *Bedaya Ketawang*, which is a ritual solo dance performed on the coronation day of the ruler. Its purpose is to enact the meeting of the great Ruler—Sultan Agung—embodied in the present ruler, with "Loro Kidul," Queen of the Southern Ocean and of the evil spirits (earthquakes often originate from the sea!). The Queen is thought to be present during the performance, but can only be perceived by the ruler. The dancers are the Queen's attendants. This transformation can only take place in girls who are unmarried as well as physically clean. In the ritual the ruler is reunited with his Beloved, confirming his control over the invisible world she rules.

The Jogyanese equivalent to this dance, the *Bedaya Semang*, has not been performed for about fifty years. Therefore, all we can say about this dance is, that its subject matter is the same as that of the *Bedaya Ketawang*. The *Bedaya* dances are usually called after the musical composition to which they have been choreographed. This composition in its turn is usually named after the metre of the accompanying text, e.g. *Bedaya Pangkur* is danced to *Gending Pangkur*, of which *Pangkur* indicates the name of a Javanese verse form.

Srimpi is a dance performed by four girls of noble birth. The movements performed by the dancers are not different from those of the *Bedaya* dances, but the dance makes a slightly more lively impression due to a greater variety in floor patterns. The four dancers start off and finish in a square formation, which is the most

Fig. 1. *Bedaya Wiwaha Sangaskara:*
    Bedaya dance especially performed at weddings.

Fig. 2. *Bedaya:*
    A fight with a *Kris* as weapon.

Fig. 3. *The Bedaya* danced by nine girls at an official display.
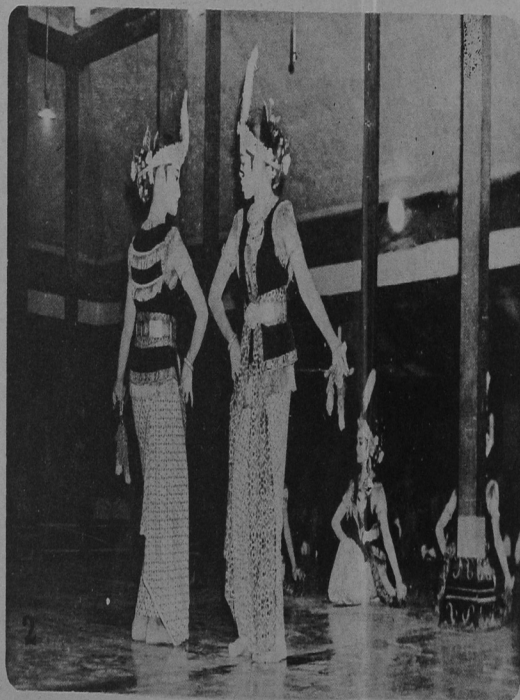
basic floor pattern of the dance. The choreography shows great symmetry. Whereas the dance movements are abstract, the second part of the dance may contain some very stylised combat movements, or the drinking from a glass...possibly a recent innovation. The girls selected for the dance are equal in height and technical perfection, creating an impression of uniformity.

2. Warrior's dances.

Wireng or *Beksan* is a general term for warrior's dances performed by an even number of men, who stage a stylised combat with or without weapons. The choreography of these dances is in accordance with strict rules and completely symmetric, so that the two (groups of) dancers mirror each others movements. The dance starts and finishes at the same point: in the back of the dance area, saluting the ruler. From here the dancers advance/retreat along a straight line, as do all the following dance patterns, so that the audience seated all around on the four sides of the *pendopo* observe the dancers either from the front, back or side. This creates an impression similar to the movements of shadow puppets. The outcome of the battle is left undecided, so that the whole has the character of an exercise for princes and soldiers.

3. Dance Drama

Several types of dance drama have been popular at the courts at various times.

Wayang Topeng, or masked dances, are reported by Pigeaud to have been popular at the Surakarta court in the 18th C. It may well have been "imported" there from the Cirebon area,
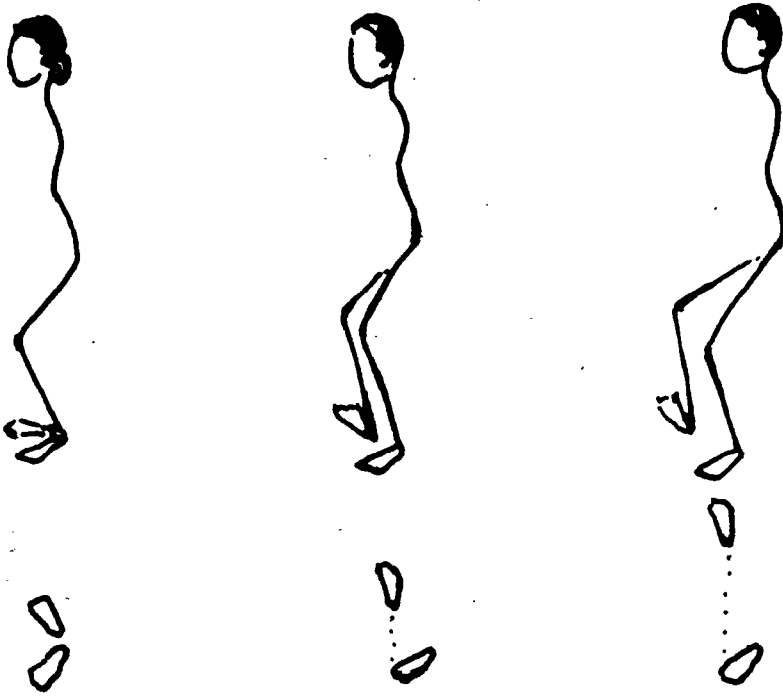
A more elaborate type of *Beksan*, called *Beksan Trunajaya*, or, less officially, *Beksan Lawung*, was developed at the Jogyanese court and is attributed to the first Sultan. The main part of the dance stages a combat with *lawung* (long lances), preceded by an elaborate introduction, in which the commanders encourage their soldiers. Originally the dance was performed by soldiers of the *Panyutro* corps during important ceremonies like the wedding of the Sultan's daughters. If the groom was of lower status than the royal bride, these soldiers would represent the Sultan and ride on horseback with open umbrella to the *kepatihan*, the residence of the vice-regent, where the reception took place. Here they would dance to the accompaniment of a special *gamelan*. On such an occasion the total number of dancers was forty, but the dance is often staged in a less elaborate fashion, featuring mainly the combat with lances.

Fig. 4. Illustration showing difference in the position of the feet for a) feminine b) refined male and c) strong male types. Below this is shown the kneeling positions for feminine and masculine types.

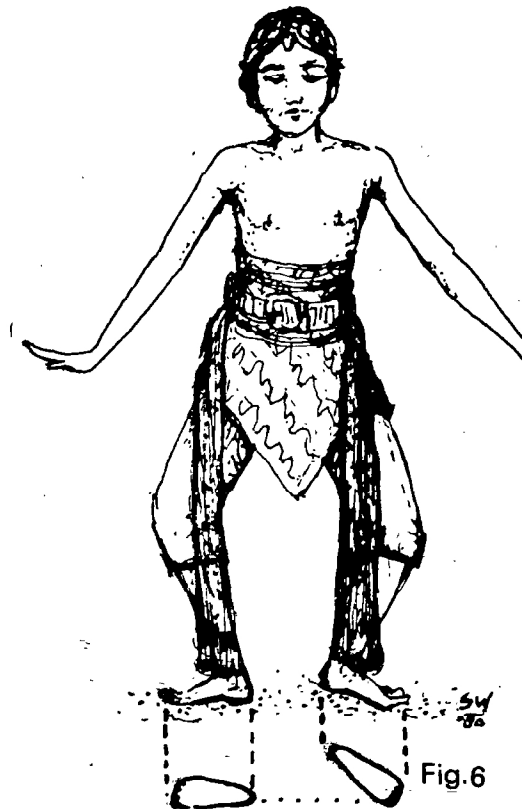Figs. 5 & 6 Illustration to show the difference in basic walking steps for 5) feminine types and 6) refined male types.

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where it is still a very popular art form. In its most basic form, *Wayang Topeng* consists of a number of rather loosely connected solo dances, in which the dancer uses the type of movement that is characteristic for the mask he is wearing. One of these dances, the *Klana Gandrung* dance, has retained its popularity in solo up to the present day. It portrays the passionate love of Klana, the adversary of Panji, for the princess of a kingdom. His imagination is so strong that he actually sees her in front of him, but when he reaches out for her, he realises she is not there. The colour of the mask is of an appropriate deep red, the eyes are round and the nose is protruding. This characterises him as a strong male type, and the dancer's movements are accordingly energetic. During the 19th C this dance form fell into decline, but recently masked dances seem to be regaining some of their popularity.

Wayang Wong, an imitation by dancers of *Wayang Kulit* (shadow puppet plays), originates from the Mangkunegaran court in the middle of the 18th C. The term itself occurs in various old texts such as the *"Hikayat Banjar."* As an art form it was not very popular at the Surakarta court, but at the court in Jogyakarta very elaborate *Wayang Wong* performances were staged during the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th C. by an all male cast. The stories are taken from the *purwa* repertoire, which contains the adventures of the Mahabharata heroes and heroines. Presently, a less splendid and classical verison can be seen in commercial theatres in Solo, Jogya and Jakarta; there are also various "roving troupes" performing all over Central and East Java. The dialogue is partly spoken, or sung by the dancers, whilst the narrative parts are recited by a *dalang* (the usual name for a puppeteer).

Langendriyan was created at the Mangkunagara court by P.A. Mangkunagara IV during the 19th C. It stages Damarwulan's victory over Menakjinggo from Blambangan who rose against Majapahit. Acting, dancing and singing is performed by an all female cast.

Fig. 7. Female dancer in typical pose and dress: Legs and feet close together, arms not raised above chest level, gracefully manipulating the dance scarf, eyes downcast.

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Fig. 8. Arms raised high showing strong male type. This type of head dress however is usually only worn by refined male types.
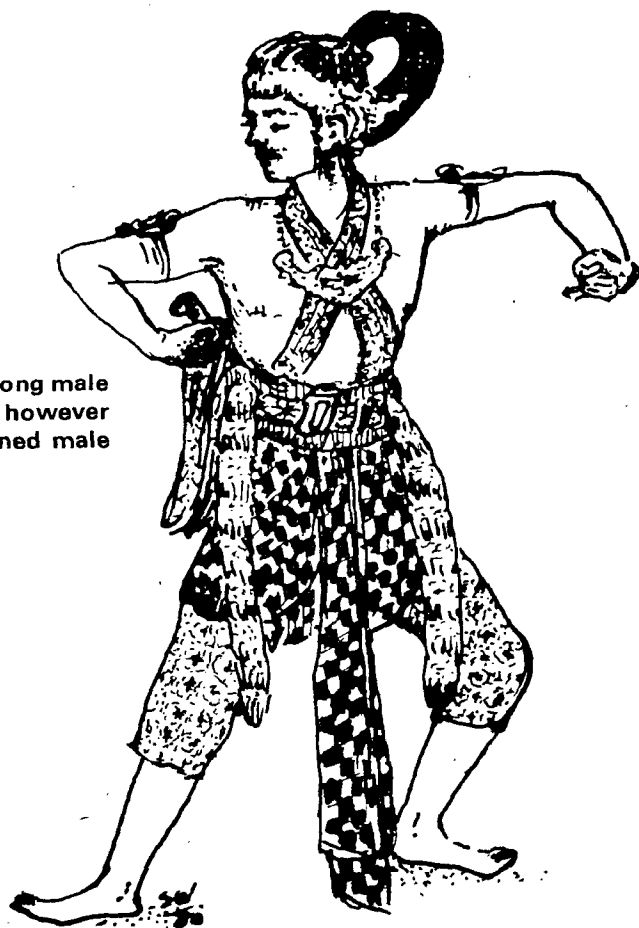
Fig. 9. A mask folk dance from Wonosobo called "Lengger" danced by a *Kasar* male dancer (with mask) and an *Alus* female dancer (a transvestite)

Various other forms of dance drama have enjoyed a rather short-lived popularity, whilst most recently the innovations no longer take place at the courts, but at the dance academies. The dance dramas created there are called *Sendra Tari* and favour dance to the spoken text, which is sometimes absent. Most of the movements of these dance dramas are still classical and based on the courtly male and female dances, whilst their plots are based on stories from Mahabharata, Ramayana, Panji and the like. Thus, there is no sudden break in the dance tradition.

4. Dance Movements

The style of dancing which we term "classical" nowadays was developed at the courts of Central Java from 1755 onward, during a period of relative stability. Its rules for choreography and composition were set by dance masters at these courts, who were often close relatives of the ruler. Much of their inspiration must have come from outside the courts, as was the case with the *Topeng* dances in Surakarta, or, more recently, the *Golek* dance in Jogyakarta, that was taken from the repertory of the professional female dancer.

As for the dance movements that are used in the forms of dance (drama) described above, a great number of these can be traced back to a stylised form of *Pencak Silat*, the Indonesian art of self defence. In fact, the warrior's dances may represent a direct development from self defence practices, possibly in its gentler form called *menoren* which is accompanied by music. A limited number of imitative gestures occur in some of the dramatic dancing. They refer mainly to dressing and making up, in preparation to meeting the beloved. However, there is no attempt at interpreting the text of the accompanying songs in (imitative or symbolic) gestures. Other art forms may well have influenced the dance movements, e.g. the movements of the *Wayang Kuilt* puppets were imitated by the dancers of *Wayang Vong* drama. Clowning and acrobatics are a special feature of dance drama.

A great part of the movements are abstract dance movements without imitative or symbolic meaning. Even in dance drama, where the movements would be expected to correspond with the text, they tend to characterise more the general idea or sentiment of the text than to follow or interpret the lines.

Fig. 10. Illustration showing strong male type wearing a king's crown and gazing at an opponent.

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Comparison of some basic ideas in Javanese and Indian classical dance traditions

Most writers on the subject of Central Javanese court dances have assumed that Indian classical dancing has deeply influenced these Javanese dances. They have come to this conclusion due to several reasons such as: 1) the representation of Indian dance styles on the reliefs of the Prambanan and Borobudur temples in Middle Java, 2) a superficial similarity in movement, especially an emphasis on arm movements, 3) a supposed similarity of concepts, such as the difference between male and female dancing etc.

1) As for the temple reliefs, there is no certainty in how far these depict the situation in Java itself at the time. Furthermore, a considerable amount of time elapsed between the construction of these temples and the rise of the Central Javanese courts. During that time, too, Islam attained a dominant position in Java.

2) The similarity in movement disappears on close observation, though this is hard to document on paper.

3) Now let us examine some of the most basic concepts of the classical Indian and Javanese dance styles: how far do they correspond?

a) In Indonesia there is no trace of a written tradition in the field of dancing. Classical Indian dancing, however, is based on a written tradition dating back more than a thousand years. If Indian dancing had ever been practised—and taught—in Indonesia, one would expect evidence of some treatise on the art of dancing in Java, the more so, since there was extensive interest in Sanskrit literature.

b) Both in India and in Java, dance and drama are seen as two aspects of the same art form. However, whilst in India the connection between the text and movement is very close—

many dance forms know a word-for-word interpretation of the text into movement—, there is only a loose association between text and movement in Javanese dance (drama). Furthermore, such a characteristic feature of Indian dance as the symbolic/imitative gesture language called *mudra* is absent in Javanese court dancing. The one or two *mudra's* accepted in the Javanese dance tradition were actually part of the ceremonial behaviour at the court, e.g. *sembah*=*anjali*=devotional greeting to a superior.

c) Some writers on classical Javanese dances have assumed that the Javanese *gagah* and *alus* styles of dancing correspond to or are derived from the two Indian dance styles called *tandava*—and *lasya*, mentioned in the Natyasastra by sage Bharata and in most other books on classical Indian dancing. The two Indian terms are used only in connection with dance (drama) and refer to the energetic dance created by Siva (*tandava*), and its gentler form *(lasya)* created by Parvati, his wife. The *tandava* dance was to be used for the adoration of gods, its gentler form when love-songs occurred in a play. An exact description of the terms is not given, and later manuals do not agree on the interpretation.

As for the terms *gagah* and *alus*, these are not only used in relation to dancing, but have a much wider field of application. The opposition of *kasar* and *alus* is a basic category in Indonesian thinking, pervading the whole culture, and indicating whether a process, surface way of behaviour etc. is coarse (rude) or smooth (refined). Applied to dance, the terms "gagah" or "kasar" and "alus" indicate whether a movement is energetic and jerky, or controlled and smoothly flowing. The movement in its turn indicates a state of mind which is either uncontrolled and excited or controlled and harmonious. Thus, the *gagah/kasar* style of movement is characterised by an excessive amount of energy being displayed in the high lift of legs and arms, jumps and kicks in fighting, and the like. In the *alus* style, a similar

basic movement would be performed without any breaks, keeping the arms and legs on a low level and close to the body. Each of these two styles of movement is fixed to a particular type, so that an *alus* character cannot perform a *gagah/kasar* movement and conversely.

A comparable distinction in the level of movements is made in the classical Indian dramatic tradition. The Bharata Natya Sastra for example deals in Chapter IX 164 with the "spheres of hand gestures." The "superior types" represented by the actors should move their hands "near their forehead," the "middling type of persons at about their breasts. While the inferior persons should move their hand gestures in regions below this." Thus, the higher level of movement indicates the superiority (or divinity) of the type on stage.

As we saw, in the Javanese tradition the opposite point of view is taken: the (arm and leg) movements that are high above the floor, requiring a comparatively greater effort from the dancer, indicate the uncontrolled emotional state characteristic of the *gagah/kasar* type. The more refined and superior types on the other hand keep their movements close to the floor.

The *alus* style of movement is divided into two, depending on whether the dancer portrays a male or a female character. An *alus* character can be danced by either a man or a woman, but only a woman dances the *alus* female character. However, which dance roles and styles are danced by which sex has varied from time to time and from place to place.

Now what do these terms *gagah/kasar* and *alus* represent within the context of traditional Javanese dance and drama? Besides the above mentioned "states of mind," several ideas are expressed within each of the terms. One of the most basic concept is:

1) the idea that "*roh alus*," refined spirits, or "*roh kasar*," rude spirits, take possession of the dancer, as is the case in trance dancing. When an *alus* male type dances opposed to a *gagah/kasar* type:

2) the idea that the audience identifies with the *alus* type(s), who represents "our group" or "our ancestor." In case the characters are less specific:

3) the idea that *alus*, expressing a controlled state of mind, is superior to *gagah/kasar* types, who do not control themselves.

When the *alus* and *gagah* types represent two characters of different sex:

4) the idea that *alus* is feminine, and *gagah/kasar* is masculine (dances specifically for men are *gagah/kasar*).

Thus, the *alus-gagah* dichotomy contains a complex of ideas, which are part and parcel of Javanese society. Their relationship to the Indian concepts of *lasya* and *tandava* is unclear, the more so since in India itself there is no consensus of opinion on the exact meaning of these two latter terms.

If we want to point out at any definite resemblances or influences from Indian dancing and culture, it should be found in the plots and characters of the stories, which are often taken from Mahabharata or Ramayana. Also, the style of dress and ornaments as well as the materials used for the costumes show Indian influences; they represent the formal dress fashionable at the courts one or two centuries ago.

It is doubtful that Indian (classical) dancing has ever been practised within Javanese society. To be able to decide this, more should be known about the social and cultural situation in Javanese courts at an earlier date. So far, none of the earlier manuscripts written in Hindu-Javanese times seem to indicate that Indian style of dancing or music was being performed at the Javanese courts. At any rate, the present day Javanese court dances do not appear to have been influenced by classical Indian dancing, but to have developed within a purely Javanese social context. In these dances the Javanese have expressed within this world an ideal of harmony and beauty.

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF YOGYANESE DANCE

B.P.H. SURYOBRONGTO

Many writers about Javanese dance mistake the Bedoyo for the Srimpi dance and the Srimpi dance is often quite incorrectly presented as the highest manifestation of Javanese dancing which is, in fact, the Bedoyo. I give here a short and concise explanation of these two dances so as to avoid misunderstandings in future, as these dances do contain philosophical as well as other basic differences.

In principle, the Bedoyo is executed by nine girls who are all dressed and made up identically. Even though this may not do justice to a sweet face, a less pretty face will not show as such. This implies that men are originally all created similar, the differences being caused by external influences only. This type of make-up is called *paes*.

The Bedoyo consists of two separate parts: the first part which contains the philosophy is called *Lajuran* meaning "a straight line." The principal dancers are called *Batak* (leader) and *Endel* (follower).

The opening formation of the dance symbolises the human body and looks as follows:

```
1. Batak                        O   O
2. Endel            ●    ●   O   O   O
                    2    1
                            O   O
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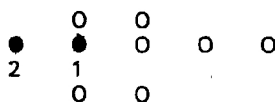
In this phase *Batak* dances continually in one direction, whereas *Endel* changes several times to face various directions. *Batak* here symbolises the human soul, and *Endel* human willpower (inclinations.) The V behind *Batak* are called *Penggulu* (neck) *Pendada* (chest) and *Buntil* (back part). Whereas *Endel* often changes direction, *Batak* keeps facing one direction all the time, until, finally *Endel* moves in line behind *Batak*.

The formation then is as follows: (the *Lajuran*)

```
1. Batak                                    O
            ●    O   O   ●   O   O   O
2. Endel    1            2
                                            O
```

Its philosophical meaning is, that willpower (*Endel*) often tries to lead the soul (*Batak*) astray from the straight path, but after several fruitless attempts it gives in and follows the soul. After a while, however, it separates again, until finally unity is reached, after having tasted the three worlds: *Ngendraloka* (world of Gods), *Guruloka* (world of Ghosts) and *Janaloka* (world of human beings). That way perfection is attained, which is Death. The formation then is:

```
        O   O   O
        O   O   O
        O   O   O
```
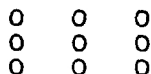
This is the closing formation of the first part. The second part represents the story after which the Bedoyo dance is called, such as Bedoyo *Bedah Madiun* (the fall of Madiun territory) a historical tale, or Bedoyo *Pandu-narasoma*, a Wayang story. The number nine symbolically represents the nine openings of the human body: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, anus and private parts. All Bedoyo and Srimpi dances originate from the Bedoyo Semang, created by H.R.H. Sultan Agung of Mataram in the 17th century A.D.

This is the short philosophical exposition regarding the Bedoyo dance.

The Srimpi dance is performed by four girls. It represents a duel between two female characters. The themes are taken from the Mahabharata or from the Menak-legends (which are set in Arabic countries).

The four girls dance as two symmetrical couples, in other words the four of them all perform the same dance movements. Examples are: the duel between Srikandi and Larasati or the duel between Adaninggar and Kelasworo.

The four dancers symbolically represent the four main inclinations (senses) of Javanese philosophy: at the right side, these are the sense of acting well, *nutrainah* and the inclination (not yet fully conscious) to act well, *suniyah*. At the left side these are the desires *aluamah* and the passions *amarah*. These two parties are continuously trying to overpower one another. There is an eternal struggle between good and evil. Each party in turn obtains superiority, so evil cannot be wiped out. The two counterparts each need the other to clearly show the difference between good and evil (and vice versa).

These are the main differences between the two kinds of female dances.

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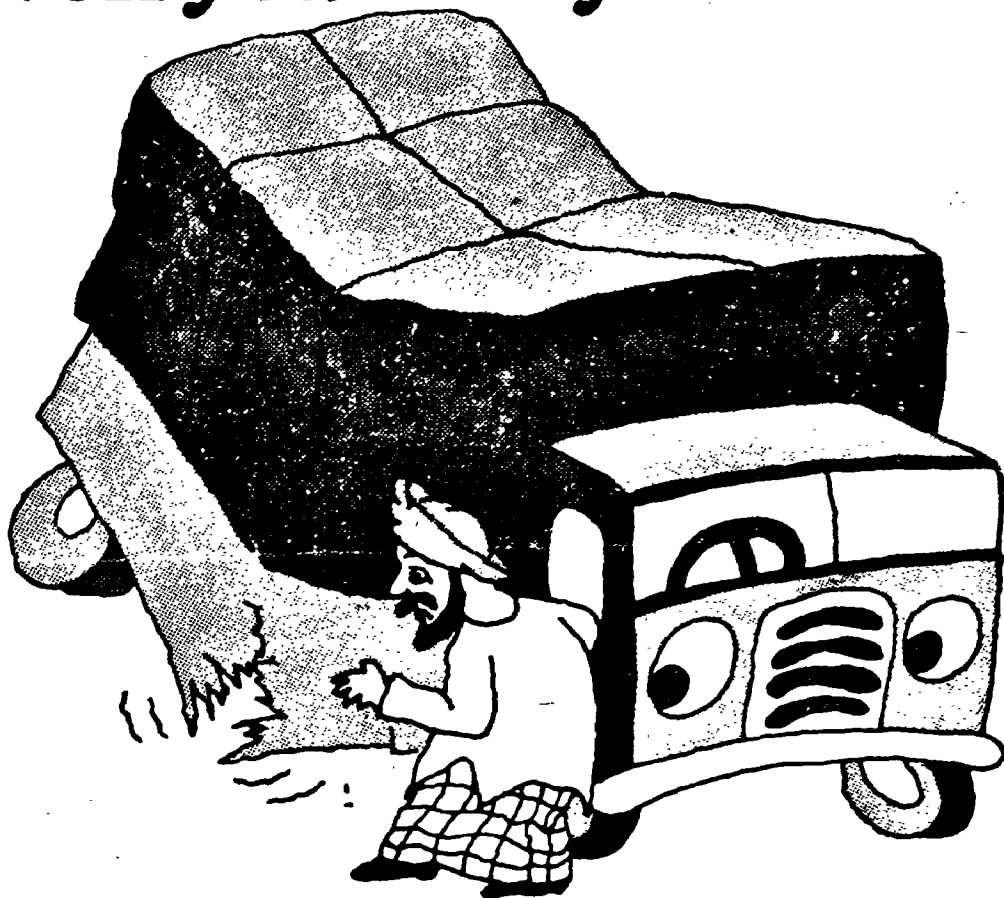
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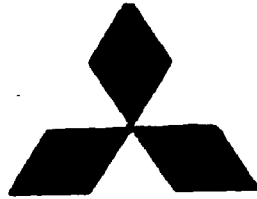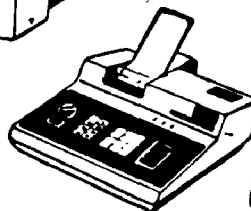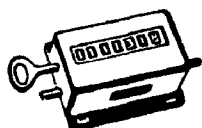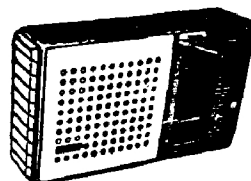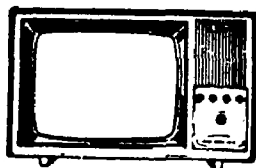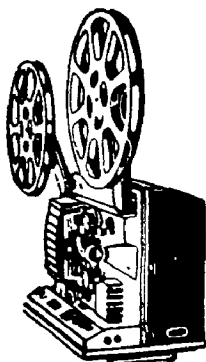
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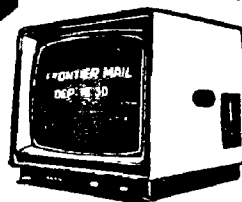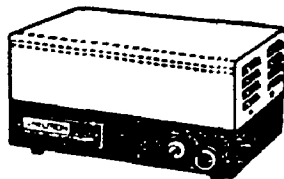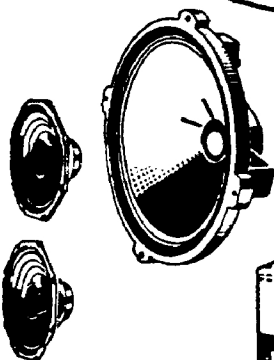
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