

LALIT KALĀ

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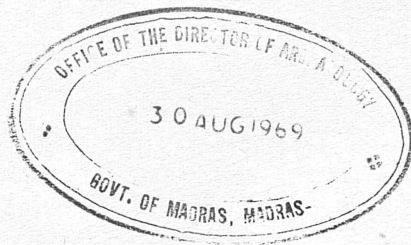
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PRESS NOTE

At a recent meeting of the Organising Committee, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, it was finally decided to hold the XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi from 4th to 10th January 1964. Prof. Humayun Kabir is the Chairman of the Organising Committee and Shri A. K. Ghosh and Prof. R. N. Dandekar are its Secretaries. The Congress is divided into ten principal Sections—Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Hittite and Caucasian Studies, Altaic Studies including Turcology, Iranian Studies, Indology, South-East Asian Studies, East Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and African Studies. Thousands of scholars from India and abroad have been invited to participate in the Congress. Scholars wishing to register themselves as members may address the Joint Secretary, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

CONTENTS

The Paintings of Basāwan Stuart Cary Welch, Jr.	7
Further Unpublished Sculptures from Mewar Adris Banerji	18
Some Interesting Gaṇa Figures from Panna K. D. Bajpai	21
Three Western Chālukya Bronze Bells N. Ramesan	25
Some More Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan R. C. Agrawala	31
Some Āḍavallān and Other Bronzes of the Early Choḷa Period R. Nagaswamy	34
The Date of the Lad Khan (Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa) Temple at Aihole S. R. Balasubrahmanyam	41
A New Document of Indian Painting Karl Khandalavala, Pramod Chandra, Moti Chandra and Parmeshwari Lal Gupta	45

NOTES

Some Observations on the Ivory Figure from Ter M. N. Deshpande	55
A Note on Ivories and a Review of the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 6 (1957-1959) Douglas Barrett	56
A Pāṇḍyan Bronze from Tekkattur S. R. Balasubrahmanyam	58
Recently Discovered Early Inscriptions from Amaravati and Their Significance P. R. Srinivasan	59

REVIEWS

Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum. A.K.	61
Roopa Lekhā. Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Vol. XXXII, No. 1. K.J.K.	61
Khajuraho. P.C.	62
Oriental Art. K.J.K.	64
Natural History Drawings in the India Office Library. K.J.K.	65
Ter. K.J.K.	65
Mukhalingam, Sirpur and Rajim Temples. K.J.K.	65

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOUR PLATES

Frontispiece: Subrahmanya

Plate A: A Court Scene. Page 11

Plate B: Laurak leaves the temple; Biraspata informs Chāndā about him. Page 49

MONOCHROME PLATES

Plates I to VIII: The Paintings of Basāwan

Plates IX to XII: Further Unpublished Sculptures from Mewar

Plates XIII to XIV: Some Interesting Gaṇa Figures from Panna

Plates XV to XVIII: Three Western Chāḷukya Bronze Bells

Plates XIX to XXII: Some Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan and
Text Figure A on p. 33

Plates XXIII to XXXI: Some Āḍavallān and Other Bronzes of the Early Choḷa Period

Plate XXXII: The Date of the Lad Khan (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa) Temple at Aihole

Plates XXXIII to XXXV: A New Document of Indian Painting

Plate XXXVI: Some Observations on the Ivory Figure from Ter

Plate XXXVII: Fig 1. A Pāṇḍyan Bronze from Tekkattur

Plate XXXVII: Figs. 2 and 3. Recently discovered inscriptions from Amaravati

Plate XXXVIII: The Safety of Indian Art

LINE DRAWINGS

Figs. A and B on p. 20 The Date of the Lad Khan (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa) Temple at Aihole



Subrahmanya, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. 8th century A D



THE PAINTINGS OF BASĀWAN¹

Stuart Cary Welch, Jr.

One of the fictions of art history would have us believe that artists were seldom appreciated during their lives. An Indian denial of this pessimistic credo is Basāwan, one of the painters cited particularly by Abū'l Fazl, Akbar's boon companion, biographer, and the brother of the leading court poet. As one of the intellectual and aesthetic as well as political leaders, his views can generally be accepted as authoritative. Only the emperor's own opinion could be of greater moment and it is likely that in this matter as well as many others Abū'l Fazl reflected the thought of his great but unlettered ruler. The biographer's chapter on painting in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*,² an exhaustive study of the Mughal administrative system, is brief but informative. The art flourished due to Akbar's encouragement; "colours have been made finer and as a result pictures have achieved a hitherto unknown finish" "masterpieces worthy of a Bihzād may be placed at the side of European masterpieces that have attained world-wide fame; minuteness in detail, boldness of execution "are now incomparable". "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters and the number who approach perfection is very large." He then lists 13 painters, it having been his intention to "pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf."

Four artists are allotted separate paragraphs. The first of these "forerunners on the high road of art" is Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz upon whom he writes, "from the time of his introduction at court, the ray of royal favour has shone" and who has "made himself famous in his art, and has met with success." Considering that the Mīr had been one of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavi's most inventive and skilled artists before emigrating during the reign of Humāyūn to become one of the founders of the Mughal school, this seems a modest evaluation of his talents. Possibly, by the time Abū'l Fazl was writing (the *Ā'in* was completed in 1597), Mīr Sayyid 'Alī was no longer active. Shāh Nawāz Khān³ recounts that he had gone to Mecca, presumably to rest from his labours on the back-breaking *Dāstān-i Amīr Hamza*.⁴ Perhaps he never recovered fully from the strain of superintending the production of the 1400 giant "miniatures" which were painted by an army of artists recruited from all over the empire. In any event, of the paintings now attributed to his hand, only one was painted in India. This is a small portrait of his father which is hardly up to the level of his Persian phase although stylistically it reveals few changes.⁵ One might speculate that the Mīr's now lost miniatures seemed a bit tame to Abū'l Fazl, whose taste was not attuned to the Persian ornamental genius that had not been shed by the Safavid artist. A quotation from the

¹ We should like to express our gratitude to those who have contributed in the past to the study of Basāwan, particularly to Dr. William Staude, Dr. Ivan Stchoukine, Mr. Basil Gray, and the late Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. I am also personally indebted to Rai Krishnadasa, Mr. Eric Schroeder, Shri Pramod Chandra, Mr. Robert Skelton, and Dr. Ernst Grube for their generous assistance.

² *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (tr. by H. Blochmann), Calcutta 1939, Vol. 1, pp. 113-115.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* (tr. by H. Beveridge), Calcutta 1911-41, Vol. 1, p. 454.

⁴ For the fullest account, see H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes*, Wien 1925. A more recent study by Basil Gray appears in "Painting," *The Art of India and Pakistan* (Ed. by Leigh Ashton), London 1950, pp. 140-141.

⁵ Ivan Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes*, Paris 1929, p. 11, pl. 11, a.

Akbar-nāma is quite explicit with regard to the author's aesthetic philosophy, although it refers to writing rather than painting:

Most old authors... who all hold the same language and string out their words after one fashion and display a worn out embroidery give all their attention to the ornamentation of words, and regard matter as subservient to them, and so exert themselves in a reverse direction. They consider cadences and style as the constituents of eloquence and think that prose should be tricked out like the works of poets.¹

Khwājā 'Abd as-Samad, the second Persian brought to India by Akbar's father to direct the new school of painting, is given somewhat less reserved praise: "Though he had learned the art before he was made a grandee... his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful look of his majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khwājā's pupils became masters." Once again, the biographer holds back; Akbar's "look" is credited with the artist's redemption and the emphasis is upon his role as teacher rather than creator. Surviving examples suggest that the emperor's inspiring glance transformed 'Abd as-Samad from an accomplished if conventional Safavid painter to the Mughal equivalent.

The remaining artists assigned special paragraphs were, like so many in Akbar's atelier, Hindus, whose pictures according to Abū'l Fazl, "surpass our conception of things." Particular praise is accorded to Dāswanth, the third of the quartet, who "surpassed all painters and became the first master of the age." His genius had been discovered by Akbar himself, who turned him over to 'Abd as-Samad for training. Unfortunately, "the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide." Nevertheless, "he left many masterpieces." It is our loss that few have survived and in each case those we know are miniatures he designed but did not paint, leaving us the not very promising task of puzzling out his style from compositions painted by assistants. From these, it is possible to see that he was extraordinarily vigorous and inventive. His turbulent designs for the Jaipur *Razm-nāma* are the work of an expressionist imagination, thoroughly warranting the high praise of the *Ā'in*.² But, until we can study work entirely by his hand, Dāswanth's artistic personality will remain in the shadows.

Basāwan is the last of the four choices and the least elusive, for there are many surviving examples by him, including a number of paintings which are his from start to finish, each of which is reproduced here. Abū'l Fazl describes him succinctly and enthusiastically:

In designing and portrait painting and colouring and painting illusionistically and other aspects of this art he became unrivalled in the world and many connoisseurs prefer him to Dāswanth.³

Regrettably, he tells us nothing of the painter's life. The few scraps of information we have are inferred from his paintings with the help of a number of inscriptions in the margins. His name places him in the Ahīr caste of Uttar Pradesh,⁴ from which several Akbari painters came. The date of birth is not known. William Staude, however, has suggested that he worked on the *Hamza* project,⁵ for which Basil Gray

¹ *Akbar-nāmah* (tr. by H. Beveridge), Calcutta 1909, Vol. 2, p. 553.

² T. H. Hendley, *The Razm-nāmah Manuscript*, Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition, London 1883, Vol. 4. He also provided outlines for the *Timūr-nāma* in the Bankipur State Library, Patna.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 114. I am grateful to Robert Skelton for providing a new translation of this crucial passage.

⁴ This interesting information was offered by Shri Pramod Chandra.

⁵ W. Staude, "Contribution à L'étude de Basāwan," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, t. 8, no. 1 (1934) and *idem*, "Les artistes de la Cour D'Akbar et les illustrations du Dastān-i-Amir Hamzah," *Arts Asiatiques*, t. 2, fasc. 1 (1955). Dr. Staude's most recent contribution is: "Basāwan," *The Encyclopaedia of World Art*, New York 1960, Vol. 2, pp. 385-387, pls. 221-224.

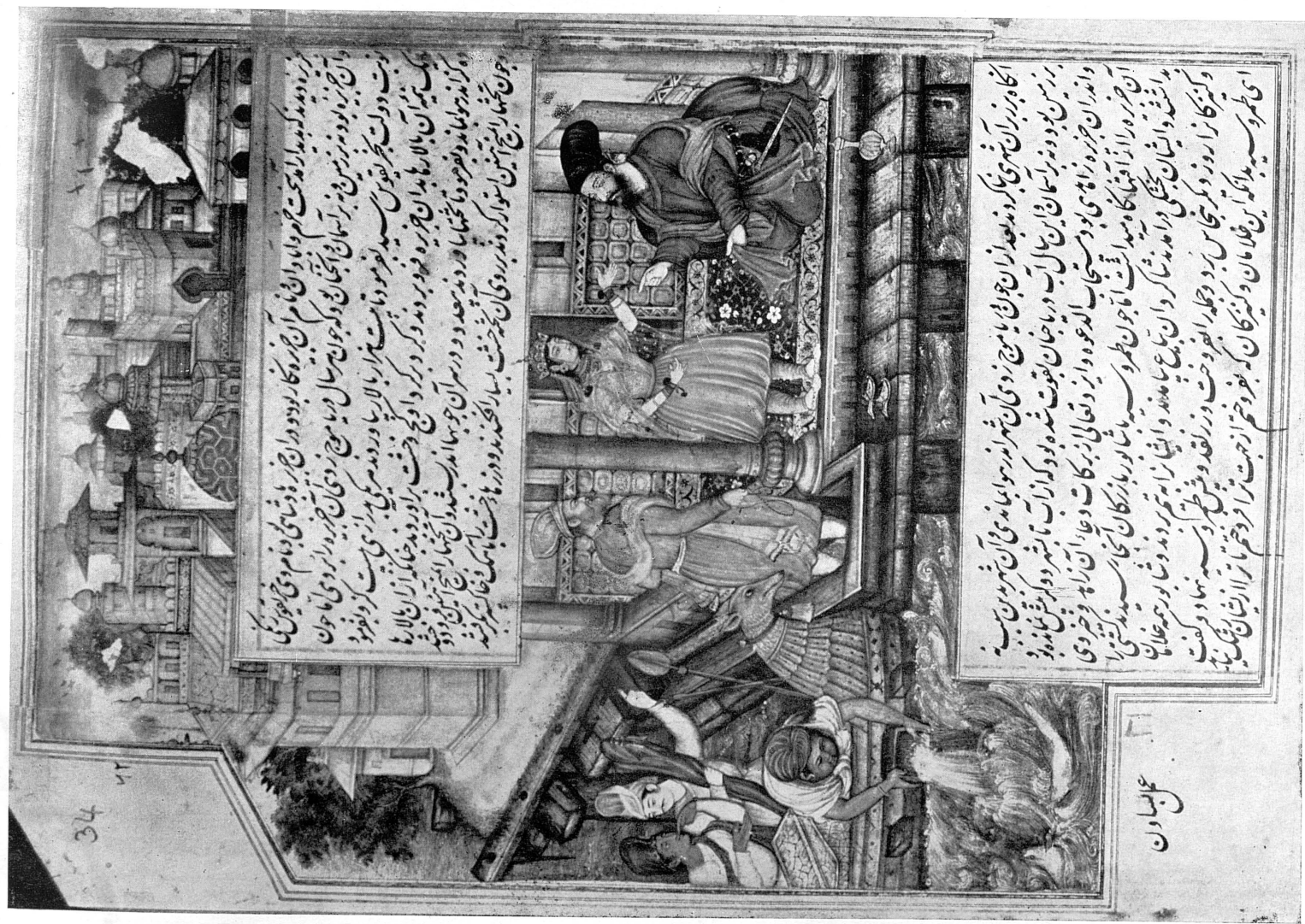


Fig. 1. Tamarusia and Shapur reach the island of Nigar. Illustration from a Ms of the *Darab-nāma*.
 British Museum C. A.D. 1580 or a few years later. 19.4 × 29.5 cm.



Fig. 2. A young boatman. Detail from fig. 1.

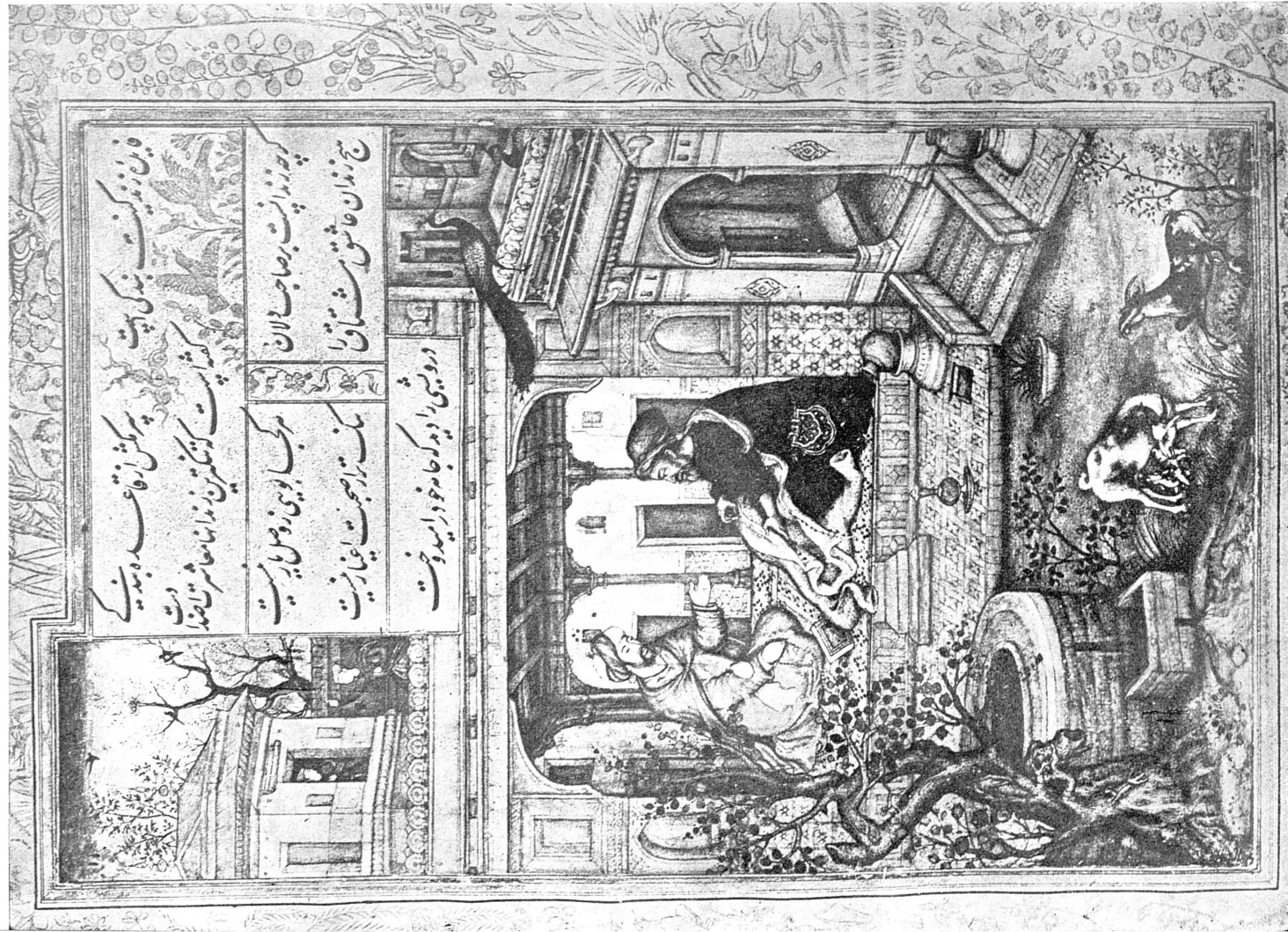


Fig. 3. A mullā rebukes a dervish for pride. From Jāmi's *Bahārīstān*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Library. A.D. 1594. 21.5 × 14.6 cm.



Fig. 4. A Hindu fleeing from a dervish. Probably from a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavi. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A.D. 1596/7.

THE PAINTINGS OF BASĀWAN

proposed a terminal date of 1579.¹ His earliest documented painting (Pl. I, Fig. 1) retains elements of the dynamic *Hamza* style, suggesting that he received his training in the royal workshops when this work was in progress. During the 1580s and 90s, Basāwan was kept busy; his designs are found in most of the major histories² and translations of Hindu epics³ as well as in the more intimate ambience of the books of literary classics.⁴ The most ambitious volume of an official historical series, the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Akbar-nāma*,⁵ contains many of his most spirited compositions and no doubt did much to earn Abū'l Fazl's reference to his talent as a designer. Although undated, the manuscript was probably completed in about 1600. His work is conspicuously absent from a smaller version of the same book, many pages of which are in the library of Sir A. Chester Beatty and elsewhere.⁶ It is also missing from other manuscripts written after 1600 and only one example is known which might be of a later date, a drawing in the *Gulshan Album*⁷ which does not seem conclusive. It is probable, therefore, that Basāwan became inactive after about 1600. His death is not recorded. At least one son survived him, the illustrious Manohar, whose early paintings occasionally appear in the same volumes as his father's, although he is best known for those of his maturity, portraits and animal studies made for Jahāngir.

It would appear to be superfluous to say that in order to understand a painter's style one must examine his work. But what work? This is not a simple question when we consider any great painter of Akbar's time. Most of the miniatures are by several hands. Although a few artists preferred to work alone, the collaborative system was the general rule. A master artist sketched the design which was then turned over to a lesser man for colouring. Areas which have flaked tell us that the under-drawing was often little more than an indication of the disposition of compositional elements, though this was not always the case. Portrait heads and other details were sometimes added by other specialists and occasionally the picture was returned to the designer for finishing or heightening. As a result, there are several Mughal artists, such as Dāswanth, who are known only from compositions, their actual handiwork screened by pigment applied by lesser hands.

Fortunately, another class of Mughal manuscript painting exists, a series of *de luxe* books illustrated by the master artists in which each miniature was the work of one man.⁸ Although at times these pictures

¹ Basil Gray "Painting", *The Art of India and Pakistan*, pp. 94, 143.

² These are: the Victoria and Albert Museum *Babur-nāma*, of c. 1590; Gulistan Library *Jāmi-al Tawarikh* of 1596; Bankipur *Timūr-nāma*; and the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāma*.

³ Akbar's interest in religion caused him to commission translations of the Hindu epics, which he encouraged his courtiers to read. The principal manuscripts are the *Razm-nāma* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, both now in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, of the 1580s, and a later, smaller *Razm-nāma* from which there are three miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, one in the library of Sir A. Chester Beatty, and four in the Freer Gallery of Art. Although none of these is by Basāwan it seems probable that he should have worked on the manuscript.

⁴ It is upon Basāwan's miniatures for these manuscripts that we shall concentrate our attention. References to them are given further on.

⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 2-1896.

⁶ Sir T.W. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, a Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, Oxford 1936, Vol. 1, pp. 4-12; Vol. 2, pls. 6-37 and colour frontispiece. Many private and public collections have stray pages from this generously illustrated manuscript.

⁷ J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 66 (1935), p. 173. Elsewhere, a painting attributed to Dawlat has erroneously been published as Basāwan's work in the *Nafahat al uns* (BM Or. 1362), a manuscript dated 1602/3. - Vide: E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought Reflected in Mogul Painting*, London 1952.

⁸ The earliest dated manuscript of this kind is a pocket-size *Diwān* of Anwāri, written at Lahore in 1588 and now in the Fogg Art Museum. Others include: a *Baharistān of Jāmi** in the Bodleian Library (Elliot 254), written at Lahore in 1594; a related *Khamsa* of Nizāmi, shared between the British Museum (Or. Ms. 12208) and the Walters Art Gallery,

are less appealing to us — for often the immediacy of the histories and the wonders of the Hindu epics fired the painters to peak performances — there can be no doubt that they are the most finished and informative examples of the individual master's styles. We shall concentrate on Basāwan's work in this category, for it is primarily in these paintings that not only the designer but the complete painter appears. Before proceeding, let us list the pictures.

The following have contemporary attributions to Basāwan, written in the lower margins by the clerks in charge of the manuscripts:

1. *Tamarusia and Shapur Reach the Island of Nigar* (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2), British Museum, *Darab-nāma*¹ (or. 5615, fol. 34a). C. 1580 or a few years later. 19.4 × 29.5 cm.
2. *A Mullā Rebukes a Dervish for Pride* (Pl. II, Fig. 3), Bodleian Library, *Baharistān* of Jāmī (Elliot 254, fol. 9), 1594. 21.5 × 14.6 cm.
3. *A Court Scene* (Colour Plate A) Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, *Anwār-i Suhailī* (fol. 5a). 1596/7. 24.8 × 13.9 cm.
4. *A Hindu Fleeing from a Dervish* (Pl. II, Fig. 4), Metropolitan Museum of Art (13.228.29). Probably from a copy of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavī in the Walters Art Gallery (W. 624). Dated 1596/7. A further miniature has been remounted as an album page but is said to bear an attribution to Basāwan which is fully supported by style.²
5. *Thieves Fleeing from a Palace* (Pl. III, Figs. 5 and 6), Teheran, Archaeological Museum, manuscript unidentified. C. 1595. 21.5 × 12.3 cm.

Two are attributed to Basāwan on stylistic grounds:

6. *The Poet Spurned* (Pl. III, Fig. 7), American Private Collection, from a dispersed *Dīwān* of Shāhī,³ c. 1595. 12.7 × 8.1 c.m.
7. *Iskandār Visiting a Hermit* (Pl. IV, Fig. 8 and Pl. VI, Fig. 12), Metropolitan Museum of Art (13.228.30) from the same manuscript as nos. 4 and 11.

We shall also consider three miniatures which were designed by Basāwan, painted by assistants but, extensively retouched by him:

8. *Akbar Hunting near Narwar* (Pl. V, Figs. 10-11 and Pl. VI, Figs. 13-14), Victoria and Albert Museum, *Akbar-nāma* (2-1896 I.S. 17/117). Left-half inscribed: "Design by Basāwan, painted by Sarwan." Right-half inscribed: "Design by Basāwan, painted by Tārā the Elder."
9. *The Spectators of Akbar's Adventure with an Enraged Elephant* (Pl. IV, Fig. 9 and Pl. VIII, Fig. 17), Victoria and Albert Museum, *Akbar-nāma* (2-1896 I.S. 21/117) inscribed: "Outline by Basāwan, painted by Chatar." Half of a double page composition.

(W. 613), dated 1595; another manuscript of the same subject in the collection of the Late A. C. Ardeshtir; a *Dīwān* of Hāfiz in the Rampur State Library, c. 1595; a dispersed *Dīwān* of Shāhī,* c. 1595, pages of which are in two American private collections; a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavī in the Walters Art Gallery (W. 624), dated 1597/8; and the *Anwār-i Suhailī** in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, dated 1596/7. Starred manuscripts contain work by Basāwan which is published here.

¹ This highly important manuscript contains many miniatures with contemporary attributions to Akbar's court artists, including several, such as Ibrāhīm and other artists of Lahore, whose style retains elements of non-Mughal phases of Indian painting. More familiar painters, including Basāwan, Mīskīn, and Farrukh Chela are seen here before their styles became fully developed.

² Lubor Hajek, *Indian Miniatures of the Moghul School*, London 1960, pp. 69, col. pl. 6. Dr. Hajek rightly accepts the attribution.

³ Stuart C. Welch, Jr., "Early Mughal Miniatures from Two Private Collections," *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 3 (1959), pp. 136-137, pl. 4, fig. 5.

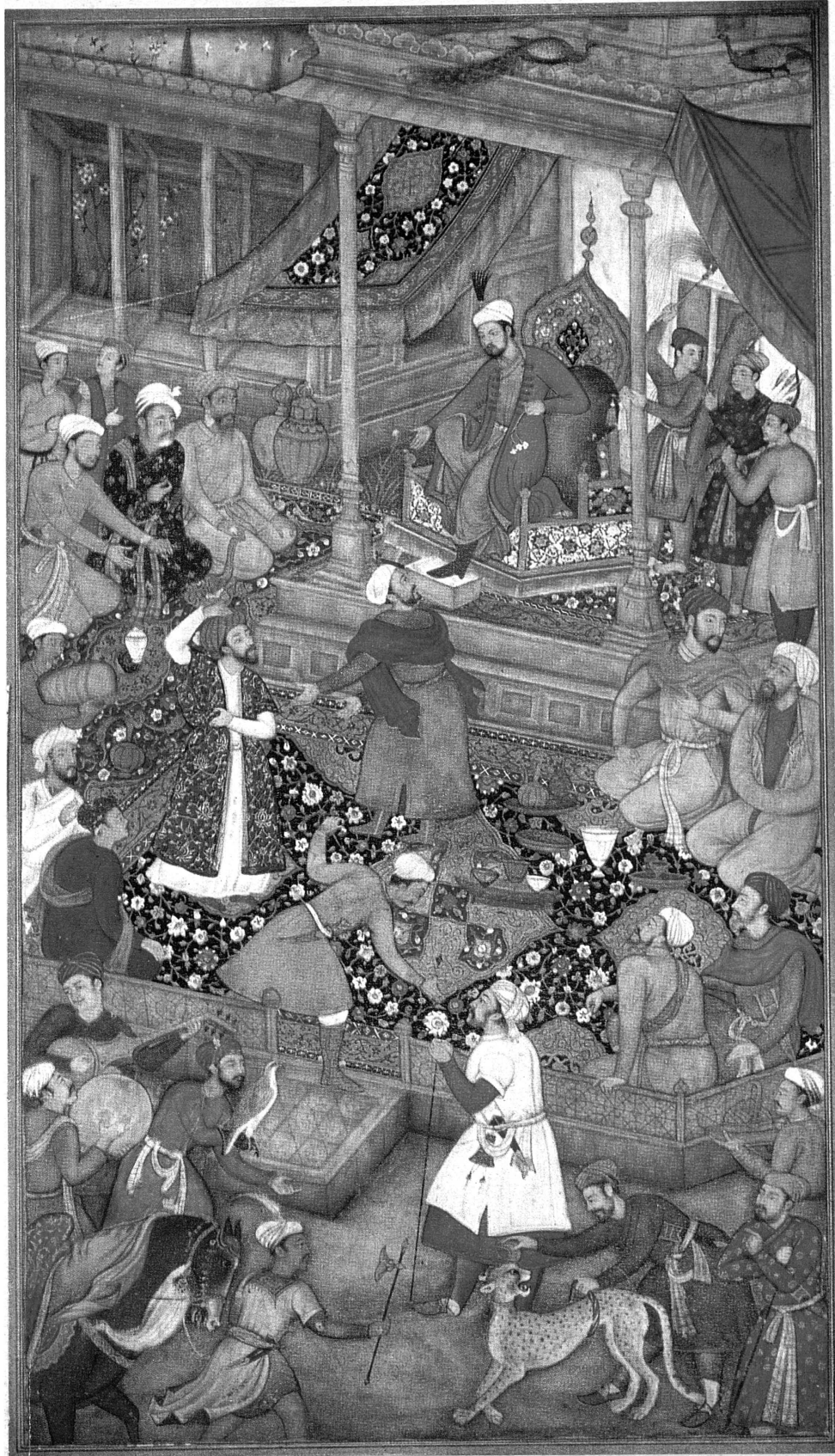


Plate A. A court scene. Folio 5a of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan *Anwār-i Suhailī*. A.D. 1596/7.
24.8 × 13.9 cm. Colour block by courtesy of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan.

10. *Akbar Watching a Fight between Rival Bands of Hindu Devotees* (Pl. VII, Fig. 15 and Pl. VIII, Fig. 18), Victoria and Albert Museum, *Akbar-nāma* (2-1896 I.S. 61/117) inscribed: "Outline by Basāwan, painted by Tārā the Elder."

For purposes of comparison, we are including a painting which can be attributed to Miskin:

11. *The Shah Who Committed a Blunder with an Unerring Arrow* (Pl. VII, Fig. 16, and Pl. VIII, Fig. 19), Metropolitan Museum of Art (13. 228. 26). From the same manuscript as nos. 4 and 7.

Form and content of a work of art are so closely knit that it seems impertinent to subject Basāwan's paintings to piecemeal analysis by isolating such elements as space, colour, and line. However, before attempting to interpret his intentions as an artist, we must examine his pictorial means. Although the Mughals were the first in the Islamic tradition to violate the purity of page design by painting the third dimension, Basāwan differs from other Akbari artists in the extent to which he explored space. A glance at any of his paintings reveals his capacity to suggest recession and roundness of form. He conceived his designs in depth. The earliest of the inscribed paintings (Pl. I, Figs. 1, 2) shows that even in a formative stage he was preoccupied with problems of volume and perspective. A scheme of overlapping diagonals encourages us to roam far into the composition, past the figures, boat, and facade, which are insistently arranged parallel to the picture plane. Every detail is modelled in high relief, heightening our sense of volume and lending a sense of stability to the action. Basāwan convinces us of the reality of the island city and its inhabitants, who, unlike most Mughal figures, are fully related to the setting. They stand, sit, and even bend towards us with such force that we project ourselves emphatically into their actions. The painter devised several methods of stressing plasticity of form, one of which was by winding pliable shapes round solids. The ponderous kneeling figure in the *Darab-nāma* (Pl. I, Fig. 1) is wrapped in a wide shawl that magnifies our sense of his amplitude by implying the unseen space behind him. This combination of shapes was a frequent formal motif in Basāwan's pictures. Particularly effective use is made of it in a detail from the *Akbar-nāma* (Pl. VIII, Fig. 17), which bears the stamp of the master's hand. Here, branches have been lashed to uprights with stout ropes that weave through space, creating a rhythmic and very tangible pattern of interlocking forms.

Basāwan's keenness to face challenging problems imbues his painting with originality and disarming honesty. The young boatman (Pl. I, Fig. 2) who pours the contents of a box into the sea is unprecedented in Mughal art, where frontal views of faces are rare and foreshortening unheard of. The artist could easily have avoided coming up against the two problems simultaneously; instead, he groped his way to their solution, achieving a figure that invites comparison to Masolino, in its powerfully observed study of the body in motion.

Perspective as a science was unknown to Akbar's painters although they were familiar with European prints, paintings, and tapestries in which it was applied. From these sources, Basāwan borrowed freely, adapting what he found to his own purposes. His preoccupation with the third dimension did not make him a "scientific" painter. Upon occasion, he deliberately abandoned consistent treatment of three dimensional form for dramatic effect or in order to improve the design of a page. A garden scene (Pl. III, Fig. 7) from a pocket-size *Dīwān* of Shāhī is represented from two main points of view. Most of the figures and the upper half of the picture are observed as from a window ten or fifteen feet above the ground.



Fig. 5. Thieves fleeing from a palace. From an unidentified Ms. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. C. A.D. 1595. 21.5 × 12.3 cm. After Hajek, *Indian Miniatures*.



Fig. 6. A princess in distress. Detail from fig. 5. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Lubor Hajek.



Fig. 7. The poet spurned. From the *Dīwān* of Shāhī. American private collection. C. A.D. 1595. 12.7 × 8.1 cm.

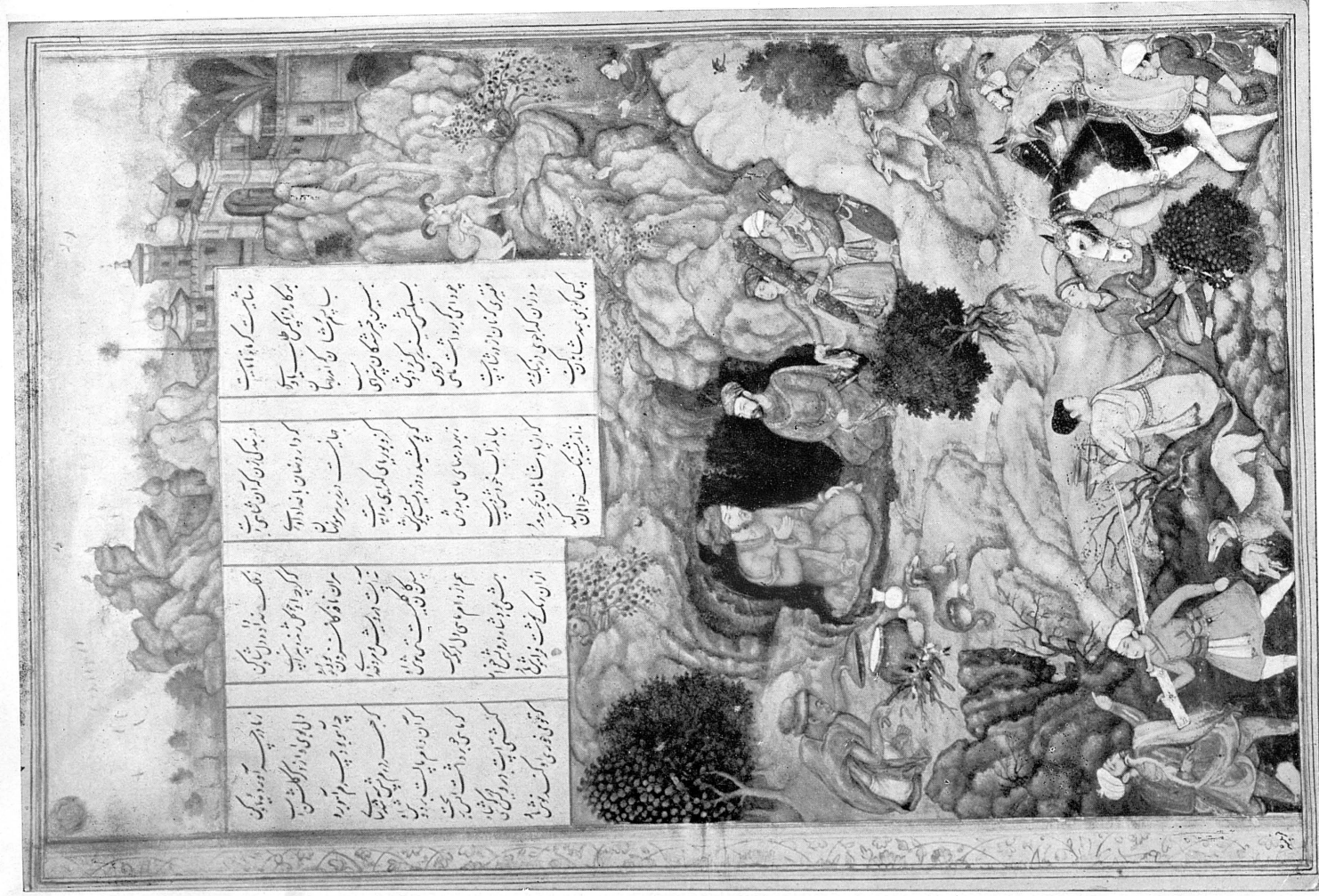


Fig. 8. Iskandār visiting a hermit. Probably from a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavī. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A.D. 1596/7.



Fig. 9. The spectators of Akbar's adventure with an enraged elephant. From the *Akbar-nāma*, inscribed "Outline by Basāwan, painted by Chatar". Half of a double page composition. Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 10. Akbar hunting near Narwar. From the *Akbar-nāma*. Left half of a double page composition inscribed "Design by Basāwan, painted by Sarwan". Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 11. Akbar hunting near Narwar. From the *Akbar-nāma*. Right half of a double page composition inscribed "Design by Basāwan, painted by Tārā the Elder". Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 12. A cook. Detail from Pl. IV, fig. 8.



Fig. 13



Fig. 13. A tiger. Detail from Pl. V, fig. 11. Extensively retouched by Basāwan.

Fig. 14. Tigers. Detail from Pl. V, fig. 10. Outlined by Basāwan and painted by Sarwan.

THE PAINTINGS OF BASĀWAN

Surprisingly, however, our eyes soar to a position directly overhead to view the outline of the duck pond, the square shape of which gives focus to the composition. A further shift of the eye occurs to emphasize the inglorious lot of the poet, who is being rejected from court by two burly attendants in the lower right. The action confronts us squarely and embarrassingly, with far more impact than if viewed from above. Although unaware of vanishing points, Basāwan sensed that diagonals lead one into a painting more effectively than do lines parallel to the picture plane and horizon, which tend to interfere with our sense of depth. His most complex figure composition, a court scene from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's superb *Anwār-i Suhailī* (Colour Plate A) is made up of carefully balanced diagonals. Buildings, throne, curtains, animals, and even rows of figures are shown obliquely, resulting in a disturbingly active milieu in which our eyes slither from one detail to the next, arrested only by the forceful gestures of the three central figures upon whom the painter insists we concentrate.

Depth is further suggested by means of atmospheric perspective and diminution, both of which techniques were borrowed from European prototypes. The landscape in Pl II, Fig. 4, a miniature showing a startled Hindu fleeing from a dervish, reveals both principles at work: distant hills and mountains are bathed in a diffused, bluish light as distance increases and at the same time figures, trees and buildings become smaller as they approach the horizon. Most Akbari painters were aware of these procedures but few equalled Basāwan in the logic of their application.

Basāwan was the most painterly of the Mughals. His outline is evanescent and subsidiary, growing like a skin over the deeply modelled forms. Seldom used for its own sake, except when its weight was exploited in order to provide an accent, Basāwan's line is often difficult to follow, becoming faint and disappearing when bordered by two like tones.¹ Only occasionally, as in the drawing of tendrils silhouetted against the black interior of a hermit's cave in Pl. IV, Fig. 8, is his line ornamentally calligraphic. He far preferred to use the brush in a painterly fashion. Close examination of the surface of any of his pictures discloses that he explored all of the possibilities of the brush, stippling with it, making hooklike strokes, dashes, arcs, minute parallel lines—in short, thoroughly exhausting its graphic repertoire. He even scratched the surface of the moist paint with the pointed end. Pigments received similarly varied treatment, applied in thin washes, heavy, enamel-like coats, and glistening impastos. Modelling in gold paint was a favourite practice if something of a technical tour de force. He delighted in grading this material from gloomy darks to brilliant highlights. Occasionally, too, as in the rug of Pl. III, Fig. 7, he pricked the surface of the gold in typical Persian fashion to add glitter to the page. But such effects were never used for their own sake, invariably contributing to the interpretation of the subject.

Abū'l Fazl's paragraph refers particularly to Basāwan's colour, which stands out from that of his contemporaries in its greater depth and richness, approaching at times the glow more easily achieved with the oil medium than the Mughal technique. This effect was in part the result of his predilection for dark tones, often mixed with black, against which he set patches of bright colour, invariably with a jeweller's respect for their proportion, position, and shape. He worked within a carefully controlled

¹ Several drawings are known by Basāwan and these might well be termed paintings in monochrome. *Vide*: Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes*, nos. 8-12, pp. 15-17; W. Staude, "Les Artistes de La Cour D'Akbar," *Arts Asiatiques*, tr. Fasc. 1 (1955), pp. 47-65, fig. 11; B. Gray, "Painting," *Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 150, pl. 128, no. 669. Another drawing reproduced in this publication (pl. 137, no. 746) would seem to be by Basāwan and should be dated to the end of the 16th century.

palette, in which the darkest and lightest accents were sparingly — if ever — used, the intermediate range sufficing for most effects. Colour plays a major part in each composition, not merely adding to the description of the scene or pleasing us with its harmonies. If we alter any of the important colour areas in Col. Pl. A, the effect is likely to be disastrous. For instance, when we cover the red curtain in the upper right hand corner, not only does the composition seem to tumble towards the lower left but also, the psychological tension of the page is lessened, for the relationship between this red and that of the shawl worn by the figure in front of the throne is destroyed. Dominant colour combinations are reserved for the most consequential players. In the colour plate, we are drawn to the prince's orange coat, set between violet and dull green. The harsh juxtaposition of green and red in the costume of the angry courtier before the throne and the bold pattern of blue and white in his opponent's long coat also attract us. The animosity between the two men is given impetus by the wavelike rhythm of the flowered black rug from which they seem to emerge.

Portrait painting was one of the fields in which Basāwan excelled, according to Abū'l Fazl. The allegation is born out by the one example we have seen, a small figure study against a green ground, probably from Akbar's album in which "those that have passed away have received new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."¹ Unfortunately, we may not publish this important and beautiful picture at this time and must rely upon the book paintings, which also confirm the critic's estimate. Although in these we are presumably dealing not with actual portraits, the figures seem to wake and speak in a drama that becomes more exciting the longer one looks. Most of the paintings are concerned with the dramatically organized interaction of souls rather than a fieldful of physical activity. The one exception is a scene of robbers fleeing from a palace (Pl. III, Fig. 5) in which the heroine of the piece (Pl. III, Fig. 6) is an excuse for the painter to record her complex reactions to a highly disturbing situation. She expresses relief at her escape from harm, confusion, and anger all at once. Minor characters in the plot are given similarly concentrated study: the profile of a young thief who lowers himself to freedom is infectious in its elation while the senior robber, who has been felled by a *lāṭhī*, exhibits disenchantment of the most acute kind.

A painting in the Bodleian Library is one of Basāwan's most mysterious and ambitious. Yet, it shows only two middle aged men conversing in a small room, our interest depending entirely upon the psychological relations between them (Pl. II, Fig. 3). The plot is simple: a mullā reprimands a dervish who is carefully sewing another patch on his coat, accusing him of taking excessive pride in this symbol of humility. The sewer's crabbed hand freezes as he hears the disturbing opinion, his mouth turning down at the corner and eye flashing in temporary loss of equilibrium. The accuser obviously enjoys the effect of his comment, smiling rather smugly as he savours it. Equally obviously, the painter has enjoyed revealing to us the ambiguity of the situation, echoing the two proud holy men with a pair of equally proud peacocks overhead. In a distant courtyard, oblivious of the action, two carefree young men act as a further foil. A writhing tree and massive but richly ornamented architecture crowd the figures portentously. To the right, an arched doorway leads into a dark chamber, while above, behind the

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 115. The portrait is in an Indian private collection.

peacocks, an apparently endless vista of open doors and passageways perhaps illustrates the comparably infinite hollows of the mind.

The painter's assortment of kings, peasants, musicians, thieves, and poets comprises a veritable anthropological garden of types. One of the most appealing characterizations is the cook in a miniature showing Iskandār visiting a hermit (Pl. IV, Fig. 8). Crouched before a cauldron, one foot crossing the other — a pose wittily repeated by his dog — he raises the lid, sniffing the air. Apparently pleased with the bouquet, he smiles and smacks his lips, the quintessence of cookishness. In the same painting, another sub-plot attracts us: a falconer in the lower left points out a pair of distant mountain goats to a huntsman accompanied by two eager hounds. Our sympathy, and the painter's, is entirely with the goats, whose affectionate play is happily interrupted by a sense of danger and who are about to scamper off to higher and safer ground.

Basāwan's view of mankind is not lacking in moments of broad satire. Several figures in a page from the *Akbar-nāma* (Pl. VII, Fig. 15 and Pl. VIII, Fig. 18) in which the emperor watches his soldiers as they assist the underdogs in a grotesque battle between rival bands of yogis exemplify this mood. Although most of the painting is in the somewhat inexpressive manner of Tārā the Elder, who coloured Basāwan's animated design, a number of the figures in the foreground were so extensively retouched by the master that they stand out from the rest. The painter's attention has been focussed upon the most violent incident in a scene notable for its Bosch-like frenzy. A sabre tears through the shoulder and chest of one of the devotees, who falls back, his fleshy body surrounded by ghoulish companions, who are among the most savage caricatures in Mughal art. But the dying yogi is another matter. Inspired perhaps by a Baroque crucifixion, Basāwan shocks us by a dramatic shift of mood, describing the victim in the most naturalistic and sympathetic terms; his face is contorted and the eyes focus separately, as though some vital nerve centre had failed. Unpleasant as it may be, the passage is pitiful and moving.

A tiger hunt from the *Akbar-nāma* forming a double page composition (Pl. V, Figs. 10-11 and Pl. VI, Figs. 13-14) adds to our appreciation of Basāwan's scope. Again, the pictures are designed by Basāwan, and in each case painted by an assistant. Fig. 11 was, however, reworked by him apparently for the pleasure of it, though this would not be apparent from the accompanying description.

The splendid tiger (Pl. VI, Fig. 13), whose head is being severed by the emperor himself is typical of Basāwan, anticipating the mighty beasts that were to inhabit future hunting pictures of the school of Kotah. The lithe body is modelled with infinite numbers of small strokes, forming a taut skin over its highly articulate musculature. If we compare this animal to those from the companion picture, same painting (Pl. VI, Fig. 14) also drawn but not painted by Basāwan, certain differences are immediately visible. The assistant's tigers are considerably less powerful, lacking in the coherence of outline and mass that make the other so convincing. Apparently Basāwan had not reworked this picture as he had the other one.

In the *Ā'in*, Abū'l Fazl remarks that in Akbari painting "even inanimate objects look as though they had life."¹ Basāwan's still life objects and *mis en scenes* give meaning to these words. Once we have entered the razor sharp lines of the ruled margins nothing is dead. Each tree, still life object, or building plays

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, pp. 113-14.

some role in the action. Occasionally, as in the rocks of the cave in which Iskandār meets a hermit (Pl. IV, Fig. 8), Abū'l Fazl's comment can be taken quite literally; zoomorphic shapes emerge fleetingly from the stones only to disappear again in a game of visual hide and seek. No element in a Basāwan is ever drawn in the lifeless geometry of precisely straight lines or flat surfaces. Every line and plane is slightly uneven or askew and organically related to its surroundings. Voids and solids alike are suffused with a flickering atmosphere of light and shade that creates a harmonious and animate unity.

Having attempted to isolate some of Basāwan's characteristics as a painter, let us now examine a picture by one of his colleagues in order to see in what ways it differs. The picture is from the same manuscript as numbers four and seven above (Pl. II, Fig. 4 and Pl. IV, Fig. 8) and can be attributed to Miskīn working alone. This artist was listed in the *Ā'in* by Abū'l Fazl, although he did not receive a paragraph to himself. His miniatures are found in many of the major Mughal manuscripts and while it is awkward to argue that a work of any painter can typify a school, Miskīn's work is certainly less individual than that of Basāwan. A young man lies in the foreground (Pl. VII, Fig. 16), accidentally slain by the unerring arrow of a Shah, who is seen beyond, offering his life to the youth's mother as retribution for her loss. In formal terms, the painting invites comparison to Basāwan; medium, format, and function are the same although the artists' styles differ. Basāwan's forms are consistently modelled in depth, giving the impression of a third dimension. Miskīn's are not, except in a few localized areas, such as the old woman's coat or the rocks in the middle distance. The Shah's *jāmā* is flat, bringing to mind a paper cut-out. Unlike Basāwan's, the figures are not convincingly grounded. The corpse hovers above the field with the buoyancy — as well as gestures — of a swimmer and the remaining figures are no more firmly planted. Naturally, the action is less real as a result. Perspective, too, is uncertain. Only the most remote hills and trees become pale and blue and our eye is led to them by linear rather than atmospheric means, following the sinuous curves of the river and hills. Animals, trees, and architecture diminish in scale less logically than in Basāwan's perspectives; a sheep seated by the river bank is gigantic in relationship to the city he faces while a pair of mountain goats, closer to us by far, appears to be of a rare dwarf variety. Miskīn's line is easily followed in its even, descriptive paths. Although no more ornamental than Basāwan's, it is better suited to drawing than painting, for its delicacy is lost when accompanied by any but the thinnest washes.¹ Colour is harmonious but casual. One cannot imagine Basāwan employing his largest and hottest patch of vermillion in the costume of an incidental personage, such as the groom in the right foreground. In compositions as strictly controlled as Basāwan's, such placing of a dominant colour would have distracted us from the drama and seriously upset the design. Here, it is scarcely noticeable.

Next to Basāwan's characterizations, those of Miskīn appear slightly wooden and inexpressive. The dead boy's face is as placid as his mother's and the Shah appears quite unmoved as he offers up his life (Pl. VIII, Fig. 19). Neither faces nor gestures reveal more than the barest essentials of the plot, causing us to long for some of Basāwan's human insights that add so much to his illustrations. One wonders what he would

¹ Basil Gray, "Painting", *Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 134, no. 708 for an example of Miskīn's drawing in line and local tone, his happiest technique. This drawing should be dated to the first years of the 17th century, prior to the accession of Jahāngīr. It does not represent the episode in Jahāngīr's memoirs to which it has been related. Stuart C. Welch, Jr. "Mughal and Decani Miniatures in An American Private Collection," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 5 (1962), no. 5.

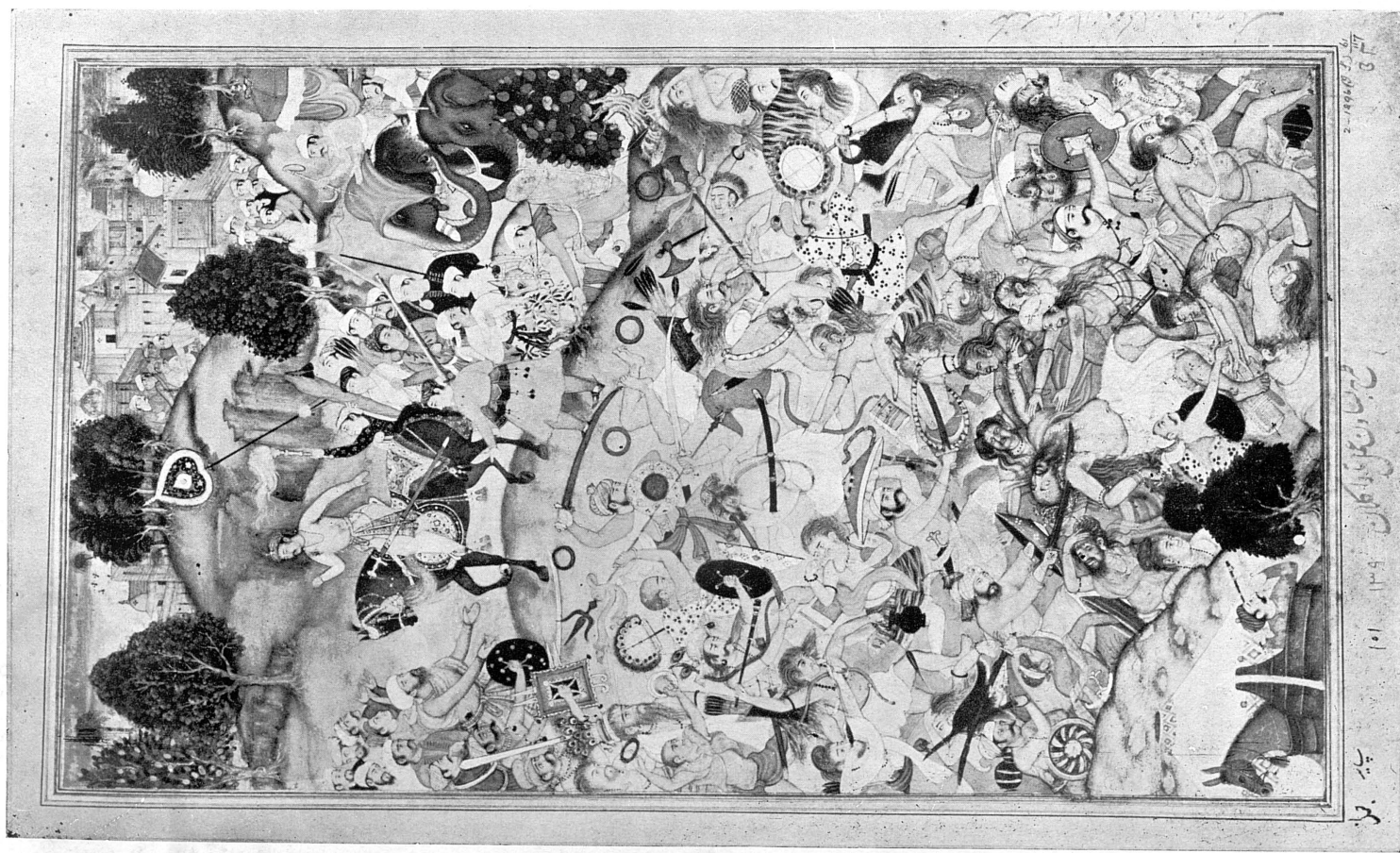


Fig. 15. Akbar watching a fight between rival bands of yogis. From the *Akbar-nāma*.
Inscribed "Outline by Basāwan, painted by Tarā the Elder."
Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 16. A shepherd boy slain by a Shah's unerring arrow. Probably from a *Khamsa* of
Amir Khosrau Dihlavi, attributed to Miskin.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

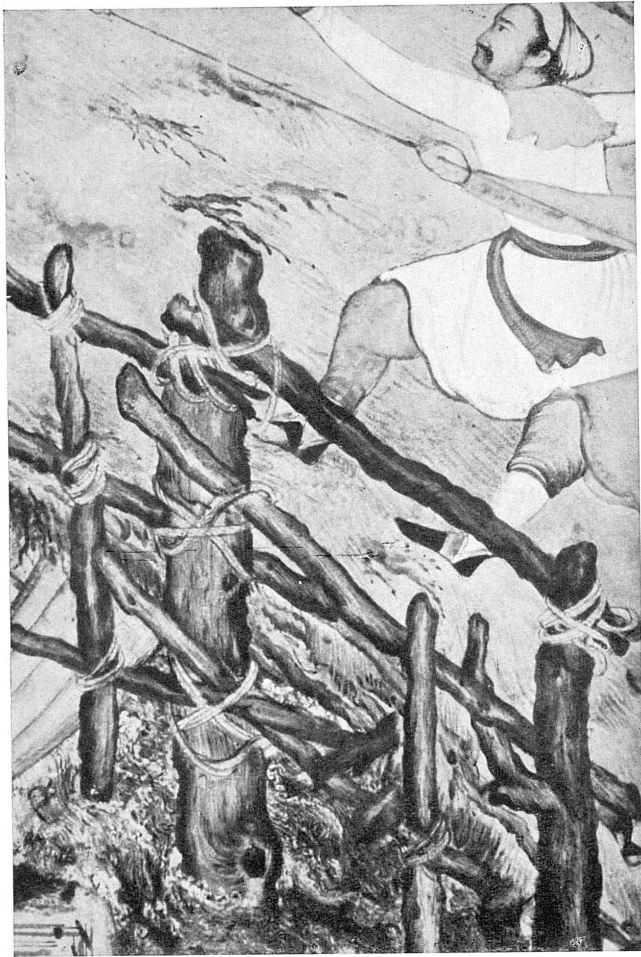


Fig. 17. Detail of the bridge in Pl. IV, fig. 9.
Outlined and retouched by Basāwan.



Fig. 18. A dying yogi.
Detail from Pl. VII, fig. 15.
Outlined and retouched by
Basāwan.



Fig. 19. The Shah offers his life to an old woman. Detail from Pl. VII, fig. 16.

have done to enliven the Shah's attendants, whose reactions are so conventional that they might just as well be assisting at a darbar. On the opposite side of the page, three shepherd boys react with the unassimilated gestures of their baroque prototypes, an unabashed quotation from European influence.

We have probably treated Miskin unfairly in comparing his work to Basāwan's primarily on points at which Basāwan excelled. Notwithstanding our complaints, Miskin's page charms us with its lyrical impression of a bright, airy day, an atmospheric effect that Basāwan has not shown us. Even though the story may not be told in the most dramatically profound terms, there are compensations. The horses in the distance, mushroom-shaped rocks, reclining sheep, and immaculately white city are parts of a fanciful, peaceful, and exceedingly beautiful world in which episodes like the shepherd boy's death have no place. It is no wonder, therefore, that Miskin has so understated the tragedy. Assigned the same subject, one can imagine Basāwan making far more of the implications of accidental killing. His illustration would have given us a thoroughly distressing corpse, whose useless slaughter would haunt us, a movingly noble Shah, and an old woman towards whom we could feel pity. The observers, too, would be worth studying, as Basāwan's subtle mind would discover their deepest feelings in spite of their minor roles. His setting could be explored for concealed meanings, and if we were sensitive and perspecting, we might uncover a few of them. For Basāwan's mind operated on a different level from those of other Mughal artists, revealing itself not only in the creation of splendid colouristic and tectonic compositions but also in imponderables. Queenly shaped trees, ambiguous rock forms, and mysterious crevices are the background for Basāwan's players, not quaint vistas.

If Miskin's talent seems slight as compared to Basāwan's so does that of every other Mughal artist, with the possible exception of the unknowable Dāswanth. One looks in vain through the ranks of Akbar's atelier for a painter of equal stature. Several rank very high: Kesū Dās, Lāl, Nanha, the two Farrukhs (Beg and Chela), Mādhū, and Sanwallah to name but a few. But none of these has the breadth of Basāwan, who can delight us with his wit, move us with his compassion, and yield greater rewards each time we see his paintings. And is this so surprising? After all, the emperor and his omniscient biographer were in a unique position to evaluate the court artists, and according to Abū'l Fazl Basāwan was "unrivalled in the world."

FURTHER UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES FROM MEWAR

Adris Banerji

Bāroli, Bāḍoli or Bāroli, since James Tod visited it, has justly been famous for its *rekḥā* temples. But the fact that at one time it had many sculptures of undoubted merit, distributed amongst neighbouring fanes, is not so well known. They have been kept in a godown maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India, and a few are to be found in Kotah Museum.

Historically, the area was strategic; and notwithstanding its difficult terrain was occupied. But our actual knowledge about the material culture is very meagre. Therefore, these sculptures supply us with valuable data about style, technique and economic conditions. Like Bihar, Mewari-Pathar and Bundi-Kotah hills abounded in fine grained multi-coloured granites, schists and sandstones. It is inconceivable that the Bhils, the Minās, Huns, the Pratihāras, the Chāhamānas and the Paramāras failed to take advantage of this wealth of material.

The religious character of the sculptures are Śaiva and generally Śākta, or addicted to Śaktism. This makes possible two conclusions. That Śaivism once played a great factor in the life of ancient and medieval Rajasthan. Secondly, they show that Baroli was a famous place of Śaiva pilgrimage and worship. This is as it should be, since Rajputs were more Śaiva than Vaishṇava. It agreed with their ideals, the feudal chivalry they established over the rubble and shamble of their classical heritage, their pattern of socio-economic life, their love of outdoor sports and women. It was at a later date, when the period of 'blood, toil and tears' was over, that Vallabhāchārya's *Pushṭimārga* won their fancy to create Nathdwara, Mirā Bāi and Rājā Sāvant Singh, alias Nāgaridāsa.

Rāṇā Mokal (c. A.D. 1420-1428) erected a temple of 'Dwārkanāyak', forgetting the generations of Rajputs who had given their lives with the name of 'Ekaliṅgaji' in their mouth. Rāṇā Kumbha, his son and successor (c. A.D. 1430-1468), was a convert to Vaishṇavism. His daughter was married to a Vaishṇava. Rāṇā Rāyamalla (c. A.D. 1473-1503) had erected a temple of Dāmodara in Kumbhalmere fort about A.D. 1498. The fact which is gradually receiving recognition is that 16th century India was not merely a vast crucible of races, cultures and sects, when the Afghans had spent themselves; but that it produced many original thinkers, who realised that the old rigidity of social organization must give way to a catholic way of living. When Rāmātanu embraced Islam to marry Hussaini and became Miā Tānsen, Haridāsa extended to him his protection and allowed him to remain as his follower with his wife.

The time of the destruction of these sculptures can be fixed with some certainty. The various vicissitudes through which Mewar passed are very well known, but the earliest tragedy and one of the greatest moments of its glory was the invasion by Ālāuddin Khālji. Chitor ultimately fell in A.D. 1303. Its siege was long and protracted, but during this period the Turki army did not remain idle, but paid attention to the countryside. The evidence of this is forthcoming from the annals of Bhainsrorgarh, in which estate Baroli was located. Tod informs us that Bhainsror was visited by Ālāuddin, who was determined to leave not one stone upon another of the temples and palaces of Bhainsror.¹ The discussion on temples of

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London 1957, vol. II, p. 528.

FURTHER UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES FROM MEWAR

Baroli must be kept for the future, because, they supply internal evidence of vandalism and repairs.

1. *Monkey of granite* (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). The animal is shown seated on its haunches and baring its teeth. Probably utilised on the *śikhara* of some temple. C. 9th century A.D.
2. *Image of Viṣṇu of coarse grained sandstone* (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). The upper hands hold *gadā* and *chakra*; while the lower left hand holds a *śaṅkha* and the right, raised in *abhaya mudrā*, holds a lotus. It is showed with a plain *karaṇḍa-mukuta* earrings or *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra* at the neck, *kaṅkaṇa* and *valaya* in the hands. A long garland-like object reaches below the knees (probably *vanamālā*). C. 12th century A.D.
3. *Divinity seated in a niche in dhyānāsana* (Pl. IX, Fig. 3). Very damaged. The upper left hand holds what is probably a dagger or a *pothi*. C. 12th century A.D.
4. *A divinity* (Pl. IX, Fig. 4). The figure has a wealth of curly hair treated in schematic fashion, and is wearing necklace, *bāju*, a bangle (*valaya*) of beads and a long chain of pearls or beads. He is trying to raise himself. His left leg is over the ground, while only the upper half of the right is visible. He is wearing a loin cloth held by a bejewelled *kaṭibandhana*. His right hand is raised and the left holds a snake. There is the suggestion of energy and power. The slightly bent little torso vibrates with energy and power, but the face is calm and serene. C. 9th century A.D.
5. *Head (probably Śiva)* (Pl. X, Figs. 5 and 6). The head is carved of fine grained granite. It has a straight aquiline nose, eyes and full lips. The right ear is damaged. On the curly hair is set a small coronet, and tufts of hair are seen below the coronet. The sensuous lips and shallow cheeks with a dispassionate expression, indicate power and majesty. C. A.D. 900. Possibly an example of Pratihāra art, when Chitorgarh had a garrison.
6. *Small image of Viṣṇu*. Made of course-grained sandstone, the figure is similar to Pl. X, Fig. 2, in all iconographic details except that here Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are seen on either side. As in Buddhist images three figures are seen above the head.
7. *Vīṇādhara Śiva* (Pl. X, Fig. 7). Śiva is seen wearing *jaṭā-mukuta* and is seated on Nandī, holding the *vīṇā* in the two lower hands, the *triśūla* in the upper left and an indistinct object in the upper right. Just as he was a great teacher in dance and for which we have the various *nṛtta-mūrtis*, Śiva was also a versatile teacher of music, worshipped as *Vīṇādhara*. It is a form of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and is found in the *Kāmika*, *Aṃsubheda* and *Karaṇāgamas*. The position of the left leg is called *utkutika*.¹ C. 12th century A.D.
8. *Vaiṣṇavī* (Pl. XI, Fig. 8). She is four-handed. Her *vāhana* is Garuḍa. In this respect Mewar artists followed the tradition of *Devī-Purāṇa* to a certain extent. She carries in her left hands the *gadā* and the *śaṅkha*. She wears *valaya*, *kaṅkaṇa* and *bāju* and around her neck she wears a necklace. The upper right hands are damaged. She has full hips and breasts, while the waist is attenuated. The face is damaged. She wears a *karaṇḍa-mukuta*.² C. 12th century A.D.
9. *Head of a female divinity (Pārvatī?)* (Pl. XI, Fig. 9). Her hair is held by a circular chaplet with a betel leaf design at the centre. She wears circular *kuṇḍalas*. The eyes are shaped like lotus petals. C. 11th century A.D.
10. *Female divinity* (Pl. XI, Fig. 10). Only the head and torso are preserved. She wears a tight

¹ T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 289 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

fitting *hāra* and another with rows of beads and lotus petals below the neck. From its centre, a chain issues and falls between the breasts. A third and larger necklace falls over the breasts. C. 11th century A.D.

11. *Kaumārī* (Pl. XI, Fig. 11). According to T. A. G. Rao, *Kaumārī* is a female copy of *Kumāra*, *Skanda* or *Kārttikeya*. She is supposed to have four hands or twelve hands, but in the present example she has only two hands, in which she is carrying *śakti* and citron. She is seated on a peacock and her hair is covered by *vāchikā*. The differences with South Indian *āgamas* need not surprise us, as I have pointed out elsewhere.¹ C. 12th century A.D.

12. *Indrāṇī* (Pl. XII, Fig. 12). The figure of *Indrāṇī* has two hands, in one of which she holds the *vajra* and the other rests on her left knee. These iconographic peculiarities do not agree with those mentioned in *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Devī-Purāṇa* or the *Āgamas*, confirming the hypothesis made in the preceding paragraph. She is seated on an elephant. C. 12th century A.D.

13. *Brahmāṇī* or *Brahmī* (Pl. XII, Fig. 13). This is the female counterpart of *Brahmā*. She carries the *śūla*, *kamaṇḍalu* and *akshamālā* in three hands; the fourth is damaged. The lions below the throne have no iconographic value. She is seated on a red lotus. C. 11th century A.D.

14. *Chāmūṇḍā* (Pl. XII, Fig. 14). The figure is shown emaciated and with pendulous breasts. She has two hands in which she carries a *pātra* and a bow (?). A third bowl is seen between her legs. C. 11th century A.D.

15. *Gaṇeśa seated with modaka bhāṇḍa* (Pl. XII, Fig. 15). C. 12th century A.D.

Evidently these images formed part of an *Ashṭa-mātā* temple at Baroli.

Photographs courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

¹ *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 6 ff.

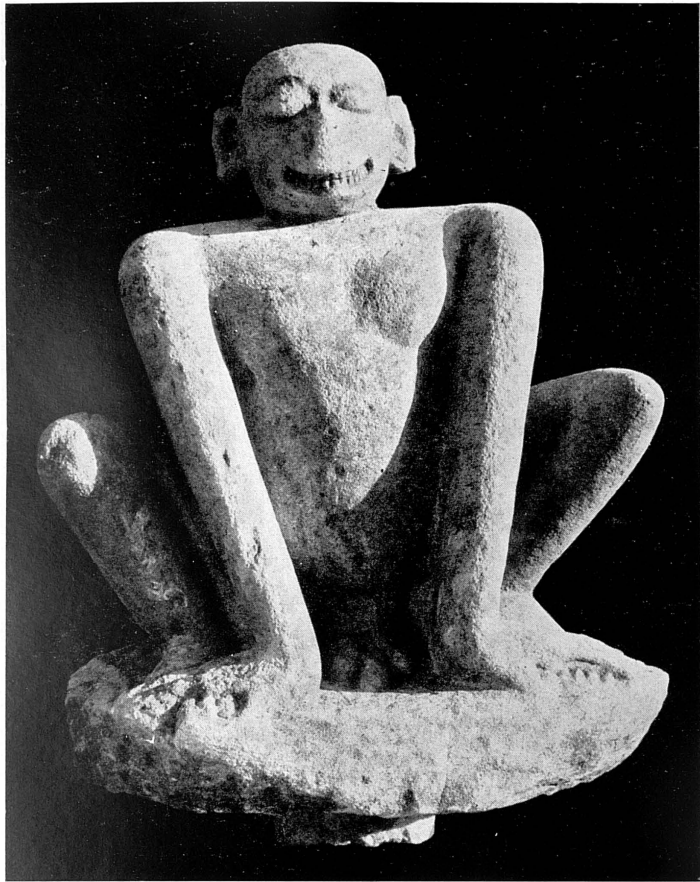


Fig. 1. Monkey. Granite. C. 9th century A.D. Baroli.

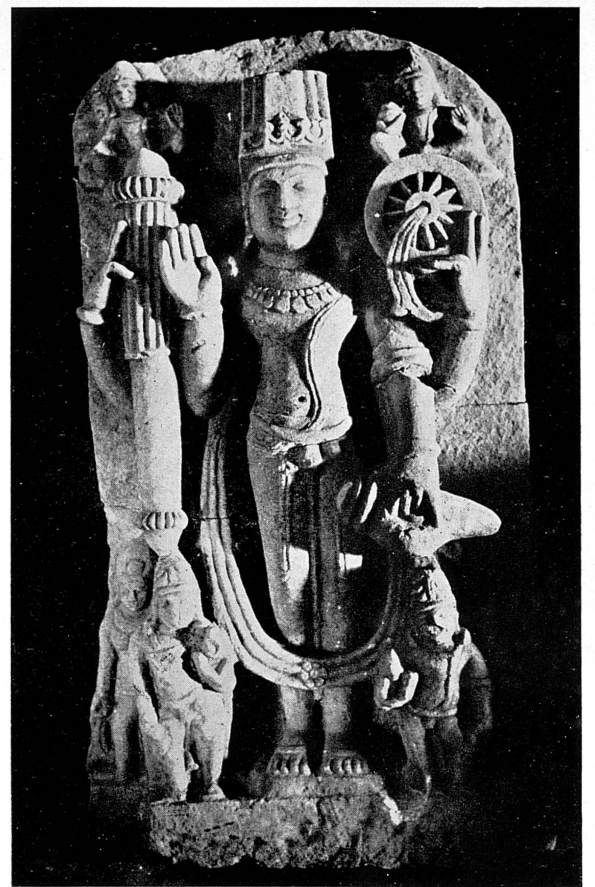


Fig. 2. Vishnu. Sandstone. C. 12th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 3. Divinity seated in *dhyānāsana*. C. 12th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 4. Unidentified divinity. C. 9th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 5.

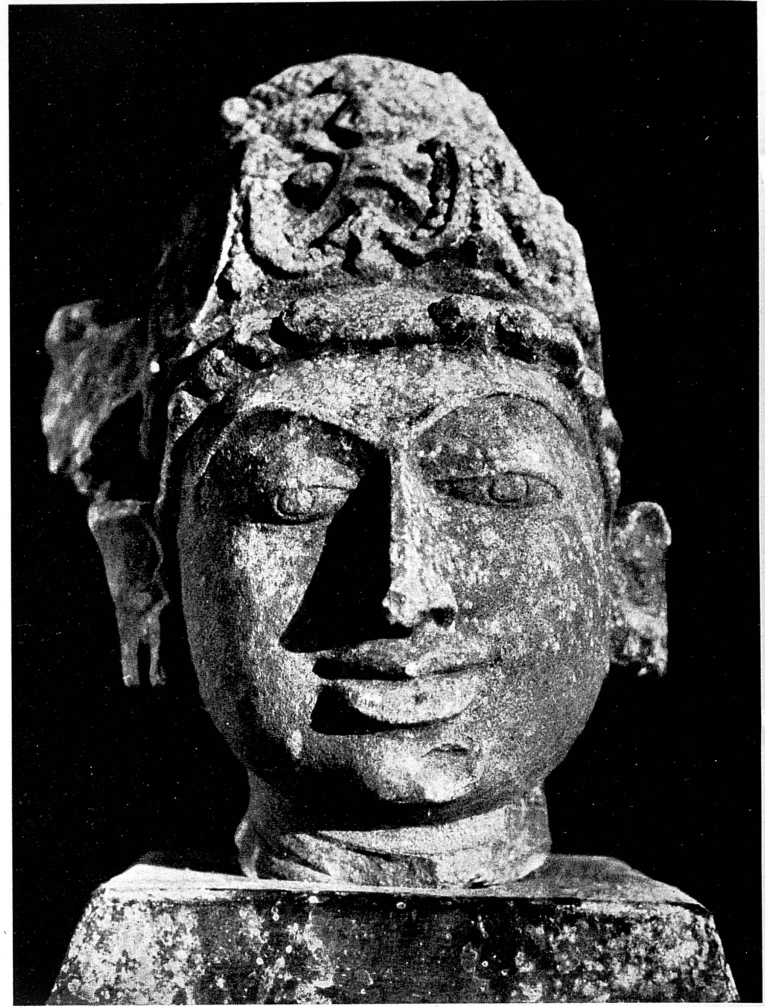


Fig. 6.

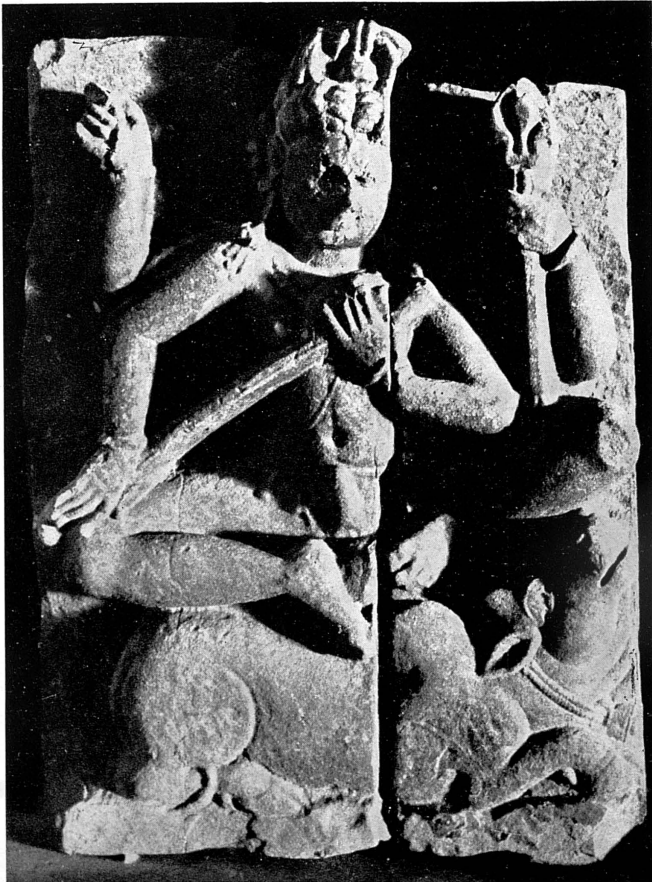


Fig. 7.

Fig. 5. Śiva (?). Fine-grained granite. C. A.D. 900. Baroli.

Fig. 6. Frontal view of fig. 5.

Fig. 7. Vīṇādhara Śiva. Baroli.



Fig. 8. Vaishṇavī C. 12th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 9. Pārvatī (?). C. 11th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 10. Female divinity. C. 11th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 11. Kaumārī. C. 12th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 12. Indrāṇī. C. 12th century A.D. Baroli.



Fig. 13. Brahmāṇī. C. 11th century A.D. Baroli.



SOME INTERESTING GAṆA FIGURES FROM PANNA

K. D. Bajpai

The *gaṇas* of Śiva have been immortalized in Indian literature and art. The *purāṇas* give interesting accounts of these *gaṇas*. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,¹ Bhūti, the daughter of Krodha, was married to a *rishi* called Pulaha. Bhūti gave birth to no less than one lakh of *gaṇas*, who all became attendants of Śiva. Their bodily forms and features are graphically described in the *purāṇas*. Some of them were very fat, others were lean and thin; some were of colossal size and many were small-statured, hunched or pot-bellied. Most of the *gaṇas* had long hair (*jaṭā*). Their skins were of different colours—black, red, yellow, etc. They held various weapons (*āyudhas*), such as the bow, arrow, mace, sword and trident. Some of them wore peculiar dress and ornaments; others were completely naked. All these *gaṇas*, according to the *purāṇa*,² were life-long bachelors (*brahmachārīn*). Several other *purāṇas* give similar descriptions of the *gaṇas*. We learn from these accounts that a battalion of the *gaṇas* was lent by Śiva to his son, Kārttikeya, who had to fight with the *dāityas*. The *Mahābhārata*³ too describes the *gaṇas* (also called Pārshadas) as attendants of Skanda. According to the epic, the *gaṇas* bore faces of various animals and birds like the elephant, lion, dog, fox, boar, tortoise, cock, crow, owl, parrot and falcon.

From the Sanskrit literature we learn about the names of several leaders of the *gaṇas* such as Nandī, Bhṛīṅgī, Durmukha, Kumbhāṇḍa, Kumbhodara,⁴ Pramatha,⁵ etc. These leaders had to perform special duties. They gave commands to their subordinate *gaṇas* and maintained discipline among them. When lord Śiva retired for penance in a secluded bower, Nandī,⁶ the leader, was posted at the gate with a heavy stick in hand. Placing a finger at his lip, Nandī warned the *gaṇas* not to disturb the meditation of Śiva.⁷ Some of the *gaṇa* leaders were represented as doorkeepers (*dvārapālas*) in the temples of Śiva.⁸

Kālidāsa has given some very amusing descriptions of the *gaṇas* in the *Kumārasambhava*. At one place he describes them as sitting on a hillock, dressed in the *bhojapatra* bark, their hair decorated with flowers.⁹ On the occasion of the marriage of their lord, the *gaṇas* were in a joyful mood. Some of them were blowing the musical instruments loudly enough to attract the attention of the gods in the sky. Before leaving for the bride's place, Śiva is described as looking at his face in the mirror-like shining sword, held by one of the *gaṇas*.¹⁰ On the birth of Kumāra Kārttikeya, the *gaṇas* were asked to make

¹ *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 69, vv 224-256.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Śalya Parva*, ch. 45, 76 ff.

⁴ *Raghuvamśa*, I, 5.

⁵ The word *pramatha* also stands for a gang of *gaṇas* in the *Vṛhatsamhitā* (ch. 57). Gaṇeśa is called lord of the *pramathas*, who seem to have been notorious for their childish activities.

⁶ Nandī is represented both in the bull and human forms.

⁷ *Kumārasambhava*, III, 41.

⁸ Cf. *Aparājitaprichhā* (133, 1), which mentions Nandī, Mahākāla, Heramba, etc. as *dvārapālas* of Śiva.

⁹ *Kumāra*, I, 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 40 and 36.

necessary preparations befitting the occasion. They performed their duties with unusual zeal.¹ Kālidāsa has also referred to the dance of Bhṛīṅgī, one of the *gaṇa* leaders. The dance was violent enough to frighten Pārvatī.² Another poet, Bhāravi, has described the army of the *gaṇas* of peculiar forms holding various weapons. They were accompanying their lord Śiva, who had assumed the form of a wild man, *kirāta*.³

In ancient Indian art, the *gaṇas* are represented in various interesting ways. In the Gupta Śiva temple at Bhūmarā (now in the Panna District of Madhya Pradesh), sculptures depicting *gaṇas* were found in large numbers, carved on the walls of the temple.⁴ The major part of the temple has lately been removed to the Allahabad Museum. Some of the pieces carved with *gaṇa* figures were shifted to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The *gaṇas* are shown here with faces in various dance postures and playing musical instruments. Some of them hold various *āyudhas* and wear peculiar dresses. At Ellora, several panels depict Śiva and Pārvatī with the *gaṇas*. In one of the panels is seen Nandī in the bull form, tended by several *gaṇas*. The most interesting scene at Ellora is found on a big panel in the Ramesvara cave. The occasion is the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Under their feet is seen a long row of playful *gaṇas*, about two dozen in number. They exhibit various interesting forms. Some *gaṇas* are carrying banners, etc., some are playing on musical instruments, while others are dancing.⁵

In the Kailasnatha Svami temple at Kāñjivaram, Śiva is seen in an intricate dance-pose. Three of his *gaṇas* are shown in a niche below, mimicking Śiva's dance.⁶ Similar scenes are found in other temples of South India. Mention may be made of a rock-cut temple at Badami, wherein several *gaṇas* are seen dancing and playing on musical instruments.⁷

Recently some very interesting figures of *gaṇas* were found by me at Panna. The exact provenance of these sculptures is not known to the local people. It, however, appears that they were brought to Panna either from the Bhūmarā-Lakhūrā site or from some other Gupta site near about. In size they are bigger than the previous *gaṇa* figures found at Bhūmarā. Seven pieces are kept in the Panna town on the bank of a lake known as 'Dharma Sagar'. Two pieces are preserved in the Ramban Museum near Satna. All these are made of red sandstone. They bear traces of lime-plaster, which indicates that at one time they formed part of some structure. The sculptures are described below.⁸

1. Slab (ht. 2'-3"; Pl. XIII, Fig. 1) showing the figure of a *gaṇa* supporting a mace-like club with his right arm and holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in his hands. A *ḍamaru* is tied to the club. The *gaṇa* has long hair falling on the shoulders. He has prominent moustaches and beard and wears a long embroidered tunic coming down under his knees. The ornaments consist of heavy triple earrings, wristlets and a torque. His large lenticular eyes and the facial expression make the appearance typically grotesque.

¹ *Kumāra*, XI, 30-32.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 48.

³ *Kirātārjunīyam*, XII, 43.

⁴ R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmrā* (Memoir no. 16, Department of Archaeology).

⁵ T. A. G. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pt. 2, pls. XXVII, XXIX and CV.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. LXX, pp. 269-70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. XCIV and XCIX.

⁸ I am thankful to Shri Naidu, the Collector of Panna, for giving me necessary facilities and permission to publish these relics.

SOME INTERESTING GAṆA FIGURES FROM PANNA

2. Slab (ht. 2'-3"; Pl. XIII, Fig. 2) carved with the figure of a dancing *gaṇa*. The right hand is raised above and the left is stretched down to the right. The *gaṇa* is wearing a crown on the head tied with a fillet. The locks of the hair are tastefully arranged, tied with a garland and falling to the left. He wears a spiralled earring in the right and a single ring in the left ear. Other ornaments consist of a torque, *yajñopavīta*, armlets and wristlets. The short undergarment is tied with a thick waist-band. The bulging belly and the delightful facial expression are remarkably shown.¹
3. Slab (ht. 1'-11"; Pl. XIII, Fig. 3) showing the figure of a *gaṇa* in dance-pose. The right hand, which was raised up, is broken; the left one is stretched out under the shoulder. The *jaṭājūta* is tied with a broad fillet embossed with lotus flowers. Besides the undergarment (*ardhoruka*), tied with a heavy waistband, and the upper garment (*uttariya*), the dancer is also wearing earrings and a torque with a prominent amulet in the shape of a tortoise.²
4. Stone piece (ht. 2'-6"; Pl. XIII, Fig. 4) carved with the figure of a dancing *gaṇa* holding a dagger-like object in his raised right hand and part of the upper garment in the left. The face, the left arm and the left leg are partly damaged. The coiffure in the form of mango fruits is interesting. A scarf is tied over his left shoulder. Besides the *lāgoṭa* and the upper garment, he is wearing earrings, double-stringed torque with an interesting pendant in the shape of a scorpion,³ and tinkling anklets.
5. Slab (ht. 2'-3½"; Pl. XIV, Fig. 5) with the figure of a dancing *gaṇa*. The hands and the right leg are mutilated. The hair tied with garlands and fillets is arranged in beautiful curls. The left foot is held straight, while the right is raised up in the dance-pose. The broken hands were also held in the dance-pose. The dress consists of a long upper garment, a *lāgoṭa*, heavy earrings and torque with an ornamental broad amulet. The facial expression shows the *gaṇa* to be in a distressing mood.
6. Broken stone slab (ht. 2'-3"; Pl. XIV, Fig. 6) with the figure of a dancing *gaṇa*. His right hand is raised up and the left is held straight under the right. The face is worn out. The left leg is also partly broken. The arrangement of the hair, tied with a garland, is interesting. The lower garment is held by a thick *muñja-mekhalā*. The figure wears the usual ornaments.
7. Broken stone slab (ht. 1'-4") showing a *gaṇa* seated in easy posture. The head and the right hand are broken. But for the necklace and a double-stringed waistband tied on his belly, the figure is completely nude. The *gaṇa* is holding some indistinct object in his left hand.

The following two statues of *gaṇas* are now exhibited in the Museum at Ramban, District Satna.

8. Broken slab (ht. 1'-3"; Pl. XIV, Fig. 7) depicting the upper part of a stout *gaṇa* figure holding a heavy mace.⁴ He probably represents a *dvārapāla* of Śiva. He has curly hair and a well trimmed moustache.

¹ This dance-pose can be seen in the Bhūmarā *gaṇa* figures (R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmrā*, pl. IX, a to c). Cf. also the *gaṇa* figures at Ellora Cave no. XXI (Rao, *Hindu Iconography*).

² The shape of tortoise forming an amulet is found in the torques worn by *gaṇas* and other figures in ancient Indian art. At Ellora, Cave XXI, two *gaṇas* are seen wearing *kachchhapa*-amulets. Tortoise-shaped beads in semi-precious stones are also known.

³ Scorpion-shaped amulets are very rare. I have come across only one similar, in Cave no. 29 of Ellora, wherein the *Rāvaṇanugraha*mūrti, a *gaṇa* of Śiva, is seen wearing a necklace with a scorpion-shaped amulet. The scorpion here has its tail upwards unlike the Panna figure where the tail is shown below (cf. the scorpion-amulets, illustrated in pl. XLIII, no. 260-a b c by W. M. Flinders Petrie in his *Amulets*, London 1914). A scorpion is found on some images of the goddess Kaṅkāli, shown in her naval or belly (e.g. sculpture no. 403 in the Allahabad Museum obtained from Gurgi and a Kaṅkāli figure in the Baro temple, Vidiśā District).

⁴ For *gaṇas* holding such maces see R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmrā*, pl. X.

LALIT KALĀ

Besides a *dhotī*, with a waistband, he wears necklace (*ekāvalī*), earrings and wristlets. Above his bulging belly is seen the thick scarf tied round.

9. Stone slab (ht. 1'-2") depicting a *gaṇa* figure with disproportionate limbs. His protruding belly, heavy lips, long nose and broad eyes are remarkable. He wears a long cap on his head.

These sculptures formed part of a Gupta Śaiva temple. For the study of the dress and ornaments, as well as for the iconographic study of the period, they are indeed welcome additions.

Photographs courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, University of Sagar (M.P.).



Fig. 1. *Gana* holding mace. Ht. 2'-3". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 2. Dancing *gana*. Ht. 2'-3". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 3. *Gana* in dance-pose. Ht. 1'-11". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 4. Dancing *gana*. Ht. 2'-6". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 5. Dancing *gana*. Ht. 2'-3½". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 6. Dancing *gana*. Ht. 2'-3". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.



Fig. 7. *Gana*. Ht. 1'-3". Red sandstone. Panna. Gupta.

THREE WESTERN CHĀLUKYA BRONZE BELLS

N. Ramesan

About a year ago, three bronze bells were discovered in the bed of the river, near the village Kulpauk of Warangal District, Andhra Pradesh. Information was given to me at once, and thanks to the prompt action taken by Syed Ahmed, Conservation Assistant of the Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad, the bells were retrieved immediately, and brought to the Government Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad. These bells are now on view in the Archaeological Museum in the public gardens of Hyderabad (Pl. XV, Figs. 1 and 2; Pl. XVI, Fig. 3).

The bronze bells are in a state of excellent preservation, and give a deep resonant and booming sound, when struck. The tongue of one of the bell is intact, while in the other two, the top handle and the tongue are missing. One of the bells (Pl. XVI, Fig. 3) has an inscription while the other two bells are not inscribed.

The inscription on the bell (Pl. XVI, Fig. 3) consists of a single line of 35 letters. The script is the last variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet called the alphabet of old Canarese, which in the words of Bühler "does not differ much from the modern Canarese and Telugu scripts." The script contains all the peculiarities of the Western Chālukya script. On grounds of palaeography the date of the inscription could be put down to the 11th century A.D. The inscription when deciphered reads as follows:

Svasti srīmatu Kandappa Nāyakaru

Kolliṭṭakeya Sakharesvarada Someśvara

Devarige kottipuja.

It means, that the bell was given as an offering to the god Someśvara who resides at Kollipaka by Kandappa Nāyaka.

The village in which the bells were discovered is now called Kulpauk and is a famous Jaina centre. It is therefore clear that the modern village Kulpauk in Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh is the same as Kollipaka of the inscription on the bells. There is a Śiva temple here and the Lord is being worshipped here under the name of Lord Someśvara. Thus, the name of the Lord as Someśvara is still unchanged from the medieval times.

This inscription gives an important clue to the identification of the medieval Kollipaka, a famous Western Chālukya capital. The exact location of this Kollipaka has been a matter of some doubt. References to Kollipaka are found in the following places.

(a) A record in the Tanjore temple about the sixth year of the great Choḷa king Rājendra Choḷa (A.D. 1018) says that he conquered Kollipaka whose walls were surrounded by *sulli* trees or bushes.¹

The inscription contains the words *Sulli chuḻ madil Kolliṭṭak Raiyum*.

(b) A similar statement is found in a record at Nandigunda in the Nanjangud taluk of Mysore in the Śaka year 943 (A.D. 1021). The name here is given as Kollipaka.²

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 90.

² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. III, p. 134.

- (c) Similarly in a record at Tadi Malingi in the Tirumakudal Narsipur *taluk* of Mysore of the 10th year of the same king, a similar statement is found, but the name here occurs in Tamil as Kollippakkai.¹
- (d) Another inscription of the 12th year of the same king in the Tirumala hill also mentions the place.²
- (e) The place is next mentioned in the record at Bhairanmatti of the Bijapur District where it is stated that in Śaka year 955 (A.D. 1033-1034) the Western Chāḷukya king Jagadeka Malla (Jayasimha II) was reigning “*Kollipakeya bidinol*” in the camp of Kollipaka.³
- (f) A record at Belgami in the Shikarpur *taluk* of Mysore, of the time of the Western Chāḷukya king Trilokya Malla (Someśvara I) gives to the governor under him, a title of guardian of Kollipaka (*Kollipakeya kavam*).⁴
- (g) In a Tamil inscription of A.D. 1046 at Gangavarapalli in the Devanhalli *taluk* of Mysore,⁵ and at Manimangalam in Conjeevaram *taluk* of Madras State,⁶ the great Choḷa king Rājarāja is said to have caused Kollipaka to be set on fire in a war against Ahavamalla, i.e., Western Chāḷukya king Someśvara I.
- (h) There is also a Telugu record at Chebrolu in the Bapatla *taluk* of Guntur District of the Śaka year 1049 (A.D. 1127) of the 9th year of Vikrama Choḷa, where a fudatory called Nambayya who is called the lord of the city of Kollipaka was governing the country.⁷
- (i) The last reference to Kollipaka is found in a copper plate inscription of the time of Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva Rāya in Śaka year 1478 (A.D. 1666),⁸ where a grant of 31 villages has been made, including the village Kollipaka which is described as *grāmam pratītam cha manoharam*, i.e., the village which is famous and also beautiful.
- (j) In the recent publications of the Andhra Pradesh Department of Archaeology, viz., *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, the word Kollipaka clearly occurs in monolithic records that have been discovered there. For example, Epigraph Nos. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52⁹ give clear reference to Kollipaka, which is the same as Kolanupaka.

The Vijayanagara copper plate inscription quoted above shows that the word Kollipaka has, during the course of some centuries, come to be called Kulpaka. It is now known as Kulpauk. It is situated about four miles to the northwest of Alir, a station on the Hyderabad-Bezawada line, and 42 miles from Secunderabad. It has an ancient Jaina temple of the Śvetāmbaras which has been recently restored. The discovery of the bells at Kulpauk and the inscription of Kollipaka prove that the Kollipaka of the medieval inscription is none other than the modern Kulpauk of Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh. Thus the present discovery conclusively establishes that the modern Kulpauk was the ancient city of one of the governors of the Western Chāḷukyas and which was called then Kollipakkai.

The name Kandappa Nāyakaru, who has offered these bells to the Lord of Kollipaka, is obviously the

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. III, p. 34.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 95.

³ *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. III, p. 230.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VI, p. 323.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 75.

⁶ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, p. 51.

⁷ *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. VI, p. 233.

⁸ F. Kielhorn, “British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya Śaka-Samvat 1478,” *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. IV, pp. 1-22.

⁹ P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai, *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series No. 3, Hyderabad 1961, pp. 17-18.

THREE WESTERN CHĀLUKYA BRONZE BELLS

same as the famous Western Chālukya general Gandappa Nāyaka, who figures in some of the medieval inscriptions. The inscriptions of the famous Chōla king Rājādhirāja which mentions the incidents in his 27th regnal year, i.e., A.D. 1045, refer to a pitched battle in Dhannada, i.e., Dhānyakaṭaka, in which the irresistible forces of Rājādhirāja struck terror in the mind of Ahavamalla, whose generals Gandappaya and Gaṅgādhara perished with their elephants. The other warriors Vikki, Vijayāditya and Saṅgamaya, fled the field, and the city of Kollipaka was consigned to the flames.¹ Ahavamalla, Vikki, Vijayāditya and Saṅgamaya are all identical with the Western Chālukya kings and this and the other Chōla inscriptions make it clear, that during the Chōla incursion in the Western Chālukyan dominion, Kollipaka was first taken by Rājendra Chōla earlier and set fire to later by Rājādhirāja. It is perhaps possible that in the interregnum between the two kings, the Western Chālukyas reasserted themselves and got back the place.

Kollipaka is also mentioned in the *Rājaśekhara-vilāsa* as the birthplace of Reṇukeśa or Reṇukāchārya, the great Vira Śaiva saint. According to this poem, Reṇukeśa was born from the linga at Kollipaka and was absorbed again into it, after he had begotten a son called Rudra Muniśvara, whom he installed in the office of the Guru. Reṇukeśa was one of the Pañchāchāryas or the five preceptors who established the *lingāyat* sect and is said to have founded a Maṭha at Kollipakai of which he gave the headship to his son Rudra Muniśvara.

According to Vira Śaiva tradition, Reṇukāchārya is the same as Revanasiddha, who is said to have taught Agastya, the sage of Pañchavaṭī, with whom Rāma resided, the doctrines of Śata-sthala and 101 *sthalas*, as embodied in the *Siddhānta Sikhamani*, and to have presided over the ceremony of consecration (*sthāpanā*) of three crores of lingas. This saint Revanāchārya is said to have sprung from the Someśvara linga of Kollipakai, and lived for a long time preaching Vira Śaivism.²

The poet Shaḍākshara, author of *Rājaśekhara Vilāsam* traces his descent from Chikkavīra Deva who is supposed to have come from Rudra Muniśvara's lineage along with Uddana Ganadhiśvara, Annadanisa, and Revana Siddheśvara. His disciples are still said to be found at Kollipakai.

From the above grounds, it is clear that Kulpauk was a famous city in medieval times not only as the seat of one of the governors of the Western Chālukya rulers but also as closely associated with the Vira Śaiva religion.

The bells are carved beautifully. Above the dome or body of the bell and below the top handle, there are in each bell, four figures to face the four cardinal points. The *lakṣaṇas* of all these icons closely resemble those given in the *āgamas*.

Bell No. I. The first figure on this bell, parallel to the top handle, is that of Gaṇapati (Pl. XV, Fig. 1). The figure of the deity occurs in the same position on the inscribed Bell No. 3 also (Pl. XVI, Fig. 4). Vighneśvara may be represented, according to the *āgamas*, either in a sitting or a standing posture. The figure here is in a sitting posture with its left leg folded and resting on a seat while the right leg is shown as bent and resting vertically on the seat. The trunk of the god is shown as turned towards the left and the belly of the Lord, who is also called Lambodara, is shown to be capacious. On the chest is a *yajñōpavīta* and a belt goes round the belly.

¹ G. Yazdani (ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, vol. I, p. 33.

² S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Viraśaivism*, p. 14.

According to the *āgamas*, there are different varieties of representation of Lord Gaṇapati like Bāla Gaṇapati, Taruṇa Gaṇapati, Bhakti Vighneśvara, Vīra Vighneśvara, Śakti Gaṇeśa, Mahā Gaṇapati, Piṅgala Gaṇapati, Heramba Gaṇapati, Prasanna Gaṇapati, etc. The Lord as represented here may be said to have the form of Kevala Gaṇapati.

He has in his left hand the *modaka*. In the back two hands, he holds the *aṅkuśa* and the *pāśa*. In his right arm he holds the tusk by which he is also called 'Ekadanta'. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* gives the reason for this. According to this *Purāṇa*, Paraśurāma, who killed all the Kshatriyas with the battle-axe lent to him by Lord Śiva, went to Kailāsa to offer his thanks to the Lord. He was stopped at the gate by Gaṇeśa since the Lord was sporting with Pārvatī inside. Paraśurāma in a fit of anger threw his battle-axe at Gaṇeśa who bore the blow with his tusk, which got broken on that account. Hence the Lord is shown as 'Ekadanta'. With this broken tusk, he is said to be writing the commentary on the scriptures. Gaṇapati also appears on Bell No. II.

The next figure that is represented on Bell No. 1, is Sūrya in a standing posture (Pl. XVI, Fig. 5). The image of the god also occurs on Bell No. II. The description of the icon of Lord Sūrya is given in the *Amsumatbhedāgama* and *Suprabhedāgama*. According to these *āgamas*, the Sun god should be represented with two hands, holding a lotus in each, and the hands should be so raised as to reach the shoulders. The head is to be surrounded by *kānti-maṇḍala* and the Lord should also wear *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. He should wear also earrings and across his chest there should be a *yajñopavīta*. The figure of the Lord should be made to stand on a *padma-pīṭha* by itself. Special instructions have been laid in the *āgamas* that the Sun god should be depicted as benevolent and handsome (*saumya-mūrti*) and that special attention should be paid to the beauty of the nose, forehead, chest, etc. The figures of the Sun god in the bells are represented exactly as laid down in the *āgamas*. He is shown standing on a *pīṭha* by himself, and holding a lotus in either hand. The *yajñopavīta* is shown prominently and the halo is also there, though not shown prominently. The whole figure is surrounded by a dotted *prabhāvalī*. The figure here closely resembles the figure of Sun in stone in the Paraśurameśvara temple of Gudimallam in Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh.

Next to the figure of Sūrya is that of Śiva in the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in a seated posture (Pl. XVII, Fig. 6). Śiva as a teacher of Yoga and other sciences is known by the name Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The great Advaitic teacher Śaṅkara has sung the praise of this aspect of Śiva in immortal verses. Dakṣiṇāmūrti is viewed in four different aspects, viz., as a teacher of Yoga, of *vīṇā*, of *jñāna* and also as expounder of the other *Śāstras* (*Vyākhyāna-mūrti*). It is generally the custom in all the Hindu temples of South India, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, to adorn the south wall of the central shrine with the figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. He has various forms like Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Yoga Dakṣiṇāmūrti and the Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti on the bell (Pl. XVII, Fig. 6), is shown as a seated figure with the left two hands holding the *akṣamālā* and what looks like a *triśūla*. The front right hand is kept in the *abhaya* posture while the front left hand holds a book. Normally the figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, whether he is in his *vyākhyāna* form or *jñāna* form should be shown with the front right hand held in the *jñānamudrā* or the *sudarśana-mudrā*. The back left hand should have either Agni or Sarpa or a lotus or a blue lotus. In the present figure the *akṣamālā* and the book clearly show that this is the figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. This figure



Fig. 1. Bronze Bell No. 1. Western Chālukya. From Kulpauk Village. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. 11th century A.D.



Fig. 2. Bronze Bell No. 2. Western Chālukya. From Kulpauk Village. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. 11th century A.D.



Fig. 3. Bronze Bell No. 3 with inscription. Western Chālukya. From Kulpauk Village. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. 11th century A.D.



Fig. 4. Gaṇapati. Detail from Pl. XVI, fig. 3.



Fig. 5. Sūrya. Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 1.



Fig. 6. Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 1.



Fig. 7. Śiva in the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 2.



Fig. 8. Viṣṇu. Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 1.



Fig. 9. Viṣṇu. Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 2.



Fig. 10. Śiva in the form of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava.
Detail from Pl. XV, fig. 2.



Fig. 11. Viṣṇu bowing before Śiva. Detail
from Pl. XVI, fig. 3.



Fig. 12. Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti (?). Detail from Pl. XVI, fig. 3.

closely resembles the Dakṣiṇāmūrti image in the Śiva temple at Avur in Tanjore District and the object held in the back left hand closely resembles the similar object held in the stone image of Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti at Tiruvattiyur near Madras.

The same image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti occurs on Bell No. II also (Pl. XVII, Fig. 7). This closely resembles the Dakṣiṇāmūrti on Bell No. I (Pl. XVII, Fig. 6) except that the *triśūla* or the blue lotus held in the left back hand is more prominent here. Also the third eye of the Lord is very clearly visible in this image. The head is adorned with a *jaṭābhāra* and the hairlocks are held together with a *paṭṭabandha*. Normally, Dakṣiṇāmūrti should be depicted with the right leg hanging below the seat, while the left one should be crossed. The leg hanging down may rest on the back of the 'Apasmara puruṣa.' Here, the Lord is shown as having both the legs crossed over each other, in a sitting posture.

The next and the last figure on Bell No. I is that of Viṣṇu (Pl. XVII, Fig. 8). The same icon of Viṣṇu occurs in Bell No. II also (Pl. XVII, Fig. 9). The material for the description of the icon of Viṣṇu is not very abundant. In fact, except for the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the *Tantrasāra* of Mādhavāchārya, there are no authentic authorities for this. The *Pañcharātrāgama* propagated by the great Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Rāmānujāchārya contains some information. The *Vaikhānasāgama* which is probably the oldest *āgama* of the Vaiṣṇavites has some information on the Viṣṇu iconography.

Generally Viṣṇu is represented as either standing, sitting or lying, called *Sthānakamūrti*, *Āsanamūrti* or *Śayanamūrti*. Each of these attitudes is once again classified into four different types as Yoga, Bhoga, Vīra and Abhicharika, dependent upon slight differences in their characteristics. The Yoga, Bhoga, Vīra and Abhicharika images are once again classified into Uttama or superior, Madhyama or middle, and Adhama or inferior varieties, according to the number of subordinate deities that are found in association with the Lord. In both the Yoga and Bhoga *sthānas* the back right hand has to carry a *chakra* and the back left hand has to hold a *śaṅkha*. The front right hand has to be in the *abhaya* or the *vīra* posture while the front arm should rest on the hip in what is called the *katyāvalambita* pose. So far as the Vīra *Sthānakamūrti* is concerned, Viṣṇu carries the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* as usual whereas the Sanskrit texts do not mention for what purpose the other hands are to be used. In the figure here, the Lord is represented as holding the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the two back hands while the front right hand is held in the *abhaya-hasta* posture. The left front hand rests upon the *gadā* (mace). Hence the image can be classed as *Vīrasthānaka-mūrti* of Viṣṇu. However, there is one bronze image of the Bhogasthānakamūrti in the Madras Museum in which also the front left hand rests upon the mace.

Bell No. II. Three figures of this bell, viz., Sūrya, Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Gaṇapati have already been described while discussing the icons of Bell No. I. In addition, there is, on this bell, a very interesting figure of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava in the standing posture (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 10). The *Śivapurāṇa* calls Bhairava *Purāṇa-rūpa* of the full form of Śaṅkara. He is *Bhīṣaṇa* or terrific and is also known as Kāla Bhairava, for even the God of Death—Kāla—quails before him. The description of the Lord is given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. He has many forms such as Vaṭuka Bhairava, Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, Svarṇakarṣaṇa Bhairava, etc. The Bhairava aspect of Śiva has eight different forms, viz., Asitāṅga, Ruru, Chaṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapāla, Bhīṣaṇa and Saṁhara. All these groups are described in the *Rudra yāmala*. In the group of Saṁhara Bhairava appear the Atiriktāṅga form of the Lord. An excellent type of the

LALIT KALĀ

Atiriktāṅga aspect of the Bhairava is found sculptured in one of the cave temples of Ellora and the present figure with the ribs shown clearly and the body in an emaciated pose follows the same pattern. The hand carries a *śūla*, *ḍamaru* and club and the *kapāla* or *kuṇḍa*. The club in the front right hand is called the *parigha*. The *triśūla* and the *ḍamaru* are shown in the figure carried by the back two hands. The Lord here is the Atiriktāṅga variety of the Saṁhara Bhairava and closely resembles the Ellora figure.

Bell No. III. This is the inscribed bell. On this we have the Gaṇapati in one direction already described and in another direction is a figure (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 12) which looks like Dakṣiṇāmūrti, though the *akṣhamālā* etc. are not quite clear. The back left hand holds a *nīlotpala* (blue lotus) while the front left hand holds a book and the front right hand is held in the *abhaya* posture. In the back right hand, the complex of *akṣhamālā* is shown, though it is not as clear as in the other figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

In addition, there are two very important figures on this bell. One of them (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 11) shows the Lord holding the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the back two arms while the front two arms are held folded, as if in an *añjali* posture. It would appear that the sculptor wanted to assert the superiority of Śiva over Lord Viṣṇu and would seem to have portrayed Lord Viṣṇu here, holding *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the back two hands and as bowing before Śiva.

In the exactly opposite direction to this, is portrayed the figure of Brahmā with the three faces clearly shown. The back two hands hold *ājya-sthali* or ghee pot and the *kuśa* grass, while the front two arms are held in *añjali* posture, just as the image of Viṣṇu. In other words, the sculptor here shows both Viṣṇu and Brahmā as bowing before Śiva in an *añjali* posture and thereby asserts the superiority of Śiva to the other two gods of the Hindu Trinity.

The present village of Kulpauk is a famous Jaina centre and contains an important Jaina temple in worship. It also contains an ancient Śiva temple with *sahasra-linga* of a very rare quality made in black basalt. Śiva is still worshipped here as Someśvara and a large number of pilgrims attend the festivals here. Behind the Śiva temple of Kulpauk, there is a tank closely resembling the Teppakulam of the South in the middle of which there stands an inscribed Jayastambha. Kulpauk thus affords very important historical evidence as it is clear that the place was the capital of one of the governors of the Western Chāḷukya kings. Moreover, a close study of the icons depicted in the three bronze bells gives us a clear insight into the system of iconography prevalent during the days of the Western Chāḷukya kings.

Photographs courtesy of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

SOME MORE UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES FROM RAJASTHAN

R. C. Agrawala

During exploratory tours in the regions of Udaipur and Dungarpur, a number of interesting sculptures were discovered by the author which can be dated as early as the post-Gupta period.¹ Sculptures of this group from Āmjhara have invariably been carved out of the greenish-blue schist, popularly known as *pārevā* stone, and present the Brahmanical *mātrikās* in seated pose. But there has also come to light a headless statue of the goddess Kaumārī at Āmjhara itself.² Here she appears standing with a peacock by her side, which gazes at her with its neck raised up. The standing pose here is quite unusual and reminds us of the 6th century headless and schist sculpture of standing Kaumārī from Śāmalājī which is contemporary with it.³

DUNGARPUR

Equally important are two more Brahmanical sculptures recently discovered by the author in the Dungarpur region. Both of them have been chiselled out of the same greenish-blue schist. The headless image of Aindrī⁴ (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1), has been vividly executed. The goddess is presented standing on a pedestal. The left hand, now broken, was raised up, while the right one holds a beaded rosary. The under garment is supported by a three-stringed beaded girdle. To her left stands a pot-bellied child while an elephant can be seen standing on the opposite side. The composition bears close resemblance with a contemporary schist statue of the same goddess from Śāmalājī, now in the Baroda Museum.⁵ The Dungarpur Aindrī may be considered a product of the 6th century A.D.

The second statue (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2), of the 8th century A.D., is at present lying in the local Veṇeśvara temple.⁶ Broken into two parts which can easily be joined together, it presents the four-armed goddess Mahishamardini breaking the neck of the buffalo-demon by exerting great force with her lower left hand. This representation can also be seen in 7th-8th century reliefs from Ellora. A similar image from Elephanta is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The goddess has placed her right foot on the back of the animal in the reliefs from Dungarpur and Ellora.⁷ On the other hand, the contemporary schist statue of this goddess from Jagat, now in the Udaipur Museum,⁸ depicts her right foot crushing the mouth of the animal, as also depicted in the contemporary statue of the goddess⁹ in the Museum

¹ For a detailed account of sculptures from Āmjhara near Dungarpur, see R. C. Agrawala, "Some Unpublished Sculptures from Southwestern Rajasthan," *Lalit Kalā* No. 6, pp. 63-71, pls. XVII-XXV.

² The figure of Kaumārī has been preserved in the new gallery at Dungarpur. See R. C. Agrawala, *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum*, Jaipur, 1961, pl. XVIII, p. v of notes.

³ Now preserved in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. See U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, vol. XIII, 1960, fig. 26.

⁴ Now in the private collection of His Highness, the ruler of Dungarpur. The exact find spot is unknown.

⁵ U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, vol. XIII, 1960, fig. 33.

⁶ The Mahishamardini also forms part of the private collection of His Highness the ruler of Dungarpur.

⁷ *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 16 and 58.

Also seen on the exterior of the Ambā Matā temple at Jagat (near Korāvaḍa). One such complete piece from the Kotah region is now in the collection of Shri Khanna, private secretary to the Governor of Rajasthan.

⁸ R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Sculptures from Southwestern Rajasthan," pl. XXIV, fig. 24.

⁹ H. Hartel, *Indische Skulpturen*, Pt. I, Berlin, 1960, pl. 47.

Volkerkunde, West Berlin. In all these images we notice the complete absence of the cut-off head of the buffalo-demon and also the omission of any demon coming out in human form.

KALYĀṆAPURA

Equally interesting are a few unpublished sculptures of greenish-blue schist from Kalyāṇapura (Udaipur region) and now preserved in the M. B. College at Udaipur. Most of these are standing figures. Two sculptures of Śiva (Pl. XX, Figs. 3 and 4) show the god standing in front of his bull Nandī. The shape of the pedestal bears close resemblance to Śāmalājī sculptures, now in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. The image of an emaciated and standing Chāmuṇḍā is seen in Pl. XX, Fig. 5. Her breasts hang down, she carries a staff-like trident in the upper left arm, and a human skull in the lower left. A garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*) hangs on her thighs.¹

In another statue from Kalyanapura, a *nāgī* is depicted seated on the left thigh of a *nāga*, their cobra-hoods rising above their heads (Pl. XX, Fig. 6). The male *nāga* holds a cup of wine in his right hand and a female attendant carrying a wine-bottle appears near his right leg. The *nāga* holds the right arm of the *nāgī*. Another schist relief depicts the goddess Lakshmī, standing, holding lotus flowers in both her hands in the style of the early-medieval period (Pl. XX, Fig. 7). In Pl. XXI, Fig. 8, a lady holds a round mirror in her left hand. The right hand is completely mutilated. Only the female attendant of a fragmented standing male divinity is well preserved (Pl. XXI, Fig. 9). The hair decoration, dress, ornaments and facial gestures of the attendant are worth noting. She carries a lotus flower. The relief may be dated to the post-Gupta period.

TANESARA

A few years ago the author discovered a dozen post-Gupta sculptures at Tanesara-Mahādeva, distant about 30 miles from Udaipur. Carved out of the greenish-blue schist, all of them are under regular worship in an open enclosure and remain completely besmeared with red lead and oil. It is therefore not possible to clean them for study.

The sculptures from Tanesara mostly present *mātrikā* figures, each having a halo behind her head and appearing in standing pose (Pl. XXI, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XXII, Figs. 13-16). In Figs. 10 and 11, the goddess similarly holds the suckling baby with both her hands, though Fig. 11 is better preserved. The rough and heavy pedestal of Fig. 11 of the type is seen in contemporary sculptures from Āmjhara and Śāmalājī.² At the same time the theme of a *mātrikā* suckling the baby has not been presented by any of the extant images from the neighbouring sites of Āmjhara and Jagat though the *sthānaka* pose can well be seen in a headless but contemporary schist-sculpture of Kaumārī from Āmjhara and now preserved in the newly started gallery at Dungarpur.³ In Pl. XXI, Fig. 12, the mother carries the child on her left hip, supporting its legs with her right hand. An unidentified object is held in her upper left hand. Pl. XXII, Figs. 13 and 14 show the goddess with a standing child by her side, other details being similar

¹ For a contemporary schist statue of Chāmuṇḍā from Śāmalājī, see *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. XIII, fig. 38 on p. 56. The sculpture shows the lion *vāhana* behind the goddess, a feature which is altogether missing in the Kalyāṇapura sculpture.

² R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan," *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff.
U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda*, vol. XIII, 1960.

³ R. C. Agrawala, *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum, op. cit.*, pl. 18, p. V.



Fig. 1. Aindri. Greenish-blue schist, Dungarpur. 6th century A.D.
Collection of His Highness, the Ruler of Dungarpur.



Fig. 2. Mahishamardini. Greenish-blue schist, 8th century A.D.
Collection of His Highness, the Ruler of Dungarpur.

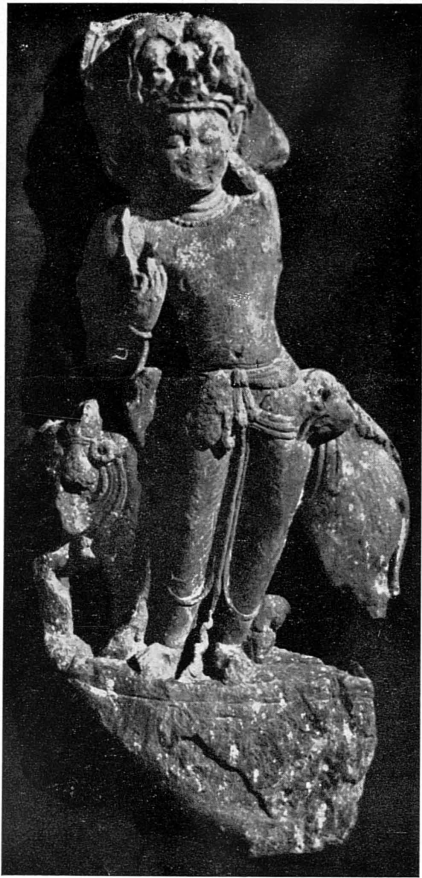


Fig. 3. Śiva. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 4. Śiva. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 5. Chāmuṇḍā. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 6. Nāga couple in an amorous pose. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 7. Lakshmī. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early medieval.



Fig. 8. Unidentified female figure. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M.B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 9. Fragmentary relief showing female attendant. Schist. From Kalyānapura. Now in the possession of the M. B. College, Udaipur. Early post-Gupta.

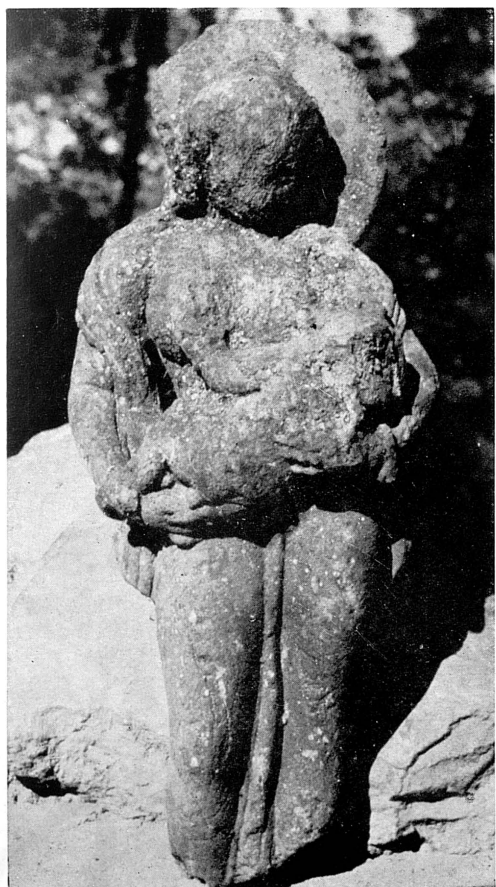


Fig. 10. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 11. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 12. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 13. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 14. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 15. Mātṛikā. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 16. Unidentified female figure. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 17. Yaksha(?). Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.



Fig. 18. Kārttikeya. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Early post-Gupta.

to Fig. 15. No vehicles are seen in these images. The last female statue (Pl. XXII, Fig. 16) is interesting because of the unusual weapons held in the lower hands, i.e., a *kamaṇḍalu* resembling a bucket in the lower left hand and some sack-like object in the lower right one. The upper left hand supports a full size *śakti* or mace, as in Kushāṇa and Gupta art; the weapon in the right upper hand is missing. It is not possible to identify the goddess with certainty, though the matted locks and the *śakti* seem to suggest Śaiva association. It is an important figure of the 6th century A.D.

The fragmentary image of Gaṇapati (Fig. A) from Tanesara is also notable because of the absence of ornamental details on the head. It bears close similarity with the Gupta relief of Gaṇapati from Udayagiri.¹ The Tanesara bust appears to be somewhat earlier in date than the two-armed statue of Gaṇeśa from Āmjhara, now in the Dungarpur collection, cited above.

The statues of two male divinities, also show standing figures (Pl. XXII, Figs. 17-18). Fig. 17 depicts the right hand placed on the rope-like girdle tied round the waist. The left hand, now broken, appears to have been raised in the *abhaya* pose. The statue most likely represents a *yaksha*. The feet and the pedestal are missing. Fig. 18 depicts Kārttikeya with two arms, holding a cock (*kukkūṭa*) in his left hand which is placed akimbo over the rope-like girdle, and carrying a full-size *śakti* in the right hand. This Kārttikeya statue bears close resemblance with the schist image of *dvibāhu* Kārttikeya from Śāmalāji,² but appears to be a little earlier in date.

Photographs Pls. XIX-XXII, Figs. 1-18, courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, State of Rajasthan. I am thankful to Dr. S. P. Srivastava and Mr. D. N. Sharma for the same.

¹ J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, pl. XV, fig. 1.

² See U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda*, vol. XIII, 1960, pl. 47 on p. 66. For images of Kārttikeya, even earlier than the Tanesara image, see R. C. Agrawala, "A Sculpture of Kārttikeya," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4, pp. 149-152.



Fig. A. Gaṇapati. Schist. Under worship at Tanesara. Post-Gupta

SOME ADAVALLĀN AND OTHER BRONZES OF THE EARLY CHOĻA PERIOD

R. Nagaswamy

The term Naṭarāja seems to have been a later connotation. The early Choḷas call it Āḍavallān.¹ Rāja Rāja, the Imperial Choḷa monarch, who was the greatest patron of this theme, named even weights and measures as *āḍavallān*.² In many of his inscriptions found in the Br̥hadesvara temple of Tanjore, Rāja Rāja mentions a number of bronze images set up in the temple, which are called by their Āgamic or Sanskrit names such as Chandraśekara, Liṅgapurāṇa, Umāśahita, Mahāvishṇu etc. While referring to the representation of the Lord of the Dance the term *āḍavallān*, a purely Tamil word, is used, there being no mention of Naṭeśa or Naṭarāja. Evidently during the period of experimentation of this theme, various modes were represented. Three such images which can be dated to this experimental period are discussed along with their associate figures.

TANDANTOTTAM BRONZES

Tandantottam is a small village six miles east of Kumbakonam. A number of bronze idols, with a well-known copper plate grant of Vijaya Nandivikrama Pallava, were unearthed in the village, while digging a foundation in the premises of the Naṭanapurīśvara temple. No additional information is available as to how they happened to be there and how many idols were unearthed.³ During my recent visit to that village, I noticed some more bronzes that were not brought to the notice of Meenakshi, who wrote a monograph on several of these icons. It will thus be of interest to consider the whole group of the Tandantottam bronzes in the Naṭanapurīśvara temple of this village. They present a parallel to the groups of bronzes of the temple at Tiruvenkadu⁴ and the temple at Kodumudi.⁵

The finest and most graceful of the Tandantottam bronzes is the Naṭarāja in the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* posture (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1). The figure is well preserved and is still under worship. The lord dancing on the dwarf, wears the *jaṭāmakuṭa* which is delicately fashioned. The *makūṭa* is conical in shape and bears a *dhurdhura* flower on the left side and the moon's digit on the right. The *tilaka* on the forehead is but Śiva's third eye. The lower right hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The right ear has a *makarakuṇḍala* while the left has a *patraḥkuṇḍala*. The whirling *jaṭāmaṇḍala*, which is usually represented in Naṭarāja figures, is absent. The locks of hair are formed into four loops which are held at their edges by an intricately worked string, with a series of four flowers touching the right shoulder. This feature is not noticed in any other South Indian bronze. The *śiraschakra* is present (Pl. XXV, Fig. 4). The upper pair of arms hold the *ḍamaru* and the fire, which is in a receptacle. A snake with its hood spread is coiled around the right forearm. The lower left arm is in the *gajahasta* pose, and the flexed right leg is placed on the miniature figure of the

¹ South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II, p. 42.

² South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II, No. 2.

³ C. Meenakshi, "Tandantottam Bronzes," *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore 1957-58.

⁴ T. N. Ramachandran, "Bronze Images from Tiruvenkadu-Svetāranya (Tanjore District)," *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, pp. 55-62.
R. Nagaswamy, "New Bronze Finds from Tiruvenkadu," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1959-60, pp. 109-122.

⁵ R. Nagaswamy, "Rare Bronzes from Koṅgu Country" *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, pp. 7-10.

Apasmāra. The usual ornaments, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *udarabandha* and *upavīta* are seen while on the ankles appear *kin̄kinīs*. The image is the creation of a master craftsman.

The figure of Śivakāmasundarī, which forms a group with the above described Naṭarāja image, is an elegant bronze (Pl. XXX, Fig. 16a). The goddess stands on a lotus pedestal, her right arm in the *kaṭaka* pose and the left in the *lolahasta* pose. She wears *hārāvalis*, *keyūras*, *kankaṇas*, *pādasaras* etc. The elbow ornament which is noticed in early Choḷa bronzes is present, and a *chhannavīra* is worn instead of the *upavīta*, which is generally noticed in Devī figures of this period. She is crowned with a *kaṇḍamakūṭa* and a *lalāṭapaṭṭa*. The lower garment extends up to the middle of the lower part of the leg without any folds, and is fastened to the waist with a series of five *muktāhāras* forming an effective *mekhalā* but without the conventional lion face clasp.

The Vṛishabhāntika group (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2) consisting of Śiva as Vṛishabhāntika, Umā and the bull, is a remarkable creation like the Tiruvenkadu group. Śiva wears the *jaṭāmakūṭa* with a prominent *dhurdhura* flower and a serpent on the right and the crescent moon on the left. The lord is only two-armed, a notable feature of Vṛishabhāntika figures as seen in the Vṛishavāhanadeva of Tiruvenkadu, and the bronze now under worship at Vedāranyam.¹ The left arm rests on the bull while the extended right arm is in the *simhakarṇa* posture. The *keyūras* are but two small snakes coiled round the arms with well spread hoods. The loin cloth has a lotus ornamentation in the middle, an uncommon feature not noticed in other images, and the *simhamukha* motif is absent. The *upavīta* and the *udarabandha* are worn by the figure. At the back (Pl. XXV, Fig. 5), the *jaṭāmakūṭa* is shown with locks of hair falling loose and held by three locks horizontally placed with the *lalāṭapaṭṭa*. On either side, curled ends of the front locks are to be seen.

The accompanying figure of Umāparameśvarī is in *tribhanga* pose. She wears *jaṭāmakūṭa* and the *kuṇḍalas*. She holds her left arm in the *kaṭaka* pose and the right in *lolahasta* posture. She wears a *chhannavīra*. The *antariya* extends up to the middle of the lower leg with a series of folds and is fastened at the waist. The *mekhalā* is formed of strings of pearls. The *keyūra* is elaborately treated, so are the *hāras*, *pādasaras* etc. The elbow ornament with projection, noticed only in early figures, is present.

The third in the group is the bull of the humped variety. A notable feature of this bronze bull is that it is hollow cast, the inner core of clay being removed by cutting the lower portion of the image. The legs etc. are also hollow.

In connection with this group it is of interest to note here that a Vṛishavāhanadeva group was also set up in the temple of Śrī Rājarājesvara at Tanjore during the 29th year by Soramadeviar, the queen of Śrī Rāja Rāja, the great Choḷa ruler who built the temple.² This group consisted of a solid image of Vṛishavāhanadeva with four arms, a solid image of Umāparameśvarī and a bull hollow cast and a pedestal on which the god, the goddess and the bull stood, with a *prabhā*. The four-armed Vṛishavāhanadeva described above is at variance with the Tandantottam figure and also the other similar figures mentioned above, all of which have two arms. But it is interesting to note that the bull gifted by Soramadeviar was hollow cast like our bull.

¹ O. C. Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, pl. XCIV.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, no. 51.

The figure of Kālī (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 6), stands in the *samabhanga* pose on a lotus pedestal over a *bhadrapīṭha*. Her hair is arranged as *agnivālā* with the moon, skull and the snake therein. The right arm has a broken emblem and the left holds a trident-like object on which is placed a parrot-like figure; the lower right arm is in the *abhaya* pose and the left in the *varada* pose. The snake forms a breastband being tied immediately above the breast and not on the breast while a *chhannavīra* adorns the bodice. There has been an attempt at repairing the *jaṭāmaṇḍala*. The whole figure is heavily encrusted.

A Somāskanda group (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 9), a small but impressive Umāsaḥita group (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 11) with both Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇeśa represented on the pedestal (a unique feature) and good images of Appar and Chaṇḍeśvara (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 10), are all in the same temple. So also an Aiyanār group (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 8 and Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 12).

Another interesting figure is that of Viṇādhara (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 7) standing on a *bhadrāsana* in *tribhanga* pose. The figure is heavily encrusted. He wears the *jaṭāmakūṭa* with crescent moon and cassia flower. Faded outlines alone are visible to indicate the eyelids, the nose and the mouth. The left arm in the pose of holding a *vīṇā* is held in the *kaṭaka* posture and is raised level with the shoulder. The right arm is in the pose of playing upon the strings. It resembles quite closely the Viṇādhara figure from Belur, now housed in the Madras Museum,¹ except in one respect, namely that the Belur figure is four-armed. There is a small snake with its hood well spread appearing from the back of the Tandantottam bronze over the right shoulder as is seen in early sculpture (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 13). In this connection it may be noted that there are two stone sculptures in the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñchipuram, representing Viṇādhara. One of these figures, which is at the back wall of the main shrine is two-armed, holding the *vīṇā* with both the hands and a noteworthy feature of this figure is a small snake shown as issuing from the right shoulder with its hood spread. This feature is also seen in the Tandantottam image, but is not seen in later sculptures and bronzes.

An equally interesting figure is the image of Subrahmaṇya, standing in the *samabhanga* posture over a *bhadrapīṭha* (Frontispiece). The lord as Devasenāpati wears a *jaṭāmakūṭa*. A rounded garland-like ornament is placed above the forehead. The treatment of the face is in the manner of Pallava images. The figure is four-armed, holding the *vajra* and the *śakti* in its upper pair, the lower right is in the *abhaya* pose, while the left is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. Two small circular shafts support the *vajra* and *śakti*. The figure is fully ornamented, and in the place of the *upavīta* a *chhannavīra* is introduced which is also an uncommon feature. The *kaṭisūtra* is well knit with flowing tassels on either side. In front of both the legs the *vastra* assumes the form of a heavy median loop, a feature of Pallava and early Chāḷukya sculptures. The *śiraśchakra* at the back is intact and of an early style (Pl. XXV, Fig. 3). The copper plates unearthed along with the above bronzes were fourteen in number, a few plates being lost both at the beginning and in the middle. The grant records that the Pallava king Nandivikrama, the son of Hiraṇyavarmā, took away from the Gaṅga king a neck ornament which contained the gem called *ugrodayā* and owned the elephant called Pattavardhana. With the permission of the king a certain Dayāmukha caused a village to be granted to 308 Brahmins. The Tamil portion is dated in the 58th year of Kovijaya Nandivikramavarman and registers a gift of land to the west of Tandantottam, in

¹ F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum*.







Fig. 3. Back view of Subrahmaṇya (Frontispiece).



Fig. 4. Back view of Naṭarāja fig. 1.



Fig. 5. Back view of Vṛishabhāntika, Umāpāramēśvarī and Vṛishabha fig. 2.



Fig. 6. Kālī, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. Early Chōla.



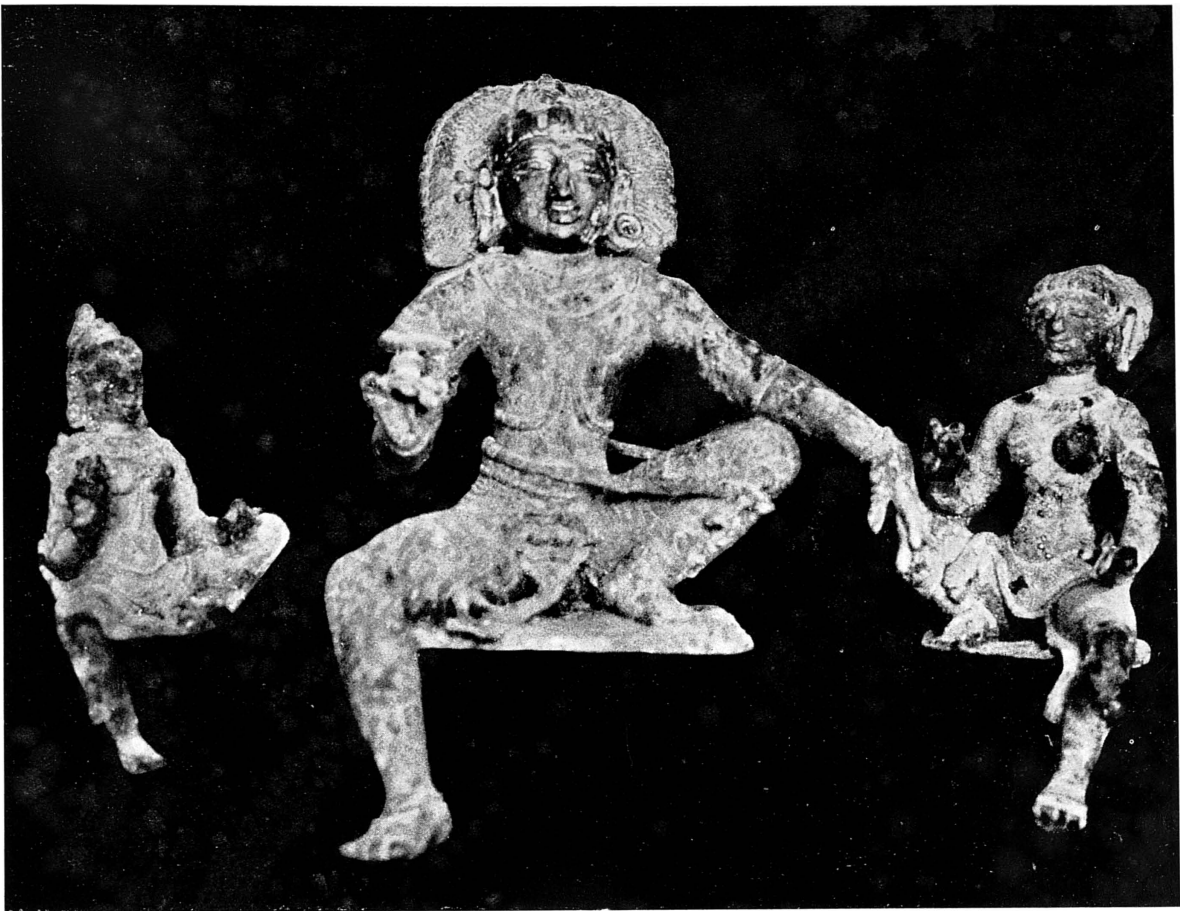


Fig. 8. Aiyanār (Śāstā) with his consorts *Pūrṇa* and *Pushkalā*, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. Early Chōla.

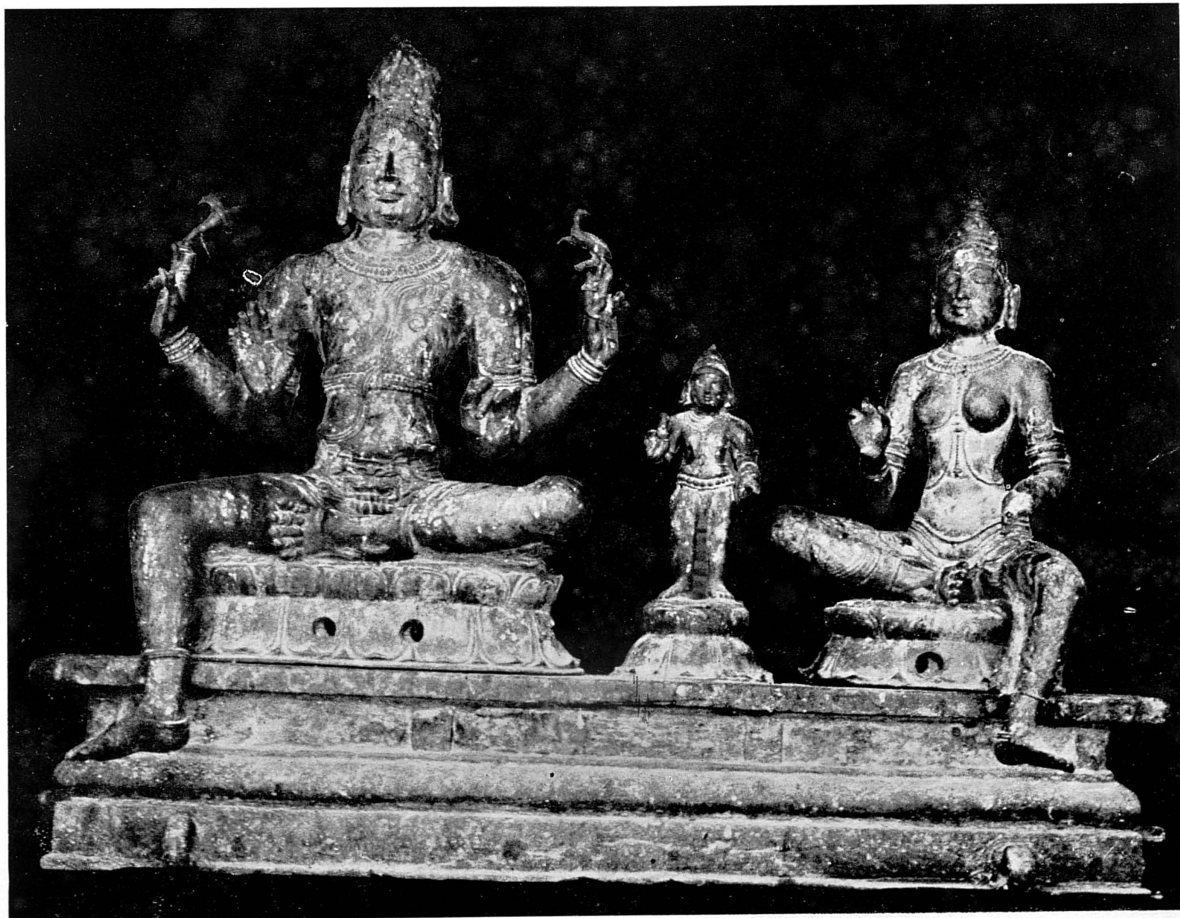


Fig. 9. Somāskanda, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. Early Chōla.



Fig. 10. Appar (Tirunāvukkaraṣu) and Chandikeśvara, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. Early Chola.



Fig. 11. Umāmaheśvara with Subrahmaṇya on Peacock, and Gaṇeśa, Tandantottam Village, Tanjore District. Early Chola.

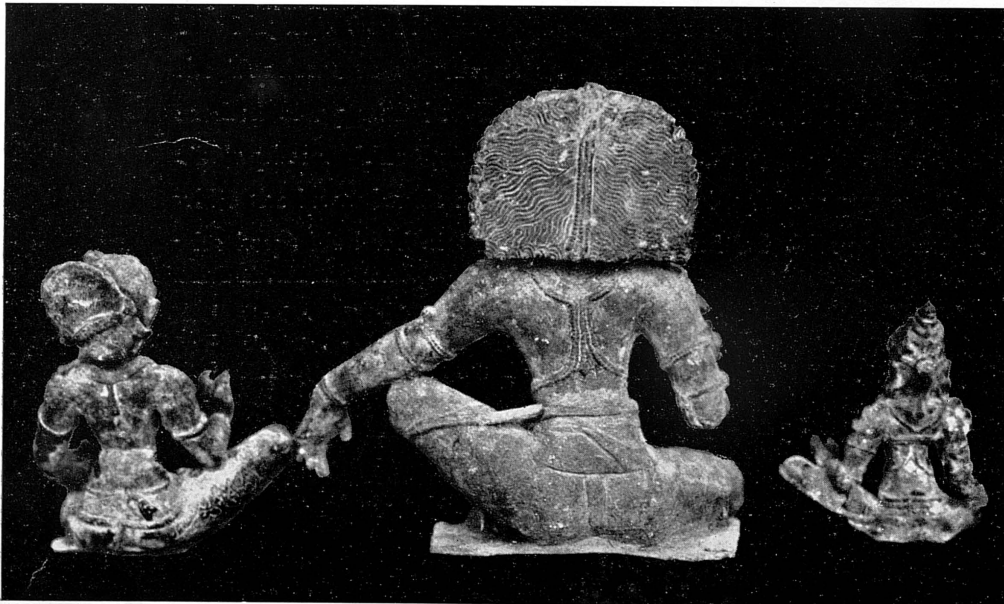


Fig. 12. Back view of Aiyanār and his consorts fig. 8.

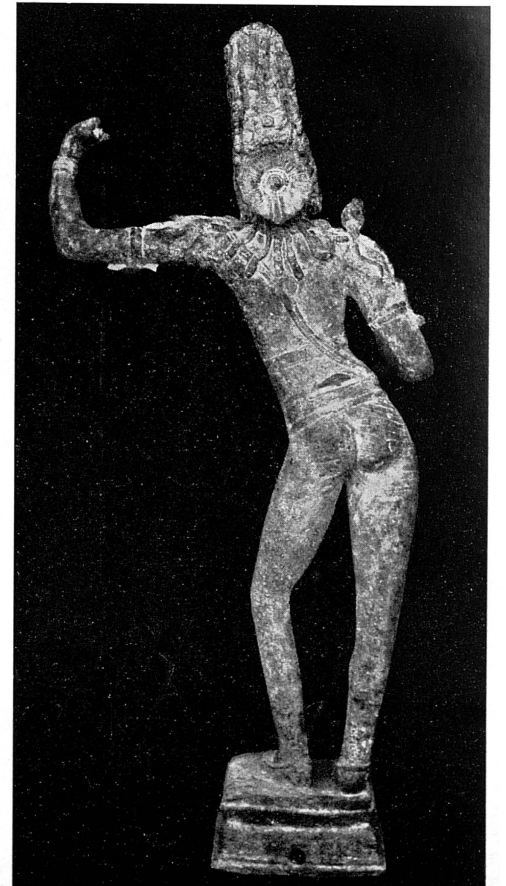


Fig. 12. Back view of Vinādhara fig. 7

Tenkarai Naraiyur Nadu, a district of the ChoḶa country, to a number of Brahmins of Nalgur. The donor of the grant is Nandivikramavarman III, who reigned during the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.¹ Meenakshi in her article has aptly cautioned against hasty conclusions regarding the date of the bronzes.² Since then a number of bronzes have been unearthed and some with definite dating. Nothing could be more precisely dated than the Bikshāṭaṇa, Vṛishabhāntika and Umā figures of the Tanjore Art Gallery,³ and the Ardhanariśvara figure of the Madras Museum.⁴ Inscribed bronzes such as the ChoḶa Mahādevī⁵ have also been noticed, and it is now possible to have material for comparison to fix the period of undated bronzes. One thing could be said of the Tandantottam bronzes, namely, that they may mostly belong to the same period and many may be the work of one artist family or one guild. The figure of Subrahmaṇya affords some clue to the age of the bronzes. Its iconographic representation and the treatment of the garments suggest that it is more likely to be a late Pallava bronze rather than an early ChoḶa image. In that event the Subrahmaṇya would belong to the 9th century A.D., and accordingly, the remaining Tandantottam bronzes noted here, if regarded as the work of the same guild, might possibly belong to the late 9th century though not contemporary with the Subrahmaṇya. If such a conclusion can be accepted, it may raise the issue whether the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* mode was represented even during the time of the late Pallavas or only during the ChoḶa period. This, however, is a matter for further research.

ANAKKUDI BRONZES

A group of Śaivite bronzes were recently unearthed at Anakkudi village, near Tiruvarur, while renovations to the temple were in progress. Amongst these a Naṭarāja and Śivakāmī are very interesting, the rest being much later in date and conventional in representation. The four-armed Naṭarāja (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 14) holds the *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand, the fire in a receptacle with the upper left hand, while the lower right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the lower left hand is in the *gajahasta* pose, which is normally taken across the body, unlike in the Anakkudi image, where it hangs within the limits of the body. The right leg is placed on the back of the dwarf, while the position of the left leg shows a variation inasmuch as it is not thrown across the right leg but the portion up to the knee is lifted straight to the front, and the lower part of the leg is bent across, the sole almost being in line with and level with the right knee. The fingers of the lower left arm which is in the *gajahasta* pose, are almost touching the lifted leg. The body is slightly turned to the left, unlike the majority of Naṭarāja figures. Having regard to all these features this figure may be said to represent a type of *ūrdhvajānu* pose.

The other well-known example of the Naṭarāja in *ūrdhvajānu* pose is the image from Kuram, now in the Madras Museum.⁶ The Kuram figure, which shows the characteristics of the later Pallava period, has its left knee lifted sideways, with the lower leg hanging down, but our image has a captivating rhythm. The *upavīta* in this figure and also in the Kuram figure, is represented as a prominent ribbon

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II.

² C. Meenakshi, "Tandantottam Bronzes," *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore 1957-58.

³ T. N. Ramachandran, "Bronze Images from Tiruvenkadu-Svetāranya," *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, Pls. XVI and XVII.

⁴ R. Nagaswamy, "New Bronze Finds from Tiruvenkadu," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1959-60, pp. 109-122, Figs. 6-9.

⁵ Aravamuthan, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, London 1931.

⁶ Gravely and Sivaramamurti, *Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*.

across the body, branching into three strands on the upper left chest, resembling the *upavīta* in some Pallava sculptures. Two prominent ribbon-like *hāras* are worn on the neck, and a *makarakuṇḍala* in the left ear. The *śiraśchakra* at the back has a pendent hanging in the middle (Pl. XXX, Fig. 16). The conical *jaṭāmakūṭa* has the moon and *dhurdhura* flower on its left side and a tiny serpent with well-spread hood on the right. The locks end in curls, peeping out of the contours of the *makūṭa*. There is no representation of flowing *jaṭās* on either side of the head as is seen in most Nāṭarāja figures, and in this respect it is like the Nāṭarāja figures from Nallur,¹ the Tiruvaramkulam Nāṭarāja now in the National Museum,² the Kodumudi figure,³ and the Tandantottam image illustrated in this article.

The Apasmāra figure in our image is on a miniature scale and almost flat. The dwarf is shown facing front, with his face turned upwards and holding a serpent in his left arm. In all other figures, the dwarf is represented as facing the side, while in this and in the Kuram figures, it is shown facing the front. It is represented as seated in the image from Nallur. Ours is perhaps one of the few specimens where the Apasmāra is represented on such a miniature scale, while the only example where the dwarf is not represented at all is the Kodumudi Naṭeśa. The figure stands on a rectangular plate with *toranakkāl* (*torāṇa* legs) on either side. The *toranakkāls* have provision to receive the *ardhachandra* or the upper semicircular part of the *prabhā*. The upper pair of arms of this figure rest on these *torāṇa* legs. The rectangular plate is secured to a *bhadrāsana* by three sets of nails. The whole figure is encrusted with a thick coat of patina. The elegant figure of Pārvatī (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 19) stands on a circular plate, evidently the other portions of the pedestal being lost. The close fitting *antariya* has folds, but is devoid of projections on either side. The fastening at the waist is without any conventional decoration, such as the lion's head motif, and consists only of a broad band or *paṭṭa* acting as a *mekhalā*. A *chhannavīra* adorns the body. The right arm is held in the *kaṭaka* pose while the left is in the *lolahasta* pose; *valayas*, *keyūras* and *vājibandha* are on both arms, and *karṇakuṇḍalas* in the ears. The *jaṭāmakūṭa* slightly sunk back at the front, is intricately worked. The slender figure is free of all stylization.

As to the date of these two bronzes, one might be inclined to ascribe them to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. by reason of the manner in which Naṭeśa's leg is represented — not having yet assumed its conventional pose — the broad *upavīta* in the Pallava-Choḷa transitional style and the simple treatment of the drapery and ornaments of Pārvatī. At the same time, the sharp features of the Nāṭarāja image might suggest the last quarter of the 10th century as a more probable date.

PUTHUR FINDS

The Nāṭarāja from Puthur village, Salem District (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 15), though lacking the elegance of the Tandantottam figure, is an interesting image because of the rare associate figure of a Devī unearthed along with it. Even a superficial examination of it shows that the image is of the early Choḷa phase. The figure is four-armed, holding the *ḍamaru* and the fire with the upper pair of hands while the lower hands are in the *abhaya* and *gajahasta* poses. The right leg is placed on a fat dwarf who keeps his head aloft, while his left hand is holding the snake. The left leg of Nāṭarāja is taken

¹ Gopinath Rao, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

² *Guide to the Galleries of the National Museum*, pl. V.

³ R. Nagaswamy, "Rare Bronzes From Koṅgu Country" *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, Frontispiece.

horizontally to the front and bent across which is at variance with the common practice. The *jaṭās* flowing on either side are made in two pieces and fixed at the back of the head one over the other. No *śiraśchakra* is represented. In between the *jaṭās* are strings with a series of flowers so arranged as to flow parallel to the *jaṭās*. This is a general feature. But in the Tandantottam Naṭeśa there is only one string with flowers arranged vertically on the right side.

The *prabhā* consists of two *toraṇa* jambs and *ardhachandra* which are elaborately carved. An interesting feature on the *toraṇa* jambs consists of four-handed seated figures, one on either side; the one on the right (Pl. XXX, Fig. 17) is playing upon a *pañchamukhavādya* with its lower pair of arms, while the upper pair of arms is in the *vismaya* pose; the figure on the left jamb (Pl. XXX, Fig. 18) is shown as kneeling, with the lower pair of arms in the *añjali* pose and the upper pair in the *vismaya*.

It may be mentioned here that the representation of the two seated figures often appears in early Choḷa sculptures and their identification is therefore interesting. In the Naṭeśa figure from Karuntatangudi a small figure is noticed on the right side playing on a pot drum.¹ In another stone figure of Naṭarāja found at the southern niche of the Acalesvara temple of Tiruvarur, below the dancing Śiva is a four-armed figure playing upon a pot drum. In the panel representing Naṭarāja in the Gangaikondacholapuram temple, the figure is noticed on the right side with four arms, very similar to the figure found in the present *prabhā* of the Puthur Naṭeśa. A similar representation is found in the Nṛiṭṭa Sabha of the Chidambaram temple and in the Airāvatesvara temple of Darasuram. In a bronze image of Naṭeśa at Punjai near Tanjore, the same figure is represented in the round on the right side, away from the *prabhā*. The figure of Naṭeśa from Melaperumpallam, now in the Madras Museum,² has two *gaṇas*, one on either side playing cymbals. In the figure from Tranquebar³ the same figure is represented with four arms. This figure so often represented is doubtfully identified by scholars as Viṣṇu, basing their conclusion on the *Śivapradosha stotra*, wherein Viṣṇu is said to have played upon the *mṛidanga* while Brahmā played the cymbals.

कैलास शैलभुवने त्रिजगज्जनित्रीं गौरीं निवेश्य कनकाचित रत्नपीठे ।
नृत्यं विधातुमभिवाञ्छतिशूलपाणौ देवाः प्रदोषसमये नु भजन्ति सर्वे ॥
वाग्देवी धृतवल्लको शतमखो वेणुदधत्वद्भजः
तालान्निद्रकरो रमा भगवती गेयप्रयोगान्विता ।
विष्णुस्सान्द्रमृदङ्ग वादनपटुः देवास्समन्तात्स्थिताः
सेवन्ते तमनु प्रदोषसमये देवं मृडानीपतिम् ॥

—*Śivapradosha stotra*

But in none of the above sculptures or for that matter in any of the stone sculptures up to the end of the later Choḷa period, is Brahmā with three heads represented. So also no other figure mentioned in the *pradoshasotra* finds a place. It is therefore doubtful whether the *Śivapradosha stotra* had any influence at the period mentioned above. Hence the figure playing the pot drum cannot be the image of Viṣṇu, a conclusion further confirmed by the absence of Viṣṇu's emblem. The figure on the left with four arms, does not have three heads nor the emblems of Brahmā and hence does not represent Brahmā. So

¹ P. R. Srinivasan, "Works of Art of the Early Choḷa Period," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society*, 1956-57.

² F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of Hindu Images in the Madras Government Museum*.

³ K. S. Ramachandran and S. C. Krishnamurti, "A Unique Bronze Naṭaraja From Tranquebar," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, pl. XXXII, figs. 2-3.

also the figure on the right, with four arms, without Vishṇu's emblem, is almost always represented with a *jaṭāmakūṭa* — Vishṇu is always endowed with a *kirīṭa* — and hence is not Vishṇu. But both the figures are four-armed with the upper pair of arms in the *vismaya* pose resembling the arms of the attendant images in Pallava or early Chōḷa panels. It is most likely that the representation is of Nandikeśvara playing the pot drum while the other figure perhaps represents a *dvārapālaka*. It is interesting to note here that the *dvārapālaka* sculpture on the right of a Śiva temple, in the Pallava and early Chōḷa period, was shown with a horned crown which is identified as Nandikeśvara, while the other is shown without the horned crown.

A very interesting panel representing Nāṭeśa is at Trupparankunram, near Madurai, where Śiva is shown performing the *lalita sāndhya tāṇḍava*. On the side panel Pārvatī is leaning on Vṛishabha, witnessing the dance. To her side is shown a figure who plays upon the *mṛidanga*. Above are seen Brahmā and Vishṇu witnessing the dance with their respective symbols. The above panel, if proof is required, rules out the identification of the figure playing the pot drum as Vishṇu as well as the other figure as Brahmā.

The *ardhachandra* on the *torana* jambs also carry in low relief two warriors, one on either side, each holding a sword and shield. They are shown as issuing from the mouth of *makaras*, a feature noticed in some early images only.

The four-handed Viṇādhara (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 20) standing on a lotus pedestal resembles the Nāṭarāja figure and they are perhaps the work of the same artist.

Another figure of Devī as Pārvatī, standing on a plain circular pedestal, is interesting inasmuch as it seems to represent a hybrid school (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 21). The head-dress resembles the head-gear in some Javanese bronzes. A small circular disc around the *kirīṭa*, much like the ones in Sūrya figures, is to be noticed here. The nose is very sharp. The drapery, the ornaments, the tassels etc., are not worked on the figure itself, as in classical sculptures, but as plates with curves and bends and pronouncedly incised lines which recall to our mind Hoysala sculpture.

At the back there is a thick plate-like band rising from the pedestal to above the head, probably to receive a parasol, a feature absent in South Indian bronzes. Such a feature is, however, noticed in Javanese bronzes. The Devī holds a lotus bud with a lengthy stalk in her right hand.

The findspot of the bronze, namely Salem District, is far from Tanjore. It appears to be of early date. It proves that the art of bronze casting, which had its centre at Tanjore, was prevalent in all parts of South India.



Fig. 14. Natarāja, Anakkudi Village, Tanjore District. 10th century A.D.



Fig. 15. Natarāja. Puthur Village, Salem District. 10th century A.D.



Fig. 16. Back view of Natarāja, fig. 14.

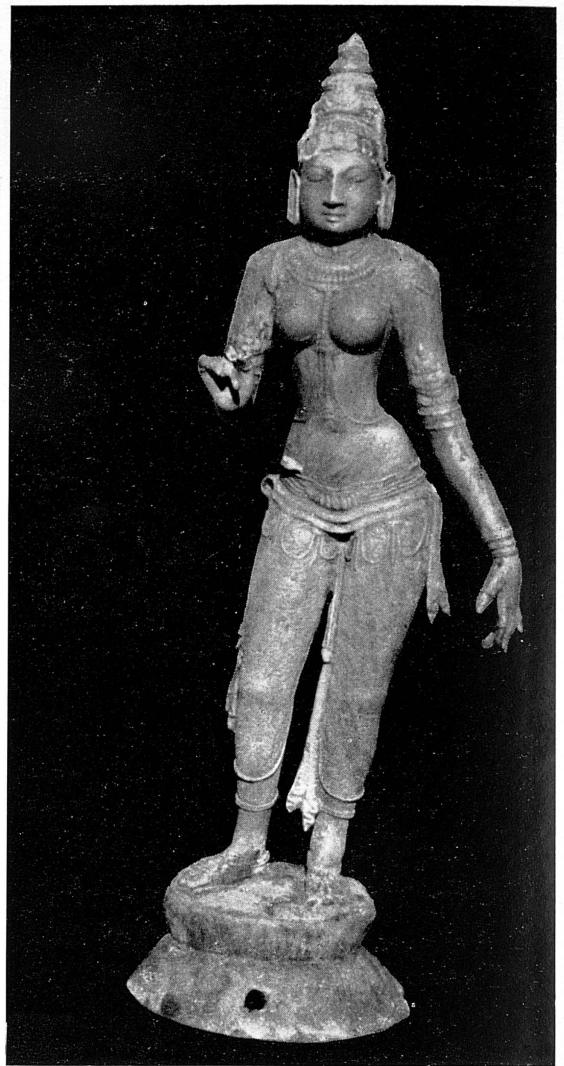


Fig. 16a. Śivakāmasundarī forming group with Natarāja, fig. 1.



Fig. 17. Nandikeśvara playing on *pañchamukhavādya*. Detail from the *prabhā* of Natarāja, fig. 15.



Fig. 18. Dvārapālaka. Detail from the *prabhā* of Natarāja, fig. 15.



Fig. 19. Pārvaṭī, Anakkudi Village, Tanjore District. 10th century A.D.



Fig. 20. Viṇādhara, Puthur Village, Salem District. 10th century A.D.



Fig. 21. Pārvaṭī, Puthur Village, Salem District. 12th century A.D. (?).

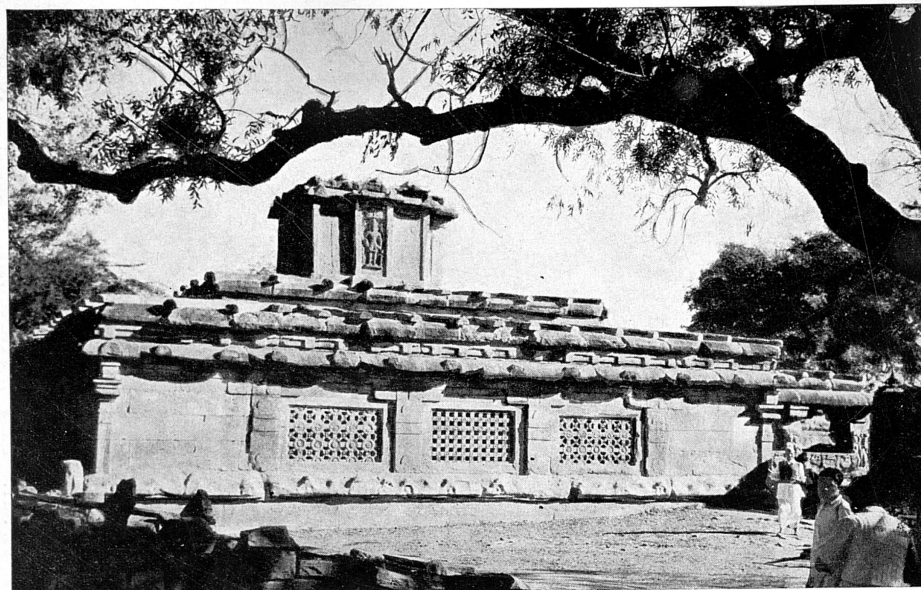


Fig. 1. Lad Khan (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa) Temple. Aihole. Chālukya. Mid-6th century A.D.

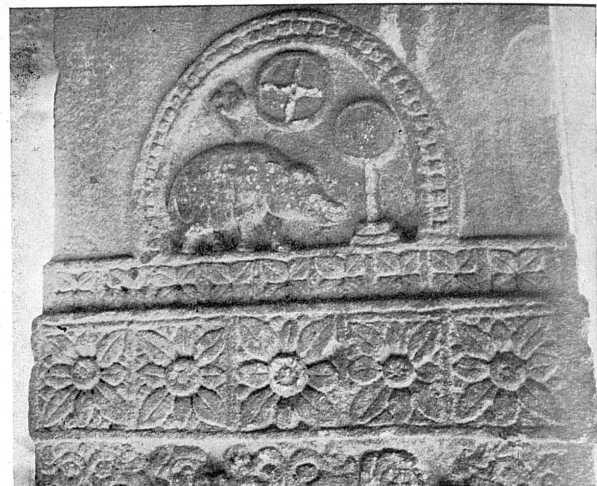


Fig. 2. Boar crest on north pillar of the porch. Lad Khan (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa) Temple. Aihole. Mid-6th century A.D.

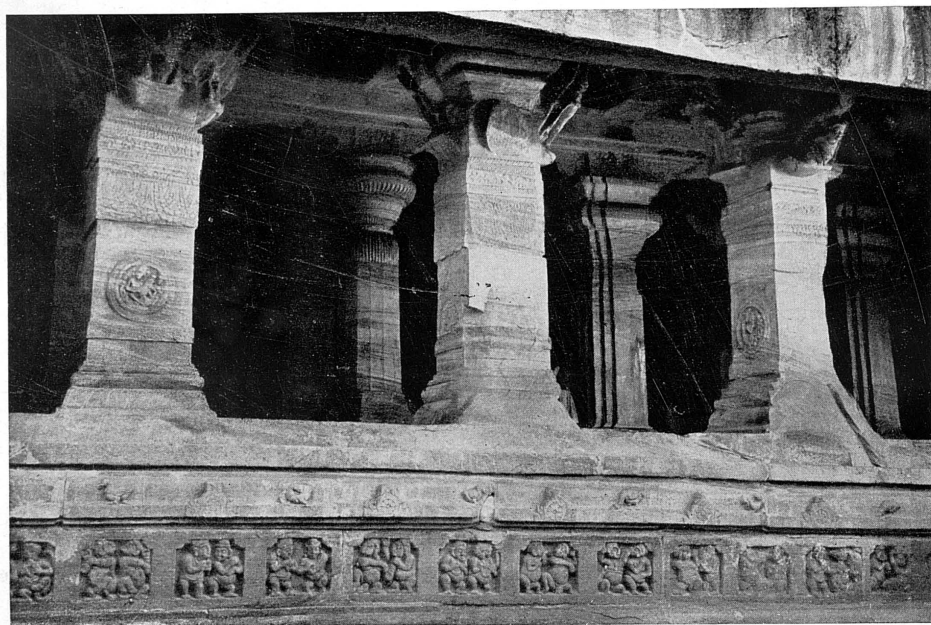


Fig. 3. Badami Cave III. A.D. 578.



Fig. 4. Seal of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja.
Śaka 944=A.D. 866.

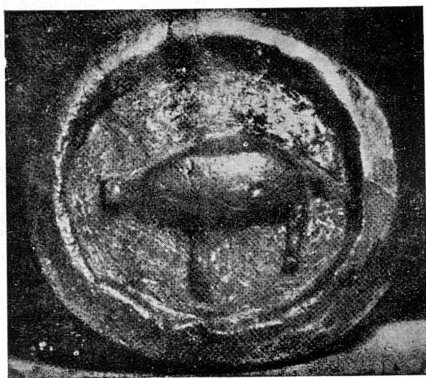


Fig. 5. Varāha seal. Pallepada plates.
2nd year Vinayāditya.
Śaka 604=A.D. 682.

THE DATE OF THE LAD KHAN (SŪRYA-NĀRĀYAṆA) TEMPLE AT AIHOLE

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

Aihole is one of the 'Triad cities' — the others being Badami and Pattadakkaḷ — which served as capitals of the early Western Chāḷukyas of Badami from the middle of the 6th to the middle of the 8th century A.D. In the past, Aihole was known as Āryapura, Badami as Vātāpi and Pattadakkaḷ as Paṭṭa-Kisuvolaḷ.

But the most ancient and celebrated place from a religious and cultural point of view is Mahākūṭa, lying at the foot of the hills between Badami and Pattadakkaḷ. It is associated with the immortal sage Agastya, who, according to a legend and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, overthrew the demons of Dakṣiṇāpatha, Vātāpi and Ilvala, the enemies of Vedic culture. Mahākūṭa is known as Dakṣiṇa-Kāśī after the original home of Agastya, the holy city of Kāśī or Vārāṇasī on the Ganga. It should have been the oldest temple in this area, though the present structure seems to belong to the Chāḷukyan period, the latter part of the 6th century A.D. The Viṣṇu-pushkariṇī in front of this temple has a long tradition and in this sacred tank stands a single-storeyed, simple temple with an *āmalaka śikhara* and a Pañchamukha linga enshrined in it, an embryo temple of the Nāgara style.

Badami is mentioned by Ptolemy of the 2nd century A.D., who refers to the place as Badia maour. After the days of Agastya, Badami should have been a full-fledged centre of Hindu culture, but its greatness remained in a state of suspended animation till the early Chāḷukyas infused a new vitality and made this and the adjoining centres very much alive not only in the political field but also in the sphere of culture and art.

There are some early temples at all these centres, and this area seems to have been literally a laboratory where experiments in different styles of architecture were attempted and evolved, chiefly the main styles of Nāgara and Drāviḍa. Henry Cousens¹ held the view that the earliest structural temples in this area should be Lad Khan, Durgā, Koṇṭguḍi and its two adjacent temples at Aihole, and he assigned them to Jayasimha, and the Mahā-Kukṭeśvara at Mahākūṭa to the period of his son Raṇarāga, the grandfather and father respectively of Pulikeśin I. There is an inscription on the Lad Khan temple of the 8th or 9th century A.D.,² but it does not help us in determining the date of its foundation. In consideration of its cave-like features, Cousens held that "perhaps the oldest temple at Aihole is that of Lad Khan." He added: "There is no temple at Aihole, nor elsewhere that I know of which impresses me so much with its cave-like character. In general massiveness, the simplicity of its construction, its plan and details have much more in common with cave architecture than with that of later medieval temples, and with cave architecture, not of the latest. But perhaps, more than anything else, are the greatest massive square pillars, with roll bracket capitals, which proclaim a simpler and more dignified style than many of those

¹ Henry Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*.

² The name 'Lad Khan' is said to be applied to the temple because a Muslim of that name resided in the temple some years ago. It is appropriate that the temple should now be renamed. Sūrya-nārāyaṇa temple would be a suitable name. This temple has a super-structure—a *śikhara*. Its southern niche contains a figure of Viṣṇu and its western niche Sūrya. On the lintel of the doorway is Garuḍa.

in Cave III at Badami.... Taking all these points together, and noting the total absence of anything like a *śikhara*, the roof having been closed over entirely with flat slabs, I feel constrained to give the building an earlier date than that of Meguṭi, and should consider *about A.D. 450 not far out.*"

Both A. K. Coomaraswamy¹ and Percy Brown² have accepted this date of Cousens for the Lad Khan temple.

It remains for us to consider how far this date of A.D. 450 for the Lad Khan temple can be considered satisfactory. The early Chālukyan records mention the names of Jayasimha and Raṇarāga as the grandfather and father respectively of Pulikeśin I. But we know practically nothing about them nor of any achievement to their credit. One contemporary important and reliable record of this period is the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II of A.D. 634-635. It mentions the construction of the Meguṭi Jaina temple by Ravikirti, the court-poet and minister of Pulikeśin II. Verses 5 and 6 of the inscription describe that Jayasimha Vallabha, by his bravery in battle, made Fortune his own, though he is suspected of fickleness, and that his son Raṇarāga was of divine dignity and of superhuman nature. These two seem to be obscure chiefs who rose to fame only after Pulikeśin I became the lord of Badami, and they were merely honoured and eulogised as the forefathers of Pulikeśin I and even that only after his rise to power.

Strangely enough, the grants of the later Chālukyas of Kalyani reveal elaborate genealogies of their illustrious ancestors. According to these records, 59 kings are said to have ruled in Ayodhyā, their original home, and 16 more in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Chālukyan fortunes are said to have been restored after an eclipse by Jayasimha, who is credited with the overthrow of Indra, son of Kṛiṣṇa of the Rāshtrakūṭas. This is a mere hotchpotch of mythology and puranic legends without any claim to authenticity. This elaboration of the genealogy of the early Chālukyas and the alleged achievements of their ancestors in later Chālukyan records is a piece of self-glorification unrelated to realities — "a mere farrago of vague legends and puranic myths of no authority or value."

Since the establishment of the Agastya cult at Mahākūṭa there is no evidence of any cultural or artistic efflorescence in this group of triad cities till the rise of the early Chālukyas in the middle of the 6th century A.D. The first ruler of the house of the early Chālukyas who has any claim to real greatness and has played a significant part in founding the Chālukyan kingdom is Pulikeśin I, not his father or grandfather. The earliest inscription of the early Chālukyas is the Badami inscription of *Vallabheśvara* (i.e. Pulikeśin I) dated in Śaka 465 (equivalent to A.D. 543) which is engraved on the face of a boulder 100 feet high on the hill at Badami. In this, he claims to have performed the horse sacrifice and to have done the fortification work of the invincible hill fort of Vātāpi from above and below.

According to the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II (A.D. 634-635), Pulikeśin I is said to be of moon's beauty, the favourite of Fortune, the 'bridegroom' of Vātāpi-purī and the performer of the horse sacrifice. Thus it will be clear that Pulikeśin I was the real founder of the greatness of the early Chālukyas, that he captured Vātāpi, fortified it and made it his capital. His undisputed supremacy in this area was commemorated by the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The Chiplun copper plate grant of Pulikeśin II

¹ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 79.

² Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 63.

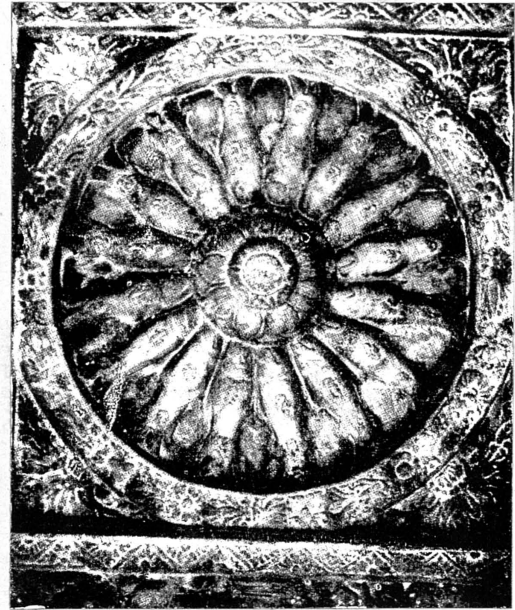
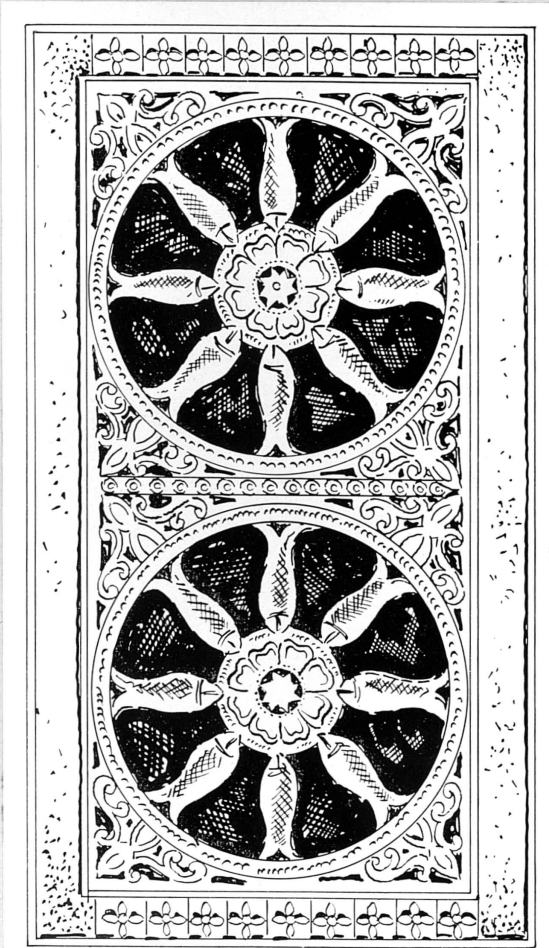


Fig. A. (Above) Fish design in ceiling decoration.
Badami Cave II.

Fig. B. (Left) Fish design in circular windows.
Lad Khan (Sūrya-nārāyaṇa) Temple. Aihole.
Mid 6th century A.D.

gives credit to Kīrtivarman as the first maker of Vātāpi (*Vātāpyāḥ prathama-vidhātā*).¹ In view of the foregoing considerations, I find no justification for assigning any cave or structural temple in this area to any of the ancestors of Pulikeśin I. I do not know on what authority R. Sewell holds the view that "Pulikesin I's original capital was at Paithan" (on the Godavari).²

We have to examine further if we have any positive evidence, however slender it be, to fix the age of the earliest group of temples, especially of Lad Khan (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1). One point of similarity in the ornamental details of Cave II, Badami, and the Lad Khan temple is pointed out by Cousens. He writes: "In the west or back and front walls are pairs of circular windows set in square frames in which are radiating fish, forming, as it were, the spokes of a wheel (Fig. B). The same fish design is found in the ceilings of Cave II at Badami (Fig. A). This is an important feature which will bring these two monuments close to each other in age. Further, the pillars of Cave II are simpler and less elaborately ornamented than those of Cave III, whose date is well established as A.D. 578, by a contemporary inscription in the cave itself (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 3)."

Above all, I was able to find out, in the course of a study-tour of this monument, the carving of the crest

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, no. 8.

² *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, p. 21, entry under date A.D. 550.

of the early Chālukyas — the boar with the *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and lamp — engraved on the north pillar of the porch in front of the main temple (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 2). As there is no evidence of the association of any Chālukyan ruler before the days of Pulikeśin I, with Aihole and other centres, it seems to me to be legitimate to infer that the Lad Khan temple with its boar crest sculpture belongs at the earliest to the age of Pulikeśin I, and not to any earlier period. It may be mentioned that the first verse of many copper plate grants of the early Chālukyas is an invocation to Varāha: "Hail! Victorious is the body of Viṣṇu manifested in the form of a boar, on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean." Further, the *praśastis* of the early Chālukyan grants, describe the Chālukyas as members of *mānavya gotra*, the sons of Hārīti, the favourites of Saptamātrikās, the enjoyers of the grace of Kārttikeya, and as those "who had subdued, in an instant, all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)."¹

A. S. Altekar held that the early Chālukyas had accepted the *lāñchhana* of the Boar, and that there could be no doubt of their having initiated the coin type with the boar on its obverse but admitted that at the time there are no inscribed Varāha coins which can be definitely ascribed to any of the early Chālukya rulers of Badami.

He was of the opinion that the coins figured in Elliot's book² might be attributed to the early Chālukyas, and he illustrated a few more in his contribution to the recent publication *The Early History of the Deccan*.³ The coin no. 7 illustrated in this book has a boar with trappings on one side and a wheel with spokes (sun?) with a crescent at the edge between each set of two spokes. The radiating spokes of this coin have some resemblance to the fish spokes of the wheel-window of Lad Khan's temple. Boar seals of the Chālukyas are illustrated as Pl. XXXII, Figs. 4 and 5.

Thus, it seems to me that the artistic renaissance in the Aihole-Badami area is a Chālukyan movement, that the real founder of this house was Pulikeśin I, who captured Badami from the Kadambas, fortified it and made it his capital, that the construction of Caves I to III at Badami and the earliest structural temples of the Lad Khan group should have been undertaken only after the rise to power of Pulikeśin I, whose accession is placed about A.D. 533, and that the date of the Lad Khan temple fixed by Cousens and accepted by other scholars needs to be revised. I may add that the cave-like feature of Lad Khan does not and need not prejudice the later date suggested, as some of these cave-like features are carried far into the 8th century A.D. The pillars and the cornice of the Virūpāksha temple at Pattadakka have cave-like features.

In my view, the Lad Khan temple should have been built during the period between the accession of Pulikeśin I (A.D. 533) and the construction of Cave III of Badami (A.D. 578) in the middle of the 6th century, not that of the 5th.

¹ "Kendur Plates of Kirttivarman II," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX.

² Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pt. I, 19, 21, 22 and 23.

³ G. Yazdani (ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pt. VII-XI, pp. 800-801, pl. LXV, nos. 5-7.

A NEW DOCUMENT OF INDIAN PAINTING

Karl Khandalavala
Pramod Chandra

Moti Chandra
Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

In 1957 the Prince of Wales Museum acquired a unique illustrated Ms. of the *Laur-Chandā* story from an old Muslim family in Bhopal containing 68 miniatures¹ with the text in Naskh script. The language is Avadhī. In view of the importance of this Ms. and certain other unpublished material which we had come across in our researches into 16th century Indian Mss. painting the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum decided that a Museum Memoir entitled *New Documents of Indian Painting* should be published. While the work was in progress on this Memoir, Parmeshwari Lal Gupta traced the existence of another illustrated copy of the *Laur-Chandā* story in the John Rylands Library at Manchester. With the kind permission of the authorities of the Rylands Library we are giving a short preliminary account of this illustrated Ms. and publishing a few examples of the miniatures therein (Colour Plate B and Plates XXXIII to XXXV) for the first time.

While the Rylands Ms. is not as early as the Prince of Wales Museum's *Laur-Chandā* nor of such fine quality, it is undoubtedly a Ms. of major importance. The affinity of its miniatures to those of the Prince of Wales Museum Ms. is evident. Having regard to the fact that both Mss. were extensively illustrated we may conclude that they were not isolated productions but represent a style which must have prevailed in some cultural centre in India sometime during the 16th century. But the provenance and date of this style are matters that permit of no certain conclusions in the present state of our knowledge. Following our customary method, we offer suggestions but make no pronouncements. We are all too conscious of the fact that the sum total of evidence with regard to 16th century miniature painting is still inadequate for a clear picture of its genesis and development. In 1950, Khandalavala and Moti Chandra² had made a tentative suggestion that paintings of the well-known *Chaurapañchāśikā* type may have a North Eastern provenance, namely Uttar Pradesh. Thereafter, through the good offices of Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay, and Shrimati Sumati Behn of Sholapur, our attention was drawn to an illustrated Ms. of the *Mahāpurāṇa* which, on examination, showed that it was dated 1540 A.D. in the reign of Sher Shāh Sur and was painted at Palam (now the airport area of New Delhi) by a family of Kāyastha artists. This Ms. was dealt with by Khandalavala in the *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin No. 5*, 1959, where it was referred to as the Digambara Ms. while Moti Chandra published for the first time an example from this Ms. in colour in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 1960. It will be dealt with in detail in the Museum Memoir with many illustrations. As it appeared to be a precursor of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style it lent some support to the original suggestion of a northern provenance for the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group with this modification that this style of painting probably extended over a northern belt approximately from Delhi to Jaunpur. Rai Krishnadasa's discovery of an extensively illustrated Ms. of *Mṛigāvatī* (now

¹ Sixty-four illustrations are to the *Laur-Chandā* story and four are illustrations to the *Mainā-Sata*. All the miniatures, however, are in the same style. They were in a bound volume when acquired and neither story is complete. This indicates that both Mss. had been broken up and these sixty-eight miniatures bound together at some later date.

² *Marg*, vol. IV, no. 3, Karl Khandalavala, "Leaves From Rajasthan," p. 49.

in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras), written in the Kaithi script of Eastern U.P., also indicated the Avadha area as the likely provenance. Though painted in a folkish style it is obviously related to the *Chaurapañchāsikā* group. Thus, tentatively, we had reason to believe that the *Chaurapañchāsikā* style was in vogue in a northern belt from Delhi to Jaunpur. Recently, through the good offices of Miss Durga Bhagwat, another illustrated Ms. was brought to our notice and on examination it was found to be dated 1516 A.D. and was painted by a Kāyastha artist either at Delhi (Yoginīpura) or near Agra. The style of several of its illustrations is so clearly that of the *Chaurapañchāsikā*, though much cruder in execution, that there is no mistaking that it is a precursor of that style. Moreover, quite a number of its illustrations link up with the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D. which, as already observed, was also painted at Delhi (Palam) by a Kāyastha family. The discovery of this Ms. dated 1516 A.D. indeed makes it probable that our original suggestion of a northern belt as the provenance of the *Chaurapañchāsikā* style may well be correct. We will deal with this Ms. dated 1516 A.D. in detail in the Museum Memoir. Thus from 1516 A.D., at any rate, if not a somewhat earlier, the Kāyastha painters of the North had evolved a style which though undoubtedly influenced by the Western Indian or Gujarati school, as practised in Central and Northern Indian centres, had distinctive elements of its own and had discarded not only the farther projecting eye but also the conventional costumes seen in the Western Indian or Gujarati style Mss. and replaced them by costumes that must have been actually in vogue in Northern India under Lodī rule during the late 15th and the 16th centuries A.D. Thus we find male characters often clad in varying styles of *jāmās* and frequently wearing the *kulahdār* turban which must have been extensively worn in areas ruled by dynasties of Afghan origin such as the Lodīs. But in the Ms. of 1516 A.D. as well as the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D. the *chākdār jāmā* is absent. This feature, however, is present in the *Chaurapañchāsikā* and several other illustrated Mss. in this style. The absence of the *chākdār jāmā* in a Ms. definitely dated during Lodī rule, viz. 1516 A.D., poses a very complicated problem as to the date of those Mss. in the style of the *Chaurapañchāsikā* where the *chākdār jāmā* is constantly seen. And this problem presents no easy solution because the Ms. of 1516 A.D., and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D. are both extensively illustrated and several types of *jāmās* and costumes are found in both and yet the *chākdār jāmā* is totally absent. It would rather be unusual that in two Mss. depicting several types of *jāmās* of the Lodī period in Northern India, the *chākdār jāmā*, if worn during that period, should not have made its appearance in these illustrations. Even in the *Nī'mat Nāmah*¹ of the early 16th century painted at Mandu, the *chākdār jāmā* is not seen. If the *chākdār jāmā*, wherever it originated, was not in vogue in the northern belt or in Central India till Akbar's reign, then we would find it difficult to ascribe Mss. like *Chaurapañchāsikā*, *Laur-Chandā* of the Lahore Museum, *Mṛigāvatī*, the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* and the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā*, etc., in all of which the *chākdār jāmā* constantly appears, to any date earlier than about 1560-1570 A.D. by which time it seems to have been in common use at the Mughal court as can be seen from the *Hamza Nāmah* which was commenced in 1567 A.D. and *Khizr Khan-Deval Devi* of the National Museum dated 1568 A.D., and the so-called Zodiac series of the Rampur Library which may be slightly earlier than the *Hamza Nāmah*. We, however, refrain from expressing any definite opinion on this problem and merely state that till it is satisfactorily solved, no certain conclusions can be arrived at with regard to the date of those

¹ The *Nī'mat Nāmah* was discovered by Robert Skelton and is ascribed to a date not later than 1510 A.D.

Mss. of the *kulahdār* group where the *chākdār jāma* appears. It has been necessary to elaborate this problem since we are tentatively inclined to place the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* to some date between 1525-1550 A.D. But the constant appearance of the *chākdār jāma* in this Ms. does not enable us to make any confident assertion. We hope to deal in much greater detail with the problem of the *chākdār jāma* in the Museum Memoir though we confess, we have not yet arrived at a solution of this problem.

Having tentatively arrived at the conclusion that the *Chaurapañchāsikā* style seems to be a product of the northern belt rather than of Central India, we are nevertheless alive to the possibility that this style may have prevailed also in Central India.¹ Thus the question of the provenance of the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* and the somewhat later but closely related *Laur-Chandā* of the Rylands Library is no less difficult to answer than the question of their date. We feel that the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, because of its magnificence and high quality, is a court production and formed the basis on which the artists of the later Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā* worked. We do not rule out the possibility of the Rylands Ms. also being a court production though it is not of the same standard as the Prince of Wales Museum example. It may have been executed by somewhat less skilled artists. But it is not a folk style production by any means. To make a definite pronouncement with regard to the provenance of these two Mss. would be unwise but an attribution to Jaunpur, a great cultural centre in the 16th century, may possibly be correct.

With regard to the dates of these two Mss. the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* could be separated from the Rylands Library copy by as much as twenty-five years. We feel that the Rylands Library Ms. may not be earlier than 1575 A.D. in which case the Prince of Wales Museum Ms. could be placed near about 1550 A.D. There are several features in the Prince of Wales Museum Ms. which have inclined us to a date between 1525 and 1550 A.D. but frankly the presence of the *chākdār jāma* is a major obstacle to any satisfactory stylistic analysis. Accordingly, for the time being, we will remain content with stating that both Mss. belong to the 16th century. The Persian influence is seen in both, being more marked in the Prince of Wales Museum version. In the Rylands Library copy there is a clear development towards certain mannerisms which we have come to associate with Rajasthani painting and particularly with the so-called Malwa idiom thereof.

Some of the characteristics of the Rylands Library Ms. are as follows:

- (1) The foliage of trees is stylized into an oval or round mass of leaves (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3; Pl. XXXV, Fig. 9);
- (2) knotted tree trunks with three or four forked branches, the ends of which have oval-shaped tufts of foilage (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3; Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 7 and 8 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 9);
- (3) hillocks dotted with flowering shrubs (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7 and Pl. XXXV, Figs. 10 and 12);
- (4) basket pattern ponds and rivers (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1);
- (5) horizons fringed with a shrub-like pattern (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5 and Pl. XXXV, Figs. 11 and 12);
- (6) semi-circular hillocks fringed with a 'coma' pattern (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 4 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 12).

This is derived from Persian painting where it appears very early.

¹ There are traces of painting in Mansingh's palace at Gwalior which faintly support this possibility. Mr. Robert Skelton kindly showed us his slides which made possible a closer observation of certain details in these faded paintings.

- (7) *kulahdār* turbans (Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 8 and Pl. XXXV, Figs. 11 and 12);
- (8) a turban (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 3 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 10), greatly resembling the type seen in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of 1465 A.D. (*Lalit Kalā*, No. 5);
- (9) triangular ends of transparent *oḍhnīs* standing out stiffly (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 9);
- (10) hair in wiry strands (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2);
- (11) long *jāmā* reaching to the ground (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 11);
- (12) a short *chākdār jāmā* (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2) as well as a longer *chākdār jāmā* (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 8). The short type though not commonly seen in Mughal painting does appear in the *Hamza Nāmā* illustrations. *Jāmās* often have a series of tie knots, giving the appearance of a fringe;
- (13) pink brick-work with red joints;
- (14) narrow *paṭkās*, both short and long (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2 and Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5 and 8);
- (15) long side whiskers usually in a pattern of two separated tufts (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 4; Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 11);
- (16) cranes flying in the sky or a single crane settled on a tree (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 6 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 9);
- (17) male figures wear either *jāmā* and turban or *dhotī* and turban (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 3 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 10).
- (18) skirts almost touch the ground (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5 and Pl. XXXV, Fig. 11);
- (19) very short *cholīs* (seen wherever they appear);
- (20) elephants are peculiarly drawn like in the *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum. It is not easy to regard such elephants as the original work of an Indian artist (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 12); and they appear to have been based on elephants in Persian paintings of the so-called Turkoman school of the late 15th century;
- (21) cattle resemble those in the Western Indian or Gujarati school miniatures (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 10);
- (22) brackets ends have a hanging ornament consisting of two pompons (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 6).

One general aspect of the Rylands Library *Laur-Chandā* is that it is much closer in feeling and treatment to early Rajasthani painting (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1, Pl. XXXIV, Figs. 5-8 and Pl. XXXV, Figs. 9-11) than the *Laur-Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum which is still somewhat aloof from Indian sentiment.

The Rylands Ms. is one more discovery which in some ways helps us in arriving at a better understanding of the problems which beset 16th century painting. At the same time it has features which add to our difficulties in arriving at a satisfactory solution. The main outlines of the *Laur-Chandā* story are being included in the present article and it is largely due to the efforts of Parmeshwari Lal Gupta that it has been possible to gain a fairly substantial account of this romance which seems to have had great popularity in the 16th century, particularly in Uttar Pradesh.

The romance of Laurak and Chāndā forms a most popular theme of folk-ballads of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Chhatisgarh. It has also attracted the poets of various parts of the country. The earliest of them was Maulānā Dāūd, who composed a narrative poem entitled *Chandāyana*, based on this romance, in the Avadhī dialect of Hindi in A.H. 779 (A.D. 1377-78) or 781 (A.D. 1379-80) under the patronage of Jaunā Shāh, Khān-i-Jahān, the Diwān of the Sultan of Delhi, Firuz Shāh Tughlaq. Abdur



Plate B. Laurak leaves the temple; Biraspati informs Chāndā about him. From *Laur-Chandā* of the Rylands Library, Manchester. 16th century A.D.

Qādir Badāyūnī, the celebrated historian of the Mughal period, has spoken highly about this work in his *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh* and said that it was very popular amongst the people in his time.¹

Maulānā Dāūd hailed from Dalmaū, an important town on the bank of Ganges in the district of Rai Bareli, at the distance of sixty-one miles from Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. His father most likely was Malik Mubārik, who was the Judge of Dalmaū. Spiritually, Maulānā Dāūd was the disciple of the Sūfī saint Jainuddīn, who in turn, was the chief disciple and the son of the elder sister of the saint Nasīruddīn Avadhī, better known as Chirāgh-i-Delhi and a prominent disciple of Nizāmuddīn Auliya.

But unfortunately, only the names of Maulānā Dāūd and his *Chandāyana* had survived to us and the *Chandāyana* was completely lost in the eyes of the literary world till about ten years back. However, a set of 24 miniature paintings with stanzas from this work, written in Naskh script on their back, existed in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, since a long time and were recognised by art critics as representing the romance of Laurak and Chāndā.² Another set of six miniatures in the *Apabhramśa* style with the stanzas from this work at their back was lying in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan for more than thirty years; but their exact nature was not realised. The paintings were identified as stray pages of some unknown Avadhī *kāvya* (poem).

Towards the beginning of the last decade, Dr. V. S. Agrawala discovered a stanza of the *Chandāyana*, scribed on the fly-leaf of a manuscript of another Avadhī poem *Padmāvat* by Malik Muhammad Jāisi, in the Raza Library, Rampur, U.P. This discovery led Parmeshwari Lal Gupta to scrutinise the text on the back of Bhārat Kalā Bhavan miniatures and discover that they related to the story of Laurak and Chāndā.³ The same year Prof. Hasan Askari of the Patna University chanced to find a fragmentary manuscript of the *Chandāyana*, containing 64 pages, while he was looking into the manuscript collection of the Bihar Sharif Khankah. Having seen this manuscript, Shri Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Persian and Arabic Epigraphy, Archaeological Department, soon after recognised the stanzas of the *Chandāyana* on the back of the paintings bound in an album lying with a Muslim family at Bhopal and which was later acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum after Shri Desai had kindly drawn our attention to it. Thus a fourth manuscript of *Chandāyana* came to light.

When the Bhopal album was acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Parmeshwari Lal Gupta studied the text material of the *Chandāyana*, inscribed at the back of the paintings and transcribed them into Nāgari and collated it with the material available from the Lahore and Banaras miniatures and the Patna fragmentary manuscript. He thus succeeded in restoring about 100 stanzas of the *Chandāyana*, each containing seven lines.

While working on the subject, Parmeshwari Lal Gupta came to know about a fifth manuscript which he finally traced in the Rylands Library and the condition of which he describes herein.

The manuscript contains besides 349 stanzas of the poem, 288 miniatures depicting the story.

A careful examination of the manuscript shows that it is not complete. Some of the folios from the beginning and the end and a few in between, are missing. It appears that the present binding of the

¹ *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*, Ed. Molvi Ahmad Ali (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*), vol. I, p. 250; English Trans. vol. I, p. 33.

² S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, p. 13; *Marg*, vol. IV, no. 3.

³ *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, p. 70, f.n. 3.

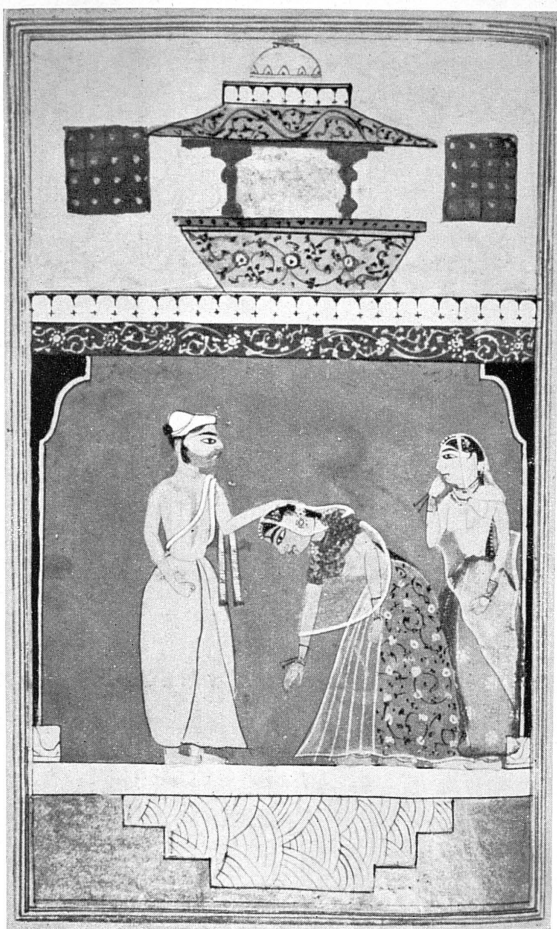


Fig. 1. Mainā's obeisance to Sirjan. From *Laur-Chandā* of the Rylands Library. Manchester. 16th century A. D.



Fig. 2. Mainā welcomes Laurak on his return home. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

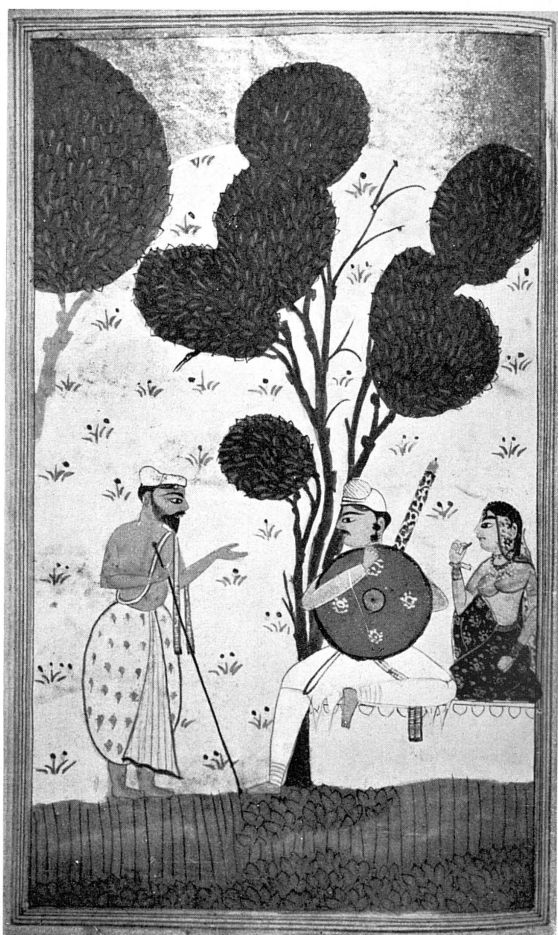


Fig. 3. Rāi Kariṅga's envoy meeting Laurak and Chāndā. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

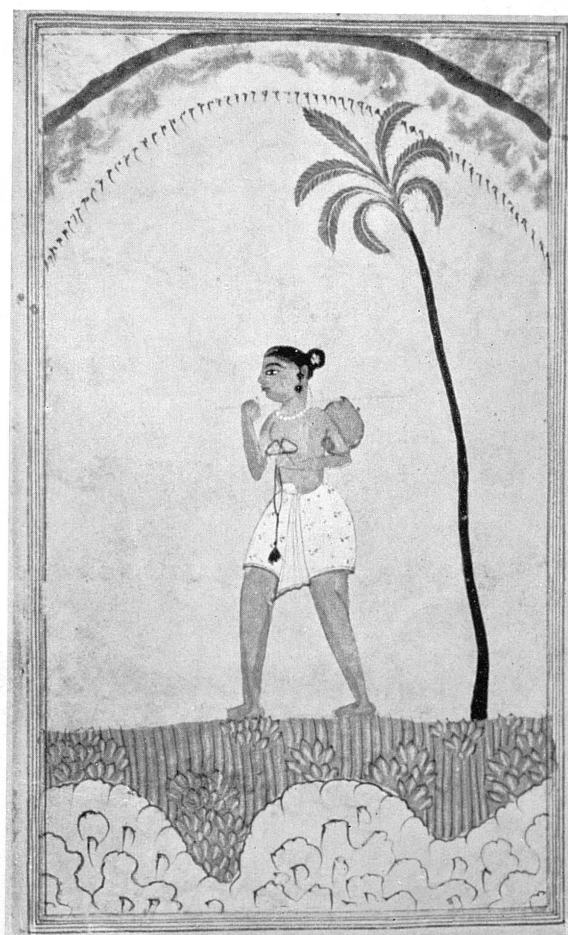


Fig. 4. *Bājir* leaves Govar town. Same Ms. as fig. 1.



Fig. 5. Laurak's mother reconciling Laurak and Mainā. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

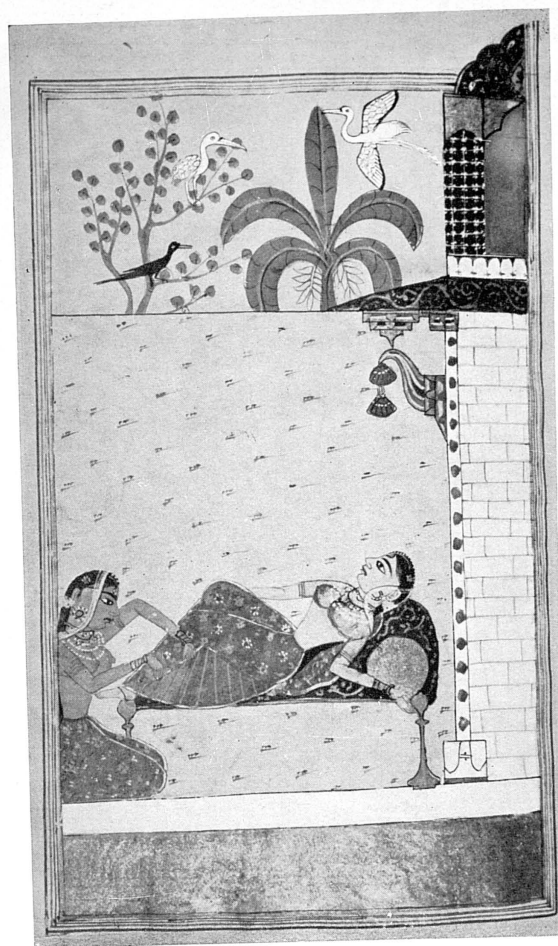


Fig. 6. Chāndā's love-sickness. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

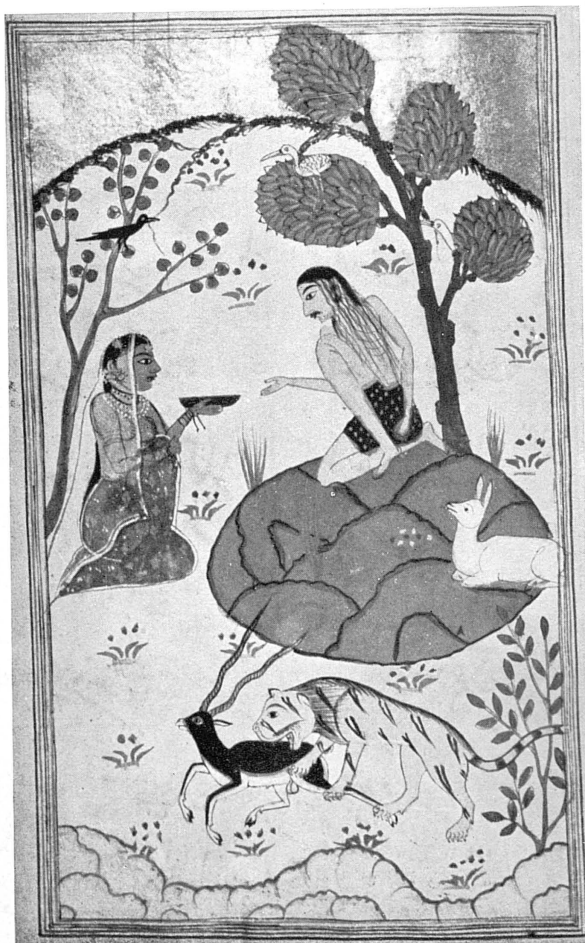


Fig. 7. Biraspatha presents food and drink to Laurak. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

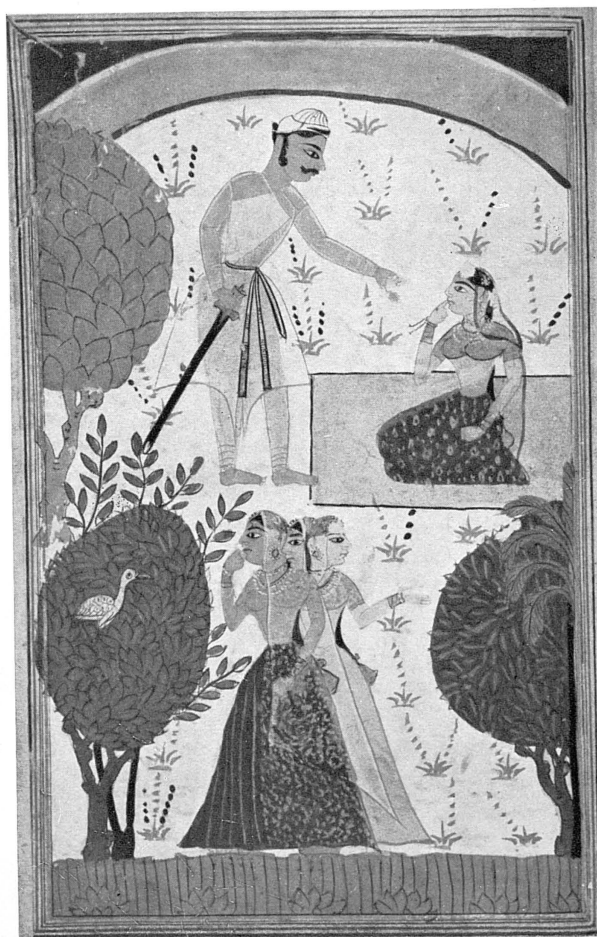


Fig. 8. Laurak reprimands Chāndā for her behaviour towards Mainā. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

manuscript, i.e. the binding that exists from the time it came to the collection of the Duke of Sussex, is atleast its third binding. When the original binding got loose, many pages were lost. At the time of the second binding, the margins were trimmed and the text and miniatures were remounted on new margins. The existing folios were repaginated on the new margins from 1 to 136. Then for the third time the manuscript was bound in its present form, when again a few more pages were lost. According to the pagination that the manuscript has, folios 8, 111, 260 and 291 to 295 are missing. Thus the Rylands manuscript of the *Chandāyana* contains only about three-fourths of the entire work. Forty-three stanzas may be restored to it from the other fragments, mentioned above. Yet about 80 stanzas remain to be restored. On the basis of all the material thus available, the contents of the *Chandāyana* may be summarised as follows:

The opening verses are devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet Muhammad, the four Caliphs, the author's preceptor, the reigning king and the author's patron Khān-i-Jahān. This entire portion is missing in all the known manuscripts except for two stanzas — one in the Prince of Wales Museum Ms. and the other on one of the miniatures in Mr. Hofer's collection in the U.S.A.

This is followed by detailed descriptions of the town of Govar, its residents, the king and his court.

It is related that Rāi Mahar Sahadev had sixty-four queens, headed by Phūlārānī. To her was born a daughter who was named Chāndā. Even when she was a mere child the fame of her beauty reached all the corners of the country. While she was a mere child, Rāi Jīta (or Cheta) sent his priest and barber to Sahadev with the request that his daughter be married to his (Jīta's) son Bāvan. After persuasion, Sahadev agreed to the proposal and the marriage was performed with great fanfare.

At the age of sixteen, Chāndā went to her husband's place and then she learnt that he was blind in one eye and lacked manhood. Bāvan, her husband, never came to her bed. So, while one day Chāndā was lamenting her fate, her sister-in-law (Bāvan's sister) came to know about this state of affairs and informed her mother. The latter tried to pacify Chāndā, but she was inconsolable. Becoming desperate Chāndā sent a Brahman to her father with the message that he should despatch her brother to fetch her immediately. As soon as Sahadev received her message, he sent men to bring Chāndā back.

At her paternal home Chāndā's girl friends made enquiries about her conjugal life, and she was forced to tell them how miserably she had passed the twelve months of the year.

One day, while Chāndā was standing on the balcony of her palace, a *Bājir* (probably a Yogī of the Vajrayāna sect) passed that way and saw her. Dazzled by her beauty he fainted. The crowd gathered around him and enquired the cause of his fainting fit. He related the cause of his plight in a round-about way and left the town immediately for fear of the king's wrath.

The *Bājir* moved from place to place singing mystic songs of separation till he reached another kingdom. One night the ruler of that place, Rāi Rūpchand, heard him singing. The next morning he sent for him. The *Bājir* gave to him a detailed account of the beauty of Chāndā. Hearing about her unparalleled beauty Rūpchand decided to get her and with this end in view marched with his army against her father Sahadev.

On hearing the arrival of Rūpchand, Sahadev sent his men to inquire the reason of the former's sudden wrath. Sahadev's envoy tried to pacify Rūpchand but he refused to go back without Chāndā. Forced

to fight for his honour, Sahadev marched with his army against the aggressor and joined in battle. But Sahadev's army proved helpless against the enemy; and so he was advised to seek the help of the great hero Laurak.

As soon as Laurak received Sahadev's message he made himself ready to go to Sahadev's aid. His wife Mainā tried to prevent him but she failed. Laurak first went to his (*guru*) Ajayī, who gave him some advice about the technique of warfare. From there he proceeded to Sahadev.

Laurak participated in the battle on behalf of Sahadev and defeated Rūpchand's army. When Laurak returned victorious Sahadev took him in a procession on an elephant through the town.

It so chanced that Chāndā saw Laurak in the procession and struck with love at first sight she fainted. Her maid-servant Biraspata (who is also called as Bihaphai), seeing the love-lorn condition of her mistress consoled her. Chāndā requested Biraspata to manage to show her Laurak once again. Biraspata advised her to request her father to arrange a feast to commemorate the victory over Rūpchand, which he did, and in that feast Laurak had a glimpse of Chāndā and fell in love with her.

On returning home from the feast, Laurak took to bed suffering from love-sickness. Looking at the condition of her son, Laurak's mother Kholin wept. As previously arranged Biraspata met her and learning the condition of her son desired to see the patient. Meeting Laurak secretly, she informed him that she had come from Chāndā and further advised him to proceed to a temple and stay there in the guise of a Yogī. He accepted her advice.

One day Chāndā went to the temple with her girl friends. When the Yogī (Laurak) saw her, he fainted again. Chāndā, however, returned from the temple without realising that the Yogī was none else than Laurak. When she related the incident to Biraspata, the latter revealed to her mistress the true identity of the Yogī and his love for her. Knowing this Chāndā reprimanded Biraspata for keeping the fact concealed so long and then despatched her to Laurak to persuade him to abandon the garb of a Yogī.

Laurak readily agreed to the advice of his beloved. He returned to his home but soon left to wander in the forest lamenting his separation from Chāndā. This invoked response from Chāndā who sent Biraspata to invite Laurak to her palace. Biraspata met him and showed him the way to Chāndā's palace through a window at the back. In order to seek entry to her apartment, he took with him a hooked rope and on a pitch dark day of the month of Bhādon he threw up the rope to scale the wall. Chāndā heard the sound of the rope, but instead of holding it tight, for fun, she threw it back. This she did twice or thrice to tease her lover. At last, realising that the game had lasted too long, Chāndā received one end of the rope, tied it to the balcony and began simulating sleep.

Laurak entered Chāndā's apartment with the help of the rope and after arousing her from her feigned slumber made love to her for the whole night. In the morning Chāndā hid Laurak under her bed. Next day the lovers again yielded to each other and in the morning Chāndā managed to get Laurak out of the palace. While Laurak was going out of the gate, the gate-keepers saw him and thus the parents of Chāndā came to know that someone had stayed in the palace during the night. This news gradually spread all over the town. Laurak's wife Mainā also came to know about it and began suspecting his loyalty. There was an open quarrel between the husband and wife on this point; but Kholin, Laurak's mother, pacified the irate Mainā.

After some time, on a festive day, Chāndā went to the temple with her colleagues and there also came Mainā, wife of Laurak, with her followers. As soon as Chāndā saw Mainā, she jocularly asked some personal questions that provoked the latter and resulted in exchange of sharp words. This ultimately led to a free fight, and the love secrets of Chāndā and Laurak, which had so far remained hidden, became exposed. When Laurak heard of the fight, he ran to the scene and separated the two rivals.

Mainā went home and immediately called a florist and sent her to Chāndā's mother, complaining bitterly against her daughter's behaviour. Now Chāndā realised the gravity of the situation. She sent word to Laurak that it was no longer possible for her to stay in the town and the only alternative left to them was to run away to some distant land. Accepting her suggestion Laurak planned the elopement and the two left the town secretly one night.

On the way Laurak met his brother Kunvarū who reprimanded Laurak and Chāndā for their dishonourable action. Laurak, after pacifying his brother, proceeded further and reached the bank of the Gaṅgā. Early in the morning, after befooling the boatman who was enamoured with the beauty of Chāndā, the two crossed the river.

In the meantime the news of Chāndā's elopement had reached her husband Bāvan, who immediately rushed to the river. On enquiry, when he came to know that the two lovers had just crossed, he jumped into the river and swam across the other bank and followed Laurak and Chāndā. Espying Laurak, Bāvan aimed his arrow thrice to shoot him down but each time Laurak escaped. Accepting his defeat Bāvan left them and returned back; the lovers marched on.

On the way they met some thugs.¹ Laurak, enraged at their behaviour, cut off the hands of the main culprit, who lodged a complaint against Laurak with Rāi Kariṅgā. The Rāi called on Laurak to explain his conduct which he did. The Rāi was pleased with him and presented him a palanquin and a horse.

From there Laurak and Chāndā went to the residence of a Brahman and stayed there overnight. Their flower bed attracted a serpent which crept in and bit Chāndā. Hearing the cry of Chāndā, Laurak awoke but by that time, due to the rapid action of the poison, she had lost consciousness. After some time, however, a snake-charmer came and revived Chāndā.

The pair then resumed their march. On the way they faced two or three adventures, but the pages relating these incidents are missing in the available Mss. A page in the Panjab Museum Ms. refers to an encounter with one Mahapatiā.

After these encounters Laurak and Chāndā reached a thick forest in the evening. There they encamped under a tree. Here again Chāndā was bitten by a snake in the night. Laurak lamented bitterly but at last a snake-charmer came and cured her.

Thereafter the lovers marched onward and reached a town. There Laurak left Chāndā in a temple and went to the market to buy food. In the meantime a magician Yogī came there and threw some charm over Chāndā. In consequence she lost her memory and began following the Yogī. When Laurak came back from the market, he found her missing and began to search her. In another town he came to know that a Yogī had come there with a woman. As soon as Laurak saw the Yogī, he caught hold

¹ The pages relating this incident are missing, so the details of the event are not clear.

of him. Both claimed Chāndā as their wife and went to the city council for the settlement of the dispute. Here again pages are missing. It appears that the council decided in favour of Laurak.

After surmounting all these difficulties and adventures, Laurak and Chāndā reached near Hardīpāṭan. Rāi Chhetam, the ruler of the town, who was going out for hunting in the early morning, saw them and sent a messenger to make enquiry about the visitors. When Chhetam returned in the evening he knew all about Laurak, welcomed them and made all arrangements for their physical comforts.

At Govar, Mainā, troubled by the separation of Laurak, waited anxiously for a long time for his return. One day when she heard that a caravan has come to her town, she sent for Sirjan, the leader of the caravan, and narrated him all about her love longings in the form of a *Bārahmāsā* and requested him to take her message to Laurak at Hardīpāṭan and persuade him to come back.

Accordingly, Sirjan went to Hardīpāṭan, met Laurak and gave him Mainā's message. On hearing of the distress of Mainā, Laurak decided to return immediately to Govar; but Chāndā did not favour the idea. This time Laurak ignored her stubbornness and made all preparations for his return. Rāi Chhetam sent him off laden with suitable presents.

When Laurak reached Govar, people became panicky. They thought that someone had invaded their town. Laurak sent a florist to the town and managed to call Mainā to his camp to test her chastity. After that, he went home and Kholin, his mother, welcomed Chāndā as her second daughter-in-law.

When settled at home, Laurak enquired from his mother as to how they lived during his absence. She informed him that Bāvan had come in his absence and quarrelled with Mainā. Then Ajayī came to her rescue. Mākar had also come with his army and had killed Kunvarū. Further pages are not available; so the story is left incomplete at this stage.

AUTHORS' NOTE:

The illustrated Ms. dated 1516 A.D. referred to herein is the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* in the Asiatic Society of Bombay. The existence of this Ms. is being made known for the first time in our above article.

Miss Durga Bhagvat of the Asiatic Society who is aware of our interest in all illustrated manuscripts brought this Ms. to the notice of the authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum. Due to her kindness, for which we thank her, we have been able to study it and discover its importance as a document of sixteenth century Indian painting, for not only is it dated but it mentions the place where it was painted and further mentions the reign of the king in which it was produced. We publish below the colophon and its translation:

Samvat 1573 varshe, Śrāvaṇa Vadi 9, Some, tatsamaye Yoginīpure Sulitrāṇa-Sikandara-vijaya-rājya-pravarttamāne, tatsamaye Kachchhauvā-jaladurge Chandrāpurī-nivāsinaḥ tatra nivasah san, Chaudhury Vinaya, tasya suṣṭra Chaudhury Kalhā, tasya putra Vaishṇava Chaudhury Śrī Bhānadāsa idaṁ Mahābhārata Aranyaparvaṁ ātmaśravaṇārthaṁ likhāpitaṁ; likhitaṁ Kāyastha Gauḍānvaya Śrī Lakhaṇasī sutaga Bhavānīdasa.

In the Samvat year 1573, Śrāvaṇa vadi 9, Monday, during the victorious reign of Sultan Sikandara in Yoginīpura and when the Chaudhurys, inhabitants of Chandrāpurī, were residing in a fort by the side of the river at Kachchhauvā, Chaudhury Śrī Bhānadāsa, a Vaishṇava by faith, son of Kalhā, who was son of Chaudhury Vinaya, got for recitation to himself, the *Aranyaparva* (*Vanaparva*) written (and painted?) by Bhavānīdāsa, son of Lakhaṇasī of Gauḍa Kāyastha lineage.

Chandrāpurī is in all probability to be identified with Chandwār on the Jamunā in Tahsil Firozabad (District Gazetteer U.P. of Agra and Oudh, 1905) and Kachchhauvā is best identified with Kachaurā, also on the Jamunā (fifty-seven miles from Agra) in the Bah Tahsil. Thus Chandrāpurī and Kachchhauvā are not distant from each other and the Chaudhurys of the inscription appear to have moved from Chandwār, their original habitat, to a little further down the river at Kachaurā. Though the inscription does not specifically state that the Ms. was written and painted at Kachchhauvā, yet it would appear from the general sense of the inscription that the Ms. was got prepared in Kachchhauvā. It is of course also possible to suggest that it was written and painted by a Kāyastha artist in Yoginīpura (Delhi). It is of interest to note that Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1489-1517) ruled over Delhi, Agra and Jaunpur areas and that in 1504 he set up his new capital at Agra. Thus it is clear that this Ms. was illustrated in the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur which has been surmised by us as the area to which probably most of the *kuladhār* Mss. belong.

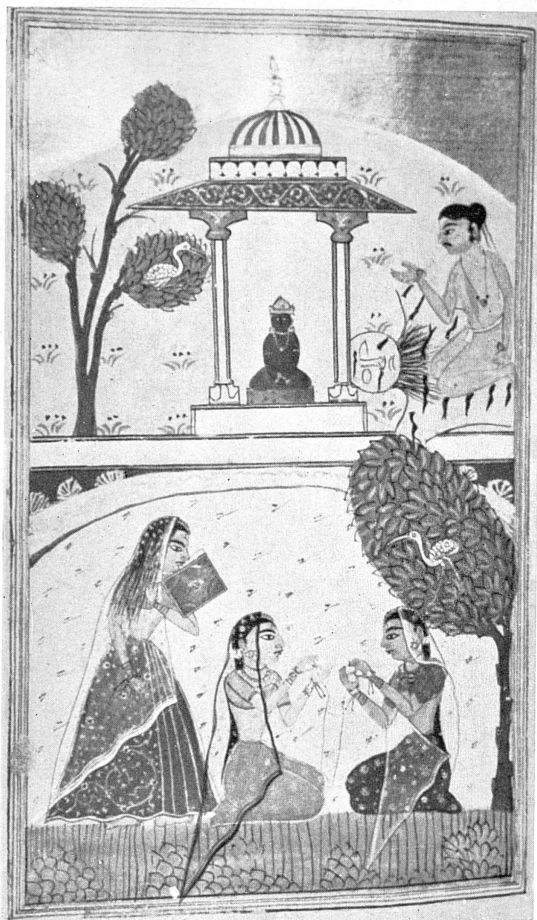


Fig. 9. The maid-servants restraining Chāndā's] broken necklace. Same Ms. as fig. 1.



Fig. 10. Laurak's mother sends a message to him through Sirjan. Same Ms. as fig. 1.



Fig. 11. Biraspata advises Laurak to elope with Chāndā. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

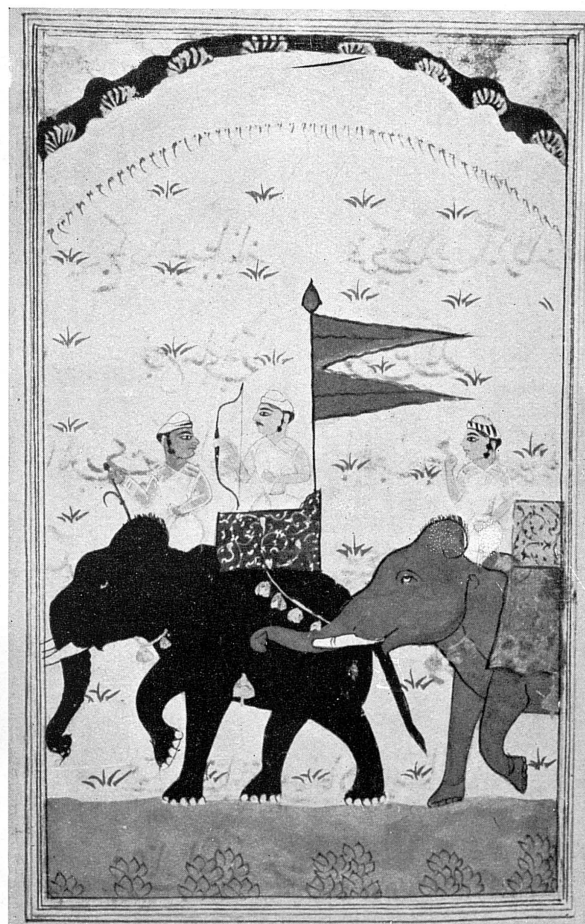


Fig. 12. Elephants in the army of Rāi Rūpchand. Same Ms. as fig. 1.

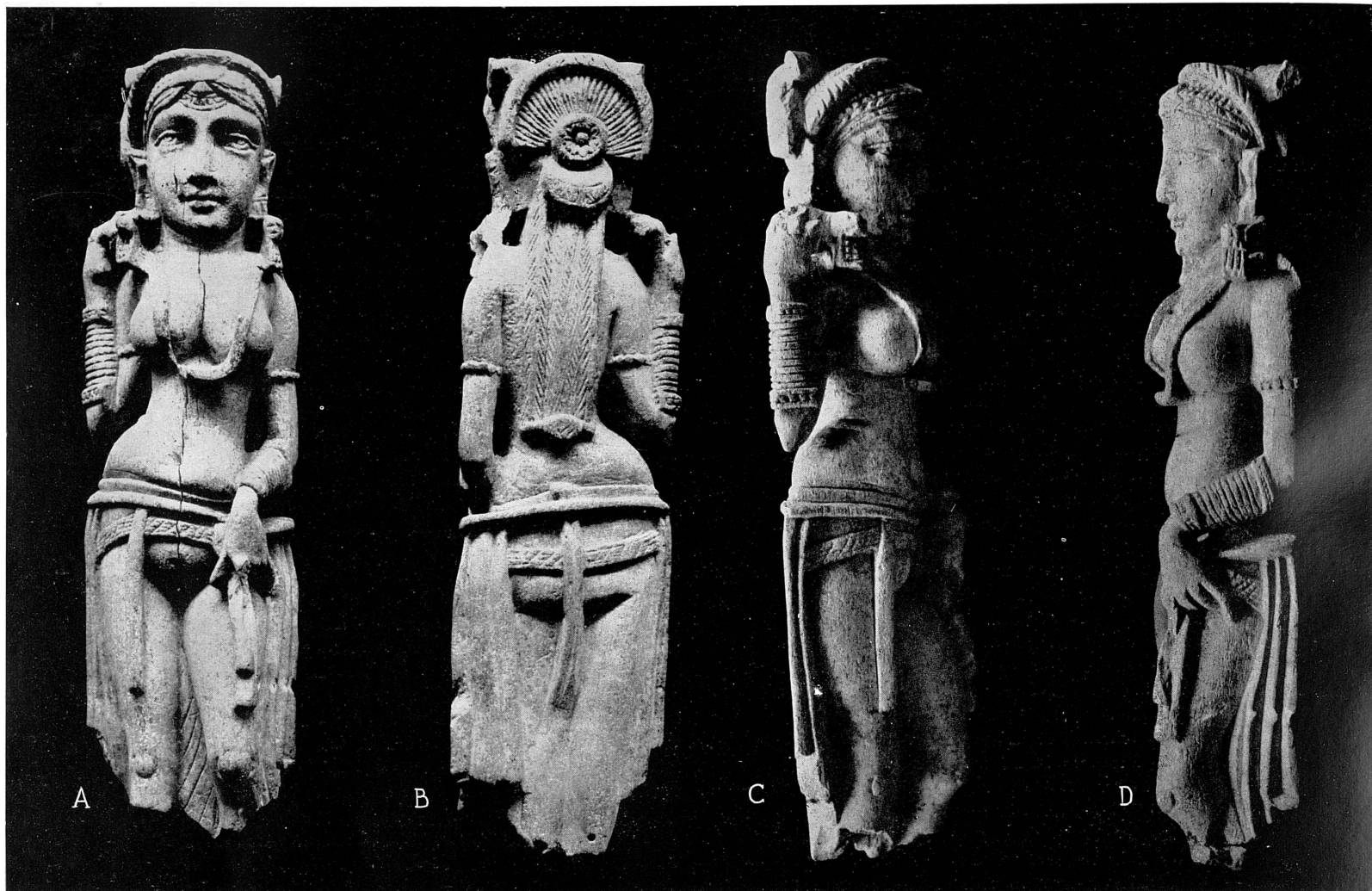
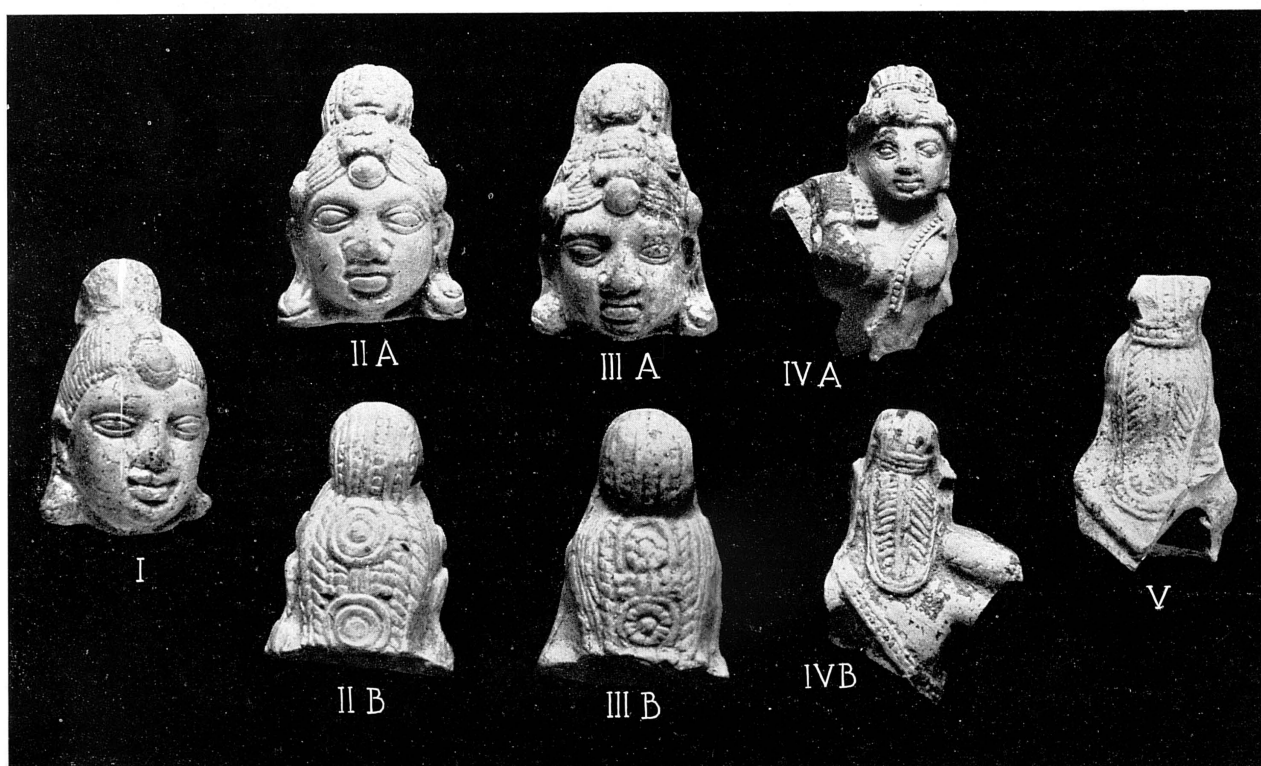


Fig. 1. Śrī-Lakshmi. Ivory. Ht. 16.4 cm. Surface find from Ter. Possession of the Ter village headman Shri Ramlingappa Lamture.



NOTES

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE IVORY FIGURE FROM TER

The fascinating account of the ivory figure from Ter by Shri Moti Chandra¹ must have attracted the attention of the lovers of Ancient Indian Art. The writer had the opportunity of examining the ivory figure in original at Ter by the kind courtesy of Shri Ramlingappa Lamture who has besides the ivory figure a fine collection of surface finds from the ancient site at Ter. The examination of the figure in original revealed certain very interesting characteristics which also throw light on the ivory statuette from Pompeii.

The ivory figure from Ter is not 5" in height as mentioned by Barrett² but is actually 6.4" i.e. 16.4 cm. It has in its head a vertical aperture to a depth of 8.7 cm. with 0.7 cm. as diameter at the top. Before we go into the question of the purpose of this aperture it may at once be pointed out that a similar aperture also exists into the head of the Pompeii figure.³ This circular hole drilled from the top of the head and running through the axis of the figure is said to reach a depth almost level with the loins. The aperture drilled in head of the Ter ivory reaches up to the navel. This unique characteristic at once establishes a relationship between these two ivory objects in addition to the fact that they belong to the same genre of iconography as pointed out by Moti Chandra.⁴ It is surmised in the case of the Pompeii ivory that the aperture was intended to receive a metal pin which must have supported either some sacred symbol or possibly a mirror or similar object of practical utility.

Before a similar use is postulated in the case of the Ter ivory, some more interesting features of the ivory would call for comment. Closer examination of the statuette revealed that just below the knees there are two perforations, one in each leg and the perforation in the proper left still retains in position a corroded fragment of an iron pin. The perforation in the right leg is also clearly seen.⁵ A third hole is also bored in the hanging part of the garment on the right side just where a portion of the figure is damaged. This hole, which also retains a fragmentary iron pin, is not visible in any of the photographs. The purpose of these holes apparently is for fixing the figure to some object with the help of metal pins.⁶ Another very important observation is that the figure though worked in the round can rest flat on the back and one wonders whether it was intended for being fixed to some box, probably a

toilet box. The only objection to this argument, and perhaps a valid one, would be that the back side of the figure is also decorated with an elaborate *veni* which was doubtless intended to be seen (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 1 B). One wonders whether such a use of the figure was a subsequent innovation by its possessor who wanted to fix the figure to some sort of box and had these holes drilled in the body of the figure to suit his purpose. Originally the statuette may have been used in the same way as the Pompeii figure, but no indication of a metal or wooden pin is available in the aperture.

The Pompeii ivory has a projecting pin on one side of the head-dress. The Ter figure on examination revealed some damage on either side of its back and one is left to imagine whether the slight projection on the proper left of the figure (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 1D) was also of the nature of a pin like that of the Pompeii ivory.

The question of provenance and date of the Ter ivory has been dealt with by Douglas Barrett⁷ and Moti Chandra,⁸ the former prefers to date the ivory to the end of the 1st century A.D. on the basis of the late dating of the Great Stupa at Sanchi and suggests Northwest Deccan or Malwa as its provenance while the latter, relying on the stylistic affinities between the female figures of the Middle Phase of Amaravati and the Ter ivory, assigns it to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. or a little earlier and suggests a possibility of its being made locally or at Dhanyakataka, the secondary capital of the Sātavāhanas. An attempt is made here to approach the question from an altogether new angle. The Sātavāhana terracottas in the possession of Shri Lamture help us in the determination of the provenance and date of the ivory figure. The female heads (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2) show distinct similarities in regard to the ornament, hair-style and features with the ivory in question. The parted hair with the head-jewel (*Chaṭulātīlakamaṇi*) in the centre is a peculiar characteristic common to quite a number of terracottas of Ter. The arrangement of hair on the back side of the head in triple plaits with one or more round clasps or rosettes decorating the plaits (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2 IIA and IIIA) is also another feature which is common to the Ter and Pompeii ivories on the one hand and the terracottas on the other. The necklace falling below the breast in the case of yet another terracotta figure (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2 IVA) as also the ear ornament worn by her are other affinities which attract attention. More significant than these similarities is the remarkable resemblance one notices in the features and the facial expression of the terracotta figurines (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2 I and IVB) and the ivory statuettes from Ter and Pompeii. The forehead partly covered by the parted hair and the central jewel, the deeply sunk eyes, the rather straight nose in the case of yet another terracotta figurine (Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 2 I), sensual lips and fleshy cheeks are characteristics common to the terracottas

¹ Moti Chandra, "An Ivory Figure from Ter," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, pp. 7-15.

² Douglas Barrett, *Ter (Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay 1960)* p. 8.

³ J. Ph. Vogel, "Note on an Ivory Statuette from Pompeii," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XIII, 1938 p. 1 (Leyden 1940).

⁴ *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, p. 10.

⁵ Cf. Douglas Barrett, *Ter*, pl. 10 and *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, pl. 1.

⁶ The Begram ivories were fixed to the wood-work with copper pins.

⁷ Douglas Barrett, *Ter*.

⁸ Moti Chandra, *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8.

and the ivory figurines. The similarities in the terracotta figurines and the ivories is especially significant if we pause a little and think of the technique adopted in the manufacture of the terracottas. The Ter terracottas are cast from moulds, later joined together to produce a hollow figure in the round. Sometimes more than one mould are used for the casting of the face, but normally two moulds, one for the front and the other for the rear, are used. The use of moulds naturally has its own limitations and angularities and deep cuts have to be avoided. This is not true of ivory for it is worked like a sculpture. The slightly angular features of the ivory statuette and the roundish features of the terracotta figurines can thus be explained. All these would at once suggest the same art tradition indicative of the local manufacture of the Ter ivory.

As regards the date, the conclusion arrived at by Moti Chandra on the basis of similarities of the Ter ivory with the female figures of the Middle Phase of Amaravati appears plausible for the terracotta art of Ter and Kondapur can safely be assigned to 1st and 2nd century A.D., combining the Amaravati influence on the one hand and the Karla-Kanheri influence from the Central Deccan on the other. The location of Ter, midway on the ancient trade route also explains the combination of these artistic influences. In this connection, mention may be made of a few carved lime stone slabs at Ter, similar to those from Amaravati.¹ If the Pompeii ivory is compared with the Ter terracottas and the ivory one feels convinced that the Pompeii statuette though slightly earlier in date is undoubtedly of the Sātavāhana workmanship and the handiwork of the ivory craftsmen of Ter. The collection of Ramlingappa contains besides the ivory under consideration, yet another ivory statuette, a bone figurine (besides the one described by Moti Chandra which in reality is made out of some variety of white soft stone), quite a number of ivory pieces of dice and an ivory hair pin. All these finds are merely sporadic surface finds and not the result of systematic excavation like that of Begram which yielded a large number of ivories including some of Sātavāhana workmanship. It is not unlikely that a systematic excavation might result in the discovery of many ivory objects for the reason that there is sufficient justification to surmise the existence of a guild of ivory carvers (*Dantakāras*) at Ter like that at Vidisha.² To the same school of ivory carvers belongs the ivory plaque from Kondapur³ showing elephant riders similar to those on the pillar capitals in the *chaitya* cave at Kanheri. The Pompeii ivory might have travelled from the Deccan to Pompeii from the port of Barygaza (Bhrigukachha) on the Western Coast, which is mentioned in the Periplus⁴ as one of the principal ports exporting ivory. This surmise gains further confirmation on account of the find of a terracotta Roman lamp-head at Ter and other lamps and pottery of Roman imitation. In his paper on "Roman influence on the Terracottas of the

Sātavāhana period,"⁵ the writer has put forward the possibility of a Roman colony at Ter where Roman merchants exchanged their goods with that of the orient.

M. N. Deshpande

A NOTE ON IVORIES AND A REVIEW OF THE BULLETIN OF THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA, No. 6 (1957-1959)

The latest *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum* contains 81 pages of text, 28 plates and one colour plate. Its handsome presentation and the quality of the contributions reflect the greatest credit on the editor and on the enlightened policy of the trustees. The important group of fragments from the famous site of Bharhut, recently given to the museum by Smt. Madhuri Desai, is discussed by S.N. Chakravarti. K.V. Soundara Rajan contributes a stimulating paper on the "Beginnings of the Temple Plan." Pramod Chandra's article on a Ramayana series of the "Popular Mughal School" adds considerably to our knowledge of the diffusion of the Court Style of painting in the early decades of the 17th century A.D. — a theme which he has more recently developed in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8. Something seems to have gone wrong with the late Professor L. A. Mayer's contribution on "Sixteen Islamic Blades." He does, however, make it clear how difficult it is to attribute sword blades to the famous masters of Isfahan, Asad Ullah and Kalb 'Alī.

Dr. Moti Chandra's "Ancient Indian Ivories" is a long and important paper and warrants the closest attention. It is an admirable attempt to bring together what we know — all too little — of the art of ivory carving in India. Several key pieces are also published for the first time. The first section is a specially useful summary of literary references to the art, which make it clear how widely ivory carving was practised and how much has been lost to us. He then treats the objects in historical sequence. The first important group is the famous Sirkap combs, especially the one found in the 1944-1945 excavations. For the latter, to be dated about A.D. 100, the question of provenance remains as difficult as with the Begram ivories. At present the Punjab, Mathura, Malwa and the Northwest Deccan seem all to have an equal claim. The fragment from the Chaurasi mound at Mathura (figs. 2a and b), said to have been a centre of ivory carving, is a notable addition to our knowledge. I agree with Dr. Moti Chandra that the Patna warrior is hardly likely to be Maurya, but may well belong to the period of Stupa II at Sanchi, whatever date one wishes to give to that monument. The Victoria and Albert Museum comb (fig. 4b) is another interesting fragment, whose date will also depend on one's interpretation of the early sites. Its provenance may well be Malwa. From the Deccan come the good fragment from Kondapur (fig. 2c) and the Ter ivory (figs. 3a and b). A second, rather rough figure from Ter (fig. 4a), which Dr. Moti Chandra suggests is of bone, seemed to me when I handled it, to be of chank. As regards the Ter ivory Dr. Moti Chandra says he disagrees

¹ Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, 6, 8.

² Luders list of Brahmi Inscriptions. Inscription No. 345.

³ Moti Chandra, Ancient Indian Ivories, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 6, p. 2, pl. 2c.

⁴ R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 304.

⁵ International Conference on Asian Archaeology, December 1961. Summaries of Papers, pp. 70-72.

with me both as to provenance and date. He says (p. 22): "We are unable to agree with his suggestion that the ivory probably originated in the northwest Deccan or Malwa. He does not think that the ivory has stylistic affiliations with the Early Phase (c. A.D. 125-150) of the art of Amaravati." I made neither assertion. On the contrary I said (Ter, Bombay 1960, p. 9): "Though it must be remembered that Ter was a market town and that consequently the ivory *need not* have been carved locally, the Ter ivory has *much more in common* with the art of Sanchi and the Northwest Deccan than with the Early Phase in the Andhradesa." In other words even if Ter is not accepted as the place of manufacture — I think it probably was since the style is, to my eyes, quite individual — the ivory, though exhibiting the externals of style, wimple, jewellery, costume etc. common to both sides of the Deccan, owed more in actual style to Karla, for example, than to Amaravati. Obviously on the great trade route across the Deccan artistic influences travelled in both directions, but it is worth remembering that Ter is twice as distant from Amaravati as, say, from Junnar. That the ivory was actually made at Amaravati, as Dr. Moti Chandra seems to prefer to believe since all his comparisons less one are with the Middle Phase at Amaravati, I find it very difficult to accept. His date, some fifty years later than mine, I would not quarrel with. He has some interesting things to say about the development of the *strīratna* figure in the Andhradesa. I wonder, however, if his conclusions are not invalidated by two errors of fact. The *strīratna* on the famous *chakravartin* slab from Jagayyapeta is not touching her earring: she is holding a lotus in her right hand. Nor is the *strīratna* in the British Museum slab (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1954, pl. XV), touching her earring: she is resting her right hand on the upper arm of the *chakravartin*. In other words, of the six instances quoted by Dr. Moti Chandra four are not in the posture which he considers the iconographic norm for the *strīratna*. This touching the earring is found at Karla (Barrett, *Guide to Karla Caves*, Bombay 1957, pl. X), and at Nagarjunakonda (*Memoirs Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 54, pl. XLVIII a) in a scene where the lady is certainly not the *strīratna*. I would suggest that playing with the earring was merely a conventional and elegant gesture, like putting in the earring, a frequent motif at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.

Dr. Moti Chandra has also much to say about the ivory from Pompeii, whose destruction took place in A.D. 79, not A.D. 73. Here again identification, date and provenance remain puzzling. Dr. Moti Chandra argues for an early date (second half of the 1st century B.C.), and suggests Gandhāra, Mathura and Ujjain as likely places of manufacture. The style, in spite of the many obvious parallels in costume and jewellery, is again individual. The same applies to the Begram hoard. Here one is still unable to proceed further than the cautious suggestions of the French writers, though I prefer Hackin's later dating especially for Casket IX with its strange technique. It is worth mentioning in this context that the tendency is now to date the "western" objects, especially the Alexandrian glass, as late as the 3rd century A.D. The lacquer, one supposes, remains

firmly placed in the 1st century A.D. Dr. Moti Chandra mentions the Seattle Hanuman and its Gupta attribution, but wisely avoids a decision.

We now come to two of the most remarkable and attractive ivories yet published (figs. 6-10). Here fortunately the general provenance — Punjab, Kashmir, Northwest Frontier Province — offers no difficulty. I wonder, however, if the date proposed by Dr. Moti Chandra — c. 5th century A.D. — will find acceptance. Having drawn our attention to the trefoil arch and gadrooned columns — both typical features of Kashmiri architecture in the 8th century A.D. and later — he rejects the comparison, preferring to find his parallels in the stucco sculptures of Jaulian, and the terracottas from Fondukistan and, to a lesser degree, from Akhnur and Ushkur. Jaulian stuccoes do not seem to me to make a good comparison: they may be, whatever their date, the culmination of the Gandhāra style in *Taxila*. But the ivories and the Fondukistan terracottas which provide a very close parallel express a further development of that style. Though Dr. Moti Chandra seems to doubt Fabri's date for the Akhnur and Ushkur terracottas (first half of the 8th century A.D.), he does not hazard one of his own, and does not even discuss the date of the Fondukistan stupa. Hackin suggested the 7th century A.D. for the latter, and the overstruck Khusrau II type coin makes probable a *terminus post quem* of about A.D. 675 (I have tried to put this evidence in a paper "Sculptures of the Shāhi Period" in *Oriental Art*, Vol. III, No. 2, Summer 1957). The facial type of the Buddha and some of the supporting figures is already that of the Kashmiri 8th to 10th century A.D. bronzes, and I would prefer to put the ivories almost three centuries later than Dr. Moti Chandra, that is, into the first half of the 8th century A.D. I would give roughly the same date, or a little later, to the ivory purchased by Tucci at Masi-nan. Dr. Moti Chandra doubts Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's date for the ivory *mithuna*, acquired at Khotan Town, in the British Museum. I would agree with her that it is Kashmiri, and of the 8th century A.D. As regards the group of ivories from Brahmanabad Dr. Moti Chandra again misquotes me. He says (p. 49): "Barrett assigns them to the 'artistic' provenance of Central India including Kanauj, Bundelkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Eastern Rajasthan....In our opinion, however, the very angularity of the female type shows that the ivories do not belong to the Gurjara-Pratihāra tradition, with its predilection for rounder forms but to the Chandela-Paramāra tradition of the 11th century in which angularity becomes a prominent feature." I compared the ivories not to the Gurjara-Pratihāra style but to that of the 10th century emergent kingdoms, the Candellas, Kalacuris and Paramāras, which evolve from the Gurjara-Pratihāra style. I further said: "It is *not* (my italics) however to Bundelkhand or Madhya Pradesh that we must look for comparative material, but to the western-most extension of the Central Indian style — to Gwalior and Malwa — where it mingled with the school of Rajputana." More specifically I compared the ivories to a piece from Candravati. I may add that since writing my article, I have had the opportunity to study the contents of the Kotah Museum and the temples in that area, and am even more convinced that southern Rajasthan offers the best

parallels in style. An 11th century date, as proposed by Dr. Moti Chandra, seems to me perfectly reasonable. We now come to the famous "Charlemagne Chessman". Dr. Moti Chandra objects to my tentative attribution of the piece to the Gujarat Sultanate, himself giving a qualified support to a date of about A.D. 800 or a little later and a Deccani provenance. The facts are that the evidence of the inventories of the Treasure of St. Denis only take the ivory back to A.D. 1505, and that the Arabic inscription on the base is a signature. Dr. Moti Chandra's statement (pp. 52-53) that "it is possible that one of the Arab visitors to the Rashtrakuta domain got this ivory in his possession, which might also explain the presence of the Arabic inscription", seems to convey that the ivory was carved by an Indian in the Deccan and fell into the hands of an Arab, who used the words '*min amal*' to mean "in the possession of". This usage is not possible, and we have to look for a historical situation in which a Muslim craftsman could carve an ivory in what, we are all agreed, is in some sense an "Indian" style. Such a situation existed under the Sultanates from the 13th century A.D. onwards, and presumably in Sind and Multan from the 8th century A.D. to the 11th century A.D. and perhaps later. It was because the ivory seemed to be reminiscent of such 13th century A.D. monuments as the ceilings of the Lūna Vasahī that I attributed it to Gujarat. The peculiar flavour of the style and the Muslim signature seemed further to suggest a 14th or 15th century A.D. date. I was fully aware that curved swords and small round shields are found all over India from the 6th century A.D. onwards. I did not wish to show that they were *proof* of a late date, but that they were *not inconsistent* with it. Against this there is almost unanimous opposition from those whom I have consulted on the age of the signature. All authorities agree that the inscription cannot be earlier than A.D. 900, most probably belongs to the 11th century A.D., and is not later than A.D. 1200. The only dissident voice is that of my colleague Ralph Pinder Wilson, who accepts the *terminus post quem*, but is reluctant to give a *terminus ante quem*. The fact is that the inscription looks at first sight fairly typical of the first half of the 11th century A.D., but it is difficult to find an exact and dated parallel. This is less surprising, if we can assume that the inscription was carved on Indian soil. (The script on the coins of the Delhi Sultanate of the 13th century A.D. is itself archaistic.) An early 11th century A.D. date would of course suit an attribution to the Sind or Multan Kingdoms. Perhaps one should add Gujarat also, since Arab merchants thronged the ports of that kingdom, and were tolerantly and generously received and even allowed to build mosques, as we know from the Veraval inscription of A.D. 1264. But I find it difficult to imagine a Muslim craftsman doing this work for a Hindu patron merely as an object of trade. Resident craftsmen are not mentioned in our sources, and indeed in the medium of ivory carving are not likely to have found a market. A further objection to my late date is the nisba "Bahili", if indeed that is the correct reading. A tribal nisba should belong to the first two or three centuries of the Muslim era. But here again there are difficulties. "Bahili" may not be correct, and tribal nisbas were used in Spain, I am told by

Dr. Samuel Stern, up to the 15th century A.D. In conclusion one may say that the script and content of the signature would support a date in the 11th century A.D., say roughly contemporary with the Vimala Vasahī. The style in my opinion suggests a much later date. Dr. Moti Chandra adduces no parallels to support a Rashtrakuta provenance and a date in the early 9th century A.D.

Dr. Moti Chandra considers the ivory girl dancer, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Chalukya of the 12th century A.D. It is a very charming object, and, no doubt, Deccani. I would have welcomed some parallels from the monuments; I have been unable to find any. Is the ivory perhaps Kākatīya?

Having discussed the two 13th century A.D. Orissan throne legs in America, Dr. Moti Chandra proceeds to the later but, in many ways, even more interesting throne legs in Calcutta. (We hope that the three pieces in the Narendra Singh Singhi Collection will soon be published.) The Asutosh and Indian Museum's pieces are presumably, as Dr. Moti Chandra says, Orissan rather than South Indian, and perhaps rather earlier than he considers. The "foreign" elements in the costume could have entered via the Islamic kingdoms of the Deccan. Dr. Moti Chandra also publishes a small *mīthuna* group from medieval Orissa. The survey concludes with a discussion of the ivory casket in the Prince of Wales Museum and a *makara* head. The former is an attractive piece, though not in the same class as the superb Sinhalese caskets in Munich, which are roughly contemporary with it and with which it offers an interesting comparison. The *makara* head, which Dr. Moti Chandra considers South Indian work of the end of the 17th century A.D., seems to me to be Sinhalese.

Douglas Barrett

A PĀṆḌYAN BRONZE FROM TEKKATTUR

The bronze, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1, is from the traditional Pāṇḍya country. It represents Viṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmurti and comes from the temple of Tiru-Agastisvara at Tekkattur in the Tirumeyyam taluk, Pudukottah (now in Tiruchy District, Madras State). The place is situated south of the southern Vellar river, the traditional boundary of the Pāṇḍya country. The oldest inscription in this temple is the one on its southern wall and belongs to the third year of Jaṭavarman Tribhuvana Chakravartiga Śrī Vallabha Deva. It relates to a gift of land for service to the deity of this temple by the local assembly of the village. This ruler, Jaṭavarman Śrī Vallabha, was a contemporary of the Choḷa ruler Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120). After the conquest of Madura and the Pāṇḍya country by the Choḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-957), who assumed the title of *Maduraikoṇḍa* (the conqueror of Madura), the Pāṇḍyas were in eclipse, and the Choḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys were in control of the country. Kulottuṅga I himself had also to fight many a bloody fight to hold the Pāṇḍyas under his subjection. A Choḷa general called Naralokavīraṇ — who figures in a number of inscriptions found in the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya country during the period of Kulottuṅga I and the early years of the reign of his son and successor

Vikrama Choḷa — distinguished himself in the Pāṇḍyan wars and spent the evening of his eventful life in temple-building activities.

But in spite of these Choḷa victories, a Pāṇḍyan revival began to assert itself and national resistance to aggression made itself felt. The first Pāṇḍyan ruler associated with this revival was Jaṭavarman Śrī Vallabha. There is an inscription of the 10th year of this ruler Śrī Vallabha which mentions the 31st year of Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070+31=1101). Therefore Śrī Vallabha's accession might have taken place about A.D. 1091. His third year — the date of the Tekkattur inscription — should be about A.D. 1094. But Śrī Vallabha's inscriptions reveal that he reigned at least 23 years. The gift to the temple was made in the third year of his reign and the bronze image (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1), can also be ascribed to about the same period, that is, the later part of the 11th century or the early 12th century at the latest. The image exhibits all the decorative details characteristic of stone and metal images of this period.

There are four forms of Dakṣiṇāmūrti known to the *Śilpa Śāstras* — *jñāna*, *yoga*, *vīṇā* and *vyākhyāna* mūrtis. Śiva is worshipped in the *vīṇā* form as a teacher of music, vocal and instrumental. In Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1, the right leg is kept firm on the ground and the left is slightly bent. The front two hands are held in *kaṭaka* pose so as to hold the *vīṇā* in position. There is a *paraśu* (axe) in the back right hand and a *mṛiga* (deer) in the left. The hair is dressed as a *jaṭāmakuṭa* (matted hair) with the Gaṅgā and the crescent on it. The figure wears tight fitting drawers held by a sash with many folds, and a tassel hangs on the right side. It is adorned with a fillet (*ushnīsha-bhūṣaṇa*) and wears a *makara kuṇḍala* on the right ear, a *patra kuṇḍala* on the left and thick sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). It has a graceful triple flexion and a calm countenance with a subdued smile.

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

RECENTLY DISCOVERED EARLY INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMARAVATI AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

While excavating recently the site of the Mahāchaitya at Amaravati, officers of the Archaeological Survey of India, came across a few interesting inscriptions in very early Brāhmī characters.¹

One of them is as follows: The inscription engraved on a railing pillar is assignable to the 1st century B.C. and reads *Rājakumāriyā Sammalīyā parivesakānām unhisam*. The record refers to the gift of the coping-stone, obviously the one on which the inscription is engraved (cf. Lüders' List, Nos. 1221, 1225 and 2131). The donors were apparently the *parivesakas* or attendants of Sammalī who calls herself *Rājakumārī* (princess)."

Thus, the inscription informs us about the presentation of a coping-stone, obviously intended for the *vedikā* or the enclosure around the *stūpa*. It is therefore certain that the *vedikā* was already there or was in progress of being built during the period of the inscription. If this is accepted, it

follows that the *vedikā* should have been intended to enclose the *stūpa*. So, the *stūpa* must have been in existence for some time before the construction of the *vedikā*. How long before is a matter about which there can be more than one opinion. But the *stūpa*, even when it was without the enclosure, may have been provided with a certain amount of decoration, including sculptured panels. If this is so, then the date of such decorative pieces would be earlier than the date of the *ushnīsha* (coping-stone) containing the above mentioned inscription.

The discovery of some more early epigraphs from the *stūpa* site of Amaravati is announced in *Indian Archaeology, 1959-60 — A Review*, on p. 53. The review says, "Some of the inscriptions recently discovered at Amaravati, which can be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. on palaeographical grounds, suggest that the celebrated Buddhist *stūpa* of the place was originally built in that age. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on a block of stone, which was apparently cut out from a pillar of the Aśoka type, with traces of the original Mauryan polish. The palaeography, language, style and contents of this inscription suggest that it might be part of a yet unknown pillar edict of Aśoka. It is not impossible that Aśoka was responsible for the construction of the original *stūpa*."

The above quotation is self-explanatory. It is not only important from the point of view of epigraphical research and the history of the time of Aśoka but also for deciding the date of some of the sculptured panels as well as for the history of fine arts in South India. The fragmentary sculptures, said to belong to the earliest phase of embellishments of the *stūpa*, are assigned to the 2nd century B.C. or to about 200 B.C. This ascription is based mainly on the style of the sculptures, which is akin to that of the sculptures from Bharhut (2nd century B.C.). This dating has not been corroborated so far by any evidence of undoubted authenticity. No doubt a few of the sculptures bear inscriptions in early Brāhmī characters, but the fact that they are only few in number and that so far no significant epigraphs of early date have been found amongst the antiquities discovered at the place, have stood in the way of conceding that these few inscriptions in early characters should be attributed to the 2nd century B.C. or to a still earlier period.

Now that the discovery of very early inscriptions at Amaravati has been made, it is time to reconsider the position of the inscriptions on the fragmentary sculptures. The result of this reconsideration will naturally reveal the date of the sculptures themselves.

The already known early epigraphs which can be ascribed to the period between 200-100 B.C. are listed as 1 to 30 on pp. 273-277 in C. Sivaramamurti's book entitled *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*. As has been stated by him, several of the epigraphs are either worn out or mutilated. Hence their full purport is not clear. However, in these epigraphs enough details are preserved to show that they are donative in character. Besides, the pieces on which these are engraved themselves enable one to understand that the epigraphs refer to the donation of the particular parts such as coping-stone.

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1953-54*, p. 3.

A couple of such instance are: (1) *Malamāvuka*.... *yā Retiyā thabo* [Pillar, (gift) of Reti....of Malamāvuka; Sivaramamurti's list, No. 13 on p. 275] and (2) *Utāya (Dha)-namalamātu suci* [cross-bar (gift) of Utā the mother of (Dha)-namala; Sivaramamurti's list, No. 21, on p. 276]. Since the contents and palaeography of these records are similar to those of the 1st century B.C. coping-stone inscription mentioned above, they may be ascribed to 1st century B.C. It may be mentioned here that it was about this time or from a slightly earlier period that the practice of recording such donations on the very pieces donated, came into vogue. This is significantly borne out by the famous inscription from Sanchi of the ivory-carvers of Vidiśā.

Leaving aside the donative records, two interesting inscriptions from Amaravati, namely (1) *Nerañjarā*....*gamanam* [Nerañjarā river (the great) departure; Sivaramamurti's list, No. 1, p. 273] and (2) *Yakho Cadamukho vakunivāsi* [Yaksha Cadamukha (Candramukha) residing at Vaku (Vakula?); Sivaramamurti's list, No. 3, p. 273] deserve notice. The purport, in each of the two cases, is obvious. It refers only to what is depicted there (Pl. XXXVII, Figs. 2 and 3). The first inscription mentions the river Nerañjarā and the great departure,¹ and the second one mentions the name of the figure represented in the sculpture. In both the cases, therefore, the records may be taken as labels for the sculptured scenes and they are therefore different in character from the donative inscriptions mentioned above.

It is well known that such labelled sculptures are known only from a few places, the most important of them being

Bharhut; and their date is about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. From the absence of labelled sculptures amongst those dated to the 1st century B.C. from Sanchi and other places, it may be presumed that the practice of providing labels for the scenes depicted in sculptures was not continued during the period to which these sculptures are assigned. When actually was this practice abandoned is a question which is difficult of solution. But this much is certain, that this practice was in vogue about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It is a matter of common knowledge that certain traditions are characteristic of certain periods only and that they are either modified, changed or altogether given up in the subsequent periods. Similarly, in the case of the practice of labelling the sculptures also, it seems to have been characteristic of the traditions of the art of the 2nd century B.C. only. If this is so, then the labelled sculptures from Amaravati may, with little hesitation, be assigned to the same period. This is not only supported by the style of the sculptures themselves but also by the stage of development of the letters of the Brāhmī alphabet used.

The recently discovered Aśokan type inscription from Amaravati lends support to the fact that at least from some time after the date of this inscription, the *stūpa* began to be embellished with sculptures and that some of them, just as in the case of similar ones from Bharhut, were provided with labels. Hence the significance of the discovery of new inscriptions at Amaravati.

Photographs Pl. XXXVII, Figs. 2-3, courtesy of the Government Museum, Madras.

P. R. Srinivasan

¹ The interesting discussion by T.N. Ramachandran and B. Kempers about the scenes represented in the panels of sculpture on which this inscription is engraved is well known. See *Acta Orientalia*, vol. X, pp. 135-153 and pp. 364-371.



Fig. 1. Vinādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti. In the temple of Tiru-Agastivara. Tekkattur (Tiruchy District). Pāṇḍyan. 11th-12th century A.D.



Fig. 2. The great departure. Labelled sculpture from Amaravati. Government Museum, Madras. 2nd century B.C.

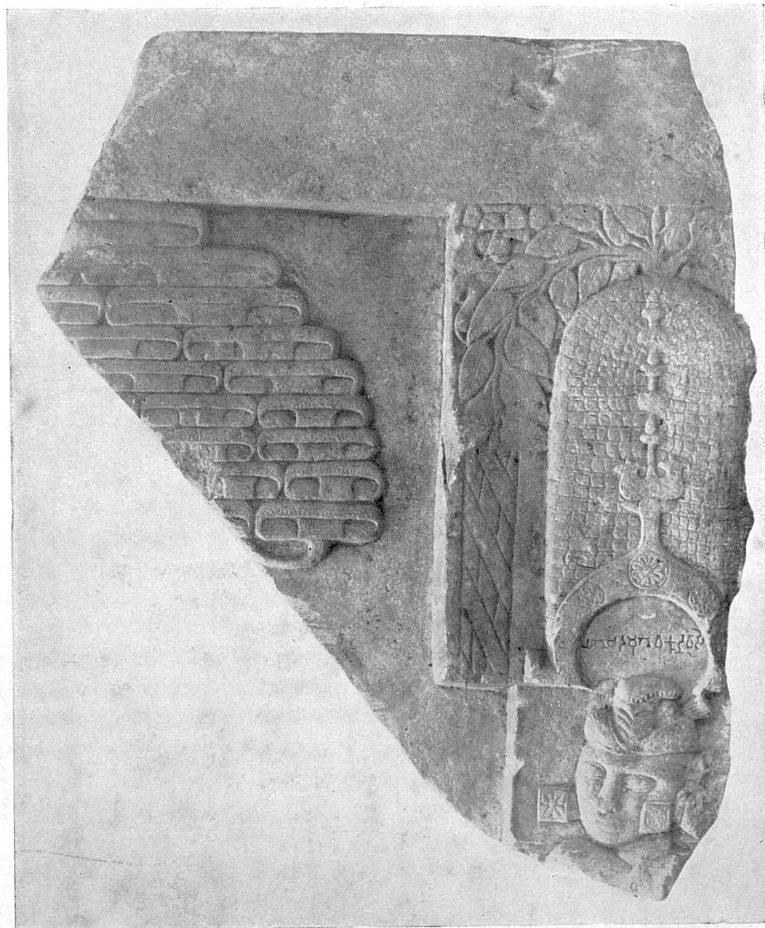


Fig. 3. Labelled sculpture of Yaksha Cadamukha from Amaravati. Government Museum, Madras. 2nd century B.C.



THE SAFETY OF INDIAN ART

Dr. Kl. Bruhn

The student of art who wants to examine the image of “Śrī-Vardhamāna-devaḥ” on the Vaibhāragiri published some decades ago by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda should not be surprised to find its place in the Jaina temple empty. It is not known to the present writer under what circumstances the image was removed from Rājgir and smuggled out of India. All he can say is that it was put up for auction in Hamburg.

R. Chanda published in the section “Exploration” of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1925/26 a short report on “Jaina Remains at Rajgir” (pp. 121-127). This report included, on p. 127, a reference to our image and it was illustrated in Plate LVII, fig. a, as a seated image of the twenty-fourth Tirthankara Vardhamāna in a modern temple on the Vaibhāragiri. Chanda observed that the letters of the short votive inscriptions on this and another image indicated that they were products of the last phase of the school of the twelfth century A.D. This image of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna appears now as No. 14 in the

catalogue “Auktion 119, am 26. November 1962, Indien-Siam-Persien-Syrien-Peru-Mexiko, Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, Hamburg 36”. The photo (Pl. XXXVIII) is reproduced from the catalogue, which describes it as a Buddha seated on a lotus-throne hailing from Nalanda. The estimated value in the catalogue is DM 9,000. The suppliers remain anonymous but the catalogue states that items 1, 7-41, 43-55, i.e., all the Indian sculptures except a few objects from Gandhāra (2-6) and one piece from Nepal (42), were supplied by “A”, in other words by one and the same person. R. Chanda’s photo shows the face of the Tirthankara badly damaged. But since his time, the mouth and the nose, which had got destroyed completely, have been restored, the eyes repaired, and several small holes on the face closed. There can be little doubt that this was done when the image was still in the possession of the Jains.

Amongst the sculptures reproduced in the catalogue there are some of which the best Indian museums could be proud. We are told that a piece of art is safer in some big collection than in the Indian countryside. No doubt many pieces have been spoilt by the application of whitewash etc., not to speak of the risks to which scattered images in the jungle are exposed. But the methods of some dealers also deserve closer examination. For even if the dealers are motorized they may find it often difficult to handle images of great weight. So that the agents of some art-dealer who haunted Jaina temples in central India some time ago just cut off the heads of the statues and left the remainder on the spot. If such methods were to be followed by others one can well image the havoc which may one day result to India’s art-treasures.

Exported images disappear for the greater part in private collections, and the provenance of the pieces is often obscured on purpose or simply lost sight of. But in the long run simple displacement will not remain the sole method of response to the growing demand for works of Indian art. It is to be feared that without adequate counter-measures cases of mutilation as those alluded to above will become more frequent. If the Indian customs authorities, who have after all succeeded in recovering much lighter and smaller items, are on the watch for hidden sculptures, smuggling will be reduced to a minimum and the “work” of the professional collector will become less remunerative.

REVIEWS

INDIAN MINIATURES IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM : Satish Chandra Kala, Allahabad Nagar Mahapalika, Allahabad 1961, 12 pp., 3 colour pls. and 22 monotone pls.

The publication under review is intended to acquaint the average reader with the rich and varied collections of Indian paintings in the Allahabad Museum, and Dr. Kala may be congratulated on this venture. This is for the first time that Dr. Kala has published some of the beautiful paintings from this museum. We look forward to knowing in greater detail about the Allahabad collections.

The text consists of small descriptive notes on the select 25 paintings from the museum. However, we feel that a few outstanding paintings from the Allahabad Museum which were not included deserved publication, and if space were the problem, pl. nos. 23, 24 and even pl. nos. 3 and 18 could have been easily left out. We are thinking particularly of a beautiful Deccani painting of c. 1625 in the Bijapur style showing a figure standing with a long flowing coat. Similarly the Allahabad Museum Bundi painting representing an attendant washing the lady's feet should not have been excluded.

A few remarks about certain attributions may be made. Pl. 8 showing Lailā and Majanu is presumably a Malwa painting; pl. 9 from the reproduction looks near to A.D. 1675 (see Karl Khandalavala's "Five Bundi Paintings of the Late 17th Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 5, pls. 20-21). The obvious Bundi influence on pl. 24 is not indicated. Pl. 4 and col. pl. A are nearer to A.D. 1675. This is supported by the tree types, treatment of hills, and architectural features. Pl. 2 shows a facial type which is usually seen in the Jahāngīr school. The treatment of the tree in the background also suggests the same period. However, pl. 1 shows a treatment of the hill in the background which was more popular in the Shāh Jahān period.

Probably pl. 6 (an illustration from the *Amaru Śataka*) has the heroine's face retouched and therefore, another example from the same series would have been better. We do not agree with Dr. Kala in attributing Tansen's portrait (pl. 3) to such an early date as the middle of the 17th century; we would rather suggest c. A.D. 1725.

In spite of certain small discrepancies in dating, the publication is full of valuable information about the paintings in the Allahabad Museum and we hope this will mark only the beginning of similar publications on the museum collections.

A. K.

ROOPA LEKHĀ: Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Vol. XXXII, No. 1.

In Vol. XXXI, No. 2, there is only one article of interest. Mr. Randhawa attempts to revive a controversy that seemed closed after the authoritative interpretation of the Mānakū

inscription given by Dr. P. V. Kane, perhaps our greatest living Sanskritist and by the late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the eminent epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India. Dr. Kane's opinion has been endorsed by several Sanskritists of the highest repute in India but Mr. Randhawa has sought to fortify himself by a reading said to be by Dr. Raghu Vir and that too strangely enough of only two lines of the inscription. Maybe Dr. Raghu Vir was too pre-occupied to cast more than a cursory glance at the inscription, or the controversy was not fully present to his mind. It may interest those who are concerned with the problem to know that this inscription was shown by the reviewer to that learned scholar, the late Shri P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. He stated that there could be no doubt that Dr. Kane's reading was correct but remarked that even those who know Sanskrit but are not sufficiently versed in its complexities and idiom would easily be led to believe that Mānakū in the inscription was the painter's name though in fact the name of the painter is not mentioned and Mānakū is the name of the patroness who commissioned a male painter to paint the Basohli style *Gīta Govinda* series of 1730. With regard to the suggestion that Mālīnī in the inscription is the name of the patroness (obviously made to get over the difficulty of the patroness herself not being mentioned in the inscription), Shri Gode said that it was impossible to arrive at such a clumsy interpretation and that the word Mālīnī in the context could only have reference to the Mālīnī metre and not to any individual. Shri Gode's note of caution might well be remembered by art historians who desire to read the name Mānakū as that of the artist, and then endeavour to secure an interpretation to that effect as was done by N. C. Mehta and now by Randhawa. But numerous difficulties must necessarily arise on the interpretation that the name Mānakū is that of the artist. Some of these difficulties will become apparent to any reader of Mr. Randhawa's article. His attempt to ascribe the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* to an artist named Mānakū and to ascribe the Garhwal Darbar *Gīta Govinda* to another artist, also named Mānakū (son of Pandit Seu) leads to a situation in which the *second* Mānakū says that the Garhwal Darbar *Gīta Govinda* was painted by him in 1730, though in fact that series was painted at least thirty or even fifty or sixty years later! Such a situation could only be tolerated if one makes the unwarranted assumption, amongst many others, that the *second* Mānakū was a half wit. In *Roopa Lekhā* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Rai Krishnadasa, on the wrong assumption that the name Mānakū in the inscription refers to a painter, tries to avoid the difficulty which Randhawa could not surmount by suggesting that the same artist must have painted both the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* series and the Garhwal Darbar *Gīta Govinda* series in the year 1730. Much as we respect Rai Saheb's opinions, we are completely at a loss to understand how this stylistic and historical impossibility could ever occur. Surely the very beginnings of the

female facial type (the *Bhāgavata* type) of the Garhwal Darbar *Gita Govinda* are at least a decade and a half or two decades later than 1730 A.D. Even if one assumes that the Garhwal Darbar *Gita Govinda* series was not painted so late as 1780-1790 (a point on which Rai Saheb may be correct in view of a recent discovery of Jagdish Mittal to be published in the next issue of *Lalit Kalā*), yet we must agree with Mr. Randhawa that it is not possible to conclude that both the sets were painted in 1730 A.D. by one and the same painter. Incidentally, Mr. Randhawa, while quoting from the reviewer's *Pahāri Miniature Painting*, p. 85, includes in the quotation four lines commencing and ending "This indicates. . . . Kangra style." But these lines do not appear in reviewer's abovementioned work and represent in fact Mr. Randhawa's own opinion. The reviewer would not be guilty of such an opinion because he has maintained all along that Mānakū in the inscription is not the painter. We would be grateful if we were not misquoted. We would also expect that when the theories and conclusions first enunciated in *Pahāri Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958, are utilized, the same should be acknowledged as an act of courtesy. For instance the suggestion that the *Gita Govinda* of the Garhwal Darbar is not of the Garhwal school, as N. C. Mehta thought, but was probably part of the dowry of Anirudha's sisters was first made by the reviewer and endorsed by Rai Krishnadasa. W. Archer, in his *Kangra Painting*, has acknowledged this fact because the reviewer had communicated this theory to him, even prior to publishing it in *Pahāri Miniature Painting*. We could cite several more instances where no acknowledgements are made to the reviewer, including the theory that Mānak was probably at the court of Goverdhan Chand of Guler and thereafter with Prakāsh Chand and that he and his son Kushala (Kushan Lal) might have left Prakāsh Chand's service and joined Sansār Chand's atelier somewhere between 1780 and 1790. Incidentally we thank Mr. Randhawa for drawing our attention to the fact that Mehta's original statement about the inscription being on the face of a painting in the Garhwal Darbar series was correct and that his subsequent statement to the reviewer that it was on the reverse in black ink was probably due to an error of memory. The fact that the Garhwal Darbar inscription is also on the face of a painting showing only Kṛishṇa and Rādhā and is also in gold like the inscription on the Basohli series further supports the reviewer's viewpoint as to how the original inscription on the Basohli series came to be copied at a much later date on the Garhwal Darbar series. The original inscription on the Basohli series is in two lines, while in the copy it has been added later on cramped into three lines. The copyist had almost certainly not seen how the original was written but knew the verse though there are some slight differences.

In *Roopa Lekhā* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Mr. Randhawa writes on "Paintings from Arki". We are told that the earliest dated paintings in the Basohli style are the *Rasamañjarī* series painted in 1686 A.D. But no *Rasamañjarī* series dated 1686 A.D. exists! The only dated *Rasamañjarī* series is that of 1693-1694 A.D., painted for Rājā Kīrpāl Pāl of Basohli by the artist Devadāsa. Then we are told that

some Basohli style paintings in the collection of the Rājā of Arki were painted before Kīrpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694). In support of this statement we are referred to Fig. 6 supposed to be Rāṇā Sabhā Chand whose date is given as 1640-1670. Mr. Randhawa who often confuses mid 18th century work with that of the 17th century has again failed to observe that Fig. 6, even assuming it to be Sabhā Chand, is about a hundred years later than the date he ascribes to it. This is evident to any student of style and of the development of costume at the Mughal court, the fashions of which were borrowed by the Hill Rājās. So also Fig. 7, again assuming it is Sabhā Chand, cannot be earlier than 1750 A.D. Such late portraits of Pahāri Rājās, made long after their decease, were constantly commissioned being either imaginary or based on a portrait made at one of the Imperial capitals in the Mughal style. Next we are told that the Basohli style is linked with Mewar but in fairness it is rightly observed that this is speculation. Though Mr. Randhawa reproduces a number of paintings from Arki, including the frescoes in the Diwānkhānā, most of the stuff is very late and mediocre.

R. Nagaswamy has an interesting article on Pandarikapuram temple and its sculptures. His dating of the sculptures to the 12th century appears to be correct. Jagdish Mittal, another of our serious young writers on Indian art, deals with the Basheshar Mahadev temple in Kulu. He ascribes the temple to the 14th century but it may well be earlier.

K. J. K.

KHAJURAHO: Text and photographs by Eliky Zannas with a historical introduction by Jeannine Auboyer. Mouton & Co., S-Gravenhage 1960.

Within the last ten years, Khajuraho has undergone a transformation of fortune. From a little known place in the wilderness, difficult of access and visited only occasionally, it has become, perhaps unfortunately, a major centre of tourist attraction. There has also been increasing literature on the temples, much of it of a popular and journalistic type. The publication under review is certainly the most substantial that has yet appeared. The authors somewhat modestly state that their aim has been only to piece together facts already known in order to spare the readers the effort of scattered research, but in the very act of so doing they have thrown fresh light on this great complex of medieval temple architecture, helping the reader to appreciate these shrines in the context of their historical and social setting. The text of about 200 pages evidences the wide knowledge and reading of the authors and the great pains they have taken. The student of medieval Indian art will find this book indispensable, though the high price is likely to restrict its circulation mostly to institutions.

Without detracting from the obvious value of the book, there are certain matters that perhaps require comment. The gloomy picture painted of medieval society, predominantly militaristic in nature, and quite obsessed with war, seems to be a somewhat partial one and built on circum-

stantial evidence. If true, those must have been depressing days indeed, and it is difficult to conceive how they could have nurtured such a flourishing movement of religious architecture almost all over India. The medieval age was certainly not the high point of Indian civilization, but we must not confuse the part with the whole and base our conclusions on fragmentary evidence. Apart from the descriptions found in conventional treatises on state and society, which often had little in common with reality, there must have existed a whole aspect of life that escaped their purview. Then, as previously, one cannot escape the feeling that war, though frequent, was confined mostly to soldiers, the greater mass of the people continuing their life on well established norms of existence. The impression that one gathers from the book is that the kings were only concerned with their own power, wealth and glory, regardless of the welfare of their subjects. This would hardly seem to be correct. The numerous bunds and dams of the Chandela period surviving all over Bundelkhand to the present day, testifying to their zeal in this regard, and presenting an aspect of medieval society that is not widely known.

The summary of the machinery of government and administration in the Chandela state is useful and highly informative, and the authors have done well to point out the ascendancy of certain families whose members held the most important offices of state in a long line of succession. The authors also outline the salient features of the social life of the times. Unfortunately the information yielded by the sculptures of Khajuraho itself have not been fully utilised. True, this social documentation is hardly as rich here as in sculptures of the early period of Indian art, such as are to be found in the ivories of Begram, but they nevertheless would have thrown a great deal of welcome light on the society and its ideals.

The significance of the erotic sculpture at Khajuraho has also been discussed at some length by the authors, and they seem to favour Dr. Goetz's theories in this regard. Thus though they do not accept his identification of the participants in the orgiastic scenes on the south wall of the Kandaria Mahadeva temple with the Chandela kings Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara, they think it likely that these kings are represented in the orgiastic scenes on the north wall. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of Dr. Goetz's theories, but we feel constrained to say that they are more in the nature of daring and imaginative hypothesis than conclusions based on factual knowledge. One would have to stretch the imagination to breaking point in order to believe that Śaiva sexual practices were deliberately introduced by the Kalachuris into the Chandela court in order to undo their rivals. How much more impossible it is to identify the sculptures with particular persons!

To understand correctly the significance of the erotic sculpture we would have to first distinguish the various kinds of erotic sculpture to be found at Khajuraho, and bear in mind that each may have a significance different from the other. Some groups thus may be visual representations of widely accepted cult practices, the existence

of which, however strange they may seem to us now, was a normal feature of medieval life. Some groups may symbolize the concept of the ultimate metaphysical unity of the creator and his creatures, while a few others may be connected with popular fertility cults. Yet others may be conceived of as giving protection against the elements, some illustrations of the *ars amoris*, while some may have been introduced as conventional motifs or even for obscene pleasure. It has been recently suggested that the sculptures were satirical in intent, caricaturing the foibles of Jaina mendicants whose nudity rendered them particularly vulnerable in this regard. This theory seems to inject a comparatively modern moralistic viewpoint which does not appear to tally with the tenor of medieval culture. It also runs into difficulties as it implies a hostility between the two religions that does not seem to have then existed, as is witnessed by the presence of both Hindu and Jaina shrines in close proximity and by the fact of Vāsavachandra, the *mahārājaguru* of Dhaṅga, as has been pointed out by the authors, was himself a Jaina. In any case it would appear that there is no simple explanation for the erotic sculpture at Khajuraho, and that its origin may be due to any one or more of the above features.

In the discussion of the temples proper the authors rightly stress the architectural aspect of which there is an able discussion and they have done well to emphasize the close relation of the sculpture to the architecture. After the Gupta period, as more and more complex and ambitious architectural monuments were raised there seems to have been a corresponding decline in the level of sculpture. Medieval sculpture, more than that of any other period of Indian art suffers when divorced from its architectural context. By itself the greater amount of the output is at best mediocre, lacking organic coherence and repeatedly mechanical and prosaic in conception and execution. True there are outstanding creations, seen in the distinctive work of the Lakshmana and Visvanatha temples, but most of the sculpture taken by itself is boringly dull and pedestrian.

Though the evolution of architectural forms has been succinctly presented, one would wish that at least similar attention had been paid to the development of the sculptural style at Khajuraho. Though at first sight most of the sculpture seems to be identical, a closer scrutiny reveals a certain divergence of style ranging from the comparatively full modelling of the Lakshmana temple to the sharp and angular treatment of the Duladeo. Incidentally, though we fully agree with the authors' evaluation of the Visvanath temple sculpture, I think that they have certainly exaggerated the worth of Duladeo, where all the wealth of ornament cannot hide the effete nature of modelling. It represents in a certain sense the dead end of the medieval idiom, the life within being all shrivelled, the form on the very verge of disintegration.

The 175 plates present a more or less adequate but hardly a satisfying pictorial documentation. Technically as well as aesthetically, the photographs are not of a sufficiently high standard as would befit such a costly and sumptuous production. Many of them are from odd angles, and the extreme distortions of perspective give a wrong idea of the

sculpture as well as the architecture. Very often the details are repetitive and should have been avoided, as they do not contribute to any greater understanding. This criticism applies for example in the case of plates 17, 20 and 21, where the latter two plates in no way tell us more than the former. Instances of this nature could be multiplied. The choice of photographs is also at times injudicious, and one has the impression that these were chosen mostly at random and without a purpose; that the book was built around the photographs, rather than the photographs selected to illustrate the book. The descriptions of the plates are often too brief, and do not give sufficient information about what is reproduced. Often the question that naturally arises in the mind of the reader as to the identification of the figures and in what form of activity they are engaging is left unanswered. There are a few inaccuracies also: for example, in plate 9, the woman is not hiding her face, but applying a *tilaka* mark on the forehead; plate xlviii probably represents a lady painting the foot with *ālaktaka*, and is not removing a thorn, while pl. clxiii is certainly a depiction of this conventional motif from literature.

For some unknown reason, Bundelkhand is consistently spelled Bandelkhand. The *grahapatis* are not a "family", but probably a caste, whose descendants are still a prosperous trading community of Bundelkhand known as *gahoīs*. It is also doubtful if they were all Jainas, particularly as the dedicatory inscription of the unknown Śaivite temple of Vaidyanatha records its construction by Kokkala, also a *grahapati*.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the book is a useful study, and will be of much value to the student. The need for monographs of this type, summarizing known researches and supplemented with extensive photographs, is keenly felt, and the publishers as well as the authors deserve our best congratulations.

P. C.

ORIENTAL ART: (Editor, Peter C. Swann), London. Quarterly. 10 sh. an issue. Vol. VII, Nos. 2-4, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-3.

Vol. VII, No. 2, has an article on the new finds at Pitalkhora by William Willets. It is still somewhat of a problem to date all the caves and the sculptures brought to light, many of which are illustrated. The author makes tentative suggestions by appropriate comparisons with other Western Indian caves. There is also a critical and sober review of Dr. U. P. Shah's important publication on the Akota Bronzes by J. C. Harle. The queries raised by the reviewer are worth taking note of, particularly what he has to say about Tārānāth's account. Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4 have no articles on Indian art but there is an extensive review in No. 4 of Basil Gray's *Persian Painting* by Sofie Walzer. Douglas Barrett's review of *Icons in Bronze* by D. R. Thapar in the same issue points out some of its many mistakes. More care should have been bestowed on this publication even if it was not meant for scholars.

In Vol. VIII, No. 1, A. K. Bhattacharjee writes on the Art

of Ivory in India; but there are many vastly finer things which he could have reproduced. In this issue Robert Skelton reviews the Lalit Kalā publication entitled *The Paintings of the Sultanas and Emperors of India in American Collections* by Richard Ettinghausen. He gives full credit to Ettinghausen for this monograph, and agrees that the miniatures on Plate I are Indian and not Persian. There are also some very interesting miniatures reproduced by Emmy Wellesz in her descriptive note on the exhibition of Islamic Art in India of the 16th and 17th centuries in the British Museum, including Fig. 4 on p. 43, which Skelton informs us, is the subject of controversy as to its authenticity. In Vol. VIII, No. 2, T. V. G. Sastri gives a useful collation dealing with Sun Temples in Western India, while in Vol. VIII, No. 3 Aschwin Lippe deals with the iconography of Vishṇu's conch in Nepal. In this issue Douglas Barrett reviews *Evolution Du Style Indien D'Amaravati* by Philippe Stern and Mireille Beniste. He is well equipped to do so. It is a critical review on some points but scholarly in its approach. The journal continues its excellent Bibliographies while the standard of reproduction is as high as ever.

In the same issue Mr. Archer reviews Randhawa's album of reproductions from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* published by the National Museum. This series was very well known to Bombay collectors since the last three decades and the female types in every Pahari painting which resembled those of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series were termed *Bhāgavata* type females. Twelve of this series were acquired by the National Museum at the instance of the present reviewer from the Modi collection, Bombay, and one from the Dickinson collection, and later on the National Museum acquired several more from the Modi collection. The series is not the work of only two artists as Mr. Archer seems to think. In fact, the series is unequal in quality and it appears that several artists worked on it. Though the series is now dispersed the present reviewer had seen most of it. Mr. Archer repeats his pet theory, entirely speculative, that an artist named Purkhu must have painted it. The reviewer's suggestion that Kushan Lal (Kushala), the reputed favourite painter of Sansār Chand, must have been the chief artist of the series is also no more than a suggestion but at least it has some basis. Mr. Archer inaptly quotes Mr. Randhawa, "how a name like Kushan Lal could be twisted into Kushala is difficult for any one to understand who is familiar with the names of hill men." But neither Mr. Randhawa nor Mr. Archer have paused to note that the members of Pandit Seu's family (to which Kushan Lal belonged) were not local hill men but Misra Brahmins, in all probability from Kashmir, who had worked in the plains and later migrated to the hills only round about 1740 A.D. due to the political situation in Northern India. Moreover, one must be somewhat obtuse to disregard the close similarity between Kushala and Kusha(n)la(l). We know that Kushala's cousin was known as Ram Lal and also as Ranjha. They are not different individuals as Mr. Randhawa's dubious pedigrees of artists would have us believe. Their identity has been pointed out by Jagdish Mittal.

K. J. K.

REVIEWS

NATURAL HISTORY DRAWINGS IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY: Mildred Archer. Published for Commonwealth Relations Office, London 1962. 27s. 6d.

This is indeed a delightful book both from the point of view of the art historian and a lover of Natural History. The author is to be congratulated on the competency with which she has handled her material. As Mr. Sutton observes in his Preface these drawings, mostly made in India, testify to "a remarkable enthusiasm for the study of natural history which developed among the British in India and the East Indies at the end of 18th century and in the early years of the 19th century an enthusiasm showed alike by the amateur and professional student, by the private traveller and the East India Company official." The author gives us much factual information about the library collection, how it was made and developed; and about the collectors of these drawings in India amongst whom were Marquis Wellesley and Lord Clive. The author has also plausibly established that there was an Indian collector, namely Raja Serfagee of Tanjore and equates his collection with the group known as the "Mysore collection" in the Library. This part of the book is interspersed with many quotations from letters etc. of those times woven into a most readable account. Thereafter the author deals with the artists of these drawings, the majority of whom were Indians "working either privately for British scholars and collectors or officially for the Company". Though, as is common in all schools of Indian painting, most of these artists were anonymous, the author has collected the names of quite a number of painters appearing in signatures and inscriptions. It is not surprising that many of these drawings and paintings are indeed very competent. We do know of Mughal artists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries producing remarkably fine studies of birds and animals for the Mughal court. The author has adverted to this historical background but pointed out the different approach in producing the present drawings which were intended for a scientific purpose. The reproductions including two colour photos and thirty-one studies in monochrome leave nothing to be described. This is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Company Painting, a subject once ignored but now attracting considerable attention because of the realization that much of it possess a charm of its own. Those who admire old prints will surely be drawn to these studies. The book is a model which many Indian art historians and Museum Publication Boards would do well to follow. It is precise, concise, and free of useless adjectives, inappropriate similes and trite phrases. Moreover, it is entirely impersonal. As a book production it is first-rate, and we look forward to another such volume by Mildred Archer dealing with other aspects of the treasures of the India Office Library.

K. J. K.

TER: by Douglas Barrett. Heritage of Indian Art, No. 5, Bombay 1960.

This is the fifth in the series of small guide books which have proved so useful to the scholar and tourist alike. They are really more than mere guide books because they contain

much valuable information briefly collated together. The author identifies Tagara of the *Periplus* with Ter and most scholars to day will agree with this identification though we do know that some still equate it with Junnar. The *Periplus* is given a date between 50 and 130 A.D. The reviewer in his "Date of Karle" (*Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2) has suggested 65 A.D. as the latest date. Though the antiquities which have come to light from Ter may be regarded as disappointing from a place known in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. as one of the important market towns in the Deccan, yet the now well known ivory figurine is indeed a compensatory find. Barrett dates it to end of 1st century A.D. and thinks it has more in common with the art of Sanchi than Andhradesa. A more detailed discussion of this ivory appears in the present issue. Other antiquities from Ter are also reproduced including typical Sātavāhana period terracottas. An important wooden door from the Uttaresvara temple is also illustrated.

K. J. K.

MUKHALINGAM TEMPLES: Douglas Barrett; **SIRPUR AND RAJIM TEMPLES:** Moreswar G. Dikshit. Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay 1960. Rs. 12.50.

This is one more of those excellent small books on little known aspects of Indian sculpture which Mrs. Madhuri Desai and Douglas Barrett have so ably sponsored. This time three sites are combined into a single attractive volume, produced with taste and reasonably priced, considering the wealth of fine photographs it contains. Mukhalingam, Sirpur and Rajim are familiar only to students of Indian art and archaeology, but anyone who sees this volume must agree that they deserve to be widely known.

Mukhalingam is dealt with by Douglas Barrett, who describes its temples and fascinating sculpture and throws light on their history and chronology. The Mukhalingesvara shrine, the most important of the temples at Mukhalingam, is ascribed by the author to the second half of the 8th century A.D. Though the many inscriptions in the temple are all of a later date, the author's conclusion is based on a comparison with early Orissan temples. In any event *circa* 800 A.D. may not be far off the mark. The figures described as *rishis* in plates 3-6 may be the club-bearing Kāpālikas.

The Somesvara temple is ascribed by Barrett to about 850 A.D. on grounds of style and here again any date in the second half of the 9th century would seem to be correct. Bhimesvara with its stiffer sculptures is ascribed to the 11th century A.D. A very interesting iconographical aspect is seen in pl. 17 where an *āyudhapurusha* (personified weapon) is seen in the shape of a *Śivagaṇa* from whose head Śiva's trident emerges. There is no denying that the sculpture of the Mukhalingesvara temple, if not in that of the later shrines, is in a pronounced local Andhra style.

Dikshit deals with Sirpur, which is remarkable not only for its fairly well known Lakshmana brick temple, assigned to the end of the 7th century A.D., but also for the Buddhist remains, which are securely dated to about the mid 8th century A.D., on the strength of an inscription found there and a remarkable series of Buddhist bronzes which were

LALIT KALĀ

locally made there, and some of which could be as early as the second half of the 8th century. What is so important about Sirpur is that with a fairly secure foundation for dating the sculptures, its art can throw light on post-Gupta developments not only in Central India itself but also in adjacent areas, if a systematic stylistic study is carried out. Comparisons with Pāla bronzes are inevitable, but the Sirpur metal images almost certainly represent a local school.

Here is one more piece of evidence of a revival of Buddhism in which the production of numerous metal images played an important role.

Dikshit also deals with Rajim illustrating a variety of fine sculptures and indicating the sequence of styles as far as is possible.

K. J. K.

CORRECTION

“Cave Temples and Paintings of Sittannavasal” Shri T. N. Ramachandran, *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, opp. p. 33.

The caption in the above article should be corrected as:

“Fig 4. Painting on the ceiling of the *garbhagriha* of the Sittannavasal cave temple showing geometric insets with human figures superimposed on a patch of older painting faintly revealing carpet design: 9th century A.D.”

