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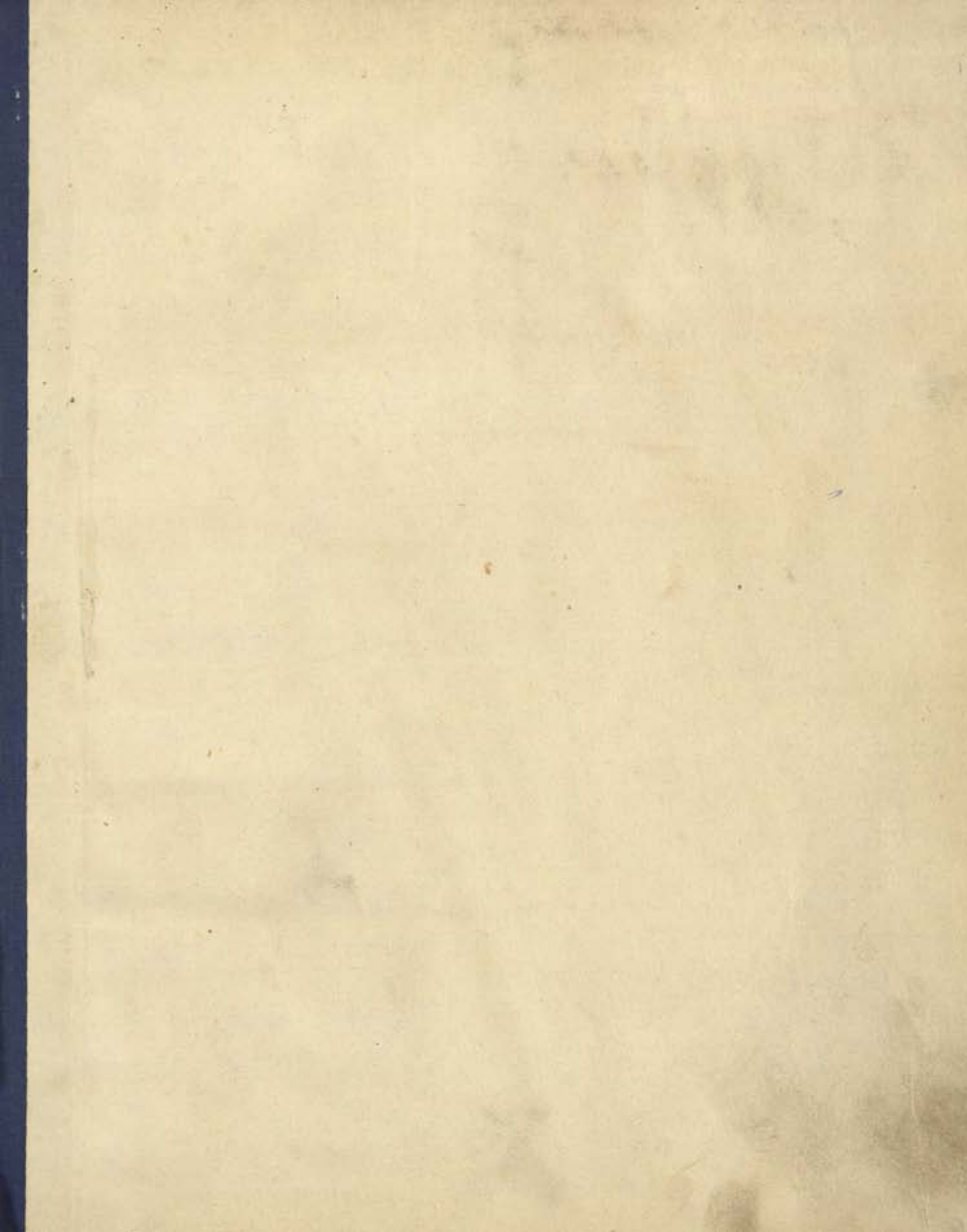
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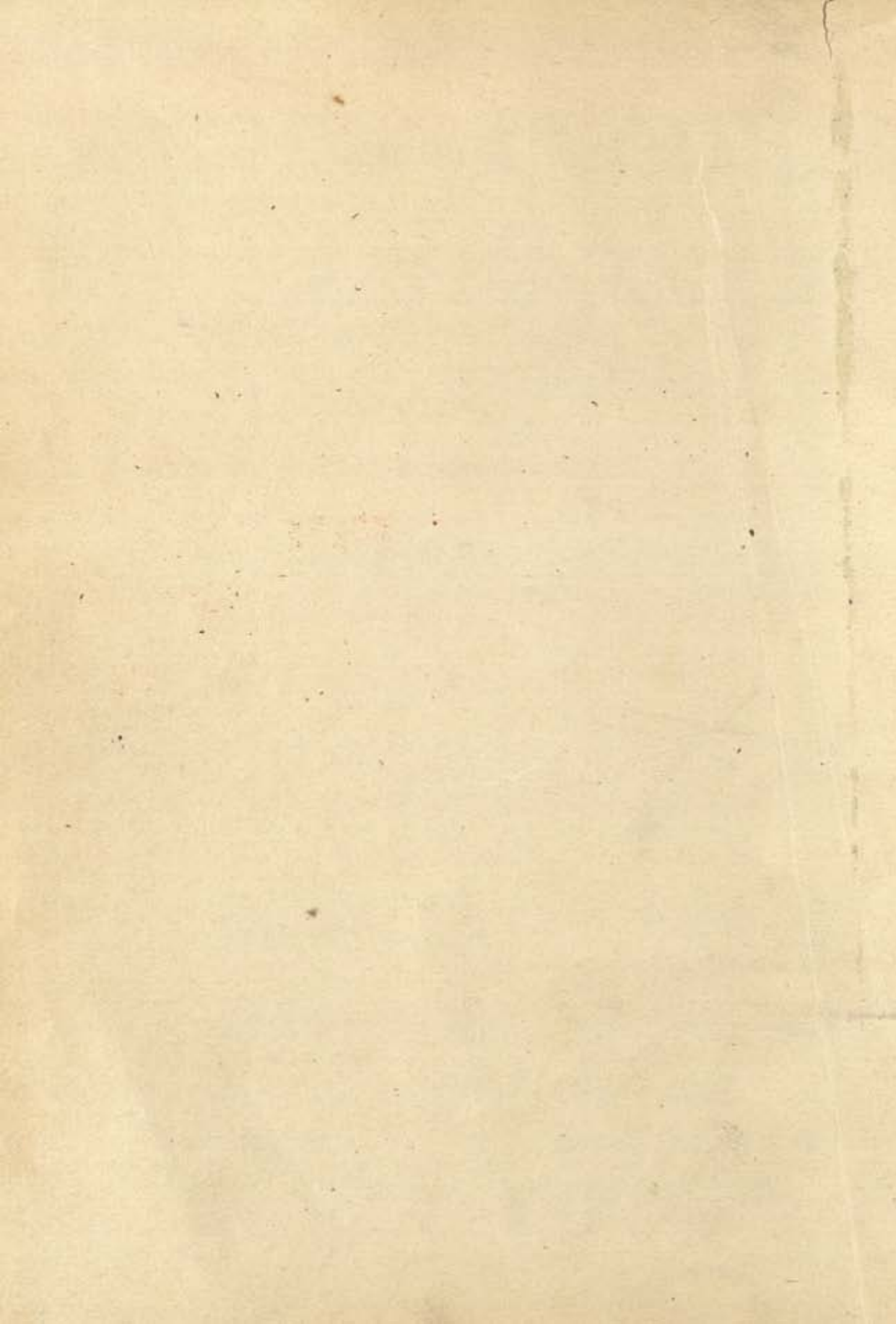
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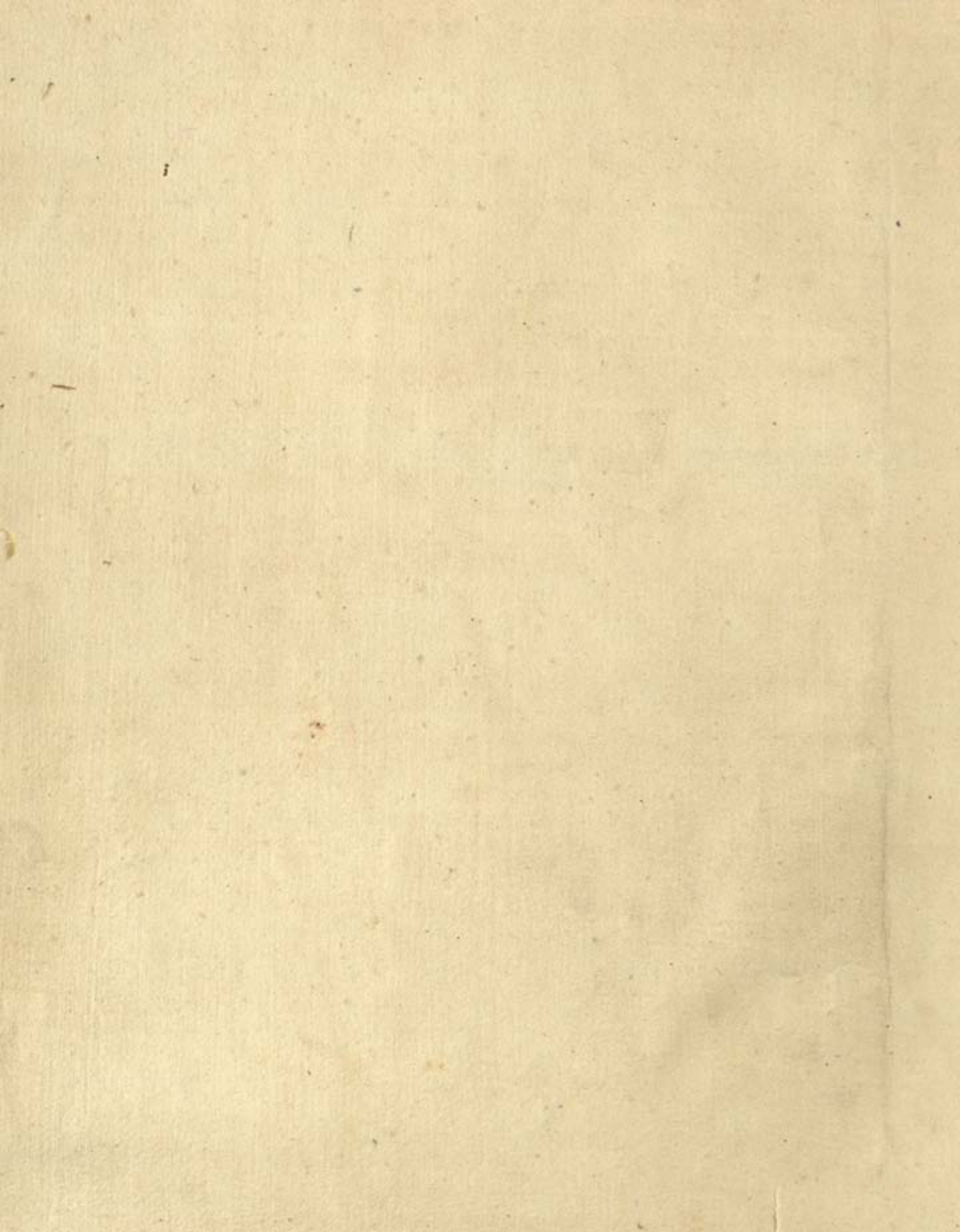
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BUDDHIST DIVINITIES AS EMBODIMENTS OF THE THIRTY-SEVEN CONSTITUENTS OF SUPREME KNOWLEDGE

by B. M. BARUA

The Vasanta-tilakā (also called Vasanta-tilaka) is a small Sanskrit treatise belonging to the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism¹. It expounds the esoteric method of attainment of Bodhi which is based upon the Heruka and Vajra-vārāhī cult. In chapters 6 and 7, especially in chapter 7, of this work we have a list of 37 lesser Buddhist divinities, all evidently female personalities with the exception of Śrī Heruka, who are represented as so many embodiments of the thirty-seven constituents or instruments of supreme knowledge. The enumeration of these constituents or instruments does in no way differ from that in Pali and other Buddhist texts. The list is made up of the four modes of mindfulness (smṛtyupasthānas), the four super-normal faculties (ṛddhipādas), the five controlling faculties (indriyas), the five powers (balas), the seven factors of Bodhi (bodhyaṅgas), the noble eightfold path, and the four efforts (pradhānas). The four efforts are those which are directed towards the inducement of the mental states of which the moral reaction on the self and the world is wholesome (kuśala), the retention (saṃrakṣaṇa) of the same when they have arisen, the non-inducement (anutpādana) of the mental states of which the moral reaction is unwholesome (akuśala), and the suppression (prahāṇa) of the same if they have arisen. These thirty-seven constituents of supreme knowledge have each its embodiment in a particular female personality of later Buddhist hagiology.

1. This work was translated into Tibetan, first, by Gadādhara, and secondly, by Dharmesvara.

These divinities are otherwise described as Vajrayoginīs or personified and specific energies of 'cittavajra' or mind concentrated upon the meditation of 'śūnyatā', directed towards perfecting wisdom, and operating physiologically by the control of the 'nāḍīs' (psychic currents). The Yoginīs as particular energies of the 'cittavajra' have their hypostasis or real personal subsistence and action in different 'nāḍīs'.

This system of the Nāḍīs (nāḍī-cakra) belonging to the spiritual body of Tathāgata constituted of the thirty-seven instruments of supreme knowledge is described as follows :

(a) Fourfold mindfulness :

Mindfulness practised with regard to the body—represented by the Nāḍī or Vajrayoginī called Lāmā².

Practised with regard to feelings—represented by the Nāḍī or Vajrayoginī called Dākinī.

Practised with regard to thought—represented by the Nāḍī or Vajrayoginī called Rūpiṇī.

Practised with regard to the mental factors—represented by the Nāḍī or Vajrayoginī called Khaṇḍarohā.

(b) Four super-normal faculties :

One with the predominance of will—represented by Praçaṇḍā.

One with the predominance of energy—represented by Caṇḍākṣī.

One with the predominance of Mīmāṃsā—represented by Prabhāvatī.

One with the predominance of thought—represented by Mahānāsā³.

(c) Five controlling faculties :

Faith—represented by Vīramatī⁴.

Energy by Kharvarī.

Mindfulness by Laṅkeśvarī.

Concentration by Drumacchāyā.

Wisdom by Airāvati.

1. Vasanta-tilakā, VI :

Ityetā vajrayoginyah nāḍīrūpeṇa saṁsthitāḥ
cittavajrasya yoginyah saptatrimśad udāhṛtāḥ
prajñāpāramitāhṛtāḥ śārīre saṁvyavasthitāḥ.

2. Sādhanamālā, pp. 425, 439.

3. Mahānāsā in the Sādhanamālā, p. 427.

4. Ms. Varamatī.

(d) Five powers :

Faith—represented by Mahānāsā.

Energy by Vāyuvegā.

Mindfulness by Mahānāsā (Mahābhairavā¹).

Concentration by Śyāmodarī (Śyāmādevī, acc. to the Sādhnamālā).

Wisdom by Subhadrā.

(e) Seven constituents of Bodhi :

Concentration by Hayakarnā.

Energy by Khagānanā.

Joy by Cakravegā.

Peacefulness by Khaṇḍarohā.

Investigation by Saundhinī.

Mindfulness by Cakravartinī.

Indifference by Suvīrā.

(f) Noble eightfold path :

Right faith by Mahāvīryā (Mahābalā, according to the Sādhnamālā).

Right resolve by Cakravartinī.

Right speech by Mahāvīryā.

Right action by Kākāsyā.

Right living by Ulūkāsyā.

Right exercise by Śvānāsyā.

Right mindfulness by Śūkarāsyā.

Right concentration by Lord Heruka.

(g) Fourfold effort :

One for the inducement of Kuśaladharma by Yamadātī.

One for the retention of the same by Yamadūti².

One for the suppression of Akuśaladharma by Yamadaṁṣṭrī.

One for the non-inducement of Akuśaladharma by Yamamathanī³.

The Sādhnamālā associates the first four Vajrayoginīs, viz., Lāmā, Dākinī, Rūpiṇī and Khaṇḍarohā, with Vajravārāhī and lays down the following rules for their representation :

1. Sādhnamālā, p. 427.

2. Sādhnamālā, p. 598.

3. Ibid. pp. 497, 499.

In the centre of the lotus is to be seated the figure of Vajravārāhī and on the four petals in the four directions, beginning with the east, are to be placed the figurines respectively of Dākini (east), Lāmā (north), Khaṇḍarohā (west), and Rūpiṇī (south). The four Yoginīs¹ are all to be represented as one-faced and four-armed, with skull-cup and skull-staff (khaṭvāṅga) in the left hands, and kettle-drum and dagger in the right. The distinctive colours of them are respectively black, greenish (śyāma), red and white ; they are nude and in 'ālīḍha' pose, i. e. with one leg bent in the knee and advanced, and the other leg stretched, with three eyes, hair dishevelled, and five 'mudrās'.

Under 'prajñāloka-sādhana', the Sāadhanamālā (p. 427) divides the twenty-four Yoginīs into three groups of eight each, the thought-group consisting of Praçaṇḍā, Caṇḍākṣī, Prabhāvatī, Mahānāsā (? Mahānāsā), Vīramatī, Kharvari, Laṅkeśvari and Drumacchāyā ; the speech-group of Airāvati, Mahābhairavā, Vāyuvegā, Surābhakṣī, Śyāmādevī, Subhadra, Hayakarnā and Khagānanā ; and the action-group of Cakravegā, Khaṇḍarohā, Śauṇḍinī, Cakravarmiṇī, Suvīrā, Mahābalā, Cakravartinī, and Mahāvīryā. The Yoginīs of the three groups are to be represented respectively in blue, red and black, and with the figure of Akṣobhya, Amitābha and Vairocana. They are further to be represented as seated in 'candrāsana', with three eyes and five 'mudrās', with their heads adorned with three locks of hair tied with garlands of 'vajra-padma', discus and skull, and with dagger, skull-cup and 'khaṭvāṅga' in their hands.

With regard to the remaining Yoginīs, the Sāadhanamālā (pp. 497—499) connects Yamamathanī with Cakrasaṃbarā without giving any iconographical detail. Yamadūtī is associated with Mahākālā (ibid. p. 598). She is to be seated in the south quarter and to be represented in blue colour, with four arms, holding lotus-stalk and dagger in the left hands,

1. They find mention in the above order also in the Hevajra-'antra, paṭala III, and the Sāadhanamālā, p. 439 :

'Dākini tu tathā Lāmā Khaṇḍarohā tu Rupiṇī.' Dr. P. C. Bagchi misconstrues the statement when he suggests that in it "the Lāmās are referred to in the company of the Dākinīs and called Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī" (Studies in the Tantras, p. 50). The Sāadhanamālā and our text definitely count them as four singular personalities.

and the skull-cup filled with blood and a yak's tail in the right, with legs in the 'pratyālīḍha' pose and fighting with Yama's buffalo. She is to figure as nude and with hair dishevelled.

The names of most of the Yoginīs are suggestive of their distinctive nature or descriptive of their physical characteristics, e. g. Pracandā, the wrathful, Subhadrā, the gentle, Rupiṇī, the beautiful, Mahānāsā, the big-nosed, Kākāsyā, the crow-faced, Ulūkāsyā, the owl-faced, Śvānāsyā, the dog-nosed and Śūkarāsyā, the hog-faced.

BUDDHIST WHEEL AND WAY

by C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

We shall never, I imagine, archæologically discover the inventor of the wheel as a magnifier of man's mobility. Or, it may be truer to say : the distributed inventors thereof. Yet he or they merited that man should have awarded here below an immortality in name. That by the addition of a pair of discs to an axle man found he could progress faster and longer than he could walk, without himself having to roll over and over, could progress as long as the tamed drawer could endure, could make progress as much weight as matched that endurance :—here is for man a More calling for immemorial personal acclaim. The utmost man's poets have done is to see in those progressive discs, rolling on as well as round, symbols of the procession of cosmic forces, or the advance of an aggressive conqueror. Men lost count of how the invention had added to the value, the width, the permanences of their various mobilities. Man no longer walked or rode abroad to return to the stabler, if weaker essentials of a home :—to the old, the very young, the goods no saddled beast could get away with. He could now on trek move within the picture of his near surroundings. He could leave the 'root-footed' plant-mode of life ; he could uproot himself as never before. He could transplant himself into the new in a new way. Wayfarer he ever was, but now on wheels he could wayfare in a true sense, that is, together with fellowmen as fully represented.

All this I fail to find belauded in the oldest poetry we yet know. I may in ignorance err ; I should gladly learn better. I have probed only a little into this matter in old Indian literature and India's later advent as sculptor. Here, in giving testimony to how the wheel emerges therein, not as in itself memorable, but as symbol of cosmic and religious things,

hymned as more memorable, my chief concern is to emphasise a historic mobility as yet too much passed over ; in other words, a great transition in values.

Let me invert history at my start, and show how, in a religion become institutional, a symbol may serve to betray lowered ideals.

I have heard it remarked by a Christian, that Buddhism must be a foolish faith, when it bade men pray by twiddling a wheel with a roll of texts inscribed inside it. It was an unfortunate remark to make. The scoffer was unaware how vulnerable was his own faith in this observance. He apparently did not know of Breton churches, wherein are hung wheels of fortune, by the picture of a saint, called just there Saint of the Wheel ('santic ar rod'), and where on payment of a few centimes you may turn the wheel with its little bells tinkling, to secure luck, here or hereafter. Nor is this a mere hole and corner belief of rustic Brittany. We read, that in the original Winchester cathedral 1000 years ago, St. Ethelwold the bishop had a wheel hung covered with little bells, to be turned on special feasts so as to excite devotion (*ad majoris excitationem devotionis*)—as any church peal may now-a-days be said to attempt. And the custom was wider spread than this : in Greece, in Egypt, in N. India and Tibet. Plutarch and Heron both mention the presence in Egyptian temples of such wheels, the one holding that they were symbols of the passing of all things, the other that, if turned by those entering the temple, they aided purification—much like the dipping fingers in the waterstoup in Catholic churches and tracing the sign of the Cross—a custom analogous to that of the rosary, used in both East and West, a persistent repetition in tribute as it were to an underlying truth, that salvation is not a thing to be won by stillness and repose, but by ceaseless effort.

If it be said : But these were but a by-play in Christian usage, the same can be said for Buddhism taken as a whole. Wheel is in Buddhism early and late, but with it these 'praying-wheels' so-called have nothing in common. No one, I believe, knows so far, when they became thus used in Northern Buddhism, but in all that the best in Buddhism has held important, these praying-wheels just do not count, any more than does, in the Christian gospel, the Breton or Saxon wheel of mechanical prayer and exaltation.

But let me say no more encyclopaedia-fashion—all my wisdom here

comes from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the wisdom belonging to the eminent authority Goblet d'Alviella. The one point of interest for me in this kind of wheel-cult is that, used as an implement, not of further-faring but merely of repetition, it is associated with the will to hope and pray, and not with something hopeless and to be somehow ended. The earliest hint at the latter meaning known to me is in the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, when a cloud of rising pessimism is seen coming over the more radiant teaching of earlier Immanence. It is here the potter's wheel that we find :

"By him indeed driven the body goes round and round like the wheel turned by the potter. The body becomes minding, in other words (the mind) is its driver." (*Maitri*, 2, 6).

Here we have progress in the man dulled by the picture of a mere whirl of repetition spoiling the immediately preceding and, for India, more familiar simile of the progressive chariot.

Belief in rebirth, that outlook of further opportunity towards betterment, only made things worse. Instead of showing the hopeful opportunities each new life brought, lives were looked upon as merely revolutions of a wheel, reminding us of tormented Ixion revolving, or of the equally unfortunate squirrel capering on his cage-wheel. Life, it came to be held, was just a being reborn, getting ill, older, dying, reborn. Oh me ! the maligned Founder of Buddhism is made by editors to say, to what an ill pass has the world come, with being born, ageing, dying ! Where can a way out be found ? A way out : 'nissaraṇa'. What a mockery of the earlier figure of the wheel as one of progress, of the Morning, of victory ! Things material were becoming the nucleus about which religion turned. These grew, but then decayed ; how then, it was argued in council debates, can you declare you persist in life by 'becoming' (*bhavam*) ? Argument unsuitable for the world immaterial.

And so we find the wheel and the degraded word 'becoming' linked together in the compound 'wheel of becoming', usually rendered wheel of life of which a leading exegesis wrote, centuries after the birth of Buddhism "this 'bhava-cakka', moving in its twelve parts by causation without known beginning, an eddy of residual vices, actions, results...

keeps rolling round without a break." (*Visuddhi-magga*, in trans. P. T. S. iii, p. 695).

The later Buddhism of Tibet took up this worsened aspect of the wheel, and we know it in Tibetan cloth paintings, with which the late L. A. Waddell first made us familiar¹, shockingly miscalling it "The Buddha's Secret"—alas! for that maligned Helper of men. A grinning devil holds up the picture of a wheel of twelve spokes, and round the tyre are twelve pictures of how, in man's life, birth leads on to mere physical dying and rebirth. In the later group of legends called the *Divyāvadāna*, now being translated for the Sacred Books of the Buddhists², there is told how such a depicted wheel was placed over the gateway into a monastery at Rājgir, monks taking shift-duty to explain it. Here there were only five spokes, one for each world of rebirth: hell, 'petas', human life, animals, 'devas'. In the middle were a dove, serpent and pig, symbolizing lust, hate and stupidity. Survival, i. e. rebirth was pictured by water falling, as in a watermill, on to a wheel. A dreary picture of religious degeneration.

And somehow it seems to have made some headway in infecting religious thought in southern Europe, judging by what archæology has discovered in Italian and Sicilian tomb-inscriptions. I only know of these through Rohde's well-known 'monumental' work *Psyche*, completed half a century ago. They belong to what readers will know as Orphic theogony, into which I am not qualified further to go. In these we come across the notion of rebirth considered as a weary unending cycle of fate or necessity from which the soul longs to escape, and entreats the gods, especially Dionysos for release. Thus in the verses inscribed on one of three golden funeral tablets dug up near the site of Sybaris the line occurs:

And thus I escaped from the wheel, the painful, misery-laden³!
I do not know whether this reference to wheel is unique. If we turn to those Greek poets for whom life was no mere matter of here and now, it is not so much wheel that we find as road, e. g. in Empedocles: seen

1. JRAS 1894.

2. By my friend and colleague, Dr. W. N. D. Rouse.

3. Cf. an early comment of mine, JRAS. 1894, p. 388 on L. A. Waddell's article, loc. cit.

as toilsome ; or chariot, e. g. in Plato, from which the soul, as he drives it after the procession of the gods falls, dragged down by desire for carnal things. The question of a genetic connection between Oriental and Hellenic notions as to rebirth is of the greatest interest, and it may well be that von Schroeder's belief in such a connection is well founded. We incline to the more 'orthodox' view in the Greek typified by Swinburne in his 'Atalanta in Corydon :

I am gone down to the empty weary house,
Where no flesh is, nor beauty, nor swift eyes,
Nor sound of mouth, nor might of hands and feet,

—a myopic outlook, where it is the more remarkable to find such an idea shifted, in a haunting dread of revisiting, on the wheel of 'anangke', the scenes he was so loth to leave. There does seem hinted in the Orphic outlook that will to the Better, in that rebirth was a stage in a course of moral evolution and effort after purification. But in neither alternative is seen a glad hope and expectation. Is the wheel then in earlier ages a brighter symbol ? Do we for instance find it on banners as a symbol of victory, like cross or crescent ?

So far as I know, we do not. We once find, in early Buddhist scriptures, such a battle-symbol, but it is not a wheel. It is called the 'top of the banner', whatever that may have been (dhaj'agga). The prattle of the commentary, in aligning to it the vast size of all else in Sakka's world, says that it gave forth a fivefold musical sound when wind-struck !¹ The myth is used to point a religious injunction, thus : Sakka, governor of the next world addresses his army before a fight saying : "If you, in the thick of battle are gripped by panic, look up to the top of my banner and you will lose all fear. Or look up to that of Prajāpati, of Varuṇa, of Īśāna, and you will lose all fear. Just so, when a monk is alone in the depths of the forest and is gripped by fear, by panic, let him only think on the Teacher (bhagavā)...or on Dhamma, or on the church (sangha) and he will lose all fear."

Yet the wheel, in other old Sayings, is found as the very symbol of advance, of military aggression. The compound 'wheel-turner' is a type-name for a conquering king (cakravartī). In the First Collection of

1. 'Yassa vatāhatassa pañcangikaturiyass'eva saddo niccharatī'.

the Pali Canon¹, we read, that a certain legendary king has a vision of 'the divine wheel' and has been told, this means he is to become a wheel-turner. So he sprinkles the wheel and invokes it : Roll on, sir wheel ! Go forth and conquer, sir wheel ! And the wheel rolls down and onward after it the king with his whole army to east south west north, meeting with homage from other kings, and, in this case, playing the role of a wise and beneficent overlord.

I do not find the wheel thus used in Indian literature before the Buddhists brought it forward ; I find it only in the Mahābhārata (of many dates) and a late Upaniṣad. But there was a special reason for Buddhists pushing the idea, just when they were making a first and great effort to arrange and make authentic their loose and scattered accretions of, not writings, but sayings. A new hegemony had arisen just then, subsequent to Alexander the Great's attempt on India, in the person of king Aśoka. The then much divided Buddhist church was striving to reform itself and present a tidy shopwindow wherewith to win the patronage of the king. And it is a natural result of this, that the legend of a wheel-turning king—a sort of Indian king Arthur—should be brought forward in that new effort after unity, in an authentic body of teaching.

What then was there at the back of this myth of a divine wheel ?

In the thesaurus of the older Upaniṣads, most of them pre-Buddhistic, the wheel is used some five times as an impressive simile in religious teaching, though in no way so credally significant as the cross became elsewhere, and elsewhen. Thus, firstly, the wheel is a figure for the life of man regarded as the breath, 'prāṇa' on which (as the wheel's contents), all seemed to depend.

"As spokes fastened in a hub, so on this breathing is everything fastened". (Praśna).

Next, the whole of the divine work (karman) in the world is likened to a wheel :

"As the work of God the whole world revolves, a Brahma-wheel".

(Svetāśvatara).

Next it is Deity Itself Who is the Brahma-wheel, not so much as Itself revolving, but as embracing everything, enclaspings all men :

1. Cakkavatti-sihanāda Suttanta.

"As spokes held together in hub and felly, so in this spirit all things, all gods, all worlds, all creatures, all beings are held together". (Bṛhadāraṇyaka).

Compare with this the more critical vision of the later Svetāśvatara :

"We understand Him as the Brahma-wheel, in whom the man as bird flutters holding it is different from the Cause of all".

Here the older idea is repeated with this further emphasis, that man has no reason to fear death and the unknown. The God-knowers understand and become merged in the immanent God :

"Whereon the parts rest firm—like spokes on hub of wheel—

on Him I know as Man, wherefore let death disturb you not" !

This 'Brahma-wheel' we shall find again in early Buddhism.

And then there appears the potter's wheel, with which I have dealt.

Let me now, passing over the less poetic ritual books go back, seeking the wheel, to the oldest, the more poetic sayings, the Vedas. We there find the wheel again, but as just a figure, not a symbol. Nor very often. I omit one or two appearances of wheel as discus, or quoit, where apparently the makeshift term was alone to hand. The Veda outlook on Deity was on the forces or phenomena of nature. Here, in a hymn to Uṣas the dawn we find these striking lines :

"O Uṣas, O wealthy lady,

Thou, Morning, turning thee to every creature,

Standest on high, ensign of the Immortal,

To one same goal ever and ever turning,

Now like a wheel new-born roll hither !"

Next as the Sun :

"The sun's eye moves, encompassed by the firmament

Thou, Indra, hast sped the wheel upon its way."

Again, also to Indra :

"Let the sun roll his chariot-wheel anear us,

Let the thunderer go to meet the foe."

Once more to the Aśvins, twin gods of the dawn :

"High on the forehead of the bull one wheel ye ever keep,

The other round the sun revolves."

Next, and more abstractly, wheel is used as emblem of cosmic or world-order, usually expressed in the great little word 'ṛta'. In Rg-Veda, v, are these lines :

"Fitted with twelve spokes this wheel of lasting order rolls round the heavens, Herein established are 720 children"
referring to months, days and nights of the year, or as one might say, of 'ṛta' in space and time.

It is clear from these contexts, that we must by no means give all the credit to the sun as suggesting wheel as symbol. Ever is it rather the progress, the dynamis, the onward force in the universe to which the wheel is referred, to onward movement rather than to circular comprehensiveness. In wheel we do not 'stay put'; we move on. Justice has hardly been done to this. Let me now come down the centuries again to Buddhism.

Take the compound 'Brahmawheel': it is fairly safe to assume, that where we find a term of the older-accepted teaching used, we have older sayings, especially since it is in metric speech that they occur. Sayings suggestive of, if no more belonging to, a time when the widening rift between Śākya (early Buddhism) and the earlier tradition was scarcely begun. I refer to such lines as:

For worlds of devas as for those of men
he the wayfarer set the God-wheel rolling.

The meaning here would not be that of dawn, sun or world-order. In these Buddhism was not interested. It was more akin to the Immanence taught at its birth. I do not find the compound in exegetical literature. And the word Brahma- is toned down to mean a thing that is best (setṭha) of its kind.

But we find wheel in a compound new as such and significant of that very dynamic quality lacking on the surface in the word Brahma. This is 'dhamma-cakka':

When th' Enlightened fully knowing
sets the Dhammawheel a-rolling.¹

And:

...as the Blessed One's own son
who like me kept the wheel-of-Dhamma rolling.²

Here in very early Buddhism we have the earlier concept of Deity or

1. Samyutta Nikāya, iii, 86.

2. Anguttara Nikāya, i, 120.

Spirit as the 'antaryāmin' or inner controller at work in the man, the urge of what we have come to call conscience. This, and not the miserable 'saṃsāra wheel' was the dominant feature in the original message of what we call Buddhism: a rolling on, not a turning round. Buddhism of today has lost this dynamic concept. For it Dhamma has become just external 'doctrine'—as it is today—and its votaries the 'creatures of a code'. In Mahāyāna indeed it has come to have in the term 'dharmakāya' a deeper significance. Or it may have started with such, since in its foundations Mahāyāna is, for me, elder sister to the Hīnayāna which made its institutional start as Vibhajjavāda at Patna, 300 years after the Founder's day, in that it was begun probably by expelled monks of the older teaching.

So we have our wheel thus brought in, if not as symbol, as emblem of the New Word which Gotama Śākyamuni sought to read into the teaching of his day. And it is interesting that, whereas Buddhism has lost this dynamic element in his teaching, the draft of that teaching made by him still bears the traditional name of "The Saying of the Setting the Dhamma-wheel a-rolling."

As such then, to what extent early Buddhism made use of the wheel-emblem, it was clearly something of luck, of happy omen, which in the New Testament finds similar utterance in the words: "Behold! I make all things new". Testimony of a direct kind is actually borne to this in a line of the later Sanskritized collection of legends, I have cited, the Divyāvadāna, where I read:

"The master, bringer of the luck and joy of the wheel¹."

And how strange is it to find this line not far from the description of the ghastly decadent wheel-picture described already in these pages.

I find it strange too that we do not come upon the wheel used as symbol of the central figure of the Founder's "Way", or Road, (magga, añjasa, paṭipādā), used from the first for man's quest of the Immortal. He is recorded to have set out on his mission, saying he was going to sound the drum of the Immortal, the gates to which stood opened. His chart of teaching actually drops the drum-figure, drops too the lotus-figure of growth or 'becoming', and pictures Man as wayfarer,

1. 'Bhagavā, cakra-svastika-nandyāvartā'.

having to seek the right, the middle Road, whereby to attain the Aim (attha). And to this way-picture, it is the wheel that has usurped the title! Yet how fit for a Message of the Way had not been the wheel, a far better graph for the way than just two parallel lines! Imagination would here prove an unsafe guide, since it is as opposites in man's welfare that we come upon them, in for instance Rudyard Kipling's 'Kim', how by him gotten who can now say? You may recall the good old man's refrain: "And they are all bound to the wheel from one life to another. To none has the Way been shown." Something had arisen to divorce the two emblems, apparently so happily supporting each other.

In Indian sculpture it can hardly be doubted that 'the luck and joy of the wheel' has the upper hand. We have only to look at Aśoka sculpture: the lion pillar, the Sāñcī tope, to feel sure of that. It is true that the great broken circle topping the Northern Gate of Sāñcī may not have signified a wheel, but if it did, a wheel of sinister import will hardly have been there erected, or, as to that, on other ruined gables in Turkestan such as von le Coq showed in London several years ago.

Very possibly to us the obvious link between wheel and way was not taken up in parable and trope by the first Śākyan missionaries, because they were too much at grips with their new urge in religion, to be troubling themselves with the picturesque, the embroidery of 'doctrine' such as is characteristic of an older established institution. It takes years surely for such things to become of pictorial significance in a new line of religious thought. These point to an already organized institution.

But some may say: Did not Jesus refer already to the taking up of the cross and following him before he suffered on one? I would not say here that the gospel authors had no true memory of a remark handed down for generations. But consider: was the sight of a condemned man bearing his cross to his Golgotha so unknown in those Palestine days of Roman Nazidom? A walk with one's teacher might at one turn bring flowers to view and the consideration "See the lilies"... and the next turn the condemned man or men might be encountered and suggest the comment: "Look my children at yon men! You may have one day to take up what may bring you suffering." Is not this quite a possible explanation of his remark?

I do not know whether such things found their way into classic literature, but look at ours ! The Elizabethan reader was alas ! acquainted with sights now not met with, but which, in the writer, provoked such lines you may recognize as

We are at the stake,
and bayed about with many enemies. (Julius Cæsar)

or

I will die in the opinion at the stake ! (Much Ado)

or

Upon the rack of this rough world
Stretch him out longer. (Cymbeline)

There is in such lines no reference to a coming ordeal to be suffered by the hearers, and they incline me to look upon the gospel remark as such a reference, without symbolic significance of the kind ascribed.

But to conclude, in reverting : First missionaries have more serious heart to heart things to teach than institutional symbols. They are occupied with an inward and spiritual message of the New to the very man. But—and herein lies the tragedy involved as I have hinted, in the shrivelling of the wheel-figure of spiritual and moral progress to a mere mill or grind-stone—the very root and heart of this Message was a grip of the forward movement necessary for religion, and not a recurring sameness. This was where the accepted teaching needed expansion. Compare a truer Saying in that message to the gloomier turn it took :

"And in him reflecting hereon the Way comes to birth, and that Way he follows, makes it become makes it a More - - - and he knows : Now am I bound to become one turning no more back ; I shall become a Further-Farer in the life divine¹."

This is for me the really original teaching at the birth of the world-religion we have, for but little over a century, come to call Buddhism. And when its exponents will have bethought them to talk picturesquely about the things they held most worth while, there was in the traditional culture of their day this ancient figure of the Further-Faring : the Wheel : wheel of dawn, wheel of sun, wheel of world-order of symmetry and of movement : the eternal march of things, ready to hand. But—there

1. Anguttara Nikāya, iii, 75.

was growing up about them a newer culture : cult of monasticism, of analysis, of repetition, of impermanence, and ever with it the growing rift between the established religion and their own. And one result of this was the conversion of the wheel-emblem into a suspended wheel where is rotation but no progress. This is the really impressive wheel-lesson in the history of Buddhism.

SOME BRAHMANICAL MINIATURES FROM NEPAL

by P. C. BAGCHI

[Prof. Foucher was the first to make use of the Buddhist miniatures on the palm leaves of some manuscripts for the study of Buddhist iconography ('Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l' Inde, Paris, 1900). The illuminated manuscripts at his disposal were four : two of them were of Nepalese origin and two Bengali. The first two were mss. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, one preserved in the Library of the Cambridge University, Ms. Add. 1643, copied in the year 1015 A. D. during the reign of Rudradeva and his associates and the other of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Ms. A. 15 which was copied in the year 1071 A. D. Of these two mss. the Cambridge one contains 95 illustrations whereas the Asiatic Society ms. contains 37 of which a few are completely new. Besides these Prof. Foucher had two Bengali mss. at his disposal, both noticed by Bendall in his Catalogue of Cambridge Manuscripts. Of these two, the first, a ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā was copied during the reign of Mahipāla and the second, that of Pañcarakṣā during the reign of Nayapāla, both of whom ruled in the 11th century.

As no Brahmanical miniatures have been forthcoming for a long time it seemed probable that the tradition of miniature painting was confined to the Buddhist circle. But fortunately during my stay in Nepal I came upon some Brahmanical works which contain miniatures of a corresponding type. They are painted on the wooden covers of two mss.

The first is the ms. of the Piṅgalāmata, a Tantrik work of great importance which I have described in some detail in my 'Studies in the Tantras' (pp. 7, 105 ff.). The ms. is preserved in the Nepal Darbar



1



2



3



4



5



6

Library and was noticed by the late Dr. H. P. Śāstri (Catalogue of mss. in the Nepal Darbar Library II, p. 69). The colophon of the ms. runs thus :

'Saṃvat 294 caitraśuklapurnamāsyām samadina-uttaraphalguna-nakṣatre Śrī parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Rudra-devasya vijayarājye-śrimahāvijayakarathyāyām śrī-candanamaṇḍapirathyāni-vāsinā śrī śivācārya vijadharabrahmeṇa likhāpitam lekha paśupatinā likhitam.'

(The ms. was therefore copied during the reign of king Rudradeva in Nepal Saṃvat 294 (1174 A. D.). This Rudradeva is different from the king of that name, mentioned before in the colophon of Cambridge ms. Add. 1643 ; he ruled in Patan in the third quarter of the 12th century (Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, p. 208).

The wooden boards contain 6 illustrations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Śivaliṅga. On either side of the Śivaliṅga (Pl. I, Fig. 1) there are representations evidently of votaries with two different kinds of head-dresses which probably indicate their nationality. One has a sort of cap used in Nepal, and the other a 'mukuta', which may lead us to think that he is an Indian.

Brahmā is seated on the Haṃsa and has four hands (Pl. 1, Fig. 2), Śiva is on his Nandī with Pārvatī on his side and has also four hands (Fig. 3). Viṣṇu with four hands is on his Garuḍa who is represented as half-bird and half-man (Fig. 4), Gaṇeśa has also four hands and is seated on his mouse (Fig. 5) and Kārttikeya has the same number of hands and is seated on his peacock (Fig. 6). Gaṇeśa is represented as a scribe and in fact, Miss Getty who reproduced this miniature in her book on Gaṇeśa thinks that it is the oldest known representation of Gaṇeśa as a scribe.

The style of the miniatures shows that the wooden boards cannot be of a later age than the ms. A comparison of these with the Buddhist miniatures of the 11th century proves that both of them follow the same tradition.

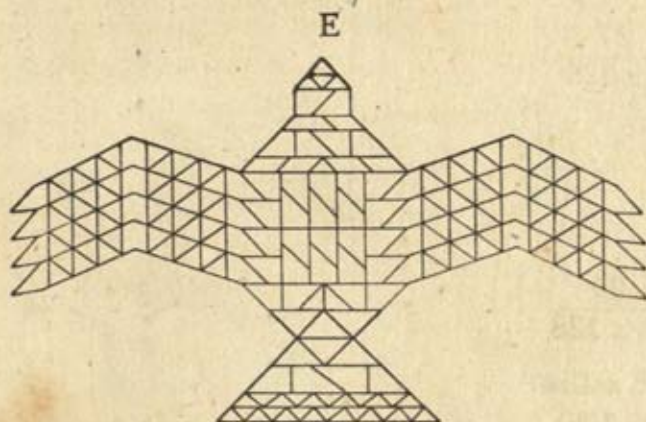
The other ms. is a later copy. It is the Nityāhnikatilakam of the Darbar Library collection already noticed by the late Dr. H. P. Śāstri (op. cit. p. 70) ; The ms. was copied in the year 515 of the Nepal Saṃvat, i. e. 1395 A. D. One of the wooden boards is decorated with three

miniatures. The central figure is that of Viṣṇu who has four hands and rides on Garuḍa. On the left is Lakṣmī seated on the lotus, she has two hands and is of white colour¹. On the right is Sarasvatī in yellow colour with four hands holding a book, a rosary and a Vīṇā. These illustrations show that in the 14th century the tradition of miniature painting persisted.)

1. See : Kramrisch, Nepalese Painting, JISOA Vol. II, pp. 136, 147.

SACRIFICIAL ALTARS : VEDIS AND AGNIS*

by N. K. MAJUMDER



P. Upacāyyacit (a form of Śyenacit)—first layer.

(a) measures as in Paricāyyacit :

head = $3/16$ sq. 'puruṣa'

body = $2\frac{1}{2}$..

tail = $15/16$..

wings = $3 \text{ \& } 7/8$..

(b) bending of the wings at angle $2 \tan^{-1}(2.5)$.

(c) bricks used :—

| Bricks | Area (fraction of a sq. 'puruṣa') | Head | Body (excluding bricks at joints of wings) | Tail | Wings (including bricks over joints with body) | Total |
|--|--|------|--|------|---|-------|
| (1) right-angled triangle 30, 15 $\sqrt{2}$, 15 $\sqrt{2}$. | $1/64$ | 4 | 1 | 28 | | 33 |
| (2) right-angled triangle 30, 30, 30 $\sqrt{2}$ | $1/32$ | | 2 | | | 2 |
| (3) rect. 15 x 30 | $1/32$ | | 1 | | | 1 |
| (4) rect. 15 x 45 | $3/64$ | | 1 | | | 1 |
| (5) rect. 15 x $37\frac{1}{2}$ | $5/128$ | | 4 | | | 4 |
| (6) triangle, 60 x 60/4 | $1/16$ | | 3 | 3 | | 6 |
| (7) rect. 30 x 30 | $1/16$ | | | 1 | | 1 |

* Continued from JISOA, Vol. VII.

| Bricks | Area (fraction of a sq. 'puruṣa') | Head | Body (excluding bricks at joints of wings) | Tail | Wings (including bricks over joints with body) | Total |
|---|--|----------------|--|-----------------|---|----------------|
| (8) parallelogram with sides 30, 15 inclined at half the angle of bending of wings | $\frac{29}{8 \times 128}$ | | | | | |
| (9) two such parallelo- grams (8) joined in the manner of bricks placed at the bending of the wings | $\frac{29}{4 \times 128}$ | | | | 8 | 8 |
| (10) two parallelograms (8) joined so as to form a parallelogram and placed in the wings | $\frac{29}{4 \times 128}$ | | | | 48 | 48 |
| (11) parallelogram (8) plus triangle (2) | $\frac{29}{8} \times 128$ plus $\frac{1}{32}$ | | | | 16 | 16 |
| (12) quadrilateral with sides 15, 30, 45, 30 \surd 2, side 30 being perp. to 15 and 45 | $\frac{1}{16}$ | 2 | 28 | 4 | | 34 |
| total number | | 6 | 40 | 36 | 72 | 154 * |
| total area (in sq. 'puruṣas') | | $\frac{3}{16}$ | $2\frac{1}{4}$ | $\frac{15}{16}$ | 4 and $\frac{1}{8}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

* The number 154 is increased to 200 by substituting half-bricks.

P'. Upacāyyacit—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram P.

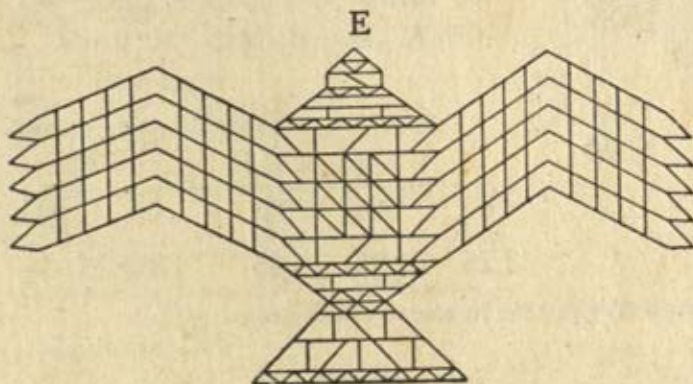
(b) bricks used : ('bheda' avoided at joints of head and body, tail and body, and wings and body to be particularly noticed)—

| Bricks | Fraction of a sq. 'puruṣa' | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|----------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) right-angled triangle, 30, 30, 30 $\sqrt{2}$ | $1/32$ | 2 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 24 |
| (2) quadrilateral, 15, 30, 45, 30 $\sqrt{2}$ | $1/16$ | 2 | 28 | 10 | | 40 |
| (3) triangle $\frac{45 \times 50}{2}$ | $5/64$ | | 8 | | | 8 |
| (4) triangular half of rhombus with sides 30, 30 inclined at half the angle of bending of wings | $\frac{29}{8 \times 128}$ | | | | 128 | 128 |

total number of bricks

total area (in sq. puruṣas)

| | | | | |
|--------|----------------|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 4 | 40 | 20 | 136 | 200 |
| $3/16$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $15/16$ | $3\frac{7}{8}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |



Q. Chandaścit, (a form of Śyenacit)—first layer.

(a) he who desires cattle is to lay the Agni in this form.

(b) measures :

$$\text{head} = 48 \times 48 - 2 \cdot 24 \times 24/2 = 3/25 \text{ sq. 'puruṣa'}$$

$$\text{body} = 144 \times 216 - 2 \cdot 48 \times 48 = 46/25 \quad "$$

$$\text{tail} = \frac{48 + 192}{2} \times 72 = 15/25 \quad "$$

$$\text{wings} = 7\frac{1}{2} - 3/25 - 46/25 - 15/25 = 128\frac{1}{2}/25 \quad "$$

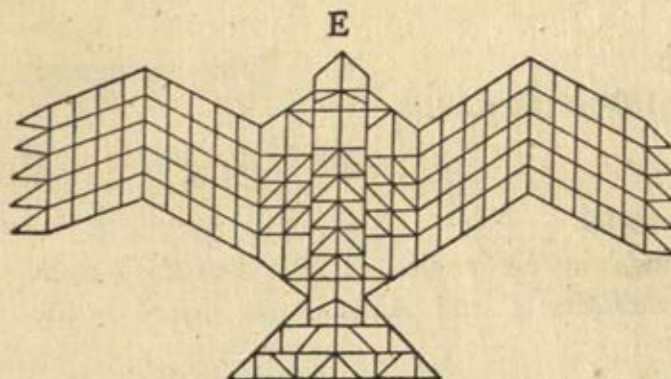
(of which 10 feathers account for

10. (24 x 24/2) or 1/5 sq. puruṣa).

(c) bending of the wings at 120 degrees.

(d) The construction is defective. Rectifying the defects, the bricks used are :—

| | Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| (1) | triangle $\frac{24 \times 24}{4}$ | 1/100 | 4 | 32 | 20 | | 56 |
| (2) | quadrilateral, sides 12, 24, 36, 24 $\sqrt{2}$, side 24 perp. to 12 and 36 | 1/25 | 2 | 22 | 10 | | 34 |
| (3) | triangle $24 \times 24/2$ | 1/50 | | 22 | | | 22 |
| (4) | parallelogram with sides 24, 24 inclined at half the bending angle of the wings, i. e. 60 degrees | $\frac{237}{5000}$ | | | | 60 | 60 |
| (5) | two parallelograms (4) joined together | $\frac{237}{2500}$ | | | | 10 | 10 |
| (6) | parallelogram (4) and triangle (3) joined together | $\frac{337}{5000}$ | | | | 20 | 20 |
| total number | | | 6 | 76 | 30 | 90 | 202 |
| total area (sq. pur.) | | | 3/25 | 41/25 | 15/25 | 128½/25 | 7½ |



Q. Chandaścit—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram Q.

(b) the diagram is defective. correcting the defects, the bricks used are :

| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|--------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) triangle $24 \times 24 \sqrt{2}$, | $1/50$ | 2 | 52 | 10 | 10 | 74 |
| (2) quadrilateral, sides 12, 24, 36, $24 \sqrt{2}$, side 24 perp. to 12 and 36 | $1/25$ | 2 | 16 | 10 | | 28 |
| (3) rectangle 24×12 | $1/50$ | | 8 | | | 8 |
| (4) parallelogram with sides 24, 24 inclined at half the bending angle of the wings, i. e. 60 degrees | $\frac{237}{5000}$ | | | | 100 | 100 |

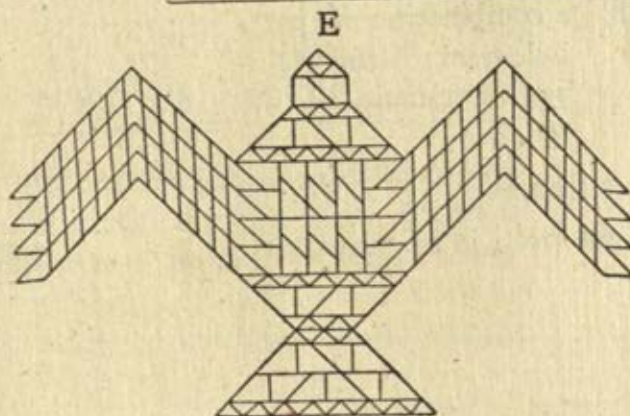
total number

total area (in sq. puruṣas)

| | | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|---------------------|----------------|
| 4 | 76 | 20 | 110 | 210* |
| $3/25$ | $46/25$ | $15/25$ | $123\frac{1}{2}/25$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

R. Alajacit (a form of Śyenacit, bird-shaped Agni) —first layer.

(a) desired object : attainment of heaven.



* The number 210 may be reduced to 200 by substituting 10 square bricks 24×24 for 20 triangular bricks $24 \times 24 \sqrt{2}$.

(b) measures :

$$\text{head} = 60 \times 60 - 30 \times 30 = 3/16 \text{ sq. 'puruṣa'}$$

$$\text{body} = (60 + 120 + 60) \times 180 - 4 (60 \times 60/2) = 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ "}$$

$$\text{tail} = \frac{60 + 240}{2} \times 90 = 15/16 \text{ "}$$

$$\text{wings} = 7\frac{1}{2} - 3/16 - 2\frac{1}{2} - 15/16 = 3\frac{1}{8} \text{ "}$$

(c) bending of the wings at an angle of 90 degrees (right angle). This is a peculiarity of the Alajacit not shared by the other Śyenacits.

(d) bricks used :

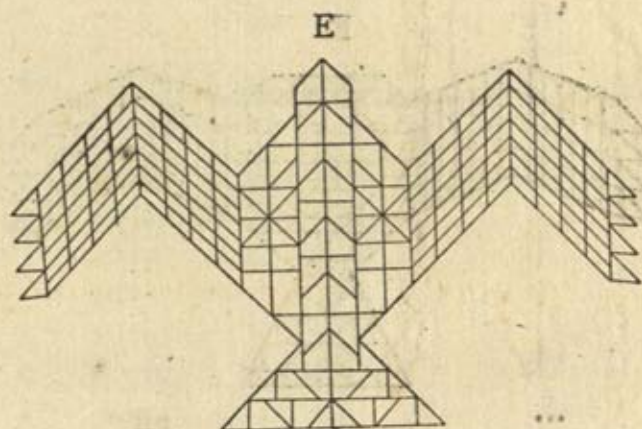
| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|--|---------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) right-angled triangle, sides 30, 15 $\sqrt{2}$ 15 $\sqrt{2}$ | 1/64 | 4 | 32 | 20 | | 56 |
| (2) quadrilateral, 15, 30, 45, 30 $\sqrt{2}$, side 30 being perp. to 15 and 45 | 1/16 | 2 | 28 | 10 | | 40 |
| (3) parallelogram with sides 120/4 and 120/7 inclined at half the bending angle of the wings, i. e. at 45 deg. | $\frac{29}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 80 | 80 |
| (4) double the parallelogram (3) | $\frac{29}{4 \times 112}$ | | | | 8 | 8 |
| (5) a combination of parallelogram (3) and right-angled triangle, 30, 30, 30 $\sqrt{2}$ | $\frac{57}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 16 | 16 |

total number

6 60 30 104 200

total area (in sq. puruṣas)

3/16 $2\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{4}$ 15/16 $3\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{4}$ $7\frac{1}{2}$



R. Alajacit—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram R.

(b) bricks used :

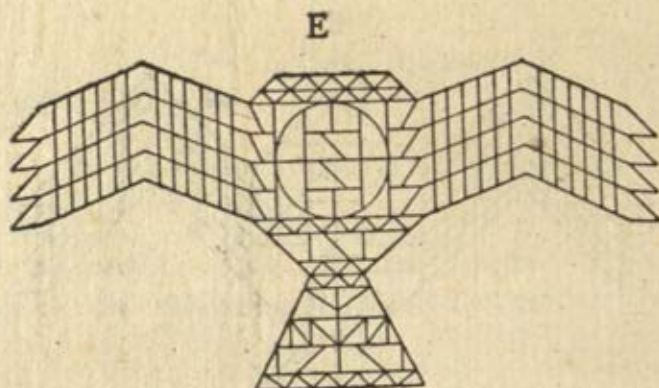
| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|---------------------------|--------|----------------|---------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) right-angled triangle, sides 30, 30, $30\sqrt{2}$ | $1/32$ | 2 | 32 | 10 | 8 | 52 |
| (2) quadrilateral with sides 15, 30, 45, $30\sqrt{2}$, sides 30 being perp. to 15 and 45 | $1/16$ | 2 | 24 | 10 | | 36 |
| (3) parallelogram with sides $120/4$ and $120/7$, inclined at half the bending angle of the wings, i. e. 45 deg. | $\frac{29}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 112 | 112 |
| total number | | 4 | 56 | 20 | 120 | 200 |
| total area (in sq. puruṣas) | | $3/16$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $15/16$ | $3\frac{7}{8}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

(c) it is to be noted that the number and varieties of bricks used in the construction of the Alajacit are identical with those of bricks used in the construction of the Para-Śyenacit (diagrams U and U'), with the exception that the angle of bending of the wings and hence also the angle of inclination of the adjacent sides of the parallelogram bricks are different.

S. Kañkacit (a bird-shaped Agni)—first layer.

(a) desired object : attainment of heaven.

(b) measures :



head

...

nil

(observe the Circle within the Body, which is supposed to give the shadow of the Head, lost in that of the Body)

$$\text{body} = (30 + 120 + 60) \times 180 - 30 \times 30 - 60 \times 60 = 37/16 \text{ sq. pur.}$$

(a square of 120 x 120 has been placed about the centre of the body, in which a circle is inscribed).

$$\text{tail} = 135 \times (60 + 195)/2 = 153/128 \quad "$$

$$\text{wings} = 7\frac{1}{2} - 37/16 - 153/128 = (4 - 1/128) \quad "$$

(c) the two slanting sides of the tail make an angle of $\tan^{-1}2$ with the north-south line, as in the case of Pūrva-Śyenacit (Diagram T), but unlike other Śyenacits, in which they make an angle of $\tan^{-1}1$ or 45 degrees.

(d) bending of the wings is at an angle of $2 \sin^{-1}(51/62)$.

(e) both the diagrams, S and S', representing the first and the second layers, are defective, but an attempt has been made to remedy these defects in presenting the shapes of the bricks and the method of placing them.

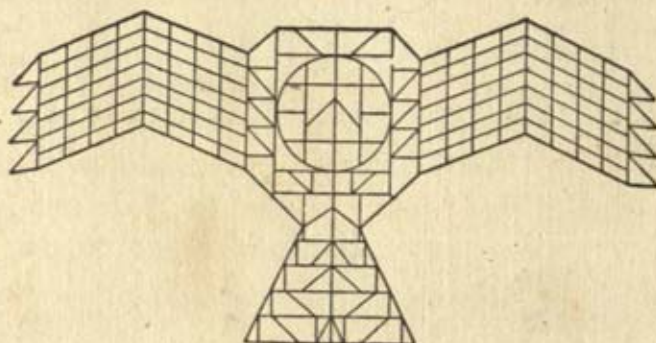
(f) bricks used :

| | Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|-----|---|----------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) | triangle, 30 x 30/4 | 1/64 | | 36 | 14 | | 50 |
| (2) | triangle, 30 x 30/2 | 1/32 | | 8 | 8 | | 16 |
| (3) | quadrilateral with sides 15, 30, 45, 30 $\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | 1/16 | | 4 | 4 | | 8 |

| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|------------------------------|------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (4) 16 bricks within the square of 120×120 in the centre of the body, including 4 quadrilaterals (3) given above | 1 | | 16 | | | 16 |
| (5) rectangle, 30×30 | $1/16$ | | | 1 | | 1 |
| (6) rectangle, $45 \times 37\frac{1}{2}$ | $15/128$ | | | 2 | | 2 |
| (7) triangle, $30 \times 15/2$ | $1/64$ | | | 4 | | 4 |
| (8) triangle, $45 \times 22\frac{1}{2}/2$ | $9/256$ | | | 2 | | 2 |
| (9) triangle, being a combination of two triangles, $15 \times 15/2$ and $15 \times 7\frac{1}{2}/2$ | $3/256$ | | | 4 | | 4 |
| (10) parallelogram with sides $120/4$ and $120/7$ inclined at half the angle of bending of the wings | $\frac{479}{128 \times 112}$ | | | | 80 | 80 |
| (11) two parallelograms (10) joined together for the middle of the wings | $\frac{479}{128 \times 56}$ | | | | 8 | 8 |
| (12) parallelogram (10) and triangle (2) joined together | $\frac{927}{128 \times 112}$ | | | | 16* | 16 |
| total number | | Nil | 64 | 39 | 104 | 207 |
| total area (in sq. pur.) | | Nil | $37/16$ | $1\frac{11}{128}$ | $(4-1/128)$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | | | $-\frac{1}{4}$ | | $+\frac{1}{4}$ | |

* Observe that 8 of these bricks are placed over the joints of the Wings and the Body, of which bricks an area equal to $1/4$ sq. pur. belongs to the Body.

E



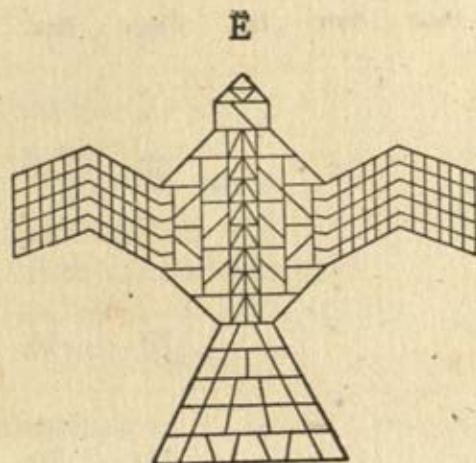
Ś. Kaṅkacit—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram S.

(b) bricks used :

| Bricks | Area of Bricks | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|--|------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|---------|----------------|
| (1) quadrilateral, sides 15, 30, 45, 30 $\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | 1/16 | 10 | 8* | | 18 |
| (2) triangle, 30 x 30/2 | 1/32 | 18 | 6 | 8 | 32 |
| (3) rectangle, 30 x 30 | 1/16 | 1 | | | 1 |
| (4) rectangle, 30 x 15 | 1/32 | | 2 | | 2 |
| (5) rectangle, 45 x 30 | 3/32 | | 2 | | 2 |
| (6) 20 bricks (including 4 quadrilaterals (1)) comprising the square 120 x 120 in the centre of the body | 1 | 20 | | | 20 |
| (7) triangle, 30 x 15/2 | 1/64 | | 8 | | 8 |
| (8) quadrilateral, with sides $7\frac{1}{2}$, 30, $37\frac{1}{2}$ and 30 $\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $37\frac{1}{2}$ | 3/64 | | 4 | | 4 |
| (9) triangle, 15 x $7\frac{1}{2}$ /2 | 1/256 | | 2 | | 2 |
| (10) parallelogram with sides 120/4 and 120/7 inclined at half the angle of bending of the wings | 479 128 x 112 | | | 112 | 112 |
| total number | | 49 | 32 | 120 | 201 |
| total area (in sq. pur.) | | $37/16 - 1/16$ | $\frac{153}{128} + \frac{1}{16}$ | 4-1/128 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

* Observe that 2 of these 8 bricks are placed at the joint of the Body and the Tail, covering 1/16 sq. puruṣa of the area of the Body.



T. Pūrva-śyenacit (bird-shaped Agni of the first kind distinguished from Para-śyenacit (diagram U following)—first layer.

(a) desired object : attainment of heaven.

(b) measures :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{head} &= 60 \times 60 - 30 \times 30 &= 3/16 \text{ sq. puruṣa} \\ \text{body} &= 240 \times 180 - 2.60 \times 60 &= 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \\ \text{tail} &= 150 \times (60 + 210)/2 &= 45/32 \text{ } \\ \text{wings} &= 7\frac{1}{2} - 3/16 - 2\frac{1}{2} - 45/32 &= 109/32 \text{ } \end{aligned}$$

(c) bending of the wings at an angle $2. \cos^{-1}(1/3)$.

(d) The slanting sides of the tail make an angle of $\tan^{-1}2$ with the north-south line, as in Kaṅkacit (diagram S).

(e) bricks used :

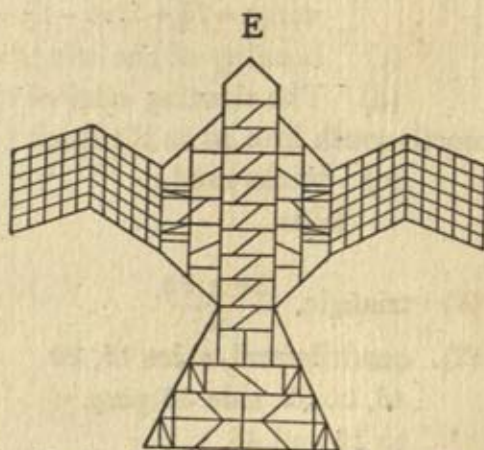
| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|--|----------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) triangle, $\frac{30 \times 30}{4}$ | 1/64 | 4 | | | | 4 |
| (2) quadrilateral, sides 15, 30, 45, $30\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | 1/16 | 2 | 28 | | | 30 |
| (3) triangle, $\frac{30 \times 15}{2}$ | 1/64 | | 32 | | | 32 |
| (4) parallelogram, 20 x 30 | 1/24 | | | 10 | | 10 |
| (5) parallelogram, 30 x 30 | 1/16 | | | 8 | | 8 |
| (6) quadrilateral, sum of rectangle 25 x 30 and triangle 30 x 15/2 | 13/192 | | | 4 | | 4 |
| (7) trapezium with parallel sides 20 and 50 at a perp. distance of 30 | 7/96 | | | 3 | | 3 |

| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|------------------------------|---------|------------------------|----------------|
| (8) rectangle, 24 x 15 | 1/40 | | | | | |
| (9) parallelogram with sides 24 and 20, inclined at half the bending angle of the wings | $\frac{109}{32 \cdot 120}$ | | | | 90 | 90 |
| (10) two parallelograms (9) joined together | $\frac{109}{16 \times 120}$ | | | | 10 | 10 |
| (11) rectangle (8) and parallelogram (9) joined together | $\frac{205}{32 \times 120}$ | | | | 10* | 10 |
| total number | | 6 | 60 | 25 | 110 | 201 |
| total area (in sq. puruṣa) | | $3/16$ | $2\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{4}$ | $45/32$ | $109/32 + \frac{1}{4}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

T'. Pūrva-śyenacit—second layer..

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram T.

(b) the diagram is defective. Rectifying the defects as far as possible. the bricks used are :



| Bricks | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|----------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) quadrilateral, sides 15, 30, 45, 30 $\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | 1/16 | 2 | 38 | 8 | | 48 |
| (2) rectangle, 30 x 30 | 1/16 | | 4 | | | 4 |
| (3) triangle, 60 x 30/2 | 1/16 | | | 2 | | 2 |
| (4) rectangle, 30 x 45 | 3/32 | | | 2 | | 2 |

* Observe that these 10 bricks are placed at the junction of the body and the wings, covering an area of the body equal to $1/4$ sq. pur.

| Area | Area of bricks | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|--|----------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (5) triangle, $30 \times 15/2$ | $1/64$ | | | 14 | | 14 |
| (6) square, 30×30 | $1/16$ | | | 3 | | 3 |
| (7) triangle, $30 \times 30/2$ | $1/32$ | | | 4 | | 4 |
| (8) parallelogram with sides 20 and 24 inclined at half the bending angle of the wings | $\frac{109}{32.120}$ | | | | 120 | 120 |

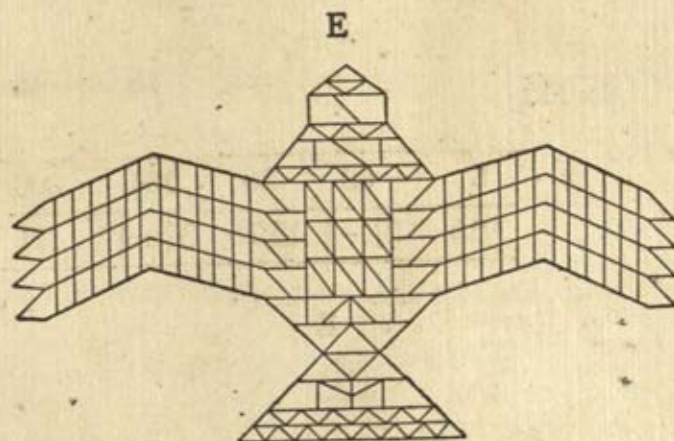
total number

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|-----|-----|
| 2 | 42 | 33 | 120 | 197 |
|---|----|----|-----|-----|

total area (in sq. puruṣa)

| | | | | |
|--------|---------|---------|----------|----------------|
| $2/16$ | $42/16$ | $43/32$ | $109/32$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |
|--------|---------|---------|----------|----------------|

It is to be noted that there are two bricks at the junction of the head and the body, and similarly there should be two bricks at the junction of the body and the tail. The body thus shows an addition of $2/16$ in the area of the bricks given above, while the head and the tail each show $1/16$ less.



U. Para-Śyenacit (as distinguished from Pūrva-Śyenacit) a bird-shaped Agni—first layer.

(a) desired object : attainment of Heaven.

(b) measures :

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{head} &= 60 \times 60 - 30 \times 30 &= 3/16 \text{ sq. pur.} \\
 \text{body} &= 180 \times 240 - 2. 60 \times 60 &= 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ " } \\
 \text{tail} &= \frac{(60 + 240)}{2} \times 90 &= 15/16 \text{ " } \\
 \text{wings} &= 7\frac{1}{2} - 3/16 - 2\frac{1}{2} - 15/16 &= 3\frac{1}{8} \text{ " }
 \end{aligned}$$

(c) bending of the wings at an angle of $2 \sin^{-1}(25/27)$.

(d) bricks used :

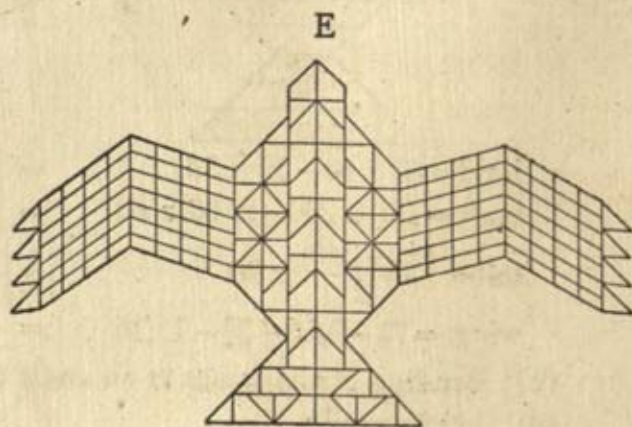
| | Bricks | Fraction of a sq. puruṣa | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|--------|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| (1) right-angled triangle —30, 15√2, 15√2 | | 1/64 | 4 | 32 | 20 | | 56 |
| (2) right-angled triangle —30, 30, 30√2 | | 1/32 | | | | | |
| (3) quadrilateral with sides 15, 30, 45, 30√2, 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | | 1/16 | 2 | 28 | 10 | | 40 |
| (4) parallelogram with sides 120/4 and 120/7 inclined at half the angle of bending of wings | | $\frac{29}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 80 | 80 |
| (5) two parallelograms (4) joined together so as to be placed at the bending of the wings | | $\frac{29}{4 \times 112}$ | | | | 8 | 8 |
| (6) a parallelogram (4) and a triangle (2) joined together | | $\frac{57}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 16 | 16 |
| total number | | | 6 | 60 | 30 | 104 | 200 |
| total area (in sq. puruṣa). | | | $\frac{3}{16}$ | $2\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{4}$ | $\frac{15}{16}$ | $3\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{4}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |

U'. Para-Śyenacit—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram U.

(b) bending of wings as in the preceding diagram.

(c) bricks used :



| Bricks | Area | Head | Body | Tail | Wings | Total |
|---|---------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| (1) right-angled triangle —30, 30, $30\sqrt{2}$ | $1/32$ | 2 | 32 | 10 | 8 | 52 |
| (2) quadrilateral—15, 30, 45, $30\sqrt{2}$, side 30 perp. to 15 and 45 | $1/16$ | 2 | 24 | 10 | | 36 |
| (3) parallelogram with sides $120/4$ and $120/7$ inclined at half the angle of bending of the wings | $\frac{29}{8 \times 112}$ | | | | 112 | 112 |

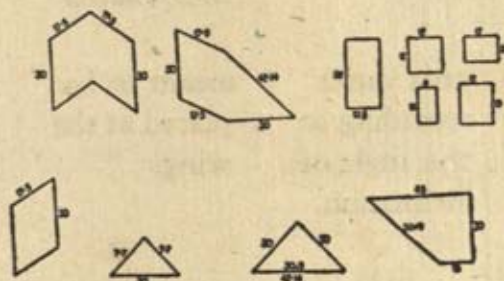
total number

4 56 20 120 200

total area (in sq. puruṣa)

 $3/16$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ $15/16$ $3\frac{7}{8}$ $7\frac{1}{2}$

(d) Note how 'bheda' is avoided at the joints and at other places.



V. Varieties of bricks used in the constructions of the Agnis.

| Bricks | Area of bricks expressed as fractions of a sq. puruṣa | Number of bricks in $7\frac{1}{2}$ sq. puruṣas | Remarks |
|---|--|--|---------------|
| (1) rectangle—9 ang. x 12 ang. | $3/400$ | 1,000 | |
| (2) rectangle—9 x 18 | $9/800$ | $666\frac{2}{3}$ | |
| (3) square—12 x 12 | $1/100$ | 750 | |
| (4) rectangle—12 x 18 | $3/200$ | 500 | |
| (5) rectangle - 32 x $13\frac{3}{4}$ | $11/360$ | $245\frac{1}{2}$ | hardly used |
| (6) right-angled isosceles triangle : hypotenuse, 30 ; each equal side, $15\sqrt{2}=21.21$ (wrongly given as 7-7 in the diagram)— equal to $30 \times 30/4$ | $1/64$ | 480 | commonly used |

| Bricks | Area of bricks expressed as fractions of a sq. puruṣa | Number of bricks in 7½ sq. puruṣas | Remarks |
|--|--|--|--|
| (7) right-angled isosceles triangle : each equal side, 30 ; hypotenuse, $30\sqrt{2}=42.42$ (shown in the diagram as 42 'aṅgulis' 14 'tilas', 34 'tilas' being equal to 1 'aṅguli')— equal to $30 \times 30/2$ | 1/32 | 240 | commonly used |
| (8) quadrilateral with sides 15, 30, 45, $30\sqrt{2}$ in order, side 30 being perpendicular to 15 and 45—equal to a rectangle, 15×30 , and a triangle (7), $30 \times 30/2$ joined together | 1/16 | 120 | very commonly used in Śyenacits |
| (9) parallelogram with sides 30 'aṅgulis' and 17 'aṅgulis' 5 'tilas' (i.e., $120/4$ and $120/7$ 'aṅgulis'), inclined at half the angle of bending of the wings of a Śyenacit | area varies according to the angle of inclination | | meant to be placed at the wings |
| (10) two parallelograms (9) joined together | double the area of (9), which varies as before | | meant to be used at the bending of the the wings |
| (11) a combination of parallelogram (9) and triangle (7) given above | area varies with area of (9) | | meant to be used at the end of the wings and at the joints of the body and the wings |

W. Kūrmacit (Agni in the shape of a tortoise, ; 'vakrāṅga' (curved body)—according to Baudhāyana. First layer.

(a) desired object—attainment of Brahmaloḥa, the world where resides Brahmā the Creator.

(b) measures :

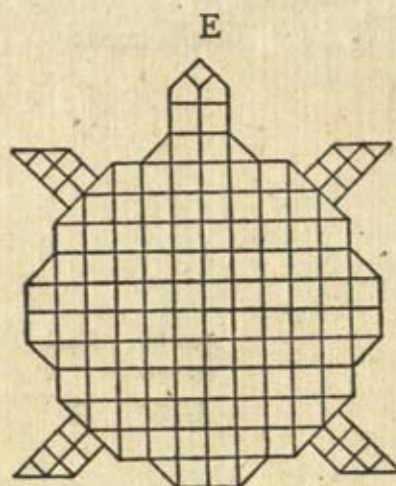
$$\text{body} = 300 \times 300 - 4.60 \times 60/2 = 92/16 \text{ sq. pur.}$$

$$\text{sides (4), each} = 4.30 \times 30 - 2.30 \times 30/2 = 12/16 \text{ „}$$

$$\text{head} = 60 \times 75 - 2.30 \times 30/2 = 4/16 \text{ „}$$

$$\text{feet (4), each} = 4.30 \sqrt{2} \times 15 \sqrt{2} - 2.15 \sqrt{2} \times 15 \sqrt{2} = 12/16 \text{ „}$$

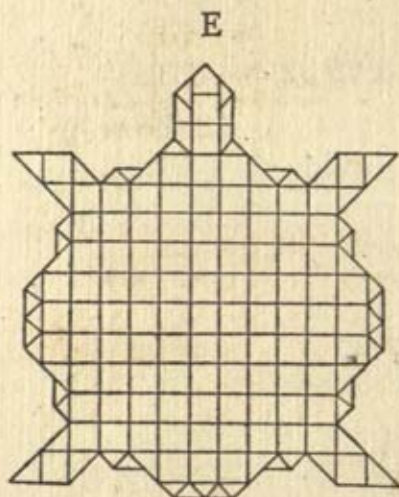
$$\text{total area in sq. puruṣa} \quad \underline{120/16 \text{ or } 7\frac{1}{2}}$$



(c) bricks used :

| | Bricks | Area in sq. pur. | Head | Body | Sides | Feet | Total |
|-----|--|---------------------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| (1) | square, 30 x 30 | 1/16 | 2 | 88 | 8 | | 98 |
| (2) | triangle, 30 x 30/2 | 1/32 | | 8 | 8 | | 16 |
| (3) | square on 15 $\sqrt{2}$ | 1/32 | 1 | | | 20 | 21 |
| (4) | triangle, 15 $\sqrt{2}$ x 15 $\sqrt{2}$ /2 | 1/64 | | | | 8 | 8 |
| (5) | quadrilateral, with sides 15, 15, 30 and 15 $\sqrt{2}$, side 15 being perp. to 15 and 30 | | | | | | 3/128 |

| Bricks | Area of sq. pur. | Head | Body | Sides | Feet | Total |
|---|---------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| (6) two quadrilaterals (5) joined together | 3/64 | 2 | | | | 2 |
| total number | | 5 | 96 | 16 | 28 | 145 |
| total area in sq. puruṣa | | 4/16 | 92/16 | 12/16 | 12/16 | 7½ |



W'. Kūrmacit (vakrāṅga)—second layer.

(a) measures as in the preceding diagram W.

(b) bricks used:

| Bricks | Area in sq. pur. | Head | Body | Sides | Feet | Total |
|---|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| (1) square, 30 x 30 | 1/16 | 2 | 77 | 12 | 8 | 99 |
| (2) triangle, sides 30, 15√2, 15√2 | 1/64 | 2 | 16 | 17 | | 35 |
| (3) triangle, 30 x 30/2 | 1/32 | | | 8 | 12 | 20 |
| (4) quadrilateral, sides 15, 15, 30 and 15√2 | 3/128 | 4 | | | | 4 |
| (5) two quadrilaterals (4) joined together | 3/64 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| total number | | 9 | 93 | 37 | 20 | 159 |
| total area in sq. pur. | | 19/64 | 81/16 | 81/64 | 14/16 | 7½ |

Appendix

Vedis and Agnis described in
different Śulbasūtras

I. Baudhāyana Śulbasūtra

Vedis

Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa Vedi
Paśubandha Vedi
Uttara-Vedi
Pāitriki Vedi
Sautrāmāṇī Vedi
Prāgvaṇśa Vedi
Saumikī Vedi or Mahāvedi
Āśvamedha Vedi

Agnis

Āhavanīya Agni
Gārhapatya Citi
Dakṣiṇāgni
Dhiṣṇyas
Āgnidhriya Agni
Mārjālīya Agni
Kāmya Agnis
Chandaścit
Śyenacit (square-shaped)
Śyenacit (falcon-shaped)
Vakrapakṣa-Vyastapuccha-Śyenacit (first kind)
Vakrapakṣa-Vyastapuccha-Śyenacit (second kind)
Kaṅkacit
Alajacit
Praugacit
Ubhayata-Praugacit
Ratha-cakra-cit (Pradhi-yukta or massive)
Ratha-cakra-cit (Sāra i. e., with inter-spaces)
Dropacit (Caturaśra)
Dropacit (circular)
Samuhyacit
Paricāyyacit
Śmaśānacit
Kūrmacit (Vakrāṅga or curved)
Kūrmacit (Parimaṇḍala or circular)

II. Āpastamba Śulbasūtra

Vedis

Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa Vedi
Saumikī Vedi
Sautrāmāṇī Vedi
Āśvamedha Vedi
Niruḍha-Paśubandha Vedi
Pāitriki Vedi
Uttara-Vedi (for Soma sacrifice) *

Agnis

Gārhapatya Agni
Āhavanīya Agni
Dakṣiṇāgni
Dhiṣṇyas or Dhiṣṇiyas
Saptavidha Agni
Kāmya Agnis
Praugacit
Ubhayata-Prauga-cit
Ratha-cakra-cit
Dropacit (square)
Dropacit (circular)
Dropacit (without handle)
Samuhyacit

Vedis

Agnis

Paricāyyacit
 Upacāyyacit
 Śmaśānacit (square)
 Śmaśānacit (circular)
 Chandaścit
 Śyenacit
 Vakrapakṣa Vyastapuccha Śyenacit
 Kaṅkacit
 Alajacit

III. Mānava Śulbasūtra

Vedis

(In the form of isosceles trapeziums, the parallel sides being on the East and the West)

| Name of Vedi | East side | West side | 'Prāci' (East-west line, i. e. perpendicular distance between the parallel sides) |
|--|------------|------------|---|
| | Ang. | Ang. | Ang. |
| Pāka-Yajñiki | 60 | 72 | 90 |
| Darśa-Paurvāmāsiki | 48 | 64 | 96 |
| Māruti and Vāruṇi | | | |
| Māruti | 72 | 96 | 144 |
| Vāruṇi (to the south of Māruti) | 36 | 48 | 144 |
| Pāśuki Vedi | 72 | 96 | 144 |
| Pitresthi Vedi (a square on 96 āṅgulis, with corners pointing towards North, South, East and West) | | | |
| For Agniṣṭoma Yajña | | | |
| Vali-śālam (4 cubits square) | 96 | 96 | 96 |
| Prāgvamśam, a square on 10 cubits (to the East of Vali-śālam) | 240 | 240 | 240 |
| | 'Prakrama' | 'Prakrama' | 'Prakrama' |
| Mahāvedi | 24 | 30 | 36 |
| (3 Prakramas to the East of Prāgvamśam) | | | |

(The measure of a 'prakrama' varies according to requirements, although its ordinary meaning is 30 'āṅgulis'. Thus, in Yupaikādaśini Vedi, the measure of a 'prakrama' is about 47 'āṅgulis').

Agni

Suparṇaciti—only one kind of Agni (Kāmya) is described in the form of a bird, with (1) Body, measuring 4 square puruṣas, (2) Wings, measuring $12/5$ square puruṣas, (3) Tail, measuring $11/10$ square puruṣas, and (4) Head, measuring $1/4$ square puruṣa. According to other schools of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch, the Citi is without Head.

GREATNESS OF GAṆAPATI

by ŚRĪ SVĀMĪ HARIHARĀNAND SARASVATĪ

The primordial essence, the absolute supreme principle by which the whole universe is regulated, is named Gaṇapati¹; because it is said : गणानां पतिः गणपतिः "The ruler (pati) of all quantities (gaṇa) is Gaṇapati". The word "quantity" (gaṇa) means collection (samūha) गणशब्दः समूहस्य वाचकः परिकीर्तितः

The supreme being who protects the collection of all things is named Gaṇapati. The leader of angels and other such beings is also called Gaṇapati. And महत्त्वादितत्त्वगणानां पतिः गणपतिः "He who presides over the assemblage (gaṇa) of the transcendental and perceptible elements is Gaṇapati." Even : निर्गुणसगुणब्रह्मगणानां पतिः गणपतिः "He who rules over all the aspects (gaṇas) of Brahma, whether manifested or unmanifested, is Gaṇapati." That supreme self by which all quantities (gaṇa) exist and become perceptible (vibrate), this verily is Gaṇapati.

The purpose of saying this is to show that according to the vedantic aphorism (सूत्र) : आकाशस्तल्लिङ्गात्, [The term] Ākāśa [in certain cases] means Brahma [and not Ether] because its

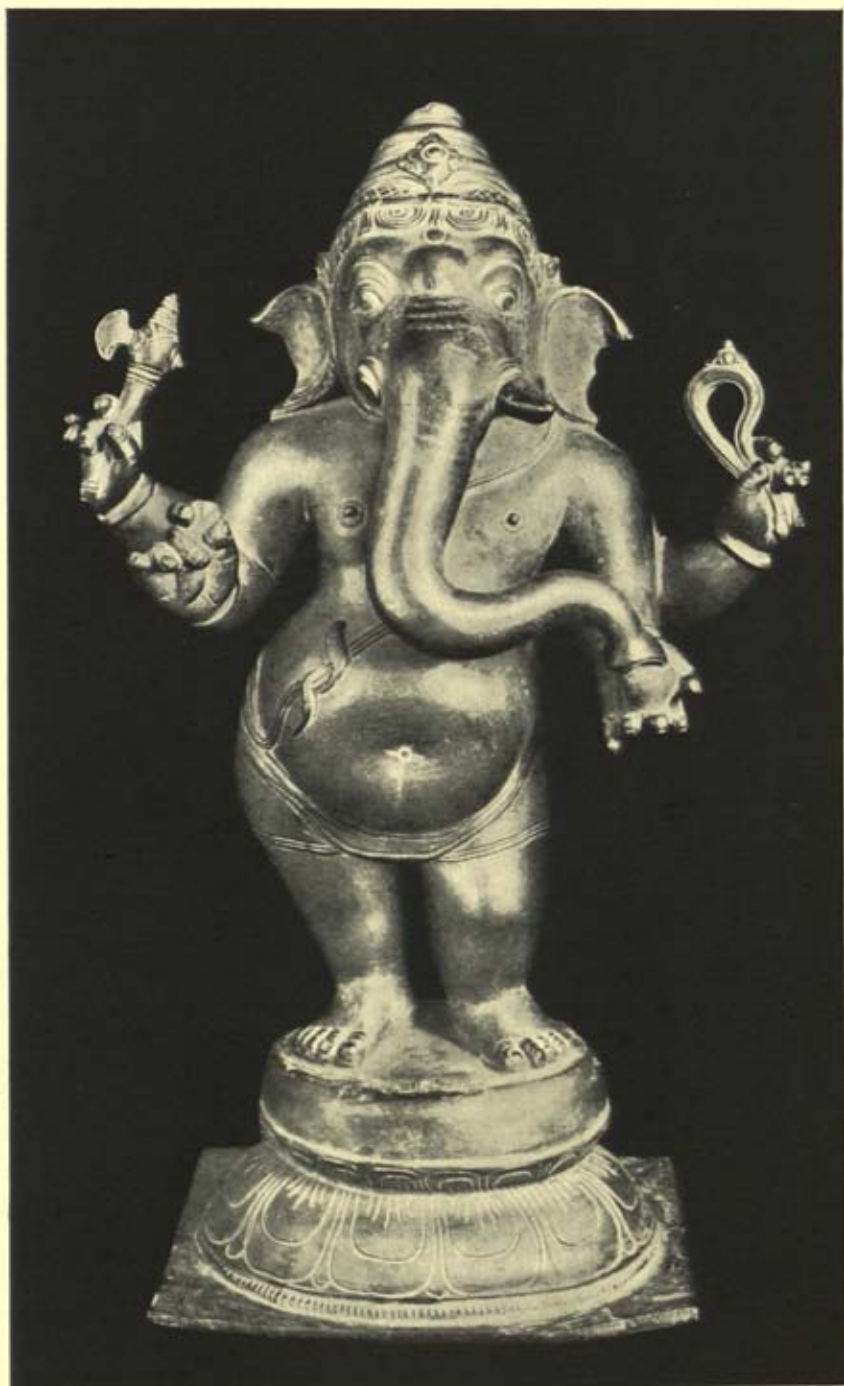
1. Modern scholars, approaching the symbolism of Gaṇapati from the point of view of iconography, generally consider him as a deity of the aboriginal inhabitants of India later adopted by Aryan invaders. Svāmī Hariharānand Sarasvatī presents here the traditional Hindu conception of Gaṇeśa and shows why his seemingly strange shape (Pl. II) should not be considered the conception of a "primitive" mind being on the contrary the rational and logical visual representation of a metaphysical principle which can not be dissociated from the Vedas.

characteristics are [given as] those of Brahma [and not those of Ether]. He in whom are to be found the characteristics of Brahma such as the play of manifestation, maintenance and destruction ; who rules over the universe ; who protects all existence, is necessarily Brahma himself. In the words of Śruti : आकाशादेव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते "From Ether all the elements are undoubtedly issued" ; the nature of Ether as the cause of the manifestation and duration of the world is known, and therefore this basic element is identified with the supreme self under the name of Ether. In the same way it is said according to the Gaṇapati Atharva [which belongs to the metaphysical (शीर्ष) part of the Atharva Veda] :

ॐ नमस्ते गणपतये त्वमेव केवलं कर्तासि, त्वमेव केवलं
धर्तासि, त्वमेव केवलं हर्तासि, त्वमेव केवलं खल्विदं ब्रह्मासि ।

"Aum. I bow to thee Gaṇapati, thou only creator, thou only protector, thou only destroyer, thou only unmistakably Brahma."

The Śāstras are the only means through which can be known such distinctions as may exist among things which are beyond the reach of the senses, whether those things are only subtle (sūkṣma) or above subtlety. And just as words are perceived only by the ears, the absolute supreme substance can be realised only through the Śāstras. In the words of Śruti such as : तत्त्वौपनिषद् पुरुषं पृच्छामि शास्त्रयोनिवत् "In search of the Universal-man (puruṣa) who is the subject-matter of the Upaniṣads I interrogate the Śāstras," as well as by many authoritative texts it is asserted that Brahma, the cause of the universe, can be known only through the Śāstras. If the ultimate reality could be known by any other means, the Śāstras, being only the verbal translation of those means, would obviously be without purpose. This is why for ascertaining the true nature of Gaṇapati there is no other way of knowledge than the Śāstras. From the Śāstras we know that the master of the whole visible world is Gaṇapati : गण्यन्ते बुध्यन्ते ते गणाः "That which can be counted should be known as quantity ;" everything visible being quantity (gaṇa) has for its basis this very Gaṇapati.



All what is simply imagined can only exist and move in relation to something already existing. It is therefore logical to say that what is existing dominates (pati) over what is imagined.

Some might say that in the different Purāṇas (books of myths), Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śakti, etc. have all been suggested as the true shape of Brahma and that if the substance (tattva) of Brahma was truly one, how could all sorts of shapes be attributed to him in the different Purāṇas. The explanation is that the one supreme element assumes various quantities and qualities, for the fulfilment of the different desires of different worshippers, and through the power of its inconceivable display manifests itself under different names and shapes. Just as the worshipper who worships the principle called Brahma calling it beautiful, sum of all desires and of all enjoyments, absolute will of truth, etc., obtains for himself as the fruit of his worship those very qualities : exactly in the same way this supreme principle, considered particularly as the remover of obstacles, etc., becomes visible under the particular shape of Gaṇapati characterised by certain proportions (quantities)¹ and attributes (qualities).

It might be objected here that as a result of the desire of outsiders² all sorts of deities may be said to represent the substance of Brahma ; and, why stop here, when the whole universe is the substance of Brahma why should Gaṇapati more particularly be called Brahma. In a certain way this is true, and the deities worshipped by other people as the universal basis, or any other thing may be said to be a true representation of Brahma ; nevertheless, it is only from the Śāstras that it can be known whether the particular qualities characteristic of Brahma are represented in a certain shape ; this means that only such qualified objects, names or shapes which are called Brahma by the Śāstras can be Brahma. The Śāstras, as we have already said, are the only means of ascertaining the nature of those things which are

1. The Hindu conception of the universe as made of and ruled by numbers is akin to the Pythagorean doctrine. The Pythagorean theory of the universe ruled by numbers is a later expression of this fundamental principle.

2. i. e., those who do not worship Gaṇesh as Brahma.

beyond the reach of the senses. By Śāstra is meant the Veda, the Smṛtis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas. The latter are nothing but the orthodox commentaries of the Veda ; this will be explained further on. The Śāstras speak of Gaṇapati as the absolute supreme Brahma. In the Gaṇapati Atharva, of which we already spoke, and which is Śruti, that is the primordial tradition, Gaṇapati is named in the following terms : त्वमेव प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्वमसि "Tvameva Pratyakṣam Tatvamasi"¹. [The literal meaning is : "in a visible form Thou Art That" but also "Thou art the cosmos made perceptible."]

This is to show that in the shape of Gaṇapati is to be found the coherence of both the man and the elephant, that is the unity of the element "Tat" [=That=Brahma=macrocosm] and the element Tvam [=Thou=Jiva (living being)=microcosm]. They appear as if without connection. The element Tat (macrocosm) is the cause of the whole Universe, the all knowing, all powerful supreme Being ; and the element Tvam (microcosm) is the living being (jiva) who possesses only fragmentary knowledge and limited powers. The unity of both seems even by accident impossible. Still, if we keep the substance of those qualifications [ज्ञ, शक्तिमान, knowing, having power], leaving aside the contradiction (dualism) contained in the adjectives [सर्व, अल्प, all, fragmentary], the fundamental unity appears.

Though, in terms of the world, one cannot say that a man is an elephant still, if we keep only what is essential in each of them this saying may be true in God in whom opposites coexist.

The element "that" (tat) represents Brahma in whom all attributes are resorbed, the symbolic meaning of the word being सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म "Brahma true, omniscient and unlimited" ; the element "thou" (त्वं) is actually the qualified Brahma which can not be dissociated from the world.

The interdependence of both is expressed in the indivisibility of the essence "(thou) art" (asi).

1. "Tatvam Asi" (thou art that) is one of the four Mahāvakyas or "great sentences" which represent the essence of the Vedas, that is of all knowledge. Their manifestation comes directly after that of the monosyllable AUM.

In this way the consistency (that is the possibility of their being one) of the shape of man and that of elephant is shown in the shape of Gaṇapati.

The principle "thou" (tvam) is the shape of man, the principle "That" (tat) is the shape of elephant and in "(thou) art" (asi), that is in the shape of Gaṇapati, which is the principle of unity, is found the coordination of both.

In the Śāstras the word man (nara) is said to mean qualified Brahma, whose fundamental element of manifestation is the monosyllable AUM. नराज्ञातानि तत्त्वानि नराणोति विदुर्बुधाः "What is born of Nara (universal man) is known by the sages to be men (नराणी)".

The meaning of the word 'gaja' (elephant) is given in the Śāstras : समाधिना योगिनो गच्छन्ति यत्न इति गः, यस्मात् विम्बप्रतिविम्बवत्तया प्रणवात्मकं जगज्जायते इति जः । "The supreme principle to which the yogi reaches in ultimate union (samādhi) is 'ga' (ग); and that principle of which the world—based on the monosyllable AUM and dependent upon (or characterised by) causality—is the reflection, is called 'ja' (ज)." This is corroborated by such words as : जन्माद्यस्य यतः "from where existence begins" and : यस्मादोङ्कारसम्भूतिः यतो वेदो यतो जगत् "from where the syllable AUM is issued, and the Vedas, and the world."

The body of man of Gaṇesh¹ from feet to throat represents the manifested (qualified) principle 'tvam'. Being manifested it is inferior to the non-manifested. Therefore it is the lower part. The elephant shape of Gaṇesh from the throat to the summit of the head is the non-manifested (non-qualified); it is the highest. The whole body of Śrī Gaṇeśa from the feet to the top of the head is the indivisible substance 'asi' (thou art). This Gaṇesh has only one tooth. The word 'one' represents Māyā (illusion); and the word 'tooth' (dant) means that on which Māyā depends. According to Maudgala : एकशब्दात्मिका माया तस्याः सर्वसमुद्भवम् । दन्तः सत्ताधरस्तत्र मायाचालक उच्यते ॥१॥ Māyā

1. In the passages which are in Sanskrit in the text we have observed the accepted system of transliteration that is 'Gaṇeśa' but in the article itself which is a translation from the Hindi original we transliterate 'Gaṇesh' which is nearer to the usual pronunciation.

whose inner self is the number one, that is from where every thing has come. The tooth which is the support of existence (satt) is said to be the driver of Māyā."

Gaṇesh is said to be one-toothed because in him are united Māyā (the illusion) and Māyī (the illusionist = qualified Brahma).

Śrī Gaṇeśa has his trunk bent.¹ वक्रं आत्मरूपं मुखं यस्य "The shape of his face is crooked." By crooked (वक्र) is meant bent, turned away (देहा). The self (Ātma) is said to be turned away because, while the whole world is the grazing ground of mind and words, the self (Ātma) is beyond their reach. Therefore this stage is spoken of as यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह "from where the words and the mind, unable to grasp, come back."

Also कण्ठाधो मायया युक्तं मस्तकं ब्रह्मवाचकम् । वक्रत्वाख्यं येन विघ्नेशस्तेनायं वक्रतुण्डकः ॥ "Below the throat he is one with Māyā and his head, which represents Brahma, is spoken of as having its trunk turning away ; this is because he is the master of obstacles."

Gaṇesh has 4 hands because it is he who established the 4 classes, angels (devatā), men (nara), genii (asura) and serpents (nāga).

स्वर्गेषु देवताश्चायं पृथ्व्यां नरास्तथाऽतले । असुरान्नागमुख्यांश्च स्थापयिष्यति बालकः ॥१॥
"In heaven this boy will establish angels (devatās), on earth he will establish men, in the nether world he will establish genii (asuras) and serpents (nāgas)."

तत्त्वानि चालयन्विप्रास्तस्मान्नाम्ना चतुर्भुजः । चतुर्णां विविधानाञ्च स्थापकोऽयं प्रकीर्तितः ॥१॥

"O Brahmanas, he causes the four elements to move and therefore he is called 4 handed.² There are many kinds of the quaternary, he has established them all".

One of his 4 hands holds a noose, in the other is an 'aṅkuśa' (the hook by which elephants are driven), one hand is giving to, and one hand blesses, his devotees.

To catch the enemy of his devotees, that is attachment (moha), he

1. The trunk of Gaṇesh is represented as bent sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. These directions correspond to the two ways in which obstacles can be turned and the supreme goal reached. They are the right hand way or the left hand way.

2. The fifth element Ether is 'unmoving'.

holds a noose. The 'aṅkuśa' is the attribute of Brahma as the ruler of the whole Universe. Brahma as destroyer of the wicked is the tooth and Brahma as fulfiller of all desires is the giving hand.

The vehicle of Lord Gaṇesh is the mouse (mūṣaka). The mouse is the master of the inside of everything, it lives in the hole¹ which is in the heart of every being; it is the real enjoyer of the pleasures of all creatures. It is also a thief because, unnoticed, it takes away all that people possess. No one knows it because it is under the hidden shape of Māyā that this inner ruler takes for himself the enjoyments of all. It is said even that भोक्तारं सर्वतपसाम् "It is he who is benefitted by the penances of the saints."

The word 'mūṣa' (mouse) comes from the root मूष् (मुष् स्तेये; muṣa means stealing). Though it steals from people the things which they enjoy the mouse has no concern whether those enjoyments are virtues or vices. Similarly hidden in the mysterious Māyā, the ruler of the inside of everything enjoys the enjoyments of all but remains unaffected by virtue or vice. This inner ruler took the shape of a mouse to serve Gaṇapati and became his vehicle.

मूषकं वाहनाख्यं च पश्यन्ति वाहनं परम् ।
 तेन मूषकवाहोऽयं वेदेषु कथितोऽभवत् ॥१॥
 मूष स्तेये तथा धातुः ज्ञातव्यः स्तेय ब्रह्मधृक् ।
 नामरूपात्मकं सर्वं तत्रासद् ब्रह्म वर्तते ॥२॥
 भोगेषु भोगभोक्ता च ब्रह्मकारेण वर्तते ।
 अहंकारयुतास्तं वै न जानन्ति विमोहिताः ॥३॥
 ईश्वरः सर्वभोक्ता च चोरवत्तत्र संस्थितः ।
 स एव मूषकः प्रोक्तो मनुजानां प्रचालकः ॥४॥

"The name of his vehicle is mouse. All see this great vehicle. And thus he who rides on the mouse is spoken of in the Vedas.

One should know its root meaning; the word "mūṣa" is used for "stealing". The thief is Brahma through whom all names and shapes exist but this Brahma is unreal. In enjoyment he who really enjoys the pleasure is Brahma. Only the proud and fools ignore it.

1. This hole is the Intellect.

It is God (Īśvara) who enjoys all. He lives there [in enjoyment] like a thief. He is said to be a mouse. He causes men to move."

The God Gaṇesh is obese, because all the universe is contained in his belly, but he himself is not contained in anyone. तस्योदरात्समुत्पन्नं नानाविधं न संशयः "Innumerable universes were born from his belly, of this there is no doubt."

The ears of the God resemble the baskets used for winnowing, because he winnows the words which go to the heart, words uttered by saints and heard by seekers of truth. He throws away like dust vice and virtue and ultimate truth remains and can be grasped

रजोयुक्तं यथा धान्यं रजोहीनं करोति च ।

शुभं सर्वनराणां वै योग्यं भोजनकाम्यया ॥१॥

"Only by winnowing does the corn mixed with dust become clean so that every man may desire it for his food".

तथा मायाविकारेण युतं ब्रह्म न लभ्यते ।

त्यक्तोपासनकं तस्य शूर्प-कर्णस्य सुन्दरि ! ॥१॥

"In the same way Brahma (the principle) cannot be recognised among the changing forms of Māyā (the apparent world).

O Beautiful ! he who does not worship the winnowing-ears will never find this Brahma."

शूर्पकर्णं समाश्रित्य त्यक्त्वा मलविकारकम्

ब्रह्मैव नरजातिस्थो भवेत्तेन तथा स्मृतः

"Under the protection of the winnowing ears human beings become indifferent to the ever changing matter and realise Brahma in their own self. This is what has been told in Śruti."

Among the elders Gaṇesh is the lord. This means that he is first among those who are great and also that he magnificently presides over the assembly of those who are greatest such as Brahmā and the other gods.

This same Gaṇesh, pleased by the penance of Śiva and Pārvatī manifested himself as the son of Pārvatī.

Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa also incarnated themselves as the sons of Daśaratha and Vasudeva but this does not mean that their greatness was in any way affected by this heredity. In the same way, the fact that Gaṇesh is born of Śiva and Pārvatī does not mean that he is inferior to

them. This is why we should not be surprised to see him present and worshipped during the marriage of Śiva.

In the Brahmaivaivarta Purāṇa it is written that as a result of the penance of Pārvatī, the Universal Being, the supreme Śrī Kṛṣṇa who dwells in the Cowherds' heaven (गोलोक) (the seventh heaven) incarnated himself in the shape of Gaṇapati. This shows that Gaṇapati, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, etc. are essentially one. The following mantra of the R̥g Veda points to that universal nature of Gaṇapati.

गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कविनामुपमश्रवस्तमम् ।

उपेष्टराजं ब्रह्मणां ब्रह्मणस्पत आनः शृण्वन्नूतिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥

"O Master of the Principle of Principles (Brahma of Brahmas), [principles in a plural form mean Veda, Food and Action (Karma)], I call thee who is the master of quantities (Gaṇapati), poet (omniscient) of all poets, wealthiest (in food and fame), king of elders, hear us and take thy place (in this sacrifice) bringing with thee all enjoyments."

Similar mantras in praise of Gaṇapati are also found in the Yajur Veda : गणानान्त्वा गणपतिं ॐ हवामहे प्रियाणान्त्वा प्रियपतिं ॐ हवामहे निधिनान्त्वा निधिपतिं ॐ हवामहे वसो मम आहमज्जानि गर्भधमात्वमज्जसि गर्भधम् ।

"O Dweller (वसु) I call thee who among quantities (gaṇas) is the master, I call thee who protects the beloved of beloveds, I call thee who guards the treasure of treasures. May I establish thee in my heart as thou art established in the womb of nature (Prakṛti) and thou also shouldst establish thyself there."

The mantra of the R̥g Veda directly praises Gaṇapati, while the mantra of the Yajur Veda sings the praise of the Horse. But as the qualities praised by this mantra are not the qualities of a horse the praise goes to Gaṇapati through the name of Horse. The meaning of that mantra is as follows :

"हे वसो ! वसति सर्वेषु भूतेषु व्यापकत्वादिति, तत्सम्बुधौ । गणानां महदादीनां, ब्रह्मादीनां अन्येषां, वा समूहानाम् । गणरूपेण साक्षिरूपेण, ज्ञेयाधिष्ठानरूपेण वा । "गण" संख्याने इत्यस्मादगण्यते बुध्यते, योगिभिः साक्षात्क्रियते यः स गणस्तद्रूपेण वा पालकं, पताहशं त्वां आह्वयामहे । तथा प्रियाणां वल्लभानां, प्रियपतिं—प्रियस्य पालकम् । तच्छेषतयैव सर्वस्य प्रेमास्पदत्वात् । 'आत्मनस्तु कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवती' ति श्रुतेः । निधीनां सुखनिधीनां, सुखनिधेः पालकं त्वां हवामहे आह्वयामहे । मदन्तःकरणे प्रादुर्भूय स्वस्वरूपानन्दसमर्पणेनममापि

पतिर्भूयाः । पुनः हे देव ! अहन्ते गर्भं विम्वात्मकं चैतन्यं, (तथाच—मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन्गर्भं दधाम्यहमिति भगवत्स्मरणात्) आ=आकृष्य योगबलेन, अजानि=स्वहृदि स्थापयानि, त्वं च मम हृदि अजासि=क्षिपसि स्वस्वरूपं स्थापयसि ।”

“Dweller (वसो)” means : He who dwells in all elements (bhūtas) being all pervading. वसो is its vocative form.

(गणानां) “Among quantities (gaṇas)” represents the group of supreme elements such as Universal Intellect (Mahat), etc., or the group of Gods, (Brahmā), etc.

“Under the shape of quantity” (गणरूपेण) means as Seer (साक्षी) or as the support or the object of knowledge (ज्ञेय).

The root ‘gaṇa’ (गण) means counting. Thus He is the protector of that initial point from which things can be counted or known by [those who have realised the principle that is :] the yogis.

अहमहे means I call thee who art such.

प्रियपति etc. means : thou art the protector of beloveds. All others are loved only because they are part of him. In Śruti it is told that all things are loved because they are part of the Self (Ātmā).

“He who guards the treasure” (निधिनां, etc.) means the protector of the store of Bliss.

मम, etc. means : being manifested in my heart, be our protector and give us the bliss of knowing thee.

“In the womb (गर्भं)” means : He by whom the reflection of Consciousness is established in Prakṛti (nature); that is the real Consciousness of which we know the reflex. (This is also explained in the Gītā : This supreme Consciousness (Mahat) is my womb, I incarnate myself in it).

आ (towards), अजानि (in solitude) etc. mean : may I establish thee in my heart, attracting thee by the power of yoga, while thou also shall throw thy shape into my heart and implant it there.”

The qualified (adhikārin) worshipper prays to Gaṇapati :

“O Inner master of all (sarvāntaryāmin), thou who taketh care of the assembly of angels (devatās) because thou art their support and their Seer, thou who taketh care of what is loved because thou art the beloved, thou who taketh care of the objects of worldly love because thou art the unworldly supreme bliss, which means that thou bringeth

them all to the fulfilment of their ends because they are parts of thyself ; it is thee whom I call as my master. Take care of me also and give me that joy which is the fruit of the contemplation of thy true nature.

Be kind unto me that my heart be pure and I may grasp the shape of this Sun of Consciousness who, to create the world, incarnated itself in the womb of Matter (Prakṛti) as reflected Consciousness. This is my request."

Thus this mantra is addressed to the destroyer of all obstacles which is the principle symbolised by Gaṇapati. This is why the ninth mantra of the metaphysical (शीर्ष) Gaṇapati Atharva says : विघ्ननाशिने शिवसुताय वरदमूर्तये नमः "I bow before the image of him who destroys all obstacles, the son of Śiva, giver of presents." After explaining its meaning Sāyaṇācārya adds : समयकालात्मकमयहारिणे, अमृतात्मकपदप्रदत्वात् "It is he who removes the fear inherent in duration and time, and gives immortality."

This means that Śrī Gaṇeśa removes fear which is the effect of time because it is he who gives immortality. In the Skanda and Maudgala purāṇas is a story showing the greatness of this great leader (Gaṇapati). Once upon a time the king Abhinandan (Pleasing-to-all) started a great sacrifice and decided that Indra (the king of angels) should receive nothing from it. Indra became angry when he heard of this. He called Time and ordered the sacrifice to be stopped. The God Time took the shape of the genie Obstacle (vighnāsura) to stop the sacrifice.

This world of life and death depends upon time. It is Time who makes the three worlds move round. But the man who realises the knowledge of Brahma can be victorious over time and become immortal. The way of realising the knowledge of Brahma is the performance of the religious practices ordained by the Veda and Smṛtis.

सकर्मणातमम्यर्च्यसिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः "Worshipping him through religious rites, man realises supernatural powers (siddhi)." The man in whom all faculties are purified by religious practices witnesses the nature of God and is victorious over Time. Knowing this, Time manifested himself in the shape of obstacles in order to destroy religious practices. Without religion the world would remain for ever in the power of Time. This is why the genie Obstacle (vighnāsura) having killed the king Abhinandan wandered here

and there, sometimes visible, sometimes invisible and obstructed religious practices. Bewildered, Vasiṣṭha and other sages went to Brahmā and asked his protection. According to his order they prayed to Gaṇapati, for no divinity but Gaṇesh is able to destroy Time. Śrī Gaṇeśa possesses the extraordinary capacity of destroying obstacles. This is asserted by Primordial Tradition (śruti), by Revelation (smṛti)¹ by the sayings of those which must be trusted (śiṣṭācār), and it can be implied from the meaning of all the scriptures (śāstras).

Defeated by Gaṇesh the genie Obstacle placed himself under his protection and served him obediently. This is why the name of Gaṇesh is also "The master of obstacles". And, from that time, if any good work is undertaken without praying and worshipping Gaṇesh obstacles will invariably occur. Obstacles, therefore, are maintained by the God. And being the shape of Time obstacles are the very shape of God.

विशेषेण जगत्सामर्थ्यं हन्तीति विघ्नः "An obstacle is what prevents the realisation of that which appears as possible in the world."

In Brahmā even and other gods that by which the power of creating, etc. is restricted is called obstacle. This means that Brahmā himself, being dependent, like all that is created, upon the supreme Brahma-obstacle cannot act according to his fancy; and if he is able to act, it is only through the kindness of Gaṇesh who removes the obstacles. Obstacles and Master both are God and must be praised. Therefore it is written in the auspicious ritual which is preliminary in all sacrifices (पुण्याहवाचन) :

भगवन्तौ विघ्नविनयकौ प्रीयेताम् "May the two Gods, Obstacle and Master, be pleased."

1. The name of Śruti (that which is heard) is given to the Vedas inasmuch as they are the principle of all perceptible manifestation. Because of the primordality of sound among perceptible qualities, the Vedas exist as sound before anything else exists. The portion of the Vedas which has been given to men constitutes the primordial Tradition, basis of all human knowledge.

The name of Smṛti is given to the Parāṇas, the Dharmaśāstras, etc., which are later revelations. The Ṛṣis (sages) having realised total union with the supreme principle have a direct knowledge of everything. The veil by which Māyā (appearances) hides reality from human beings does not exist for them and therefore the description given them of what is beyond this veil corresponds exactly to what is called in Christian terminology "Revelation". Such descriptions which were remembered and recorded by disciples are called Smṛti, that which is remembered.

Nobody can control obstacles except Gaṇeśa. In this connection the Yoga Vāsiṣṭha [the book of questions asked by Rāma and answered by his guru Vāsiṣṭha] relates that Time who had taken the shape of obstacles said when Bhṛgu was on the point of cursing him :

मा/तपः क्षपयाबुद्धे ? कल्पकालमहानसैः ।

यो न दग्धोऽस्मि मे तस्य किं त्वं शापेन भक्ष्यसि ॥

ब्रह्माण्डावलयो प्रस्ताः, निगीर्णा रुद्रकोटयः ।

भुक्तानि विष्णुवृन्दानि क्व न शक्ता वयं मुने ॥

"O fool! do not waste the merits acquired by thy penance, I who could not be burnt in the furnace of Kalpas (ages) [1000 great Yugas=1 Kalpa] cannot be destroyed by thy curse. I have devoured the eggs of all the Universes (Brahmā-aṇḍa) and swallowed millions of Viṣṇus, O sage of what am I incapable ?"

From this it is clear that if any good work is undertaken without paying homage to Gaṇesh, who is the instrument of success, Time certainly will prevent its fulfilment by taking the shape of obstacles. To avoid obstacles one should in the beginning of every useful work remember the name of Gaṇesh.

Some people might say that it is really the syllable AUM which is all-auspicious, that it is this syllable AUM which must not be forgotten in the beginning of any Vedic rite and prayer, and that there is no necessity of invoking Gaṇesh.

This is not correct, because AUM is nothing else than the symbolic representation of qualified Gaṇesh. In the Maudgala Purāṇa it is said that गणेशस्यादिपूजनं चतुर्विधं चतुर्मूर्तिधारकत्वात् "The worship of Gaṇesh is of four kinds according to which of his four symbolic representations one considers."

From the four mouths of Brahmā came out eight hundred thousand Purāṇas. Later, at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga (the bronze age) the divine Vyāsa, wrote down 18 Purāṇas and 18 Upapurāṇas to enlighten the weak mind of the people of Kali Yuga (the present iron age). The first of these is the Brahma-Purāṇa in which is described the essence of Gaṇesh which is beyond the reach of the Intellect. The last Purāṇa is the "egg of Brahmā" (Brahmā aṇḍa) in which is told the greatness

of qualified Gaṇesh, because it is his qualified form which in the shape of the fundamental syllable AUM, manifested the world.

Among the Upapurāṇas (sub-Purāṇas), the first is the "Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa", which shows the unity of Gaṇesh qualified or non-qualified and explains also the meaning of his symbolic elephant-headed representation. Some people might think that the Upapurāṇas are of secondary importance but it is not so. The Upapurāṇas are not inferior to the Purāṇas any more than [Viṣṇu] can be said to be inferior to Indra (the king of angels) [because he incarnated himself as] his younger brother (Upendra).

The last of the Upapurāṇas is "Maudgala", in which is told the greatness of Gaṇesh from the point of view of yoga.¹

Thus we can understand that the subject-matter of the Vedas, Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas, etc. from their beginning to their end is the principle symbolised by Gaṇeśa. Not only this, but it is only because they are the parts of Gaṇeśa that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc., are described in the Śāstras. Before undertaking any good work, some people meditate on Gaṇeśa who in the form of Consciousness (citt), resides in Intellect (buddhi); others concentrate on Praṇava (the syllable AUM), others think of the elephant-headed representation of Gaṇeśa, others realise Gaṇeśa in yoga. We see that before undertaking good works one can in many ways concentrate one's thought upon Gaṇeśa. It has been pointed out that it is not customary to invoke Gaṇesh at the time of death or during sacrifices to the ancestors (pitṛs); but this is not correct. In Gayā, where sacrifices to ancestors should be offered, the worship of the foot-prints of Gaṇesh obtains the liberation (mokṣa) of the ancestors. As the worship of Gaṇesh is not prohibited in the beginning of the sacrifices to the ancestors ordained in the Vedas, it must be performed. This is why Śruti (Vedas) call the ruler of quantities, the king of the Ancients (ancestors).

In the Gaṇeśa Purāṇa it is said that at the time of destroying the three cities (Tripura),² Śiva said : शैवैस्त्वदीयेस्त वैष्णवैश्च शाक्तैश्च सौरेरपि सर्वकार्ये शुभाशुभे लौकिकवैदिके च त्वमर्चनीयः प्रथमं प्रयत्नात् ॥१॥ "By those who

1. The first centre (adhiṣṭhāna cakra) of the body is the centre of Gaṇeśa.

2. Built by Brahmā, they were floating in space and in them lived genii (asuras). They could be destroyed only if, on their floating in one line, a single arrow was powerful enough to pierce three of them. This condition happened after one thousand years and Śiva destroyed them.

worship Śiva or those who worship Viṣṇu, by those who worship Śakti or those who are worshippers of the Sun, in all works whether they are auspicious or inauspicious, whether worldly or sacred (Yaidic), Thy worship should be attempted first."

The "Gīta of Gaṇeśa" says that one should remember Gaṇesh at the moment of death.

यः स्मृत्वा त्यजति प्राणमन्ते मां श्रद्धयान्वितः

स यात्यपुनरावृत्तिं प्रसादान्मम भूभुज ॥१॥

"He who, in the end at the time of leaving his life, remembers me with respect, He, O king ! through my kindness, goes to that place from where there is no return [obtains liberation from rebirth].

In the Gaṇeśa Tāpinī (Upaniṣad) it is also said : ॐ गणेशो वै ब्रह्म, तद्विधात् यदिदं किञ्च, सर्वं भूतं भव्यं सर्वं मित्याचक्षते

"Gaṇeśa being AUM is Brahma, being such he is everything past or future, therefore he is called Universal."

It has been shown here that the essence represented by Śrī Gaṇeśa is the non-qualified absolute supreme principle, the supreme Brahma ; this same principle when qualified, that is characterised by quantities and qualities, is represented symbolically as having the head of an elephant and other peculiarities.

Translated and annotated

by Śiva Śaraṇ

with permission from Sanmarg Karyalay.

The meanings of Vedic words and mantras referring to Gaṇeśa are translated by Vijayānand Tripathī.

SOME 'WASLIS'

by HIRANANDA SASTRI



The collection in the possession of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari¹, consists of paintings and 'waslis', or specimens of calligraphic writing. Some of them are signed and dated though the date is expressed symbolically.

The Delhi Museum of Archaeology is said to have specimens of the work of more than one hundred calligraphists in its collection. A number of these were made known by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, in a Memoir of the Archaeological Department of India and in a note on Muslim calligraphy in the *Journal of Indian Art and Letters*, Vol, IX pp. 60 ff. The *Nastālik*² and *Shikasta* and other specimens in this collection under notice are fair examples of some Muslim calligraphic systems.

The 'waslis' require patient study, for some of them, particularly those written in the *Shikasta* style, defy even an expert decipherer.

Abul Fazl gives a list of calligraphic experts, among whom the most eminent in Akbar's time was Muhammad Hussain of Kashmir. These calligraphists followed various styles or systems. Abul Fazl enumerated eight such systems, which were current during the 16th century in Irān, Turān, Turkistan, Turkey and India. These are all distinct styles and can be distinguished from one another by differences in the proportion of

1. This article has been written in collaboration with Mr. V. H. Bhanot.

2. These terms are explained in the sequel.

straight and curved lines. Akbar's favourite script was *Nastālīk*, which consists almost entirely of curved strokes. The eight calligraphical systems of Arabic script current in the time of Akbar are, according to Abul Fazl, as follows :

(1) The Suls (2) the Tauqi (3) the Muhaqqaq (4) the Naskh (5) the Raihān (6) the Riqā (7) the Ghubar (8) the Tālīq. The main styles of Muslim script, however, are four, i. e. (1) Kūfic (2) Naskh (3) *Nastālīq* and (4) Shikasta. Of these the first two are used chiefly for Arabic and the other two for Persian.

The first six styles in Abul Fazl's list were derived in A. H. 310 by Ibn-i-Muglah from the *Māqali* and the Kūfic characters. The Ghubar system is also attributed to him. Many ascribe the Naskh method to Yāqūt. The Tālīq way of writing is believed to have been derived from the Riqā and the Tauqi.¹

The main difference in the form of a letter in these systems lies in the proportion of straight and curved strokes. The Kūfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixth straight lines; the *Māqali* has no curved lines at all. That is why the inscriptions found on ancient buildings are mostly written in this script. The Suls and the Naskh each consist of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines. Of these the former, i. e. Suls is described as 'jali', clear, bold, while the other is 'khafi' or hidden, thin. The Tauqi and the Riqā consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines—the former is 'jali' and the latter 'khafi'. The Muhaqqaq and Raihān each consist of three-fourth straight lines; the first of these is 'jali' and the second is 'khafi'.

Akbar's favourite mode of writing seems to have been the *Nastālīk*. It is a round script and seems to have been evolved from the Naskh and the Tālīq scripts which it gradually replaced. The majority of 'waslis' are written in this style. It would appear from Abul Fazl's writings that Akbar preferred calligraphy to painting. "Pictures are much inferior to the written letter inasmuch as the latter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means of intellectual progress." But Akbar was highly interested in the art of painting also, in spite of his predilection for beautiful writing.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) Vol. 1. pp. 99 ff.

Masters of calligraphy enjoyed fame throughout Asia in those days. They were careful to sign and date their work. As Vincent Smith has stated, many of the albums in the London collections containing miniatures include hundreds of specimens of beautiful writings in various styles and of different periods, which often seem to have been more valued than the drawings and paintings associated with them. Indeed a long catalogue of calligraphists might be compiled from the collections in England.



Calligraphy as an art was not developed in Hindu India as it did in Musalmān countries or in India under the Mughals. Excepting the autograph of the great Harṣavardhana engraved in the Banskhera copper-plate (shown above), and the royal signatures which frequently occur in Mysore inscriptions (Archæological Survey Progress Report, 1911-12, page 109 ff.), hardly any calligraphic specimens worth the name, such as we see written in the systems enumerated by Abul Fazl, are known in the case of Devanāgarī at least. Of course, neatly written documents and manuscripts are legion, but they are not analogous to the Tughra, the Nastālīq and other ways of writing practised by Musalmāns.

Different modes of writing were known in ancient India, such as the चित्रलिपि (citra lipi) or the मृदालिपि (mudrā lipi). Yet excepting the way of writing on 'mudrās', coins or seals, specimens of other modes are not known. This may be due to the fact that the Brāhmī-lipi and the scripts derived from it were not suited to such use as Musalmān calligraphists made of the script, who often wrote in a way, that their writing became too difficult to read if not unreadable. The qualifications of a good penmanship according to Hindu ideals are, as stated in the Matsya and the Garuḍa Purāṇas, or in the Śāraṅgadharapaddhati quoted in the Lekhapaddhati : the letters should always be equal, of equal head-lines, they should be round and thick. These characteristics are contrary to the features of calligraphy noticed in the Āin-i-Akbari.

Later specimens of what may be called 'citrālipi' exist. They are

مُسْتَوِينَ مِنَ الْمَاءِ الَّذِي لَا يَنْفُذُ بَيْنَهُمَا وَالْقَائِمُونَ مِنَ الرُّجَالِ الَّذِينَ
 لَا يُؤْتُونَ بِمَا عِنْدَهُ وَالظَّالِمِينَ الْمُتَكَبِّرِينَ وَالظَّالِمِينَ الْيَحْيِلِينَ
 وَمَعَادِيكَ قَبْلَ الصُّبْحِ غَائِبُهُمْ أَيْ جُزْءُ مَعَادِيكَ يَحِيدُونَ
 الْمِثْلَ ذَلِكَ الْمَاءُ يَسْقُونَ مِنْهُ لِبَنِيهِمْ وَالْمَعَارِطُ لِلتَّقْدَمِ ٥



لَا بَنَ آدَمَ لَوْ تَرَكْتَ فِي الدُّنْيَا قَلِيلًا لَأَتَمَّالُ فِي الْآخِرَةِ كَثِيرًا
 كَثِيرٌ لَعَنَكَ عَلَى مَعْصِيَتِي ذَلِكَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ

مصدرت جامی را بنود



فَذَلِكَ مَا لَكَ لَا تَذْكُرُ أَفْكَ مَا لَكَ أَوْ رَجُلًا يَحْيَا الْقَيْمَ وَارِثَ

الْبَرِّ الْفَرْدَ الْقَصِيْفَ بِرَّ الْعَارِثِ مَذْهَبًا لَكَ بِرَّ الْمُنَاقَاةِ قَائِمًا

كهن من نظم ابدار نوست

pictures of the subjects of the syllables (akṣaras). For example, the syllable AUM is considered to consist of three component parts, A, U, and M. The letter A stands for Viṣṇu, U for Śiva, and M for Prajāpati. Figures of these divinities may consequently be seen written in the diagram of the 'Om', as in a picture in my collection which is reproduced on p. 40. But that is hardly the kind of calligraphy we see in the 'waslis'.

'Waslis' require a careful and patient study as many of them are extremely tortuous and difficult to read. Sayings like "likhe mūsā padhe khudā", i. e. "a demi-god writes and it requires the highest god to read it" are indicative of the undecipherable nature of such writings.

We turn now to the paintings and 'waslis' in the collection under notice. The best pictures in it are by painters of the Indo-Persian school excepting one which I would call Persian. This is a portrait of Jāmi, the celebrated poet of Persia who flourished in the 15th century A. D. Jāmi is the 'nom-de-plume', the real name being Nūr-ud-dīn Abdul Rahmān. He was born on the 7th November 1414 A. D. (23rd Shābān 817 A. H.) at a village called Jām in Herat. His mastery of the Persian language and his knowledge were reputed to be unequalled throughout the Persian Empire, and he enjoyed great respect for his erudition from the princes of his time. More than 44 works were written by him; his poem on the loves of Yusuf and Zulekha is one of the finest compositions in the Persian language. Jāmi died at the advanced age of 81 lunar years, on Friday the 9th of November 1492 A. D. (18th Muharram 898 A. H.) His picture (Pl. III. Fig. 1) has some lines written on it. They are as follows¹:

Top and bottom lines:

"Jāmi had no desire for fame,
All this verse is in new style."

Right and left margins:

"I said "how is it that thou dost not say anything about thyself?" He replied "My father is a person who is proud of himself, but my mother is of lowly spirit. It was said to a learned man that he should take his share from the world, for he will pass away."

1. I am indebted to Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, for the reading and translation of these lines.

Most of the inscriptions written in such miniatures, it may be remarked here in passing, have little to do with the pictures they are written upon. In the case of Jāmi, too, this remark holds good to a certain extent. He was a great Sufi and a well-known person. His father was Maulana Muhammad or Ahmad Isfahāni. He was remarkably polite, of a very gentle disposition, and extensive learning. Even princes who were themselves men of erudition and exalted talents have lavished the most unbounded praise upon Jāmi. A scholar and profound Sufi like Jāmi would not describe his mother as is done in the inscription on the painting. This means that the writing cannot be contemporaneous with the portrait.

The figure has a marked resemblance with the portraits of Persian dignitaries which are published elsewhere. We have no means of ascertaining whether the picture is a genuine portrait of Jāmi or not, apart from the name Jāmi written in the top line. Judging from the evidences of style, dress, etc. there would seem to be little against accepting it as an actual portrait.¹

Some of the texts of these 'waslis' are of the nature of what we call 'subhāṣitas' in Sanskrit, i. e. apophthegms. They may aptly be used as quotations for adorning a speech. The stanzas written on the accompanying representation of a youth of unknown identity are of this kind (Pl. IV. Fig. 1). There is no label on it. The inscription in small letters above the head of the young man simply says that it is the result of Indian penmanship in black. The verses are written in Thulth characters and in Arabic. The three lines in bold Thulth characters are in praise of the Prophet and the intervening lines in small letters are general expressions. The short line written towards the right corner is also of the same nature. Evidently it is addressed to God. The opposite side gives the name of the scribe saying "It is in the handwriting of Abdulla Tabhakh". Who this person was I am unable to establish. No date seems to be given anywhere on the picture.

Translation.

- (1) "Every praise in respect of the Prophet falls short even if the person who is praising may exaggerate ;"

1. I am told of another portrait of Jāmi which differs from the present one in many details. I have not, however, been able to see that portrait.

- (2) "Bright, sincere, transparent, winner of praise, conniver, valiant."
 (3) "Verily God has praised him according to his worth ; he has no match".

Another noteworthy picture is a portrait, a very life-like representation of some Musalmān dignitary. The lable on the top in Persian calls him (Ba) havuddaulah, but does not throw any light on his identity. The label in Persian says it is drawn in India. The picture occupies the top portion. Below it there are two panels containing fourteen lines of Arabic verse, seven lines to each panel. In the margin opposite to the right leg of the portrait there is a name which might be read as Nisad Khan. Whether it stands for the calligraphist or for some other person it would be hazardous to opine.

There are some more noteworthy pictures in the collection. One purports to represent the Darbār of Bābur. His name is written in Persian script at the top. The phrase 'kar-i-Hind' is also given towards the right corner at the top. These words are meant to indicate that the picture was drawn in India. Who the painter was is not stated. The picture must be the work of some master painter whose name I am unable to find. That it is an early Indo-Persian portrait cannot be doubted. The central figure seated under a canopy and on a couch represents some royalty probably early Moghul. It bears a resemblance to the portraits of Bābur in several of the pictures that are reproduced in "The Memoirs of Baber" by F. G. Talbot, London, 1909. At the same time it must be admitted that our picture does not resemble some of the other portraits in this very book. The translator of "The Memoirs of Baber" avers, however, that the portrait of Bābur shown in the illustrations of his book must be accepted as authentic, as there is sufficient resemblance between the several pictures.

As to the 'waslis' proper, that is, the calligraphic writings as such, of which two (Pl. III, Fig. 2 ; Pl. IV, Fig. 2) are produced here, Pl. IV, Fig. 2 seems to give the date which according to the Abjad way of reckoning would mean 962 (A. H.) i. e. 1554-55 A. D. Below the date is written the name of Muhammad Kāzim who might have been the calligraphist or the composer of the Persian verses written in beautiful Nastālik mode. The other 'wasli', (Pl. III, Fig. 2) is written on the back of the picture of what the label calls Bābur's Darbār.

COSMETICS AND COIFFURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

by MOTI CHANDRA

It has been customary with human beings in all ages and climes to use cosmetics and to arrange their hair in one way or the other. A savage whose worldly possessions are few, and whose daily means of sustenance are furnished by hunting and fishing, sticks feathers into his hair, paints his body with various designs and arranges his coiffure in various fantastic forms because it gives him pleasure, raises him in the estimation of his fellow beings and has a magical significance to him. In the ancient civilizations of the world, cosmetics and ways of dressing the hair were numerous. J. de Morgan¹, in his excavations of the earliest graves at Susa, found small conical vases that once contained a green mineral paint which, by analogy with similar finds from ancient Egypt, must have been used for colouring the eyelids. Antimony for staining the eyelid was used by the women in ancient Sumer. In ancient Egypt from the earliest dynasties onwards 'kohl' was applied to the lashes, eyelids, the part immediately below the eyebrows. The paint was obtained from numerous varieties of colours. The mineral was pounded in miniature marble mortars and kept in tubes made of alabaster, steatite, glass, ivory, bone, wood, etc. Sticks for applying the powder were made of the same materials.

In the Indus valley civilization the finds of 'kohl' pots and vases tell the same story. Kohl served a beautifying and an utilitarian purpose; it protected the eyes from the merciless glare of the sun and from insects which are sources of eye-diseases in the East. Among the ancients certain colours (green for water and plants, yellow

1. Patrick Carleton, 'Buried Empires' pp. 35-36. London, 1930.

for the sun, red for blood) were looked upon as life givers; that is, they were thought to have a magical power to increase the vitality and strengthen the health of those who wore them¹. Belief in the magical property of colours was also engrained in the ancient Hindus. Collyrium was applied to the eyes, the hands and feet were anointed at the time of sacrifices, and the articles of cosmetics, such as body- and eye-paint, comb and flowers were offered to the Celestial Serpent². Today also in Hindu rituals turmeric powder and red powder (rori) are invariably used as they are supposed to propitiate the deity. Different colours, according to the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, also indicate particular states of mind and body. Black, for instance, is associated with evil passion and it is supposed to be imbued with an efficacy which is powerful enough to drive away evil spirits; it is used by some sections of the Indian people to guard against the evil eye at marriages, deaths, etc. Cosmetics played an important part in the ritual while they also satisfied the vanity of men and women, by adding charm to their personality increasing the natural beauty by artificial means. This is the purpose of various recipes and formulas for cosmetics in ancient India.

In the Indus valley civilization which flourished at the most conservative estimate about 2500 before the Christian era, ornaments have been found: gold, silver, copper and silver earrings, nose studs of blue glaze, and bracelets of metals, shell and pottery. Hairpins, combs and mirrors served as important articles for the make-up and the arrangement of coiffures.

Houses were provided with bathrooms with well-lined brick floors and with drains. The "great bath" at Mohenjodaro has in the centre an open quadrangle with verandahs on four sides, and at the back of these verandahs galleries and rooms. In the midst of the open quadrangle is a large swimming bath, 39 feet long by 23 feet broad, and sunk about eight feet below the paving of the court with a flight of steps on either end, and at the foot of each a platform was erected for the convenience

1. Ibid. p. 36.

2. Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 15, 6-11.

of the bathers. The bath was filled with the water from the wells and the dirty water was carried through a covered drain¹.

Belonging to same establishment as the great bath are some ranges of small bath-rooms, to the north of it, excavated by Mr. Mackay in 1927-1928. On the south-west corner of the great bath is another building connected with it which seems to have been a 'hammam' or hot-air bath. 'The part of it that has been excavated consists of a number of rectangular platforms of solid brick each the size of a small room and about five feet in height with a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides. Between the platforms are narrow passages crossing each other at right angles, on the floor of which were found cinders and charcoal.' The platforms have been identified as solid substructures of heated rooms and the chases in their sides are taken to be the beginning of hypocaust flues which distributed the heat through the walls and under the floor of the rooms above. There is another building in Mohenjodaro, the floor of one of the rooms of which is supported by a series of dwarf walls, and in a fragment of the superstructure there are vertical flues for heating the room.² These hot baths may be compared with the 'jantāghar' of the Buddhists, the description of which is given in another section.

We do not know much about the implements and accessories of toilet in the bath-rooms. For scrubbing the body, a barrel-shaped 'flesh-rubber' was used. The clay out of which this object was made was heavily mixed with angular grains of sand; this resulted in a very rough³ surface. It was hollow and light and could be easily held in the hand. Two types of rasps were also in use; in the first one end is pointed and the other flat. It is hollow and is made of light red clay plentifully mixed with sand. The second type of rasp is barrel-shaped but one side is flattened and made rasp-like by pricking it all over. Mackay found a rasp of semi-hard reddish grey sandstone. It has a triangular shape and the flat base is well worn.⁴

1. Marshall, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization, I, pp. 24-25.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 26.

3. Marshall, loc. cit., II, p. 467.

4. Mackay, 'Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Vol. I, p. 467.

After the bath the women as well as the men must have used cosmetics, powder and perfumes, etc., as is customary in present day India. The find of kohl pots and sticks prove that women and men used collyrium or some such black substance for the eyes. Most of the taller stone jars were for toilet use. On one jar the black stains in the interior prove the presence of some pigment. Nearly all the kohl pots of Mohenjodaro have a spout-like mouth,¹ and it is quite possible as Mackay observes, that the eye-paint was poured out on a palette to be mixed with water rather than kept moist and ready in the pot. This would explain the absence of stains from the jars. Kohl pots of metal were also known.² A little group of vases with narrow mouths shows a considerable variety of shapes. In some vases the mouth aperture is so small that it is thought that they were intended to hold some precious cosmetic. All are small in size and have inadequate bases, which suggest that they were kept on stands or in a case of some kind.³ Some very small fayence vessels were found at Mohenjodaro. Most of them are so small that they could have hardly held anything at all, and unless they were meant as votive offerings it may be conjectured that they were intended for expensive cosmetics or perfumes. They could not have been children's playthings as they are too fragile. A large and varied collection of these fayence vessels is in the Mohenjodaro museum. They were unknown in any of the other ancient civilizations except in Crete.⁴ Such vessels were used until recently by Indian perfumers to supply 'attars' in small quantities.

At Chanhujodaro a number of kohl jars were found containing paint for the adornment of the eyes. Probably these jars and other articles of toilet were placed on small pottery toilet tables standing on four legs with the upper surface ornamented with simple painted lines.⁵

As few copper and bronze kohl sticks have been found it may be surmised that the majority were made of wood. The length of the metal kohl sticks varies from 4.4 to 5.5 inches. Both ends are slightly rounded.

1. Ibid. p. 323.

2. Ibid. p. 450.

3. Ibid. p. 195.

4. Ib. pp. 319-320.

5. A. S. I. Ann. Rep., 1935-36, p. 43.

This type of kohl stick is found in ancient and modern Egypt and in other countries.¹

A find of rouge in a cockleshell forms a link with contemporary Sumer where face paints in cockleshells have been found in the graves at Ur and Kish. Carbonate of lead has also been found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa where it was possibly used to whiten the face, a practice known in ancient Greece and China. There is also the possibility of its being used as eye ointment or hair-wash. Cinnabar also seems to have been used as a cosmetic at Mohenjodaro and the finding of lumps of a green substance identified as terre verte according to Mackay proves that this material was used in the manner of 'kohl' for the eyes as was malachite in ancient Egypt.² A small stick of rouge with one end levelled by much use surely gave colour to the lips or cheeks of some fair inhabitant of the city.³ Galena was probably used for the preparation of eye salves or paints.⁴

Women and men arranged their coiffures in various styles. The men wore short beards and whiskers with the upper lip sometimes shaven as at Summer. They also went without them. Their hair was taken back and either cut short behind⁵ (Fig. 1) or coiled in a knot or chignon at the back of the head with a fillet to support it (Fig. 2).⁶ Long hair was also worn at least by some of the male inhabitants of Mohenjodaro as it is in India today. In some cases it was coiled up in a knot at the back of the head ; in others, a part was knotted and a part allowed to hang.⁷ 'A woman's head from Mohenjodaro,⁸ shows curly hair hanging down at the back of the head. There are also other figures which show that the hair was sometimes curled.⁹ A male figure wears a coiffure which may be described thus : A long coil is wound several times round

1. Mackay, loc. cit., p. 475.

2. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 119-120.

3. A. S. I. Ann. Rep., 1935-36, p. 43.

4. Marshall, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 691.

5. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, Pl. XCVIII.

6. *Ib.*, pp. 33-34, Pl. XCIX, 5, 6, 8 & 9.

7. *Ib.*, p. 362.

8. *Ib.*, Pl. XCIX, 1-3.

9. Marshall, loc. cit. Vol. I, p. 362, Pl. XCIX, 4-6.

the head and there are two other coils on either side. This type of coiffure occurs on some figures from Babylon.¹ The famous bronze dancing girl has her coiffure coiled in a heavy mass which starts above from the left ear and falls over the right shoulder² (Fig. 3). The hair was worn sometimes in a pigtail hanging down the back; it was also worn in a knot at the back and was also carried in a thick rope from one side to the other.³

Combs were used at Mohenjodaro for combing the hair and they were also worn as an ornament in the hair. A V-shaped comb found by Mackay⁴ has fine teeth and Mackay draws the conclusion that perhaps it was used to remove vermin from the long hair. On the other hand it may equally well have been used like the modern hair-slides to fasten a single lock in place. A very fine ivory comb, rectangular in shape with teeth on both sides, was also discovered among the nine skeletons that were found packed together at the western end of the long lane.⁵

Blades were used at Mohenjodaro for depilatory purposes. A razor from Mohenjodaro, 2.2 inches long has a fine curved edge; it has two holes at the back by which it was riveted to the handle.⁶ Mackay excavated at Mohenjodaro various metal instruments that appear to be razors of varying shapes, some of which were probably used to remove hair from the body as well as the head. These razors have been classified under the following heads:

(1) Double-bladed razors: These are generally of copper. The blades are very thin and the tangs are oval in section. Two edges of the blade are not of the same shape; probably each side served its own purpose.

(2) L-shaped razor. One arm is longer and broader than the other.

(3) Hook-shaped razor. Two examples were found. With its duck or goose-headed handle it has an Egyptian look about it. It has a sharp edge at the square end and is also edged along the outer curve to where it joins the handle.

1. *Ib.*, p. 343.

2. *Ib.*, p. 34. Pl. XCIV, 6, 7, 8.

3. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I. p. 264, Pl. LXXVI, 21.

4. *Ib.*, p. 541.

5. *Ib.*, p. 542.

6. Marshall, *loc. cit.* Vol. II, p. 500.

(4) Simple blades. They are made of copper and their edges have a square cut end whose corners are slightly rounded.¹

For the arrangement of coiffures and the application of cosmetics mirrors must have been in great demand. Three specimens, two of full size and one evidently for a child were found and described by Mackay.² One mirror made of bronze is slightly oval.³ The polish has completely disappeared. The handle is rectangular in section with a hole at the end. The second⁴ is also made of bronze and is oval-shaped with a long flat handle with a hole at the end. The handles were probably encased in wood.

II.

Somewhere about 1500 B. C. the Aryans entered India. Indian archaeology has not yet revealed the material aspects of their culture though they may be gleaned from the Vedas, Brāhmanas, Sūtras, etc. The Aryans lived in villages and were proficient in the arts of carpentry, building houses and racing chariots and in metal work. They also used gold jewellery, arranged their coiffure in various shapes and used unguents both for religious and secular purposes.

Baths formed a very important part of the daily routine of the Hindus, and one could not take part in religious ceremonies before bodily purification. Rivers, tanks and wells served as bathing places, though on special occasions such as marriage the bride was washed with water that had been made fragrant by all sorts of herbs and choicest fruits together with scents.⁵ After the bath the anointing of the body and eyes took place. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 8, 4, 7) it is mentioned that after the bath eyes and feet were anointed because "such, indeed, are human means of embellishment, and therewith they keep off death from themselves." The sacrificer was rubbed down with sweet smelling substances before he was anointed with butter.⁶

1. Mackay, loc. cit. Vol. I, pp. 468-9.

2. Ib., pp. 477-478.

3. Ib., Vol. II, Pl. CXIV, 1.

4. Ib., Vol. II, Pl. CXXX, 25.

5. Śāṅkhāyana Gr. Sūtra I, II, 2.

6. Śat. Brāhmaṇa 8, 3, 16.

At the time of the 'vidāya' ceremony when the bride took leave of her parents the bridegroom anointed the bride.¹ Ointment was also offered as present to the bride² and to the guest.³

An interesting description of the costume and cosmetics of a householder is given in the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* in connection with the equipment of the *Brahmacārin*, when after finishing his studies he was ready to take leave of his teacher. At that time he was equipped with a jewelled necklace, a wreath, two earrings, a pair of garments, a turban, a parasol, a pair of shoes and a staff. As regards cosmetics he had powder prepared from 'karañja' seed, ointment and eyesalve.⁴ He also used 'ekaklītaka' to rub his body.⁵ After washing his body with lukewarm water and having put two new garments he anointed his eyes uttering the following mantra: 'The sharpness of the stone art thou, protect my eye.'⁶ After having salved his both hands with ointment a *Brāhmaṇa* was required to salve his head first;⁷ a *Rājanya* his two arms;⁸ a *Vaiśya* his belly;⁹ a woman her secret parts;¹⁰ and persons who gained their livelihood by running their thighs.¹¹ After that the *Brahmacārin* put on a thick garland (srag) and then put on shoes, parasol, staff, necklace and turban, uttering various mantras.¹²

Eye-salve (*añjana*) is frequently mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.¹³ It came from Mount *Trikakuda*¹⁴ and was used to anoint the eyes.¹⁵ It is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [1. 3] that the priest besmeared the eyes of the sacrificer with collyrium because this 'añjana' was

1. Śāh. Gr. Sūtra I. 12, 4.
2. A. V. XIV. 1, 6.
3. A. V. IX. 6, 11.
4. Aś. Gr. Sūtra, III. 8, 1.
5. Ib., III. 8, 8.
6. Ib., III. 8, 9.
7. Ib., III. 8, 11.
8. Ib., III. 8, 12.
9. Ib., III. 8, 13.
10. Ib., III. 8, 14.
11. Ib., III. 8, 15.
12. Ib., III. 8, 19-21.
13. IV. 9; VI. 102, 3; IX. 6, 11.
14. A. V. IV. 9, 10; XIX. 44, 6.
15. A. V. IV. 9, 1.



considered to impart lustre to both eyes. The 'añjana' is said to be the 'transformed eye' of Vṛtra. In the Vājasaneyi Sam. (IV. 3) it is referred to as the black pupil of the eye of Vṛtra. The story of the origin of 'añjana' is given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. [1, 3, 12]. Referring to the 'añjana' it says : "It is such as comes from Mt. Trikakud ;¹ for when Indra slew Vṛtra he transformed (Vṛtra) into the Mount Trikakud. (Indra slew Vṛtra, his eyeball fell away, it became collyrium). The reason then why (ointment from Trikakud is used) is that he thereby puts eye into eye. Should he be unable to obtain any Traikakuda ointment any other than Traikakuda may be used ; for one and the same indeed is the significance of the ointment." The 'añjana' seems to have been the black ore of antimony.² In the Vājasaneyi Sam. its colour is compared with the pupil of the eye.

Black antimony ore is found in various parts of the Himalayas even today. The region of the Yamunā is also given as its possible place of origin. Besides its use for decorative and sacrificial purposes it was also supposed to cure jaundice, 'yakṣmā' and other diseases.³ Such was the importance of 'añjana' that a female ointment maker (añjanī-kārī) is mentioned in the list of victims in the 'Puruṣamedha'.⁴

Scents were favourite with women and in an incantation to sleep in the Atharva Veda⁵ the women of pure odour (puṇyagandhayah) are mentioned. Such was the importance of the articles of perfume that they were presented to the bride in the beginning of the nuptial rites along with gold of which she could make use. Below is given the translation of the couplet referring to these articles from the A. V., II. 36, 7 :

"Here is gold, bdellium ; here (is) 'aukṣa', likewise fortune ; these have given thee unto husbands, in order to find one according to thy wish."

1. Mt. Trikakud has been identified with modern Trikota, a lofty mountain in the north of the Panjāb and south of Kashmir containing a holy spring. Vedic Index, I, p. 329.

2. A black ore of antimony, a tersulphide, also called 'surma' occurs in various parts of the Panjāb. The ore is imported from Kandahar and Isfahan, but is also obtained in great abundance in the Himalayan range. It is often confused with galena imported from Kabul and Bokhara.

Watt, Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, Vol. I, p. 270-271.

3. A. V. XIX, 44. 1.

4. Vāja. Sam. XXX, 14.

5. IV. 5, 3.

Gum 'gugul',¹ must have been used as incense in ancient times as to-day. An unguent named 'gauggulava' was also prepared from it.² 'Aukṣa' * may be identified with the 'gorocanā', a solid yellowish substance obtained from the horn of a bull—preferred by Indians both male and female for decorating the body.

Ointment and perfumes were also used by men to win the favours of women. One of the couplets in the Atharva Veda³ given below points to this fact :

"Of ointment, of 'madhugha', of 'kuṣṭha' and of nard, by the hands of Bhaga, I bring up quick a means of subjection".

Āñjana ointment or collyrium has already been described. Madhugha (*Bassia Latifolia* or *Jonesia Asoka*) flowers were also used for decoration. Kuṣṭha a 'costus' was used as an article of perfume though it was considered to be a cure for some diseases as well. A whole hymn in the Atharva Veda⁴ has been devoted to it. Costus⁵ is said to be the remedy for 'takman'⁶ and 'yakṣmā'.⁷ It is said to have grown in the snowy mountains of the north and thence been taken to the people in the eastern part.⁸ It still grows in the same region as mentioned in the Atharva Veda, i. e. Kashmir. The 'nalada' or nard is the root of ginger grass.

In India certain articles of perfume, such as sandalwood, myrrh, bdellium, camphor, etc. are supposed to be endowed with magical qualities and they are used for propitiating the gods and also exorcising the devil and other evil spirits. In the Atharva Veda also the belief in magical

1. Also known as 'kauśika'. The gum is obtained from a small tree, 'mukul', found growing in the arid zones of Sindh, Kathiawar, Rajputana and Khandesh. The gum is of brown or dull green colour. It is sometimes used as cheap substitute for myrrh.

Watt, loc. cit., I, pp. 366-367.

2. Tāp̥dya Brāhm., XXIV. 13, 4.

3. VI. 102, 3.

4. V. 4.

5. This is the root of *Saussurea lappa*, a tall perennial growing on the open slopes of the valley of Kashmir and other high valleys of that region. In the Roman Empire it was used as a culinary spice entering into many of the ointments. It was used also as one of the ingredients of anointing oil of the Hebrew priest (Exod. XXX, 24). See Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 39, pp. 168-169.

6. V. 4, 1.

7. V. 4, 9.

8. V. 4, 8.

qualities of certain aromatics is referred to. Thus in a hymn against various superhuman foes quoted below, the Apsarases are addressed to go away to certain aromatics. 'Let the Apsarases go to stream, to the loud(?) down-blowing of the waters; 'guggulu', 'pīlā', 'naladi', 'aukṣa-gandhi' 'pramandani': so go away ye Apsarases; ye have been recognised.' (A. V. IV. 37, 3).

We have previously described, 'guggulu', and 'aukṣa-gandhi'. Nalada is nard¹, 'pīlā' or 'pīlu'² is perhaps greenish or brown gum obtained from *Careya Arborea*; 'pramandani' cannot be identified.

Magical property of the accessories of toilet, baths, etc. may also be traced from a reference in the Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra (IV. 15).³ Thus on the occasion of the 'śravaṇa' oblation on the full moon day that falls under 'śraviṣṭhas' the celestial serpents were offered water from a pot to wash (IV. 15, 6)⁴; a comb was offered to comb themselves (IV. 15, 7); paint was offered to paint themselves (IV. 14, 8); flowers to tie themselves with (IV. 15, 9); and the collyrium was offered so that they might anoint their eyelashes (IV. 15, 11).

The Vedic women wore their hair in different shapes indicated by the terms 'stūkā', 'kurīra' or 'kumba', besides 'opaśa' and 'kaparda'. The young women wore their hair in four 'kapardas' (R. V. X. 114, 3). The traditional 'kapardin' style is still kept up by the Śaiva devotees and by men in Orissa and south-east even now. It was a spiral coil of the braided, plaited or matted hair arranged on the top of the head at different angles. The four 'kapardas' of the women are compared with the four corners of the altar. This must have formed a crown-shaped coiffure. The 'opaśa' as worn by women must have been a loose top-knot. The 'kurīra' must have been a horn-shaped coiffure. 'Kumba' is evidently

1. Nard (the root from the low lands, as distinguished from spikenard, the leaf or flower from the mountains, a totally different species). This is the root of ginger grass, native in western Panjāb, Baluchistan and Persia. From the root of this grass was derived an oil which was used in Roman commerce medicinally and as a perfume and as an astringent in ointments. Schoff, loc. cit., 39, p. 170.

2. *Careya Arborea*. Frequently growing in the Sub-Himalayan regions from the Jamunā eastwards, and in Bengal, Burma, Central, Western and Southern India, ascending to 4500 feet in altitude. Watt, loc. cit., Vol. II. p. 157.

3. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India*, p. 71.

4. *Ib.*, p. 72.

the vernacular 'khopā' of later times, a hemispherical or pot-shaped coil at the back of the head.¹ Sometimes whole tribes were recognised by their distinctive style of hair dressing. Thus Vāsiṣṭhas wore white clothes and arranged their 'kapardā' on the right side of the head.² In another style of 'kapardā' the hair was worn in front (pulaṣṭi).³ The Bhargavas probably wore their hair like a mane (kesaraprābandhaḥ).⁴

Razors were used for depilating purposes. A whole hymn is devoted to the act of shaving.⁵ The razor is 'kṣura'.⁶ The hair was probably wetted with hot water before shaving.⁷

Combs were used to smoothen and remove dirt from the hair. Mention has been made in the A. V.⁸ of the bride combing her hair :

"The artificial hundred toothed comb that is here shall scratch away the defilement of the hair of her, away that of her head."

III

For the next period lasting roughly from the year 642 B. C. to 320 B. C. the material for the cultural history of India is abundant in Jātaka stories and the Vinaya-piṭaka. The vices and virtues of that period are related with naivety in the Jātakas.

The king's palace with its towers, pinnacles and columns, spacious courtyards, treasure rooms, with its sumptuous furniture wrought with gold and inlaid with ivory, etc. became the centre of great luxury. The gabled chamber where the king sat with his favourite queen or relatives was filled with the sweet fragrance of sandalwood. A special barber (maṅgalanahā-pita) looked after the king's toilet and dressed his hair with golden tongs and tweezers, bathed and perfumed him.⁹ The king wore most luxurious robes of finest silk and wool and covered his head with a turban

1. Ib., p. 73.

2. R. V. VII. 33, 1 ; 83, 8.

3. Vāj. Sam. XVI, 43.

4. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 71.

5. A. V. VI, 68.

6. A. V. VI, 68, 1.

7. Ib.

8. XIV. 2, 68.

9. Jātaka I, pp. 137, 108 ; III, p. 451 ; IV, p. 365 ; V, p. 177, 187 ; VI, p. 144.

adorned with sparkling jewels. The chariots which he used were not of the ordinary variety as in the Vedic age but decorated with silver and ivory and adorned with paintings. The royal elephants on which the king took a turn round the city wore golden ornaments and trappings. The king of the Jātaka was not a paragon of virtue and human weaknesses had full play in his character. He is represented as holding great drinking festivals in the company of dancing girls; and a host of women including queens, concubines and attendants accompanied him to the royal park to enjoy water sports (udaka kilam); while he rested in the lap of his favourite dancing girls musicians gave their performance. He was also a gambler and no stigma seems to have been attached to gambling in the Jātaka stories. These luxuries must have also if to a lesser extent found favour with the high officers of state. The same however could not be said of the ordinary man in the street, an artisan or tiller of the soil. Their condition was much the same as today, and therefore in describing the toilet and its accessories in this period it should be understood that this refers to the luxurious life of the rich.

The idea of toilet is expressed by a stock expression in Pāli: Mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūṣaṇa-tṭhāma,¹ which includes cosmetics, perfumes, garlands as well as ornaments, etc. A list in the Nikāyas which does not claim to be exhaustive² enumerates twenty items in the process of making one's toilet and dressing. The first eleven describe various methods of toilet and the rest are concerned with dress and other equipments.

To make the body well-developed and beautiful and to restore the proper circulation of blood, shampooing (sambāhanam) and kneading (parimaddanam) of the body were employed. Shampooing seems to have been treated as a luxury and artificial means were used for producing the tintillating sensation. Thus it is mentioned in the Cullavagga (X. 10, 2) that the steak bone or jaw bone of an ox was used by the women for scrubbing and slapping their backs, forearms, palms of the hand, calves, upper part of the feet, thighs and gums. These practices were, however, forbidden to the nuns (bhikkhunis).

1. Khuddaka Pāṭha (P. T. S.), pp. 1, 37.

2. Brahmajāla Sutta, Vol. I, p. 7.

Bathing or washing (*nahāpanam*) was a very important part of the toilet in ancient India, and both from the religious and hygienic points of view it was enjoined on every healthy member of the community to take their bath regularly. The king's barber (*maṅgalanahāpita*) besides dressing the king's hair with golden tongs and tweezers also bathed and perfumed him ;¹ he was an important functionary of the state.² The ordinary man who could not afford the luxury of a barber or bath attendant took his bath regularly in those days as today in a river, at a well, or in a tank. The river 'ghāt' and the wells were centres of considerable activity at bathing time, and the poor people indulged in whatever luxury they could afford by way of frictioning and applying cosmetics to their bodies. As usual such luxuries were forbidden to the 'bhikkhus'. The people belonging to the class of wrestlers and shampooers rubbed (*uggamseti*) their chest, thighs and stomach against tree trunks with the sole purpose of maintaining the freer circulation of the blood of the bathers.³ For frictioning the body, columns (*thambhe*) and walls (*kuḍḍe*) were also used.⁴ A sort of four-legged shampooing stool (*aṭṭāna*) strewn with perfumed powder was placed on the 'ghāts' and people frictioned their bodies lying down on them.⁵ While bathing they cleaned their bodies with a wooden instrument in the shape of a hand which was first covered with the fragrant powder and then rubbed over the body.⁶ They also used 'kuruvindaka suttī' for cleansing the body while bathing. This peg-like flesh-rubber was made from corundum powder and lac.⁷ Mallaka⁸ was a kind of back-scratcher made according to Buddhaghosa, of the teeth of the crocodile (*makara-dantaka*)⁹ which had previously been split. Bhikkhus were, however, ordained to use 'mallaka' made of the unsplit teeth of the

1. Jātaka. I. pp. 137, 138 ; III, 451 ; IV, p. 365 ; V, pp. 177, 187 ; VI, p. 144.

2. Fick, *Die Soziale Gliederung*, etc., pp. 287-88.

3. Cullavagga, V. 1, 1.

4. Ib. V. 1, 2.

5. Ib. V. 1, 3.

6. Ib.

7. Rāhula Sankṛtyāyana, 'Vinaya-piṭaka' (Hindi translation), p. 419, fn. 2.

8. Cullavagga, V. 1, 4.

9. Cullavagga, V. 11, 6 and VI. 3, 2.

crocodile.¹ They could also use a twisted cloth (*dukkāsika*) for scrubbing the body.²

Hot baths (*jantāghara*) were known and though the description of the hot bath in the *Cullavagga* is given in connection with the monks one may suppose that hot baths were also used by laymen. This is the second evidence of the use of hot baths in ancient India, the first being the hot bath at Mohenjodaro described in a previous section.

Jantāghara was not ordinarily used for cold baths which were taken in the rivers, tanks or at the wells. Herein a kind of hot-water bath or perhaps steam bath was taken; the exact mode of taking it is, however, not certain. Several 'bhikkhus' took a hot bath at the same time though it is not certain whether they actually went into the water. They may have sat on stools close to a large fire and had water poured over them. Such a kind of bath was forbidden to the nuns.³

The bath-room was situated on a level ground; the basement was high, with brick, stone or wooden facing; the stairs were made of bricks, stone or wood with balustrades. The bath-room was also provided with doorposts and lintel; the lower part of the wall was lined with bricks; it had a chimney (*dhūma-nettam*); the fire was made at one side of a small bath-room and in the middle of a large one. In order to protect the face from the scorching flame the face was besmeared with scented moist clay and the body was wetted. The heat escaped from the thatched roof, and therefore the roof was covered with skins and plastered within and without. The floor was made of bricks, stone or wood, to avoid swamping, and the water spilled on the floor in the course of bathing was drained out. There were stools in the bath-room. The bath itself was within a brick, stone or wooden enclosure. There was a cell (*pariveṇa*) used for cooling after the steam-bath.⁴

As there seem to have been frequent quarrels about the priority of entering the hot bath-room between the younger and older 'bhikkhus'

1. *Ib.*, V. 1, 4.

2. *Ib.*, V. 1, 5.

3. *Cullavagga*, X. 27, 4.

4. *Ib.*, V. 14, 2-5.

the Buddha prescribed a rule of conduct for the 'bhikkhus' in respect of the hot bath-room. It ordained that the first user of the bath-room should sweep out the ashes, and the bath-room was to be thoroughly cleaned by him. He had also to pound the scented powder (cūnam), moisten the clay with water and had to pour water into the water jar.¹ Equal facilities were provided for senior and junior 'bhikkhus'. If possible shampooing was to be provided for senior 'bhikkhus' in the hot bath-room as well as in the water.²

When entering the hot bath-room the face was required to be smeared with wet clay and the rest of the body well covered in front and behind. The bath chair was to be removed after the bath was over and the person had to cover himself well before leaving. The last person to enter the bath-room was to cleanse the dirt, rearrange the bath chairs in their proper places, extinguish the fire, close the door and then go out.³

'Cūnam' or scented bath powder was used by the women of the world in their baths. The 'bhikkhunis' were however forbidden to use it; instead of that they could make use of clay and the red powder of rice husks (kukkasam). The use of scented clay and hot steam baths was forbidden to them.⁴

The sixth item in the list of cosmetics and methods of dressing in the Brahmajāla Sutta⁵ is 'añjanam' or using collyrium for the eyes. Añjana or antimony along with vermilion, realgar (manosilā) and yellow orpiment⁶ were known in the days of the Jātaka stories, and there is sufficient evidence to show that they were used as cosmetics. In the Mahavagga (VI. 11, 1) five kinds of eye ointment or collyrium are mentioned: black collyrium (kālañjanam), 'rasa' ointment (rasañjanam), 'sota' ointment obtained from the streams and rivers (nadi-sotādisu upajjanakam añjanam; Buddhaghoṣa), 'geruka' (yellow or 'suvanna geruko' is meant) and 'kapalla' or soot obtained from the flame of a lamp //

1. Ib., VII. 8, 2.

2. Ib.

3. Ib., VIII. 8, 2.

4. Ib., X. 27, 4.

5. Vol. I, p. 7.

6. 'Añjana-manosilā-haritāla-himgulaka', J. V. p. 416.

(Buddhaghoṣa). These ointments were perfumed with sandalwood (candana), 'tagara', black 'anusari' (a kind of dark fragrant sandalwood), 'kāliya' (black zedoary) and 'bhaddamuttaka', a perfume made from the grass of the same name.¹

The ointments were stored in boxes and applied with sticks ✓ (añjana-śalākā) which in the case of rich people, were made of gold and silver. The 'bhikkhus', in keeping with the laymen, were allowed boxes made of ivory, horn, reed (nāla), bamboo, wood, lac, fruit, shells.²

✓As an aid to their natural charm the women of this age painted their bodies, and used scented powders and other fragrant ointments. In the list of the Brahmajāla Sutta³ 'mālāvilēpanam' (garlands and unguents), 'mukhacūṇṇakam' (using face powders) and 'mukhālepanam' (anointing one's face), 'ucchādanam' (anointing the body with perfume), cover the entire field of cosmetics.

The corners of the eyes were elongated ('avaṅgam karontīti, avaṅga-dese adhomukham lekham karontī'. Buddhaghoṣa); the cheeks were likewise painted with designs ('visesakam karontīti gaṇḍapadese vicitra-saṇṭhanam visesakam karontī')⁴; the faces were anointed ('mukham ālimpanti') and sometimes ointment was rubbed ('mukham ummadenti').⁵ Powder was applied to the faces ('mukham cunneti')⁶ and powdered faces ('kakkūpanivesitam mukham') are mentioned in the Jātakas.⁷ Realgar was smeared on the faces ('manosilikayā mukham lañchenti'), bodies were painted ('aṅgarāgam karontī'), and also the faces ('mukharāgam karontī').⁸ [These practices were forbidden to the 'bhikkhus' and the 'bhikkhunis'.¹⁰ The women also dyed the finger tips of their hands and

1. Mahavagga, VI. 11, 1.

✓ 2. Ib., VI. 12, 1-4; also see Cullavagga, V. 28, 2.

3. Vol. I, p. 7.

4. Cullavagga X. 10, 4.

5. Ib., V. 2, 5.

6. Ib.

7. J. V. p. 302. G. 37; VI, 232. G. 1024 (kuddamukhī); cf. J. B. O. R. S., XII, p. 440.

8. Cullavagga, V. 2, 5.

9. I., V. 2, 5.

10. Ib., X. 10, 3.

feet with lac crimson red like copper.¹ Such was the demand for the lac juice for dyeing the hands and feet that the preparation of lac juice (lakkhāṛasa) became an important industry.²

Besides the above mentioned articles of cosmetics the people were also fond of flowers and perfumes. Flowers yielding sweet scents were grown in large quantity and the garland makers (mālākāras) made beautiful garlands and bouquets from them.³

Perfumes and essential oils were prepared. Sandalwood from Kāśi (kāśikacandana) was the chief raw material and finished product.⁴ Sandalwood powder ('cuṇṇa') and oil were manufactured,⁵ and we are told that the ladies put sandal oil⁶ on their hair, arms and others parts of the body. Among the several kinds of perfumes the one prepared from the 'priyaṅgu' flowers was most famous.⁷ A rich perfume called 'sabbasaṃhāraka' compounded of various scents was also prepared.⁸ 'Agaru' and 'tagara' were commonly used for scenting purposes.⁹ Perfumes and the aromatics were sold in the market by the perfumer (gandhika) and he was so expert in his profession that he could make out from which articles the particular perfume was prepared.¹⁰

The men used a razor (khuram) for shaving, and for it sharpening and preservation hone ('khurasilam') powder prepared from 'sipāṭika' gum (khura-sipāṭikam) to prevent it from rusting, and a felt sheath were used.¹¹ Scissors were used for hair cutting.¹² The beards were trimmed.¹³ They were also grown long (massum vaddhapanti) or were

1. J. V. p. 204, G. 43; 215, G. 65 (tambanakha); 302, G. 39; VI, p. 456, G. 1617.

2. J. I. pp. 179, 319; III, p. 41, etc.

3. J. I. pp. 95, 120 (pupphārāmas); II, p. 321; IV, p. 82, etc.

4. J. I. p. 331; V, p. 302, G. 40.

5. J. I. pp. 129, 238; II, p. 373, etc.

6. J. V. pp. 215, G. (bāhāmudā candanasāra-littā), 302, G. 38-41 (kese thane: soṇim-muducandanasāra-littā).

7. J. VI, p. 336.

8. Ib.

9. J. VI, pp. 530, G. 2025; 535, G. 2074, etc.

10. J. I. p. 290—'gandha-dhūpa-cuṇṇa-kappurādini'; IV, 82, etc.

11. Cullavagga, V. 27, 3.

12. Ib., V. 27, 5.

13. J. III, p. 11; V, pp. 131, 309, 510; Cullavagga, V. 27, 4.

worn on the chin like a goat's beard (golomikam); four-cornered beards (caturassakam) were also in fashion. Pubic hair and the hair from the breasts were shaved, and the hair on the belly was cut into figures (addharukam). Whiskers (daṭhikam) were also in vogue. These fashions in hair cutting were however forbidden to the 'bhikkhus'.¹ The women also arranged their hair falling in tresses on the head; they also parted their curls in the middle.²

The artistic arrangement of the coiffure (sikhābandham) as given in the Brahmajāla Sutta³ was considered an important part of the toilet. The people wore their hair long though the 'bhikkhus' were forbidden to grow hair for more than two months. In dressing the hair it was smoothened (osaṇheti) by 'koccha' (comb), 'phaṇaka' (smoothening instrument shaped like a serpent's hood; a kind of primitive brush but without bristles) and hand comb (hattha-phaṇaka) or the hand used as comb with the fingers held stiff and separate passing through the hair precisely as one would hold them if one wished to imitate the hood of a cobra.⁴ For making hair pomade (sitthatela) oil of bees wax (udakatela) was used.⁵

To make elaborate coiffures or paint designs on the face and body mirrors were necessary. For the extremely rich people or kings golden mirrors (ādasa) with a very fine polished surface were prepared.⁶ Ordinary mirrors and bowls of water were commonly used for reflection.⁷ Sometimes ivory handles were attached to the mirrors.⁸

It seems that the finger nails were generally worn long, and it is related that a 'bhikkhu' nearly came to grief for having long nails.⁹ The Buddha forbade the dirty habit of tearing off nails with nails, biting them off with the teeth, and rubbing them off against a wall, and allowed the use

1. Cullavagga, V. 27, 4.

2. J. V. pp. 156, G. 115, 203, G. 34 (dvedhāsiro sādhu-vibhatta-rūpo).

3. Vol. I. p. 7.

4. Cullavagga, V. 2, 3.

5. Ibid., IV. 2, 3.

6. J. II, p. 297; IV, pp. 7, 270, 335, 440, etc.

7. Cullavagga, V. 2, 4.

8. J. V. p. 302, G. 37; VI, 223, G. 964.

9. Cullavagga, V. 27.

of nail cutters (*nakhacchedana*). The nails were also cut according to the length of the flesh. The practice of polishing the nails which seems to have been common among the laymen was forbidden to the 'bhikkhus'.¹

'Kannamalaharani', or an instrument for removing wax from the ears was used by the laymen and the 'bhikkhus' alike.²

IV

The brilliance and luxury of the Maurya court are reflected in the *Arthaśāstra* and the pages of the Greek writers. The royal palace with its hosts of servants recruited from both sexes, prostitutes, hunchbacks and the members of the wild tribes to guard the person of the king and keep the sanctity of the harem, with extensive gardens, baths, splendid halls and treasury stocked with finest textiles and rare articles of perfume, was the centre of all luxuries. The pageantry of the court festival with elephants bedizened with gold and silver ornaments, chariots drawn by horses, and ox-waggons, the army in full array, the display of precious vessels of gold and silver many of them studded with gems, and the courtiers and other members of the populace vying with one another to outdo their fellows by the magnificence of their presents to the king added glamour. The king dispensed justice, transacted the business of the state, fought in the battle-field and often went to hunt accompanied by his brave amazons with their weapons gleaming in the sunshine. But in spite of manly accomplishments befitting a king there was no conceivable luxury which he did not enjoy. His wardrobes were stocked with furs and skins from the Himalayas, blankets and other woollen fabrics from Nepal, Vaṅga, Pāṇḍya and Suvarṇabhūmi 'as soft as the surface of a gem' and 'as red as the sun', linen manufactured at Benares and Pauṇḍra, silk from China, and exquisite cotton fabrics from Kāśi, Madhurā, Aparānta, Kalinga, Vaṅga and other places. Pearls and precious stones from the South and elsewhere, and fragrant sandalwood, agallochum, myrrh 'gugul', etc. obtained from Annam, Southern India and from places far across the sea to serve as

1. Ibid., V. 27, 2.

2. Ibid., V. 27, 6.

cosmetics for the king proclaim the luxury of the royal court. It is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*¹ that a host of servants in charge of the dresses and cosmetics having cleaned their persons and hands by fresh baths and having put on new garments served the king with dresses and cosmetics received under seal from the officer in charge of the harem. The duties of the bath-room attendance, washing and flower-garland making were assigned to the prostitutes² who along with the female slaves and actresses besides learning other arts received training in the manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, etc.³ It is also mentioned that the servants along with the courtesans, while presenting to the king water, scents, fragrant powders, dress and garlands touched these things first with their glances, arms and breasts.⁴ The king as mentioned by the Greek writers and also the *Arthaśāstra* was fond of shampooing, and a special hour was reserved for undergoing massage with ebony rollers.⁵

It may be surmised that hot baths must have been in vogue in this period, though they are not expressly mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* which only says that the building inside the compound of the royal palace should be provided with cesspits, wells and bath-room.⁶

The most important section from the point of view of cosmetics and articles of perfume in the Maurya period is to be found in the chapter of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II, 11) dealing with the examination of the gems that were entered into the royal treasury. This section shows that the demand for aromatic woods and resins must have been very large; in view of the luxurious life of the kings and their preference for perfumes and cosmetics of all kinds; the fairly heavy consumption for incense, in temples etc., and also their use in fumigating halls, bedrooms, etc. the detailed classification of sandalwood, agallochum, etc. need not be wondered at. Incidentally, incense and sandalwood, etc. seem to have been costly materials and therefore they were classified and entered

1. Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra* (tr. by Śama Śāstrī), p. 42. 3rd. ed.

2. *Ib.*, p. 42.

3. *Ib.*, p. 139.

4. *Ib.*, p. 43.

5. Megasth. *Frag.* 17; Strabo, XV, C. 710.

6. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 56.

into the treasury with precious and semi-precious gems. The great distances from which these articles were brought must have involved a very high cost of transport and hence they were treated as precious articles. The aromatic woods and resins mostly take the names of the places from where they came and enlighten us on the geographical knowledge of the Mauryan period.

The following varieties of sandalwood are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*¹ :

1. 'Sātana'. It smelt like the earth after the rain had fallen.
 2. 'Gośirṣaka'. Dark red colour ; smelt like fish.²
 3. 'Haricandana'. Fine old wood ; coloured like the feather of a parrot (greenish yellow).
 4. 'Tārṇasa'. Of the same colour as No. 3, i. e. greenish yellow.
 5. 'Grāmeruka'. Red or dark red ; smelt like goat's urine.³
 6. 'Daivasabhayaka'. Red colour ; smelt like lotus flower.⁴
 7. 'Jāpaka'. The same as above.
 8. 'Joṅgaka'. Red or dark red ; soft in structure.⁵
 9. 'Taurūpa'. Of the same colour as 'Joṅgaka'.⁶
 10. 'Maleyaka'.⁷ Reddish white in colour.
 11. 'Kucandana'. Black as aloe ; red or dark red , very rough.
- It seems to have been the true red sandalwood.

1. Page 79, 3rd. edition. Translation.

2. Gośirṣa has been identified with Buddhavana and its hut in Rājagṛha by V. W. H. Jackson (quoted in J. R. A. S., Jan. 1940, p. 114). It is also mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* as a very costly sandalwood brought to Sopara by ships. (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 30, 31).

3. I am unable to identify 'grāmeruka'.

4. Devasabhā mentioned by Rājasekhara was situated on the dividing line of Central and Western India. Jayachandra, 'Bhāratbhūmi aur uske nivāsi', p. 200. This Devasabhā or Divasabhā may be identified with the modern Dewas State in Central India, as this State is situated more or less on the dividing line between Central and Western India.

5. The country named Joṅga may perhaps be identified with Shun-ta of the Chinese historians of the Ming period or Jung-ya-lu of Chao-Ju-Kua, or Zunda of Barbosa identified as Jangola in East Java by Hirth (J. R. A. S., 1896, p. 504), and Singkel district (?) West Sumatra, or Sungal Island, Lumpung Bay, South Sumatra by Gerini (Gerini, 'Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia', pp. 450-51, fn. 2).

6. Is Taurūpa another form of Tāmralipti or modern Tāmluk? For discussions on Kāmarūpa and Tāmralipti and their various forms see Bagchi, 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', p. 116, etc.

7. The sandalwood grown on the Elamalai and Annamalai Mountains in Malabar.

12. 'Kālaparvataka'.¹ It is described as having a pleasant appearance.
13. 'Kośākāraparvataka' : Black or variegated black in colour.²
14. 'Śītodakīya' : Black and soft ; smelt like lotus flower.³

1. Kālaparvata or Kālapabbata, from where this particular variety of sandalwood was obtained is also mentioned in the Jātaka stories (Vol. VI, 265 ; see also 'Mahāvastu', II, 300) where it is described as a mountain in Himavanta which was situated in the table-land of Manosilā ; it is mentioned in the Jātakas as a mountain near the Anottara lake in the Himavanta (J. I, p. 232 ; III, p. 379 ; V, pp. 392, 423). The realgar which is named 'manah-śilā' in Sanskrit and 'mainsil' in Hindi has taken its Sanskrit designation from the name of the place of its origin. Realgar is native in Yunnan, Kwei-chaw and Kansu. Pure massive realgar in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was obtained from Munsiri in the northern part of Kumāon from where it is brought in small quantities by the Bhūtias for sale at the Bāgesar fair. (Watt, 'Dictionary of the Econ. Products of India', IV, Part I, p. 399 ; Ball, 'A Manual of the Geology of India', Part III, p. 162). The modern Munsiri which seems to be the corrupt form of 'manah-śilā' may therefore be identified with the Manosilā of the Jātaka stories. If our identification of Manosilā be correct then Kālaparvata should be located in Kumāon. Ibn Batuta also speaks of the mountain Kārāchil which was situated at a 10 days' journey from Delhi. Prof. Hojivāla takes it to be the mountains of Garhwāl and Kumāon, "the outer range of the tertiary hills which runs parallel to the foot of the Himalayas, separated from it by valleys or dunes". In other words it is the sub-Himalaya of the modern geologists. Prof. Hojivāla, however, rejects the literal meaning of Kārāchil which means 'black mountain' and instead derives the name from Kurmacala, the ancient Hindu name for Kumāon or from Gargācala (Prof. S. H. Hojivāla, 'Studies in Indo Muslim History' pp. 294-295, Bombay 1939). No sandalwood trees to our knowledge are grown now in the sub-Himalayan region.

2. It was supposed to be the product of the 'bowl-shaped mountain' which I am unable to identify.

3. This variety of sandalwood came from the vicinity of Śītodakī, a river in the extra-Gangetic country. The exact location of Śītodakī or Śītodā river is given in a 'śloka' of the 'Kathā-saritsāgara', XVIII, 4, 233-234. The couplet gives us two points about the location of this river ; it should be located in some country across the Bay of Bengal ; and secondly, it was in the vicinity of a city named Kārkoṭaka. Prof. Rhys David in 'The Questions of King Milinda', p. XLIII, has Karkoṭa on the coast of India as the probable place corresponding to Takkola which occurs in VI, 21 of the 'Milinda-Pañha', and this is also philologically possible in view that 'Takkola' and 'Kakkola' are two forms of the name of one city (Bagchi, 'Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian in India', p. 98). Gerini, however, identifies Karkoṭa with Takola of Ptolemy, which was an important port on the ship route to the east between Bengal and China. Gerini locates the mart of Takola in the neighbourhood of the present Ranong and at the mouth or inside of Pāk-cha inlet, because the Pāk-cha estuary forms a splendid harbour which must have been used by ships from a very early period since it was the terminus of a much frequented land-route across the Kra Isthmus, while tin ore abounds in the vicinity, at Mali van, Ranong and all over the country. (Gerini, loc. cit., 91-93). If Gerini's identification of Takola mart with Karkoṭa is correct then the river Pāk-cha may be identified with Śītodā or Śītodakī river. But one cannot be absolutely certain of this identification as several ports with the name of Takola exist on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula. First is Taik-kula, or Takkula near the present Ayetthema (Ayetthima) in the Sittong sub-division of the Shwegyin district identified by Gerini (Gerini, loc. cit., pp. 85-86). If we locate Takkola or Kakkola or Karkoṭa in Lower Burma, then the river Sittong becomes our Śītodā or Śītodakī river.

15. 'Nāgaparvataka'¹: Product of the mountain of the same name. It was rough and had the colour of 'saivala' (Vallineria).

16. 'Śākala'²: It was brown coloured.

✓ The soothing qualities of sandalwood described above have been summarised in the Arthaśāstra as "Light, soft, moist, as greasy as ghee, of pleasant smell, adhesive to the skin, of mild smell, retentive of colour and smell, tolerant of heat, absorptive of heat and comfortable to the skin."³

Agaru⁴ or aloe-wood was also well stocked in the Mauryan treasury for the purpose of making perfume, incense, etc.

Then there are other Kakkolas to be considered. Kākula of Ibn Batuta, Ko-lo of Ma Tuan-lin could be located on the east coast of Malaya Peninsula at either Kelantan or Ligor. Itsing's commentator mentions a Ka-ko-la or Ka-ko-ra producing white cardamom. This place has been indentified by Gerini with Krakor in Kamboja, a district so named from wild or bastard cardamoms growing there which is locally known as Krakor (Gragar) (Gerini, loc. cit., p. 444, fn. 2). Kakola or Kākula was the capital of Muljawah of Ibn Batuta. It had plenty of elephants, eaglewood, good camphor and little cotton (Gerini, loc. cit., p. 549). An islet Koh-krah (Kokora), the Cara of old maps, lies just north of Ligor bight. It may be interesting to note in connection with Itsing's Ka-ko-la or Ka-ko-ra that 'kakarās' is the Malaya name for the 'gharu' tree or 'gharu' producing eaglewood. Chia Tan in his itinerary compiled in A. D. 785-805 refers to a kingdom Ko-ku-lo on the west coast of Malaya, which if not Kwala Kurau or Kwala Gula in North-west Perak, may be Takkola or Kakkola (Gerini, loc. cit., p. 811).

1. The sandalwood grown on Nāgaparvata. There is a hill between Ajmir and Pushkar known as 'Nāg-pahār' (Jayachandra, 'Bhāratbhūmi aur uske nivāsi', p. 114, fn.) but it is doubtful whether sandalwood was ever grown there. It is more possible that the Nāgaparvata which grew sandalwood was situated in the Nāga Hills of Assam, which is a hilly district in Eastern Bengal and Assam lying between 24° 42' and 26° 48' N and 93° 7' and 94° 50' E. Assam as mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the later literature was one of the most important sources of aromatic woods and resins.

2. This variety of sandalwood came from Śākala, the modern Sialkot.

3. Arthaśāstra, loc. cit., p. 79.

4. A large evergreen tree of Sylhet and Tenassarim; distributed to the Malaya Peninsula and Archipelagos. According to Roxborough this much prized wood is obtained from Eastern India and from the forests to the south and south-east of Sylhet extending through Manipur, Chittagong, Arakan to Mergui and Sumatra. From India it finds its way to China and from Cochin China it was first re-exported to Europe; hence in all probability the association of the plant with that country.

Agarwood under the name of 'ahlot' and 'agallochon' was known to the Jews, Greeks and Romans. The early Arabs called it 'aghalūkh' but subsequently termed it 'ūd' or 'ūd Hindī'. Mir Muhammad Huseyn mentions five kinds of aloewood. The wood that sinks in water is 'gharkī'; it is of black colour. Those which partly sink are 'nīm gharkī' or 'samaleh-i a'la'; and those which float 'samleh'. They are of dark and light brown colours. The older authorities classified 'ūd' as 'Hindī', 'samandari', 'kamari' and 'samandali'. Elsewhere it is described as 'barri' and 'jabli', the latter having black lines in its structure and the former white; others again described 'barri' as having black lines and 'jabli', white lines.

Aloe wood is used in India as incense and also for perfumes. (Watt, loc. cit. Vol. I, pp. 279-281).

'Joṅgaka': It is described as black or variegated black or spotted, and according to the commentary it is a product of Kāmarūpa (Assam). If, however, the identification of Joṅgaka¹ is correct then this variety of agaru came from Java or Sumatra.

'Doṅgaka': It was of black colour, and according to the commentary was the product of Assam; but it seems possible that it was imported from the ancient Peguan district of Dong-wan.²

'Pārasamudraka'. It is described as having variegated colours and the smell of cactus or jasmine. The commentary takes it to be the product of Assam. This variety of agallochum however as its name indicates came from the countries across the seas, i. e. Indo-China, Malaya, Java, etc.³

The qualities of the 'agaru' are described in the Arthaśāstra as follows⁴: "Agaru is soft, heavy, greasy, smells to a great distance, burns slowly; gives out continuous smoke while burning; is of uniform smell, absorbs heat, and is so adhesive to the skin as not to be removable by rubbing."

It is apparent from the above paragraph that because aloë-wood burnt slowly and gave out a penetrating aromatic smoke it must have been used for incense and incense sticks, in the preparation of which it is still used today. Its adhesive quality made it a fit material for decorating the body,

1. See note on Joṅgaka, a variety of sandalwood.

2. In the history of the Tang dynasty a state named J'o-yüan or Nou-t'o-yüan, is mentioned which sent an embassy to the Chinese court between 627 and 649 A. D. Depending on the old Chinese pronounciations of T'o-yüan which are Da-vien, ...T'a-van, or Ta-won, Gerini suggests the identity of T'o-yüan with the ancient Peguan town and district of Dong-wān, better known in European publications as Dong-wun or Dun-wun. Less probable guesses are Dagūn (Rangoon), Dong-yin, Taungu and Tavoy. (Gerini, loc. cit., pp. 830-831).

3. Eaglewood is the chief product of the kingdom of Kumār located by Gerini from Kampot to (Khmau) (Gerini, loc. cit., p. 202 ff.). Ibn Khurdādhbih expressly states the Qumāri aloë-wood in Arabia was so called because it came from Qumār a country three days' journey from Sanf, i. e. Champā (Journal Asiatique, 1865, I, p. 291) quoted by Hoḍivālā, loc. cit., p. 8.

Eaglewood forms one of the principal products of Champā to this day in the Biñ-thwon district where the last remnants of Chām are found. The care of gathering this product is confined to certain villages, the hereditary chiefs of which—called 'masters of eaglewood'—when entering on their duties offer worship to the deities of the agallochum trees on certain sacred hills. That the hill-tract of Chan-Ch'ing grew scented wood is further supported by Ma Tuan-liu. (Quoted by Gerini, loc. cit., p. 278).

4. Ibid., p. 80.

and in the later literature there are innumerable instances of body decoration with 'agaru'-oil.

Aromatic resins described under the heading of 'tailaparnika' were also stocked in the royal treasury.¹ Ten kinds are enumerated, out of which many varieties came from Assam. It is difficult to give their equivalents in Sanskrit or modern Indian languages as most of them have been named after the places from where they came. The 'joṅgaka' of reddish-yellow colour and smelling like blue lotus flowers or cow's urine came from Lower Burma.

'Auttara-parvataka' was the product of northern mountains, and was of reddish yellow colour and 'sauvarṇakuḍyaka'² also reddish yellow and smelling like sweet lime may be identified with 'salai gugul' or *Boswellia serrata*.³

'Aśokagrāmika', coloured like meat and smelling like a lotus flower was perhaps the product of Ceylon.⁴ 'Grāmeruka' was greasy and smelt like

1. Ibid., p. 80.

2. Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma), or Khryse of Ptolemy. According to a fifteenth century inscription Suvarṇabhūmi was an alternative name for Rāmaññadesa which comprised the three provinces of Bassein, Pegu proper and Martaban. Suvarṇabhūmi thus embraced the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwin. The hinterland of this region was named Suvarṇaparanta, which according to another inscription included the districts of Kale, Teinnyin, Yaw, Tilin, Salin and Sagu, i. e. the country between the Lower Irāvati and Chindwin and the Arākan Yoma; but evidently it must have extended in ancient days down to the head of the delta and east of Irāvati as far as the Pegu Yoma and the Sittong river, thus embracing the whole of Lower Burma. It is this hinterland which may be identified with Ptolemy's 'Gold Land' or Khryse Khora and not the maritime region below. (Gerini, loc. cit., pp. 64-65).

If the identification of Suvarṇabhūmi be correct then the Suvarṇakuḍyā which literally means 'Golden Wall' may be identified with the Pegu Yoma mountains, on the eastern slope of which 'salai-gugul' is obtained from *Boswellia serrata*.

3. A moderate-sized gregarious tree of the sub-Himalayan tracts from the Sutlej to Nepāl, the drier forests of Central India from Berar to Rajputana and southward to the Deccan, the Circars and the Konkan. It grows frequently on the eastern slopes of the Pegu Yoma and Martaban in Burma.

The gum resin 'salai-gugul' occurs as transparent golden yellow semi-fluid substance which slowly hardens.

Care must be taken not to confuse this gum resin with the olibanum or frankincense of commerce, or with 'mukula'. The Sanskrit name 'kunduru' derived from the Arabic word 'kundur' is probably wrongly applied to the gum of this species. Its true Sanskrit name seems to be 'sallakī'. "It would also appear that this is the 'guggulu' of Sanskrit writers which is described as moist, viscid, fragrant, and of golden colour when freshly exuded. Gum 'gugul' of the present day is Indian *Bdellium*." Watt, loc. cit., Vol. II, pp. 515-516.

4. Arthasāstra, p. 80. fn. 1.

cow's urine.¹ 'Pūrṇadvīpaka' had the smell of a lotus flower or butter.² 'Bhadraśriya' had the colour of nutmeg.³ 'Pāralauhityaka' which was of brown colour was imported from the regions beyond the Brahmaputra. 'Antaravatiya' which had the colour of cascus and the smell of costus came from the banks of the river Antaravatī in Kāmarūpa, Assam. 'Kāleyaka' which was yellow and greasy was the product of Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma), and may perhaps be identified with the resin of 'agaru' which collects in masses here and there on the stems.

These aromatic resins were used for their fragrance, which lasted whether the resins were reduced to paste, boiled, burned or mixed with other substances.⁴

V

There is every reason to believe that the luxury fostered by the Mauryas continued unabated in the Śuṅga-Śātavāhana period. The luxuries and vagaries of fashion to which the people of this period were addicted are shown in the reliefs of Bharhut and Sāñci. The pomp of the contemporary Indian court is depicted in a good number of scenes, which with their great wealth of attendants drawn from both sexes, dancers and musicians, ladies of the harem, courtiers etc., represent truly the court life of that age. The figures of women specially with their bodies decorated profusely with ornaments, heavy scarves covering their heads and falling down their backs, many stranded girdles on their waists with artistic 'paṭkās' made from different materials, convey some impression of the age to which they belonged.

This life of luxury required the services of a trained class of female attendants who were adept in the art of toilet preparation. The attainments of a trained maidservant are enumerated by Draupadī, who under the assumed name of Sairandhrī went to Queen Sudeṣṇā, the wife of king Virāṭa. On being questioned about her qualifications as a toilet expert she

1. Ib.

2. Ib.; Pūrṇadvīpa may be identified with modern Purnea in Bihar.

3. Different commentators have assigned different meanings to the word; some take it for camphor, some for Takkola, some for Śrīvāsa, and others for red sandalwood and so on. Arthaśāstra, p. 80, fn. 6.

4. Ib., p. 80.

said that she was expert at arranging coiffures (*keśān kartum jānāmi*); she could also prepare delicate unguents and she could wreath beautiful garlands of various shapes and designs (*grathayiṣye vicitrāśca srajāḥ paramaśobhanāḥ*)¹

The life of luxury demanded scented oils, perfumes, powders, aromatic resins, sandalwood, etc. In the *Mahābhārata*² the preparations of unguents cosmetics, incenses, etc., are mentioned under five heads. (1) Powder or paste was prepared by pounding fragrant leaves and flowers. (2) Pastes of sandalwood, 'śāla' pine, aloe-wood (*agaru*), etc., which formed the most important requisites for anointing the body after the bath or at any time of the day or night in ancient India, were obtained by rubbing the wood with the help of water on a smooth stone slab. (3) Aromatic woods such as 'devadāru' (*Pinus devadaru*), 'agaru' (aloe-wood), *Brahmaśāla* and sandalwood, were used for fumigating the living rooms. (4) Aromatic resins obtained from oleander, wood-apple (*vilva*), 'tilaka' (*Symplocos racemosa*), etc., served the purpose of incense. (5) Animal products such as musk, etc., were also used to a considerable extent in the preparation of cosmetics.

We have already spoken in a previous section about various designs which the women used for decorating themselves. In this period as well these designs appear on the faces of women represented in the reliefs of Bharhut. These designs were taken by Cunningham to be tattoo marks³ on the analogy of the aboriginal tribes of India including the Kols, Sabars, Oraons and Gonds among whom it is a universal practice that no female goes without some tattoo marks, and as the people living near Bharhut are of Kol descent—according to Cunningham in all probability even in those days the country must have been populated by Kols—the ethnic type represented in the Bharhut sculpture must be Kol. This explanation seems far-fetched, as the civilization depicted at Bharhut can by no stretch of imagination be Kol ; it is the fully developed civilization of northern India as depicted in Pali literature and there is no proof that the Kols or any other aboriginal tribe had attained the degree of civilization of the Aryans

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1. *Mahābhārata*, IV. 8, 16. Bhandarkar Oriental Institute Ed.
 2. 'Śānti Parva', quoted by the Śabdakalpadruma.
 3. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 39-40.

of the north. Wherever such tribes are described in literature their material culture is shown to be inferior to those of the Aryans. The so-called tattoo-marks of the aboriginals in the Bharhut sculpture are nothing but 'viśeṣakas'—mentioned in the Jātaka stories and Vinayapīṭaka—which were the favourite designs painted on their faces by the women in ancient India.

✓ The designs found on the faces of the female figures at Bharhut are an invaluable source of information as literature in ancient India makes only casual references to them without going into detail. The sun and moon are on the cheekbones of Yakṣiṇī Candā and several flowers on her cheeks and chin. One of the female busts has a single 'aṅkuśa' or elephant-goad-like mark on one of the cheeks. The goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheekbone. But other figures are much more profusely ornamented.¹ One of them has a small bird or 'triśūla' above each breast and another on the upper arm, also an 'aṅkuśa' with two straight lines and a small flower on each cheekbone, besides two elaborate cheek ornaments. Another has the cheekbones decorated with the sun and moon, while each cheek is literally covered with a dense mass of small ornaments.²

The ways of arranging the coiffure are not many in the Bharhut sculptures, though the coiffures as represented in the terracotta figurines are innumerable. The women in the Bharhut sculptures arranged their hair in the following styles. The loose hair is allowed to fall at the back and then the end is looped and knotted³ (Fig 5). The hair is arranged in a top-knot when the women wear a turban⁴ (Fig. 6). The hair falling down the back is divided into two equal halves and then each half is further subdivided into two parts and plaited⁵ (Fig. 7). The men invariably wore their hair long and tied in a top-knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged (Fig. 8).⁶

1. Cunningham, loc. cit., Pl. LII, fig. 1.

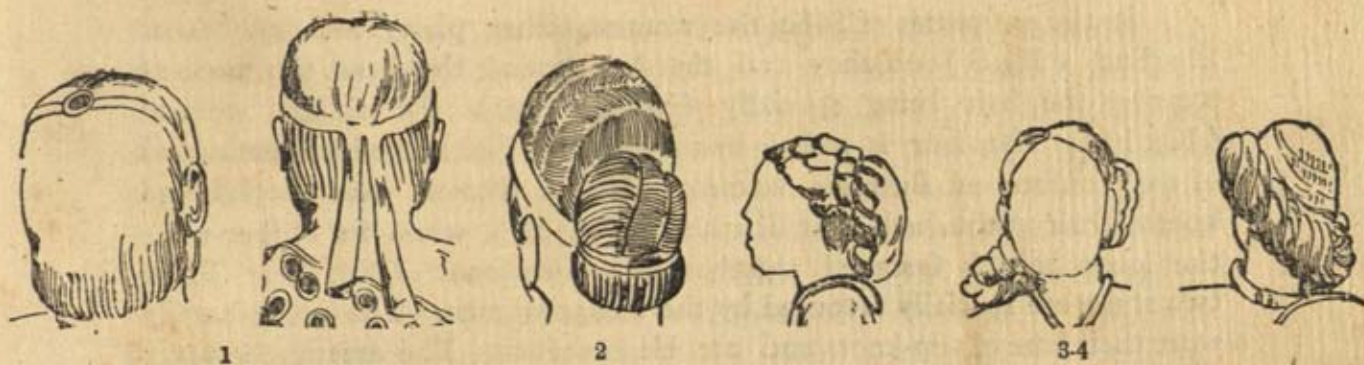
2. Ibid.

3. Barua, Bharhut, Vol. III, Pl. XXIII, 19 top.

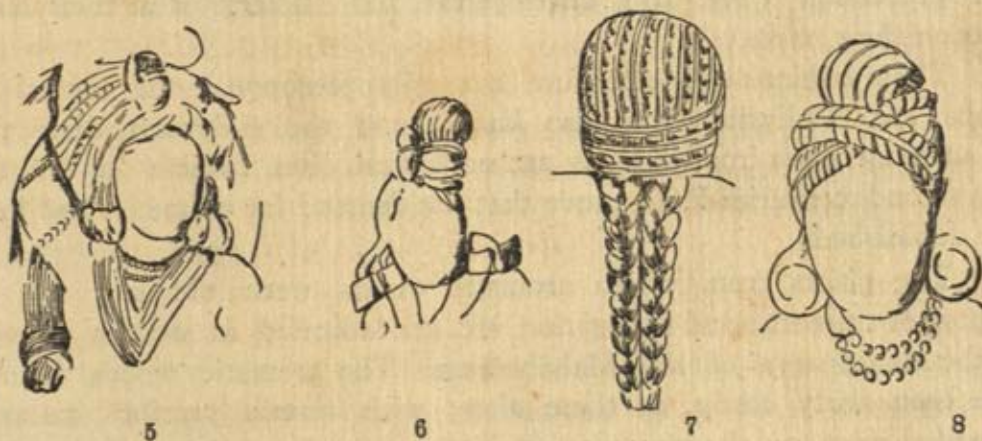
4. Barua, Ib., Pl. XXX, 23 left side.

5. Barua, Ib., Pl. XXXIX, 34.

6. Barua, Ib., Pl. XXX, 23.



See pp. 66-67



See p. 90



See p. 91

In the sculptures of Sāñci the women either plait their hair as at Bharhut¹ (Fig. 9) or they coil the hair round the head, this mode of wearing the hair being specially favourite with the ascetic women² (Fig. 10). The hair is coiled in a top-knot³ (Fig. 11) which reminds us of the coiffure of Burmese women. Certain women wear looped and knotted hair at the back as at Bharhut⁴ (Fig. 12), while in a few cases the loose hair is fastened together by an ornament⁵ (Fig. 13). These two styles are specially favoured by the village women. The men generally wear their hair in top-knots and are clean-shaven. The ascetics however wear beards⁶ (Fig. 14) and their long hair is wound (Fig. 15) round the crown in a cone-like fashion⁷ or allowed to hang loose.⁸ Musicians in a procession⁹ (Fig. 16), charioteers¹⁰ and soldiers¹¹ wear their curled locks on their necks.

These fashions of the coiffure naturally presuppose the use of oil, combs, etc. Collyrium was also known and the collyrium sticks, pots and unguent vases from various archaeological sites datable in the first and second centuries B. C. prove that the demand for cosmetics had in no way diminished.

The places from which aromatic woods were obtained for the purpose of cosmetics and fumigation, etc. are indicated in certain passages in the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. The aromatic woods seem to have been fairly costly, as these along with certain precious materials formed a part of the presents consisting mostly of the products of the conquered countries which the princes offered to the Pāṇḍava brothers. Thus Bhīmasena after the conquest of Assam¹² received sandalwood

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1. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXX, fig. 1.
 2. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXII, fig. 2.
 3. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXII, 2.
 4. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXV, fig. 2.
 5. *Ib.*
 6. *Ib.*, Pl. XXV, fig. 1.
 7. *Ib.*
 8. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXII, fig. 1.
 9. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 2.
 10. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 1.
 11. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 2.
 12. Mahābhārata, II. 30, 28. (Poona edition.)

and aloewood (agaru) as presents. Duryodhana, while describing the presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice by the Kirātas living in Assam, mentions along with the precious jewels, skins, gold, the sandalwood (candana), aloewood (agaru), the loads of zeodary (bhārān kāliyakasya) and heaps of aromatics (gandhānām caivarāsayah).¹ It is evident therefore that Assam in this period as also in the Mauryan age was the chief source of supply of aromatics to the rest of India. Southern India also supplied aromatic woods. Sahadeva after his conquest of the South received along with resplendent ornaments, sandalwood, and agallochum. The Colas and Pāṇḍyas presented the products of their countries such as fragrant sandalwood, oil kept in golden vessels (surabhīṃścandanarasānhemakumbhasamāsthītān) and loads of sandalwood and agallochum (agaru) from the Malaya and Dardura mountains along with brilliant and precious jewels and thin golden cloth (kāñicanāṃsūkṣmavastrakam).² Aloewood does not grow now in southern India, the wood being obtained from Assam, Burma and Sumatra. It is quite possible that the southern prince presented to Sahadeva the imported agallochum.

VI

The period under review extending roughly from the first century A. D. to the advent of the Guptas is marked by the arrival of a new power. The Kuṣāṇas, members of the Yue-chi tribe, originally occupied a part of north-western China. Driven from there about 165 B. C. they first occupied the country of the Śaka nomads and later on took possession of Bactria about 10 B. C. Kaniṣka the greatest of the Kuṣāṇa kings made Puruṣapur (Peshawar) his capital. He patronised the poet Aśvaghoṣa and the physician Caraka. Being a devout Buddhist he sent Buddhist missionaries to the distant lands of Tibet, Mongolia and Khotan.

With the advent of the Kuṣāṇa power in the north the rule of the Sātavāhana kings became confined to the Deccan. Caṣṭaṇa was made

1. Ib., II. 52, 10.

2. Ib. II. p. 52, 33-34.

the governor of the Kuṣāṇas at Ujjain in about 110 A. D. but later on his possessions were annexed by the Sātavāhanas. Rudradāma, the grandson of Caṣṭana who gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Sātavāhana king inflicted two severe defeats on his relative and by 150 A. D. he was able to establish his rule over Sindh, Marwār, Kach, Surāṣṭra, Gujarāt, Malwā and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. But later on other Sātavāhana kings were able to recover some part of their lost dominion.

By the end of the second century the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas began to disintegrate. The Ābhīras carved out a separate kingdom in south-east Gujarāt; the Cūṭu Sātavāhanas reigned for a century more over northern Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭak with their capital at Vaijayanti (modern Banvāsī in northern Kanārā) and the Ikṣvākus reigned over the Āndhra country with their capital at Nalmalai (Nalmalai hills south of the Krishna, Guntur district). In the north the Bhāraśivas drove out the Tukhāras and the republics of the Malavas and Yaudheyas became powerful. Later on after the downfall of the Bhāraśivas, Vindhyaśakti (A. D. 248-284) founded the line of the Vākātakas. His son Pravarasena (A. D. 284-344) was the most powerful prince of the line.

At the beginning of the Christian era Tamil land was governed by the three powerful kingdoms of Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya, and wars among these kingdoms were frequent. The most powerful ruler was Karikāḷa Coḷa (about 70-100 A. D.) who defeated king Gajabāhu of Ceylon. He established his capital at Uraiyur (modern Trichinopoly) and built the famous port Kāverīpattanam at the mouth of the river Kāverī. Another famous king of the south was Cera Senguṭṭavan who ascended the throne about 140 A. D. and ruled till 192 A. D. He defeated the confederacy of the nine Coḷas and the high culture of his reign is reflected in the famous Tamil classic Silappadikāram.

In the above paragraphs we have tried to summarise the political state of the country from the beginning of the first century A. D. to the end of the third century. These three hundred years of Indian history however were neither centuries of constant warfare, nor can its latter part (150 A. D. to 350 A. D.) be called the dark period of Indian history, as considerable light has been thrown on it by Jayaswal. Whatsoever may be said about the political history of this period it is evident from literature, the accounts of Pliny and the Periplus and from archaeological

evidences both in this country and in Greater India including Central Asia and extra Gangetic countries that this period was one of great activities in the spheres of art and literature, foreign trade, shipping and colonisation. In the first century of the Christian era Indian states were established in Indo-China, Annam, Cambodia, Java, etc. Eastward expansion of the Indians brought them into contact with China, and the commerce between the two countries grew. In the first centuries of the Roman Empire a profitable commerce was established and developed between these two great regions of the earth, the Mediterranean countries and India. Indian jewels, spices, perfumes, the famous myrrhina vases for which the Romans paid fabulous prices—that made Pliny lament the fate of those Romans who held India in hand in order to be drunk,¹ and fine muslins formed valuable articles of commerce. This commerce in luxury goods caused a balance of trade in favour of India, and steadily the Roman gold flowed into the coffers of Indian merchants. Peace and plenty encouraged the growth of luxurious habits. Indian sculptures both in the north and the south show scenes of utmost voluptuousness and luxury. On the railing pillars of the Kuṣāṇ art of Mathurā one may see representations of scenes with which the poets of the age have acquainted us, women standing under blossoming Aśoka trees touching the trees with their left foot in the belief that this act caused the trees to blossom; a woman picking flowers with outstretched hands from the branches overladen with flowers, her gambolling eyes turned towards the spectator; women engaged in their toilet; women wringing water from their long tresses, a motif common in Rājput painting fifteen hundred years later; women holding mirrors in their hands to arrange their ornaments; and women playing ball or bathing under waterfalls in mountainous scenery. These scenes are full of a sense of abandon and luxury. They throw light on the life in India nearly two thousand years ago and show the carefree spirit of the Indians described in the epics of Aśvaghoṣa and in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.

To help in the elaborate toilet of the ladies of the palace the services were required of a host of female attendants well-versed in the art of

1. Warmington, 'Commerce between India and the Roman Empire', p. 238.

preparing cosmetics. In the 'Saundarānanda' (IV, 26) a glimpse into the lives of these attendants is given : one of the maid-servants in the palace prepared the unguents (pipeṣāṅgavilepanamhi), another fumigated the wearing apparel (vasonṅanākācidavāsayacca), some were engaged in preparing the requisites of the bath (ayojayatsnāna-vidhiṃ tathānyā) and a few others wreathed the fragrant flowers into garlands (jagranthuranyāḥ surabhiḥ srajasya).

The luxury of the south Indians in this period compared most favourably with the habits of their compatriots in the north. Their love of beautiful ornaments, scented garlands, delicate perfumes, sandal and 'agaru' pastes, fragrant powders, thin muslins and silks both figured and otherwise, is beautifully described in Tamil classics of this period. That they did not merely poetically exaggerate is proved by the scenes of Indian life depicted in the reliefs of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and Goḷli. Here one sees sumptuous court scenes with kings and their attendants seated on beautifully carved couches and thrones witnessing music and dancing performed by women dancers of exquisite grace exhibiting their charms unhindered by an overabundance of clothing, their coiffures arranged in various shapes and decorated with flowers. Here also one is afforded glimpses into toilet scenes. One may see a lady taking her bath, with toilet requisites and cosmetics, unguent vases, oil-pots lying on the ground surrounded by a number of female attendants holding ornament caskets water-pots, mirrors, etc. In one of the medallions from Amarāvati (Fergusson, loc. cit., Pl. LXXII, fig. 1) in the foreground a woman is represented seated on a bath-stool in a bath tub, attended by three women pouring oil and holding unguents, etc. On the left music is in progress and witnessed by two women. In the background a man and two women riding an elephant are shown. There are also women attendants carrying articles of toilet including a mirror. Luxury and gaiety are the two key notes of Indian life as depicted in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures. This luxury was stimulated by the trade of South India with the countries as far as China in the east and with Rome and the Mediterranean countries in the west; it brought wealth, the root cause of all luxuries into the country. Moreover, sandalwood and agallochum with which many delicate perfumes, pastes and unguents were prepared, were within easy reach and hence comparatively cheaper here than in the north where they had to travel great distances.

But it was not merely luxury which prompted the use of costly cosmetics and indulgence in various toilet requisites but also a desire to preserve the body against maladies. Indian medical works without exception enjoin the use of cosmetics, massage, etc. to make the body strong and healthy. Suśruta, who can be assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period, in chapter XXIV of his work, entitled Cikitsāsthāna, enumerates twenty-four rules about the toilet and use of cosmetics for persons desirous of keeping good health. A man as soon as he got up cleaned his teeth with the tooth-brush, washed his mouth and eyes thoroughly, applied collyrium to his eyes and chewed a few betel leaves. At the time of his bath he anointed his hair with oil (śīrobhyaṅga), affused and anointed his body, thoroughly massaged and rubbed it (udvartana, utsādana and udgharṣaṇa),¹ took physical exercise and finally took his bath, after which he combed his hair. The next step in his toilet was to anoint the body (anulepana) with scented paste and then he put on gems, flowers and clean clothes, after which he put scent (ālepa) on his face. When going out he wore shoes and a turban, took a stick and umbrella, or if he was to take up the duties of a soldier he put on armour (vāṇavāra). Shaving and paring the nails was also a common practice. To get rid of fatigue and restore the circulation of the blood he took recourse to shampooing (saṃvāhana).

Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra gives us some detailed information about the toilet and its accessories, of a citizen in affluent circumstances in the early centuries of the Christian era. When the citizen in affluent circumstances woke up from his sleep in the morning he found the requisites of toilet placed on a table or elevated shelf for his use. These consisted of ointment (anulepana), a basket of garlands (siktha-karaṇḍaka), scent-box (saugandhika-putikā), skin of the citron fruit (mātuluṅgatvacah) and betel-leaf.² After attending the call of nature he cleansed his teeth and then proceeded to the other details of the toilet. At first he applied

1. According to Suśruta, "utsādana" (rubbing), and "udgharṣaṇa" (friction) tend to dilate the orifices of the superficial ducts and increase the temperature of the skin. 'Utsādana' specifically improves the complexion of women and gives a lovely appearance, cleanliness, beauty and suppleness, to the female form.....'Phenaka' (a kind of friction of the body with wooden rollers) imparts lightness and steadiness to the thighs, cures itches, eruption, 'vātastambha' and external diseases. Friction of the body with brickbat powder excites the heat of the skin, brings on the dilation of the orifices of the bodily ducts and cures itches." (Suśruta, loc. cit., 29-32).

2. Kāmasūtra, I. 4, 8.

sandal paste or any other ointment to his body ; the paste had to be in proper quantity neither more nor less than desired ; then he fumigated his cloth in the fragrant smoke of the incense, put on a garland and applied collyrium to his eyes and lac-dye to his lips, and after looking into the mirror and being satisfied that his toilet was in perfect order he chewed a few betel-leaves and proceeded thereafter to attend his business.² After having attended his business the citizen took his bath. Every alternate day his body was massaged and shampooed (utsādana) ; every third day he cleaned his body with a soap-like substance which yielded lather (phenaka). He had his chin and lips shaved every fourth day and more detailed depilatory operations were carried out on the fifth day or tenth day. This was supposed to be conducive to long life.³

Men not only used perfumes, pastes, ointments, but also applied collyrium to their eyes and lac-dye to their lips. By every method of toilet the secrets of which were handed down from time immemorial, and others which were the direct outcome of the luxuries of his age, they strove to make their body attractive and beautiful.

(Women of this age with their natural desire to make themselves attractive even surpassed men in their toilet. The royal ladies, their attendants, courtesans, women in ordinary circumstances, all used to decorate their persons according to the means at their disposal. This inherent love of ornament and decoration in the Indian women was made legitimate and compulsory by the Śāstric injunction that a faithful wife desirous of the longevity of her husband must not forego turmeric (haridrā), saffron (kuṃkuma), red lead (sindūra) and collyrium (kajjala) to decorate her person. The use of a bodice (kārṇāsaka), auspicious ornaments (māṅgalyābharāṇa), bangles and earrings, dressing the hair (keśasaṃskāra) and arranging the coiffure (kavari) were also enjoined upon them.⁴ Vātsyāyana advises a wife never to present herself before her husband without some ornament on her person.⁵

1. Kāmasūtra, I. 4, 8 (Benares edition, V. S. 1956).

2. Ib., I. 4, 16.

3. Ib., I. 4, 17.

4. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, quoted by R. L. Mitra in 'Indo Aryans', Vol. I. p. 279.

5. Kāmasūtra, IV. 1, 13.

Both men and women used fresh and fragrant flowers and, besides applying pastes and perfumes they painted beautiful designs on their cheeks. It was, however, in the matter of hairdressing that the women gave fullest vent to their fancy. They braided and plaited their hair and arranged it in a chignon or top knot, over which they wore ornaments or flowers.)

Besides the routine of the daily toilet, special toilet prescriptions were followed in the different seasons. Thus in winter oil, saffron, musk and also aloewood smoke were used.¹ In the spring the body was painted with a paste prepared from camphor, sandal, aloewood and saffron.² Vāgbhaṭṭa gives a beautiful description of the toilet performed to ward off the summer heat. In the summer a man passed his time in a house from which the ingress of hot wind had been stopped. He slept on a bed decorated with plantain leaves and fragrant flowers and he frequented the shower bath (dhārāgṛha). At night he wore a light garment, camphor garlands and necklaces scented with sandal paste,³ and sat with his wife on the open terrace bathed in the moonlight, listened to the twittering of his pet birds and fanned himself with a palm-leaf fan moistened with water. In the rainy weather clothes were fumigated with sweet-smelling woods and aromatic resins.⁴ Sandalwood, 'uśīra' (the fragrant root of the plant *Andropogon muricatus*), camphor, pearls, garlands and white garments formed part of toilet, dress and ornaments.⁵

The Tamil country in this age was famous for its cosmetics and both men and women indulged in perfumes. Fragrant oils and a variety of red or yellow colours were used; the women painted their eyelids with collyrium, and in the houses aromatic resins and woods were burnt. Unguent and cosmetics were used on all occasions. Thus it is mentioned that at the marriage ceremony of Kaṇṇaki and Kovalan "women with fully developed breasts and glowing tresses took with them sandal paste, frankincense,

1. Vāgbhaṭṭa, 'Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya', III, 11.

2. Ib., III, 20.

3. Ib., III, 33-41.

4. Ib., III, 47.

5. Vāgbhaṭṭa, Ib., III, 53.

perfumes and powders",¹ which must have been used in the bridal toilet and offering to the gods and guests. Such was the demand for cosmetics that "in the streets of Kāveripattinam the hawkers went about with paints, bathing-powders and cool-pastes, flowers and incense and fragrant scents".² Cosmetics were also sold at the seashore.³ The Tamils were sea-faring merchants and their harbours were emporia of all kinds of goods including aromatic woods and resins from distant lands. Thus it is mentioned that in Tonḍi, a Pāṇḍyan port, the ships brought different kinds of incense, silks, sandalwoods, scents and camphor.⁴ The demand for exotic perfumes seems to have developed to an appreciable extent and we know on the testimony of Pliny and the Periplus that India imported myrrh and frankincense from south Arabia and Somaliland and the costliest ointments for the use of kings.

Hitherto we have been giving a general description of the toilet and cosmetics in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the following pages we shall take the articles of toilet one by one and try to show how much light the literature and archaeology of the period throw on this subject.

Tooth brushes and pastes :

The majority of the Indians used twigs obtained from the 'babūl', 'nīm', or some other trees. Tooth powders and pastes must have also been used as several have been prescribed in Indian books of medicine. According to Suśruta the best tooth paste was obtained from honey, 'trikaṭu' (fruits of Terminalia chebula, T. bellerica and Phyllanthus emblica), 'trivarga' (cinnamon, cardamom, and the leaves of Laurus cassia), 'tejovati' (Scindapsus officinalis), salt and oil.⁵

Eye and mouth washes :

After cleaning the teeth, the eyes and mouth were washed with a specially prepared decoction. According to Suśruta this wash was

1. Silappadikāram, I, p. 90. Tr. by V. R. Ramachandran Dikshitar, Madras, 1939.

2. Ib., V, p. 110.

3. Ib., VI, 126.

4. Ib., XIV, p. 204, fn. 1.

5. Suśruta, 'Cikitsāsthāna', XXIV, 4. Tr. by Kunja-lāl.

obtained from the bark of the 'kṣīra' tree"¹ mixed with milk or with 'bhillodaka' (Symlocos racemosa), or emblic myrobalan (āmalaka). These were soaked in a large quantity of water and then the strained water was used for washing the eyes and mouth.² Many people in modern India use 'triphalā' as eye and mouth washes.

Oils :

Anointing the body with scented oil or unguent before the bath was and is still a common practice both in ancient and modern India ; the works on Indian medicine wax eloquent over the beneficial effect of massaging the body with oil. According to Suśruta, "anointing the head with oil makes the hair grow luxuriously and imparts to it thickness, softness and glow. Pouring oil into the cavities of the ears is highly efficacious in case of headache and earache. Anointing the body imparts a glossy softness to the skin".³ Small vases which carried oil or unguents in ancient India have been found in all archæological sites. They are generally simple in shape though sometimes they imitated the shape of some fruits.⁴ That such flasks were carried by the man of fashion is proved by the figures of certain Bodhisattvas in the Gandhāra sculptures.⁵

The ordinary scented oil was obtained from sesame seeds which were previously scented with flowers. The oil took the fragrance of the flower with which the sesame was perfumed.⁶ Scented oil of a richer variety was also obtained. Cinnamon (tvaca), saffron, myrrh (murā), 'analada' (name of various plants, Plumbago, Rosea, Semicarpus anacardinus) and 'vālaka' (a kind of Andropogon) weighing half the quantity of the oil yielded a scented oil which had the fragrance of lotus.⁷ 'Tagara' when added to the oil double in quantity yielded a

1. It is difficult to identify the 'kṣīra' tree as the name was applied to Asclepia rosea, Mimosa kanki, gigantic swallow wort, Euphorbia, etc.

2. Suśruta, loc. cit., p. 8.

3. Suśruta, loc. cit., 13.

4. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1902-3, p. 184.

5. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India', p. 196. Fig. 132.

6. Agnipurāṇa, CXXII, 33. Anandāśrama Sanskrit series.

7. Ib., 30.

scented oil emitting the fragrance of 'jāti' flowers (*Jasminum grandiflorum*). The same fragrance could be obtained by mixing the powder of 'vakula' flowers¹ (*Mimusops Elengi*). A scented oil was also obtained by mixing Indian madder, 'tagara' 'coḷa' (probably some aromatic wood from south India), cinnamon, 'nakha' (*Unguis odoratus*), and 'vyāghra-nakha' (*Tithymalus* or *Euphorbia antiquorum*) with any ordinary oil.²

Bath :

The majority of the Indians took their bath at wells, in rivers or in open tanks, but there were also bathrooms attached to the houses ; shower baths were also known. The kings and well-to-do people used scented water for bathing to remove bad odours from their bodies. Various formulas have been prescribed for preparing scented bath water. It is mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* that milk, saffron, camphor and various aromatic herbs were used to perfume the water.³ The water was also perfumed with the leaves of wood apple, 'bela', 'mango' or oleander (*karavīra*) with a little admixture of musk.⁴ At another place fourteen aromatics namely, cinnamon, 'nāḍī' (a kind of bent grass), nutmeg (*phala*), oil (*taila*), saffron (*kumkuma*), 'granthiparva', benzoin (*śaileya*), 'tagara' (*Tabernæ montana coronaria*), a kind of solanum (*krāntā*), 'coḷa', camphor (*karpūra*), 'mānsi' (*Nardostachys jatamansi*), myrrh (*murā*) and costus (*kuṣṭha*), are mentioned ; any of these three mixed with musk and then added to the water yielded scented bath water.⁵

At the time of bath the skin was rubbed with a flesh rubber to cleanse it of all dirt and impurities. Flesh rubbers were generally made of terracotta and sometimes they were decorated with incised linear and other patterns on all sides.⁶

Pastes, perfumes, powders, collyrium, etc. :

Sweet perfumes, powders and pastes obtained from aromatic woods,

1. *Ib.*, 31.

2. *Ib.*, 33.

3. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 403, l. 25.

4. *Agnipurāṇa*, CCXXII, 21-22.

5. *Ib.*, 27-29.

6. Flesh rubber excavated at Sirkap. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1915-16, p. 15, Pl. VIII.

resins, flowers, etc. were used both by men and women for removing body-odour.¹ Sandal and alce-wood, powders, frankincense and myrrh were used for fumigating the rooms and also the garments, etc. An unclean body or clothes smelling of sweat or dirt were greatly detested, and according to the Agnipurāṇa (CCXXIV, 20-21), to remove bad odour from the body a man washed himself (śaucam), gargled (ācamanam), wore beautiful garlands, heated the body (bodhanam) so that free perspiration cleaned the pores, used incense-sticks (dhūpanam), fumigated his clothes and body (vāsanam), and anointed his body with scents and perfumes. The scented pastes were also supposed to possess medicinal properties. Thus it is mentioned in the Cikitsāsthāna² that anointing the body with scented pastes (anulepana) removed fatigue and perspiration, produced a sense of pleasure, improved the 'ojas', the strength and complexion of the body, enhanced the beauty and glow of the frame and gave it a lovely appearance. Application of scented pastes (ālepa) to the face imparted steadiness to the eyes, brought on a graceful contour of the face, cheeks and the mouth, produced a glow like that of a lotus flower and prevented its disfigurement by pimples, moles and such like growths and eruptions.³ Perfumes, scented powders, etc. were also used in beautifying and decorating the houses and streets at auspicious occasions. Thus it is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna⁴ that the streets of Sopārā at the time of the supposed visit of the Buddha were sprinkled with sandalwood water (candanavāri), fumigated with aromatic gums and woods burning in incense pots (dhūpa-ghaṭikā) and strewn with flowers. In Bhadrāśilā the fragrance of agallochum, sandalwood and flowers permeated the air.⁵

Sandalwood paste was the most important material with which men and women anointed themselves. 'Gośirṣa' sandal⁶ was a superior

1. The perfumer was known as 'gāndhika', and a whole story in the 'Divyāvadāna' (XXVI) is devoted to the perfumer Gupta and his sons.

2. Suśruta, loc. cit., p. 39.

3. Suśruta, Ib., 40-41.

4. Divyāvadāna, p. 215, ll. 27-29.

5. Divyāvadāna, p. 315, ll. 13-16.

6. Ib., pp. 30-31.

class of sandalwood, and a bundle of 'gośirṣa' sandalwood brought as much as one hundred 'kāṣapaṇas', and this was considered to be a bargain price. It seems to have been sold in powder form (cūrṇaka) and was difficult to get, at least in western India, as it is mentioned that the Rājā of Sopārā did not possess it and had to buy it from Pūrṇa at a very heavy price. In south India the sandalwood of the southern mountains, the Poḍiyal hills¹ was very famous.

In south India the soft mixture made of the black 'akil' paste, the fragrant 'kuṃkuma' flowers, civet-musk, the excellent sandal paste and the paste made from the musk of deer² were preferred as perfumes. It is also mentioned that the Brāhmaṇas in south India painted their breasts with a paste made from the unblossomed 'vaṭṭihai', the bright dust of 'vannikai' (sandal) and 'koṭṭam'.³

Perfumes were kept in small bottles. There were also sprinklers. One such sprinkler was found at Bālāhisār⁴ in which the base is perforated with a number of small holes and the mouth is narrow enough to be closed with a finger tip. Another narrow-necked earthen flask with seven small holes in the base was found at Sirkap, Taxilā. This was also possibly a sprinkler.⁵

Aromatic powders were also used for dusting the face and the body, and the powders obtained from agallochum (agaru), sandalwood and 'tagara' are mentioned.⁶ These powders besides being used as cosmetics were also showered on distinguished personages.

Collyrium was used both by men and women for staining their eyes. It alleviated the burning and itching sensation, removed local pain, increased the range of vision,⁷ and it also furthered the growth of beautiful eye-lashes, cleansed the eyes by removing the unhealthy secretions, made the eyes more wide and graceful, and also imparted a

1. Silappadikāram, IV, p. 107, fn. 4.

2. Ib., XIII, p. 195.

3. Ib., XXII, p. 256.

4. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1902-3., p. 184.

5. A. S. I., Ann. Rep. 1928-29, p. 52.

6. Divyāvadāna, p. 158, l. 15.

7. Suśruta, loc. cit., 9-11.

brilliant lustre to the pupils.¹ Ordinary lamp black must have been used by the common people for staining the eyes as today, but in the period under review 'śrotoñjana' or antimony which was found in the vicinity of the river Indus was considered to be the purest of the 'añjanas'.² The collyrium must have been applied to the eyes with the fingers as today, but antimony rods (fig. 17) found at various archaeological sites³ prove the existence of collyrium pots from which some antimony was taken on the rod and then applied to the eyes.

Besides staining the eyes with collyrium, the lips and teeth were also stained. Clean white teeth were preferred, but their brilliance was increased by staining. Beautiful young women kept their teeth either pearl white or stained them red comparable with the hue of the petals of red lotus flowers.⁴ The lips were stained with red mineral (aśmarāga) or lac-dye.⁵

In this age as also in the centuries preceding the Christian era (women were also very fond of painting their faces and shoulders with simple colours and artistic designs. The art of painting patterns on the cheeks was so much in fashion that Vātsyāyana included it in his list of the sixty-four arts.⁶ The designs (bhakti) were painted with lac-dye (alakṭarāga) in its natural shade, or in a shade resembling the colour of the shoot of the Aśoka tree.⁷ The women in the Kāmasūtra painted patterns (viśeṣaka) also using many cut out designs from betel and 'tamāla' leaves, papyrus, etc., on the forehead and cheeks.⁸ The designs were drawn on the face with

1. Ib., 41-42.

2. Ib., 9-11.

3. Antimony rods with incised cross hatchings from Bālā-Hisār, A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1902-3, p. 153; antimony rods from Dharmarājika stūpa, Taxilā, A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1915-16, p. 10; from Sirkap, A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1914-15, p. 17, Pl. XXIV, 33, also p. 23, Pl. XXIV, 26; antimony sticks found at Besnagar, A. S. I. Ann. Rep., 1913-14, p. 218.

4. Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, XXIII, 28-33. Ed. by Batuknath Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, Benares, 1929.

5. Ib., XXIII, 30-31.

6. Kāmasūtra, I, 3, 16.

7. Saundarānanda, IV. 20.

8. Kāmasūtra, II. 5, 19.

a paint stick (patrāṅguli).¹ Sometimes a part of the design was cut out from the fresh 'tamāla' leaf and stuck to the cheeks and the rest of the design was picked out in red;² this method of making designs on the cheeks and forehead is being still adhered to in the district of Mathurā at the time of marriage. Decorative designs were also drawn on the shoulders. Thus it is mentioned that Kovalan, the hero of Silappadikāram, amused himself by painting on the broad shoulders of his lady-love the sugar-cane and 'valli' ('kāmavalli' or heavenly creeper).³ At another place it is mentioned that the breast of the Pāṇḍya king was painted with a pattern in the form of a garland in Poḍyial sandal-paste.⁴

For staining the lips, cheeks, etc., rouge was also used. At Sirkap, Taxilā, a miniature casket of slate containing rouge was found.⁵ The feet were dyed with lac as today.⁶ In the south the breasts were sometimes painted with vermilion paste.⁷ Ghee mixed with some colouring material⁸ (varṇagḥṛta) and turmeric were used for painting the body.⁹ The body was also sometimes painted with unadulterated earthy particles in soft grassy grains (mṛdubhiḥsaikataiḥsnigdhaiḥ) made yellowish with the sprinkling of saffron (kesarāstara-panḍubhiḥ).¹⁰

Flower garlands :

We have already referred to the love of Indians for flowers and garlands. The art of making beautiful garlands was taken to be an accomplishment and two of the sixty four 'kalās' namely 'mālyagrathanavikalpa' and 'śekharakāpidayojana' refer to the art of making garlands.¹¹ Five kinds of garlands have been referred to by Bharata¹² : 'ceṣṭita' (set

1. Saundarānanda, IV. 13-16

2. Ib., IV. 20

3. Silappadikāram, II, p. 93.

4. Ib., XVII, p. 234.

5. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1928-29, p. 52.

6. Silappadikāram, VI, p. 126.

7. Ib., IV, 108.

8. Gāthā Saptasati, I. 22.

9. Ib., I. 58, 80.

10. Saundarānanda, I, 7.

11. Kāmasūtra, I, 3, 16.

12. Bhāratīya Nāṭya-Śāstra, XXIII, 11.

in motion), 'vitata' (large), 'samghātya' (cluster), 'grathima' (knotted) and 'pralambita' (hanging). In the Kāmasūtra it is mentioned that a woman wore flower garlands hanging from the neck, or chaplets (apida) on the head. Flowers were also simply stuck into the hair. Elaborate ornaments for the ears (karṇapūra, karṇapatra) were also made with flowers,¹ and 'karṇapatrabhaṅga' or making flower ornaments was considered an art² (Kāmasūtra, I. 3, 16).

In south India flowers played an important part in the decoration of both men and women. Garlands wreathed of particular flowers were worn by the Tamil kings as a distinguishing mark. Thus the Coḷa kings wore garlands of Bauhinia racemosa;³ the Pāṇḍya and Cera kings wore the garlands of margosa⁴ and the palmyra⁵ respectively. 'Paṭalai' garlands interspersed with the segments of tender lotus stalks, lotus flowers and blue flowers were preferred.⁶ Flowers were also used for decorating and perfuming the bed.⁷

Incense, fumigation of garments, etc.

Frankincense and various other aromatic resins and woods were used for the fumigation of the clothes, living rooms, etc. It seems to have been a custom with the members of higher society to perfume their clothes. Thus the fragrance of Cārudatta's apparel assured Vasantasena that though he was impoverished he was not unmindful of the toilet befitting a member of higher society.⁸ In the Saundarānanda⁹ maidservants are shown perfuming the garments.

A list of twenty drugs and aromatic woods and resins is given in the Agnipurāṇa⁹ which were used for the fumigation of rooms, clothes, etc. They are : 'nakha' (unguis odoratus), costus (kuṣṭha), 'ghaṇa' (the bulbous root of Cyperus hexastachys communis), nard, spṛk

1. Kāmasūtra, II. 5, 19.

2. Silappadikāram, p. 77.

3. Ib., p. 78.

4. Ib., fn. 4.

5. Ib., IV, p. 103.

6. Ib., IV, p. 107.

7. Bhāṣa, Cārudatta, I, 26. Trivandrum Sanskrit series

8. IV, 26.

9. CCXXIV, 23-25.

(*Trigonella corniculata*), benzoin, saffron (*kumkuma*), shellac (*lākṣā*), sandalwood, agallochum, 'nīḍada', pine resin (*sarala*), 'devakāṣṭha' (*Pinus devadāru*), camphor, 'kāntā', myrrh (*vāla*), olibanum (*kundaruka*), bdellium (*guggula*), 'śrīnivāsaka' (resin of *Pinus longifolia*) and 'sarjarasa' (the resin of *Vatica robusta*).

Any two of the above substances powdered and moulded with honey and mixed with resin, incense (*piṇyāka*), 'nakha' (*Unguis odoratus*) and sandalwood yielded a good incense.¹ A fragrant powder made of sandalwood, agallochum and 'kālānusāri' (a fragrant substance) was also used as incense.² Incense tablets (*gandha-vatikā*) were also burnt.³ That the practice of burning incense was fairly common in this period is proved by the discovery of incense-burners from various archaeological sites.⁴ (Figs. 18-19).

Perfumed pills :

„Betel leaf was used for removing bad odour from the mouth and was taken after bath, meals, after anointing the body and after getting up from sleep. It was prepared with spices including cloves, camphor, nutmeg, 'kakkola', 'latā-kastūrī', etc.⁵ Certain perfumed pills (*guṭikā*) were also used for perfuming the breath. Camphor, saffron, 'krāntā', musk, 'hareṇu' (a sort of drug or perfume), 'kakkola' (a berry, the inner part of which is waxy and aromatic), cardamom, nutmeg (*jātikoṣa*), 'latākastūrī' (musk creeper, a kind of aromatic medicinal plant ; according to some, *Hibicus moschatus*), cloves and mace were all powdered and moulded with catechu and the juice of mango leaves into pills weighing one 'kārṣikā'. These pills were supposed to be an effective remedy against the bad odour of the mouth.⁶ Betelnut was soaked in water in which the five 'pallavas' (the aggregate of five sprigs or shoots of 'āmra', 'jambū', 'kapittha', 'bīja-pūraka' and 'bilva' ; according to others of 'āmra', 'āśvattha', 'vaṭa', 'prakaṭi', and 'yajñodumbara' ; or of the 'panasa',

1. Ib., CXXIV, 26.

2. Lalitavistara, p. 343, 11, 7. 8.

3. Ib., p. 226, L. 1.

4. Sirkap, Taxilā, A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1914-15, p. 16, Pl. XX, 2 ; also Ib., p. 22, Pl. XX, 1.

5. Suśruta, Cikitsāsthāna, XXIV, 12.

6. Agnipurāṇa, CXXIV, 34-37.

āmra, 'aśvattha', 'vata' and 'bakula'; or of the spondias, roseapple, bel or marmelos, citron and wood apple) had been soaked previously, and then scented with the above mentioned articles,—mentioned in connection with the perfumed pills—served the same purpose.¹ 'Kaṭuka' (Trichosanthes Dioeca) and 'danta-kāṣṭha' (various trees the woods of which are used for cleaning the teeth) soaked in the urine of the cow and scented with the aromatics abovementioned, were also an effective medicine for removing bad odour from the mouth.² The women attendants in the palace in order to suppress foul breath and also to impart it the fragrance of 'nāgavallī' (Piper betel) kept a special preparation in their mouth prepared from a half part of camphor and one-fourth part each of cinammon and 'pathya' (Terminalia chebula or citrina).³

Coiffure, care of nails, etc.:

In this age the art of hair dressing was cultivated specially by the women, and in the sculptures and the terracottas of the period we find innumerable types of coiffures. Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra (XXIII, 64-67) has something to say about the different types of coiffures worn by the women in various parts of the country. Thus the young women from Malwā (Avantiyuvatinam) wore curled locks (śiraḥ sālaka-kuntalam);⁴ the women from Gauḍa as a general rule wore their locks in a top-knot (śikhā), or braided and plaited the hair (pāśa-veṇikam). The Abhīra women wore their hair in two plaits (dvivenīdharam) which were sometimes wound round the head (śiraḥ parigamaprāyaḥ).⁵ The women of the north-eastern parts of India arranged the tufts of hair in well drawn up positions;⁶ the women of southern India wore their hair arranged in the shape of a water-vessel held together with an ornament (kumbhipadakasamyuktam) or the locks of hair were turned backwards from the forehead

1. Ib., 39.

2. Ib., 40.

3. Ib., CCXXIV, 41.

4. Nāṭyaśāstra, XXIII, 64.

5. Ib., XXIII, 65.

6. Ib., XXIII, 66.

(avarta-lalāṭikam).¹ The latter refers to the five-plaited hair of the Tamil women mentioned so often in the Tamil literature of the period.²

The Tamil women divided their hair into five parts twisted or plaited separately, and tied up the five tufts allowing the ends to hang down the back in a graceful manner. Such was the preference for this kind of coiffure that the young girls allowed their hair to be closely cropped leaving five tufts with a good space in between each other; later on when the girls grew up they extended the tufts till they covered the whole surface of the head.³

The Tamil women were also very fond of perfuming their hair. Thus it is mentioned that Mādari, one of the women characters in the 'Silappadikāram' (VI, p. 126) "bathed her fragrant black hair soft as flowers till it shone, in the perfumed oil prepared by mixing up ten kinds of astringents, five spices and thirty-two herbs soaked in water; she dried it in fuming incense, and perfumed the different plaits with the thick paste of the musk deer." The perfuming of hair with some sort of paste made from musk is also referred at another place.⁴

The Gandhāra sculptures have retained the varieties in the arrangement of coiffures which Indian men and women inhabiting the north-western part of the country preferred during the early centuries of the Christian era. Generally, the men wore their hair long and tied it in a knot at the top of the crown⁵ (Fig. 20). At other times the hair was arranged in a top-knot, but few side-locks were curled⁶ (Fig. 21). In the third type the hair was gathered in a top-knot, but a few curled locks were allowed to fall on the shoulders.⁷ The Indian 'upāsaka' did not wear any headdress but wore a hair lock arranged at the top of the crown in the shape of a bow⁸ (Fig. 22). Sometimes a part of the

1. Ib., XXIII, 67.

2. Silappadikāram, VIII, p. 147.

3. 'Kaliththokai', ss. 32, 55: also Kanakasabhai, 'The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago', p. 118.

4. Silappadikāram, II, p. 95.

5. Foucher, L'iconographie Bouddhique du Gandhara, II, fig. 392.

6. Ib., II, fig. 395.

7. Ib., II, fig. 385.

8. Ib., II, fig. 358.

hair was arranged in a top-knot and the rest of it in schematic curls¹ (Fig. 23). In some cases curled locks fell on the forehead² (Fig. 24). The hair was sometimes arranged in a top-knot and the curled locks fell on the forehead³ (Fig. 25). In another variation of the same style the curled locks fall on the forehead, sides and the back.⁴ The hair was also sometimes taken up from the forehead, sides and back and then knotted⁵ (Fig. 26). In some cases the hair, the ringlets of which were pinned to the head, was gathered in a knot at the crown of the head.⁶ Sometimes the hair was also worn in ringlets falling down the neck and held together by a fillet.⁷ The children had generally their heads close shaven except three locks or tufts, which were sometimes combined with a chignon. In some cases children wore their hair cropped.⁸ The comedians sometimes shaved the sides of their heads in the shape of irregular triangles, leaving two side locks and a forelock⁹ (Fig. 27).

As a general rule the women in Gandhāra wore their hair in the shape of a spiral at the top of their head¹⁰ (Figs. 28-29) or in top-knot¹¹ (Figs. 30-31). In some cases a part of the hair was arranged in a top-knot and a few curled locks were allowed to fall on the back¹² (Fig. 32). The hair was also plaited in a single pigtail and allowed to fall on the back¹³ (Figs. 33-35) or braided into a looped knot.¹⁴ This pigtail was often decorated with a net made of pearls and rosettes¹⁵ (Fig. 36).

The chaplet usually worn round the head effected the form of a laurel fitting closely to the hair and tying at the back¹⁶ (Fig. 37). India seems

1. *Ib.*, II, fig. 360.
2. *Ib.*, II, fig. 361.
3. *Ib.*, fig. 362.
4. *Ib.*, fig. 363.
5. *Ib.*, fig. 357.
6. Marshall, 'The Stūpa and Monastery at Jaulian'. Pl. XX, f, k, n ; XXI, g-i.
7. *Ib.*, Pl. XXI, a.
8. *Ib.*, p. 29.
9. Foucher, loc. cit., II, fig. 310.
10. *Ib.*, I, figs. 162, 244.
11. *Ib.*, II, 318, 319.
12. *Ib.*, II, fig. 385.
13. *Ib.*, figs. 378, 179, 447.
14. *Ib.*, figs. 179, 447.
15. Vogel, 'La Sculpture de Mathura', Pl. XLV.
16. Foucher, loc. cit., II, figs. 377, 382-385.

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to have been famous for the manufacture of chaplets. Pliny has noted that in the period under review there was a demand for chaplets imported from India, made of nard leaves on fabrics or else of silk of many colours steeped in unguents. Such was the pitch to which the luxuriousness of Roman women had reached, and made Pliny bewail the fate of his country.¹ The wearing of such chaplets seems to have been a universal custom in north-western India.

The hairdresses both of men and women as represented in the Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period are varied, and if the terracotta figurines are also taken into account, almost endless. The men generally wear their hair tied in a knot at the top of the crown. In rare instances the forelock was tied in a knot in the middle of the forehead and the rest of the hair was curled² (Fig. 38). In rare instances the hair in ringlets covered the neck with some locks falling on the shoulders³ (Fig. 39). The women, however, wore their coiffures in many ways. Some women wore their hair in a single pigtail (Fig. 41).⁴ Sometimes the hair was plaited and braided into two pigtails joined together by their tips⁵ (Fig. 40). The commonest way of wearing the hair was to part the hair at the sides⁶ (Fig. 41). The roundness of the middle parts is due to artificial means. It is possible that perfect curves were obtained by a depilatory process, or the superfluous hair was removed by some sticky paste, a practice still followed by women in Marwar. The sides, sometimes instead of being rounded were made angular⁷ (Fig. 42). Sometimes, to give a more decorative effect, while parting the hair on the sides, two tiny curled locks were left stuck to the scalp possibly with some pomade⁸ (Fig. 43). The women also parted their hair in the middle⁹ (Fig. 44). The hair on both

1. Schoff, 'The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea', p. 191.

2. V. S. Agrawala, Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, Pl. XI.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XVI, fig. 32, to the left, top panel.

4. Vogel, 'La Sculpture de Mathura'. Pl. LXVI, h.

5. Smith, The Jain Stupa....., Pls. XXXIV and XXXV.

6. Agrawala, loc. cit., Pl. XIV.

7. *Ib.*

8. Vogel, loc. cit., Pl. XIX, a.

9. Agrawala, loc. cit., Pl. XI.



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sides of the parting was sometimes arranged in zig-zag to give the coiffure a decorative effect. The coiffure was also arranged in a spiral at the top of the crown¹ (Fig. 45). In rare instances the hair falling down the back was looped and knotted² (Fig. 46).

Women of southern India are noted for their beautiful, soft, and glossy hair of which they take great care. We have already given references from Tamil literature about the coiffure of the women from Tamil land in ancient times. Men also arranged their hair in various ways, but these were confined to certain well-defined types. In the sculptures of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Goḷli there are overwhelmingly many varieties of coiffures. From these confusing varieties, however, it is possible to establish certain well-defined types out of which many subsidiary types were evolved by the individuals by arranging their hair at angles of their own choice and by giving their coiffures twists and turns which lent them individuality.

The men generally wore their hair in a top-knot at the top of the crown³ (Fig. 47). In another type a part of the hair was knotted at the back while the forelock is passed through a cylindrical ornament attached to the head in a slanting position with the strands of the hair taken out from the upper end⁴ (Fig. 48). In another type the hair was arranged in two knots at the top of the crown⁵ (Fig. 49). In another type two stiffened locks going beyond the confines of the forehead curled round the sides of the headdress⁶ (Fig. 50). Short hair parted in the middle and covering the neck was also worn⁷ (Fig. 51). A part of the long hair was gathered on the right side of the head, looped and knotted; the rest of it was coiled at the top⁸ (Fig. 52; Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, Pl. XXI, b). The hair was also gathered at the top of the head, looped and coiled⁹ (Fig. 53)

1. Vogel, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XVII.

2. Smith, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. LXI.

3. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. LXXIV.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXIV.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIV.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXIII, fig. 2.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXIV.

8. Fergusson, *loc. cit.*

9. *Ib.*, Pl. LVII.



[Ib., Pl. XXII a]. The cowherds and elephant drivers¹ had their hair curled, as also the soldiers.

Ordinarily the women from the south arranged their hair in pigtails. A part of the hair was coiled at the back of the head and five thin plaits were allowed to hang down the back (Fig 54). This mode of wearing the hair has been referred in the Tamil classics and seems to have been favourite with all classes of women. Sometimes the hair was arranged in a single plait² (Fig. 55). At times the end of the plait was looped and knotted³ (Fig. 56). In some cases two plaits were made to hang on one side of the head and a chaplet was worn round the head as in Gandhāra⁴ (Fig 57). The hair was sometimes not tied but taken out from an aperture in a cap and allowed to hang loose on the back⁵ (Fig. 58). The hair was tied in a knot at the back⁷ (Fig. 59). In this very style the hair falling on the front was arranged in a zig-zag⁸ (Fig. 60). The hair was parted in the middle and a plait was made to hang on the left side⁹ (Fig. 61). The hair was also simply parted in the middle with a knuckle-bone shaped ornament at the top¹⁰ (Figs. 62-63). Sometimes the hair was not parted, and a few curled locks stuck to the head were left to enhance the beauty of the coiffure¹¹ (Fig. 64). The hair was also sometimes divided on the sides and the top of the crown decorated with a round knobbed ornament¹² (Fig. 65). The hair was divided into three parts gathered at the back and then looped and coiled (Fig. 66).¹³ There were some complicated coiffures. In some cases the hair was so parted in the middle that a part of the hair triangular in

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1. Ib., Pl. LXVI.
 2. Ib., Pl. LXII.
 3. Ib., Pl. LXXI.
 4. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 2.
 5. Ib., Pl. XXXV.
 6. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 2.
 7. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 2.
 8. Ib., Pl. LXXXV.
 9. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 1.
 10. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 1.
 11. Ib., Pl. LXXIV.
 12. Ib., Pl. LXXIII, fig. 1.
 13. Longhurst, loc. cit., Pl. VII (a)

shape was left over the scalp and then two side-locks were taken back¹ (Fig. 67). The hair was also arranged on the top of the crown in a dome-like manner² (Fig. 68). In another style part of the hair was arranged on the top of the head in dome-like manner and two side-locks were taken back so as to cover the ears (Fig. 69).

To clean the hair and scalp brushes and combs were used and artistically shaped combs have been found at various archaeological sites. The combs were often fashioned out of ivory and decorated with incised busts of a male and female on one side and a duck on the other. One such comb was found at Taxilā³ (Figs. 70-71, p. 112). Ordinary ivory and bone hair combs decorated with small incised circles were also found at Sirkap, Taxilā.⁴ Forceps, perhaps used in hair-dressing was also known⁵ (Fig. 72, p. 112).

For the purpose of decorating the face with painted designs or to see that the ornaments on face, ears and forehead were fixed properly and artistically, the help of the mirror was of utmost importance. Excavations at various archaeological sites have yielded copper mirrors. One such mirror, circular in shape, with a projection for handle, was found at Sirkap, Taxilā.⁶ It may be assumed that ordinarily wooden handles were attached to these mirrors, but the rich people attached ivory handles to their mirrors. An ivory handle of a mirror decorated with incised linear patterns was found in the excavations at Sirkap (Fig. 73, p. 112);⁷ another ivory handle decorated with raised bands and hatchings was found at Sirsukh, Taxila.⁸

The care of nails and ears :

It is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra⁹ that the 'nāgaraka' was very particular about his finger nails which were carefully pared and sometimes

1. Fergusson, loc. cit. Pl. LXXIV.

2. Ib., Pl. LXXII, fig. 2.

3. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1928-29, p. 51, Pl. XXI, 13-14.

4. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1926-27, p. 119.

5. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1914-15, p. 20, Pl. XXIV, 29. From Sirkap, Taxila.

6. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., p. 16, Pl. IX, 101.

7. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1915-16, p. 17, Pl. IX, 3.

8. Ib., p. 20, Pl. XV.

9. II, 4.

dented. Special attention was paid to the finger nails of the left hand. The nails were required to be well-set, smooth, bright, scrupulously clean and glossy in appearance. Great care was taken of the nails because the 'nāgaraka' used them in impressing marks on the body of his beloved in amorous dalliance.

Ear picks were used for removing the ear wax, and bronze ear picks with rounded ends were found at Sirkap, Taxilā¹ (Figs. 74-75, p. 112).

VII

The Gupta age, some aspects of whose cultural heritage stayed till the end of the 7th century, witnessed such national prosperity and unhampered development of art and literature that it is truly called the Golden age of Indian history. Starting from a small kingdom the fame of the chivalrous arms of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta reached the farthest corners of India, and states after states bowed down before their powerful army. The conquest however, was not sullied by lust of power or wealth. The purpose of the Gupta kings was to bring the warring states under their control so that the country might flourish. The Gupta emperors were Hindus who worshipped Śiva and Viṣṇu and erected temples in their honour, but they were no narrow sectarians. Such was their spirit of toleration that Jains and Buddhists followed their beliefs with perfect equanimity. Under the patronage of the court Sanskrit literature flourished. Kālidāsa, the greatest of the immortal bards of India sang the glories of that courtly religious culture which finds visual expression in the paintings of Ajantā and Bāgh. In the sphere of art the earlier exuberance and spontaneous simplicity are brought under the constraint of reason, and art becomes more formal, self conscious and complex. The images are marked with a sense of detachment and contemplation hitherto unknown, and art gained in qualities which appealed to the conscious intellect and to the sub-conscious aesthetic sense.

1. A. S. I., Ann. Re., 1914-15, p. 17, Pl. XXIV, 34; Ib., p. 23, Pl. XXIV, 28.

There was an all round improvement in the standard of life in the Gupta period, and the luxuries in this age knew no bound. The works of Kālidāsa, and later on of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin reflect a kaleidoscopic view of the life of the people both high and low, while the paintings of Ajaṇṭā serve as a dictionary of the manners and customs, dress and ornaments of the age. The dignified royal personages wearing 'dhoties' and ornaments and tiaras of very complex patterns, accompanied by their queens decked in all their fineries and surrounded by their attendants, some clothed in sewn garments, others in very light garments; women performing their toilet while looking into mirrors; dancers accompanied by musicians giving performances, their bodies swirling in exquisite rhythmic movements; the royal procession with their elaborate paraphernalia; soldiers wearing tunics and holding arms ready to strike, are some of the aspects of Indian life which are depicted in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā. On comparison of the descriptions of Indian life in literature with those depicted in the paintings we are struck at once by the power of observation of the painters and the authors alike.

In this section an attempt has been made to throw some light on one aspect of the luxurious life in the Gupta period, i. e., how men and women decorated themselves and the cosmetics they used; the various modes in which they arranged their coiffures, etc. In the matter of cosmetics, perfumes, etc., constant allusion to the contemporary literature has been made. Coiffures have been illustrated from the contemporary sculpture and paintings.

Cosmetics, perfumes, flowers, unguents, etc., were used both by men and women from the point of view of personal hygiene. They were also used to add charm to their supple bodies. Collyrium not only increased the eyesight, according to ancient Hindu belief, but also increased coquettishness of the eyes. To gain some knowledge as to how ancient Indians, both men and women, effected their toilet one must go through the literature of the period, specially the pen-pictures of Bāṇa, both in 'Kādambarī' and 'Harṣacarita'. The truthfulness of the pen-pictures of men and women in the seventh century as portrayed by Bāṇa, can be verified from the paintings at Ajaṇṭā.

The morning bath of the king Śūdraka is described by Bāṇa as follows: The king proceeded accompanied by a host of 'cāraṇas' to the

bathroom (snānabhūmi) where there was a golden bath basin (jaladroni) filled with perfumed water, with a crystal bathing stool (sphaṭika-snānapīṭha) resting in its centre, and where there were lying water vessels (snāna-kalaśa) filled with fragrant water.¹ When in the bath the women attendants besmeared his head with 'āmalaka' paste and the water which they poured over him was scented with saffron and sandal.² Let us now turn to Ajaṇṭā where a king's bath is depicted (Fig. 76).³ The bathing place is a pillared verandah. On the right the king is seated on a high-backed stool. His head is uncovered, and he is clad in a simple loin-cloth. On his right stands a maid-servant with a tray holding pastes and unguents. Behind the king stand two attendants, their hair tied with a cloth, pouring water over his head from the water vessels (ghaṛās). Two 'caurī'-bearers stand towards the left. On the same side stand a water-carrier wearing a striped loin-cloth carrying the water-pot on his left shoulder, an old man wearing a tunic and reclining on his staff,—he is probably a 'kaṃcukī',—an attendant carrying an unguent bowl and another attendant who is quite naked, reclining to take a bowl from the hunch-backed woman standing on the staircase which leads to the verandah. There is a striking resemblance between the scene of a king's bath as described in the 'Kādambarī' and the Ajaṇṭā frescoe and this should further strengthen the belief that Bāṇa's descriptions of persons and things were obtained from first hand knowledge and were not merely the outcome of poetic fancies.

After the bath the king worshipped the deities and then proceeded to the toilet room (vilepana-bhūmi) where he besmeared his body with sandal paste mixed with musk, camphor and saffron (mṛgamada-karpūra-kumkumavāsa-surabhiṇā candanena).⁴ Afterwards he took his meal, smoked the 'dhūpavartī' (paripīṭadhūpavartī) and chewed betel-leaf. Then he proceeded to a room whose cold mosaic floor was sprinkled with water scented with sandal-wood (atisurabhiṇā mṛganābhi-parigatenāmodina candanavāriṇā sikta-śīśira-manibhūmi). The covering of the bed on

1. Kādambarī, p. 31. Ed. by M. R. Kale, Bombay, 1928.

2. Ib., p. 32.

3. P. 137; Lady Herringham, 'Ajanta frescoes', Pl. XII.

4. Kādambarī, loc. cit., p. 34.

which he sat was scented with the smoke of aloe-wood and incense and with the sweet fragrance of flowers (*ati-bahulāgurudhūpa-parimalam... kusumāmoda-vāsita-pracchada-paṭena*).

Even when the king started on a military expedition he did not forget his toilet. It is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* that king Harṣa when he started for battle anointed his body and even his bow with sandal paste, put a chaplet of white flowers on his head (*sitakusuma-muṇḍamālikāṃ śirasi nītvā*) and drew to the region of his ear a fresh 'gorocanā'-spotted 'dūrvā' spray (*gorocanācchuritamabhinavaṃ dūrvā pallavam*).¹

The young men of those days did not lag behind in their toilet. In the *Harṣacarita*, a typical youth from high society is described with the ornaments he wore and the toilet he affected. From his top-knot hung a wreath of 'mālatī' flowers (*ānitambavilambinyā mālatī-śekhara-srajāḥ*), his hair was wreathed in clusters of crisp curls adorned with a coiled cornet of white 'bakula' buds (*bakulakuḍmala-maṇḍalī-muṇḍamālā-maṇḍana-manohareṇa kuṭila-kumtala-stabaka-mālinā*), his forehead was besmeared with red arsenic (*manah-śilā-paṅka-piṅgalena*).² His mouth breathed the fragrance of mangoe, camphor, 'kakkola' fruit, cloves and coral trees (*ati-surabhi-sahakāra-karpūra-kakkola-lavaṅgaparijātaka-parimalarucā*), his arms were decorated with painted designs in the shape of 'makara' in scented civet powder; his breast was powdered with camphor dust (*karpūra-kṣoda-muṣticchuraṇa-pāṃsulena*).³

Even a Brāhmaṇa, who was not expected to affect fashions owing to his spiritual calling, did not forget his toilet when approaching the king. Thus it is mentioned that Bāṇa while starting on his journey to meet Harṣa decorated himself with white unguents (*śuklāṅgarāgaḥ*), wore white garlands, adorned his ears with 'girikarṇikā' flowers fastened with the ends of dūrvā grass covered with the yellow 'gorocanā' paint (*rocanācitra-dūrvāgra-pallavagrathita-girikarṇikā-kusuma-kṛta-karṇapūraḥ*).⁴

1. *Harṣacarita*, p. 198. Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, London, 1897.

2. *Ib.*, pp. 16-17.

3. *Ib.*, p. 17.

4. *Ib.*, p. 44.

Officers of the state were also not immune from the fashions of the day. The reader Sudrṣṭī painted his sectarial marks at the end of his bath in 'gorocanā' and clay from a sacred pool (snānavasanasamayevaṃdhitāya tīrtha-mṛdā gorocanāya ca racita-tilakaḥ).¹ His hair was made sleek with oil and myrobolan. A thick bunch of flowers 'kissing' his stout top-knot added a touch of spruceness (anuccūḍa-cumbinā nivīḍena kuṣumāpīḍakena samudbhāsamānaḥ). The glow of his lips was heightened by several applications of betel and brilliance was imparted to his eyes by the use of collyrium stick (eka-śalākāñjanajanita-locana-ruciḥ).² The chamberlain also used sandal-wood paste to heighten the effect of his toilet.³

Women of this age, however, excelled men in the intricacies of their toilet. In the Daśakumāra-carita⁴ ornaments consisting of anklets (nūpura), girdles (mekhalā), bracelets (kaṅkaṇa), bangles (kaṭaka), earrings (tāṭaṅka),—fine linen garments (kṣauma) and collyrium (kajjalam), formed appropriate articles of decoration for the women. The varieties of their coiffures in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā are amazing and their love of flowers, colours and ornaments gave them ample opportunity to bedeck themselves as they pleased. Their feet were coloured with clotted lac and stained with saffron on the upper surface (piṇḍālaktakena pallavitasya kuṃkuma-pinjarita-prṣṭhasya caraṇa-yugalasya), their loins were painted with sandal,⁵ their face was decorated with a round pattern, black as 'tamāla' bark and dispensing a fragrance of civet (tamālaśyāmalena mṛgamadāmodaniṣyandinā tilaka-bindunā) and their tresses hung loose from careless fastening and swaying at their back (prṣṭhaprenkhā-danādarasanyamanaśithilā jūṭikābandhā).⁶

Not only the queens and the ladies in affluent circumstances made themselves attractive by the use of cosmetics, perfumes, etc., but women from the lower grades of society such as

1. Ib., p. 17.

2. Ib., p. 72.

3. Kādambarī, loc. cit., pp. 16-17.

4. p. 41; 4th. Ed. Bombay, 1903.

5. Harṣacarita, p. 261.

6. Ib., p. 262.

maid-servants, etc., were also fond of decorating themselves. It is mentioned that the women attending on Harṣa had their foreheads blackened by the darkness produced through the ornamental black of the black agallochum being melted by the drops of perspiration (śrama-jalavilīna-bahala-kṛṣṇāguru-paṅka-tilaka-kalaṅka-kalpitenā kālīmṇā),² their breasts were decorated with the wreaths of Bakula flowers (vikāṣa bakulavalī-varāṭaka-veṣṭita-mukhaiḥ), and beautiful lotus flowers hung from their ears.³ The dancing girls whose profession was to attract persons by their charms indulged in an exquisite toilet. They wore wreaths round their brows (samuṇḍa-mālikāḥ) and chaplets round their ears (sakarna-pallavāḥ); sandal marks decorated their foreheads (sacandana-tilakāḥ). They besmeared their bodies with saffron (kuṃkuma-pramṛṣṭikāyāḥ). Big garlands of amaranth hung on their round hips (nitamba-bimbālabhi-vikāṣa-kuraṇṭaka-śekharaḥ). Their faces were marked with a row of vermilion spots (sindūracchaṭācchurita-mukha-mudrāḥ). They were dusty with camphor and perfumes scattered in handfuls (muṣṭiprakīrya-māṇa-karpūra-paṭvāsapāmsulā).⁴ Even the 'cāṇḍāla' women, the most despised of Hindu untouchables, did not forget their toilet. Thus the 'cāṇḍāla' girl visiting Śūdraka had a yellow mark in 'gorocanā' on her forehead, and her feet were stained with lac-dye (atī-bahala-piṇḍālaktaka-rasa-rāga-pallavita-pada-paṃkajaṃ).⁵

At the time of marriage the bride affected a special toilet. The bridal toilet of a lady in high position is beautifully described in the person of Pārvatī in the 'Kumāra-sambhava'. After the bath the oiliness of the skin was removed with the paste of 'lodhra' (Symlocos racemosa; lodhra-kalkena hṛtānagatailam), then the 'kāleyaka' unguent which dried up quickly was applied to the body (āsyānakāleyakṛtāṅga-rāgam).⁶ Her hair was perfumed with the smoke which dried the hair, and she wore a yellow garland of 'madhūka' flowers.⁷

2. *Ib.*, p. 61.

3. *Ib.*, p. 62.

4. *Ib.*, p. 113.

5. *Kādambarī*, loc. cit., p. 23.

6. *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 9.

7. *Ib.*, VII, 14.

Ornamental designs (patravibhaktam) were painted in 'śuklāguru' and 'gorocanā'.¹ The oiliness of her cheeks was removed by the 'lodhra' paste and it looked fairer by the decoration in 'gorocanā' (gorocanā-bhedanitāntagaure).² Her eyes were painted with collyrium.³ In the end the bride's mother with her two fingers besmeared with the auspicious unguent made from yellow orpiment (haritāla) and realgar (manahśilā) imprinted the marriage 'tilaka' on her daughter's forehead.⁴

The auspiciousness of cosmetics, perfumes, etc., at the time of festivities and at the marriage ceremony was emphasised. It is mentioned in the Harṣacarita⁵ that the women proceeding to the royal palace to attend the birth festivities were followed by servants bearing garlands (sumanasrajāḥ) in wide baskets (parijanena pṛthukaraṇḍa-parigṛhitāḥ) with bath powder sprinkled on the flowers (snāniya-cūrṇāvākīṇa-kusumāḥ),⁶ dishes laden with bits of camphor clear as crystal granules, jewelled caskets of saffron scents (kumkumādhivāsa-bhāñji-bhājanāni ca maṇimayāni), ivory boxes (danta-śaphrukāni) studded with rows of areca nut painted with sandal paste and tufted with slim 'khadira' fibres dripping mango oil, and vermilion and paste boxes and bowls (sindūra-pāṭāni ca piṣṭātaka-pātrāni ca) red and pink, and also 'pārijāta' perfumes. At another time when the queens came to attend the marriage ceremony of Rājyaśrī manufactured cosmetics compounded of saffron paste clotted by 'balāśana' essence (balāśanā-ghṛta-ghanī-kṛta), and face unguents (mukhālepanāni) added distinction to beauty, and also strings of cloves (lavaṅga-mālā) mingled with 'kakkola' fruit (kakkola-miśrāḥ) containing also nutmegs (sajātīphalāḥ) and large bright lumps of camphor threaded in the intervals (sphurat-sphata-sphaṭika-karpūra-śakala-khacitāntarāla).⁶

Luxury had reached to such a height in this age that the women were not contented with a particular method of toilet or certain perfumes. They wanted variety, and therefore effected their toilet and used different

1. Ib., VII, 15.

2. Ib., VII, 17.

3. Ib., VII, 20.

4. Ib., VII, 23.

5. pp. 111-122.

6. Ib., p. 124.

kinds of cosmetics according to the climatic conditions. In the summer they favoured shower-baths (jalayantra-mandiram) and sandal paste;¹ they wore light garments; the flower garlands were painted with sandal paste; the hair was perfumed with the fragrance of bath powder (snāna-kaṣāya);² their feet were dyed with lac-dye (lākṣārāsa-rāga-rañjitaiḥ);³ their breasts⁴ were painted with sandal paste and they also wore sandal-lines on their foreheads⁵ (candana-likhita-lalāṭika-puṇḍrakaiḥ). The women on their part slept away the day grey with sandalwood applications,⁶ and both men and women to quench their thirst drank water perfumed with the strong scent of trumpet flowers.⁷ In the rainy weather the women decorated their hair hanging down the back with fragrant flowers and their breasts with chaplets.⁸ They painted their bodies with sandal-wood and black agallochum pastes; their hair locks were decorated with flower ornaments; on the forehead they wore the chaplets of 'mālatī' and the half-blossomed buds of jasmine, and they wore earrings of newly blossomed 'kādamba' flowers.⁹ In the winter they decorated the ringlets of their dark black hair with the newly blossomed 'mālatī' flowers and blue lotus hung from their ears¹⁰ and their breast orbs were encircled with the chaplets painted with sandal paste.¹¹ In the end of the winter (hemanta) they painted their bodies with zeodary paste, decorated their faces with painted designs, and on their foreheads they wore chaplets perfumed with the smoke of black agallochum.¹² Some young women, holding away their black and thick hair smelling of flowers and bending their bodies, engaged themselves in

1. Rtusamhāra, I, 2.

2. Ib., I, 4.

3. Ib., I, 5.

4. Ib., I, 6.

5. Harṣacarita, loc. cit., p. 37.

6. Ib.

7. Ib.

8. Rtusamhāra, II, 18.

9. Ib., II, 21.

10. Ib., III, 19.

11. Ib., III, 20.

12. Ib., IV, 5.

arranging their coiffures.¹ In 'śiśira' (January to March) they chewed betel-leaf, used unguents and garlands, fumigated their rooms with incense and black agallochum,² decorated their hair with flowers,³ stained their breasts yellow with saffron,⁴ perfumed their hair with the fragrant smoke of incense and black agallochum. Spring is the season par excellence in India as the joyous festival of Holi falls in it. The women in the Gupta age in the spring wore 'sāris' dyed in 'kusumbha' flowers, and bright red silk bodices with their colour effect enhanced by saffron covered their breasts.⁵ The fresh flowers of 'karnikāra' served as ear ornaments, 'aśoka' flowers decorated their curled locks, and they also wore floral ornaments made from jasmine flowers to enhance their beauty.⁶ On their breasts dangled necklaces painted white with sandal⁷ and painted patterns adorned their faces.⁸ Their breasts were stained with the unguents prepared from 'priyaṅgu', zeodary and saffron ; their bodies were anointed with sandal paste mixed with musk.⁹ They wore light garments and stained their bodies sometimes with lac-dye and perfumed themselves with the fragrant smoke of black agallochum.¹⁰ Coloured water was thrown in the Holi festival or some other festive occasion. It is mentioned in the Kādambarī¹¹ that the women threw saffron-coloured water with their hands which stained their bodies. The lac-dye coloured water turned the garments to red, and the water drops perfumed with musk changed the colour of the sandal-wood decoration. It is also known from this description that the women used golden syringes (kanaka-śṛṅgakośa) for throwing coloured water.

So far we have been dealing with the general aspect of toilet

1. Ib., IV, 15.

2. Ib., V, 5.

3. Ib., V, 8.

4. Ib., V, 9.

5. Ib., VI, 4.

6. Ib., VI, 5.

7. Ib., VI, 6.

8. Ib., VI, 7.

9. Ib., VI, 12.

10. Ib., VI, 13.

11. Kādambarī, loc. cit., p. 99.

cosmetics, perfumes, flowers, etc. In the following pages an attempt will be made to describe in detail some parts of the toilet.

Bath :

The bath was an important part of Indian toilet. A special room or verandah was reserved as bathroom (snāna-bhūmi).¹ Shower baths were used in summer.² Water was at times perfumed with all kinds of spices, fruits, shoots and flowers (sarvaṣadhi-kusumaphala-kisalaya-sanāthaiḥ).³ Certain formulas for perfuming the water are also given by Varāhamihira. In one formula pine resin, lotus (śrīvāsaka-), incense, 'vāla', cinnamon and 'śrīsarjarasa' were used.⁴ Before the bath the body was thoroughly cleansed and then perfumed with oil, etc., (mārṣṭi, mārjana, mṛjā)⁵ and then just before the bath the body was chafed (udvartana) and rubbed and kneaded or cleaned with unguents (utsādana).⁶ After the bath the body was besmeared with unguent so that the perfumes washed away in bathing were restored (carcā, cārcikya, sthāsaka, prabodhana, anubodha).⁷

After the bath was over both men and women, specially the latter, painted their faces and made use of cosmetics. Their lips were painted with lac dye (bimbādhārālaktakaḥ) and the designs on the face and forehead were painted in black, white and red (viśeṣakam...śyāmā-vadātāruṇam). The 'tilaka' was painted on the forehead and the eyes were painted with collyrium.⁸ Sandal paste and musk were generally used for painting the designs.⁹ The body was besmeared with sandal

1. Ib., p. 31.

2. R̥tusamhāra, I, 2.

3. Kādambarī, p. 206. According to the commentary which quotes 'rājanighaṭṭu', costus (kuṣṭha), nard (mānṣī), turmeric (haridrā), 'vacā', benzoin (śaileya), sandalwood, myrrh, 'campaka' flower, camphor, and 'mustā' (Cyperus rotundus). In the 'Chāndoga-parīśiṣṭa' of Hemādri the 'sarvaṣadhi' consist of all the aromatics mentioned above except camphor, in the place of which another kind of turmeric is substituted.

4. Br̥hatsamhitā, LXXVI, 28.

5. Amarakośa, II, 6, 121.

6. Ib.,

7. Ib., II, 6, 122.

8. Mālavikāgnimitra, III, 5.

9. Raghuvamśa, XVII, 25.

paste and then the designs were made in black;¹ sometimes the designs were also painted in white agallochum and 'gorocanā'.² 'Kṛṣṇāguru',³ saffron,⁴ realgar and red lead⁵ were also used for painting designs. The designs were painted on the arms,⁶ temples,⁷ breasts,⁸ etc. Coming to the patterns we know that 'makarikā' was one of the designs. In the Harṣacarita⁹ the crocodile embellishments on the faces of Yama's wives are mentioned (puramaṇḍana-patrabhaṅga-makarikā). In the 'Amarakośa'¹⁰ two varieties of face and breast decorations, namely, 'patralekhā' and 'patrāṅguli' are given. 'Patralekhā' probably connotes the flowers or foliage drawn on the face with the help of a brush, while 'patrāṅguli' indicates either the designs painted with the help of the fingers or with the help of a paint stick. Four varieties of the patterns painted on the forehead, namely, 'tamālapatra', 'tilaka', 'citraka', and 'viśeṣaka' are given.¹¹ 'Tamālapatra' seems to indicate either the mark painted on the forehead with the juice of the 'tamāla' fruit (Xanthochymus pictorius), or as is more probable, some sort of pattern cut from 'tamāla' leaf and stuck to the forehead. The patterns cut from green leaves serve the purpose of decorating the forehead and face even today in Rājputāna and in the country round about Mathurā at the time of marriage. 'Tilaka' indicates the round mark in sandalwood, musk, red lead, etc. on the forehead. 'Citraka' perhaps indicates the pattern painted in more than one colour on the forehead. 'Viśeṣaka' is applied as a generic term for all kinds of distinctive forehead marks. At another place the youth whom Sarasvatī saw had his arms decorated with painted designs in the shape of 'makara' of scented civet powder.¹¹ Sometimes a wheel in white agallochum and

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1. Ib., III, 59.
 2. Kumārasambhava, VII, 15.
 3. Kādambarī, p. 98.
 4. Harṣacarita, pp. 16-17.
 5. Kādambarī, p. 124.
 6. Raghuvamśa, III, 55.
 7. Ib., VI, 72.
 8. Kādambarī, p. 98.
 9. II, 6, 122. p. 5.
 10. Amarakośa, II, 6, 123.
 11. Harṣacarita, p. 17.

other designs in 'gorocanā' were painted.¹ The creeper pattern was also favoured. Thus it is mentioned that king Tārāpīḍa's white garment received an imprint of the dark creeper painted on the breasts of the ladies of his harem (ullasita-kuca-kṛṣṇāguru-patralatānikitapracchada-paṭam).² At another occasion king Tārāpīḍa enquired from his queen as to why she did not decorate her breasts with creeper designs.³ The 'deva' descending from the moon to take the lifeless body of Puṇḍarīka had his shoulders marked with the crimson of the creeper painted on his beloved's breasts.⁴ The 'tilaka' or round mark on the forehead was at times black as 'tamāla' bark dispensing a fragrance of civet.⁵ 'Gorocanā',⁶ red lead,⁷ realgar⁸ and black agallochum⁹ were also used for marking 'tilaka'. Sometimes the breasts were painted with sandalwood. Above them unguent was applied.¹⁰ In the army of Śrī Harṣa an array of gallants employed thick unguent to draw circular lines of camphor on their persons.¹¹ Sometimes lines of thick sandal paste decorated the arms.¹² Sometimes elaborate designs (citravitāna) were painted on the cheeks of the ladies.¹³

The women sometimes painted their foreheads with particular designs in sandal known as 'lalāṭikā', and 'viśeṣaka' with the drops of sandalwood paste.¹⁴ The whole body was at times marked with different kinds of colour drops (pulaḥabandha).¹⁵ Sandal, agallochum, musk, camphor and saffron served the purpose of anointing the body. Camphor powder (karpūra-

1. Raghuvamśa, VII, 15.

2. Kādambarī, p. 98.

3. Ib., p. 122.

4. Ib., p. 313.

5. Harṣacarita, p. 262.

6. Kādambarī, p. 98. Ed. by Kale (Bombay, 1928).

7. Ib., p. 124, b. 61.

8. Ib., p. 284.

9. Harṣacarita, p. 61.

10. Kādambarī, p. 19.

11. Harṣacarita, p. 202.

12. Kādambarī, p. 142.

13. Daśakumāracarita, p. 101.

14. Kādambarī, p. 320.

15. Harṣacarita, p. 38. Sanskrit edition.

pāmsavaḥ) and saffron unguent¹ were used as perfumes. The 'sarvatobhadra' scent² was prepared from 'nakha', 'tagara' and olibanum (turuṣka) mixed in equal parts and then treated with mace, camphor, musk and 'guḍa'. Another perfume known as 'yakṣakardama' was compounded of camphor, agallochum, musk and 'kakkola'.³ Besides there were perfumes in the form of ointment, oil, etc. 'Gātrā-nulepani' was a fragrant unguent smeared on the body; 'varti' was any cosmetic prepared from various fragrant substances in the form of sticks or pills; 'varṇaka' was a fragrant ointment and 'vilepana' was any kind of fragrant oil for anointing the body.⁴ Various powders obtained from many fragrant substances (cūrṇa, vāsayoga) were used for perfuming the body (bhāvita, vāsita).⁵ Scenting oneself, putting on flower garlands and perfuming the body were known as 'adhivāsana'.⁶

The collyrium was applied to the eyes with a collyrium stick. In the 'Kumārasambhava'⁷ a woman—in order to see Śiva's marriage procession—having applied collyrium to the right eye (vilocanam dakṣinamāñjanena) quickly proceeded to the window holding the collyrium stick (śālākā) in the vicinity of the left eye. The application of the collyrium with a collyrium stick is also referred in the 'Harṣacarita'.⁸

For cleaning and perfuming the hair at the time of bath a paste obtained from cinnamon, costus, 'reṇu' (Piper aurantiacum), nard (nalikā), 'sprkkā' (Trigonella corniculata), rasa (a species of amaranth), 'tagara', and 'vāla' (Pavonia odorata) in equal quantity, mixed with saffron filament yielded a delightful hairwash.⁹

1. Harṣacarita, p. 83. Tr. Thomas & Cowell, p. 111.

2. Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LXXVI, 26.

3. Amarakośa, II, 6, 133. 'Yakṣakardama' was also compounded of the above articles plus saffron according to Vyādi, and according to Dhanvantari this perfume was made from saffron, sandalwood, agallochum, musk and camphor.

4. Amarakośa, II, 6, 133.

5. Ib., II, 6, 134.

6. Ib.,

7. VII, 59.

8. Harṣacarita, p. 72.

9. Varāhamihira, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LXXVI, 5.

Oil :

Scented oil was used for the hair and the body was massaged with it. A powder obtained from Indian madder, 'vyāghranakha' (*Unguis odoratus*), pearl, cinnamon and costus when mixed with oil kept in the sun, took the sweet scent of the 'campaka' flower.¹ Another kind of oil was obtained from the powder of mace, olibanum, 'vāla' (*Pavonia odorata*) and 'tagara' in equal quantity mixed with the oil and prepared in the above-mentioned way. If 'vyāma' (*Costus speciosus* or *Arabicus*) and 'kaṭu' (*Michelia campaka*) were added the oil gave out the fragrance of 'bakula'; costus imparted the fragrance of lotus; sandalwood imparted the fragrance of 'campaka' and the mace, cardamon and corriander imparted the fragrance of 'atimuktaka'.²

The importance of flowers as an accessory in the toilet of the Indians has been noted by the poets and also depicted in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā. The use of garlands wreathed from the fragrant flowers, of chaplets and sprays stuck into the hair seems to have been an universal practice in ancient India. In south India flowers still play an important part in the toilet of the women. In the 'Meghadūta' it is mentioned that the women wore 'mandāra' flowers in the hair, and pieces of 'patra' creeper and golden lotuses in the ears.³ At another place it is mentioned that the women held lotus flowers in their hands to sport with, 'kunda' flowers were wreathed in their hair, their faces were rendered yellow by the pollen of the 'lōdhra' flowers, a fresh 'kurabaka' flower was stuck on their top knots and a fine 'śirīṣa' flower to their ears, and at the parting of the hair was a 'kādamba' flower.⁴ The garlands (*mālya*, *mālā*, *srag*)⁵ were worn on the neck by all classes. Attendants wearing wreaths of 'bakula' flowers are mentioned.⁶ Wreathed chaplets worn on the hair were known as 'garbhaka'.⁷ Sometimes women wore 'mālātī'

1. *Ib.*, LXXVI, 7.

2. *Meghadūta*, II, 33.

3. *Ib.*, II, 71.

4. *Amarakośa*, II, 6, 135.

5. *Harṣacarita*, p. 62.

6. *Amarakośa*, II, 6, 135.

7. *Ib.*, LXXVI, 6.

flowers in the ringlets of their hair.¹ Strings of flowers falling from the back of the hair were known as 'prabhraṣṭaka', and those falling in front as 'lalāmaka'.² 'Prālamba' and 'ṛjulamba' were the chaplets falling on the forehead,³ and the garland worn across the chest under the right arm and over the left shoulder was known as 'vaikakṣika'. The chaplets worn over the top-knots were known as 'āpīḍa' and 'śekharaka'.⁴ In the 'Kādambarī' it is said that Śūdraka wore a chaplet made from fragrant 'mālatī' flowers.⁵ Flower crests were also worn. Thus it is mentioned that Kumāragupta wore a crest of 'āmalataka' flowers.⁶ The mountaineers often tied their hair with a band of 'śyāmalatā', creeper.⁷ The earrings were also made from flowers and leaves. A woman named Mālatī wore a pendant on her right ear made from leaves and 'ketakī' flowers.⁸ Another woman wore earrings made from Aśoka shoots.⁹ Ear chaplets of 'śirīṣa'¹⁰ flowers and 'śaivala'¹¹ were also in fashion. Garlands of cloves mingled with 'kakkola', nutmegs, camphor, etc. were used at the ceremonial occasions.¹²

Incense, aromatic woods and resins were used for perfuming the hair, cloth and living quarters by their smoke. Fumigation of the hair with the smoke of incense is referred by Kālidāsa. In the Meghadūta¹³ the incense smoke escaping from latticed windows used by the women of Avantī for perfuming their hair is referred. The perfuming of the hair with the smoke of incense is also mentioned in the Ṛtusaṃhāra.¹⁴ Various formulas are given in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā¹⁵

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1. Harṣacarita, p. 11.
 2. Amarakośa, II. 6. 135.
 3. Ib., II, 6, 136.
 4. Ib.
 5. Kādambarī, p. 20. Ed. Kale, Bombay, 1928.
 6. Harṣacarita, p. 120.
 7. Ib., p. 230.
 8. Ib., p. 262.
 9. Ib., p. 96.
 10. Ib., p. 115 ; Śakuntalā, IV, 18.
 11. Kādambarī, p. 320. Ed. by Parab.
 12. Harṣacarita, p. 124.
 13. I, 34.
 14. IV, 5 ; V, 12.
 15. Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LXXVI, 8-9.

for making incense. 'Śatpuṣpa' (*Andropogon acienlatus*), and frank-incense a quarter part each, 'nakha' (*Unguis odoratus*) and olibanum half part; added to these one part of sandalwood and 'priyangu' yielded good incense. In the second formula 'guggula', 'vālaka' (*Pavonia odorata*), lac, mustā (*Cyperus rotundus*) and sugar were mixed in equal proportion. In the third formula nard (*mansi*), 'vālaka' (*Pavonia odorata*), olibanum, 'nakha' (*Unguis odoratus*) and sandalwood were mixed in equal parts. Two formulas for the incense par excellence are also given.¹ Yellow myrobolan, 'śaṅkha' (*Unguis odoratus*), 'ghana' (the bulbous root of *Cyperus hexastachys communis*), 'guḍa' (*Euphorbia antiquorum*), 'utpala' (*Costus speciosus*), benzoin (*śaileya*), 'mustā' (*Cyperus rotundus*); each succeeding article increased by one-ninth part over the previous one yielded a most pleasant incense. One fourth part of benzoin and 'mustā' (*Cyperus rotundus*), two parts of the resin of 'śrīsarja' (*Vatica robusta*), 'nakha' (*Unguis odoratus*) and bdellium mixed with camphor and moulded with honey yielded an incense named 'kopacchada'. For smoking the clothes especially cinnamon, 'khasa' grass and 'patra' (*Laurus cassia*) taken in equal parts, with cardamon powder in half the quantity, mixed with musk and camphor were the ideal incense.

✓Betel leaf was used as it was supposed to help digestion and also as it imparted redness to the lips. A female attendant was specially entrusted with the task of carrying betel leaf (*tāmbūla-karaṅka-vāhini*).² Or the betel-leaf-bearer was a man apparently of some position, as Bāṇa had among his friends a betel-leaf bearer (*tāmbūla-dāyaka*).³ The betel-leaf-bearer along with other maidservants (*aṅganājanena*) holding clothes (*vasana*), ornaments (*ābharāṇa*), flowers, perfumes (*paṭavāsa*), fans (*tāla vṛṃta*), unguents (*aṅgarāga*) and water vessels (*bhṛṅgāra*) attended upon the king in the palace.⁴

An important section in the *Amarakośa* is devoted to the various denominations of aromatic woods and resins, saffron, camphor, etc. The

1. *Ib.*, LXXVI, 10-11.

2. *Harṣacarita*, p. 263.

3. *Ib.*, p. 32.

4. *Kādambarī*, p. 154.

denominations applied to certain aromatics sometimes betray their sources of origin as well. The saffron had eleven names, namely, (1) 'kumkuma', (2) 'kāśmīrajanma', (3) 'agnīśikha', (4) 'vara', (5) 'vāhlika', (6) 'pītana', (7) 'rakta', (8) 'saṅkoca', (9) 'piśuna', (10) 'dhīra', and (11) 'lohita-candana'.¹ No. 2 denotes that saffron came from 'Kāśmīra' where it is still grown, and No. 5 denotes that Bactria was also an important source of saffron. There were also six kinds of lac-dyes² ('lākṣā', 'rākṣā', 'jatu', 'klība', 'yāva', 'alaktaka', and 'drumāmaya'). Cloves were known by three names ('lavanga', 'devakusuma', 'śrīsaṃjñā').³ Zeodary was known by three names ('jāyaka', 'kāliyaka', 'kālanūsāri').⁴ 'Agaru' or agallochum which had innumerable uses in the preparation of perfumes, pastes, unguents, etc. had six names ('vaṃśikā', 'aguru', 'rājārha', 'loha', 'kṛmija', and 'joṅgaka').⁵ In this list 'loha' (literally metallic and hence heavy) may be identified with 'ūd gharkī' in Persian; 'kṛmija' may be identified with the highly aromatic resin, the outcome of the insects eating through the alce-wood; and 'joṅgaka', as we have already pointed out in a previous section, came from Burma. Then there was black alce-wood with two names ('kālaguru', 'aguru').⁶ The resin of Shorea Robusta used in the preparation of ointment and incense had six names ('yakṣadhūpa', 'sarjarasa', 'rāla', 'sarvarasa', 'bahurūpa').⁷ Pine resin had two designations ('vṛkadhūpa', 'kṛtrimadhūpa').⁸ Olibanum ('turuṣka') had four designations ('turuṣka', 'piṇṭuka', 'silha', 'yāvana'). The first and fourth names clearly indicate that these were brought from outside the country, possibly from Arabia.

The resin and turpentine obtained from 'devadāru' had five names ('pāyasa', 'śrīvāsa', 'vṛkadhūpa', 'śrīveṣṭa', and 'saraladrava')⁹ used chiefly in the preparation of incense, joss sticks, etc. Musk which had a very

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1. Amarakośa, II, 6, 123-124.
 2. Ib., II, 6, 125.
 3. Ib., II, 6, 125.
 4. Ib., II, 6, 125-126.
 5. Ib., II, 6, 125-126.
 6. Ib., II, 6, 127.
 7. Ib., II, 6, 127-128.
 8. Ib., II, 6, 128.
 9. Ib., II, 6, 128-129.

important place in the preparation of cosmetics and medicines had three names ('mṛganābhi', 'mṛgamada', and 'kastūrī'). The aromatic fruit of clerodendron used in perfuming water, making scents, etc. had three names ('kolaka', 'kaṅkolaka', and 'kośaphala'). Camphor which had untold uses in the preparation of cosmetics and medicines had five names ('karpūra', 'ghanasāra', 'sitābhra', and 'himavalukā')¹. Sandalwood the uses of which in ancient India one need not emphasise, both in cosmetics and medicine, had four names ('gandhasāra', 'malayaja', 'bhadraśrī' and 'candana')². 'Malayaja' was the product of the Malaya mountains in southern India. The best variety of fine old sandalwood had three names ('tailaparnika', 'gośirṣa', and 'haricandana')³. The red sandalwood had five names ('tilaparnī', 'patrāṅga', 'rañjana', 'raktacandana', and 'kucandana')⁴. Nutmeg which had many uses in scenting the water, betel-leaf, etc., had two names ('jātikośa' and 'jātiphala')⁵.

Assam, in this period of Indian history as also in the preceding centuries, was an important source of aromatic woods, resins, etc. The presents from the king of Assam brought to king Harṣa by Haṃsavega consisted among other things of thick bamboo tubes fenced round with sheaths of 'kāpotikā' leaves containing mango sap and black aloe oil.⁶ The agallochum trees growing in Assam, according to Kālidāsa served as posts for tying the elephants of Raghu.⁷ Haṃsavega also brought to the court of Harṣa bundles kept in sacks of woven silk (paṭṭasūtra-sevakārpitānśca) containing jet black pieces of black aloe wood 'gośirṣa candana' efficacious in inflammations, camphor, cool, pure and white as bits of ice, 'kastūrikākośa' of musk oxen, 'kakkola' sprays, clove flower bunches and nutmeg clusters bristling with masses of ripe fruits.⁸

Indians, both men and women were very fond of beautiful, soft and

1. Ib., II, 6, 130.

2. Ib., II, 6, 131.

3. Ib.

4. Ib., II, 6, 132.

5. Ib., II, 6, 132.

6. Harṣacarita, IV, 1.

7. Raghuvaṃśa, IV, 1.

8. Harṣacarita, p. 214.



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88 B



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long hair made sleek with the help of cleansing pastes and oil. The hair was also dyed with Indian madder.¹ The hair had various names ('cikura', 'kuntala', 'kaca', 'keśa', 'śīroruha').² The mop of curled hair was 'kaiśika' and 'kaiśya'.³ Curled hair had two designations, 'alaka' (curled lock) and 'cūrṇakuntala' (curly ringlets),⁴ the latter being the favourite manner of dressing the hair in the Gupta period. The forelock or the lock of hair falling on the forehead was 'bhramaraka',⁵ and the sidelocks or the locks of hair falling on the sides were 'śikhaṇḍaka'.⁶ The chignon in which Hindu women tied up their hair was known as 'kabari' and 'keśaveśa'.⁷ The braid of hair tied with strings of pearls, etc. was 'dhammilla'.⁸ 'Śikhā' or the hair lock worn by Hindu men on the top of the head or scalp had two other names, 'cūḍā' and 'keśapāśi'.⁹ Braided hair or the hair plaited and braided in chains were 'veṇī' and 'praveṇī'.¹⁰ Long, clean and untangled hair was known as 'śiṛṣaṇya' and 'śirasya'.¹¹ In the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa¹² the following varieties of coiffures have been enumerated: 'kuntala' (hair on the head), 'dakṣiṇāvarta' (curls turned to the right), 'taraṅga' (wavy hair), 'simhakeśara' (manelike hair falling on the neck), 'vardhara' (intertwisted), 'jūṭa' (chignon), and 'ṭasara' (silky).

The varieties of the coiffures in the Gupta period as represented in the sculptures, terracottas and last but not least in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh are overwhelming. It would be impossible to bring together all the exquisite examples of hair dressing in the Gupta period within the small compass of an article. We are, however,

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1. Kādambarī, p. 142.
 2. Amarakośa, II, 6, 95.
 3. Ib.
 4. Ib., II, 6, 96.
 5. Ib.
 6. Ib.
 7. Ib., II, 6, 97.
 8. Ib.
 9. Ib.
 10. Ib., II, 6, 98.
 11. Ib.
 12. III, 37, 38.

attempting to describe in the following pages the leading fashions in hair-dressing of men and women.

The following varieties were preferred by men :

(1) Men in the Gupta age delighted in wearing their hair in a wig-like fashion. Coins, sculptures, terracottas and paintings, all show the partiality of Gupta men to this particular style known as 'cūrṇakuntala'. The curled hair was generally parted in the middle and the curls allowed to fall down the back¹ (Fig. 77, p. 137). In another variation of the same style the locks were allowed to fall on the shoulders—the typical example of the 'śikhāṇḍaka' style² (Fig. 78). In another variation of the same style the hair was parted on the left and held in place by a head band³ (Fig. 79).

(2) Wig-like arrangement of the hair ; a few locks coiled at the top of the crown⁴ (Figs. 80-81).

(3) The hair was also arranged so that the curled locks fell on the forehead, and the curled side locks arranged in skeins ended a little above the shoulder⁵ (Fig. 82). In another variation of the same style, however, the locks were scattered over the shoulders⁶ (Figs. 83-84).

(4) The hair, curled or otherwise, was combed back and a knotted lock left on the top of the crown⁷ (Fig. 85); this particular mode of hair dressing was known as 'śikhā'.

(5) The hair was combed back covering the neck⁸.

(6) Sometimes short hair was worn with a pearl string serving as a head band⁹ (Fig. 86).

(7) The sides were parted, and the middle part was arranged in a dome shape with two pearl strings encircling the crown¹⁰ (Fig. 87).

1. Herringham, 'Ajanta Frescoes', Cave I, Pl. X (12).
2. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XII (14).
3. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. III (4).
4. A. S. I. Ann. Rep. 1911-12, Pl. XXVI, 76 ; *Ib.*, Pl. XXVII, 84.
5. 'The Bāgh Caves', Pl. H.
6. *Ib.*, Pls. D and E.
7. Herringham, *loc. cit.*, Cave XVII, Pl., XXIV (26).
8. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. III (4).
9. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XI. 13.
10. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. I, 1.



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(8) The hair was sometimes neither curled nor parted but combed back resembling bobbed hair¹ (Fig. 88, a and b).

(9) The hair was massed on the left side² in a hemispherical dome-like manner (Fig. 89).

The artistic nature and love of decoration of the women of the Gupta period manifest themselves in the various arrangements of their coiffure. Not only was the hair arranged in various styles but also decorated with flowers and ornaments which enhanced its beauty. Often the women wore tiaras over the hair or decorated the hair partition with pearl strings. Hair bands were also used.

The main types of the coiffure of women are noted below :

(1) The hair was combed back and tied with a band in a neat bun³ (Fig. 90). In this instance the hair is not perfectly fixed. But elsewhere the hair is perfectly sleek and neatly combed with the hair band running all round the forehead and the bun⁴ (Fig. 91). The bun was often fixed not with the band but with a sort of garland⁵ (Fig. 92) or an ornament or a hairpin⁶ (Fig. 93). The size of the bun depended on the length of the hair—the longer the hair the bigger the bun⁷ (Fig. 94). Lotus and jasmine flowers were also used to decorate the bun⁸ (Fig. 95).

(2) The hair was combed back and coiled into two rounds⁹ (Fig. 96). The hair was either taken straight back or parted in the middle¹⁰ (Fig. 97).

(3) The hair was parted in the middle and coiled at the back with a few curls falling on the right shoulder. A hair band ran round the forehead, in the hair parting and round the coil at the back¹¹ (Fig. 98).

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1. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXIV (26).
 2. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, Pl. XXVII, 99.
 3. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave I, Pl. XXXVIII (45).
 4. 'The Bāgh Caves', Pls. D and E.
 5. *Ib.*, Pls. D and E.
 6. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave XVII, Pl. II (2).
 7. 'The Bāgh Caves' Pl. I.
 8. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave XVII, Pl. II (3).
 9. 'The Bāgh Caves', Pls. D and E.
 10. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave I, Pl. X (12).
 11. *Ib.*, loc. cit., Cave XVII, Pl. VI (7).

(4) The hair was coiled on the head towards the right and covered with a hair net with its end tied in a looped knot on the left side¹ (Fig. 99).

(5) The hair was also coiled at the top of the head² (Fig. 100).

(6) The hair was loosely coiled at the back but a few ringlets were allowed to fall freely on the back³ (Fig. 101).

(7) The hair was tied in a neat coil at the back, but a few curls were allowed to fall on the forehead⁴ (Fig. 102) covering the full forehead; sometimes there were only a few curls falling on the sides of the forehead⁵ (Fig. 103).

(8) The hair was also arranged in a sausage-like roll lying horizontally on the top of the head covered with a hair net⁶ (Fig. 104).

(9) The hair was coiled at the back leaving two curled locks falling artistically on the shoulders⁷ (Fig. 105).

(10) The hair was also arranged in a wig-like manner reaching to the shoulders.

(11) The loose hair was made to fall on the back held together by a band⁸ (Fig. 106).

(12) Hair braided with ribbon and held together with a flower chaplet⁹ (Fig. 107).

(13) The hair falling down the back entwined with the hair band¹⁰ (Fig. 108).

(14) The hair was parted in the middle. The right half was braided and the left half fell freely on the left shoulder¹¹ (Fig. 109).

(15) The hair was combed back straight¹² (Fig. 110).

1. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. II (3).

2. 'The Bāgh Caves', Pl. C.

3. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave XVII, Pl. XVII (19).

4. 'The Bāgh Caves', Pls. D and E.

5. *Ib.*, Pls. D and E.

6. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave XVII, Pl. XXXVII (44).

7. *Ib.*, Cave XI, Pl. XXRVII (42).

8. Herringham, loc. cit., Cave I, Pl. XIII (15).

9. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XIV (16).

10. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. V (6).

11. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XIV (16).

12. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. V (6).

(16) The hair combed back was lightly twisted allowing a few ringlets to fall on the left shoulder. The whole coiffure was profusely decorated with flower chaplets and flowers¹ (Fig. 111).

(17) The hair was parted in the middle allowing a few ringlets to fall on the right half of the forehead ; the hair taken back fell in curls on the shoulders² (Fig. 112).

(18) The hair was combed back and a part of it arranged in a spiral shape on the right shoulder. The whole coiffure was profusely decorated with a chaplet, flowers and leaves³ (Fig. 113).

(19) A sort of bobbed hair plaited with bands⁴ (Fig. 114).

(20) The hair was parted in the middle with tiny curled locks falling on the forehead and the right shoulder⁵ (Fig. 115).

(21) The same style as No. 20 except that the curled locks fell on both the shoulders and the cheeks⁶ (Fig. 116).

(22) Fluttering curls falling on the back⁷ (Fig. 117).

(23) The hair partly curled and partly straight hanging down on the back⁸ (Fig. 118).

(24) Bobbed hair parted in the middle⁹ (Fig. 119).

(25) A portion of the hair curled and parted on the right, and the left part coiled in an apple-shaped knot¹⁰ (Fig. 120).

(26) The curls on the head arranged in well pressed skeins falling on the back in a spiral-shaped lock¹¹ (Fig. 121).

(27) A part of the hair combed to the right with a ringlet falling on the cheek ; some part of it plaited and hanging on the back¹² (Fig. 122).

1. Ajanta, Cave I. From the line drawing in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

2. *Ib.*

3. Herringham, *loc. cit.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXV (27).

4. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XII (14).

5. Ajanta, Cave I. From the line drawing in the Prince of Wales Museum.

6. Herringham, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII (31).

7. Ajanta, Cave II.

8. Herringham, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXV (27).

9. *Ib.*, Cave XXVII (29).

10. *Ib.*

11. *Ib.*

12. *Ib.*

(28) A part of the hair coiled at the top of the head; the rest of the bobbed hair falling on the neck¹ (Fig. 123).

(29) The hair parted in the middle with the side locks falling on the shoulders² (Fig. 124).

(30) Hair parted in the middle; the left curled side-lock falling on the shoulder, the right one was plaited and fell down the back.³

(31) The hair combed back straight was coiled with a few ringlets falling on the shoulders⁴ (Fig. 125).

(32) The hair parted in the middle with perfectly set skeins tied at the back in a knot⁵ (Fig. 126).

(33) The hair parted in the middle; the plaited right half falling on the back; the left half falling on the chest⁶ (Fig. 127).

(34) The hair parted in the middle; coiled and twisted braids falling on the shoulders⁷ (Fig. 128).

(35) The hair parted in the middle; the knotted right braid with a free curl falling on the chest, the twisted left braid falling on the shoulder⁸ (Fig. 129).

(36) The hair parted on the left side with the braid tied in a knot; the coiled braid on the right decorated with flowers.⁹ (Fig. 130).

(37) The hair was parted in the middle leaving a few curls; the left half was tied in a knot at the back and the right half was plaited and braided¹⁰ (Fig. 131).

(38) The hair was massed at the top of the crown and held together by a hair net¹¹ (Fig. 132).

(39) The hair was parted at the left; the right side was so parted as to form a recurving shape on the forehead¹² (Fig. 133).

1. *Ib.*

2. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XV (17).

3. *Ib.*

4. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXXV (39).

5. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. III (4).

6. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXXIX (48).

7. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXIV (26).

8. *Ib.*, Cave XVII, Pl. XXIV (26).

9. *Ib.*, Cave I, Pl. XII (14).

10. *Ib.*

11. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, Pl. XXVII, fig. 100.

12. *Ib.*, Pl. XXVI, 67.



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TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE GUPTA AGE

by SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI

The Gupta age is a landmark in the history of India's culture and civilisation. A period of great political significance and of imperial hegemony it marks also an epoch of efflorescence of literature, the sciences and arts. The period of imperial hegemony lasted for approximately a century and a half. But the direction that was given to cultural activities during this period continued even after the hegemony was gone. The glamour of the mighty Gupta name also survived for a considerable time and scions of the family continued to rule in different regions. There should thus be no objection to stretch the limit of the Gupta age, in relation to the history of culture, by a century or a century and a half after the period of the political supremacy of the family, which hardly extends beyond the 5th century A. D. As a culture epoch it should be taken as covering a period from 300 A. D. to 600 or 650 A. D.

Numerous sculptures belonging to the Gupta age have been discovered all over India and by their balanced composition, technical perfection and idealised expression, they have drawn admiration from scholars and artists. The cave paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, of Badami and Sittanavasal, etc., are well known. There are innumerable inscriptions that speak of the temples during the period. The Mandasore inscription of Bandhuvarman¹ describes Daśapura (Mandasore) as a city of great beauty adorned with temples as high as the Kailāsa mountain (kailāsatuṅgaśikharāni pratimāni chānyān.....) and with other edifices which appear to have shot out of the earth (prāsādamālābhīralaṅkṛtāni dharām vidāryeva samutthitāni). This inscription also records the erection at Daśapura of a lofty temple of the bright-rayed Sun by a

1. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, no. XVIII.

guild of silk-weavers in 435-36 A. D. and its repair later on in 471-72 A. D. Slightly earlier, the Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman¹ tells of the erection by one Mayurākṣaka of two high temples, one dedicated to Viṣṇu and the other to the divine Mothers. Besides, inscriptions of the period frequently refer to grants made for the maintenance of temples, and these, taken together, give us an idea of the large number of temples that were erected during the period. The Mandasore inscription further gives us a glimpse of the grandour and magnificence of the temples and other edifices of Daśapura. The beauty of the sculptures, of which not a few are architectural, and of the pillars and door frames that have been found leaves no doubt as regards the truth of this statement.

Gupta sculpture and painting have been studied in detail but the same cannot be said of the architecture of the period. This is perhaps due to a comparative scarcity of standing monuments, which are few and far apart. The only monuments that have received a detailed and careful attention are the famous caves of western India. Cunningham in course of his survey took note of the buildings that may, on one account or other, be dated in this period. After him several scholars, especially R. D. Banerji, discussed the question. But these studies are mainly descriptive and fail to take note of the general and the particular forms and features of the monuments of the period and of their associations with and contributions to subsequent Indian architecture.

Temples that can be definitely dated in the Gupta period, either by inscriptions or by the style of their carvings, are distributed over a wide area, from the Punjab in the west,² to Assam in the east,³ and the Kistna basin in the south.⁴ They are also widely differentiated in details of form and in general appearance. The two distinct styles of mediaeval temple architecture of India, the 'Nāgara' and the 'Drāviḍa', i. e., the northern and the southern,

1. Ibid. no. XVII.

2. From a pillar that stands at Jhelam and resembles similar porch pillars of the Gupta temples, Cunningham was of opinion that a Gupta temple existed there. Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 42.

3. Cf. the door frame at Dah Parvatiya in Assam, which speaks of the existence of a Gupta temple at the place.

4. Cf. the barrel-vaulted apsidal temples at Ter and Chezarla. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, fig. 147.

may already be seen as well-defined types among the Gupta temples. But at the same time the regional definition is not yet clear. It comes later. Even in the 7th century A. D. they occur side by side at Aihole and Pattadakal. The history of subsequent Indian architecture is the story of the two styles, the northern and the southern, with their various elaborations and ramifications. The Gupta age shows the genesis of these two styles, and supplies the basis of mediaeval Indian architecture.

An analysis of the structural temples of the Gupta period leads to their classification in well-defined groups.

A. The simplest type may be seen in the small single-celled flat-roofed shrine with a shallow porch in front. Examples of the type are at Sanchi,¹ Tigawa,² Eran,³ etc. At Nachna Kuthara⁴ are the ruins of two temples, which, from their foundations, appear to belong to this group. Numerous sculptures and architectural remains of the period have been discovered in Gharwa,⁵ Bilsad,⁶ Khoh,⁷ etc., but the structures themselves, probably built of bricks, are gone. The style of the carvings of these, together with the inscriptions that have been found in these sites, leave no doubt that the buildings that were there belonged to the Gupta period, and possibly also to the group that we are speaking of. Cunningham⁸ and Coomaraswamy⁹ are inclined to think that the Patāini Devi temple near Uchahara also belongs to the Gupta period, the plain square plan and the flat roof being probably responsible for such a dating. But the style of the carvings of the door frame, which is no doubt an original element of the temple, is much later; on account of it the temple can not be dated earlier than the 10th or 11th century A. D. But its marked affinity with the early Gupta

1. ASR., Vol. X, pp. 60-62, Pls. XVI and XX; HIA, p. 78, fig. 151.

2. ASR., Vol. IX, pp. 42, 45-46, Pls. X and XI; Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Pl. VI.

3. ASR., Vol. X, pp. 82-89, Pls. XXV-XXX.

4. Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919, p. 61.

5. ASR., Vol. X, pp. 11-14, Pls. VI-VII.

6. Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 17-18, Pls. V-VI.

7. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 6; PRASI, WC, 1920, pp. 105-06.

8. ASR., Vol. IX, pp. 31-32, Pl. VI.

9. HIA, p. 78.



temples at Sanchi, Tigawa, etc. is worth mentioning and the example may be taken as a survival of the plain Gupta type in the mediæval period.

A chronological arrangement of the temples of this group may be attempted by a comparative study of their pillars. Cunningham long ago proposed a chronology on the basis of the relative proportion between the diameters and heights of the so-called bell capitals of the pillars. Though this point cannot be stressed, yet the ornamentation of this particular element offers an approximate indication as to the relative dates of the different temples. Every pillar at Eran shows an ornate 'bell' with elaborate turn-overs below the corners of the abacus. The temples at Eran, from the inscriptions that are in situ, can not be dated earlier than the time of Buddhagupta, about the later part of the 5th century A. D. The Tigawa temple just shows the beginnings of these turn-overs and the stylistic indications of the carvings themselves place it in a period earlier than that of the Eran examples. At Sanchi we have the "plain reeded bell" without turn-overs of any kind and Cunningham appears to be quite correct when he describes it as "the oldest structural temple",¹ so far as this particular group is concerned. The temple at Tigawa has been ascribed by Smith to the period of Samudragupta,² a date that may not be far off the mark. But his suggestion that the Viṣṇu temple at Eran might belong to the time of Samudragupta seems to be definitely wrong for reasons noted above, as well as for the fact that it exhibits an offset projection on each of the three sides,³ a feature that is itself late. A further chronological arrangement has also been attempted by Cunningham on the basis of the position of the river goddesses on either side of the entrance gateway. According to him the river goddesses placed at the top indicate an earlier date of the temple than that of those temples where they are placed at the bottom. But this consideration too cannot be relied upon. The Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh, which is a late example of the Gupta period, exhibits the river goddesses at the top of the jambs. The image of Gaṅgā from Besnagar was also placed at the top, as may be gathered from the socket-groove of the lintel at the

1. ASR., Vol. X, p. 62.

2. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1914, p. 4.

3. ASR., Vol. X, pl. XXV.

top. This refined and sensitive sculpture cannot be dated earlier than the end of the 5th century A. D., and this was the date of the building to which it belonged.

R. D. Banerji took the temples of this type to be auxiliary shrines.¹ But the group has got a distinct place among the temple forms of the period and is a basis for future elaborations. The ground-plan of the sanctum is almost always a definite square, though a rectangular plan of the sanctum is also occasionally met with, as in the Viṣṇu and Varāha temples at Eran. The sanctum is preceded by a shallow porch with four columns that support the architrave on which rests the roof. The distance between the columns is slightly greater in the middle than at the sides, and as this peculiarity is invariable in all the temples of the type, Cunningham appears to be right in regarding it as one of the minor marks of the Gupta style.² The porch is approached by flights of steps just in front of the middle intercolumniation. The walls of the temple are quite plain except for a moulding around, at the top. This moulding is a continuation of the line of the architrave of the roof of the porch—also a characteristic of the Gupta style according to Cunningham. The roof was composed of rectangular slabs of stone, placed side by side on the walls, occasionally with overlapping grooves, as we find in the example at Tigawa. On the top may be found projecting spouts for the discharge of rain water. The plainness of the walls offers a strong contrast to the decorative richness of the pillars and door frames.

The nucleus of a temple, a cubicle or cell (garbhagṛha) with a single entrance and a porch (maṇḍapa), it seems, appears for the first time in this group of temples. The flat roof, the plain square or rectangular form and the stern simplicity of the walls, all point to the rock-hewn cave as its prototype. At Udayagiri there is actually an identical rock-cut example³ and it was excavated, according to the inscription it bears, in the time of Candragupta II. This simple building

1. Modern Review, Vol. XLV, 1929, p. 59; AIG., pp. 153-54

2. ASR., Vol. IX, p. 45.

3. Ibid., Vol. X, pls. XV & XVII.

thus appears to be a translation in structural form of the plain rock-cut cave of the earlier period.

B. The second group of temples is represented by a flat-roofed shrine within an outer enclosure, that serves as a 'pradakṣiṇāpāthā' around, preceded by a 'maṇḍapa' in front. Examples of this type may be seen in the so-called Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara,¹ the Śiva temple at Bhumara² in central India, and the Lad Khan temple at Aihole³ in the Bijapur District. At Baigram in the Dinajpur district in Bengal the ruins have been exposed of a brick temple of an identical plan, but the method of roofing the sanctum and the outer hall of circumambulation is not known. According to the copperplate inscription dated 128 G. E. (447-48 A. D.) found at the site the remains represent the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin, erected by one Śivanandin, for the maintenance of worship and repair of which some land was purchased and made over by Bhoyila and Bhāskara, the two sons of the builder.

The type consists of a flat-roofed square sanctum inside a similarly roofed cloister. The latter is covered except in front of the entrance door. In plan the sanctum is a smaller square within a larger square that forms the covered corridor for 'pradakṣiṇā' around the inner sanctum. The bigger square is preceded by a slightly smaller rectangular porch, with the projection of a flight of steps in front. The covered cloister is lighted by a trellis in each of the three walls, and in the Nachna-Kuthara example at least, the inner sanctum is dimly lighted by two smaller trellises in the two side walls. The cloister in the Bhumara temple is gone, while that in the Lad Khan at Aihole shows on each side more than one trellis work, each in a different design. A variety in the type may be noticed in the provision of an upper storey above the inner sanctum, as we see it in the so-called Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara and the Lad Khan at Aihole. This second

1. Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 96-97, Pls. XXV-XXVI; PRASI, WC., 31st March, 1919, p. 61, Pls. XV and XVI a; MR., Vol. XLV, 1929, pp. 54-56; AIG., pp. 137-39 Pl. III.

2. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 16; MR., Vol. XLV, 1929, pp. 57-58; AIG., pp. 142-45, Pls. II & IV.

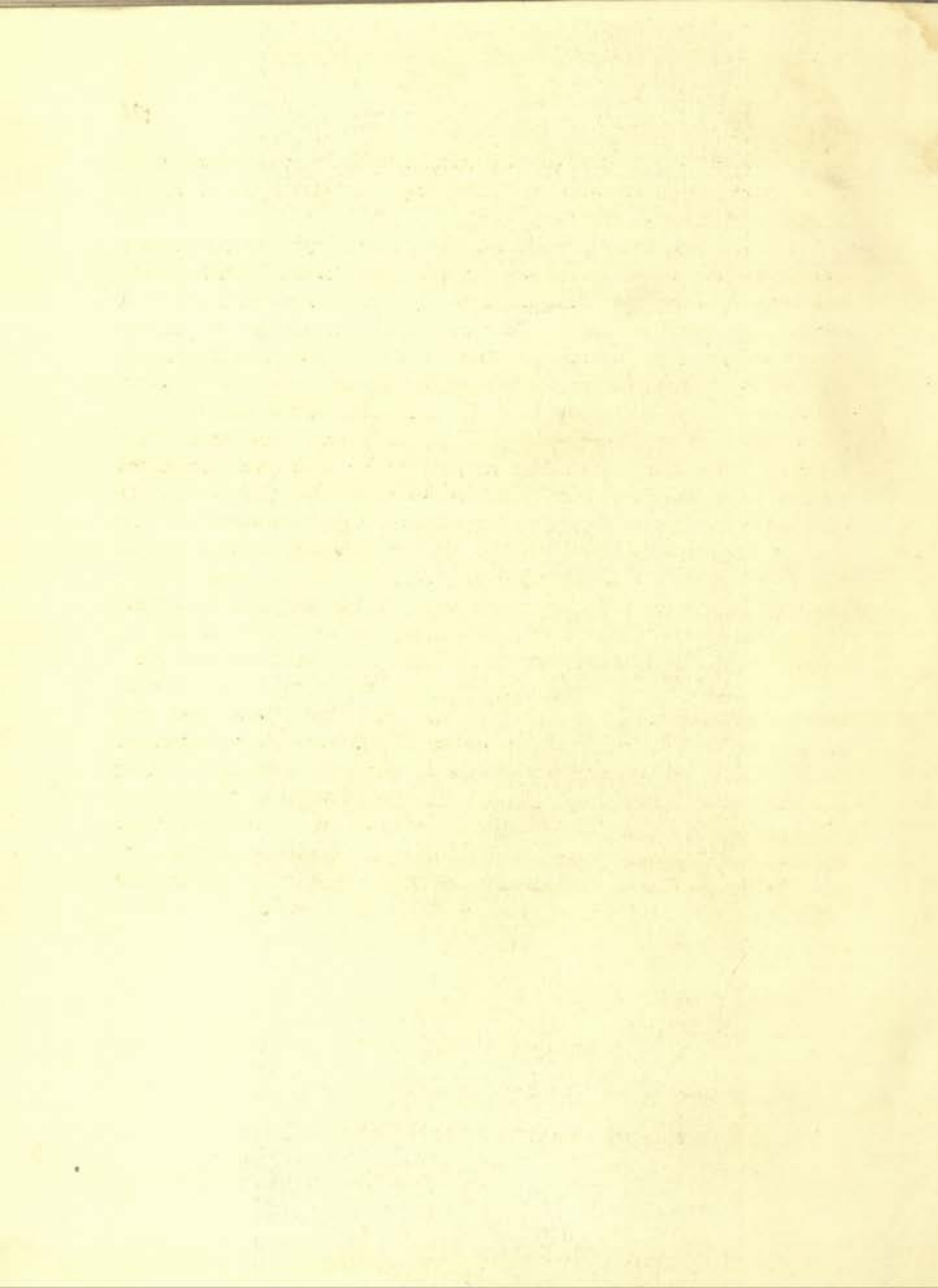
3. HILA, p. 79, fig. 148.

storey in the former is quite plain both inside and outside, while that in the latter, which has been converted into an independent shrine of the Sun, shows on each side a projecting niche containing a relief sculpture.

The simplicity of design and decoration place the Pārvatī temple at Nachna Kuthara along with the early examples of the first group, with which it is probably co-eval in date. The facade of the temple bears carvings in imitation of rock-work. The exterior walls are further decorated by a few sculptures of early Gupta workmanship. The Bhumara temple, which differs from the Nachna-Kuthara example in being single-storied and in having a miniature shrine on each side of the staircase, represents a more ornate specimen in which the 'maṇḍapa' at least was elaborately decorated with figures of 'gaṇas', 'kīrttimukhas' and divinities in 'caitya'-window niches. The carving and workmanship are in the best tradition of Gupta art and the rich scrolls of the pillars and door frames place the temple somewhere in the first half of the 6th century A. D., although R. D. Banerji, who discovered the temple, was inclined to place it about the middle of the preceding century. The exterior walls of the Lad Khan, of approximately the same date, consist of slabs of stone set between heavy square pilasters with bracket capitals, which lend to the facade a rich effect, further enhanced by the double moulding at the top with well-shaped 'caitya' arches intervening.

It is not difficult to trace in this double-storeyed variety the beginnings of the 'Drāviḍa' or south Indian temple style. One of its frequent characteristics is an inner sanctum with a covered cloister around, as in the Gupta temples referred to. The superstructure of a temple of the south Indian style consists of repetitions of the sanctum cella in gradually receding courses, one above the other, and the beginning of such an arrangement may already be noticed in the provision of an upper storey, which being placed above the inner sanctum cella of these Gupta temples, has the appearance of being set back. The division of the walls of the Dravidian temple by pilasters and niches may be said to have its origin in the peculiar construction of the walls of the covered cloister with flat and thin slabs of stone fixed in pilasters at intervals, as we find them in the Lad Khan at Aihole. Already then





in the Gupta period the distinct characteristics of what came to be known later as the Dravidian temple style may be noticed in a well-defined group or type of temples.

C. The next group is represented by a temple with a square sanctum and porch, the former being surmounted by a stunted conical tower. It appears to be but an elaboration of the first group, from which it differs very little in general plan and arrangement. But its greatest importance lies in the 'śikhara' or tower that caps the sanctum and as such it is a distinct innovation on the former type. In religious architecture there is an aspiration for ascending height and it is no wonder that in this connection 'śikharas' or towers soon make their appearance providing a significant contrast to the early and flat-roofed temples. The inscriptions tell us that already by the 5th century A. D. high and lofty towers (*vistīrṇatuṅgaśikharam śikhariprakāśam...*)¹ had come into existence and they are figuratively described as high as the Kailāsa mountain (*kailāsatuṅgaśikharapratimā*)² or as reaching the sky (*nabhaḥspṛśan*).³ We do not know whether these inscriptional statements have any reference to the class of buildings, known as the Kailāsa in different texts, like Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, the *Matsyapurāṇa*, etc.

So far as standing monuments are concerned however, no 'śikhara' temple has been found as yet that can be placed earlier than the 6th century A. D. The most representative and well known specimen of the 'śikhara' type is the *Daśavatāra* temple at Deogarh.⁴ Other examples of this class may be seen in a second (*Mahādeva*) temple at Nachna-Kuthara⁵ and possibly also at Pathari.⁶ The brick temple at Bhitargaon (Cawnpore district)⁷ and the great *Mahābodhi* temple, as seen by Hiuen Tsang, belong also to this group. The *Durgā* and

1. CH, Vol. III, no XVIII, verse 33.

2. Ibid., nos. XVII, 21 and XVIII, 12.

3. Ibid., no. XVIII, 38.

4. ASR., Vol. X, pp. 105-110, Pls. XXXIV-XXXVI; HIA, p. 80; MR., Vol. XLV, 1929, pp. 58-59; AIG., pp. 146-152.

5. ASR., Vol. XXI, p. 98; PRASI, WC., 31st March, 1919, Pl. XVI b.

6. ASR., Vol. X, pp. 70-71.

7. ASR., Vol. XI, pp. 40-45; HIA, p. 80; ASIAR, 1908-90, pp. 6-16, Pls. I-V,

Hucchimalligudi temples¹ at Aihole, each exhibits a tower on the top of the flat roof of the sanctum, but their plans and other arrangements differ radically from those of the above-mentioned temples, which form a distinct group by themselves. R. D. Banerji included the temple at Sankargarh² as an example of Gupta temple architecture, but thinks the 'śikhara' to be a mediaeval addition. But a study of the carvings of the door frame and of the decorative motifs, which are definitely of a later date, leaves no doubt that both the lower and upper parts of the structure were built at the same time, which cannot be earlier than the 10th or 11th century A. D.

Of the different examples of this group only the Deogarh and Bhitargaon temples are representative specimens, the former in stone and the latter in brick. The Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh stands on a wide basement, which is reached by a flight of steps in the centre of each side. The basement is decorated by a continuous row of sculptured panels separated by pilasters. From pillars lying on this platform Cunningham thought that there were four pillared porticoes on the four sides, one protecting the entrance doorway and the others the three sculptured niches on the three walls. R. D. Banerji however thought that the whole platform was covered over with a flat roof, surrounding the sanctum with its 'śikhara'. In the present fragmentary state of the temple it is difficult to ascertain whether the platform was open to the sky or was wholly covered or whether there were narrow porticoes only to protect the carvings of the doorway and of the sculptured niches.

Instead of the plain walls of the former group the Daśavatāra temple presents a new feature in the arrangement of three sculptured niches on the three walls, each as sunken panel between two pilasters. These niches appear to set off the walls in the middle of each face. Towards the top of the walls there is a frieze of miniature arched niches, from over which rises the 'śikhara', now in a dilapidated condition. It consists of blocks or tiers of stone, each superposed above the other

1. HIA, Figs. 152-153.

2. PRASI, WC, 31st March, 1920, p. 104, Pl. XXVII; AIG, p. 146.

and gradually receding. In contour it appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid and the projections of niches on the walls of the sanctum have been carried up the body of the tower, the predominating decorative element of which is the 'caitya'-window. Probably there were angle-'āmalakas' at the corners too,¹ but the top with whatever finial there was has fallen down.

The great brick temple at Bhitargaon consists of a square cella and a similar but smaller porch or ante-room, which are connected by a passage, this interior passage and the outer entrance being roofed by semicircular vaults. Both the sanctum and the porch were roofed over with pointed domes, the voussoirs here, as in the vaults over the passages, being placed, not face to face, but end to end—a mode of construction that Cunningham calls the Hindu fashion. Above the sanctum there was an upper chamber also covered by a similar vault.

The ground plan is square with doubly recessed corners, i. e., with an offset projection in the middle of each of the three sides, and the projection of the 'maṇḍapa' hall in the front. The walls rise in bold mouldings, their upper part being decorated with rectangular terracotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters, and terminate in a double cornice of carved brick work with a recessed frieze of smaller terracotta plaques. This double cornice separates the body of the 'garbhagrha' from that of the 'śikhara', which exhibits well-defined superposed courses with straight or nearly straight sides. These courses are decorated with tiers of niches containing boldly projecting busts or heads or entire figurines. As each successive course recedes several inches the tower gradually diminishes towards the top. The offset projection on the body of the sanctum has been carried up the body of the tower, but as the top has tumbled down, no idea of the crowning elements is possible here as also in the Deogarh temple. As the recent excavations have shown, this temple, like those at Deogarh and Nachna-Kuthara, stood on a raised platform, that was built on cell-like foundations.

1. Burgess, 'Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India', Figs. 248, 252.

The Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh, by the style of its reliefs may be placed in the 6th century A. D. There is however not the same unanimity with regard to the date of the Bhitargaon temple. Cunningham, who first described it, was of opinion that it cannot be placed later than the 7th or 8th century A. D. and might probably be even older. Vogel, on the analogy of the decoration of pilasters and cornices¹ is inclined to place it at least three centuries earlier than the date proposed by Cunningham. R. D. Banerji does not place it before the mediaeval period.² The vigorous and spirited carvings of the terracotta panels, the form of the 'śikhara', etc., are sufficient indications to place it in the Gupta period, and though the date proposed by Vogel may appear to be early, it is not far removed from the Deogarh temple, with which it has got some general resemblance. It is built throughout of well-burnt bricks, laid in mud mortar, and their size, 18 x 9 x 3 inches, is approximately the same as is prescribed in the Viṣṇudharmottaram³ and the Agnipurāṇa.⁴

The chief interest of this group of temples lies in the 'śikhara' surmounting the sanctum; it is of low elevation in the earlier examples. In almost every case the tower has been damaged and no idea of the crowning elements is possible now. A better preserved 'śikhara' temple at Pathari, which from the remains near about may be said to belong to our period, exhibits a height just twice the width of the building, in strict accordance with the prescription of Varāhamihira.⁵

There can be no doubt that these early temples with spires are the precursors of the subsequent northern Indian 'śikhara' temples. The arrangement of a sculptured niche on each face of the plain walls of the Deogarh temple is a device that subsequently develops into the practice of setting forward the middle of each face of the plain wall, a practice that was characteristic of the ground plan of the northern Indian

1. ASIAR, 1908-09, p. 6.

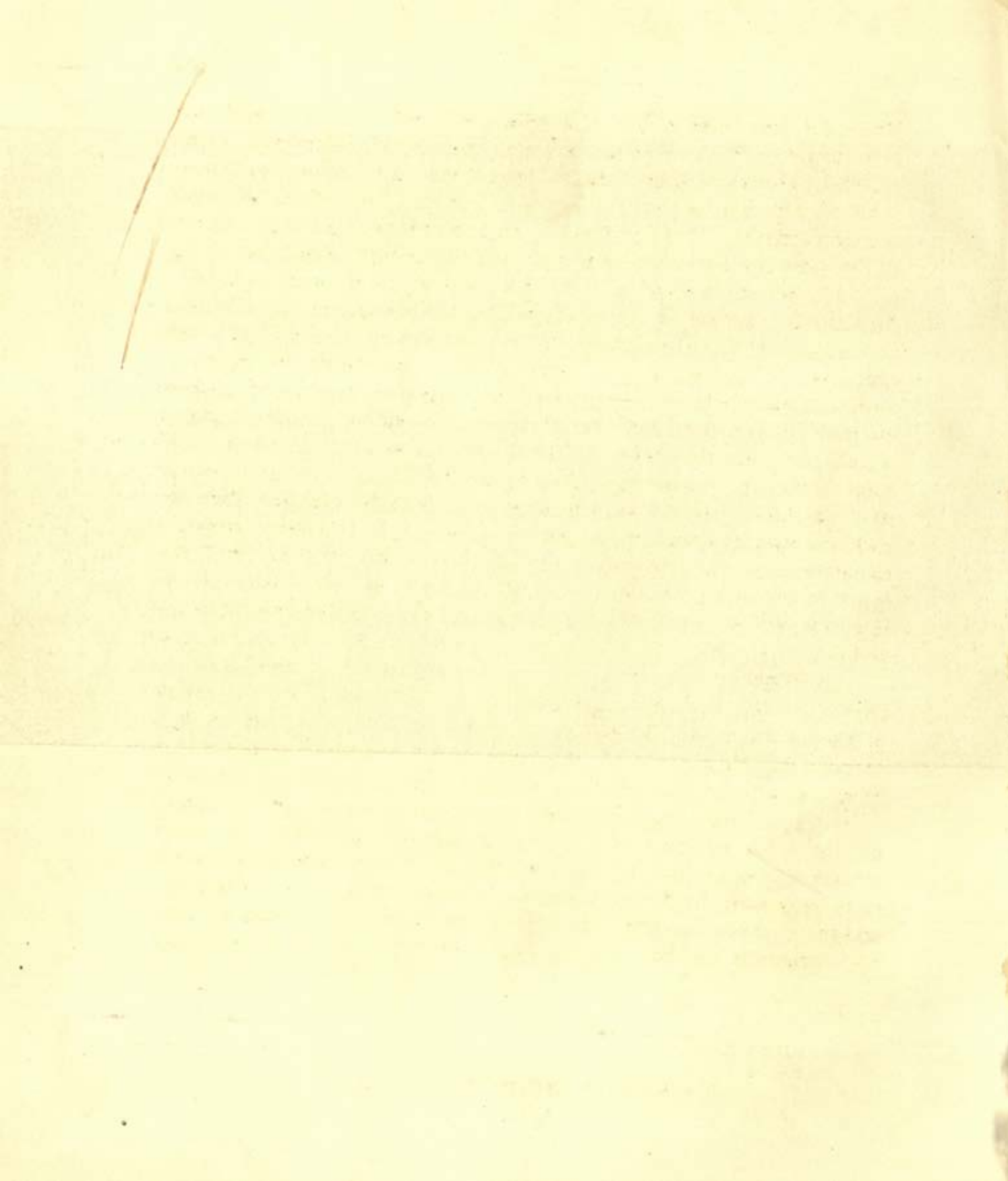
2. AIG, pp. 134-135.

3. Viṣṇudharmottaram, III, chap. 91.

4. Agnipurāṇa, chap. 41.

5. Brhat Saṃhitā (Vāṅavāsi Edition), chap. 56.





temple of later days. One such offset projection on each face may already be seen in the Bhitargaon temple and in the Mahādeva temple at Nachna-Kuthara. The latter, judging from the slightly curvilinear form of the 'sikhara' may be a little later in date, but still not later than the Gupta period. It offers, however, the nearest approach to a temple of the mediaeval northern Indian style in all its essential elements.

D. Among the temples of this age there are still other types, but they do not appear to have survived in the subsequent ages, except in isolated and stray instances, and may be passed over briefly. One such type may be noticed in a rectangular shrine, apsidal at the back end and surmounted by a vaulted and barrel-shaped roof. The earliest ancestor of this form may be traced in the ancient wooden edifices, which form the prototypes of the Caitya halls cut in the rock. The form of wooden construction survived in the rock-cut excavations and gave to these caves their characteristics and the wooden form in rock excavations again in its turn is reflected in the two structural examples of the subsequent period—the temple at Ter¹ and the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla²—both referable to the Gupta period. But this apsidal form does not appear to have persisted except in stray and isolated specimens of the later periods.

E. Another type may be seen in the cylindrical brick structure, known as Maṇiyar Māṭha, i. e., the shrine of Maṇi nāga, standing almost in the heart of the old city of Rājagṛha.³ Systematic excavations have revealed that the structure is the result of successive accumulations of ages, one of which is definitely Gupta. This particular stratum shows a circular wall, decorated with fine stucco sculptures in niches, resting on an earlier structure of a hollow cylindrical shape with a projection at each of the cardinal points, just like the 'āyaka' projections of the early stūpas of the Āndhra country. It has got an entrance in the north, and the surrounding wall, which is square now, also appears to have been originally circular. In the Gupta building the cylindrical form is

1. HIIA, p. 77.

2. Ibid., fig. 147.

3. Quraishi and Ghosh, 'A Guide to Rajgir', pp. 23-24, Pl. V.

more a result of following the outline of the earlier structure beneath, than a conscious or deliberate attempt towards a new form.

Cunningham has enumerated seven definite characteristics of Gupta architecture.¹ The first, i. e., "flat roofs without spires of any kind", does not however hold good for the whole period, as during the latter part spires had already begun to rear up their heads. The other six are more or less true of all the buildings of the period, earlier or later. As a rule, the earlier buildings are plainer than the later ones, but the door frames and pillars of every Gupta building always exhibit an exuberance of decorative detail. The jambs are divided into several vertical bands, containing different devices, relief figures and scrolls that are carried and continued over the lintel. The latter bears within a boss in the centre the relief replica of the presiding deity of the shrine, while on the jambs, either at the top or at the bottom, there appear the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, each on her respective mount. The pillars are divided into different sections, square, octagonal, sixteen-sided, round, etc., and exhibit a rich variety of designs. The execution and workmanship of these elaborate door frames and pillars in the earlier buildings offer a pleasing contrast to the otherwise plain and simple arrangement of the whole shrine.

1. ASR, Vol. IX, pp 42-43.

AN ABHICĀRIKA VIṢṆU IMAGE

by JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA



Exhibit No. 6523 is one of the most interesting icons in the archæological collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is a black basalt standing image of a four-armed Viṣṇu, and was found at Chaitanpur, a village in the district of Burdwan, Bengal. The central figure is almost fully in the round, its head and shoulders resting on a partially preserved 'śiraścakra' (halo) and its right and left back hands are connected with the knob of the mace (gadā), and the rim of the wheel (cakra) respectively; the knob of the mace and the upper part of the wheel are carved fully in the round above the heads of the 'āyudhapuruṣas', the personified 'weapon-figures', the Gadādevī and the Cakrapuruṣa; these are carved in high relief and carry staffs in their hands. The front right hand of the main figure holds a lotus bud while its front left carries a conchshell, thus showing that it belongs to the sub-order of Trivikrama. The figure is very sparsely ornamented, a peculiar string of amulets round the neck replacing the usual 'hāra' and 'vanamālā'; the loin cloth is treated in a very uncouth manner; the extremely elongated face, the big, protruding eyes, the projecting muscles and bones and the partially emaciated belly—all these features (clearer in the original relief than its reproduction) endow this Viṣṇu image with a character which requires explanation. R. P. Chanda who noticed the icon in the 'Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India', 1925-26 (p. 153), remarked: "The workmanship of this image is crude. Its halo and the arrangement of the drapery resembling that

of the small standing image figure on the base of the seated image of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi (originally from Vaibhāragiri, Rajgir and reproduced in op. cit., pl. lvi, fig. b) indicate that it is an inferior production of the Gupta period." But the analogy is not accurate; in fact there is very little resemblance between the two. The sculptor seems to have taken much care in showing these very features which make his work appear as crude. If, however, we compare the description of the Abhicārikasthānakamūrti of Viṣṇu with the present icon, we get a likely explanation. The Vaikhānasāgama describes such a type of Viṣṇu image thus: "abhicārikasthānakam devaṃ dvibhujam caturbhujam vā dhūmravarṇam śyāmavastradharam śuṣkavaktram śuṣkāṅgam tamoguṇānvitamūrdhanetram Brahmā-didevavivarjitam.....kārayet" (T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, part, ii, appendix, c., p. 20). The above extract means that 'one should make the 'abhicārika' variety of the standing image of the god (Viṣṇu) either as two-armed or four-armed, of the colour of smoke, wearing black cloth, with emaciated face and limbs, endowed with 'tamoguṇa' the quality of inauspicious darkness, with eyes cast upwards or protuding and without the (usual accompanying) gods like Brahmā and others'. Rao who described the type of Viṣṇu image on the basis of this text could not refer in his work to any known specimen of it. The 'abhicārika' varieties of Viṣṇu images were worshipped for the purpose of inflicting defeat and death on enemies and were regarded as inauspicious in character; for this reason, they could not be set up for worship in temples built in towns and villages. Their temples were enjoined to be constructed in forests, mountains, marshy tracts, fortresses and such other places (vana giri jala durge rāstrānte śatru diṇmukhe); if they were at all to be set up in a town or a village, they were to be built in the quarter known as the 'paiśācapada', i. e., its outermost division, when it is divided into five concentric divisions. It is also laid down in the texts that such temples should have no beauty or symmetry in their construction and the ceremony of installing images should be performed in the dark half of the month under such inauspicious asterisms as the Ārdrā 'nakṣatra' and at night in a 'cararāśi' month, a month in which the sun is in one of the four signs of the zodiac viz., Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn (abhicārikasthānakam devaṃ.....paiśācapade ārdrāyanuktanakṣatre śarvaryāṃ cararāśau sthāpitaṃ vimānaṃ ca lakṣaṇa-

hīnam vā kārayet). All the details show that such types of Viṣṇu images were highly inauspicious and were never used for general worship; this fact explains their extreme paucity. The Chaitanpur Viṣṇu represents, in all likelihood, such a variety and thus is one of the rarest types of Viṣṇu images so far known. Chanda dated it in the Gupta period; but its iconographic features as well as its style assign to it a somewhat later date.

THE CELESTIAL LUMINARIES IN AŚOKA'S ROCK EDICT IV

by B. M. BARUA

Aśoka in his R. E. IV. mentions the 'vimānas', chariots, 'hastis', elephants and 'agikhaṃdhas', masses of fire or celestial luminaries, as three typical examples of 'divyarūpas' or celestial forms. The list given is not meant to be exhaustive, since it is followed by the expression 'and such other celestial forms' (añāni ca divyāni rūpāṇi). That each of the three words, 'vimāna', 'hasti' and 'agikhaṃdha' is meant to be employed in its plural form is evident from the variants that occur in different copies of the edict in question. The Shahbazgarhi copy, employs 'jotikaṃdhani' as a variant or substitute for 'agikhaṃdhāni' in the Girnar and other copies. Aśoka speaks, however, not of the 'vimānas', 'hastis' and the rest as such, but of their exhibition, display or representation (vimāna-darśana, hasti-darśana). Aśoka's expression 'divyarūpa' may be shown to have corresponded with 'divyamūrti' in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 46. 75. He has introduced the topic of display of the 'divyarūpas' by way of an elucidation of his statement that by the practice of piety or righteousness on his part the sound of the drum became the sound of the 'dhamma' (bherighoso aho dhammaghoso).

The editors of the edict have so far been responsible for a wrong rendering or interpretation of the explanatory clause or sentence. A wrong punctuation of it has given rise to a wrong construction. Aśoka did not mean to say that he was able to transform the sound of the drum into a sound of the 'dhamma' by exhibiting to the people the representations of the 'vimānas' and other celestial forms. All that he meant, on the other hand, was that the principles of the 'dhamma' could not be increased as much in the past, during many centuries,

by the display of these forms as was done by means of instructions imparted by him in the matter of the 'dhamma'. In other words, he has been concerned in the edict only to throw into bolder relief the effect of the new method adopted by him by comparing and contrasting it with that of the traditional method tried in the long past.

Now, read with reference to the context supplied in Aśoka's main statement, it is easy to see that the "sound of the drum" (bherighosa) symbolises all popular religious demonstrations consisting in the display or representation of the celestial forms and the "sound of the dhamma" (dhammaghosa), the imparting of instructions in the principles of piety and morality (dhammānusathi). As described in the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, iii, pp. 81-82, the function of a Dhammaghosaka lay in inciting people into acts of piety and virtue by such proclamations and exhortations: 'puññāni karomi, uposathadivasesu uposatham samādiyāmi, dānaṃ dadāmi, dhammaṃ suṇomi, tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ sakkāraṃ karoṭhā ti'. 'I perform the acts of merit, take the precepts on the fast-days, make gifts, (and) hear the sacred texts. Do ye honour to the Three Jewels'.

The late Professor Vickramasinghe was the first scholar to suggest that here in Aśoka's R. E. IV. the 'bherighosa' did not stand so much for the sound of the war-drum as for the sound of the drum inaugurating a popular festival. But he failed to put forward cogent proofs for that from the literary texts of the age. As for such proofs, reference may be had, first, to the Jātaka, I. p. 283, associating the beating of drums with religious festivals (samajjā) and secondly, to the commentary on the Arthaśāstra, ii, 32-49, explaining the word, 'devaratha', i. e., 'deva-vimāna' as meaning a car or chariot for the procession of an image of God on the occasion of a religious festival (yātrotsavesu).

And yet it will be wrong to suppose that Aśoka dispensed with the traditional method altogether. He expressly tells us in his P. E. VII that he adhered even to the earlier method not because of any intrinsic value of its own but only to keep up the tradition (dhammānupaṭiṭṭhiyā). Thus in his case, one method was not completely replaced by the other but the earlier method of lesser efficacy was supplemented only by his own method which he considered to be of greater efficacy.

Of the 'divyarūpas', the first is the display or representation of the

'vimānas', called 'devavimānas' in the Jātaka, I. p. 59, and 'devarathas' in the Arthaśāstra, ii. 32. 49. Though in the Pali canonical texts in general, and in the Vimānavatthu, in particular, the gods including the Rūpabrahmas are each provided with a 'vimāna', by usage the Vemānikā devā (Vaimānika gods) are the dwellers of the heaven of the thirty-three gods, the heaven of Śakra or Indra, the celestial prototype of the terrestrial monarchs.

The second, 'hastis', as vehicles may be taken to symbolise the representation of the gods. The stories in the Vimānavatthu, as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar, not only speak of all-white elephants of the very best breed (sabbaseta gajuttama), but also of 'kuñjara' (I. 5) and 'nāga gajavara' (IV. 3), the 'kuñjara' being known to the world of men, according to the commentary, as 'hatthi' (elephant). The celestial elephants are typified by Sakka's elephant, Erāvaṇa (Sk. Airāvata). Like the 'vimāna', the 'Erāvaṇa', too, with its thirty-three heads (kumbhā) is symbolical of the heaven of the thirty-three gods.¹

As to the third, 'agikhaṃdhāni', it has been noted before that 'jotikaṃdhani' occurs as a variant. Masses of fire is only a literal rendering of the word. The burning pits in a hell, as suggested by Charpentier, must be ruled out at once, because Aśoka speaks of 'divyarūpas' only. In the stories in the Vimānavatthu, the various gods as they appear in their respective 'rathas' or 'vimānas' are described as effulgent or radiant like the sun, the moon, the 'osadhī tārakā', and the 'aggi' or 'jotipāvaka'. In commenting on the Vimānavatthu, I. 16, the scholiast points out: 'jotī ti candima-suriya-nakkhatta-tārakā-rūpāṇaṃ sādharmaṇa-nāmaṃ'. "Joti' is a common name for the moon, the sun, the stars and constellations". In the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva, 46. 75), too, the shining sun, moon and stars are described as the luminaries that represent the celestial forms 'jvalan-arkendu-tārāṇaṃ jyotiṣaṃ divyamūrṭiṇāṃ'. And in the Jaina Aupapātika-sūtra (sec. 36), the list of "the shining gods" is made up of the moon, the sun, the stars, the planets and the comets. This is precisely the sense of 'jotipāvaka' which suits the Aśokan word 'jotikaṃdhani' or 'agikhaṃdhāni'. By it Aśoka must have meant representations of

1. Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, i. p. 273; Paramattha-jotikā II, p. 368.

the various forms of the celestial luminaries, the sun, moon stars, etc., that belonged to the realm of the four Lokapālas.

In support of the above interpretation of Aśoka's 'jotikaṃdhani', I may mention that representations of the celestial luminaries were given a distinct place in the Buddhist scheme of sculptural decorations at Bharhut, Bodhgayā and other places, the Bodhgayā railing representing not only the sun in his chariot drawn by seven horses but the stars and signs of the Zodiac. Among such decorations in the relic-chamber of the great Thūpa built in Ceylon during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXX, distinctly mentions the figures of the sun, moon and stars. But, in this respect, that which is Buddhistic or Jaina is traditionally Hindu or Indian, and there is no escape from this conclusion from the present construction of Aśoka's statements in Rock Edict IV.

ALTARS, DIAGRAMS, ETC. IN THE RITUAL OF ANCESTOR-WORSHIP

by DAKSHINARANJAN SHASTRI

A lump of earth and a circle of stone. In the ritual of the disposal of the dead (śavadāha) a bank or a lump of earth is to be raised between the village where the deceased dwelt and the cemetery, as a rampart against death. A circle of stones is also erected for the protection of the survivors.

A tomb. In the ritual of Pitṛmedha (sacrifice to the ancestors) a tomb is to be constructed after the manner of a fire-altar. According to some, it should be as large as the fire-altar without wings and tail.

Thirteen unmarked bricks measuring a foot square are laid down; one of them is placed in the middle with the front side towards the east; this is the trunk. Three are placed in front; that is the head. Three are placed on the right; that is the right side; three on the left which is the left side. Three are placed behind; that is the tail. Thus, its body furnished with wings and tail is just like that of the fire-altar.

Lines. Then, the sons and other relations of the deceased, having bathed with their clothes on must next prepare the funeral pile with a sufficient quantity of fuel, on a clean spot of ground, after marking lines thereon to consecrate it in a mode similar to that which is practised in preparing a fire for sacrifice and oblations.

A semi-circular altar. The Vedic ritual knows no temple service. The altar (vedi) is made in the house of the offerer. Before it, is placed the fire which is said 'to sit upon it'. An altar for the Dakṣiṇa (south) fire is to be raised in the south-east corner of the fire-room of the sacrificer, very near to the intervals of space between the Gārhapatya and the Ahavaniya fires. This altar should be semi-circular in size looking like a bow.

In the ritual of Piṇḍa Pitṛyajna (offering of round cakes to the fathers), the performer draws a line or furrow with a wooden sword, to the south of the Dakṣiṇa fire. He then lays down a fire brand at the south end of the line. Stalks of sacrificial grass are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root. The performer then spreads them along the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents to the fathers three round cakes of rice.

A hut. The Mahā Pitṛyajna (the great offering to the fathers) takes place on the afternoon of the second day of the Śākamedhas. The sacrifice is conducted within a hut erected at the south of the southern fire, in which is made an altar with its orientation based on the intermediate points on which the southern fire is placed.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gives a very elaborate description of the Mahā Pitṛyajna sacrifice. According to this Brāhmaṇa, the performer raises a square altar at the south of the Dakṣiṇāgni. He makes the corners pointed towards the intermediate quarters. In the centre of this altar he lays down the fire. From there he throws the grass brush eastwards. Having thrown away the grass brush he first encloses the altar on the west side, then on the north side, then on the east side. Having enclosed it with the first line of enclosure the Adhvaryu draws three lines across the altar and the Agnidhra removes from them the dust which has to be removed. In the same way he encloses it with the second line of enclosure and having smoothed it down they lay down the fire-wood. The Agnidhra wipes the spoons and walks up to the altar with the butter and puts it down there on the north, sprinkling water. Walking round the altar and the enclosure, and sprinkling the altar all over are the functions of this rite.

A square altar of sand and a quadrangular Maṇḍala. In the offering of lumps a square altar of sand is raised one or two fingers high and a span nearly in each direction. It must be triangular at the obsequies of one recently defunct. Hemādri directs that the offerer should select an unpolluted place smeared with cow-dung and raise a square altar or a circular altar inclining towards the south. The raising of the altar, according to this authority, is not compulsory. One may very well offer the lumps on the ground. In Bengal no special instruction is given for raising an altar on this occasion. In Bengal,

the offerer is to describe a quadrangular Maṇḍala and also a couple of Maṇḍalas for each of the two sides, paternal and maternal. The worshipper should then sprinkle water on these Maṇḍalas with a blade of Kuśagrass after which he should place vessels on the Maṇḍalas together with all the articles of worship and in these vessels again duly sprinkled with water, he should distribute eatables and drinking water in due succession.

A small altar of earth. After returning from the cremation ground the nearest relation of the deceased going to the door of his own house or to some spot near water prepares the ground for the oblation of a funeral cake by raising a small altar of earth one cubit square and four fingers in height,¹ and marking eight lines on it, as is practised for other oblations. Then taking a brush of Kuśagrass, in his right hand, the nearest relation of the deceased, washes therewith the ground over which Kuśagrass is spread and presents a ball of three handfuls of boiled rice mixed with 'tila', fruits of various sorts, honey, milk, butter, and similar things such as sugar, on the spot thus purified. During ten days funeral cakes must be offered as on the first day. The cakes are known as the Pūraka lumps.

A circle. According to Jayanta, quoted by Hemādri, a "square circle" (caturasra maṇḍala) is to be drawn in a Vṛddhi Śrāddha (an offering to the ancestors on auspicious occasions), when offering water to the Brāhmaṇas for the Pitṛ for washing the feet.

Temple. It is true that the Vedic ritual knows no temple service. But at Gayā the lumps are to be offered to the lotus feet of Viṣṇu situated in a temple. This practice, however, is not to be considered as very old.

Huts, altars and sheds. On the eleventh day after death, the chief rite is the ceremony of Vṛṣotsarga, the principal observance of which is to set a bull at liberty in the name of the deceased. In it we find the traces of an ancient rite, the animal sacrifice, mingled with a later device to remove the taboo of death. The animal spoken of is usually branded with the divine emblems of the discus

1. Hasta pramāṇam caturangulocchrāyaṃ dakṣiṇā plavāṃ piṇḍikāṃ kṛtvā tadupari dakṣiṇāgrāṃ rekhāṃ kṛtvā.

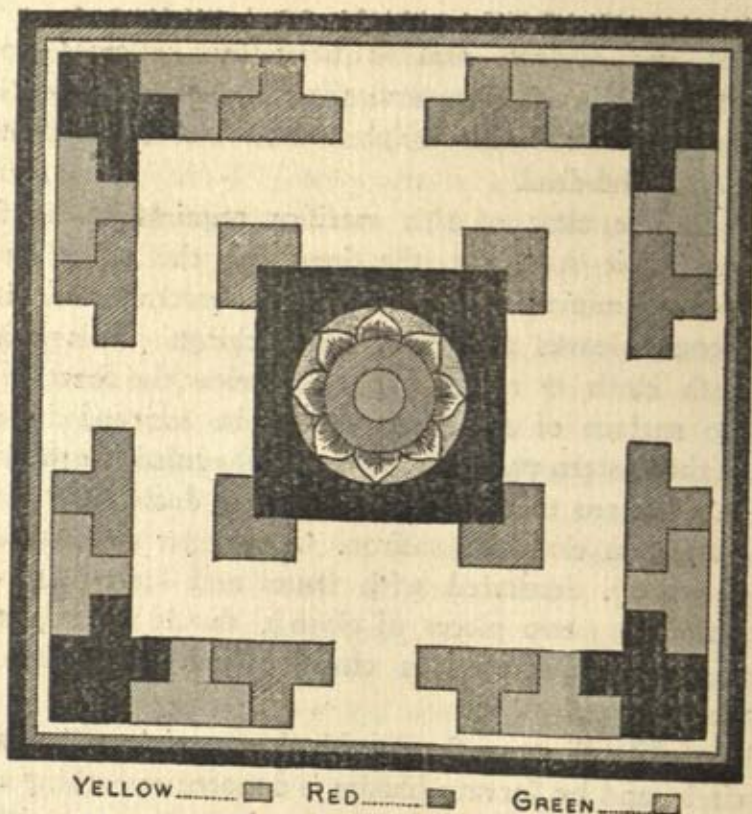
and the trident, and is henceforth allowed to wander free in the village lands. The general effect of the ceremony is supposed to restore the spirit from his helpless disembodied condition and enrol him among the sainted dead.

The altar of this sacrifice requires to be four cubits square and one cubit high by the hand of the yajamāna (sacrificer). Then a shed of miniature form is to be erected over it with bamboo posts, coconut leaves and such other things. This being done, a canopy of fresh cloth is to be hung just below the thatch. When this too is over, the surface of the altar should be adorned in the following manner: In the eastern part seeds of five scheduled corns are to be scattered, and on them are to be placed five jars decorated with fruits, leaves, curd, white rice, cloth and saffron. A big jar named Śānti Kumbha (pitcher of peace), decorated with fruits and leaves and covered with a pair of garments (two pieces of cloth), should occupy the north-east corner; and very near to it a circle named Sarvato-bhadra-maṇḍala is to be drawn.

The diagram Sarvato-bhadra-maṇḍala. The word Maṇḍala means a circle, and by Sarvato-bhadra is denoted something auspicious from all sides (aspects). Here it indicates a mystic diagram with a circular interior, the different parts of which are painted with powders of turmeric, dried rice, vermilion, and such other ingredients on an altar or some holy spot. This is said to represent the seats where several gods are to be invoked. The diagram is to be drawn according to the following directions:

Draw a straight line one cubit long and describe a square on it. Take two of its adjacent sides and divide each into sixteen equal parts. Then, from these points of division draw as many straight lines perpendicular to the opposite sides, and this will result in the formation of 256 small squares altogether. Of these, the thirty-six innermost squares should be set apart for drawing a lotus according to the instructions given here after. The row of squares just outside this area will contain the work technically termed Pīṭha (seat of a divinity, altar). The next two rows are intended for altars (pīṭhikā) while in the two extreme rows around will be the gateways (dvāra), Śobhā, Upaśobhā and the 'corners'.

Five colours in the form of powder are required to paint the different parts of the figure, and these are red, white, green, yellow and black. Red powder is to be obtained from the Kusuma flower; ground rice will serve the purpose of white; Vilva (Marmelos) leaves, when dried and crushed, may easily be transformed into green powder; the yellow paint is made of turmeric, and



black powder should be made out of paddy husk burnt and pulverized.

To begin with the gateway (dvāra), let us take four small squares at the middle of an extreme row and two just above, which are to be painted white. On each side of this figure, take one square in the lower row and three in the upper one; dye them with red powder, and you will get two Śobhās. Next to these, an equal number of squares should be taken in the reverse order, three in the lower row and one in the upper one. These are Upaśobhās to be painted yellow. Repeat the process on the other sides too, so that each pair of extreme rows may contain one Dvāra, two Śobhās and two Upaśobhās. This being done, there will be six blank squares at each corner; cover them with black powder and know them as 'corners'.

In the four Pīṭhas should be drawn creepers decorated with leaves and flowers.¹ They should also be painted with different colours in such a way that the whole thing may represent beauty. Then the three rooms at

1. Not shown in the diagram. They occupy the square white band.

each corner of the Pīṭha row should be levelled into one and painted red. Each of the trios is supposed to be the feet of the Pīṭha, while the curved space within is termed Pīṭha-garbha and the name given to the four intervals is Pīṭha-gātra. The colour suggested for the Pīṭha-garbha is either black or white, and that for the Pīṭha-gātra is exclusively white.

Now, out of the area set apart for drawing the lotus, one-twelfth space should be left blank and the remaining surface should be trisected, so to speak, by three circles with a common centre in the middle, so that each smaller circle is included in the larger. The smallest circle will be occupied by Karṇikā (the interior portion of the lotus, which looks like an ear-ring, 'karṇikā'); the second is intended for the filaments; while the third and largest should contain the petals. There must be two filaments and a crescent at the base of each petal; the crescent is considered to be the foundation line. The ends of the petals will be projected beyond the last line of circles, and for this purpose a twelfth part was left blank at the outset. Now the sides of the petals are to be formed. The artist should do this by drawing curves on both sides of a thread fixed from the middle of the crescent to the ending point. As for colouring, the Karṇikā should be yellow, filaments red, petals white, and petal joints green. The alternative colours suggested are: red for petals, black for petal joints, and red mixed with yellow for filaments.

The lotus, as well as other parts of the figure, should be drawn and painted according to the given instructions; but at the same time care should be taken to make the whole work very beautiful and attractive, thus befitting the epithet Sarvatobhadra which literally means 'beautiful in every aspect'.

There should be a white border, wide as the breadth of a finger, on the four sides of the Maṇḍala. Some also speak of two other similar lines in succession, their colours being red and black respectively.

The 'toraṇa-kalpa vṛṣotsarga'. Toraṇa means a gate, and the ceremony is so called because of the existence of a large number of gateways, decorated, on all sides of the shed (which is called Maṇḍapa) constructed for the purpose. The posts of these gateways should be cut to size out of several branches of trees. Opinions vary as to the class of wood or trees to be selected. The Matsya Purāṇa

enumerates Aśvattha, Udumbara, Plakṣa and Vata. But according to the Śāradā Tantra the posts of the gateways should be made of Kṣīri trees. In the Hayaśirṣa, we find that different staffs are to be used on different sides, Aśvattha in the east, Udumbara in the south, Nyagrodha in the west, and Plakṣa in the north.

These posts should be fixed in the earth one cubit deep and two cubits apart; there will remain four cubits above the ground, the total length of each post being five cubits. The body of the posts may be circular or square, ten fingers in diameter; but its surface must be very even, that is, without any knots or holes or curves, and free from bruises. Such posts, when fixed, should be wrapped with pairs of white garments, Kuśagrass and Mekhalā (girdle); they are also to be decorated with garlands of flowers. Jars should be placed at the bottom of the posts, and there should be a trident at the top. The arches of the gateway are half the size of a post.

Then there are two kinds of banners, technically called Dhvajā and Patākā, to adorn the shed. The constructor has to make eighteen, eight of the former and ten of the latter. The names and descriptions of these banners are given below:

The staff of the flag (dhvajā) should be seven cubits in height, while its cloth must be five cubits long and sixteen fingers wide. There is also a restriction as regards the colour of the pieces of cloth. The eight pieces, beginning from the east, are to be (1) like the colour of the rising sun, (2) like that of fire, (3) black, (4) white, (5) yellow, (6) red, (7) white and (8) of all colours. The name of the flags are Kumuda, Kumudākhyā, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Śankukarṇa, Sarvanetra, Sumukha and Supratīṣṭhita. These staffs are to be posted in the eight quarters, beginning from the east.

The staff of a Patākā flag should be ten cubits long, while its cloth is to measure seven cubits by twelve fingers. The colours mentioned in this case are yellow, red, black, blue, white, grey, yellow, all colours, red, and white; and they should be posted respectively in the (1) east, (2) south-east, (3) south, (4) south-west, (5) west, (6) north-west, (7) north, (8) north-east, (9) the position between east and north-east, and (10) the position between west and south-west.

The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa maintains that the flag-cloths of the ten

quarter deities (Daśalokapāla) are generally one cubit long and four fingers wide, but in a Torāṇa the length should be two cubits. That they should be of various colours is also asserted here, the additional suggestion being that these flags should be fastened to the arches of the gates.

In conformity with the practices followed in a province, plantain trees may add to the beauty at the bottom of each post, at the bottom of the Dhvajā and Patākā staffs, and at different gateways, thus numbering 34 in all.

RAY OF GOLD

by SWAMI KARPATRIJI

Cast

Universal Consciousness (Chitt Shakti) has numerous daughters called 'Individual Consciousnesses' (Jiva Chiti). One of them is Ray-of-Gold (Hemalekha) who marries Golden-Fleece (Hemachur).

Ignorance (Avidya)

mother of Stupid.

Attachment (Moh) = Stupid (Murh)

son of Ignorance,
husband of Faithful.

Intellect (Buddhi) = Faithful (Sati)

companion of Ray-
of-Gold, wife of
Stupid.

Mind (man) = Unstable (Asthir)

son of Stupid and
Faithful.

Imagination (Kalpana) = Uncertain (Chapala)

Hope (Āshā) = Insatiable (Mahāshana)

} sisters ;
wives of Unstable.

The five senses

sons of Uncertain
and Unstable.

Sensuality (Kāma) = Burning-Lips (Jwalamukha)

Greed (Lobha) = Evil-Inclinations (Nindyavritta)

} sons of Insatiable
and Unstable.

Breath (prāṇa) = Wanderer (Prāchar)

friend of Unstable.

In "The mysterious belle of the three cities" (Tripura sundari-rahasya) is the following symbolic story :¹

To make her husband Golden-Fleece (Hemachur) understand the nature of all things, the wise Ray-of-Gold (Hemalekha) told him the story of her life. She spoke : O master ! when I was a little girl my mother, (the unchanging, pure, all pervading, indivisible and unlimited power of consciousness) kept a girl companion named Intellect (buddhi) to play with me (a fragment of herself in the shape of Individual Consciousness). In the beginning my companion was an honest girl but unfortunately she became acquainted with a perverse and deceitful woman (Ignorance, Avidya).

That woman was only falsehood but she had extraordinary powers. She became the friend of my companion but my mother did not take notice of it. I had a great love for my companion, was under her spell and acted in everything according to her wishes. (All the dealings of Individual Consciousness depend upon Intellect. Because of its nature which is purity and freedom, the Intellect can reflect Universal Consciousness [Atma chiti]. And just as the external world is reflected in still water or in a mirror, the image of Intellect is reflected by Individual Consciousness. This is why Individual Consciousness cries when the Intellect cries and suffers when it suffers. There is a similarity between the nature of Individual Consciousness and that of Intellect. And it is because of its association with Intellect that Individual Consciousness comes under the yoke of Ignorance.) Living always in the society of my companion, I became also like her.

In the meanwhile, victim of the intrigues of the strange woman, my companion had been seduced by her son, Attachment (Moh). (Under the influence of ignorance the Intellect is subjugated by Attachment, son of Ignorance.) This son of hers was always in a state of intoxication and, even in front of me, did force to and abused my companion. (Under the eyes of consciousness, the Intellect is seized

1. Hemalekha is one of the symbolic stories which are found in the Purāṇas and the Tantras and whose object is to render easier the understanding of the difficult classifications of elements in Sāṃkhya and Vedānta.

It is here translated from Hindi.

by Attachment.) Though she was living in constant fear, my companion would not go away from me. This is why I (Individual Consciousness) sometimes came also in contact with the son (Attachment) of the strange woman.

After some time my companion bore a son (Mind) to the man. (The mind is born from the union of Intellect and Attachment.) The child was of the same nature as his father and soon started to create much trouble. From his father Attachment he had inherited the stupidity and from his grandmother Ignorance a wonderful power of creation. (Mind, like Ignorance has the faculty of creating wonderlands which it dreams or invents.)

The stupid father and the indescribable grandmother, empty, false and unreal as she was, educated him in every way. He progressed with an incredible rapidity. But, then, O master of my soul! my companion whose nature had remained pure from birth (originally Intellect issued from Sattva is pure) under the influence of this perverse woman (Ignorance), became entirely corrupt. Slowly she began to love her husband and her son and her affection for me decreased. But even then, because of the straightforwardness of my nature I could not accept the idea of leaving her suddenly. I was always with her and regulated my conduct according to her wishes. The husband (Attachment) of my companion who was called 'Stupid' tried to abuse me also. But because of my natural purity he was unable to master me. Anyhow the world began to despise me. People were saying: "She (Individual Consciousness) has relations with Stupid." Some time passed. My companion spent all her time with her husband. She did not take any care of her son who was left with me. The child Unstable (Asthir) grew up under my care. As soon as he became adolescent he was married to a woman of his grandmother's choice. The name of the woman was Uncertain (Chapala; she is Imagination [Kalpana]). She was able to change her appearance instantaneously and was constantly taking the most wonderful shapes to fulfil the desires of her husband. Unstable also could go away in no time thousands of miles and come back at once. He never took rest even for one minute. Wherever he wanted to go, his wife Uncertain showed, to please him, the shapes he wished for. This Uncertain bore him five sons. (The

five organs of perception which are the product of Mind and imagination, which means that they are only extensions of the mind.)

My companion (Intellect) put them also under my guard. (The organs of perception are dependent upon Individual Consciousness). Out of love for my companion I fed them and took care of them. Every one of those five prepared his own house. (The senses established themselves in five parts of the body, the ears, etc.) With the encouragement of their mother (Imagination) they became bold and succeeded in bringing their father (the Mind) under their control. (With the help of Imagination, the senses rule over the mind.) Wherever they went, they kept him with them.

One day, Unstable went to his elder son (Hearing). There he listened to all sorts of delightful sounds. He heard songs, instruments, the magic words (mantras) of the Vedas, the myths of the gods (Puranas), the laws of the Universe (Shastras), the stories of heroes (Itihasas), the jingle of jewels, the rattling of treasures and the exquisite notes of the prelude of the nightingale. Pleased with this son of his, he decided to act in everything according to his guidance. But as soon as he got his father under his control the son began to assume other 'shapes'—the dreadful roar of tigers and other fearful noises; frightened, Unstable ran away. (The mind is attracted by sweet words but tries to escape if fearful sounds are heard.) Going then to his second son, (the sense of touch) he enjoyed the delight of lovely and soft contacts, but again he was revulsed by the touch of unpleasant things. In the same way he went to his third, his fourth, his fifth sons, and experienced pleasure and disgust in shapes, tastes and smells. The children had a great devotion to their father. They could never enjoy any pleasure if he was not with them. (Without the mind, the senses cannot grasp their objects.)

Unstable who was not satisfied by those pleasures used to steal these objects from his sons and then enjoyed them at home, alone with his wife. (After enjoying things through the senses, the mind, carrying those objects as memories, in the solitude of the heart, relishes them with the help of Imagination, under the shape of visions and dreams.)

After some time the sister of Uncertain, Insatiable (Mahāshana),—she is Hope (āshā),—arrived there also. (When the enjoyment derived from things increases, it gives rise to Hope.) Seduced by Unstable, she

married him. Unstable also felt some attraction towards her. But he remained unable to satisfy her hunger, though he exerted himself to accumulate all sorts of provisions. Whatever he and his sons could collect she devoured at once and renewed her quest for food. They had to be always ready to bring her something. After some days two sons, (Sensuality and Greed) were born to that woman. One was named Burning-lips (Jwalamukha) and the other Evil-inclinations (Nindyavritta). Their mother loved them both extremely. Whenever Unstable lovingly pressed Insatiable in his arms he was burnt by the fire of Burning-lips or when he came near Evil-inclinations he was insulted and ridiculed. My companion (Intellect) seeing him always in trouble was also in great distress because she loved him. Living with them, I also began to be sad and despised. After some time Unstable decided to do some work and went to live in a city of ten gates (the body). He settled there with Insatiable and his mother bringing with them the five and also the two other children. He wished for happiness but met only with incessant suffering. While one son was burning his body, the other was spreading insults. His wife Insatiable taunted him continuously. He was made to run incessantly from one of the sons of Uncertain to the other. Seeing him helpless among all these worries, my companion also felt miserable.

The two sons of Insatiable were fed and brought up in the best manner by her grandmother-in-law (the illusory, negative Ignorance) and her father-in-law named Stupid (Attachment). The two co-wives Uncertain and Insatiable had a great mutual affection. They managed to keep Unstable under their control. Out of love for my companion I also stayed with them but I was consumed by sorrow.

Seeing Golden-Fleece perturbed by her story, Ray-of-Gold said : "O Prince, had I not been with them, nothing of this would have happened. It was I who protected them all. Without me this whole Universe would have been destroyed in a moment. All sorts of adversities came upon me on account of my association with that companion. (Without Individual Consciousness, Ignorance, Attachment, Intellect, Mind, Imagination, Senses, Hope, Desire, Greed, etc., are nowhere. Individual Consciousness itself, sometimes, being associated with Ignorance appears non-existent, being associated with 'Stupid' it appears stupid, associated



with Mind it seems unstable, associated with 'Uncertain', it harbours doubt, etc.)

As I lived with them people called me corrupted. Only my relatives knew that I was pure. (Though the Inner Self, the Intellect, etc., when they are associated with attributes appear soiled and corrupted by vice, a few sages know that the nature of the Self is absolute purity, intelligence and freedom. It cannot be affected by the good or bad qualities of contingencies.) My mother, (the unlimited and indivisible Power of Consciousness, absolutely true, infinitely pure, faultless, infinitely more vast than space and more subtle than the atom) though she knew everything, knew nothing though she made all things did nothing, she was the root of everything and had herself no root. She who manifested all shapes was herself shapeless. She made everything visible but could not be seen by anybody. Being the very shape of perfect bliss she herself enjoyed nothing. She had no father, no mother nor anyone ; still, she had innumerable daughters like myself. Like the waves of the ocean, my sisters could not be counted. They all behaved like myself. I know a magic word (mantra) with the help of which, even in such a company, I can remain as pure as my mother. (Like an image in a mirror, the whole Universe appears reflected in the Power of pure Consciousness. It is the basis of all and the light of all. Being aloof from all things it is itself independent.)

Finally, Unstable, the son of my companion, calmed down and fell asleep on the lap of his mother. When he began to sleep, all his children went also to sleep. At that time, a friend of Unstable named Wanderer, 'prachār' (breath [prāṇa]) was the guardian of the city. When the mother of Unstable (Intellect) also went to sleep, his deceptive mother-in-law (Ignorance) spread the cover over them and watched over all. Seeing them all asleep, I went to my mother (Universal Consciousness ; the Individual Consciousness goes back to the Universal divine Consciousness.). When they all woke up I again was with them and adapted myself to their ways as before.

The friend of Unstable, Wanderer, took care of the whole family. He was a single individual but he had ten different shapes (Prāṇa, Apāna, Nāga, Kūrma, etc., the ten vital winds). Like the pearls of a necklace which cannot remain together without the string, they would all

have been dispersed without Wanderer. He protected us all;—I had made him the Headman of the city. When a city showed signs of decay the Wanderer took them all to another city. In this way, Unstable, through his friendship with Wanderer, ruled over many cities. Unstable was born from the womb of Faithful, he had the protection of the powerful Wanderer and he had been nursed by me; still, his fortune led him from sorrow to sorrow. He was worried by his unfaithful wives Uncertain and Insatiable and by his sons Burning-lips and Evil-inclinations. He was pulled from one side to the other by his other five sons. Sometimes he was desperate on account of Insatiable. Sometimes Burning-lips or Evil-inclinations were burning him. Entrapped in this dreadful family he was wandering sometimes in cities, sometimes in the forests, sometimes in cold places, sometimes in hot countries and sometimes in unknown places. My companion who was faithful by nature, also became miserable in the company of Stupid.

After a very long time she once came to me sadly asking for a way of freeing herself. She afterwards went for protection to an intelligent and powerful man (Discernment [Vivek]). He fought Unstable, defeated him and killed his two sons (Sensuality and Greed) and chained the others (the senses).

Finally with my help, my companion could enter into the inner city of my mother and jumped to her neck. (She dissolved herself into the shape of pure Consciousness.) Then only, did my companion begin to experience the happiness for which she was born.

Hearing this story, Golden-Fleece remained struck with astonishment and tried himself to experience this natural state of Bliss.

transl. Shiva Sharap

A NEPALESE PAṬA OF THE SUDHANAKUMĀRĀVADĀNA

by P. C. BAGCHI

On a black line, above its painted scenes, the scroll painting bears inscriptions explaining the legends depicted.¹ The inscriptions are in Newari script of about the 17th century A. D. The language is also Newari as is clear from the use of such words as 'coṇa', 'julo', etc., at the end of each inscription, for example: 'Mahādhana rājā' rāṇī suharṣa Sudhana Kumāra nāma julo: "The king Mahādhana and his queen were very happy; the child Sudhana was born" (lit. came into being). Many of the inscriptions are either completely or partially effaced.

The story depicted is that of Sudhanakumāra (Sudhanakumārāvadāna) which is found in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 435 ff; ed. Cowell and Neil). This romantic story is also told in the Avadānakalpalatā.

In early days there were two kings in the kingdom of Pañcāla, one in North Pañcāla and the other in South Pañcāla. The king of North Pañcāla had his capital at Hastināpura. He was pious, kind to the people and governed his country well. So the kingdom was

1. The paṭa is painted on rough cotton cloth. The lower part is damaged and its lower edge has altogether perished. The continuous band of illustrations is bordered on top by a black line with inscriptions (in yellow paint); above this is a band of multicoloured triangles and above this another with a floral scroll, on light yellow ground, edged on top by black and red lines and fastened all along by a thick cloth with loops at regular intervals for hanging up the painting like a frieze along the walls. Red and green are the predominant colours and they run across the length of the painting, the lower half, except where houses or rocks are shown, green, the upper half red. The scenes which follow one another in continuous narration are flanked each by some vertical shapes, usually a tree. The effect which contemporary schools of painting in northern India under Moghul influence had on painting in Nepal, is obvious. The writing within the painted scenes is a later addition. The size of the painting is 19' 3" by 1' approximately; it is in the collection of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jhalan in Patna (Ed.).

rich and prosperous, the people happy. In the city of Hastināpura, there was a big lake full of lotuses, and aquatic birds.

The Nāgakumāra Janmacitra lived in that lake and used to cause rainfall whenever the country needed it. The king of South Pañcāla had a bad temper, was rude to his people and governed his kingdom in a bad manner. On account of his oppression the people began to leave his country and it became deserted. On going a-hunting the king discovered this and asked his ministers about its cause. His ministers told him that the king of North Pañcāla was a good king and friendly towards the people; hence the people were happy and contented. So his people had left the country and gone to North Pañcāla. The king said that thenceforth he also would be as kind to his people. The ministers said again: There is also the Nāgakumāra Janmacitraka who lives in a lake in Hastināpura and gives sufficient rains to the country; this makes the country prosperous and full of crops. The king then wanted to bring the Nāgakumāra to his kingdom by some means or other and promised to give a golden crown to the man who would do that. An Ahituṇḍaka (serpent-catcher) came forward and promised to bring the Nāgakumāra to his country. The Ahituṇḍaka then went to Hastināpura, looked around the lake and located the place. He then came back, asked for offerings from the ministers and promised to bring the Nāgakumāra on the seventh day.

In the meantime the Nāgakumāra learning that he was going to be taken by force on the seventh day got frightened. Two hunters (vyādha) named Sāraka and Hālaka had been living not far from the lake for a long time. Sāraka was dead. Hālaka was alive. The Nāgakumāra went to Hālaka, stated the whole thing, begged for help and told him that if he was taken away the country would have no more rain. Hālaka promised to help him.

The snake catcher came on the seventh day, and began to make the religious offering. He put four 'khadira' sticks in four corners of the lake and after putting around them threads of different colours began to churn the waters of the lake by using 'mantras'. The hunter who was in hiding near by now shot at him with an arrow. He then came out with an open sword. The Ahituṇḍaka stopped his magic rite out of fear and was killed by Hālaka.



The Nāgakumāra now came out of the lake, embraced Hālaka, took him to his residence, pleased him with different kinds of food and gave him many precious stones. There was a Ṛṣi at a short distance from the lake. Hālaka on getting out of the lake went to him and narrated the whole story. The Ṛṣi said that the Nāgakumāra possessed a noose called Amoghapāśa, compared to which the valuable stones given to him were nothing. Hālaka then went to the Nāgakumāra again and asked for the Amoghapāśa which the Nāgakumāra gave him.

The king of North Pañcāla, Dhanarāja passed his time in happiness and enjoyment but he had no son. At the instruction of the ministers the king and the queen worshipped the gods and at last were favoured with a son whom they named Sudhanakumāra. Sudhanakumāra was brought up in the proper way and was given three residences for summer, winter and the rainy season respectively.

The Vyādha Hālaka was once coming back through the hills after hunting. He saw a beautiful lake and a hermitage by its side. He went to the Ṛṣi in that hermitage, bowed unto him and questioned him about the lake. The Ṛṣi said that the lake was called Brahmasabhā. The most wonderful thing about it was that Manoharā, the daughter of the Kinnara king Druma came with 500 attendants every day to bathe in the lake. Sweet songs could be heard at the time of their bathing. Hālaka went away and kept himself in hiding near the lake. When Manoharā the daughter of the Kinnara king was coming out of the water after her bath Hālaka entrapped her with the help of his unfailing noose Amoghapāśa. Manoharā, on seeing that it was impossible to get out of his hands gave him her crest-jewel (cūḍāmaṇi) which gave her the power of going through the air provided that she was handed over to some prince.

The Prince Sudhanakumāra who at that time had gone out hunting was nearby. Hālaka took Monoharā and presented her to the prince. Sudhanakumāra was struck by the exquisite beauty of the Kinnara princess, accepted the gift of Hālaka and gave him five villages in Hastināpura in return.

Sudhanakumāra was so much attached to Manoharā that he would not leave her company for a moment. There was then a conspiracy by the priests to get rid of Manoharā. Sudhanakumāra was ordered by the

king to go to a distant country to quell a rebellion. The priests at the time organised a sacrifice where Manoharā was to be killed. The Prince while going on the royal mission had entrusted Manoharā's crest-jewel to his mother. The queen on seeing that there was no other way of saving Manoharā returned the crest-jewel to her. Manoharā now in possession of her crest-jewel rose into the sky at the time of the sacrifice and went to her father's place. She stopped for a while on the way in the hermitage near the lake and left instructions with the Ṛṣi for Sudhanakumāra in case he wanted to meet her again. She asked the Ṛṣi to dissuade him from the difficult search for her but in case he insisted she gave him certain indications how to reach the place of her father.

Sudhanakumāra returned to Hastināpura after quelling the rebellion. Manoharā was no more. He was almost mad and went around in search for her weeping all time. At last he came to the Brahmasabhā where he got the information from the Ṛṣi about Manoharā. Then he went through the hills, difficult of access, to the country of the Kinnaras where after passing through different ordeals he got united with Manoharā.

This is briefly the romantic story of Sudhana that has been depicted in the Nepalese 'paṭa'. The beginning as well as the last part is lost. The following portions of the 'paṭa' have been reproduced :

Pl. V. The Nāgakumāra in the lake at Hastināpura.

Pl. VI. The Nāgakumara comes out of the lake. Hālaka meeting the Ṛṣi. Hālaka gets the Amoghāpāśa from the Nāgakumāra according to the instruction of the Ṛṣi.

Pl. VII. The birth of Sudhanakumāra.

Pl. VIII. Attendants of Manoharā.

Pl. IX. Hālaka entraps Manoharā by using the Amoghāpāśa.

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN COSTUME FROM THE 1ST CENTURY A. D. TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 4TH CENTURY

by MOTI CHANDRA

The period under review, from the 1st century A. D. to the early 4th century is marked by the arrival in India of the Kuṣāṇas, members of the Yue-chi tribe who originally occupied a part of the north-western portions of China. Driven from there about 165 B. C. they first held the country of the Śaka nomads and later on took possession of Bactria about 10 B. C. Kanīška, the greatest of the Kuṣāṇa kings, made Puruṣapura (modern Peshāwar) his capital. He patronised the poet Aśvaghoṣa and the physician Caraka. Being a devout Buddhist he sent Buddhist missionaries to the distant lands of Tibet, Mongolia and Khotan.

With the advent of the Kuṣāṇa power in the north the rule of the Sātavāhana kings suffered a set back and became confined to the Deccan. Caṣṭaṇa became the governor of the Kuṣāṇas in about 110 A. D. but later on his possessions were annexed by the Sātavāhanas. Rudradāma, the grandson of Caṣṭaṇa, who gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Sātavāhana king, inflicted two severe defeats on his relative, and by 150 A. D. was able to establish his rule over Sindh, Mārwar, Kach, Surāṣṭra, Gujarāt, Mālavā and Northern Mahārāṣṭra, but later on other Sātavāhana kings were able to recover some part of their lost dominion.

At the beginning of the Christian era Tāmiḷ land was governed by three powerful kingdoms, Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya, and wars among these kingdoms were frequent. The most powerful ruler of Tāmiḷ land was Karikāḷa Coḷa ('about 70-100 A. D.) who defeated King Gajabāhu of Ceylon, established his capital at Uraiyur (modern

Trichinopoly) and built the famous port of Kāveripattinam at the mouth of the river Kāverī. Another famous king of the South was Cera Seṅguṭṭuvan, who ascended the throne about 140 A. D. and ruled till 192 A. D. He defeated the confederacy of the nine Coḷas. The high cultural achievements of his reign are reflected in the famous Tāmiḷ classic Silappadikāram.

By the end of the second century the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas began to disintegrate. The Abhīras carved out a separate kingdom in Gujarāt, the Cūṭu Sātavāhanas reigned for a century more over northern Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭak with their capital at Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsī, in northern Kanārā) and the Ikṣvākus reigned over the Āndhra country with their capital Naḷmalai (Naḷmalai hills on the south Krishnā, Guntur District). In the north the Bhāraśivas drove out the Kuṣāṇas and the republics of the Mālāvas and the Yāudheyas became powerful. Later on, after the downfall of the Bhāraśivas, Vindhya Śakti (A. D. 248-284) founded the line of the Vākāṭakas. His son Pravarasena (A. D. 284-344) was the most powerful king of the dynasty.

These three hundred years of Indian history, however, were neither centuries of constant warfare, nor could its later part (156 A. D. to 350 A. D.) be dubbed as the dark period of Indian history, as considerable light has been thrown on this so-called dark period by the researches of K. P. Jayaswal. It is evident from the accounts of Pliny, the Periplus and from archaeological evidence, both in this country and in greater India including Central Asia and the extra Gangetic countries, that this period was one of great activity in the spheres of art and literature, foreign trade, shipping and colonisation. In the first century of the Christian era Indian states were established in Indo-China, Annam, Cambodia, Java, etc. Eastward expansion brought the Indians in contact with China and the commerce between the two countries developed. The first centuries of the Roman Empire also witnessed the stabilisation and development of a profitable commerce between the Mediterranean countries and India. Indian jewels, spices, perfumes, the famous Myrrhina vases for which the Romans paid fabulous prices that made Pliny lament the fate of the Romans, and fine muslin formed the valuable articles of commerce. This commerce in luxury goods caused a balance of trade in

favour of India, and steadily the Roman gold flowed into the coffers of the Indian merchants.

Ample material is available in the sculptures of this period for a reconstruction of the history of Indian costume. Gandhāra sculptures from north-western India, Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathurā and the surrounding countries, reliefs from Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Golli besides furnishing details of the typical costumes worn by men and women all over the country also give ample information about the local fashions in the mode of wearing 'dhotis' and 'sāris', headdresses, etc. In North-Western India, besides the typical Indian costume consisting of 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭa' and turban for men and 'sāri' and 'oṛhni' for women, there are foreign elements consisting of tunics, trousers, high boots, caps, armour, etc., whose origin has to be traced to Central Asia and ancient Iran. Everyone knows that the art of Gandhāra closely followed classical traditions in a debased form and often in Gandhāra sculptures we see men and women wearing classical Greek costume. Portraits of the kings on the Kuṣāṇa coins also furnish us with important details of the Śaka costume. In the south the costume worn both by men and women was extremely simple, consisting of loin cloths of very fine material and 'kamarbands' worn in different styles. The tunic was, however, worn by soldiers, hunters and guards at the palace gate; the pointed Śaka caps were also known.

✓ Literature is not of very great use for the history of costume in this period. No book of the nature of the Mahāvagga or Cullavagga, which describe in detail the costumes and the different modes of wearing them and their materials, three to four hundred years before Christ, has come down to us in this period. The literary references to costume are scrappy, and the words used for certain pieces of apparel or certain kinds of material are passed over without further comment. Even modern dictionaries remain silent and often evasive in the explanation of certain words regarding costumes or the materials from which they were made. Our knowledge of Indian fabrics of this period is however considerably enlarged by the references and descriptions in the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea', an indispensable work for the knowledge of textiles in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Cotton cloth was extensively used in this period. Good cotton was

grown and cotton plantation (karpāsa vāṭa) is mentioned.¹ The softness of cotton-wool (karpāsa-picu) was appreciated, and in the Divyāvadāna the softness of the body of Upagupta is compared with cotton wool.² Cotton wool was purchased from the market and after ginning it (taṃ parikarmayitvā) the yarn of even structure and fine quality was spun. The weaver (kuvinda), while engaged in weaving cloth, picked and gathered the cloth and yarn (avicīra-vicīrakam) and with raised head (abhinirmāyodūḍhaśiraskaḥ) and with the clapping movements of hands and feet (sphaṭitaṃ pāṇipādo) began the weaving operation. The weaver's wife sat preparing the warp (tasarikāṃ kartum ārabdhā) with the help of well prepared and good quality starch (divyasudhā).⁴

In south India the members of the Nāga tribe were skilled in many crafts and specially in weaving. The Nāgas of the Kalinga country were so famous in the art of weaving that the word 'kalingam' in Tāmiḻ came to signify cloth. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Nāgas inhabiting the eastern coast in the Pāṇḍyan territory were great weavers and exported a large quantity of muslin. This fine muslin was highly prized by the Tāmiḻs and fetched fabulous prices in foreign countries.⁵ Tāmiḻ poets allude to a famous chieftain Ay, who offered to the image of Śiva one of the priceless muslins which had been presented to him by Nīla Nāga.⁶

The muslins from India were highly valued in the Roman Empire. The author of the 'Periplus' states that the best broad sort (called 'monachê') and a coarser cotton (called 'sagmatogênê', and probably used for stuffing and padding) were produced in Gujarāt and exported to East Africa from Barygaza, along with a third kind of coarse 'mallow-coloured' cloth (molochinê) dyed with a product of Indian Hibiscus.⁷ Similar varieties were sent to Arabia, Egypt and Socotra from Barygaza which

1. Divyāvadāna, p. 212, 21.

2. Ib., p. 388, 14-15, also see p. 210, 14.

3. Ib., p. 276, 9-11.

4. Ib., p. 83, 21-25.

5. Kanakasabhai, 'The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago', p. 45.

6. 'Chiru-panarruppadia', 96-99, quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 45.

7. Schoff, pp. 72, 73, 179-180.

received them in large quantities from Ujjain and Tagara.¹ Trichinopoly and Tanjore produced muslin called 'Argaritic'² (from Uraiyūr, the ancient capital of the Coḷa Kingdom, now part of Trichinopoly), and Masulipatam (Masalia)³ made a great quantity of muslin. The finest muslin was, however, called 'Gangetic' and was manufactured in the Dacca district.⁴ The demand for cotton cloth, both dyed and otherwise, was so great that it displaced the demand for cloth produced elsewhere. The fine Indian muslin was called 'ventus textilis' or 'nebula'. According to Arrian, Indian cottons were whiter and brighter than were those of any other region, and according to Lucian, the "Indian fabrics" were lighter and softer than the Greek.⁵

Silk was also used and silk goods were manufactured extensively. In the Divyāvadāna⁶ the silk is indicated by the words 'paṭṭāṃśuka', 'cīna', 'kauśeya' and 'dhautapaṭṭa'. In the absence of any other information it is difficult to distinguish between these varieties of silk. 'Paṭṭāṃśuka' may indicate plain white silk; 'cīna' as its name indicates, was imported from China; 'kauśeya' seems to be the true silk obtained from the cocoons spun by the silk-worm feeding on mulberry leaves; and 'dhautapaṭṭa' seems to be washed silk. 'Paṭolaka' or variegated silk (vicitra paṭolaka)⁷ has been mentioned. This variegated silk still retains its name in the 'paṭolā sārīs' of Gujarāt presented to the bride by her maternal uncle at the time of marriage. It is woven with warp and weft threads which have been separately tied and dyed by the 'bandhana' process. Of the patterns used the following may be mentioned: a diaper produced by a white line that forms meshes flattened laterally; these are filled with three white flowers borne on dark green stems in a maroon field. Sometimes the pattern consists of a series of elephants, flowering shrubs, human figures and birds.⁸ These are however new

1. *Ib.*, p. 42.

2. Schoff, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

3. *Ib.*, p. 47.

4. *Ib.*, p. 47.

5. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 212.

6. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 316.

7. *Lalitavistara* p. 113, 1; ed. by R. L. Mitra, Cal. 1877.

8. Watt, *Indian Art at the Delhi Exhibition, 1903*, pp. 256-259.

patterns ; we have no means to find out the ancient patterns. 'Vicitra' used with 'paṭolaka' in the Lalitavistara already referred to indicates that the silk was variegated. In the Tāmīl country also silken garments were worn by the people in affluent circumstances. Thus it is mentioned that the ladies of Madurā wore round their waist scarlet flowered silks.¹ It is mentioned in the Periplus that silk yarn was exported from Barbaricon on the Indus, while the more valuable silk cloth, besides raw silk and silk yarn was sent to Barygaza by way of Bactria, and also to Muziris, Nelcynda and other marts of Malabar by way of the Ganges and presumably down the east coast of India.² Silk seems to have been imported from China in the early Christian era by way of the Brahmaputra valley, Assam and eastern Bengal.³ Dealers in silk also frequented Kāverīpattinam in the Coḷa kingdom.⁴ According to the Periplus, the Roman traders found silk at the mouths of the Ganges, at the Gulf of Cambay and in Travancore whither it had been brought by various visitors from N. W. China.⁵ Native Indian silk spun by native moths may have reached Rome along with better kinds of silk.

Woollen cloth was manufactured and generally known as 'kaṃbala'.⁶ The term 'dūśya' (modern 'dhussā') in this age seems to have been applied to costly woollen cloth. It is related in the Divyāvadāna⁷ that in Uttarakuru there were 'kalpadūśya' trees which yielded the 'kalpadūśya' variety of woollen cloth. It is also mentioned that a Mātāṅga woman wore uncalendered 'dūśya' cloth (anāhata dūśya).⁸ The 'kalpa-dūśya' tree was also supposed to produce the rolls of woollen cloth known as 'tuṇḍicela' from which 'kalpadūśya' pieces of various sizes and of blue, yellow, red and white colours were obtained.⁹ Sometimes fine cloth of mixed texture was also woven from the admixture of wool and the fibres of 'dukūla'

1. Silappadikāram, XIV, p. 203.

2. Warmington, loc. cit., p. 176 ; Schoff, loc. cit., pp. 263-268.

3. Watt, Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, 992-1026.

4. Warmington, loc. cit., p. 176.

5. Schoff loc. cit., p. 172.

6. Divyāvadāna, p. 316, 23-27.

7. Ib., p. 215, 27-29.

8. Ib., p. 614, 17.

9. Ib., p. 221, 17-20.

(*ūrṇā dukūlamayaśobhanavastrāṇi*).¹ For fine texture and softness no Asiatic wool could compare with the 'pashm' wool of the shawl-goat of Kaśmīr, Bhūṭān, Tibet and the northern face of the Himālayas. It is mentioned that Aurelian received a red-dyed short woolly pallium as a present from a Persian king. Warmington suggests that this shawl was manufactured in India.² The material known as 'Marococorum lana' in the Digest of the Roman Law (XXXIX, 5, 7) was the raw wool of the shawl-goat sent from north-western Indian ports to be worked in Egypt. Warmington derives Marococorum from the name of the Karakorum mountain.³ The dyed wool was not exported, as the red-dyed wool astonished Aurelian and his successors as a thing of novelty.⁴ The wool of the shawl-goat fetched a very high price in ancient times. It is mentioned that when the Sassanid Hormisdas (Hormizd II, A. D. 302-310) married the daughter of the king of Kābul the bride's trousseau which was the wonderful product of the looms of Kaśmīr excited admiration.⁵

'Kṣoma' (kṣauma) or linen manufactured from the bark-fibre of *Linium Usitatissimum* was also extensively used.⁶

'Śaṇa'. Huge sheets of flaxen cloth (*śaṇaka*) measuring eighteen hands lengthwise and twelve hands and four digits breadthwise are mentioned.⁷ At another place a weaver is shown wearing a flaxen 'dhoti' (*śaṇasāṭikā*).⁸ The farmers also wore flaxen 'dhotis' (*śaṇasāṭī*).⁹

'Phalaka'. Cloth made from the fibres of certain fibrous fruits is also mentioned.¹⁰

Golden cloth. 'Cloth of gold' was known as 'haryaṇī'¹¹ or 'hirivastra'.¹²

1. *Ib.*, p. 316, 23-27.

2. Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 160.

3. Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 160.

4. *Ib.*, p. 161.

5. *Ib.*, p. 161.

6. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 316, 23-27; 577, 21-22.

7. *Ib.*, p. 349, 3-5.

8. *Ib.*, p. 83, 21-25.

9. *Ib.*, p. 194, 3.

10. *Ib.*, p. 316, 23-27.

11. *Ib.*, p. 316, 23-27.

12. *Lalitavistara*, p. 158, 18.

Apparently the reference is to modern 'kinkhāb' woven of the purest gold thread. It is not known whether the cloth was plain or patterned. Shawls richly brocaded and embroidered with precious stones (ratna-suvarṇa-prāvarakāḥ)¹ were also known.

'Pāṇḍu dukūla'. Yellowish cloth woven of the fibres of 'dukūla'.² No further details are given.

Benares cloth. It was known as 'kāśika-vastra',³ kāśi,⁴ kāśikāṃśu,⁵ etc. Generally the 'kāśika-vastra' is supposed to refer to the fine Benares silk, perhaps on the analogy of Benares being the centre of fine silk manufacture at the present time. The contemporary literature however does not make it clear that the 'kāśika-vastra' was silk; it could have easily been cotton as well. Fine clothes were made from the 'kāśika-vastra' (kāśika-vastra-varāmbārān).⁶

'Aparāntaka': This is also one of the varieties of cloth, though the material from which it was manufactured is not mentioned.⁷ It was as its name indicates, manufactured in Aparānta, or Western countries consisting of Mārwar, Sindh, Gujarāt and Koṅkan.

'Phuṭṭaka': This was some sort of cloth which I have not been able to identify.⁸ This material apparently seems to have been in great demand as a shop at Sopara exclusively dealing in this material (phuṭṭaka-vastrāvāri) is mentioned.⁹ Could it be some sort of printed calico?

'Puṣpapatta': 'Flowered cloth'.¹⁰ Again it is difficult to say whether floral patterns printed, woven or embroidered are meant.

The religious recluses and hermits wore cloths made of the fibres of fruit 'phala', 'muñja' grass, the inner bark of certain trees (balkala), 'darbha'

1. Divyāvadāna, p. 316, 23-27.

2. Lalitavistara, p. 333.

3. Divyāvadāna, p. 391, 26.

4. Ib., p. 388, 17.

5. Ib., p. 316, 23-27.

6. Lalitavistara, p. 262, 9.

7. Divyāvadāna, p. 316, 23-27.

8. Ib., p. 29, 7.

9. Ib., p. 29, 7.

10. Lalitavistara, pp. 141, 20 and 368, 14.

and 'valvaja' grasses and blankets made from the hair of the camel, goat, and from human hair.¹

Except by the Sādhus, hides do not seem to have been used as a material for clothing by the ordinary people. However, in this age the traffic between Rome and India in oriental hides and furs was of great importance. The *Periplus* says that 'Chinese' hides or furs were exported from Barbaricon² on the Indus river, and Pliny says (XXXIV, 41) that iron made by the Chinese was sent by them together with their tissues and skins to Rome.

A rough kind of animal skin with fur left on, or perhaps heavy woollen coats were exported from north-west India to East Africa. Woollen clothes could also be obtained at Kāveripattinam. These articles seem to have been referred to under the heading 'Capilli Indici'.³ Now Pliny's 'Chinese' iron, tissues and skins in fact were not the products of China but of India more correctly described by the *Periplus* as coming from the Gulf of Cambay to the Somali Coast.⁴ The furs exported from Barbaricon, Warmington takes to be partly of Chinese extraction brought from China with silk and diverted to the Indus, and partly Tibetan furs brought by caravans to the Indian ports.⁵

Skins from China were known in the Mauryan period as 'cīnasi',⁶ but there is no evidence to show that there was any contact between China and India at such an early age. 'Cīna' in the pre-Christian period in Indian literature perhaps signified Kafiristan, Kohestan and Darad where Shinā is spoken. There was no dearth of furs in India as it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷ that the presents from the people of Kamboja (Pāmir and Badkshān) to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice consisted almost entirely of animals of the marten and weasel families.

1. *Lalitavistara*, p. 312, 1-13.

2. Schoff, loc. cit., p. 33.

3. Warmington, loc. cit., p. 157.

4. Schoff, loc. cit., p. 172.

5. *Ib.*, p. 158.

6. *Arthaśāstra*, tr. p. 81.

7. II, 51, 8.

There were also regular shops which stocked cloths of different varieties. There were some, however, which specialised in stocking a certain kind of cloth. Thus there were shops at Sopārā which exclusively dealt in the cloth imported from Kāśi (kāśika-vastrāvāri)¹ and also shops which stocked 'phuṭṭaka' cloth² which might have been printed muslin. There was a regular street of cloth merchants at Madurā who stocked different varieties of cloth, woven cotton, thread laces, and hair or silk thread kept in bundles, each bundle containing hundred pieces.³ In the port town of Kāverīpaṭṭinam there were weavers (kārukas) who combined in themselves the functions of a middleman and dealt in fine fabrics made of silk, fur and cotton.⁴ Literature is however not very helpful in giving us information about the costumes and modes of wearing them. 'Dhoti' (loin cloth) and 'dupaṭṭa' (scarf) were usually worn by the Indians, and those manufactured at Kāśi⁵ were famous. A pair of 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭa' (yamali) woven of the finest yarn cost sometimes a 'kāṣāpaṇa'.⁶ The king wore well-calendered new garments with wide borders (āhatāni vāsāṃsi navāni dīrgha-daśādi) and his hands breast, forehead, knees and feet were well draped (prāvṛtyāṣṭāṅga samanvāgatam upavāsam).⁷ The cloths with wide borders perhaps refer to 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭa'; the garment covering hands, breast, knees and feet might have been a tunic as worn by the Kuṣāṇa kings; and the garment covering the forehead might have been a turban. Weavers⁸ and farmers⁹ often wore loin-cloths of flax (śaṇaśāṭi). Small loin cloths were known as 'prāvaraṇa-potṛim' ('potyu' in modern Gujarātī).¹⁰ The turban (śirottaraṭṭikā)¹¹ was used for covering the head. It was customary

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1. Divyāvadāna, p. 21, 4-5.
 2. Ib., p. 29, 1. 7.
 3. Silappadikāram, XIV, p. 208.
 4. Ib., V, p. 110.
 5. Divyāvadāna, p. 29, 6.
 6. Ib., p. 276, 9-11.
 7. Ib., p. 398, 27-28.
 8. Ib., p. 83, 21-25.
 9. Ib., p. 463, 8.
 10. Ib., p. 256, 26.
 11. Ib., p. 256, 24.

for the kings to wear the turban (pravara-maulipaṭṭam) when seated on the throne.¹ Besides the king ministers, chamberlains, bankers and domestic chaplains also wore turbans.²

Sewn garments consisting of coats or tunics which came close to the upper and lower garments (coḍaka-saṃghāta-pratyavareṇa vāsasā)³ were also worn sometimes by the king. The guards appointed for the protection of the harem were also clothed in brown-red tunics (kāṣāya-kañcuka-paṭāḥ).⁴ Warriors were also clad in tunics (kañcukiya puruṣāḥ)⁵ and armours covering the torso and arms (mañivarma-pañcāṅgo-petam).⁶

Dyeing the garments in beautiful colours (vastra-rāga)⁷ and sewing the garment⁸ were considered to be arts which a man of liberal education was expected to cultivate.

Classical Tāmiḻ literature of this period is full of references to the garments worn by the people of south India in this period. The king generally wore a loin-cloth and a long crown of conical shape made of gold and set with precious stones. Gold armlets, an anklet of gold on the right foot and necklaces of pearl and gold were the principal ornaments worn by him.⁹ The dress of the Tāmiḻ people differed according to their rank in society or to the races to which they belonged. People of the middle class in the pure Tāmiḻ society wore two pieces of cotton cloth, one wrapped round the loins and the other tied round the head.¹⁰ They wore their hair long, it was either tied in a knot at the top of the head or arranged on one side. Coloured strings of silk with glittering blue beads were used by the people of the higher class to fasten the hair and the ends of the strings were allowed to hang like a tassel.¹¹ A Mārava chief

1. *Ib.*, p. 420, 25-26.

2. *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXIII, 139.

3. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 415, 5-7.

4. *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* XXIII, 126.

5. *Lalitavistara*, p. 47, 7.

6. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 546, 14.

7. *Lalitavistara*, p. 170, 1.

8. *Ib.*, p. 179, 7.

9. *Kanakasabhai*, loc. cit., p. 110.

10. *Puranānuru*, S. 189, quoted by *Kanakasabhai*, loc. cit., p. 117.

11. *Puranānuru*, S. 150, quoted by *Kanakasabhai*, loc. cit., p. 117.

belonging to the Nāga race wore a loin cloth bound to his waist with a blue cloth, and he stuck feathers to his head.¹ The soldiers employed to guard the king's palace wore coats.² The 'yavanas' or foreign soldiers who kept guard at the palace gates and the king's tent on the battle-field wore tunics. We quote below the description of a Tāmiḷ king's tent on the battle-field with the 'yavana' soldiers keeping guard :

"....in a tent with double walls of canvas firmly held by iron chains, guarded by powerful 'yavanas' whose stern looks strike terror into every beholder, and whose long and loose coats are fastened at the waist by means of belts ; while dumb 'mlecchas' clad in complete armour, who could express themselves only by gestures, kept close watch throughout the night in the antechamber, constantly moving round in the inner apartment which was lighted by a handsome lamp....."³

The Tāmiḷ women ordinarily wore a 'sāṛī' reaching to the ankles ; the body down to the waist was entirely bare.⁴ The uncovered part of the body was decorated with sandal paste and other fragrant powders.⁵ The courtesans wore a short muslin loin-cloth which reached only to the middle of the thighs, and the fine texture of the muslin could hardly conceal their persons.⁶ The women members of the hill tribes wore green leaf skirts made by tying the leaves round the waist with a string.

The costume of the people of north western India as depicted in the Gandhāra sculptures is a mixed one. The purely Indian 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭa' and turban may be seen side by side with tunic, trousers, turban and caps—the characteristic costume of the people of the Panjāb, the North Western Frontier and Afghānistān.

The costumes of the nobles and princes depicted in the Gandhāra sculptures consisted of two pieces of cloth—the long 'dhoti' falling to the ankles in graceful folds and the 'chādar' usually passing over the

1. Puranānuru, 274, Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 117.

2. Perumpānārrup-padaḷ, 69. Quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 117.

3. Mullaip-pāḍḍu, 59-66. Quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., pp. 37-38.

4. Kalith-thokai, 111 and 115. Quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 117.

5. Ib., 18, 1-3. Quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 117.

6. Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 117.

7. Kurunchi-pāḍu, 102. Quoted by Kanakasabhai, loc. cit., p. 118.

shoulders and rolled round the left arm and then thrown back in stiff folds, its stiffness being maintained by the weight of a heavy tassel¹ (Fig. 1). In this mode of wearing the 'chādar' it forms graceful lines² (Fig. 2). Sometimes the 'chādar' leaves the torso wholly uncovered³ (Fig. 3). Sometimes it covers the whole chest leaving the right shoulder bare⁴ (Fig. 4). In the seating position, the 'chādar' did not usually cover the right shoulder and torso, it fell in graceful folds on the lap⁵ (Fig. 5). A 'kamarband' made of tape or lace was worn round the waist, both its tasselled ends falling in front to keep the loin-cloth from slipping.⁶ The high caste people of Gandhāra wore sandals⁷ (Fig. 3).

Sometimes the hair is uncovered and arranged in a top-knot decorated with the strings of pearls and jewels.⁸ But often a turban is worn over the top-knot⁹ (Figs. 6-8). The most curious point about the turbans is that they fit the heads like hats.¹⁰ In the scene representing Siddhārtha on the point of leaving his father's house we see the charioteer Chandaka holding his (Siddhārtha's) ready-made turban.¹¹ The turban is made of puffed material with the folds of one end arranged in a fan-like manner upheld by a brooch. This manner of wearing the turban is still common with the Panjābīs and Afghāns, who have retained certain ancient characteristics in their costumes and modes of wearing them.

The head-clasp or brooch which held the turban folds was often decorated. The head-clasp in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, found in the neighbourhood of Jallalābād¹² is decorated with the figure of a

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1. Foucher, *L' Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, figs. 393 and 417.
 2. *Ib.*, fig. 416.
 3. *Ib.*, figs. 415-417.
 4. *Ib.*, fig. 392.
 5. A. S. I., *Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, Pl. XL, 11.
 6. Foucher, *loc. cit.*, fig. 415.
 7. According to Curtius, the sandals of the Indian king Sophytes were encrusted with precious jewels, *His. Alex.* IX, 1, 5.
 8. Foucher, *loc. cit.*, figs. 392, 395, 418, etc.
 9. *Ib.*, figs. 394, 396-397, etc.
 10. *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 186.
 11. *Ib.*, Vol. I, figs. 173a, 180b; Vol. II, fig. 447.
 12. *Ib.*, Vol. I, p. 181, n. 3.



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standing couple, kissing (Fig. 9). Another type of decoration on these clasps as found in the Gandhāra sculptures is a Nāga being carried away by a Suparna¹ (Fig. 10). Sometimes the clasp is decorated with the figure of the Buddha² (Fig. 11). Sometimes this clasp is circular in shape and decorated in the centre with the head of a lion.³ At other times it suggests the form of the outspread peacock tail. The breast and the back of the bird served as a decorative motif and the goldsmith made full use of the protuberances for apt decoration⁴ (Fig. 8). Below the upraised fan-like end the folds of the turban are arranged. Sometimes it has three bands⁵ trimmed on the side by a small ruffled band inserted transversely in between the folds. An ornament decorated with the figures of two genie supporting a plaque is attached to the centre of the forehead on the turban. A band enriched with jewels and with the figures of griffins in repoussé and appliqué work decorates the forehead. These bands and ornaments are suspended by double ribbons, their four ends fluttering in the air at the back⁶ (Fig. 6).

The following varieties of turbans may also be noted: turban with spiral-shaped top-knot⁷ (Fig. 12); light turban with the ends passed transversely on the forehead and tucked behind⁸ (Fig. 13); a light turban surmounted with a three pointed ornament⁹ (Fig. 14); another type of light turban with thick folds and fan-like projection at the top¹⁰ (Fig. 15); a very elaborate turban with a clasp in front; a round knot at the top from which two strings of pearls are taken down and attached to the sides¹¹ (Fig. 16).

Donors as depicted in the Gandhāra sculptures wear a 'dhoti' and

1. *Ib.*, II, figs. 320, 398, 415.

2. *Ib.*, figs. 399, 429.

3. *Ib.*, figs. 306, 495.

4. *Ib.*, fig. 397.

5. *Ib.* Vol. I, Pl. I.

6. *Ib.*, Vol. II, figs. 393-394.

7. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1912-13, Pl. VI a.

8. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1915-16, Pl. XX e.

9. *Ib.*, fig. J.

10. *Ib.*, 1911-12, Pl. XLII, fig. 17.

11. *Ib.*, 1911-12, Pl. XL, fig. 12.

'uttariya' or 'chādar' (Fig. 17) which is also the dress of the merchants,¹ and of a head of the family.² The men also wore tunics in the winter which had a large cut flap on the right³ above the knee or on the left.⁴ A long coat with tight fitting sleeves and with a vertical band running from the neck in the centre of the chest to the navel perhaps represents the fasteners and the buttons.⁵ A figure of a donor from Sahri Bahlol wears a tunic with full tight sleeves reaching to the wrists. One end of the 'chādar' is passed under the right armpit and thrown over the left shoulder thus covering the torso. He also wears a tight-fitting skull-cap with a knob in the middle⁶ (Fig. 18). The men also wear 'shalwār' or bandy trousers which according to Itsing were worn in Persia, Tibet, Kāshgar and all over Turkestan. An overcoat (chughā) lined with fur is sometimes worn over the tunic⁷ (Fig. 19).

There are two types of soldiers wearing different costumes⁸ (Figs. 20-23). One type which seems to have been recruited from some wild tribe wears a loin-cloth, the waistband with a sort of corded 'kamarband', and a twisted scarf stretched from the right shoulder passing across the chest and tucked in the 'kamarband'. The rest of the body is bare and the hair is either bare or covered with a turban (Fig. 24). The second type¹⁰ (Fig. 25) wears a helmet (śirṣa kaṭāha) and armour of the Assyrian type¹¹ with the upper part made of scale-pattern plaques. Foucher takes this type to be mercenary soldiers from the west.¹² The armour which is half sleeved reaches the knees. The chain armour

1. Foucher, loc. cit., fig. 350.

2. Ib., fig. 440.

3. Ib., figs. 345, 349.

4. Ib., fig. 346.

5. Ib., figs. 351, 353.

6. Ib., Vol. II, fig. 370.

7. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, Pl. XLI, fig. 14.

8. Foucher, loc. cit., fig. 352.

9. Ib., Vol. I, figs. 31, 201, 204, 292.

10. Ib., fig. 202.

11. For comparison with the Assyrian types, see Stein, 'Ancient Khotan', p. 252, Pl. XVI; 'Ruins of Desert Cathay', I, p. 443, fig. 138.

12. Ib., Vol. I, p. 402.



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fits closely to the chest and the arms and is made of scale¹ (Fig. 25) or rhombus pattern plaques² (Fig. 22) fastened to one another with strings after the fashion of Japanese or Tibetan armour. The ends of the sleeves are strengthened with cordings. The skirt is made of the parallel rows of rectangular plaques, the waist and the hem being strengthened by cordings. They also wear 'kamarbands', and straps across the shoulders. At the neck there is a V-shaped³ (Fig. 25), or semi-circular opening⁴ (Fig. 22). In this category of armour clad soldiers two sub-types may be distinguished, one which wears a turban, a shirt and a 'dhoti'⁵ (Figs. 22, 25) and the other which wears a helmet and Grecian sandals⁶ (Fig. 25). Soldiers also sometimes wear 'jānghiās'.⁷ This kind of dress was however not confined to soldiers only but was also worn by the nobles and the kings when the occasion arose.

In the Gandhāra sculptures the hunter whom we meet twice—once in the scene representing the 'Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka'⁸ (Fig. 26) and the second time when he is shown changing his clothes with the Bodhisattva⁹—wears a loin-cloth; his hands and feet are quite bare. Labourers, both agricultural¹⁰ (Fig. 27) and otherwise¹¹ (Fig. 28), wear a short loin-cloth or merely a 'langoṭā'; the latter is also worn by the wrestlers.¹² 'Jānghiā' or tight shorts are worn by the Śākya in their tournaments (Fig. 29) (Foucher, loc. cit., I. Fig. 172). Brāhmaṇas and Brahmacārīs wear loin-cloths and 'chādars' falling from the left shoulder; their hair falls on the neck, and one lock is arranged in a bow-shaped knot at the top of the head¹³ (Fig. 30).

1. Ib. Vol. I, fig. 202.

2. Ib., Vol. I, 204.

3. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 202.

4. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 204.

5. Ib., Vol. I, figs. 202, 204.

6. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 202.

7. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 270.

8. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 138.

9. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 187b.

10. Ib., Vol. I, figs. 175-176.

11. Ib., Vol. I, fig. 266; Vol. II, fig. 302.

12. Ib., Vol. II, fig. 303.

13. Ib., Vol. II, fig. 431.

Caps are worn by foreigners. A conical cap edged at the bottom with a running border is sometimes lightly perched on the head¹ (Fig. 31). Sometimes the conical cap is knobbed at the top and decorated with a crescent and held firmly to the head by a scarf tied at the back with its both ends fluttering in the air (Fig. 32; Foucher, loc. cit., II, Fig. 353). A dome-shaped cap with a bow-shaped knot at the top and the edge decorated with pearls was also worn² (Fig. 33). Caps or helmets with crenellated front and knobbed top are generally worn by the soldiers of foreign extraction³ (Fig. 34).

The female costume as represented in the Gandhāra sculptures consists of three pieces—a sleeved tunic, a sort of petticoat covering the body, and a shawl or scarf covering the shoulders and falling down from the arms⁴ (Figs. 35, 36). Sometimes one end of the shawl is tucked to the waist⁵ (Figs. 37, 38). The female shirt⁶ (Figs. 39, 38, 40) generally falls to the knees and in exceptional cases is open in front⁷ (Fig. 35). This full sleeved 'coat' reaching a little below the waist is so cut as to leave the navel exposed, and seems to have been fastened with a button in the centre. Sometimes this coat is quarter-sleeved and reaches to the navel.⁸ Another type of full sleeved coat covers the navel⁹ (Fig. 41). The shirt is worn over the petticoat or under it;¹⁰ sometimes the two modes of wearing the petticoat are seen side by side¹¹ (Fig. 42). The tunics are long and tight and relieved by light folds¹² (Fig. 43). Occasionally the women use breast-bands.¹³ The 'sārī' is worn in two ways. Generally one part of the 'sārī' is wrapped round the waist and

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1. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 354.
 2. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, Pl. XL, Fig. 10.
 3. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1910-11, Pl. XXII, C.
 4. *Ib.*, Vol. II, figs. 335, 378.
 5. *Ib.*, Vol. II, figs. 318-319.
 6. *Ib.*, Vol. I fig. 106; Vol. II, figs. 319, 336.
 7. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 335.
 8. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1919-20, Pl. IX.
 9. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1925-26, Pl. LXVI.
 10. Foucher, loc. cit., I, figs. 139-140, 244-245; II, figs. 318-319.
 11. *Ib.*, Vol. I, fig. 133 b.
 12. *Ib.*, Vol. II, figs. 318, 374.
 13. *Ib.*, Vol. I, fig. 130.



35



36 A



36 B



37



38



39



40



41



42 A



42 B



43



44



45



46



47



48



49



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the other part pleated and tucked in behind¹ (Fig. 38). In the second style one end of the 'sārī' is wrapped round the waist and the free end thrown over the left shoulder² (Fig. 37). Sometimes the 'sārī' was sufficiently big to cover the legs and also the body with the free end falling in front³ (Fig. 44) or at the back⁴ (Fig. 45). In yet another style⁵ (Fig. 36) the free end of the 'sārī' passes over the breast and is attached to the left shoulder with a fastener. The free end of the 'sārī' is also sometimes passed over the chest transversely leaving the right breast uncovered⁶ (Fig. 46). The 'sārī' is also worn in a loose fashion. One end is loosely wrapped round the thighs exposing the waist, and the other end is wrapped round the left arm falling gracefully on the same side. This mode of wearing the 'sārī' left the chest and the back exposed⁷ (Fig. 41). There are also instances where the shawl is worn as 'sārī' covering the left shoulder⁸ (Fig. 47). The 'dupaṭṭa' or 'chādar' is usually thrown over the shoulders with one end often tucked in the 'sārī' fold near the waist. It is remarkable that the mode of wearing 'sārīs' in Gandhāra sculptures reminds one of the 'sārīs' as worn by the Deccani ladies. The women generally decorated their hair with chaplets, but in exceptional cases they wore elaborate tiaras⁹ (Fig. 48).

The 'yavanīs' or foreign women were employed by the kings to guard their persons.¹⁰ They are often represented in the Gandhāra sculptures. They wear two types of costumes, one more or less classical, and the other Indian. In the first type the 'yavani' wears a tunic reaching a little above the knees with a pleated skirt tied above the waist with a twisted 'kamarband'. A 'dupaṭṭa' thrown over both the shoulders has

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1. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 319.
 2. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 319.
 3. *Ib.*, Vol. I, fig. 152.
 4. *Ib.*, Vol. I, fig. 261.
 5. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 378.
 6. *Ib.*, Vol. II, fig. 375.
 7. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1919-20, Pl. IX, 1-2.
 8. Foucher, loc. cit., Vol. II, fig. 377.
 9. A. S. I., Ann. Rep. 1911-12, Pl. XLI, fig. 16.
 10. Megasthenes. Frag. XXIII; Strabo, XV, I, 55; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, pp. 34, 126 and 349; Arthashastra, I, 21; Jātakamālā (Text), p. 185.

both its ends passed through rings attached to the tunic. Then these ends encircle the breasts and then pass through the 'kamarband'. She also wears a helmet and a 'sārī'¹ (Fig. 49). The second type wears the 'sārī' with one end wrapped round the waist and the free end passed transversely over the chest covering the left breast. She also wears a loose 'kamarband' tied in a bow-shaped knot, and an ample 'chādar' or 'dupaṭṭa'² (Fig. 50).

Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period have preserved faithful records of the costumes worn by Indians and also by the foreigners. The Indians generally wear a 'dhoti', one part of which is tucked in at the back and the other or major part is folded and tucked in generally on the left side forming a loop³ (Figs. 51-52, A and B). They also wear a 'dupaṭṭa' passing over both the shoulders and falling on the elbows⁴ (Figs. 51-52), and a 'paṭka' or decorative piece of cloth tucked to the 'dhoti' fold near the navel and falling in between the knees⁵ (Figs. 51, 52). Sometimes the men specially of higher social status kept their 'dhotis' in place by a 'kamarband' tied in a bow-shaped knot with one tasselled end falling in between the legs. They also wear a 'dupaṭṭa', one end of which was passed over the left shoulder and then passing across the back and covering the right knee it is looped and supported by the wrist of the left hand⁶ (Fig. 53). Sometimes the 'kamarband' is twisted like a rope and worn loosely over the hips⁷ (Fig. 54). There are other ways of wearing 'dupaṭṭas' and 'kamarband' (Figs. 54 A—D; A. S. I., Rep., 1911-12, Pl. LVII, Figs. 12—15). The small loin-cloth (lungī) held to the waist by several rounds of the 'kamarband' is worn by horse-men, grooms, etc.⁸ (Fig. 55).

A turban or 'uṣṇīṣa' is generally worn by men. Often it is made of a long strip of simple cloth tied round the hair-knot at the top of the

1. Foucher, loc. cit., II, fig. 342.

2. Ib., Vol. II, fig. 343.

3. Vogel, 'La Sculpture de Mathura', Pl. VII, c. d.

4. Ib.

5. Ib.

6. Ib., Pl. XXXV, b.

7. Ib., Pl. XXI, b.

8. Ib., Pl. VIII, b.



51 A



51 B



52 A



52 B



53



54



54 A



54 B



54 C



54 D



55



56



57



58



59



60

head¹ (Fig. 56). But turbans made of rich materials and surmounted with arched metallic plaques from whose central aperture ends of the turbans are passed out are worn by rich people² (Fig. 57). Sometimes a clasp and an overlaid plaque are also worn over a turban³ (Fig. 58). Often a round plaque attached to a metallic band decorated with rosettes, is worn over the turban⁴ (Fig. 59). An overlaid plaque with an attachment which appears to have been a plume is also worn over the turban⁵ (Fig. 60).

Another type of costume generally worn by the Śaka kings and soldiers but not so popular with the indigenous people consisted of a tunic, trousers, cap and high boots. A typical example of such a costume is that worn by the now headless standing image of Kaniška (Ht. 5' 4" including base) from Mathurā. His right hand rests on a mace and the left clasps the hilt of the sword. He wears a tunic reaching below the knees and held round the hips by means of a girdle of which two square plaques are visible in front. Perhaps they are meant for a buckle or they might be indicating that the belt consisted of a series of such plaques. They were made of metal. The remainder of the belt is concealed by a long upper garment which falls even further below the knees and is consequently somewhat longer than the tunic. Both garments are plain except for the seam which is shown. Most conspicuous are the heavy boots with straps round the ankles similar to those now worn in Chinese Turkestan⁶ (Fig. 61).

Another seated royal figure from Mathurā is dressed in a long tunic with richly embroidered borders nearly three inches broad which are shown running down the breast in a double band and have been continued over the knees and the lion-heads of the throne. The right sleeve shows similar ornamentation. The tunic is dotted over with little rosettes like sprigged muslin, and on the top of the right sleeve we see a slight

1. Smith, Jain Stupa of Mathura, Pl. XVI, fig. 2.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. CI, 1.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. LXIV.

4. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI, b.

5. Agrawala, 'Handbook of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra', Pl. XVI, fig. 33.

6. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, p. 122, Pl. LIII, fig. 3.

projecting circular disc of 3" diameter. The two sides of the tunic are not joined immediately below the throat but somewhat lower down like a modern coat, except that there are neither lapels nor collar. Thus a triangular shape is left where we notice a lower garment with a narrow seam along the throat. The top boots are decorated with a band of vine pattern 3" wide running from the toes upwards. There is a strap round each boot beneath the ankles and a second strap under the heel. To each strap is attached what appear to be spurs¹ (Fig. 62, A—C).

Another type of tunic is also depicted in Mathurā sculpture. Thus a standing male figure from Mathurā² (Fig. 63 A and B) wears a tunic reaching down the knees. This tunic is decorated with a broad band imitative of an embroidered seam. The belt is made of a row of plaques, the round ones alternating with squares decorated with the well-known motif of the period—a fish god and a horseman with high cap carrying a mace or lance over his shoulder.³

The seated image of Sūrya⁴ (Fig. 64) wears a short-sleeved tight tunic fitting closely to the body and the arms. It has a semi-circular neck; the edges of the sleeves are beaded; an embroidered border made of a scale-pattern runs in the middle of the chest. The waist-band which consists of two rounds holds the dagger. The cap which he wears is also heavily embroidered.

Another figure which by its beard and frizzled hair seems to be Persian or Śaka wears what appears to be a heavily embroidered tunic. The patterns are embroidered in arched panels; simple beading and rope-like designs on both sides encase a central panel divided into many compartments filled with oblique or vertical lines or dots, etc. The scarf falls down the back, its both ends are passed through the aperture of a brooch worn on the left side of the chest. The rim of the hemispherical cap is embroidered and decorated with the figures of the sun and moon on the left⁵ (Fig. 65).

1. *Ib.*, p. 124, Pl. LIV, figs. 4-6.

2. *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.*, 1911-12, Pl. LV, figs. 7-8.

3. *Ib.*, p. 125.

4. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII. B.

5. V. S. Agrawala, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXI, fig. 41.



61



62 A



62 B



62 C



63 A



63 B



64



65



66



67



68



69



70



71

Caps are worn generally by the foreigners. A cap roughly conical in shape with the tip tilted a little forward thus giving a slight curvature to the back part is worn by a detached head from Mathurā¹ (Fig. 66). The left side of the cap is embroidered with a design which seems to be a monogram. The two edges of the felt or cloth are sewn—the seam being apparent in front running from the tip; the rim is decorated with three rows of pellets going all round the cap; perhaps they represent precious stones² (Fig. 67).

A conical cap with the tip tilted backwards and slightly curved in at the back, was also worn³ (Fig. 68). On the right side the cap is decorated with a crescent,⁴ and on the left with a design which appears to be a monogram⁵ (Fig. 69). This cap has a striking resemblance with the Turkish cap worn by the Muhammadans of Egypt and India.

Another type of cap with hemispherical dome and upturned rim was also worn (Fig. 70).⁶ This cap bears a resemblance to the caps worn by certain Persian figures in Ajanta paintings. The round 'pāgrī' closely fitting the skull and tied on a cap as worn by the members of the Agrawal community as well as other communities in Delhi and elsewhere seems to be directly descended from such a cap. The Sūrya image⁷ (Fig. 71) wears a peculiar kind of cap. The top is round and flat, decorated with oblique geometrical and floral panels.

The women in Mathurā sculpture wear generally a 'sārī' reaching to the ankles and held to the waist by elaborate girdles, and a folded 'dupaṭṭa' covering both shoulders with its both ends falling down⁸ (Figs. 72, A and B; 73, A and B). But in many cases this 'dupaṭṭa' is not worn. The twisted 'kamarband' tied over the waist so as to form loops on both sides gave a rich foil to the 'sārī'⁹ (Fig. 74). Sometimes the long end

1. Vogel, loc. cit., Pl. IV (a).

2. Ib., (b).

3. Ib., (c).

4. Ib.,

5. Ib., (d).

6. Agrawala, loc. cit., Pl. XIII, fig. 26.

7. Vogel, loc. cit., Pl. XXXIII, b.

8. Ib., Pl. VII, a-b.

9. Ib., Pl. XVI, b.



72 A



72 B



73 A



73 B



74



75 A



75 B



76



77



77 A



77 B



77 C



77 D



79 A



79 B



80

of the 'kamarband' is tied round the waist leaving the small tasselled end dangling in front, and then the bigger end is passed through the folds of the 'kamarband' and allowed to fall on the left side¹ (Fig. 75, A and B). The 'kamarband' is sometimes doubled up and the middle part tucked in the 'sārī' fold near the navel and both the ends left free² (Fig. 76). In other cases one end of the tasselled 'kamarband' is looped and tucked on the right side, and then a part of the 'kamarband' is looped and tucked to the 'sārī' fold near the navel, and the free end is deliberately held by the left hand³ (Fig. 77). There are other methods of wearing 'paṭkās' as well⁴ (Figs. 77 A—D).

The skirt which became a garment of universal wear in medieval India in the north, and is still extensively worn in the U. P., C. P., Marwār and Gujarāt, etc., was known in the Kuṣāṇa period. It was not an universal dress as is evident from the sculptures, but was occasionally worn, it seems, by milk-maids and the like. A female figure (No. B. 86) from Jamālpur mound, Mathurā, now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, perhaps represents a milk-maid (Fig. 78). She holds with her right hand the pitcher resting on a head-rest made perhaps of cane. Her body, down to a little below the navel, is bare, below which she wears a skirt not so elaborate or pleated at the waist as the skirt now worn by women in this part of the country, but straight at the waist with a single flounce in the lower part. The seam runs vertically in the middle of the skirt from the top to the bottom.



Fig. 78

The women of Mathurā, at least as represented in sculpture, did not wear a tunic or bodice. There are however exceptions, such as the women, who are possibly foreigners, in the famous Bacchanalian groups. They wear short tunics fitting tightly at the waist and ending in pleated skirts⁵ (Fig. 79, A—B). The women

1. *Ib.*, Pl. L, a-b.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. XVII, a.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XVIII.

4. *Ib.*

5. *Ib.* Pl. XLVII, fig. a.

depicted on a pedestal from Mathurā dated 79 in the Kuṣāṇa era also wear tunics. They wear also 'sārīs', one part of which is wrapped round the waist, and the other taken over the left shoulder covering the left breast¹ (Fig. 80). This mode of wearing the 'sārī' reminds one of the women of Gandhāra, and probably these women represent pious donors from the north-western Frontier Province.

Profusely embroidered tunics were also worn by the Śaka, or may be Iranian, women, though rarely. At the Jamālpur mound, Mathurā, was found a railing pillar, now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (No. B. 84), depicting a lady walking towards the right holding an incense-burner² (Fig. 81). She wears a close fitting cap with upturned brim and a full-sleeved tunic reaching to the ankles. The seam runs in the middle of the tunic from the neck to the bottom. The most interesting point about the tunic is however its elaborate decoration. The entire field is divided into eleven or twelve horizontal panels filled with sprigs and rosettes. No photograph can however give an adequate idea of the beauty of the design. The material from which the tunic was made is 'puṣpapaṭṭa', often mentioned in literature.



Fig. 81

Generally the women of Mathurā as represented in the sculptures, did not cover their heads, thus giving full scope to their lovely coiffures. But there are certain women who wear veils falling down the back.³ In one instance a woman attendant is shown wearing a knobbed turban⁴ with one end hanging on the back. Another woman wears a spiral turban.⁵ (Fig. 76). But as we have already observed, the wearing of a turban by women is more an exception than a rule.

As we have already seen, south Indian literature gives us occasional references to the costume and textile materials in south India. Fortunately

1. *Ib.*, Pl. LX, b.

2. Kramrisch, *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, Pl. 19.

3. Smith, *loc. cit.*, Pls. XXXIV, XXXV.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. XIV.

5. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XVII, a.

the reliefs from Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Golli have preserved the contemporary manners and customs of the south Indians in the period under review. The south Indians as depicted in the sculptures, in common with the north Indians wear a 'dhoti' or a loin-cloth generally reaching a little above the ankles. One pleated end is tucked in in front near the navel¹ (Fig. 82), and the other end is tucked in behind. In the second style² (Fig. 83) the 'dhoti' reaches to the knees. In the third style³ (Figs. 84, 85) the pleated end in front is passed between the thighs and tucked in behind.⁴ The waist is tied with a 'kamarband' fastened in many artistic ways. In one style one round of the 'kamarband' leaving both ends free, is tied round the waist, and the second round is formed in a loop and tucked to the folds at the waist⁵ (Fig. 84). In another style one round is tied; one of the free ends is looped and the other end passed thrice through the first fold, hangs freely⁶ (Fig. 86). In a third style the 'kamarband' has one round; the free ends are tucked and looped at the sides of the waist⁷ (Fig. 82). In dancing these looped ends added movement to the simple costume of the dancer⁸ (Fig. 87).

The 'dupaṭṭa' or 'chādar' is not very commonly worn. The 'dupaṭṭa' worn right across the chest and thrown over the left shoulder is shown occasionally⁹ (Figs. 88, 89). Sometimes a rolled 'dupaṭṭa' is worn in cross strap fashion over the chest¹⁰ (Fig. 90).

The head-dresses are also of varied patterns. The turban is loosely wound in two or three rounds with a metallic plaque attached in front¹¹ (Fig. 91). In the second type the turban is wound carelessly with one end going down and the other sticking up¹² (Fig. 92). In

1. Fergusson, loc. cit., Pl. XCV, fig. 3.

2. *Ib.*

3. Fergusson, loc. cit., Pls. LXXIV, LXXXIII, fig. 2.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXIV.

5. *Ib.*

6. *Ib.*, Pl. XCI, fig. 3.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. XCV, fig. 3.

8. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', Pl. XXII, A.

9. *Ib.*, Pl. XX, A and XLVI, A.

10. *Ib.*, Pl. XL, A.

11. Fergusson, loc. cit., Pl. LXXIV.

12. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIV, fig. 2.



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the third type the turban is wound in a thin round spiral with a flamboyant crest attached to the top¹ (Fig. 93). In the fourth type the turban is loosely wound with the end stuck on the crown spreading fanwise² (Fig. 94). In a fifth type both ends of the turban are passed through the spiral end of the head ornament and then passed through the central aperture of the head ornament, and then probably tied with the hair knot at the top of the crown³ (Fig. 95). In the sixth type the turban ends are passed through two rings attached to the top of the turban⁴ (Fig. 96). A kind of small round 'pāgrī' tightly fitting the skull and surmounted with an aigrette is also worn⁵ (Fig. 97). Tapering metallic caps are also used. The cap is often decorated with circles and lines with a tassel attached on either side⁶ (Fig. 98). In another type the cap is decorated with what appears to be peacock feathers, with a heart shaped metallic plaque decorated with hatched lines attached to the forehead⁷ (Fig. 99). Another kind of head-dress is shaped like the lid of a teapot with radiating circles on both sides neatly perched on the top of the crown⁸ (Fig. 100). In another sort the 'upturned brim is crenellated.⁹ Close-fitting skull-caps with recurved edge, or conical caps slightly slanting back are worn by the foreigners¹⁰ (Figs. 101, 102). A cap with the flaps covering the ears (kanṭopā) is also used by a man in tunic¹¹ (Fig. 103). Sometimes an ovaloid head crest was also attached¹² (Fig. 104). Men wearing a tunic and hence probably belonging to some other race, generally covered their heads with a scarf, one end passed under the chin and then tucked in on one side of the head, thus covering both ears¹³ (Figs. 105, 106).

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1. Ib., Pl. LXXXIV, fig. 2.
 2. Ib., Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1.
 3. Longhurst, loc. cit., Pl. XXIII, B.
 4. Ib., Pl. XXI, B.
 5. Fergusson, Pl. LXXIV.
 6. Ib., Pl. LXXXVI.
 7. Ib., Pl. LXXIII, fig. 2.
 8. Ib., Pl. LXXIII, fig. 2.
 9. Ib., Pl. LXXIV.
 10. Ib., Pl. LXIX.
 11. Ib., Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2.
 12. Longhurst, loc. cit., Pl. XXVIII, C.
 13. Fergusson, loc. cit., Pl. LXXXIV, also Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1.

A tunic is worn but very seldom by men of position, such as kings, high officials and noblemen. The attendants, musicians and foreigners often wear a tunic with tight-fitting full sleeves and semi-circular opening at the neck; it reaches to the waist. It is worn in combination with 'kanṭopā', 'dhotī' and a chest band¹ (Fig. 103), or in combination with the turban, 'pāgrī', 'dupaṭṭa' and 'dhotī'² (Fig. 94). A full tunic reaching a little above the knees is sometimes held tightly to the body with a 'kamarband' and chest band, and is worn in combination with the 'kanṭopā'³ (Fig. 103). Sometimes a tunic with loose sleeves reaching a little below the knees is worn in combination with tight fitting trousers and a skull-cap⁴ (Fig. 107). A 'kahār' or palanquin-bearer wears a half-sleeved tight-fitting tunic made of some striped material, tightened at the waist by a 'kamarband'⁵ (Fig. 105). A similar tunic but without sleeves is worn by another man⁶ (Fig. 105). Another man who appears to be some foreigner, wears a short tunic covering half the length of the thighs and having full tight sleeves made of some striped material⁷ (Fig. 106). A groom holding the reins of a horse wears a peculiar kind of coat which very much resembles the English long tail-coat. It is half-sleeved, and the left flap crosses over the right; a four-fold 'kamarband' secures the coat tightly to the body⁸ (Fig. 108). 'Jānghiā' or tight-fitting shorts made of striped material are worn by the cowherds and men in similar professions⁹ (Fig. 109). They are held securely to the waist with a 'kamarband' tied in a looped knot at the back.

The women in south India did not over-burden their bodies with unnecessary garments. The body above the waist was generally devoid of any clothing. A 'sārī' reaching a little above the ankles is generally worn. The 'sārī' is held to the waist by a girdle above which is tied a scarf whose one free end hangs in front, and the other end, a part of which is looped

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1. Worn by an umbrella bearer; *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2.
 2. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1.
 3. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2.
 4. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2.
 5. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIV.
 6. *Ib.*
 7. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1.
 8. A. S. I., Ann. Rep., 1908-1909, Pl. XXX.
 9. Fergusson, loc. cit., Pl. LVII.



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114



113

and entwined, streams down freely¹ (Fig. 110). In another figure the place of the girdle is taken by a 'kamarband' tied in a bow² (Fig. 111). Generally no head-dress is worn by women, the hair itself being arranged in diverse coiffures. The women occasionally wear elaborate turbans. In one elaborate turban of this type the turban folds are spirally arranged round the coiffure at the top of the crown surrounding which is an ovaloid head ornament from whose centre hangs a tassel³ (Fig. 112). In another type of turban its folds encircle the horn-like coiffure which reminds us of the coiffure of the Banjara women of C. P. even today⁴ (Fig. 113). But sometimes an elaborate tiara flanked with bosses and surmounted with a double 'makara' figure carrying a crescent on its back was worn.⁵ Sometimes a crown with a six-pointed crenellated top was coquettishly perched on the top of the head⁶ (Fig. 114). Sometimes a crenellated crown decorated with what appear to be lotus petals was worn⁷ (Fig. 115). Veils covering the hair were not common. A rare example is that of a woman who wears a veil covering the hair tied in a knot at the back and falling down the back⁸ (Fig. 116).

The children wear 'jānghiās' and elaborate turbans⁹ (Figs. 117 and 118). Sometimes a scarf is tied round the chest with the looped end fluttering on the right side.¹⁰ (Fig. 118).

Summary

The first three hundred years of the Christian era saw an allround expansion of Indian life and culture. The Indians spread out into the extra Gangetic countries and Central Asia. Profitable commerce between the Roman Empire and India developed, and Indian jewels, perfumes,

1. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXV.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. XCI, fig. 3.

3. Longhurst, loc. cit., Pl. XX, B.

4. Longhurst, *ib.*, Pl. XXXIV, A.

5. Fergusson, loc. cit., LXXXV.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIV, fig. 3.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1.

8. *Ib.*, Pl. LXXII, fig. 1.

9. Longhurst, loc. cit., Pl. IX, C and D.

10. *Ib.*, D.

the Myrrhina vases and muslins for which fabulous prices were paid found a ready market in Rome.

For the history of Indian costume in this period there is ample material in the Gandhāra and Mathurā sculptures in the north, and the reliefs of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc, in the south. Besides the typical Indian costume consisting of 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭa' and turban for men, and 'sārī' and 'oṛhni' for women, sewn garments, such as tunics, trousers, high boots, and armour, caps, etc., probably of Central Asiatic and Iranian origin, were also worn.

The literature of this period is not very helpful in giving information about the costume of the people, though for the knowledge of the textile materials we have to depend solely on literature.

Cotton cloth was extensively used. The cotton was cultivated in large plantations (karpāsa-vāṭa), and there were weavers (kuvinda) who wove fine cloth. In the south the members of the Nāga tribe were noted in the craft of weaving. The Nāgas of the Kalinga country wove the finest muslins, which were exported to foreign countries.

In this age the Roman Empire was a great patron of Indian muslin which was exported to Rome, Egypt, Arabia, etc. from Barygaza, etc. The finest Indian muslin was known as 'ventus textilis', or nebula.

Silk was also in great demand, and 'pattāṃśuka' (plain white silk), 'cīna' (Chinese silk), 'kauśeya' (mulberry silk) and 'dhautapaṭṭa' (washed silk), were the different varieties of silk. 'Paṭolā' or the variegated silk 'sārī' of Gujarāt was known as 'vicitrapaṭolaka', and the women of south India used scarlet-flowered silk.

Woollen cloth was known as 'duśya', several varieties of which were known. Mixed fabrics of wool and 'dukūla' were woven, and the beautiful shawls of Kaśmīr woven from the wool of the shawl-goat elicited the admiration of all.

Cloths manufactured from linen and certain fibrous fruits were also extensively used.

Golden brocade under the name of 'hiryāṇi' and 'hirivastra', 'pāṇḍudukūla' or cloth manufactured from the fibres of 'dukūla', the silk and cotton cloth of Benares, the 'Aparāntaka' cloth of Sind, Gujarāt and Konkan, 'phuṭṭaka' cloth (perhaps printed calico), and 'puṣpapaṭṭa' or 'flowered cloth' either printed or embroidered, were also known.

The hermit and anchorite used cloth manufactured from the fibres of fruits, 'muñja' grass, inner bark of certain trees, human hair, and the hair of certain animals.

Furs were also used for making garments, and these were also exported to foreign countries.

There were regular shops stocking textile materials; there were also special shops which specialised in stocking only a particular kind of cloth.

'Dhoti' and 'dupatta' which were sometimes of considerable value, were the chief garments of the Indians. The kings wore 'dhoti', 'dupatta', turban and sometimes a tunic. The farmers and weavers wore a flaxen loin-cloth. Kings, ministers, chamberlains, bankers and domestic chaplains, etc. wore turbans. The king sometimes wore a tunic, and the guards at the palace gates were clad in brown tunics and armour.

From the various references in the Tāmiḷ literature of the south it is evident that the kings wore a loin-cloth, a conical crown, and ornaments. The dress of the Tāmiḷ people differed according to their status in society. The people of the middle class wore a loin-cloth and turban. The soldiers guarding the king's palace wore coats. The Tāmiḷ women wore 'sāris' leaving the torso bare. Some primitive women wore leaf skirts.

Literature, however, gives rather sketchy information about the costume of the people, and for more detailed information we have to depend on the sculptures from various parts of India.

In the Gandhāra sculptures of north-west India the men generally wear 'dhoti', 'dupatta' and turban, and also tunic, trousers and cap, the characteristic costume of the Afghānis and the Panjābis.

The princes and the men of noble birth wear a long 'dhoti' and 'chādar' which is rolled and thrown back in stiff folds. A 'kamarband' made of tape or lace is tied round the waist.

The turbans fitted the head like hats and were made of puffed material with the folds of one end arranged in a fan-like manner. This turban is still commonly worn by the Panjābis and the Afghānis. The head clasps were often decorated with the figures of deities, animals and birds.

The donors and merchants wear 'dhotīs', 'uttariyas' or 'chādars'. Tunics, coats and 'shalwars' were worn in winter.

Soldiers recruited from the wild tribes wore a loin-cloth held by a 'kamarband' and a twisted cloth across the chest, while another type wore helmet and armour. Some soldiers wore 'jānghiās'.

A hunter wore a loin-cloth, and the agriculturist and the labourer wore short loin-cloths and 'langoṭās'. 'Jānghiās' were worn by the Śākyas in the tournaments. Caps were worn by the foreigners.

The female costume as represented in the Gandhāra sculptures consists of three pieces, a sleeved tunic, a sort of petticoat and a shawl. The shirt generally reached to the knees and in exceptional cases opened in front. The 'sārī' is worn in two ways: (1) one part is wrapped round the waist and the other pleated and tucked in behind; (2) one part is wrapped round the waist and the free end thrown over the left shoulder. The 'chādar' is generally thrown over the shoulders.

The foreign women in the service of the king either wore classical Greek costume, tunic and 'dupaṭṭa' with pleated skirt, or they wore 'sārī' and 'chādar'.

The costume of the people in the 'Madhyadeśa' or middle country is depicted in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā. The indigenous costume of the men consists of 'dhotī' and 'dupaṭṭa' falling in graceful folds and 'paṭkā' or a decorative piece of cloth tucked to the 'dhotī' and 'kamarband'. Turbans made of rich materials were also worn. These were invariably mounted with metallic plaques.

The Śaka kings and soldiers in the Mathurā sculptures generally wear a tunic, trousers, a cap and high boots. There are several varieties of tunics. The caps are generally conical in shape, though hemispherical caps are also known.

The women wear 'sārīs' held to the waist with elaborate girdles and 'dupaṭṭas'. The 'kamarbands' are worn in different modes. The women of foreign origin wear a tunic and also a 'sārī', one part of which is wrapped round the waist and the other taken over the left shoulder. The women of Mathurā generally did not cover their heads though occasionally they used veils and turbans.

In south India, men, as depicted in the reliefs of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc. wear a small loin-cloth reaching above the ankles

and tucked in various ways. The 'kamarband' is worn in several ways. The headdresses are of various patterns. There is the turban with a plaque, carelessly wound turbans, caps, etc.

The tunic is worn not by the kings and noblemen but by foreigners, palanquin-bearers, etc.

The women generally wear short 'sāris' held with girdles. The women were fond of hairdressing, and sometimes in the sculptures they wear tiaras, crowns and veils.

THE HUNDRED VERSES OF AMARU ILLUSTRATED

by ST. KRAMRISCH

A hundred verses (śataka) were written by Amaru to depict the 'rasa' love (śṛṅgārarasavarṇanārtham). They were well known in the ninth century A. D.¹ and impressed their form and contents on poetry and rhetorics of the next thousand years. An illuminated palm leaf manuscript of the Amaruśataka, its Sanskrit text written in Uriya script, belongs to the state of Mayurbhanj, Orissa. It was written and illuminated in Orissa towards the end of the sixteenth or in the early seventeenth century A. D.² There are 24½ palm leaves (11" x 1½") with 96 verses and painted scenes, the one at the end incomplete; two verses and their illustrations being on each page. Amaru, according to some of the manuscripts, was a poet. This is shown by his hundred verses; more substance is given, although not to the person of the poet Amaru but to the legitimacy of his work and its position within Indian scripture, in various texts.³ There it is told that Śaṅkara entered the body of Amaru, a king of Kashmir, in order to know love and to write his work on the 'rasa' love. Śaṅkara, the great teacher of Vedānta lived in the eighth to ninth century (788-821 A. D.). He was born in Malabar and his teaching of Advaita, of the "one only without a second"⁴ carried him as far as Kashmir. He died young at Kedarnath in the Himalayas. He wrote in Benares his commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad Gītā, and the Sūtras of Vyāsa, and in Malabar he composed the hymn 'Ānandalahari'. He

1. Rudraṭa, 'Śṛṅgāratilaka', introd. by R. Pischel, p. 10.

2. No date is given in the manuscript. Its approximate date is suggested by the characters of the script and the style of the paintings.

3. R. Simon, Das Amaruśataka, 1893, p. 18; Vidyāranya, 'Śaṅkaradigvijaya' (Poona 1891), p. 364.

4. Chānd. Up. VI. 2.

was a Śaiva ; and so complete was his knowledge that he was himself considered as an incarnation of Śiva.

Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* speaks of Kashmir as a centre of poetry and rhetorics. Śaṅkara, one of the manuscripts says, had come to Kashmir, and was invited to describe love ; whereupon he who led the life of a Brahmacārin entered the body of king Amaru and tasted love with his hundred wives. He then wrote his hundred verses. In other versions it is told that Śaṅkara during a disputation had practically defeated his opponent, the learned Mandana Miśra when the wife of the latter interfered in order to come to the rescue of her husband. She asked Śaṅkara to enter into disputation with her on the subject of love. Śaṅkara agreed and asked for a postponement of the disputation for six months during which he arrived at a town where the king Amaru had just died. Śaṅkara entered his body and after having lived the life of a king he returned to the disputation and defeated Mandana Miśra and his wife.

In order to write the hundred verses on love, Śaṅkara, the Brahmin had to enter into the body of a king, Amaru. The subject of love was not his proper one but it lay within his powers. To use and display them, the body of a king, of a 'kṣatriya' served as an instrument, just as the body of Śaṅkara himself served as an instrument for Śiva to be incarnated. Whoever Amaru was, it is the hierarchy of the verses which is traced and not the genealogy of the poet ; it is to Śaṅkara, and ultimately to Śiva himself to whom they owe their existence.

The 'rasa' love (śṛṅgāra) like every other 'rasa'¹ is the transcendental (alaukika) reaction to a corresponding and enduring presence (sthāyibhāva). Love (rati) as an abiding state (sthāyibhāva) corresponds to the 'rasa' love (śṛṅgāra) ; it is ingrained in the manifested world to which man also belongs and thus it is associated with the three main pursuits in life, 'dharma' (order, the fulfilment of one's obligations), 'artha'

1. The meaning of 'rasa' is juice or sap (for inst. of the Soma plant, Rg Veda IX. 63. 13 ; 65, 15). In the Upaniṣads 'rasa' is essence (Br. Up. I, 3, 4 ; I, 3, 19), savour (cf. sap) or taste (Br. Up. III, 2, 4 ; Kathop. IV. 3). 'Rasa' in the sense of the highest taste or realisation is "self-luminous consciousness" ; Taitt. Up. II. 7. 1 ; Maitrī Up. V. 2. (cf. A. Sankaran, *The Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, pp. 1-3).

(prosperity) and 'kāma' (love). The fourth and highest aim of life is 'mokṣa', liberation. How is love associated with liberation, the ultimate end of life ?

"Tattvajñāna", knowledge of ultimate truth or "ātmaññāna", knowledge of the self (ātman) is the subsisting state (sthāyibhāva) of liberation ; it is of the character of 'ātman' itself,¹ not accessory to anything ; it is the primary factor of 'mokṣa'. Love (rati) is one of its accessory states for it resides in 'ātman' along with the other 'sthāyibhāvas'.

The realisation of love (śṛṅgāra) in praise of which the hundred verses of Amaru were written is associated with all that matters in life and with the ultimate aim itself of life which is liberation. Its ultimate author in human shape is rightly said to be Śaṅkara, an incarnation of Śiva ; temporarily he took the body of a king, a 'kṣatriya', to live in, for the sake of knowing the actualities of love and their particular modes.

By the time that the manuscript of the Amaruśataka was copied by an Uriya scribe, and illustrated, many commentators had expounded its meaning. They approach the text from various angles and these must be kept in mind when looking at the illustrations as it is to be assumed that some of them were known to the illustrator. The relation will have to be considered of the illustrations to the text, to its words and their implied meaning and also to the more explicit stress it had acquired through the commentaries.²

Two of the four illustrations on Pl. X (verses 59 and 66 ; Pl. X. 2, 4) are exact pictorial versions of the theme of the respective verse.

1. Abhinavagupta, *Locana*, p. 177 ; A. Sankaran, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

2. The Uriya writing of the manuscript has been read by M. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, and the single verses have been compared by him with the Amaruśataka, its recensions and commentaries, published by R. Simon. The numbers of the verses and the accompanying illustrations correspond to those of the verses in the above publication.

The four verses (56, 59, 60, 66) which are translated here for the first time into English are accompanied each by an illustration (Pl. X). Although the Amaruśataka is one of the earliest Sanskrit texts which have been printed (Calcutta 1808) there have been only two attempts at translation, one by A. L. Apud (Chézy), Paris 1831, (51 verses only are translated), another in German by F. Rückert 1831, and re-edited from Rückert's manuscript by J. Nobel, "Die hundert Strophen des Amaru" 1925. Only one verse, No. 82 of the last mentioned edition corresponds to 56 of Simon's Sanskrit text and of the Uriya manuscript.

Verse 59. (Pl. X. 2).

Santy evātra gr̥he gr̥he yuvatayas tāḥ pṛccha gatvādhunā
preyāmsaḥ praṇamanti kiṃ tava punar dāso yathā vartate /
ātmadrohiṇi durjanapralapitaṃ karṇe bhṛṣaṃ mā kṛthās
chinnasneharasā bhavanti puruṣā duḥkhānuvṛtṭyā yataḥ //

"Damsels are here in every house. Ask them : do their lovers pay homage to them as your servant does ? Listen not to the froward. For thus you will wrong yourself since men if too greatly afflicted lose their love."

Vemabhūpāla, the first of the commentators, explains that the heroine (nāyikā)¹ loves her legitimate lord (svīyā), she is not inexperienced but is in the middle of her youth (madhyā). The verse according to Arjuna's comments is put into the mouth of the confidante of the lady who warns her of the bad effects of her attitude and urges her to become reconciled with her lover.

The text is written to the left of the painted panel. It shows the scene within a kind of bower which is made of lotus sectors spread like fans.² These are edged by a band of small lotus flowers. Its ascent on the left is broken by a spike and then it bends into a canopy of

1. The Nāyikās are classified in several ways (cf. Coomaraswamy, *Journal of Indian Art*, 1914, p. 128; and *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston : Rajput Painting*, p. 67). In her relation to her lord, the heroine belongs to one of the three types : 'svakīyā', loving her own lord ; 'parakīyā', loving one not legitimately her lord ; 'sāmānyā', impartial. In relation to herself she is classified as 'dhīrā' who has self control and 'adhīrā', who lacks self control. In relation to the experience of love, there are three types of heroines, 1. 'mugdhā', an inexperienced unmarried girl not over 16 years ; 2. 'madhyā' one somewhat older. In her, love and modesty are balanced. 3. 'pragalbā' (prauḍhā) one who is experienced.

The heroes are classified according to four types, 1. faithful, 2. impartial, 3. false and 4. shameless.

Acc to Bhūratīya Nāṭya Śāstra XXII. 197, 198, the eight Nāyikās are :

- (1). Vāsakasajjā, she who is ready to receive her beloved.
- (2). Virahotkapṭhitā, she who is longing in separation.
- (3). Svādhīnapatikā, she whose lord is faithful to her.
- (4). Kalahāntarītā, she who is divided from her beloved by a quarrel.
- (5). Khaṇḍitā, she who has been deceived.
- (6). Vipralabdā, she who waits in vain.
- (7). Proṣṭabhartṛkā, she whose beloved is gone abroad.
- (8). Abhisārikā, she who goes forth to seek her beloved.

2. An ancient Indian pattern, for instance on the coping stone of the railing of Bodhgaya.



wide and easily flowing curves whose cadence is towards the right. The Nāyikā is the large central figure seated on a couch; her body is turned towards her lover whose prostrate shape runs parallel with the couch; her face is averted from him and lowered, for she listens and takes to heart the admonitions of her friend (sakhī) conveyed in the illustration by the gestures of her hands. The introduction of the 'sakhī' in the illustration adds the explicit statement of the commentator to the address expressed by the form itself of the verse. The lover who lies prostrate at the feet of the lady¹ illustrates the challenge in the question and intensifies the experience of abject slavery of the hero to the heroine, whose averted face makes him suffer.

Verse 66. (Pl. X. 4).

Ahaṃ tenāhūtā kim api kathayāmīti vijane
samīpe cāśinā sarālahṛdayatvād avahitā /
tataḥ karṇopānte kim api vadatāghrāya vadanam
gṛhītvā dhammillam mama sakhi nipīto 'dhararasah //

"He called me. In the simplicity of my heart, tender yet aflame, what could I say to him as we sat close together in a secluded spot? While he whispered something into my ear, he breathed the fragrance of my cheek, he caught my braided hair and then, dear friend, he drank the nectar of my lips".

According to Vemabhūpāla, the heroine is 'mugdhā', inexperienced, not more than sixteen years. The figure of speech is 'yukti', a covert expression of one's design. According to Arjuna, the heroine is 'svairinī', a wanton who has her long felt desire satisfied, and speaks about it to her confidante.

The illustration (Pl. X. 4) accommodates the lovers in a pillared pavilion; a triple arch above indented capitals makes a solid frame to the onrush of rapture depicted in the flying scarf and outstretched arm; hands show nervy fingers against empty ground and taut limb. Under a smaller arch, on the right of the pavilion (not shown in the

1. The Svādhīnapatikā nāyikā, she whose lord is subject to her will, is painted in Rajput pictures as seated at ease while her lord is kneeling to tend her feet. Cf. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue, I. c. p. 67.

reproduction), the heroine faces her confidante with animate gesticulation; this illustrates Arjuna's commentary.

Verse 60 is written on the right end of the same palm leaf as verse 59 and its illustration is contiguous with that of the former verse. Together they fill the major part of the surface in varied cadences of framing arches. The verses are on the right and the left ends of the page.

Verse 60. (Pl. X. 3).

Smararasanadīpūreṇodhāḥ punar gurusetubhir
yad api vidhṛtās tiṣṭhanty ārād apūrṇamanorathāḥ /
tad api likhitaprākhyair aṅgaiḥ paraspam unmukhā
nayanalinīnālānītaṃ pibanti rasaṃ priyāḥ //

"Athirst with desire unslaked, swept away on the current of love, yet restrained by a strong dam, the lovers, eager for each other, their bodies motionless like pictures, drink love's essence from each other's lotus eyes".

Like pictures they stand each confined within the frame of a narrow arch. Their arms stretched towards each other do not reach beyond the pillar near by. There they are stayed. Glances of desire from lotus eye to lotus eye are carried across the cusped arch of separation. Below this 'dam'—whose nature they seem to discuss—sit three women.¹

Rāmānandanātha comments that the figure of speech which is here employed, is a metaphor in which the subject of comparison (upameya) is represented as being identical with the standard of comparison (upamāna); it suggests also a double entendre yielding two or more interpretations (svabhāvoktirūpakāśleṣaḥ). The 'obstacle' or dam is an outward symbol of an inner feeling. No outer obstacle restrains the lovers; an inner reticence arrests them, keeps them apart and still, like statues.

1. The group of the three women is a frequently repeated requisite in the illuminations of the manuscript. They do not occur in the verse and appear in the illustration only. They are divided from the main scene by pillars or drawn into the scene itself (for instance verses 8, 17, 30, 60). They are Sakhīs, and show the effects of the searchings of the hearts of the lovers; their figures and gestures may be said to belong to the class of 'anubhāvas' (see p. 233). In one illustration (30), the hero (nāyaka) who is shown by himself and without the Nāyikā, addresses them.

Verse 56. (Pl. X. 1).

Kṛto dūrād eva smitamadhuram abhyudgamavidhiḥ
śirasy ājñā nyastā prativacanam apy ālapasi ca /
na drṣṭiḥ śaithilyam bhajata iti ceto dahati me
nigūḍhāntaḥkope kathinahṛdaye sampratir iyam //

"From afar you have welcomed me with a sweet smile, you have suffered me to have my way¹; you have answered me : yet your look does not soften, thou hard- hearted woman. Ah, well you conceal your anger."

According to Vemabhūpāla, the heroine loves her own lord and is an experienced and self-controlled woman. The accessory emotion or subordinate sentiment (saṃcārī bhāva) is dissimulation, the figure of speech is inference (sūkṣma). Arjuna comments that a certain person coming on that occasion speaks to the lady who is offended with her husband (through jealous pride). The commentator Kokasambhava adds that the hero is faithful (anukūlaḥ).

The accompanying illustration (Pl. X. 1) conveys but little of the meaning of the text itself and it can be only surmised that some allusion in the commentary suggested the seated figures of two men, one discoursing, the other listening. The one is possibly the faithful lover, the other the person who came on that occasion; he must have first spoken to the heroine and now he speaks to the hero. The two men are set into one more bower of varied scroll work with firm and staid outline. The discourse of the two men is analogous to that of the two women (not reproduced), accompanying the illustration of verse 66; the main scene however is conspicuous by its absence, in the illustration of verse 56.

As a rule the figures in the paintings illustrate the main situation of the verse, and they follow to some extent the commentary obviously more from the standpoint of erotics and less conspicuously from that of rhetorics. The four illustrations here reproduced show the range of visualising these two-fold possibilities inherent in each of the verses.

The actions of hero and heroine, their grouping and reference to each other correspond to the expressly stated sense (vācya artha) of the verses

1. Literal translation : on the head the command is placed.

which is obvious and primary (abhidhā): the prostrate lover and the dominant and averted heroine (Pl. X. 2) or the lovers' embrace (Pl. X. 4), for example. They illustrate certain literary situations and intensify their contents. This would be enough if the words were to be understood according to their expressed sense only ('vācya artha': 'abhidhā' and 'lakṣaṇā') but not if the illustrations are to be adequate to the text, that is to literary symbols and their suggested sense (vyaṅgya artha). This they fulfil in two ways. They depict the suggested sense (vyaṅgya artha) of the verse, by being sometimes a visual correspondence to the figures of speech (alaṃkāra¹) and secondly and at all times by using purely pictorial means, adequate to the 'bhāva' itself of the respective verse and of the whole Amaruśataka.

Pl. X. 3 and Pl. X. 1 are illustrations in the nature of 'alaṃkāra'. One of these pictorial 'figures of speech' (Pl. X. 3) shows an arch suggestive of the distance of inner reticence which keeps the lovers apart like statues in widely separate niches (cf. verse 60). Here the implied meaning itself is shown by the wide, cusped, flowered arch. Another visual 'alaṃkāra' is Pl. X. 1. This illustration refers indirectly to its verse by the figures of the men conversing about the inference to be drawn from the Nāyikā's dissimulation, from her well concealed anger; she is jealous though her lover is faithful. This is an illustration 'by inference', a 'sūkṣma alaṃkāra' in visual terms.

The rhetorical capacity of illumination by paintings which accompany the verses, helps the hide and seek of verbal meaning in the text and the erotic awareness in the reader. It stimulates attentiveness, and its by-ways are an aid to concentration on the theme of the verses, which is love (rati).

Love is one of the abiding states of emotional stress within the manifested universe and it is classified as the first of the 'sthāyibhāvas' in works on poetics. The others are: laughter, grief, anger, fortitude, fear, disgust and wonder (hāsa, śoka, krodha, utsāha, bhaya, jugupsā, vismaya). If a work is written under the aspect of love its reception

1. Alaṃkāra, i.e. "that which makes fit, suited for, having strength enough for", cf. T. Gonda, 'The Meaning of the word Alaṃkāra', A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, 1939, p. 98. Alaṃkāra as 'ornament' or figure of speech has strength enough to make perfect the understanding of the inherent sense of poetry. Its power exceeds that of ordinary speech.

by the reader must be in the same mood ; various classes of devices : 'vibhāvas', 'anubhāvas' and 'vyabhicāribhāvas' that is the causal, the resultant and the accompanying circumstances and emotions, are employed by the poet for this purpose. It is achieved when the reader (or listener or spectator) realises love. This is a transcendental (alaukika) realisation, by one who is 'at heart of a similar nature' (sahṛdaya) or a 'connoisseur' who tastes in its essence the abiding emotional stress transmitted to and stirred in him. He must be altogether 'with it at heart' and free from "the seven barriers of realisation", such as preoccupation with personal matters, in order to lose his everyday distractions and purposeful applications ; he then 'recollects' the abiding state of the verse, which is naturally also an abiding state of his own liberated constitution. The inborn states ('vāsana', scenting) once aroused into consciousness, yield their taste or 'perfume' only as long as they are there, that is only as long as the drama lasts, or the piece of poetry or the picture in front of the eye. This tasting—of the abiding state of emotional stress (sthāyibhāva) which is constitutional, though it may have remained dormant up to then in the reader or beholder and which is at the same time the main theme of the work of art—is called 'rasa'. 'Rasa' is the 'savouring' while calling up, recalling under the effect of verse, play or picture an enduring state whose fragrance these evoke. 'Rasa' in an act of intensive realisation, a recollection (smṛti) of ingrained and universal emotions. It is the same in any of the eight situations, in love and anger, laughter and wonder.

What then is its last abiding state ? It is 'tattvajñāna' the knowledge of ultimate truth which is called 'śama', repose, the quiet which is gained after the seven obstacles are overcome, the cessation of everything but its own calm, when nothing of the outer world and the ego intrudes upon the moment of realisation. It is the ninth or the highest of all the 'sthāyibhāvas', it is "the wall on which the pictures, the 'bhāvas' are drawn". The corresponding 'rasa', the ninth, 'rasa' of all 'rasas', is 'śānta', the satisfaction at the extinction of all that has preceded¹ ; it

1. Raviçandra, the commentator of the second recension of the Amaruśataka views the contents of each verse in the light of 'śāntarasa'.

is the luminous essence, and reveals all the 'bhāvas' when they are thrown on the white wall of the 'sthāyibhāva śama'. One of these 'bhāvas', the foremost, is love (rati).

The illustrations of the verses of the Amaruśataka are outlined against a blank ground. It is delimited in every scene, like the space of a window or an open door, by an arched frame, with pillars for its sides, or it is flung in curves around the opening.¹ The large figures of the hero (nāyaka) and the heroine (nāyikā) and of friends (sakhī) singly or in groups (the recurrent three girls) predominate; a couch or seat, a tree with its platform (verse 70), an alignment of trees (verse 29) occupy subordinate positions along the lower margin and the sides of the single scenes. The setting fits and accompanies the human figures, their groups, outlines and emotions. Whether the figures coalesce in one compact surface (Pl. X. 2, 4) or are articulate in limbs and gestures against the plain ground (Pl. X. 1), their outlines are composed of two dissimilar elements. These are angles on the one, and curves on the other hand; they commingle in different ways. Pointed sharpness and luxuriance are combined.

The actual or seemingly angular sharpness belongs to the invariable profile of the faces, to the long slit of the eye in it, to the cone of braided hair, to fingers flung together in pointed conversation and to movements of limbs on the alert (Pl. X. 1). Furthermore: bare arms converge in curves towards angles of elbows and the other joints; from there the curves issue afresh, concise and premeditated, modelling while defining their shape. These incisions (technically, by an iron style into the palmyra leaf) cut up the blank of the ground in an assortment of angles (Pl. X. 1). The meeting of curves in angles and their arrest in points is also the principle along which the profiles sally forth.

The broad curves on the other hand, literally overlay, where they are drawn around the head, the pointed chignon of the women, resting on its horizontal (Pl. X. 2, 3). From there they bend

1. Some of the panels are rectangular or bounded by rectilinear pillars, capitals etc. (illustrations of verses 5-8, 18, 29, etc.).

down forcedly and without vigour. More of it is held in their horizontal where it sinks in its middle, into a depression as that of a bow prior to being pulled. The vertical cadence of the curves is in large drops as of a viscous substance. They congeal while they drop. The loops for instance into which the 'sārīs' are gathered (Pl. X. 2) show with a relatively thick black outline, while the roundness which arises from the hero's prostrate shape and a smaller roundness at the end of the couch, are globular against the neutral ground. When such curves meet, indentations in the outline are deep and they yield closed in surfaces as of a puzzle game, within the mottled expanse of sumptuous robes. The leaden circumscription is not only in the curves. It is equally arresting in some of the straight outlines and their ziz-zag encounter (the loose end of 'sārīs' and scarves, Pl. X. 2-3). The curve whose potential energy lies displayed in width, closes in upon itself in any other direction. It has its mainstay in robes and their draperies. They weigh heavily on the bodies around which they are swathed.

The congealing of curves, and their pointed meeting build up the physiognomies of the figures of heroes and heroines irrespective of the 'bhāva' in which they dwell and the 'rasa' which they are meant to evoke. They are standing features and have coalesced. Along with them the outlines of the bodies where they are bare (Pl. X. 4.) or of the jewelry, etc. which supply their internal design accentuate the roundness and power of the human frame (Pl. X. 1). The waists in their extreme attenuation correspondingly show the formalism suggestive of discipline and vigour in the appearance of the hero.

Within these general traits, the nearer specification of hero and heroine is one of degree, in the varied length and shape of eye-ellipses and eyebrows; or the bulkier body and heavier face of the more mature woman (Pl. X. 2) is distinguished from the resilient suppleness of the young girl (Pl. X. 4).

In all of them, the 'saṅghaṭanā' or 'bringing together' as it is called in poetry, and which corresponds to the 'style' of the drawing, consists of two compounding elements. Luxuriant and cumbersome, it is at the same time pointed and concise. No strength is left in the luxuriance, for almost all of it is displayed. It does not support the pointedness but is relieved by it.

Still, it is largely this cumbersome curve which ensconces the groups and figures against the emptiness of the ground. In this function it does not swell back upon itself. Its reference is to the horizontal of the base on which it is stayed even where wave upon wave is produced (Pl. X. 2-3). It has its resonance in the outline of the arch or canopy below which are placed the single scenes or figures. In it all the particulars of indentation are smoothed out (Pl. X. 2) or ordered (Pl. X. 3).

Apart from a distinction of types, their various moods too are indicated, by a turn of the head, the carriage of head or body, the angles at which they are placed and those in which glances are met or avoided. The types and situations thus indicated are 'vyabhicāribhāvas' in a way, for they are transient and accessory features in addition to the persistent cast of the whole, outlined from scene to scene against the blank ground. These visual 'vyabhicāribhāvas' are accompanied by pictorial 'anubhāvas' or visible effects of the feelings of the heroes, shown in the modification of the curves of the canopy under which the figures act. This is their world, a niche of their own, whose shape, while affected by their mood, absorbs it.

The 'sthāyibhāva' of the hundred verses of Amaru is 'rati' and the 'rasa' they evoke is 'śṛṅgāra'; the illustrations help to that effect by their themes and the way in which these are shown. To this extent they are closely dependent upon the text; illustrations such as Pl. X. 1 however in themselves do not evoke 'śṛṅgāra rasa'. They are connected with it by reference, as a kind of rhetorical commentary. Moreover, the painted human figures in this scene are heroic in their bearing and features. But this is also true of the conception of all the other figures which illustrate the obvious love scenes themselves. This is not identical with their pictorial style. Conception here refers to the prototype of his heroes in the mind of the craftsman. This is how he means them to appear. Style is the ineluctable way of its translation into form.

As far as shown by the conception of the figures of the illustrations their 'sthāyibhāva' is not identical with that of the verses. Their 'sthāyibhāva' is 'utsāha'; 'vīra', the heroic sentiment is evoked as the corresponding 'rasa'. This heroic mood however is displayed with detachment and it persists in all the situations of the love scenes. The frame within

which they are enacted, their niche, the section out of the void, of the blank ground, shares the stateliness of the figures. It is level with them on the blank ground. The latter remains a blank, the same in every scene. The changeless calm of the blank ground on which the scenes are outlined contains in all its extent the 'sthāyibhāva śama'. The level whence it is attained and by whose limits it is kept in position, is 'utsāha' while the 'vyabhicāribhāvas' as which the figures of the illustrations appear with reference to the ground are like emotions, which change from scene to scene, and they have their repercussion in their setting. Some evoke 'śṛṅgāra rasa' (Pl. X. 4) others 'karuṇa', pathos (Pl. X. 2), and so on.

The relation of the text and illustrations it has been pointed out already is not only one of visualisation of the expressed as well as of the suggested meaning of the words (p. 232). At the same time something is added to, transforms and reinforces their suggested meaning. It is conveyed by the form itself of the paintings and by the appearance of the figures in it.

The collaboration of text and illustrations is one of graded suggestion. In this the illustrations lead beyond the excitation of love ('śṛṅgāra rasa') to the realisation of repose, a 'sancta indifferentia', the 'śāntarasa', which is the mainstay and source of all the moods, "the wall on which the pictures are drawn", and the figures on the blank ground. This is the ultimate purpose of the illustrations. It is however arrived at in a mood which is not altogether identical with the 'śṛṅgāra' released by Amaru's verses, and the 'rasa' evoked throughout by the illustrations is 'vīra', heroic, and only incidentally also erotic while always borne by the heroic mood. The illustrations thus attain the last aim of the words, and from their own level.

However "covertly" the heroine may express her design (verse 66) the illustration (Pl. X. 4) shows the open fierceness of its attainment. Here the figure of speech is not translated into the acting of the scene. The illustrations are not psychological. They are, like the words themselves of poetry, direct (abhidhā as well as lakṣaṇā), and suggestive (vyañjanā). Their suggestion however adds visibly and discloses all the time, the last view : right into the ever present calm of 'śama'. It is also in the words even though their delight appears to be in the nearer suggestions of love and its hide and seek across figures of speech.

The 'sthāyibhāva' added by the conception of the figures in the illustrations is 'utsāha' (fortitude); it is the contribution of the Uriya craftsman who incised the painted panels of this manuscript.¹ The infusion of so topical a spirit is in keeping with the Uriya script of the Sanskrit words of the text.

Only a few illustrated palm leaf manuscripts or incised palm leaves from Orissa are known.² No illustrated manuscript of the *Amaruśataka* besides the one here dealt with has yet been discovered.

It remains to view the illustrations as a work of the local tradition of Orissa represented as it is mainly in stone sculptures. First however it will also have to be shown how other works on "erotics" or allied subjects such as the *Rasikāpriyā* by Keśava Dās, or the *Vasanta Vilāsa* are illustrated. The illustrated *Vasanta Vilāsa* is a work of the western Indian school of painting and dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. The illustrations of the *Rasikāpriyā* are of the Moghul school and are dated 1591 A. D.

In the present illustrations of the *Amaruśataka* the figures invariably have their large heads shown in profile; they are sharply turned sideways while the body is in three quarter profile or front view; the hips and legs again in profile. This is typical also of Indian illustrations, of which examples

1. Historically, it looked dark in Orissa at the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century. After the defeat and death of the last great Gajapati King of Orissa, the Moghuls and Afghans struggled for supremacy in Orissa; in 1607, during the reign of Jahāngir, Moghul rule began in Orissa. Cf. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 351; Vol. II. p. 32.

The colours are lightly laid on; they are yellow, red, green, black.—Each 'rasa' has a corresponding colour; yellow is associated with the heroic (*vīra*), red with the furious (*raudra*), green (*śyāma*) with the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), black with the fearful (*bhayānaka*); *Śilparatna*, 145-147.

2. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.* Frontispiece; an illustrated palm leaf *Rāmāyaṇa*. The single palm leaves are stitched together so that they form one large surface and can also be folded. Another such *Rāmāyaṇa* with approximately 2000 illustrations, is in the Asutosh Museum of Indian art, University of Calcutta. The same collection has also other 'paṭas', with representations of the Jagannātha temple. This occupies the height of the unfolded surface. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* paṭa small scenes on the single palm leaves predominate; in some instances a single scene is painted across more than one palm leaf. All these palm leaves with their lines engraved and black, and in some cases filled with or just toned by colour, are of fairly recent date. The same applies to a number of texts, with illustrations, on erotics, (in the Asutosh Museum and elsewhere) some of which retain part of the architectural frames as in the *Amaruśataka* illustrations. These are in usual palm leaf manuscript shape, the single leaves holed for a string to pass through them.)

have survived from the twelfth century onwards in western India, the only difference being that in the western Indian illustrations part of the averted half of the faces (in the earlier illuminations), and in any case its large and but little foreshortened eye, are outlined against the background. Here as well as there, limbs move freely within the space built up by the body and its turns. The figure has its base on a couch on which it sits or reclines, or on its own feet when standing. Neither of them are reduced to, or laid into, a mere line. Rounded volume is suggested by the outline, whereas its contents are reduced to that of a mottled surface ; this is typical of eastern and western Indian illuminations. The western variety by the seventeenth century is swept over by Moghul currents while in the east the local tradition is still strong, as in the *Amaruśataka* manuscript. There, it has its antecedents in sculpture of which it appears as a onesided version. The linear conventions of the western Indian illustrations on the contrary, are besides those of the preceding sculptures and in their own way they impress themselves upon and disintegrate the volume of the sculptures. The western Indian illustrations of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* painted in the mid-fifteenth century A. D. show a voluble drawing.¹ There is no architecture either as motif or as compositional structure of passions, but there are rapid patterns of human activity in which trees, clouds, animals and objects have their fleeting share.

In Orissan reliefs the formula of combined profile and front view is of long standing. It is frequent in the earliest of the reliefs on the temples of Bhuvaneśvar about 800 A. D. and appears as a type of relief by which the figures are made to fit into the niches which they occupy or the space between pilasters.² Their form is ponderous and its weight of pathos and passion is thrown against the empty ground of the relief. Ornaments and scarves are not less cumbersome in the early

1. *Vasanta Vilāsa*, cf. N. C. Mehta, 'Gujarati painting in the fifteenth century (1931), with 16 Plates ; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, Pl. LXXXI.

Jain paintings of the western school are more meticulous, show sparks instead of flaming form. 'Jaina Citra Kaladruma' Pl. XLVI. shows copies of Persian paintings in a western Indian manuscript. They are a flecked diaper-work around the main scenes.

The Moghul illustrations of the *Rasikāpriyā* are descriptive of the outer situation, with the help of landscape setting and other European importations which are peculiar to Moghul painting.

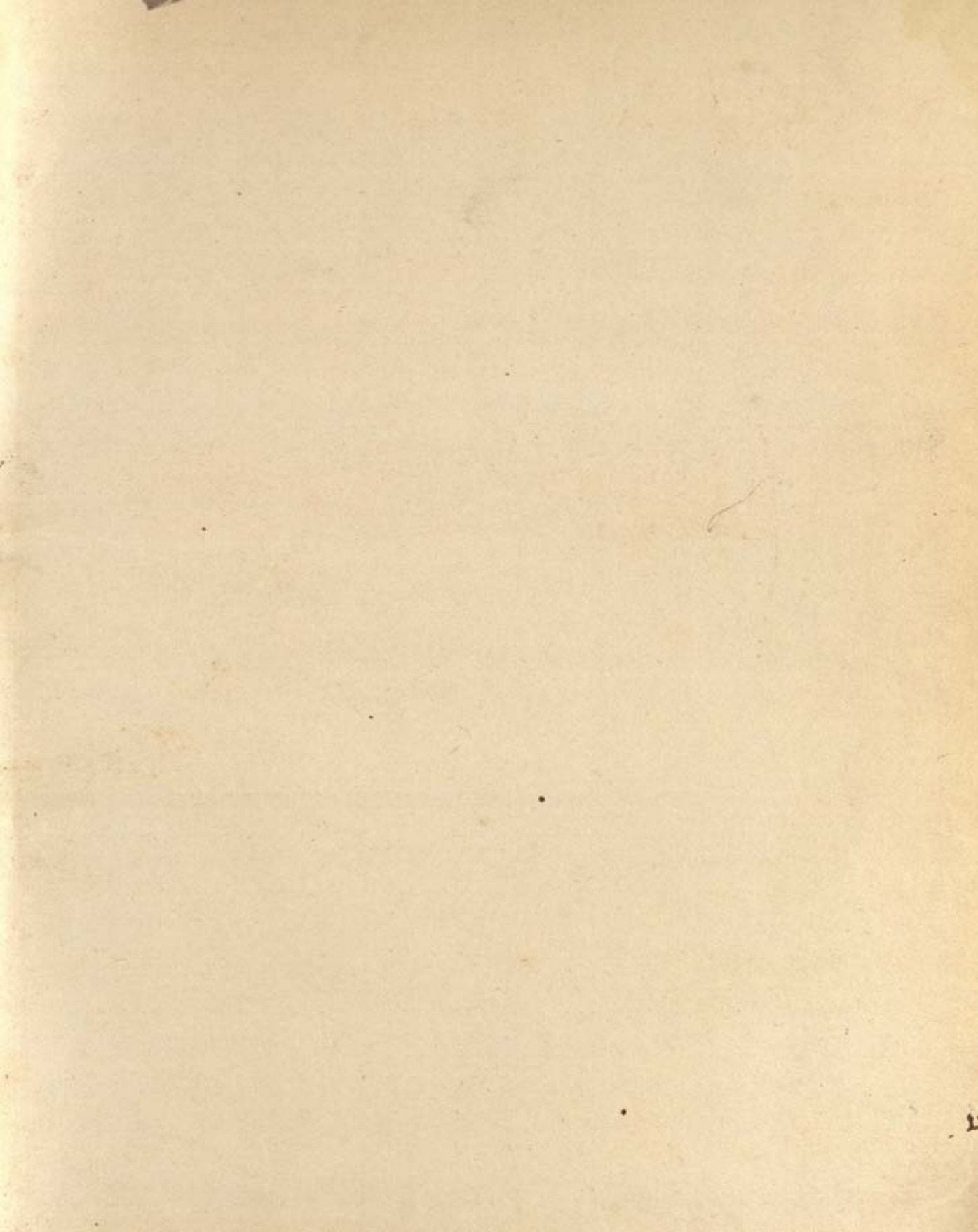
2. Kramrisch, 'Kaliṅga temples', *JISOA* 1934, Pl. XVII.

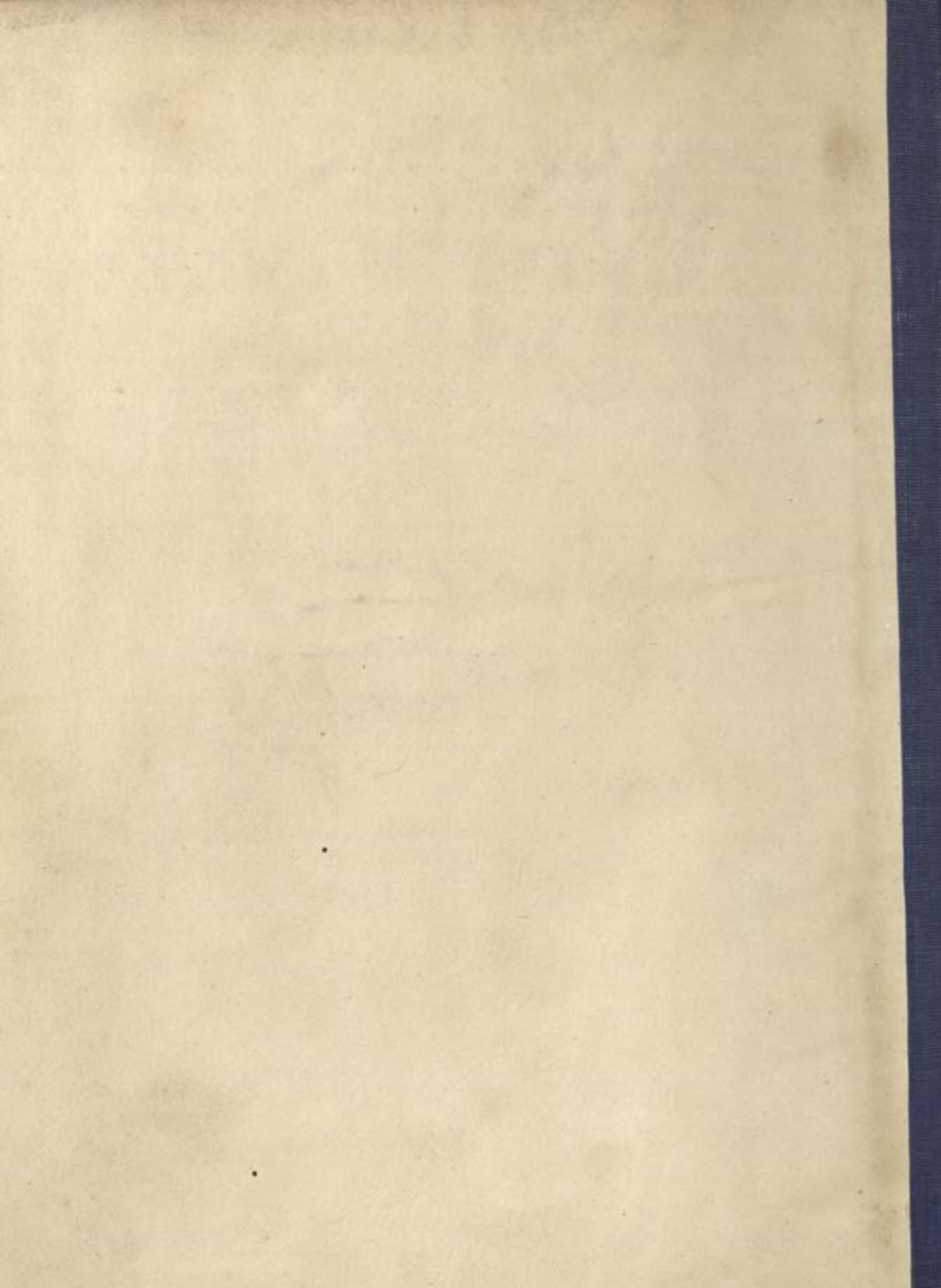
carvings although they differ in quantity and fashion from those in the illustrations of the Amaruśataka. An architectural setting is given to the human figures in the reliefs, but it has no spaciousness of its own for the reliefs are carved on the actual buildings and remain an attribute and part of their architectural form. The ground of the relief is the negative complement to the modelled form and has no existence of its own; the profile of the face is one position, though a favoured one, among the others.

Such are the antecedents of the illuminations in the reliefs of Orissa. They are stressed by specialisation in the paintings of the manuscript; they have become pointed and look upon their wider past with a congealing rigour. All the same the illustrations have their roots in it and such strength as is still in them suffices to make them illuminate the text and its meaning, by graded suggestion on its ultimate ground.



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