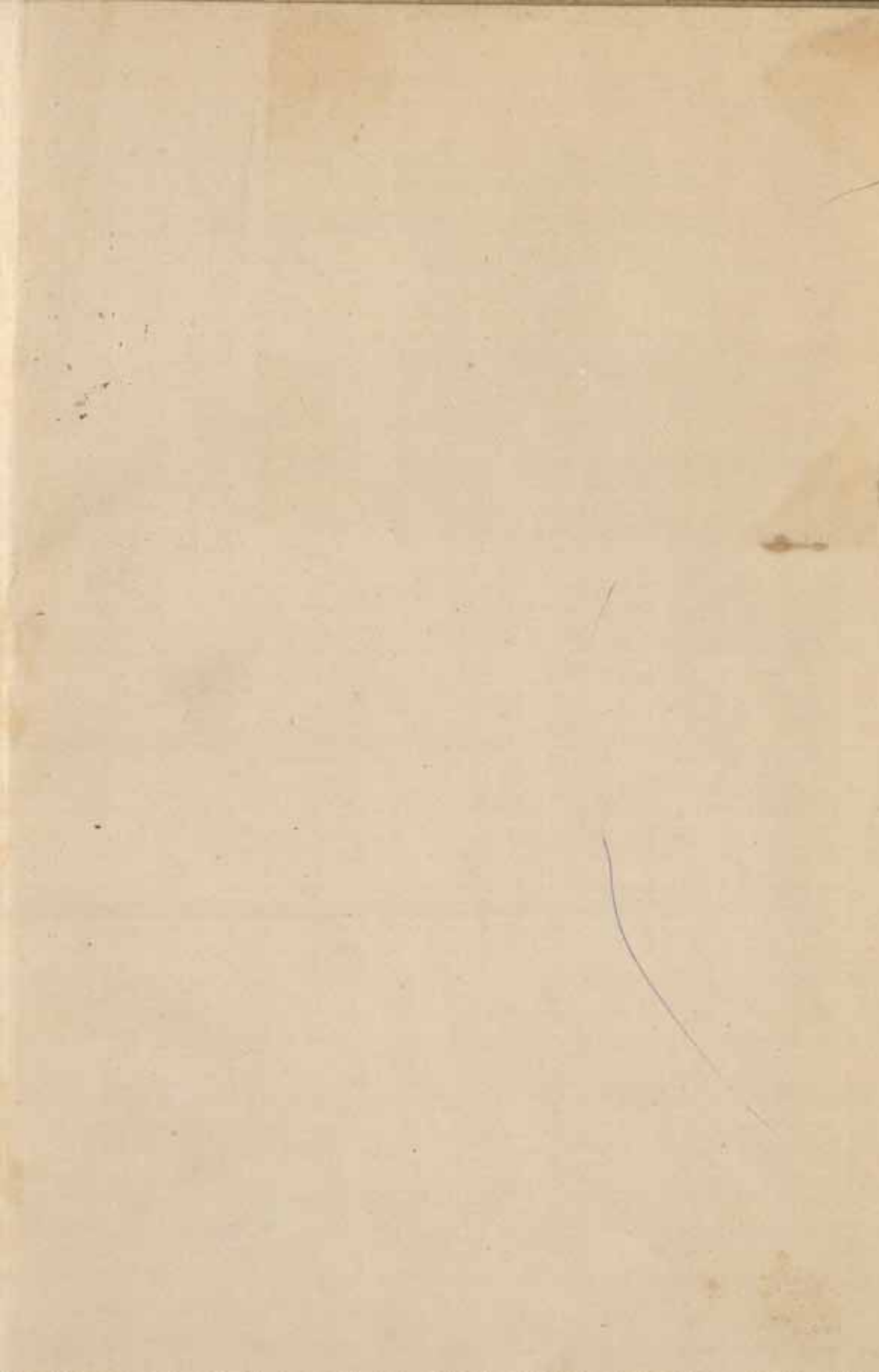


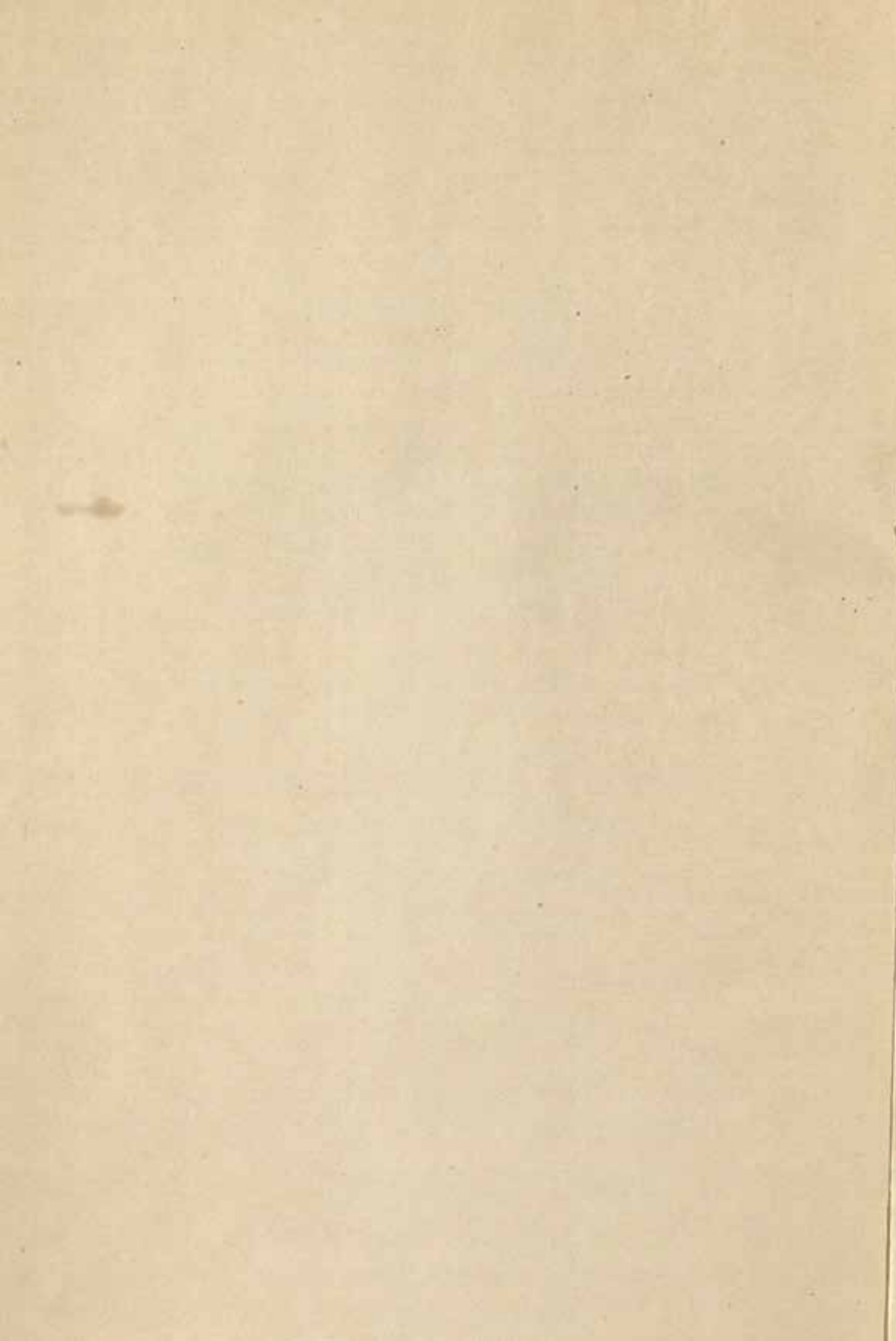
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HEIMO RAU

REFLECTION ON INDIAN ART

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REFLECTIONS ON INDIAN ART



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PREFACE

Sarasvatyās tattvam kavisahṛdayākhyam vijayate—how true is this statement of Abhinavagupta ! It is our good fortune that in Dr. Heimo Rau, we have one who combines in himself the vision of a Seer (kavi) and the appreciative participation of an Aesthete (sahridaya) for the unravelling of the quintessence of Sarasvati.

Indian Art — specially sculpture and music — has been a fascinating subject to Dr. Rau ever since he took up studies of Art, Archaeology and Indology at the University of Vienna (1931). What with his native gift of understanding Indian Mythology and the spirit that informs it, what with his teaching assignments relating to Art at Freie Waldorf Schule, Stuttgart, and at the University of Heidelberg, and what with his fruitful stay in India for more than a decade and a half, this fascination transformed itself into an ardent passion. This ardent passion led him untiringly to studies of art, resulting in his "*Reflections on Indian Art*",— a collection of sixteen of his articles. They, like the all-encompassing foot of Vamana, embrace the well-known cultural monuments of India, follow the tracks of Alexander on Indus, discuss the subtle effects of the inter-play of Hindu, Buddhist and Moslem art traditions and point out the rich heritage of Indian art in the valley of Kathmandu. Dr. Rau is not just an arm-chair critic musing in solitude, but one who has actively persuaded his government to extend all help in restoring the Pujari Matha of the Dattatreya temple in Nepal.

These articles, written in lucid style, reveal a personality with a critical acumen, penetrating vision, and a sympathising heart attuned with the spirit of the Indian art.

It is my proud privilege to edit these articles and present them in a volume on the occasion of Dr. Heimo Rau's sixtieth birthday.

I have played the role of a thread that binds together the fragrant flowers of his into a garland. What more endearing gift can we offer him on his sixtieth birthday than this garland of his

own flowers strung together with our deep sense of gratitude and offered with our prayer to the Muse of Art — Sarasvati — that she may bestow on him a long and active life of many more opportunities for the enrichment of the world of Indian art.

S. A. UPADHYAYA

INTRODUCTION

Heimo Rau's 'Reflections' are a collection of his essays on Indian Art; also of the Arts of Nepal and other neighbouring areas which have influenced or been influenced by Indian art, sentiment and ideas. These are not just independent unrelated essays gathered together for the convenience of publication, but an integrated whole, with a valid significant point of view which holds them together and takes us into the true meaning and the real greatness of an ancient aesthetic tradition. It is opportune that the book should appear on the occasion of Heimo Rau's sixtieth birthday. It is his birthday-present to India, his second home, his home away from home. And, what shall *we*, who ought to be giving *him* a birthday present, offer him? Our gratitude, of course, and our thanks, not because he extols the quality, the depth, the greatness of our art and heritage, but because he opens our eyes to some of their most enduring qualities and places them in a unique perspective. We, who have been born in India, and been brought up in the environment of our arts, are likely to take them for granted and, like a man walking through the woods, may know the trees, but miss the perspective of the grand forest and the landscape. Heimo Rau, coming from another country and a country with an honoured tradition in the arts and in scholarship, sees our riches in perspective, not only in the perspective of India and greater India, but in a kind of world, universal perspective.

Sixty years old. It is hard to believe. Sixty years young, will be a better description. Because his enquiring mind is still full of an intellectual curiosity whether in the areas of his specialisation or in the wider areas of human problems and creativity. Heimo Rau is one of the few scholars and critics of the Arts who makes us realise that the study of Art is not just an academic exercise for specialists, but a study of life. Art has to be seen in the perspective of life itself and in the perspective of human endeavour to make it meaningful in the good life we all hope for.

The very first essay, in a matter of some ten pages, brings into focus the essence of our artistic tradition. The predilection for sculpture which makes India in his own words "the classical land of plastic art" is in evidence everywhere. In sculpture, in architecture, in bas-reliefs, even in murals, the art is "permeated with the will to plastic formation. The Indian artist plasticises, regardless of whether he builds, carves or paints." This statement would appear too generalised, applicable equally to, say, Egyptian

or Greek art. But Heimo Rau describes the nature of this plasticising power of India with exactitude and unfailing analytical acumen. In one broad sweep Indian art is treated in its entirety missing no salient links, overlooking nothing, from the earliest days of which we have accurate documented information to its full flowering and fruitioning several millenia later. There is the ancient Dravidian strain into which the Indo-Aryan immigrants brought new concepts. Buddhism added to it gentle, subtle strains, symbols of fertility—the lotus flower and shoot. There is the preoccupation with the Dance culminating in the archetypal image of the bronze Nataraja in which a whole sequence of movements is compressed into a spatial continuity. There have been influences from outside. But every thought, every cult, every belief over thousands of years of growth can be seen as logical and integrated growths and, as part of a whole, with an unmistakable Indian identity. And it would all seem to indicate the formulation of the *Vishnudharmottaram*: “The purpose of art is to fulfil the meaning of life, whose ultimate goal is liberation”.

The many anonymous creative minds, the thousands of skilled artisans who conceived and executed this many-splendoured world of art from the earliest statues of wood and clay to the archetypal Nataraja and the monumental Kailasanatha Temple in Ellora, raising huge shadows of wonder in the minds of the spectator, may have felt about their work just what the inscription at one of the greatest of these achievements says: “How only was I able to make this?”

The first chapter deals with the structure of Indian Art. Dr. Rau then devotes a whole chapter to images of gods and demons with multiple arms and heads. This is something that worried even some of the wisest and most imaginative minds of the West, Goethe's for instance. Goethe spoke of some of these forms as “fantastic religious monsters” and said that “for men there can be nothing more frightful than to see the absurd personified”. Heimo Rau analyses the meaning, the symbolism of such polymorphic forms, taking his clue from the 11th Chapter of the Bhagavad Gita when Krishna reveals his true form to Arjuna imparting the Vishva-rupa-darshana Yoga which alone would enable him to see the Universe in one vast body of the God of Gods, “the vision of the All-form”. “Everywhere,” says Arjuna, “I perceive you in infinite forms, with many arms, bodies, mouths, and eyes. I cannot discern beginning, middle or end, Oh Lord of All in the form of the All.”

This manifestation is at a particular level of consciousness. It is not accessible on the human plane. On a different level is the *Markandeya Purana* illustration of the same phenomenon: "A tyrannical demon in the form of a bull threatened to destroy the universe. Neither Vishnu nor Shiva alone was capable of killing the monster. Then all the gods came together and a new Goddess was born from the fire of their anger. This Goddess had eighteen arms around her eternally smiling head. The gods laid their weapons in her hands each his specific symbol, the incorporation of his vital power (the trident of Shiva, the discus of Vishnu, etc.). These eighteen hands were necessary. How else could Durga take up the emblems of the gods and unite all their forces in herself?"

One can meditate on this visionary aspect of the supreme form, a form "of infinite prowess, of boundless glory incarnate". But can one expect an artist, a sculptor, to make a unified artistically satisfying representation of this in stone or bronze? To analyse the problems involved and their artistic resolution, Heimo Rau takes Vishnu in two attitudes at the Dashavatara Temple in Deogarh—one reclining on Ananta and the other riding on his Garuda; Durga in Mamallapuram, Durga as Mahishasuramardini, and the same image at Kailasanatha in Ellora; the ten-headed Ravana, titanic, of demonic power, at Ellora; and, of course, the bronze Nataraja which in many respects, epitomises paradigmatically the many problems involved in the portrayal of multiple arms and their most artistically satisfactory solution.

What is astonishing is Dr. Rau's intimate acquaintance with the whole range of the tradition of the sub-continent. It is born not just out of an explorer's curiosity, but out of his careful study and understanding of Indian thought, philosophy, literature, metaphysics over many years. The result is that he is able to see aesthetic concepts, traditions, idioms, styles in the perspective of contemporary thought and life. Art is not a thing apart from life. It is an expression of the consciousness of a people and it is the essence of life itself in all its fullness. An awareness of this fact is not enough by itself. This awareness has to come alive through information; information must lead to knowledge; and knowledge to wisdom. And this has to cover vast areas in item and space. Heimo Rau has come to grips with these problems. Hence the value of his work.

The well-known cultural monuments of India—Mamallapuram, Konarak, Ajanta, Ellora, Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Elephanta—he knows these like the palm of his hand. He has

followed Alexander's tracks on the Indus. He has travelled in Nepal studying the Temple towers, the structural condition of the Art monuments in the Kathmandu valley, and even lent a useful hand in the restoration of the Pujari Matha of the Dattatreya Temple in Bhaktapur. The subtle inter-play of Hindu and Buddhist thought in Buddhist Art, the gentle pressures of Hindu-Moslem tensions in the early days of Hindu-Moslem architecture are sketched out and laid bare to us with rare sympathy and understanding.

Throughout Dr. Rau shows the thoroughness of an archaeologist the sensibility of an artist, the insight of an art-historian and, above all, a wide humanism, sympathy and good taste without which most writing on art history degenerates into academic dissertations.

This is a volume which, as I said earlier, attracts our thanks and gratitude. It is a labour of love and it is Heimo Rau's sixtieth birthday present to India.

What a good friend for India to have !

NARAYANA MENON

Reflections on the Structure of Indian Art

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the development of the Christian-Occidental art styles, art and architecture in Asia developed in the three great cultures of the East Asiatic, West Asiatic (Islamic) and South Asiatic (Indian) regions. Among these three great cultures, India is mainly inclined towards sculpture. This form of art has no place in the mathematical-constructive edifices of Islam, and its ornamentation, which endlessly strings together patterns upon patterns, fills up the surface—in the same way as its paintings—without simulating the three-dimensional plastic effect. In the art of China and Japan, sculpture is subsidiary to painting. Moreover, most of the plastic images are Buddhist and are subject to Indian influence. On the other hand, in Asia the Indian sub-continent appears as the classical land of plastic art. To assert this does not only imply a quantitative evaluation which would merely indicate that Indian architectural structures are profusely covered with plastic embellishments: over and above this, it is a qualitative characterization meaning that Indian art in its entirety—whether sculpture, architecture or mural painting—is permeated with the will to plastic formation. The Indian artist plasticises, regardless of whether he builds, carves or paints.

This plastic endowment already proves itself in the few small-sized sculptures in the round, which have been preserved in the cities of the Harappa culture. The small stone figures, averaging a span in length, are full of solid strength, clearly and surely modelled as sculpture in the round. Their corporeality is not organized according to skeletal or muscular structures, but only presents tense surfaces filled with the tautness of life. The stone torso of a dancer arouses the impression of a complicated sequence of movements, even though the limbs and head are lacking. Pelvis and shoulders turn in opposite directions. The vital energy pressing from within and stemmed at the skin, continues into the surrounding space with the dancing movements. The artistic achievements of this culture, whose extension beyond the Indus Valley and far into North India is authenticated today, can only be appraised as a prelude, because—following the evidences provided by these cities which flourished in the second half

of the third millenium and the first half of the second millenium—there is a gap of more than a thousand years in the remains of monuments, whose art has been lost without trace. Yet they already possess characteristic features which are peculiar to all Indian artistic creations of later periods.

It is not enough to have asserted that the Indian artist inclines towards plastic modelling : this statement is too generalized, being capable of application also to the Egyptian, Greek and other realms of art. The aim is to describe the nature of this plasticising formative power of India with greater exactitude. Its foundation is the comprehensive inclusion of vegetative vital forces. The limbs push out from within, so that tautly filled forms arise which could apparently expand still further. The skeletal structure is overlaid and nowhere made noticeable. The hardness of muscles and sinews does not become evident. Everything corporeal without distinction—whether pertaining to man, animal or plant—thus appears like a vegetative growth, infused with vital forces.

The Plastic Form

This tense plasticity is to be found in the timeless statues of male and female nature spirits which are hardly subject to a change in style, in the early period of Indian art, confronting us in stone monuments only since the third century B.C. Their predecessors were statues made of wood or clay which may already have existed centuries before. They represent the deities familiar to the people—deities to whom man appealed for the fertility of fields and animals, and for being blessed with children, good fortune and prosperity. They are the same spirits which populate the Indian myths and fairy tales : nagas endowed with the bodies of serpents and dwelling in the waters, or yakshas, yakshis and vrikshakas operating in trees and plants. The creative power of beneficent Nature, gushing forth and continually renewing itself, is embodied in them. They appear as hardy youths of Nature, bursting with strength, and heavy-breasted, broad-hipped women who—adorned only with ornaments—manifest the principle of fecundity. Their significance as dispensers of blessings finds its perfect formal correspondence in the vegetatively expanding corporeality which swells almost to bursting point. With them, the Dravidian worship of images—despised by the Indo-Aryans who had immigrated during approximately the middle of the second millenium B.C.—pushes powerfully to the surface. At the same time it should be pointed

out that the talent for modelling plastic forms is at home among the native population which survives all storms, and not among the conquerors whose artistic achievement is displayed in the mighty words of the Vedic hymns and in the epics which are rich in narratives. As soon as Buddhism aspired to become a popular religion, it was shrewd enough to convert the fertility spirits—loved by the peasants and considered necessary for growth and prosperity—into servants of the faith, and not into devils as it happened in this case. At the sanctuaries, they were permitted to welcome the entrants with the promise of blessings—indeed they undertook the office of guardians at the gates, in order to avert, in conformity with their nature, damage and misfortune.

The identity of form and content is similarly shown in the relief on the railings and gates of the early Buddhist stupa in the representation of the lotus flower and shoot. The juicy stems, swelling buds and blossoms seem specially created for the characteristic style of Indian plastic modelling. They too signify fertility and fill many a beam on the railings with the ebb and flow of their wavy tendrils, cone-shaped buds and rosette-like blossoms. The plastic principle of formation appears altogether archetypal in the *purna ghata*—a big-bellied, round pot, out of which the lotus blossoms and leaves spring forth. Yet again, Buddhism incorporated such an ancient symbol of fertility into its treasure-house of forms, investing it with the new meaning of a symbol of the Buddha's birth which had occurred for the salvation of all beings. The entire world of images of the early Indian reliefs, with their abundance of forms, is embedded in this lotus ornamentation. The figures depicted are also permeated by the same plastic vitality. Everything that is so joyfully narrated and reproduced in scene upon scene on the gates of Sanchi (about the time of the birth of Christ), lives in a uniform, unbroken and undifferentiated realm of existence. The same formal quality is characteristic of all appearances, whether those of plants, animals, men or objects. The plasticising vital energy streams incessantly from one thing to another and does not permit of any interruption through empty space. The *horror vacui* springs from the delight in bringing forth plastic forms as if out of an inexhaustible well, in competition with eternally procreating Nature itself. The naive joy in ceaseless productivity communicates itself to the observer, even if perhaps he sometimes stands seemingly stunned before the crowding abundance of the appearances. Untroubled by reflections and untouched by dogmatic scruples, this

radiant world of plastic primordial energy unfolds itself, streaming with the elemental power of a surging river.

The Sublimation of Materiality

In conformity with its nature, the monkish religion of early Buddhism had to be inimical towards images, or at least to be indifferent towards sensuous representations, since its entire endeavour was to liberate man from bondage to the sensory world. But in the further course of its development, the flood of images desired by the mass of believing laymen could not be checked. The well meaning guru could then only advise the young monks to shut their eyes before all too voluptuous sculptures. For sometime, the images were confined to the periphery of the sanctuary, while the hemisphere of the stupa itself rose up bare and unsullied into the imageless world of nirvana. Finally, however, the wave penetrated even into the sanctuary itself. Initially the delight taken in corporeal representations still stopped short of the person of the Sublime One. Symbols such as those of the throne, tree, wheel and stupa denoted His presence and thereby simultaneously referred to definite events in His life history—the tree to the attainment of supreme enlightenment, the wheel to the first sermon, the stupa to His passing into nirvana. But then, in the first few centuries after Christ, there comes the moment when the Accomplished One appears before His believers in human form. Yet in what form of plastic art—till then preparatory and bubbling over with the powers of Nature and life—could the Buddha be embodied, who, after all, had entered into nirvana and had entirely detached Himself from the sensuous world?

The image of the Buddha is perfected by the builders' associations at Mathura and Sarnath. It receives its classical impress in the Gupta period (fourth to sixth century A.D.), shining forth over the whole of Asia together with the Buddhist mission. Its formal basis became the vigorous image of the beneficent god of fertility—but the vital force of Nature was transformed into spiritual force. The Hellenistic influences which had asserted themselves as the most easterly projections of Imperial Roman art in the province of Gandhara in the north-west border area of the Indian sub-continent, were fused into the stream of the plastic vital energy. The drapery of the garments of the philosopher's statue evaporates into an irrational play of wavy lines which arrange themselves as thin cords around the corporeality which bears the Indian impress. The schematically

vacant Apollo countenance becomes filled with the benevolently austere smile of the Buddha, drifting across from transcendental remoteness. The plastic quality native to India transforms itself. The taut turgidness disappears. The dense materiality becomes transparent and pervious. The play of the limbs—still boneless—appears slimmer, and indeed of a tender charm and graceful lightness.

Weightlessly, exempt from all material constraint, the great Buddha of Mathura (fifth century A.D.) advances towards the believer. His right hand is raised in the abhayamudra, granting refuge and fearlessness. The delicate network of scalloped cords encircles the body and enhances the effect striven for, so that the heavy red sandstone seems to float in the air. The massive pouring out of vital forces is sublimated into a refined streaming. It has rightly been pointed out that such corporeality appears as if pervaded with the breath of life, conveying to the worshipper the feeling of lightness in his own body—the feeling known to him as a result of his own breathing exercises. The immense aureole with the shimmering lotus ornamentation shines like the gateway to the world of nirvana from which the Buddha descends graciously. The dematerialized plastic art has become a projection of the Invisible into the world of sense perception. At a new level, the formal qualities again fully correspond with the content, since these statues are cult-images, by the aid of which the believer progresses on the path to liberation, in that he pervades himself with the 'Buddha quality' and himself experiences detachment from the mundane world. From the bhakti cult of this epoch, which practises devotional absorption into the Divine, there originates the formulation of the Vishnudharmottaram: "The purpose of art is to fulfil the meaning of life, whose ultimate goal is liberation."

The Dance of Maya

The vitality of sculpture urges towards expansion and continues in the lively play of the limbs. The dancer utilizes the plasticity of his own body and the 'space-grasping' formative possibilities of his own limbs for the fashioning of a work of art which unfolds itself in the temporal sequence of movements. The sculptor must compress the temporal sequence into a spatial contiguity. To achieve this, he can intensify the effect, because with continued viewing, one is more strongly impressed with that which otherwise vanishes in a moment. Indian art loves to represent the dance; and even otherwise, the animated figures shaped by the sculptor and the painter

behave like dancers. Their mudras are established according to a canon of movement which is diverse enough never to appear monotonous. One is not concerned with gestures of expression which reflect personal experience, but with the words of a language of gestures which can be learnt and understood.

In addition to its formal effect, every mudra has also a significant content. The all-embracing cosmos of the possibilities of movement is thus regulated according to super-personal laws. That which becomes evident to an impartial observer during contemplation of these works of art, is corroborated by the Indian books on art, wherein it may be read that the pictorial artist was obliged to complete a course of training as a dancer. Therefore every movement in a piece of sculpture has been tried out and experienced by its creator in his own body. But the sculptor can proceed further than the dancer in the intensification of the gestures : the latter is restricted by the anatomical limitations of the body. Joints and muscles permit only certain definite turning and bending movements. The former, however, is not impeded by such considerations. He can intensify the gestures by following their movements only; and therewith stretching and bending the body according to his choice. When the inherent dynamism is fully expressed, the observer even overlooks anatomical impossibilities. The vitality of Indian sculpture, restrained and sublimated in the classical art of the Gupta period, breaks through with an impetuous desire for movement in the post-classical temple art. The creations of the masters at Khajuraho (about 1000 A.D.) signify a fascinating climax of this development.

Detached from their associated surroundings, the temple sculptures in museums and exhibitions lead an almost miserable existence. On the temple itself, every figure is a wave in an ocean of flooding life which heaves up and down. It reflects the maya of the sensory world which is governed by the changes of life; namely, birth, death and rebirth. Maya's magic carpet is spread around the sanctuary. In the dark interior, the Divinity is enthroned—the Primordial Causal Power Itself, in eternal repose, untouched by the emanations of the overflowing vital energy. The breathlessness and superabundant liveliness become intelligible as soon as one discovers their relation to the resting pole. From the cella of the temple, the power issues forth, intensifying itself on the outer walls of the temple in the ecstatic dance of life carried out by the slim and over-mobile limbs of the female dancers in a bewildering, intertwining network.

The South Indian Chola art (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.) has created an archetypal image of the dance in the innumerable repeated bronze figures of Shiva Nataraja and therewith made visible its cosmic significance. One may be tempted to recall that the theme was sounded for the first time with the dancer of Harappa, and to deduce from this relation the continuity of native conceptions and formative plastic forces over the millenia. The expansion from the centre to the periphery holds the key to the construction of the sculpture. The plastic field of tension lies between the countenance of the god who holds together the whirling limbs like the hub of a wheel holds together the spokes, and the ring of the aureole of flames. The arms held apart in the manner of a fan, and the streaming hair, fill the upper half, while the lower half provides room for the mighty dance steps of the god, which he carries out on the back of the dwarfish demon of inertia. The two upper hands assume a cup-like shape. In equilibrium they hold the temple drum, with whose first tone creation begins, and the fire of world annihilation. The dance of the god continues forever between these two events which recur in infinite cycles. The abhaya mudra adopted by the lower right hand promises protection, while the downwardly bent left hand promises mercy for the believer who desires to escape from the pitilessly recurring process. A temporal sequence is symbolically fixed in space, whereby this bold enterprise is supported by the fact that it concerns a cyclical happening repeating itself constantly in a similar way. By the same token, the dance of the god is to be apprehended as a timeless occurrence which shrivels into the dimension of an instant, for life generates innumerable births and permits innumerable deaths in every second.

The plastic power flows through the limbs which are tautened by inner tension, without being stemmed at the surface of the body, from the centre to the periphery, diminishing at the tips of the fingers and toes, flickering away in the small flames of the fiery circle. There is success in evoking the illusion of the dancing movement. It is the cosmic play of the universal forces itself which brings the plastic form—unfolded and poured out into the spatial dimension—into the realm of sensory perception. There is sublime stillness above all change, perceptible in the motionless countenance of the god, and a dynamism of becoming and passing away in the peripheral play of the limbs.

The close relation between plastic modelling in Indian art and the forces of growth in Nature permits a symbiosis—unknown in any other sphere of art—between the naturally given and the artistically

formed. Caves are to be disclosed in the steep face of a cliff, in which one is nearer to the mysterious primordial powers of Nature than in the sunlight. Temples are veiled in the rocky hill. Their towers and halls, grown out of the rocky base, stand free under the heavens once the chisel strikes the mantle away. Plastic figures are concealed in the smooth face of the cliff, which the sculptor can disenchant. In this manner the stone masons of the Pallava Kings—in the middle of the seventh century A.D.—populate the 8-metre high wall of a granite rock in Mamallapuram near Madras with animals, men and gods. It is as if these slim, lively and active figures had just emerged out of the rock foundation, as if the rock had driven them forth and could again take them back into its womb at any moment. No surface is divided, no frame is created, which would confer a special existence upon them and would separate them from the surrounding Nature. They spring up like plants out of the earth.

The improbable drama is even more intensified by the fact that water joins the rock as a second natural element. It plunges down a cleft in the middle of the face of the cliff from a cistern installed above, sprinkling in manifold rills the serpent-shaped water gods and the creatures who hurry there from both sides in order to enjoy the life-giving liquid of the cascade. The mere content of the relief relating the penance of Arjuna—the hero of the *Mahabharata*—recedes into the background amongst the abundance of forms which delight the eye. Whatever living beings are brought forth by the Indian soil, seem to be assembled here. The enchantment wrought through the maya-like spectacle must have been even more gripping when the pool at the foot of the rock was filled with water, reflecting the face of the cliff and inextricably mingling being with appearance.

Growing Architecture

The principle of Indian sculpture is as untectonic as possible. It negates the skeletal supports which give firmness and solidity. The bodily form unfolds like a vegetative growth. Thus it is not astonishing that even the architectural forms are largely subjected to this same principle. The stupa—the leading form of Buddhist construction—is a plastic form. Burial mounds made of heaped up earth are dispersed throughout the whole of Eurasia. In Egypt, their conscious monumentalization led to the pyramid via the step-mastaba. The Indian stupa constitutes the plastic antithesis to this geometrizing

solution. The burial mound is transformed into a massive hemisphere which is not to be understood as a static structure but as a dynamic arching up from within. The surface of the mound is uniformly subjected to the tension of the convex curvature. The force pressing outwards is stemmed on this surface. The hemisphere corresponds with the firmament; the alignment with the axial cross of the cardinal points becomes visible in the four gates; the vertical central axis is seen through the umbrella which crowns the semi-circular structure. The circle of the ground plan is also to be understood in a dynamic sense. The adoration of the believers was accomplished in the circumambulation of the sanctuary on the processional path separated from the profane world by the circular railing. Thus the edifice appears as the trace, made visible in space, of the ritual action taking place in time.

In the early period, the forces pushing from the centre and striving to expand, are held together in the pure spherical form. Further development gives full scope to their growth. It unfolds organically. Already in Amaravati, the stupa extends upwards, becoming slimmer. In the age of the Guptas, it soars still further into the heights, and on its way to the rest of Asia it is transformed into almost inexhaustible plastic variations, the germs of which lay concealed in the hemispherically arched primitive stupa.

The tower of the Indo-Aryan temple known as a shikhara is also a "growth". Its centre of force is enclosed in the cubic cella where the cult-image or the lingam announces the presence of the God, for, He lives there and His redeeming effect radiates from the small, dark chamber. In fact there lies the spiritual centre of power—the invisible dynamism of which unfolds into visibleness in the architectural form. It pushes the tower upwards into ever loftier spheres and eventually collects the peripheral tendencies together in a sudden convex curve, into a crowning (amalaka) which lies precisely in the centre above the cella, manifesting far and wide the Divine Power which governs below in concealment. Thus the tower grows upwards along the central axis which connects the cult-image with the crowning and carries the centre of force aloft. The spiritually effective principle finds its fullest sensory materialization in the expansive plasticity of the constructional form.

The association of builders at Khajuraho (about 1000 A.D.) imparted the greatest perfection to their temples in the harmonization of all the parts and their direction towards a single goal. The temples grow upwards like mighty sculptures in the landscape, between picturesque clumps of trees. The 34-metre high Kandariya

temple is considered to be the masterpiece. A raised foundation lifts the sacred precincts above the grassy plain and offers ample space for assembling to the votaries. The narrow rooms of the interior permit access only to a few when they bring their offerings. The entrance halls and the temple tower are fused together into a uniform and compact constructional group. Already the flight of stairs to the entrance ascends steeply, indicating the direction to the dominant tower. The roofs of the entrance halls carry the same architectural motif in an ascending series of three steps, increasing in breadth and height towards the shikhara like mountain spurs striving towards the main summit. The friezes of the plastic figure ornamentation push upwards, interrupted by ledges and balconies which, despite their diversity, serve to promote the whole. The greatest marvel is the tower itself. Many small towers (urushringas) grow up luxuriantly around it, resembling the big tower in shape. The stormy strength of these upwards-shooting sprouts lifts the summit aloft until it eventually struggles clear of their undergrowth. On this temple, all forms are subjected to a plastic process of growth. They constitute an organism which—filled with dynamic tensions—stretches skywards as the receptacle and body of the Divinity, thus pointing the way to liberation.

In the temples of Khajuraho, one plastic mountain after another was constructed out of cut stones in the vast tableland of Central India—and every time the “Mountain of the Universe” itself, if we take the designation shikhara literally. A contrary line was taken by the rock sculpture of South India, in that it transformed natural mountains into temples. In this case there is no building up, but rather an unveiling of that which was concealed in the grown rock. One cannot begin with the laying of the corner stone rising to the heights from the foundation. On the other hand, it is the pinnacle of the rock sculpture which is the first to be liberated; and then one has to descend from the summit to the depths. The temple emerges as if from a receding surface of water, the highest portions first and the foundations last. Such building projects call for the maximum degree of plastic fantasy. If they are to succeed, then the artist—architect and sculptor alike—must, as it were, put himself into the centre of the very rock with his power of imaginative planning, and must already perceive the outlines of the temple’s structure in the natural shape of the rock mass, in order then to be able to free the temple from its stony envelope. This is the sculptor’s typical working procedure, and whatever has arisen thus is to be counted among the world’s most

powerful sculptures. The granite sculptures of the Pallava temples of Mamallapuram, rooted in the rock (middle of the seventh century A.D.), rise up to 12 metres on the shore of the Indian Ocean; and in Ellora in the Western Deccan, the Kailasanatha temple (middle of the eighth century A.D.) chiselled out of the mountain slope, rising to a height of 32 metres, covers an area equal in extent to the Parthenon. "How only was I able to make this?" runs the inscription of the master who caused this sanctuary to be carved out of the black volcanic rock of the hillock.

Vegetative Structure—Expansive Dynamism

In India, the preference accorded to plastic art likewise determines the language of form in mural painting. The pure two-dimensionality of the plane surface is a self-evidently given factor for the Islamic and East Asiatic painter. Both spread out their linear creations on it without striving for plastic illusion or even for space in depth. For the Indian painter, on the other hand, the plane surface is filled with plastic life. His innate will for plastic organization urges towards the curving up of forms out of the plane surface in order to make the streaming of the vital forces visible. And thus, for the painter of murals it is also laid down as a rule in the books on art in the Gupta period, that every painted picture should, as it were, stand out of the plane wall surface like a relief. The technical means by which such an effect was achieved can be studied in Ajanta. An application of ground colours in brown tones was executed on the smoothened and primed wall before the local colours were laid on. Plastic values result from the shading and heightening of tints, resembling those achieved by Leonard da Vinci through his *sfumato*. Painted in this manner, the murals which fill the walls of the caves in Ajanta in an unbroken series appear like mobile, coloured reliefs.

A constant factor in Indian art can be comprehended in the plasticising formative quality. A 'vegetative' structure and an expansive dynamism are unmistakably characteristic peculiarities of Indian art, differentiating it from all other plastically oriented realms of art. An essential part of the specifically Indian creative power can be paraphrased in concepts of this kind. In the course of a development lasting thousands of years, it could transform and amalgamate all foreign influences time and again and always prove the Indian identity.

Multiple Arms in Indian God-Images

SINCE Indian art has become familiar in the West, the appearance of multiple heads and arms in many god-figures has provoked surprise and discussion. In German literature it was Johann Gottfried Herder who first wrote with understanding about this phenomenon. Herder planned a series of essays, "Concerning Monuments of Antiquity" in which he treated Indian monuments, to the extent that he knew them, in the beginning of "Part Two", after discussing basic principles of archaeology in "Part One". Unfortunately this promising series of archaeological studies was not continued. We have only one article on "Indian Monuments" published in *Scattered Pages, Fourth Collection* (Gotha 1792, in the Herder edition of Suphan, Volume XVI, 51-83). There, Herder speaks of the Indian gods and their representations in the pictorial arts in the following manner :

Their gods were derived from symbolic concepts, and these concepts were also retained as symbols in monuments. This, however, greatly restricted art. No kinetic energy or dynamic growth can become visible in the forms.

Fairy tales describe in a pleasing manner how the god of love appears riding on a parrot, Shiva upon a bull (the image of virtue), Subrahmanya upon a peacock, the god of punishment upon a raven, the ruler of hell upon a buffalo, the king of the spirits upon an elephant; and nowhere will the significance of these images be mistaken; for the eye, however, except for the coloured pictures, no such satisfying and firm artistic relationship is provided. Everywhere we see that the symbolic allegory has overwhelmed art. This aspect is even more apparent in the attributes with which Hindu mythology has encumbered its gods—even in art: merely in order to portray these attributes, multiple heads and hands were provided. Of course, the mythology had ample opportunity to maintain and repeat itself in this divine distortion. For each arm and each head a story could be related or a characteristic described; and one single figure could supply teacher and student alike with the whole epopee of the god, a complete inventory of his circumstances and deeds. Every detail was significant; and I doubt whether any other people on earth have treated symbolism in art as thoroughly as the Indians. (For this

reason I wish there were translations of a good many Indian poems, fairy tales, and legends.)

In his studies of Indian mythology and art Herder used all the sources available to him at the time. He recognised, however, the shortcomings of these sources, especially concerning pictorial representations and illustrations given by individual authors. He, therefore, writes with restraint and avoids harsh judgements such as we find in Goethe's works. In the notes and essays to the *East West Divan*, Goethe spoke of "fantastic religious monsters" and in the *Mild Epigrams* he bans multi-limbed gods :

For men there can be nothing more frightful than to see the absurd personified.

Goethe considered as absurd strangers from the abodes of Titans and other members of the "monstrous opposition" defying the divine race of Zeus; he himself admitted them only in *Walpurgis Night*. However, before the Greeks had peopled their "well-ordered cosmos" with gods in human form, their heaven had also housed animals and other hybrid beings, in whom supernatural and super-human powers were made manifest to those in need of protection. The Indian mythical consciousness obviously experienced a similar need to portray such beings as different from men and in possession of expanded human powers. And a mortal blessed by the god's favour could behold him in such a polymorphic form. The most impressive example is given by the eleventh adhyaya in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Vishnu-Rupa-Darshana Yoga, the yoga of the vision of the All-form :

Everywhere I perceive you in infinite forms, with many arms, bodies, mouths, and eyes. I cannot discern beginning, middle or end oh Lord of ALL in the form of the ALL (verse 16).

It is an old axiom of aesthetics, that not all images produced by the effect of words on the human imagination must be bearable when portrayed in painting or sculpture. Herder suggests this in his formulation : "Fairy tales described in a pleasing manner". Goethe's inner objections are similar, for the distorted figures when "presented to the eye" appear to exercise a "magical law". Indian artists, however, have dared to paint and even carve from stones visionary god-images. Of course, this was not the case from the very beginning; the need for such representations arose only at a certain point in the development of the religious consciousness.

One of the authorities used by Herder was the surgeon, W. Hunter, whose travel-account Herder had read in "Part Nine" of the *New Collection of Travel Books* edited by Christoph Daniel Koeling

and published in 1787 by Carl Ernst Bohn in Hamburg. Hunter remarked that the "oldest caves" were those at Kanheri, "because no malformations are to be found there, as was the case in other caves (meaning Elephanta, p. 485)". Aside from his low opinion of multi-armed figures implied by the term "malformations", Hunter had perceived the development correctly. The phenomenon of multiple arms belongs to a later stage in the history of Indian art. Before this, artists portrayed normal human figures. And at an even earlier stage symbolic signs were used to intimate supernatural dynamic force.

All early epochs seem to share a certain aversion to portraying the Divine in human form. This is true not only of Christian and Buddhist art, but of Hindu art as well. Before Vishnu was actually shown, the lotus blossom was considered sufficient sign of his active power; for Shiva the trident or the lingam was used; for Buddha footprints, the empty throne, a tree, wheel, or stupa.

Ananda Coomaraswamy has, in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, already shown the development which proceeded from symbols to human figures and then to multi-armed god-figures :

Thus we first find the humpbacked ox lying or standing by itself, then a figure with two arms, and finally a figure with four arms accompanying the bull, who is no longer the manifestation of the godhead, but only its vehicle (vahana); other symbols are held in the hands as attributes (p. 50).

Coomaraswamy takes his examples from the rich store of images preserved in coins and bills. The earliest are without exception symbolic, and only around the time of Christ do they begin to show human forms. Since the seventh century B.C., over five hundred different symbols have been counted on pressed coins and clay seals. In the *Harivamsha Purana* (2, 109, 95-103) one hundred and eight are mentioned. We can trace this development from the coins. There are :

1. One coin of Apollodotos, about 156-140 B.C. : on the front appears an elephant, on the back a humpbacked ox, probably a symbol of Shiva.

2. One coin of Kanishka, about 100 A.D. : on the back Shiva is shown, he stands in front of Nandi the bull and holds the sling in his right hand and the trident in his left.

3. One coin of Vasudeva, about 200 A.D. : Shiva, on the back, has three heads and four arms. After this, multiple arms appeared during the course of the first centuries after Christ.

The archaic world differentiated between standing sculpture and narration. There were very few statues, namely the yaksha

and yakshi who represented fertility gods and shrine guardians in the early cults. The exuberance of the early age revealed itself in symbolic decoration and narrative reliefs, presenting in a realistic and convincing manner the uninterrupted world of holy mythology. In the first centuries A.D., however, the cult image became the focal point and narration faded away. Events which had formerly been depicted comprehensively and in great detail were concentrated and merged.

It was not only the Buddha image, with its thirty-two Lakshanas of Mahapurusha, the "Great Being", with different asanas and mudras which preserved its artistic conformation in the first centuries A.D. At the same time the Jain Tirthankara representations were produced and also the first Hindu god-images, such as Vishnu and Shiva, Surya and Skanda, to mention some of the earliest. One centre of this process was the workshop of Mathura, and the development undoubtedly reflected the temperament and stimulus of the ruling Kushana dynasty whose coinage exhibits a similar evolution. Contact with Hellenistic and Iranian gods and god-representations may have been significant. And the whole syncretic climate was even more important.

The new cult images were endowed with attributes from the arsenal of traditional symbols. Without doubt it was primarily the Brahmins who engendered these characteristic images, which have survived throughout the centuries until the present day. In the hands of the gods the symbols received a new intensity and nobility, in no case any diminishment of the honour previously accorded them. These pervasive transformations took place during the Kushana and Gupta periods (second to fifth centuries A.D.), and thus a wealth of prototypes was provided for Buddhist and Hindu art.

Events in the domain of mass religious movements can be paraphrased in a similar manner. The creation of the cult image and its endowment with all the relevant details and attributes eases and smoothens the path to salvation, even for the most humble soul. The vision of those who are less blessed will be attracted to the visible form, materialized and objectified in the cult image. The evolution was inspired by the Bhakti movement, the new yearning on the part of believers for personal devotion to an anthropomorphically conceived god. Bhakti means love and devotion to the godhead to the point of self-sacrifice; the god replies by bestowing deliverance-bringing grace. This movement admitted all creeds and pervaded all the religions of the time. The

cult image was given multiple arms and heads, endowed thus with superhuman portions, and elevated as an instrument of meditation. By contemplating the god and meditating on all his attributes, the believer sought to become completely submerged in his being. Thus, Herder's explanation is not so inapplicable :

For each head and each arm a story could be related or a characteristic described, and one single figure could supply teacher and student alike with a complete inventory of his circumstances and deeds.

The most vivid illustration of this is given in the *Markandeya Purana* (61-93) which describes how the weapons of the gods were conferred upon Durga. A tyrannical demon in the form of a bull threatened to destroy the universe. Neither Vishnu nor Shiva alone was capable of killing the monster. Then all the gods came together and a new goddess was born from the fire of their anger. This goddess had eighteen arms around her eternally smiling head. The gods laid their weapons in her hands each his specific symbol, the incorporation of his vital power (the trident of Shiva, the discus of Vishnu, etc.). These eighteen hands were necessary. How else could Durga take up the emblems of the gods and unite all their forces in herself!

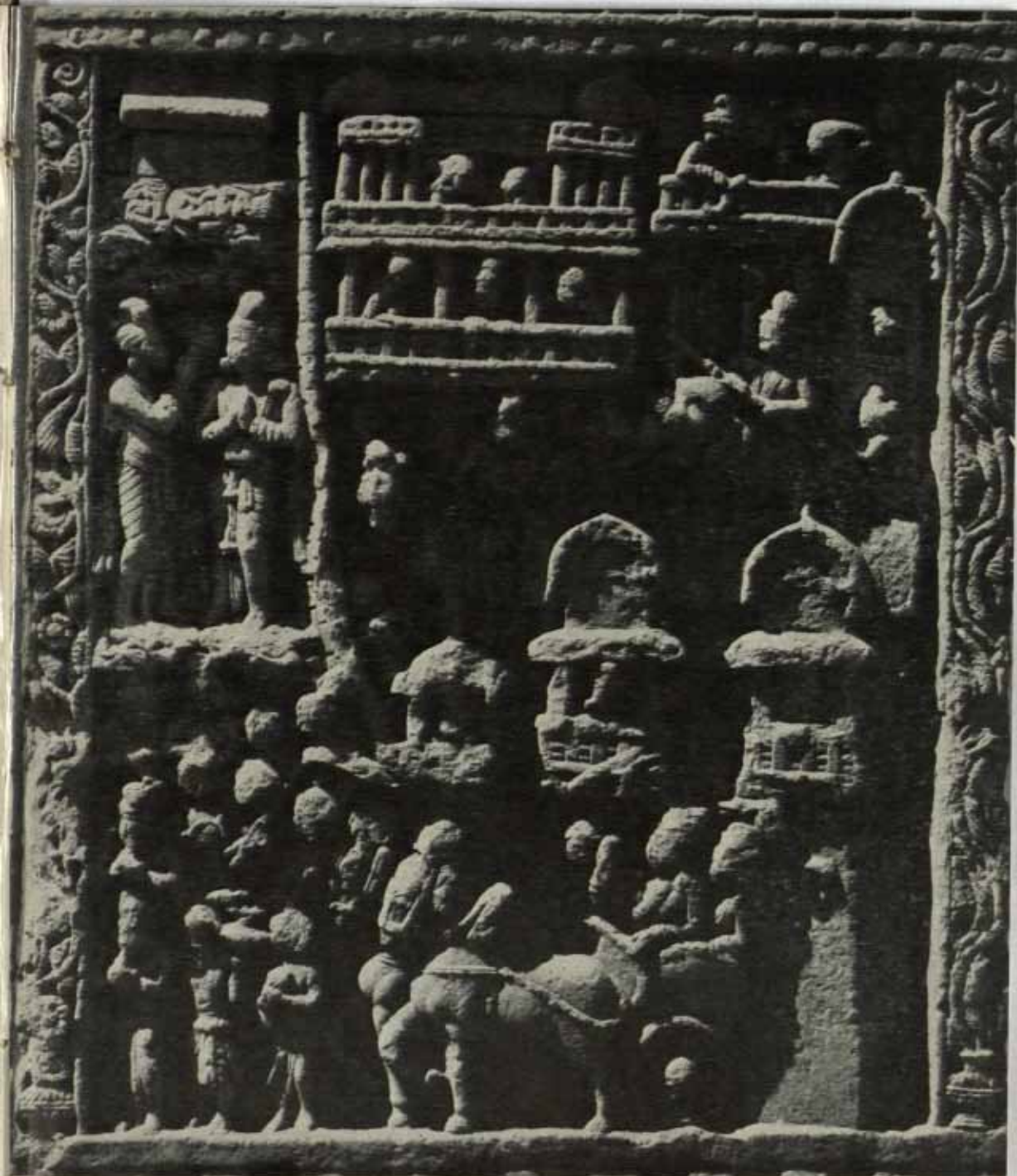
However, the visionary and imaginative aspect of multiple arms and heads does not explain how this should be formally realized. The speculative mythology of the Brahmins was obviously asking a lot from the artists of their time. And this would be an almost hopeless task, if we were to take the plastic-architectonic interpretation of Greek art as our basis. Greek art, however, did not represent the only possibility for sculpture. The drapery modelling of the medieval Europe offered an entirely different alternative. And in Indian sculpture the artist does not proceed from the skeleton and muscles, but rather from the life-forces flowing through the body and limbs. It is no accident that yaksha and yakshi are prototypes of Indian sculpture. The embryonic beginnings of Indian statuary sculpture are to be found in the nature demons, superabundantly dynamic dispensers of prosperity and fertility; in Greek art we had the statues of youth and maiden. In the early Greek statues the repressed energy finds an outlet in the movement of limbs and draperies. In the early Indian statues, however, the stored exuberance expands in luxuriant plant-like organisms. The human body is treated as a growing plant sending forth limbs like sprouting branches. In such a fluid, plasticising form which lacks any skeletal structure, duplication or multiplication of limbs is an organically feasible process. If we observe



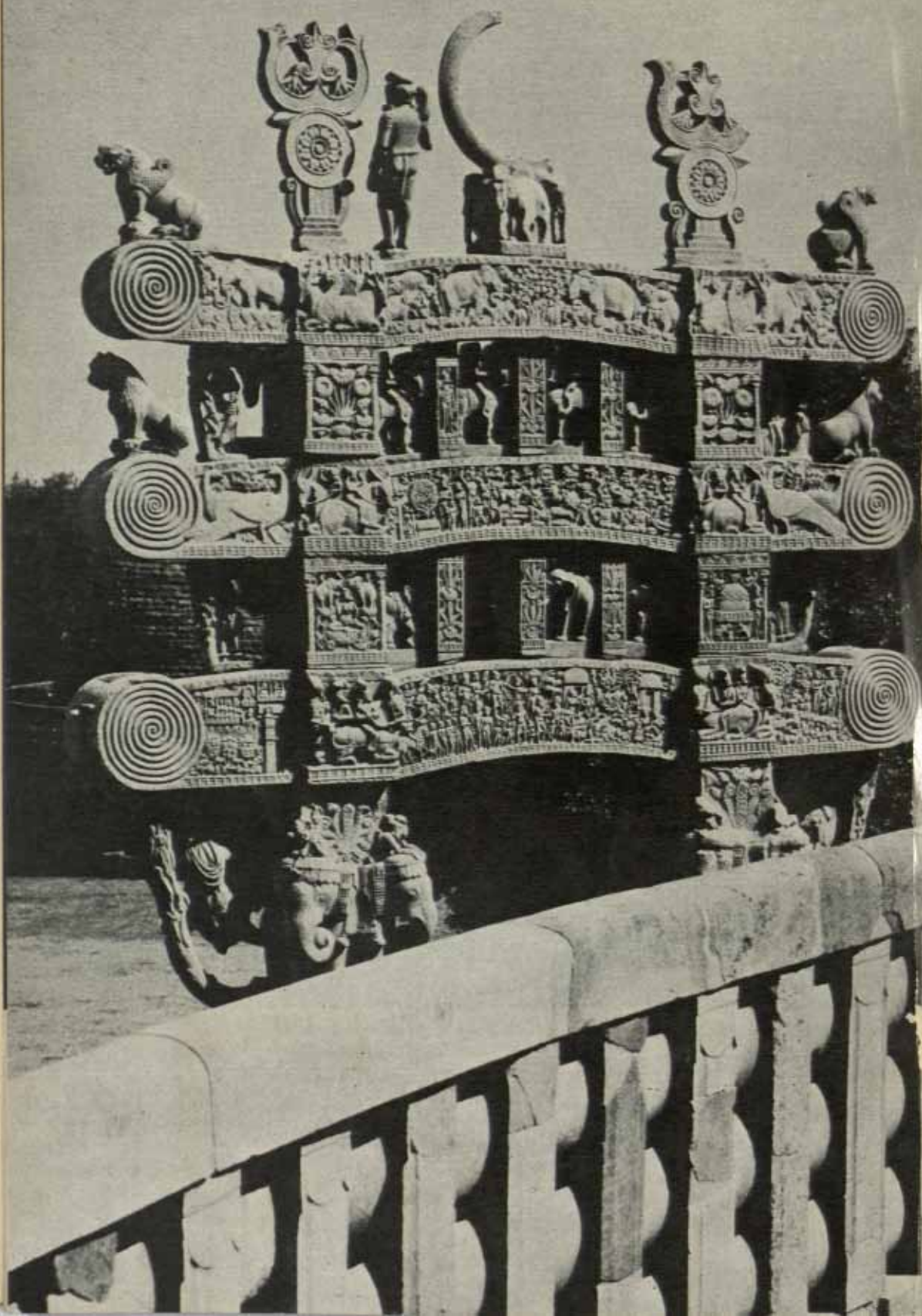


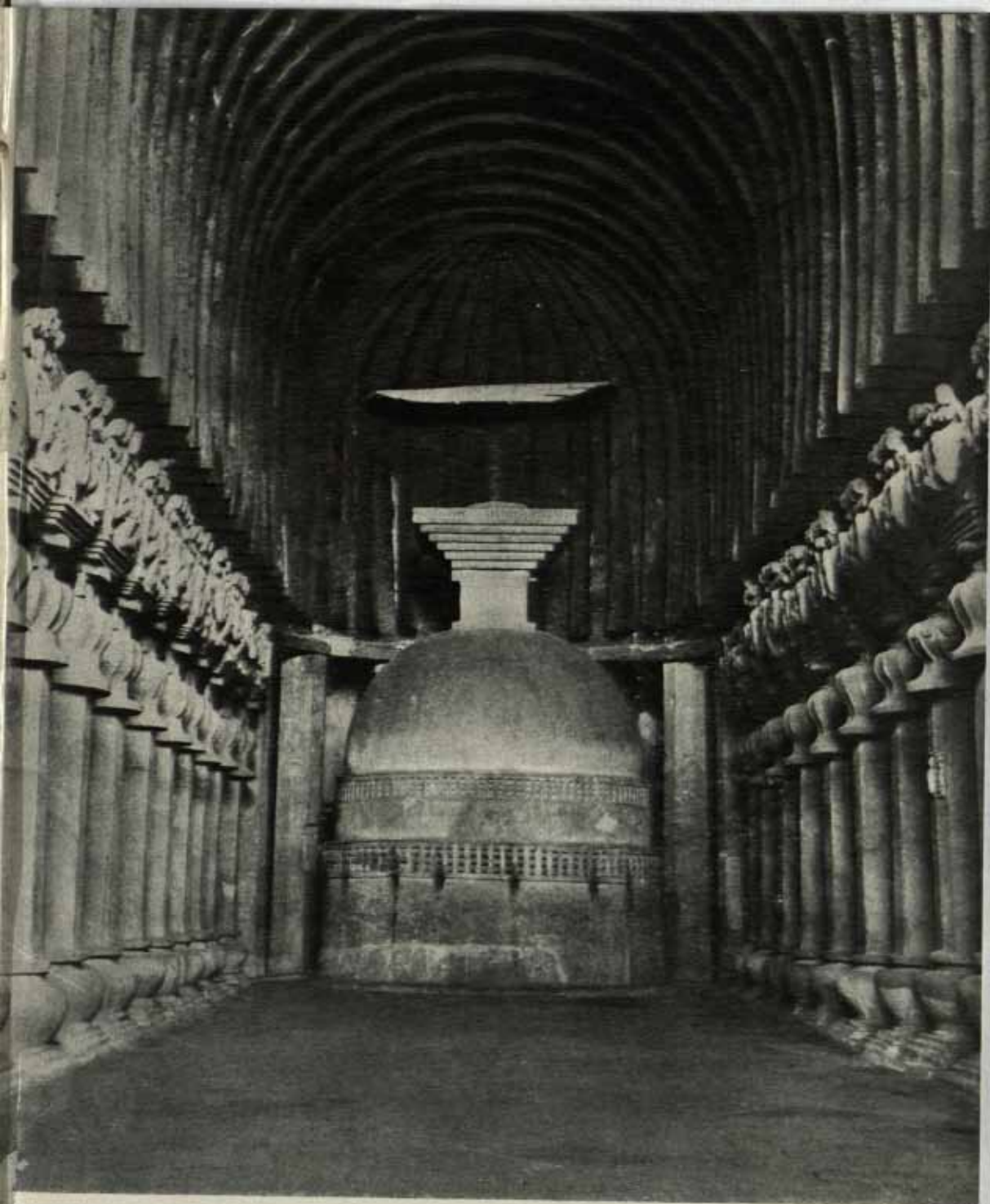
Previous page : 1. Sanchi, Stupa 1
2. Sanchi, Stupa 2

Above : 3. Sanchi, Stupa 1, East Gate, Conversion of Uruvilva-Kashyapa



Above : 4. Sanchi, Stupa 1, East Gate, King Bimbisara leaves Rajagriha
Next page : 5. Sanchi, Stupa 1, North Gate





Above : 6. Karla, Chaitya-hall

Next page : 7. Mathura, Standing Buddha in Abhayamudra (Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi)

8. Sarnath, Preaching Buddha (Sarnath Museum)

9. Takht-i-Bahi, Gandhara, Buddha on Lion Throne (Indian Art Museum, Berlin)

10. Mathura, Katra Buddha (Archaeological Museum, Mathura)







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Above : 12. Ellora, Vishvakarma Chaitya-hall, Preaching Buddha

the care with which additional limbs were modelled in examples from the classical period, it becomes obvious that the sculptor is groping to continue a life process as yet unstified.

The visionary character of Indian temple sculpture is evident in the Dashavatara temple in Deogarh. The god concealed in the depths of the Holy of Holies reveals himself through the side-wall of the cubic cella. To the west we have the door; in the other three directions there are windows, and in these Vishnu, the Lord of the temple, metamorphosis of the Most High, appears to the believer in different aspects of his godliness. According to his personal preference or station in life, the worshipper may choose a different direction from which to approach the central hiding place of the Divine Activity. The manner of manifesting the Divine through the temple walls is justifiably described as "epiphany"—visionary apparition.

In the south of the temple, Vishnu Anantashayin reclines upon the world serpent whose coils suggest a raft-like bed, silently floating upon the waves of the cosmic ocean. The serpent's seven-headed hood forms a protective roof over Vishnu's head. The god is shown sleeping, his body is slack, the limbs are soft and flexible, boneless, completely supple. The left leg is lying flat: the right is massaged by Vishnu's consort and is lifted slightly. Vishnu here has four arms, one pair in front and one in back. On the shoulders we perceive the beginnings of the front arms, the back arms are visible from the elbows to the hands. The right forearm is raised slightly towards the serpent's heads; but the hand is missing and we can no longer determine the significance of this gesture. The left hand is lying loosely upon the serpent bed. Of the two completely visible front arms, the right is also in a resting position—parallel to the body along its entire length; the left is bent sharply to support the head. In order to join the four arms organically to the body form, the two pairs are foreshortened in contrapose; the front left and back right are bent upwards, the front right and back left, visible only in the forearm, rest horizontally and parallel to one another. The seven heads of the serpent also appear to be an organic component of the infinitely coiling serpent body. What a disappointment for the eye if such a powerful body were to culminate in only one head! Furthermore, the serpent's seven-headed hood seems to belong to the body of the god himself, providing a living halo around the divine head. Human and animal corporeality are treated sculpturally in the same manner. Vishnu's body has the

same suppleness as that of the snake. An identical life-current flows through both of them.

And there is a third element. A lotus tendril loops around the body of the recumbant god like a garland of flowers with various coils; it creeps over the upper arm and thigh and rises to unfold a thick flower-cup, upon which Brahma is enthroned. Sculpturally this plant has the same pliancy and supple flexibility as the bodies of god and snake. The supreme god appears without the emblems of his power; he holds nothing in his hands. He does not register emotion; for the world is in its cosmic pause between two cycles of creation. No activity or potency is expected from the sleeping god. His mere existence is assurance of the continuity of the world. In the framework of our theme, however, we should cast a glance at some of the gods who watch over Vishnu's slumber. Brahma is in the middle, the lord of creation has cast his eyes in all four directions; he has four heads, or four faces to be more precise, as the Roman Janus had two. The symbolism is obvious. The plastic representation in this case is completely satisfying; one face is seen frontally, two are in profile, the fourth remains hidden from view. The accompanying gods provide us with an opportunity to insert a remark concerning the role of animals as vehicles or mounts of the gods. Just as various attributes are placed in the god's hands, so the corresponding animal belongs under his feet. We have already discussed how originally an animal by itself represented the godhead and could assure of his presence and efficacy. Thus, Shiva here rides with his consort Parvati on the bull; Indra appears upon the elephant, and Kartikeya upon the peacock.

The epiphany in the north window of the same temple shows Vishnu as the All-Compassionate and Helper in Need, he who delivers mortals from the snares of the material world. The sculpture depicts the rescue of an elephant who has fallen into the crocodile's power and who prays to the Lord of the Universe. Vishnu appears upon his bird, Garuda. He floats in the air, a true *deus ex machina*, and dispenses mercy and salvation. The deity is shown again with four arms, one pair in front and one behind. The front left arm (without any attribute) leans upon the left knee; the front right arm holds a mace in a threatening manner. The two back arms are stretched outwards like the arms of a candelabra; unfortunately they are damaged and the attributes are not recognizable. The god upon Garuda forms one triangular group, crowning a composition of the elephant on marshy lotus pond and

the stiffly vertical Naga couple. Here artistic necessity has engendered a convincing representation of flying and riding, of a bird-man and of a four-armed god.

The authenticity of the vision and the sculpturally vegetative forms in Deogarh, at the height of classical Gupta art, convince us that we cannot find fault with multiple arms as an artistic principle; everything depends upon the manner in which this is formally realised. Greek sculpture had found no solution for this artistic problem. Indian sculpture, on the contrary, starts with different assumptions and achieves great works of art. If we recognize the attempt to depict vital life-forces as a principle in Indian art, then we experience the phenomenon of multiple arms as a play of life itself. As long as we are dealing with only four arms, the critical joining of two arms to each shoulder is not difficult to achieve, for, both pairs of arms can move in front and behind or over and under one another without colliding. There are even new tension-relationships between the limbs. Enrichment of the formal expression is an additional accomplishment and should be recognized and appreciated. And the case is the same when even more arm pairs are added. If more than four arms are to be shown, then one pair usually performs the most important functions, and the others may form a vortex at body level or arrange themselves like spokes in a wheel. An appropriate example of this is the image of Durga, whose battle against the demon Mahisha we have described above.

In Mamallapuram, Durga Mahishasuramardini rides on a roaring lion, straight against the bull demon who could crush the frail woman below like an insect. The goddess lifts the bow; all attention is drawn to the action of these two arms, the left holding the bow and the right drawing the string; the outstretched left arm indicates the direction of the arrow and the goddess herself, who flies towards the victim like a bullet. Though the poet of *Markandeya Purana* described eighteen arms, here the sculptor wisely decides to limit the number to eight, out of obvious artistic considerations. The beholder recognizes one of the subsidiary arms as particularly active, the lowest on the right, holding the sword. The sword is pointed towards the enemy as if, after the arrow is released, it will be raised to strike the death blow in the ensuing battle. The other arms remain in the background as a reserve of ready weapons. The arms spring from the same shoulder joint as if they were planted one behind the other. But they are not restricted by any natural laws and are completely attuned to the flowing movement; thus, our

own controlling ideas of skeletal structure are not offended. The same image at Kailasanatha in Ellora shows the arms of the goddess, seen frontally, whirling like a turning balance-wheel. A roaring lion, like a destructive fireball, carries the goddess towards the doomed enemy.

Here the increased number of moving limbs intensifies the artistic dynamism. Admittedly, a demon king with ten heads and twenty arms, such as Ravana, exceeds the representational possibilities of sculpture, even on Indian terms. Here even the artistic licence accorded the kinetic movement and the dynamically vegetative modelling principle is called into question. Ten heads on one neck, ten arms on each shoulder—that appears monstrous, absurd, nightmarish. But this is exactly the intended effect; for the demonic power, frightening and equipped to frighten, should, as a worthy opponent of the gods, combine all horrifying aspects in himself. Here, the sculptor actually attempted to “personify the absurd”, and in this sense even Goethe could not object. If this titanic Ravana, restless in the confines of his underworld dungeon, with his twenty arms shakes the foundations of the Kailasa mountain where Shiva and Parvati abide, then this is just the number of arms needed to produce the earthquake. In Ellora, this image has an overwhelming power. Disproportionately large thighs and legs support the demon as he thrusts upward. A special artistic effect is achieved by portraying him from behind. The crown of ten heads, five of which are visible, begins above the broad shoulders and tapers into a pyramid. From this centre of concentrated energy the twenty arms stretch outwards in a half-circle. One hand after another lays hold of the mountain foundations, lifting it into the air. Above, however, the divine Shiva and Parvati sit enthroned in unruffled tranquility providing the most vivid contrast. The earthquake which Poseidon could call forth with his trident seems pitiful in comparison.

Such scenes from the spectacles of the gods, of which we have described a small selection, are found abundantly in the temples of South India. The rooms filled with sculptures are like stages; the curtains are open, and when these high reliefs were covered with gold and colour, the illusion of a mystery play must have been complete. But even now, the dynamic energy captured by the stone sculpture and the visionary power of the scenic compositions have a profound, often intoxicating, effect.

Of course, we must bear in mind that in such a dynamic, intensely visionary art, only works of the very highest quality can achieve a

satisfying, aesthetic effect. Offensive exaggerations threaten second-rate art, as in our own European Baroque. Either the dynamic energy inherent in the style is forced to the point of brutality, or the figure and composition prototypes conceived by a more creative epoch deteriorate into expressionless posturings. Since several centuries, India has been inundated with temples and images of this calibre. They greet the tourist at every turn in the road. On one pillar in Vasanta or Pudu-Mandapam in front of the Meenakshi temple we see a sculpture from which all expression has vanished. Ravana is no longer the raving demon who thrusts himself against the rocky mountain. The work, nevertheless, neatly portrays all ten heads, with protruding demon eyes and well-groomed mustaches, and all twenty arms, pedantically arranged; Shiva and Parvati posture with gallantly raised arms and conventional faces. The life force no longer flows through these statues. The dynamic fire has burned out, the visionary ecstasy has disappeared. Unfortunately, almost all European travellers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries formed their ideas of Indian art from these later epigonal works. And these travellers have done further disservice by embellishing their books with monstrous copper engravings; the horrors illustrating these books have resulted in prejudices against Indian art. Goethe articulated such prejudices, and the lingering effect is noticeable even today.

In general, Indian sculpture exists as part of a wall. In the course of its rich history there have been many types of Indian relief, from bas-relief and finally to figures detached from the wall. The wall, however, is almost always retained, even if it is the wall of the temple itself. A true sculpture in the round, visible equally from all sides, was not developed in Indian art. Only the Indian bronzes evolved towards sculpture in the round, a technique producing statues standing freely in space. But even in bronze casting the front view is the point of departure and governing element. Even the depiction of the dance performed by the Lord of the Dance (Nateshvara), Shiva himself, is no exception to this trend. For, classical Indian dance shares with sculpture a preference for frontality. The familiar statue of Shiva Nataraja of the Chola period will serve as our last example, recapitulating our remarks about multiple arms in Indian god-images.

1. The Nataraja is a visionary figure. The legend tells of a stirring vision in which Vira Chola Raja (927-997) glimpsed Shiva and his consort Parvati dancing on the beach near Chidambaram.

2. The attributes and mudras held in Shiva's four arms precisely define his role in Hindu mythology : the right arm in back holds the drum, the first beat of which commences the creation of the universe; the left arm in back holds the flame of world destruction. The front right hand in the abhaya mudra implies "Do not fear, I grant you grace".

3. The body is tense and flexible, formed and fed by the life-force flowing through it; this dynamic effect is heightened by the shimmering surface of the bronze.

4. The dynamism of the dance is fully expressed with the help of the legs and two arm pairs. The Greeks availed themselves in such cases of flowing garments. The gravity of the right side dominates, since here three arms and the left foot swinging to the right engage in a compact play of moving relationships. The bottom left side is thus an empty space. This vacuum exerts a pull; the leg, like a pendulum, will swing to the left in the next phase of the dance. The limbs curve in obtuse angles, suggesting expansive, swinging, circular movements within the circumference of a wreath of flames.

Using this image we can summarise paradigmatically the aspects discussed in our study of multiple arms in Indian god-images. The many-armed statue represents a visionary phenomenon. By means of its attributes it instructs about the god's nature and his role in the mythology. The form can send forth many limbs because of its vegetative corporeality. And these multiple limbs can effect a dynamic heightening of expressive possibilities and expressive intensity.

Following Alexander's Tracks on the Indus

THE River Beas, a rich breeding ground for trout, rushes down from the Rohtang Pass high up in the Himalayas through the Kulu Valley, flowing past huge cedars, flowering meadows and rice fields. At the end of the valley it breaks through the wall of rock after flowing through a mile-long, deeply-cut ravine, and then descending from valley to valley it enters the plain as a fairly broad river rushing to its confluence with the River Sutlej. Just before this takes place lies the spot, near the present-day city of Amritsar—home of the Golden Temple sacred to the valiant sect of the Sikhs—where Alexander, pressed by his soldiers, had to give up the idea of crossing the river and turn back. But before doing so he had twelve huge stone altars erected on the banks of this river, called Hyphasis by the Greeks. These altars continued to be objects of amazement to all who beheld them long after his retreat. Today, however, we are not aware as to where exactly this historic event took place, and no trace has remained of the altars.

Near the city of Jhelum situated on the river of the same name, called Hydaspes by the Greeks, Alexander conquered the Indian King, Poros, despite the fact that the latter's army was superior to his, having elephants and chariots. On the field of battle he established the "city of victory", Nikaia, and on the opposite side of the river the city, Bukephala, in memory of his horse Bukephalos which had died of exhaustion here. Both cities were fortified with circular walls and certainly had temples and agoras within their precincts. Nothing of this has, however, remained. And where are all the other cities—eight according to one tradition and twelve according to another—which Alexander had established on this side and beyond the Hindu Kush in order to safeguard his conquests? It is possible at least to identify Alexandria Eschate, the "furthestmost" Alexandria, with present day Chodjent, and Alexandria sub Caucaso was probably situated on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush. But whether we can localise them or not "not a single column remains to bear testimony to the vanished glory". Hellenic culture in the East has disappeared. Alexander's traces have been covered up by the waves of invaders which

swept through the very same valleys and passes after him.

The remark made in this connection by the philosopher, Demetrios of Phaleron, a contemporary of Alexander, is worthy of note:

If fifty years ago an oracle had prophesied the future to the Persians and the Macedonians would they have believed that today the Persians, who had once ruled over almost the whole world, are barely known by name, whereas the Macedonians now dominating the world were practically unknown earlier? Truly, Fate is fickle! It shows its might in acting often against man's expectations in its own inimitable way. How it has pleased it to vest the Macedonians with the glory of the Persians, thereby proving to us humans that it had granted the Persians the enjoyment of their power only as long as it did not feel fit to decide otherwise.

This is the gently sceptical opinion of a philosopher observing the way of the world sitting at home in Greece. But the activist, the common soldier in the army of the Macedonian King, he could not but be swept away by the irresistible power of his youthful personality, a man in whose dictionary the word "enough" did not exist and who was magnetically drawn after each success into more and more remote regions.

After several hard and protracted battles Alexander left Bactria in April 327 B.C. and crossing the Hindu Kush reached Gandhara. The River Indus was his next goal and he sent on a part of his army to prepare the crossing of the river. He himself followed more slowly having had to face many hardships and battles on his way down the Kabul Valley.

According to Hellenistic tradition it is believed that the God of Wine, Dionysos, visited India in the course of his bacchancial expeditions. In the mountain city of Nysa, whose inhabitants claimed to be related to the invaders through Dionysos, Alexander granted his army a ten-day halt. Not only were the citizens treated mercifully but the soldiers also felt at once at home in hospitable Nysa. They actually saw ivy and vine there, the two plants characteristic of Dionysos, and believed that the dances and music of the citizens were nothing but bacchancial cults of the Dionysian mysteries. The king even climbed onto the sacred mountain Meros, which towered above the city. Meros can be identified with Koh-i-noor, a mountain with three peaks visible from Peshawar.

In Nysa they believed they had met one of their gods. Shortly afterwards in Aoronos they felt they could detect traces of one of their heroes, Herakles, whom Alexander looked upon as one of his

ancestors. It is claimed that after he had performed his twelve labours he traversed the civilised world from West to East. But even his superhuman strength was thwarted by the rock-fortress, Aoronos, and he was forced to retreat without victory. What a moment for Alexander ! On the south side stood the mountain which had to be besieged and which Sir Aurel Stein has identified with Pir-Sar, its base being washed by the waves of the Indus. On all the other sides it was protected by vertical rock-walls. It was accessible by one path only. High up there were cultivable fields for food and water was also there in plenty. In short, it was well prepared to withstand even a long siege. But Alexander's astuteness and tenacity were more than equal to the most invincible seeming hurdle. He filled up a ravine with tree-trunks, felling the first ones with his own hand, and attacked from a neighbouring hill of the same height. Finally, he climbed the rock at a point least expected and took the invincible fortress by storm. He thus succeeded in accomplishing what had been denied the demi-god, Herakles. It is not without its charms to observe how the inexhaustible imagination of the Greeks peopled even the furthestmost parts of the world with well-known characters. Such occasions were many and were like islands of confidence on an endless ocean which very often threatened to swallow up the courage and beliefs of the soldiers. But was it possible to fight a losing battle knowing that Herakles had already traversed the same path ? In the midst of desert sands and tropical jungles, of dizzy heights and monsoon thunderstorms they were suddenly confronted with a piece of their homeland onto which the disheartened heart could cling.

Alexander's Indian campaign lasted 19 months, from March 326 to the end of September 325 B.C. This was the period of his actual stay in India. The advance march from the Hindu Kush to the Indus took ten months and the retreat from the Indus delta to Susa seven. Thus the Indian campaign had taken three full years in all. And we are left with the question : what was its outcome ?

Alexander's untimely death in 323 B.C. destroyed the results he had hoped for. Within three years of his retreat his satraps had been driven away, his garrisons sacked and almost every trace of his rule rubbed out. The cities he founded in India never enjoyed that development which was found in those established by him in other Asian provinces. India remained unchanged, it did not get hellenised. And yet a bridge had been built between the

Mediterranean and India, one which it was not easily possible to destroy again.

The leader of the revolt against Macedonian occupation was Chandragupta Maurya who had assumed power in North India and founded an empire there. His revolt was successful a year after Alexander's death. But his high esteem for the Macedonian King can be judged by the fact that he undertook a ceremonious procession to the twelve altars erected by Alexander on the banks of the Hyphasis and made offerings there in hellenistic manner. According to the Greek historians this custom was kept up by his successors.

The newly founded Indian empire opened diplomatic relations with its Western neighbour, the Diadochian ruler Seleukos, and received Megasthenes as envoy in its capital, Pataliputra. Bearing the stamp of exact observation by the diplomat, his reports, unfortunately only in fragments, give a magnificent picture of the life in those times in North India. Shortly afterwards the rulers of Egypt, the Ptolymies, also sent an envoy, Dionysios by name. His report was known to Plinius as late as the first century A.D. Very soon there arose a veritable colony of foreigners in Pataliputra and a special department had to be set up to look to the concerns of the aliens with goodwill and civility.

Friendly relations also existed between the sons of Chandragupta and Seleukos. An exchange of letters between them, Bindusara and Antiochos, bear testimony to the good relations between the two neighbours. In one of the letters the Indian monarch requests Antiochos to send him figs and raisin-wine and adds that he may also buy and send him a sophist, i.e. a university professor. Antiochos' answer reads that though he could send the figs and the wine with pleasure, to buy a professor was against the laws of the Hellenes. Though this request may sound amusing to us, it proves that the Indians were willing to obtain information about their Western neighbours straight from the source.

But the opposite case is also known to us where a Greek king turned to an Indian sage to seek clarification about points of Buddhist dogma. The country of the River Oxus to the north of the Hindu Kush, Bactria, had from time immemorial been considered particularly fertile. Its nickname was "the country of the thousand cities". It willingly and eagerly absorbed Hellenistic culture which went out from the cities established by Alexander. Thus it came about that in the immediate neighbourhood of India, Greek kings held their sway for centuries after the Seleucid Empire had

been pushed back towards the west by the Parthians. In fact, they even ruled over large parts of the Land of the Five Rivers in the last two centuries before Christ. The fame of one of these Greek-Bactrian kings, Menander in Greek, Milinda in Pali, spread over the whole of Buddhist Asia, because he is the hero of the Buddhist poem "The Questions of King Milinda", which is remarkable not only for its religious contents but also for its poetic beauty. He was probably a convert to Buddhism.

For example, the powerful and scholarly king asked the sage, Nagasena, whether there is a unity of human personality or not.

"If, O Great King, a man lights a lamp would it burn the whole night?"

"Yes, Nagasena, it would."

"Is, O Great King, the flame in the first night-watch the same as the flame in the second night-watch?"

"No, O Nagasena."

"Was, O Great King, the lamp in the first night-watch one and the lamp in the last one another?"

"No, O Nagasena, the lamp glows the whole night by means of one and the same fuel."

"In exactly the same way, O Great King, does the continuity of changing appearances take place. It is one which comes into being and another which passes away, but at the same time there is something there which joins them. I was the delicate boy, the small child kicking its legs, and the same I am now the adult."

This conversation almost sounds like a dialogue by Sokrates. The Greek form comes close to the question-answer form of Buddhist literature, even though there does not appear to be any mutual influencing.

As Greek kings ruled for centuries in Bactria and even extended their empire into Punjab, it is possible to assume the existence of Greek cities, built round an acropolis with temples and theatres, on the Oxus, at the foot of the Hindu Kush or in the Kabul Valley. But it has not been possible for the archaeologists to find traces of any such Greek architecture till now. The famous art of Gandhara flourished at the time of the Roman emperors. The Buddha is clad here in the robes of a Greek orator and his face resembles the Apollo of Belvedere. Graeco-Roman deities merge with the Indian ones. The development of Roman art from the time of Augustus up to the fourth century A.D. radiates into the Far East which in the meantime had come under the sway of the Asiatic tribe of the Kushanas who had swept aside the Greek states.

In 1945 Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated in Arikamedu, about three kilometers south of Pondicherry on the east coast of India, a Roman trade settlement which must have flourished there from the end of the first century B.C. to the second century A.D. Thus, it is not an idle hope that perhaps one day the spade will stumble over Alexander's tracks to the north and south of the Hindu Kush.

Some Aspects of Buddhist Art

THE first Buddhists did not require the help of the pictorial arts. The spiritual world in which they lived was so adequate and concrete that depictions from the profane world in the field of sensual perception were not deemed necessary. The architectural forms of stupa, chaitya-hall and vihara are in absolute harmony with this concept. Their austerity and geometrically determined formalisation do not need any pictorial ornamentation. But there was a symbolic sign-language in existence. It was not meant to be art. Its origin lay in deep-rooted religious necessity. These symbols from the first centuries of Buddhism live on in the reliefs of Bharhut, Bodhi Gaya, Sanchi, and Amaravati, with their wealth of ornamental details. Above all the signs symbolising the four important events in the Life of the Buddha : The Stupa as the symbol of the Parinirvana, the Wheel as the symbol of the Law, the Bodhi Tree and the Lotus as good omen of the Birth. On the toranas, the rectangular insets bear these symbols. They also occur, however, in the middle of a story, as if to announce the presence of the Buddha. The empty throne and the footprints also appear in a similar context. They seem, like foreign bodies, inserted as they are in the profusely decorated reliefs. They appear by themselves in great numbers, stamped onto metal plates belonging to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. This geometric sign-language depicts the initial stage of Buddhist art. The second stage is the archaic epoch. It starts in the third century B.C. with the founding of the Buddhist Church by Emperor Ashoka.

This ruler, who was historically unique in his success at uniting the sub-continent under his sceptre alone, recognised the importance of art for representing his royal might and spreading the teachings of Buddhism to which he was a convert. His ideal was the Persian empire, and so he imported architects and artisans from Iran for his architectural plans. They brought with them the highly developed stone-masonry of their homeland, as well as some of their treasure in motifs and the language of their sculpture. For India, however, the moment had in any

case arrived when the change-over from constructing and sculpturing in perishable materials to stone-masonry and stone-sculpture was being instituted. Ideas from the west were incorporated and changed in a short space of time into indigenous art. Ashoka's royal workshop produced the edict-pillars, which he had constructed in all the provinces of his kingdom. They were crowned by a bell-shaped capital and mythical animal-figures. It was at Sarnath, the scene of the Buddha's First Sermon, that the most impressive pillar was constructed—twenty metres high, bearing four lions and above that the Wheel of the Law.

The Buddhist art has probably been inspired by the art prevalent at Ashoka's court, the source, however, which has fed it was Indian folk-art, which penetrated from the wood and bamboo-constructions into stone architecture from the second century B.C. onwards. The leading workshops in which architects, sculptors and artists worked together like in a Christian artisan's hut of the Middle Ages are to be found in Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodhi Gaya, Mathura and Vengi at the mouth of the Krishna. In addition to these there are the workshops of the cliff-monasteries in the western Deccan, especially Karli and the older cave-group of Ajanta. The stupa and chaitya-hall form the framework and background of the archaic art. The stupa as a memorial becomes the shrine in toto during this early period, a memorial of not actually architectural but plastic art. The outline of the hemispherical burial-mound harmonizes with the circle of the perambulatory path. Circle, square and rectangle are the geometrical basics of the whole construction. Its gates open out in all directions in order to invite beings from all the worlds to hurry towards the true centre of the universe. For, all happenings revolve around this nucleus—resembling the flocks of believers on their perambulation. The basically simple form of the hemispherical stupa bears, like any other archaic form, the seed for infinite development. In the course of the centuries these possibilities of development were exhausted and perfected in the whole of Buddhist Asia. The chaitya-hall transfers the stupa into a long interior hall; this reminds one of a Christian Basilica, where in place of the altar the stupa with its reliquary has been placed. Of the original wooden and bamboo halls there is, of course, no trace left. Even the viharas consisting of cloisters with the cells of the monks are known to us only through their counterparts in the cliffs.

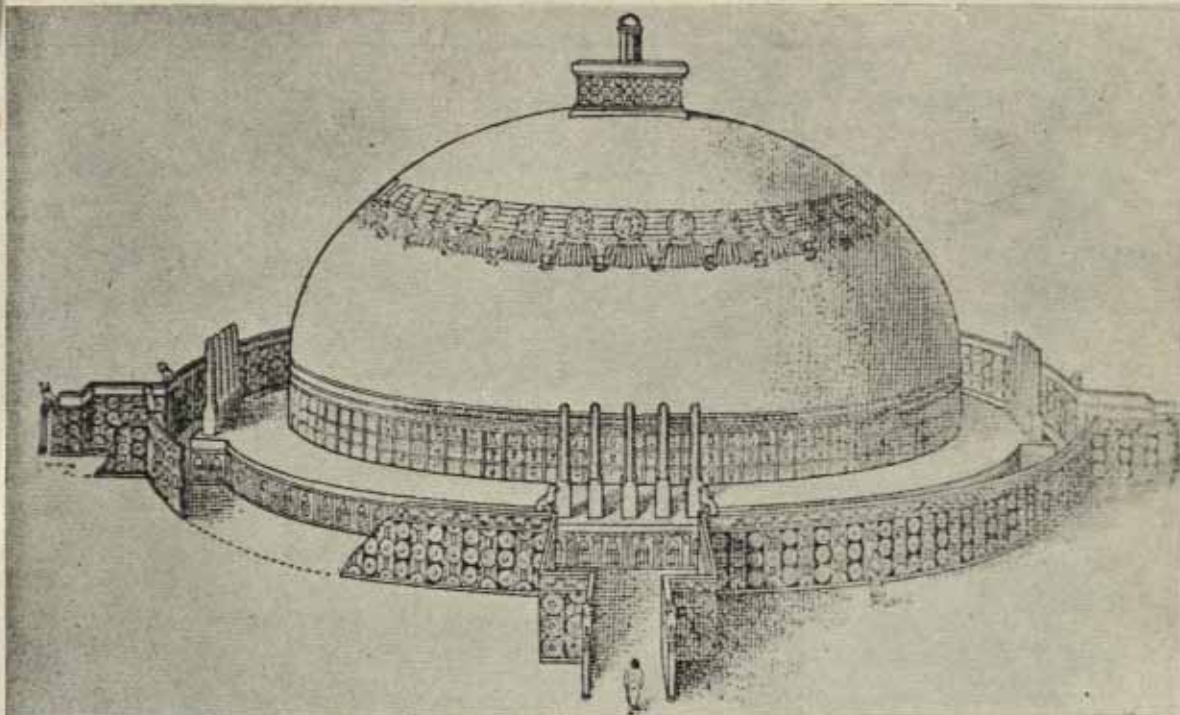
The first big picture-book of Buddhist, nay Indian art, unfolds itself in the reliefs on the stone-railings and gates of the stupas

and at the entrances and pillars of the cliff-monasteries. Incidents from the life of the Buddha or out of his previous births are related on long strips with a naive joy and clarity. The profusion of figures on the reliefs is overwhelming. Plant, beast, man or God—each is imbued with the same exuberance of life. Just as the swelling plastic form stifles all hardness and division in each body, so do these compositions avoid over-emphatic accents and contrasts. The popular religion comes everywhere into the edifying stories with its nixes, tree-gods and other demons of fertility. The yakshas and yakshis on the gates of the stupas and the chaitya-halls are bursting with life. The plastic form is not the result of the meticulous study of a model, but springs from awareness of one's own body, which does not experience the solid bone-structure and the functions of joints and muscles so much as the limbs and the surface tension caused by the tremendous life-urge coursing through one's veins. So much of youthful power and beauty is placed at the service of the Buddha, yet he can be found only outside this sphere in the non-visible. The various schools within this archaic epoch develop in different ways. Only a few carry out the entire sequence from the still geometrically determined surface-art to fully animated depiction and finally to the exciting refined late phase. For the early archaic fashioning Bharhut is specially characteristic, for the mature moulding it is Sanchi we look to, and Vengi depicts the last stage.

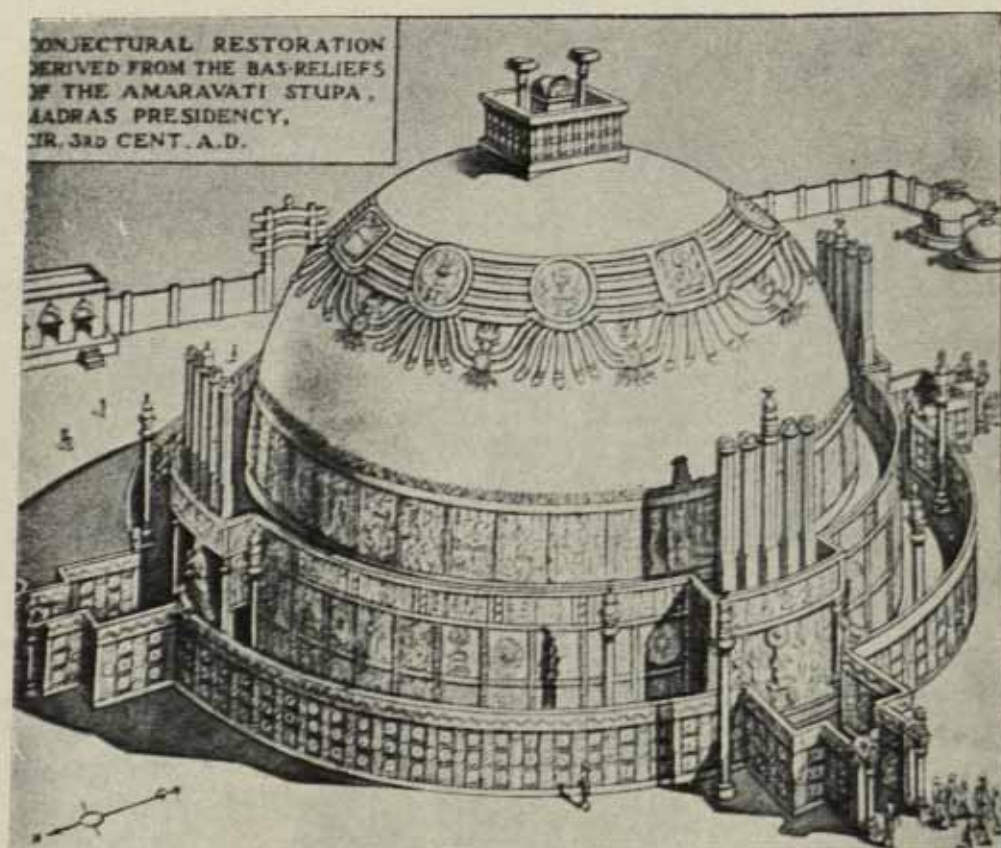
Whereas in the Andhra Kingdom of the Deccan, which stretched from coast to coast at the time of its greatest expansion, the exquisite late blood of the archaic epoch developed in the reliefs of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda on the lower banks of the Krishna, a new crucial point of Buddhist art manifested itself in the north-west of India in the ancient landscape of Gandhara. In this landscape, which was once conquered by Alexander and relinquished immediately after his death, the Indo-scythian Kushanas had settled down in the first century A.D. At the height of their power, their empire included east and west Turkestan, Afghanistan and the North of India along with the regions watered by the rivers Indus, Ganga and Yamuna. They became Buddhists and the grandson of the conqueror, Kanishka, became one of the most ardent supporters of the religion, which had just completed the change from the Small to the Big Vehicle. As a new 'holy land' Gandhara experienced under the Kushana-overlords its Golden Age in the second and third centuries A.D. Especially in Taxila big shrines were constructed to which pilgrims

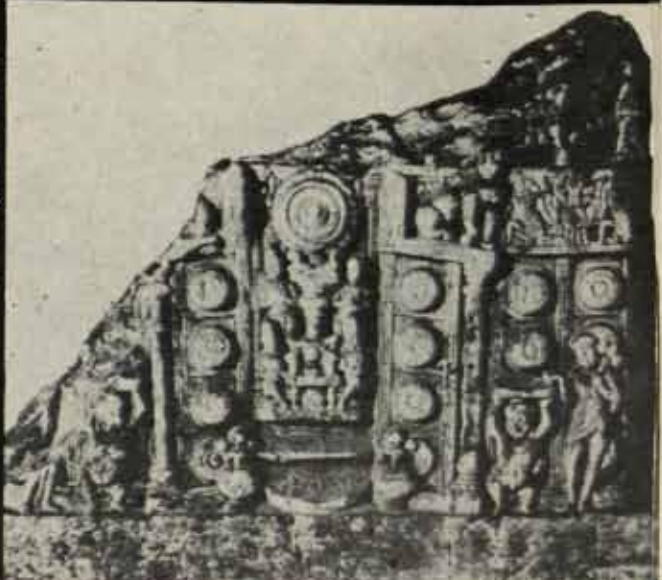
flocked. Innumerable stupas were built in the monasteries. Building material was grey slate with parget of lime and rich painting and gilding, later only stucco. All these edifices were decorated with pictures of the Buddha and reliefs of the holy teachings. The old symbols did not suffice any more. The Exalted One is now depicted iconographically. Although no direct Greek tradition is embodied in Gandhara itself from Alexander's time, there is evidence of this in neighbouring Bactria. Apart from that an active economic as well as cultural trade seems to have been started with the Mediterranean countries. In any case it is fascinating to observe how these workshops incorporate Greek and Roman shapes, giving the Buddha the head of Apollo and draping his robe round him like that of an orator. Undoubtedly artisans from the Mediterranean belt were also at work here, perhaps even some from Rome itself. Especially conspicuous is the mixing of styles, as for example when a small Buddha-figure is enthroned atop a Corinthian capital inbetween the leaves. There were also workshops which mirrored the way of life from Augustus back to the late antique; others revealing the provincial style of Syria, Parthian and Iranian influences are also very much in evidence.

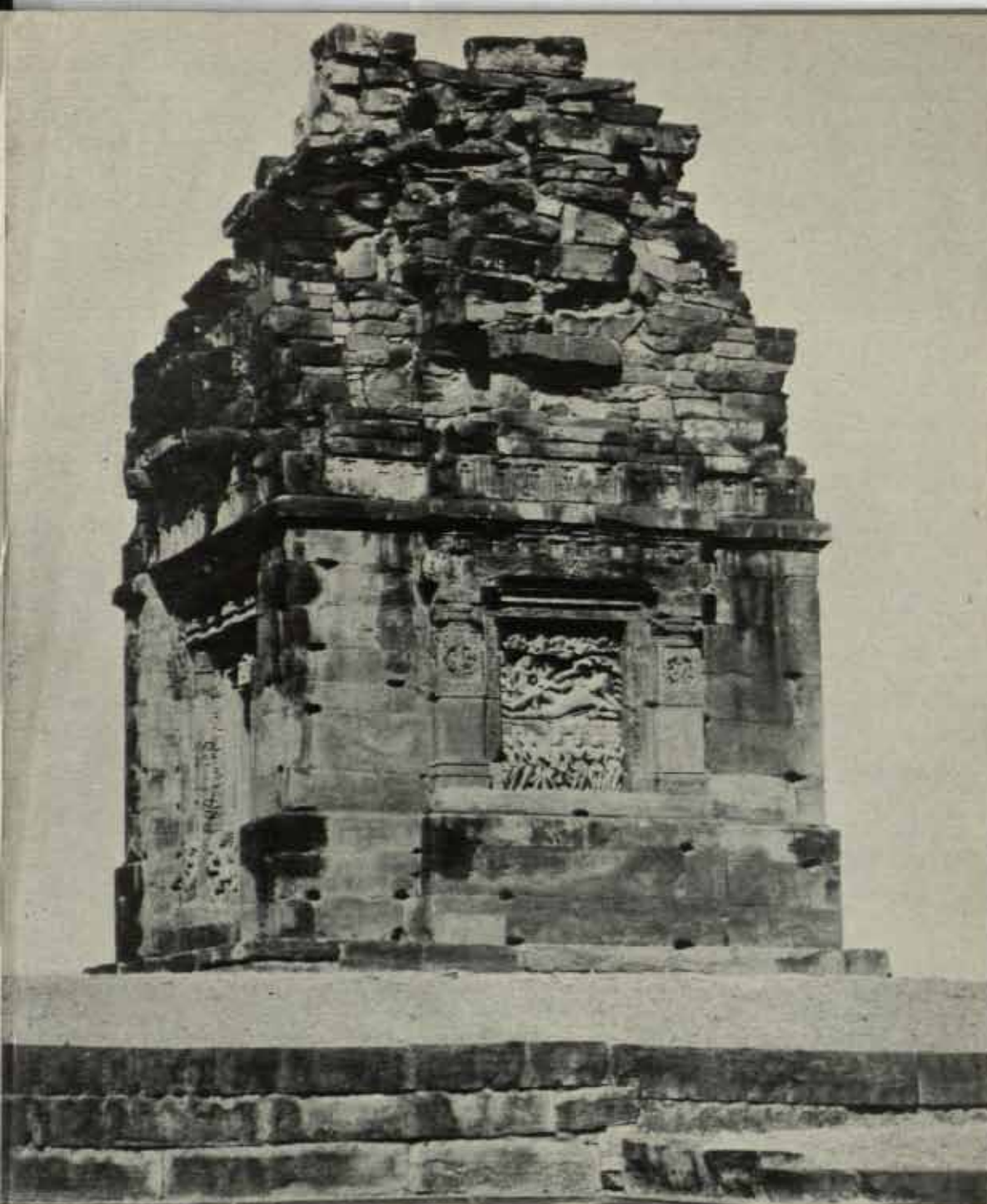
Mathura on the Yamuna was the winter-residence of Kanishka, thus creating a second centre for his building activity. In this place he could reach back to an Indian workshop, which had a century-long uninterrupted tradition, on which to base his further construction. In Gandhara we met with an artistic merging of different cultures. In Mathura we enter the stream of indigenous Indian art-development. There could hardly be a genuine synthesis of Indian artistic language, which had just emerged from the youthful archaic period, and the provincial late-style of the antique. It remains one of the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of art as to how the secularised form language of the Roman west served the religious power of Buddhism. For Buddha triumphs in the masterpieces of Gandhara. On the whole the mass-production of the workshops makes their work appear anaemic and weak compared to the abundance of life in the Mathura school. Unfortunately none of the innumerable stupas and monasteries existing there are now fully preserved. Posts of stone-railings are, however, still in existence. They conform to the outgoing archaic epoch as far as object and form is concerned. Yakshis stand guard at the pillars, carved out fully and appearing to maintain their balance in the life-like play of their limbs. The



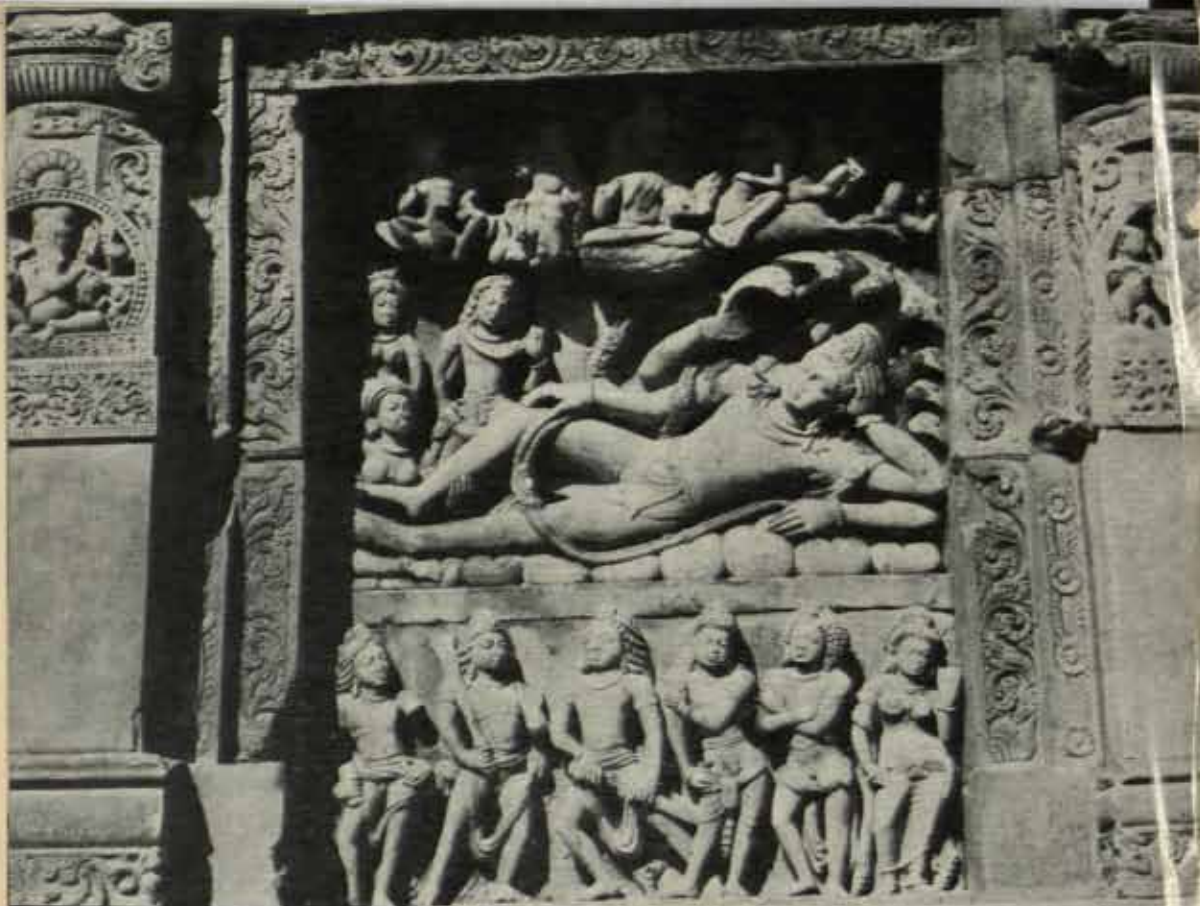
13. Amaravati, Stupa, reconstruction by Colonel Mackenzie
 14. Amaravati, Stupa, reconstruction by Percy Brown





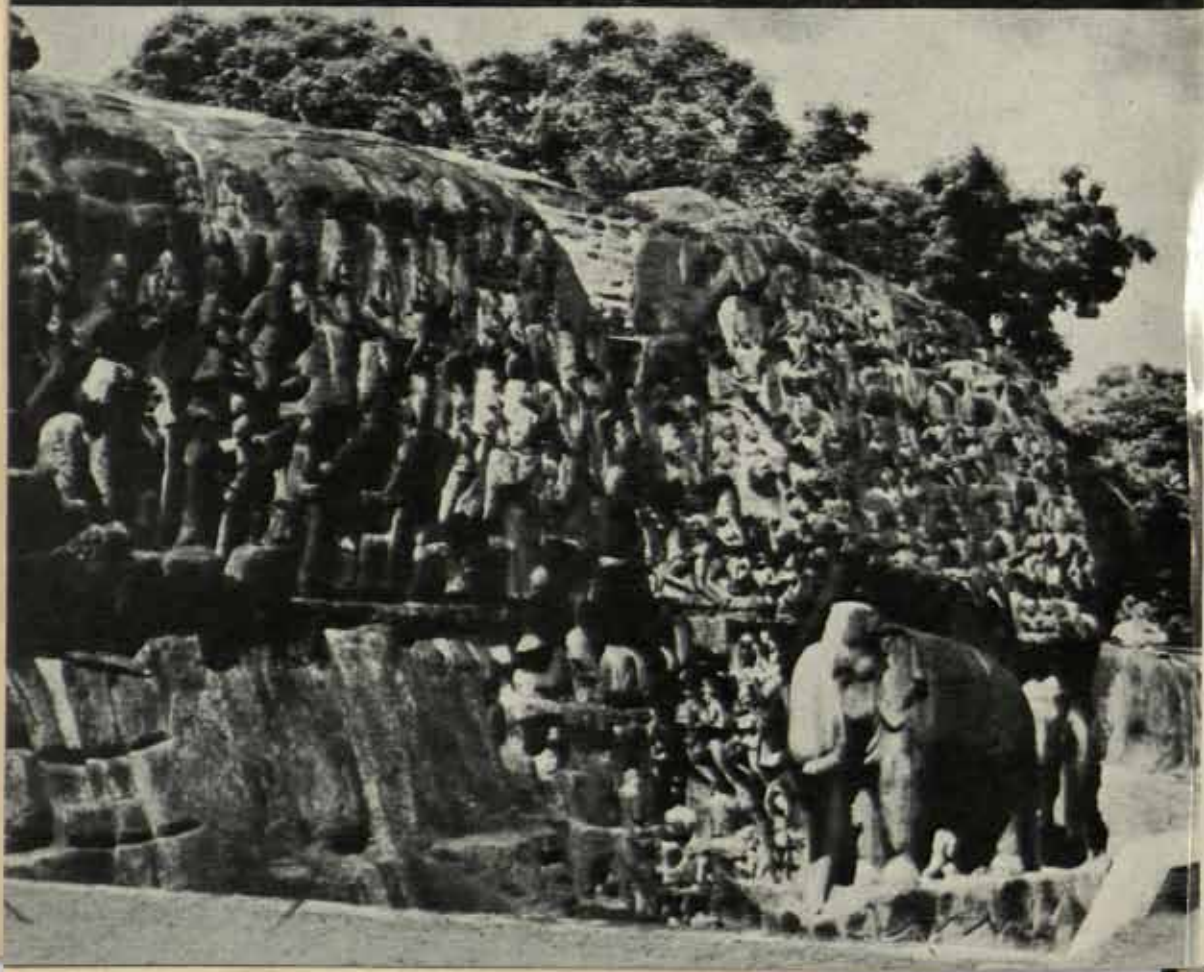


- Facing page :*
- 15. Ayakapata, Naga Stupa, Amaravati
 - 16. Ayakapata, Standing Buddha in Abhayamudra, Nagarjunakonda
 - 17. Ayakapata, Muchilinda protecting Buddha, Amaravati
 - 18. Ayakapata, Dharmachakra Symbol, Amaravati
- Above :*
- 19. Deogarh, Dashavatara Temple, southern Ghanadvara





- Facing page :* 20-21. Deogarh, Dashavatara Temple, Vishnu Anantashayin
Above : 22. Mamallapuram, Rock Temples, Arjuna- and Draupadi-Rath
Next page : 23. Mamallapuram, Rock Temples, Dharmaraja-, Bhima-,
 Arjuna-, and Draupadi-Rath
 24. Mamallapuram, Rock Relief, Kiratarjuniya







- Previous page :* 25. Khajuraho, from Devi Jagadamba Temple
26. Ellora, Kailasanatha Temple
Above : 27. Khajuraho, Adinatha Temple

world of the yakshas has also contributed to the Buddha-picture developed in Mathura. The naive joyous enjoyment of the world during the archaic period easily passed over the difficulty of how to depict a being removed from this world and who has entered into nirvana in a mortal form, by introducing symbols. In the Buddha-image, however, the incarnation must be completely in the mortal human body. The Gandhara art borrowed as the early Christian art did, the glorified countenance of Apollo, which was an ideal of beauty, and covered the body by means of the conventional folding and draping of material. The Indian artist of Mathura superimposed the metaphysical Buddha-image onto the traditional one of the yaksha, who depicts as such the embodiment of blessed vitality. Enthroned Buddha-images of the Mathura school of the second century have been preserved in greater numbers. They all evince the same workshop-characteristics: The face still has the radiant vitality and openness of the archaic, the eyes are big, the mouth shows a slight smile. The features are distinct and have not been blended into a harmonious whole. This step is first taken by the classic. Crude manly sturdiness united with radiant power. These are works of art out of a mould. Both the Kushana-schools, Gandhara and Mathura, prepare the ground for the classic, which attains the height of Buddhist art in India in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. with its two big workshops, Mathura and Sarnath. They created the devotional image, which now attains its final perfect form.

The most perfect consolidation of the classical style in the 'Golden Age' of the Guptas can be found in the famous preaching 'Buddha of Sarnath'. Iconographically this masterpiece marks the end of the development from symbol via the story to the devotional image. The archaic wheel-symbol, the first disciples and the two gazelles are now banned into the narrow frieze underneath the throne. The Buddha-figure appears beyond the reach of space and time. A richly carved lotus tendril surrounds the disc of the enormous halo. In front of this carpet-like background the compact plastic figure sits enthroned, clear and calm, with its robe laid across its body like a creaseless veil. Neither the bone-structure nor the muscles are revealed. As if filled with air the body seems to be swaying weightlessly in higher spheres. The sitting Buddha figure is engraved in an isosceles triangle, which rises from the points of the knees up to the Ushnisha. A congruent triangle sinks down. Its base is between the two flying

godheads on the halo and its top is where the hands touch the Dharmachakra Mudra. Such a triangular composition does not originate only out of purely aesthetic considerations, but it can also serve the meditating devotee as a help (yantra) to reconstruct the image of the Buddha with his inner eye. The work of art is primarily for prayer. Inasmuch as everything material in it has become a perfect expression of the spirit, all physical beauty has become spiritual beauty, the Buddha himself can be present in it. The believer becomes absorbed in the image, in order to enter into the Buddha. With this the practice of the Bhakti-cult is indicated.

We may end our much too short and fragmentary an observation with this work of art. There was already mention of the paintings in Ajanta. The classical portrayals in Caves 16 and 17 show similarity to the Sarnath school in their calm dignity and harmony. The further development of Buddhist art in India leads to a short baroque phase, which is best illustrated by the works of sculpture and paintings of the seventh century in Ellora and Ajanta. After this, both Buddhism and its art die out in India. Only in Bihar does it live further as a form of manieristic torpidity and from there, from the monastery at Nalanda, which has been a stronghold of Buddhism through the centuries, it becomes effective in Nepal and Tibet, where it changes and develops in accordance with the local influences prevailing.

Sanchi

ON the northern banks of the Narmada, which flows almost parallel to the northern Tropic from east to west, the hills of the Vindhya mountains rise above the old Indian landscape of Malwa.

Today this area belongs to the State of Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal in the Vindhyas is its capital. It has overshadowed Vidisha, the ancient capital of East Malwa, which has now sunk into obscurity. Madhya Pradesh means Central Land, in accordance with the present political situation in the Indian Union. In the past, however, the Vindhya mountains were not seldom a borderland. Here the influence of the north-Indian kingdoms ended. It could also happen that rulers of the Deccan extended their power across the Narmada into the Vindhyas. The mountainous terrain covered with bushes is extremely attractive. On some hilltops there are layouts of fortresses like the ones in Raisen.

The hill of Sanchi, however, when viewed from the valley, appears with its many stupas and temples like an Indian Acropolis. From its top it allows a commanding panoramic view of a country, the solitude of which does not betray a trace of the kind of life which throbbed here at the time of Christ's birth, when the lords of Vidisha founded Buddhist monasteries and sanctuaries near Sonari and in Satdhara, in Pipaliya and in Andher, none of them, however, more significant than Sanchi. Gautama Buddha has never set foot on this land, the shrines are deprived of the consecration through his historic presence. Nevertheless Sanchi has become for us the embodiment of an early Buddhist place of pilgrimage next to Sarnath or Bodh Gaya, places in which the Illustrious One himself stayed. By nature the hill of Sanchi is hardly any different to all the other adjacent hills which approach it from the west and south. It resembles an elephant back with a saddle in the middle, is composed of sand-stone which is many-coloured and polymorphic and rises to a height of almost one hundred metres, allowing luxurient vegetation to spring out of all the fissures and folds in the rock, especially at places where boulders provided shade against the sun. In spring the blooms of the *Butea frondosa* blaze across the entire slopes of the hill, magically

conjuring up like little firelights a bizarre sign of life out of the stony ruins.

Stupas and viharas, temples and memorial pillars covered the spacious terraces on the peak of the hill : from the third century B.C. onwards the plateau started filling up with buildings corresponding to the ever-increasing importance of this place of pilgrimage, and for more than a thousand years devotees came and went and the monks protected the shrines. Then followed a thousand years of protracted decline. What the archaeologists have been able to retrieve from this ruin seems to be a never-ending miracle. The peak is dominated by the Great Stupa (Stupa 1) begun in the mid-third century and expanded since the mid-second century B.C., with gates covered with reliefs, which were created in the course of two generations at the birth of Christ in the sequence : South Gate, North Gate, East Gate and West Gate. The youngest gate is that of the neighbouring smaller Stupa 3, the construction of which was begun in the mid-first century B.C. A further stupa is to be found half way on the west slope of the hill; it is numbered Stupa 2. It does not have gates; the stone-railing bears, however, intricate relief work, which can be attributed to the second century B.C., like the rest of the construction.

The group of monuments derives its present name from the small village which nestles in the saddle of the hilly elephant-back. The name which has been handed down to us by the inscriptions on the monuments themselves is Kakanaya or Kakanava. Perhaps it is also identical to Chetiyagiri, which the Mahavamsa mentions in connection with the following legendary tale : Ashoka is said to have married Devi, the daughter of a merchant, while he was a crown-prince and viceroy of Malwa in Vidisha. The union was blessed by two sons and a daughter. One of the sons, Mahendra, was supposed to have been sent by Ashoka later as the head of the Buddhist mission to Ceylon. Before his departure, Mahendra visited his mother, who was living in a magnificent convent founded by her in Chetiyagiri near Vidisha. However, one might accept the grain of truth in this legend, one thing is certain, that Ashoka erected one of his edict-pillars with a lion-capital on the hill, and next to this a stupa made of bricks, dedicating it to the Buddha and filling it with highly sacred relics. The pillar has been destroyed, but the stupa is still intact in the hemispherical Great Stupa and can be seen to this very day. Under the Sunga dynasty in the mid-second century B.C., the original

construction was mantled and extended to almost double its size (36 metres in diameter and 16.46 metres in height). Finally, the hemispherical hill was mantled with building stones without mortar. On this the cubical stone reliquary (*harmika*) was erected, out of which a shaft with a three-fold umbrella rises. Also the huge stone-railing, which surrounds the stupa, was erected instead of a wooden railing, naturally in the technique taken over from the joiner's art. The gates which are more than ten metres high and also resemble wood-carpentry belong to a later period, were constructed most probably at the birth of Christ.

The railing, four-and-a-half metres in height, separates the sacred precincts from the profane world. Within the railing is the perambulatory path on which the devotee offered his worshipful respects by perambulating thrice in the wake of the sun (i.e. in a clockwise direction), an ancient tradition, which makes the circular and cosmically rounded shrine the focal point of the world and the manifestation of *dharma* (world order). The gates stand for the four cardinal points and indicate the co-ordinates of longitude and latitude, the shaft of the umbrella shows the axis of the world.

In Bharhut there was a similar stupa, but with a diameter of only about twenty-three metres and built of bricks—in size and architecture comparable, therefore, to the Ashoka-Stupa of Sanchi. The stone-railing there, just about two-and-a-half metres high, was covered over and over again with reliefs and can be admired today in the Museum at Calcutta. In Sanchi, the stone-railing of the Great Stupa remained without any sculptural ornamentation whatsoever and thus forms an impressive background, against which the beauty of the elaborately carved *toranas* is emphasized all the more. Also the stone-railing forming a triangle of 45×36 metres around the sacred area of the tree in Bodh Gaya is similar in construction, only smaller, slightly above two metres in height, and slimmer, finer in the execution of the relief carvings.

A new phase in the history of Sanchi was brought about by the overthrow of the Shunga-rule in eastern Malwa by the Satavahana dynasty, which ruled over the Deccan country south of Malwa and spread its rule across the Narmada towards the north.

The local workshop in Vidisha, which had already proved its mettle in the execution of the stone-railing of Stupa 2 in Sanchi, acquired a fresh artistic impetus through the influx of artists from the south, who participated in the construction and competed with the local inhabitants. Two inscriptions are worth noting

on the oldest torana, the South Gate : The middle stupa of the top-most stone lintel bears in Brahmi-characters the information that the master-craftsman of the Royal workshop of King Shatakarni had donated this relief. It would be unthinkable that an artist would donate a work of art carried out by another. Here we have before us, therefore, the work of the Royal workshop of the Satavahana King. On the same gate the ivory-carvers of Vidisha report in an inscription on the bottom-most frontal relief of the left pillar that this is their work. Competition and teamwork are obvious characteristics here.

The reliefs on the gates of the Great Stupa and on the gate to Stupa 3 form the highlight of Indian archaic art. A brilliant world of powerful life-like portrayal confronts us there. Endless stories are related on the long beams of the gate and on the architraves, which were all originally painted red, symbols upon symbols, incidents after incidents. Often the scenes are interwoven in one continuous story. Through all this penetrates the grand unceasing breath of life, portraying itself, flowing on and on, filling the sculptured forms to bursting point with pulsating life. It does not draw any line between man and beast, plant and inanimate object. The unity of creation is uninterrupted. Vision after vision crowds into it. Nowhere is this world empty, even the air is filled with spirits and gods, who are conceded the same well-rounded plastic existence as the trees, the animals and the human-beings. In contrast to the harder plastic of Bharhut which is banned into block and surface, the figures and reliefs of Sanchi appear softly rounded and richer in nuances.

The welcome sight of the wealth of forms in this world of reality, full of the joy of living and youth, makes the question as to the actual content of the portrayed figures secondary. Yakshis, full-breasted tree-goddesses, symbolising fertility, hang down from the foliage of the mango trees on the toranas. Down below, not less conscious of their vitality, stand the watchmen at the pillars of the gates. But we miss the Buddha himself. At that time there was no attempt at iconic presentations. His presence is indicated by the Bodhi tree, if the attainment of enlightenment in Bodh Gaya is meant by the wheel, if one is to be reminded of the First Sermon in Sarnath (dharmachakrapravartana), by the stupa, if his passing and attainment of nirvana are to be indicated. A reminder of his birth is the lotus flower, springing out of a vessel of plenty, or the goddess Lakshmi, sprayed with water by elephants, generally recognised signs of good omen,

the meaning of which has been specially narrowed down to suit this special occasion in the Buddhist context. These four symbols occur over and over again on the square reliefs between the long architraves of the toranas like a constant quartet to commemorate the four main stages in the life of the Buddha. A constantly recurring theme is also the stupa and tree-symbols of the upper beams on the gates.

For the rest, the entire treasure of Buddhist religious myth and legend flows across the inside and outside of the gates, whether they are incidents out of the life of Prince Siddhartha and the Monk Sakyamuni himself or from his previous births, which are collected in the Jatakas. The Vessantara-Jataka is retold in greatest detail on the lowest beam of the North Gate; the story of the Elephant Six-Tooth recurs often and seems to have been as popular as that of the Monkey-King. All these legends are used by the sculptors to depict vividly the life and activity of their times. We peep into the narrow lanes of a city built of wood with its balconies and arches; we see the city gates, through which carts, elephants and pedestrians crowd. We also experience a city being besieged. The daily life in a village almost 2,000 years ago does not seem to have been very different from that in a village of today. People fetch water, grind, cook; farmers and artisans are busy at their trade. One cannot see too much of this spectacle which unfolds itself before us like a veritable picture book. This whole wealth of pictures greets and pleases and teaches the devotee at the gates, before he enters the shrine. It depicts a world which the devotee must leave behind him, when he enters the amorphous world of the perambulatory path, which surrounds the gigantic bare hemisphere, the egg (*anda*). Not a single picture adheres to it and the breath of nirvana surrounds it.

Once upon a time only the sound of prayers could be heard here. For a couple of years their sound is heard again, when Tibetan Buddhists, who have had to leave their homeland, perform in unselfconscious piety the rite of perambulation with rosaries in their hands, and retrieve the shrines of an earlier epoch from their monumental silence.

Buddhist Caves

NOT very far from their capital Pataliputra (Patna, Bihar), Ashoka and his grandson Dasharatha had eight caves hewn out of the rock in the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills, and in Sitamarhi near Gaya, and donated them to the sect of the Ajivikas as dwellings for their monks. The caves were carved into the hard quartz-like gneiss, and though this type of rock is very hard to tool, it made it possible for Ashoka's masons to achieve their characteristic mirror-like polished finish. The most famous out of these eight is the Lomas Rishi Cave with its frieze of elephants. These were the earliest examples of Indian cave architecture. After this, beginning in the third century B.C., the art of constructing caves, which lies somewhere between architecture and sculpture, developed and continued to be in vogue till about the eighth century A.D., when it disappeared at about the same time as the decline of Buddhism in India. The initial attempts mentioned above did not have lasting success in their place of origin, Bihar, but the idea of cave architecture found its classical home in the plateaux of western Deccan where the dark volcanic rocks on almost vertical slopes offered practically ideal conditions for development.

If one examines the technique involved in this type of construction, one realizes soon that it is not with architecture so much that one is concerned here but much more with sculpture. The caves were hewn out from top to bottom as is clear from the extant half finished examples. The ceiling came first, then followed the capitals of the columns, after that the shafts and the bases, and finally the floor. This method of working holds good for the sculptures as well. Thus, the sculptures are carved out of the natural rock together with the caves and not added on later.

Two different types of ground-plans are discernible in the beginning, both of them having different objectives: the chaitya-cave and the vihara. The chaitya-cave consists of an elongated room, not unlike a church nave. A broad passage in the middle is flanked on both sides by narrow passages which are divided from the central passage by pillars or columns. The side passages go round the small stupa, the object of worship, making it thus

possible for the devotee to circumambulate the same. The chaitya-hall further resembles a church inasmuch as it forms an apsis in the middle of which is placed the stupa, like the altar in a church. The vihara, however, is a dwelling-place for the monks. The cells are arranged round a square courtyard resembling a cloister. The comparison with a Christian church and monastery is more than evident.

It can well be imagined that for a life of meditation the coolness of the caves was very welcome. Furthermore, water was always at hand. According to the Buddha, the monks were supposed to dwell in a place where the beauty of Nature could help promote mental peace and equanimity.

As against the light free-standing constructions made of wood, bamboo and other such perishable materials which could not easily withstand the onslaught of the monsoon rains, the cave-temples had the advantage of unlimited durability and stability. In the beginning all the caves had wooden porches outside and wooden support-beams inside, almost as if one had not been able to break away from the traditional style completely in wood.

A few monks stayed in the monastery throughout the year. The large proportion, however, wandered around as mendicants and only sought shelter there during the monsoon when the rains made it impossible for them to move about freely.

The first group of cave-temples in western Deccan came into existence between c. 200 B.C. and c. 200 A.D. The teachings of the Buddha prevalent in this period were those as laid down in the Hinayana, the smaller vehicle. The monasteries were thus established in accordance with these teachings. In the chaitya-halls the stupa remains the focal point of worship in all its austere symbolism. The school of Mahayana, the larger vehicle, introduced the concept of the idol into the temples. The hidden was thus made apparent, the Buddha emerged from inside the stupa. The sculptures and paintings found in Hinayana monasteries are just as discreet with regard to the depiction of the Exalted One, though they present fertility demons, yakshas, yakshis, even human couples with candour and in profusion. But in the dimness of the hall inside in face of the stupa, the symbol of nirvana, all other thoughts have to be put aside save the knowledge of the eight-fold path, which promises but a small number of aspirants liberation and redemption, and that too after much and long endeavour.

The most important monasteries of the Hinayana tradition are to be found within the confines of the empire of the Satavahanas,

which corresponds roughly to the State of Maharashtra today. They were situated mainly along the trade routes which led to the harbours on the Arabian Sea. The founding and preservation of these monasteries were financed by merchants and tradesmen dealing in merchandise sometimes with the Romans in the West.

The most important monasteries are named below in chronological order : Bhaja (Poona District), Kondane (Kolaba District), Pitalkhora and seven caves in Ajanta, 8, 9, 10 and 12 being the most important (Aurangabad District), the Pandu-Lena Caves near Nasik, Junnar and Karli (Poona District), Kanheri (on Salsette Island) and Aurangabad. In the course of the chronological development, the built-in wood structures gradually disappear, and Cave 9 in Ajanta has its outer facade carved entirely out of the rock, albeit in the form of a wooden construction. The simple columns and arches become more decorative and complicated. Even the changes in the form of the stupa can help us in determining chronology. The initial straightforward hemisphere found in Sanchi (second century B.C.) increases gradually in height finally forming a cylinder as in Sarnath (sixth century A.D.). The development of Hinayana cave-temples culminates in the chaitya-hall at Karli which is also the largest one having the measurements : $38 \times 14.2 \times 13.7$ metres. Lofty octagonal pillars on both sides of the middle nave accompany the devotee on his path through the long hall to the stupa which towers up before him. It is cylindrical in form, has two fences surrounding it and still carries the original wooden umbrella. Above the bell-shaped capitals, elephants can be seen kneeling, bearing mithuna-couples on their backs.

The second efflorescence of cave-temple architecture in the Deccan takes place some two-and-a-half centuries later, i.e. between 450 and 700 A.D. The focal points of this period are Ajanta and Ellora. The ruling dynasties here are at first the Vakatakas and later the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. In the meantime, the change over from Hinayana to Mahayana is complete. The idol of the Buddha is now the centre of attraction. The devotee can now give himself up entirely to the Buddha even if he does not adhere strictly to the discipline of the eight-fold path. Compassionate and merciful Bodhisattvas help the Buddha in showing each and every being the path of liberation. From the long row of cave-temples on the Ellora Hill, the Buddhist Caves 1, 2, 3 and 5 date from c. 400 A.D., the Caves 4 and 6 to 10 from c. sixth and seventh centuries, and the Caves 11 and 12 from the seventh century. The Vishvakarma chaitya-hall (Cave 10) is the most

important of this new type cave-temples having an image of the Buddha in a seated posture imparting instruction. Bodhisattvas appear further as accompanying figures.

The Caves 11 (do-tal) and 12 (tin-tal) are unique : three-storeyed structures replete with pillared halls and chapels containing images. The almost endless row of Buddha images—dating from the seventh century—in the uppermost storey of Cave 12 and their counterparts, the mother-goddesses, appear to be sunk in meditation and almost seem to speak silently to the devotee.

The horse-shoe-shaped valley of Ajanta offers ideal natural surrounding for a monastery with its exclusiveness and seclusion. The Waghora rivulet falls in a seven-stepped waterfall above the caves and forces itself through a narrow opening in the rocks below them. From the thirty caves, the seven belonging to the older epoch are situated in the inner curve. All the others were hewn out between 450 and 600 A.D., the last one dating from about 650 A.D. The decoration of the caves may, of course, have gone on till the eighth or ninth century. As in Ellora, the large rectangular pillared halls often serve both as places of worship and residence (chaitya and vihara). The cells for the monks were hewn into the walls of the main hall. The central one in the back was converted into a chapel for the Buddha. In this was placed the huge statue of the Buddha carved out of the rock.

In a climate such as India's, wall-paintings could perhaps only survive in such caverns. It is not possible to write an uninterrupted history of Indian painting. What has survived and even what has been preserved in Ajanta is but a shadow of former glory. The process of decay is continuing even today. The chaitya-halls 9 and 10 contain the earliest examples of wall-paintings in India. These are, however, in a very sorry state of repair and it is practically impossible to reproduce them. Just a few colours—red and yellow iron oxide, earth green, lamp-black and chalk-white—are used, and rubber or lime acts as the binder. The wall is first covered with a coat of mud mixed with plant fibres. This is then covered with a thin coating of gypsum which gives a smooth finish to the painting surface. Stories from the Jataka collection are depicted in the two caves mentioned above. The pictures are arranged in the running narrative form and hence comprehensible even to the illiterate—a sort of *biblia pauperum*—as is also found on the gates of Sanchi. Although the same assertion of reality and *joie de vivre* are depicted at both places, yet the style here is a later one. It points to the end of the archaic

epoch and is more to be compared with the bas-reliefs of Amaravati which can be dated in the middle of the second century A.D. The lines flow in an elegant and charming manner without simulating depth, and harmonise in the dynamic and clear compositions.

The next group of paintings emerges almost two-and-a-half centuries later, i.e. c. 500 A.D. These are the paintings in Caves 16 and 17, and in the Hariti Chapel of Cave 2. According to inscriptional evidence Cave 16 was donated by Varahadeva, a minister of the Vakataka King, Harisena, who ruled between 475 and 510 A.D. The narrations here are not arranged in strips but are spread all over the wall. This does not, however, lead to any confusion as the eye is skilfully guided from scene to scene. The serene and harmoniously balanced figures display a slight roundness as the artist has made skilful use of shading which is, however, hardly noticeable. The development of painting in Ajanta reaches its classical culmination here in the whole of India. The last group of paintings found in Caves 1 and 2—leaving out the Hariti Chapel—are, however, the best-known. In all probability they date from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the seventh century. They show a greater dynamism of movement in comparison with the calm dignity of the earlier group. In certain scenes this tendency almost breaks out into nervous excitement. The elongated proportions, the affected almost angular gestures, and turbulent group compositions point to the fact that the harmony of the classical period has given way to the mannerism in transition to the baroque. This virtually marks the end of the Ajanta school of painting. Its creative force expired together with the general decline of Buddhism in India.

The paintings of Avalokiteshvara in Cave 1 are the work of a great anonymous artist. The force and urgency, so characteristic of this final phase, lend the form of the "Lord of Mercy" an almost monumental intensity. Avalokiteshvara is well disposed towards all creatures and can liberate the most awful sinner from the deepest hell, according to the Buddhist canon. This painting with its artistic perfection and effect has rightly been compared to the three-faced statue of Mahadeva on Elephanta, indeed the two are almost contemporary. With this figure of the Bodhisattva, Avalokiteshvara, we find ourselves in the midst of Mahayana Buddhism which not only promises nirvana to him who diligently pursues the path of knowledge and self-purification but also to him who surrenders himself to the compassionate Buddha in love and worship.

The Ayakapatas on the Stupa Illustrations of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda

In its original form the stupa has a circular ground plan. On this rests a drum-shaped pedestal (*medhi*) over which towers the egg (*anda*) of the solid edifice. A well-defined break separates the cylindrical base from the hemisphere resting on it. In the case of large stupas this break is so broad that it can be used as a secondary, upper *pradakshinapatha*. At any rate it is surrounded by a *vedika*. The *medhi* in Sanchi is accessible on the south side via two flights of stairs running concurrently. In Amaravati it has not been possible as of date to establish the existence of a staircase leading upwards. The whole stupa together with lower *pradakshinapatha* is fenced in by the *mahavedika*. Four gates serve as entrances. The carvings are found on these only.

In due course of time stupas in Andhradesha present a peculiar innovation and enrichment (1). Rectangular projections jut out from the drum of the stupa facing the four gates and are as high as the *medhi*. According to the plan of the stupa of Amaravati as reconstructed by its discoverer, Colonel MacKenzie, these projections were each 9.75 metres long, 1.83 metres deep and 6.10 metres high. In Nagarjunakonda, where it is possible to see them in their proper form on the large stupa, they measure 6.71 metres in length and 1.52 metres in depth. It is, however, quite easy to reconstruct the lay-out with the help of the many stone-plates with stupa illustrations on them which have been found in the ruins of Amaravati and other ruined sites in Andhradesha. This is the attempt made by Percy Brown. It is, however, not true to size being too narrow and steep due to the fact that it is too close to the superelevated illustrations. Actually the projecting platform is nothing else but an extended part of the *medhi* with the *vedika* running round it to form a balcony. Five octagonal pillars, each 3 to 5 metres in height, rise up above this. Each one of the pillars is generally topped off with a cap having a *chaitya*-window in it. In Nagarjunakonda they have a sort of cupola. The middle pillar has besides a smaller stupa.

Their bases are decorated with sculptured reliefs. These are either five stupas or five Buddhas or the following row of symbols for bodhi, dharmachakrapravartana and parinirvana: bodhivriksha, dharmachakra, stupa, dharmachakra, bodhivriksha (in this sequence). These lofty towering pillars have the function of highlighting the entrance and can thus be compared to the torana structures found in Bharhut and Sanchi.

The projecting platforms are called *ayaka*. We find mention of *uttarayaka* and *dakshinayaka*—the northern and southern platforms—in donors' inscriptions from Andhradesha. In the inscriptions the pillars are called *ayakakhambhas*. On the front side of the projection, just below the five pillars, one finds sculptures. We make a distinction between the small horizontal bas-relief which has its place as a part of the *vedika* immediately below the *ayakakhambhas* and which Barrett has called the *ayaka-frieze* in his Catalogue of the sculptures of Amaravati in the British Museum, and the large vertical sculptures which take up the height and breadth of the gateway. For the latter, we use the term *ayakapata*. Though this word is not found in the donors' inscriptions of Andhradesha, it has been constructed analogously to the word *ayagapata* found in Mathura. Buehler has translated this word as "Tablet of Homage or Worship". Lueders concurs with him and Agrawala (V. S.) explains it thus: "the words *ayaga* at Mathura and *ayaka* at Jaggayyapeta seem both to have been derived from *aryaka* which in Sanskrit means 'honourable' or 'worthy of reverence'." We consider the *ayakapata* in Andhradesha to be a piece of relief attached to the *ayaka*. Its architectural position was certainly particularly conducive to worship. We shall have occasion to come back to the *ayagapatas* of Mathura later.

In the beginning, the sculptures found here were bas-reliefs with naga figures on them; then came the symbols, the throne and the wheel, and finally images of the Buddha were put in their place. As this was open in the front and the entrance was displaced to one side as in Sanchi, it was possible to see the bas-relief and the *ayakakhambhas* towering about from afar. The person entering could go straight up to the image, the sanctity of the place being depicted either by a symbolic or direct representation of the Buddha.

We can classify the numerous *stupapatas*, i.e. the stone slabs with stupa sculptures on them, on the gates in three broad groups: naga figures, symbols for the Buddha, and images of the Buddha. For these groups and their sub-groups we would like to give the following examples:

Group 1 : Nagas

Stupapatas have been preserved in Amaravati which depict the older form of the stupa without ayakas and ayakakhambhas. No. 22 in Barrett's Catalogue is an example of this type, as also No. 49. Both have in the middle part of the drum-shaped pedestal, i.e. the place which was later taken up by the ayakapata, a five-headed naga with its coils well-arranged calligraphically. The figure reminds one of the knot games of Leonardo or Durer. In No. 22, the naga is seen between pillars which emanate from a purna-ghata. Their shafts are studded with lotus medallions and they are topped off with an animal-shaped capital. In No. 49, the pillars framing the naga are simpler though with lotus medallions. If these are taken as the precursors of the ayakapatas, then No. 83 in Barrett's Catalogue shows the further development of the naga type with all the elements of the later ayakastupas. The naga is shown above a moonstone threshold and a narrow vedika, and between doorposts which are flanked on either side by a pair of lions. It is possible to make out the following incidents on the ayaka-frieze : the exaltation of the lock of hair, the enlightenment, and the first sermon.

Group 2 : Symbols

In this group we have those stupapatas which depict Buddhist symbols on their ayakapatas. These symbols are mostly connected with important events from the life of the Exalted One.

2a : The Throne

The sub-group (2a) depicts an empty throne together with the Buddhapadas. The illustration comes from Nagarjunakonda. The ayakapata shows the throne under a sort of open pavilion resting on four pillars. Subsidiary figures can be seen on the slabs on the stupa-drum.

2b : Chakra

The sub-group (2b) embodies the dharmachakrapravartana on the ayakapata. The most impressive example of this is to be found in the Government Museum, Madras. According to the prevailing view this stupapata is an illustration of the big stupa at Amaravati. The wheel is represented here as the crowning glory of a pillar with an animal-shaped capital and surrounded by worshippers. The other example shows likewise the first sermon in the deer park near Benaras. Only a fragment of this

is preserved, but it can still be clearly seen that it is much simpler in execution. At the base of the stambha with the wheel we can also see the empty throne of the preacher. It is thus a further development of 2a.

2c : Narrative Medallions

In sub-groups 2a and 2b, the symbols for the Buddha were used in scenes of worship. In the third sub-group (2c), we come across the use of an ayakapata as a narrative scene. The illustration from Amaravati shows two medallions on top of each other. These are much larger than any other around them. The Great Renunciation is the theme of the upper one. Accompanied by the gods, the horse of the departing Bodhisattva is seen alone without the rider. In the lower one, however, the Buddha is represented in human form in dhyanamudra. This probably depicts his state of meditation just prior to the achievement of bodhi. This bas-relief thus represents a transition stage between this group and the next in which the Buddha appears in human form.

Group 3 : Buddha Images

We can divide this group into three further sub-groups.

3a : The Buddha Shielded by Muchilinda

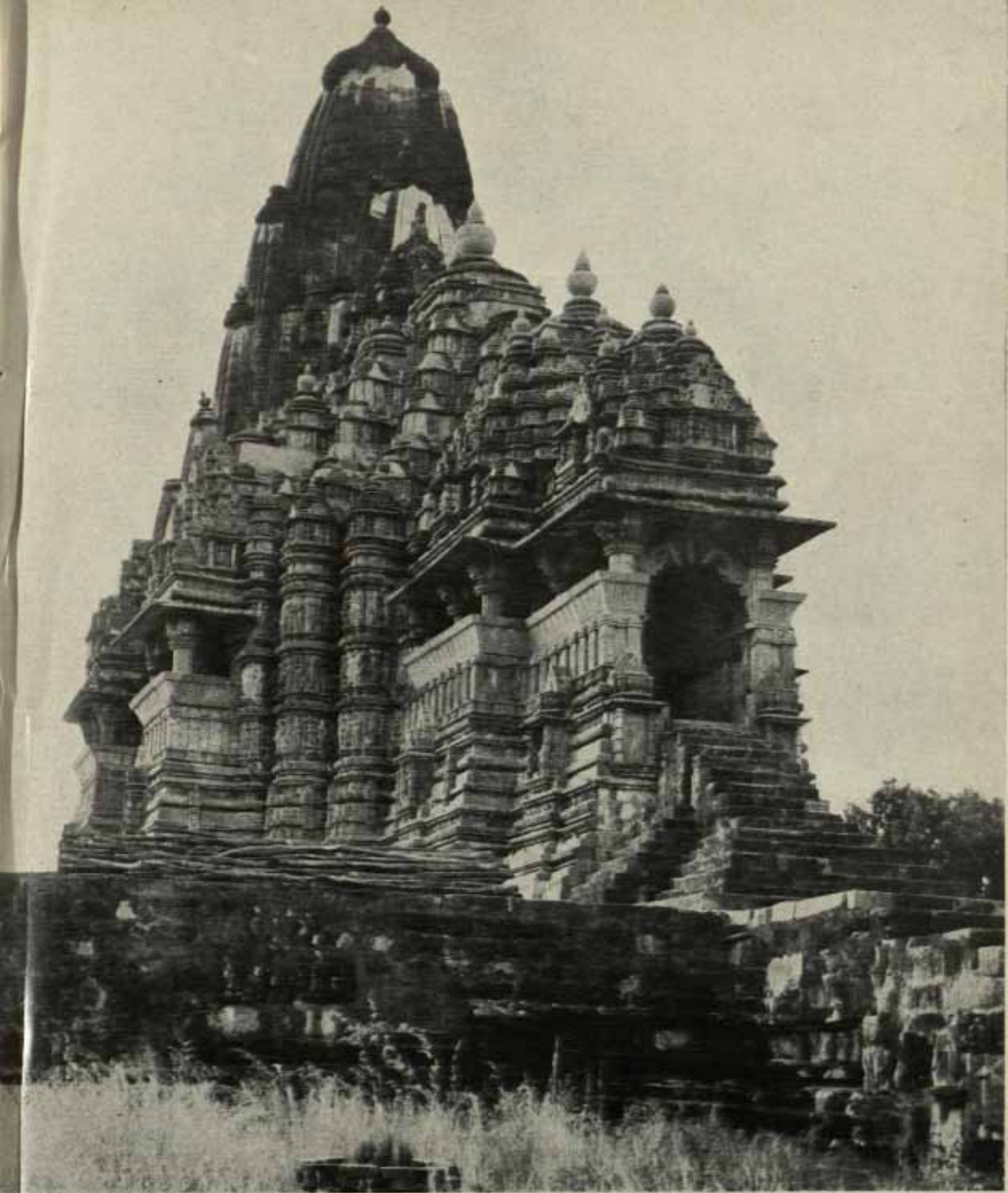
The first sub-group (3a) is almost like a connecting link with the naga figures of Group 1. The scene shows the snake-king Muchilinda who once shielded the Buddha in a storm by coiling himself round him seven times. In the illustration from Nagarjunakonda, the Buddha sits in abhayamudra on the coiled body of the snake, the seven heads of the naga king forming a halo round his head. A fragment in the Government Museum, Madras, was its symbolic predecessor. The snake-king is depicted normally; the Buddha, however, is only represented by his foot-prints which are visible in the coils of the snake.

3b : The Buddha in a Sitting Posture

On the illustrations from Amaravati, Gummadidurru and Nagarjunakonda, we have the Buddha in a sitting posture preaching fearlessness to his devotees with his right hand in the abhayamudra.

3c : The Buddha in a Standing Posture

The most impressive of all the representations of the Buddha are those which show him in a standing posture likewise in abhaya-



28. Khajuraho, Kandariya Temple



Above : 29. Mamallapuram, Shore Temple
Next page : 30. Nataraja, Bronze Statue (Madras Museum)





31. Deogarh, Dashavatara Temple, Northern Ghanadvara, Gajendramoksha
 32. Ellora, Kailasanatha Temple, Ravananugrahamurti



33. Ellora, Kailasanatha Temple, Durgamahishasuramardini
 34. Madurai, Vasanta Mandapa, Ravananugrahamurti

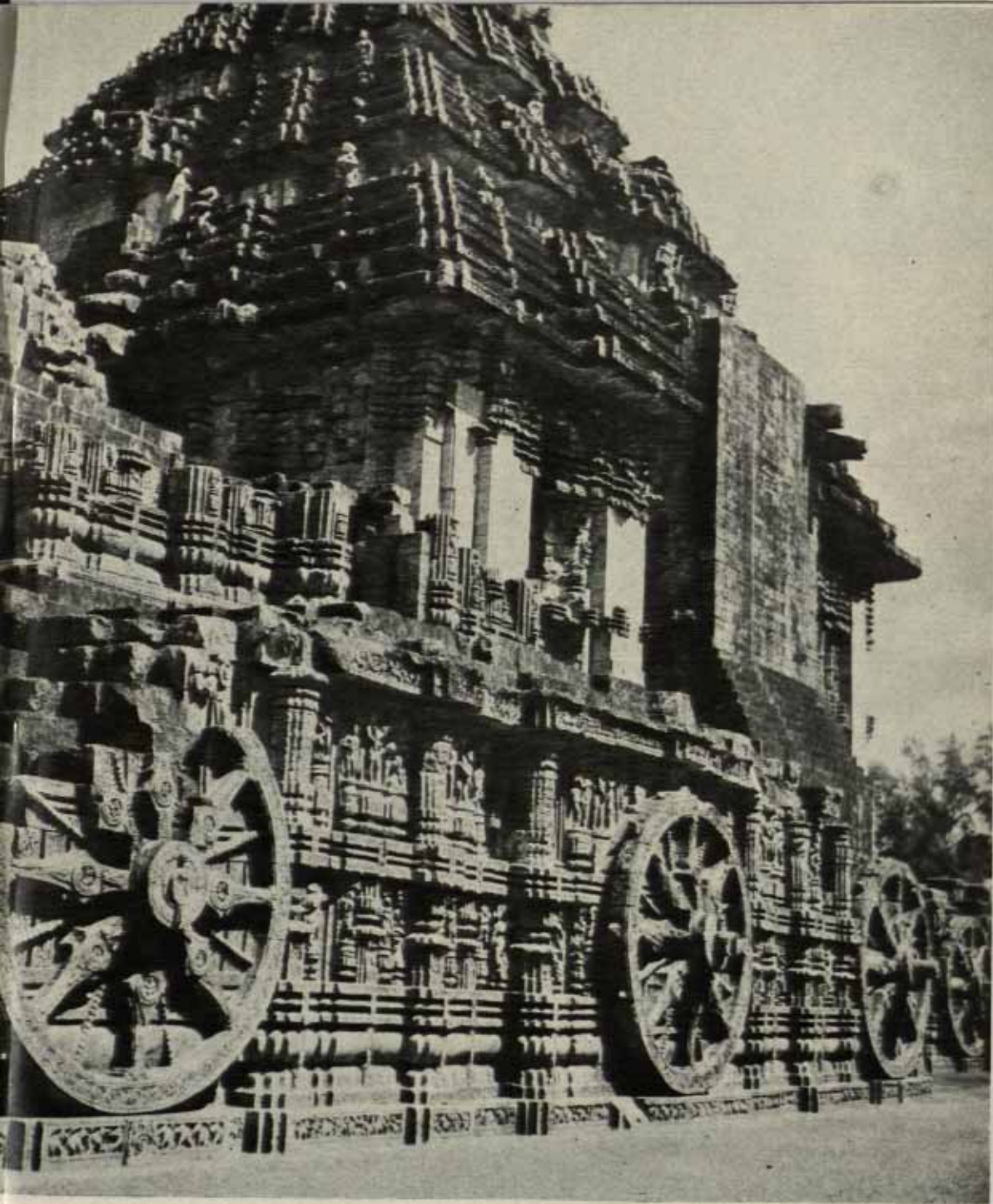




35. Nataraja, Bronze Statue
(Collection Bharat Ram)

36. Mamallapuram,
Durgamahishasuramardini





37. Konaraka, Surya Temple



38. Bhubanesvara, Mukteshvara Temple

mudra. To the devotee it must have appeared as if the Buddha was about to step out of the stupa towards him. Till now he had been invisible inside the stupa and now he appears in human form as the protector and deliverer of charity. The illustration comes from Amaravati.

Our classification in three groups is based on the sculptural development and need not necessarily conform to the chronological development. It is quite evident that the naga-ayakapata from Amaravati, No. 93 in the British Museum, is later in style than the earlier examples of the same type. One must always take into account that old motifs can be taken up again later. The classification offered here has the motif and not the style as its base. One must be careful in applying this classification for determining chronology. It is well known that in Andhradesha both types—symbolic and iconic—were in vogue together for long. We observe the development from the stupa without ayaka to the stupa with ayaka within the naga group and trace the transition from symbolic to iconic representation in the second and third groups. If we investigate this development, we come to the conclusion that the use of Buddha figures as decoration for the gateways was an innovation of the workshops in Andhradesha. The epiphany of the Exalted One emerging from the stupa to confront the devotee with his presence was to have a decisive influence on later developments. In the Gupta era, images of the Buddha were put in behind the toranas in Sanchi I itself, so that the person entering could immediately be confronted with the Buddha. The ayakapata with the Buddha in human form, as found in Amaravati and other places in Andhradesha, also gives us an insight into the development of iconography in the South.

After having traced the development of the ayakapatas on the stupas in Andhradesha, we now turn to the ayagapatas from Mathura. Twelve such slabs have been excavated from the Kankali Tila in the second Jain stupa. Here is an example. According to V. S. Agrawala sixteen such slabs belonged originally to the complete stupa, four in each direction. They were adorned with flowers at puja time. As is clear from the inscriptions, each was dedicated to some arhat. They have thus no architectural function and hence no connection with an ayaka. As far as we know, the stupas in Mathura were devoid of such projections. Our view is not contradicted by the small figure of a tirthankara on them. We maintain that we are concerned here with symbolic representations and hence comparable to Group 2 in Andhradesha. On such a

svastikapata we find a profusion of auspicious symbols like svastika, triratna, mina-mithuna. Four giants fill the corners. It is not possible to trace the development from symbolic to iconic representation in Mathura as in Andhradesha.

The stupas of the Buddhist cave-temples do not also offer (at first sight) anything comparable to the unique development in Andhradesha. The stupas in the caves are meant for worship and circumambulation like their counterparts in the open. In Andhradesha, there are few such examples, e.g. Guntupalle which was situated on the road leading from Magadha through the valleys of the Son and the Joytiratha to the lower course of the Godavari. As an off-shoot of the caves in the Barabar Hills hewn in the time of Ashoka, this can be dated not much later than its predecessor. A continuation of cave-temple construction in Andhradesha can be found only in Shankarama on the way to Kalinga. After this the focus is shifted to the western part of the Deccan where in Kondivte we can see an early circular construction in rock. After this we have in quick succession the rock-temples of Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora, Ajanta in its initial stages, Nasik, Junnar, Karli, Kanheri. In the chaitya-halls, the stupas are found in their earlier symbolic simple form without an image. One naturally has only one pradakshinapatha—the lower one. The upper one is only hinted at on the drum of the stupa by a vedika in bas-relief. This has, however, a purely decorative function. No ayaka is to be seen.

It is only during the period of the second efflorescence of cave-temple construction in Western India, i.e. after the fifth century A.D., that the image comes to the fore. Ajanta and Ellora are the focal-points of this development. If we examine this more closely, i.e. in Caves 19 and 26 in Ajanta, then the similarity becomes immediately apparent. Here too the Buddha seems to step out of the stupa and the architectural framework is reminiscent of the ayakapatas. Even a projection can be made out, but naturally only on the front side, as the stupa is not open on all sides. The devotee goes through the long dim passage towards the stupa and the illusion that the stupa opens itself to allow the Gracious One to come out of it is heightened by the light of the sun which floods in from the huge chaitya-window at the entrance, depending on the position of the sun. Any connecting links which could bridge over this time gap of two-and-a-half centuries have not been found till now. It is, however, conceivable that the glorious stupas in Andhradesha were able to influence the architectural development in the north-west of

the Deccan. The ayakakhambhas have, however, been lost. Their function of arresting the attention of the devotee from afar was not important within the cave-temple. Further, as soon as the ayakapata became replete with an image of the Buddha it, as it is, appeared to dominate everything else.

One can also notice the after-effects of the ayakapatas from Andhradesha in the free-standing monuments of the classical period. The Dhamekh Stupa in Sarnath is one such example. The ayakas have now become flat projections—eight in number. High up on them there are niches in which images of the Buddha were placed.

In conclusion, a further remark may be added. From the beginnings of Hindu temple construction we have a fine example in the Dashavatara Temple at Deogarh near Lalitpur, U.P. Of the former platform temple of the panchayatana type we find here just the cubic base of the cella. The entrance in the West has a richly decorated frame. On the other three sides we find ghanadvaras with sculptures of Vishnu. These sculptures have been set into the smooth temple walls forming ayakas. It is thus possible to see pictorial tabernacles on all four sides and one feels compelled to tarry a while to observe them. On the West one has a direct view into the temple housing the God. On the other three sides the God emanates through the ghanadvaras. The devotee is thus at once aware of the force of the God whose aura radiates from inside the closed cella and manifests itself in various forms of the God. In the South we have Vishnu Anantashayin, in the East Naranarayanatapashcharya, in the North Gajendramoksha.

As the Buddha emerges from his stupa in Cave 19 in Ajanta, so does Vishnu in Deogarh penetrate the walls of the cella. The formal construction points to the stupas in Andhradesha where this principle first found its concrete artistic form. The principle of the holy epiphany in the ghanadvaras is the same as the emergence of the Buddha on the ayakapatas.

1. D. BARRETT, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1934. Ph. STERN et M. BENIST, *Evolution du Style Indien d' Amaravati*, Paris 1961. M. BENIST, *Etude sur le stupa d' Inde ancienne*, Bulletin d'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, t.L fasc. 1, Paris 1960. V.S. AGRAWALA, *Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965. P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, Bombay 1956. H. LUEDERS, *Mathara Inscriptions*, Goettingen 1961. HEIMO RAU, *Die Kunst Indiens*, Stuttgart 1958.

Stylistic Notes on the Sculptured Panels of the Dashavatara Temple in Deogarh

THE Dashavatara temple at Deogarh near Lalitpur in Uttar Pradesh was a platform temple of the panchayatana type. Built of red sandstone blocks without mortar binding, its state of preservation is not very good. In the centre of the 1.32 metres high platform only the cubic base (side length 5.49 metres) has remained standing. The tower itself is so badly damaged that attempts to reconstruct it have been extremely difficult. Cunningham (2), Brown (3), Bannerji (1), submitted plans for the reconstruction. Bannerji's proposal to include the entire platform in the roofed temple structure was rejected. After Cunningham (2), Brown (3) reconstructed a cella with pillared porticos on all four sides, and a shikhara-like tower emphasizing the vertical lines. Vats (4), on the other hand, shows the cella with a protruding sun-roof running all round it and a super-structure with chaitya windows, horizontal storeys and crowning it all an amalaka in the manner of the sculptural motifs on the entry gate.

This last solution seems to be the most probable. We would date the completion of the temple to about 500 A.D.

The beautiful, plastic carvings have always fascinated the spectators. The base is surrounded by a frieze which narrates sequences from the Rama and Krishna legends (5) and depicts music and dance scenes on the smaller panels. What strikes us most is the richly decorated door frame (3.28×3.57 metres) of the cella on the western side; the other three sides show Vishnu Epiphanies in ghanadvara (panel size 1.20×1.50 metres); on the southern side Vishnu Anantashayin; on the eastern side Naranarayana tapascharya; and on the northern side Gajendra-moksha. The stylistic descriptions which follow aim to show the change over from a continuous narration of scenes to the single representation; the relationship between the frame and the area of the panel itself, the depiction of the reclining figure and the depiction of flying and contra-positions. They do not aim to give a full analysis of this work of art (6).

Archaic plastic art and painting use the rectangular form and

the medallion form for their continuous narratives on gates and railings of stupas or on the walls of the cave sanctuaries. This form can be read like a scroll. The illiterate person is also able to follow the story thus depicted. The main characters are repeated, they are essential for most of the scenes. The continuity of the story is not bound to time but to place and everything that has happened at one place is depicted together, irrespective of whether the various events have taken place at different times, earlier or later. These naive and broad epics do not need to differentiate between important and unimportant events and characters. The difficulty to characterize one story only by one narrative scene does not even arise. The archaic artist is able to give full expression to his lust for phantasy through the full and rich experience the world offers him.

The old type of narrative depicted on long panels has been preserved on the relief of the temple platform of the Dashavatara temple. The long rectangular walls virtually demand this kind of treatment. Also in later times, as well as in the Indian art of South East Asia, i.e., in Angkor and at the Borobudur, the narrative panel continues to have a legitimate function in that place of the temple (7).

In Deogarh, the panel compositions can be seen also in the isolated reliefs on the temple cella. The Anantashayin frieze is divided into three panels; above the gods, in the centre Vishnu resting on Shesha, and below the six persons which have been identified as the five Pandavas with Draupadi (8), or as the forces of the four hands of the God quarrelling with the two demons Madhu and Kaitabha (left) (9). The motif of the reclining Vishnu required a rectangular panel and forced the artist to add the lower narrative panel and to fill it in.

The panel composition of the other two ghanadvara depictions is restricted to the upper side of the picture, where gods can be seen flying from the right and left towards the centre. On the platform frieze scene follows after scene; they do not, however, merge into each other like in the continuous narrative style of the archaic art, but are distinctly separate from each other. The pictures on the cella show single scenes of a representative character. They cannot be read whilst passing (with the feet and the eyes), but they demand from us to stop and contemplate them reverently. Through a ghanadvara, a door, the God living in this temple presents himself to us like on a stage.

These scenes are not just depictions of the God, but they try

to show the deeper meaning and the essence of the scene to help the spectator to mediate and to submerge himself in spiritual thought.

With Vishnu this is shown in *yoganidra*, the meditative slumber of the creator of the world, with Naranarayana it is penitence, with Gajendramoksha it is man's liberation from the chains in which he was entangled.

The archaic narrative style is communicative and instructive. The artist conveys to us at the same time the richness and the beauty of the world, which he has experienced in all its abundance. With this concentration on *one* single scene, *bhakti*, contemplation and reverence are more important than the actual story.

With the definite emphasis on the representative single scene in the context of the continuous narrative sequence, the structure changes with regard to frame and picture itself.

So far the frame itself had no function, but for the isolated single scene it has become essential. The wall of the temple cella in Deogarh is bare. With the newly developed feeling for effective contrasts, a varied and richly decorated frame thus emerges, which encloses the picture and emphasizes in this way its speciality and its significance. The framework on all the three ghanadvaras is identical. Two pillars which show in the upper third part a medallion with a picture of God and above a vase-capital, carry the architrave which is decorated with a motif of intertwined vines. Above appear the ends of the girders and the lion mask reminding us of a wooden structure. The actual panel is surrounded by a double frame, on the outside a wreath of leaves with six-leafed rosettes, on the inside a curling hibiscus vine which ascends from below out of a snail-shell. Neither yakshis nor mithunas lessen the effect of the panel which is surrounded by the same vegetative motifs as the glorioles of the Buddha images of the same epoch. The frame is executed in flat relief work, which gives a black and white effect, and looks like a border, whilst the panel itself consists of almost fully plastic figures. The entire horde of the chased out demons of fertility are assembled on the walls of the gate which leads to the sanctuary (10). Below stands dvarapala with yakshis and dwarfs, above rise the vegetative ornamental and figural borders of the frame, the latter with mithunas, female dancers and dwarfs.

They end above with the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna. The architrave has in the centre a small depiction of Vishnu. The representative and contemplative scenes are clearly separated

from the base world of the demons, who are only allowed to concentrate their fortune and fertility magic on the region of the gate. The door frames have thus been treated as a separate iconographical and ornamental entity.

It can be said that the archaic epoch with its exuberant joy for narrative is over. The classic era has begun and it brings with it order and sets accents.

In all forms of art expression, most peoples have been faced with the challenge to achieve a formal solution of the "reclining" female or male figure. We think here of the "Burial of Christ", the "Vepser pictures" in the Christian Art of the Occident, or also of the reclining female nudes from Titian and Giorgione up to Picasso and Henry Moore. The buddhistic art was faced with this motif when portraying Parinirvana, and when depicting Maya's dream. With Parinirvana, the solution was naive. A standing figure was simply placed in a horizontal position without making any changes with regard to the position of limbs or the drapery of the pleated garment. The viewer does not see the narrow side of the reclining figure, but has a full front view. We must not presume that the figure was meant to be lying on its side. This is made clear by the treatment of the garment: the arrangement of the pleats is the same as on a standing figure. This style has been developed in Gandhara and from there it spread to North and South.

The portrayal of Parinirvana belongs iconographically to each chaitya hall. A beautiful example can be seen, a little later than Deogarh, in Cave 26 at Ajanta (11). Also in the frequent portrayal of the four main events in the life of the Buddha, during the Gupta era, the reclining Buddha figure is shown in the above described form (12). Thus the artistic solution found by the master of Vishnu Anantashayin in Deogarh is the more remarkable. Livelier than the rigid formula of the Parinirvana are the portrayals of Maya's dream: the future mother of the Buddha resting in sleep on her couch. In Sanchi, the sculptors did not yet know how to express this idea (13). With the sculptors in Amaravati it is different.

In Amaravati (14), as well as in Nagarjunakonda, it is shown that a life-like fluid portrayal of a reclining female nude was possible. The reclining figure is always shown in half view, befitting the still flat style of the late archaic period. These figures with their elegant movements of legs and arms, which seem too artificial for sleep, remind us of dancers who continue with their mudras even in their sleep. The Hindu religion offers us few possibilities

for the portrayal of the reclining figure. Vishnu Anantashayin is practically the only example. We can compare this with the mother and child portrayal from Pathari in the Gwalior Museum (15), dating from the same time. Also here the legs are crossed, as if standing, and the arm and head pose is not very different from that of the Vishnu of Deogarh.

The figure rests with the head supported by the upper left hand like on an upward slanting couch. This gives us a full view of the body. Visible are also the right leg being massaged and lightly lifted by spouse Lakshmi, the right shoulder with the fully credible organic joint of the two arms. The spectator gets a satisfactory, clear picture. Contrary to the rigid formula of Parinirvana, the limbs of the reclining figure are here relaxed in slumber, the lower hands lie loosely, and even the upper right hand, which is supporting the head, seems to do its duty without any visible effort. The left leg rests in complete horizontal position, the lifting of the right leg does not seem to be the result of a muscular pain, but appears more to have been caused by the stroking and lifting by Lakshmi's hands. The cushions on which Vishnu rests, are the twistings of the serpent. They rise, starting from the hip, more and more upwards and change over from a side-view to a full view duly supporting the chest and the head of the God. To this upward movement corresponds the rounding downward movement of the seven serpent-heads. The reclining figure seems to have merged with his serpent-bed. The relaxed human body is received by the pliable form of the animal with all its twistings and its hoods and seems to be kept afloat as if not on this earth but on waves of the lightness of water.

This successful treatment reminded Smith of the sleeping Endymion in the Stockholm National Museum (16). A direct influence is hardly plausible, indirect influences seem possible. It is, however, not the point here to state influences. A creative style only absorbs influences, if a latent tendency towards it exists. When we look at the other solutions of the same problem, we can throw a light on the independence and the individuality of the masters of Deogarh.

Vishnu on the ceramic relief from the temple of Bhitargaon (now in the National Museum, New Delhi) is not even reclining (17). More seated and leaning towards the serpent-hood, like on a raised cushion, it embodies nevertheless peace and tranquility next to the demons Madhu and Kaitabha with their clubs who are posted here and have a roguish and menacing demeanour.

In the temple No. 9 of Aihole there was a portrayal of this theme on the ceiling, a particularly unsuitable place (18). Vishnu lies in full front view on the twistings of the serpent. Contrary to Deogarh, the arms are placed stiffly alongside the body, the legs are daintily crossed over, the joints pointed and angular. This is a typical work of the mannerism related to the nervous excitability of the most recent frescoes in the Ajanta Caves 1 and 2. The relief has also been dated to about that time.

The Vishnu Anantashayin in Mamallapuram is the only one who in his niche is stretched out on his serpent like on a bed. Both feet are next (not above) to each other, and are covered by the garment, as it is supposed to fall while lying. This presentation has the character of a rounded plastic stage-picture, whilst all the others which we mentioned are more or less haut-reliefs. The reclining pose here is heavy and the idea that Vishnu is resting on the world ocean is not felt. Whilst Vishnu's accompanying figures have been reduced to the size of dwarfs, the two demonic, hostile club-bearers Madhu and Kaitabha seem giant-like and menacing. This depiction clearly belongs to an art form with a unique feature of its own, totally different from the North Indian form of expression.

The compositional structure of the Gajendramoksha relief is different. Only the narrow upper flight of the gods has remained on the panel division. The composition of the main panel is based on the lively arrangement of the contrasting groups which are connected by a kind of triangle-structure. Vishnu hovering on Garuda is the dominating figure here. The flying-floating form is much more popular than the reclining figure and goes back to the beginning of the archaic style, as one cannot imagine any of the narratives without their flock of flying demi-gods. On this relief it seems as if Garuda had come down flying in an arc from above and has remained in this position, hovering in mid-air. One can recognize the flying movements from the feathers and from his right leg, which still simulates the flying movement. The attitude of hovering is expressed by the backward movements of the Garuda-head and by the posture of Vishnu.

The formula of floating is expressed (as also on the gods of the upper panel here and on the Naranarayana depiction) by a bent knee, with the upper body half upright; the front leg is bent in such a way that the calf is pressed parallel against the thigh, and the back leg swings out wide in a small arc, which continues upwards to the trunk of the flying body.

On the archaic reliefs in Sanchi, floating is depicted by wings and a feather dress. Only in Amaravati the artist tries to give an illusion of flight by changing the position of the limbs.

The Indian sculptor then did not need the help of wings or the clouds to express floating or flying, which are the crutches of flight depictions in the Occident. He is able to give his figures an incredible lightness so that the limbs seem to be filled with air and the qualities of flying become absolutely credible. With the godly couples it is customary that only the man flies or floats, whilst his female companion sits on his leg, which is swung behind, like on a cushion, comfortably and with gracefully bent knees. She only contributes to the flying motions with her fluttering veils. This plastic ability, to be able to avoid giving the impression of sinking also in difficult positions, is shown beautifully with Vishnu on the back of Garuda.

Garuda is smaller than his rider, and contrary to archaic examples, his form here is human. The swinging feathers are atavistical, they serve here as a formal medium to express flying. Anatomically, they have no connection with the body.

It is remarkable to see how vahana and deva have melted into one. The body movement of Garuda continues without break into that of Vishnu. The line from his right toe-point to the crown of Vishnu is one long semi-circular arc. The right foot of the God sits on Garuda's thigh, Garuda's hand acts as a stirrup for his left foot. In stark contrast to this floating *Deus ex machina* stands the rigid pole of the Naga King which seems to have shot out of the waters at that moment. A smaller variation of the same theme is his spouse. The reason for all this, the unlucky elephant, who got entangled into the vines of the lotus-flowers, forms the third group.

We look from the elephant in the left corner across and above to the Naga, and from there up to the left to the deliverer, whose triangle dominates the entire group.

The scene of the Naranarayana penitence has kept the small upper panel with Brahma in the centre and the flying couple of gods on each side. Below, there is a composition of a quite different kind. Narayana and Nara sit under different trees (*Ficus religiosa* and *Saraca indica*) with contrasting corresponding gestures. Nara's right arm corresponds to the left raised arm of Narayana, his left arm corresponds to the lowered right arm of Narayana. Furthermore, the right and left legs correspond with each other in their movement. With heads bent against

each other, an almost mirror-like image is achieved. Already in Amaravati and possibly under the influence of the Mediterranean, the sculptor developed an eye for the contrapositional effects in the play of the limbs. This did not only concern the supporting leg and the leg taking no weight, but the entire co-ordination and lively harmonisation of the arm, leg and body movements. If we look closely at the athletes, who stand in a row on the panel under Anantashayin and who boast of their strength, we find that each of them expresses this quality by different arm and leg positions, and female figure of course in her own way. Also the reclining Vishnu was here conceived with the idea of the contrasting and co-ordinating effect of the stretched and bent limbs. It has to be pointed out in this connection how the powerful weight of the serpent-hood surrounding Vishnu's head threatens to make the picture heavy on the right side, but this weight is balanced on the left by the three figures of the sitting Lakshmi, of Gandhari standing behind her and of the human-bodied Garuda posted next to them.

The dominating horizontal form of the ruling God necessitates a vertical treatment as a balance.

Above, standing in a row, Kartikeya, Indra, Brahma, Shiva and Parvati with the Maruti are less effective than the six standing figures of the lower panel, which balances out as six vertical lines the long horizontal form of Vishnu. By taking in the true sense of the word, the load of God on their heads, they convey the idea of weightless, floating repose (on the waters of the ocean) which the master wanted to express.

1. Banerji, R. D. *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares 1933, pp. 146-152.

2. Archaeological Survey of India, Reports by Alexander Cunningham, X, pp. 105-110, Pls. XXXIV-XXXVI.

3. Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, Bombay 1956, pp. 60, 61, Pls. XLI 6, XLIII 2, 3, CXXXV.

4. Vats, M. S. *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Mem. Archaeological Survey of India, 70, 1952.

5. Reliefs on the platform: (i) Rama, Lakshmana and Sita in der Einsiedelei von Savari, height 68 cm; see Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1927, pl. XLIV, 167.

(ii) Lakshmana cuts off Surpanakha's nose in the presence of Sita and Rama, 84 cm height, National Museum, New Delhi, see 5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien, Catalogue, Essen 1959, Nr. 153, p. 136, with plate. The same relief together with others *in situ*; see *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, The Classical Age, Bombay 1954, pl. XXIII, fig. 52.

(iii) Devaki hands over the child Krishna to Vasudev, height 67 cm. National Museum, New Delhi, see 5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien, Nr. 154, p. 137, no illustration.

6. Next to the above-mentioned sources, the following literature can be quoted on the temple sculptures of Deogarh:

(i) Burgess, James. *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, 2 vols., London 1897-1911, pls. 248, 250-252.

- (ii) Cohn, William. *Indische Plastik*, Berlin 1921, p. 24.
- (iii) Diez, Ernst. *Die Kunst Indiens*, Potsdam 1926, pp. 122, 123.
- (iv) Fischer, Klaus. *Schoepfungen indischer Kunst*, Koeln 1958, pp. 160, 169-171, pl. 129.
- (v) Kramrisch, Stella. *Die Figurenplastik der Guptazeit*, Wiener Beitrage zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, V, 1929-1930.
- (vi) Kramrisch, Stella. *Indische Kunst*, London 1955, pls. 48, 51, 52.
- (vii) Goetz, Hermann. *Indien. Fuenf Jahrtausende indischer Kunst*, Baden-Baden 1959, pp. 105-107.
- (viii) Mukherji, P. C. *Report on the Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur, N.W.P., Roorkee 1899.*
- (ix) Rau, Heimo. *Die Kunst Indiens*, Stuttgart 1958, p. 31, pl. 43.
- (x) Rowland, Benjamin. *The Art and Architecture of India*, Marmondsworth 1934, pp. 127, 128, pls. 77A, B.
- (xi) Sivaramamurti, C. *Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 53, pl. 14.
- (xii) Smith, Vincent A. *Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period, A.D. 300-650*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* III, April-June 1915.
- (xiii) Smith, Vincent A. *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford 1939, pls. XXXIV, XXXV.
- (xiv) Zimmer, Heinrich. *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York 1955, pp. 110, 111.
- 7. Note by Coomaraswamy l. c. 231, note 1.
- 8. So Zimmer Heinrich, *Mythen und Symbole in indischer Kunst und Kultur*, Zurich, 1951, p. 70.
- 9. So Kramrisch, *Indische Kunst*, 203.
- 10. Fischer, l. c. 169 ! 170 has analysed the effectively constructed and charmingly executed frame.
- 11. Shown in Silva-Vigier, Anil de, *Das Leben des Buddha*, London 1956, pl. 116.
- 12. For example a pillar from Sarnath, shown *ibid.* pl. 95 and Rowland l. c., pl. 84.
- 13. When showing the city Kapilavastu on the inner side of the right pillar, Eastern gate, Stupa 1.
- 14. There is an example in the British Museum, London, on the relief of the Birth of Buddha from Amaravati, shown in Rau, l. c., pl. 35 and Silva-Vigier, l. c. pl. 13.
- 15. Shown in Coomaraswamy, l. c. pl. 178.
- 16. Compare *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* III, April-June 1915.
- 17. Shown in Rau, l. c. pl. 46, and Rowland, l. c. pl. 78B.
- 18. Shown in Kramrisch, l. c. pl. 62 and Rau, l. c. pl. 60.
- 19. Shown in Kramrisch, l. c. pl. 84.

The Portrait Sculpture of Kanishka

EXHIBIT No. 213 in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology in Mathura is the torso of a standing statue in red sandstone with head and arms broken off. In its present state it is 1.63 metres high. It has a tunic which reaches down to the knees and is held by a belt around the hips; above this a topcoat which is open at the front and turned back on the sides. The legs, between which the stone has not been removed by the sculptor, are tucked into heavy boots which seem to be made of felt rather than leather and have spur straps. The right hand grips the hilt of a sword, whose scabbard is wrapped in bands. A legible and neatly incised Brahmi inscription runs across the lower part of the lower and upper garments, disregarding the folds. It reads: Maharaja Rajadhiraja Devaputro Kanishko: the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of God, Kanishka (1). The figure portrayed not only bears the Indian title of Maharaja but also calls himself the King of Kings like the rulers of Iran. He is raised to the divine or at least the semi-divine sphere through the Sanskrit title "devaputra—Son of God" which appears here for the first time and which in the contemporary *Suvarnaprabhasa Sutra* is sanctioned by the words of Brahma himself as the title befitting the rulers because of their divine descent and unfailing divine support (2).

Kanishka was the successor of Vima Kadphises and the latter's predecessor Kujula Kadphises, and he was the most prominent representative of the Kushana dynasty which began with the two above-mentioned kings. Kushana was originally the name of a clan or tribe. Kujula Kadphises made it the name of a whole people in the last third of the first century B.C., when he seized the reins of power over the entire state of an originally nomadic people who had become sedentary for a century in Bactria. Prior to that he was one of the five princes who shared domination of the people, as we are told by the Chinese annals known as the *Yueh-chih* (3).

These nomads on the south-west border of the Gobi are mentioned for the first time early in the second century B.C. Driven out of their pastoral lands by the Hsiung-nu in the middle of the

second century B.C. they moved towards the south-west. They settled in the highly developed upper Oxus region (4) where they doubtlessly adopted the urban civilisation of the Hellenistic Bactrian kingdoms. They established their kingdom in an area in which the influence of three cultures overlapped, that of the Indian sub-continent, that of Iran influenced by Hellenistic culture, and that of the steppes of Central Asia. It was a junction of world trade connecting China with India and both with West Asia, the Mediterranean and Rome. From there Kujula Kadphises (5) and his successors conquered a territory which covers present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan and North India, and established a great power of the first order, which is called Kushansahr in the Shapur I inscription of about 260 A.D. in Naqshi-Rustam. Other border regions, such as Khwarezm and the Tarim basin, were more or less in a state of temporary vassalage.

The Kushanas were not Mongols, they were Caucasians with narrow heads, prominent noses and abundant hair and beard growth. The Chinese even discovered people with red hair and blue eyes among them. The details of their history are still obscure and although we possess more than a hundred dated inscriptions and many thousands of coins issued by their rulers, the dates submitted by leading archaeologists vary by 68 years, as they have not yet succeeded in determining accurately the era covered by the Kushanas. None of the four proposals, which suggest that Kanishka's rule started in 78 A.D., 110-115 A.D., 128 A.D. or 144 A.D. was able to gain conviction despite a conference held specifically for this purpose in London in 1960. Without going into the pros and cons (6) we may safely say that our study is placed in the decades before and after 100 A.D. On the basis of the dated inscriptions and the coins, the following periods of government may be laid down for Kanishka and his immediate successors, although we should not fail to point out that there were possibly three rulers with the name of Kanishka and two with that of Huvishka :

Kanishka I	reigned from	1 to 23
Vasishka	reigned from	24 to 28
(period of one or both)		
Huvishka	reigned from	28 to 60
Kanishka II	appears on the Ara-inscription	41
Vasudeva I	reigned from	64/67 to 98

The standing statue of Kanishka was found near the village of Mat, about 14.5 km north of the city of Mathura on the left bank

of the river Yamuna in the Tokri Tila mound about 1,200 metres north-east of the village where Pandit Radha Krishna excavated a temple site in the spring of 1912. The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1911-1912 contain a brief report by John Marshall (7) and a more detailed one by J. Ph. Vogel (8) on these excavations. Literature on this subject has in the meanwhile increased considerably during the last 50 years. Only the most recent publications will be mentioned here: Mathura Inscriptions by Heinrich Lueders and Klaus L. Janert, Goettingen, 1961, and John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas*, Berkley and Los Angeles, 1967.

Two inscriptions [Lueders 80d (9) and 80c (10)] enlighten us on the purpose of this poorly preserved and incompetently excavated site. Those inscriptions reveal that this was not so much a temple for the gods as a dynastic shrine, centred around the grandfather of Huvishka. This description of the purpose is supported by the discovery of the statues on the site of this temple.

In the centre of the site, the lower half of a colossal seated portrait, 208 cm high, of a ruler on the Lion Throne was found (11). He is seated in the "European pose" and has the same gigantic boots as Kanishka. The right hand holds a sword of which only the hilt is still partly preserved. The left hand is broken off. Perhaps it rested on the scabbard laid over the knees. The costume consisting of a tunic and topcoat resembles that of Kanishka. The head and the upper part of the throne are missing and the knees are heavily damaged. Although the name of the figure portrayed cannot clearly be read as Vima on the above-mentioned inscription, there is a consensus of opinion that the throning ruler is a portrait statue of Vima Kadphises, the grandfather of Huvishka (12) mentioned in another inscription, to whom the temple was dedicated. There is no need to go into further detail on the fragments of statues and deities. We shall now proceed to a more thorough study of the statue of Kanishka.

Like all the statuary of Mathura it is made of red Sikri sandstone. This stone is irregular in structure and is covered with light spots which impair the plastic effect, as they destroy the unity of the surface. There is hardly any doubt that these statues were coloured as has been proved for the contemporary Gandhara school in the Kushana kingdom. It is also conceivable, that the large flat surface areas of the coat and tunic were decorated with ornamental cloth patterns (13).

The garments, the tunic and topcoat, are made of heavy ma-

materials, the topcoat appears to be even heavier than the lower garment which has light folds reproduced schematically. Extremely un-Indian is the fact that the garments are cut and stitched. The shalwar worn under the tunic and tucked into the boots is also alien to India. Indians wear unstitched clothes which wrap around their bodies, and they go barefoot or in sandals. A mention must also be made of the belt consisting of square ornamented metal plaques, which recur as mountings on the scabbard of the sword. This costume came originally from Central Asia, and remained unchanged in its basic elements through the centuries. The equestrian tribes of Central Asia introduced it to the Middle East and we may follow its traces from the Achaemenidian images up to the present day. It is timeless because it corresponds directly to the needs of a nomadic equestrian people and is also suited to the extreme differences in temperature occurring in a steppe climate.

Kanishka's sword is about one metre long. Its pommel is shaped like a bird's neck and a bird's head. The hand covers and hides the grip of the hilt. A band is wrapped around the scabbard. It is not quite clear how it is knotted at the back and whether it is fastened to the topcoat. One open band end bears a head which is decorated with a multi-petalled lotus flower—without doubt an Indian motif, one of the few we find on this statue. The longish plate which is set into the scabbard and under which the fastening straps are threaded is conspicuous. Maenchen-Helfen has shown (14) that this type of scabbard slide is to be found in the Sarmatian graves in the Volga region, on Sassanian silver salvers and finally also during the Chou and Han periods in China. He believes that this peculiarity of the weapon was prevalent among the nomads of Central Asia and was carried to the three directions by such nations as the Yueh-chih. In any case for the Kushanas it was as much a part of their nomadic heritage as the whole costume so strange and impractical for India.

On the other hand the giant club or mace 104 cm long which Kanishka holds in front of him upright with his right hand looks completely Indian. It looks as if it has been carved out of wood and then held together with metal bands. It broadens from the top to the bottom. Between the first two bands it is round, between the second and the third and the third and the fourth, it is sixteen-sided, between the fourth and the fifth it is finally eight-sided. This design recalls the way the pillars of Indian temples are often composed. The bottom of the mace reveals a makara

which characterises it even more as an Indian weapon, in contrast to the sword with its nomadic reminiscences.

The crocodilian makara possesses a dual nature in Indian art. On the one hand, it is the emblem of the fructifying principle inherent in moisture. It is itself a demonic creature living in water. On the other hand, it is an emblem of conflict, violence and death. This first symbolic meaning as the abundance of life need not be discussed further here. It is well-known and has been treated by many authors. In this mace we are dealing with the second, less well-known meaning which has not been the subject of a special study yet.

The makara on this mace gives the magical power of spreading death and destruction. In the *Mahabharata* (IV. 69 passim) and in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (X. II. VI.) a formidable battle array is several times described as a makara formation. In the *Mahabharata* (I. 138) the mighty hero Bhima is compared to a makara entering the sea, and to the God of Death, Yama, when with mace in hand he penetrates the Panchala ranks fiercely roaring like the ocean in tempest. Kanishka must have liked the idea of being compared to a hero as popular as Bhima and living in the memory of the people he ruled as a mighty and valiant warrior. Thus Kanishka's mace symbolises martial triumph and characterises the victorious military commander. This view is confirmed further by the legendary life of Kanishka. Constant mention is made of military campaigns and battles and the uncounted dead who remained behind on Kanishka's battlefields and for whose sake he had to suffer the penalties of Hell after his death. It is in keeping with the costume of the equestrian and warrior who felt more at home in the saddle than on a comfortable throne, who never removed his boots and preferred not to exchange his heavy garment for the comfortable and flowing robes of court life. A similar mace is to be seen on a coin of Vima (15) (copper coin 29). It is reproduced standing on its own beside the ruler. We, however, do not find the mace on Kanishka's coins, and even on the other Kushana coins; only rudiments of the mace are sometimes indicated. Hermann Berger remarked orally during the discussion after this lecture that the strange name of Vima might well be derived from Bhima which would add an important point to the explanation of the role of the mace on Kushana coins and sculptures.

But Kanishka is shown in the same warrior's costume on most of his coins as in the statue from Mat. He took over this form



of royal representation from his predecessor Vima Kadphises, of whom, however, there is only one coin of this type, namely the above-mentioned copper coin. The king is standing frontally, feet apart, head in profile to the left. His right hand is held over a small altar, as if offering sacrifice, while the left clasps the sword. He is heavily bearded and wears a high rounded cap on his head. His heavy topcoat with rolled lapels is held with a double clasp at the chest. Under it is the tunic with its belt of round discs visible. A trident stands to the left of the ruler, to the right the mace with a grip mentioned already, besides this the monogram. Apart from this one example only Kanishka is portrayed in this way.

The example selected here is the "Basileus" type of coin, thus called because the legend runs: BASILEUS BASILEON KANESHKOU. Reverse: SALENE—Goddess of Moon.

Kanishka is wearing a low, rounded cap. Like Vima, he is standing frontally, his head with a heavy untidy beard turned in profile to the left. The wart on his cheek which recurs more or less distinctly on all coins is conspicuous. Here we gain an impression of the head which could complete the torso of the standing portrait statue. He wears a long tunic, long shalwars with spur straps, similar to those found on the statue. Here too the topcoat is held by a double clasp at the chest. The sword hangs from the left hip, its pommel is shaped like an animal neck and head; it could, therefore, correspond to the form of the stone statue. In his left hand he holds a long spear upright. The right hand is stretched in sacrificial offering towards a low altar. A flame emanates from the right shoulder in order to indicate the divine splendour which is an attribute of kingship.

The Greek type is set off by the Iranian type. We call it the SHAONANO-SHAO type (16). The legend runs: SHAONANO-SHAO KANESHKI KOSHANO. The image of the ruler is not very much different to that of the Basileus type. The most important difference is that while offering sacrifice over the altar he holds an ankusha, an elephant goad in his right hand, thus demonstrating that he is a master of India's greatest instrument of warfare—a feature which corresponds to the purport of the mace.

We should devote some more attention to the shoulder flames. They indicate the divine mandate, the divine calling, and they point in the same direction as the nimbus which glows around the head of a ruler in other cases.

Some scholars (17) link this fiery or radiant feature with the kavaem khvareno which is bestowed on the ruler by Ahura Mazda as long as he governs sincerely and justly. Both features are, however, to be found in Buddhism too, where they are ascribed to Buddha (18). We are, however, primarily interested in knowing whether the Kanishka statue was also originally adorned with this sign of supernatural powers. And indeed on the rear side of the stone portrait, which was not meant to be seen, there is a regular, uninterrupted incision, from which one may conclude that the torso once possessed a disc-shaped nimbus. This would conform to the title of devaputra or "Son of God".

After the coins we may draw upon the so-called Kanishka reliquary for comparison. It was discovered by D. B. Spooner in the stupa of Shah-ji-ki-dheri in Gandhara in 1908 (19). In doing this we enter the other contemporaneous flourishing province of art of the Kushana empire in the north-west of India which reflects

the entire cosmopolitanism of Kushansahr while the Mathura school is rooted firmly in Indian soil. The small bronze casket slightly over 20 centimetres high, is crowned by a triad on the lid consisting of Buddha flanked by two figures. The reliquary is the ideal example of the Iran-Indian-Hellenistic-Roman cultural synthesis which took place in Gandhara, a syncretism reflected in the Kanishka and Huvishka coinage which presents the pantheon of deities from all three cultures on the reverse. The crotes bearing the garlands encircling the receptacle in a wave pattern are a classical motif of the Mediterranean, a motif which was reinterpreted as part of the Indian symbols of fertility. Another remarkable feature is the inclusion of two Buddhas flanked by Bodhisattvas placed in the garland loops. Above this there are flying swans (hamsas) at the edge of the casket, another Indian motif. However, the image of the king on the casket interrupting the wreath of garlands is Iranian. It is flanked by the Sun and Moon gods like an Iranian prince and is thus deified as "The brother of the sun and the moon", as Ammianus Marcellinus said (20). The king on the reliquary holds lotus flowers in his right hand. He has large feet, heavy boots and the same position of feet astraddle as Kanishka's stone portrait. Through his presence the image has the same vigour and imperious manifestation of power which we find in the age of Kanishka and in the early stages of Huvishka. The other garments, the tunic, topcoat and shalwar, are also the same. The hand, however, looks quite different. All that is left of the heavy, untidy-looking beard are some sort of side-burns, which are a feature of the coin portraits of Huvishka. Because of this dissimilarity, Marshall and Rosenfield conclude that this cannot be Kanishka I but, as they suggest, Kanishka II who is mentioned only once in the ARA-inscription. I am, however, not quite so sure whether one can make everything depend on the Emperor's beard; but there is no doubt that the reliquary remains an unsolved enigma. There are various interpretations of the inscription and above all its dating to year 1 of Kanishka is questioned (21). The untrustworthy attribution to Greek artist named Agesilaos is due to a reading mistake, too.

We, however, move on more solid ground when dealing with Surkh Kotal, which lies in the southern part of the Bactrian plain and which in the fifties was excavated by the Delegation Archeologique Francaise in Afghanistan under the direction of Daniel Schlumberger (22). The temple is situated on top of a hill and was approached by five flights of stairs. It was in all probability

a fire temple, but it was certainly a dynastic shrine like Mat near Mathura. Five princely effigies in stone were found here, unfortunately even more heavily damaged than those of Mat. The long inscription in cursive Greek letters and a Central Iranian language whose reading and translation is still highly controversial starts with the sentence: "This acropolis, the Kanishka—Nikator sanctuary, to which the lord, King Kanishka gave his Name". So, Surkh Kotal may have been a temple of Kanishka just as Mat was a temple of Vima Kadphises. Of the five royal effigies found in Surkh Kotal the most important one is a lime-stone statue in an ornate tunic reaching below the knees and a heavy topcoat. Perhaps it is a statue of Kanishka himself. It has a wide full-bloused shalwar with foot straps over the shoes. The proportions, the frontality, the hieratic symmetry, the splay-footed pose are similarities which urge upon a strong connection. They have an anti-illusionist effect and archaize the royal portrait.

The Kanishka figure from Mathura wears high felt boots and the shalwar is not visible at all. He appears to be prepared for military engagements in a simple, more tightly drawn robe, with little ornament, and heavily armed. This would conform with the destination of Mathura which seems to have been more a military camp than a princely court. In Surkh Kotal the clothing has the same basic form but appears more ornate. The tunic is adorned with a vine rinceau pattern running down the centre. The mace is missing. The sword is smaller, it hangs from the belt and appears more like an ornamental dagger. The figure is that of Kanishka of Mathura but arrayed in the festive robes of the palace in times of peace. This tendency to more finery is also found in another torso whose upper body, 133 centimetres high, is preserved. It bears a fur-edged topcoat with disc-shaped buckles. The statue in Mathura is much flatter and drastically destroys any illusion of depth. The standing statues of Surkh Kotal, on the other hand, have more depth being images with a three-dimensional effect because of the manifold transition in the changing lines of the folds. This may be observed especially in the full-bloused shalwars. This comparison shows the cultural span between the Indian outpost Mathura and the centre in this kingdom welded together by the Kushanas. It is reflected not only in the acropolis of Surkh Kotal but especially in Kapisa near Begram, the summer capital of the Kushanas, where precious treasures from all parts of the world have been found including Alexandrian metal statuettes, Syrian glassware, lacquered chests from Han

China and ivory slabs from India, remaining from wooden toilet chests long decayed (23).

In this connection the dynastic shrine excavated from 1962 to 1964 by the Soviets in Chalcajan, east of Termez—that is in the centre of ancient Bactria and in the heart of old Kushansahr—is of special interest. Unfortunately, I have only had the opportunity of reading the description given by Belenickij in the *Archaeologia Mundi* (24) but not of seeing any pictures yet. Its main hall was decorated on top with a frieze of garlands and erotes like the Kanishka reliquary. Below that there were sculptured groups, e.g. the seated figures of a king and queen surrounded by their family and with deities swaying above their heads; also one group of ten people and another of seven to eight riders in Central Asian costumes. Among the smaller discoveries we may refer to a small terracotta medallion with the following image: A bearded man seated on a low throne wearing a pointed hat, high boots, and a belted tunic. Understandably this medallion has been connected with the stone statue of Mathura referred to at the beginning which portrays Vima Kadphises.

In India unfortunately we have no opportunity of using shrines with royal effigies for comparison. The only known example, the cave on the Nanaghat Pass (25), still bears name inscriptions of the first Satavahana kings from the second half of the first century B.C. but the portraits belonging to them have been destroyed by erosion. On the other hand, we find a number of examples in the culture of Iran, for instance, in Shami (26) or on the Nimrud Dagħ (27). Toprak Kala in Khwarezm possessed a hall with multi-coloured princely portraits in stucco (28). As the most impressive example we shall select a group of portrait statues which have been excavated in Hatra (29) in northern Iran in 1951 from outside the palace area. The cultural culmination of this small oasis occurred at the same time as that of Kushansahr. Fifteen royal statues and more than thirty images of deities were found here. Attention may be drawn to some features which show a certain similarity to the portraits of Mat and Surkh Kotal. First of all the splay-footed pose which is manifested most distinctly in the image of a god with a goat. The costumes also bear much resemblance. The most prominent feature is the rigid frontality, e.g. King Sanatruq who reigned during Traian's siege in 117 A.D. Like Kanishka the statue is reduced to simple almost stereometric lines. The King's body is a cylinder, his beard has a spade-like shape with symmetrical wave pattern of lines. Just as the beard is

covered with a wave pattern of lines the tunic is covered with an embroidered circle pattern. This rich surface adornment contrasts with the plain simplicity of the plastic structure of the underlying forms. This is one reason why we assume that the surface ornament now missing on the Kanishka statue was in the form of painting. A rich climbing vine decorates the stocky figure of an unknown nobleman. We may compare it to Surkh Kotal where the vine branch with its systematically arranged leaves was transformed into the leaf form of the Pipal tree commonly found in India. Thus the Kushana portraits of Mathura and Surkh Kotal were not isolated occurrences. There are differences in the religious, geographical and historical background, but they all belong to a common Iranian sphere of culture.

In concluding we shall turn our attention to Mathura and its school again. Anyone, whoever he may be, who sees the Kanishka statue among the forest of other statues from the Mathura school in the Archaeological Museum of Mathura, feels the exotic fascination emanating from it. Its exaggerated flatness and its silhouette-like character detach it from daily life and its vigorous display and lift it to a solemn, supernatural world. Even the other sculptural pieces are pillar figures and bound to the wall of the shrine, but they show in spite of all frontality their overpowering roundness and an inclination to robust solidness and thickset proportions. A group of Bodhisattva figures draw attention when compared to the Kanishka's statue. They have the same monolith-like vigour, the same impressive frontality and heaviness of the limbs. The ungainly feet which stand in a splay-footed pose, although they are not completely turned outwards, appear to be especially weighty. One example is to be found in the Sakyamuni donated, as the inscription says, by the Monk Bala in the year 3 of the Kanishka era, and now in the Museum of Sarnath (30). The other figures in the group from Kausambi and Shravasti are also dated in the early years of Kanishka's rule, so that one may conclude that the statue of the king also belongs to this early period. This is also probable because it was placed in a shrine of his predecessor. The epigraphic findings support this date. In the donations of the Monk Bala we find the same letter types and the same unusual spelling of Kanishka's name with a long "a" to be found on the king's statue itself.

In Indian tradition we find the chakravartin, the world emperor, with his seven jewels whose pictorial representation is frequent in the Satavahana empire neighbouring the Kushanas in the south.

The chakravartin bears no weapons. Due to Buddhist influence he represents the idealized king who reigns justly in peace without violence (31). Images of chakravartins, there are about 30, are never portraits, they do not mean a special king. They stand in complete contrast to the Kanishka statue which represents the equestrian general of the military camp of Mathura furnished with the terrible weapons of destruction, a portrait executed by the royal sculptor according to the ruler's will in order to create the appearance of a godlike being, which is indicated also by the inscriptions.

The Maharaja Rajadhiraja Devaputra Kanishka is a deified royal figure, a victorious prince of the steppes, who appears with the club of Bhima, the hero of the *Mahabharata*, and with his hieratic stylization radiates archaic vigour and solemnity like the image of a god. He stands like Kushansahr itself, whose power he personified, at the junction of Central Asian, Iranian and Indian influences, all three of which contributed to his shaping. The Hellenistic Roman components predominating in Gandhara influence it in no way. But a prototype from the Iranian-Parthenian region certainly played a decisive role in its execution. In the development of Indian Art it has, together with the other Kushana royal portraits, neither a forerunner nor descendants.

1. Heinrich Lueders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, edited by Klaus L. Janert, Goettingen 1961, 97.

2. Compare John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, p. 204.

3. The name Kushana does not appear in India either in the Puranas, the *Mahabharata* or in other similar sources. Apparently various variations of the name Tokhari were used instead of Kushana. Even the name of the hill near Mathura, where the dynastic sanctum of the Kushanas was found (see below), indicates this. It is called Tokri Tila (Tocharer hill). Unfortunately this name does not appear on any coin, on any inscription nor in any old sources in connection with the Kushanas.

4. The Chinese General Chang-ch'ien who had been delegated to seek their alliance against the Huns, met them there around 129 B.C. His report is one of the main sources for the history of these people.

5. The Hou Han-shu (118.9a) reports that the Kuei-shaung-wang (Kushana King) invaded An-hsi, conquered Kao-fu, destroyed Puita and Ki-pin and died at the age of 80. It is undisputed that this refers to Kujula Kadphises. His successor, Vima Kadphises, conquered India.

6. Rosenfield gives a good survey of the pros and cons of the attempts at verifying the dates, l. c. pp. 253-258.

7. ASI Annual Report 1911-1912, 1. 1914, pp. 14-16.

8. *ibidem* 1911-1912, 2. 1915, pp. 120-127, pl. 51.

9. Lueders l. c. 98.

10. *ibidem* 99.

11. Illustrated in Bachhofer, *Fruehindische Plastik* (Early Indian Sculptures) 1929, pl. 77.78 (1), Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathura* 1930, pl. 2., Rosenfield l. c. pl. 1.

12. Illustrated in Codrington, *Ancient India* 1926, p. 44, pl. 21E; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* 1927, pl. 18, fig. 65; Bachhofer, *Early*



39. Sarnath,
Buddha, dedicated
by Friar Bala





Facing page :

40. Mathura, Kanishka Statue
(Mathura Museum)
41. Gold Coin, Kanishka
SHAONANOSHAO
(British Museum)
42. Surkh Kotal, Kushana
Statue, (Kanishka ?)
(Kabul Museum)
- 43/44. Sha-jiki-dheri, So-called
Kanishka Reliquary,
Copper, (Peshawar Museum)



Indian Sculpture 1929, pl. 76; Vogel, Sculpture de Mathura 1930, pl. 1; Rosenfield, l. c. pl. 2.

13. As with the "tocharic" patrons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. on the wall paintings in the cave monasteries around Kuca in East Turkestan. Compare, Gruenwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan* (Ancient Buddhist cult places in Chinese-Turkestan), Berlin 1912, passim and von LeCoq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 7 Bände (The Buddhist Antiquity in Central Asia, 7 vol.), Berlin 1922-1923, vol. 3-7 passim.

14. Central Asiatic Journal III, pp. 85-138.

15. Rosenfield l.c. coin No. 29 and text illustration 2, p. 25.

16. In Rosenfield l.c. coin No. 30.

17. Herzfeld, Zoroaster and His World, p. 818; Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, II (1945), p. 269.

18. Also in the depiction of the miracle of Shravasti (ill. 176, 178 in Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens—Buddhist Art of India*, Leipzig 1965), the shoulder flames and innumerable Buddha pictures of various kinds of Nimbus, e.g. in Buddha of Katra, *ibidem* Illustration 218).

19. Spooner, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1908-09*, pp. 38-51; *ibidem* 1909-10, p. 135 ff.; Marshall, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 105 ff.; and many others, vide Rosenfield, l. c. pp. 259-262.

20. XXIII, 6, 4-6, Where Shapur II is called "King of Kings, Companion of the Stars, Brother of Sun and Moon".

21. Rosenfield, l. c. p. 259. Even the reading of Agisala as artist's name (Greek *Agasilaios*) is doubted by Burrow. He considers the word to be the Karosthi equivalent of the Pali word *aggisala* (hall of heat). The coarse and ungracious make-up of the bronze piece makes one suppose it could not be the hand of a Greek.

22. Schlumberger, *Le temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952, pp. 533-543; 1954, pp. 161-205; 1955, pp. 269-280; Surkh Kotal, *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, pp. 232-237; VIII, 1955, pp. 82-87; Surkh Kotal, *Antiquity*, XXXIII, 1959, pp. 81-86; Note sur la troisième campagne des fouilles de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, *Compte Rendus, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1953, pp. 30-33; 1954, pp. 107-109; 1955, pp. 64-71; 1957, pp. 176-181; 1961, pp. 205-212; The excavations at Surkh Kotal and the problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLVII, 1961, pp. 77-95.

23. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, *Memoirs della Delegation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, IX, 1939; *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* (1933-40), *ibidem* VIII, 1959; *Recontre de trois civilisations. Inde, Grèce, Chine. Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, (1939-1940) 1954; Ghirshman, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram, ancienne Kapici*; *ibidem* XI, 1954; Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Konchans*; *ibidem* XII, 1946.

24. Alexander Belenickij, *Central Asia*, in: *Archaeologia Mundi*, Geneva 1968, pp. 101-104.

25. Burgess, *Report on the Ellura Caves and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India*, pp. 59-74; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* pp. 14, 15.

26. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, pp. 129-159, pls. IV-VI.

27. Rosenfield, l.c. pp. 165-167 and the literature mentioned there.

28. Tolstov, *Dervnji Khosrem*, Compiled by Ghirshman, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI (1953), pp. 209 ff., 292 ff.

29. No conclusive archaeological report as yet. Safar, *Sumer*, VIII, 1952, p. 1 ff.; *Sumer*, IX, 1953, p. 7 ff.; Caquot, *Syria*, XXIX, 1952, pp. 89-118; *Syria*, XXXIII, 1955, pp. 49-58; Fukai, *East and West*, XI, 1960, pp. 135-182.

30. More statues donated by the same Monk Bala came from Kausambi and Shravasti. For the Sarnath sculptures compare Ram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 35, 36, for those from Shravasti *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 180 ff.; for those from Kausambi, *ibidem* XXIV, pp. 211, 212.

31. Mahasudassana Sutama des Digha Nikaya, translated in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* III, pp. 192-232. The depictions were frequent especially in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.

Structural Plan and Stylistic Design of the Mahesha Cave Temple on Elephanta

THE island of Elephanta is situated in the eastern half of Bombay Harbour, about ten to eleven kilometres from the Gateway of India. The island-rock is only about 7.24 kilometres in circumference and the census of 1961 records 496 people living in the few houses there. Eight cave temples were hewn into the basalt-like trap of its rock slopes(1).

The practice of cutting places of worship or dwellings for ascetics and monks into natural rock can be traced back in India to the third century B.C. Of course, free-standing edifices for the same purposes have existed at all times, even before the advent of the cave temples. The architectural details of the rock-cut temples show quite clearly that they have been inspired by similar constructions in wood. Between the second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. the construction of cave temples went through a period of efflorescence, especially in the hills of the Western Ghats, which were particularly suited for this purpose. Here generations of artisans have worked continuously for hundreds of years on rock-cut temples. The Elephanta Caves are thus a part of a technically and artistically well-founded tradition. Nothing of the wooden free-standing edifices has remained. What they perhaps looked like can be inferred from their conversion into the medium of stone. The popularity of cave temples may have been due to their durability, but was also certainly due to the protection which they ideally offered against heat and rain. Mystical and religious motives must also have led the people of those times to seek the revelation of the godhead in the rock's womb.

On Elephanta, the entrance to the main temple, dedicated to Shiva Mahesha (Great Lord), leads from the northern side of the island after a steep climb from the coast. It is, however, artificial and has been put there for the benefit of tourists. The island consists of two hill-tops and the valley in between, opening out naturally towards the south. The modest village of Gharapuri is situated there, as also the old pier used by the Portuguese. The ruins of a watch-tower bear testimony to this. The stone elephant

which gave the island its modern name also stood here. In 1864 it was transferred to the Victoria Gardens in Bombay where it can still be seen. The valley between the two hill-tops runs exactly from the south to the north. The historical path leading to the main temple of Mahesha rises gradually from the valley.

On this path four more caves on the western slope appear to be the first stages on the pilgrim's route to the main cave. Starting from the south, they bear the number V, IV, III, II, the main cave being allotted the number I. Three further caves are on the north-western slope of the eastern hill-top and can be reached by a path which branches off towards the east from the depression in the valley. These are numbered VI and VII. The last one is unfinished and hence it was not considered worthwhile to number it.

The Architectural Lay-out of the Mahesha Temple

All the other cave temples described till now fade into insignificance when compared with the Mahesha Temple (Cave I). This is situated about 60 metres above sea-level at the end of the path which winds up from the valley.

The main axis of this cave runs parallel to the hill. The congregation hall looks like a forest of 20 columns without any specific arrangement. But on closer inspection it is possible to discern three naves running from east to west. Two rows of four pillars each demarcate the main nave which leads up directly to the sanctum in which a linga is visible. Both the side caves run directly into the passage of circumambulation (pradakshinapatha). One can enter the congregation hall from the courts situated in the front and the back, i.e. from the east and the west, by means of short flights of steps between two columns. We shall speak later about the third, i.e. the northern entrance.

The architectural forms and the centre of worship is the cubic sanctum, each side measuring approximately 7.3 metres. This is open on all four sides, the doorways being guarded by dvarapalas. The eastern and western courts are artificially laid out. They isolate the main face of the rock from the mass of the main temple carved out by human hand. A circular pedestal for the bull, Nandi, Shiva's vehicle (vahana), is situated in the centre of the front court in the east. No trace of the actual sculpture has remained. In the back court in the west there is a similar, but smaller, circular disc. Both courtyards could be entered separately from the north by means of passages cut through the rock.

If the hall, with its three naves, which has been described above and which runs from east to west leading to the sanctum, is taken to be the mahamandapa (congregation hall) then one gets in the south and north long, narrow, double-naved side chapels. In the north this long side tract consists of the ardhmandapa which acts as the antechamber to the entrance of the north side, on the one hand, and the rectangular mukhamandapa, which has been extended by a yoke on both sides, in the east and west, which thus establishes a connection with the mahamandapa, on the other. This double-naved structure, which has two columns and two demicolumns at its entrance from the outside, appears today to be a sort of entrance hall, as it is the sole access to the entire complex. The entrances to the eastern and western courts are no longer in use.

The mahamandapa has in the south a long double-naved side chapel of the same size as the one in the north. It does not, however, lead to the outside but further into the rock. In the middle of the side chapel stands like a revelation, the three-faced head of Mahesha between two recesses containing the shrines of Shiva as Ardhanarishvara and of Gangadhara. This is the second focal point of the temple.

It is clear from the stone beams on the ceiling connecting the columns that the structure of the temple thus developed was intentional. The longitudinal rows of columns running from east to west are linked with each other. Only in the rangamandapa (the main nave) and the rows of columns at the eastern and western gates do we find cross-bars between the upper ends of columns. This clearly stresses the east to west conception and marks the eastern entrance as the main one leading to the sanctuary. In spite of this, a second conception is also evident, which crosses the traditional east to west nave in a north-southerly direction. The congregation hall can also be regarded as a triple-aisled structure, if one enters it from the north. The main nave thus leads to Mahesha and the two side naves lead to the adjoining shrines. The arrangement of the ceiling is thereby not taken into account. But this does not attract one's attention to that extent, since such focal points as the three-faced head force both eyes and steps towards them. The cubic cell to the right with the linga is thereby also not taken into account. The sanctuary conceived within the original architectural framework gives place to a second one created by the concentration on the sculptural main point.

This second conception leading to the head of Mahesha is also so clear that it cannot be just a coincidence. This leads one to

the conclusion that a cross-shaped ground-plan was envisaged. And strictly speaking, the Chaturmukha sanctum (four-faced cell) with its four doorways opening in all directions has its legitimate place in the centre of a cross-shaped structure, the four doorways claiming equal attention for all four directions. In the Yogeshvari cave temple in Amboli one can see the prototype of this concept. The Chaturmukha sanctum is situated there in the centre of the temple and the mandapas, equal in length and breadth, diverge from it in all directions.

In the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta, however, the central sanctum is displaced towards the west by two yokes, thus allowing an uninterrupted view of the three-faced head from the north. The original conception of a purely cross-shaped plan has thus been obscured by the displacement of the sanctum, and the visitor's feeling for symmetry can be disturbed by this. But perhaps the uneasiness thereby produced was deliberately created. This theory is supported by the fact that nowadays the northern gate is the sole means of entry.

The Dumar Lena Temple in Ellora has a ground-plan similar to the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta (2). There we have one arm of the cross leading to the Chaturmukha sanctum from south-west to north-west. The other arm links up the adjacent entrances in the south-west and north-west. The sanctum is also displaced from the centre by two yokes, so that barely the space of a yoke is left between the cell and the face of the rock for circumambulation. In this case there was no reason for decentralising the cell. A sculpture which could have acted as a second focal point is non-existent here. The example of the Mahesha cave temple has obviously been followed here, although there was no necessity to do so, as in the former case. Other cave temples with a cross-shaped ground-plan and three entrances are not otherwise known in India. The Yogeshvari Cave marks the first stage in the development of this type, followed by the Mahesha Cave, with the Dumar Lena (3) coming last.

The cross-shaped arrangement of the Mahesha Temple is emphasised by the situation of the recessed shrines with the sculptures. The eastern, western and northern gates are flanked on each side by two such shrines and two further ones flank the head of Mahesha in the south, in such a way that one finds a veritable pictorial wall which pours out its animated sculptures over the whole breadth of the hall. The two secondary rooms to the right and left of Mahesha and its adjoining alcoves may also be

mentioned here. These are absolutely without any sculptural decoration. What they were meant for remains obscure. It is possible that they served as a sort of vestry for storing the effects of the temple. It is also possible that they were reserved for unknown ceremonial purposes.

The chiaroscuro of this type of cave temple, which is open on three sides, is particularly attractive. One does not enter a dark but a dusky hall, which offers everywhere unexpected shafts of lights and captivating views. One can give oneself up to these effects without fear of distraction, as one is not forced between walls or into one direction by the architectural lay-out, but is left free to wander in the hall as in a grove of columns with light from three sides. One is only confronted with total darkness on one side. There, however, a spiritual light falls on the devotee in the epiphany of the supreme being.

Iconography of a Pilgrimage Centre

The main purpose of the cave temple of Mahesha on Elephanta is to provide worshippers of the God the opportunity of puja. One has to imagine that this great shrine overflowed with pilgrims at the time of the Shivaratri and other festivals—pilgrims who came over in boats. As the size of the cave is not proportionate to the tiny island and its small population, one concludes that Elephanta must have been a place of pilgrimage. The pilgrims landed on the south of the Gharapuri island and going past the large stone elephant went up the valley between the two hillocks of the island. They could visit the smaller cave temples on the way before assembling in the main shrine. There they had the possibility of going from shrine to shrine and worshipping the Great God, in all His multiple manifestations.

The groups of sculptures in the stage-like niches of the shrines look like scenes out of a mystery play. There are ever-recurring sets and a background decoration which, except for minor details, remains uniform. Shiva's world theatre unfolds itself before the entire population of gods. Both the gods and the pilgrims are spectators to the epiphanies of Mahesha. Only occasionally do they step out of the ranks of the audience as active participants on the stage, e.g. Brahma in the marriage ceremonies at which he has to function as the high priest. In general, they have their fixed places in the world order, as represented on the stages of the shrines. The left picture surface is commanded by Brahma on a lotus throne

carried by hamsas, the right by Vishnu on Garuda. They are absent only once, on the Andhakasuravadhamurti, where the elephant skin stretched out by Shiva with both hands, covers the entire background. Next to the great gods stand others, of lesser rank, but this is not always the case. Ganesha and Kumara, and sometimes even Yama on his buffalo, socialise with Brahma on the left. On the right, next to Vishnu, one finds Indra on his elephant, Airavata, and Surya on his horse. Crowded in-between are the apsaras and gandharvas, the long-limbed gods of the wind who generally fly in a kneeling position in pairs. Their goblin-like counterparts are also there, the plump, dwarfed figures of the ganas with short legs, large heads and fat bellies, whose leader is Ganesha. They wend their way through the deity-filled sky, ready to render service as and when they may be required. Thus, the entire Hindu pantheon of great and smaller gods is present in the background of the shrines whenever Shiva reveals himself.

The question that comes to mind is whether the choice of the scenes, eight in number in the main temple, is based on any rules or whether it is coincidental. We should of course not expect any strict system. These are the coloured pictures of a *biblia pauperum*, put before the faithful by the priests. Every single thing is connected with a lesson, an information or a sermon. Indeed, one could call them pictorial sermons. The text is in the Puranas. The grouping depends upon the content.

Both shrines near the eastern gateway, Ravananugrahamurti with Ravana shaking Kailasa and the idyll of the godley couple Uma-sahita-Shiva, depict Mount Kailasa in a Himalayan landscape represented by the sculptors with rocks and cliffs. One who enters (the eastern gateway is the main entrance) sees the great god in his dwelling, his home and origin, from where all deeds are performed. This god does not live somewhere vaguely in the heavens; he is localised on the earthly Mount Kailasa.

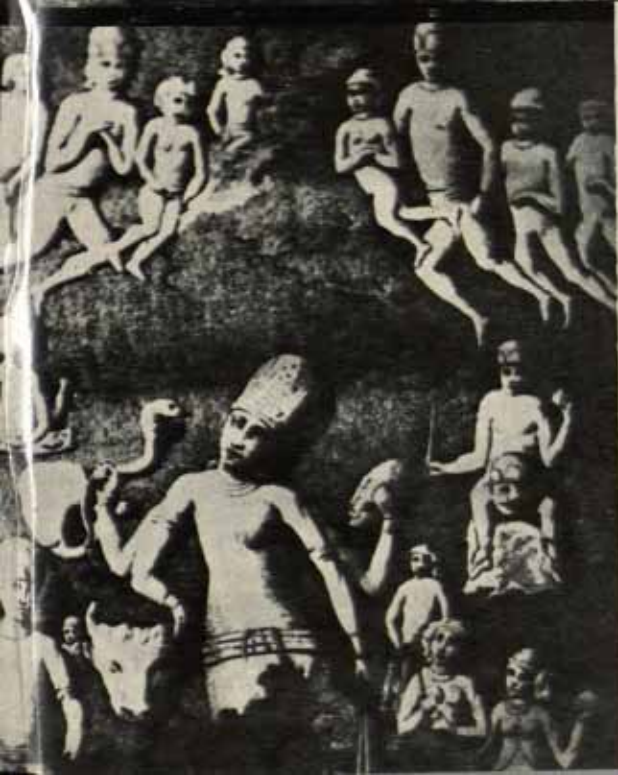
It is not arbitrary to suppose that the path of the pilgrims through the temple from one scene of the mystery play to the next began in the east, went on to the south and from there via the west to the north. For, this is the circumambulation, the pradakshina, as per the movement of the sun. The first five scenes (1-5) depict Shiva and Parvati in the centre as a couple. On Kailasa they sit in a romantic pose (1-2). They stand together as a couple in the dramatic descent of the Ganga—Gangadhara (4) and naturally also in the tender marriage scene—Kalyanasundaramurti (5). Particularly noticeable is the third scene in which the divine is revealed in Ardhanarishvara as the

male-female principle in one body—the left side being female, the right one male. Five male-female manifestations are followed by three scenes in which Shiva stands commanding the focal point as Andhakasuravadhamurti (6), Nataraja (7), and Yogishvara (8). If Parvati is included, as in the case of the Nataraja, she appears as an auxiliary figure. The content touches different planes of consciousness during the circumambulation. Each scene with its pictorial sermon is supposed to provide a particular spiritual experience. The sermons touch upon several different emotions : they teach, they create fear, they evoke joy and they console. The colourful round ends with the drama of the killer of demons (6) in which Shiva reveals himself, terrible and full of rage, in the rhythmic dance of the Nataraja (7), and finally peaceful and serene in the deep meditation of a great yogi who has overcome terror and fear, love and sorrow, and attained eternal bliss. Thus, the circuit of the main temple is planned, a path that the pilgrim has to tread. It ends with words *Shanti, Shanti, Shanti*, with which Hindu prayers generally conclude.

A further observation may add credence to the conclusion that planning went into the composition and order of the pictorial sermons. On each of the gateways in the east, west and north there are two scenes face à face portraying opposites and evoking opposite reactions on the spectators. On the right of the eastern gateway is the highly dramatic scene of Ravana trying to shake Mount Kailasa and as a result being locked up in an underground cave in which he rages powerlessly, while Shiva, having controlled the earthquake with a toe of his left foot, undisturbedly continues to live his olympian godly life. On the left (2) is the pure idyll of this godly life as lived by Shiva and Parvati. On the left of the western gateway (6) is the terrible figure of the infuriated God stretching out the elephant skin and letting the belligerent demon Andhaka bleed to death, pierced by the trishula. Opposite this (5) is the gentlest scene of the entire cave : Parvati with modestly lowered gaze is being led by her father to become the bride of the Great God, while Brahma sits on the floor in order to carry out the marriage ritual. Finally, on the northern gateway one sees yet another portrayal of opposite pictorial sermons. The meditative pose of the great yogi (8) on the left stills the tumult caused by the Tandava dance in the heavens and on the earth. Three times, therefore, do we see the double harmony of loud and soft, dramatically stormy and idyllically serene scenes from the divine life of Mahesha. The planners of the cave temple introduced these



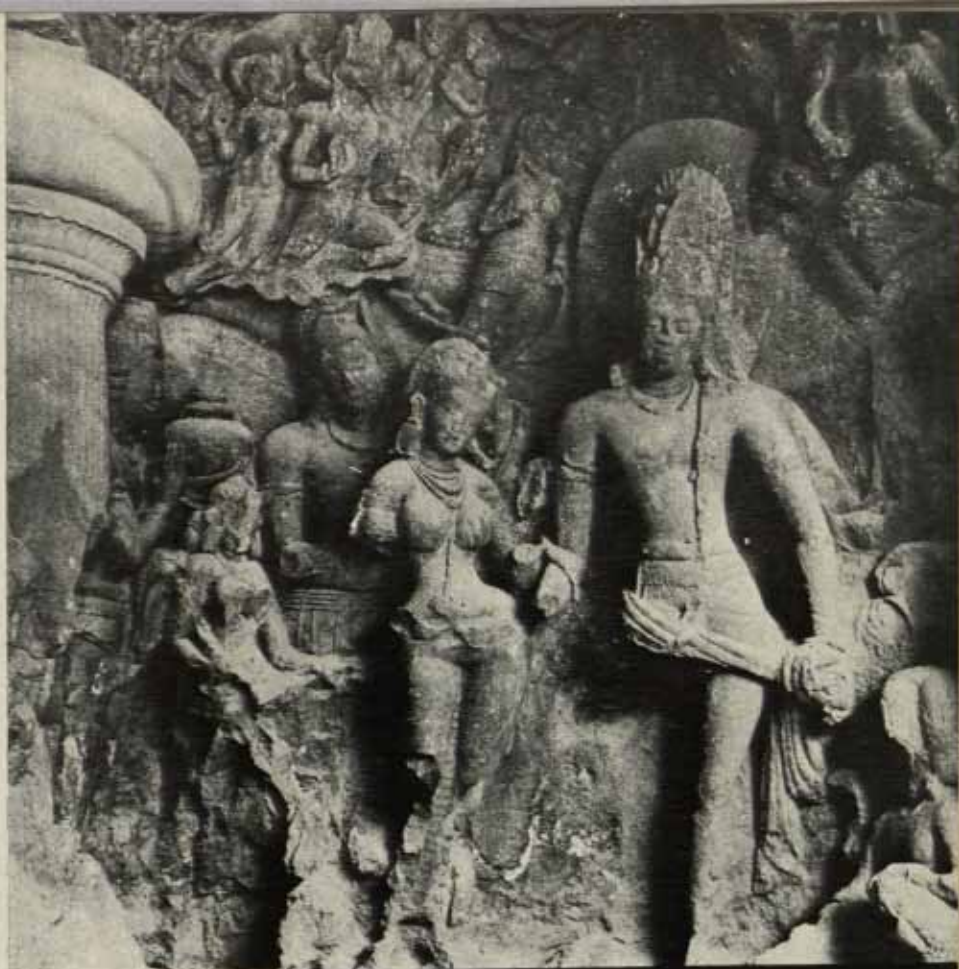




- Previous page :* 45. Elephanta, Nataraja
Facing page : 46. Elephanta, Mahesha Murti
Above : 47. Elephanta, Shiva Ardhanarishvara and as Carsten Niebuhr saw it in 1764



48. Elephanta, Gangadhara and
as Carsten Niebuhr saw it in 1764



40. Elephanta, marriage of Shiva and Parvati and as Carsten Niebuhr saw it in 1764



50. Elephanta, Andhakasurandha and
as Carsten Niebuhr saw it in 1764





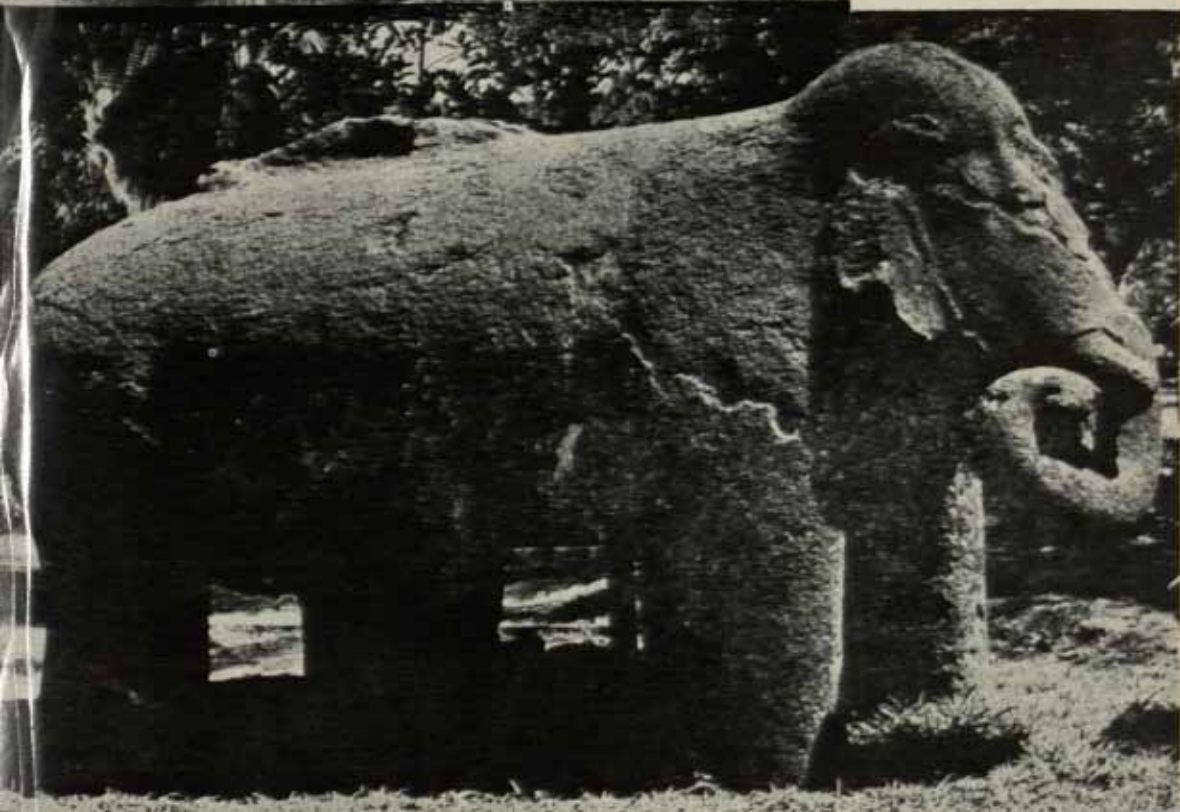
51. Elephanta, Mainaka brings water for the wedding ceremony of Shiva and Parvati

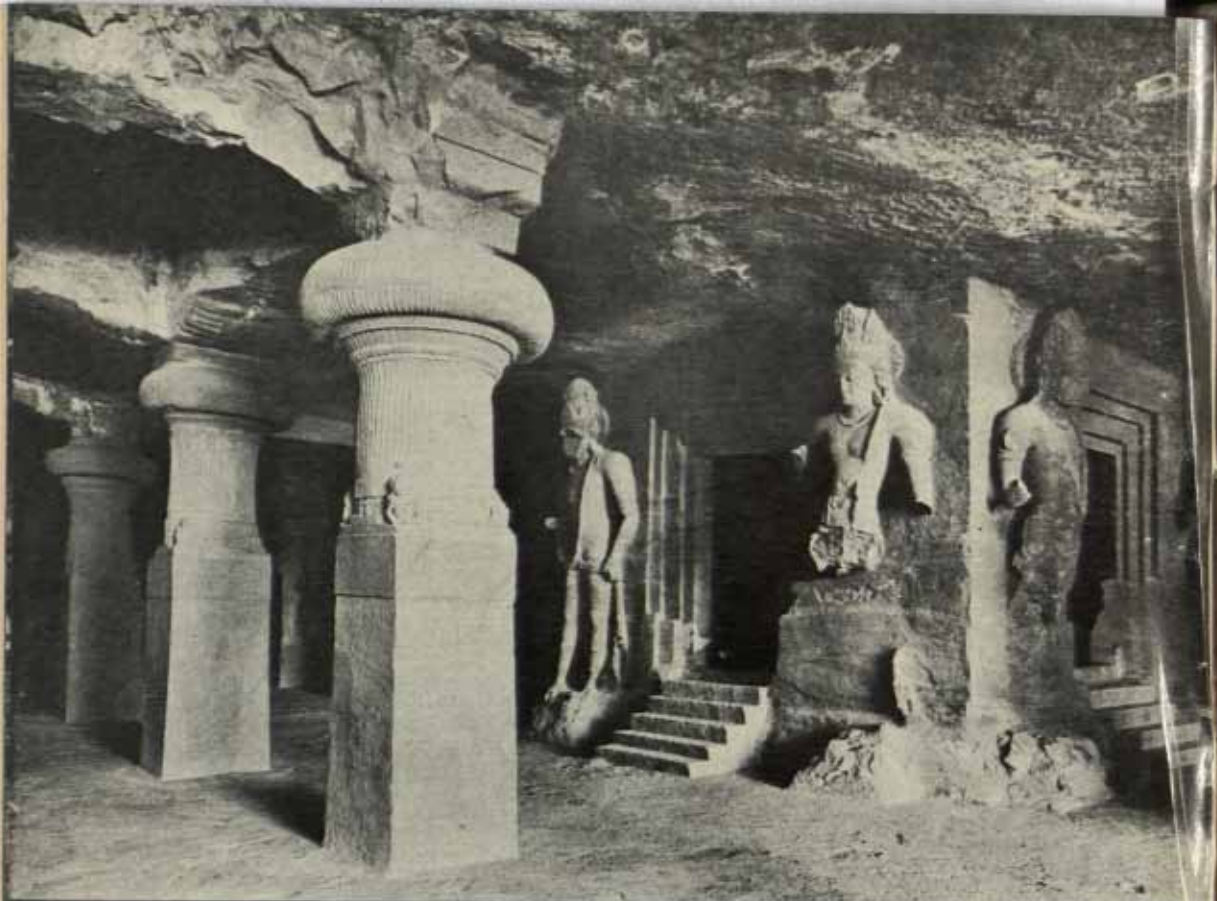
52. Elephanta, Stone Elephant, now in Victoria Gardens Bombay

Next page :

53. Elephanta, Chaturmukha Sanctum with Dvarapalas

54. Elephanta, Chaturmukha Sanctum with Dvarapalas East Gate





contrasts consciously. The repeated pairs of opposites lead in their rise and decline of experience to ever renewed levels of emotion. It is a kind of planning not only worthy of a builder but also of a theatre director.

The focal point, however, is the Maheshamurti, the main epiphany which holds within it the forces of creation and destruction characteristic of the Great God and reveals His power of equipoise. Thus also is mirrored the triple head with its comprehensive synopsis of opposites in the composition of the scenes. Its grandiose antithesis is exemplified in the surrounding pictorial circuit. The running theme of the shrine is experienced and recognised by the pilgrim : all opposites are contained by God.

The unique architectural conception of the temple also gains importance from this. The connection of the east-west axis with the north-south axis as a crossing in the temple-design is also a union of opposites. It is not a question of opposites excluding but of poles complementing each other.

The Workshop and Its Style

The "Workshop of Elephanta" has already been mentioned whenever the context demanded it. In the collections of the Prince of Wales Museum, there are a number of different single pieces which owe their origin to this workshop, and there are two little noted cave temples in the present day area of Bombay which were carved out of the rocks by masters and apprentices of the same workshop, the Yogeshvari and the Mandapeshvara Temples. India is poor in historical sources; the description of the workshop of Elephanta is thus based on an analysis and comparison of style rather than on documented material or epigraphic discoveries.

The functioning of such a workshop is similar to that of medieval European "Bauhuetten". The concept of combined effort by architects, sculptors, painters and craftsmen of all kinds was accepted as a natural phenomenon, both here and there. The clergy played a decisive role, particularly, as in each structure importance was attached, among other things, to astrological conditions. Anonymity was the law. The master stepped back from his work—a work executed for the greater glory of the gods. These general rules are to be found in the Shilpa Shastras. Here we shall go into the style of this special workshop, named after the place where it was most active, and study it in the context of the Indian history of style.

The rock architecture practised in India since the third century B.C. requires less structural ability, but an enormous degree of sculptural imagination. The interiors excavated within the rocks are basically works of negative plastic art and chiselled out with the tools of the sculptor. The spatial concept of the cave had always to take into consideration the hollows for the sculptural embellishment. For, sculptures are a part of the rocks. They have to be hewn out of the rock mass. This connection gives them a certain heaviness. In the sculptural compositions there is a tendency to produce many figures, leaving little space in-between, so that there is the least possible need to cut into the rock. The arduous process of work has been completely mastered in the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta. There are no technical problems. The sculptures were all whitened and painted over. When the Portuguese came, the colours were still partially preserved. Today they are no longer there, except a few traces, and only the comparison with the cave temples of Ajanta provides a key to the original conception of the Mahesha sanctuary. The colours must have heightened the effect of the scenes and the magic liveliness of the Shiva epiphanies in the shrines. In the twilight of the hall which opens on three sides, the splendour of the colours must have been more impressive than in the dark, monastic halls and chambers of Ajanta.

Great refinement and sculptural skill must have gone into the composition of the shrines. These are up to three metres deep. The more important figures are drawn out to the point of full plasticity; others have been left in a greater or lesser state of half reliefs. The foreground and background can thus be differentiated. Photographs would do no justice here, for, they always have to be taken from a fixed point. The eye discerns the graded plasticity. If the spectator moves forward, backward or to the side, he can catch a slanting view of the figures or see them overlapping, as the case may be. The sculptors have taken care to make the main person or persons the focal point of the scene. Other figures are placed around Shiva and Parvati or around Shiva alone in a manner that results in a central composition. This is accentuated further by making the main figures larger than the others. In this respect one notices a development that passes from the eastern entrance across the pictorial wall in the south and the western opening right up to the northern exits. At the eastern entrance one finds that the main figures, Shiva and Parvati, are relatively small in the landscape of the entire composition. In

the next group (3-5), consisting of Ardhanarishvara, Gangadhara and Kalyanasundaramurti, the main figures are considerably larger. Ardhanarishvara is the first scene in which the central figure is also the focal point. In the case of the other two, there are two large figures who, while standing long-limbed and long-bodied, seem to form a vertical rather than a central point. The third group, in contrast, offers three complete centre compositions, even though of a different type. Shiva is always overpowering in the centre. In the Andhakasuravadhamurti (6), he controls almost the entire surface, looking, with his eight arms and outstretched elephant hide, something like a spider in a net. Everything else is small and squeezed insignificantly into the sides. In this shrine the workshop of Elephanta took a great step forward. Nataraja (7) and Yogishvara (8) come next. In the case of the dancing Shiva, the main actor once again fills the entire relief with his movements. Even Parvati is obliged to stand by in the lower right corner between her playmates. Yogishvara's mighty torso sunk in meditation and his head with its high crown are so strongly accentuated that the entire mountain landscape along with its inhabitants becomes peripheral. From the point of view of composition, therefore, we see a development towards strengthening the central motif and can discern three distinct groups: (1, 2)—(3, 4, 5) — (6, 7, 8).

The workshop develops the proportions of the figures and other small particulars in a similar manner. Shiva sitting on Mount Kailasa which was shaken by Ravana is thick set with a round face and a low crown. Like the entire scene with its mountain landscape the figure seems of small proportions. As far as one can tell from the badly mutilated relief, the idyllic scene on Kailasa on the opposite side is no different.

The second group (3, 4, 5) is notable for long slim figures and high crowns. Particularly favoured, in this phase of work in the caves, is an S-line posture in the main figures. This is especially to be seen in the Ardhanarishvara which accentuates the protruding hip on the female side. In the Gangadhara, Shiva swings to the right, Parvati to the left; However, in the marriage scene both gracefully curve towards the same side. The entire style becomes more flowing and lively in this second phase.

The third group (6, 7, 8) consists of heavier bodies than the second which, compared to the third, emanates a lyrical softness. The bodies are strong, with broad shoulders and faces somehow square under the jatamukutas. Everything appears to be moulded

around the central figures.

These three groups obviously indicate the existence of three masters. It seems, moreover, that they were done at different periods of time following each other and indicate a progressive development in the workshop.

The finest plastic work in the main cave is the head of Mahesha in the centre of the pictorial wall on the south, the whole of which looks like a two-winged altar with a central shrine. Equally outstanding is the work on the dvarapalas of the sanctum. The sculptures of the side-temples in the east and the west follow. However, the quality of stile of the temple in the east is much higher than in the west.

If one looks for a style similar to the one of the workshop of Elephanta, it is to be found first and foremost in the caves of Aurangabad. The slim, relaxed corporeality of the late classical era is common to them all. But over and above this first, easily recognisable characteristic of style, which extends to the proportions and favours the central composition, there is also a similarity in the unmistakable, unique details of hair and jewellery. The jata-mukutas are brilliant products of the stone carvings of Elephanta. They are to be seen in similar form and perfection on the men and women of Cave 7 in Aurangabad. The same flowers ornament the hair, the same jewels and delicately hanging chains. Parvati's bridal hair-style is repeated, so are the permed wigs of the ganas. In relaxed bearing and curved slimness, the Padmapani of Cave 7 is like the Gangadhara Shiva on Elephanta. The dvarapalas of Cave 7 are also comrades of the dvarapalas of Elephanta who guard the doors of the sanctum there.

The paintings of Caves 1 and 2 in Ajanta are similar to the sculptures of Elephanta. If the colour decoration of the Mahesha Temple had been preserved as it was seen by the Portuguese, the connection would be still clearer. The painted Padmapani of Cave 1 has often been compared to the middle stone sculpture of Mahesha's face, and the S-shaped figure and the slender limbs to the Gangadhara Shiva. The structure of the crown of Avalokiteshvara in Cave 1 with its perforated goldsmith's work and playful chains can be compared to the head ornamentation of the right, youthful face of the Maheshamurti. These examples may be sufficient to point out the neighbourly correlations of style.

In the first two caves of Ajanta, as also in the group of caves on the right in Aurangabad (6, 7, 8), we find ourselves at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. These decades distinguish themselves

through creative endeavour and excellent achievements in the field of fine arts. The bloom of art was not restricted to any one province of the large sub-continent. It developed both in the east and the west as the last and particularly charming phase of Indian classical style. In the east it is Kanchipuram, the capital of the Pallavas, and their harbour Mamallapuram, that mark the end of the classical era with their temples and sculptures and lay the foundation for the next centuries of South Indian art. In the west, Elephanta has the same place and function—the opposite pole of Pallava art with pure North Indian influences. In-between in the Deccan are the art centres of the Chalukyas—Badami, Pattadakal, Aihole—where northern and southern influences are combined. The seventh century knew a lively artistic exchange. The historical background was no less exciting.

Three rulers marked the epoch in the field of politics : Harsha of Kannauj in the north who once again stabilised the Gupta heritage, Pallava Mahendravarman I in the south and the Chalukya King Pulakeshin II. The last was particularly a successful warrior. He repulsed the armies of Harsha when they marched into the Deccan. He also defeated Mahendravarman I and captured his capital. He brought the western coast of India under his control. An inscription in Aihole (4) reports that his army marched into the Konkan, the coastal area below the Western Ghats, and defeated the Mauryas who were ruling there. The date of the inscription is 556 of the Saka era and corresponds to 634-635 A.D. From this we get to know the rulers to whom the island Elephanta also belonged. They bear the name Maurya but without any connection between them and the dynasty of Ashoka. We also discover further details, e.g. that the capital of the Mauryas was called Puri and was situated near the sea. This knowledge is gathered from the description of a sea battle which took place below its city walls and in which Pulakeshin II broke the might of the Mauryas with a hundred ships, over-powering them like an army of elephants in rage.

It is highly unlikely that the city of Puri was located on the very small island of Elephanta—an island that we have tried to view as a place of pilgrimage. Far more probable is the surmise that Puri stood on one of the islands which have been bound into a single complex by the modern city of Bombay—an island near the natural harbour where Elephanta too is located. Unfortunately, the Mauryas have left us no direct information. The location of Puri and the venue of the sea battle must, therefore, remain

hypothetical. We do not, however, wish to contradict Hirananda Shastri in his supposition that the cave of Mahesha already existed at the time of the sea-battle.

When the Portuguese came from Bassein to Elephanta, they knocked out a stone above the entrance of the Mahesha Cave—a stone that bore an inscription in big, clear letters(5). As they could not find anyone to decipher it, they sent the stone to the court of their King John III (1521-1557). There it seems to have got lost. Two copper plates excavated in the north-east of the island and carried to England around 1865 A.D. have also disappeared without trace(6). As we cannot hope to establish the exact dates of the sculptures of the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta, we must accept the evidence of the historical background and the elements of style and place them in the beginning of the seventh century.

1. Literature : JAMES BURGESS, *Rock Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri*, Bombay 1871. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Historic Period*, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay 1958. MOTI CHANDRA, *Indian Art*, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay 1964. PRAMOD CHANDRA, *Elephanta Caves, a Pictorial Guide*, Bombay 1968. FERGUSON-BURGESS, *The Cave Temples of India*, London 1880. M. NEFF, *Elephanta*, *Marg* XIII, 4, Bombay 1960, pp. 465-475. HIRANANDA SHASTRI, *A Guide to Elephanta*, Delhi 1934.

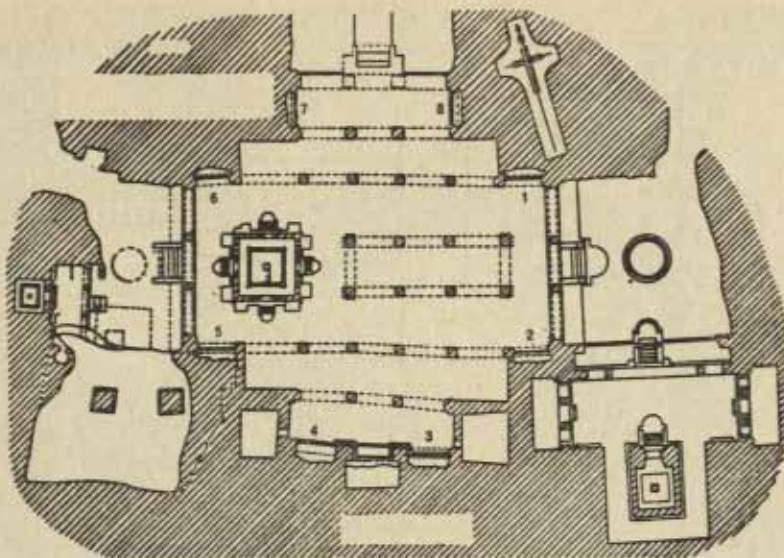
2. FERGUSON-BURGESS l.c. pp. 446-448, Pl. LXXIX. The columns are similar to those of Elephanta. The sculptures in the shrines are, however, totally different, heavy and thick-set.

3. One should perhaps add that Cave 7 in Aurangabad also tends towards the pattern of the centre as a focal point. Its sculptures display an extraordinary connection with Elephanta. Regarding the Yogeshvari Cave vide the following contribution in this book.

4. *Ep. Ind.* VI, 1 ff.

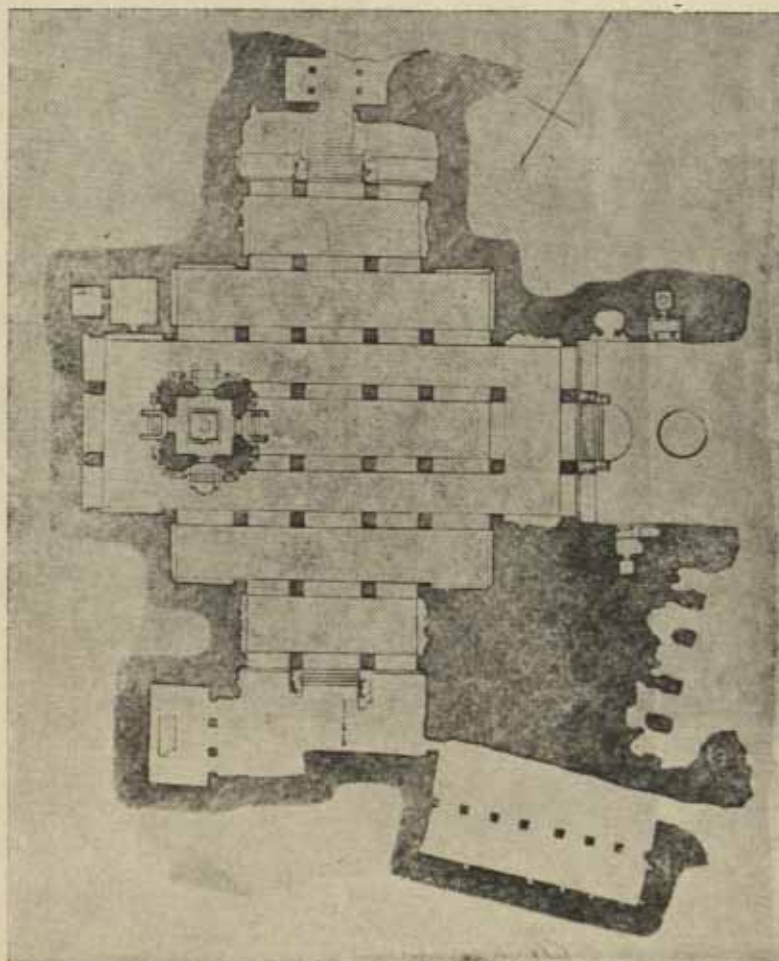
5. Mentioned by DIAGO DE CAUTO, who visited Elephanta in 1603, in his report *Da Asia III*, Chapter II.

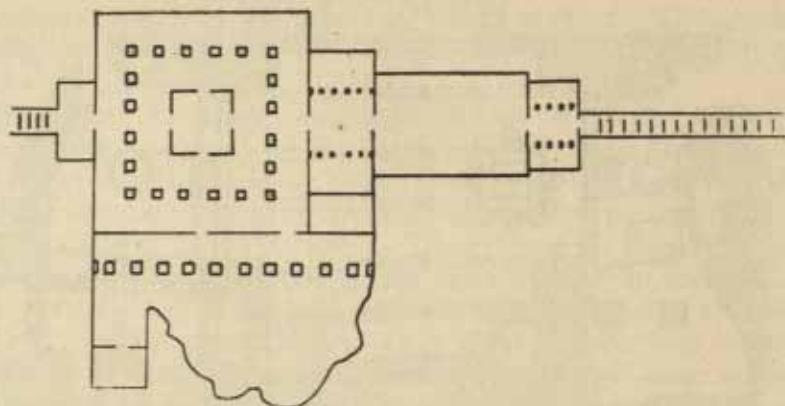
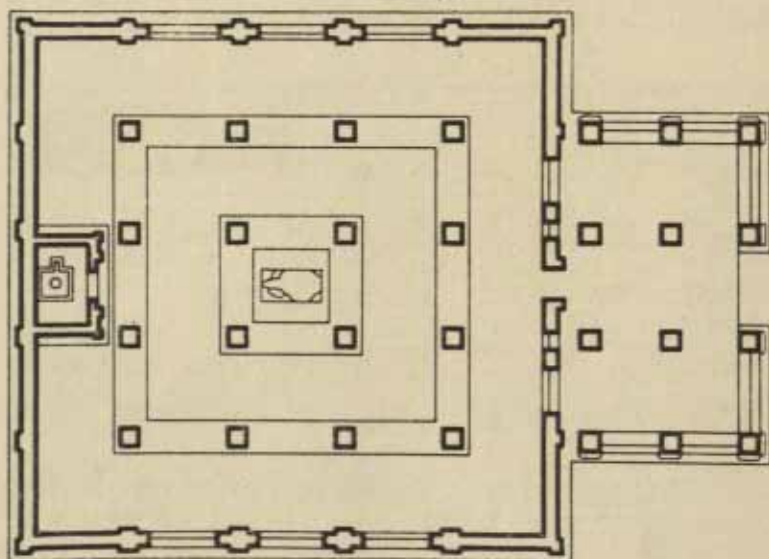
6. According to the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIV, 80.

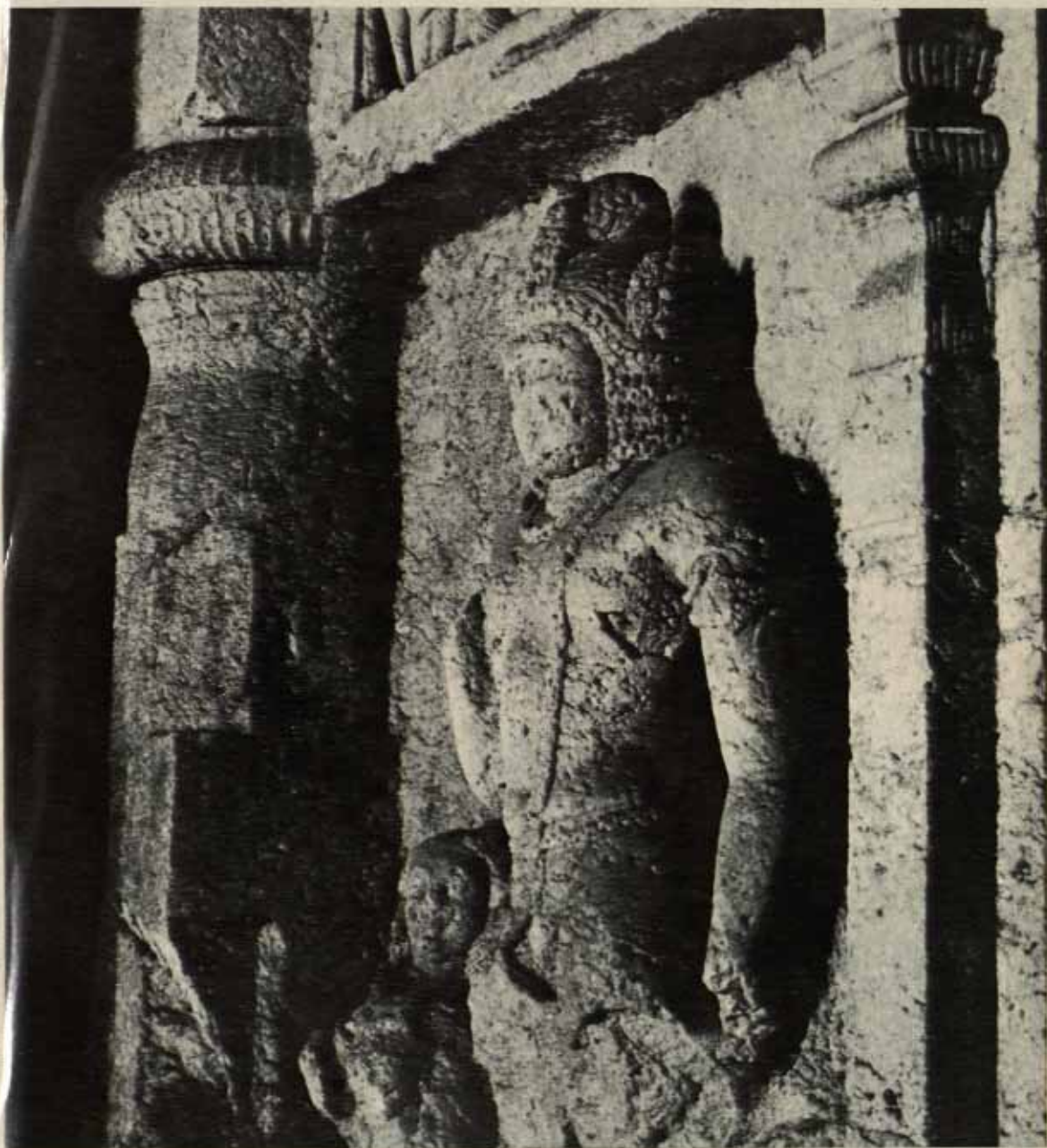


Mahesha Cave Temple, Elephanta

Dunvar Lena Temple, Ellora



*Yogeshwari Cave Temple, Amboli**Lad-Khan Temple, Aihole*



55. Amboli, Yogeshvari Cave Temple, Dvarapala



56. Amboli, Yogeshvari Cave Temple,
Lakulishvara

57. Amboli, Yogeshvari Cave Temple,
Dvarapalas in front of the main Hall

58. Amboli, Yogeshvari Cave Temple, Pillars in Mukha mandapa

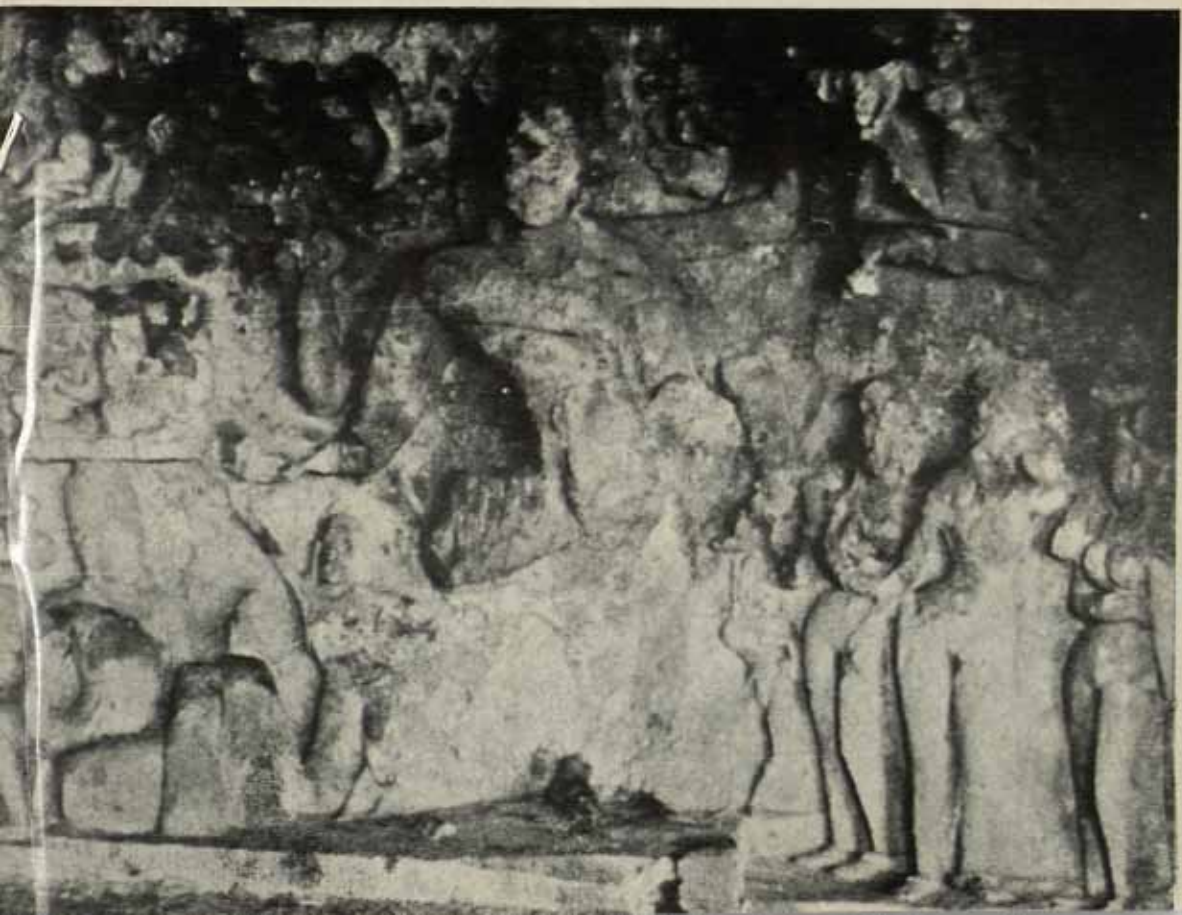




59. Borivli, Mandapeshvara Cave Temple,
Head of Nataraja

60. Borivli, Mandapeshvara Cave Temple,
Head of dancing boy

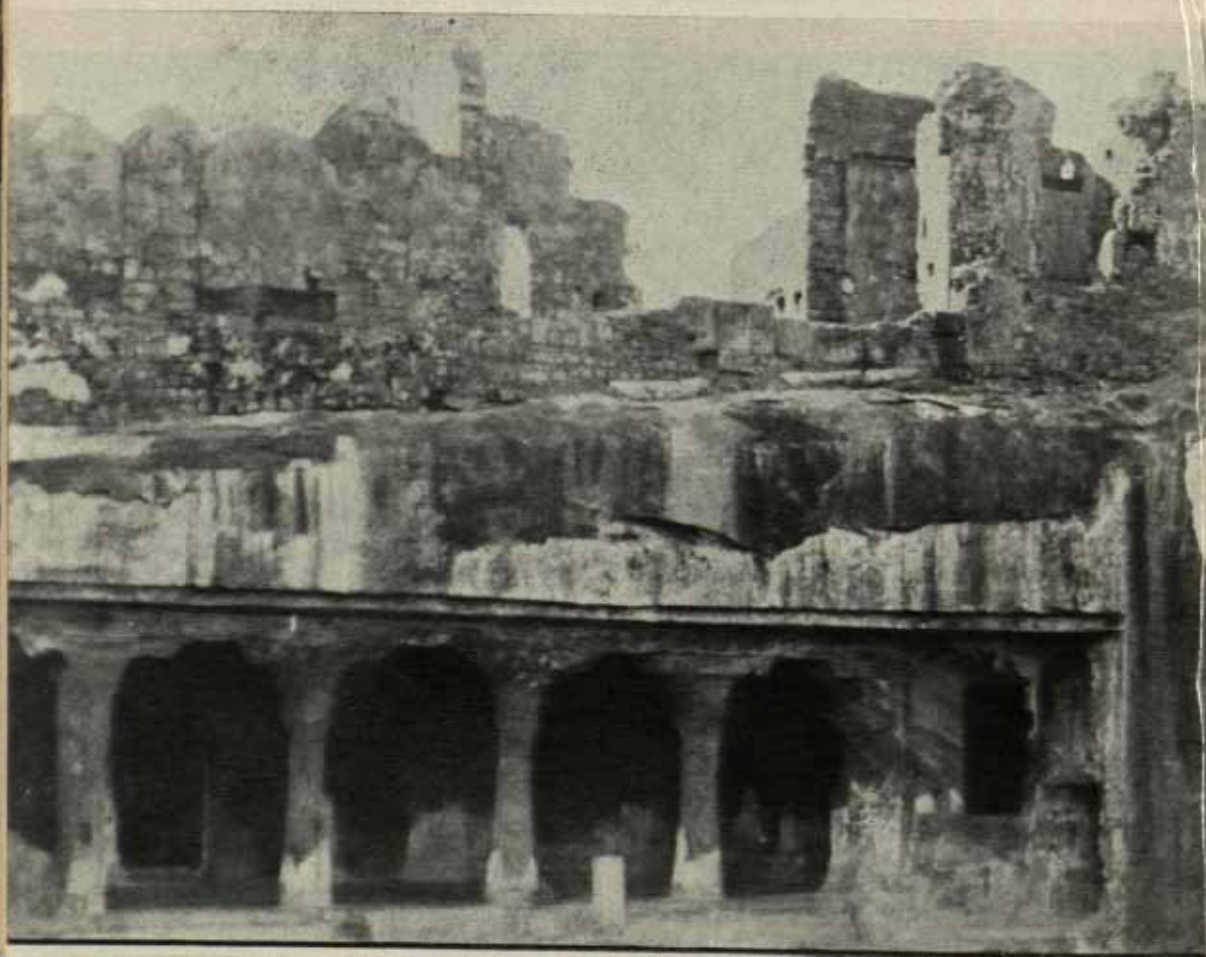
61. Borivli, Mandapeshvara Cave Temple, Shiva Nataraja





62. Borivli, Mandapeshvara Cave Temple, Main Hall

63. Borivli, Mandapeshvara Cave Temple, from East with the ruins of the Franciscan Monastery



The Yogeshvari Cave Temple in Amboli

THE goddess Yogeshvari is a Shakti of Shiva who brought her forth whilst fighting the demon Andhaka(1). Blood dropped from the wounds of his adversary and from each drop falling on the ground a new demon arose. Yogeshvari caught the drops of blood in a bowl and thus prevented the incessant increase in the number of demons. Shiva was thus able to win the battle.

In the holy cave dedicated to Yogeshvari, which is situated under the village of Amboli near Andheri, on the island of Salsette, north of Bombay, this aspect of the Shakti is not shown. She becomes here the Devi, who fuses with Parvati. The goddess is worshipped as the guardian and the protector of the family. Expectant women from the neighbouring areas, or those who want children, come here to pray.

A modern image of Durga was for a long time in the sanctum which was removed only recently. Now the footprints of the goddess, which can be seen embedded in the natural stone, are being worshipped and heaped with flowers. Nowhere in the vast temple complex of the Yogeshvari Cave does one come across any image of Shiva in the form of Andhakaripu, as in Elephanta, where the demon impaled on his trishula bleeds to death and where Yogeshvari is seen holding the bowl in order to collect the blood drops and render them innocuous.

The cave lies in a low rocky hill terrain, which is covered by the huts of the village Amboli(2). It was in a very bad state of preservation. Water used to trickle through during monsoon and the waste waters from the village above had changed artificially built cave into a natural cave and the hewn-out pillar into stalactite formations. As a result of these conditions, the sculptures and reliefs with which the cave is not very richly endowed, have suffered to such an extent that they have been destroyed almost beyond recognition.

In 1973 restoration of the irreparable damages was carried out and the sintered pillars were replaced by replicas made of concrete. There are now hardly any natural pillars left. Rightly, the sculptures and reliefs were left in their original damaged state.

The visitor enters the cave from the west. However, as in Elephanta, the main entrance is on the eastern side. It has been cut deeply into the rock from the top of the hill. Through a descending hollow path one reaches a small outer court via a 3.0×3.5 metre wide staircase with many steps. A gate with fluted pilasters and shardula-panels opens up towards the west.

The relief above the lintel is a Ravananugrahamurti, badly damaged. On each side of this mukhamandapa stand four pillars of the type known to us from Elephanta, and two semi-pillars. Behind on the left is a completely destroyed row of sculptures of the Ashta Matrikas. On the right side sits a powerful Ganesha, thickly coated with red paint, surrounded by his devotees. He is being worshipped also today. Iconographically, Ganesha belongs to the eight mother-goddesses. These depictions form a parallel to the sculptures of the same theme in the side-temple of the eastern court of the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta.

Here, as well as there, they seem to have a religious function at the entrance to the temple.

Beyond this outer court follows an open, unfinished court of 12.8×20.0 metres, hewn out of the rock. The western side is simultaneously the front wall of a second outer chamber. The entry is through a gate above which there is again a small relief, showing Nataraja. This second outer chamber is 18.3×8.5 metres. Again there are four pillars on each side and two semi-pillars of the type found in Elephanta. The walls behind on the right are, however, completely bare, without any trace of sculptures.

Above the wall to the west, through which three gates lead to the main hall, a small relief of Kalyanasundaramurti can be seen. In the centre sits Lakulishvara with the club, surrounded by yogis. On both sides of the middle gate stands a dvarapala with rich jata-mukuta.

The main hall which one enters through the central gate or through a further gate from the two side-aisles, is square. Each side measures about 27.0 metres. In the centre stands the cubic cella with a side-length of 7.3 metres. Its doors open in all the four directions; inside are the footprints of the goddess. The cella is surrounded by altogether 20 pillars—six in front of each side, which form again a larger square of 20. This can be taken as the central point but also as a cross. The way from the gate through the hall leads from three sides directly to one of the gates of the cella, only the fourth side in the north is blind. On the southern side, a 36.5 metre long row of pillars of the type found in Elephanta is situated

in front of the mahamandapa, the main hall. These are now of concrete. The effect is that of a monumental facade.

The small court hewn out of rock seems out of proportion here. It is obvious that the planned excavations were not completed.

Three doors and two windows with reliefs on their frames open from the main hall towards the row of pillars. The western entrance has been cut deeply into the rock, like the eastern entrance, but it is shorter. A small vestibule with two pillars and two semi-pillars on both sides and unrecognizable sculptures is situated in front of the main hall. On both sides of the gate a dvarapala acts as a guardian.

The Yogeshvari Cave is the only cave temple in India in which the main hall was constructed exactly at a central point. The Chaturmukha cella is exactly in the centre, so that there is no preference for any direction and nowhere does one get the impression of an elongated room. Two other cave temples also have Chaturmukha cellas but in a different position. These are the Mahesha Cave on Elephanta(3) and the Dumar Lena in Ellora(4). The comparison gives us a lot of information.

Both the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta, as well as the Yogeshvari shrine, have their entrance originally from the eastern side. From there the pilgrims start with their puja going from shrine to shrine. One walks from there in a straight line directly towards the linga of the cella.

The linking of the pillars by stone beams makes it clear that the structure of the cave temple is not accidental, but has been planned intentionally. Only the top row of pillars in the east-west direction is linked by beams. The pillars on the east entrance and in front of the cella have cross-beams between the upper ends of the pillars. Therefore, the east-west orientation is very clearly emphasized and the east entrance is quite obviously the main entrance.

However, we can also recognize a second constructional concept, which crosses the traditional east-west nave in the north-south direction. For, also when entering from the north, as it is done today, the hall can be taken as a structure with three naves, namely the middle nave leading directly to the three-faced head of Mahesha and the two side naves leading to the sculpture shrines on both sides of the Mahesha, on the left of Ardhanarishvara and on the right of Gangadhara Shiva. One has to overlook the arrangement of the ceiling, but one's attention is in any case drawn to such focal points as the colossal sculpture of the three-faced Shiva head. The cubic cella with the linga is ignored here, it remains on the right.

The sanctum created by the sculpture takes here priority over the sanctum created by architectural means. Also this second concept of a north-east orientation towards the head of the Mahesha is so obvious that it cannot have been accidental. All this leads to the following conclusions :

The plan was in the shape of a cross with the Chaturmukha cella in the intersection. The Yogeshvari Cave gives us the key to this concept as there we have the prototype of this design. The Chaturmukha cella there is actually situated in the centre. In the cave temple of the Mahesha on Elephanta, however, the central cella was shifted by two yokes towards the west, so that the spectator could get a clear view of the three-faced Mahesha.

The original concept of an obvious cross-shaped design became unclear due to the shifting of the cella, and a state was thus created where the feeling of space became disorientated. But perhaps the tension resulting from this was not unintentional.

The Dumar Lena Temple in Ellora has an outline similar to that of the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta. There, one cross-arm leads from the south-west to the north-east towards the Chaturmukha cella. The other links the two flanking entrances in the south-east and north-west. Also here the cella has been shifted forward from the centre by two yokes so that between it and the rock-wall of the cave temple there is just enough room for circumambulation.

In this case there is no reason for the decentralisation of the cella. There is no picture-wall which could set a second accent on the room(5). Obviously the example of the Mahesha Cave Temple on Elephanta has been copied here, although there was no necessity for it. These are the only caves temples in India which have a cross-shaped, centrally laid out ground-plan and three entrances.

In the development of this type we would place the Yogeshvari Cave in the beginning, the Mahesha Cave in the middle and the Dumar Lena at the end. I should also date the construction of these caves in this sequence, beginning with the seventh century, and not the eighth century as others have said.

The special attraction of these caves which open out to three sides and not only to one, and of which there are only three existing examples, is the way the light falls in. One does not step into the dark, but into a dusky chamber, where unexpected shafts of light and interesting vistas charm the spectator. One is not forced to walk into only one direction by the architectural structure of

the cave, but one can move around freely as if in a forest of pillars, which open out towards the light on three sides. Only on one side is one faced with complete darkness. Only on Elephanta do we have at this point a picture-wall showing the ephiphany of the Divine, but not in Yogeshvari or in the Dumar Lena.

Further investigations will pose the question whether there exist free-standing temples of the type which we call the Chaturmukha. For, in India, all cave-constructions, wherever they may be, are always copies of free-standing constructions. In this connection, we can cite as a comparison the Lad-Khan Temple in Aihole(6). It consists of a square pillared hall, on a profiled plinth, 17 × 17 metres in size.

The central group consisting of four tall pillars with a flat roof is closed in by two squares of pillars—one with 12 pillars, the other one with 20 pillars. They decrease in height towards the periphery and have slanting roofs made of stone-slabs. The gaps between the pillars of the outer square are closed by thin walls of large stone slabs, which are set into the plinth and which reach right up to the roof. Only the entrance in the centre right of the eastern side is left free. In the south and north the three middle cross-beams open out in pierced ornamented stone-windows, which let the light filter through. Only the western wall remains completely dark and closed. For, there a small cella with a linga is squeezed in-between the central yoke of another pillared passage. The central square of the temple is occupied by the Nandi belonging to it. In front of the eastern wall a 12-pillared mukhamandapa functions as an entrance hall. When we look at this building from a structural point of view, we can see that it is a centred construction which extends equally towards all four directions. We cannot decide here whether it was once open on all sides, at least in the central yokes, as K. T. Sreenivasan presumes. The insertion of thin walls made of massive stone slabs between the gaps of the pillars points towards this theory. In a similar pillared hall the cult object would have to take its place in the inner pillared square, where it could be worshipped.

Here, however, lies now the subservient Nandi, who becomes the main figure, due to the construction of a comparatively tiny cella, which was definitely an afterthought, but which has forced an east-west direction on the square room. It has to be mentioned that on the roof of the low square hall, above the pillar square of the centre, there is another cella, probably dedicated to Surya. Logically it has its place there above Nandi and not above the

cella in the west.

On this free-standing construction too a fusion of the original Chaturmukha type of plan with the east-west orientation has taken place, a fact which could be observed also in the caves temples.

We do not want to extend our investigation to other temples, although this could be tempting just here in Aihole, the centre of the Chalukya architecture. The Lad-Khan Temple is in any case the most prominent, and comparing it with the Yogeshvari Cave, the most convincing example.

In his book on Aihole, Gupta dates it, like S. R. Balasubramaniam in *Lalit Kala*, Oct. 1961, at about 540 A.D. V. R. Sreenivasan, however, places it in *Archaeological Remains II* in the beginning of the seventh century, after the three earlier cave temples of Badami. This date would bring the Lad-Khan Temple closer to the Yogeshvari Cave and to the two other cave temples.

The investigations of the ornaments of the Yogeshvari Cave go beyond the scope here. It will have to be left for some other time to analyse in detail the fully plastic figures and the small reliefs on and above the gate, which lead from one room of the temple construction to the next. Here, a general survey is still required in order to explore the importance of the entire structure complex of this cave temple in comparison with other related constructions.

The first room complex which opens itself to the visitor, who comes down the flight of stairs, is the mukhamandapa, the entrance hall in the east. The main accent is set here by the Ravana-nugrahamurti on the lintel of the door. Although badly damaged, the relief of the 20-armed Ravana is still clearly visible; the figures of Shiva and Parvati on Mount Kailasa are only faintly to be seen, but a flock of pushing, animal-headed demons around Ravana are again very well preserved. In the entrance hall itself, the Ashta Matrikas on the left have been totally destroyed by water, whilst on the right at least the rotund Ganesha has survived : thanks to his popularity, he is constantly worshipped and has thus acquired, over the centuries, a protective coat of red paint.

The second room complex is beyond an artificially hewn out, but not completed connecting, courtyard, a further mukhamandapa, meant as a vestibule, which leads directly to the centre hall of the shrine. The gate leading to it is guarded by lions and small dvarapalas. On the lintel is a badly damaged figure of Nataraja. Only half the figure of the dancing god has been preserved, but the frieze of the large-headed ganas, which reminds us of Badami, in a frame of meanders, is still in good condition. Inside, the

ornaments are concentrated on the centre gate, whilst both the side gates behind the quadruple row of pillars are here. Despite their withered surface, the dvarapalas on the right and the left are still very impressive. The frieze above them and the gate has been relatively well preserved.

Iconographically important is the role that Shiva plays here in the centre field. He is depicted in the aspect of Lakulishvara appearing in vajrasana with the lifted club surrounded by yogis. The same depiction is shown on the lintel of the door above the western entrance to the Chaturmukha cella.

On the left and right to it stand the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna, both on Makaras, an arrangement which is normally found near the gate area.

The left third of the frieze shows the marriage of Shiva and Parvati and on the right side their board-game on mount Kailasa. Here it is conspicuous that both depictions above the gate to the shrine of the goddess have Parvati next to Shiva as the main figure.

The third room complex is near the central 20-pillared square hall with the Chaturmukha cella in the middle. Here unfortunately the damage to the plastic ornaments through water has been devastating. All that has remained of the rich row of sculptures which surrounded the base of the cella are miserable fragments from which one can only faintly recognize a head here or a torso there. The condition of the reliefs around the four gates leading to the shrine is not much better.

The state of preservation of the sculptures and reliefs in the antechamber, the fourth room complex, is equally bad.

In the fifth room complex, which consists of a colonnade in the south of the square main hall, conditions are slightly better. Here an attempt has been made to construct a bold facade; however, the excavations of a spacious courtyard, which is essential for its effect, did not go beyond the initial stages. Three gates and two windows open from the colonnade towards the central hall. Their relief mouldings have been partly preserved and remind us of the door ornaments in Caves 3 and 4 on Elephanta. In this courtyard a small Shiva temple cut into the rock should not be overlooked, which in recent times has become a well-frequented place of worship. The cella itself with the linga does not show anything special, but the antechamber with two pillars and two semi-pillars has sculptures which are unique in the temple-complex of Yogeshvari: vrikshakas in tree branches as console figures similar to those in Badami but not of the same high artistic quality.

A few remarks have to be added about the two dvarapalas in front of the centre hall of the Yogeshvari Temple. Despite all ravages, the hair-crown (jatamukuta), which they sport, has remained intact with a rich flow of blocks, and jewels plaited in. From these details, as well as from the entire posture and the stylistic treatment they can be recognized as brothers of dvarapalas, who, eight in number, guard the Chaturmukha cella in the Mahesha Temple on Elephanta. These guards are not powerful musclemen who carry weapons and who arouse fear. They do not seem to be soldiers of any rank. They rather appear to be gentlemen of the court, who exhibit themselves slim and trim in a nonchalant posture. Their clothes are tigh-fitting and seem transparent. The figures show neither the skeleton nor the muscles. The artist has followed the canon developed to perfection during the classic age, which gives us the impression of an ethereal yet living body.

At the time when the Portuguese came, these sculptures still had traces of colours and gilding, which must have further heightened their effect. This is also valid for the Yogeshvari Cave. The comparison of the statues shows that this shrine stands in close relationship to the cave temples on Elephanta, not only the entire complex, but also its ornamental sculptures.

This brief introduction of the largest temple complex in India, which is 100 metres long and 50 metres wide, cannot be concluded without mentioning that the name of its goddess appears once more in connection with the group of islands which ran along the bay of Bombay before they were joined by the growing city.

A copper jug was found in the cistern on the western courtyard of the Mahesha Cave on Elephanta, with a devanagari inscription in corrupt Sanskrit. It says that this jug was made in or near Shripuri on the 15th April, 1086, A.D. (7). With such trading goods one normally does not draw any far-reaching conclusions from the inscriptions which give the date and place of the manufacture. Here, however, the fact that the goddess Yogeshvari is named as the patron-saint of the city of Shripuri, is of interest to us. Shripuri could, therefore, possibly have been a place which was situated near the cave temples.

The further question now arises, whether this city of Puri, mentioned on the jug, is the same, which five centuries earlier was the capital of the Mauryas who ruled in the Konkan. A sea battle took place beneath its walls in the year 634-635, which is the year 556 according to the Saka calendar. According to an inscription found in Aihole, Pulakeshin II (610-642), the king of the Chalukyas

"broke the might of the Mauryas with a hundred ships like with an army of elephants in rage"(8).

A hypothetical relationship of this kind between the Yogeshvari shrine and the capital of the Konkan region in the seventh century would be a reason for the size of this temple-complex and its still visible plans for further extensions.

1. Compare *Linga Purana*, cap. 64.
2. FERGUSSON-BURGESS, *The Cave Temples of India*, London 1880, sub. *Yogeshvari Cave*.
3. BURGESS, J., *Rock Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri*, Bombay 1871, etc., p. 106.
4. FERGUSSON-BURGESS l.c. sub. *Ellora*.
5. It is to be remarked that the sculptures of Dumar Lena are quite different in style to the sculptures of the Elephanta Workshop. They belong to another school.
6. Compare R. S. GUPTA, *The Art and Architecture of Aihole*, Bombay 1967, pp. 18-22.
7. S. R. BALASUBRAMANYAM in *Lalit Kala*, Oct. 1961, pp. 41-44.
8. SHASTRI, H. L. c. pl. IV and the relevant text.
8. Ep. Ind VI, i ff.

The Mandapeshvara Temple in Borivli

(Nossa Senhora de Piedade)

A MILE north of the suburban railway station of Borivli, Bombay, to the north-west of Salsette island, stands a church consecrated to Mary Immaculate. It is situated on a low hill facing the orphanage erected by Franciscan Brothers in 1908. The building consisting of one nave only has been renovated in a poor Neo-Gothic style of the closing period of the nineteenth century. The roof was originally steeper : today the gable-ends tower up to their former height. The roof is flat and its construction on an open framework rather poor. A convent with a cloister adjoins the north side of the church. While the church itself has been restored on various occasions and serves as the parish-hall for Borivli even today, the extended convent built in the middle of the sixteenth century has fallen into decay.

The construction data can be obtained from the plaque built into the west-wall inside the church next to the entrance on the right (1). The plaque was, however, walled in at the time of the renovation of the church in 1888 by a committee, after it was destroyed by the Marathas following their capture of Bassein in 1739. The committee financed the restoration from collections. The names of the committee members are on the plaque. It is also mentioned on it that the church was erected in 1544 during the reign of King John III of Portugal (1521-1537) by the Franciscan Brother Antonio do Porto. The same date recurs on a stone from the ruins, which is now built into the lowest step of the stairs leading to the west choir (2).

The year 1623 is also inscribed on it. Here the inscription is rather fragmentary and does not furnish details of the construction history. The cloisters which are in ruins, the Roman arch of the west and south entrances, the barrel-vaults of the choir and the two transepts of the church come from the original building (1544). They remind one of the churches of Bassein on the mainland which was easy of access across the Ghorbander sea-inlet.

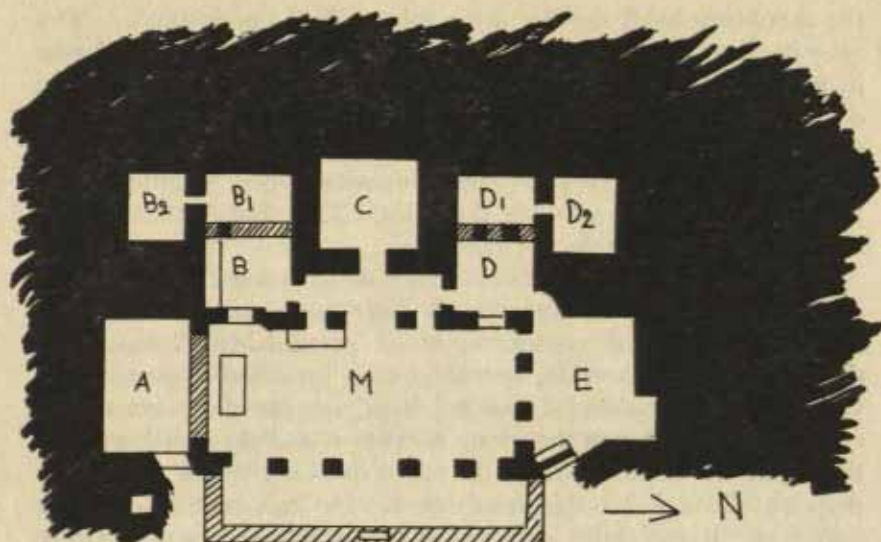
The cave of Shiva at the foot of the hill is a part of the construc-

tion-complex belonging to the monastery. During the construction of the monastery, the temple facing the east was treated as a part of the whole complex on the hill and transformed into a church which, owing to its being situated below the monastery and its main church, acquired the character of a crypt. The cave, which was open like the temples on Elephanta, was closed by the monks on the east side by wall which had the entrance to the church in the centre. An inscription on the portal records the year 1555. This stone must have been torn out on one occasion or the other, in all likelihood at the time when the church-complex was destroyed by the Marathas. Later on the stone was fitted into the wall inversely and today it is not to be found *in situ*(3), since the wall, the northern half of which had already given way earlier, was demolished altogether in 1971. A second entrance, accessible by steps, existed at the north end. It led to the side room E, where immediately to the right of the doorway, a holy water basin was chiselled into the wall. The Portuguese Franciscan Brothers closed the south wing of the cave (room A) with a wall thereby making access to the shrine representing Nataraja impossible. They erected in front of the wall an altar and also a statue of the Lady of Mercy, Nossa Senhora da Piedade, to whom the lower church was dedicated. They also closed two side-sanctums with walls and erected a pulpit in front of the main sanctum itself, which obviously served as the vestry. They chiselled down the columns partly and covered the sculptures with plaster. King John III gave the temple revenue to the monastery, revenue according to Portuguese sources sufficient for the 50 yogins (4) to subsist on, as many had lived there, but took to their heels when the brothers arrived.

Antonio do Porto boasted of having destroyed more than two hundred Hindu temples. But here the case is unique, inasfar as a Shiva cave was transformed into church. The temple was dedicated to the aspect of Mandapeshvara, the "Lord of the Universe", whereby the term mandapa signifies not merely a hall, but as is not unusual, the entire universal system. Since then the name has clung to the locality. The Portuguese called their establishment Montpezier. Today we spell it as Mount Poincur. In early 1971, all the Christian-style annexes built by the Portuguese and the double-armed cross in front of the church were removed, the altar and the pulpit dismantled and the statues of the Virgin Mary within and outside the church were taken away. The Hindu sculptures were thoroughly cleansed of the plaster and the varnish. Today the cave offers once again the view of a Shiva sanctuary.

It was then provided with a Nandi and a blue picture of Shiva was painted on the west wall of the cella. Now only the cross chiselled into the stone of the rock wall in the south reminds one of the interlude of the church (1555-1971), which itself must have resulted from the mutilation of a Hindu relief, as is indicated by the fact that the devatas were transformed into angels (5).

The Shiva temple in its present condition can be described as follows (6): The interior of the mandapa measures 15.6×6.3 metres. It is open towards the east with four columns which resemble the ones on Elephanta due to their roll-shaped capitals. Once they were chiselled down by the monks and covered with plaster. The row of columns terminates at both ends at the delimiting walls in the north and south holding one half-column each in the same style. Three steps provide access to the side-hall A (6.0×4.3 metres) to the south from the mandapa. In addition to the steps, the two half-columns set into the walls on the right and left also delimit the space of the side-hall A. On the west wall of the side-hall A is a representation of Shiva Nataraja. The north side-room (5.5×3.7 metres) is likewise separated from the main hall by three steps. Besides the two half-columns to the right and left, two relatively well-preserved columns help to define the space. The half-column to the east is rather conspicuous due to its rich ornamental sculpture. The mandapa is situated as a cross-hall in front of the sanctum in the west, which had a square ground-plan with a side-length of 4.5 metres, two half-columns and two full columns mark its entrance. The sanctum is empty. It was painted with a blue picture of Shiva only in 1971 which has been removed later on again. On the right and left of the sanctum are two identical groups of three rooms each which are dug out. They are accessible through abundantly carved gates and consist of a front-room (B, D), a main-room (B1, D1), separated from the front room with a couple of pillars, and a completely dark and unevenly excavated side-room (B2, D2). The pillar on the right to the entrance to B1 has been chiselled away. The measurements are: B+B1: 3.7×3.7 metres, B2: 2.7×2.7 metres, D+D1: 4.3×4.3 metres, D2: 3.0×3.0 metres. A description of the irregular side-caves to the south of the main cave, which served as living rooms, need not be given. The water supply is very well regulated with the aid of cisterns, as it is invariably the case in such cave constructions. Compared with the Elephanta Caves and the Yogeshvari Cave on Salsette with their cross-shaped hall systems, the Mandapeshvara Cave is a rather small construction. Here too the sanctum is the core of the



construction as it is in all Hindu sanctuaries. The columns and the ornamental sculptures espouse the thought that the stone masons, who worked in Borivli, belonged to the same school as those who created the Elephanta Caves. A close observation of the sculptures, which are unfortunately in a very bad state, is necessary to make this clear. There are two shrines decorated with sculptures, one at the west wall of the side-room A and the other at the west wall of the side-cella B1. The former represents the aspect of Nataraja, the latter that of Yogishvara or Mahayogin.

The shrine of Nataraja conforms to a scheme and can be studied in the following parts :

- (a) The dancing God in the middle.
- (b) Three ladies on the right.
- (c) Vishnu with flying gods overhead.
- (d) Tanduv on the left.
- (e) Brahma with devatas overhead.

(a) The figure of Nataraja had eight arms. The front right arm is held before the chest. But only the upper arm has survived, the lower arm and the attribute are missing. The second right arm is mutilated and so is the third. Presumably, the arm held the battle-axe which is entwined by a still visible cobra. The hindmost arm, which is raised, touches the shaft of the battle-axe. Both the front left arms probably hung downward on this side. At present, only the hindmost arm can be recognised which, raised above

the shoulders, holds the tip of the robe with a row of plaits. The robe itself encircles the hips, it is drawn through the legs and tied in a knot. The legs of the dancing God have been completely destroyed; only the left foot and the toes of the right foot have survived. The face too is mutilated. But the basic features can still be recognized; the square proportions are heightened by the crown interwoven with the hair. The short forelocks are kept together with a head-chain.

(b) On the right of Shiva stand three women. While their abdomens and legs are preserved, their faces, breasts and arms are mutilated. The central figure is presumably Parvati, and the other two at the side, her playmates Jaya and Vijaya. Parvati supports herself with her left hand on the shoulders of her companions. Between the group of women and the dancing Shiva the figure of an adult male has been preserved; his curly hair peep out from below his head-cover. He imitates Shiva's dance movements though only with two arms. His right arm moves from the shoulder towards the left. The hand, bent down, meets the hand whose palm is stretched forward. He is perhaps Kumara, the son of Shiva.

(c) The entire right half is dominated in the upper right hand corner by Vishnu on the Garuda who, floating in the air, forms a stirrup with his hands for Vishnu's feet. The God himself, with four arms, a gada (mace) on the right and shankha on the left can be recognized. A conical cap forms his head-cover. A congregation of gods flies away from him on clouds to Shiva. They were hence out of reach of the destroyers. There are two women accompanying a man floating between them. Two more male deities fly in the background right over Shiva's head. Here the rear wall of the shrine is hollowed to make the sculptural richness of the figure of the dancing Shiva prominent.

(d) Tandu, who learned music and dance from the divine master himself, is sitting on the left of Shiva and is beating a rhythm on the three drums for the dance of his divine guru. Two drums stand upright and the third lies like a mridanga. The right hand and the left are shown with their full palms beating the drums. According to the tradition, he was the creator of the fierce tandava dance and the teacher of Bharata, to whom he passed on whatever he had learned from Shiva. Behind him sits a musician, beating cymbals. Bhiringi, Shiva's loyal companion, is dancing between Tandu and Shiva as skeleton with crossed legs.

(e) The left half of the total composition is dominated in the

upper left corner by Brahma; three of his four faces are seen here. Below him sit Ganesha and three of his dwarf-statured, short-limbed and plump ganas (one of whom wears a conical head-dress), and above him are situated the devatas, a man and a woman, in the familiar knee-flight, flying with garlands towards Shiva's head. The corresponding composition in the main cave at Elephanta exists on the right of the north entrance. The iconographic arrangement is the same. The gods are dispersed on the same side. Tandus too is copied with his drums. Bhiringi dances as a skeleton. Parvati is portrayed, but Jaya and Vijaya, and Kumara are missing, since they have been knocked off.

In the side-sanctum B1 on the rear wall in the west there is a second shrine depicting Shiva as Yogishvara, which is unfortunately even more damaged than the first. The central figure, which dominates the scene, has been hewn out scrupulously and hence gives rise to the thought that the sculpture of the meditating Shiva has been removed from there as a whole set. Perhaps it is somewhere in a Portuguese or British art collection. In this case it does not appear to be an act of vandalism or blind destructive fury. The lotus throne, on which Shiva sat, is well-preserved and so also are the six Nagas below who are crowned with serpent hoods and are bustling about in water from where a lotus stem is shooting upwards. The lotus stem carries a flower which serves as the seat.

The right side is again dominated by Vishnu on the Garuda, whose hands form a stirrup. On the right, Indra is riding his elephant, Airavata. In the same row farther to the right is yet another deity riding a bull. The two riders below on horseback can be readily recognized as Surya and Chandra. Some yogins are standing and some sitting in the lowest row, and to the extreme right stands Kumara with his spear and a woman beside him. On top a devata couple and a gana are flying towards the central figure.

On the left side once again stands Brahma in the centre, three of whose four heads are visible. In the foreground are a devata couple and a gana flying towards the central figure of Mahayogin. On his left is depicted a Himalayan landscape with rocks and caves, peopled with yogins and a lion.

The lower row of four female figures has been knocked off altogether. To the extreme left, one can still recognize the figure of a woman. To her right is standing a man and next to him are sitting two yogins.

The same depiction is repeated twice in the main cave at Ele-

phanta; once at the north entrance against the Nataraja and again in the west side-cave at the cisterns to the right of the entrance in the north wall. Both shrines exhibit the same iconographic scheme and enable us to form an idea about how central figure, now chiselled down, must have looked like.

It is apparent that the sculptures in the Mandapeshvara Temple and the Elephanta Caves belong to the same school. However, in contrast to the rather plump and smooth curves and stocky proportions at Elephanta, the bodies of the sculptures in the Mandapeshvara Temple appear slimmer and their heads smaller. Moreover, instead of different planes of representation and an imaginative abundance of plastic life, here we are offered harsher and sometimes fragile forms condensed into one relief-plane which shows a tendency to schematise the models. Due to the bad state of preservation, stylistic interpretations of the detail can be hinted at but cautiously. The total composition permits us, however, to ascribe these sculptural works to the school of Elephanta in its advanced stylistical phase. The dominating role of the central figure puts the two shrines at Mandapeshvara on a par with the corresponding compositions on Elephanta. These compositions constitute the last message the sculptors at Elephanta had to convey, the sculptors who began their work at the east entrance and completed it at the north entrance, and the assumption that the small cave of Shiva Mandapeshvara on Salsette was hewn out sometime after the sanctury on Elephanta was completed, is very justifiable indeed. Making a comparison of the Elephanta and Yogeshvari Caves would be out of place, since the latter have been ceaselessly exposed to the weather. They are thus prone to progressive dilapidation, and at some places they acquired the character of a stalactite. Fortunately, recent restorations have stopped this process of decay.

1. The text on the tablet is as follows :

ESTA EGREJA
DA NOSSA SENHORA DE CONCEICAO
FABRICADA POR
D. JOAOA 3RO. EL REI DE PORTUGAL
EM 1544, JAZIA EM RUINAS
POR ALGUNS ANNOS, FOI RECONSTRUIDA
POR HUMA COMMISSAO DE ALGUNS
CAVALHEIROS DE BANDORA, SENDO
O PRESIDENTE DESTA O AUCTUAL
VIGARIO VARA DE THANNA O MUI
RVD. PE. JOAO BRAZ FERNANDES

O RETABULO NOVO DESTA EGREJA E OFFERECIDO POR
ANTONIO MANUEL LUIS
E SEU IRMAO
FRANCISCO LUIS
A CAFLACAO FOI FEITA, AS EXPENCAS DE
SEBASTIAO DE SILVA
EO CORO AS DE
FRANCISCO JOAO QUINY E
MUCKOOND DHURGEO
TODOS ESTES SAO DE VAROLIM
A CAIXAINHA, DESTA EGREJA PERTENCERA
A COMMISSAO MENCIONADA E A FABRICA
COM A CONFRARIA AOS FREGUEZES DESTA EGREJA

Mahim inferior 9 de
Novembro de 1888.

Pc. Joao Braz - Fernandes
Vigario Vara de Thana

2. The fragment of this inscription on red stone reads :

1544 PORADODELREIDIDA
AD 1623 SEDO PROVALOM

3. Mentioned by MURRAY, 1968, p. 25.

4. Compare FERGUSSON-BURGESS, *Cave Temples of India*, London 1880, and the reports mentioned therein. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 45, and in LANGLES, *Hindustan*, Vol. II p. 201.

5. The cave church obviously had great importance at the time as the church of Maria Immaculata on the hill above had been damaged and could not be used for mass. After its renovation in 1888, it lost in importance. Only once a year mass was held there at the time of the feast of the seven woes of Mary. This information came from the Franciscan monks of the orphanage in 1971. The transformation of the cave chapel back into a Shiva shrine was not easy. The Christian population in the area protested as radical Hindus removed the statues of Mary. The image of the merciful Maria was torn away from the altar and thrown into a fountain where it was later found. There were real fights between the Hindus and the Christians and the police had to send a guard to the cave. A Swami of the Ramakrishna Mission took up his residence in the new Shiva shrine. There is a law suit pending with regard to the ownership of the cave temple.

6. FERGUSSON-BURGESS carries a short description i.e. and a plan of the church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade on page 481. The monks made the mandapa of the temple into the nave of the church with a row of columns in the east. The altar stood in the south. The plan in FERGUSSON-BURGESS does not have the rooms B1, B2, D1, D2 as these were walled in. The plan published here should be regarded as a sketch of the entire disposition.

The Beginnings of Hindu-Muslim Architecture

In the study of the past, it is the periods of transition that are particularly illuminating and fascinating, for, it is there that different cultures meet complementarily or with hostility and thus engage in interplay. Such meeting points are quite frequent in the history of India. The penetration of the Hellenistic-Roman influence in Gandhara and the dispute of the Hindus with various Muslim people, who gained a footing in the north of the subcontinent, are such examples. A clear understanding of such processes of intermingling and melting together is possible with the aid of art monuments behind which lie such epochs. As soon as the Turks and Afghans defeated the Hindu princes and seized power in Delhi, they began to build the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque and the Qutb Minar, and it is in these that we see the first examples of Hindu-Muslim contact in the sphere of art.

While the archaeological accounts of Alexander Cunningham and Carr Stephen do indeed form the study-material, still more important are the monuments themselves with their inscriptions on walls. The most intense stimulation, however, came from many a discussion while walking through the ruins with my Indian friends and professional colleagues, among whom Professor Muhammad Mujeeb, Vice Chancellor of the Jamia Millia Islamia, must be named with special gratitude.

First Mosque on Indian Soil

General Qutbu'd-Din rose from the status of a slave to become the army commander of Muizzu'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri and seized Qal'a Rai Pithora, by which name we mean the ancient city of Delhi after the second battle at Terrain, where the ruler was killed in a melee. This happened in 1192 A.D. In the very following year, he began to build the first mosque on Indian soil in the heart of the conquered city where the zone of Hindu temples lay. The establishment of the grandiose Muslim sanctuary Quwwatu'l-Islam, "Might of Islam" as it was later called, introduced something new and unanticipated for the Hindus.

Ever since the beginning of the second millenium, North India suffered from inroads made by the Afghan armies consisting of mercenaries from Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. Thus Mahmud of Ghazni (997-1030 A.D.) became a plague for North-west India. His almost yearly raids were but acts of sheer plunder. They were aimed at the legendary riches of the celebrated sanctuaries of India where, in the course of the centuries, the donations of the pilgrims from far and near had indeed accumulated to veritable mountains of gold and jewels. The destruction of the temple of Somnath made a deep imprint on the minds of the Indian people and it still moves them. To the relief of all, Mahmud died in 1030 A.D.

After a century-and-a-half, however, the Afghans appeared once again in India. In 1185 A.D., Muizzu'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri conquered Lahore. He did something which none of the Hindu princes expected. He had not only plunder in mind, but the foundation of a kingdom as well. He wanted to stay. So he pushed ahead and appeared before Delhi. In his first confrontation with the Hindus he was beaten, but he won the second round. He left behind General Qutbu'd-Din Aibak as a viceroy of sorts and carried on with his campaign as the conquered territories were not thoroughly secured as yet. Nevertheless, the order to build the mosque was given. The intruders at least put on an air as though they would not withdraw.

On the eastern or the main entrance of the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque, the builder Qutbu'd-Din Aibak informs posterity in one inscription that he built this mosque from the material obtained by pulling down twenty-seven Hindu and Jain temples. The beginning of the building is dated back to 1193 A.D. The mosque was completed in the year 1197 A.D.

Mosque-yard Surrounded by Temple Halls

It is an amazing event that is taking place before our eyes. No sooner Aibak gets the better of the foe than he goes ahead to erect a sanctuary which should render thanks to Allah and at the same time perpetuate the possession of the captured principality. He selects the raised base of the acropolis of Hindu temples in the midst of the city as the building site. He has these temples as well as those in the neighbourhood, twenty-seven in all, pulled down. These did not happen to be sanctuaries which were in any case damaged in warfare. The demolition was ordered explicit ly in order

to obtain material for the erection of the mosque and it affected the temple zone in Qal'a Rai Pithora which lay in the heart of the city, the Qutb Minar neighbourhood of today. For this, two reasons were presumably decisive. The one being doubtlessly the speed with which everything happened. The builder saved the time and work which the stone-masons would have put in the quarries, the transportation and the preparations for the building. It was, moreover, his intention to humiliate the defeated gods and force them into the service of the victorious god for all to see. They were thus exposed as impotent idols who had to watch helplessly while their habitations were devastated and the altars transformed into walls of the mosque for the glory of Allah.

The Muslim conquerors dealt with Christian churches in much the same fashion. The Christians themselves had set the precedent for building by spoliation when they turned heathen temples into houses of God or used them as quarries for their churches.

The Muslims, however, had to accept one thing in this process : the sculptures on the Hindu temple-pillars which they employed to build the mosque violated the stern religious regulations against figural-representation and inevitably hurt the moral feelings of many an orthodox believer.

Now, who did the work of pulling down the temples and of erecting the mosque? That Qutbu'd-Din had brought workmen with him, or had them sent over as reinforcements from Afghanistan or countries lying farther west, seems out of the question. He was forced to depend upon the local stone-masons and building-workers commandeered for this job. They were, of course, Hindus. And we would not go wrong if we assume that they had to do both : dismantle the temples built by themselves or their ancestors and to build the halls of the mosque.

It is genuine Hindu craftsmanship which we encounter in Quwatu'l-Islam Mosque. The shady halls which surround the spacious courtyard measuring 43.2×33.0 metres are supported in the south, east and north by pillars and brackets from the dismantled temples. As is the case with Hindu temples, the East Hall is treated like a vestibule of the building complex. The four rows of pillars forming a maze give it prominence over the South and North Halls, which have only three rows each. In the corners to the right and left, one comes upon elevated rooms for women with flatly shaped cupolas in the genuine Hindu style. These are accessible by stairs and are appropriately decorated with rich sculptured ornamentation.

Only the bare outline here is Islamic; the building itself is the work of Hindus. It is thus that the first mosque in India came to acquire more or less the aura of a temple. The mosque with its wall containing the Mihrab and the multi-pillared prayer hall preceding it is West-oriented. There lies its main religious as well as the architectural focus. Only the arches from this most important part in Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque have survived. Through these one arrived at the west wall with its Mihrab. Today they lead into the open, and having passed through them one does not emerge into a dusky pillared hall but under the open sky.

Hindu-Muslim Arches

Qutbu'd-Din built a high middle arch and two lower side arches on both sides of it. The high-flying and sky-scraping manner, with which they herald the inner space of the sanctum, is something completely new and unusual on Indian soil. On one of the arches is an inscription which says that Fazl bin abi'l Maali was the chief overseer of the building work. He could have been an Arab or a Persian or a Turk, but the workers he had to supervise were the same Hindus who had built the cloisters on the other three sides of the mosque in the style of their ancestors, by using the pillars and brackets out of the dismantled temples.

The artistic pieces from the Hindu temples could not, of course, be used in the western portion for the construction of arches which had to be built anew, piece by piece, from the buff and red sandstone of the region. The middle arch is 16.0 metres high and 6.7 metres broad. To accomplish this remarkable technical feat, something unprecedented for the Hindu craftsmen, Fazl bin abi'l Maali had to summon forth all his experience in building arches and make it available to his craftsmen and stone-masons who had never undertaken anything of this kind. One can imagine that this was not too easy. Hitherto, the Indian architects had constructed arches, vaultings and cupolas by following the technique of over-lapping where the stones are held in place by horizontal layers, one lying above and one below. To attain a smooth curve, the finishing work had to be done with a chisel. By this technique arches could be raised only over small spans; but Qutbu'd-Din wanted to have arches of the kind he was used to in the brick constructions of his native land in front of the prayer hall of his mosque.

And so rise the arches of the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque, to meet each other in an apparently genuine vault and create the impression

as though the pillars, after growing splendidly in height, are bending towards each other gracefully to finally amalgamate effortlessly with a slight upswing. Coming closer, one notices that the vaulting is formed by over-lapping stone layers and not by stones placed obliquely to the keystone. The critical point of the arch-vertex is achieved by slant-mounted slabs with precise workmanship, however, without following any technical construction plan. It was just a matter of experience. These arches deserve to be praised as an example of admirable performance by Hindu stone-masons who went to the outermost limits of possibility with the means available. Fazl bin abi'l Maali wisely let the practitioners abide by their methods and did not impose upon them any experiment based on the genuine technique of vaulting. The success proved that the Indian craftsmen were in the right : Double impressive in their isolation, the five arches stand above the ruins even today like gates intrepidly striving upwards to eternity.

An artistic device employed by the architects planning the whole building was to erect an iron pillar of 7.2 metres height (0.93 metre of it beneath the earth) in the centre of the mosque's courtyard to intensify the impression of height and steepness of the middle arch. The eye compares unconsciously; the classical pillar, proportioned harmonically, makes the arch, with sixteen metres, more than twice as high, appear still higher. The Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters reports that the pillar had been an emblem erected on a hill called Vishnupada, by a mighty king called Chandra to the honour of the God Vishnu. As a matter of fact, a deep hole at the top of the pillar indicates that an image, perhaps that of Garuda, had been fixed on the "standard". Chandra, some research workers surmise, was Chandragupta II (375-413 A.D.), with whose period the palaeographical peculiarities match.

It is also the embellishment on the arches that gives us an opportunity to observe how well the Indian stone-masons got on with the problems and demands. No reliefs depicting anything were desirable here, but only pure ornamental surface decoration which ascends in bands along the pillar walls and around the arches. Of the greatest interest are the sculptured friezes with aphorisms from the Quran. They turned out to be an ornamental design unsurpassed by anything else. Dynamic and completely unsystematic, the script swings freely and asymmetrically across the surface, now loose, now tight, it hastens and lingers, a play, which the eye follows with ever increasing fascina-

tion. The Hindu sculptors carved the script exactly and cleanly in the bands with chisels according to the patterns, perhaps aided by the stencils which they received, by paying remarkable attention to rounding off the bright letters which stand in contrast with the base submerged in a dark shadow. They also paid attention to the widespread custom of those centuries of putting twining tendrils around the abstract lifeless characters. In the hands of the Hindus, however, the Muslim arabesque, as though it were very natural, turns into lotus tendrils with buds and blossoms which turn and twist as if set in motion by streaming water. They have thus put their unmistakable Indian seal on the letter-bands and banished all speculation that Fazl bin abi'l Maali sent for Muslim craftsmen for getting the letters carved. Here, the letter-signs themselves retain their evenness and two-dimensional character while the sculptured lotus stems which accompany them like a rippling melody frolic in and out of the third dimension.

The ornamental bands without letters take us altogether in the fullness of Indian nature designs. Against such vitality, the Muslim arabesque appears frozen in intellectual indigence. Fat lotus shoots glide upwards along the ornamental strips in wavy motions, double and triple themselves and roll up to form, alternately to the right and left, spirals whose insides show obverse and reverse view of perfectly round lotus blossoms. Wavy carved leaves flow into the spandrels. Yet another band fills the troughs of tendril waves beginning in juicy herbage spirals which ramify in curly endings, a floral formation quaintly exuberant with vitality. It is hard to conceive of a sharper contrast to the stern breed of the letter-bands. One is reminded of a stream which threatens to overflow the bed with its whirlpools.

Monument of Hindu Stone-Mason's Art

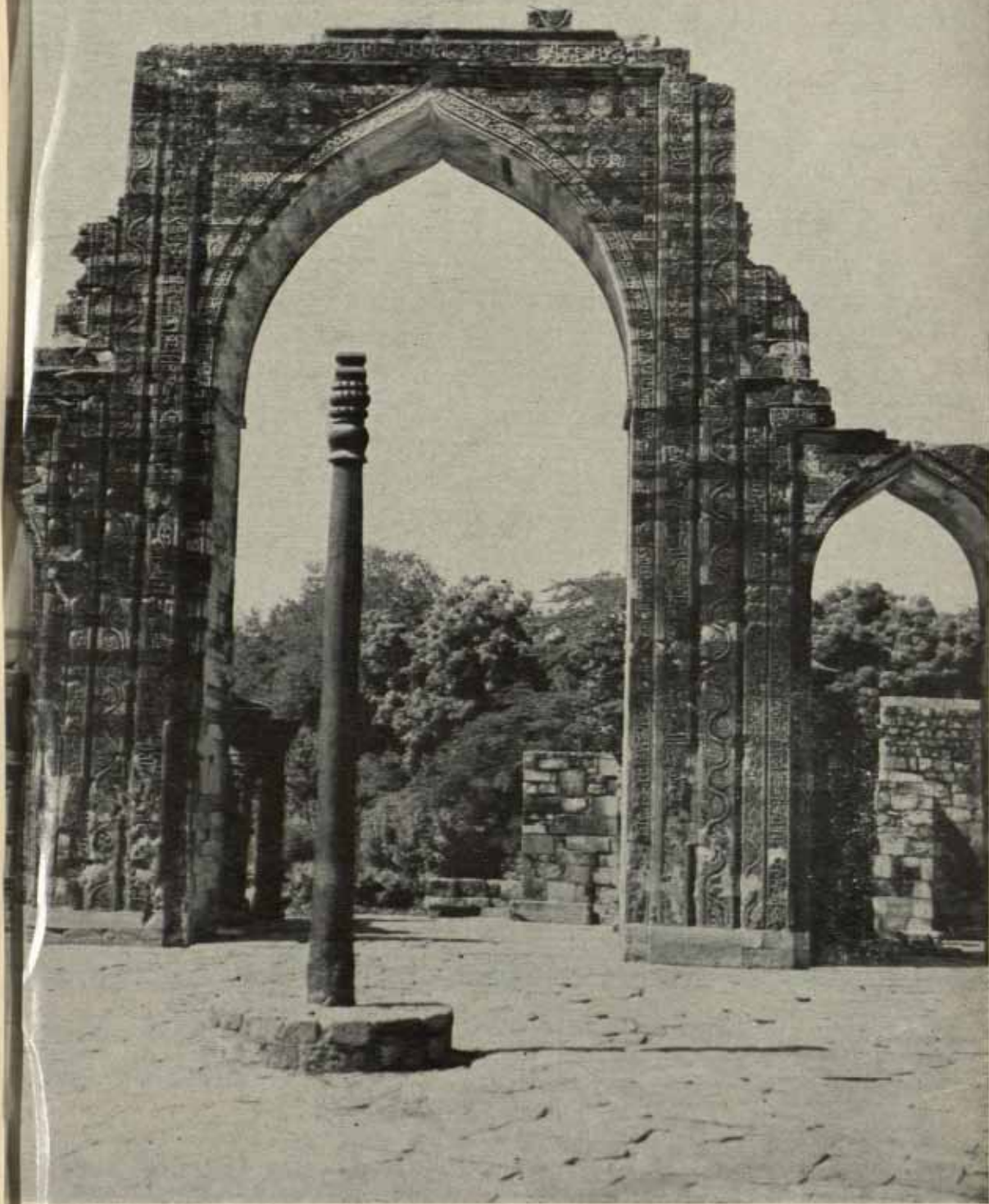
In 1199 A.D. Qutbu'd-Din laid the foundation stone of the tower, which is named after him and has preserved his memory till today, the Qutb Minar. Once again, as one inscription at the entrance reveals, Fazl bin abi'l Maali is the chief supervisor of the construction work. Erected as a victory memorial and also as a minaret for the muezzin, it could not be completed until under Qutbu'd-Din's son-in-law and successor Iltutmish (1210-1235 A.D.). The memories of the native land in Central Asia are once again the decisive element in the task which he gave to the architects and their workmen, and it is once again the Hindu stone-masons who fill the predetermined form; the same supervisor and the

same workshop which were responsible for the mosque.

There, where once the gorgeous City of Ghazni blossomed as the centre of an expanding Central Asian empire, still stand two towers of victory. One was put up by Mahmud himself in the year 1030 A.D., the other comes from the reign of Masud III (1099-1115 A.D.) and was built in 1114 A.D. From both the towers only the ground storeys displaying broad letter-strips towards their close are preserved till today, their upper storeys having disappeared. A minaret in Jam (Persia) has, however, been preserved in its entirety, although no traces can be found of the mosque which should belong to it. It stands all by itself in the deserted bottom of a valley. The tower erected by Ghiyasu'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri (1202 A.D.), the elder brother of Muizzu'd-Din, who conquered Delhi, tapers off along its three storeys. It has a cupola-like crown of the kind one can visualize for the Qutb Minar at its top, the crown that toppled over as the result of an earthquake. Here the body of the building is round and smooth and is not girded with angular or round ribs as is the Qutb Minar. The consoles shaped like stalactite niches supporting the balconies and also carrying the galleries between the storeys establish a direct connection with the Qutb Minar.

Thus the majestic tower of victory in Dehli undoubtedly harks back to the models of the Afghans, of which there existed more than have been preserved. The ground floor is fitted out alternately with angular and round ribs, the first floor only with round ones and the third only with angular ones. The tapering is so sharp that while the diameter at the base measures 14.32 metres, it is only 2.75 metres at the top. With its 72.5 metres of height and 379 steps, it is the highest stone tower in India.

The towers in Afghanistan were of brick construction. The Qutb Minar, however, is built with carefully cut buff and red sandstone. Its basic architectural concept is Central Asian and Islamic. But in its finished details the building reveals in all its nooks and corners the workmanship of Hindu stone-masons. In the ornamental and letter-bands, which girdle the tower at irregular intervals, we recognize again the same workshop which fashioned the ornamental stripes and bands with the Quranic verses on the high arches of the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque. The inclination to round off the letters is striking. Here again the lotus shoots and blossoms form a flowery thicket around the stems of the letters. The lotus flowers, framed by circles of tendrils, look like wheels which, put side by side, form border friezes for



64. Delhi, Quwat-ul-Islam Mosque, main Arch of prayer Hall and Iron Pillar



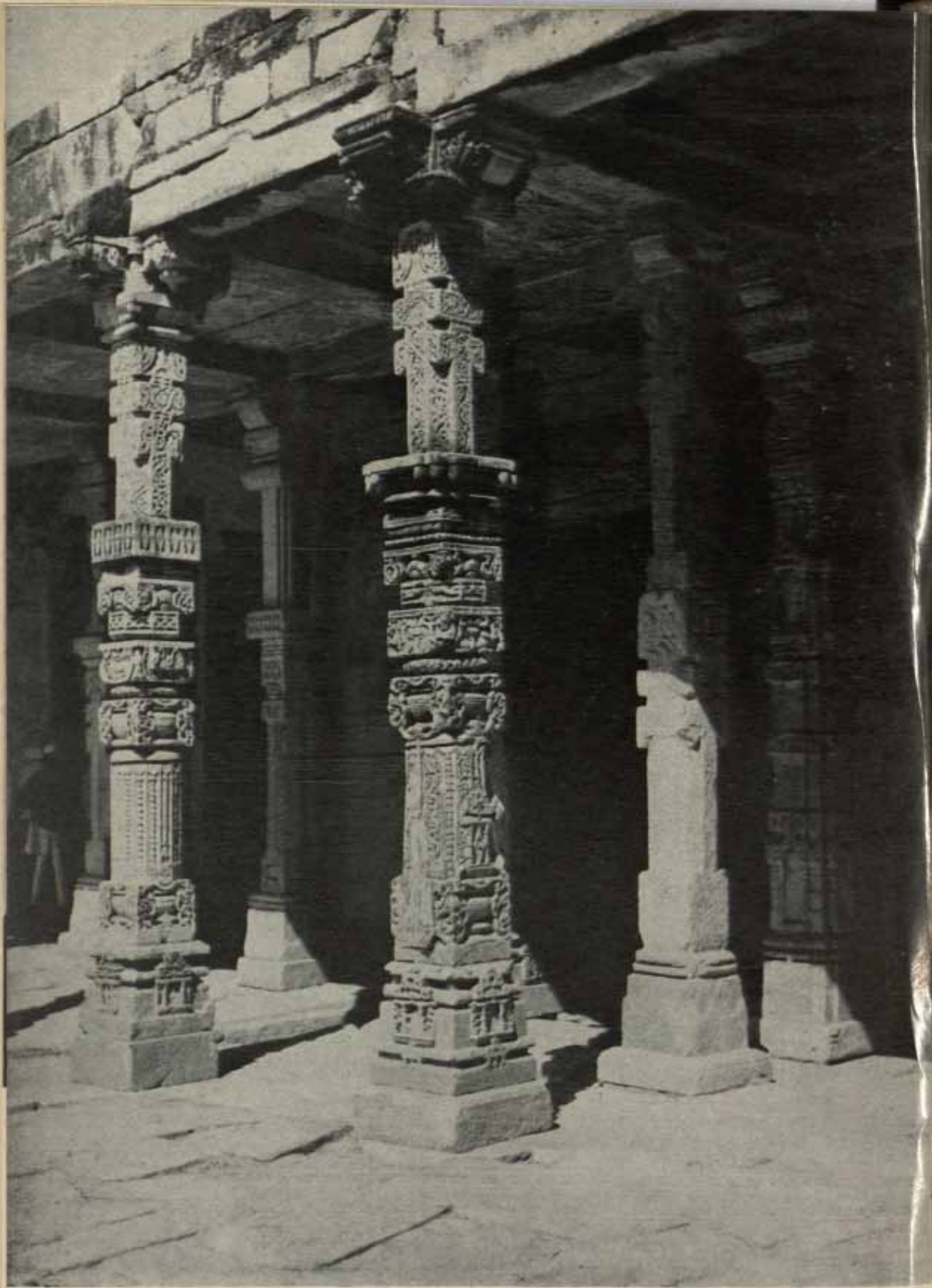
65. Delhi, Qutb Minar,



66. Delhi, Qutb Minar, Inscriptions



67. Delhi, Alai Darwaza



68. Delhi, Quwat-ul-Islam Mosque, pillars from Hindu Temples

each of the letter-bands. The hanging bells motifs find their origin in the art of tent-building. They too form narrow friezes which edge the broad Quranic sayings. There are, however, other common Muslim arabesque motifs which have found their way to India, and their abstract unnaturalistic silhouettes, seemingly cut in leather or tin, contrast strikingly with the native floral sculptures.

If we once again go back to the totality of the tower which served at once as a monument of victory as well as a minaret for the muezzin, we cannot help appreciating its sculptural qualities. As a consequence of the sharp tapering, the tower resembles an organic growth and is not governed by the lifeless stereometry of Muslim architecture, especially inasmuch as the round and angular ribs make it look like a vertical sheaf of cane tied together in four places. Its inherent tendency for growth makes the tower a relation of the North Indian temple spires built according to the principle of upward tapering growth. A Central Asian building concept, realized in a completely Indian manner by the executing hands of the stone cutters, has thus been metamorphosed into an organic-sculptured form of Hindu provenience.

A special role is played by the "knots" dividing the tower into storeys, inasmuch as each one of them appears as the starting point for the next. Their execution in the form of stalactite niches, a form alien to Indian architecture and borrowed from the models of Muslim art in Afghanistan, is a vivid example of Indianisation. Geometrical shapes are masterfully blended with sculptured vigour. If one bears in mind the fact that Qutbu'd-Din could, in all possibility, have only completed the first storey and that his successor Iltutmish built the others upon it, the uniformity of the whole must invariably command our admiration. Only the repair and the redesign of the uppermost storey by Firaz Tughluq (1351-1388 A.D.), after it was hit by lightning, are rather disturbing. He subdivided it and employed marble abundantly. Originally the minar had four storeys of buff and red sandstone. The whole is unmistakably Indian and yet surrounded by an exotic Central Asian aura. The monument of victory looks like the fist of the Turkish conqueror thrust upwards in the vastness of the North Indian plateau.

Inter-Marriage Between Hindu and Muslim Elements

The first encounter between Hindu and Muslim art whose course we have followed did not result in a dull-witted import of foreign forms, but in a confrontation with the treasury of forms

rooted in Indian soil and with their offshoots. Both traditions, that of Muslim building design and of Hindu stone masonry, gave birth to a third concept of style, to something new. While brick construction predominated in Afghanistan, sandstone is employed here. The Hindu technique of vaulting holds its ground, it is only extended to its maximum limits. In the beginning, the technique of genuine vaulting practised in brick buildings is not taken over. The purpose of a mosque, to be an assembly place for praying, is fully justified in the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque and yet with its pillars and brackets and the positioning of the halls on the east it is architecturally fashioned after a Hindu temple. The structural concept is, of course, Islamic: the mosque's courtyard with its shady pillared halls, the emphasis on the prayer hall and the tower meant as a minaret. The tower has a strong Central Asian stamp on it. But the ornamentation is overrun with the nature-oriented flower and tendril sculpture work of the Indians; the abstract geometricised arabesque retreats into the background. Thus, the elements from both the spheres of art interpenetrate in turn, but the vitality of Indian sculpture has the upper hand and hence puts its stamp on the joint undertaking.

When Islam arrived in India, the classical climax of Hindu art was already a thing of the past. The architectural types, picture themes and preferences for sculptural forms had already become set. There were no substantially new creations. The traditions handed down were repeated, multiplied, enlarged, enriched and varied here and there. They could either be refined and established in the sphere of mannerism or they could gain new vigour through dynamic revival and baroque enhancement. The uninterrupted tradition of the guilds secured high quality craftsmanship. Literally overnight, the stone cutters and sculptors of Qal'a Rai Pithora were confronted with new problems. It is difficult to imagine that they dismantled the temple zones and erected the pillared passages of the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque with great pleasure. However, the newly produced ornamental stripes and letter-bands on the arches of the west side in front of the prayer hall testify to such freshness of outlay and meticulousness of performance that the thought that the work could have been done grudgingly and under coercion does not even touch one's mind. The same is true of the Qutb Minar which can be, without exaggeration, called a monument of the Hindu stone-masons' art. The workshop of Qal'a Rai Pithora was sufficiently

adaptable and even brought about original creations under the changed circumstances which result in a new beginning and combine the robust vigour of the new master with the cultivated craftsmanship of the old established trade. The transition period of thirteenth century is, thus, many-sided and full of excitement.

If one may be allowed to draw general conclusions by observing the building of the first Hindu-Muslim mosque, they present themselves in the following direction : In the history of India, the arrival of Islam does not constitute any break in cultural development. On the contrary, a new element penetrates the traditions passed down, intermingles with them and gives impetus to surprisingly new creations. It brings about not only enrichment but rejuvenation as well. What manifests itself can be found in no other land dominated by the Muslims; on the other hand, it is inconceivable in India without the Muslims. Hindu-Muslim art constitutes a new fruitful chapter in the cultural history of the subcontinent which is no less Indian than the preceding ones.

Temple Towers in Nepal

NEPAL is in terms of art history a new world in which there is still much to be discovered. Whoever wanders through its cities and villages feels himself surrounded by an enchanted garden. Every turn in the road can bring new surprises. A world has remained preserved here, in the isolated province of the Himalayan valleys, which has elsewhere long since fallen into ruin. Sylvain Levi claimed in his work "*Le Nepal*", published in three volumes in Paris from 1905 to 1908, that this land is still an authentic replica of an India that has disappeared. He is right, insofar as the monuments of times past appear to us alive in the valley of Kathmandu. The culture of Nepal does not, for that reason, have to be a replica of India. For wherever Indian characteristics appear in the art and culture of this Himalayan land, they are so strongly changed that the originality of the mountain people prevails more than the Indian heritage, as happened with so many Asiatic peoples when Buddhism spread to the Far East and the south-east of the continent. To be sure, the art of Nepal incorporated various influences from North and South, yet the stamp of Nepal unmistakably remains imprinted on all its monuments.

The valley of Kathmandu, at a height of 1,350 metres, first emerges out of anonymity during the Lichchhavi dynasty (400 to 750 A.D.). Yet the accounts and inscriptions still remain sporadic. Not until the time of the Malla princes, who reigned from 1480 to 1768 in the three city-states of Kathmandu, Lalitpur (Patan) and Bhaktapur (Bhadgaon), do the sources become abundant and consistent. Enough inscriptions survive from these centuries, and so it remains for the subsequent epochs from the Gurkhas' assumption of power in the year 1768 to the present day. The monuments of art which have been preserved stem likewise for the most part from recent centuries, at least in their present form.

It is not the wars and conquests which extinguished entire epochs of art history in northern India which are responsible for the fact that the older structures in Nepal have not been preserved until the present. Only once, in 1346 A.D., did a Moslem army, under Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Ilyas of Bengal, ascend into the valley.

Otherwise the peace remained undisturbed from outside, though there was no lack of feuds between city-states and small principalities. But earthquakes, which recurred from time to time, caused considerable damage to the art monuments, even as recently as the earthquake in 1934, which caused the collapse of a number of temples and houses. The major cause of damage, however, was the method of construction of the majority of the monuments, which hid the seeds of swift decay.

Brick and wood are the predominant materials used. The brick walls are threatened in that only the outer layers are composed of burnt (so-called *Telia*) bricks, while the inner layers, on the other hand, are composed of cheaper air-dried bricks. Common loam is used as a binding agent. In the course of time it crumbles and, moreover, provides a hotbed for undesirable weeds. Its effect is particularly dangerous where such a loam layer 3-5 cm thick is used as a middle layer between the wood and bricks for the roofs. There is, moreover, no provision for protection against permeating water. The process of destruction, initiated by humidity, is continued by the weeds, which soon spread in a thick carpet on the roofs. No wonder that under such circumstances the life span of the wood, naturally short already, becomes even further reduced. As it is, decay and insects threaten it with ruin in any case. The same fate awaits the richly carved beams of the roofs, and the windows and door frames, which as a whole lend the buildings their special charm and artistic value. Thus, a great number of craftsmen have been constantly engaged in repairing fragile walls and replacing damaged pieces of wood.

Over the generations, the carved and painted wooden beams of the Nepalese temples have had to be replaced again and again, and the country's famed skill in wood-carving has thus remained in constant practice until today. One cannot, therefore, expect the brick-and-wood structures to be very ancient, whereas in a stupa, for example, very early layers can still be found.

The traditional types of construction, and preferences in form, have continued from generation to generation, independent of the continuity of the buildings themselves through the centuries. Structural traditions, which in the valleys of Southern Asia gave way to new styles or were wiped out by war, could be preserved in the high valleys of Nepal, which were barely touched by the currents of history. Such a secluded area can hold a treasure of forms that can provide the historian with valuable information and can help him to fill gaps created by destructions of history. It is in this

sense that the following observations are to be understood, which were made while in direct contact with the region during a long study tour of Nepal.

The Nepalese Stupa

The basic shape of the Indian stupa is a hemispherical stone structure: the anda, strengthened by a stone or brick covering, rises over a cylinder-shaped medhi, which is surrounded by a fence and has four gates facing in all directions. At the peak of the hemispherical mound is a stone chest with a square base called harmika. Over it rises a mast with three umbrellas, which taper towards the top.

This type of construction underwent characteristic changes after its migration into the high valley of Kathmandu. One legend reports that Ashoka erected five stupas in the city of Lalitpur (Patan), one in the centre and four on the outskirts of the city, pointing in all directions. In this he applied the principle of location found in the individual stupa to a stupa group, and, at the same time, to the entire city. It is certain that four stupas from this group still stand in the western, eastern, northern and southern parts of the city. Of course, it is difficult to date them back to the third century B.C., but these simple buildings certainly appear to be ancient. The flatness of the semi-circle itself points to that. A covering of bricks holds the anda together. The abundant growth of grass is regularly grazed by herds of sheep. At the top there is a pedestal, plastered with mortar, with its walls on a square base, and with a small baroque, stupa-like structure. Temples stand on all four corners at the foot of the anda, each of which shelters an image of Buddha, similar to the cult-images of the ayakas, which we can see particularly in the stupa at Amaravati and other places along the Krishna.

A continuation of these stupas, where pilgrims no longer worship today, is the stupa of Chabahil, though it is on a smaller scale and has a steeper anda. It is situated on the road from Kathmandu towards Bodhnath, in the centre of a cloister which Ashoka is supposed to have bequeathed to his daughter Charumati. The peculiarity which distinguishes the Nepalese stupa from all others can be clearly seen here. The harmika has changed into a small, solid tower on a square base with a roof-like, steep structure consisting of thirteen tapering steps, which culminate in a golden umbrella. Huge pairs of eyes, which follow the pilgrim, while he performs the ritual ceremonies, are painted on all four sides of the walls of

the tower. They indicate, moreover, the omnipresence of Buddha, who sees through everything and whom nothing escapes.

The new structural form, which the Nepalese architects added to the Indian prototype, consists of this tower decorated with eyes. Yet it is questionable whether preliminary stages had existed elsewhere, perhaps in the decorated tower of Nalanda. In any case, this combination of stupa and tower has remained preserved from ancient times until today in the untouched region of the valley of Kathmandu. An alternative to the walled roof structure with 13 steps is the related pattern of 13 gilded copper discs on a vertically-erected mast, which taper off towards the top, a monumentalizing of the umbrella which already crowned the Indian stupa. This precious spire, of course, enhances the charm of the sanctuary, as it catches the first flashing and the last glowing of the day star. This effect becomes even more intensified in the Svayambhunath, for, this stupa, which is similar in structure to the Charumati stupa, only in bigger dimensions, dominates the valley from its legend-soaked hill.

The huge Bodhnath stupa has preserved the walled roof of the tower. Here we can observe another peculiarity which it shares with a number of other stupas in the valley. It is arched up on an imposing terraced foundation with carpeting on the stairs, corridors and picture galleries, which make it a younger brother of the Borobudur of Java. It would not be wrong to seek the origin of this many-stepped base in the terraced stupa of Nalanda, the spiritual centre, from which many stimuli forced their way into the nearby valley of Nepal. In addition to these few stupas already mentioned, there are a number of other stupas in the valley and city of Kathmandu which still have to be systematically catalogued and revised. The precious gilded ornaments of the sanctuary were able to be preserved in the fortunate valley, which was only once, as far as we know, victim of an attack from the South. We can assume with certainty that these ornaments were at one time extensively widespread in India, too. The principal evidence for this is the thirteen-storeyed temple tower which Kanishka had built near Peshawar. The Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun described this spire, a thirty-foot iron mast with thirteen gilded discs, in winged words at the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The Nepalese Shikhara Temples

The North Indian Shikhara Temple, which developed in the era after the Guptas, also worked its way into the valley of Kath-

mandu. India and Nepal must have had mutual relations through the centuries; thus we hear that Chandragupta I of Pataliputra married the Nepalese Princess Kumaradevi from the house of Lichchhavi. The effect of the classical style of the Gupta period on the stone sculpture of the Lichchhavi epoch (440-750 A.D.) is clearly to be seen in a large number of well preserved examples, such as in Changu Narayana. Certainly it cannot be shown that shikhara temples were to be found in Nepal at such an early date. Not until the Mallas are these temples to be found. Representative examples at the Durbar squares are made from unplastered brick, as in the Vatsala Devi Temple in Bhaktapur or the Krishna Mandir in Lalitpur; and, besides these, there are a number of constructions with brick walls and plastered with mortar—the Machhendranath in Bungamati, for instance.

A comparison with the North Indian shikhara temples shows that in Nepal the entrance halls were omitted. A real temple with towers has developed out of the complicated longitudinal structure, rising upon a high podium. The horizontal of the east-west direction is forgotten; the tower is centrally located and is equally accessible from all sides; and the cella, with the cult image, leads directly into the open air. Again, a special preference is shown for the pure form of the tower. The shikhara tower is like a stupa oriented towards all corners of the earth. Four shrines with images of gods lean against the base, thus producing the axis arrangements. They are similar to the temples at the base of the stupa, and, when one takes them and the body of the tower into consideration, there is a strong resemblance to an upward-rising stupa. Moreover, four tower-like structures appear between the side temples, so that eight little temple towers surround the main tower in the centre and support its steep, convex-curved ascent. A reminder of the *urushringas* in the developed shikhara style also appears here.

The basic structural idea is combined, however, with another element, that of the hall of pillars. It appears that the pillared hall, with several rows of wooden pillars behind each other, was highly popular in Nepal from earliest times. The Kashthamandapa, thought to be the oldest temple in Nepal, and recently extremely well restored by the Archaeological Department, consists on the ground floor of a great wooden hall of pillars. A simple pillared hall made out of wooden pillars is placed around the shikhara tower in the Machhendranath in Bungamati. In the Vatsala Devi Temple in Bhaktapur, the pillars are made of stone. The Krishna

Mandir in Lalitpur, which King Siddhinarasimha Malla is said to have erected after 1620 A.D., shows the Nepalese shikhara style in all the glory of its development. At the base of the shikhara building stands a many-beamed stone hall of pillars on a terrace-shaped, raised pedestal. On the floor above, a second hall of pillars develops, and on the third floor the hall of pillars still produces an effect, in that it transforms the eight sided towers surrounding the main tower into open pavilions. Only then does shikhara, carried upwards by the pillar projectiles, rise as the crowning-point of the airy structure. In so doing, the stone tower has lost all heaviness. It appears to be smaller and more delicate and, in contrast to the luxurious development of the pillared halls, it is reduced to a mere decorative role, as an ornament on the roof.

Yet another relationship comes into play, to which Waldschmidt has already referred in his exhibition catalogue *Kunst aus Nepal* (Art from Nepal) (Recklinghausen, 1967). Indian dwellings and palaces, as they have been preserved in Akbar's stone museum in Fatehpur Sikri, were likewise composed of pillared halls, which exhibit an astonishing similarity to the Nepalese temple halls. Thus, one should note particularly the five-storeyed Panchmahal in Akbar's abandoned city, where, as in the Krishna Mandir in Lalitpur, the storeys are placed one on top of the other. Such an influence from the North Indian plains during the reign of the Moghuls would not be an unusual occurrence. When considering the gilded sculpted portraits of Yoganarendra Malla in Lalitpur and Bhupatindra Malla in Bhaktapur, both resting on lotus columns opposite their respective palaces, or similarly composed figures, one finds that the style of the Moghul court did not pass over the aristocratic world of Nepal. Yet perhaps it is out of place to accept such an influence: the pillared halls of the common native dwellings would then suffice as the source of both storeyed structures.

The structure and function of the shikhara towers changed totally with the merging of shikhara towers and pillared halls, which, apart from the examples mentioned, can be found in the durbars of the residences. A centrally laid out temple structure develops, in which the upward tendency of the shikhara, with its increasing convex outline, is related to the broad horizontal stratification of the pillared halls. Moreover, it loses, so to speak, the ground beneath its feet, through which its vegetative growing power becomes incredible. A Nepalese variety of the shikhara temple has thus come into being, which merits consideration as a

branch in the development of the North Indian temple structures.

The Nepalese Pagoda

There were certainly a great number of temples with towers in India, from the second century A.D. onwards. We find their likeness in reliefs on the stone fences in Mathura and Amaravati which date back to the second and third century A.D. A tower with a cult image pictured on the base is to be found on the terracotta plaque of Kumragar, from the same or a somewhat earlier period. A wonder of the Buddhist world, that attracted pilgrims from far and wide, was the huge temple which King Kanishka had erected near Peshawar on a massive square platform, decorated with stucco pictures of Buddha, which has come to light during excavations on the site, that today bears the name Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. According to the description of the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun, the superstructure was composed of all sorts of wood and had thirteen storeys, which rose up to a height of seven hundred feet. The spire consisted of an iron mast with thirteen gilded copper umbrellas, which according to the laws of nature attracted lightning, and thus caused the destruction of the tower.

Sung Yun, who was sent as an envoy by the Wei Empress Tai-Hau in the year 518 A.D. to travel to the western countries and acquire Buddhist writings there, gives the following details :

"An investigation of the origin of this town shows that the Invincible One once wandered with his pupils through this country during his life on earth, proclaiming his teachings. On one occasion, as he preached in the eastern side of the city, he said : 'Three hundred years after my nirvana there will be a king by the name of Kanishka in this country. On this spot he will erect a pagoda.' And so it happened. Three hundred years after this event there lived a king by that name in the country. As he was once going out towards the eastern part of the city, he saw four children busy building a Buddhist tower out of cowdung. They already had it some three feet high, when they suddenly disappeared. Astounded by this miraculous event, the king immediately erected a tower in order to enclose the small pagoda. The little tower gradually grew higher and higher and moved four hundred feet further away by itself and settled there. Then the king proceeded to widen the base of the tower three hundred paces more. . . . He used carved wood. He built stairs that led to the spire. The roof was composed of all types of wood. Altogether there were thirteen storeys, and over them an iron mast, three (more probably

thirty) feet high, with thirteen gilded discs. All in all it was seven hundred feet above the ground. . . . The Tsioh-li Pagoda has been destroyed by lightning three times since its construction, but the kings of the country have restored it each time. The wise ones say : 'When this pagoda is finally destroyed, then the teachings of Buddha will also perish. . . .' During sunrise the gilded discs of the umbrella reflect the light with overpowering brightness, while the soft morning wind stirs the lovely chimes of the precious bells which hang down from the roof. Among all the pagodas in the western world, this ranks by far the best in size and significance."

Eventually this huge tower erected by Kanishka fell victim to lightning. However, it was one of the most important links in the chain of development from the Indian stupa to the East Asian pagoda which Dietrich Seckel describes at length in the chapter thus entitled in the volume *Buddhistische Kunst* (Buddhist Art), which is part of the series on world art published by the Holle Verlag in Baden-Baden. Nothing has survived of the remaining temples, though their number cannot have been small, in the Indian plains ploughed through by marauding hordes. The privilege was again reserved for the valley of Nepal to preserve forms that were extinguished during the course of Indian history. Other regions of the Himalayas have also remained true to the old form of the wooden temple with towers; but in Nepal alone was it furnished in such splendour by luxury-loving princes, that their towers are equal in splendour—if not in height—to the Kanishka Pagoda.

One of the oldest pagodas, distinguished by its artistic quality, is that of Changu Narayana, situated on a mountain-top north of Bhaktapur. It is only two-storeyed and has stocky proportions. A temple was established here in the fourth century A.D., consecrated to Vishnu, as the name implies. A number of stone sculptures in the classical style of the Lichchhavi period are to be found here, which depict the avatars and are situated in various spots in the courtyard where the pagoda stands in the centre. This itself came into existence in the seventeenth century at the earliest. As in the case of all the other Nepalese pagodas, the nucleus of the buildings is a brick tower on a square base. The step-like roofs are made of wood and covered with bricks. They are held up by supporting beams which slope upwards, richly carved and colourfully painted, and portray a pantheon of many-armed gods, who (logically) are carrying the holy building but at the same time

are looking down upon the faithful and presenting themselves to heaven. The corner beams take the shape of fabled animals, which, similarly to the gargoyles, dragons and monsters on our medieval churches, ward off evil with outstretched claws and snarling fangs. The doors to the cella, which shelter the image of the cult, are abundantly carved. A peculiarity of the Nepalese structural style is the hemispherical tympanon, which occasionally crowns the main door with Garuda and other flying gods, abounding in crocodile-headed makaras and baroque plant ornaments. The doors themselves and their frames consist of embossed sheet copper, which is gilded and glimmers in dim splendour in the shadow of the roof. It is a very old custom to put niches on both sides of the door frames and to place there the idols of gods, half-hovering, half-supported, who in their function and bearing are reminiscent of the tree goddesses at the stupa gates of Sanchi. A complete description of all the ornamentation in wood and metal which bestow splendour on such a pagoda would be never-ending. The onlooker is confused and enchanted by the abundance of the decorative accessories with which the sanctuary is covered. It was certainly similar earlier in India, but there all of this fell victim to the marauding conquerors; in the peace of the valley, it has remained preserved.

The National Sanctuary of Pashupatinath, consecrated to Shiva, is also only two-storeyed and has similar square-built proportions. It remains closed to those of other faiths. Only a glimpse of it from the other bank of the Bagmati, which here just protrudes from a gorge, is permitted. Opposed to this are the charmingly slender dynamics of the five-storeyed Nyatapola Pagoda in Bhaktapur, which was erected in 1703 A.D. by Bhupatindra Malla. The steep terraced ascent of the bricks base gives the foundations, from which the wooden structure of the pagoda ascends with tapering roofs. The stairway is steep and is guarded by stone figures, of whom, beginning with muscular wrestlers at the entrance, each higher pair is ten times as strong as that below. The sanctuary is consecrated to a goddess who is carefully watched over by priests in her underground cult room. In a structure such as this, the Nepalese preference for temples with towers seems to have attained artistic perfection.

The Structural Condition of the Art Monuments in the Kathmandu Valley

THE unique art treasures of Nepal are, at the moment, facing great danger of extinction. The Durbar places of Kathmandu, Lalitpur (Patan) and Bhaktapur (Bhadgoan) have no equal in the world. Their charm lies in the blending of the different types of structures of wood, brick and stone into a picturesque whole. The terraced temple roofs of the Pagodas, the bulky shikhara towers of the stone temples, the broad roof-tops of the palaces and the slim lotus pillars decorated with pictures in gold of the Malla kings are a jumbled mass of wealth. The colourful composition of the wood carvings, the shine of the gold plated metallic decorations on the buildings enhance their beauty. The overall harmony of these places is, however, severely jeopardized by private modern constructional activity and growing traffic. The local Municipal authorities can and must protect these treasures by creating protected zones and limiting traffic around them.

There are other highly artistic monuments in the above mentioned three cities apart from those in the Durbar places. Some of these temples, palaces and private residences are protected monuments while others should also come under the same category. There are hundreds of small temples in smaller towns and villages of the Kathmandu Valley. Some of them have been recently restored by the Archaeological Department; some are still in dire need of restoration while some face imminent decay.

Bricks and wood are the predominant building material of these monuments. The brick walls are decaying fast. There is no provision of water-proofing to protect the roof from incoming water. The decay, initiated by dampness, has been helped by the growth of weeds which have spread into a thick carpet on the roofs. The wood of these buildings has a short life expectancy and has been an easy prey to decay and pest damage. The richly carved supporting beams of the roofs, the frames of the doors and the windows which combine to enhance the charm and artistic value of the buildings, are threatened by the same fate. To prevent further damage, a water-proof insulation with a new sealing

compound must be used together with the chemical preservation of wood. The chemicals required for such preservation of wood are not available in the country. Experts, conversant with the application of these chemicals are, understandably, also not available. Besides the measures suggested above for undoing the damage already done, it is desirable that all wooden monuments be prophylactically treated with the preservation compound.

The House of the Priest of the Dattatreya Temple of Bhaktapur was selected as an outstanding example of art out of the innumerable monuments which were examined in the above mentioned three cities and in Balaju, Bodhnath, Buddhanikantha, Bungamati, Chabahil, Changu Narayana, Chobar, Svayambhunatha and Thimi.

The city of Bhaktapur, which, according to the census of 1952-54, has a population of 32,118 and an area of four square miles, has more or less preserved its old appearance. It is also called Bhadgaon and along with Kathmandu and Lalitpur formed one of the three capitals of this valley. Each one of these cities has its own distinct history. However, all the three of them together have determined Nepal's destiny, at least in the last few centuries of its history. Bhaktapur is supposed to have been founded in the year 889 A.D. during the reign of Raja Ananda Deva. The city is laid out in the shape of a conch and hence is known as the city of Vishnu as is also indicated by its name.

The Dattatreya Temple is situated on a square area, in the eastern part of the city at a distance of half a mile from the Durbar place. According to a legend, the whole temple was built in the year 1427 A.D. during the reign of Raja Yaksya Malla, from the trunk of a single tree. Thousands and thousands of pilgrims from different parts of Nepal and India visit this temple during the Shivaratri festival. Pujari Matha, the House of the Priest belonging to the Pagoda-like Dattatreya Temple, lies diagonally behind it. Even today it is the residence of its aristocratic Mahanta and is jam packed with pilgrims during festive seasons. From the point of view of the History of Art, this Priest's House is one of the most brilliant examples of the Nepalese art of wood carving. These wood carvings go back to prototypes of the eighteenth century which are the forerunners of this art.

Windows and doors on the street fronts have carved frames. On the north side they lead into an open space and on the east side look into a by-lane. The carving is not just ornamental. The northern entrance door is decorated with the images of protecting deities who are arranged in wing-shaped extension. The

two river goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna, are the protecting deities of the threshold as in the Indian temples. The round windows are mainly decorated with peacocks. The spread-out feathers in the shape of a wheel fill the circular window. The façade on the east side facing the by-lane has a few excellent examples of such windows. The rare treasures of the House of the Priest are the rich decorations of the courtyards which are heavily studded with wood carvings as compared to the street sides. The window sills serve as a bay like collar to the carved pillars of the ground floor. A part of the window opening is filled with grill work while the corners of the actual frames have figures on them. In two of the courtyards the woodwork is already completely destroyed. It is absolutely imperative that the main courtyard which up till now is undamaged, is saved from imminent decay. Most of the brick walls of the houses are out of plumb and many have cracks following the earthquake of 1934. The roof has holes in many places so that the rain water drips in. Dampness seeps in from below as the well used by all the surrounding houses is in the main courtyard. The decay is in such an advanced stage that only a complete restoration can save the unique monument. The quality of the wood carvings is worth this trouble.

Many other monuments of high artistic value like this house must be saved from decay. This is beyond the resources of the small country and its finances. Thus a part of the Nepalese treasures of art will be destroyed in the coming decades unless remedial measures are speedily undertaken. Friendly nations can help by undertaking to restore certain monuments and by sending experts on wood preservation. The need of the hour is, however, to take at least detailed photographs and prepare a catalogue of all the monuments of art wherever they exist and in particular in the Kathmandu Valley which has the largest concentration of such monuments.

The Restoration of the Pujari Matha of the Dattatreya Temple in Bhaktapur

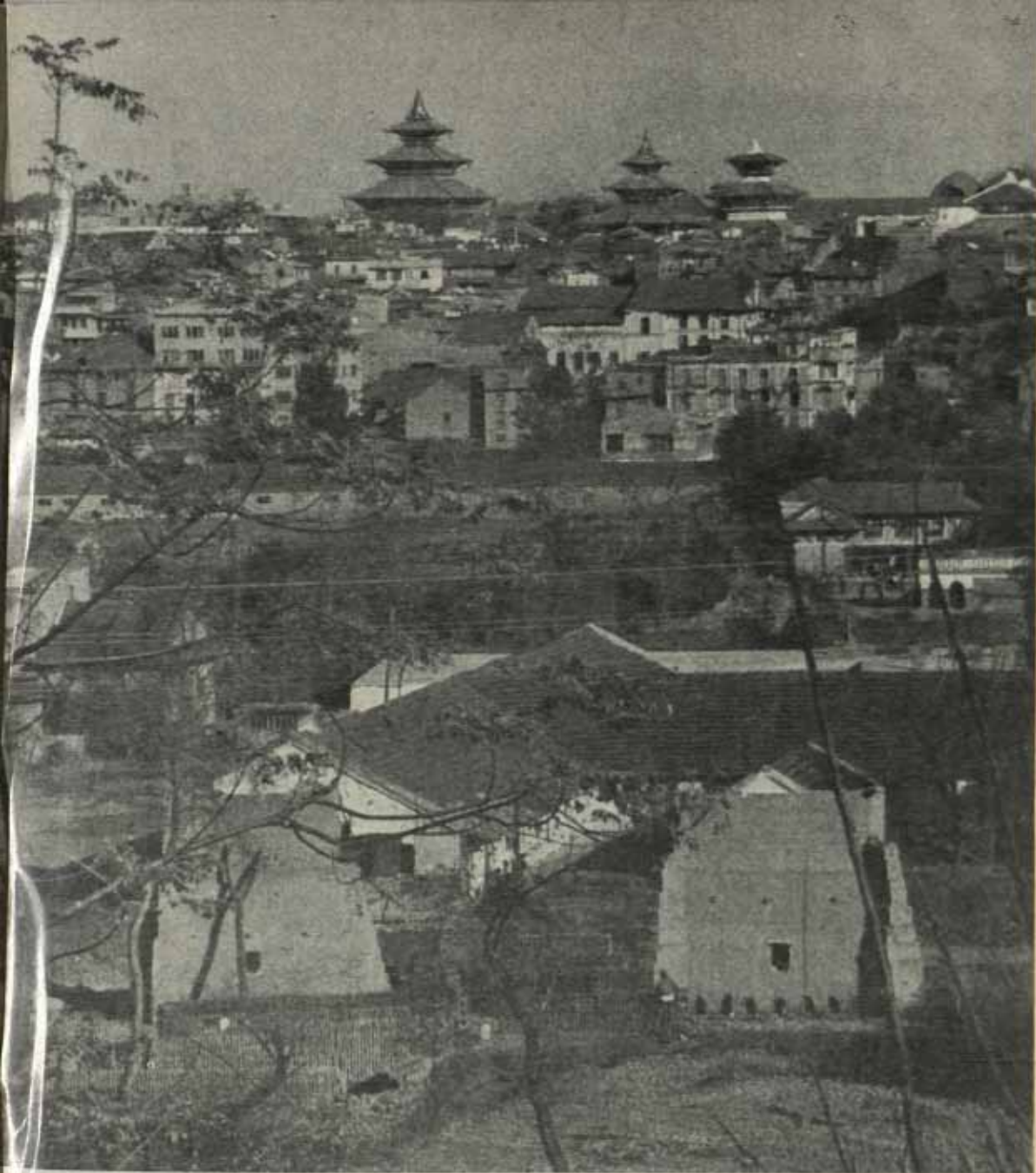
BHADGAON or Bhaktapur (1), the smallest of the three Malla cities, is situated in the main valley of Nepal about 15 km east of Kathmandu. According to a legend, the city was founded in 889 A.D. by Raja Ananda Deva. Its ground layout plan resembles a conch, one of the emblems of Vishnu, and it is perched on the slope of a valley through which flows the Hanumante towards the Manaura. The Temple place of the Taumadhi Tole in the west and the Temple place of Dattatreya in the east are the two focal points of the city scene of Bhaktapur. They are the central points of the surrounding localities and stand out on account of their remarkable buildings. There is also the Durbar place on the north edge of the city. Its origin lies in the decree of the rulers who built here their palace of fifty-five windows and surrounded it with all types of sanctuaries. It has nothing to do with the origin and the genuine growth of the city and still does not form a part of its daily life. The hustle and bustle of the citizens, the movements of the artisans and the traders do not touch the palace region. On the other hand, the temple places pulsate with life like the lanes of the city. From the uneven ground of the Taumadhi Tole above the five-walled terraces rises the five-storeyed Nyatapola Pagoda to a height of 30.48 metres (2). This is the most impressive building of the city and was built in 1701-1702 by Bhupatindra Malla (1696-1722). In contrast to the steeply rising five storeys of the Pagoda tapering off, is the compact structure of the Bhairavanatha Temple situated to its east and built by Jagat Jyoti Malla (1617-1638) (3).

Eastward from here, at a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ km and reached through bumpy brick-paved winding lanes, stands the Dattatreya Temple on a trapezium like place which is slightly sloping to the west. We have come to the older part of the city and perhaps it is here that we have to look for the centre of the first layout of the city. The Deity to whom this temple has been dedicated, represents a peculiar mixture of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. He was born as a son of Atri and Anasuya with the assistance of these three



69. Kathmandu, Bodhinatha Stupa





- Facing page :* 70-71. Lalitpur, Krishna Mandir
72. Bhaktapur, Nyatapola Pagoda
73. Kathmandu, Taleja Pagoda
Above : 74. Kathmandu, Pagodas of the Durbar Square



Above : 75. Kathmandu, Pashupatinatha Temple
Facing : 76. Bhaktapur, Dattatreya Pagoda
77. Bhaktapur, Restoring Wood Carvings





78. Bhaktapur, Pujari Matha during restoration



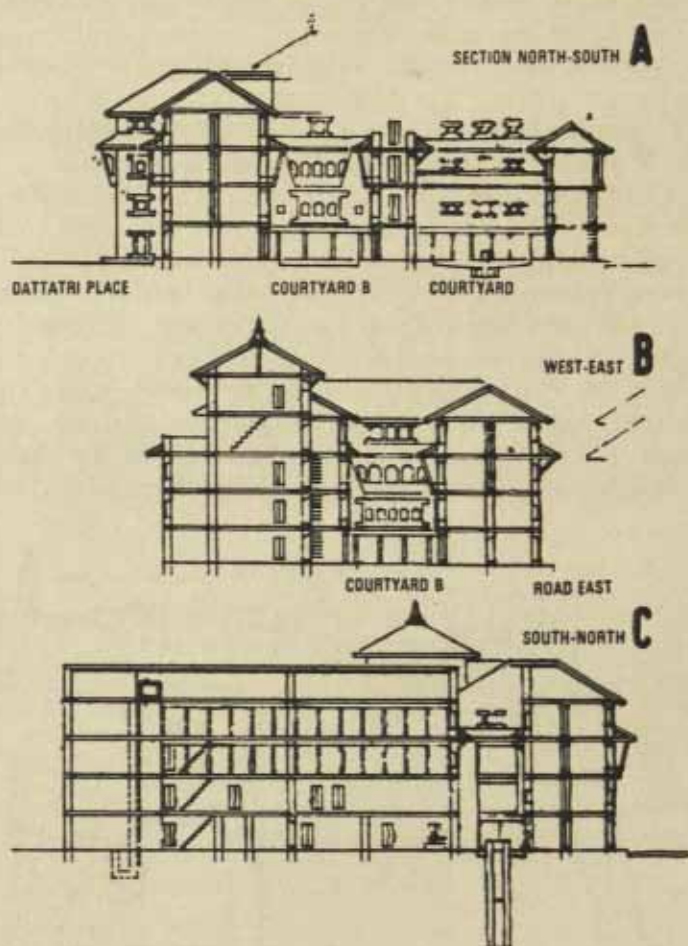
Above : 79. Bhaktapur, Pujari Matha, before restoration
 80. Bhaktapur, Pujari Matha, after restoration



81. Bhaktapur, Pujari Matha, Peacock Window

become particularly evident when compared with the later form of the elegant Nyatapola Pagoda.

The Dattatreya Temple is situated at a place which is the centre of life of the artisans and traders of the city of Bhaktapur. There



PUJAHARI MATH

IN BHAKTAPUR - NEPAL

CONDITION AFTER RECONSTRUCTION

MAY 1972

FLOOR PLANS AND SECTIONS SCALE 1:500

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0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30

are three temples and nine monasteries (matha) in this area. A raised platform has been built out of bricks in front of and behind the Dattatreya Temple. The temple place narrows down and slopes slightly to the west where it adjoins the single-storeyed hall of the Bhimasena Temple (mentioned for the first time in 1654-1655). Behind it is a square-shaped water pond. The spacial relations between the three-storeyed main temple and this low hall have an impact on the place which is otherwise surrounded by low houses. One has to climb to reach the Dattatreya Temple. There is another smaller, almost square place behind the main temple which creates a sense of proportional unity as the gaps between the Pagoda and the surrounding houses are narrow. On the south side of this place is situated the stately complex of the Pujari Matha belonging to the Dattatreya Temple. It leaves other mathas of the area far behind in size and facilities.

According to the oral tradition of the priests (4) of the Pujari Matha, this monastery was founded by Goswami Gurubaksha Giri, a sadhu from Mahuragarh in India who returned laden with treasures from his pilgrimage to Tibet. The Deity was solemnly enthroned in the year 606 of the Nepal era, that is in the year 1486 A.D. Friendly relations with Tibet continued for years. The Matha received every year from Lhasa one tola of gold, one tola of silver, one horse, one carpet, 365 okhars and 216 rupees. This payment was first discontinued during the Rana times under Chandra Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana.

The Matha has manifold functions.

1. It is a house of God accommodating the following deities : Dattatreya, Vishveshvara Mahadeva, Samantako Mahadeva, Kali, Ganesha, Bhimasena and the Ishta Devata Taleju, the tantric family goddess of the Mallas whose image can be seen with four heads and sixteen arms on the golden gate of the palace at the Durbar place of Bhaktapur. The priests are obliged to perform the daily worship. The gods live on the first floor of the building. Even when the restoration work was going on, it was impossible to get a glimpse of the idols of these deities. Before dismantling and reconstruction began, the priests took them away to another place but not without seeking, in a special puja, their forgiveness for this disturbance. After completion of the restoration work, the deities were brought back to the original place.

2. The Matha is the residence of the Mahanta. The first person to hold this office was the founder Gurubaksha Giri. His throne is even today kept in readiness along with linen cloth,

water vessel and agnipatra on the first floor of the house. The names of the later Mahantas are contained in a manuscript which is in the possession of Krishna Bahadur Giri. They are in chronological order as follows :

Ramadatta Giri, Manadatta Giri, Kishora Giri, Gautama Giri, Santosha Giri, Madhava Giri, Vala Giri, Shiva Giri, Kailasha Giri, Gunari Giri, Lokanatha Giri, Kulamana Giri, Bhupananda Giri, Kailasha Giri, Kalika Prasada Giri, Vishvambhara Giri.

At times, the nomination of a successor took place on the death-bed when the dying Mahanta passed on the honour to his best pupil. The present Mahanta, Vishvambhara Giri, has renounced his rights to the priestly functions and leads the life of a grihastha. In his place two other priests perform the puja. Krishna Giri performs the puja for Samantako Mahadeva and for Kali; Jnani Prasada for the remaining deities. This renunciation of the priestly functions and their being handed over to subordinate Brahmins makes it evident that the main duty of the Mahanta is administration. As such he is the owner of considerable landed property and has considerable income.

Sixteen hundred ropanis of land belong to the Matha. The Mahanta gets per ropani one muri, 17 pathis and 4 manas of rice, 4 pathis wheat and 2 rupees in cash directly from the tenants of this land. He has to give from this a sum of 500 rupees yearly to the Guthi Samasthana which represents a higher administrative council for religious charities. Guthi Samasthana has considerable funds at its disposal and has also contributed a large sum towards the restoration of the Pujari Matha. From these incomes, the Mahanta has not only to equip the Dattatreya Temple and its Matha with items required for regular puja but also a number of other temples. The Mahanta of the Pujari Matha has to incur particularly heavy expenses during major festivals. He has to arrange for the boarding and lodging of the hordes of pilgrims and for the firewood which keeps them warm in winter. The Matha has provided for them large dormitories.

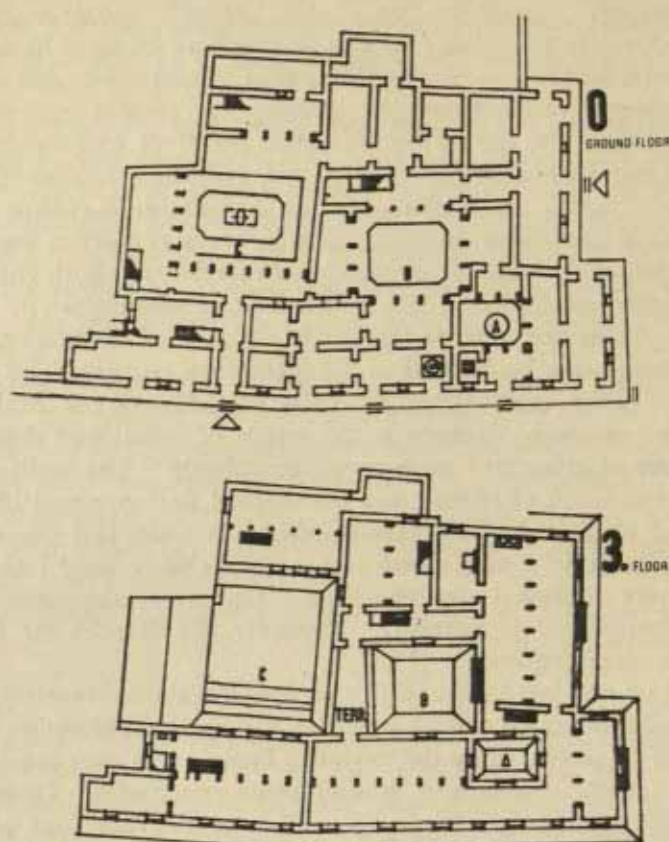
3. A further function of the Matha, at least in the past, was to look after theological studies. It not only offered boarding and lodging to its permanent residents and pilgrims, but also provided medical help whenever necessary. According to tradition, even the study of Indian and Tibetan medicine was undertaken.

The house as it stands today differs greatly from the original built in the fifteenth century. An earthquake during the reign of Vishva Malla damaged the building so badly that it had to be

reconstructed. Tradition has it that extensive repair work was undertaken when Kripala Giri and Lokanatha Giri were Mahantas. This must have been the architectural construction and design of woodwork which gave the Matha its present appearance. If we go down the line of the Mahantas and if we roughly estimate four to five Mahantas per century, we can place Lokanatha Giri in the nineteenth and Kripala Giri in the eighteenth century. So, it is evident from these traditions that in every century a thorough renovation of the existing structure was necessary. Both the stone inscriptions installed in 1763 in the middle courtyard (B) of the Matha, during the reign of the last Malla king of Bhaktapur, refer to the restoration being done in the eighteenth century. The earthquake of 1934 came when Kailasha Prasada was the Mahanta. It caused extensive damage in the whole of Nepal and destroyed a number of important monuments completely. The walls of the Matha came out of plumb and the normal drainage was blocked with the result that dampness affected the walls and the woodwork. The bricks and wood connections closely linked to each other were squeezed out of shape. The worst damaged parts were repaired out of necessity. However, for decades the condition remained critical.

The four-storeyed Matha, with a perimeter of about 34 metres in the north-south direction and 23 metres in the east-west direction and a height of 11 metres (only the towerlike Pagoda roof rises to a height of 15 metres), is arranged around three courtyards. Courtyard A is the smallest, containing a well now dry and out of use. The wood-carved window frames had fallen down. In contrast, Courtyard B offered a breathtaking view. Rich windows were preserved on all four sides right up to the roof. It was a matter of grave concern that in this courtyard a public well had been installed which caused permanent dampness and posed a grave danger to the wood carvings. Courtyard C like Courtyard A was completely destroyed; the windows had disappeared; the walls partly collapsed. Cows roamed there which made it look like a stockyard fallen into disrepair. The roofs of the whole building complex had holes in many places; the walls were out of plumb and riddled with cracks. In addition to the damages caused by the earthquake of 1934, further decay had taken place. If one had seen the magnificent building in that condition, one would not have thought that it would survive another monsoon.

The wood carvings enhance the special charm of the Matha. A view from the roof down the narrow, square middle courtyard (B)



Pujari Matha—Plans of ground floor and third floor

reveals an indescribable abundance of ornamental forms and figures which are woven into each other in a close weave. The windows, not only in the courtyards but also on the north façade of the house, look like oriel balconies. They have benches inside which are comfortable to sit on and from where one, while leaning on the balustrade, can steal a glance of the street. The east side of the building which runs along a narrow lane, is decorated with different types of peacock windows. The best preserved window shows the body of the bird in the centre and the spread out feathers serve as a filling for the circular opening of the window. The superb execution of the motif has contributed greatly towards the fame of this artistic monument. Besides the rich windows which decorate the façades and the middle courtyard (B), the carvings of the low

main door on the north side of the Matha display a perfection in the art of ornamental and figure carving.

The door frame, richly decorated with redoubled lines, has in its centre a tiny Shiva seated on a throne. Its lintel is elongated. From above the Shiva, Garuda looks down on those entering. He is holding in his claws two Nagas who appear to immediately flow in opposite directions in endless coils. Below in a sunken flat relief, there are, in a line between the sun and the moon, eight auspicious signs. The very ancient motif of yakshis guarding on both sides of the door has been replaced by the river goddesses who swing out in the traditional way on the right and the left. The two goddesses are standing on the jaws of a makara. Here, though the tortoise is missing, the goddesses are meant to be Ganga and Yamuna, who are seen with their respective distinguishing vahanas on the windows of the inner courtyard, too. In the top wedge near the door-frame on both sides, a four-armed Vishnu is shown sitting, while at the foot of the frame, eight-armed Bhairavas are frightening away the demons.

These carvings originated from one of the best workshops of Bhaktapur which must have flourished under the last two Malla rulers who were connoisseurs of art. They give us a concept of a branch of art which is rarely preserved in India.

The Nepal Government had requested the German Government in the middle sixties to have some historically and artistically important buildings in the valley of Nepal restored by German experts. The author of this report was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and could only survey the monuments in question in 1969. He selected, in agreement with the Archaeological Department of Nepal, the Pujari Matha of the Dattatreya Temple and suggested to the German Government that it was worth restoring (5). In the following year, the President of the Federal Republic of Germany formally presented the means to restore this monument as the German Government's wedding present to the Crown Prince Birendra.

However, the actual restoration campaign (September 1971 to May 1972) started only when a group of four architects of the Technical University, Darmstadt, offered their services. They were Gerhard Auer, Hans Busch, Niels Gutschow and Wilfried Kroeger.

This restoration did not aim at renovation. Wall after wall was examined and only when found completely unserviceable, broken down and rebuilt. Old material was used as far as possible and the use of new bricks was limited to the unimportant parts

of the building and which were not easily visible. The aim was to avoid the new construction becoming conspicuous in front of the old surroundings. Courtyard C, the worst damaged, was built anew and had its windows replaced from other buildings of the city. The living quarters are in the East, West and the South wings of this courtyard, the space for workshops is on the ground floor and on the first floor there are large halls for accommodating pilgrims. The public well situated in Courtyard B was transferred to Courtyard C. Thus, independently of the older arrangement, Courtyard C was purposely rebuilt as a residential area with boarding facilities. Care was taken that the whole structure remained homogeneous and did not upset daily life and was not out of place in the social context of the city. Just this fact enabled us to insulate the well preserved Courtyard B and its wings from all damaging influences. Daily life and activity could continue in and around Courtyard C. Puja, with all its paraphernalia, should concentrate on Courtyard B, the original character of which in all its details can now be preserved without outside interference. The fact that it is open to visitors should not hinder its preservation. Its floors will house various collections. There is a particular plan to have here a Museum of religious antiques. The preservation of the woodwork was the main anxiety of the Archaeological Department of Nepal. With the help of the Wuerttemberg State Museum in Stuttgart (6), wood samples of the Nepalese buildings were examined and their sensitivity to insect damage investigated. Bayer's Xylamon Tr was recommended both for treatment against decay and pests. Every single girder in the Pujari Matha was treated with the preserving substance either by dipping or by spraying, especially the woodcarvings. These were first dismantled and then cleaned individually. Missing parts were replaced only when absolutely necessary and in such a way that the replacement remained easily detectable. It was found that the local wood carvers could copy the ornamental parts but were unable to carve out the figures. As old bricks were in short supply, experiments were conducted successfully to make new bricks by firing them according to the old formula. There were about 150 workers including masons, carpenters and carvers employed at a time. There was also a small team of experts engaged in the chemical preservation of the wood. The help of Nepalese colleagues was very necessary and definitely contributed to the success of the project. Thus the first German-Nepalese restoration campaign was successfully concluded. It

left behind not only the Pujari Matha, which will for a few decades defy any monsoon storm, but also a team of well-trained technicians who will be available for future projects of a similar kind.

1. Names of the persons and the geographical places are given in the customary transcription.

2. Exact measurement by Joseph Schneider.

3. The temple originally had only one storey. More storeys were added by Bhu-patindra Malla (1696-1722) who wanted to ensure that the older and worthier temple did not lose importance in front of the taller and younger Nyatapola Pagoda.

4. Information about the oral traditions reproduced below and about the agreements regarding the economic management of the Pujari Matha laid down in writing and inscriptions have been communicated by Ramesh Jung Thapa, Director of Archaeology; Purnaharsha Bajracharya, Research Officer; Krishna Prasad Shrestha, Director, Bhaktapur Museum; and Ram Niwas Pandey, Lecturer, Department of Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology, Tribhuvan University. Thanks are due to them for their suggestions important enough to lead to more thorough examinations of the subject.

5. Vide report in *Jahrbuch des Suedasien-Institut, der Universitaet Heidelberg*, Vol. III, 1968-1969, 136 ff. and pp. of this book.

6. Thanks are due to Hilmar Schickler and his colleagues at the Landesmuseum Stuttgart for their friendly assistance.

The Treasure Caves of Qizil and Indian Influences on the Early Medieval Painting of East Turkestan

THE Kingdom of Kucha situated in East Turkestan on the silk route, which has been described in great detail by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller to India (1), was the melting pot of Indian, Iranian and Hellenic influences at the height of its development from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D. Later, Uiguric and Chinese influences also came from the East. The evidence of these influences is to be found in the monasteries on the outskirts of the city, either in hand-written manuscripts which have been found there or in architectural forms of open stupas and of cave constructions, and in the sculptures and paintings which adorned them. As in the other oasis kingdoms in the north and the south of the Tarim basin, the cultural currents which flowed along the silk route are reflected in the surviving monuments and manuscripts.

In the year 65 A.D. the first Buddhist missionaries arrived in China and took up their abode in the Monastery of the White Horse in Lo-Yang. Because of the lively traffic along the caravan routes of Central Asia, it was inevitable that Buddhist settlements were also set up in the halting bases in the oases, whether this was Kucha or Turfan, Miran or Khotan or Tunhuang, just to name a few of the most important ones. This was not a process which occurred just once but provided a continuous supply of manuscripts, devotional objects, scholars and artists. Therefore, the mission work increased steadily. But there was also a counter-current of pilgrims from the east to the west, those pilgrims who set out from China to seek the sacred soil on the Ganga where Buddha had set his feet on earth. Soon the settlements in the halting bases became so important that they could develop into centres of culture in their own right. This was true in particular of Bamiyan in Kapisa and of other monasteries in the Indo-Iranian border area, though it also applies to Kucha. Here lived Kumarajiva (314-413 A.D.) as a member of the large community of scholarly monks. From here he went to China, where he translated the basic Saddharma-pundarika-sutra into Chinese. It was a fluctuating life which linked the oases to one another, and although each individual

oasis could not develop its own local culture, they all participated in a cultural evolution, being supplied with a steady flow of ideas from the mother-country India. For at least half a millenium after the start of the Buddhist missions, we should regard these peculiar oasis cultures as active links of an organism which was permeated by powerful pulse-beats, but under no circumstances as stagnating syncretistic backward regions. Central Asia was the major link and mediator for the culture flourishing then in entire Asia which had for a short time been evoked by Buddhism.

Let us turn now to the achievements in art in Kucha during the middle of the first millenium A.D. This is to be seen in the numerous cave temples in the valleys of the rivers and riverlets of the oases. They are to be found in abundance in the valley (along with smaller side valleys) which was named after the village Qizil. The monuments have been studied by Gruenwedel(2) and LeCoq(3) and later by Ernst Waldschmidt(4) in particular. Waldschmidt was the first to systematically catalogue the various styles of the murals. The definition "Indo-Iranian" has been used by him in concurrence with Gruenwedel and LeCoq for a particular style that flourished in this kingdom and spread from here to more eastern oases and the term "Chinese-Uiguric" has been used for the style which developed in the Turfan oasis during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. and extended in the west up to Qumtura near Kucha.

When studying India's influence on this art, it is not merely a question of religious influence, which came with Buddhism and the Indian missionaries into this country, but moreover of the many traditional Indian elements, which are to be found in the art of these oases. To mention a few(5) : The contents of the legends and stories, that are represented in these murals are of Indian origin. The deities and demons are part of the Indian pantheon. Kings, Brahmins and ascetics appear in make-up and attire well-known in India. The deities and the kings follow the Indian ideal of beauty—broad shoulders, slender waists, women with rounded breasts. They all wear the robes of Indian princes : dhoti, a shawl-like cloth over the naked upper part of the body, complicated artificial hair-styles with flowers and pearls. The Brahmins wear hides, one around the hips, the other over the left shoulder and have their hair tied in the traditional large knot. Ascetics and demons are naked except for a loin-cloth.

The asanas are Indian. The lalitasana primarily has been depicted (in a sitting posture one leg is drawn up and the other is

left hanging down loosely) as also the bhadrasana (both the legs hang down and are crossed, while the knee is slightly raised). Likewise the Indian mudras have been adopted. Rather frequently we find the vitarkamudra, the gesture of discussion, varadamudra, the gesture of granting a wish, anjalimudra, the gesture of praying with hands folded together. It is necessary to add that even Buddha in his various forms and his manifold asanas and mudras is purely Indian.

These traditions of religion and art came from India via Gandhara and has been used again and again as an inherited variety of typical figures.

As opposed to this the Iranian elements are found in those persons not bound by tradition, those of secondary importance and in particular in the portraits of the donors, depicting the Iranian inhabitants or at least members of the ruling class in the country. It would take too long to go into details here. The figures of knights and aristocrats surprisingly western in appearance and their consorts in richly decorated robes is typical of the Iranian culture prevailing at that time in the life at the Prince's court. The men wear coats of three-quarter length with revers, fitting at the waist, trousers, boots or gaitered shoes and dagger and sword. The women wear wide, stiff skirts which cover the contours of the body and a jacket-like bodice with bell-shaped sleeves, to mention only one of the many similar variants.

These purely Iranian pictures reflect neither the indication of a three-dimensional space nor the three-dimensional plastic corporeality of the body. They are totally flat, as if well-ironed clothes had been hung on them, but they are a delight to the eye with their colourful, richly ornate pattern, which extends over the length of the robe, but taking no notice of the body and its limbs. The faces in three-quarter profile are similar and do not have any portrait-like characteristics. They can be identified only by the names given in scripture.

The first phase in the development of the Indo-Iranian style is to be found in a number of caves in the valley of Qizil near Kucha, and is tentatively dated about 500 A.D. These earliest murals of this art province seem like painted Gandhara sculptures, as their discoverer, Gruenwedel, remarked. They have square faces and the figures are squat. Dark lines indicate the contours and the inner details whereas the plastic corporeality of the body is suggested by modelling colour shades on the naked parts of the body. The prevailing colours are brown and green, which are placed

side by side with a few others without any transition.

Compared to this generally widespread style in the valley of Qizil a small group of caves is conspicuous on account of their peculiarity. The most important caves, which belong to this group, are the so-called "Treasure Caves"(6). They lie at the corner of the hill west of the first gorge, which has also been called the great river gorge (Grosse Bachschlucht), i.e. at a particularly conspicuous spot(7). It has square outlines. The cupola, which probably formed the ceiling, has collapsed. There is no shrine for the image and also no gallery around the stupa column as elsewhere. The cult image was placed free standing in the middle of the room.

When Gruenwedel discovered the caves, Temple C had a deep hole in the middle of the floor, from which, according to the inhabitants of the valley, a large hoard of gold had been removed. The cult image, which must have stood above this on a pedestal, was destroyed on this occasion. He describes Room C as follows (8):

This most beautiful hall was also crowned with a cupola which has been completely destroyed. The sub-structure is not quite square, the height of the walls up to the beginning of the ceiling is only 3.21 metres. The remains of the ornaments on the ceiling are magnificent... the murals on the side walls are torn off, but the large, masterly picture on the back wall is still fully preserved. It shows a king in Indian dress sitting on a throne. In front of him stands a lady in clinging transparent robes, who appears to be removing her jewellery, she is surrounded by maids, who gaze at her in admiration. An old man stands in front of the King. Further to the right of the King one can see a young girl and a young man being dressed in the robes of the religious.

Later Gruenwedel published the picture(9) and identified it as an image of Rudrayanavadana. Queen Chandraprabha dances in front of the throne of her husband Rudrayana, who is watching this performance with tense attention. It is characteristic of the continuous narrative style of Indian art that their admission to the order which terminates the legend is shown to the left of the throne one above the other on the same painting.

Waldschmidt has made a compilation of the caves which belong to the same group(10). For our study the most important cave, apart from the "Treasure Caves", is the so-called "Small Cupola Cave in the Great River Gorge". It lies to the east of the river gorge near the entrance between the "Cave with the Ring-Bearing Doves" and the "Cave with the Bullock-Cart"(11). Like the Treasure Cave C, this cave also consists of an almost square room with a ceiling which is flat at the sides and has a

hemispheric cupola in the middle. In this case the cupola was still preserved. It was even possible to excavate it and carry it to Berlin. There are nine deities depicted on it, fair-skinned and dark-skinned, who play on musical instruments or hold urns containing relics. It was published by Waldschmidt(12), who describing its style says (13):

The paintings on the cupola show a conspicuous concurrence with the murals of the Treasure Cave not only with respect to the shedding of the body but also in the treatment of the eyes, in the general harmony of colour, in the peculiarities of costumes and even in the ornamentation. On the other hand, the greater decorative use of colours and the pattern of the composition exclude the possibility of these caves being as old as the "Treasure Caves".

A date fixed a century later than the "Treasure Caves" could be the right one.

Waldschmidt describes this Special Style in rather general terms (14):

As far as the use of drawing and colouring are concerned this painting does not differ essentially from the other paintings in the first style. Even the modelling of the limbs through the use of shaded areas is basically done in the same way. The special feature is only that they seem to be much stronger in their intensity. Apart from this the flat form of the eyes which become particularly conspicuous through deep surrounding shadows is also peculiar.

On the colouring he writes (15):

The yellow-brown tones are predominant here too, only there is an additional blue which is not to be seen in the first style. It is a light sky blue which is used more as a vivifying than contrasting effect.

We shall now study the special status of the style of painting described above in more detail. In doing this we shall confine ourselves to the large picture on the back wall of the Treasure Cave C whose physical features have already been described and to the nine deities, who are enthroned in the spandrel-shaped sections of the cupola in the "Small Cupola Cave". A comparison with the more generally widespread style highlights the peculiarities of the style under discussion. In the painting in the Treasure Cave C, Queen Chandraprabha stands in a typical tribhanga posture with multiple refractions of the play of body and limbs as a dancer before the throne of her husband. The lifted left hand and the delicately crossed legs remind one of the yakshis, who grasp the branches of a tree, a type which has been handed down the various style phases of Indian art and has also

influenced the portrayal of Maya in the Lumbini grove during the birth of Prince Siddhartha. The posture of the enthroned prince also corresponds to an old Indian convention. However, the fluttering ribbons of the crown betray Iranian influence.

The portrayal of the Rudrayanavadana, as a large picture quite alone on an entire wall is unique. In the other caves the legends are always narrated in strips, which are placed one above the other. Under these circumstances it follows quite logically that the whole scene has been composed centrally and the balance between the periphery and the centre has been elaborated. The king—corresponding to his significance—is depicted much larger than all the other figures, the queen is small and the other figures in the picture even smaller. All that is happening and all formal features too, refer to the centre, which is located where the ruler is sitting on his throne.

The people are characterised by slenderness. The body and limbs are elongated, the faces are oval, with matching big earrings and oval-shaped eyes. A gentle elegance is to be seen in the movements and a certain grace in the stereotype inclination of the heads. The hues of the picture correspond to the language of the form. They are soft and differentiated, they have no boundaries but only gentle transitions. The brush models the forms through colourful shading. Everywhere, the brush has the priority over drawing and the linear system of contouring the forms. Compare particularly the reproduction of the faces and the hands, also the ornaments in the hair. The forms are outlined with a broad brush and also the inside lines are done with a brush and not with a pencil. Thus, this results in a particularly soft and delicate style which gives the impression of buoyant weightlessness and balanced harmony.

The same description could be given to a Buddha image from the Treasure Cave B which appears to be the transposition of a Buddha sculpture from Sarnath into a painting.

The deities in the cupola of the "Small Cupola Cave" continue this delicate soft style, and even stress its peculiar features, the slenderness of bodies and limbs, the egg-shaped form of the heads and the oval-shape of the eyes and in the mobile play of the shawls wound round the shoulders and the arms. The individual gods resemble each other considerably while sitting cross-legged in various coloured dhotis on colourful cushions. Even here the overall impression is one of buoyant weightlessness.

In comparison with this the paintings of the main style appear to be harsh and brittle and are like coloured drawings. The pencil governs the picture and draws the contours as boundaries between colour areas which are often highly contrasting without any transition at all. Instead of slender, elegant grace we find squat bodies and limbs, and square faces, a ratio of proportions, which is a feature of Kushana art, while the slim proportions are characteristic of the Amaravati school and later the classical epoch. There can be no doubt that the general style with the Indo-Iranian features originated in monasteries like Bamiyan where it developed in the Kushana period while absorbing Iranian and Hellenic influences. Iranian influences, which had been impregnated by Hellenic influences right from the beginning, mixed with the canon of Indian forms, as was to be expected when Persian power flourished under the Sassanides. Bamiyan became a kind of parent monastery for the settlements of monks in Central Asia. The architectural style it developed, its sculptures and its murals wandered together with religious instruction to the east. Gruenwedel's remark that the pictures in the oasis of Kucha resemble painted Gandhara sculptures seems to be very apt. However, the question of where the Special Style originates still needs a little discussion.

On this Gruenwedel says(16) :

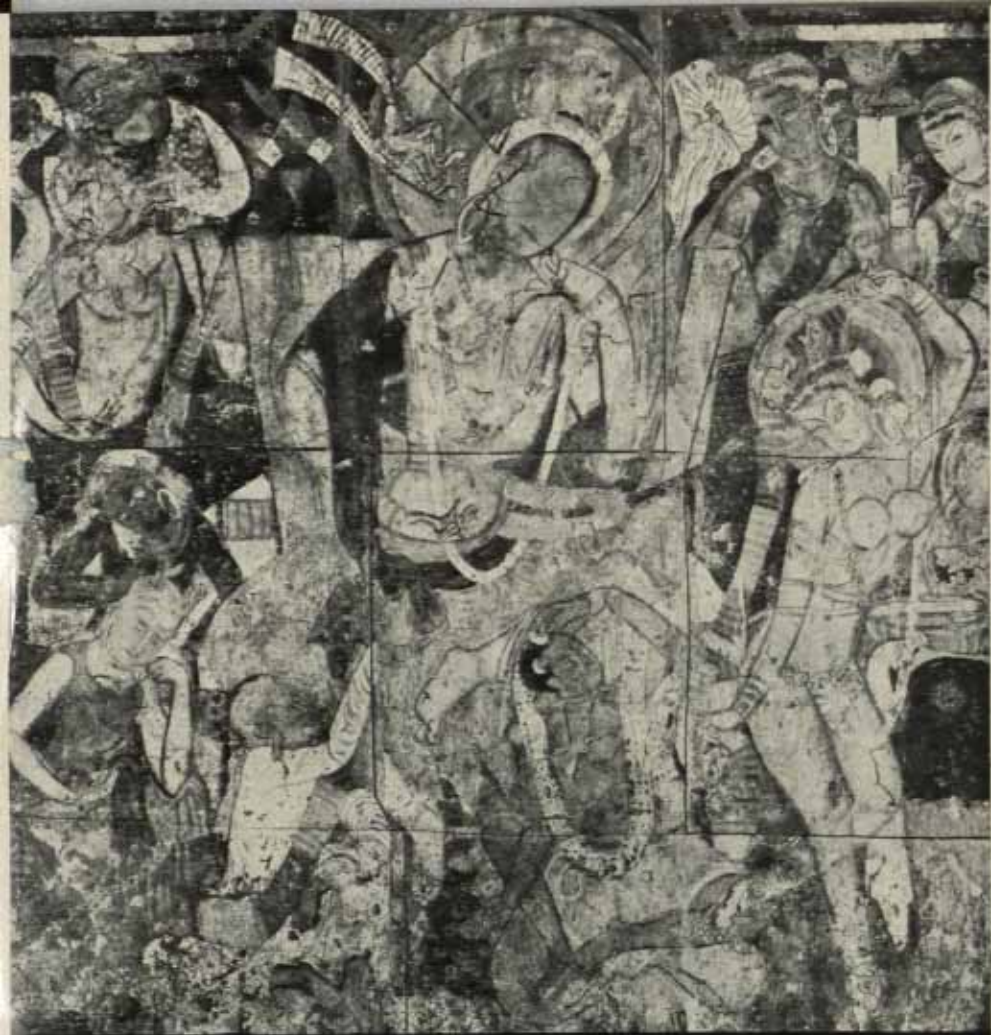
The style of the painter who mainly used the poses of his age but who treated them with more freedom than usual, shows the influence of the Indian style in the delicate curves of the flesh, the bowl-like shape of the eyes and the individual feature of costume without, however, being Indian, the ornaments recall the Gandhara motifs, and the other details, e.g. the fluttering bands of the crown, recall Iranian forms. One has the impression of dealing with a man who used the tools of his age in his own

Murals from Qizil, now in the Berlin Museum of Indian Art

<i>Facing page</i>	:	82. Celestial Musicians, Cave of the Painted Floor
<i>Centre page (left)</i>	:	83. Scene of Worship, Painter's Cave
<i>Centre page (right)</i>	:	84. Rudrayanavadana, Treasure Caves
		85. Cupola of the Small Cave in the Gorge
<i>Last page</i>	:	86. Cowherd, Cave of the Statues









trained style and perhaps came to India where he not only acquired the style prevailing there, but also saw the population who used to wander around naked. In my opinion this man should be placed in the middle of the fifth century.

This statement has been modified and extended by Waldschmidt who says that there could not have been a single artist alone, but that we are dealing with an entire Indian oriented school of painting(17). Up to now these conclusions have not been questioned, but we shall try to go a step further.

We have so-called self-portraits of the artists who painted in the main Indo-Iranian style. According to my count there are at least eight artists' portraits in the caves of Qizil. They have portrayed themselves while painting on the cave walls. The Sanskrit name of their guild (*chitrakara*) is written twice in the Brahmi script on the wall. They wear the national Iranian dress of the kingdom of Kucha and have long black hair which reminds one of Egyptian wigs. Four of these artists are to be found in the so-called "Painter's Cave", three in the "Cave of the Statues" and one in the "Sea-horse Cave". All these caves lie in the valley of Qizil and belong to the first style phase of which we spoke. They could tentatively be dated around 500 A.D. Unfortunately the artists of the Special Style have not left their portraits anywhere so that we cannot see how they looked and to which nation they belonged, whereas we at least have a portrait of the painters of the Uigur style in Cave 3 in Bazaklik in the oasis of Turfan.

Recently, Mario Bussagli(18) has made a conjecture that the Special Style is due to a Sogdian influence from Pjandzikent. But this relationship appears to us to be too general and could date back to a common source, which we now shall deal with again. Even if we do not wish to think in terms of one individual painter's study trip to India, the most probable assumption is that of a new and direct influence from India which passed over the Gandhara tradition. The suppleness of the delicate figures in their picturesque multiplicity, the tranquillity which the whole composition breathes, is a reflection of the classical painting of India and cannot be interpreted as a deviation of the Gandhara style, which had resulted in vividly coloured paintings, where the drawing was pre-determined through dotted patterns, as can be seen from the archaeological findings. In view of the destruction of painted monuments in India we cannot hope to show an uninterrupted filiation. We almost have to depend on the badly preserved murals of the Bhag Caves and on Ajanta alone. The painting of the "Treasure Caves"

cannot be compared to the caves of the Chalukya period (e.g. Ajanta 1 and 2), whose nervous agitation in itself represents the style of a later date. But a kindred spirit meets us in the earlier caves of the Vakatakas (e.g. Ajanta 16 and 17). Its classical balanced harmony, the tranquillity and grace of the slender figures and their movements, the slightly inclined oval heads with the large earrings are of the same type as the pictures of the "Treasure Caves". Just as the classical sculptures of the Gupta period had an effect on Gandhara and led to the emergence of a delicate later style which we encounter in Hadda or Fondukistan, the painting of the classical epoch also had its effect in the north-west of the subcontinent. Because of this effect the Special Style of the "Treasure Caves" and the related groups can be explained without any difficulty. Parallel to the school of art founded in the Kushana period and continued through the centuries a new workshop influenced directly by the India of the Gupta period appeared, which in its essence was a renewal and an enrichment of the prevailing Gandhara tradition and which extended from Kucha to Turfan and Tun-Huang (19).

1. Chinese accounts of India translated from the Chinese of Hsien Tsang by Samuel Beal, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1963, 88ff.

2. A. Gruenwedel, *Alt-buddhistische Kultstaetten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Berlin 1912. Quoted as "Kultstaetten", and A. Gruenwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, 2 volumes, Berlin 1920.

3. A. von LeCoq, *Die Buddhistische Spactantike in Mittelasien*, 7 volumes, Berlin 1922-1933. Quoted as "Spactantike".

4. Waldschmidt edited volume 6 (partly) and volume 7 (totally) of the above mentioned publication. Compare also by the same author, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, Leipzig 1925, and H. Haertel, *Turfan und Gandhara, Fruhmittelalterliche Kunst Zentralasiens*, Berlin 1957, and by the same author, *Indische und Zentralasiatische Wandmalereien*, Berlin 1959.

5. Waldschmidt made a detailed study of it in "Spactantike", volume 6, 26ff.

6. The rooms B and C are important. Compare "Kultstaetten", 100.

7. Compare "Kultstaetten", Fig. 81. a.b.

8. *Ibid.*, 100.

9. *Alt-Kutscha* II, 97 Fig. 72 and Table XI, XLI.

10. "Spactantike", VII, 29 sub-Somler Gruppe (b).

11. *Ibid.*, VII, 17.

12. *Ibid.*, Table 6.

13. *Ibid.*, VII, 26.

14. *Ibid.*, VII, 26.

15. *Ibid.*, VII, 26 note 2.

16. *Alt-Kutscha*, II, 91.

17. "Spactantike", VII, 26.

18. M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva 1963, 48.

19. Compare table by Waldschmidt in "Spactantike", VII, 29, and H. Rau, *Die aeltesten Wandgemaelde des Temples 8 in Bazaklik in Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, NF XIV, 1938.

The Beginnings of German Research on Indian Art

SOURCES, whether descriptive or pictorial, that transmitted a knowledge of Indian art to the eighteenth century European consisted of a large number of travelogues. The greatest amount of data facilitating some conclusions was contained in three extensive works with illustrations of copper engravings :

1. Olfert Dapper, *Asia or Detailed Description of the Empire of the Great Moghul*, Nuremberg 1681, 4°, 304 pages, 30 copper engravings.
2. Pierre Sonnerat, *Travels in East India and China*, German edition, Zurich 1783, 4°, 1st volume, XII and 268 pages, 80 copper engravings.
3. Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels to Arabia and other Neighbouring Countries*, 4°, 2nd volume, Copenhagen 1778, 479 pages, 52 copper engravings.

Other frequently read reports on India, such as those by Pietro della Valle, Jean Baptiste Tavernier or Adam Olearius, contain very little in the way of descriptions and illustrations on Indian art and architecture.

The First Sources

1. The Dutch doctor Dapper writes about Indian rivers, mountains, climatic conditions, flora, religion, caste rules, the role of the Brahmins, and costumes and dances in the first 38 pages of his *India in General*. The next chapter (pp. 58-103) describes the creation of the world according to Hindu belief and the ten human incarnations (avatars, incorrectly called altars) of Vishnu. This is followed by a section (pp. 104-130) on temple services, processions, pilgrimages, festivals and "holy men". After this the customs of the Muslims (Hassanists or Moors) are portrayed. The entire second half of the work (pp. 136-300) is dedicated to the Moghul Empire, its expansion and history, and the various peoples and regions that belonged to it.

Concepts of Indian art emerge in the second chapter which contains a number of mythological tales and is illustrated by ten copper engravings of the various forms of Vishnu—engravings

that do not fall short in style of baroque art of the late seventeenth century. If these engravings are inspired by Indian colour prints and miniatures, no sign of the heritage can be discerned. On the contrary, they appear to revel in the multi-limbed monstrosity of Indian gods without being able to meet the artistic problems that arise from it. It must be noted that this book was found in Goethe's library in Weimar (No. 4082 in Hans Ruppert, Goethe's Library, Catalogue, Weimar 1958).

2. Sonnerat introduces himself as "Commisioner of Naval Affairs, retired scientist of the King, correspondent of the Royal Natural Cabinet and the Royal Academy of Science in Paris, also member of the Academy in Lyon". His travelogue on India is proof of his skill in picking out the specialities of a country. His book became one of the most important sources on India for his contemporaries. Even today it reads well and one often comes across observations and conclusions which have passed into the literature of today. These include references to the great antiquity and depth of wisdom in India, the gentle temperament and the innocence of the inhabitants, and their subjugation by the "priests" who are blamed for all superstitions, false doctrines and embarrassing situations. The German edition of 1783 appeared in two volumes; the first relates to India, the second to further Asian travels. We are, therefore, interested here only in the first volume—its 12 page introduction, 268 page text and 80 copper engravings which were drawn by Sonnerat himself and engraved by a man named Poisson. The first part of his book entitled "On India" (pp. 1-126) begins in Pondicherry, describing its conquest by the British and goes on to the state of colonial politics after the peace of Hubertusburg in 1763. It expands in descriptive terms on the geography of the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts, reports on the caste system, marriage rituals, the disposal of the dead—including illustrated accounts of the burning of widows—enumerates the major cottage industries, deals with medicine, astronomy, coins, language and script, particularly Tamil, and includes a chapter on the most well-known *Panchatantra* tales.

The second part (pp. 127-160) entitled "Introduction to the Religion of the Indians" presents a summary of their mythology and describes in illustrated detail the avataras of Vishnu and Shiva. Devi, however, is missing. The third part, "On the Religion of the Indians" (pp. 161-268), deals with customs of worship, the holy books, temples and festivals, monastic and ascetic orders, transmigration of soul, the world system and the age of the earth,

the division of time and, finally, happiness or misery in the next life.

Sonnerat's travelogue, with its illustrations, was of particular importance to those who wished to form an opinion on Indian art. Dapper had already illustrated the incarnations of Vishnu through ten copper engravings executed with baroque fantasy. Sonnerat provides no less than thirty pictures of gods in the section on mythology. His drawings are obviously inspired by Indian bazaar pictures sold then, as now, for the purpose of worship. His transposition of gaudy colouring in the form of greater or lesser shading makes the drawings even worse than the pictures. They are accurately presented but the monstrous depiction of many heads and many arms evokes horror in the unprepared European temperament. Particularly important for our understanding is a chapter "On Temples" in which he illustrates a South Indian temple landscape with gopurams and a single Dravidian shrine. In the Coromandel, i.e. Tamil Nad, he says that the temples follow a uniform design and can be differentiated only by their size, the number of gopurams and the number of shrines within the high walls. He adds that the temples of Bengal are not so splendid and those of the Malabar coast are quite different.

A stumbling block even then were the "very annoying pictures" (p. 183) on the gopuram about which he says "the upper dome of this building, as also the turrets are painted with pictures" (p. 184). Among well-known temples he names Tirunamalai (i.e. Tiruvannamalai), Schalembroon which corresponds to the old name Chillambram of Chidambaram, and Tiruvellur as Shiva shrines. He also cites the saying: "In order to gain salvation one must either be born in Tiruvellur, or at the hour of death either see Chidambaram or think of Tiruvannamalai, or die on the banks of the Ganges in Kashi" (p. 182). Among famous Vishnu temples he names Tirupathi, Shirangam (i.e. Shrirangam near Trichinopoly) and Kanjiwaron (i.e. Kanchipuram). He advances suppositions on the age of many temples. One of the oldest, he feels, must be the temple cluster called The Seven Pagodas, for, "built on the bank of the sea, the waves now rise up to its first storey" (p. 182). In his reference to Mahabalipuram, whose temples date back to the seventh century A.D., he is right, but ideas of their antiquity were highly exaggerated at the time. He also informs us that the Brahmins claimed an antiquity of 15,000 years for the "Jagernaut" (Jagannath) Temple in Puri. This he appears to have had reason to doubt. A comparison with the Egyptian pyramids

follows. In the process he refers to the temples of Yllura (i.e. Ellora) and Salsette, a neighbouring island of Bombay at the time (i.e. Kanheri, Mandapeshvara and Yogeshvari) and probably also of Elephanta which lies on a particularly small island :

The Egyptian pyramids of which one makes so much are, in comparison with the pagodas of Salsette and Yllura, only very insignificant monuments of ancient architecture. For the ornamentations of these pagodas, the statues, the bas-reliefs and all the thousands of pillars, ornamented and carved out of a single rock, proved that men must have worked continuously at least for a thousand years on them; and the erosions which they have suffered with time obviously show that they have been standing for at least three thousand years (p. 183).

Like his other contemporaries, Goethe too had read all this. It was for him the basis of his opinions on Indian art. On the 27th February, 1811, he wrote to Uvarov :

Thus was an earlier love for the Vedas through the work of a certain Sonnerat . . . always renewed (WA IV 22, 44, 2).

However, Sonnerat's book itself is not proved to have been in his library.

3. "Our countryman Niebuhr" as he was called by Herder, was well-known in the intellectual world of that time. Born in Hamburg as the son of a peasant, he went on behalf of the Danish King with a five-man expedition to Southern Arabia. The inspiration for this came from the orientalist J. D. Michaelis of Goettingen who believed that a renewed study of the ancient oriental world would provide a valuable basis for research on the Bible. He consequently gave the members of the expedition a printed list of questions : "Questions for a Group of Travelling Scholars" (1762). Such brilliant new paths also attracted the sixteen-year-old Goethe who would have gone to Goettingen to Heyne and Michaelis rather than to Leipzig . . . "But my father was adamant." This can be read in his autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth) Books 6 and 7. Geographer Carsten Niebuhr arrived in Bombay in 1764. There he lost his last travelling companion, Dr. C. C. Kramer; two others, philologist F. C. von Haven and scientist P. Forskal, having died earlier in Yemen and a third, draftsman and copper engraver G. W. Baurenfeind, on the journey from Yemen to India.

Carsten Niebuhr gives immoderate eating and drinking as the cause of his companions' deaths. From Bombay, Niebuhr made an excursion to the important harbour city of Surat on the Tapti River and returned home via Mesopotamia and Syria. The

brilliant results of his travels and his personal good luck assured him of the participation of the intelligentsia of Europe in his experiences.

His biography was written by his son, Berthold Georg Niebuhr, the famous historian: *Carsten Niebuhr's Life*, Kiel 1817. Later included in B. G. Niebuhr's *Short Historical and Philological Writings*, Bonn 1828 and 1843.

The first volume of Carsten Niebuhr's *Travels to Arabia and Neighbouring Countries*, containing his research in Yemen, came out in 1774; the second volume of 479 pages and 52 illustrations followed in 1778. The latter contains in its very first chapter from pages 1 to 80 "Remarks on Bombay and Surat" and in plates I to XIV maps of both cities. Also included are nine illustrations of Elephanta done by Niebuhr himself. Through Niebuhr, his contemporaries learnt about the Cave Temples of Elephanta in detailed description and illustration. Also, the opinion of Indian art formed by the traveller must have been of interest to them:

Several travellers have mentioned the old heathen temple on the small island of Elephanta near Bombay, but all of them have done it only en passant. I thought it so noteworthy for lovers of antiquity that I made three excursions to it and sketched what was most outstanding in the temple (II, p. 32).

The side walls of the temple are also covered with embossed figures. . . . They are not as beautiful as the bas-reliefs and statues by Greek and Roman masters, but are much better in draftsmanship and arrangement than Egyptian figures, and considering their great antiquity, very beautiful indeed (II, p. 33).

In brief, one sees in the land of the Indians, one of the oldest nations of the world, so many splendored remains of antiquity that they deserve far greater attention from European scholars than they have received so far. True, they are not as obvious to the eyes as the great pyramids of Egypt. But they did not require less work and demanded relatively more art. For, in order to execute the great pyramids . . . carved out of stone, the builder needed most of all only money and people. . . . But in order to build one of the said temples of the Indians, he had to dig a cave with a surprising amount of effort; and in order to carve out the many groups of figures on the walls a great deal more art in drawing and sculpture than the Egyptians ever had (II, 43f).

The Portuguese have been masters of Salsette and Elephanta for centuries; they changed a pogada in Kanari (i.e. Kanheri) into a church (as happened in 1553 in the Mandapeshvara Caves); they had, therefore, the best opportunity of giving detailed descriptions and drawings of these

noteworthy monuments. However, as far as I know, nothing much was offered by them to Europe on the subject. On the contrary, one hears that they covered the most splendidly carved monuments in the rocks with chalk and sought thereby to force them into oblivion (II, p. 46).

Niebuhr ends his remarks on Bombay and Surat with a complaint about the general lack of knowledge about Indian monuments. It is with a similar complaint that Herder begins his essay *On Monuments of Antiquity*, Part Two.

Part One of the Series of Essays entitled *On Monuments of Antiquity* appeared in the Fourth Collection of Scattered Papers in 1792. It contains general principles for research into ancient art. Herder had planned a whole series of studies, the "First Part" having been conceived as an introduction ends:

... and so I will be permitted, after enunciating these principles, to put forward a few observations about certain monuments of antiquity... (p. 65).

The "Second Part" which follows deals with India. And that was the end; there were no further essays on monuments of antiquity (*Collected Works*, col. Bernard Suphan, Leipzig 1877-1913, XVI, pp. 51-83).

Herder and Goethe

What did Herder know about Indian art? He was naturally acquainted with the travelogues of Dapper, Sonnerat and Niebuhr. But over and above these he had studied only a few available sources. These he describes himself:

In the Danish accounts by missionaries there are here and there (Th. II, III, V, VI) some good but inadequate reports on the pagodas of Chidambaram, the monuments near Madras and so on. In the Sketches Chiefly Relating to the History of Indostan, London 1790, a series of noteworthy monuments are introduced on page 94. In Tiefenthaler's Description of Hindustan they are suspiciously dealt with as heathen rubbish. The English work, A Comparative View of the Ancient Monuments of India, 1785, I have not yet seen but according to the reviews it appears that it deals mainly with the monuments of Salsette. Riem's Monuments of Indian History and Art (Berlin 1789) contains in the first section the mausoleums of Emperors Akbar and Sher Shah with a study not of the Indian but of the Arabic building art. In Tavernier, Grose, Anquetil and many other travelogues, there is some good information but it is far from sufficient (p. 66 b).

He expresses his disappointment over the fact that travellers only describe a few random things with extreme brevity and their

accounts are "seldom satisfying, though always instructive".

If one reads these travelogues, one notes the validity of Herder's disappointment over the skimpy information on Architecture and Art. However, he has great hopes of the "educated society in Calcutta which has already made a beginning in detailed descriptions of some antiquities, although mostly without drawings to illustrate them" (p. 67 c). Here he refers to W. Chamber's account of the *Sculptures and Ruins of Mahabalipuram*, Asiatic Researches, I, 145 ff. Herder found illustrations in the works of Baldaeus, Holwell and Jones, apart from Dapper, Sonnerat and Niebuhr.

For us today, who matter-of-factly use photography as an *aide-memoire* and means of demonstration for art research and are thereby in a position to make extensive comparisons, it is astonishing to note the possibilities of pictorial memory and information at the time of Herder and Goethe. Goethe was overjoyed when he managed, in Naples, to get the painter, Kniep, as his constant travelling companion, a painter who took down the most important pictorial impressions in nature and art in clean outlines and served him somewhat in the way of a camera. Such documentation could be excellent but only for one who uses it as an *aide-memoire* for something he himself has seen. For others, it could transmit the content, perhaps even the compositional statements, but little that is reliable in the way of formal quality.

For his *History of Ancient Art*, Winckelmann had chosen 16 copper engravings as illustrations and done so painstakingly and with great care. But this very case, though as favourable as possible, demonstrates the intangibility of such illustrations for the formal judgement of art works. The illustrations can be valued only as visual auxiliaries to Winckelmann's masterly analysis in writing. For, on their own, they are confusing rather than useful. How much more accentuated this must be in the case of copper plates included in the travelogues mentioned above! True, Herder discovers in Baldaeus and Jones "the most tolerable figures", i.e. he says they came close to the Indian originals, but in our eyes this is a minimal qualitative difference in illustrations that fail to evoke even a vague conception of Indian art. Herder was thus sceptical enough to depend more on the descriptions and opinions of eye-witnesses. He cites Niebuhr's positive evaluation of the cave sculptures of Elephanta and takes W. Hunter's short report on the Elephanta and Salsette caves as a supplement to Niebuhr's work (Description of a few artistic caves in the neighbourhood

of Bombay in Christoph Daniel Ebeling, *New Collection of Travellagues*, Part 9, Hamburg 1787) :

W. Hunter praises the very beautifully drawn parts of some of these gigantic figures in which the ripples of the muscles and many other effects, e.g. the deep stillness of grief or of distain and anger are expressed. In most of them he finds that the limbs are regular and proportionate and observes that as the caves of Kanara, contrary to those of Elephanta and Ambola, have no monstrous figures, the art works here are perhaps the oldest of all, having been created at a time when the taste and mythology of the people had not been corrupted.

And after this altogether apt observation Herder exclaims : *If only we had adequate descriptions—I will not insist upon illustrations—of Indian monuments of a higher order, so that we could follow the art and historical development of these people to some extent and discover the origins, the reasons, the place and the time of the creation of monstrous shapes in the pictures, how they began and how they ended ! (p. 72).*

On a trip to Italy in 1788-89, Herder had seen Indian paintings and other works of art in the Museum of Cardinal Borgia of Vettri. It is to these that he refers :

And if we in our times had the opportunity of seeing Indian paintings or other art works in the perspective of their general decline and of noting the beautiful colouring, the fine craftsmanship, the delicate soul within them, who would not be curious about the time when these monuments were at their height ! Who would not want to discover a Parnass on the mountain of Meru, a Thessaly on the meadows of Agra and an Asian Athens on the banks of the Ganga ? (p. 71).

But which Indian paintings did he have in mind ? Perhaps they can still be found in the collection of Cardinal Borgia.

With this the sources referred to by Herder and the tremendous foresight of his opinions have been sufficiently characterised. It is clear from documents that the most important conclusions to which he came are as follows :

Indian Art is independent.

From what one knows of Indian monuments up to now, one sees that the taste inherent in them and their entire purpose is very local and national. Thus from wherever the seeds of art and religion may have come to the Ganga, they attained a totally unique nature (p. 67).

Their source is religion.

Most Indian monuments have been inspired by religion : for, we know with how much power this still rules over all branches of the people (p. 58).

The religious allegory overpowers art.

In fairy tales one hears pretty stories of how the god of love rides on a

parrot, Shiva on a bull, that picture of virtue, Subrahmanya, on a peacock, Shani, the god of punishment, on a crow. . . . However, the eye discerns no satisfying and firm artistic unity, except perhaps in a painting in colour. Every now and then one sees the symbolic allegory overpowering art. . . . One notices it even more in detail in the case of attributes . . . every arm, every head could be endowed with a story, a characteristic of the god, and in every single figure, both the teacher and the student . . . find a complete inventory of the relationships and deeds of the god. Everything about him is important; I doubt if the symbolism of art has been as extensively explored by any people as it has been done by the Indians (p. 75f).

Indian Art is the Monument of a Philosophic system.

Even if the art of the Indians had no value, which I don't believe, it will always assert itself in the history of mankind as the monument of a philosophic system—a system that could perhaps grow only on the banks of the Ganges, where it seems also incapable of decay (p. 77).

There evolved these monstrosities with many arms and many heads, put together in a unique way; the wisdom of the Brahmins had made speculation and legends merge in such a rare manner that pictorial art was necessarily subject to it (p. 82).

Finally, he points out that in Hinduism there is no opportunity for the building of graves (which is true) and that the idea of the transmigration of soul and of Maya are incapable of promoting pictorial art (which judging from facts, is false).

The final thought is typical of Herder :

Just as in different places of the earth the needle of the magnet points in a different direction but is moved by the same major principles, so also do races differ in their imagination, their taste, their manner of composition and yet, in effect, they represent the same common humanity (p. 83).

Herder's careful and reasonable arguments sound at times as if he were defending Indian art against some objections from an unnamed conversational partner and critic. This could have been Goethe and it is altogether possible, even probable, that such an exchange of opinions often took place between the two friends.

Carsten Niebuhr's conscientious research and his appeal to science found as little echo as did the critical analysis of Herder find a continuation. Both remain lonely pioneers in their interest in Indian art. In the educated world of Europe enthusiasm about India was sparked by works of poetry and texts on religion and philosophy. The translation of *Shakuntala* and Friedrich Schlegel's *On the Language and Customs of the Indians* mark the beginning. Indian pictorial art remained unknown for another century-and-a-half after its first admirers and interpreters. This is not

surprising if one notes the history of its discovery in India itself where the great chefs-d'oeuvres came to light slowly and began to be displayed and preserved by the Archaeological Survey of India only in the nineteenth century. Herder was absolutely right : The works of India's best periods were contemporarily unknown and remained so for many generations.

In such a situation, particularly as research was based on misleading illustrations, it is understandable that incorrect and prejudiced opinions were formed and handed down to posterity. Thus also is Goethe's misunderstanding explained—a misunderstanding that ends half humorously in the pious ejaculation : "In India I would like to live. If there had not been any sculptors !" While he wanted in the same breath to embrace and kiss Shakuntala, Nala and Meghadoota the cloud messenger (WAI, 3, 251).

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

Glossary of non-English words with their Devanagari renderings and meanings.

abhayamudra अभयमुद्रा	= Gesture granting refuge and fearlessness.	5
agnipatra अग्निपात्र	= The vessel of (sacred) fire.	132
Airavata ऐरावत	= Name of the elephant of Indra; an excellent elephant; one of the chiefs of the Nagas or serpent-race.	79
Ajivika अजीविक	= A religious mendicant of the sect founded by Gosala Mankhaliputra.	40
amalaka आमलक	= A big circular stone supporting kalasha; name of a tree.	9
Anantashayin अनन्तशायिन	= Name of Vishnu reclining on the serpent called Ananta (also known as shesha), the lord of serpents.	17
Anasuya अनसूया	= Name of Atri's wife. She is known for chastity and wifely devotion.	128
anda अण्ड	= An egg; the primordial egg of Brahma from which the world has sprung.	39
Andhaka अन्धक	= Name of a demon. He was the son of Kashyapa and Diti. He was killed by Siva, when he tried to carry off the Parijata tree from heaven. He was called Andhaka because he walked like a blind man, though he could see very well.	80
Andhakasura अन्धकासुर	= The demon (asura) Andhaka.	79
anjalinudra अञ्जलिमुद्रा	= The gesture of praying with hands folded together.	140
ankusha अङ्कुश	= A goad to control elephants.	67

Apsaras अप्सरसु	= A class of female divinities or celestial damsels. They reside in the sky. They are regarded as the wives of the Gandharvas, and the servants of Indra.	79
ardhamandapa अर्धमण्डप	= A small hall, serving as ante-chamber; a vestibule.	76
Ardhanarishvara अर्धनारीश्वर	= Name of a form of Shiva which is half male and half female.	76
Arjuna अर्जुन	= Name of the third Pandava. He was the son of Kunti by Indra. He was so called because he was "white" or "pure in actions".	8
Arthashastra अर्थशास्त्र	= Name of the work composed by Kautilya, also known as Chanakya.	65
asana आसन	= A particular posture or mode of sitting; any peculiar mode of sexual enjoyment.	15
Ashta Matrika-s अष्ट मातृका-s	= Eight divine mothers, viz. Brahmi, Maheshvari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani, Kauberi and Chamunda.	90
Atri अत्रि	= Name of a celebrated sage and a seer of many Vedic hymns.	128
Avalokiteshvara अवलोकितेश्वर	= Name of a Bodhisattva worshipped by the Buddhists.	44
ayagapata आयगपट	= The row of images for worship.	46
ayaka आयक	= A projecting platform.	46
ayakakhambha आयककम्भ	= A pillar.	46
ayakapata आयकपट	= A row of projecting platforms.	45
Bhadrasana भद्रासन	= A name of a sitting posture for meditation.	140
Bhagavad Gita भगवद्गीता	= Name of a sacred work which forms a part of the Mahabharata. It is one of the most popular philosophical works of India.	13
Bhairava भैरव	= Name of a form of Shiva.	135

Bhairavanatha भैरवनाथ	= The lord Bhairva, i.e. the lord Shiva.	128
bhakti भक्ति	= Devotion, attachment.	54
Bharata भरत	= Name of an ancient sage who is regarded as the founder of the science of music and dramaturgy.	102
Bhima भीम	= Name of the second Pandava Prince. He was extraordinarily strong. His weapon was the mace (gada).	65
Bhimasena भीमसेन	= See Bhima; also an epithet of Shiva and Vishnu.	131
Bhringi भृङ्गी	= Name of an attendant of Shiva.	102
Bodhi बोधि	= An epithet of Buddha; perfect enlightenment.	46
Bodhisattva बोधिसत्व	= A Buddhist saint, who is on the way to the attainment of perfect knowledge.	42
Bodhivriksha बोधिवृक्ष	= The sacred fig tree.	46
Brahma ब्रह्मा	= The first deity of the sacred Hindu Trinity, to whom is entrusted the work of creating the world; the Creator.	18
Buddhapad बुद्धपद	= The attainment of Buddhahood.	47
Chaitya चैत्य	= A place of religious worship.	29
Chakra चक्र	= A sharp circular disc.	129
Chakravartin चक्रवर्तिन	= The world emperor; an universal monarch; a sovereign of the world.	71
Chandra चन्द्र	= The Moon.	103
Charumati चारुमती	= Proper name.	118
Chaturmukha चतुर्मुख	= Having four faces.	77
Chitrakara चित्रकर	= The name of the guild of artists.	145

dakshinayaka दक्षिणायक	= The southern platform.	46
damru डमरु	= A small drum shaped like an hour glass.	129
Dasharatha दशरथ	= Name of the grandson of the King Ashoka.	40
Dashavatara दशावतार	= The ten incarnations of Vishnu viz. Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Rama, Parashurama, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki.	17
Dattatreya दत्तात्रेय	= Name of a god, considered as an incarnation of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha. He was the son of Atri and Anasuya.	126
devata देवता	= A deity.	100
Devi देवी	= Name of the wife of Ashoka.	36
dharma धर्म	= World order; religion duty.	37
Dharmachakra धर्मचक्र	= The wheel of dharma or law.	34
dharmachakrapra- vartana धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तन	= The sermon on dharma.	38
dhoti घोती	= Loin-cloth worn by male Hindus.	139
dhyanamudra ध्यानमुद्रा	= Name of a prescribed posture for meditating.	48
do-tal दो-तल	= Double-storeyed.	43
Draupadi द्रौपदी	= Name of the wife of the five Pandavas; she was the daughter of the King Drupada.	53
Durga दुर्गा	= Name of Parvati, wife of Shiva.	16
dvarapala द्वारपाल	= Guardian of a door, door-keeper.	54
gada गदा	= A mace; a club.	102

Gajendramoksha गजेन्द्रमोक्ष	= The release of Gajendra (an elephant) from the clutches of a crocodile by the god Vishnu.	51
Gana गण	= An attendant of god Shiva. It is a troop of demi-gods who serve Shiva. Ganesha is regarded as the superintendent of the troop of Ganas.	79
Gandharvas गन्धर्व-s	= A class of demi-gods regarded as musicians of the gods.	79
Ganesha गणेश	= Name of Ganapati, the son of Shiva and Parvati.	79
Ganga गङ्गा	= The river Ganges; the Ganges personified as a goddess.	31
Gangadhara गङ्गाधर	= Name of the god Shiva. He is so called as he holds Ganges on his head.	76
Garuda गरुड	= Vehicle of Vishnu. He is the Chief of the feathered race.	18
ghanadvara घनद्वार	= The niche, the massive door.	51
gopura गोपुर	= The ornamental gateway of a temple.	149
guru गुरु	= A teacher; a preceptor.	4
Guthi Samasthana गुथी संस्थान	= Name of an administrative council.	132
hamsa हंस	= A swan, a goose. He is described as a vehicle of the god Brahma.	68
Harisena हरिसेन	= Name of a King.	44
Harivamsha Purana हरिवंश पुराण	= Name of a celebrated work by Vyasa, supplementary to the Mahabharata.	14
harmika हर्मिका	= Reliquary; the kiosk.	37
Hinayana हीनयान	= Name of a system or school of Buddhist doctrine.	41
Indra इन्द्र	= Name of a god; the lord of gods; the god of rain.	59
Ishta Devata इष्ट देवता	= A favourite god, one's tutelary deity.	131

jatamukuta जटामुकुट	= Braided hair forming a mukuta (crown, diadem) on the top of the head; hair-crown.	83
Jaya जया	= Playmate of Parvati; name of an attendant of Durga; companion of Parvati; name of a magical lore.	102
Kailasa कैलास	= Name of a peak of the Himalayas and residence of Shiva and Kubera.	20
Kaitabha कैटभ	= Name of a demon killed by Vishnu.	53
Kali कलि	= Name of the fourth age of the world.	131
kalyanasundara- murti कल्याणसुन्दरमूर्ति	= An idol of Shiva in marriage attire.	79
Kartikeya कार्तिकेय	= Name of a god. He was so called because he was brought up by the six krattikas. He is the son of Shiva and the god of war.	18
Kashthamandapa काष्ठमण्डप	= A name of a temple.	120
Kautilya कौटिल्य	= Name of a well-known writer on polity. He is also known as Chanakya.	65
Krishna कृष्ण	= Name of the god. He is Vishnu in his eighth incarnation, born as the son of Vasudeva and Devaki.	118
Kumara कुमार	= Name of Kartikeya, the god of war.	79
lakshana लक्षण	= Distinctive mark, sign, characteristic.	15
Lakshmi लक्ष्मी	= The goddess of fortune, prosperity and beauty. She is regarded as the wife of Vishnu.	38
Lakulishvara लकुलीश्वर	= Lord Shiva, as Lakulisha, with a staff in his hand.	90
Lalitasana ललितासन	= A sitting posture wherein one leg is drawn up and the other is left hanging down loosely.	139

lingam	= A symbol for Shiva; Shiva worshipped	
लिङ्गम्	in the form of a phallus.	14
Madhu	= Name of a demon killed by Vishnu.	53
मधु		
Mahabharata	= Name of the epic, composed by	
महाभारत	Vyasa. It describes the rivalries	
	between the sons of Dhritarashtra and Pandu. It consists of 18	
	Parvans.	8
Mahadeva	= Name of Shiva; the great god.	44
महादेव		
Mahamandapa	= Congregation hall.	76
महामण्डप		
Mahanta	= The Superior of a monastery.	126
महन्त		
Mahapurusha	= The great being; a distinguished	
महापुरुष	person.	15
Maharaja Rajadhiraja Devaputro	= Kanishka, the son of god, the over-	
Kanishko	lord of the kings, the great king.	61
महाराजा राजाधिराज		
देवपुत्रो कनिष्को		
Mahavamsa	= Name of a well-known work in Pali.	36
महावंश		
mahavedika	= An elevated spot of ground.	45
महावेदिका		
Mahayana	= Name of a system or school of Bud-	
महायान	dhist philosophy.	41
Mahayogin	= The great yogi, an epithet of Shiva.	101
महायोगिन्		
Mahesha	= Name of Shiva; the great lord.	74
महेश		
Maheshamurti	= The image of Shiva (Mahesha).	81
महेशमूर्ति		
Mahisha	= Name of a demon killed by Durga.	19
महिष		
Mahishasura-	= The killer of the demon called Mahisha,	
mardini	i.e. Durga.	19
महिषासुरमर्दिनी		
makara	= A crocodile.	64
मकर		

mana	= A measure.	132
मान		
Mandapeshvara	= The Lord of the Universe.	81
मण्डपेश्वर	(See p. 99)	
Markandeya	= Name of a Purana composed by Markandeya.	16
Purana		
मार्कण्डेय पुराण		
Maruti	= Hanumana (Hanumat); he is regarded as the son of wind (Maruti); also an epithet of Bhima.	59
मारुति		
matha	= A monastery.	131
मठ		
Maya	= The illusion by virtue of which one considers the unreal universe as real and distinct from the supreme reality.	5
माया	Name of the mother of Buddha.	45
Medhi	= Pedestal; basement.	156
मेढी		
Meghadoota	= Name of a poem by Kalidasa, the "cloud-messenger".	50
मेघदूत		
mina mithuna	= A pair or couple of fish.	42
मीन-मिथुन		
mithuna	= Forming a pair or couple.	102
मिथुन		
mridanga	= A kind of a drum or tabor.	6
मृदङ्ग		
mudra	= Name of certain positions of the fingers practised in religious worship, devotion, meditation (and also in dance as a symbol).	76
मुद्रा		
mukhamandapa	= The front hall; the principal hall.	132
मुखमण्डप		
muri	= A particular measure.	2
मुरि		
Naga	= A semi-divine being, having the face of a man and the tail of a serpent, living in Patala.	27
नाग		
Nagasena	= Name of a sage.	156
नागसेन		
Nala	= Name of a king of Nisadhas. He married Damayanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha.	
नल		

Nandi	= Name of the bull which Shiva rides;	
नन्दी	Shiva's door-keeper or chief attendant.	14
Naranarayana-	= The penance practised by Nara and	
tapascharya	Narayana, the two sages.	51
नरनारायणतपश्चर्या		
Nataraja	= An epithet of Siva, the lord of dancers.	7
नटराज		
Nateshvara	= An epithet of Shiva, the lord of dancers.	21
नटेश्वर		
nirvana	= Final liberation; absolute extinction	
निर्वाण	of individual or worldly existence.	4
Padmapani	= Name of Buddha.	84
पद्मपाणि		
Panchatantra	= Name of a collection of five books by	
पंचतन्त्र	Vishnusharma. It contains moral	148
	stories and fables.	
Panchayatana	= A group of five deities; Ganapati,	
पंचायतन	Vishnu, Shankara, Devi and Surya.	51
Pandavas	= The five Pandavas (descendants of	
पाण्डव-s	Pandu) viz. Yudhishtira, Bhima,	53
	Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva.	
Parinirvana	= Final extinction of individual or	
परिनिर्वाण	wordly existence; entire cessation	29
	of rebirths.	
Parvati	= Name of Shiva's wife; she was the	
पार्वती	daughter of the Himalaya mountain.	18
	She is also known as Durga.	
Pashupatinath	= Name of Shiva.	124
पशुपतिनाथ		
Pataliputra	= Patna in Bihar.	40
पाटलिपुत्र		
Pathi	= A particular measure.	132
पाथी		
Pipal	= Name of the holy fig tree.	71
पिपल		
Pradakshinapatha	= The path for circumambulation from	
प्रदक्षिणापथ	left to right.	45
Puja	= Worship, honour, homage.	49
पूजा		
Pujari Matha	= Proper name.	126
पुजारी मठ		

Puranas पुराण-s	= Puranas are the sacred works containing Hindu Mythology. There are 18 principal Puranas. They are supposed to have been composed by Vyasa.	79
Purna ghata पूर्ण घट	= A full jar, a vessel full of water used as an auspicious mark.	3
rangamandap रङ्गमण्डप	= Main nave; an assembly hall.	76
Ravana रावण	= Name of a demon, the king of Lanka.	20
Ravananugraha- murti रावणानुग्रहमूर्ति	= The image of Ravana receiving favour from Shiva. Ravana tried to lift Kailasa mountain but Shiva pressed it down so as to crush his fingers under it. Ravana prayed to Shiva for 1000 years and Shiva thereafter showed his grace.	79
ropani रोपणी	= A particular measure of land used in plantation.	132
Rudrayanavadana रुद्रायनवदन	= Name of a king.	141
Saddharma- pundarika-sutra सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र	= Name of a work of the Mahayana Buddhism.	138
Sakyamuni शाक्यमुनि	= An epithet of Buddha; the sage of the Sakya family.	39
Satavahana सातवाहन	= Name of the king Salivahana.	37
Shakti शक्ति	= Energy; the active power of a deity.	89
Shakuntala शकुन्तला	= Name of the heroine of the Play of Kalidasa. She was the daughter of Vishvamitra by the nymph Menaka. She married the king Dushyanta.	156
Shani शनि	= The planet Saturn, the son of the Sun.	155
Shankha शङ्ख	= The conch-shell.	102
Shanti शान्ति	= Peace, tranquility.	80

Shesha शेष	= Name of a celebrated serpent, forming the coach of Vishnu. It is represented as supporting the entire world on his head (or thousand heads).	53
Shikhara शिखर	= The top, the summit.	125
Shilpa Shastra शिल्प शास्त्र	= The science of architecture and other cognate art.	81
Shiva शिव	= Name of the third god of the sacred Hindu Trinity, who is entrusted with the work of the destruction of the universe.	7
Shivaratri शिवरात्रि	= The day on which a rigorous fast is observed in honour of Shiva. It falls on the 14th day of the dark half of Magha.	78
Siddhartha सिद्धार्थ	= Name of the prince, who became Buddha.	39
Skanda स्कन्द	= Name of Kartikeya, the son of Shiva.	15
Stambha स्तम्भ	= A pillar; a column.	48
Stupa स्तूप	= A Buddhist monument, or kind of Tope erected for keeping sacred relics.	3
Stupapata स्तूपपट	= The stone slabs with stupa sculptures on them.	46
Surya सूर्य	= The Sun.	15
Suvarnaprabhasa-sutra सुवर्णप्रभामुत्र	= A name of a work of the Mahayana Buddhism.	61
Svastika स्वस्तिक	= A kind of mystical mark (卐) on persons or things denoting good luck.	50
Svayambhunathsutra स्वयंभूनाथ	= Name of Shiva, name of Brahma.	119
Taleju तलेजु	= Name of a Tantric goddess.	131
Tandava ताण्डव	= The frantic or violent dance of Shiva.	102

Tandu तण्डु	= A devotee of Shiva. He was expert in Music. Having learnt Tandava from Shiva, he taught it to the Gandharvas and Apsaras.	101
Tapti ताप्ती	= Name of a river.	150
tin tal तीन-तल	= Three storeyed.	43
Tirthankara तीर्थङ्कर	= A Jaina Arhat, sanctified teacher; a saint of the Jainas.	15
Torana तोरण	= A portal; an outer gateway or door; an ornamental arch.	29
tribhanga त्रिभङ्ग	= A pose in which head and hips are displaced about one amsha on either side of centre line.	142
triratna त्रिरत्न	= An auspicious triad of Buddha, Dharma and Samgha.	50
trishula त्रिशूल	= A trident.	80
Uma-sahita-Shiva उमा-सहित शिव	= Shiva with Uma, i.e. Parvati.	79
urushringa उरुशृङ्ग	= Small tower.	10
Ushnisha उष्णीष	= A diadem, turban, a crownet.	33
uttarayaka उत्तरायक	= Northern projecting platform.	46
Vadhamurti वधमूर्ति	= The image of a deity killing an enemy.	79
vahana वाहन	= Vehicle.	14
Vajrasana वज्रासन	= A particular posture in sitting where- in the hands are placed in the hollow between the body and the crossed feet.	95
Varadamudra वरदमुद्रा	= Gesture of granting a wish.	140
Varahadeva वराहदेव	= The god Boar; name of Vishnu in the third or boar incarnation.	44
vedika वेदिका	= A sacrificial ground, an elevated spot of ground.	45

Vihara बिहार	= A Buddhist (or Jaina) temple or monastery.	29
Vijaya विजया	= A playmate of Parvati; name of an attendant of Durga; name of a magical lore.	102
Vishnu विष्णु	= The second deity of the sacred Triad entrusted with the preservation of the world.	14
Vishnu Ananta-shayin विष्णु अनन्तशायिन्	= God Vishnu, reclining on the serpent called Ananta.	51
Vishnu-Rupa-Darshana Yoga विष्णु-रूप-दर्शन योग	= The yoga of the vision of the all form.	13
Vishvakarma विश्वकर्मा	= Name of the architect of gods; the supreme Being.	42
Vishveshvara विश्वेश्वर	= Supreme Being; lord of the universe.	131
Vitarkamudra वितर्कमुद्रा	= The gesture of discussion.	140
Vrikshaka वृक्षक	= A small tree.	2
Yaksha यक्ष	= Name of a class of demigods who are described as attendants of Kubera the Lord of wealth.	2
Yakshi यक्षी	= A female Yaksha.	2
Yama यम	= Name of the god of death.	79
Yamuna यमुना	= Name of a river.	31
Yantra यन्त्र	= A mystical diagram (often triangular compositions) for meditation.	34
Yoganidra योगनिद्रा	= The meditative slumber.	54
Yogeshvari योगेश्वरी	= The lord of Yoga (fem.); name of Parvati; name of caves, also known as Jogeshvari.	77
Yogishvara योगीश्वर	= Name of Shiva; the lord of Yoga; the master of Yoga.	80

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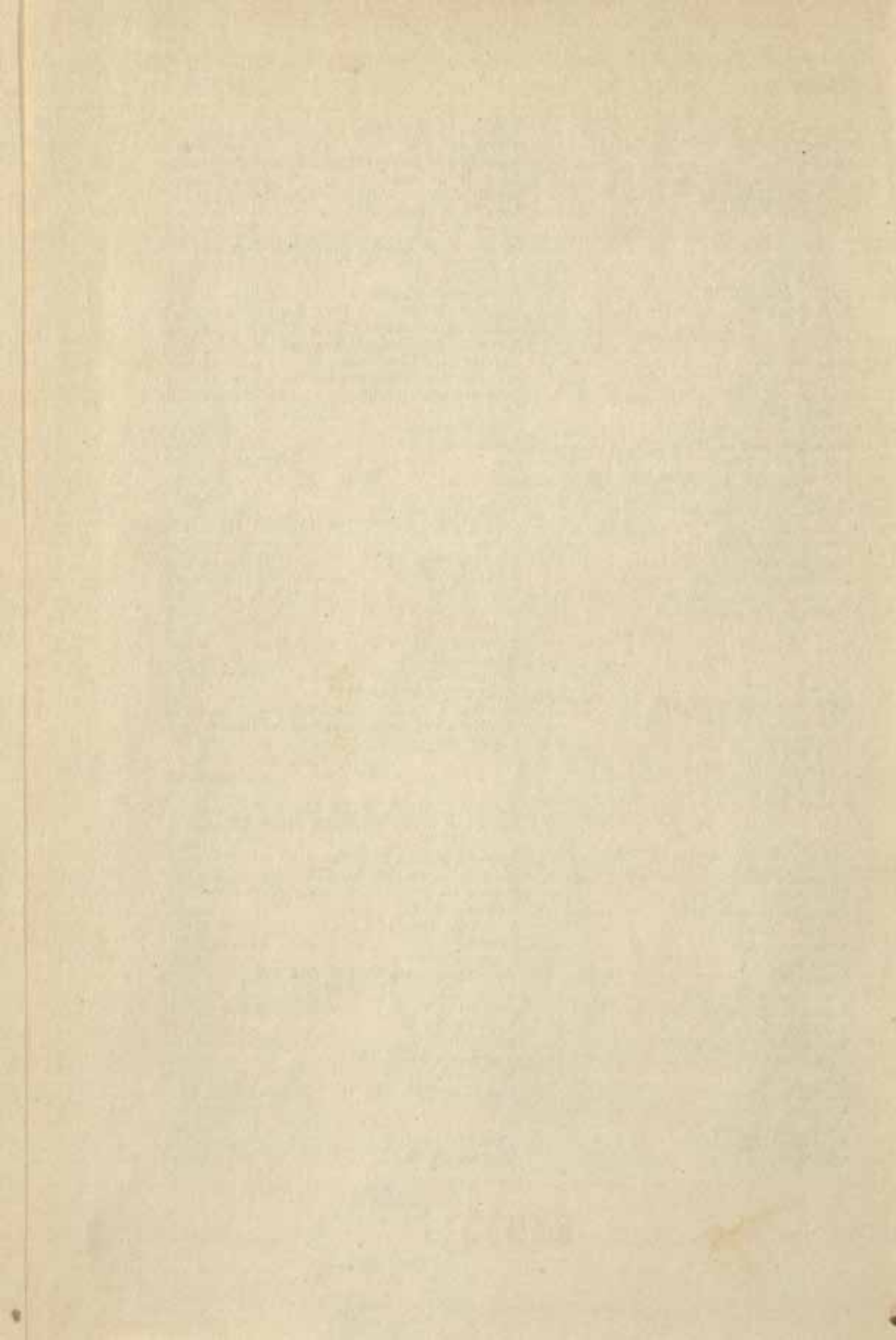
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