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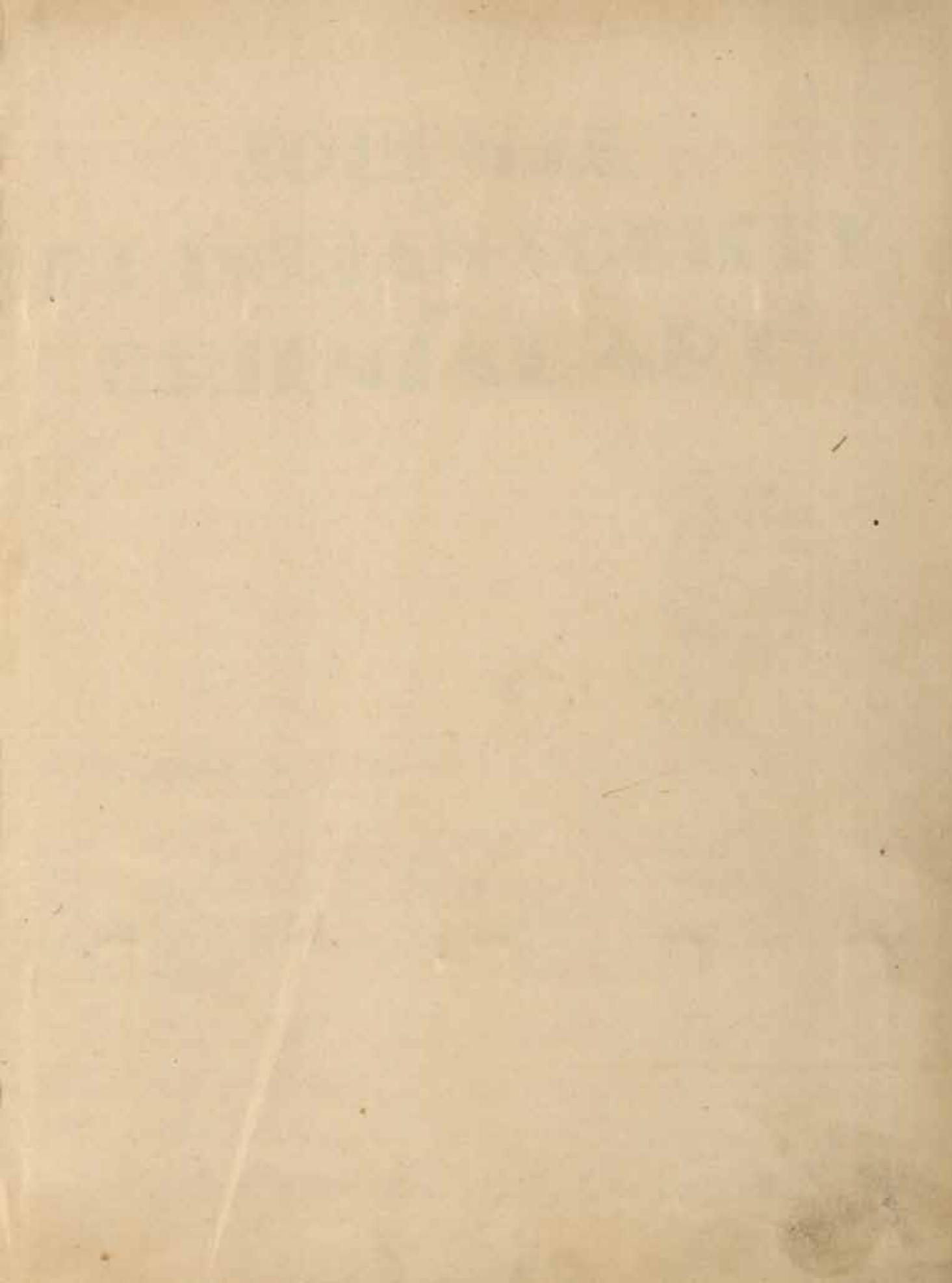
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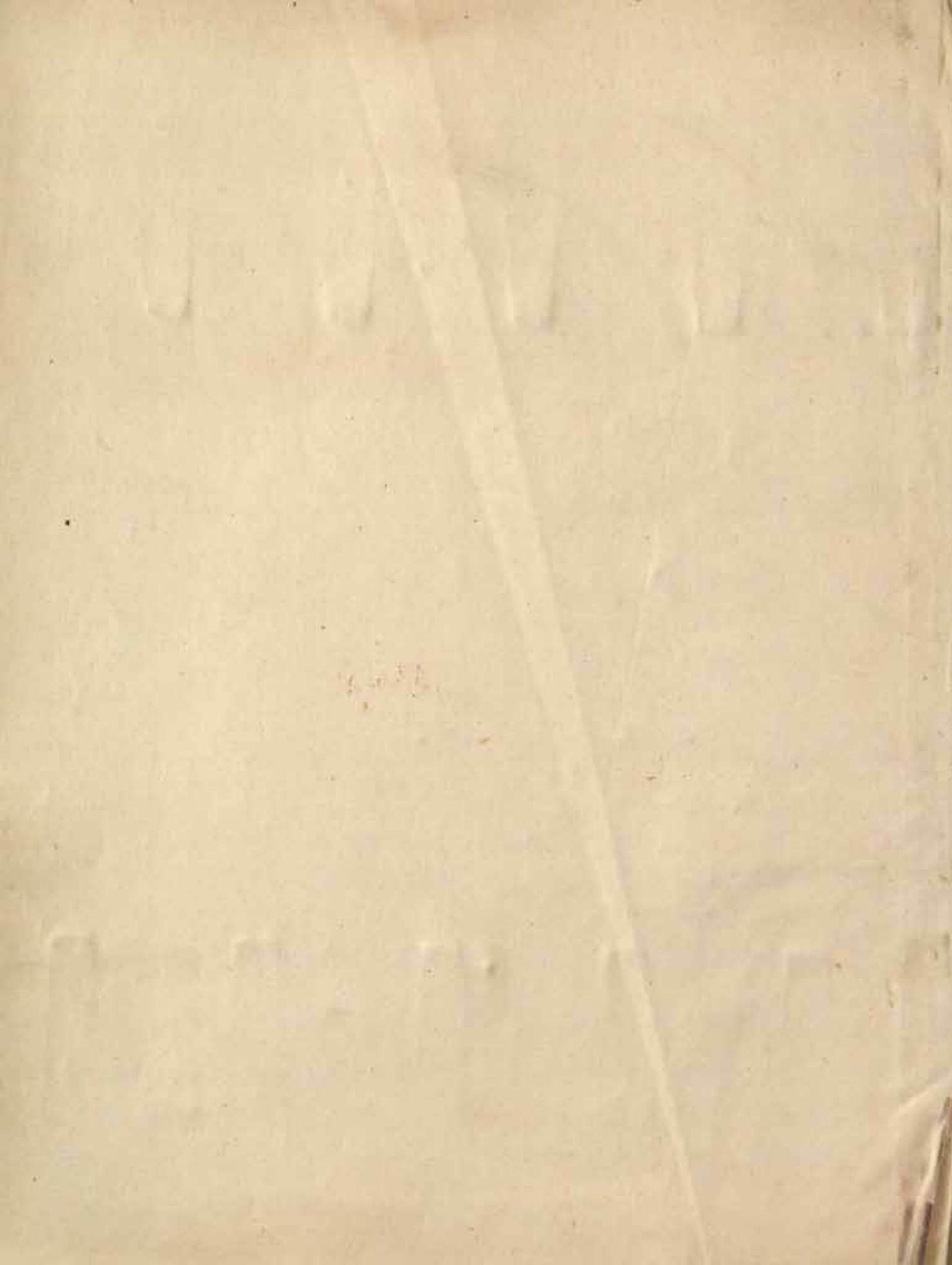
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## THE INTELLECTUAL OPERATION IN INDIAN ART

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The Śukranīṭisāra, IV, 70-71 (translated in my "Transformation of Nature in Art", p. 113) defines the initial procedure of the Indian imager: he is to be expert in contemplative vision (yoga-dhyāna), for which the canonical prescriptions provide the basis, and only in this way, and not by direct observation, are the required results to be attained. The whole procedure may be summed up in the words "when the visualisation has been realised, set to work" (dhyātvā kuryyāt, ib. VII, 74), or "When the model has been conceived, set down on the wall what was visualised" (cintayet pramāṇam, tad-dhyātām bhittau niveśayet, Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, I, 3, 158).<sup>1</sup> These two stages in procedure are the same as the 'actus primus' and 'actus secundus,' the "free" and "servile" parts of the artist's operation, in terms of Scholastic aesthetic. I have shown elsewhere ("Technique and Theory of Indian Painting," Technical Studies, III, pp. 59-89) that the same procedure is taken for granted as well in secular as in hieratic art. It is, however, in connection with the hieratic prescriptions (sādhana, dhyāna mantra) that the most detailed expositions of the primary act are to be found; and these are of such interest and significance that it seems desirable to publish a complete and careful rendering of one of the longest available examples of such a text, annotated by citations from others.<sup>2</sup> We proceed accordingly with the Kīrcit-Vistara-Tārā Sādhana,<sup>3</sup> No. 98 in the Sādhanamālā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVI, pp. 200-206.

1. Cf. also Aṭṭhasālīnī, para 203, PTS. ed. p. 64. "A mental concept (cittasaṃvṛtā) arises in the mind of the painter, 'Such and such forms should be made in such and such ways'...Conceiving (cintetvā) 'Above this form, let this be; below, this; on either side, this', thus it is that by mental operation (cintitena kamena) the other painted forms come into being".

2. Professor G. Tucci has recently discussed the Buddhist methods of visualisation, using Tibetan sources, in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, 1 *Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il Loro Simbolismo Artistico*, Rome, 1935 (see especially 25, *Metodi e significato dell' evocazione tantrica*, p. 97).

3. This Sādhana has also been translated, with certain abbreviations, by Bhattacharya, in his *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 169 f.



### Kimcit-Vistara-Tārā Sādhana.

Having first of all washed his hands and feet, etc., and being purified, the officiant (mantri) is to be comfortably seated in a solitary place that is strewn with fragrant flowers, pervaded by pleasant scents, and agreeable to himself. Conceiving in his own heart (svahṛdaye...vicintya) the moon's orb as developed from the primal sound (prathama-svaraparīṇatam, i. e. "evolved from the letter A"),<sup>1</sup> let him visualise (paśyet) therein a beautiful blue lotus, within its filaments the moon's unspotted orb, and thereon the yellow seed-syllable Tām. Then, with the sheafs of lustrous rays, that proceed (niḥsṛtya) from that yellow seed-syllable Tām, rays that dispel the world's dark mystery throughout its ten directions and that find out the indefinite limits of the extension of the universe; making all these to shine downwards (tān sarvān avabhāṣya); and leading forth (āñīya) the countless and measureless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas whose abode is there; these (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) are established (avasthāpyante) on the background of space (ākāśadeśe).

After performing a great office (mahatīm pūjām kṛtvā) unto all these vast compassionate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas established on the background of space, by means of celestial flowers, incense, scent, garlands, unguents, powders, ascetic garb, umbrellas, bells, banner, and so forth, he should make a confession of sin, as follows: "Whatever sinful act I may have done in the course of my wandering in this beginningless vortex, whether of body or mind, or have caused to be committed or have consented to, all these I confess."

And having thus confessed<sup>2</sup>, and also made admission of the fault that consists in things that have been left undone, he should make an Endorsement of Merit, as follows: "I endorse the proficiency (kuśalam) of the Sugatas, Pratyekas,

1. For a beginning in this way, cf. Sādhana No. 280 (Yamāntaka), where the operator (bhāvakah) having first performed his ablutions, "realises in his own heart the syllable Yaṁ in black, within a moon originating from the letter A" (a-kāraja-candre kṛṣṇa-yaṁ-kāraṁ vibhāvyā).

The seed-syllable is always the nasalised initial syllable of the name of the divinity to be represented. For a general idea of the manner in which the initial visualisation is conceived see my "Elements of Buddhist Iconography", 1935, Pl. XIII, fig. 40. See also the reproductions in Avalon, The Serpent Power. The manner in which the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are thought of as brought forth from emanated rays is often illustrated, e. g. Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography, fig. 52.

It will be remarked that the whole process, in which the movement of a sound precedes that of any form, repeats the traditional concept of creation by an uttered Word; cf. St Thomas, Sum. Theol., I, q. 45, a. 6, referring to the procedure of the artist as 'per verbum in intellectu conceptum'.

2. It may appear to the reader at first sight that the religious exercises that are described have little connection with art. They are of real significance in this connection, however, precisely because (1) the immaterial office of personal devotions is actually the same as the imaginative procedure of the artist, with only this distinction, that the latter subsequently proceeds to manufacture, and (2) the nature of the exercises themselves reveals the state of mind in which the formation of images takes place.



Śrāvakas, and Jinas, and their sons the Bodhisattvas, and that of the spheres of the Angels and of Brahmā, in its entirety". Then comes the Taking of Refuge in the Three Jewels : "I take refuge in the Buddha, for so long as the Bodhi-circle endures ; I take refuge in the Norm, for so long as the Bodhi-circle endures ; I take refuge in the Congregation, for so long as the Bodhi-circle endures". Then comes the act of Adhesion to the way : "It is for me to adhere to the way that was revealed by the Tathāgatas, and to none other". Then the Prayer : "May the blessed Tathāgatas and their children (the Bodhisattvas), who have accomplished the world's purpose since its first beginning, stand by and effect my total desperation (māñ parinirvāntu). Then the petition : "May the blessed Tathāgatas indoctrinate me with incomparable expositions of the Norm, of such sort that beings in the world-vortex may be liberated from the bondage of becoming (bhava-bandhanāt nirmuktāḥ) full soon". Then he should make an everlasting Assignment of Merit : (puṇya-pariṇāma) : "Whatever root of proficiency (kuśalam) has arisen by performance of the seven extraordinary offices (pūjāḥ) and by confession of sin, all that I devote to the attainment of Total Awakening (saṃyak-sambodhaye)." Or he recites the verses pertinent to the seven extraordinary offices : All sins I confess and gladly consent to the good deeds of others. I take refuge in the Blessed one, and in the Three Jewels of the True Norm, to the end that I may not linger in the state of birth. I adhere to that way and designate the Holy Discipline (śubha-vidhī) to the attainment of full Awakening". As soon as he has celebrated (vidhāya) the seven-fold extraordinary office, he should pronounce the formula of dismissal (visarjayet) : "Om, Āḥ, Muḥ".

Thereupon he should realise (bhāvayet) the Four-fold Brahma-rapture (caturbrahma-vihāram) of Love, Compassion, Cheerfulness, and Equanimity (maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā) by stages (krameṇa) as follows : "What is Love ?<sup>1</sup> Its character is that of the fondness for an only son that is natural to all beings ; or its similitude is that of sympathy in the welfare and happiness (of others). And what is Compassion ? It is the desire to save from the Triple Ill (tridukhāt) and the causes of Ill ; or this is Compassion, to say 'I shall remove from the pain of the Triple Ill those born beings whose abode is in the iron dwelling of the world-vortex that is aglow in the great fire of the Triple Ill' ; or it is the wish to lift up from the ocean of the world-vortex the beings that are suffering there from the pain of the Triple Ill. Cheerfulness is of this kind : Cheerfulness is a sense of perfect happiness ; or Cheerfulness is the confident hope of bringing it to pass that every being in the world-vortex shall attain

1. Maitrī, i. e. caritas, rather than amor.



to the yet unforeseen Buddhahood ; or it is the mental attraction felt by all of these beings towards the enjoyment and possession of these virtuosities. What is Equanimity ? Equanimity is the accomplishment of a great good for all born beings, whether they be good or evil, by the removal of whatever obstacles stand in the way of their kindly behaviour ; or Equanimity is a spontaneous affection for all other beings without respect of any personal interest in the friendly conduct ; or Equanimity is an indifference to the eight mundane categories of gain and loss, fame and disgrace, blame or praise, pleasure and pain, and so forth, and to all works of supererogation."

Having realised the Four-fold Brahma-rapture, he should realise (bhāvayet) the fundamentally Immaterial Nature of all Principles (sarva-dharma-prakṛti-parisuddhatām). For all the principles are fundamentally immaterial by nature, and he too should manifest (āmukhikuryāt) : "I am fundamentally immaterial, etc...." This fundamental Immateriality of all Principles is to be established by the incantation "Om, the principles are all immaterial by nature, I am by nature immaterial." If now all the principles are naturally immaterial, what can have brought forth the world-vortex (saṁsāram) ? It arises in the covering up (of the immateriality of the principles) by the dust of the notions of subject and object, and so forth. How this may be removed is by realisation of the True Way ; thereby it is destroyed. So the fundamental Immateriality of all Principles is perfected.

When the realisation of the fundamental Immateriality of all Principles has been effected, he should develop (vibhāvayet) the Emptiness of all Principles (sarva-dharma-sūnyatām). Emptiness is like this : Let one conceive "Whatever is in motion or at rest (i. e. the whole phenomenal world) is essentially nothing but the manifested order of what is without duality when the mind is stripped of all conceptual extensions such as the notion of subject and object. He should establish this very Emptiness by the incantation : "Om, I am essentially, in my nature of adamant intelligence, the Emptiness".

Then he should realise the Blessed Āryatārā, as proceeding from the yellow seed-syllable Tām, upon the spotless orb of the moon that is in the filaments of the full blown lotus within the lunar orb originally established in the heart. He should conceive (cintayet) her to be of deep black colour, two armed, with a smiling face, proficient in every virtue, without defect of any kind whatever, adorned with ornaments of heavenly gems, pearls, and jewels, her twin breasts decorated with lovely garlands in hundred-fold series, her two arms decked with heavenly bracelets and bangles, her loins beautified with glittering series of girdles of flawless



gems, her two ankles beautified by golden anklets set with divers gems, her hair entwined with fragrant wreaths of Pārijāta and such like flowers, her head with a resplendent jewelled full-reclining figure of the Blessed Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi, a radiant and most seductive similitude, extremely youthful, with eyes of the blue of the autumn lotus, her body robed in heavenly garments, seated in Arddhaparyāṅka pose, within a circle of white rays on a white lotus large as any cart-wheel, her right hand in the sign of generosity, and holding in her left a full blown blue lotus. Let him develope (vibhāvayet) this likeness of our Blessed Lady as long as he desires.

Thereupon our Blessed Lady is led forth out of space (ākāśāt āñiyate) in her intelligible aspect (jñāna-sattva-rūpa), by means of the countless sheafs of rays, illumining the Three Worlds, that proceed from the yellow seed-syllable Tām within the filaments of the lotus in the moon of which the orb was established in the heart, and from that Blessed Lady (as above described). Leading her forth (āñiya), and establishing her on the background of space (ākāśadeśe api avasthāpya), he is to make an offering at that Blessed Lady's feet, with scented water and fragrant flowers in a jewelled vessel, welcoming her with heavenly flowers, incense, scents, garlands, unguents, powders, cloths, umbrella, bells, banner and so forth, and should worship (pūjayet) her in all manner of wise. Repeating his worship again and again, and with lauds, he should display the finger-sign (mudrām darśayet)...of a full-blown lotus. After he has gratified our Blessed Lady's intelligible aspect with this finger-sign, he is to realise (bhāvayet) the incantation of our Blessed Lady in her contingent aspect (saṁaya-sattva-rūpavā) and is to liberate (adhimuñcet) the non-duality of these (two aspects). Thereupon the rays proceeding from the seed-syllable Tām that is upon the spotless orb of the moon within the filaments of the blue lotus in the lunar orb--rays that illumine the ten quarters of the Three Worlds, that are of unlimited range, and proper to Lady Tārā--remove the poverty and other ills of being existent therein, by means of a rain of jewels, and content them with the nectar of the doctrine of the Immediate Non-essentiality, and so forth (kṣaṇika-nairātmādi)<sup>1</sup>, of the Principles.

When he has thus accomplished the divers need of the world, and has evolved the cosmic aspect of Tārā (viśvam api tārārūpaṁ niṣpādyā), he should realise again (punaḥ...bhāvayet) for so long as fatigue does not prevail (yāvat khedo na jāyate

1. Bhattacharya misrenders kṣaṇika by "temporary"; the Non-essentiality is not momentary in the temporal sense, but rather the true now or momentaneity of eternity. The Buddha's Omniscience is called "momentary" in the same sense.



tāvat)<sup>1</sup> whatever has come to be in the yellow seed-syllable Tām, in the stages of expansion and contraction (sphuraṇa-saṁharaṇa-kramaṇa).<sup>2</sup> If he breaks away from this realisation (bhāvanātaḥ khinno)<sup>3</sup> he should mutter an incantation (mantraṁ jayet), in which case the incantation is : Om tāre tuttāre ture svahā. This is the king of incantations, of mighty power ; it is honoured, worshipped, and endorsed, by all the Tathāgatas.

Breaking off the contemplation (dhyānāt vyutthito) and when he has seen the mundane aspect of Tārā (jagat-tārā-rūpaṁ dṛṣṭvā)<sup>4</sup> he should experience at will the consciousness of his own identity with the Blessed Lady (bhagavatī ahaṁkāreṇa yatheṣṭaṁ vihareṭ)<sup>5</sup>. The longed for Great Proficiencies fall at the practitioner's feet (bhāvayataḥ...caraṇyoh), what can I say of the other Proficiencies ? these come of themselves. Whoever realises (bhāvayet) our Blessed Lady in a solitary mountain cave, he indeed sees her face to face (pratyakṣata eva tām

1. In the Divyāvadāna, Cowell and Neill ed., p. 547, it is kheda, "weariness" or "lassitude" that prevents Rudrāyaṇa's painters from grasping the Buddha's similitude ; and this kheda is of the same nature as the "infirmity of contemplation" (śūhila samādhi) that accounts for the portrait painter's failure in Mālavikāgnimitra, II, 2. The remedy is provided in Sādhana No. 280, "If he is wearied he should mutter an incantation" (khede tu mantraṁ jayet).

2. In Sādhana No. 44, sphuraṇa-saṁharaṇa-nyayena. These expressions do mean as I once thought "eliminating all fluctuation", but rather imply a repeated operation, with alternate development and involution of the forms in accordance with their visual ontology. Cf. Śilparatna, XLVI, 39, smṛtvā smṛtvā punaḥ punaḥ, "repeatedly recalling". All these instructions imply that the image is to be made as definite as possible, it must be firmly adhered to, never allowed to slip or waver.

3. In Sādhana No. 88, dhyānāt khinno mantraṁ jayet ; with the same meaning ; dhyāna and bhāvana being interchangeable terms.

4. Whether the samaya-sāṁvā, viśva, and jagat aspects are to be regarded as the same or as successively developed modes of the likeness of Tārā is not perfectly clear.

5. A self-identification with the forms evoked may be assumed throughout. In many cases we find ātmānam, "himself", in explicit connection with the injunctive bhāvayet or participle vicintya. For example, ātmānaḥ sīrhanāda-lokeśvara-rūpaṁ bhāvayet, "He is to realise himself in the likeness of Sīrhanāda Lokeśvara", ātmānam...mahākālāḥ bhāvayet, "He is to realise himself as Mahākāla", trailokyavijaya bhāṭṭārakam...ātmānaḥ vicintya, "conceiving himself to be Trailokyavijaya Bhāṭṭāraka" (Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography, pp. 36, 121, 146) ; ātmānaḥ ciraḥ bhāvayet, "He is to realise himself for a long time" (in the intelligible aspect of Yamāntaka), Sādhana No. 280, and jambhalaḥ bhāvayet, jambhala eva bhavati, "He is to realise Jambhala, and indeed becomes Jambhala", ib. No. 291. Bhāvayet is a causative form of bhū "to become", ātmānaḥ bhāvayet meaning literally "let him make himself become". The Sādhana constantly employ the roots cit, to think, be known, etc., and dhyai, to contemplate, visualise, in the same sense as the causative of bhū. Bhavati, "becomes", is commonly used already in the Ṛg Veda with reference to the assumption of particular forms corresponding to specific functions, e. g. V, 3, 1, "Thou, Agni, becomest (bhavasi) Mitra when kindled".

Bhagavatī ahaṁkāreṇa in the present text is literally "by making the Ego to be the Blessed Lady", or "by having the Blessed Lady for his Ego-concept". In a Sādhana excerpted by Foucher, L'Iconographie Bouddhique, II, p. 10, Note 2, we find tato dṛṣṭvāhaṁkāraṁ kuryāt : yā bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā so' haṁ ; yo' haṁ sā bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā "Then let him make a strict self-identification, as follows : 'I am the Blessed Lady Prajñāpāramitā ; what I am, that Blessed Lady Prajñāpāramitā is'".



pasyati)<sup>1</sup> : the Blessed Lady herself bestows upon him his very respiration and all else. What more can be said? She puts the very Buddhahood, so hard to win, in the very palm of his hand. Such is the whole Sādhana of the *Kīrcit-vistara-Tārā*.

The Sādhana translated above, differs only from others in the Sādhanamālā in its more than average length and detail. The whole process is primarily one of worship, and need not necessarily be followed by the embodiment of the visualised likeness in physical material, but where the making of an actual image is intended, it is the inevitable preliminary. Even if the artist actually works from a sketch or under verbal instruction, as sometimes happens, this only means that the 'actus primus' and 'actus secundus' are divided between two persons; the fundamental nature of the representation, in all the details of its composition and colouring and as regards the strictly ideal character of its integration are in any case determined by and can only be understood in the light of the mental operation, the 'actus primus' by which the given theme is made to assume a definite form in the mind of the artist, or was originally made to take shape in the mind of some artist; this form being that of the theme itself, and not the likeness of anything seen or known objectively. In other words, what the Sādhana supplies is the detailed sequence according to which the formal cause or pattern of the work to be done is developed from its germ, from the mere hint of what is required; this hint itself corresponding to the requirement of the patron, which is the final cause, while the efficient and material causes are brought into play only if and when the artist proceeds to servile operation, the act of "imitation", "similitude being with respect to the form."

Before we relinquish the present consideration of the 'actus primus' in Oriental art, reference must be made to another way in which the derivation of the formal image is commonly accounted for. It is assumed that upon an intellectual or angelic level of reference the forms of things are intellectually emanated and have an immediate existence of their own. When this is mythologically formulated, such a level of reference becomes a heaven above. Then the artist, commissioned here, is thought of as seeking his model there. When, for example (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXVI) a palace is to be built, the architect is said to make his way to heaven; and making

1. In Sādhana N. 44, *pratyaṅgam ābhāti*, "appears before his eyes", or "appears objectively". This objective manifestation becomes the artist's model, in case the operator proceeds from the act of worship to that of execution in material form. The manner in which such a manifestation appears objectively can be seen in my *Rājput Painting*, Pl. VII. If the operator has been successful, this manifested form will occupy the whole field of vision and attention, to the exclusion of all else.



a sketch of what he sees there, he returns to earth and carries out this design in the materials at his disposal. So "It is in imitation of the angelic works of art that any work of art is accomplished here" (Āitareya Brāhmaṇa, VI, 27). This is a mythological formula obviously equivalent in significance to the more psychological account in the Sādhanas. And here also it is easy to find extra-Indian parallels; for example, Plotinus, *Enneads*, V, 9, II where he says that all music is "an earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm of the ideal world", and "The crafts such as building and carpentry which give us matter in wrought forms, may be said, in that they draw on pattern, to take their principles from that realm and from the thinking there." And this indeed it is that accounts for the essential characteristics of the wrought forms; if the Zohar tells us of the Tabernacle that "all its individual parts were formed in the pattern of that above", this tallies with Tertullian who says of the cherubim and seraphim figured in the exemplum of the Ark, that because they are not in the likeness of anything on earth, they do not offend against the interdiction of idolatry; "they are not found in that form of similitude in reference to which the prohibition was given" (*Contra Marcionem*, II, 22).

The emphasis that is laid upon the strict self-identification of the artist with the imagined form should be especially noted. Otherwise stated, this means that he does not understand what he wants to express by means of any idea external to himself. Nor indeed can anything be rightly expressed which does not proceed from within, moved by its form. Alike from the Indian and Scholastic point of view, understanding depends upon an assimilation of knower and known; this is indeed the divine manner of understanding, in which the knower is the known. Per contra, the distinction of subject from object is the primary condition of ignorance, or imperfect knowledge, for nothing is known essentially except as it exists in consciousness, everything else is supposition. Hence the Scholastic and Indian definitions of perfect understanding as involving 'adaequatio rei et intellectus', or 'tad-ākaraṭā'; cf. Gilson, *Philosophie de Saint Bonaventura*, p. 146, "Toute connaissance est, en effet, au sens fort du terme, une assimilation. L'act par lequel une intelligence s'empare d'un objet pour en apprécier la nature suppose que cette intelligence se rend semblable à cet objet, qu'elle en revêt momentanément la forme, et c'est parce qu'elle peut en quelque sort tout devenir qu'elle peut également tout connaître."<sup>1</sup> It follows that the artist must really have been whatever

1. It would be preferable to say "c'est parce qu'elle est tout qu'elle peut également tout connaître", in accordance with the view that man is the exemplar and effectively the demiurge of all things; meaning, of course, by "man", that "human nature which has nothing to do with time", for this is anything but an individually solipsist point of view. It is not that the knower and known are mutually modified by the fact of observation, but that there is nothing knowable apart from the act of knowledge.



he is to represent. Dante sums up the whole matter from the mediaeval point of view when he says "He who would paint a figure, if he cannot be it, cannot paint it" (*Convivio*, Canzone III, 53-54) or as he otherwise expresses it "No painter can portray any figure, if he have not first of all made himself such as the figure ought to be" (*ib.* IV, 10, 106, p. 309 of the Oxford text). Given the value that we nowadays attach to observation and experiment as being the only valid grounds of knowledge it is difficult for us to take these words as literally and simply as they are intended. Yet there is nothing rhetorical in them; nor is the point of view an exceptional one.<sup>1</sup> It is rather our own empiricism that is, humanly speaking, exceptional, and that may be at fault. Ching Hao, for example, in the tenth century, is expressing the same point of view when he says of the "Subtle" painter (the highest type of the human artist) that he "first experiences in imagination the instincts and passions of all things that exist in heaven and earth; then, in a manner appropriate to the subject, the natural forms flow spontaneously from his hand". The closest parallels to our Indian texts occur, however, in Plotinus: "Every mental act is accompanied by an image--fixed and like a picture of the thought...the Reason-Principle--the revealer, the bridge between the concept and the image-taking faculty--exhibits the concept as in a mirror" (*Enneads*, IV, 3, 30), and "In contemplative vision, especially when it is vivid, we are not at the time aware of our own personality; we are in possession of ourselves, but the activity is towards the object of vision with which the thinker becomes identified; he has made himself over as matter to be shaped; he takes ideal form under the action of the vision, while remaining potentially himself"<sup>2</sup> (*ib.* IV, 4, 2).

1. A remarkable approximation to this point of view may be cited from Sir James Jeans' Presidential Address to the British Association, 1934: "Nature...is not the object of the subject-object relation, but the relation itself. There is, in fact, no clear-cut division between the subject and the object; they form an indivisible whole which now becomes nature. This thesis finds its final expression in the wave-parable, which tells us that nature consists of waves and that these are of the general quality of waves of knowledge, or of absence of knowledge, in our own minds...if ever we are to know the true nature of waves, these waves must consist of something we already have in our own minds...the external world is essentially of the same nature as mental ideas". These remarks are tantamount to an exposition of the Vedāntic and Buddhist theory of the conceptuality of all phenomena, where nature and art alike are regarded as projections of mental concepts (*citta-saṁjñā*) and as belonging to a strictly mental order of experience (*citta-mātra*) without substantial existence apart from the act (*vytti*) of consciousness: cf. my "An Early Passage on Indian Painting", in *Eastern Art*, III, p. 218, 1931.

2. "There is no sense of distance or separation from the thing, such as attends purely conceptual knowledge. All the activities of the self are loosed in enjoyment, unanimous in a single activity which breaks through the framework of aspects enclosing our ordinary rational activity, and which experiences for a moment or longer a reality that is really possessed. Now is the mind most alive, and at peace: the thing is present, held and delighted in" (Thomas Gilby, *Poetic Experience*, pp. 78-79, paraphrasing St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-1, q. IV, a. 3 ad 1).



When we reflect that mediaeval aesthetic, that is to say the preoccupations with which the patron and artist alike approached the activity of making things, stems from Neo-platonism through Augustine, Dionysius, and Erigena to Eckhart, it will not surprise us that mediaeval Christian art should have been so much like Indian in kind; it is only after the thirteenth century that Christian art, though it deals nominally with the same themes, is altogether changed in essence, its properly symbolic language and ideal references being now obscured by statements of observed fact and the intrusion of the artist's personality. On the other hand, in the art that we are considering, the theme is all in all, the artist merely the means to an end; the patron and the artist have a common interest, but it is not in one another. Here, in the words of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the picture is not in the colours, neither has it any concrete existence elsewhere. The picture is like a dream, the aesthetic surfaces merely its vehicle, and anyone who regarded these aesthetic surfaces themselves as constituting the art would have been thought of as an idolater and sybarite. Our modern attitude to art is actually fetishistic; we prefer the symbol to the reality, for us the picture is in the colours, the colours are the picture. To say that the work of art is its own meaning is the same as to say that it has no meaning, and in fact there are many modern aestheticians who assert explicitly that art is unintelligible.<sup>1</sup>

We have thus before us two diametrically opposed conceptions of the function of the work of art; one of the work of art as a thing provided by the artist to serve as the occasion of a pleasurable sensory experience, the other of the work of art as providing the support for an intellectual operation to be performed by the spectator. The former point of view may suffice to explain the origin of the modern work and for its appreciation, but it neither explains nor enables us to make any but a decorative use of the mediaeval or Oriental works, which are not merely surfaces, but have intelligible references. We may elect for our own purposes to adhere to the contemporary point of view and the modern kind of art, and may decide to acquire examples of the other kind in the same way that a magpie collects materials with which to adorn its nest. At the same time in fact however we also pretend to study and aspire to understand the works of this other kind that are assembled in our homes and museums. And this we cannot do without taking into account their final and formal causes;

1. "It is inevitable that the artist should be unintelligible because his sensitive nature, inspired by fascination, bewilderment, and excitement, expresses itself in the profound and intuitive terms of ineffable wonder" (E. F. Rothschild, *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art*, University of Chicago Press, 1934, p. 98). It has also been well said that Plato "was actively hostile to all that we mean by art". It may be inferred that Plato was right.



how can we judge of anything without first knowing what purpose it was intended to serve, and what was its maker's intention? It is for example only the logic of their iconography that can explain the composition of the Oriental works, only the manner in which the model is conceived that can explain the representation that is not in any sense optically plausible or made as if to function biologically.

We must in fact begin by approaching these works as if they were not works of art in our sense, and for this purpose it will be a good plan to begin our study without regard to the quality of the works selected for study, even perhaps deliberately choosing poor or provincial examples, wishing to know what kind of art this is before we proceed to eliminate what is not good of its kind; for it is only when we know what is being said that we shall be in a position to know whether it has been well said, or perhaps so poorly expressed as not really to have been said at all.

It is not altogether without reason that Professor Jung has drawn a parallel between the "artistic" productions of his pathological patients and the Maṇḍalas of eastern art<sup>1</sup>. He asks his patients "actually to paint what they have seen in dream or fantasy.....To paint what we see before us is a different matter from painting what we see within." Although these productions are sometimes "beautiful" (see the examples reproduced in 'The Secret of the Golden Flower' Pls. 1-10) Jung treats them as "wholly worthless according to the tests of serious art. It is even essential that no such value be allowed them for otherwise my patients might imagine themselves to be artists, and this would spoil the good effects of the exercise. It is not a question of art - - or rather it should not be a question of art - - but of something more, something other than mere art: namely the living effect upon the patient himself...some kind of centring process...a process which brings into being a new centre of equilibrium." This corresponds to the Indian conception of the work of art as a "means of reintegration" (saṁskaraṇa, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VI, 27, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI, 1, 2, 29, etc.). It is true of course, as Jung freely admits, that none of the "European Maṇḍalas"...."achieve the conventionally and traditionally established harmony and completeness of the Eastern Maṇḍala." The Eastern diagrams are in fact finished products of a sophisticated culture; they are created, not by the disintegrated patient as in Jung's cases, but rather by the psychological specialist himself for his own use or that of others whose state of mental dis-

1. Wilhelm and Jung, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, London, 1932; Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (Ch. III), New York, 1933.



cipline is already above rather than below the average level. We have here to do with an art that has "fixed ends in view and ascertained means of operation". In what is thus a professional and conscious product we naturally find the qualities of beauty highly developed, viz. those of unity, order, and clarity; we can if we insist upon doing so, regard these products as works of decorative art, and use them accordingly. But if we limit our response in this way, not taking any account of the manner and purpose of their production, we cannot claim to be understanding them; they are not explicable in terms of technique and material, it is much rather the art in the artist which determines the development of the technique and the choice of material, and in any case it is the meaning and logical relations of the parts that determines their arrangement, or what we call composition. After the form has once been conceived, the artist performing the servile operation cannot alter it to better please his taste or ours, and never had any intention to do so. It is therefore that we maintain that no approach to Oriental art that does not take full account of all its purposes, and of the specific processes by which these purposes were achieved, can pretend to adequacy. This will apply as much in the case of the minor arts as in that of the major arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The Oriental art cannot be isolated from life and studied 'in vacuo'; we can only be said to have understood it when we have, at least for the time being, so far identified ourselves with its premises as to fully consent to it, taking its kind for granted in just the same way that we take a modern fashion for granted, until we do this, the forms of Oriental art, will always seem to us arbitrary or at the least exotic or curious, and this will be the measure of our misunderstanding, for it was none of these things in the eyes of those for whom it was made and who knew how to use it. The man who still worships the Buddhist image in its shrine has in many respects a better understanding of Buddhist art than the man who looks at the same image in a museum, as an object of "fine art".







## THE MARRIAGE SCENE OF UMĀ AS DEPICTED ON THE WALLS OF THE MATTĀNCHERI PALACE AT COCHIN

By P. ANUJAN ACHAN

Extensive mural paintings are found on the walls of the ancient temples and palaces of Cochin. They belong to a period from the 16th century A. D., and are considered to have been executed by local artists, whose descendants are still living in Cochin and the borders of the neighbouring countries. Their school of painting is stated to have reached its climax in the 17th century A. D., when the ancient temples at Trichur and Tiruvanchikulam and the palace at Mattānccheri were decorated with wall paintings on a very large scale.

"The Marriage Scene of Umā" is one of the most interesting pieces of line drawing executed on the walls of the Mattānccheri palace. Divided into five scenes, the story of the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī is depicted in a style throbbing with vitality and action. Although fundamentally religious, the scenes reveal an interest in secularism and contain subjects that are largely drawn from incidents connected with the social life of the Malayalis of the time. The stories illustrated are continuous, such as may be seen in the wall decorations of Ajaṇṭā. The scenes illustrate incidents from the story of the marriage of Śiva with Umā, the daughter of the mountain god, as described by Kālidāsa in the cantos of the Kumārasaṃbhava. These line drawings representing the marriage scene of Umā are the only paintings left uncoloured in the whole of the Mattānccheri palace. The artist could not have intended them to remain as such; he probably postponed colouring to some later occasion and so left them unfinished.

Pl. I, represents the seven sages, accompanied by Arundhatī, bearing back to Śiva the consent of the mountain god to give him his daughter's hand in marriage. Śiva is seen in a consenting mood seated on a majestic throne supported

by lions ; he has four hands one of which is hung down as *lambahasta* and another kept in the *kaṭaka* pose in a gesture of communication.

Pl. II, shows *Pārvatī* sitting in the 'harram' surrounded by her female attendants, who have been helping her in putting on her marriage dress and getting ready for the marriage procession.

Pl. III, Fig. 1 represents the Devas, including *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu*, in a procession to the *Himālayas* to be present on the occasion of the marriage of *Śiva* with *Pārvatī*. In the long procession *Brahmā* is seen riding on his vehicle *Haṁsa* with his wife *Sarasvatī*, while *Viṣṇu* comes accompanied by his two wives, *Śrī* and *Bhūmī*, on the back of *Garuḍa*.

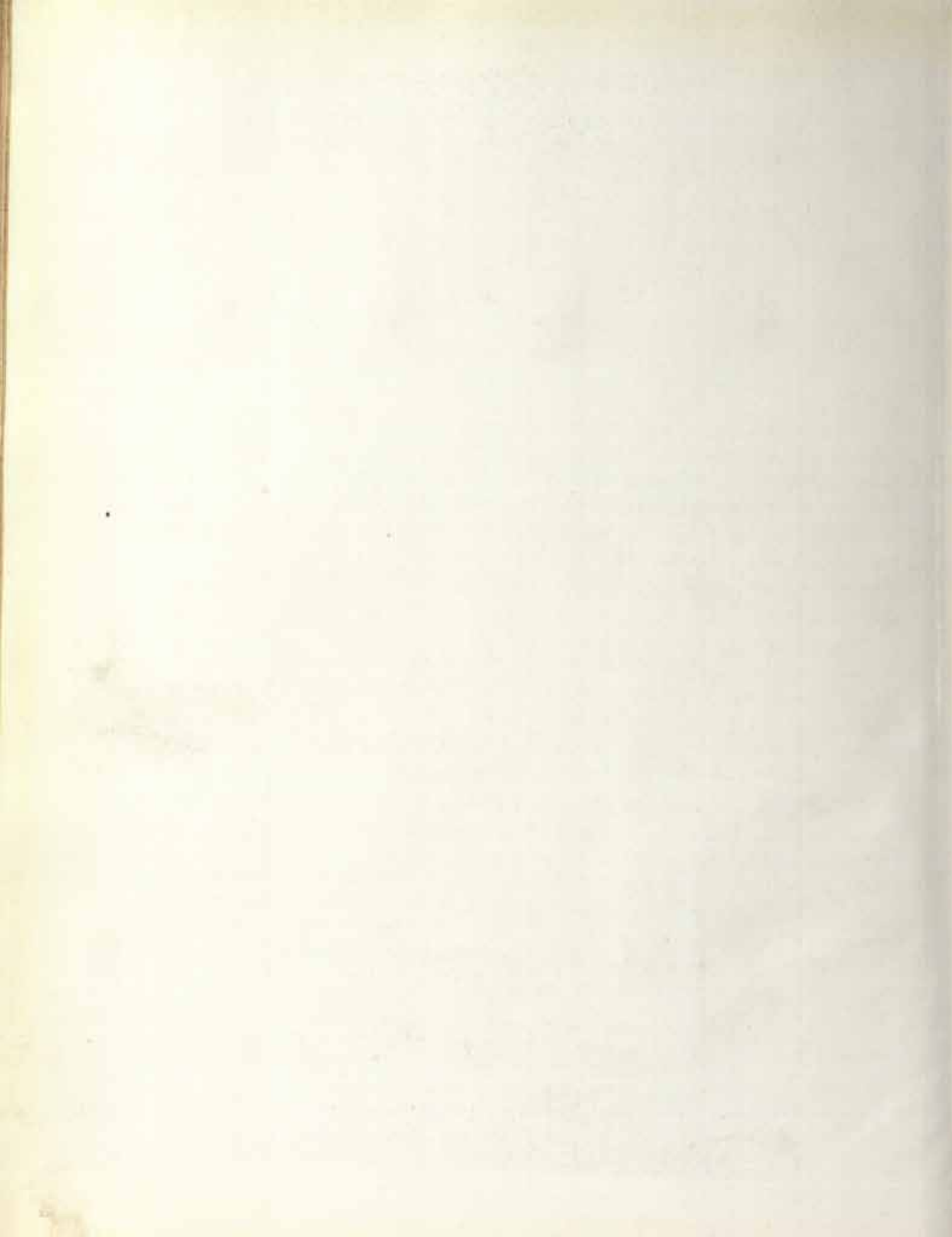
Pl. III, Fig. 2 shows the marriage procession of *Pārvatī*, in which she is seen being led by her numerous attendants with the accompaniment of music, etc. (Pl. IV). This apparently represents a typical marriage procession of the Malayali bride, and, to a large extent, reflects her home life and the religious ceremonies that precede the marriage. It leads to the last scene which represents *Umā* entering into wedlock with *Śiva*. *Viṣṇu* standing beside *Pārvatī* presents her to *Śiva*, while *Brahmā* blesses the couple. *Nārada*, from the middle of the crowd, is seen adding harmony to the occasion by playing melodies on his celestial *vīṇā* (Pl. V)<sup>1</sup>.

The method employed by the Malayali artist in the wall paintings at Cochin was that of tempera, the same process utilised by the Buddhist and Rājput painters of India. The plaster surface is first allowed to dry, and is drenched thoroughly afterwards with water to which a little lime is added. On the dampened surface thus obtained the artist makes his painting with pigments mixed with slaked lime. The plaster coat on the walls is made of the local river sand compounded with lime without any admixture of jute or hemp, which has naturally made the 'rinfazzo' less tenacious and thus contributed in no small measure to the deterioration of the paintings in Cochin.

1. Pls. I—V copyright, property of the archaeol. Dept., Cochin.







## TWO CHAPTERS ON PAINTING IN THE NĀRADA ŚILPA ŚĀSTRA

By V. RAGHAVAN

### Preface

The Nārada Śilpa is a Śilpa treatise available in Ms. form in the Mss. Library of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras (IX. J. 33). It runs to 186 pages in foolscap quarto size and deals in its 83 chapters with the construction of tanks and other water reservoirs, laying out of villages, towns and cities of various types, building houses, palaces and forts of various kinds, construction of the several parts of a building, the various Śālās and Maṇṭapas, construction of temples and making of images and manufacture of articles like swings, bedsteads and various kinds of vehicles.

In the list of works on Śilpa at the end of his Dictionary, P. K. Acarya mentions in Nārada's name only a Purāṇa and a Saṁhitā as containing some chapters relating to architecture. No regular Śilpa treatise in Nārada's name has yet been noticed, except this Nārada Śilpa Śāstra.<sup>1</sup> Nārada is mentioned as an authority on Śilpa in the Matsya purāṇa. Evidence, internal or external, for fixing the date of this Nārada Śilpa Śāstra is absolutely lacking.

Nārada quotes a few authorities, most of whom are unheard of before. Kāśyapa is a well-known authority and Nārada quotes him on pp. 1, 70 and 86. Brhaspati is quoted on p. 60; Prajāpati on pp. 64, 71, 110, 112, 147 and 171; Anuloma on p. 68; Marīci on p. 69; Brndaka on p. 62. Besides these names we find mentioned a Nādadhvani on pp. 68, 99, 141, 146 and 162; Bhagavān Bhārgava Nādadhvani on p. 109; Bhārgava on p. 88 and Uśinara Bhārgava Bhagavān on p. 125. On p. 52 is cited the authority 'Sukra guru' and the separate name Uśinara occurs as an authority in other places in the Nārada Śilpa also. The last

1. In the Adyar Library itself there is another Śilpa treatise called Vāstu vidhāna which is also attributed to Nārada. XXII. M. 7. The Ms. is on palmleaf and in Teku script and I could not go through it.



set of names, Śukra, Bhārgava, Uśinara (perhaps Uśanas) and Nādadhvani, refer to the same authority Śukra who is mentioned among the teachers of Śilpa, Śilpa-sāstropadeśakas, in the Matsya purāṇa.

Chapters 60-66 of the Nārada Śilpa describe the construction of special Śālās and the sixty-sixth describes the Citra śālā, the art-gallery. Chapter 71 is devoted to the beautification of building by Citra, paintings. The Nārada Śilpa was brought to the notice of scholars in the contributions of the present writer on theatre-architecture in ancient India where the contents of chapter 65 on Nāṭaka śālā lakṣaṇa were noticed.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, the work was accepted for publication in the journal "Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkaṭeṣa" and before a few chapters saw light, the journal became defunct. The contents of the two chapters relating to painting were surveyed by the present writer in an article on Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting in the "Indian Historical Quarterly", Vol. IX. 4, pp. 909-910. Chapter 66 dealing with the characteristics of the Citra śālā recently received treatment by C. Sivaramamurthy in his contribution "Citra śālās—Ancient Indian Art Galleries" in the Triveni, Vol. VII, 2, pp. 180-182.

In the subsequent pages, a translation is attempted of the two chapters in the Nārada Śilpa on art-gallery and painting. Like other Śilpa texts, Nārada's also has its own grammar. Puzzling case-endings and compounds shatter all hopes of understanding, and added to these are certain technical names peculiar to Nārada's text which I have not been able to trace in other Śilpa treatises or in Acarya's dictionary. The notes that I have added to the translation indicate the problems in translating the text.

Literature, Sanskrit and Prākṛt, (Brahminical, Buddhistic and Jain) and Tamil, contains numberless references establishing the fact that ancient Indian cities and towns had separate buildings set apart for the display of paintings (citra śālās and citrāgāras), but the only Śilpa text which devotes a section to details of the construction of such a building is the Nārada Śilpa. In the Adyar Library itself, there is another work named Bhūpāla maṇḍana attributed to the same Nārada (XXXIX. 4.19). It treats of the daily routine of kings and queens; and it says (p. 107) that the king shall have in his palace separate halls for various purposes, the Raṅga śālā or the theatre giving varied pleasure to the eye and the Citra śālā or the art-gallery that gives joy to the eye, and other Śālās.

1. Triveni, Madras, Vol. V, pp. 358-362.



रङ्गशालां च विविधनेत्रानन्दप्रदां नृपः ।

नेत्रानन्दकरीं चित्रशालामपि तथा क्वचित् ॥ P. 107.

On p. 16 of the same work Nārada says that in the evenings (afternoons) the king shall enter his pleasure hall, Vihāra śālā, and give himself up to music, poetry and painting. He says : In the time set apart for them, the king shall make paintings etc., divine and human (in theme), according to his skill and according to the canons. Birds, wonderful forms of varied nature, rivers, mountains, these various kinds of painting, according to his inventive skill and with method, he shall make.

चित्रादिकं स्वयं युक्त्या शास्त्रमार्गानुसारतः ।

रचयेन्नृपतिः काले दैवं मानुषमेव वा ॥

पतङ्गकलनं वापि विविधं चित्ररूपकं ।

नदीरूपं क्वचिच्चित्रं भूधराणां स्वरूपकं ॥

एवं नानाविधं चित्रं कलयेत् युक्तिः क्रमात् ॥ P. 16.

In his Śilpa śāstra itself, Nārada says in ch. 22 that at the centre of the city, on the right and left, are to be located the entertainment houses and the halls for pleasure, viz., the theatre and the art-gallery, the Nāṭaka śālā and the Citra śālā :

“हर्षकारिणीः शालाः नाटकचित्रकयोर्म्याः” P. 28.

Similarly, the Citra śālā and other entertainment houses are mentioned (p. 47) as found in the type of city called Deveṣa nagara described in ch. 33. Nārada thus speaks in his Bhūpāla maṇḍana of the Citra śālā attached to the palace of the king and in his Śilpa śāstra, of the popular Citra śālā in the midst of the people of the city. In ch. 66 called Citra śālā lakṣaṇa kathana, Nārada describes this popular art-gallery in the middle of the city and though we are not able to get the measurements and other details given by Nārada exactly, the general impression is left that the ancient cities and towns had picture-halls at a central place, that these halls were beautifully designed in Maṇṭapa form at the top and temple-like at the front with a small Gopura and that they were spacious and ventilated ; that the Citra śālās were probably storied buildings and that, inside, the halls were provided with seats where citizens spent their afternoon hours gazing at the pictures on the walls and other places all over the building ; that such halls were permanent entertainment-houses of the cities and the cultured repaired to them to spend their time every now and then.



After dealing with various kinds of buildings, Nārada describes the beautification of the buildings by Citra in ch. 71 called *Citrālamkṛti racanā vidhi kathana*. By Citra here Nārada primarily means painting and now and then also carving of the woodwork of the buildings, works in brick and mortar and also in metal. A perusal of Nārada's description of the cities and their buildings shows that no part of the buildings, of whatever nature they were and whatever purpose they served, was left uncarved, unworked and unpainted. The Vivāha sālā or the marriage-hall is described by Nārada as having many Citras (bahu citraka) and decorated with Raṅgavallī on the floor and with a canopy above (saha raṅgavallī vitānaka, p. 76)<sup>1</sup>; the bed-chamber or Śayana sālā is said to be (p. 105) beautified with Citras captivating the mind (manohara citra citrita); on p. 98 beams and top-houses (candra-sālās) are said to be brilliant with beautiful Citra (manohara citravinyāsodbhāsure); similarly windows and other parts of the building (p. 124) are all decorated with Citra of all kinds. In the inside of the Gopuras' Mukhapattikā and in other parts of the Gopuras are to be (p. 150) paintings of flowers, leaves and creeper (designs)<sup>2</sup> that give joy to the eyes (netrānandakara patra latā kusuma mukha citra). In the same way, ch. 71 devoted to painting and decoration also leaves no part of the buildings unmentioned in connection with painting, no part from the basement to the finial.

Compared to the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi and the Śilpa-ratna, the Nārada śilpa sāstra has but poor information to give us on painting. The points to be noted in Nārada's treatise are only few: From the point of view of surface, Nārada speaks of three classes of painting, of the floor, of the wall and of the upper parts. From another point of view, he speaks of permanent and temporary painting-decoration. The decoration of the floor is called Bhauma citra; it comprises the Raṅgavallī, i.e., the Dhūlī and Rasa citras of Someśvara and Śrikumāra and the inlaying of the floor with coloured stones and gems; the decoration on the wall is called Kuḍyaka citra and that on the top of pillars, beams, and ceiling is Ūrdhvaka citraka. The Dhūlī and Rasa citras of the Bhauma class form the category of temporary decoration called Tātkālika; of these two, the Rasa citra is more lasting than the Dhūlī citra. The Kuḍyaka and Ūrdhvaka citras are

1. Jain Prakṛt texts (and the Sanskrit commentaries thereon) like the Kalpa-sūtra and the Jñānārṇavakāṇḍa contain references to the several kinds of figures with which canopies and curtains are decorated: creepers with leaves and flowers, Gandharvas etc. See Notes below, I. 12.

2. Patra lekhaṇa: Creeper designs; Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi, Mysore Edn. p. 195, Śl. 139: पत्रलेखनकोविदेः । Sivaramamurthy, J. O. R., Madras, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 232-3. The creeper-design, along with the Makara-design, forms the chief theme of the painting with liquid pigments (rasacitra) on the cheeks and breasts of ladies called "Patra lekha" often met with in Kāvya literature.







permanent, Śāśvatika. Nārada speaks of the carving of various forms on the woodwork in the buildings, such as pillar-tops, beams etc., (tākṣaṇika) and these carvings are painted over in appropriate colours. Nārada says that when a wall is painted, plaster is first applied to the wall (sudhānulepana) and when the surface is wood, juices of herbs which give strength and firmness to the wood and painting are first smeared over the wood (dārḍhya sampādaka auṣadhi rasa lepana). A variety of themes is mentioned and the term Citra is used in all the three senses, Citra, Ardhacitra and Citrābhāsa.

Pictures are to be such as to captivate our minds (manohara, pp. 98 : 105) and give joy to our eyes (netrānandakara, p. 150). They are to be proportionate (yathāmāna) and conforming to the rules relating to pose and the pose-determining lines (avirudha sūtrāpāta). They must be of several colours (bahuvarṇa kṛpta), brilliant with various colours (bahuvarṇa bhāsura). Ornaments must be gilded and set with gems (suvarṇādi vibhūṣitāṅga). The lines should be even (aviśama rekhika and sama rekhika juṭka), the picture in general auspicious (śānta) and the forms lovely (mañjulākāra).



## चित्रशालालक्षणकथनम् ।

अथ पुनश्चित्रशालानिर्माणक्रममुदाहरिष्याम इत्याह भगवान् नारदः । नगराणां मध्यमे भागे, चतुष्पथकवास्तुभागे, [कचिदथो प्रास्तादनिकां (?) पुरोभागे, भवनानां बाहो पूर्वभवनिकां (?) ]<sup>१</sup> अथो राजवीथीमध्यभागे चित्रशालां स्थापयेयुरितिहोशीनरः ।

[क्षेत्राणां बाहो प्राजापत्यानां सुत्राणां पञ्चकं बाहो षट्कं सप्तकं अष्टकमथो कचित् दशकं द्वादशकमिति क्रमाग्रीत्वा (?), स्वीकृत्य स्थलमुत्तमं,

व्यासं व्यासहीनकं बाहो, मर्दलाकारं माण्डलिकमिह वै, द्वारोपद्वारकं, एकानेकाननं, द्विद्विभागाङ्गणं, उपशालालिन्दकं, ऊर्ध्वभागप्रवेशनं, मध्यतिर्यङ्मध्यशालान्तोपगकं, द्वादिङ्काकृतिकं वा प्रपाकृतिकं, द्वात्रिंशत्पादकमथो विंशतिपादकमथो षोडशाङ्गिकं, मध्यशालावेदिकाप्रवेशनकसोपानचंशद्वारकं, वैशेषिकशालां काल्पनिकं वा पूर्वभागे द्वादिङ्करूपं वा (?), सहवातायनचित्रवितानं, नानालङ्कारभासुरं, नानालिन्दकाल्पनिकं, चित्रशालायाः (?), नानामाल्यकं, सर्वत्र उपशालावृत्तं, कचित् समाश्रं, कचिन्निष्पगणवेदिकं, नानासनयुक्तं, सहशिखरकलशचित्रप्रस्तरयुतं, अथो कचित् पार्श्वसोपानकं, कचित् मुखभद्रक-[प्रतिमुखभद्रकं], ऊर्ध्वकूटकं, ऊर्ध्वशालाकं बाहो, कचिदन्तस्यले पृथुवारान्तिके बाहो महावारान्तिके महामुकुरस्थापनाङ्गणरेखिकं, सर्वतुष्टिकरकाल्पनिकं, नानादीपस्तंभकं, पुरोभागे प्राथमिके कचित् क्षुद्रगोपुरोद्भासुरं स्थापयेयुः,

नानारूपचित्रकमनोहरं, देवगन्धर्वकिन्नरमुखानां नानासमयविहारिकाणां महिमवतां अन्येषां वै कचित्, यथामानं बहुवर्णभासुरं सौवर्णादिविभूषिताङ्गं इत्याह भगवान् नारदः ।

अडयार्कोशः, पृ० १२०-१२२.

1. Parts of the text enclosed in square brackets are obscure. Sometimes they are tentatively translated and where this is impossible, the text has been left untransliterated.

२  
नारदशिल्पशास्त्रे

पाठः ७१

चित्रालङ्कृतिरचनाविधिकथनम् ।

अथेह चित्रालङ्कृतिरचनाक्रममुदाहरिष्याम इत्याह भगवान् नारदः । प्रीतये देवानां, अपि वै शोभार्थं, वास्तुनाथस्य वै तुष्टये, नानारूपं चित्रकं कल्पयेयुरिति होशीनरः ।

तदिदं वै चित्रकाल्पनिकं त्रिधा विभक्तं—अथो भौमिकं, कुड्यकं, ऊर्ध्वकमित्याह भगवान् नारदः ।

तत्र वै नानाभेदकं तात्तणिकात् (?) कचित्काल्पनिकात् (?) नानाद्रव्यैः कृतिमाकृतिमरूपैः, शास्त्रतकं कचित् तात्कालिकमिति ह वै तत्र बहुधाकं चित्रं मानज्ञाः परिजकरेजककुम्भकभेदकवर्धन-  
दंकैः (?) अभिवर्धयेयुः विविधेषु काल्पनिकेषु, यथामानं, अधिमपरेखिकं, अविरुद्धसूत्रापातनिकमिति ।

तत्र ह वै भौमिके चित्रकाल्पनिके देहलयां बाहो कचित् पूर्वतलके अलिन्दके चत्वरके शालासु नानारूपवतीषु आहो शयनकेषु काल्पनिकेषु अन्येष्वहो मध्यमतलकेषु कचिद् भोजनशालासु अन्तः, चतुरधां मध्येरेखिकां पञ्चराकृतिकं बाहो नानापत्तिरूपं गजतुरगपक्षगमुखप्रतिमुखचित्रकं, नानाद्रव्य-  
मेलनकं कल्पयेयुरितिहोवाच भगवान् नारदः ।

कुड्यकेष्वथो ऊर्ध्वभागेषु देवगन्धर्वयक्षमुखं बाहो कचिन्महर्षीणां, कचिद्यथो महतां भूपालानां मृगयामुखजुषामिति वै तत्र नानाङ्गणतलेष्वथो कचित् स्तम्भकण्डेषु तदधःपट्टिकास्वाहो कचिदेकानेक-  
तलकेषु वीरभटानां नानाप्रहरणकथाधारिणामथो द्वन्द्वसमाजुषां आहो कचित् उत्पन्नसत्त्वानां बाहो वन्यसत्त्वदमनकोद्युक्तानां, अन्येषां वै रूपकं उशन्ति दिवौकस इति ।

अथ पुनः सर्वत्र वै वर्णसंमेलनकं ग्रामेषु (?) विविधेषु अन्यत्र काल्पनिकेषु आतपत्रचामरखड्ग-  
मुखं रूपं रेखिकं कल्पितकं तात्तणिकं बाहो योजनिकमित्याह भगवान् नारदः (?) ।

सर्वत्र ह समरेखिकजुटकं शान्तं नानालङ्कृत्युद्भासितं,

उद्गतरंगचणकक्रीडनकं (?),

स्थलभेदाद्वै जातिकभेदात् नानासत्त्वाख्यं देवं गान्धर्वं याज्ञं कैशरं वैद्याधरं बाहो मानुषकमितिहो-  
वाच नातिरेखिकप्रहोणकमिति ।

कचिद्यथो वै प्राच्यां दक्षिणायां तुरङ्गिकबन्धं, अथो कचित् वारणकं पात्तिकमाधोरणकं निगल-  
ग्रस्ताधिकमाहो, कचित्स्थलेषु नानाखेलनासक्तं पाशितकं, वेशितकं,

[समनेत्रापातनिकं पुरतः पुरतः, कचिद्बाहो पञ्चात्पञ्चात्, मिथो मिथः, पार्श्वकस्थलेषु, अन्यत्र  
अविरुद्धस्थलेषु अनेकनेत्रकं, एकनेत्रकद्विनेत्रकत्रिनेत्रकनानेत्रकालङ्कृतिकं, नानाभद्रकं, शृङ्गाटकाया-  
मपत्रकरूपं,



कचिदाहो यथाशोभं कुड्यबन्धनकयुक्तं तत्तन्मध्यके स्थले मुकुलानन्तरं पतत्रिनेत्रकं सहपादरचनकं नानाकल्पकं बहुमुखं द्विमुखं एकमुखमाहो शङ्कुलीमुखयुक्तं अभ्यन्तरमेकपद्मपत्रविचित्रकमिति ।]

अथ पुनः कचित् गोपानसीकेषु अन्यकाल्पनिकेषु विविधेषु सहार्गलकवाटभागेषु अथो द्वारेषु गवाक्षेषु अथो कचित् सान्धिकेषु भित्तीनां वै दारुकलकानां अथो अन्यसंमेलनकानां [ मध्यमध्यसमसम-द्वयद्वयत्रयत्रयमुखसूत्रपातनिकानां, कचिदेकहस्तद्विहस्तत्रिहस्तकक्रमात् मुखप्रतिमुखमानजुषां अथो कचित् वर्तुलकानां कचिन्माराडलिकानां कचिदधो नानाकोणस्थलस्थितिभेदेषां ऊर्ध्वादधःपतनसूत्रकसमप्रमाण-वतामिष्टिकादारुशावलकानां चत्वरभागतिर्यम्दारुकृतहस्तानां कचिदुपरि भौमस्थलसन्धिजुषां काल्पनिकानामन्येषां पतनकभागेषु दारुकखण्डानां ] सुधानुलेपनमाहो दार्ढ्यसंपादकौषधरसलेपनं [ कचिदधो (थो) पुंशिलापट्टिकास्थापनमधिवासनकं ] सिन्दूरारोपणं नैल्यकारोपणं, [ कचिदधो वायव्यादग्नेय्यां नैऋत्यादशान्यां तिर्यक्सूत्रपातनिकं तिर्यम्दारुणां पट्टिकाणां वाथो फलकानां, कचिदधो (थो) चात्वरालिन्द-शालामेलनकोणकस्थलेषु, अथो नानागणभूमिकेषु दृढबलभीकं मध्यसूत्रप्रसारीकं, उपर्युपरि शावलकावलि, अथो कचित् दृढेष्टकानुबन्धनिकं तत्र ह वै कोणभागेषु मुखभद्रप्रतिमुखभद्रकस्थलेष्वन्यत्माहो मध्यसूत्र-पातनिककोलेषु मुकुटस्थापनस्थलेषु, अहो विहारकूटकेषु, अहो कचित् चूलीगृहकेषु मण्डलाकारं वाहो चतुरश्रकं रूपं बलभीकानां बृहदाकृतानां, अथो गोपानसीकानां एकहस्तद्विहस्तत्रिहस्तायामतिर्यम्दारुकशे-वट्टिकानां स्थापनं वाहो सुधानुलेपनं सन्धियोजनकं प्रकल्पयेयुः मानवाः स्थपतिभृत्याः क्रमादातपत्रायित-मण्डलककाल्पनिकेषु, अथो ग्राम्येषु कचित् नागरेषु वै मिश्रितकमेतेषामिति ।]

तदन्वयो लेपितकं सुधारस्केनाथो नानौषधिकरसरञ्जनकरणं नानावर्णकलितं मञ्जुलाकारमेतेष्वथो स्थलेषु चित्ररचनायोजनकमिति ।

कचिदधो क्रमादूर्ध्वभौमकेषु उपरि वा तेषां नानाचित्रकैः उद्भासितं काल्पनिकं स्थावरं कचिज्जा-ङ्गमं नानादारुमयं वाहो नानालोहमयं कचिदधो सुधानुलेपितकमिति ।

अडयार्कोशः पृ० १३३-१३८

## Translation

## I

## Lesson 66

## Description of the characteristics of the art-gallery, Citrasala

We shall speak of the manner of construction of the art-gallery, says Nārada. According to Uśinara (1), the art-gallery is to be erected in the central part of the city, on a site where four roads cross, in front of palaces and houses (2) or in the centre of the main street.

Taking (3) five, six, seven, eight or sometimes even ten or twelve of the Kṣātra sūtra or the Prājāpatya sūtra (4), and taking the best ground, (the art-gallery must be constructed) with or without much width, cylindrical like a Mardala drum or circular, with main and smaller entrances, with one or more faces, with courts in two, two Bhāgas (5), with a terrace in the quadrangular court at the entrance, with an entrance to the upper parts (of the building), with halls in the centre (6) and crosswise and with Kṣepaṇa-mouldings (7), long like a staff or of the form of a mace (8), or of the shape of a cistern or the drinking-hall (9), with thirty-two, twenty or sixteen pillars, with a doorway (10) and flight of stairs leading to a platform in the central court, with a special hall (11) designed in the east in the shape of a mace or staff, with windows and decorated canopy (12), shining with various ornamentations, with many terraces, overhung with many garlands, with courts around on the outside, uniform at the corners, with pials (?) and seats to sit, with spire and dome, with worked entablature (13), with side-steps (14), with a front porch (15), with peak and pavilion (16), with a court marked off for placing a big mirror inside near the big arched gate (17), with things designed for all kinds of pleasure, with various lamp-stands, adorned with a small tower at the entrance, beautiful with pictures of various forms, of Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras etc., in various styles (18) of sports, possessing greatness and others (that are) according to measurements, brilliant with many colours, and with the bodies adorned with golden (ornaments) and others (19).

Thus spoke Nārada.

Adyar MS. pp. 120-122.



## II

## Lesson 71

## Description of the method of painting-decoration

Divine Nārada says that we shall speak here of the manner of decoration by painting. According to Uśinara, painting is for the pleasure of gods, for the satisfaction of the presiding deity of the building and also for beauty.

This painting is divided into three kinds, of the floor, of the wall and of the upper regions, says Nārada (1).

These various kinds of painting (2.) sometimes on carvings (3), (with) various materials (4), ( of ) artificial designs and natural forms (5), permanent and temporary (6), those knowing measurements shall make in abundance (7) on various surfaces in accordance with general measurements, in even lines and in conformity to (the rules regarding) pose-lines (8).

Of these, in the case of the Citra of the floor, divine Nārada says, (they) shall make (it) on the door-step, in front (of the house or door), in the verandah, in court-yards, in halls of various shapes, in bed-chambers, or in the centre (of any place), in the dining halls and inside (also), (of) square design, or with lines inside, of a shape of a Pañjara (9), of the form of various birds, (in) striking (designs of) elephants, horses and serpents facing each other (10) (and with) a combination of various objects or with a combination of various materials (11).

And then on walls and in the parts above, the gods wish (to be drawn) Devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, and others ; in some places great sages and in some other places great kings while hunting and in such other activities ; and in the several courts and stories (12), at the neck of pillars and in the fillets below them and in the buildings of one or more stories (13), the forms of brave warriors in action with their various missiles, in pugilistic action, showing their strength (in other ways 14), engaged in taming wild beasts and of others also.

Says divine Nārada (further) that the forms of umbrellas, chowries, swords, etc., in line (work), in wood-carving or in other manner(s) are to be introduced (15) in the village, and other places (16).

In all places, (the Citra shall be) in even lines, auspicious, shining with various ornaments and neither more nor less in respect of lines ;







depicting stage-experts or fighters in action (17) and according to the different places, it is said that various subjects (shall be drawn), various animals, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Vidyādhara and men.

Elsewhere, in the east or in the south, (are to be drawn) horse-designs, elephants, (elephants) with wings, with Māhuts, with fettered feet, in some places engaged in various sports, ensnared or lying down ; (18).....Then again in the carved woodwork over the top-apartment (19), in several other places, in the parts of the doors with bolts, door-ways, latticed windows, junctures of walls, junctures of woodwork, (20).....on the bits of woodwork in (these) and other places, plaster should be smeared or the juice of herbs giving firmness (21).....(22) ; then, putting on red and black ;.....(23)

Then a whitewash, then colouring (a coating) with juice of several herbs ; (and then) in these (above-said) places, the painting in various colours and in lovely forms.

In the upper stories and in places further up (are to be executed) works shining with various kinds of Citra, of objects of the inanimate and animate worlds, on several kinds of wood, on metal and on plaster-coated (brick) (24).

Adyar Ms. pp. 133-138.



The text uses often certain words which do not have much or any specific meaning, as for instance, Vai, Vā āho, Atho, and Kālpānika. The last however must be noted. It means primarily 'creation', any thing worked by the artist or architect and it is used very generally for place, ground and any part of brick-work or wood-work. The text is very fond of the Taddhita forms of words with the suffix 'Ka' added, with or without any purpose.

1. Uśīnara is an authority on Śilpa whom the text mentions often and who is mentioned in the section on painting also. Uśīnara is an ancient king of India of whom the great Śibi was a son. (Mudrārākṣasa VII. 5 and Sāyaṇa on Ṛg veda X. 12.179). The name is not met with as that of a Śilpa-authority elsewhere and it has been suggested in the preface that Uśīnara may be only Uśanas or Śukra. Uśīnara is also the name of a country and its people.

2. The text here cannot be properly interpreted since it is grammatically defective and the words do not make Anvaya.

Prāsāda and Bhavana are separately mentioned; the former is according to the Amarakośa applicable only to the places of gods and kings,—temples and palaces, "Prāsādo deva bhūbhujām" (II. ii. 9). Bhavana is a mansion or a house.

3. The words here are "Kramān nītvā" and their exact import is not clear. That they mean something relating to measurement can be stated, since the expression 'Nītvā' occurs in that connection often in the earlier part of the text.

4. Nārada mentions 'Sūtra' which occurs often in other places in his text and certainly means some unit of measurement. We find here the Kṣātra sūtra and Prājāpatya sūtra which Nārada uses often while giving the measurements of villages, buildings and forts. He has not explained anywhere what Kṣātra and Prājāpati Sūtras mean.

In the Mānasāra and other Śilpa texts, we come across a unit of measurement called Prājāpatya which is 25 Aṅgulas. We have no evidence to enable us to identify Nārada's Prājāpatya sūtra with the Prājāpatya hasta of 25 Aṅgulas.

This part of the text seems to give the measurements for the Citra sālā, but we are not able to make any meaning out of it.







Pandit V. Vijayaraghavacarya says that the Prājāpatya sūtra is 64 nine-inches, i. e., 48 ft. and that the Kṣātra sūtra is 56 nine-inches, i. e., 42 ft. Textual authority for this is lacking.

5. "Dvi dvi bhāga aṅgaṇam" : this expression can be rendered as courts in two halves or parts. Perhaps, a part of the space was enclosed for the pictures and the other part was for the spectators. But Nārada uses the word Bhāga often in the sense of a measurement also which is undefined.

6. The word 'Madhya' is used twice perplexingly.

7. Kṣepaṇa is a kind of moulding. Mānasāra XVI. 26. The Nāradaśilpa itself mentions it in ch. 55 while describing Sandhi-karma or joining and in ch. 67 while describing windows.

8. Daṇḍikā means staff and mace. "Daṇḍikā-ākṛtika" means "of the shape of a staff or mace." Perhaps a rectangular shape is meant. See A. V. Tyagaraja ayyar, Indian Architecture Vol. I. p. 132, plan of a Daṇḍaka type of village which is rectangular. P. K. Acarya quotes 'Daṇḍa' as a class of buildings mentioned in the Kāmikāgama and 'Daṇḍaka' as a Maṇṭapa or hall with two faces. Daṇḍikā means also a doorway.

9. 'Prapā' means both a cistern and a drinking-hall or drinking-shed.

10. The text here has "—sopāna vāmśa dvārakam." I have taken Sopāna vāmśa as a flight of stairs. Pandit V. Vijayaraghavacarya says that Vāmśa dvāra is a compound word which means 'a double gate' or a pair of gates to the same place.

11. The word here is "Vaiśeṣika sālā" : Vaiśeṣika is derived from Viśeṣa and can mean 'special', the sense in which I have taken it.

12. Citra vitāna or decorated canopy : The Jain text Jñātādharma kathāṅga thus describes a decorated canopy :

"पद्मलताफुल्लवह्निवरपुष्पजाति-उल्लोकचित्रिततले" (Skr. Chāyā)

a canopy whose surface is decorated with designs of lotus-creepers, creepers in bloom, and other superior kinds of flowers. (p. 12. Text and P. 14 Skr. Com. Āgamodaya Series, No. 6).

A curtain or Yavanikā worked with more varied decoration of all sorts of animals, creepers and flowers is described by the Jain Kalpa sūtra, p. 60b, Seth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series :



“नानामणिरत्नमण्डितां अधिकप्रेक्षणीयां महार्घवरपट्टनोद्भूतां रुक्मपट्टमकिशतचित्रस्तानकां ईदामृगवृषभतुरगनरमकरविहगव्यालककिन्नररुक्मशरभचमरकुञ्जर—वनलतापद्मलताभक्तिचित्रां अभ्यन्तरां यवनिकां—” (Skr. Chāyā)

13. *Citra prastara* : worked entablature. Tyagaraja ayyar, Vol I. pp. 223-5 ; Acarya's volumes and G. J. Dubreuil's *Dravidian Architecture*, pp. 10 and 24.

14. *Pārśva sopānaka* : Side-steps. Were the building itself to be erected on an elevation, there would be steps around. See Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 119 : “Where the place had a high basement, there would also be external stairs, and these are clearly implied in J., VI, 428, where the Bodhisattva “goes up into the palace—”. Many Maṇṭapas and shrines in South Indian temples are built in this manner.

15. In the text here, we find *Mukhabhadra* and *Pratimukhabhadra*, and these two occur together in the *Nārada śilpa* in other places also. *Mukhabhadra* occurs in other texts also and means front porch or front tabernacle according to Acarya. The word *Pratimukhabhadra* is not traceable in any other text and has to be left untranslated.

16. “*Ūrdhva kūṭa*” and “*Ūrdhva śālā*” may be apartments in the upper storey and *Kūṭa* means also finial and *Śālā*, a pavilion-structure. On *Kūṭa* see Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, II, p. 215, ‘roof-ridge’ ; *Ibid*, III, p. 193, ‘roof-plate against which rests the top of the rafters’. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.* Vol. 50, p. 243, same meaning. On *Śālā* (Tamil *Śālai*) see Dubreuil : *Drav. Arch.* pp. 13 and 18.

17. The text here has the expression “*Pr̥thu vārāntike vāho mahā vārāntike*” which seems to be tautologous, *Pr̥thu* and *Mahā* meaning the same thing. *Vāra* or *Vāraka* occurs earlier also in the *Nārada śilpa* (p. 115) in the description of the *Nīti śālā*, but its meaning there also is not clear.

According to *Lexicon*, *Vāra* means door or gate and Acarya's *Dictionary of Architecture* gives it as ‘enclosure’. The root ‘*Vṛ*’ means ‘warding off’, ‘surrounding’ etc., and thus both meanings are justifiable.

Coomaraswamy discusses *Vāra* on pp. 225-6 of Vol. II (1930) of *Eastern Art* in his contribution on *Bodhigṛhas*. It occurs according to him in the *Aśokā-vadāna* and the *Dīvyāvadāna*. He quotes the following Skr. passage from the latter text : “चतुर्दिशं वारं बहुधा स्वयमेव च वारमभिहृत्वा चतुर्भिः कुम्भसहस्रैः बोधिस्नपनं कृतवान् ।”

The text and the plates published by Coomaraswamy show the Vāra as something high and surrounding the tree. He renders it as "enclosure", 'wooden scaffolding' and "a high surrounding gallery". Platform is the meaning suggested by some.

It is not possible to imagine what sort of enclosure or platform within the Citra śālā Nārada means where a big mirror must be set up according to him. I have taken it in the sense of an arched gateway on the authority of the Adyar Library Ms. of the Śilpa treatise called Prāsāda lakṣaṇa of Vāsudeva sūri with the Commentary of Yajña dīkṣita. On p. 57, this work uses 'Vāra' and it is interpreted as 'Randhra dvāra' and a marginal note on p. 46 of the same Ms. says that 'Randhra' means in Tamil "Kamān", i. e., arch. Vāra or Randhradvāra is an arched gateway.

18. The expression here is "Nānā samaya vihārikāṇām". Samaya can mean time or convention, manner, style. Neither meaning affects the sense of the passage very much. If Samaya is taken as time, the text will have to be translated 'as in sports of various kinds according to the part of the day or the seasons of the year'.

19. "Sauvarṇādi vibhūṣita aṅgam" : By 'Ādi' after 'Sauvarṇa' we have to understand that besides gilding, gems are set in appropriate places in the ornaments, as in a variety of Tanjore pictures.

## II

I. The Citra of the floor is of three kinds : inlaying or designing the floor with various coloured stones (maṇikuṭṭima), Dhūlī citra and Rasa citra. Nārada means primarily Dhūlī citra (and Rasa citra also) by his Bhauma citra. Dhūlī citra is transient, and Rasa citra lasts for some time more. The Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi and the Śilparatna describe the Dhūlī and Rasa citras. See V. Raghavan, Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting, IHQ. IX. 4, pp. 905-6 ; C. Sivaramamurty, JOR., Madras, VIII. 3, Artist's Jottings From the Nala campū, pp. 232-3 ; and Coomaraswamy, Technical Studies III. 2, The Technique and Theory of Indian Painting, pp. 84-85, footnote 25, paragraphs 1 and 2.

The Dhūlī and Rasa Citras cannot naturally be drawn on the walls. Nārada groups them together into a class called Bhauma citra, floor-painting or floor-decoration. Śilparatna says :

सुधाधवलिते मित्तौ नैव कुर्यादिदं सुधीः ।

रसचित्रं तथा धुलीचित्रं चित्रमिति त्रिधा ( त्रयम् ) ॥

I. 46. 143.



See IHQ. IX. 4. p. 906. Even the revised translation of this verse made by Coomaraswamy in footnote 25 on pp. 84-5 of "Technical Studies," III. 2 is wrong in the second line. The verse means that three things are not for the wall, Rasa citra, Dhūlī citra and Citra or sculpture in the round. The translation is : "These three viz., tincture-painting, powder-painting and sculpture, the knowledgeable man must not make on a plaster-primed wall". The second line does not detail the three categories of painting or Citra as Coomaraswamy supposes by taking the second line independently and by translating it thus : "These (viz., the two afore-said and painting on a primed wall) are three kinds of painting."

In para 3 of this same note 25 (p. 85), Coomaraswamy says : "It may even be that Rasa and Dhūlī (citra) are two classes of Bhāva-citra"! and translates Bhāva-citra as "astrological painting", a category which he has attempted to create newly.

The Citra of the upper regions called by Nārada "ūrdhvaka" is the painting on the ceiling, at the junctures of the walls and the ceiling, and the painting on the wood carvings of pillars and other parts of the woodwork. Nārada speaks of such painting on the carved woodwork more than once (Tākṣaṇika). When the woodwork is thus painted over, Nārada says that the surface is first smeared with certain herbal juices which ensure firmness.

2. The text here is redundant with, 'of various kinds' : Nānā bhedakam and Bahudhākam.

3. This is the most acceptable meaning for the text "Tākṣaṇikūt kālpanikāt".

4. Nānā dravyakaiḥ : made with various materials.

5. The text here is "Kṣtrimā akṣtrimā rūpakaiḥ".

6. Nārada first classified painting as that of the floor, that of the wall and that of the upper regions, from the point of view of the places where paintings are. He now makes a twofold classification from the point of view of the durability of the painting. He divides painting into permanent (śāśvataka) and temporary (tātkālīka). Paintings on the walls and the upper parts, Kuḍyaka and Ūrdhvaka, are permanent, and Bhauma citra, i.e., Dhūlī citra, and Rasa citra also, to some extent, temporary. Śrīkumāra calls Dhūlī citra 'kṣaṇika' which means the same thing as 'tātkālīka'.

तैश्चूर्णैः स्थण्डिले रम्ये क्षणिकानि विलेखयेत् ।

धूलौचित्रमिदं ख्यातं चित्रकारैः पुरातनैः ॥ 46. 144-5.

7. There is a small gap in the translation and a bewildering chain of words in the text whose meaning cannot be ascertained. Corruption is evident here but the clue to a reconstruction is not available. The text reads :

परिजकरेजकुंभकभेदकवर्धनदंकैः अभिवर्धयेयुः ।

The only words that are clear and are related to the subject are *Taṅka*, chisel, and *Vardhana*, chiselling, the tool and work of the craftsman called *Vardhaki*, the carpenter. *Parijaka*, *Rejaka*, and *Kumbhaka* are the three terms in this passage difficult to translate.

The verb in the passage is 'Abhivardhayeyuḥ' and it has been translated 'shall make in abundance', not literally. Perhaps the text here means to say that painting is to be applied also to chiselled and plastered brickwork.

8. Here are mentioned two requisite qualities of painting. *Māna* and *Sūtrāpata* or *Sūtra pāta*. The first has been taken as the general measurement of a figure in respect of its various limbs, etc. *Aviruddha sūtrapāta* has been taken as referring to the lines called *Brahmasūtra*, etc., mentioned by the texts in connection with pose.

9. *Pañjara* may simply mean a cage-like design or the architectural motif of that name meaning niche. Dubreuil, *Drav. Arch.* pp. 13 and 14.

10. "Gaja turaga pannaga mukha pratimukha citrakam" is the text that has been translated as striking designs of elephants, horses and snakes facing each other.

11. *Nānā dravya melanaka* : *Dravya* here has been taken as both themes for drawing and materials for drawing, for it may mean either. In either case, the expression is superfluous, for the use of various materials (*nānā dravyakaiḥ*) has been already mentioned and so also the combining of various objects to form designs.

12 & 13. The text here has "Nānāṅgaṇa talakeṣu" and "Ekāneka talakeṣu". I am not satisfied with my translation. *Tala* here cannot mean floor, for *Nārada* is speaking here of the decorations of the wall and upper regions. *Tala* has also the meaning storey in which sense it has been taken by me. The point however is not clear at all.

14. "Utpanna sattvānām." *Sattva* here is used to mean strength and it occurs as meaning wild animal immediately, "Vanya sattva damanakodyuktānām".

15 & 16. The exact or full import of the passage is not clear. The odd mention of the village here is mystifying.



17. "Udgata raṅga caṇaka kṛṣṇanakaṁ" ; Raṅga means both a stage for dance and drama and an arena for pugilistic shows. Raṅga caṇa (or caṇaka) can mean experts on Raṅga.

18. A gulf in the translation here could not be avoided. The whole passage is full of obscure terms. Netra, Bhadraka, Mukula, Patatri netra, Pāda racana, Mukha, these are the terms occurring here. Do these refer to various kinds of designs or to parts of designs ?

Netra at least seems to refer to some kind of motif. For we find the Prāsāda lakṣaṇa of Vāsudeva sūri saying :

शालाया मुखतोरणयुक्तं नेत्रादिचित्राङ्गम् । vol. I. p. 29.

19. Gopānaśī is defined by the Amara kośa as the carved wood-work covering the top-room : गोपानसी तु वलभीद्वादने वक्रदारुणि । But there is a great deal of difference among the commentators in the interpretation of this line in Amara. Cf. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, II and III, 'Rafter' ; Acarya 'a moulding of the entablature'. Dict. P. 173.

20. The second big gap in the translation. The text here details the several parts of the building, parts of the brickwork or woodwork over which, after a coating with whitewash or herbal juices paintings are executed.

21. Herbal juices ensuring firmness seem to be for the wooden surfaces and whitewash for walls.

22. Here occur two words of unknown meaning : Pumsilā paṭṭikā sthāpanam and Adhivāsanakam. Regarding the first word, some say that stones have genders and Nārada mentions here the masculine stone.

23. The third and last unmanageable passage occurs here and accounts for the hiatus in the translation. This passage is similar to that noticed under no. 20 and this also details the several parts of the building over which paintings are to be executed. Nothing pertaining to painting proper is lost in this obscure passage.

24. Citra here refers to sculpture, bas-relief and images worked in any material, brick and plaster, wood or metal.

## A NĀGARĀJA FROM MATHURĀ

By PHILIPPE STERN

The Nāgarāja in the Musée Guimet, (Pl. VI) belongs, as we believe, to a particularly important period in the evolution of Indian art. About the beginning of our era, this art seems to expand along a threefold current. In the central region (corresponding roughly to the Central Provinces in the north of India), the style of Mathurā appears as a sequel to that of Sāñcī; like the latter, it expresses a vigorous naturalism where the fulness of human forms and the marks of feminine beauty are displayed and often with still greater emphasis; a characteristic feature of this style is the rounded outline of the faces, and what we might call a triangular smile. Up to the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign, these features survive in the statues of Bodhisattvas, one of which is dated in the 3rd year of his rule.

This art of Mathurā however is flanked by two others following a parallel evolution; viz: Graeco-buddhist art on the one side (in the north-north western districts) and the art of Amarāvati on the other (in south eastern India and, it would seem, at a slightly later date). Through these, without much delay, external influences reach the school of Mathurā. Of this we have a well known instance in the statues of Kuṣāna kings, standing or else seated with knees apart, which in some cases will become the prototypes of divine images. About the year 50 of Kaniṣka's era, statues that seem to be mere copies from Graeco-Buddhist models are to be found among the productions of Mathurā. More interesting, however, are the diffuse and well assimilated influences which penetrate into the Mathurā tradition and bring about its renovation without any loss of its originality.

In this respect the Nāgarāja of the Musée Guimet is quite characteristic; it is not only a thing of beauty but also of particular interest. A similar serpent king (from Chargaon) is dated in the year 40 of Kaniṣka's era. It is the very time when Indian art breaks loose from the direct feeling for nature—a sign of youth—and when external influences, promptly assimilated, contribute to the



transformation. The statue shows a lithe figure, of a harmonious and supple élan, and an internal dynamism which were scarcely to be found in earlier Indian art. Graeco-Buddhist art, especially in its beginnings, has certainly never produced anything at all similar; for the Greek survivals which it contains then seem effete and, as it were, emptied of their substance. Yet we can realize that our statue is the outcome of the double grafting on the vigorous Mathurā stock of the supple Greek form, and harmonious Greek proportions, on the one hand, and of the feeling for movement (which is so highly developed in the Amarāvati school) on the other.

The above remarks are an attempt to determine the position of our Nāgarāja among the various artistic currents which intersect at this very period of Indian art history; we leave it to M. Pierre Dupont, "chargé de mission" in our Museum, to analyze the statue in detail:

The statue of a Nāgarāja from Mathurā, recently acquired by the Musée Guimet<sup>1</sup> is unfortunately without head and arms. Its body is bare: a dhoti is tied around the hips and tightly adheres to the modelling of the thighs. Between the legs it is gathered in fine pleats. A voluminous scarf knotted at the back curves in front across the body and is drawn to the left through the 'belt'. Of the ornaments only a large necklace and one armlet can be seen in the present state of preservation.

By comparison with other statues and specially with the Nāgarājas from Chargaon<sup>2</sup> and Kukargam<sup>3</sup> this image can be identified. It leans with its back against several circular motives, i.e. the convolutions of a serpent. Its hood must have been raised behind the head of the image. The position of the body and the right shoulder indicate that the right arm was raised, as in the case of the two statues mentioned. There the right arm is set against and surrounded by the serpent hood.

The Nāgas, after an evolution as yet not traced, became divinities of lakes and could make the rain fall. This assured them a great popularity in agricultural regions<sup>4</sup>. The gesture of the arm indicates no doubt an invocation of this kind. Vogel remarks that the attitude of the Cakravartin at Amarāvati is similar<sup>5</sup>.

1. Sale Sévadjian.

2. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, (*Ars Asiatica* XV), Pl. XLI a et b.

3. *Op. cit.* pl. XLI c.

4. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, p. 89.

5. J. Ph. Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 48.







The left arm is broken but underneath the left shoulder a piece of stone still projects. This most probably indicates that the arm was bent towards the body. In this position the Nāga of Kukargam, amongst others, is shown. His left hand holds a water vessel in front of the chest. This detail further characterizes the Nāgas; their images were frequently set up next to cisterns and in the open air. This is responsible for their being often badly damaged<sup>1</sup>.

The appellation Nāgarāja is very explicitly attested by the inscription at the back of the Chargaon figure<sup>2</sup>. Another incscription on the socle of a recently discovered statue has Dadhikarṇa as the name of the serpent-king<sup>3</sup>.

The Nāga cult in Mathurā must go back to a remote past. The Buddhist foundation of Huvīṣka, it is certain, was built on a site consecrated to Nāga Dadhikarṇa. He is mentioned on a slab dated 26 Śaka and statues dated in 40 and 52 Śaka, during the time of Huvīṣka, show that his popularity was maintained.

1. J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue, Mathura Museum, p. 89.

2. J. Ph. Vogel, Sculpture de Mathurā, p. 48.

3. Ibid.



## THE PHALLIC EMBLEM IN ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

The problem concerning the age of the introduction of phallicism in ancient India is not easy to solve. The whole question consists mainly of two parts,—one about the origin and antiquity of the practice of worshipping the phallic emblem, and the other of its intimate connection with the Rudra-Śiva cult, as it developed along sectarian lines, the chief object of worship in a Śiva temple coming invariably to be the *liṅga* in *Arghya*. The symbolism underlying this aniconic form of Śiva is mainly the idealisation of the primeval principle of creation,—the union of the male and female principle. The *Arddhanārīśvara* image of Śiva and the composite *Harihara* image to some extent convey the same idea in an iconic form.

A long standing hypothesis about the appearance of phallicism in India is to the effect that it existed among the pre-Aryan settlers of India who are referred to in certain early Vedic passages under the opprobrious epithet of *Śisnadevāḥ*.<sup>1</sup> Yāska's and Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the term as "persons addicted to sexual pleasures" has been called in question by many western as well as Indian scholars who are of opinion that it really means "those who have a phallus for their deity." Sir R. G. Bhandarkar believes that in this term reference is made to some tribe of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of certain peculiar objects at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa by Sir John Marshall and his assistants, sometime ago, lent colour to this view. These are aniconic objects, usually of stone, more or less realistically modelled as phalli whose ostensible use seems to have been as cult objects.<sup>3</sup> The evidence of these finds is certainly very

1. *Rgveda*, VII. 21, 5 and X. 99, 3. The term occurs in these two passages only; and on both these occasions, the Vedic deity Indra is besought by the hymnist to kill the *Śisnadevas*.

2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems*, p. 115.

3. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, vol. I, p. 59. There are three classes of aniconic objects; some are unquestionably phalli, others conventionalized in shape, while the third class consists of miniature

striking and if their interpretation is correct, a strong case can be made for connecting the Śiśnadeva of the early Vedic texts with these very ancient inhabitants of the Indus valley. But is the explanation of this epithet suggested by modern scholars beyond doubt? According to Eliot, 'it is not certain if the Śiśnadevas are priapic demons or worshippers of the phallus'.<sup>1</sup> V. Bhattacharya has shewn good reasons for upholding the orthodox interpretation of Yāska and Sāyaṇa.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the hypothesis does not admit a definite proof and the utmost we can say in favour of it is that it explains the subsequent introduction of phallicism as an integral part of the cult of Rudra-Śiva.<sup>3</sup>

It can be shewn, however, that explicit reference to the worship of the phallic emblem of Śiva is not met with in comparatively early literature. The Vedas no doubt contain such words as Vaitasa, Kvaprith, etc., which have the significance of the male organ of generation, but there is no question of connecting them with the peculiar and well-known ritualistic practice. In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, the author describes the god Īśāna as presiding over every yoni, but here also one cannot think of finding an explicit reference to the phallic emblem of Śiva.<sup>4</sup> Patañjali does not refer to it, but speaks of the Pratikṛti (likeness, image) of Śiva as an object of veneration.<sup>5</sup>

It is only in the epic literature that we find for the first time unmistakable evidence of the worship of Śiva in his phallic form and that too in sections adjudicated as late ones by the Indologists. In the Vāsudeva-Upamanyu episode of the thirteenth Parvān of the Mahābhārata, it is expressly mentioned by Upamanyu that Mahādeva was the only deity whose organ of generation was

specimens as games-men. All these were sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller ones as amulets to be carried on the person. Sir Aurel Stein's discovery of two realistic specimens of the same kind—one a liṅga and the other a yoni in the chalcolithic sites of northern Baluchistan is also interesting.

1. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I, p. 143, f. n. 1. Cf. also Hopkins' views in his *Epic Mythology*.

2. Cf. his article on Liṅgopāsana in the Bengali monthly *Journal Pravāsi*, 1340 B.S., pp. 741-2.

3. The three-headed horned figure represented as seated in a particular yogic Āsana (it exactly corresponds to the Kūrmāsana of later times in which the heels are placed cross-wise under the gluteals) flanked on either side by animals such as a rhino, a water-buffalo, an elephant and a tiger on a seal appears to bear the Urdhhamēdha characteristic. Marshall, though not absolutely sure about the latter feature, describes the figure as the prototype of Śiva-Paśupati of subsequent days. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 52; pl. XII, fig. 17.

4. Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, IV. 11; V. 2.—Yo yoniḥ yonimadhitiṣṭhatyeka, viśvāni rūpāni yoniśca sarvāḥ. The context in which this passage occurs proves beyond doubt that it refers to the philosophical doctrine of the god's presiding over every creative cause.

5. Mahābhāṣya,—while commenting on Pāṇini, V. 3, 99.



worshipped in former times or is now worshipped by the gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others, and Śiva and Umā were the real creators of animals because the latter carry on their body the marks of these two and not the marks of other divinities.<sup>1</sup> In one of the earlier sections of the same work, however, we find reference to his being worshipped in an earthen altar; Arjuna, while getting worsted in his fight with Śiva in the guise of a hunter, worships the same deity in an altar of earth made by him.<sup>2</sup> Another section of the great epic, presumably somewhat later than the one just cited but certainly earlier than the first passage, also contains an interesting parallel to it. Asvatthāman, on his way to the Pāṇḍava camp at night in his murderous quest, is confronted by the vision of a gigantic being at the gate; he then invokes the aid of his patron deity Śiva and there appears before him a huge golden altar with all-spreading flames of fire on it.<sup>3</sup> Again, the emblem which is enshrined in a temple at Varāha-tīrtha by the river Payoṣṇī in the south is the horn of the trident-bearer which is 'high as heaven and spotless' and made by Śiva himself; the word which is used here is 'viṣāṇa', and there is no reference to the liṅgamūrti of the god.<sup>4</sup>

Archaeological evidence not only tends to corroborate the literary to a very great extent but also throws some additional light on the problem. Śiva is represented either in a theriomorphic or an anthropomorphic form on the reverse side of many coins issued in India not only by her own people but also by some of her alien rulers.<sup>5</sup> Where any emblem is used instead,

1. Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, ch. xiv, vv. 231-33: Kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvvaiv-liṅgam muktvā Maheśvaram. Arcayate, rcitapūrvvarhivā vrūhi yadyasti te śrutiḥ. Yasya Brahmā ca Viṣṇuśca tvam cāpi saha daivataiḥ. Arcayethā sadā liṅgaṁ tasmācchreṣṭhatamo hi saḥ. Na padmāṅkā na cakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ. Liṅgāṅkā ca bhagāṅkā ca tasmānmaheśvari prajāḥ.

2. Ibid, Vanaparvan, ch. 39, v. 65—Śaranyarṇ śaraṇaṁ gatvā bhagavantaṁ pinākinarṇ. Mṛṇmayarṇ sthaṇḍilarṇ kṛtvā mālyenāpūjayadbhavam.

3. Ibid, Sautikaparvan, ch. vii, vv. 13-14.—Iti tasya vyāvasitarṇ jñātvodyogāt svakarmmaṇaḥ. Purastāt kāñcanī vedī prādūrāsinmahātmanah. Tasyarṇ vedyārṇ tadā rājāhicitrabhānuraḥjyata. Sa diśoviditāḥ khaṇṇica jvalābhirabhipūrayan. It reminds us of the story of the sudden appearance of Śiva in the form of a flaming column of fire before Brahmā and Viṣṇu engaged in dispute over the authorship of creation as told in the Śaivite Purāṇas.

4. Ibid, Vanaparvan, ch. 88, v. 8.—Svargāduttuṅgamamalarṇ viṣāṇarṇ yatra śūlinah. Svamātmavahitarṇ dṛṣtvā marityaḥ śivapurarṇ vrajet. Hopkins is not sure about what the horn represents; he thinks it probably refers to the crest of the image (Epic Mythology, p. 33). But, cf. the horns of the 3-headed deity on the seal, referred to above.

5. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pl. x, figs. 3, 6 etc. (Avanti coins). Whitehead, Punjab Museum Catalogue, vol. i, pl. xvii, figs. 31, 33, 65 etc. (coins of the Kuṣāṇ kings).

Theobald's identification of one particular type of symbol among those on the early punch-marked coins as the phallic emblem of Śiva is doubtful (J. A. S. B. 1890, pt. i, pp. 193, 200; pl. x, 186, xi, 263-4). Carlleyle's description of one of the three symbols on the coins of the so-called Mitra dynasty of Pañcīlī, as a liṅga guarded by two snakes, does not seem to be accurate (J. A. S. B., 1880, pt. i, pp. 21-3). Rapson describes it as a Nāga symbol (Coins of the Andhras and the Western Kṣātrapas, p. clxxvi, pl. viii, fig. G. P. i) and D. R. Bhandarkar as the 'kaustubha maṇi' worn by Viṣṇu on his breast (A. S. I. A. R. 1913-1914, p. 211).



it is not the phallic, but the combined trident and battle-axe both of which are wielded by the deity.<sup>1</sup> Again, the extant sculptures of the phallic symbol, in association with Śiva, do not go back to a period earlier than the first century B. C.<sup>2</sup> which is the generally accepted date of the Guḍimallam liṅga. This liṅga, a most remarkable one, stands five feet above the floor level and about a foot in thickness and is carved out of a hard igneous stone of a dark brown colour and highly polished.<sup>3</sup> It is realistically modelled and the front of the shaft bears on it the figure of Śiva in high relief standing on the shoulders of the crouching figure of the Apasmāra Puruṣa. It is interesting to observe here that the Urdhhamēḍhra sign usually found on Śiva figures of the post Christian period is not emphasised and the base of the liṅga is fixed in a hole cut in the floor, the usual yoni stone being absent. Śiva holds in his right hand a ram and in his left he carries a small water vessel with a battle-axe resting on his left shoulder. It has been very plausibly suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar that the artist felt it necessary to carve this figure on the huge liṅga in order to characterise it as a Śaivic emblem and to minimise all possible chances of doubt as regards its nature.<sup>4</sup> The exhibit no. H. I. in the collection of the Lucknow museum, described as a liṅga with a broadened top (Pl. VII, Fig. I.) is another realistic specimen, but with this important difference that it does not bear the image of Śiva on its shaft. It comes from the Mathurā region, as the museum records show, and is made of red sandstone. The nut, clearly demarcated from the shaft by the broadening of the top just above the latter tapering upwards, bears on its lower end the Brahmasūtra design.<sup>5</sup> It is also encircled in the middle by a tasselled band of a decorative character. It can approximately be dated in the Kuṣān period. Another huge stone liṅga, which is in the collection of the Mathurā museum, measures as much as 200 cm; and it is divided into three sections (I) a roughly square undressed portion which might have

1. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. xvi, fig. 136 and xvii, fig. 34.

2. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 39; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Dec., 1931, p. 750. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* p. 35; T. A. Gopinath Rao was the first to draw attention to it in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 65-9, pl. ii. Reference may be made here to the liṅga with a four armed figure of Śiva of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D., undoubtedly from the Mathurā region; Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

3. A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, III, (Mem. A. S. I., no. 40) p. 24. He assigns the 8th or 9th century A. D. to this sculpture; this is not justified.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 20. This shows that the connection between phallicism and ritualistic practice of Śaivism has perhaps not yet been definitely established. This feature, rarely to be met with in post-Christian liṅgas, (cf. the one from Mathurā, footnote 2), is given another form in the Liṅga-bhava-mūrti of Śiva. Bhandarkar is however inclined to date the Guḍimallam liṅga in the 4th. century A. D.

5. It is really nothing but a device to distinguish the nut from the shaft. In later specimens this is seldom emphasised.



been inserted into the Pīṭhikā, (2) the middle portion of the shaft round and tapering in shape (near the junction of the first and second sections is carved the leaf and offering motif), and (3) the tapering rounded nut broader than the top portion of the second section, with a decorative motif at the middle of it consisting of two thick jewelled bands joined together by four lotus medallion clasps. The nut is distinctly marked on one side of its lower end by a dentate groove suggesting the Brahmasūtra motif. It is somewhat later in date than the one in the Lucknow museum; its carving is not so realistic as that of the other.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of these and other phalli—dating from the first century B. C. to the Gupta period—distinctly lays down the real nature of this motif and the view that the prototype of the Śivaliṅgas is to be seen in the mediaeval Buddhist votive stūpas is untenable.<sup>2</sup> With the passing of time, the emblem came to be gradually conventionalised and this process of conventionalisation can be seen in any assortment of phalli representative of different periods. The Karamḍāṁḍā inscribed liṅga of the time of Kumaragupta I (Gupta year 117) may serve as an example.<sup>3</sup> A few of the clay seals of the Gupta period, discovered at Bhīṭā, bear on them these emblems; the one with the inscription 'kālañjara' (now in the collection of the Indian museum) is extremely interesting, not only by its appearance, but also by the fact that the liṅga is placed on two sections of a rectangular pedestal which might have indicated the yoni stone.

The inscribed sculpture from Bhīṭā (now in the collection of the Lucknow museum), dated on palaeographical grounds in the first century B. C., is important for more reasons than one. R. D. Banerji, who first brought it to the notice of scholars, described it as the phallic emblem of Śiva; but he did not explain the significance of the topmost bust and the four human heads below it (the top of the sculpture shaped as the bust of a male; and the heads below are those of females, according to him). The inscription, which runs thus: Khajahutiputanam la (im) go patiṭhapito Vaseṭhiputena Nagasirina piyata (m) d (e) vata,—was translated by Banerji as "The liṅga of the sons of Khajahuti was dedicated by Nāgasiri, the son of Vāseṭhi. May the deity be pleased." Banerji's interpretation was called in question by T. Bloch who maintained, "that the word was 'lago', of uncertain

1. I saw it lying in the courtyard of the Mathurā museum in February, 1931.

2. Havell, *The Civilisation of India*. This view was based on the superficial resemblance of the highly conventionalised liṅgas of late date with such miniature votive stūpas having the elongated Aṇḍa and the overemphasised Medhi of the mediaeval period, as are to be found in the quadrangle adjoining the Buddha Gayā temple.

3. J. & P. A. S. B., vol. v, p. 458 & pl. xix; Ep. Ind., vol. x, pp. 71ff.



1



2



3



4



6



5



7



8





meaning, and not *liṅga*, and that, even if it were read as *liṅga*, it could not be taken in the sense of the phallic symbol of Śiva, because in inscriptions such an image is termed *Mahādeva*." Banerji took note of this objection and replied that the word *liṅga* (he was certain about his emended reading) was commonly used in inscriptions and was also the name of a *Purāṇa*.<sup>1</sup> T. A. Gopinath Rao identified it as a *Śivaliṅga* of the *Pañcamukha* type, the topmost bust and the four heads below (all of male figures, according to Rao) corresponding to the *Isāna*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Vāmadeva* and *Sadyojāta* aspects of the deity.<sup>2</sup> This identification has generally been accepted by scholars with very few exceptions.<sup>3</sup>

The *Mukhaliṅgas* are usually conventional and, as a class, are much later than the types of the realistic *liṅgas* described above.<sup>4</sup> Iconographic texts, especially north Indian, usually speak of one, three or four faced *liṅgas*. Thus, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, as quoted by Rao, writes,—*Mukhaliṅgaṁ trivaktraṁ syādekavaktraṁ caturmukham*.....*Sadyo Vāmaṁ tath-Āghoraṁ Tatpuruṣaṁ caturthakam*. But when it refers to the fifth aspect, that of *Isāna*, it expressly says that it is not visible even to the yogis (*pañcamāṁ ca tathesānaṁ yogināmapyagocaram*). The *Agnipurāṇa* simply lays down,—*Catustrirekavadanaṁ mukhaliṅgamataḥ sṛṇu* (ch. 54, v. 41). The south Indian *Kāraṇāgama* text, however, seems to contain a reference to the five-faced *liṅgas* in the line, *Śarānanaṁ caturvaktraṁ trivaktraṁ caikavaktrakam*, but the *Pañcamukha* type does not seem to have been described at all. It will not be out of place here to take note of certain little known varieties of *Mukhaliṅgas*, some of which are unpublished, in order that we may be better able to determine the nature of the *Bhīṣa* sculpture. Exhibit no. H2 in the Lucknow museum (Pl. VII, Fig. 2.) is an interesting specimen of the *Ekamukha* type; the realism has not completely disappeared, but it is very much subdued. The face of the god is tied round, as it were, by a band on the lower section of the shaft, but there is no sign of demarcation between the nut and the shaft. One unique variety in red sandstone (in the collection of the Mathurā museum) unfortunately fragmentary in character (Pl. VII, Fig. 4) consists of four shafts joined together, with one face on the top section

1. A. S. I. A. R., 1909-10, pp. 146-9. D. R. Bhandarkar wishes to date the *Bhīṣa* sculpture at least two centuries later than the usually accepted date.

2. T. A. G. Rao, op. cit., p. 64.

3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 32. But D. R. Bhandarkar upheld Bloch's objections and doubted whether the *Bhīṣa* sculpture was a *Śivaliṅga* at all; Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 20, f.n. 3.

4. *Mukhaliṅgas* of realistic appearance are somewhat rare. The exhibit no. 1287 in the collection of the Mathurā museum bears only one *Jāṭāmukha*-bearing Śiva head on its top portion; the dentate groove is cut deep on the side opposite to the one where the head is shown. The nut is much broader than the shaft, only a portion of which is preserved.



of each of these ; there seems to be some attempt in demarcating the nut from the shaft, but not suggestively realistic. The hair of the four heads is arranged differently. It has been dated by Diskalkar in the first century A. D., but on stylistic and other grounds, it can be dated in the late Kuṣāṇ period<sup>1</sup>. The two-faced Śivaliṅga (Pl.VII, Fig.3) also in the collection of the Mathurā museum, is the only one so far known to me. The third eye and the Jaṭāmukuta on the two heads, placed Janus-like on the shaft, definitely disclose the identity of the sculpture ; the faces, curiously enough, bear moustaches. The carving is crude and it has to be dated in a period much later than those just described<sup>2</sup>.

The Bhīṭā sculpture does not fall in the same line with any of the Mukha-liṅgas described above, or for the matter of that, with any other well-known variety of such sculptures. That in itself, however, might not mean much. But the fact is, Bloch's main objection has not been satisfactorily answered. The formula for the recording of the installation of a phallic emblem of Śiva was quite different altogether, as is proved by the Karamdāṇḍā liṅga, mentioned above, which is described in the inscription as the Mahādeva Pṛthivīśvara (the particular name Pṛthivīśvara being after the name of Pṛthivīśena, the donor of the image). Gopinath Rao could not illustrate any liṅga of the Pañcamukha type. Moreover, it is yet to be definitely proved that the five-fold aspect of Śiva, under these characteristic names, was already well known before the time of the Bhīṭā sculpture. Then, if we are to maintain the reading 'lago', can we not take it to be in some way or other connected with 'laguḍa' (laṭhi or yaṭhi) meaning a club ? In that case, shall we not be justified in describing this sculpture as a memorial column dedicated by Nāgasiri to commemorate the sons of Khajahuti ? To Dr. Führer who made a note about this sculpture in the minutes of the Lucknow Museum Committee, it appeared to be the capital of a column. Be it noted that we find copious references to the erection of such memorial columns in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, which definitely prove that the practice of erecting such columns or upright stones in memory of one's predecessors was common in ancient India. Thus, the Andhau inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of the Śaka year 52 prove that the long narrow slabs of stones on which the inscriptions are incised are memorial

1. D. B. Diskalkar, The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. v. pt. 1, P. 37. He describes it as a Pañcamukha Liṅga ; but there is no certainty that there was another head on the top of the sculpture.

2. No text is known to me which describes a 'dvimukha' liṅga.

3. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI, pp. 19ff.



slabs which are described as 'laṣṭhi'. The stone pillar which was erected by the sons of Vāṇijaka is described as a Śilā laṣṭhi in the Mulvasar stone inscription of the Śaka year 122 of the time of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena.<sup>1</sup> The Suivihar inscription of the year II of the Kaniṣka era also refers to the erection of a relic-pillar of Nāgadatta where the pillar is described as a Yaṭhi and the ceremony as Yaṭhi pratithānam.<sup>2</sup> These inscribed memorial stones were the descendants of the rude stone monuments called menhirs or standing stones which 'have been found distributed over all parts of Europe and western Asia and occur also in India' and which 'were worshipped as deities, with libations of blood, milk, honey, or water poured upon the stones'. In the case of the acceptance of this interpretation of the Bhīṭa sculpture, the faces on it and the phallus mark below will have yet to be explained. These faces might stand for the persons (? the sons of Khajahuti) to commemorate whom this was erected; and, as regards the phallus mark, I can not do better than quote these words from Grant Allen: 'on many grave-stones of early date a phallus marked the male sex of the occupant' and 'the stone being regarded as the ancestor of the family, it is not unnatural that early men should some times carve it into a phallic shape'. It appears that some part might have been played by this element in the evolution of the phallic cult in India and it seems to have been one of the contributory factors to its growth and development. We can further substantiate our point by referring to the following statement of Sir John Marshall based on the observation of Dr. Bloch: 'that the chessman pillars of Dimapur and Kasomari Pathara in Assam believed to be memorial stones erected in memory of local heroes and ascribed by Dr. Bloch to a non-Aryan people were originally phallic monuments is suggested by the fact that in the Non-Aryan districts of the South the custom still obtains, or did so recently of erecting liṅgas on the graves of local heroes.' It must be observed that there can be no question of identifying these monuments as Śiva-liṅgas.

People are very prone to connect standing columns with phalli. Many of the Aśokan columns were actually regarded as such and the two villages in the

1. Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar, p. 23, No. 5 & Pl. XIX.

2. Sten Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. II, p. 140. I accept Majumdar's interpretation of the text.

3. Grant Allen: The Evolution of the Idea of God, p. 68.

4. Op. cit. p. 74.

5. Marshall, Mohenjo Daro, etc., Vol. I, p. 60.



Campan District (Bihar) viz. Araraj and Navand garh (correct form : Nandan garh) derive their distinctive appellation of Lauriya from the two local Asokan pillars which are now worshipped as phallic emblems (laurā meaning a phallus).<sup>1</sup> An exhibit in the Indian Museum<sup>2</sup>, Calcutta, bears an interesting testimony to this propensity. It was originally a mediaeval pillar in Rajmahal stone, about 5' in height, of the type usually met with in this period ; but later the upper part of it was re-shaped into phallic semblance and might either have served the purpose of a cult object or have been used as a phallic memorial stone.

1. T. Bloch, A. S. I. A. R. 1906-07. p. 119, f. n. 1. Bloch suggests that, Pkt. 'laurā' is from the same root as the Skt. 'laguḍa,' a stick which as we have just now seen had one of its connotations as a memorial column ; this fact can also explain the phallic mark on the Bhīṣa sculpture.

2. It bears no number and is probably not entered in the Museum records ; it is kept in the northern section of the western corridor in the ground floor of the building.

## AGNI

By B. CH. CHHABRA

Two stone images of Agni (Pl.VII, Figs. 5, 7), in the collection of Puran Chand Nahar, Calcutta, are iconographically of interest. I may refer to J. Ph. Vogel's "Note on a Stone Image of Agni, the God of Fire, in the Possession of Sir Eric Geddes", in the course of which he remarks : "Considering the great importance of Agni in the Vedic religion, it may at first seem surprising that images of the Fire-God are so very rare."<sup>1</sup> Surprising it is indeed, for, whereas there exists a rich variety of sculptural representations of other deities, the number of the Agni images so far discovered hardly extends to a dozen, most of which, moreover, come exclusively from the eastern provinces of India and belong to the mediaeval period. The great diversity of iconographical accounts of Agni in different Āgamas<sup>2</sup>) indicates that the worship of this god has been fairly popular in India. One may thus justly expect a larger number of his icons than is to be found at present.

Agni, in the aspect of a divine weapon, is depicted as a burning torch, and in that of a sacrificial fire as a heap of flames, sometimes rising out of a receptacle (kuṇḍa)<sup>3</sup>.

As the guardian of the south-eastern quarter, Agni appears in human form the iconographical details of which are most conflicting. According to certain texts, he is to be represented as having two faces, three legs and seven arms, to which are added a few more equally unusual features. Corresponding to this peculiar description are found two statues in Śiva temples, one at Kaṇḍiyūr in Travancore and the other at Cidambaram, in South India.<sup>4</sup>)

1. Ind. Ant. vol. LXII, 1933, p. 231.

2. Such as *suprabhedāgama*, *śilparatna*, *pūrvakāraṇāgama*, *rūpamaṇḍana*, *viṣṇudharmottarāgama*, *hemādri*, *agnipurāṇa*, *matsyapurāṇa*, etc. etc.. Most of the texts concerned are quoted in the original by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pt. II, Appendix B. *Pratimā Lakṣaṇāni*, pp. 253—55; their summaries are contained in the same book pp. 522 ff.

3. Ibid. vol. I, pt. I, p. 7, pl. II, figures 12-14.

4. Ibid. vol. II pt. II, p. 524, pls. CLII, CLIII, fig. 2.



Even in the case of a simpler form, the Āgamas are not entirely unanimous. Among the generally agreed characteristics of Agni may be noted a pointed beard, an Upavīta, an Akṣamālā, a Kamaṇḍalu and a Jvālavitāna. Sometimes he is described as having four arms, in which case a Śakti and a Sruc are his additional emblems. Occasionally he is attended by his consort Svāhā. Both Aja (he-goat) and Meṣa (ram) are indiscriminately mentioned as his vehicle. He appears either as Kuṇḍastha or Ardhaśāṇḍāsana. The latter term is rather obscure. If the Ardhaśāṇḍāsana is synonymous with the Ardhaparyāṅkāśana then it refers to a mode of sitting, in which one leg is kept folded on the seat, while the other rests on a footstool below. Some of the Agni figures do indeed appear in this fashion.<sup>1</sup>

This posture is to be noticed in the smaller specimen (Pl. VII, Fig. 5) of the two images under discussion. Here Agni is shown seated, amidst flames, on the throne borne by his Vāhana, probably a Meṣa in this instance. The right foot of the god rests on what seems to be tongues of fire issuing out of a pot (kuṇḍa). He holds a rosary in the right hand and a water-jar in the left. Erect hair, a diadem, ear-pendants, a necklace, armlets and anklets are among his attributes in addition to his usual trim beard and sacred thread. The larger sculpture (Pl. VII, Fig. 7) shows almost the same characteristics. The marked difference is perhaps that instead of flames it contains five "fires" behind the god who sits on the back of a bearded he-goat. The lotus beneath is another point of difference. As regards their findspot, nothing is known except that they were obtained in the vicinity of Rajgir, the ancient Rājagṛha. They come from Bihar to which also the Indian Museum specimen (Pl. VII, Fig. 6) is said to belong<sup>2</sup>. All the three pieces exhibit an affinity of style as well as a mediocre workmanship.

A sculpture formerly in possession of Mr. Nahar and now lost, has been published by R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 120, Pl. LXI b. The god in this instance is again seated in the Ardhaparyāṅka posture, his right foot resting on his Vāhana, under a pavilion marked by a column on either side. Above in the centre is seen a Kālamakara or a Vanaspati head, flanking which are shown two flying heavenly beings in a worshipful attitude. On the left of the god stands Svāhā Devī, wearing ornaments and carrying a Ratnapātra as enjoined by the Āgamas. The figurine below the throne, on the left of the panel, probably represents a worshipper. Another panel with an Agni figure, this time a standing one, is known to

1. See the plates accompanying J. Ph. Vogel's paper referred to above.

2. Photo published by courtesy Indian Museum, Calcutta.

exist on one of the outer walls of a ruined temple at Pahārpur.<sup>1</sup>) The god is again attended by Svāhā Devī. His niche faces the south-easterly direction of which he is the presiding deity. The Gwalior Museum possesses two Agni images of the mediaeval period, one from Kota and the other from Suhania.<sup>2</sup>

The remaining known sculptures of Agni have already been discussed by J. Ph. Vogel in his paper referred to above. It may in passing be pointed out that the much damaged statue of Mathurā origin, which according to the last mentioned authority can be 'the earliest known image of Agni', may in the opinion of A. K. Coomaraswamy<sup>3</sup> represent Vaiśravaṇa, the god of wealth. The latter view seems more plausible, considering the absence of an Upavīta on the figure and the Buddhistic associations of its find spot, Kaṅkāli Tīlā.

1. An. Rep., A. S. I. 1926-27, pp. 145-46, pl. XXXII, fig. d

2. The former has been noticed by M. B. Garde (A Guide to the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior, 1928, p. 37, pl. VIII, A.) who, in a letter dated 13th May 1935, writes, "I have seen many other images of Agni in situ on various mediaeval temples in Gwalior State but their photographs have not been taken."

3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 1933, Vol. I, p. 8.



## NOTE ON A STONE IMAGE OF AGNI

BY S. K. GOVINDASWAMI

In the last issue of the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. LXII, J. Ph. Vogel contributes a note on a stone image of Agni in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes, in the course of which he rightly remarks on the rarity of sculptured representations of Agni.<sup>1</sup> Since I read this article I came across an interesting stone image of Agni (Pl. VIII). This sculpture occupies a narrow niche on the north wall of the central shrine of the Nāgesvara temple at Kumbakonam. The shrine is an ancient one celebrated by Saints Appar and Tirugnana-sambanda in Thevara hymns under the name of Kuṇḍandai Kīl-Koṭṭam, the eastern temple of Kumbakonam. The central shrine can be dated at the latest in the ninth century A.D., for the oldest inscription on its walls is one of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇjaḍaiyan who is identified with Varaguṇa Mahārāja, the Pāṇḍya who sustained a defeat in the battle of Tiruppuram-biyam in circa 880 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The walls of this shrine contain no less than fifteen large-sized figures, human and divine, in a cream coloured stone. The wall space is limited while the sculptures are many. Hence the narrowness of the niches and the consequent slenderness of the figures which are always turned three quarters sideways just as some of the sculptures on the outer niches of the Rathas at Mahābalipuram.

The Agni image in question occupies a narrow niche to the proper left of the image of Brahmā which is as usually given a prominent place, in the central niche of the north wall. It is 4' 2" in height, slim and almost straight with a slight suggestion of a bhaṅga at the waist. The head has the hair shaped into tapering tongues of flame. The face is in three quarter profile and shows an orbéd brow, a downcast eye, a straight and delicate nose and full lips. Ornaments and drapery are carved in a subdued manner. A ribbon-like

1. *Ind. Ant.* LXII, p. 231.

2. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1908, p. 58.







sacred thread falls over the left shoulder across the body in a double curve. The necklaces and Uṭarabhāṇḍa are flat and simple. A broad zone passes round the slim waist and is held in place by a well executed Kīrtimukha in front. Immediately below the Kaṭibhāṇḍa is a plain belt formed by a long piece of cloth which falls into a loop in front while its ends hang straight in the middle as if bisecting the loop. Two thin lines marked high up on the thighs indicate the loin cloth. A serpentine armlet and beaded bracelets decorate the arm and the wrist respectively.

The right hand is in the Varada pose while the left rests on the hip in the Kaṭyavalambita pose.

It is strange that this image should have nothing in common with the other available images of Agni. Nor does it satisfy the rules laid down in the Āgamas as regards the carving of an Agni image. The Āgamas describe the figure of Agni as having "two heads, six eyes, seven arms, seven tongues, four horns, and three legs."<sup>1</sup> Nor is it oldish looking "having a long beard, with a gourd (kamaṇḍalu) in the left hand, and a rosary in the right, provided with a canopy of flames and with a goat as a vehicle, blazing and standing in the fire pit."<sup>2</sup>

The one feature and the only one which helps the identification of this figure as that of Agni is its wavy flame-like hair. It suits the description of Agni as 'flame-haired' and 'radiant-haired'. No longer will the statement of Vogel that "even the epithet 'flame-haired' does not really apply to the sculptural representation which shows the flames as quite distinct from Agni's hair and surrounding the head in the manner of a halo"<sup>3</sup> hold good. And there is no flaming nimbus here but a veritable flame hair.

This figure of Agni, moreover, is not oldish looking, goat bearded, and pot-bellied as the North Indian sculptures of the same deity. Less similarity is to be found between the figure in question and other images of Agni in South India with their multiple heads, hands and legs. However, this image is as much the embodiment of the characteristics of Agni as the others are. If the North Indian sculptures of this guardian regent of the south-east are symbolic of the hoary wisdom of the god, this is expressive of his youthful vigour. Here is rendered in stone the virile concept of this god as pictured by the imagination of the Vedic poets. He is 'the

1. "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses", by H. Krishna Sastri, p. 243.

2. *Ind. Ant.* LXII, p. 232.

3. *Ibid.* p. 230.



offspring of vigour<sup>1</sup>, 'the most youthful god'<sup>2</sup>, 'the youngest guest'<sup>3</sup>, and 'the never ageing god'<sup>4</sup>. He is the divinity 'beautiful like treasure'<sup>5</sup>. He is likened to a bull, a steed, and a winged bird in the Rg Veda<sup>6</sup>. Our image 'stands up straight for blessing us like the god Savitr'<sup>7</sup>, tall, slim and wiry as a well built youth.

Apart from the flame-hair and the general appearance of the image, a small ornamental detail supplies a clue to identification. It is the serpentine armlet which generally adorns the upper arm of the South Indian images of Śiva. This ornament appears to be quite appropriate to Agni too, for he is sometimes identified with Śiva. "Agni is identified definitely with Rudra and Śiva and is therefore considered to be the father of Kārttikeya. He becomes the destroyer among the later trinity and is also considered to be capable of conferring blessings upon humanity".<sup>8</sup>

1. S. B. E. XLVI, I 58.

2. Ibid. I 26.

3. Ibid. I 44.

4. S. B. E. XLVI, I 58.

5. Ibid. I 58.

6. Ind. Ant. LXIII, p. 231.

7. S. B. E., XLVI, I 36.

8. Gopinath Rao : "Elements" vol. II pt. i, p. 522.

## A CHINESE GAṆEŚA

By HELEN B. CHAPIN

Gaṇeśa like almost all of his colleagues among Hindu gods was incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon; here however, he took a very minor place and received from Buddhist devotees no such general invocation and worship as from the Hindus. We find him in the Chinese Buddhist paintings from Tun-huang figuring as an attendant on one of the fierce divinities placed in the foreground of Maṇḍalas of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara; and he has a place in the Maṇḍalas of the Two Cycles (Diamond and Womb) used by the Shingon sect in Japan, which we know were also painted in China, though no actual examples have survived. We may surmise that images of Brahmā, Indra and other Hindu gods were as often to be found in the Chinese temples of the T'ang period as they were in the temples of the Nara period in Japan, which followed early T'ang as a model. The later history of Buddhism in China, however, was vastly different from that of Buddhism in Japan; and whereas the Sung period (960-1280) witnessed the dying away of Tantric Buddhism on the continent—where it was largely supplanted by Ch'an—, in the neighbouring islands of Nippon, it has survived up to the present day in the Shingon and Tendai sects.

It was Sir Aurel Stein's discovery of the Buddhist paintings at Tun-huang which opened our eyes to the fact that China as well as Japan once held in reverence a large pantheon which included the Hindu gods, for in the great assemblages pictured on the walls of the caves as well as on separate paintings found in a walled-up chapel, we find various forms of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Mahā Śrī and many other Hindu gods. A long roll of Buddhist images in the Palace Museum, Peking, painted in what is now Yunnan province, China, between A. D. 1173 and 1176, a brief account of which (by the present writer) is soon to appear in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, contains also a great many Hindu divinities, some of which are not elsewhere to be found in Chinese representations. Gaṇeśa appears in this painting, too, attendant on the fierce Kuṇḍali Vidyarāja in a group the main divinity of which is the Thousand-



armed Avalokiteśvara. Separate sculptures made by the Chinese of Hindu gods are, however, extremely rare.

The small T'ang gilt bronze image of Gaṇeśa from the collection of Mr. A. C. de Frey, Paris, which was on exhibition at the Mills College Art Gallery from October 10th to December 11th, 1934, has, therefore, considerable iconographic importance in addition to its artistic merit. It has already been published by Dr. Alfred Salmony in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, December, 1933, where its rarity and importance were first noted. A few additional comments may be found interesting.

Considering the distance between China and India and the well-known lack of precision of the Chinese in iconographic matters, the small Chinese bronze follows fairly closely the rules laid down in the Hindu texts for images of Gaṇeśa. We find, quite in accordance with expectations based on a knowledge of Chinese taste before Ming, that the protuberant belly has been somewhat diminished. The divinity is seated on a lotus throne and his right leg is crossed according to form; his left leg, however, is pendant. His right tusk is missing, instead of the left. According to the texts, the trunk may be turned either to the right or to the left; in Hindu images, however, it is nearly always turned to the left. Very often, Gaṇeśa is shown helping himself with his trunk to Modaka (cakes) held in his lower left hand. The Chinese image shows him with one of these cakes in his right hand, about to put it in his trunk. Here, we read a sign that the Chinese did not know elephants as well as the Indians. In the left hand of the image, is an object which may be a dish of Modaka or may be the Jambu fruit which is one of the attributes of Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa is supposed to have at least four arms, but the Chinese sculptor thought two enough; and as his conception is convincingly carried out, we do not find fault with him. He knew well enough that Gaṇeśa was associated with wisdom, for he had given him the third eye, although Hindu images of Gaṇeśa are not always provided with this extra-ordinary organ of sight, or rather, insight.

The Chinese image maker has varied the lotus throne somewhat; instead of seating Gaṇeśa directly on a lotus, he has placed him on a rectangular throne which rests on a lotus, which in turn rests on a base with openwork in a shape which occurs in other Chinese bronzes and is characteristic of Japanese sculpture of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods. In front, a small human figure holds up the throne with both hands; who this personage is, I do not at present venture to guess. On each side, is a lion. It is interesting to note that the Hindu Gaṇeśa sometimes rides a lion, though this mount is usually restricted to a special form of Gaṇeśa with five elephant heads.

It is difficult to hazard a guess as to whether there was ever a distinct cult to Gaṇeśa in China or whether he was always thought of in connection with other divinities. Perhaps this image formed one of a group, consisting, it may be, of many elements, with the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the centre and in front two fierce guardians, Kuṇḍali Vidyarāja attended by Gaṇeśa and Vajrayakṣa attended by Vajrāṅkuṣa, a swine-headed god, all four probably of Hindu origin. However this may be, it is interesting to see year by year, piece by piece, the evidence accumulating to show us that the elaborate pantheon of the later Buddhists, which we know in Japanese paintings of the Shingon sect and, under a different aspect, in the Lamaist paintings of Tibet, penetrated deep into China. All the evidence so far found points to the T'ang dynasty as the height of popularity for this form of Buddhism. Though most of the images have vanished, the ideas it seems, which came in with Tantric Buddhism were not without lasting effect on Chinese thought and civilization.





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## ICONOGRAPHIC NOTES

By BENGYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

### 1. A GOLDEN IMAGE OF GAṆAPATI

The image (Pl. VII, Fig. 8)<sup>1</sup> is of a male figure with elephant's head, protruding belly and heavy legs arranged in a dancing attitude and placed over the prostrate figure of a mouse with one sweetmeat ball in the mouth, and four such balls lying nearby. The pedestal is composed of a conventional lotus with eleven petals carved and five others in outline with a circular disc on which the mouse sits.

The main figure is one-faced and twelve-armed. Over the elephant head there is a Mukuṭa with five jewels, while its matted hair is arranged in a peak. The figure has a scarf on the upper part of the body, the ends passing through the arm-pits, one of them at the left being broken at the end. As ornaments the figure has a jewelled torque, a necklace, two ear ornaments in the form of a snake, bracelets and armlets. As undergarment it has a pyjama covered with a thick cloth fixed round the loins by means of a Mekhalā or a girdle.

The figure is endowed with twelve arms. All these arms originally had a weapon, but except a few, all are now lost. Still, in one of the right hands can be seen the Vajra and in another the handle of a sword without the blade; in the uppermost left hand the Mūṣala or the pestle, in the third a Kapāla or a bowl full of blood, while in the sixth there appears another Kapāla with dried flesh.

From the above description it can be surmised that this is a figure of Gaṇapati who is conceived in various forms in the Hindu pantheon, as many as thirty-two forms being known. But the cult is not Hindu; it is Buddhist, because of the Vajra and the Kapālas with flesh and blood. Also the figure of the Vajra inscribed on the bottom plate made of copper to prevent the inner contents coming out, clearly indicates that the image is Buddhist and that it belonged to the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism.

To identify this image we have to refer to the *Sādhnamālā*, Vol. II, p. 592 published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The Dhyāna of the deity is there given in the following words:—*Bhagavantaṁ Gaṇapatiṁ raktavarṇaṁ jaṭāmukuta-kiritaṇaṁ sarvābharaṇa-bhūṣitaṁ dvādaśa-bhujāṁ lambodara-kavādanaṁ ardhaparyāṅka-tāṇḍavaṁ trinetraṁ apī ekadantaṁ saṁvya-bhujēṣu kuṭhāra-śara-aṅkuṣa-vajra-khaḍga-śūla-ka, vāma-bhujēṣu mūṣala-cāpa-khaṭvāṅga-aṣṭakapāla-śuṣkamaṁsa-kapāla-phaṭkaṇa raktapadme mūṣikopari sthitaṁ dhyāyāt.* "The worshipper should conceive himself as god Gaṇapati of red complexion, wearing the crown of chignon, decked in all ornaments, with twelve arms, protruding belly and one face and dancing in *Ardhaparyāṅka* attitude. He has three eyes, one tusk and carries in the right hands the Kuṭhāra (axe), arrow, elephant goad, Vajra, sword and Śūla or the javelin. In the

1. Her Highness the Maharani Chimnabai Saheba Gaekwad of Baroda sometime back sent to me this image of Gaṇeśa for examination. It was purchased by her at Paris last year and is now preserved in her collection of antiquities. This image being iconographically important I publish an account of it with the permission of Her Highness who has also been gracious enough to present the photograph accompanying this article.

2. In the image two instead of one are shown but the ends are joined crosswise over the trunk. One of the two ends however appears to be broken.



left hands there are the Mūṣala or pestle, bow, Khaṇḍavāṅga, the Kapāla with blood, bowl with dried meat and broken tusk<sup>1</sup>. He rides the mouse on a red lotus<sup>2</sup>.

Had the image been complete and the symbols intact we could expect to find axe, goad, arrow and javelin in the four right hands besides the Vajra and sword shown at present. Similarly, in the left hands we could expect the bow, Khaṇḍavāṅga (magic stick) and a broken tusk in addition to the symbols now existing.

The image is made of Aṣṭadhātu and is thinly plated with gold. Technique and execution are the same as in use in Nepal and Tibet. As a piece of art, it lacks perfection; the limbs and symbols are rigid and its date cannot, therefore, be fixed before the 16th century.

## 2. ON CERTAIN BUDDHIST MINIATURES

The manuscript A-15 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, is dated in N.E. 191, i.e., A. D. 1071. It is an Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, one of the most sacred texts of the Mādhyamika and bears a number of miniatures depicting Buddha and Buddhist gods and goddesses. Foucher in his *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* has described many of these miniatures; the iconographic aspect of some of these requires better study than has been hitherto bestowed on them. It should also be noted that invariably these miniatures are associated with certain names on the top margin of the manuscript, and there seems to exist some difference between the names of the deities obtained from the Sādhana and those recorded in the manuscript itself.

We are not concerned with the artistic aspect of the paintings. Only the question of their identification will be treated compared with the descriptions as obtained from the Sādhana.

On Pl. IX, Fig. 1, appear three deities, each seated on a lotus. The deity in the middle has a slightly higher seat than his two companions. The central figure is richly decorated with ornaments and is covered with a fine loin-cloth but no upper garment. He wears a Mukuṣa, two Kuṇḍalas, bracelets, armlets and a Yaṅṅopavīta, is seated in the meditation pose and is one-faced and four-armed. In the first pair of hands he shows the Añjali mudrā while the other shows the Akṣamālā in the right and the lotus in the left. To his right is seated another deity whose hands are arranged exactly in the same manner as those of the main figure in the middle. The pose of sitting is different in that the legs are slightly raised, the right passing under the left apparently in the Virāsana. The ornaments are worn in the same manner as those of the principal deity.

To the left there is another deity practically the same as the first companion deity already described. This figure, however, appears to be that of a female. She is also like the other two one-faced and four-armed and shows the Añjali, the rosary and the lotus. The colour of the first companion is somewhat darker than that of the other.

It is not very difficult to understand that the central figure represents Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his special form called Śaḍakṣarī Lokēśvara. The figure on the right is that of Maṇidhara, while that on the left is of Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā. This form is known as Śaḍakṣarī Lokēśvara because of his special Mantra Om Maṇipadme Hūm which consists of six syllables. Below the central figure is the figure of a demon whom we can recognize as Sumbha, while the two indistinct figures in the two upper corners of the picture may be identified as two of the four guardians of gates of the Śaḍakṣarī Maṇḍala.

On Fol. 129 v, (Foucher, Pl. IV, 3, where a partly indistinct reproduction is given) stands (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) a figure in the Tribhāṅga pose with an aureole round it, as if emitting flames of fire. He is profusely decked with ornaments, and shows in his right hand the Varada, while in the left he holds the stalk of a lotus which is shown above the left shoulder. To the right of the deity sits a female figure on a deer skin with folded hands. Through her armpit passes the stalk of a blue lotus which is shown above her left shoulder. To the left of the central figure similarly sits another deity somewhat darker than the first companion, showing the Abhaya mudrā in the

1. The meaning of Phajka is not quite clear. It may mean a broken tusk which is almost an invariable concomitant in Gaṇapati images.







right and the lotus in the left. Vidyādhara are seen in the two upper corners flying towards the principal deity, with offerings in their hands.

The scene presents a difficult problem for identification. Usually Lokanātha is accompanied by Śyāmā Tārā and Sudhana but here their poses and symbols differ from the Sādhana. Tārā shows the Utpala but the mudrā is Vyākhyāna which is indeed exhibited by Mahāśrī Tārā, but not by Śyāmā Tārā. Sudhana usually carries the book in the arm-pit but here he shows the Abhaya mudrā and the lotus. Perhaps above this lotus a book is kept. It may further be noticed that in the Buddhist school of miniature painting all females have a peculiar scarf worn tightly in the form of a Yajñopavīta which passes over the left shoulder, under the right breast and covers the left. When the same scarf is repeated in the male figures as in this particular case of Sudhana, and tied in the same manner, careful attention should be paid to the special manner of wearing the undergarment which in the case of males does not go far down to the knees.

In a marginal note this is described as Campita Lokanātha Bhagvāraka. This so-called Campita Lokanātha is not found amongst the 108 names of Avalokiteśvara. It is thus probable that N. K. Bhattacharya's emendation as Campita (le) "in Campitala" should be taken as correct. This Campitala, like Pattikerā, may be an ancient town in eastern Bengal.

In the painted panel on Fol. 143 v. (Pl. X)<sup>1</sup> sits a deity in Lalitāsana with the right hand exhibiting the Varada mudrā and the left carrying the lotus, fully decked with ornaments and the face serene and compassionate. To the right is a male deity while the left is a ruffian-like companion, looking slyly at the deity, his hands resting on a club. The central deity can be easily recognized as Lokanātha, his companion to the right as Sudhanakumāra and that on the left as Hayagrīva. The whole scene is in perfect accordance with the Sādhana, and it is labelled on the margin of the manuscript as Lokēśvara. It may be noticed here that both Lokēśvara and Sudhanakumāra wear an upper scarf in almost the same fashion as in the case of female deities, and males in rare instances.

Fol. 185 r. (Foucher Pl. V, 6) depicts a deity with three faces and six hands in the embrace of a female. This figure is labelled as Hālāhala Lokēśvara, one of the 108 forms of Lokēśvara, who is represented in the embrace of his Śakti. The symbols carried in his six hands are indistinct in the miniature reproduced, but it is not difficult to supply their names from the Sādhana. In the lowermost right hand he shows the Varada mudrā, the middle has the rosary and the uppermost flourishes the arrow. The left hand at the top shows the bow, the middle the white lotus, while the lowermost touches the breast of the Śakti who is seated on the lap. It is needless to add that representations of Hālāhala with the Śakti are very rare, and probably this form is found here in this school of miniature painting for the first time.

On Fol. 119 v. (Pl. IX, Fig. 3) there is a deity in the middle, seated on a lotus on a Siṃhāsana and showing the Varada mudrā in the right hand and carrying the Utpala in the left. She is flanked by four deities on each side. This scene evidently represents the Tārā Maṇḍala with Śyāmā Tārā in the middle and eight deities of the Tārā Mantra distributed on both sides. This scene is labelled as "Samatāṭe Buddhardīhi Bhagavatī Tārā" or "Goddess Tārā in Samatāṭa, the Wealth of the Buddhas."

The panel on Fol. 113 r. (Pl. XI) presents a very crowded appearance similar to that found in mural paintings. Here the main deity is not in the centre but at the proper right end of the panel, while others, eight in number, sit and stand in front eagerly and earnestly looking to the principal deity and listening to her in rapt attention. The principal deity is seated on a Siṃhāsana and sits in the Lalitāsana attitude. She exhibits the Vyākhyāna mudrā in her hands, and from under her left arm-pit rises a blue lotus. Amongst the companions we can recognize the fierce form of Ekajāta with three blood-shot eyes, and holding the Kartri in the right hand.

In a marginal note this deity is described as Potalake Bhagavatī Tārā, or Goddess Tārā in Potalake. But this identification cannot be considered to be enough. If we refer to the Sādhana-mālā for a Tārā with the Vyākhyāna mudrā we shall find that there is only one Tārā who exhibits this mudrā, and it is Mahāśrī Tārā. A perfect image of Mahāśrī

1. Pls. X and XI are enlarged reproductions of the originals in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.



Tārā is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and it was identified by me in one of the papers contributed to the Madras Oriental Conference Proceedings. It appears to me that further images of Mahāśrī Tārā are found only in this school of Buddhist miniature painting.

According to the Sādhana, Mahāśrī Tārā is accompanied by Ekajaṭā, Aśokakāntā, Jāṅgulī and Mahāmāyūrī. They respectively show the Kartri, Aśoka branch, snake and peacock's tail as their special symbols. The four deities seated in front of the principal deity apparently represent the above four companion deities, while the four others standing cannot be recognized, unless these may be assumed to be the four deities of the Tārā Mantra, Oṃ Tāre Tuttāre Ture, consisting of eight syllables. If this assumption is correct, then we have to take the four deities as arising out of the first four syllables of the Tārā Mantra. That this is the right method of identifying companion deities will be shown by a subsequent example of the same deity.

The panel on Fol. 139 v. (Pl. IX, Fig. 4) has a deity of the same appearance as Mahāśrī Tārā described above with hands arranged in the Dharmacakra mudrā. Here she is placed in the middle of the scene, while there are five deities on each side flanking the central deity. On the left we can at once recognize the cruel and crafty figure of Ekajaṭā with the knife in the right hand, while on the right corner corresponding to the position of Ekajaṭā on the left is seated Aśokakāntā Māricī. Jāṅgulī and Mahāmāyūrī are evidently there, but their recognition-symbols cannot be discerned. It may be asked; what is the reason of representing this Mahāśrī Tārā with ten companions instead of eight as before? The reason is obvious, because the full Tārā Mantra is of ten syllables: Oṃ Tāre Tuttāre Ture Svāḥ. The deities representing or originating from the syllables "Svā" and "Hā" are absent from the previous Maṇḍala, while here the Maṇḍala is full of all the ten deities.

Pl. IX, Fig. 5, shows a female figure seated on a lotus over Siṃhāsana. She is one-faced and two-armed; in the right she shows the Varada mudrā while in the left she holds a blue lotus. She wears a Mukuṭa, and is decked with ornaments. To her right is seen the ferocious figure of a companion whose eyes are bloodshot, expression terrible, with whiskers and beard, and the Yajñopavīta of snake. To the left of the central deity is another figure of ferocious appearance with her hair arranged in a peak over her head, with a menacing Kartri in the right hand, and a face hideous and malicious to the extreme. We can by a reference to the Sādhana recognize the principal deity as Green Tārā, the companion on the right as Hayagrīva, while that on the left is Ekajaṭā.

Fol. 12r. (Foucher, Pl. IX, 3) reproduced on Pl. IX, Fig. 6, represents a deity with Dharmacakra mudrā and in Vajrāsana. The deity in the centre is a female and she is flanked by four other deities, two on each side. On the margin of the manuscript, this picture is labelled as Prajñāpāramitā, and if we make a reference to the Sādhana of Prajñāpāramitā we will find that she is accompanied by four deities called Prajñā, Medhā, Matī and Smṛtī, the four natural complements to the Supreme Knowledge. Such figures of Prajñāpāramitā are very rare, and as such have iconographic value.

The miniatures described are of great importance in the identification of images. The paintings were produced in a period when Tantrism of the Buddhists was a living religion, when the Buddhist artist knew exactly what liberties could be taken with the descriptive Dhyānas while painting the deities. They knew also perfectly well how to represent the deities in accordance with the Dhyānas. The miniatures and Dhyānas, therefore, mutually enlighten each other. There is one further advantage in miniatures that they may depict a full Maṇḍala however crowded it may be. This is evidently absent in plastic art, where many things have to be left unrepresented from the Sādhana, especially if the Maṇḍala contains more than one figure.







## VAT BARAY

By R. DALET

In his "Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge," the Commander de Lajonquière gave the number sixteen to this interesting monument which he considered destroyed. It was reported by Mr. Paris, French Resident at Takèo, in 1929. It is constructed on a large terrace surrounded by a ditch with high banks. This point is situated on the eastern border of a ground fairly raised by nature and dominates the marshy plain of the river of Takèo, four kilometres north-north-east of that locality. The centre of the terrace is occupied by a modern pagoda without much interest. To the west of it there is a Pràsàt of great simplicity and made of bricks (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). On a sub-foundation with unequal and opposed doucines and a base also with doucines (Pl. XII, Fig. 4) is raised a rectangular body, 6 m 40 by 7 m 10, the east-western being the greater length. It is soberly decorated with pilasters at the corners, of double thickness. They are set off against the mouldings above and below in fretted brick work. The very simple cornice shows two projecting bricks summed up by a larger band with a projecting fillet. From a small projection with a quarter circular doucine the second story begins. It is low and recedes a little. It has a small cornice similar to that of the body and also a projection from where the third story starts. The second story only can still be partly recognized, the rest is covered by vegetation.

The bay which opens on the east has beautiful slabs made of schist placed at right angles with the help of large tenons. The southern jamb is very scaled and it is probable that its bad state of preservation is due to the scraping of an inscription whereas the northern jamb is very well preserved. The true lintel supports another lintel behind, also made of schist and pierced by pivots of a folding door. The interior of the bay has a corbelled arch which makes an outlet. The ends of this outlet rested most probably on a stone slab. The place it occupied can still be seen, three bricks above the back lintel. This slab, at its end, was fitted into the wall itself. The top of the outlet is somewhat disguised towards



the hall by a thickness of bricks which in this place continues the wall of the cella. The whole vault of the outlet may originally have been dissimulated in this way.

The wall is 1 m 55 thick. Only 70 centimetres are occupied by the slabs of the bay. It continues beyond the actual opening in two slanting sections which end towards the hall with small and slightly projecting pilasters which confront each other. Such slanting parts occur but seldom. They might have served as receptacles of the folding doors.

The cella, 3 m 25 x 3 m 95, is undecorated. Fixed vertically at a height 2 m 45 from the actual floor, small and flat blocks of schist which are almost entirely decayed are supposed to have been utilised for the purpose of suspending an awning. These, in their bad state of preservation fail to give any further information, but on other monuments they are intact and have a round hole at the end. These stones are not very regularly displayed. There are three on the north and south sides and two on the east and west sides. Between these and the floor, at a height of about 1 m 60 there are six offsets of brick hollowed approximately 5 centimetres. These also are not symmetrical and their numbers are irregular. Three on the north side, two on the south, and the western side has but one and this not in the middle of the wall. It is not known what purpose they served and I believe this is the only monument of its kind where they are found.

The north side, moreover, on the level of the actual floor has a rectangular basin made of schist two thirds of which are inserted into the wall. It allowed the water for lustration to flow out. This basin is protected by a small slab of schist, fixed above it in the wall. A drain made of two blocks allows the water to flow out. The lower is grooved and the upper covers it. The end of this outlet is fairly dilapidated. This canal is surrounded on the outside by a crown of brick, placed on the moulding with a fret below. (Pl. XII, Fig. I).

The vault of the cella at the start considerably recedes against the wall of the hall. This recess possibly served to hold the boards of a wooden ceiling. There is a series of slight corbellings and low drums which in the interior follow the stories. The cover must have been a cradle shaped roof with two gables east and west: the continuation of the story led to an elevation out of proportion with the body of the building.

On the outside, the bay is soberly framed by slight pilasters cut in brick. They support a lintel of the same material and with simple mouldings. On top of it rests a massive pediment flatly ogival and not decorated. On either side



of the ogival shape there is a small mass of brick. The general form of the pediment suggests 'kudu' shape. A large stone specimen of the latter with a mighty bust in the centre and small heads in the volutes, has been found by us in the Vat Vihear Thom, in the province Kompong Cham. This stone pediment is actually unique in its style.

50 centimetres on either side of the bay, the pilasters or walls are torn off. We are inclined towards the second hypothesis, for had there been pilasters, these parts which are but little exposed to being damaged could not have dilapidated so much. These walls may have formed a fore-part of the building. This would have made it possible to partly come up to the strong elevation of the threshold of the bay (1 m 55) above the actual floor. Such a height would necessitate an important stair, of which however there is no trace.

The supposed southern wall shows a smooth part at the height of the middle of the bay. It projects about 30 centimetres. In the case of pilasters, these would have had a considerable projection and without any apparent reason, as the wall-pilasters are very slight. The fore-part of the building would have had a window in this place which would be unusual.

The cella houses two images of male divinities, not in situ and broken. One of them is of great interest (Pl. XII, Figs. 2, 3).

It has four arms. The feet, almost the entire fore-arms and the head are gone. The legs are very well modelled; calf, knee and fold of the groin are well marked. The very simple dress consists of a 'sampot' which starts with a small pad from the waist. From the oval knot of this garment falls an elegantly pleated piece, shaped like a fan turned upside down. Underneath this piece the width of the 'sampot' is passed between the thighs and covers the private parts. The abdomen bulges a little and the navel is middling. The breast muscles are normal and on the tips of the breasts a small circle seems to have been traced. The posterior fore-arms were supported by an arch which is still visible under the left arm. The back shows the end of the 'sampot'. It is laid in four folds under an inverted fan-shape as in the front view. But on this piece the decoration is traced only. Above the belt a pleated piece of cloth is unfolded. The waist is strongly marked and so is the spinal column. The hair is dressed in several layers of very finely carved cork-screw curls. They reach rather low down. The height of the statue is 85 centimetres.

The image of the second divinity is less interesting and more worn. The garment is indicated only by incised lines. A large piece of cloth clings to the left thigh and its end is attached to the hip. A thin belt keeps in position the folds of the 'sampot'. At the back the garment ends above the belt with a small bit of gathered material.

Outside and against the north east corner leans a statue of the classical period (Pl. XII, Figs. 1, 4).

It is joined with cement. It is over life-size and rather weathered. The striped 'sampot' hangs down in front in the centre, in the shape of a double fishing-hook. Curving ribbons cling to the inner part of the left thigh. The belt is very weathered. It has a rectangular clasp surrounded by two small butterfly wings. This belt apparently had been decorated with a twofold row of double ovals and pearl fillets as border. The bust is very mediocre. The head has a mild expression. The lower lip projects, the nose is bent and the eyes appear closed below gently curved eyebrows.



The round diadem is less high than is usual. It is knotted at the nape of the neck with tresses of hair. Its point is remade with cement.

There are several remains around the Vat. The majority supports the 'sémà'. They are principally schist fragments and belong most probably to ancient casings. In front of the north and south doors of the pagoda there are two large and beautiful slabs of schist. To the east a crowning shape of sandstone is placed, round and like a bellied vase. People say that it comes from the present tower, but probably it belongs to a Pràsàt which has disappeared. It may have been constructed of laterite. Of strong blocks of this material the steps and thresholds of the entrances of the Vat are made. A stair made of schist is in the south-east. Two vessels, again made of schist, for ablutions, are to be found, one in the pagoda, the other outside; they serve as support for the 'sémà'. Under a 'neak tà' constructed on the north bank, some fragments are deposited, a small, fine hand holding the wheel, the emblem of Viṣṇu, a small bust with four arms, very worn,—the ends of cork-screw curls can still be seen,—and a roller of Peṣaṇī, a utensil for pounding paints and perfumes for the divinity. At the foot of a stair of the hall a conduit of Somasūtra is to be seen. It helped to evacuate the water for lustration. It is made of schist and forms a small basin in the shape of a shovel. A fragment from the bottom of a jamb made of schist is preserved in the hall. On it are finely engraved two lines in parts only, of the end of an inscription which must have been long. This fragment was found in front of the pagoda, at the depth of one metre.

This ancient site must have had three towers at least, i.e. the present one, another made of brick with bays of schist and a third of laterite crowned with sandstone. The present Pràsàt is amongst the most ancient of primitive Khmer art and could be from Foonan on account of its great simplicity, the absence of false doors and cusps. The stories are particularly characteristic of this type. It seems that the better of the two statues of the cella is of the same age.

From the undulation on which this Pràsàt is raised one can see far towards the east, to the hills of the Ba Phnom, of which the outlines can be distinguished in the north-east.



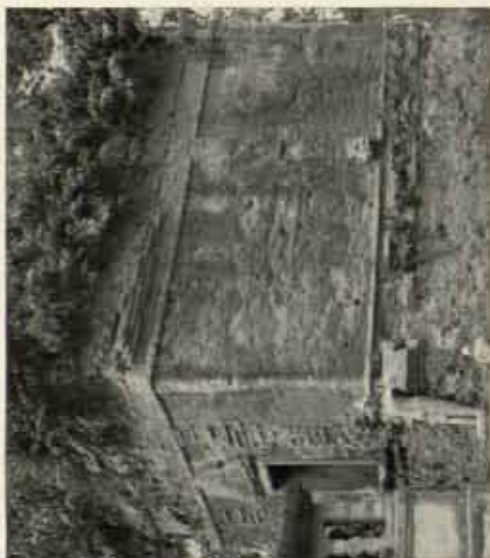
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## KATHAKALI

By ALICE BONER

The study of Kathakali in the light of the Śāstras on histrionics (Bhārata Nāṭya Śāstra, Abhinava Bhāratī, Abhinaya Darpaṇa, Saṅgīta Ratnākara, Bhāvaprakāśana, etc.) which has been undertaken these last years, has given evidence that Kathakali is one of the few still living offsprings of the pure traditions of Bhārata Nāṭya. With all the alterations they have undergone in the course of time, Kathakali still preserves the essentials of the artistic principles and technical means of expression used in the classical Indian dance and drama<sup>1</sup>.

The direct descent of Kathakali is supposed to be from the Cākyārs, a very old institution in Malabar. In a special hall of the temples, the walls of which are covered with sacred images, on a raised platform under a dais the Cākyār used to recite the religious epics in Sanskrit with hand and body gestures (hasta-and āṅgika-abhinaya). Sometimes he was assisted by a woman, who acted and danced while he recited. The Cākyārs also held regular dramatic performances in which men and women acted. In the earliest times the Sanskrit plays by Kālidāsa and Harṣa were performed; in Buddhist times the Nāgānanda, and later on besides the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, the Gīta-Govinda by Jayadeva played an important part. The Cākyārs were up to this day great scholars, but only few seem to be surviving<sup>2</sup>.

A vulgarised form of the Cākyār-Kūttu may be seen in the Tullal, the popular story-teller who is to be found all over Malabar. More numerous during festivals, they gather crowds by singing and reciting stories with a kind of crude Abhinaya and Nṛtta (dance). Their subjects are also from classical literature, but they seem to be transformed and adapted to the understanding of the ordinary people. There

1. K. R. Pisharoti, Kerala Theatre, Annamalai University Journal, Vol. I, No. 1; V. Raghavan, Kathakali and other forms of Bhārata Nāṭya outside Kerala, Triveni, Vol. IV, No. 2; K. V. Ramachandran, Dance Traditions of South India, Triveni, Vol. VII, No. 4.

2. Kathakali Souvenir book, Introduction by P. G. Gopalakrishna Iyer, Rangoon 1935.



are three different kinds of Tullal: the Ottan-Tullal, the Sītankan-Tullal and the Parayan-Tullal, according to the higher or lower standard of their literary production. Their costume is peculiar and different in each case. The first two varieties wear a kind of short skirt, made of fluttering white bands of cloth hanging from the waist, very much resembling the European ballet skirt. The Ottan-Tullal (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2; XIV, Fig. 3) wears gilt wooden ornaments: a breast-plate on his bare chest, two 'epaulettes' and a flat head-dress surmounting and framing his face in-between the two descending wings. The facial make-up of all is green in the shape of a mask. The Sītankan-Tullal (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) is distinguished by a different kind of ornaments. His arms, wrists and the artificial eccentric hairknot are bound with big ruffs of fresh cocoa-nut leaves, which have a delicate greenish colour, and with the fluttering skirt give the whole attire a touch of feminine coquetry. The Parayan-Tullal (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1) is clad in a simple red Lungi fastened round the hips with a white scarf. He wears a high head-dress of carved wood surmounted by a Nāga.

Legend traces the birth of Kathakali back to an incident in the middle of the seventeenth century, when a Zamorin of Calicut wrote a story of Kṛṣṇa in Sanskrit, the Kṛṣṇattam, in the style of the Gīta-Govinda, and had it performed at his court. When asked by the court of Travancore to lend his troupe for some solemnity, he replied disdainfully that the Southern court had not enough culture to understand the play. The court of Travancore answered the insult by enacting a similar drama in Malayalam on the subject of the Rāmāyaṇa. It was called the Rāmānattam and out of that the Kathakali are supposed to have evolved. Whatever the beginnings may have been, the actors are said to have spoken and chanted and to have worn masks. This may easily be believed on account of the mask-like make-up which they still preserve. This facial make-up seems to have replaced the masks, when song and speech were relegated to the musicians at the back of the stage, and the actors, henceforth dumb, were supposed to give all efficiency to facial expressions, Abhinaya and Nṛtta. Having to rely entirely on the expressiveness of features and gestures they developed them to a marvellous degree. The traditional knowledge which they have at their finger tips gives them command over an astonishing range of emotions, on which they still can improve by individual ingenuity. Kathakali artists endowed with imagination play the same thing in different ways according to their inspiration. The personal experience and interpretation of every artist are handed down to his pupils and added to the old stock of knowledge. This shows the possibilities of further development and the expectations seem justified of those who want to give the Kathakali new literary material to interpret, in the hope of urging them to create new and adequate means of expression.







Kathakali is a synthetical art of perfectly balanced structure, a still living form of the original unity of music, dance and drama. Rhythm is the initial urge, out of which the different expressions are born, and as long as rhythm is primary and essential, none of the elements can prevail. They are equivalent and insoluble. In Kathakali rhythm is throughout predominant and simultaneously manifested through poetry, music and gesture.

Rhythm starts with the very publicity, when, at the fall of day, loud drumming and playing of cymbals announces for miles around the Kathakali show. Potential rhythm is accumulated by the artists in the green-room, while they undergo the elaborate process of dressing and making up. The whole procedure is like a mystic rite, with hours of silent concentration, during which the body is transformed and the mind detached from the ordinary day. In the animated silence of the green-room some actors lie on the floor and sometimes go to sleep, while the make-up men place the white rice-paste round their faces layer by layer with careful and patient hands. Others squat before the oil lamps, little mirrors in hand, to complete the elaborate patterns of their masks with colours prepared by themselves. After the face is done, they are wrapped into complicated and cumbrous garments and covered with heavy ornaments. The further the dressing proceeds, the more their new character takes possession of them. When all is done, they take the magnificent head-dress in hand, sprinkle water into it and murmur a long prayer into it with eyes absorbed on the dancing flame of the lamp. Only then are they prepared to place the sacred Mukuṭa on the head. They step out of the dressing room in an elevated mood and walk to the Pandal, where the performance takes place, with rhythmically accentuated steps.

All the while in the Pandal, behind a curtain held up by two attendants, the musicians sing and drum invocations to God. The rhythmic accents stir up in the audience the receptiveness for the extraordinary things to come. The actors, as they enter the Pandal behind the curtain, bow with folded hands to musicians and instruments and do some devotional dancing, by which they work mind and body into rhythmic tension.

When all is ready the curtain is lowered half way, and with loud flourishes and drumming the first acting character is presented, head down to the waist, like an apparition from another world. If he is a noble character, a great and good king, he will be presented under a colourful canopy and will gently turn his eyes and move his brows. If he is a fierce character, he will grip the curtain with his claws and pull it down, as if he wanted to pounce upon the public; he will shake himself,



distort his face and utter inarticulate grunts (Plate XV, Fig. 1). This introduction only takes a few minutes, after which the curtain is removed and the actual play begins. There is no interruption between the different parts of the performance, as song and drumming continue throughout the whole play.

The fundamental rhythm, the poetical-musical metre of the Padams varies according to character and mood of the action. The actor is carried on by the pulsation of the rhythmic progress, the cadences of which are transferred into bodily action. Throughout the play he is held in a rhythmic tension that will allow him all but to lapse into the arbitrary acting of realistic prose. It imparts to all his movements the consistent and emotional significance of the poetical word. The hand gestures (hastas) as all other movements are synchronised with the rhythmic sequel of the words. The fingers twist, turn and quiver with the accents of the drums, while the feet keep time and break out into rapturous dance steps at the end of every Padam. The same rhythmic order determines the facial expressions which accompany the hands with the particular Bhāva (mood) required.

The Hastas, popularly called mudrās, make an elaborate gesture language and are of different kinds. Some are symbols standing for gods and individual characters, others are conventional signs for auxiliary words of the syntax. The greatest part however are descriptive or imitative signs for things and ideas, born of instinctive movements. Enforced by facial expressions their meaning springs into bodily shape, and they become relatively intelligible even to those unfamiliar with the subject.

Hasta-abhinaya has another invaluable function in the Kathakali plays. It makes them essentially independent of the need of stage settings. Every situation, every visible and invisible thing is suggested to the public by means of gestures. Forest, ocean, village, palace, garden, street, hall, stable and road appear as if by magic. Even with the sun-set, a tiger in the jungle, Indra's flower-garden or white elephant, Devagaṅgā, Kailāsa or the milky ocean the Kathakali deals with perfect ease. No elaborate stage arrangements, no revolving scene, no complex mechanism can give a more convincing illusion. Such mythological subjects, dealing with a supernatural world which would cause despair to any western stage producer are their familiar atmosphere; and their simple suggestions create the marvellous without ever falling into the ludicrous. The visions they conjure will always be exactly suited to every spectator's imagination, and avoiding the crude materiality of even the best stage arrangements, will satisfy all from the roughest to the subtlest conception. The







spectator's eye will be activated, but never distracted from the real centre of the play. The actor, even while describing his surroundings, or representing people whom he is dealing with never ceases to be the bearer of the action.

The Kathakali stage properties are therefore limited to a few utensils : a rice mortar, which serves as a seat or a pillow, or as a pedestal for heavenly appearances, some bows, arrows and lances, benches and canopies and the monumental brass oil-lamps for the illumination of the stage.

To the super-worlds of mythological events the fantastic costumes and make-up give eloquent expression. The fact that the costumes are not individualised, but represent certain types, classifying them roughly into the godly, the demoniac and human, places the show at once in a symbolical sphere. The different nature of beings is characterised in a very striking manner. Gods, heroes and noble kings are of one type, except that the gods are distinguished by their attributes and sometimes by a supplementary pair of arms. These types have invariably a smooth green paint on their face enclosed by a large border of rice paste (*cutti*). The borders of the eyes and the brows are accentuated with long outdrawn black lines and the mouth is of a vivid red and is magnified into an audaciously undulating shape. On the forehead they mostly carry the Vaiṣṇavite Tilak. The function and the origin of the *Cutti* nobody could explain to me, but it certainly is a striking feature of Kathakali make-up and like the frame of a picture, concentrates and emphasizes the facial expression. Every motion of the highly coloured face springs into stronger relief against its white immobility.

These noble characters wear gilt head-dresses in the shape of super-imposed domes with a large circular halo at their back. They are carved out of wood and encrusted with coloured glass and the metallic wings of green scarabs. A red or black jacket with sleeves covers the upper part of the body, and an enormous bulging skirt composed of many layers of white cloth with coloured seams hangs from the waist and covers the legs to the calves. When they dance, this voluminous skirt imparts a majestic sway to their movements. The chest is covered by a broad gilt breast-plate over which fall numerous necklaces. The arms are decorated with wristlets, armlets and with 'epaulettes', which give their shoulders a stiff stateliness. This sumptuous attire is completed by numourous scarves hanging from the neck ; their knotted ends look like full blown lotus flowers. The whole effect is gorgeous and majestic : still it has a noble restraint compared to the attire of devilish characters. (Pl. XVI, first figure to the left). Kṛṣṇa, who also appears in this garb, looks more modest than



any one else, because his particular cone shaped head-dress bears no halo. His jacket is dark blue. (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2, first character to the right).

Evil, savage characters and demons like Kāṁsa, Duryodhana, Kicaka and Rāvaṇa are distinguished by their conspicuous make-up, their red jacket and bigger halo and head-dress. Their faces are not only bordered by a white *Cutti*, but their cheek-bones are covered by two white crescents of rice paste in the shape of upturned moustaches. The colour of the face is green too, except for the sides of the nose and the portion between eyes and brows which is red. On the tip of their nose and their forehead they carry a big white ball, which gives them a truly swinish aspect. (Pls. XV and XVIII, Fig. 1.) When the savageness of a character must be stressed still more, the ball on the nose tip is enlarged and the mouth is drawn out to resemble a wild animal's jaw with two fangs protruding from the corners. The pattern on the face becomes more weird, a red beard takes the place of the *Cutti*, and the halo grows into monstrous size with a flaming border of red wool. The whole suggests an image of hell fire let loose.

Another kind of fearful aspect is produced when the whole face is covered with bristles made of bits of paper and pith stuck into rice-paste to imitate the face of a lion or a tiger. Bhīmasena appears in this make-up when, killing Duṣṣāsana, he assumes the aspect of Viṣṇu's lion-incarnation.

Aboriginal hunters, who have a large part in Indian mythology, are entirely dressed in black, with black beard and face, except for a border of white rice-paste stuck with thorns of pith over their brows and cheek-bones and a white rosette on the tip of their nose. Their physiognomy thus assumes almost the appearance of a bleached skull, but with a monstrously big red mouth. They wear a very high head-dress enlarged at the top, decorated with a motif of large silver leaves and crowned with a border of peacock feathers. The whole takes the shape of an Egyptian lotus capital. Also Śiva appears in this garb when disguised as Kirāta, the hunter. The Rākṣasīs too are of this type, having only a different make-up, and in addition two enormous pointed black breasts tied on the chest over their bodice.

A special costume is devised for the race of the great monkeys, like Hanumān, Bālī, Sugrīva etc. Hanumān wears a jacket covered with white wool like a fur and a beard of white wool. The head-dress too is white and looks like a monumental hat, for instead of a halo it has a large brim, richly decorated on its lower surface. The make-up gives a striking illusion of a monkey face. Black is painted around the eyes and up into the forehead. From the root of the nose down over







cheeks and nose are decorative white patterns, which from the sides also extend over the upper parts of the forehead and give the illusion of the white hair-frills round the faces of langoors.

There are several other characters like Yama, Bhadrakālī, Garuḍa etc., which have their particular characteristics, though all belong to one or the other of the above mentioned types.

Females, whether divine or mortal, Ṛṣis, Brahmins, and all accessory characters like servants, charioteers, messengers, washermen, wrestlers, etc., are dressed and painted in a more realistic manner. Their make-up is an even coating of yellowish colour on which the sharp design outlining eyes and mouth shows up very neatly.

The parts of women are always played by men; they wear a white skirt down to the ankles, with ample folds in front and a red bodice with long sleeves. A wooden gilt breast-plate hangs over their chest on which are fixed two round breasts made of red stuff. Their head with a big knot of hair on one side is covered by a veil hanging down over back and shoulders. Their costume is completed by armlets, bracelets, ear ornaments and scarves like that of the male characters. (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1.)

The Ṛṣis' and Brahmins' attire is very simple, the former being distinguished by a huge wooden hair-knot, a long beard, an 'gerua' coloured Lungi and a rosary of beads.

The make-up of the faces is the most impressive part of this altogether ingenious costume. The face becomes a piece of sculpture, a mask assimilated to the heavily carved head-dress and separated from the rest of the body by the stiff brim of rice-paste. Yet although a silent mask with limited mobility it is full of life and expression. All human emotions well up into the sculptured features, as if portrayed by the delicate and knowing touch of a master hand.

The atmosphere of the marvellous created by the costume and supported by the ceaseless singing and drumming, which from one pitch of emotion climbs into another, is completed by the magic light effects of a fire blazing from a huge brass stand in front of the stage. This fire is a more living and active element of the show than any stage lighting on modern lines could be. It grows and dies, leaps and jerks as if agitated by the moods and passions of the stage. It has life and subtlety, it caresses and searches, violently carves out one figure and subdues another in twilight, it quivers like reflections from rippling water or sweeps with a sudden blast into



all the corners or spreads a quiet lustre over an assembled group. It takes part, as it were, in all the moods of the play.

The reddish light is warm against the still, unfathomable blue of the night and the cold twinkle of the stars. In the immensity of overpowering shadows it creates a small nucleus of magic animation. Attracted by the fire and the weird call of the drums, grey shapeless crowds draw together and hang in trance-like emotion on the small stage, where colourful events of all the three worlds are unfolded.

Before describing some of the Kathakali plays, it may be useful to give a short account of the way the actors are trained and to convey an idea of the careful preparation which makes it possible for such accomplished displays to be enacted at a moment's notice.

The school which I had an opportunity of studying at close quarters was the Kerala Kalāmaṇḍalam near Trichur, an institution established by the efforts of the Malayali poet Vallathol and his friend and collaborator, Mukunda Raja. In the midst of general indifference these two men succeeded in creating a centre where not only the art of Kathakali is taught according to traditional principles, but efforts are made to renew it by saving it from routine, through elimination of certain abuses and by enlarging its repertory. As teachers they have engaged two actors, Kunjan Kurup and Narayan Nayar, two excellent men who still preserve the devotion to their art which old-time craftsmen used to have. They are remarkable artists who could have made a brilliant career anywhere. Yet with all their knowledge they seem almost unaware of their real value.

The daily practice for the pupils starts early in the morning at about five o'clock with one hour of eye exercises. By them they achieve an extraordinary mobility and quickness of the glance and every degree of intensity of expression. They are taught how to create space and distances by the glance and how to portray every kind of emotion and action. There are Kathakalis who pride themselves to be able to play certain scenes or to relate a story by the glance only. Besides the eyes they practise every muscle of the face in order to master them independently. They go so far as to produce sometimes different expressions on either side of the face. After breakfast they have body exercises for suppleness in the form of a dance to the changing rhythm of drums. These exercises are mostly done in the typical Kathakali posture with feet wide apart, knees bent, body slightly tilted forward and elbows outstretched horizontally from the shoulders. This dance is done in groups. It is the same as is performed behind the curtain before the beginning of a show. The movements, first simple and slow, gradually grow quicker and more complicated, till all the body is







perfectly nimble. After ten o'clock they begin story-acting with hands and facial expressions but without dance movements. The pupils squat on the floor and work individually under the control of the teacher while the others are watching. The Pattukaran (songster) chants the story, beating the rhythm with a stick. After lunch they have some Sanskrit readings or music lessons. The rest of the day is taken by the story-acting proper with Abhinaya and Nṛtta combined, individually or in groups according to the requirements of the story. It is a rule that every pupil must study and act all the parts of a play in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the whole material. Then only will he be allowed to specialise according to his personal disposition. Young boys are mostly chosen for female roles, while fierce characters, demons and monkeys are generally reserved for a more mature age. During ninety days of the rainy season the work starts at about three o'clock in the morning, when a course of massage is given to the pupils. The teachers with their feet carefully belabour the pupil's body, to make every joint and muscle soft and flexible. Some forceful gymnastic exercises are also practised during this time. Otherwise the daily routine is the same all the year round. Though the boys take part in the shows in secondary roles at an early stage of their training, it requires twelve full years to be classified as a master of the art.

I shall give a short description of a few scenes which I witnessed at the Kerala Kalāmaṇḍalam. I am rendering these stories not so much according to the chanted texts as according to the visual impression of the acting. All that the actors describe, all that they feel and speak is done exclusively in mudrā and Abhinaya.

### The Story of Pūtana

(Pūtana is the demoness sent by king Kaiśa to kill Kṛṣṇa by poisoning him with her milk.)

The boy who played Pūtana was an extremely gifted pupil of the Kalāmaṇḍalam. In his female attire he incorporated, whether consciously or unconsciously, one of those experienced, cunning kind of women, always out for intrigue and mischief, dreaded and propitiated by all. A female who might be twisting a man's will for evil or good on to destruction, enchanting, bewitching and extremely clever. She enters the stage with innocently wondering eyes, as if searching the way to the village where Kṛṣṇa lives. Approaching the village she complacently describes people who play and gossip, and mimes their dances and games of ball with an entrancing grace. On finding out Kṛṣṇa's abode, she depicts extatically the beauties of the seven storied mansions, the shining courtyards, the cool water running through flower groves, the enraptured peacocks dancing on mount Govardhana, the lovely cowherds and Nanda's house, from which arises the fragrance of curd drops and sweet butter. After having admired her full, she swiftly slips in to the house. To suggest this a small bench is introduced, on which lies a primitive wooden doll representing the child Kṛṣṇa. Pūtana carefully looks round to see whether anybody has noticed her intrusion, and being reassured slowly approaches the child. On horizontally spread knees she stealthily advances, gliding like a snake without lifting her feet from the ground. All her evil intentions are expressed in this gait. But she contrives the sweetest and most loving smile on her face and starts playing with the child. To amuse him she delicately snaps her fingers in his face



and surreptitiously caresses him. Every now and then she turns the head with suspicious glances fearing that somebody might be approaching. Then turning back to Kṛṣṇa with tender glances, she describes his dark blue colour, the envy of the clouds, and how he is sitting on the leaf swimming on the water, raising his toe to his mouth. Enrapturing herself by his sight, strange scruples assail her heart (which is a woman's after all!) and with compassion, almost weeping she contemplates the infant she is sent to kill. Suddenly she shakes herself to proceed with her task. Seeing the baby weep, she affectionately asks him whether he is hungry and offers to feed him, describing voluptuously the roundness and plenty of her breasts. Cheering the child she takes him in her arms, quickly smears poison on her breast and sets him to drink. Rocking the child on one arm and resting her head on the other hand, she looks absorbed and forlorn as women often do when they nurse. She takes the child from one breast to another, shakes it, when the milk runs into his nose and smiles at him, till all of sudden a flash of pain runs over her face. She looks alarmed, as if apprehending a menacing danger, but swallowing down her fear goes on feeding, rocking, smiling. But the pain increases. She rubs her bosom with a contracted face. No use, the pain becomes ever more violent, till she writhes scratching her neck, her breasts, her legs and tries to remove the child. As she does not succeed in this by force, she tries to persuade him by an engaging, and—how artificial—smile to take the other breast. Nor is this of any avail. She becomes mad with suffering, she pulls and pinches the child while pain distorts her face, she hammers wildly on his head, she tears her own feet, but the godly child is not to be shaken off the breast and slowly sucks the life out of her. She jumps to her feet in wild despair, running up and down, alternately beating her head and chest and the child hanging from her breast. Her features in agony are disfigured to a horrible grimace, the grimace in which her real devilish nature is revealed. When finally she drops dying on the floor, no trace remains of the lovely woman she was before. She is a ghastly Rākṣasī killed by her own wicked deed.

#### Scenes from the Story of Nala and Damayanti<sup>1</sup>

Scene 1. King Nala having lost all his possessions in a game of dice is exiled in the forest with his wife Damayanti. Having deserted her in the distraction of his mind, he finds himself at the bottom of misery. Nala laments his fate in a very long monologue in *Hasta-abhinaya*, during which he hardly moves from the spot. Suddenly a huge fire blazes up behind the public. Nala jumps up and all the audience turn their eyes in astonishment and fright towards the fire. The serpent king dances in the flame and implores Nala to save him from death. Nala gallantly rushes to his rescue through the public and brings the serpent king to the stage.

The make-up of the serpent was very suggestive. A large black line designed a triangle on the face enclosing forehead, eyes and mouth. Other stripes of different colours parallel with the black line reduced the human face to the simple triangular shape of a serpent's head, obliterating all human features, the nose, brows, chin. The eyes were rounded by a black outline into small snake eyes, and as this mask was painted on the face of a toothless old man with a thin mouth line, the illusion was perfect.

The ungrateful snake-king bites Nala's hand, and the poison makes him blue. To show this, the first Nala slips away behind the curtain and another Nala with blue hands and bluer face rushes on the stage in a fearful rage, puffed up and shaking himself like a furious turkey. At the appearance of Kunjan Kurup the whole scene instantly throbbed with life. His powerful plastic face seemed to find its real significance under this gorgeous make-up. Very young boys with lean cheeks and bodies seem almost crushed under the opulence of the attire and make-up. It requires strong features to bring it out to advantage. Kunjan Kurup looked fantastically oversized, as if belonging to a race of titans. He burst in like a bomb, threatening to burn the serpent king with the fire of his glance. But finding him sadly repentant of his rash deed, his fuming rage slowly subsided and he accepted as a compensation for the offence a shawl which would make him invisible.

Nala resumes his wanderings and reaches the town of a king, where he perceives with great amusement, and actually mimes, the sentinels walking up and down with swords and huge moustaches, in self-complacent solemnity.

1. The part of Nala is played by two different actors, in the beginning by one of the pupils of Kālāmaṇḍalām, and later by Kunjan Kurup.







Nala makes himself very small and bows to the imaginary sentinels in mock humility to ask their permission to enter the town. With a most obliging and demure beggar-smile he tells them that he only wants to see the great king. Without awaiting their reply, he swiftly sneaks into the crowded town. (He folds his hands in front of him with a movement of somebody diving into water and makes a few almost imperceptible steps). He stops and looks around in wonder and delight. He sees a lotus tank full of flowers, the surface of which curls and glitters like the eyes of lovely women. A few steps ahead he finds high Gopurams and marvellous palaces, then a long street with houses on both sides, in the windows of which happy people amuse themselves. He mimes a musical entertainment: a lady tunes her *Vijā*, screws the keys and then starts playing with much sentiment. After finishing she invites another lady to show her art. The next one plays beautifully on the *Mrdanga*, another beats the cymbals and a fourth one starts dancing. Nala watches and feels enchanted, but though he wishes to remain, he remembers that he must go on to find the king. I skip over the second scene where he is brought into the presence of the king and is accepted by him as a charioteer.

Scene 3: In the night Nala with two young servants is in the stable, majestically reclining on a rice mortar. But sleep does not come to his tormented soul. He thinks of his lost kingdom and weeps over the beloved wife whom he forsook in a fit of misery. Not to attract the attention of the others, he lies down from time to time and pretends to sleep. But they watch him secretly and in the morning question him about the woman whose name was all the night on his lips. Nala consternated at the idea of having betrayed his secret, looks at them with an expression of genuine wonder, as if he had never thought of a woman in all his life. He seems to strain his memory to find out what all this fuss may be about, and tells the boys that the story he read last night must have haunted his sleep. But they are not satisfied and press him to confess whether he is married and where his wife is. Nala swears that he has no wife and to cut short all questions, asks them to get up quickly and to look after the horses.

Scene 4: Nala stands near the king who receives through a Brahmin an invitation to the new marriage of Damayanti (who meanwhile found back to her father's house). Nala is stung to the heart. Trying to conceal his terrible emotion as best as he can, he gradually draws nearer to the king and strains his ears to fully take in the message. His eyes roll from side to side in great excitement, but when his curious behaviour attracts sidelong glances, he forces upon himself a mask of coldest indifference. The king meanwhile is perplexed as to how he may reach by the following day the far-away place of the wedding. Nala's excitement grows with every second of delay and finally he bursts out to tell the king, that as his charioteer he pledges himself to bring him to the place in due time. Though during this whole scene he stands apart as a mute spectator, the whole drama centres in Nala's countenance reflecting the finest shades of his inner struggle.

Scene 5: Damayanti in the forest, awakening in the morning after her husband's desertion. This last misfortune overwhelms her with grief and misery. She laments pitiably and curses Kālī who has possessed her husband. Her desperate wailing is overheard by an aboriginal hunter into whose ears the voice of a woman drops like sweet honey. Approaching the place from where he hears the sound, he discovers Damayanti and her beauty fills him with desire. Black and uncouth as he is, he tries to make himself attractive by tidying his garments and taking graceful postures. On his monster-face appears an absurd smile of amorous sentimentality. Timidly and clumsily he draws nearer, uttering his love desire with an inarticulate 'Whoo poo-poo' reiterated in the whole gamut of seductiveness. Damayanti does not stir, absorbed as she is in her grief. The hunter is now quite close and tries to attract her interest by describing his house in the jungle which is beautifully walled in and whose roof does not leak. He tells her all the happiness she will find in living with him. To enforce his words he pushes her delicately and significantly with his hip. Finding no response, he withdraws a bit, hurt and disappointed. But not so soon disheartened, he tries again and again to please her with an always more bewitching 'Whoo-poo-poo'! This one cry uttered in a hundred variations of tone spoke volumes. The contradiction between his rough and grim appearance and his sentimental wooing, the inadequacy of his blunt advances in front of Damayanti's unspeakable grief were rendered with a keen sense of tragic humour. At the end the hunter is burnt to ashes by the curse of Damayanti.

One day I went to visit Kunjan Kurup in his house. He was surprised to see me and welcomed me with the following words: I am known as Kucela, the poor Brahmin friend of Kṛṣṇa, and because of my poverty I never dared to invite you to my house. I told him that I was most anxious to see him in his most famous part, and a few days later the story of Kucela was played.



### The Story of Kucela

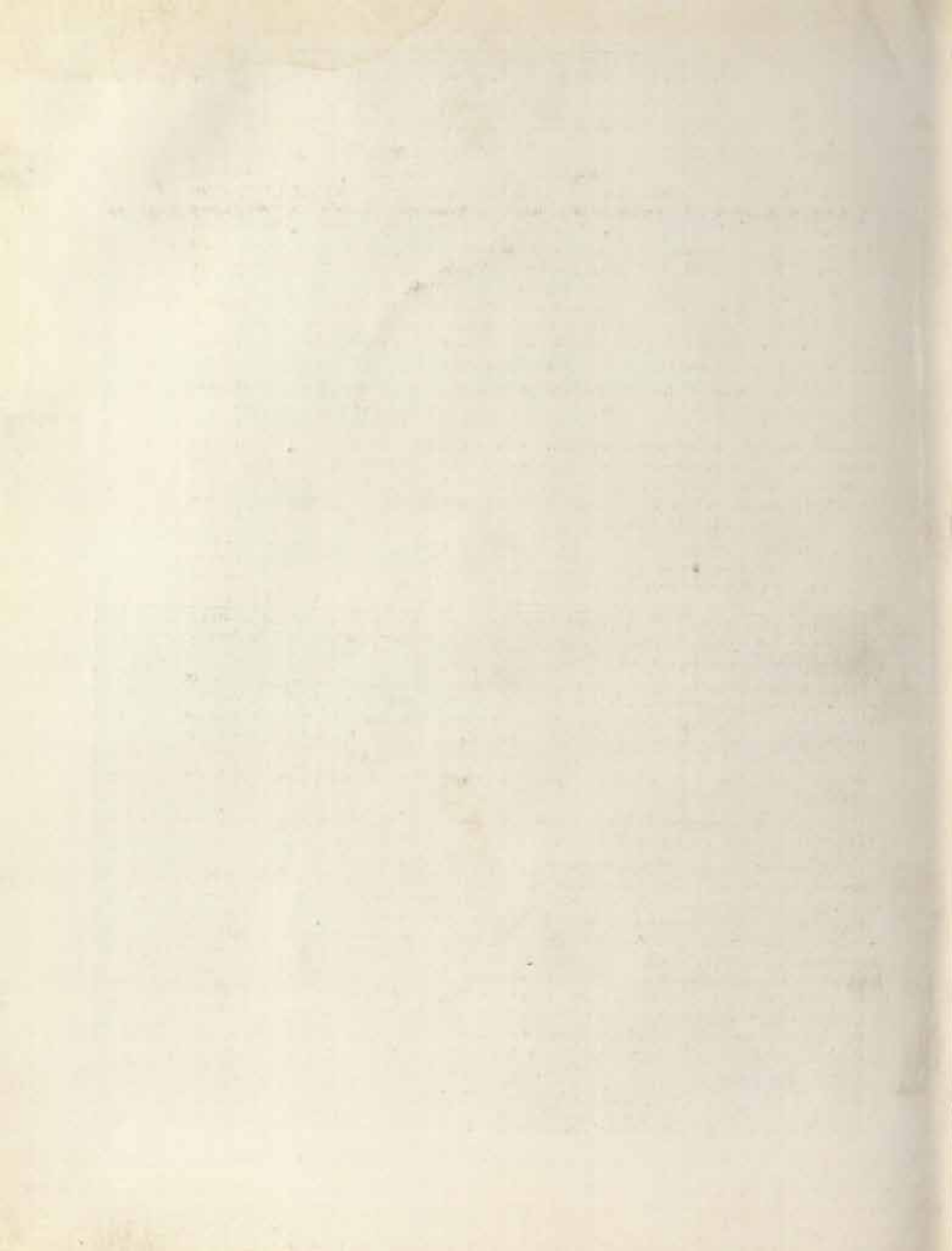
Scene 1: Kunjan Kurup, whom I had admired as the strong, temperamental Nala and the grotesque hunter could hardly be recognised in the grey rags and dishevelled beard of a begging Brahmin. Smeared with ashes all over his body he looked diminished, as if melted away in the fire of meditation. When the curtain opened, he sat on a small stool in concentration pose with a rotary in his hand, his eyes sunk into inner vision and totally unaware of the outside world. Kucela's wife, looking miserably in torn clothes, approaches her husband with her daily lamentations. There is no food and no clothes for the children, she has been round the village with her begging bowl, but everybody is tired of giving her alms. She represents all the worldly cares and responsibilities which have for ever distracted from higher purposes the mind of men. She implores her husband to go and find his ancient friend Kṛṣṇa and to ask him for help. Kucela gently listens, but looks as if he did not fully grasp the reason of her complaint. He asks her: Why are you wishing for wealth and property? Do you think that you will be happier thereafter? She protests that her heart is not after wealth, but that the children must have their daily need. Kucela is torn between his willingness to comply with her wishes and his inability to deal with such difficult material problems. Without fully appreciating her motives, he at last consents to go, but in his heart he doubts whether Kṛṣṇa will recognise him after so many years and will receive him well. He sends his wife to get a present for Kṛṣṇa. The poor woman cannot find anything but a handful of rice which she wraps into a piece of cloth. Kucela takes the small bundle under his arm and with a half broken sun-shade in his hand departs on his errand, a picture of misery.

Scene 2: Kṛṣṇa, the great king, reclines in gorgeous garments with two of his lovely wives on a divan, covered by a multicoloured canopy. While gossiping and merrily caressing them, he is suddenly caught by a strange anticipation. He grows absent-minded and with an abstracted look he tries to find out the reason of this feeling. Suddenly his eyes discover far away the object of his foreboding. He quickly rises and rushes forward through the public to meet Kucela, who is entering from behind. From a distance his heart has recognised the friend of his childhood and now he leads him triumphantly to his house, in front of his astonished womenfolk. Kṛṣṇa in all his pomp embraces the grey humble Brahmin, he throws himself at his feet, and draws him towards the divan. Kucela, overwhelmed by such a reception, protests against so much honour, but without avail. He must suffer that Kṛṣṇa and the two heavenly ladies wash his feet, and drink the sanctified water. Small and unobtrusive, bashful and radiant, he sits with dangling legs on the sumptuous divan, a poor vagabond in all the glittering luxury. The two queens stand by his side fanning him, while Kṛṣṇa takes his seat beside him. Putting his arms around him he covers him half with his billowing skirts. They start to recall their happy youth, when both of them were pupils of Guru Sāṅdipani, and get lost in the delightful memories. They evoke one episode after another of their past life and particularly their adventures in the forest, when the teacher's wife sent them to fetch fuel and they had to fight the hunter. They laugh and become children again, till suddenly Kṛṣṇa feels hungry and asks Kucela, whether he did not bring him any present. Kucela who did not dare up till now offer the miserable gift, shamefully takes the small bundle from under his arm and offers it to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa opens it, searching curiously in the fold of the cloth to find the small heap of rice. He takes one handful and eats it with delight, finding the rice sweeter and more tasteful than any he ever had. There is the taste of devoted friendship in it. As he is about to take a second handful, Rukmiṇī catches his hand and implores him not to eat. She knows that by the first handful Kṛṣṇa has bestowed house and property on Kucela and that by the second handful she would be doomed herself to go as Kucela's servant. Finally Kucela feels that he must go, but Kṛṣṇa wants to retain him and both are loth to part again. Kucela kisses Kṛṣṇa's palm with great tenderness. He has forgotten all his sorrows and with them the reason why he came to see his friend. He takes leave without mentioning the purpose of his visit. He withdraws very very slowly, unable to detach his eyes from the sight of Kṛṣṇa, he bows and greets and many times returns to have a last look at his beloved friend.

Scene 3: The divan with the canopy has now become a luxurious bed, in which Kucela's wife is seen, sleeping with her children. They all wear lovely dresses and are entirely transformed. Kucela again enters the scene through the public and is himself clad in fresh cloth and looks grown by inches. He does not recognise the place, and only when his wife and children run to meet him, he slowly grasps the fact that Kṛṣṇa has secretly helped. He is very happy that his wife's wishes have been fulfilled, but true to his Brahminhood, he does not want to partake in this wealth. He must leave the house for ever seeking nothing else but truth.







### The Killing of Duhsāsana

#### Scene 1 : The game of dice.

There is ancient rivalry between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas who believes to have been insulted by the Pāṇḍavas on the occasion of his visit to their sacrifice, wants to take revenge. He therefore invites them all to his house and induces Yudhiṣṭhira, the Pāṇḍava king, to a game of dice. He is cheating at the game with the help of his uncle Śakuni. Yudhiṣṭhira loses one after another all his possessions, including Pāṇḍālī, his and his brothers beautiful wife. He sits aside in hopeless consternation, while Pāṇḍālī is dragged in the court by Duhsāsana. She implores mercy from the enemies, implores her husbands to save her. (Pls. XVI and XVII). But Duhsāsana who wants to show his power before the whole assembly, catches hold of her lock and throws her on the floor. To put her to shame he tries to strip off her garments. But Pāṇḍālī throwing herself devoutly into the protection of Kṛṣṇa is provided by him with ever growing cloth. Hard as Duhsāsana may pull, he never comes to an end. He has to give up his attempt and Pāṇḍālī is allowed to depart into exile with the five Pāṇḍavas. She makes a vow to leave her hair untied till Bhīmasena will bind it up with hands stained in Duhsāsana's blood.

Scene 2: The years of exile have passed and the Pāṇḍavas want to be re-established in their kingdom. Kṛṣṇa, who is their ally, consents to go as messenger to the Kauravas. Duryodhana hearing of it, assembles all his brothers and kinsmen in court, and speaking of Kṛṣṇa in insulting terms, forbids them to receive him with respect. They sit together in the Sabhā stiff and haughty, looking like evil, pernicious idols, (Pl. XV, Fig. 2) when Kṛṣṇa enters sounding his conch. Hearing this Duryodhana faints and all the others rise to do obeisance to the messenger. Kṛṣṇa politely salutes Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the blind father of Duryodhana, and tells him that the Pāṇḍavas are ready to forgive all the wrongs they have suffered, but as the term of exile is over, they claim back their part of the kingdom. Failing which, they would fight the Kauravas on to destruction.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is moved and beseeches Kṛṣṇa to lead his son back to the path of virtue, and addressing Duryodhana asks him to listen to Kṛṣṇa's message. Kṛṣṇa goes over to Duryodhana and repeats to him Yudhiṣṭhira's request. Duryodhana, with an attitude and expression of insulting indifference, refuses to grant the Pāṇḍavas their rightful half of the kingdom. (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2). Kṛṣṇa with still greater diplomatic amiability bends over Duryodhana and asks him to grant them only five villages. On being refused even this, he asks for a house at least. Duryodhana declares that he will give them not even a needle's space. Once more Kṛṣṇa insists on having their rights restored to the Pāṇḍavas, warning him about their anger and their certain revenge.

Duryodhana rises and with cynical contempt calls for a rope to bind the cowherd. But before anybody can touch Kṛṣṇa he transfigures himself and assumes his Universal Form (the messenger Kṛṣṇa disappears and raised on a stool in the back of the stage appears another Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu with four arms, the conch and the Cakra). On this the old father regains his eyesight and worships Kṛṣṇa, while Duryodhana drops on the floor. The sages of the assembly rise and make a last attempt to change his mind by speaking of Kṛṣṇa's holiness as Viṣṇu incarnate and evoking the heroic deeds of his youth. They rebuke Duryodhana for not having respected the sacred person of the messenger and prophesy ruin.

Kṛṣṇa leaves the place telling Duryodhana to prepare for war and to expect his destruction.

#### Scene 3 : The Battle of Kurukṣetra.

All the great Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas are engaged in the fight. They stride across the stage with heavy dynamic steps, miming encounters and pursuits. They swing their arms and wrestle in symbolic gestures, advancing and retreating in all directions like disturbed wasps. With the hellish din of the drums, the blazing fire, the swaying dresses and ghastly masks, the sensation is given of a battle of demons. Many of the Kaurava fighters have already been killed. Bhīmasena pursues Duhsāsana, burning with the desire of avenging the insult done to his wife. He challenges him to fight, and concentrating his thoughts on Viṣṇu, assumes the aspect of his lion-incarnation. Seeing this, Duhsāsana weakens and is vanquished. Bhīmasena kneels on his out-stretched body and savagely digs his claws into his chest and tears it open. Blood-madness overcomes him. He looks at Duhsāsana's face and fancying to see him stir, he orders him to stay. He plunges his hands with wild lust into the entrails of his enemy, pulls out the bowels and drinks the blood. Panting and trembling like a ferocious animal he calls Pāṇḍālī and drenches her hair in Duhsāsana's blood to fulfil her vow. Also Duryodhana is killed, the victory is with the Pāṇḍavas and they fall in adoration to the feet of Kṛṣṇa.



Considering the subject-matter of Kathakali which comprises almost the whole of the Indian epics, their repertory is inexhaustible. Their artistic possibilities, of which only a few have been outlined, are equally unlimited. Kathakali is still alive with the religious consciousness of a whole nation and has the great form and integrity which only anonymous art can achieve through centuries of growth. But the people who were conscious and enlightened receptacles of its traditions have become very few and the danger of oblivion and degradation is imminent.

This art which has evolved under the patronage of cultured people and of royalties with artistic inclinations, is to-day sought after only by illiterate peasants, by the simple and the poor, who cannot afford to go to the cinema or to buy a book. Their patronage is today the life-breath of Kathakali. If therefore it is immensely valuable, it is none the less an artistic danger, because the necessity of being intelligible to this kind of audiences is an inducement to a grosser realism, not in accordance with the original principles of the art.

As described before, efforts have been made in isolated centres of Malabar to maintain the art alive on its high original level and to bring back to the consciousness of the educated classes, that Kathakali is not just good enough for popular entertainment, but that it always was a symbolical religious art, in which divinity was transubstantiated into visible form.

## ORIGIN OF THE ART OF ŚRĪ-VIJAYA

By R. C. MAZUMDAR

The kingdom of Śrī-vijaya in Sumatra occupies an important place in the history of Hindu colonisation in Indonesia. Its origin may go back to the fourth century A. D., as Ferrand has concluded from a reference in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist Sūtra<sup>1</sup>. But we know definitely from I-tsing that it had grown into an important and powerful state in the latter half of the seventh century A. D.<sup>2</sup> and this is fully corroborated by epigraphic evidence<sup>3</sup>.

It is clear from I-tsing's account that Śrī-vijaya was an important centre of Buddhism in his time, and what is still more significant, for our present purpose, it was the earliest seat of that Mahāyāna sect in Indonesia which played a great role in the evolution of art in that region<sup>4</sup>.

In view of these things it is only natural that the art of Śrī-Vijaya should merit serious attention of those who seek to study the origin of Indo-Javanese and allied arts. A study of this question has been rendered somewhat easier by the recent finds of some sculptures in and around Palembang which is usually identified with ancient Śrī-vijaya.

A detailed account of the recent explorations in Sumatra has been given in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1928, 1930). A short but very interesting paper on this subject written in English by Dr. Krom (5) has made the discoveries known to Indian scholars. On the basis of this article Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh has contributed a paper on the "Early Art of Śrī-vijaya" (6). I am unable to agree with some of the most important conclusions arrived at in these papers.

Krom, and following him, Mr. Ghosh, have justly attached the greatest importance to a fragmentary stone torso of a Buddha image (7). The only characteristic feature of this torso is the drapery 'showing prominent folds of the robe'. As all the known Javanese figures of Buddha have a close-fitting robe, the contrast offered by the torso naturally induced the Dutch scholars to look for its origin to India. At first it was attributed to Gandhāra influence, but Krom pointed out some differences from Gandhāra style and observed: "We feel, therefore, more inclined to assume a connection with some Indian school of art in which the Graeco-Buddhist principles are found in a modified and Indianised form, e. g. that of Amarāvati" (8). Mr. Ghosh remarks: "His (Krom's) conclusions on this point are highly convincing. They are not merely tentative, as he modestly observes. In fact there cannot be any other opinion on the relic in question which we can safely ascribe on stylistic grounds to a period not later than the 4th century A. D."

As the head, arms and legs of the image are all missing we have to base our conclusions only on the folded drapery. As Krom implies, this sort of drapery, originating from Gandhāra, was adopted in different parts of India. I



may note in passing that fold-lines representing drapery are noticed in the sculptures of Bhārhut and Bodh-Gaya, (9) which are certainly not attributable to Gandhāra influence. But, apart from this, the so-called Gandhāra fold is observed in sculptures of Mathurā, Bihar and Ceylon (10). It is, therefore, premature to conclude definitely that the Sumatran Buddha image is derived from the Amarāvati school.

In this connection we must consider also the bronze images of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya found near Palembang, (11) to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid. Krom remarks that they "might easily be taken for Javanese bronzes" (12). Mr. Ghosh further develops the idea: "But though various details in their case show the characteristics of Javanese Śailendra art, their design and conception along with certain other details (e. g. the Jajāmukuta, the full squarish face, the necklace and Uttariya and lastly the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body fashioned with delicate touches) are reminiscent of the Pāla art of Bengal" (13).

In my opinion these remarks are totally inapplicable, at least to the image of Buddha. It appears that both Krom and Mr. Ghosh were largely influenced by the current view that Śrī-vijaya formed the seat of the Śailendra empire from the seventh century and that this empire included Java in the eighth century A. D. I have tried to show elsewhere that this is not the case, (14) and Cordès, who was mainly responsible for the view so generally held, has admitted the soundness of my views. He states that there are no reasonable grounds to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-vijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-vijaya (15).

If we once get rid of the prevailing conception that Śrī-vijaya and Java were closely connected by the political authority of the Śailendras, we may see the art of Śrī-vijaya in its true perspective. In my opinion the bronze Buddha figure of Palembang is akin to a Javanese figure only in those respects which both derived from India. But the Palembang figure more closely resembles what we are accustomed to call the Gupta style, in Sāmāth and other parts of northern India prior to the seventh or eighth century A. D. A comparison with any figure of Buddha during the Pāla period would show the difference. I may draw particular attention to the following features.

(a) Both the shoulders of the image are covered. As is well known, this feature is rare in Java, where, with a few exceptions, the standing images have their right shoulder uncovered. Dr. Bosch has concluded after a careful consideration of all available specimens that "the few Javanese images which have both shoulders covered must represent the orthodox Hindu-Javanese type and must belong to an early period" (16). Dr. Bernet Kempers has further discussed the problem and he thinks it "more probable that the origin of this type must be sought in Gupta art....." (17).

(b) The fullness of features, the general breadth of treatment, the ascetic and benevolent expression, the simplicity and inherent vigour—all these characteristics mark the figure as Gupta.

(c) The peculiar Pāla features are all absent. I do not wish to discuss this point in detail as Bernet Kempers, who has made a special study of Pāla bronzes, has arrived at the same conclusion. Thus he remarks: "If the images from Jaiya and Palembang or the bronze Avalokiteśvara which was discovered in the great stūpa of Barabudur are scrutinised in search of Pāla features, it turns out that they show none" (18). I arrived at this conclusion independently in respect of the bronze Buddha image of Palembang and am unable to accept the views of Mr. Ghosh that this image is related to the Pāla art of Bengal.

We may thus be tolerably certain that the art of Śrī-vijaya was the product of Gupta art. If we remember that the colossal copper statue of Buddha found at Sultanganj in the Bhagalpur district shows distinct folding lines of drapery (19) we need have no difficulty in referring both the stone torso and the bronze images of Palembang to Gupta art.

We may indeed go even a step further and trace the further progress of this Gupta art to central Java. The famous Buddha images of Barabudur definitely recall the classic Buddha images of the Gupta period in all essentials. I need not dilate on this point, as it requires a separate treatment. I merely wish to stress the fact that it is reasonable to hold that Śrī-vijaya which was the centre of Mahāyānism in Indonesia, served as the channel through which, along with the religion, the art-traditions of India also flowed to Java. Once we accept this we may postulate two definite periods in the evolution of Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran art. First, the earlier period during which the Gupta influence was dominant, and secondly, the later period, when, as a result of intimate contact between the Śailendras and the Pālas, the Pāla traditions gradually made their influence felt (20). It is difficult to adopt a definite chronological basis, but the



ninth century A. D. may be regarded as the dividing line between the two periods. In other words, broadly speaking, Indo-Javanese (including Indo-Sumatran) art passed through the same phases as the art of eastern India.

Reference has been made above to the theory that the stone torso of Palembang belongs to the Amarāvati school. Formerly, there was a general theory that Javanese art originated from the Amarāvati school, but this is denied by Krom. In discussions of this kind it is well to remember that when we refer to a school as the origin, we should not rely upon isolated images, but upon the style generally displayed in images of a particular locality. Again, in judging the bronze images we should adopt a further caution in correlating them as far as possible with the stone sculptures of the locality.

If we bear these points in mind the force of argument about the Amarāvati school would be considerably weakened. Mr. Ghosh holds the view that in addition to the stone torso, the little bronze Buddha head of Palembang (21) which Krom declared to be definitely "un-Javanese" in character also belongs to the Amarāvati school (22). It may be noted in passing that by classifying this "un-Javanese" bronze Buddha head as of the Amarāvati school Mr. Ghosh indirectly gives up the case for the Amarāvati origin of Javanese art. But apart from this let us consider Mr. Ghosh's view independently.

Mr. Ghosh thinks that the bronze Buddha head of Palembang is closely akin to the bronze Buddha heads from Buddhapad near Bezvada, though he admits that it is fundamentally different from the bronze Buddha statuettes discovered at Amarāvati itself. But anyone who compares the illustrations given in Sewall's plate 2, to which Mr. Ghosh refers, will, I feel sure, be convinced that it is difficult to conceive of two bronze Buddha heads more unlike each other. It is only fair to admit that no prototype of this Buddha head is known so far.

Mr. Ghosh's view about the stone image of Avalokiteśvara (23) found in Palembang is also hardly convincing. In opposition to the views of Dr. Bosch and Dr. Krom that southern India exercised no influence of any importance on the art of Śrī-vijaya, Mr. Ghosh holds that this image of Avalokiteśvara "is almost an echo of the monumental Pallava reliefs of the 7th century at Māmallapuram" (24). Here, again, the resemblance is only superficial. The figure is no doubt a remarkable one and possesses certain definite traits of classic Gupta art. But prototypes of this are met with in so distant localities as Kalinga and Kanheri and it is premature to draw any definite conclusions about the particular school from which it originated.

To sum up, we have hitherto discussed four images found in Palembang and its neighbourhood, viz. 1. Stone Buddha torso. 2. Bronze Buddha. 3. Bronze Buddha head. 4. Stone Avalokiteśvara.

In the first place it is admitted by all that these images are absolutely un-Javanese. This proves that a school of art flourished in Śrī-vijaya which was entirely independent of Java.

Secondly, No. 2 is undoubtedly a product of the Gupta school and that is also probably the case with Nos. 1 and 4, though No. 1 is probably older and No. 4 later than No. 2. All these three may be referred to the period from the 4th to the 7th century A. D. The source of No. 3 is unknown.

Thirdly there are reasons to believe that along with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism this Gupta art tradition also probably flowed from Śrī-vijaya to Java. Lastly, the Pāla influence was superimposed upon this art from the ninth century onwards.



These views are put forward as merely tentative, as is indeed bound to be the case when conclusions have to be based on so imperfect data.

1. *Journal Asiatique* ii-xx, (1922), p. 210.
2. Takakusu—I-tsing, pp. XXXIV, 10—11.
3. B. E. F. E. O. vol. XVIII, No. 6.
4. I-tsing—Memoire, etc., pp. 60, 63, 159, 182, 189.
5. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology 1931, pp. 29—33.
6. Journal of the Greater India Society vol. I, pp. 31—38.
7. Annual Bibliography 1931, pl. XI, a—b; Journal of the Greater India Society vol. I, a.
8. I. c., p. 32.
9. Coomaraswamy, Hist. Ind. Indonesian Art, Figs. 40—44.
10. Ibid. Figs. 158, 160, 293.
11. Oudheidkundig Verslag 1930, pl. 45, and Annual Bibliography 1931, pl. X, c. d. e.
12. I. c., p. 31.
13. I. c., pp. 35—36.
14. B. E. F. E. O., vol. XXXIII pp. 121—141.
15. Journal of the Greater India Society vol. I, p. 65.
16. T. B. G. vol. 57 (1915) pp. 97—116; vol. 61 (1922), p. 253. Dr. Bosch's views are summarised by Bernet Kempers—The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art, p. 20.
17. Op. cit., p. 22.
18. Op. cit., p. 74.
19. Coomaraswamy, Fig. 160.
20. Bernet Kempers, op. cit., p. 74.
21. Oudheidkundig Verslag 1930, pl. 44 C; Annual Bibliography 1931, pl. X, a—b.
22. I. c., pp. 34—35.
23. Annual Bibliography 1931, pl. XII d.
24. Ghosh, I. c., p. 33, pl. I fig. 1.

## A CEDĪ HEAD\*

By ST. KRAMRISCH

The burden of sculptured form keeps full, small lips, salient as they are, tight to the face. The mouth, closed spout of an upwelling fount not to spring forth, is firm with the pattern of a flower.

Nor is this pattern isolated. Silent seal below and in-between the eyes, it is the carved and consolidated pronounciation of their liquid, modelled state. Inflected curves border the eyelids and reveal bulging eyes held together by their sightless glance afloat in lids widely slit across the breadth of the face. The eyes have no sockets; the cheeks are irradiated by them and seem part of their substance. This face in the front view is all eyes. The ears are barely indicated and appear as part of the crown and frame of the face. In the way they are rendered they have no share in the face. Little can be seen of the forehead. It mounts behind the high crown, supported by the steep arches of the brows and binds with an ample triangle the smooth temples to the root of the nose.

Seen in profile, it is part of an unbroken line from the flattened top of the crown to the nose. The slant of crown and nose is sharply strung. It is held by the modelling of the face. There is no break between front view and profile. Dilated nostrils join their cut to an oscillating modelling of the cheeks. Beside these two technical aspects of cut definition and modelled spread, the physiognomy moreover is condensed in ridge lines. They clasp and partition the fulness of the lips and lead it back into the evanescent modelling of the cheeks where their corners are engraven in two upward curves sunk deep each in a point. They hold their secret never to be spent. There the cheeks are depressed but free from fatigue. The chin gathers into a central point their spreading surface.

The ridge that borders the lips delves down into the modelling to turn into its

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\* Pl. XIX; the original is in the Lalbehari Memorial Collection, Satna.

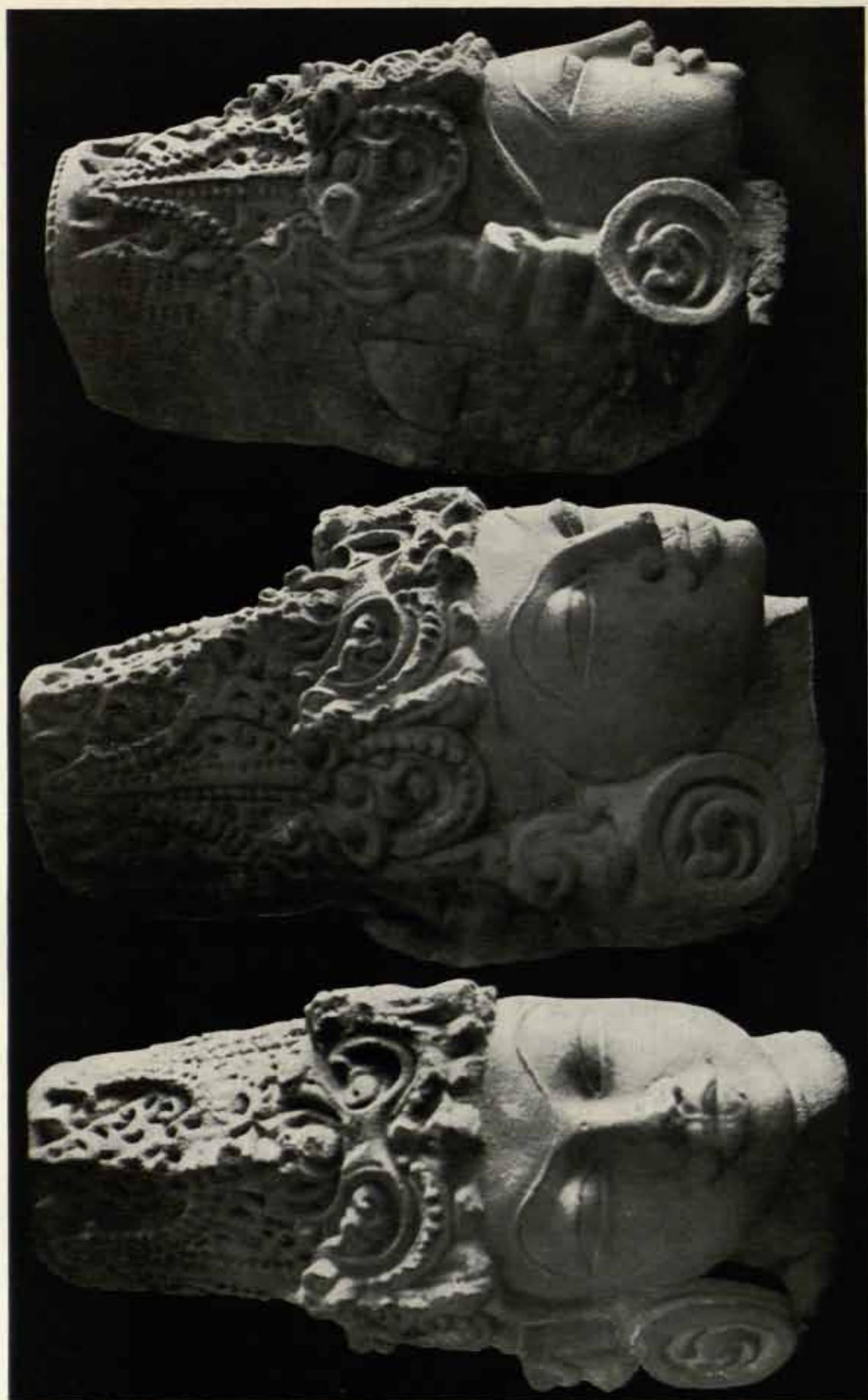


opposite, an engraved line. It is an equivalent in the third dimension to the double tension of the linear curve of the eyebrows. This at each of its points is on the verge of turning into the opposite direction and yet it persists in its course with comprehensive ambiguity. Situated between the region of the mind and that of the senses the line of the brows raises a high bridge. Should its curve relax, it would swoop down and blot out the cut as well as the modelling, the peaked solidity and the liquid base of this invented physiognomy. The movement epitomised in the eyebrows reverberates in the outlines of lids and mouth, cheeks and nose. All these are formed by its rhythm, the visualised interaction of the mind and the senses.

This head's liquidity and definition, sharp as a knife's edge, are balanced by a high tension of opposites. Its liquid aspect when defined yields the curve peculiar to it. Petal-like around eyes and mouth, the cheeks and forehead are of a substance seemingly molten and nescient of its livingness. The forehead recedes, hidden under a high slanting crown while the slant reaches downward to the tip of the nose. In this aspect the face is stable. The profile is outlined by the index of the balance. Drawn in through dilated nostrils and conducted right into the steepness of the crown are scent and memory of pastures on which feeds the tranquillity of the eyes. These pastures are of the mind, and suggest compassion. The sharp profile, with nose, forehead and crown in one, is but a sublimation of the structure of an animal's head. Along this unbroken line scent is transformed into memory, the activity of the sense into one of the mind. This transformation in the vertical intersects the sinuous rhythm of the eyebrows, the dipping into and rising of the mind-sense-unity. The vertical has but one direction that of time, i.e., of memory or transformation.

Contrasting with its smoothness, the face is framed by a heaving mass of crown ornaments and earrings. Their seemingly inarticulate profusion of knobbed lumps, creamy convolutions and burst bubbles is an organised eruption of plastic mass. Scroll and disc of the earring—the ear appear as part of the frame, not of the face itself—flattened in concave correspondence to the nose ridge, make the circle of commutation between the altogether layed-out and limpid face of the god and the agitation in the crown full of darkness. The surfaces of the two are formed in different modes of plastic form, that of the crown in a state of becoming and the other in an unaging presence.

While no single feature, if isolated and searched for its formative principle, can







be claimed as particularly belonging to the sculpture of the Cedi country in the eleventh century, it is their coherence which determines such a head as the one illustrated here. In the faces in Sāñcī for instance is the welling forth of the plastic mass<sup>1</sup>; among conventions employed in Mathurā is the drooping of the upper eyelid in the middle, or the ridge-like outline of the lips<sup>2</sup>; the great simplifications of the Gupta phase, the reinforced unity of the linear and the plastic of western and central Indian sculpture, all these are valid simultaneously in this head. The quantity in which they commingle is given by the sculptor's vision and there is no archaism where a living whole undergoes one of its differentiations.

Every one of the features of this head is shaped with the same definition of mouth, eyes and nose which also belongs to central and western Indian sculpture at this phase. Before that, and in the other provinces even at this moment and later, the features lie dormant in the face as part of the body and part of the entire mass of the image or relief. The Candella physiognomies, representative of central Indian sculpture<sup>3</sup>, are disturbed and critical, so that the mouth takes stock of and weighs the dream of the eye, and the profile is keener and of greater resolve in its wisdom than the stillness in the front view. The Cedi faces on the other hand are free from conflict. They know but they do not taste their own experience. They carry it forth to the utmost definition, of curve and point of mouth and nose. Petal-like the front view spreads but the animal's scent sharpens the profile. The vegetative and liquid state is in the dream and modelling of this face. Yet its theriomorphic cut can not be lifted from it and while it dreams, it wills. Both these aspects well up with the plastic mass; they are laid out altogether from within.

If plastically Cedi sculpture in its massive welling forth from within the unformed mass of the stone is of a texture akin to that of Sāñcī, the faces of its figures answer this experience with a last refinement. The forming principle has gained an ultimate definition in the physiognomy invented by it. It is the seal impressed from within on the outside world. The mass harbours the tension of opposites and its impact is its measure. Beyond the pairs of opposites is the vision of this face.

The head (7½" high) which may have been that of an image of Viṣṇu comes from S. Rewa, Baghelkhand, probably from Sohagpur.<sup>4</sup> The sandstone is golden brown. It must have been carved in the eleventh century.

1. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Pl. VIII, Fig. 35; p. 157.

2. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Pls. XIX b; XXI b, XXII.

3. Kramrisch, *Candella Sculpture*, J. I. S. O. A. vol. I p. 97, Pls. XXVIII 2, XXX.

4. cf. R. D. Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripurī*, A. S. I., M. 23, p. 31.



## REVIEWS

**Miniature Painting of the Jaina Kalpa Sutra, by W. Norman Brown.** pp. IV, 66; Plates 45. Oriental Studies No. 2. Smithsonian Institution.

The aim of the present work as explained by the author in the preface is to serve as an explanatory guide to the whole series of miniatures generally to be found in various Mss. in different libraries and collections both in India and abroad. The author has successfully accomplished this object and like its preceding volume 'The Story of Kāṭaka', it shows a thorough mastery of the subject. The identifications of the illustrations are correct and reliable with full explanations. The author is of opinion that the miniatures are in the early western Indian style of painting. The illustrations clearly indicate the peculiar Jain style found in western India. For several centuries from the 10th down to the 16th and even as late as the 1st half of the 17th century we find certain peculiarities in illustrated Jain Mss. and banners alone while we do not find the U-shaped forehead marks in both male and female figures including the gods, the pointed beards of the Kuṣāṇ style and peculiar postures and costumes in non-Jain miniatures of that period.

The work is a really valuable contribution to the study of Indian painting and of Jainism.

Puran Chand Nahar.

**A Guide to Elephanta, by Hirananda Sastri.** Published by the Manager of Government Publications, Delhi, 1934. Pages 70 with 19 plates.

In this book which belongs to the same series of handbooks as Sir John Marshall's well known guide books to Taxila and Sanchi, Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist for India, gives an account of the caves of Elephanta and their sculptures, etc. There are indeed several other handbooks on Elephanta, the earliest of them being by the late Dr. Burgess, published in 1871. The present book has been written, so the author professes, to meet the need for "a trustworthy and up-to-date guide to the monuments." In compiling this up-to-date guide book however the author has largely, if not solely, relied either on Dr. Burgess' work or on the "Gazetteer of Thana District" (1882), both published more than half a century ago. Very little new material is to be found in the book.

Not frequently do we meet with inaccurate statements and his identifications of some of the deities are either doubtful or erroneous. It is unlikely that the ascetic figure on Pl. XVI bore a club in one of his broken hands and that it should be identified with Śiva as Lakulīṣa (the club-bearer). The three-headed female figure above the head of Śiva (Pl. XIV) should, in our opinion, represent the goddess Gaṅgā in her threefold form of Mandākinī in the heavenly regions, Suradhari in the earthly regions and Bhogavatī in the nether regions, rather than the Triveṇī or the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, as has been thought by the author (p. 39).

The book should be of some use as other books on Elephanta are now out of print, and its value is to some extent enhanced by the plates—not satisfactorily reproduced—, a map of Elephanta and a plan of the main cave as well as by an appendix, dealing with iconographical notes, and a glossary.

Sarasi Śarasvatī.

**The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra, by R. Heine-Geldern.** pp. 305-331 of "Sumatra" by F. M. Loeb. Institut fuer Voelkerkunde der Universitaet Wien, 1935.

This succinct survey deals with the whole material of the archaeology and art of Sumatra in the following sections: The stone age, the art of Nias, the megalithic art of South Sumatra, the art of the Batak, the Hindu-Buddhist period and the Muslim phase. The approach is archaeological, ethnological and stylistic. The conclusions are: There are two



different palaeolithic cultures—palaeolithic denoting a cultural type and not a fixed period—a “flake culture” and a “hand-axe culture”, the former to be related to those of Ceylon and Celebes, the latter to the Hoabinhien and early Bacsonian of north eastern Indo-China and to that of Siam and Malay peninsula. The hand-axe culture has probably to be associated with the Papua-Melanesoids and the flake culture with people of Veddoid origin. There may be still older palaeolithic cultures in Sumatra, but neither these nor the primitive Malaysian stratum can be distinguished as yet. The latter may have been the transmitter of proto-neolithic elements. The neolithic quadrangular adze cultures of Sumatra and Java are similar. On the isle of Nias especially it produced a magical symbolism and a megalithic monumental art. On the mainland of Sumatra, the monuments of Pasemah as those of Nias belong to a developed megalithic culture. But while the latter are static in conception, these are dynamic, full of movement and not column-like as the Nias stone images. These go back to wooden ancestral figures; the Pasemah sculptures however belong to a “stone-style”. The same dynamism is also imparted to paintings on stone cist graves. The Pasemah monuments belong to the Đông-Son culture (from about 300 or 600 B. C. to 100 A. D.). Heine-Geldern distinguishes an earlier and a later group of Pasemah monuments. Re. the art of the Batak a critical survey is given of its aspects and the phases embodied therein. Its synthetical character is seen in architecture and sculpture. Three stylistic strata are fused, the megalithic symbolic style, that of Đông-son and the Hindu-Sumatran. This fusion harbours important indications for the history of Eastern Asiatic and Oceanic civilisations.

Gupta, south Indian and Javanese influences of various phases, prior to and during the empire of Śrī-vijaya did not efface an indigenous Sumatran style (fig. 78, a, b, the wreathed bronze Buddha head from Bukit Seguntang). In architecture too, Hindu-Sumatran forms are distinguished from Hindu-Javanese types.

Among the Mohammedans of Sumatra the bronze age Đông-son style supplies the basic motives, and later (14th century) Chinese influences are to be noticed along with Hindu, Hindu-Javanese and Moslem devices. Chinese influence coincided also with the later phases of Pasemah sculptures, which are closely related to early Han sculptures. Sumatra, owing to its position between India and China and on the way which primitive man must have taken from Asia to Australia and the Southseas is sure to yield further facts of fundamental importance.

These extracts may give an idea of Prof. Heine-Geldern's synthetic method. Comprehensive in its approach it deals with a heterogeneous mass of material and makes it coherent and centred. In this masterfully condensed survey replete with critical information the foundations are laid for future work on the archaeology and art of Sumatra.

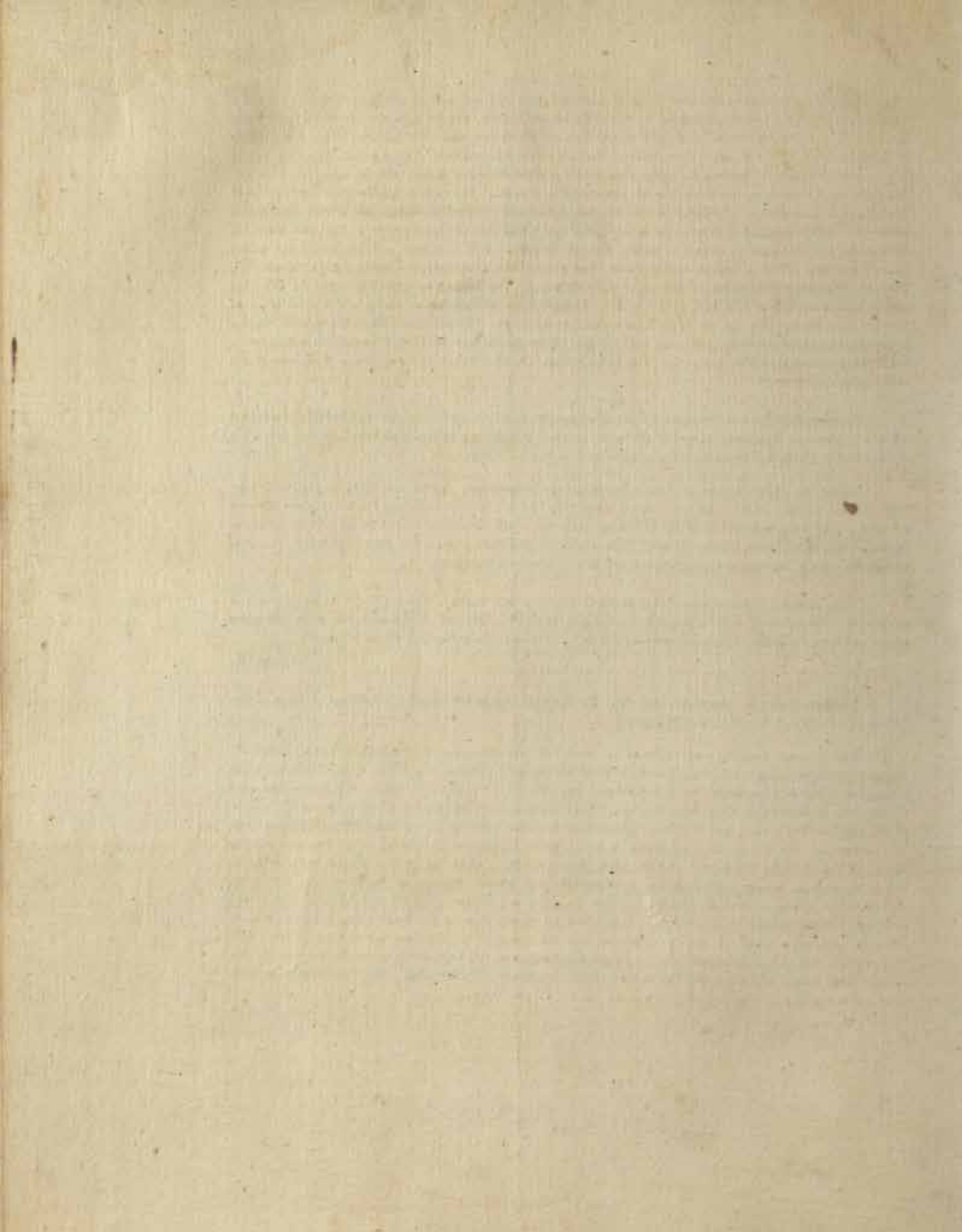
St. Kramrich.

**Archaeology in Gwalior, by M. B. Garde, Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.**  
Second Edition, 1934. Pages 151 with 34 plates.

This brochure gives “a bare outline of the wealth of archaeological remains which the State possesses”, and is a prelude to a bigger volume, “The Directory of Archaeological Monuments of Gwalior State”, which is under preparation. The work under review is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the work and achievements of the State Archaeological Department in the sphere of exploration and conservation of monuments and education of the public. The second part is a brief directory of important places of archaeological interest within the State. The method adopted in compiling this handbook is satisfactory. Every branch of archaeology has been touched upon, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Muhammadan. Every important place has been described with reference to its approaches, nearest accommodations, its topography and ancient remains, its traditions and references. As many as twenty-seven such places have been described, and among them we find Ujjayini, Vidisha, and of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram, Padmāvatī and Kuntalapura, the capital cities of the Nāga kings, Daśapura, whence we have the famous pillars of king Yaśodharman, and Tumavāna of the Buddhist literature and of two Sanchi inscriptions. Small though the book is, it contains a vast amount of varied and interesting information, and the author's intimate acquaintance with the ancient sites makes his description reliable and informative. An archaeological map of the State and very good reproductions greatly enhance the value of the publication.

Sarasi Sarasvati.

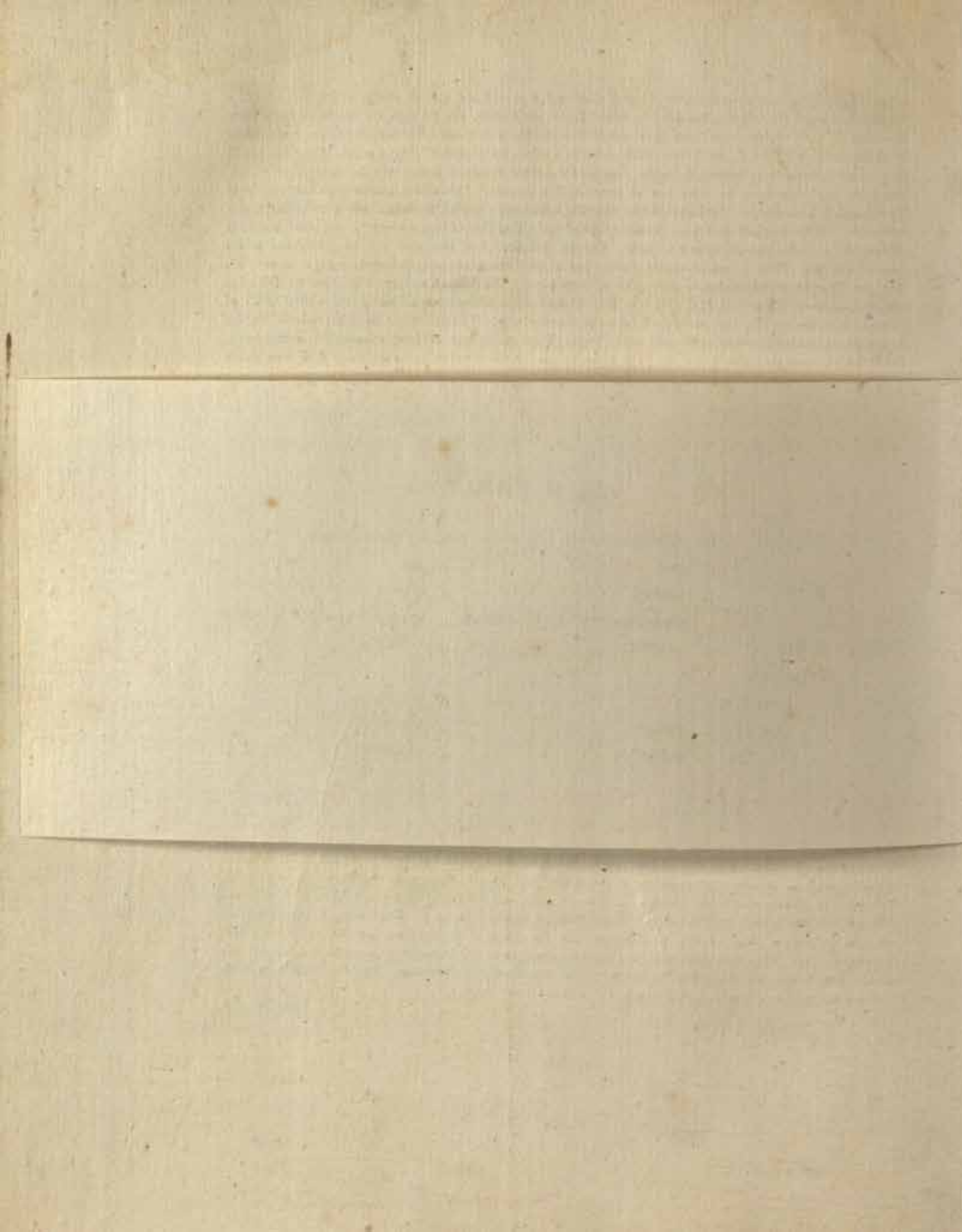




## VOL II. ERRATA

P. 110	for सङ्गितिलिखित चित्रायाः	read सङ्गितिलिखितचित्रायाः
	” कुत्रयं	” कुत्रयं
P. 112	” गृहिकमेव	” गृहिकमेव
	” तरङ्गवस्तुङ्गहारद्वनालीविमर्शुले...वाल्मसन्ध्या	” तरङ्गवस्तुङ्गहारद्वनालीविमर्शुले...वाल्मसन्ध्या
P. 113	” एतद्विषयेन	” एतद्विषयेन
Footnote 3,		
Lines 7, 8,	” तु	” त
Line 11	” उन्मीलितं	” उन्मीलितं
” 14	” उन्मीलितचित्र	” उन्मीलितचित्र





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## BUILDINGS IN NEPAL

By PERCY BROWN

Owing to the character of its terrain the chief life of Nepal became concentrated within a relatively limited area known as the Valley of Nepal, and within this valley, brought about by the political history of the state, are not one, but three capital cities, Khatmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan, all in close proximity to one another. According to the legend each city is designed in the shape of a well-known religious symbol: Khatmandu is laid out on the lines of the sword of Mañjuśrī, the patron saint of the country and is therefore long and narrow in plan. Bhatgaon has been made to resemble the conch of Viṣṇu and is accordingly oval in shape, while Patan follows the wheel of the Buddha and has a circular plan.

Within these symbolic outlines the layout of the streets and structures generally followed no particular system except that the central feature was a Durbar square and consisted of an irregularly shaped open space within which the principal official, ceremonial and religious buildings were located. It also included a palace or city residence for the ruling family. From the Durbar square, streets led off to other and less important squares containing religious and civic edifices of a secondary character, while around and beyond were the suburbs comprising shops and private dwellings.

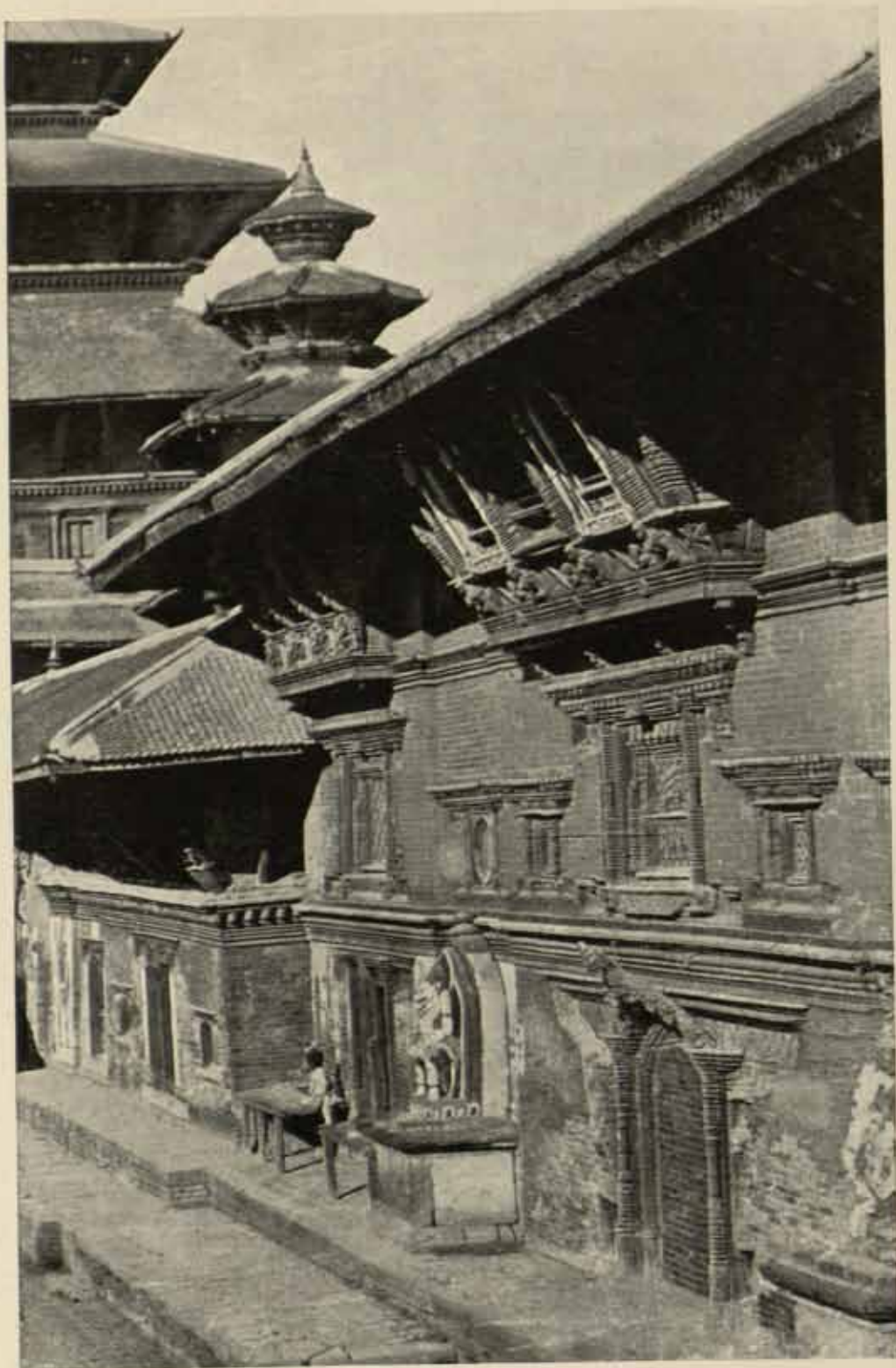
Those who planned, built, and decorated these cities of Nepal were the original inhabitants of the country, the Newars, who still form a large majority of the population. In view of the amount of artistic material that these cities represent it seems as if for several centuries an appreciable proportion of the inhabitants had concentrated their entire thought and energy on the production of works of art. From the general style of the temples it is revealed that two very different architectural traditions met in Nepal. Most of these religious structures are of what may be termed the pagoda type, a tower-like conception in diminishing stories constructed largely of wood and ordinarily associated with the architecture of the Far East; on the other hand there are a number of temples built of stone which are not far removed in design from what has been termed the Indo-Aryan style of Hindustan.



As to the pagoda type (Plate XX, portion of Durbar square, Patan) although this distinctive structure has been usually regarded as of Chinese origin there is evidence accumulating which suggests that a phase of wooden architecture incorporating this pagoda form in the shape of wooden roofs in tiers, found favour in India previous to the Muhammadan invasion. Such buildings being constructed of timber have disappeared, but they have left records of their existence in temples as far apart as those of Kashmir with their stone imitation of planked roofs, those of the Mers in Kathiawar with their Buddhistic gables, those of south Kanara, and in a lesser degree those of Orissa with the pyramidal superstructure to their Jagamohans.

But the most characteristic form of expression employed by the Newars of Nepal was not in the sphere of architecture, interesting though that may be, but in their applied arts, the wood carving and metal work which decorate all their buildings with an amazing exuberance. It was in this aspect of their craftsmanship that the Newar workmen showed such instinctive artistry, such imagination and such manipulative skill, recalling in some respects that remarkable movement in northern Italy which produced the art era known as the Quattro-cento, when in the words of Walter Pater "artists and philosophers and those whom the action of the world has elevated and made keen, do not live in isolation, but breathe a common air, and catch light and heat from each other's thoughts". There is something of this spirit in the arts of Nepal as well as in the literature which flourished parallel with this aesthetic activity. It was not an art reserved only for the glory of the temples, when as in Christianity "all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord", for it overflowed on to the common buildings of the streets as shown in Plates XX, XXV, window of a house in Patan, and XXI, Fig. 4, which is the upper story of a shop front in the main street of Khatmandu. Even in these everyday structures all the details of the woodwork are designed and executed with the most loving care (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3, detail of pillars; cf. also Fig. 1, detail of carving from door of house at Patan of which the window is shown on Pl. XXV); the background a fretwork of geometrical patterns over which are superimposed figures and emblems so disposed as to give the best possible effect. These applied elements and figure subjects are not merely artistic conceits, with no meaning, introduced to fill a space or break the line of a moulding, but each motif carries with it a long and interesting history; they are not dead forms for each is a living symbol, an illustration in a story known to all those who are initiated.

Some of the finest temples are not in the cities but crown the summits of outstanding hills in various parts of the valley, and to which pilgrimages are made







on saint days. Such is the temple of Changu Nārāyaṇa, and that of Svayambhūnāth, to select only two of the many shrines of great sanctity, and also treasure-houses of Newar art. Fig. 2, Plate XXI depicts a portion of a door-way to the former temple, showing the application of hammered metal over a framework of wood. Two ideals are represented in this illustration, on the leaf of the door itself there is a bold pattern expressive of a largeness of design and breadth of treatment unusual in such a medium. Around this is a crisper and more clearly cut method of embossing but equally plastic in its character, the two systems showing that the craftsmen played with the stubborn brass with the same ease as a potter would handle his fictile clay. Then in their designs, both in metal and wood, they employed a style in which effect was obtained by two violently contrasted forms of relief, low surface modelling as a background to shapes produced almost in the round. Examples of this may be studied in Plates XXII and XXIV reproducing the Durbar hall at Patan and in Plate XXVI, part of the facade of a temple in Bhatgaon, well illustrated in the copper gilt tympanum over the doorway. Apart from its bold technique there is a wealth of symbolism and imagery within the relatively small compass of this remarkable work of applied art.

In the higher aspects of the metal work of Nepal, these craftsmen showed the same superb genius, as their large metal statues are eloquent proof. These statues are both religious and civic, the latter being perhaps the most effective, on account of their commanding position, elevated on tall monolithic pillars in the Durbar squares. Public statues in public squares are a common feature in the cities of many countries, but in none do these monuments show to better advantage than in the flagged open spaces in the capitals of Nepal. Much of this appropriate appearance is due to the fact that they have been designed to compose with the architecture by which they are surrounded (cf. also Pl. XXIII, front of temple in Bhatgaon). Few works of art of this kind could be more dignified than the statue of Rāja Bhūpatendra Mall who ruled in the 17th century, kneeling on his lion throne, on an immense lotus capital and looking down gravely on the Durbar hall of Bhatgaon. Of the religious type of figures the temples contain numerous specimens, one of the finest being a life-size copper image of a Tārā in the temple of Svayambhūnāth, so exquisitely modelled that it may represent an offshoot of that school of metal-work of the Later Middle Country (Magadha) referred to by Tāranāth, and of whom the chief exponents were Dhīman and his son Bitpālo in the 9th century. Nepal appears as a microcosm of what India was like in the Middle Ages, and it is still a rich and inexhaustible treasury from which the student may extract priceless information.



## BRAHMAYĀMALA-TANTRA, CH. IV A NEW TEXT ON PRATIMĀLAKṢAṆA

By P. C. BAGCHI

New materials for a systematic study of Indian iconometry are slowly forthcoming. Hadaway published a note on some Indian Śilpaśāstras in 1914 in the *Ost-Asiatische Zeitschrift* and about the same time Gopinath Rao made a detailed study of a South Indian text called the *Uttamadaśatālavidhi* in an appendix to his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II. The latter attempted a comparative study of the available materials a few years afterwards in a separate memoir on *Tālamāna* or iconometry (*Mem. Arch. Survey*, 1920). In this memoir he compared the data of the *Uttamadaśatālavidhi*, the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *Śukranīti*, etc., with the materials available from Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava texts like the *Aṃsumadbhedāgama*, *Kāraṇāgama* and *Vaikhānasāgama*. Important chapters on measurements are to be found also in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* Pt. III, 35, 36, which have been translated by Kramrisch and published by the Calcutta University.

It was known long since that there are translations of a number of iconometrical texts in Tibetan. These texts are found in the *Bstan ḥgyur* CXXIII (Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds tibétain* 3, p. 479 ; p. 475). These texts are the following : i. *Daśatālany-agrodha-parimaṇḍala-Buddhapratimā-nāma* ; ii. *Sambuddha-bhāṣita-pratimālakṣaṇa-vivaraṇa-nāma*, both of which were translated by an Indian Buddhist pandit called Dharmadhara with the help of a Tibetan scholar, Kīrtidhvaṇa (Gras pa rgyal mtshan) by name, at Gun thañ in Mñah ris (Western Tibet) ; iii. *Citralakṣaṇa* in three chapters of which the authorship of the first two is attributed to Nagnaji. The text is also called the *Nagnaji-citralakṣaṇa-nirdeśa*. The work has been rendered into German by Laufer (*Das Citralakṣaṇa*, 1913) ; iv. *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇanāma*. The Tibetan tradition mentions the name of the author as Mahārṣi Ātreya. The translation was prepared at Gun thañ by Dharmadhara.



The exact date of these Tibetan translations can not be determined at present. Most probably they were executed in the 11th or the 12th century A. D. which was the age of a great literary activity in Western Tibet. The latest discovery of G. Tucci in Spiti and Kunawar (cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, I templi del Tibet Occidentale, 1935) shows to what a large extent the Indian traditions of iconometry were known in Western Tibet during this period.

Of the four texts mentioned above, the first two were translated into Chinese from Tibetan by one Kong pu Cha pu in the beginning of the K'ien long period (1740 A. D.). The Chinese edition of these translations comprises the following texts: i. Fo shuo tsao siang leang tu king-the Buddhahāṣita-pratimālakṣaṇa-sūtra which is a literal translation from Tibetan (i): ii. Fo shuo tsao siang leang tu king kiai, the Buddhahāṣita-pratimālakṣaṇa-sūtra-vivaraṇa being a translation of Tibetan (ii) with notes of the Chinese translator; iii. supplementary texts collected by the translator on Bodhisattvapratimālakṣaṇam, Navatālapratimālakṣaṇam, Aṣṭatālapratimā-, Caturdharmapālapratimā-, Jñānoddhāra-vidhi, etc.

Although these texts were made available in Chinese so late, the Indian traditions of iconometry were known in China much earlier. The Chinese translator in this connection narrates the story of a Nepalese artist named A-ni-ko in his preface. A-ni-ko is also known from other Chinese sources (cf. S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. III, app. p. 185). A-ni-ko was born in Nepal in 1243 A. D. and went to Tibet at an early age at the head of a band of sculptors and painters. In 1260 A. D. 'Phags pa, the Guru of Kublai Khan ordered a golden pagoda to be built at the capital of Tibet. For that purpose he wanted to requisition the services of 100 select Nepalese artists. But only 24 artists were found. A-ni-ko who was only 17 years old at that time wanted to go but objections were made on account of his early age. He however replied: "I may be young in years but not so in mind". He was therefore allowed to go. When he reached the capital of Tibet 'Phags pa was highly impressed by the attainments of the young artist and the supervision of the entire work was entrusted to him. The construction of the pagoda was completed in two years when A-ni-ko wanted to go back to his country. But 'Phags pa was so fond of him that he initiated him to monkhood and after some time sent him to the capital of China. On his arrival at the capital he presented himself to the emperor Kublai Khan. The emperor wanted to know about his special attainments. The artist told him that he knew designing, modelling and metal casting. At the order of the emperor he repaired many of



the old statues in the palace, made a large number of statues for different monasteries in the empire and soon became widely known. Nobody had attained his perfection. In 1274 he received from the emperor supreme authority over the artists in metal within the empire. In 1275 A-ni-ko returned to the life of a layman, was appointed controller of Imperial manufactures and honoured with many posthumous titles after his death. Traditions of Indian iconometry handed down by A-ni-ko were current in China for a long time.

During my second visit to Nepal in 1929 I came across a number of manuscripts of Pratimālakṣaṇam in the Darbar Library. As ancient texts on image making were still very rare I at once secured copies of these manuscripts. One of the texts, the Samyak-sambuddha-bhāṣita-pratimālakṣaṇam has been edited by J. N. Banerjea with notes and translation in the Journal of Letters, Calcutta University, 1932. It is the original on which the Tibetan translation no. i (Daśatālanagrodha-parimaṇḍala-buddhapratimālakṣaṇam) was based. The Chinese translation though based on the Tibetan follows the Sanskrit text quite faithfully. Another text called the Pratimāmānalakṣaṇam which is the original of Tibetan ii and contains iconometrical directions on various Buddhist images has been edited in the Punjab Sanskrit Series. The edition is not quite up to the mark probably because the manuscript which the editor used was very corrupt. The copy of the ms. which I secured is very correct and will be soon utilized for a better edition of the text.

Besides the Buddhist texts of Pratimālakṣaṇam I discovered two extensive chapters on Brahmanical images in two Tantrik texts of canonical importance hitherto unnoticed, namely the Brahmayāmala and the Piṅgalāmata. The manuscripts of these two texts which I examined in the Darbar Library are very old; the first is dated in 172 N. S. (1052 A. D.) and the second in N. S. 294 (1174 A. D.). But the two works, as I have tried to prove elsewhere with the help of literary and inscriptional evidence go back at least to the 8th century A.D. (Indian Historical Quarterly vol. V. pp. 754-769). In these two texts therefore we have the oldest available information (probably with the exception of the Bṛhatsamhitā and the Viṣṇudharmottaram) on image-making in India.

The units of measurement : The units of measurement used in the Brahmayāmala and Piṅgalāmata texts are the same. These are trasareṇu, paramāṇu, bālāgra, likṣā, yūka, yava, aṅgula, kalā and vitastī. The Piṅgalāmata uses the words aṇu and keśāgra instead of paramāṇu and bālāgra. The standards are the following : 3 trasareṇu make 1 paramāṇu ; 8 paramāṇu make 1 bālāgra (keśāgra) ;

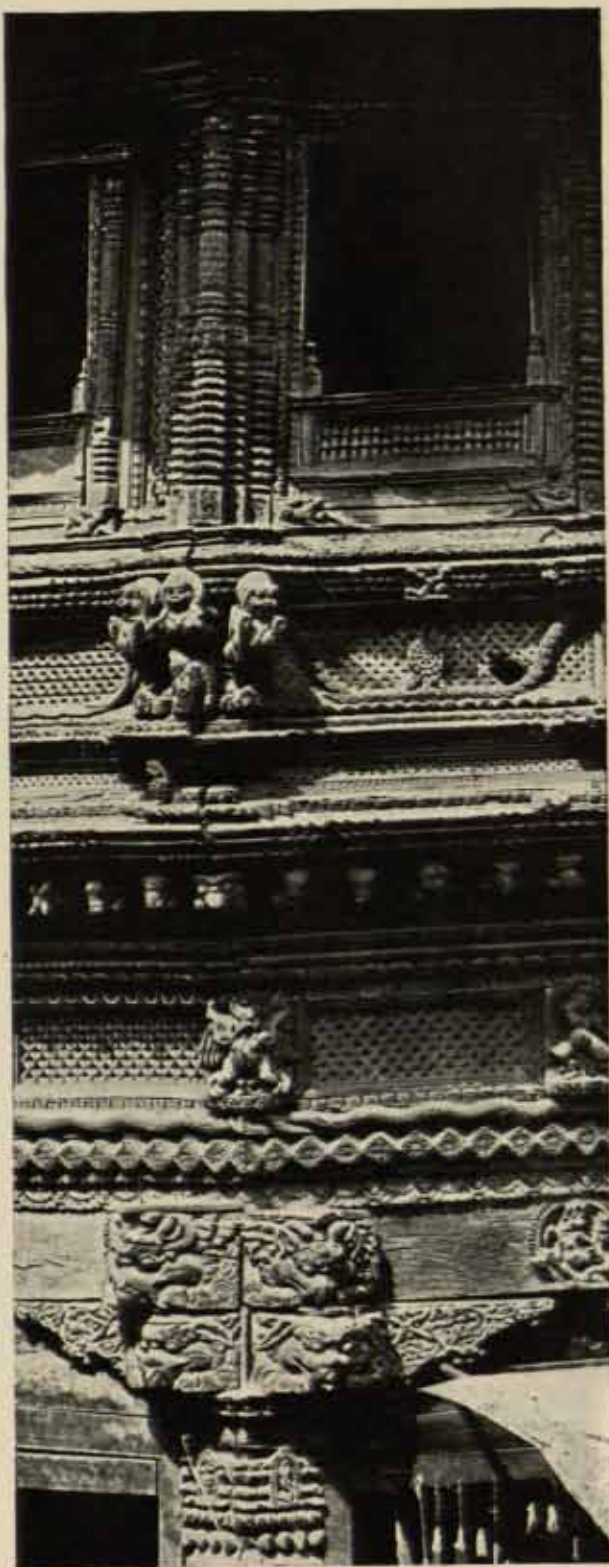




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8 bālāgra make 1 likṣā (var. ṛksā) ; 8 likṣā make 1 yūka ; 8 yūka make 1 yava ; 8 yava make 1 aṅgula ; 2 aṅgula make 1 kalā (also called golaka) ; 6 kalā make 1 vitasti (also called ratnī, hasta) ; 2 vitasti make 1 kara (? according to the Piṅgalāmata only) ; 7 vitasti make 1 daṇḍa.

This standard varies from that of the south Indian texts (Cf. Uttamadaśatāla measure, G. Rao, Hindu Iconography, I, 2. app.) but agrees with those of the north Indian texts. The terms used in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā are paramāṇu, raja, bālāgra, likṣā, yūka, yava and aṅgula and the same authority says that eight times of each are to be taken.

The Chinese commentary to the translation of Samyaksambuddha-bhāṣita-pratimālakṣaṇam (Fo shuo kiai siang leang king kiai) says that the Indian measures of images are : small dust (paramāṇu), the end of a hair (bālāgra), louse (likṣā), kiai-tseu (yūka ?) and wheat (yava) and that eight times of each are to be taken. It further says that two yavas make 1 tsiu (pāda), 4 pādas make one aṅgula and 12 aṅgulas make one pole (daṇḍa).

The first three are apparently imaginary measures and this is why there is uncertainty as to how many trasareṇu make one paramāṇu. There is some difference about the meaning of the word trasareṇu. In the south Indian texts it is given as rathareṇu whereas in the Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa it occurs as chāyā-reṇu. The Brahma-yāmala text explains it as the little particles which are seen dancing when the sun enters into a dark corner.

झायायां गुप्तदेशे तु सूर्यरश्मि यदा भवेत् ।  
उत्पत्यमाना दृश्यन्ते दुर्बिभावा स्वभावतः ॥  
रजसः सूक्ष्मरूपा ये स्त्रिभिस्त्रिसरेणवः ।

In the Piṅgalāmata text the same explanation is found as it says that the particles which are seen when the sun's rays fall in a dark corner are the trasareṇus (मलान्तरगते सूर्ये ये दृष्टस्त्रिसरेणवः ।)'. The same idea is conveyed by the expression chāyāreṇu "the particles in shade" but rathareṇu of the south Indian texts conveys a different idea as it refers to particles which are thrown around by the wheels of a chariot.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā does not refer to the trasareṇu but uses almost the same definition as that of the Piṅgalāmata in order to define a paramāṇu<sup>1</sup>. It is of course

1. आलान्तरगते भाषी यत् सूक्ष्मं दृश्यते रजः ।  
अथ सं तत् प्रमाणात् परमाद्यः प्रचक्षते ॥



difficult to determine which of the two texts is the borrower. They might have drawn on a common source.

The varieties of images : In the *Brahmayāmala* text the images are of three kinds, namely *Divyādhika*, *Divya*, and *Divyādivya* which I have rendered respectively as supra-divine, divine and semi-divine. Each of these classes also includes the images of the Śaktis or female energies of the various gods. I have not met a similar classification anywhere else. It resembles to some extent a classification according to the *Guṇas* referred to by G. Rao (*Tālamāna*, p. 41) and found in the south Indian Śaivāgamas. According to it the images of gods and goddesses may be divided into three classes, *Sāttvikī*, *Rājasi* and *Tāmasī*. It is however theoretically held in the same text that each and every god may have all these three aspects and in this the basis of classification seems to be different than that followed in our text.

The question of proportion however is not neglected in this classification. The three classes of images, *Divyādhika*, *Divya* and *Divyādivya* have three different standards of proportion. It is clearly held in our text that *Divyādhika* images should be 11 *tāla* in measurement, i.e., 132 *aṅgulas* as 1 *tāla* is described in the same text as a measure of 12 *aṅgulas*. The *Divyādivya* images should be 9 *tālas* (108 *aṅg.*) and though it is not clearly stated, the *Divya* images are suggested to be 10 *tālas* (120 *aṅg.*).

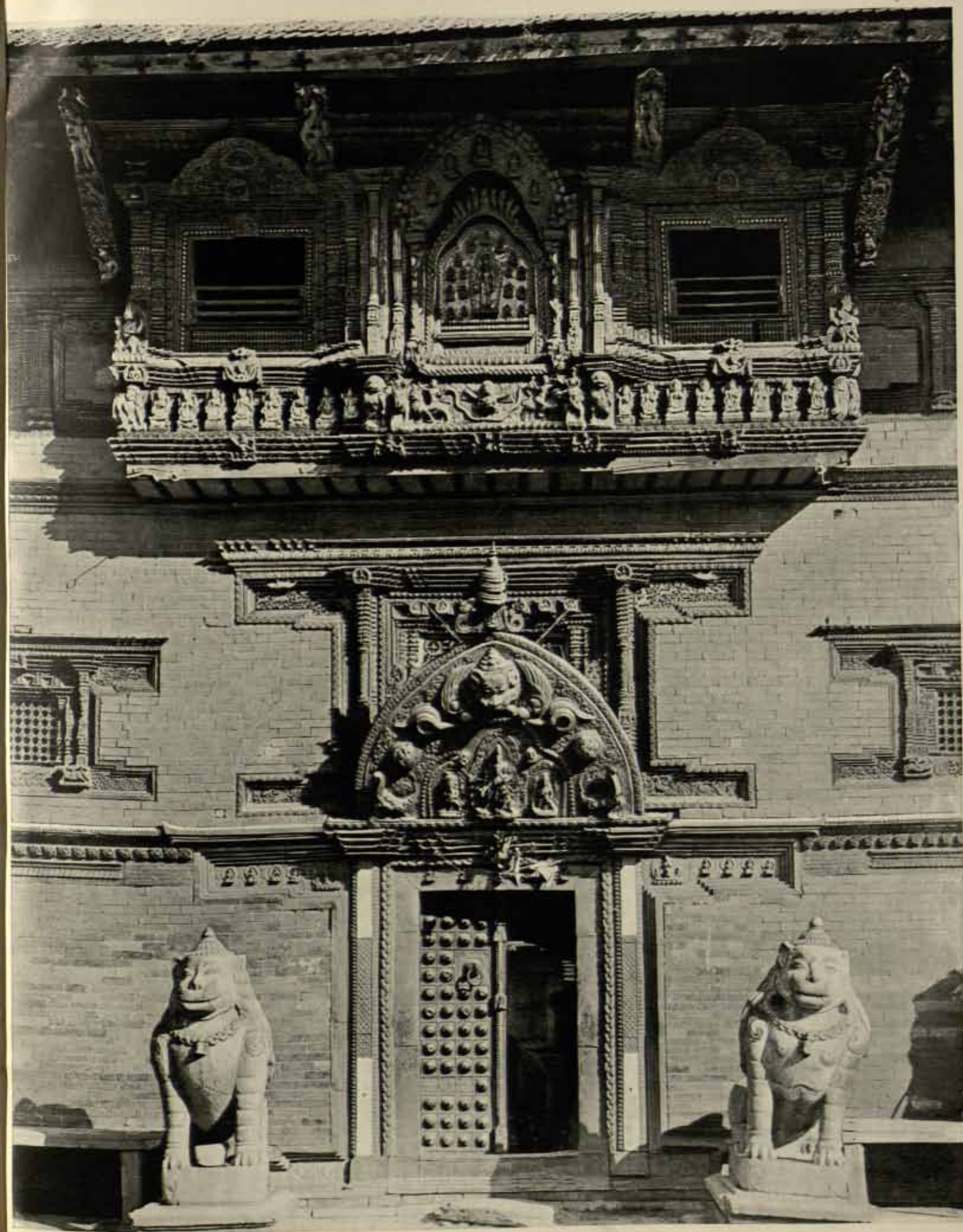
According to our text the *Divyādhika* images are those of the lords of the Devis, the Śaktis, *Sadāśiva*, the three Śaktis (of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara* ?), *Śrīkaṇṭha*, his consort and the lord of *Umā*. Some iconographical details of these gods and goddesses are given at the end of the text.

The *Divya* images are those of the *Yoginīs*, *Guhyakas*, the mother goddesses (*mātrkāś*), the lords of the *Guhyakas*, the *Vīras*, the 68 *Rudras*, the *Yoginīs* of the sky, the *Lokapālas*, etc. (The *Brahmayāmala* text however notes that according to the *Vimalatantra* these images fall into the category of *Divyādivya*).

The *Divyādivya* images are those of *Nandī*, *Mahākāla*, the two rivers (*Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*), etc. In one place of the text however these images are described as *Divya* images apparently by mistake. It will however appear from the iconographical details given towards the end that there is some confusion between the last two categories, the *Divya* and *Divyādivya*. Their distinction is not very clear.

The Chinese texts referred to above contain a classification of various Buddhist images according to the proportions of measurement. The images of Buddhas and







The distance between the brow and the eye should be  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (i.e., 1 aṅg.). The forehead above the brow should be 4 aṅg., the distance between the brow and the ears 3 kalā (i.e., 6 aṅg.) the distance between the Śṛkṣiṇī and eyes  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.). The length of the pendulous lobe of the ears (maṇi-karṇapūṭa ?) should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (i.e., 5 aṅg.), the depth of the ear-holes 1 aṅg., the upper parts of the ear (?)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (i.e., 3 aṅg.) and their thickness 1 aṅg. The height of the ear from the root should be 1 aṅgula.

The length (i.e., the height) of the neck should be 5 aṅg. and its thickness (prottha) 4 kalā (i.e., 8 aṅg.). The distance from the neck to the chest should be 8 kalā (i.e., 6 aṅg.)<sup>1</sup>. The width of the chest should be 32 aṅg. .... The distance between the arm-pit (kakṣa) and the breast (stana) should be 3 kalā (i.e., 6 aṅg.), the breast 2 aṅg., the joint of the stomach (?) (udara-sandhi ?) 2 aṅg., the two breasts (?) 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. each, the distance between the breasts 6 kalā, i.e.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., the distance between the chest (hṛdaya) and the navel 6 kalā, i.e.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., the width of the waist with the sides (?) should be 10 kalā (i.e., 20 aṅg.), the navel 2 kalā (i.e., 4 aṅg.), the thickness of the waist 32 aṅg., and the distance between the navel and the penis 16 kalā, i.e., 32 aṅg.<sup>2</sup>. The distance between the penis and the knees should be 12 kalā, i.e., 14 aṅg., the knees 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. each, the shanks from the knee down to the ankle 24 aṅg. each and the ankles (gulpha) down to the sole of the feet 3 kalā, i.e., 6 aṅg. each.

The foot from the heel (pārṣṇī) to the big toe should be 8 kalā (16 aṅg.), the big toe 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), the middle  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.), the third  $1\frac{1}{4}$  kalā ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg.), the fourth the same and the small toe 1 kalā (2 aṅg.). The thickness of the big toe should be 2 kalā (2 aṅg.), of the second 2 aṅg., 2 yav., the third 1 aṅg., and the last two 1 aṅg. each.

The arm from the top to the middle point (kūrpara) should be 9 kalā (18 aṅg.?), the middle point (kūrpara) itself 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) and the distance between

1. The text is corrupt in this case and I have made a correction. The text runs as follows : कर्णो हृदयस्यैव— In all other cases the text contains an indication of the distance between the neck and the chest and not that between the ear and the chest. I suggest the correction कर्णो हृदयस्यैव. This distance in all other cases is sometimes 13 and sometimes 15 aṅgulas.

2. This seems to be impossible. This distance according to the texts studied by G. Rao is either 13 aṅg. or 13 aṅg. 3 yav. (according to the uttamadaśatāla measure which is of 120 aṅg.), whereas according to the Śulkrānti it is 13 aṅg. and according to the Bhṛatsaṁhitā 12 aṅg. only. It will be seen later on that in the case of divine and semi-divine images our text makes this distance 14 aṅg. I think that in the present case 16 aṅg. and not 16 kalās (32 aṅg.), are meant.



the Kūrpara and the wrist (maṇibandha) 9 kalā (18 aṅg.). The distance from the wrist to the end of the fingers should be 7 kalā (14 aṅg.). The thumb from its root should be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (7 aṅg.) in length, its distance from the index finger should be 2 aṅg., its digit (parva)  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (1 aṅg.) and the nail half the parva, i.e.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. The index (tarjanī) should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.), the first joint (gaṇḍa) 14 yava (कला द्वियवोना), the second joint 2 aṅg. 6 yava and the digit  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. The middle finger should be 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), its first joint 2 aṅg., and the second 2 aṅg., the digit should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., and the nail  $\frac{3}{4}$  aṅg. The ring finger should be 2 kalā 1 aṅg. (i.e., 5 aṅg.), its joints 2 aṅg., and the digit 1 aṅg. The little finger should be 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), the joints  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., the digit 1 aṅg., and the nails of both the ring finger and the little finger half the digit. The thickness of the thumb should be 1 aṅg., that of the index 5 yav., the middle finger 6 yav., the ring finger 5 yav., and the little finger 4 yav.

ii. Divyādhika-nāri or supra-divine female deities

In the case of the supra-divine female figures<sup>1</sup> the foot should be 6 kalā (12 aṅg.) and the thickness of the heel should be 5 aṅg. (whereas that of the males should be 6 aṅg.). The sole of the foot should be 6 aṅg., (whereas that of the males should be 7 aṅg.). The big toe should be 3 aṅg., and its thickness  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg.). The second toe should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. (3 aṅg.) and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (i.e., 1 aṅg., the third toe should be 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) and its thickness 7 yav., ( $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 1 yav.), the fourth toe should be  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā 3 yav., (i.e. 11 yav.) and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 6 yav., and the little toe  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā 2 yav., (i.e. 10 yav.) and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 6 yav.

The (thickness of) the knee-cap (kalāpikā) should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e., 3 aṅg., and its periphery 7 kalā (14 aṅg.). In the case of males the periphery is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (11 aṅg.). The hip should be 18 kalā (36 aṅg.). The distance between the breasts should be  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (11 aṅg.) the periphery of the breast 4 kalā (8 aṅg.), and the distance between the neck and the breast  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.). The width of the chest including the arms should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (28 aṅg.), the thickness of the arms below the shoulder should be 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), the periphery 6 kalā, i.e., 12 aṅg. and the Kalāpikā 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) (in the case of males it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e., 5 aṅg., and the Kalāpikā 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg., the periphery 3 times that?). The palm of the hands should be 6 kalā, i.e., 12 aṅg., and its width 2 kalā (4 aṅg.).

1. It may be noted that in the case of the images of the Śaktis the text does not give any measurement of the upper portion of the body. For the head and the upper part of the body the same proportion as that of the images of the supra-divine gods evidently holds good.



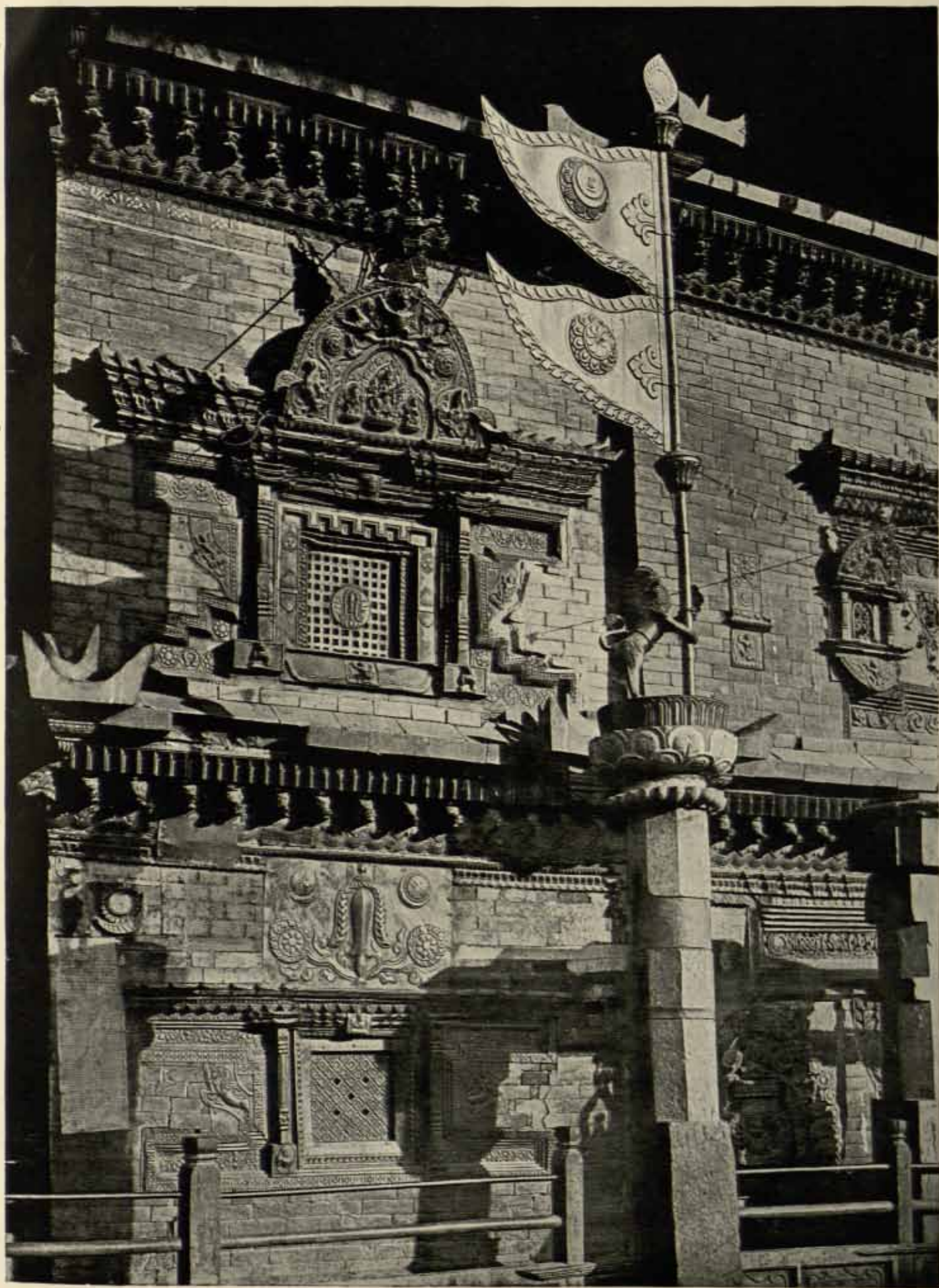
The thumb should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.) and its thickness 1 aṅg. less 1 yav., i.e., 7 yav., the index finger  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.), the middle finger  $2\frac{3}{4}$  kalā, i.e.,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. and the thickness of both the fingers 9 yav., the ring finger  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.) and its thickness 4 yav. and the little finger 2 kalā (4 aṅg.) and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. (4 yav.). The first digit of the thumb should be 1 kalā 1 yav., i.e., 17 yav., the second 1 kalā  $\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., i.e.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. or 20 yav., and the third 1 aṅg. 3 yav., i.e., 11 yav. The nail should be only half a digit. The first digit of the index finger should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. (20 yav.), the second 1 kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 14 yav., and the third 1 aṅg. 2 yav., i.e., 10 yav. The first digit of the middle finger should be 1 kalā 6 yav., i.e., 24 yav., the second 1 kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 14 yav. and the third  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā, i.e., 12 yav. The first digit of the ring finger should be 1 kalā 6 yav., i.e., 22 yav., the second 1 kalā, i.e., 16 yav. and the third 1 aṅg. 3 yav., i.e., 11 yava. The thickness of the fingers should be the same as the measure of the first digit. The fingers should be thick at the root and tapering.

## II

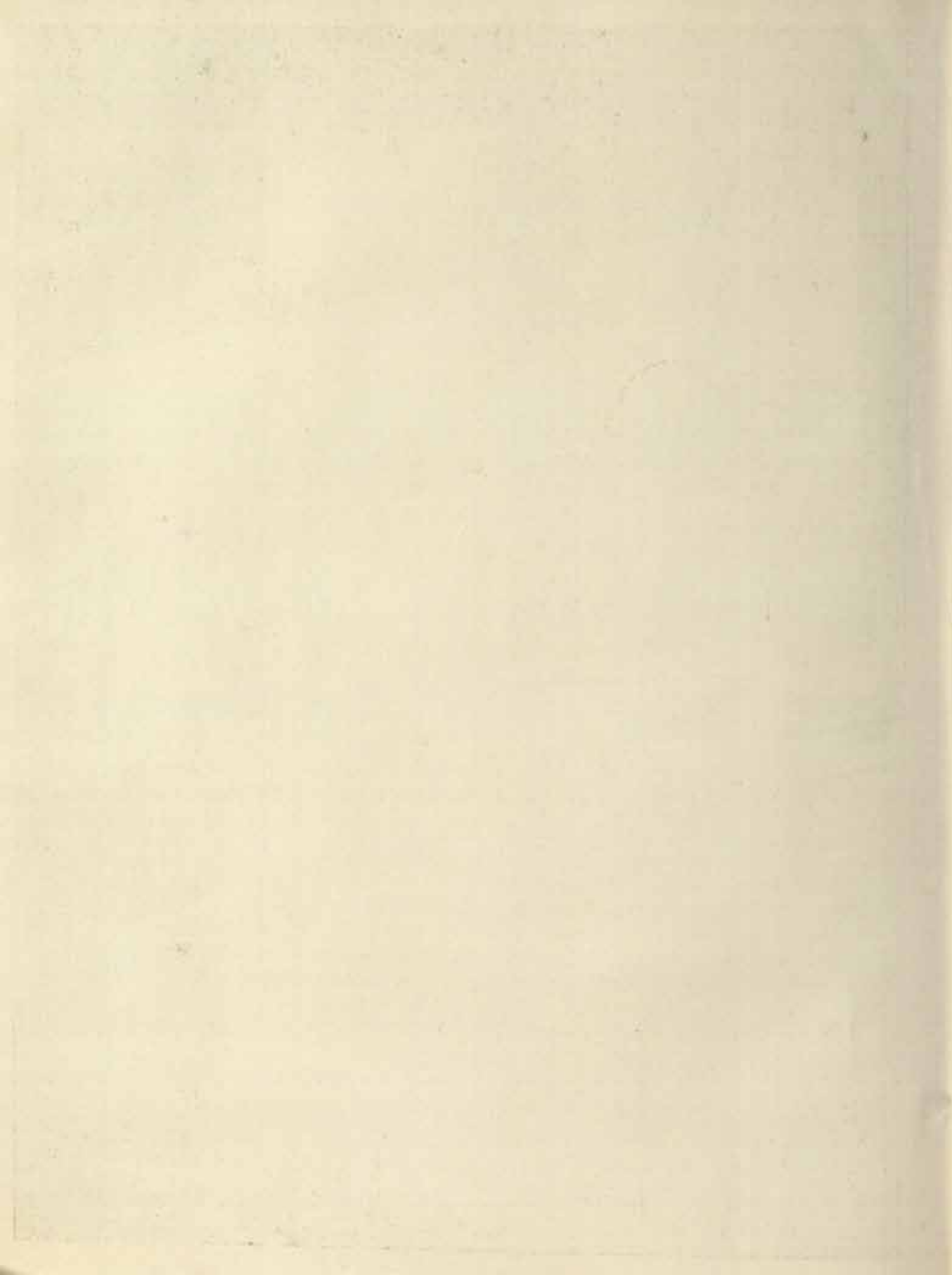
### i. Divya or divine

In the case of the Divya or divine images the face from the head should be 7 kalā, i.e., 14 aṅg. in length and its thickness from ear to ear 8 golaka (kalā), i.e., 16 aṅg. The forehead should be 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg., the head 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg., the nose 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. and the chin 1 kalā, i.e., 2 aṅg. The mouth should be 1 kalā (2 aṅg.), the eyes 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) in breadth,  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (1 aṅg.) in length, the eyebrows 2 kalā (4 aṅg.) in length and 2 yava in width. The distance between the brow and the eye should be 1 aṅg. The ear should be in thickness  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.), its hole 1 aṅg.; the inner hole 3 yava, the Maṇi (?) 5 yava in length and the lobe 5 yava in thickness. The mouth should be 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. and the neck 5 aṅg. in length and 6 aṅg. in thickness. The distance between the neck and the chest should be 6 kalā 8 yav., i.e., 13 aṅg. and the thickness of the chest 25 kalā (sic. aṅgulas). The arms should be 3 kalā, i.e., 6 aṅg. in thickness, the distance between the two breasts 6 kalā, i.e., 12 aṅg. and that between the chest and the navel 6 kalā, i.e., 12 aṅg. The thickness of the middle (madhya, i.e., torso) should be 20 aṅg., the depth of the navel 4 yav., the thickness of the hip (kaṭi) 1 kalā 4 yav., i.e., 20 yava, the distance between the navel and the penis 7 kalā, i.e., 14 aṅg. and the space between the penis and the knee 10 kalā, i.e., 20 aṅg. The knee should be 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg., the thigh 4 kalā (8 aṅg.) in thickness and the shank between the knee and the ankle should be 12 yava (sic. kalā, i.e., 24 aṅg.) The distance from the ankle to









the sole of the foot should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.), the foot 7 kalā (14 aṅg.), the joint (kalāpikā)  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , i.e., 3 aṅg. and the heel 2 kalā (4 aṅg.) in width.

The big toe should be narrow at the root and thick towards the end. Its thickness at the root should be 1 kalā 2 yav., i.e., 18 yav., the second toe should be 2 kalā (4 aṅg.) in length and 7 yava in thickness, the third toe  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.) in length and 6 yav. in thickness, the fourth toe 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) and 4 yav. in thickness and the little toe  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg.) in length and 4 yava in thickness.

The arms from the shoulders should be 7 kalā, i.e., 14 aṅg., and the distance between the elbow and the base of the fingers  $7\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (i.e., 15 aṅg.)...

The joint of the fingers (?) should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e., 3 aṅg. and the width of the palm  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e., 5 aṅg. The wrist should be 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) and its distance (?) from the fingers 3 kalā (6 aṅg.). From the wrist the thumb should be 4 kalā (8 aṅg.). The index should be 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), the middle finger 3 kalā  $\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., i.e.,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., the ring finger 3 kalā less 1 yav., i.e., 5 aṅg. 7 yav., and the little finger  $2\frac{1}{4}$  kalā, i.e.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg.

The first digit of the thumb should be 2 kalā 2 yav., i.e., 4 aṅg. 2 yav., the second digit 1 kalā 3 yav., i.e., 19 yav., and the third 1 aṅg. 3 yav., i.e., 11 yav. The first digit of the index should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 18 yav., the second  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā i.e., 12 yav., and the third 1 aṅg. 2 yav., i.e., 10 yav. The first digit of the middle finger should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā 2 yav., i.e., 26 yav., the second 1 kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 14 yav., and the third 1 kalā less 3 yav., i.e., 13 yav. The first digit of the ring finger should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 22 yav., the second 1 kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 14 yav., and the third 1 aṅg. 3 yav., i.e., 11 yav. The first digit of the little finger should be 1 kalā, i.e., 2 aṅg., the second  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā 2 yav., i.e., 10 yav., and the third 8 yav. The thickness of the middle finger should be 1 aṅg. less 2 yav., i.e., 6 yav., the index 1 aṅg. less 1 yav., i.e., 7 yav., the ring finger 1 aṅg. less 2 yav., i.e., 6 yav. and the little finger  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 2 aṅg., i.e., 1 aṅg. (?). The nails should be always half the digit.

## ii. Divyanāri or divine female deities

Of the Divyanāris the two feet should be 6 kalā (12 aṅg.) in length from the heel to the big toe. The thickness of the foot should be 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. and the heel 2 kalā, i.e., 4 aṅg. The big toe should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 22 yav. and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 6 yav. The second toe  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā 2 yav., i.e., 26 yav., and its thickness 6 yav. The third toe 1 kalā, i.e., 2 aṅg. and its thickness 4 yav. The fourth toe should be 1 kalā less 2 yav., i.e., 14 yav. and the little toe  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā, i.e., 12 yav. and the thickness of the last two toes should be the same as that of the third toe. The Kalāpikā (the joints of fingers) should be 2 yav. in width.



The hip should be 17 kalā, i.e., 34 aṅg., the waist 7 kalā (14 aṅg.) and the navel 1 kalā (2 aṅg.). Of the Trivali (three folds above the navel) the first should be 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) the second 1 kalā less 2 yav. (14 yav.) and the third 1 kalā (2 aṅg.). In the case of supra-divine females (divyādhika) the first of the three folds should be  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (1 aṅg.), the second 1 kalā (2 aṅg.), and the third of the same measure as the first. The width of the breast should be  $6\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (13 aṅg.) and the distance between the breast and the neck 5 kalā (10 aṅg.). The width of the chest including arms should be 11 kalā (22 aṅg.), and the arms 2 kalā (4 aṅg.) each. The neck should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.) in thickness (in the case of supra-divine females it should be 3 kalā less 3 yav., i.e., 5 aṅg. 5 yav.).

### III

#### i. Divyādivya or semi-divine

The semi-divine or Divyādivya images should be 9 tāla in measurement. The forehead should be 1 aṅg., the head 3 aṅg., the nose 4 aṅg., the chin 1 aṅg., the mouth 1 aṅg., the brows 4 yava and the distance between the two brows  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (1 aṅg.); in the case of divine images it should be 2 aṅg. The Nāsāpuṭa should be three times  $\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.), the lower lip (adhara) 1 aṅg. and the upper lip  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg. The distance between the eyes should be 1 kalā, i.e., 2 aṅg., the ears  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.) and the width of the ears 1 kalā 2 yav. (18 yav.). The pupil of the eye should be 3 yav. and its socket 6 yav. in depth, 1 aṅg. in length and 3 yav. in width. The distance between the brow and the ears should be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i.e., 9 aṅg. (whereas in the case of divine images it should be 3 kalā, i.e., 6 aṅg.). The mouth between the two sides (srkkini) should be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.), the thickness of the head from ear to ear (?) should be 7 golaka (14 aṅg.) and the width 8 golaka (16 aṅg.). The neck should be 5 aṅg. and its thickness also 5 aṅg. ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā). The distance between the neck and the chest should be  $7\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (15 aṅg.) and the chest itself including the arms 13 kalā (26 aṅg.). The shoulder should be 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), the arm 2 kalā 8 yava, i.e., 5 aṅg. and the distance between the chest and the navel 6 kalā (12 aṅg.). The waist should be 6 kalā (12 aṅg.) and the distance from the navel to the penis 7 kalā, i.e., 14 aṅg. The navel should be 1 kalā, i.e., 2 aṅg. and its width 4 yav.

The distance between the penis and the knee should be 16 aṅg., the thickness of the thigh 4 kalā (8 aṅg.), the knee 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), the shanks 8 kalā (16 aṅg.), from the

1. There is no indication here of the measurement of the head and the forehead. We have therefore to suppose that these measures are meant to be the same as in the case of the Divyādhika images, i.e., 4 aṅg. each.



ankle to the sole of the foot  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.), the ankle itself 2 aṅg., the Kalāpikā (joint ?)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.), the length of the foot 7 kalā (14 aṅg.) and the width of its sole is 2 kalā (4 aṅg.). The heel should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.).

The big toe should be 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), its thickness 10 yav., the second toe 2 kalā (4 aṅg.), its thickness 4 yav., the third toe  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (3 aṅg.) and its thickness  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yav., the fourth toe 1 kalā (2 aṅg.) and the little toe  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg.). The thickness of the last two should be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yav. The palm of the hand should be 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), its thickness 2 kalā (4 aṅg.). The thumb should be 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), the index 6 aṅg., the middle finger 6 aṅg. 3 yav., the ring finger 3 kalā (6 aṅg.) and the little finger 1 kalā (2 aṅg.).

The first digit of the thumb should be 1 kalā 2 yav., i. e., 18 yav., the second 1 kalā 1 yav., i. e., 17 yav. and the third 1 aṅg. 5 yav., i. e., 13 yav. The first digit of the index finger 1 kalā less 2 yav., i. e., 14 yav., the second the same, i. e., 14 yav. and the third  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aṅg., i. e., 12 yav. The first digit of the middle finger should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i. e., 24 yav. the second 22 yav. and the third 12 yav. The first digit of the ring finger should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 3 yav., i. e., 21 yav., the second 1 kalā, i. e., 16 yav., and the third 14 yav. The first digit of the little finger should be 14 yav., the second 9 yav. and the third 9 yav. The width of the thumb is 8 yav., the middle finger 6 yav., the index 7 yav., the ring finger 6 yav. and the little finger 6 yav. The nails should be half the digit.

## ii. Divyādivya-nāri or semi-divine female deities

Of the semi-divine female deities the foot should be 6 kalā (12 aṅg.) in length and its thickness 2 kalā less 3 yav., i. e., 3 aṅg. 5 yav., the heel  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā, i. e., 5 aṅg. The big toe should be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kalā less 2 yav., i. e., 18 yav., the second toe 17 yav., the third toe 1 kalā (16 yav.), the fourth 8 yav. and the little toe  $\frac{3}{4}$  kalā (12 yav.). The width of the big toe should be 6 yav., that of the second 6 yav., the third 5 yav. and the last two 4 yav.

The Kalāpikā (joint) should be 2 kalā less 2 yav., i. e., 3 aṅg. 6 yav. The hip should be 12 kalā (24 aṅg.) in thickness, the waist 4 kalā (8 aṅg.) and the navel 1 kalā (2 aṅg.). The breasts should be 3 kalā, i. e., 6 aṅg., the distance between the neck and the breast 5 kalā (10 aṅg.) and the arms 7 kalā (14 aṅg.).....

The thumb should be 3 kalā, i. e., 6 aṅg., the index finger 3 kalā (6 aṅg.), the middle finger 3 kalā 1 yav., the ring finger  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kalā (5 aṅg.) and the little finger 2 kalā (4 aṅg.). The thickness of the thumb should be 1 kalā less 2 yav., i. e., 14 yav., the middle finger 4 yav., the index 5 yav., and the last two 4 yav. each.



## IV

## Iconography

The supra-divine images should have five faces whereas the divine images may have any number of faces. The followers of the Guhyakas, the servants of the female attendants, the lords of the Yoginīs and of the mother goddesses (mātrkā) should have five faces. Virabhadra (?) may have the same number of faces. The Guhyakas may have four faces, their female attendants three, the Yoginīs one and the mother goddesses four faces.

Both the supra-divine and the divine images should be represented with five Mudrās, four hands and as sitting on a Mahāpreta. They may hold in their hands Khatvāṅga (mace), Muṇḍa (head), Akṣasūtra (rosary) and the skull (kapāla) and one hand in the pose of Varamudrā. In one of the right hands there should be a skull, in one of the left hands a Khatvāṅga, the second right hand in the Varadā pose and the second left hand with the Akṣasūtra.

The supra-divine and divine images should all be decorated with garlands of skulls hanging from the neck to the feet.

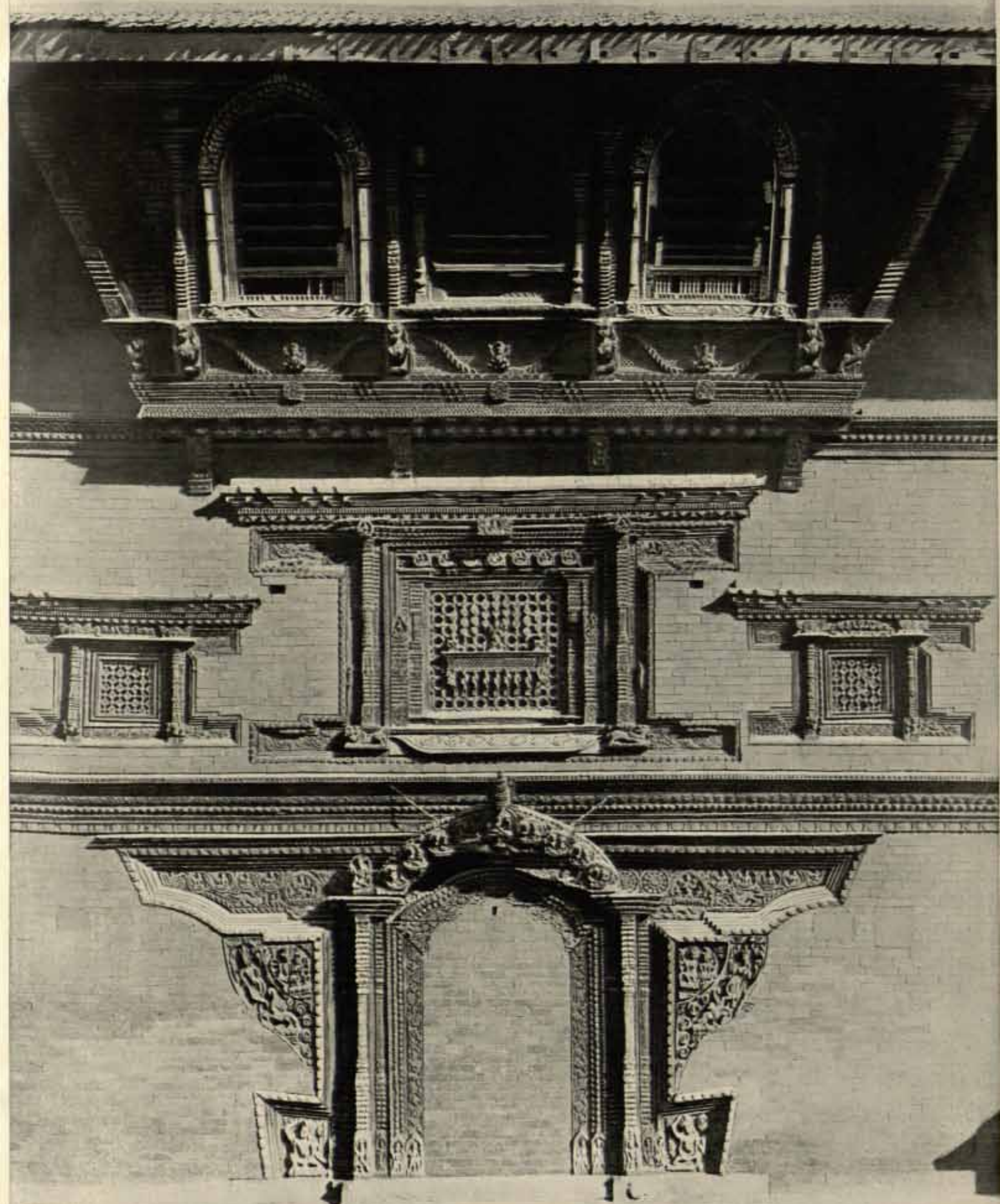
According to the Ekavīra system of worship (एकवीरविधाने) the Guhyakas and the mother goddesses should be represented as having five faces, the female attendants as having three faces and Yoginīs one face. All the gods and goddesses should figure as naked and with flowing hair. (मुक्तकेशानि सर्वानि नद्यरूपानि चैव हि ॥).

Sadāsiva has the colour of pure crystal, as bright as millions of suns combined with the tinge of pure Hīṅgu (asa foetida). The Śakti who is supra-divine should be represented as a maiden with youthful breasts and arms.

The three Śaktis should be represented as without any flesh, with bodies consisting of veins only. The breasts are without any flesh. The Śakti in the middle should be represented as without veins, with a narrow waist, with a colour like that of the pure Hīṅgu, not very emaciated, as white as the conch or the Kunda (jasmine) flower, with very tight breasts as one in the prime of youth. The Śakti on the left should be represented as of pink colour, decorated with heavenly ornaments, the body a little slackened as one in mid-youth. All the Śaktis should appear as not fatigued in their dalliance with the god.

Śrīkaṇṭha should be represented as Ardha-nārīśvara. The lord of Umā should be represented as of pure white colour and Umā as seated on the left thigh of the god, her left arm not visible, with youthful breasts, the body perfect in every part.









The names of the Guhyakas are given in the Ucchuṣmatantram as follows : Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍā and Mahocchuṣmā. The followers of the Guhyakas are : Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, Mahābalā, etc. The six Yoginīs are Krauṣṭikī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇa, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, Mahānāsā and the eight mother goddesses are Māheśvarī, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aparā (?), Vāsavī, Vivasvatī, Kaumārī and Caṇḍikā.

Raktā is known as the mother of the world. She is of pure white colour and youthful breasts. Karālī is red and has a body perfect in all parts. Caṇḍākṣī is yellow, Mahocchuṣmā is as black as completely dark jet. They all are virgins, with breasts indicating the prime of youth and unfatigued in their dalliance. Karālā is the follower of Raktā, Danturā of Karālā and Bhīmavaktrā and Caṇḍākṣī of Ucchuṣmā. The attendants (kīmkarī) all originate from Ucchuṣmā. The Yoginīs are all of pure white colour, youthful and virgin.

Māheśvarī has the colour of Maheśvara, Brāhmī has the colour of Brahmā, Vaiṣṇavī that of Viṣṇu, Kaumārī that of Kumāra, Vivasvatī that of Yama, Māhendrī that of Indra, Caṇḍikā is red.....

The bodies of these goddesses are without any flesh, consisting only of bones and skin, the veins being visible. Their breasts consist of skin only, their waist is narrow and thin and the chin emaciated. Their mouths are wide open, their tongues projecting outside, their teeth exposed and thus awe-inspiring. Their hair is thick and grey, their breasts are a little reddish and they are all virgins given to the vow.

Bhairavī should be represented as having the colour of Bhairava, the lords of the Guhyaka should have the colour of Guhyaka. The angry Yoginīs are the Śaktis of the heroes (vīras), the lords of the mother-goddesses should have the colour of these goddesses. The lotuses on which all these gods are seated are white.

The Yoginīs, Rākṣasas and Lāmās are black and red, with frightful teeth. The Yoginīs and Lāmās are fleshy but the Rākṣasas and the guardians of the gates (dvārapālas) are without any flesh.

Sadāsiva and others have three eyes with the crescent of the moon on the forehead. The Lāmās have two eyes only and no crescent. The Rākṣasas have also two eyes and no crescent. The Lāmās are represented without any Khaḍga and Khatvāṅga. The five Mudrās are not depicted in their case.



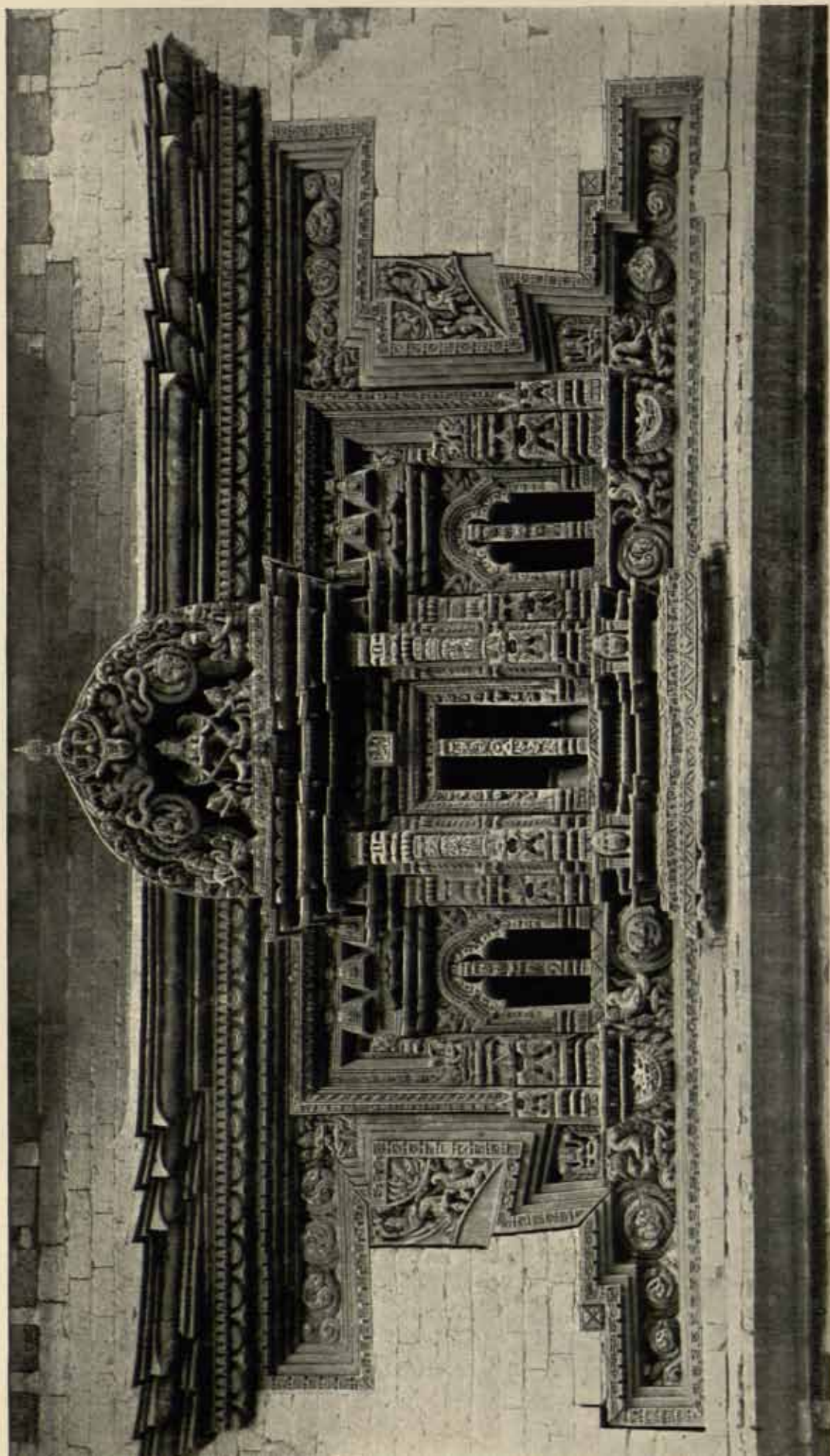
Extract from the Brahmayāmala-tantra ch. IV : the ms. dated 172 N. S. = 1052 A. D. in the Nepal Darbar Library.<sup>1</sup>

[1<sup>a</sup>] अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि प्रतिमाकर्म यथाविधिः ।  
 देवीनां चैव नामानि कथ्यमानानि मे शृणु ॥  
 दिव्यादिव्याधिकाश्चैव दिव्यादिव्यं तथैव च ।  
 रूपकं त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं कथ्यमानं निबोध मे ॥  
 दिव्याधिकान्तु ये रूपान् कथयामि यथायतः ।  
 देवीनां चैव देवा य सर्वसिद्धयकारणम् ॥  
 शक्तिः सदाशिवश्चैव शक्तिसंपन्तु एव च ।  
 श्रीकण्ठश्च तथा देवी उमापति तथापरः ॥  
 एते दिव्याधिका प्रोक्तास्तथा दिव्यं शृणुप्रिये ।  
 योगिन्य गुह्यकाद्याश्च मात्रयान्ताश्च सकिंकराम् ॥  
 गुह्यका पतयश्चैव वीराश्चैव प्रति प्रति ।  
 अष्टपटि तथा रुद्रा योगिन्यः श्रेयसंस्थिताः ॥  
 लोकपालास्तथाचैव एते दिव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ।  
 दिव्यादिव्यास्तथाह्येते तन्त्रेस्मिन्विमलाह्वये ॥  
 तथा नन्दीमहाकाली तथा चैव सरिद्वयम् ।  
 एतदिव्यं समाख्यातं युग्मं युग्मं वरानने ॥  
 दिव्याधिकं तथा दिव्यं दिव्यादिव्यं तथैव च ।  
 लक्षणं च प्रमाणं च कथयामि यथास्थितम् ॥  
 छायायां गुप्तदेशे तु सूर्यरश्मि यदा भवेत् ।  
 उत्पत्त्यमाना दृश्यन्ते इविभावा स्वभावतः ॥  
 रजसः सूक्ष्मरूपा येस्त्रिभिस्तैस्तु सरेणवः ।  
 त्रिभिश्च त्रसरेणुभिः परमाणु प्रकीर्तिताः ॥  
 परमाणुभिस्तथाचैव बालाग्रैरष्टभिर्भवेत् ।  
 बालाग्रैरष्टभिश्चैव ऋक्षा च परिकीर्तिताः ॥  
 लिङ्गाभिरष्टभिश्चैव यूका वै संप्रकीर्तिताः ।  
 यूकाभिरष्टभिश्चैव यवन्तु संप्रकीर्तिताम् ॥  
 अष्टभिस्तु यवैर्वैवि अंगुलं परिकीर्तिताम् ।  
 द्व्यंगुला तु कला प्रोक्ता गोलकश्चैव वक्ष्यते ॥

पद्भिः कलैर्वितलि स्यादेवितलिस्तु च रत्निका ।  
 रत्निलथोच्यते हस्तः सप्तहस्तस्तु दण्डकः ॥  
 दिव्याधिकस्य आदौ तु कथ्यमानं निबोध मे ।  
 दिव्याधिकं तु तद्रूपं तदेकादशतालकम् ॥  
 अंगुलानि भवेत्तालं द्वादशांश प्रमाणतः ।  
 आदावेवं समाख्यातो मस्तकश्चतुरंगुलम् ॥  
 चतुरंगुलास्तुता नासा ललाटं चतुरंगुलम् ।  
 मुखन्तु त्र्यंगुलं प्रोक्तं चिबुकं द्व्यंगुलं भवेत् ॥  
 सूक्ष्म्यां तु तथा चास्याः वित्तरं चतुरंगुलम् ।  
 नासापुटी तथा ज्ञेया द्व्यंगुली तु प्रमाणतः ॥  
 नासाग्रं द्व्यंगुलं प्रोक्तं वित्तरेण महायशे ।  
 दैव्यं अक्षणौ तथा ज्ञेयस्तत्र गुलन्तु प्रमाणतः ।  
 प्रोत्थन्तु द्व्यंगुलं प्रोक्तं तारकश्चांगुलं भवेत् ।  
 अक्षणोः चैव पुटी कार्थ्या यथा उभौ प्रमाणतः ।  
 चतुरंगुली भ्रुवो व्याती द्व्यंगुलं तु भ्रुवोत्तरम् ।  
 अक्षणौ चैव भ्रुवौ देवि कलावादीन्तरं भवेत् ॥  
 भ्रुवो परि महादेवि ललाटं चतुरंगुलम् ।  
 [2<sup>a</sup>] कर्णयोश्च भ्रुवोश्चैव अन्तरा तिकलं भवेत् ॥  
 सूक्ष्म्याक्षन्तरं चैव सादं देवि कलाद्वयम् ।  
 मणिकर्णपुटी दैव्यं सादं चैव कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 श्रवणयोश्च पुटी प्रोत्थं अंगुली परिकीर्तिता ।  
 दैव्येण च कला सादं भवेद्योपरिमात्मनि ॥  
 प्रोत्थेन अंगुलं ज्ञेयं यथाशोभं व्यवस्थितम् ।  
 कर्णमूलान्ततोच्छ्रं धा सादंश्चैवांगुलं भवेत् ॥  
 दैव्येण कण्ठदेशे तु भवेत् पञ्चाङ्गुलं भवेत् ।  
 धनुः कलः समाख्यातः प्रोत्थेन तु न संशयः ॥  
 कर्णन्तु हृदयश्चैव भवेदष्टकलं तथा ।  
 वित्तरेण तु वक्ष्ये ह्यष्टाङ्गुलकं भवेत् ॥

1. cf. H. P. Shastri—Catalogue of Mss. in the Darbar Library, vol. II, p. 61. In point of language the Sanskrit is corrupt like that of other Tantras. I have not tried to make any correction.









बाहू च शीर्षकं चैव त्रिकलं प्रोत्थकं स्मृतम् ।  
 कक्षादूर्ध्वं तथा चैव साद्वर्धं चैव कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 शिखरोर्ध्वं स्थितश्चैव कला संपरिकीर्त्तिता ।  
 कक्षयोः स्तनयोश्चैव अन्तरं त्रिकलं भवेत् ॥  
 स्तनी तु द्व्यङ्गुली प्रोक्तौ उदरसन्धिसंस्था पुनः ।  
 स्तनस्याचान्तरं (१) प्रोक्तं द्विकलन्तु प्रमाणतः ॥  
 स्तनयोरन्तरश्चैव पट्कलं परिकीर्त्तितम् ।  
 इदयात्राभिदेशे तु पट्कलं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥  
 प्रोत्थं दशकलं ज्ञेयं कटिशीर्षसमायुतम् ।  
 नाभिमण्डलकश्चैव द्विकलः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥  
 कटिदेशन्तु प्रोत्थेन द्वात्रिंशाङ्गुलसन्मितम् ।  
 नाभिः तः सेट्कं यावत् कला पौदशसंमितम् ॥  
 मेढू च जानुनी यावद्द्वौ चैव प्रमाणतः ।  
 कला द्वादशक प्रोक्तौ जानौ च द्वौ कलौ स्मृतौ ॥  
 जानुभ्यां च तथा जंघौ चतुर्विंशाङ्गुलं तथा ।  
 गुल्फा पादतलं यावत् त्रिकलं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥  
 पाणिं चाङ्गुलकं यावत् पादाब्जाष्टकला स्मृताः ।  
 अङ्गुली द्विकलौ प्रोक्तौ पादतर्जनीका तथा ॥  
 कला साद्वर्धं समाख्याता वैध्व्येण तु सुशोभना ।  
 मध्यमाङ्गुलिका तत्र सपादा च कला भवेत् ॥  
 अनामिका तथैवेह सपादा च कला भवेत् ।  
 कनिष्ठा तु कला प्रोक्ता यथाशोभा तु कारयेत् ॥  
 प्रोत्थेनाङ्गुलकं चैव द्विकलौ परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 तर्जनी तु तथा प्रोत्था द्व्यङ्गुलं द्वियवं तथा ॥  
 मध्यमा अङ्गुलं प्रोत्थं तथानामिकनिष्ठिकौ ।  
 शिखराकूर्परं यावद्द्वेन वलवत्तथा [१] ।  
 बाह्वोः तथा कलामेकौ कूर्परन्तु न संशयः ॥  
 कूर्परान्मणिबन्धन्तु यावत् नवकला स्मृता ।  
 हस्तौ च भवते दीर्घान्ततो हस्ततलं भवेत् ॥  
 मणिबन्धात् समारम्भ्य अङ्गुल्यप्रन्तु यावतः ।  
 कला सप्त समाख्यातमङ्गुलीभिः समन्वितम् ॥  
 करसन्धिं समारम्भ्य अङ्गुली परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 कलाप्रथं तथाद्वै वैध्व्येण वरवर्णिनि ॥

मध्यान्तरौ तथा देवि द्व्यङ्गुली परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 पर्वं चाद्वर्धं कलं ज्ञेयं पर्वोर्ध्वेन नला स्मृता ॥  
 कलाद्वयं तथा साद्वर्धं तर्जनी परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 भागं कला स्मृता गण्ड द्वियवोना महायशे ॥  
 द्वितीयं चाङ्गुलं गण्डं भवेद्द्वेपञ्चवाधिकम् ।  
 द्व्यङ्गुली गुलन्तु पर्वस्यात्तर्जनीयास्तृतीयकम् ॥  
 मध्यामाङ्गुलिकश्चैव त्रिकला परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 [2<sup>१</sup>] चतुर्विंशौ तु कर्तव्यौ नास काट्यौ विचारणा ॥  
 भागं चैव द्व्यङ्गुलं गण्डं द्वितीयं द्व्यङ्गुलं भवेत् ।  
 पर्वन्तथाङ्गुलं साद्वर्धं पादुनां चाङ्गुलं नलौ ॥  
 अनामिका तथा देवि द्विकला चाङ्गुलं तथा ।  
 द्व्यङ्गुली तु तथा गण्डौ पर्वं चाङ्गुलसन्मितौ ॥  
 कनिष्ठिका तथा चैव द्विकला परिकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 द्व्यङ्गुलं द्व्यङ्गुली गण्डौ पर्वञ्चाङ्गुलसन्मितम् ॥  
 पर्वोर्ध्वेन नलौ प्रोक्तौ कनिष्ठानामिकामपि ।  
 प्रोत्थेनाङ्गुलिमावन्तु अङ्गुलं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥  
 तर्जनी तु तथा चैव प्रोत्थात् पञ्च यथा स्मृता ॥  
 पञ्चवा मध्यमा प्रोक्ता अनामा पञ्च कीर्त्तितौ ।  
 चतुर्विंशौ कनिष्ठी स्यान्नक्षत्रशुक्ला ततः परः ।  
 स्वेच्छया कारयेत् देवि पर्वं चैव भैरवोन्नवीत् ॥  
 दिव्याधिकानां रूपाणामेतत् मानं प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।  
 स्वरूपस्य प्रमाणेन अङ्गुलानि प्रकल्पयेत् ॥...

#### दिव्याधिकानां शक्तीनां लक्षणं—

पादौ तु पट्कलं ज्ञेयौ स्त्रीणां चैव वरानने ।  
 पाणीं प्रोत्थेन कर्तव्या स्त्रीणां पञ्चाङ्गुलं तथा ॥  
 षडङ्गुलं भवेत् पुंसां पादाग्रतलकं तथा ।  
 सप्ताङ्गुलं भवेत् पुंसां नारीणां च षडङ्गुलम् ॥  
 अङ्गुलं द्व्यङ्गुलं स्त्रीणां कलाद्वर्धनाधिकं तथा ।  
 प्रोत्थेनाङ्गुली कायौ पादुनान्तु कला त्रये ॥  
 तर्जनी तु कला साद्वर्धं वैध्व्येण तु प्रकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 प्रोत्थेन तु कलाद्वै स्यान्मध्यमा तु कलास्मृता ॥  
 प्रोत्थेनाद्वै कला चैव यवूनान्तु प्रकीर्त्तितौ ।  
 अनामिका प्रमाणे तु कलाद्वै स्त्रियवाधिकम् ॥



[ प्रोत्थेनाद्धं कला चैव द्वियवूणा प्रकीर्तिता ।  
 कनिष्ठिका प्रमाणेन कलाद्धं द्वियवाधिकम् ॥  
 द्वियवानां तथा चैव प्रोत्थेनाद्धं कला स्मृताः ।  
 जघकलापिका देवि कला सार्द्धा प्रकीर्तिता ॥  
 परिणाहस्तया प्रोक्ता कला सप्त न संशयः ।  
 परिणाहे तथा पुंसां कला चैवाद्धपञ्चमम् ॥  
 अष्टादश कला स्त्रीणां नितम्बं परिकीर्तितम् ।  
 स्तनयोर्मध्यदेशन्तु कला चैवाद्धपञ्चमम् ॥  
 कला चत्वारि सर्वास्तु परिणाह तयोः स्मृतः ।  
 कण्ठस्तनान्तरञ्चैव कला सार्द्धा प्रकीर्तितम् ॥  
 सबाहुवक्षः प्रोत्थेन कला चैव चतुर्दश ।  
 बाहवो अंशकापस्तात् प्रोत्थेन द्विकलौ स्मृतौ ॥  
 परिणाहे तथा देवि षट्कलौ परिकीर्तितौ ।  
 पुरुषस्य तथा द्वेतौ सार्द्धञ्चैव कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 कलापिकाश्च प्रोत्थेन कलाः संपरिकीर्तिता ।  
 पुंसास्तु द्विकला ज्ञेया परिणाहा लिगुणाः स्मृताः ॥  
 शेषं देवि प्रमाणं स्यात् समानं नारिसुःसयोः ।  
 हस्तस्य तु तलं चैव षट्कलं परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
 आयत्वेन तु नारीणां प्रोत्थेन द्विकलं भवेत् ।  
 कलाद्वयं तथा चाद्धमंगुष्ठौ परिकीर्तितौ ।  
 यवूनाश्च तथा प्रोत्था स्वमानेनांगुलं भवेत् ।  
 तर्जनी तु भवेद्दीर्घा कलाद्वयं तथाद्धकः ॥

॥३७॥ मध्यमा तु भवेच्चैव पादूनान्तु कलालयम् ।  
 पठ्यवा तु तथा प्रोत्था भवेद्द्वै चांगुलिद्वयम् ॥  
 अनामिका तथा दैर्घ्यं सार्द्धञ्चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 चतुर्यवा भवेत् प्रोत्था कनिष्ठी द्विकला स्मृताः ॥  
 दैर्घ्येण प्रोत्थतश्चापि अर्द्धा अंगुलिमिता भवेत् ।  
 अंगुष्ठे मूलिमा पर्वं कला ज्ञेयं यवाधिकम् ॥  
 अर्द्धांगुलं कला चैव द्वितीयं पर्वकं भवेत् ।  
 तृतीयं चांगुलं प्रोक्तं श्लिषवा च समासतः ॥  
 पर्वार्द्धेन नखाः प्रोक्ताः सर्वेषां नास संशयः ।  
 तर्जन्यायान्तथाद्यन्तु सपादा तु कला स्मृता ॥  
 द्वियवूनां द्वितीया स्यात् कला चैव प्रकीर्तिता ।  
 तृतीयं चांगुलं प्रोक्तं द्वियवाधिकपर्वकम् ॥

मध्यमायां तथाद्यन्तु कला च पठ्यवास्तथा ।  
 द्वितीयन्तु भवेत् पर्वं द्वियवूनां कला तथा ॥  
 तृतीयं तु तथा पर्वं पादूनां तु कला भवेत् ।  
 अनामयांतथाद्यन्तु कला तु पठ्यवास्तथा ॥  
 द्वितीयन्तु कला प्रोक्ता तृतीयं द्वियवाधिकम् ।  
 अंगुलन्तु भवेद्देवि सप्रमाणेनान्यथा ॥  
 प्रोत्थन्तु चाग्रपर्वस्यादंगुलीनां प्रकीर्तितम् ।  
 शेषं तु कारयेत् शानी यथाशोभं न संशयः ॥  
 मूले स्थूलः तथा चाग्रे क्रमेणैव तु शृङ्गकाः ।  
 अंगुल्यः कारयेत् सर्वान् स्वमानेन सुशोभनाम् ॥  
 अंगुष्ठस्य तथा प्रोत्थमग्रे संपरिकीर्तितम् ।  
 मूले शृङ्ग प्रकर्तव्यं यथाशोभं प्रमाणतः ॥  
 पुरुषस्य तथा प्रोत्था भवेत् करतले प्रिये ।  
 कलाक्षयं न संदेहो दैर्घ्येन तु कलालयम् ॥  
 तथा चाद्धकलाधिक्यं भवते नास संशयः ।  
 मुद्रामन्तधराः सर्वे नानाभरणभूषिताः ।  
 दिव्याधिकानां संप्रोक्तं प्रमाणं वरवर्णिनि ।  
 दिव्यानां संप्रवक्ष्यामि यथावत्तत्त्वबोधतः ॥  
 मुखं सप्तकलं ज्ञेयं मस्तकात् तत् प्रमाणतः ।  
 आकण्ठी प्रोत्थतः प्रोक्तौ अष्टगोलकसंस्थितौ ॥  
 द्विकलं तु ललाटं स्थान्मस्तकं द्विकलं तथा ।  
 नासा तु द्विकला प्रोक्ता चिबुकं त्वेककलाः स्मृताः ॥  
 मुखं त्वेककला चैव प्रमाणेन न संशयः ।  
 अक्षयोः प्रोत्थं कला प्रोक्ता दैर्घ्ये अर्द्धकल स्मृतः ॥  
 द्विकलन्तु प्रकर्तव्यं दैर्घ्येण तु भ्रुवो तथा ।  
 प्रोत्थेन द्वियवा प्रोक्ता पूर्वाणामपि सुवते ॥  
 अक्षयोः भ्रुवोन्तरं चैव अंगुलं पूर्वमेवहि ।  
 उपरिष्ठान्मणिबन्धात् कला चोपरि संमिता ॥  
 उपरिष्ठान्मणिबन्धाद्वा चोद्धं मणिकादिकम् ।  
 श्लिषवाधिकं समालयातमंगुलं वरवर्णिनि ॥  
 प्रोत्थेन तु भवेत् कर्णौ कला सार्द्धा न संशयः ।  
 विवरन्तु समालयातमंगुलं विस्तरं तु ॥  
 अभ्यन्तरन्तु विवरं सितवं (१) परिकीर्तितम् ।  
 उपरिष्ठान्मणिं कुर्याद्दैर्घ्यं पञ्च यवा स्मृताः ॥

प्रोत्थेन च तथा पञ्च कर्णसंकुलिका तथा ।  
 कर्णपाली भवेच्चैव कुण्डलाकृतिसंस्थिता ॥  
 यथा शोभा प्रकल्प्या यवमानोय प्रोत्थतः ।  
 अभ्यन्तरा तथा पाली यवेनैव तु प्रोत्थतः ॥  
 बहिस्थां स्वानुसारेण [१] द्विषवान्तरसंस्थिताः ।  
 अग्रे वै स्थूलिकाकारा यथा शोभा तु कारयेत् ॥\*  
 अधरावंगुली प्रोक्तादुपरिष्टान्तथांगुलम् ।  
 सुक्लिष्यान्तं मुखं माना द्विकलं परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
 पञ्चांगुलो भवेत् कण्ठ दैर्घ्येण तु सुशोभनः ।  
 प्रोत्थः पङ्गुली प्रोक्तौ कण्ठात्तु हृदयं ततः ॥  
 षट्कलं तु यवा चाष्टौ अन्तरं वरवर्णिनि ।  
 प्रोत्थः वङ्गः समाख्यातं पञ्चविंशकलात्मकम् ॥  
 सबाह्यका महादेवि बाह्वौ त्रिकलौ स्मृतौ ।  
 [४\*] उभयोरन्तरस्तेन यो ज्ञातव्यं षट्कलं ततः ॥  
 हृदयं नाभिदेशन्तु षट्कलं परिकीर्तितम् ।  
 मध्यं प्रोत्था समाख्याता अंगुलानि तु विंशतिः ॥  
 कला एका समाख्याता नाभिमण्डलकं तथा ।  
 नाभिस्तु विवरं प्रोक्तं चतुर्यंयसुसंमितम् ॥  
 चतुर्यंय कला प्रोक्ता प्रोत्थेन तु कटिस्थया ।  
 नाभितो मेढूकं यावद्भवेत् सप्तकलान्तरम् ॥  
 मेढू तु जानुनी यावज्जंघौ दशकलौ स्मृतौ ।  
 द्विकलौ जानुनी प्रोक्तौ उरु प्रोत्थौ चतुष्कलौ ॥  
 जानुनी गुल्फसन्धौ तु यवा द्वादशसंमितौ ।  
 कलाहि जंघौ संप्रोक्तौ दैर्घ्येण च सुसंमितौ ॥  
 गुल्फौ पादतलं यावद् साद्वं चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 तस्य गुल्फं समाख्यातं कला एका न संशयः ॥  
 दैर्घ्येण पादौ चाख्यातौ मानात् सप्तकलां ततः ।  
 कलापिका भवेत्तत्र कला साद्वं न संशयः ॥  
 पादाग्रतलकं चैव प्रोत्था साद्वं कलाद्वयम् ।  
 पाष्णीं तु प्रोक्ता द्विकला प्रोत्था च परिमण्डला ।  
 अंगुष्ठौ द्विकलौ ज्ञेया चापत्वेन सुशोभनौ ॥

अंगुष्ठस्य तथा प्रोत्थामग्रे च संप्रकीर्तितम् ।  
 मूलैस्तु श्लक्ष्णं कर्तव्यं यथाशोभा प्रमाणतः ॥  
 यथाशोभा प्रकल्प्या यवमानाय प्रोत्थतः ।  
 आद्यन्तरा तथापाली यवेनैव तु प्रोत्थतः ॥  
 हस्तानुत्त्वानुस्त्रोरण [१] द्विषवान्तरसंस्थिता ।  
 अग्रे वै स्थूलिकाकारा यथाशोभा तु कारयेत् ॥  
 प्रोत्थेनैव कलां प्रोक्तौ द्विषवान्धधिकस्तथा ।  
 तर्जनी द्विकला प्रोक्ता प्रोत्था सप्त यवाः स्मृताः ॥  
 मध्यमा तु कला साद्वं प्रोत्था द्विषद्वयवास्तथा ।  
 अनामिका कला प्रोक्ता प्रोत्था चैव चतुर्यंवा ॥  
 कनिष्ठिका तथा दीर्घौ पादूनां तु कला स्मृता ।  
 प्रोत्थेनापि समाख्यातं साद्वंसंगुलसंमिता ॥  
 अंसकादौ तथा बाहू भवेत् सप्तकला तथा ।  
 कूर्परात् करसन्धिस्तु यवाचैवाद्वं सप्तकः ॥  
 कला चैव समाख्याता चांगुल्यन्तु तलं तथा ।  
 कला सप्त समाख्याता अंसदेः विस्तरं शृणु ॥  
 साद्वं कलाद्वयं चैव परिणाहस्य अद्विकौ ॥  
 बाह्वस्तु समाख्यातौ करसंधौ शृणुष्व मे ।  
 कला साद्वं समाख्यातं हस्तयोर्द्वयोरपि ॥  
 प्रोत्थात् तद्वत्तलः प्रोक्तं साद्वं चैव कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 स्कन्धाक्षौणि समाख्याता दैर्घ्येण तु तलन्तथा ।  
 मणिबन्धं कला प्रोक्तं अंगुल्या च कलात्रयम् ॥  
 मणित्रतुष्कलांगुष्ठौ तर्जनी त्रिकलं तथा ।  
 मध्यमा च तथा त्रीणि कला चाद्वं गुलाधिका ॥  
 अनामिका तथा प्रोक्ता यवूनान्तु कलात्रयम् ।  
 कनिष्ठिका समाख्याता सपादन्तु कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 अंगुष्ठाद्वातु यत्पूर्वं द्विकलं द्विषवाधिकम् ।  
 द्वितीयं च कला एका तथा च त्रिषवाधिकम् ॥  
 तृतीयं च तथा पर्वं अंगुलं त्रिषवाधिकम् ।  
 तर्जनीया प्रथमं पर्वं कला साद्वं न संशयः ॥  
 द्विषवूनौ प्रकल्प्यं द्वितीयं शृणु साम्प्रतम् ।  
 पादूनान्तु कला प्रोक्ता तृतीयं द्विषवाधिकं ॥

\* The copyist has reproduced here the verses within square brackets (ante) evidently through error.



अंगुलन्तु समाख्यातं मध्यमायां मृण्म्व मे ।  
 [4<sup>a</sup>] आदिमा तु कला साद्वं द्वियवाम्नां तथाधिकम् ॥  
 द्वितीयन्तु कला प्रोक्ता द्वियवूनां वरानने ।  
 तृतीयं त्रियवूनान्तु कला नास विचारणा ॥  
 अनामिकायामाद्यन्तु कला साद्वं प्रमाणतः ।  
 द्वियवूना प्रकत्तव्या द्वितीयन्तु कला स्मृताः ॥  
 द्वियवूनां महादेवि तृतीयं त्रियवांगुलम् ।  
 कनिष्ठिकायामाद्यन्तु कलामेका प्रकीर्तिता ॥  
 द्वियवाद्द्वं कलाचैव तृतीयं च यवाष्टकम् ।  
 प्रोत्थेन द्वियवूनान्तु अंगुलं तर्जनी भवेत् ॥  
 मध्यमादि यवूनान्वनामिका द्वियवूनीका ।  
 कनिष्ठिका भवेत् प्रोत्था द्वयोर्गुलो सुसंमिता ॥  
 पञ्चद्वेन स्थिता देवि नखां सर्वांस्त संशयः ।  
 पादयोर्द्वंस्तयोश्चैव सर्वमानेषु नान्यथा ॥  
 दिव्यानां तु समाख्याता पुरुषाणां वरानने ।

#### दिव्यनारीणां लक्षणं -

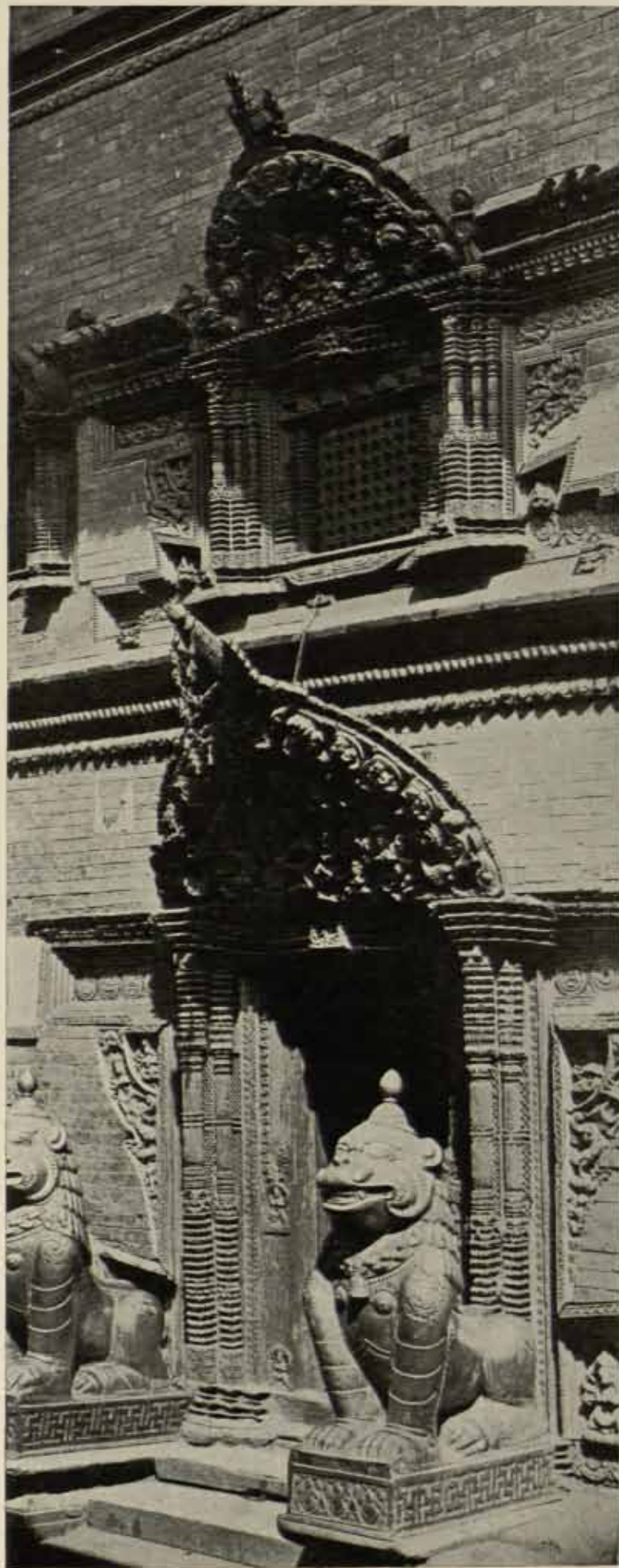
पादौ दीर्घेण चाख्यातौ कलां तु षट्प्रमाणतः ॥  
 पाष्णीं चांगुष्ठकं यावत् प्रोत्था पादतलं तथा ।  
 द्विकलं तु समाख्यातं पाष्णीं च द्विकला तथा ॥  
 द्वियवूनां तथांगुष्ठौ कला साद्वं प्रकीर्तिता ।  
 द्वियवूनां तथा प्रोत्थात् कलाद्वं द्वियवाधिकम् ॥  
 तर्जनी च कला साद्वं द्वैर्घ्येण समुदाहृतम् ।  
 प्रोत्थेन षट्यवा प्रोक्ता नारीनां वरवर्णिनि ॥  
 मध्यमा तु कला द्वैर्घ्यां प्रोत्थेन तु चतुर्धवा ।  
 द्वियवूनां कला प्रोक्ता अनामाद्यतेन तु ॥  
 पादूनां तु कला प्रोक्ता कनिष्ठा चायतेन तु ।  
 मध्यमानामिका चैव कनिष्ठा प्रोत्थतः समाः ॥  
 कलापिका प्रमाणेन द्वियवा प्रोत्थतो भवेत् ।  
 नितम्बस्तु तथा प्रोक्तं कला सप्तदशं तथा ॥  
 मध्यं सप्तकला ज्ञेया कलेनाभिलिखान्तरम् ।  
 कलाः प्रमाणतः प्रोक्ता द्वितीयाऽपि कलास्मृता ॥  
 द्वियवूनां तथा चैव तृतीया तु कला स्मृताः ।  
 सुसंमितप्रमाणेन बलिख्यमुदाहृता ॥

दिव्याधिके तथा मान आद्यद्विकला भवेत् ।  
 द्वितीया तु कला चैव स्त्रियवा चादिमा यथा ॥  
 स्तनयोः परिणाद्वन्तु अर्द्धं षट्कलं स्मृतम् ।  
 स्तनकण्ठान्तरं चैव कलापं च प्रकीर्तितम् ॥  
 वक्षविलरतः प्रोक्तं सबाहु वरवर्णिनि ।  
 एकादश कला मानाद्वाहवो द्विकलौ तथा ॥  
 कण्ठस्तु प्रोत्थतः प्रोक्ताः साद्वं चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 दिव्याधिकस्तथा स्त्रीणां त्रिकलौ त्रियवूनकः ॥  
 एतत्तद्विष्यं सामाख्यातं प्रमाणं नारिषु संशयोः ।  
 दिव्याधिका समाख्याता पञ्चवक्त्रस्तु रूपकाः ॥  
 दिव्यं चैव प्रवक्षामि यथावद्वक्त्रसंख्याया ।  
 गुह्यकानुचरा ये तु किंकरिणां तु किंकराः ॥  
 योगिनीपतयश्चैव मातृणां पतयस्तथा ।  
 पञ्चवक्त्राः समाख्याता वीरभक्ष्यास्तथैव च ॥  
 गुह्यकास्तु चतुर्वक्त्राः किंकर्त्यस्त्रिमुखाः स्मृताः ।  
 योगिन्यस्त्वेकवक्त्रा तु चतुर्वक्त्रास्तु मातराः ॥  
 दिव्याधिकास्तथादिव्या पञ्चमुद्रासमन्विता ।  
 खट्वाङ्गमुण्डधारिण्यो महाप्रेतकृतासना ॥  
 वरदोद्यतहस्तास्तु चतुर्हस्ताः प्रकीर्तिताः ।  
 अक्षसूत्रधराः सर्वाः कपालकरकालथा ॥  
 दक्षिणे तु कपालं स्वात् खट्वाङ्गं वामतः स्थितम् ॥

[5<sup>a</sup>] दक्षिणं वरदं ज्ञेयं वामहस्ते अक्षसूत्रकम् ॥  
 कपालमालाभरणा आपादात्कण्ठमाभिता ।  
 पूर्वविधास्तु कर्तव्या दिव्यादिव्याधिकस्तथा ॥  
 एकवीरविधानेतु पञ्चवक्त्रास्तु गुह्यकाः ।  
 मातरश्च तथा चैव कर्तव्या साधोक्तमैः ॥  
 एकवीरविधाने तु किंकर्त्यस्त्रिमुखाः स्मृताः ।  
 योगिन्यस्त्वेकवक्त्रास्तु नात्र काट्यां विचारणा ॥  
 अनस्कां [१] योजयेद्यतु चतुर्विंशतिकादयः ।  
 मस्तकैः कारयेत्तत्र कपालालीनसंशयः ॥  
 मुक्तकेशानि सर्वाणि नग्नरूपाणि चैव हि ।...

#### दिव्यादिव्यानां लक्षणं -

नवतालप्रमाणेन दिव्यादिव्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ।







अनयोरङ्गविभागं च यथावन्नारिपुंसयोः ।  
 अंगुलन्तु ललाटं स्यात् त्र्यंगुलो मस्तकस्तथा ॥  
 चतुरंगुलं तथा नासासंगुलं चिबुकं तथा ।  
 अंगुलं तु मुखं प्रोक्तं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुर्यवाधिकम् ॥  
 भ्रुवोन्तरं तथा चोक्तं कलाद्वयं वरवर्णिनि ।  
 द्व्यंगुलन्तु तथा द्वयोरन्तरं परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
 पादनान्तु कला प्रोक्ता अष्टौ प्रोत्थ प्रमाणतः ।  
 दैर्घ्येण तु कलाः प्रोक्ता दिव्यादिव्यैस्तुरूपकैः ॥  
 नासापुटी तथा चाग्रे त्रिकं द्व्यङ्गुलं स्मृतम् ।  
 अधरं चांगुलं साद्वं उत्तराधरमेव च ॥  
 भ्रमणेकर्णकेयस्तु कला साद्वं प्रकीर्तितम् ।  
 भ्रमणो तथान्तरद्वयं कला एका प्रकीर्तिता ॥  
 कर्णप्रोत्थं तथा प्रोक्तं कला च द्वियवाधिकम् ।  
 कूर्परस्फुटिसंस्थानौ मणिको लियवा स्मृतः ॥  
 प्रोत्थेनापि तथैवेह पक्ष्यं विवरं तथा ।  
 अंगुलन्तु तथा दैर्घ्यां छिद्रं स्वाभ्यन्तरं भवेत् ॥  
 त्रिषवन्तु समाख्यातं प्रोत्थतः परिकीर्तितम् ।  
 कलाद्वयं तथा साद्वं भ्रुवः कर्णान्तरं मिते ॥  
 दिव्यानान्तु प्रकर्तव्यं भ्रुवः कर्णान्तरं तथा ।  
 त्रिकलं तु प्रमाणेन नाल कार्यविचारणा ॥  
 सृष्टिण्यां तं भवेदास्यं साद्वं चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 प्रोत्थेन तु मुखं प्रोक्तं सप्तगोलकमायतम् ॥  
 आयतत्वेन वै कुप्याद्दृष्टगोलकसंमितम् ।  
 पञ्चांगुलो भवेत् कण्ठं प्रोत्था साद्वं कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 कण्ठाच्च हृदयं प्रोक्तं कला वै साद्वं सप्तमः ।  
 सबाहुं विसरं वक्षं तयोदशकलं भवेत् ॥  
 त्रिकलौ चांसकौ प्रोक्तौ बाहवौ द्विकलौ तथा ।  
 यवाष्टकाधिकौ मान यथाशोभौ तथा स्थितौ ॥  
 हृदयाब्जमिस्त्राख्याता पङ्कला साद्विकायता ।  
 मध्यं प्रोत्था समाख्याता पङ्कला तु सुसंमितम् ॥  
 नाभितो मेदूकं प्रोक्तं कला सप्तकमायतम् ॥  
 नाभिमण्डलमाख्यातं कला एक प्रमाणतः ।  
 छिद्रं चतुर्यवं प्रोक्तं कटि प्रोत्था तथा भवेत् ॥

योदशांगुलाविस्तीर्णं मेदूजान्बन्तरं तथा ।  
 भवेदष्टकलं चैव आयत्वेन यथास्थितम् ॥  
 वरुप्रोत्थं समाख्यातं तथा चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 द्विकलौ जानुनी प्रोक्तौ जंघौ चाष्टकलौ तथा ॥  
 गुल्फा पादतलं यावत् साद्वं चैव कलाद्वयम् ।  
 [5<sup>9</sup>] तत्र गुल्फां भवेन्मानां द्व्यंगुलन्तु प्रमाणतः ॥  
 कलापिका तथा प्रोक्ता कला साद्वं प्रमाणतः ।  
 कला सप्त समाख्यातौ पादौ दैर्घ्येण शोभनौ ॥  
 द्विकलं प्रोत्थतः ज्ञेयं पादाग्रतलकं तथा ।  
 कला साद्वं तथा पाष्णीं अंगुष्ठौ द्विकलः स्मृतः ॥  
 आयतत्वेन च देवेशे प्रोत्था द्वायवौ स्मृताः ।  
 तर्जनीमायतत्वेन द्विकलाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥  
 प्रोत्था चतुर्यवा प्रोक्ता मध्यमा चायत्वेन तु ।  
 कला साद्वं समाख्यातः प्रोत्था साद्वं यवलयम् ॥  
 (अ)नामिका दीर्घतः प्रोक्ता कला एक प्रमाणतः ।  
 कनिष्ठिका तु दैर्घ्येण पादनान्तु कला भवेत् ॥  
 कनिष्ठानामिका प्रोक्तौ प्रोत्था साद्वं यवलयम् ।  
 कूर्परान्तरसंधिं तु यावत् सप्तकला कलः ॥  
 कलापिका कला साद्वं पृथुत्वेन सुशोभने ।  
 पङ्कलस्तु करः प्रोक्ता गुल्फां चांगुलसंमितम् ॥  
 करतलं च तथा दैर्घ्यं त्रिकलं परिकीर्तितम् ।  
 द्विकला तु तथा प्रोत्था अंगुष्ठं त्रिकलौ स्मृतौ ॥  
 तर्जनी त्रिकला चैव मध्यमा लियवाधिका ।  
 त्रिकलानामिका चैव कनिष्ठिका कला स्मृता ॥  
 अंगुष्ठं चादिमं पर्वं कला तु द्वियवाधिका ।  
 यवाधिकं द्वितीयन्तु कला देवि प्रमाणतः ॥  
 तृतीयं चांगुलं प्रोक्तं तथा पञ्च यवाधिकम् ।  
 तर्जन्यायामिदं पर्वं द्वियवूना कला स्मृता ॥  
 अंगुलन्तु समाख्यातं दैर्घ्येण परिसंमितम् ।  
 द्वितीयं च तथा पर्वं द्वियवूनां कला स्मृताः ॥  
 द्व्यङ्गुलं तृतीया तु मध्यमायामिदं तथा ।  
 कला साद्वं सप्तख्याता द्वितीयं द्वियवूनकम् ॥



इन्द्रां गुलं तृतीयन्वनामिकायामिदं तथा ।  
 त्रियवृत्तां कला साद्वं द्वितीयन्तु कला स्मृताः ॥  
 कनिष्ठायामिदं पर्वं त्रियवृत्ता कला स्मृता ।  
 द्वितीयं चांगुलं प्रोक्तं यवैकेन तु बाधिकम् ॥  
 तृतीयं च तथा पर्वमंगुलं च यवाधिकम् ।  
 प्रोत्थायवाष्टकांगुलौ तर्जनी द्वियवोनिका ॥  
 मध्यमा तु यवूनं स्वात्मामिका द्वियवूनिका ।  
 त्रियवृत्तां तथानामा कनिष्ठांगुलकं स्मृता ।  
 पर्वद्वेन नखा प्रोक्ता सर्वेषां चैव मुच्यते ॥...

दिव्यादिव्यनारीणां लक्षणं—

पादौ तु षट्कलौ ज्यौषी प्रोत्था पादतलं तथा ।  
 द्विकलं त्रियवृत्तं स्यात् पाणौ इन्द्रां कला स्मृता ॥  
 त्रियवृत्तां तथा चैव अंगुलस्तु तथायतः ।  
 कला साद्वं समाख्याता तर्जनी तु यवूनिका ॥  
 मध्यमा तु कला प्रोक्ता यवैरष्टभिरायताम् ।  
 अनामिका कला प्रोक्ता पादूनां तु कनिष्ठिका ॥  
 अंगुलौ प्रोत्थतः प्रोक्तौ त्रियवृत्तां तथांगुलौ ।  
 पञ्चवा तथा प्रोत्था मध्यमा पञ्चसम्मिता ॥  
 कनिष्ठानामिका चैव प्रोत्थाद्व्यां गुलौ स्मृतौ ।  
 त्रियवृत्तां तथा साद्वं कलापो तु कलाद्वयम् ॥  
 नितम्बः प्रोत्थतः प्रोक्तः कला द्वादशकस्या ।  
 मध्यं चतुस्कलं प्रोक्तं नाभ्यान्तु कलिका कला ॥

[6] द्वितीयापि कला प्रोक्ता तृतीयापि कला तथा ।  
 त्रिकलौ तु स्तनौ प्रोक्तौ स्तनकन्ठान्तरं कला ॥  
 असकौ तु समाख्यातौ प्रोत्थाय पञ्चकलौ तथा ।  
 बाहवस्तु समाख्यातौ वैर्घात् सप्तकलौ तथा ॥  
 प्रोत्था च त्रिकलौ नामौ परिशुशोभितौ ।  
 कूर्परांगुलकं यावद्धस्तौ सप्तकलौ तथा ॥  
 गुल्फां चाद्वं कला प्रोक्ता गुल्फाभिस्तात् तु षट्कलः ।  
 त्रिकलं तु कलं प्रोक्तं प्रोत्था च द्विकलं तथा ॥  
 अंगुलौ त्रिकलौ प्रोक्तौ तर्जनौ त्रिकला तथा ।  
 मध्यमा त्रिकला दैर्घ्या यवैर्नैकाधिका स्मृता ॥  
 अनामिका तथा चैव साद्वं न्वेवि कलाद्वयम् ।  
 कनिष्ठिका तथा दैर्घ्या द्विकला परिकीर्त्तिता ॥

अंगुलस्तु तथा प्रोत्था त्रियवृत्ता कलं भवेत् ।  
 तर्जनी तु तथा प्रोत्था अद्वं गुलमुसम्मिता ॥  
 मध्यमा त्रियवृत्तं स्यादंगुलं परिकीर्त्तितम् ।  
 चतुर्थवा तथानामा लीणि साद्वं कनिष्ठिका ॥  
 दिव्यादिव्यं प्रमाणं तु कथितं च सुशोभने ।  
 लदाङ्गमुद्धारिण्यो महाप्रेतकृतासनाः ।  
 वरदोयतहस्तानि कपाले वरकानि तु ।  
 भक्षमुत्रधारिण्या तु दिव्यादिव्यानि कारयेत् ॥

\* \* \* \*

वर्णरूपं प्रवक्ष्यामि आदिदेवं शृणुष्व मे ।  
 शुद्धस्कटिकसङ्काशं चिन्तयित सदाशिवम् ॥  
 सूर्यकोटिसमप्रभं जातिहिंगुलकः प्रभम् ।  
 कन्यारूपं स्मरेच्छक्तिं अपरां साधकोत्तमः ॥  
 पीनस्तनी पीनबाहुं सर्वायवशोभिता ।  
 एवंविधं समाख्यातं रूपकं वरवर्णिनि ॥  
 शक्तितयस्य वर्णस्तु स्वरूपाणि च मे शृणु ।  
 निर्मासा स्नायुबन्धा च शिरासन्ततिवेहिका ॥  
 नाभिप्रवेशं संप्राप्तौ निर्मासौतु स्तनौ तथा ।  
 शिराजालविना बोद्धव्या मध्याक्षानोदरी प्रिये ॥  
 जातिहिंगुलकप्रभं क्षीणां नातिदुर्लभम् ।  
 शंखकुन्देन्दुसंकाशं पीनायवशोभनाम् ॥  
 नवयौवनसंस्थातु कर्त्तव्या साधकोत्तमैः ।  
 वाममेवंविधां ध्यायेत् कारयेद्वा महामतिः ॥  
 सितरका तु वर्णेन दिव्याभरणभूषिता ॥  
 इंपच्छिथिलगाहन्तु मन्मथयौवनमास्थिताः ।  
 अक्लिन्तरतयः सर्वाः कारयेच्चिन्तयेपि च ॥  
 सर्वायवसंपूर्णा इंपच्छिवितकोदरम् ।  
 प्रत्यंगन्तु विभक्तां शंखकुन्देन्दुसप्रभम् ॥  
 सीतपोतं तथा चार्धमुन्नतोरूपयोधरम् ।  
 श्रीकण्ठं चिन्तयेद्देवि अद्वं नारीश्वरं सदा ॥  
 शंखकुन्देन्दु संकाशां पीनायवशोभिताम् ।  
 एवंविधेन रूपेण चिन्तयितमुमापत्तिम् ॥  
 पीतलौरं स्वरूपेण तथापीनां पयोधराम् ।  
 सर्वायवसंपूर्णा मुमापाद्वै तु कारयेत् ॥

वाम-ऊरुविनिष्ठा तु वामहस्ता च गृहिताः ।  
 एवंविधा तु कर्तव्या उमाह्वं वरानने ॥  
 कपालीमेति संज्ञस्य सर्वयोगेषु कीर्त्तितम् ।  
 गुह्यकोट्यस्तौ वक्ष्ये नामतो वर्णतस्तथा ॥  
 रक्ताकरालीचण्डाख्या महोच्छुष्मा तथैव च ।  
 वच्छुष्मतन्त्रे नामानि गुह्यकानां न संशयः ॥  
 कराळा दन्तुरा चैव भीमवक्त्रा महाबला ।  
 गुह्यकानुचरा ह्येताः किंकर्षोऽनुक्रमेण तु ॥

[6<sup>b</sup>] क्रोष्टुकी विजया चैव राजकर्म महामुखी ।  
 चक्रवेगा महानासा पद्मयोगिन्यः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥  
 माहेश्वरी तथा ब्राह्मी वैष्णवी च तथापरा ।  
 कौमारी च तथा लामा तथा चैव विवस्वती ॥  
 तथा च वासवी देवी तथा चैव चण्डिकापरा ।  
 तथाष्टमातराख्याता पूरणी नाम नामतः ॥  
 लोकमाता समाख्याता दिव्यमानव्यवस्थिताः ।  
 शंखकुन्देन्दु संकाशा रक्तापीनपयोधरा ॥  
 कराळी रक्तवर्णा तु पीनावयवशोभिता ।  
 पीतवर्णा तु चण्डाक्षी पूर्णावयवशोभिता ॥  
 कृष्णवर्णा महोच्छुष्माभिर्जातसमप्रभाम् ।  
 उज्ज्वलचुचुकाः सर्वास्तथा सर्वा कुमरिकाः ॥  
 अङ्गिन्तरतयः सर्वा कर्तव्या मन्त्रवादिभिः ।  
 स्वदेवतनुवर्णेन दूतपस्तदूर्णिका (१) स्मृताः ॥  
 रूपकानि तथा चैव कर्तव्यानि न संशयः ।  
 रक्तायास्तु कराळं स्यात् कराळायास्तु दन्तुरा ॥  
 भीमवक्त्रा तु चण्डाक्षी वच्छुष्माया महाबला ।  
 गुह्यकानुचरा ह्येताः किंकर्षोऽच्छुष्मसंभवाः ॥  
 योगिन्यः श्वेतवर्णास्तु शंखकुन्देन्दुसप्रभाः ।  
 पीनावयवसंपूर्णास्तपीनपयोधराः ॥  
 कुमारी व्रतधारिण्य अङ्गिन्तरतयस्तथा ।  
 माहेश्वरेण वर्णेन तथा माहेश्वरी स्मृताः ॥  
 ब्रह्मवर्णे तथा ब्राह्मी विष्णुरूपा तु वैष्णवी ।  
 कुमारवर्णा कौमारी यमवर्णा विवस्वती ॥  
 इन्द्रवर्णा तु माहेन्द्री चर्चरक सिताऽसिता ।  
 राजावर्तनिभाकारा निर्मांसा चर्मवेष्टिताः ॥

अस्त्रिचर्मवरोपास्तु शिरो जालावर्णविका ।  
 चर्मकारीस्तनी चैव तथा क्षीणोदरो महत् ॥  
 शुष्काक्षीणकपोलास्तु शुन्यास्तद्वैक्षणी तथा ।  
 व्याकृतेन तु वक्त्रे न लेलिहानेनजिह्वया ॥  
 दंष्ट्रोत्कटाभया चैव प्रसङ्गीमित भीषणीम् ।  
 स्पूलपिङ्गैस्तथा केऽरेवरूपं विचिन्तयेत् ॥  
 सितरक्ता तु वर्णेन तथा पीनपयोधराः ।  
 ललनासीविभक्तङ्गी पूरणी सर्वकामदा ॥  
 कुमारीव्रतधारिण्य अङ्गिन्तरतयस्तथा ।  
 सर्वा एव प्रकर्त्तव्या मातरो मन्त्रवादिभिः ॥  
 भैरवी भैरवस्यापि तद्वर्णमेव कारयेत् ।  
 गुह्यकां पतयो ये तु गुह्यकानान्तु वर्णकैः ॥  
 योगिनी रोषिताश्चैव वीरप्रकृतिस्तथैव च ।  
 मातृणां पतयो ये तु मातृवर्णाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥  
 पङ्कजानि तु सर्वेषां सितंचैव न संशयः ।  
 योगिन्यो राक्षसाश्चैव लामाश्चैव वरानने ॥  
 कृष्णरक्तसमाख्याता दंष्ट्रोत्कटभयावहाः ।  
 समांसलाखयोगिन्यो लामाश्चैव तथैव हि ॥  
 निर्मांसा राक्षसाः सर्वा द्वारपालास्तथैव च ।  
 इमशानानि तु लेख्यानि वर्णकैः कर्पटैस्तथा ॥  
 मातृप्राधानां लिखेन्मन्त्री प्रतिमां कारयेद्बुधः ।  
 त्रिनेत्राः संस्थिताः सर्वाः शशाङ्कतशेखराः ॥  
 सदाक्षिवादयः कार्य्या योगिन्यन्ताः इमशानकैः ।

[7<sup>a</sup>] द्विलोचनाः स्थिता लामा चन्द्रशेखरवर्णिताः ॥  
 राक्षसाश्च द्विनेत्रास्तथाचन्द्रविवर्जिताः ।  
 खटाङ्गमुष्णधारिण्यां कपालकरकास्तथा ॥  
 वरदोद्यत हस्ताश्च अक्षसूत्रधरास्तथा ।  
 लामाश्च राक्षसाश्चैव खट्वाङ्गखटाङ्गवर्जिताः ॥  
 पद्ममुद्रापि वज्र्याश्च कर्त्तव्याश्च मन्त्रवादिभिः ।  
 नवामरणाविन्यासैर्मातृणां वामपाद्वर्णकैः ॥  
 कपालीनां न्यसेन्मन्त्री नात्र कार्य्यविचारणा ।  
 नवकादिष्वयोगेषु न लेख्यं कारयेद्बुधः ॥  
 सर्वकार्य्येष्वप्येतेषु कुर्याद् प्रत्यक्षदेवताः ।



## DOHADA OR THE WOMAN AND TREE MOTIF

By K. RAMA PISHAROTI

"vṛkṣam vṛkṣamā rohasi vṛṣaṇyantīva kanyalā" AV. V-v : 3

Dohada<sup>1</sup> means the fertilizing of trees, plants and creepers by the contact of woman, direct or indirect ; and it has been a very popular artistic device both in Indian literature and sculpture.

Dohada in literature

Even a cursory glance through Samskrit literature gives us many references to Dohada in Kālidāsa, <sup>2</sup> Subandhu, <sup>3</sup> Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj, <sup>4</sup> Bāṇa, <sup>5</sup> Harṣa, <sup>6</sup> Bilhaṇa, <sup>7</sup> Viśvanātha<sup>8</sup> and Keśavamiśra<sup>9</sup> and in some anonymous verses of a floating character<sup>10</sup>. Specific references to Dohada of particular trees also we have in many writers : thus Aśokadohada is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa,<sup>11</sup> Kumārasambhava,<sup>12</sup> Meghasandeha,<sup>13</sup> Vikramorvaśīya<sup>14</sup> (?) and Mālavikāgnimitra<sup>15</sup> ; by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita<sup>16</sup> ; Abhinavagupta in his Locana<sup>17</sup> ; by Āpāyādīkṣita in his Kuvalayānanda<sup>18</sup>, and by Venkata Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣitar in his Natesavijaya<sup>19</sup> as well as in some anonymous verses in the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra<sup>20</sup> ; Kuravakadohada is found in the Bhāratacampū<sup>21</sup> as well as in the Natesavijayamahākāvya,<sup>22</sup> while Bakuladohada is mentioned in the Raghuvamśa.<sup>23</sup> These references clearly show that Dohada was a very popular poetic convention at least from the time of Kālidāsa, the earliest author we have quoted.

Dohada is not performed for all trees and plants, but only for ten select ones, and the nature of the rite, which is always enacted by a woman, differs according as the trees differ. This is set forth fully in a floating verse<sup>24</sup> which may be freely rendered as follows : The creeper Priyaṅgu puts forth new blossoms by the touch of women ; Bakula (Mimusops Elengi), through the sprinkling of liquor gargled by them ; Aśoka (Jonesia Asoka), through the kick of their foot ; Tilaka (Cleodendrum phlomoides) and Kuravaka (red Amarynth) through their glance and embrace respectively ; Mandāra (Erythrina Indica), through their sweet words ; Cūta



(*Mangifera Indica*), by blowing with their mouths, *Nameru* (*Elaeocarpus Ganitrus*) through their music, and *Karṇikāra* (*Pterospermum acerifolium*), through their dancing in front of it. All the quotations we have cited agree as regards the methods of *Dohada* for these various trees.

The idea then is that some plants, trees and creepers would blossom in the off-season, when lovely women direct their activities towards them. These activities may be of two kinds: they may consist in direct contact with the body of a woman, as when she kicks, touches or embraces, or in indirect contact, as when she spits liquor upon them or blows at them, laughs, glances at them or when she speaks sweetly, or sings, or dances in front of them. In the terminology of *Ālaṃkārikas*, most of these are *Uddīpanavibhāvas* so far as *Śṛṅgārarasa* is concerned; that is to say, these are actively associated with *Sambhogasṛṅgāra*, love in enjoyment. Here we find that ten select members of the floral world are assumed not merely to be animate—this is held true of all trees<sup>28</sup>—but to react to the sensuous actions or words of a woman. When it is also pointed out that these trees, plants and creepers are associated with *Śṛṅgāra* or love, it is not very difficult to ascribe response to emotions to the members of the floral world, particularly because tree worship was strong in India from very ancient times,<sup>29</sup> as it was elsewhere.<sup>30</sup>

It need scarcely be pointed out that all the activities of women, even the spitting of gargled liquor, intended to make trees and plants blossom, or more correctly, to render them happy, are erotic in character. Of the two kinds of contact, direct and indirect, the former naturally lends itself to better and more effective treatment in the realm of art and hence we find here a predominance of the *Sparsa* (contact), *Āliṅgana* (embrace) and *Pādāghāta* (kick) types of *Dohada*.

The activities of women which may be included under the indirect contact are, as is clear from the rendering given above, seven in number: *Gaṇḍūṣaseka*, *Vikṣaṇa*, *Narmavākya*, *Hasana*, *Vaktravāta*, *Gīta* and *Nartana*. All these are mentioned as immediate accessories in *Sambhogasṛṅgāra*. *Madirāmoda*, the odour or fragrance of liquor or wine is a well-known excitant and the spitting of it is probably intended to make the tree feel it. *Vikṣaṇa* stands for *Śṛṅgāradīṣṭi*<sup>31</sup>, the characteristic features of which are *Kāntatvaṃ* and *Snigdhatvaṃ*<sup>32</sup>. *Narmavākya* is lovers' prattle and may be identified with the well-known *Ālāpa* which dramaturgists have described<sup>33</sup>. *Hasana* is identified with the technical *Hasita*<sup>34</sup> which is described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Gīta* and *Nartana* are well-known. None of these activities could be effectively represented in art and that explains why they are but rarely referred to even in narrative literature<sup>35</sup>.



Of the three kinds of direct contact, namely *Sparsa*, *Āliṅgana* and *Pādāghāta*, the first two can be brought under the same variety. *Vātsyāyana* in his *Kāmasūtra* classifies *Āliṅgana* under the two major heads of (i) those who love each other, but who have not come together and (ii) those who have come together. The former of these<sup>22</sup> he again classifies under four heads and they are (i) *Spṛṣṭaka*<sup>23</sup>, merely bodily contact; (ii) *Viddhaka*<sup>24</sup>, striking with the breasts and then the lover catching hold of the woman; (iii) *Utghṛṣṭaka*<sup>25</sup>, longer bodily contact, as when the lovers happen to come together in passing through a crowd or in darkness and (iv) *Piḍitaka*<sup>26</sup>, when one presses the other against a pillar. In all these cases we have mere contact of each other's body for a longer or shorter interval. The second variety also he classifies under four heads: (i) *Latāveṣṭika*<sup>27</sup>, entwining like a creeper on a tree; (ii) *Vṛkṣādhirūḍha*<sup>28</sup>, climbing the tree; (iii) *Tilataṇḍula*<sup>29</sup> and (iv) *Kṣīranīra*<sup>30</sup>. The first two of these are sufficiently descriptive and need no further elaboration. We have the third variety when the lovers lie face to face and embrace each other, while in the last variety each of the lovers tries to get absorbed into the other's body<sup>31</sup>. It is clear that in the first two varieties the lovers stand, while in the last two they are lying. While in the first two varieties the woman takes the active part, in the last two both take an active part. In these varieties of embrace are included both the *Sparsa* and *Āliṅgana* type of *Dohada*.

The *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada* does not come under these two varieties. It stands by itself also for the reason that it is the only variety of which we have any full description; and this occurs in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of *Kālidāsa*<sup>32</sup>. This is the only type that is apparently not found described as such among the varied activities of man and woman in their love mood. Thus for more reasons than one this is a unique type of *Dohada*.

The question, therefore, arises whether this symbolizes anything in particular. One commentator is reported to state that the *Pādāghāta* *dohada*, described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* symbolizes the variety of sexual act, called *Samveśana*. That is the statement we meet in the commentary, called *Kāmadhenu* on *Vāmana's Sūtrālaṅkāravṛtti*<sup>33</sup>. In view of the peculiar nature of this *Dohada*, the suggestion that we may find in *Pādāghāta* *dohada* a type of love consummation seems to be not far-fetched. The symbolic nature of this *Dohada* is probably the very reason why it has been selected for representation in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Particularly in this drama, the suggestion comes with becoming grace, for it is consistent with the general sensuous character of the hero and heroine. In this symbolisation probably we also see the reason for its greater popularity among poets.







In view of the interpretation given to it, a notice of this variety of Dohada, as described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*<sup>45</sup>, will not be out of place in this context. The lady who is described as performing the Dohada here is Mālavikā, because the queen had sprained her foot<sup>46</sup> and she thought that Mālavikā was fit to perform the function. This definitely suggests two things : in the first place Pādāghāta is not a mere contact, but a vigorous kick<sup>47</sup>, and this fact is made clear in the king's speech later on<sup>48</sup>. Secondly, it tells us that not all women are fit to perform it.

It is interesting to notice here the preparations that Mālavikā made before performing Dohada. Mālavikā's maid Bakulāvalikā painted her feet with Ālaktaka and adorned them with Nūpurās, the jingling anklets<sup>49</sup>. She was not richly clad<sup>50</sup>; her ornaments were meagre<sup>51</sup>. The reference to her dress and ornaments which the king makes shows that she had only the minimum of both, and this made the king more passionate. Thus bedecked and only thus, Mālavikā kicked the Asoka tree with her left foot, as is made clear by the king's speech<sup>52</sup>. It is said that if the Dohada were successful, the tree should blossom within five days<sup>53</sup>; that was also the expectation of the queen. In view of this, it is significant that Mālavikā should have been anxious, when the tree did not show immediate signs of blossoming<sup>54</sup> and that the king should have remarked that the Dohada was wasted on the tree<sup>55</sup>. As a matter of fact, the tree did blossom within the prescribed period to the great surprise of all the courtiers<sup>56</sup>.

This description of Asokadohada shows that in the first place, not all are fit to perform Dohada; this is clear from the statement of the queen as reported by Bakulāvalikā. She says that Mālavikā was deputed to do so, because the queen thought her fit for the function<sup>57</sup>. The question arises what exactly was the fitness that the queen found in Mālavikā? It cannot be said that the queen chose her because she was a princess, for she was ignorant of her antecedents until the last stage in the dénouement of the plot. The fitness must have consisted in something else—her physical charm and her general conduct and behaviour which probably served as index of noble birth. In other words, the queen must have felt satisfied that Mālavikā answered all the conditions of an Uttamanāyikā.

In the actual function of the Pādāghāta no less than in the sex consummation which this symbolizes, the legs play an important part. Naturally we find great attention bestowed in the matter of adorning the legs. Thus Mālavikā's feet are adorned tastefully by Bakulāvalikā, and they elicit encomium both from the king<sup>58</sup>, the Vidūṣaka<sup>59</sup> and the maid herself<sup>60</sup>. After the paint, Nūpurās were put on<sup>61</sup>, and Mālavikā strikes the tree with her left foot. It is significant that the commentator



also gives the place of honour to the left foot in this particular variety of sex act.<sup>62</sup> Consistently with this interpretation, there is a specific purpose served by the Nāpuras and these are referred to by the king as resounding in the act of striking. The resounding symbolizes the Sītkr̥ta which Vātsyāyana associates with this variety of sex act<sup>63</sup>.

It may also be mentioned that there is some contradiction between the statement of the queen who expected the tree to blossom within five days and the expectation of the king, the maid and Mālavikā that it should have blossomed at once. Side by side with the term Āghāta, Kālidāsa also uses the terms Sāmparka and Nyāsa which mean mere contact<sup>64</sup>. Would not these suggest a conventionalisation of the idea even at the time of Kālidāsa?

We have already mentioned that other varieties of Dohada are not described, but only referred to, in literature. Here then we have a process of making flora respond to woman. This is not inconsistent with India's general outlook and with the Indian attitude towards nature in the scheme of life.

It may not be uninteresting to say a few words about the basis of the poetic convention of Dohada. Besides Dohada, there are also a number of other conventions accepted by our poets. The question of the validity of accepting them has been raised long ago by Rājasekhara<sup>65</sup>. He classifies these conventions under the three heads of Asato-nibandhana, the description of things that have no existence, Sato-nibandhana, the non-description of things existing and lastly Niyamato-nibandhana, the description of conventional things. He is of opinion that the employment of these conventions by poets should not be condemned. The first poets, he says, were all well-versed in the ancient lore of India, and they described men and things from first-hand knowledge. In other words, they only described what they experienced. But things have changed considerably from what they were in the beginning and the experiences that the first poets had are no longer available to us.

The references we have given clearly show that Dohada as a poetic convention was at least as old as Kālidāsa and then it was already conventionalized. It had a strong hold upon our poets and we find it persisting in our literature and all times, from the age of Kālidāsa onwards. We can well trace the existence of Dohada in literature for at least a thousand and five hundred years, if not more, and it must have been an accepted convention far earlier than the time of Kālidāsa.

Here we may raise a very interesting question as to what exactly is meant by the term 'vikāsa'. The convention, as we have now interpreted it, is a process of



plant fertilisation by women. Throughout all the references we find the tree or plant always regarded as the male. From this point of view the question deserves to be raised whether flowering or fruiting, i.e., multiplying, suggestive of abundance, can be associated with a male. That function is discharged by the female; and consistent with this we find references in the Mahābhārata of men marrying trees and in the Jātaka tales of a student marrying the Pātali tree. This corresponds to the usual course. The transposition of these functions in literature and, as we shall see later, in sculpture has to be explained. Have we here a realisation of the truth that a tree is bisexual? If so, it is easy to explain both the epic and Kāvya references. The former expresses and emphasises the female aspect, and the latter, the male aspect, both arising from an older conception of the animate character of trees. The difficulty will be minimised, if by 'vikāsa' we do not understand flowering and fruiting. As the anonymous quotations make clear, it simply means pleased, the visible symbol of which is the putting forth of flowers; in other words, the contact of woman makes them pleased. This is as it should be since we have in the background the general idea of the treatment of trees as sentient beings and as objects of worship.

#### Dohada in sculpture

The woman and tree motif which was a favourite one with Indian poets, dramaturgists and artists and the variations in its representation, mentioned hereafter, find adequate explanation on the basis of the different kinds of Dohada associated with different trees.

Yakṣī Candrā, Barhut<sup>66</sup>, stands with her right foot planted firm on a fish-tailed horse, her left leg and arm entwine the stem of a tree, while with her right hand she lowers a bough. Here is a clear instance of the Latāveṣṭika type of Āliṅgānadohada, and the tree must presumably be Kuravaka. Equally typical of the same kind of Dohada is the figure of Culakoka Devatā.<sup>68</sup> Standing on an elephant, she has entwined the stem of a tree with her left arm and leg, as in the case of Yakṣī Candrā while with her right hand she has clasped a bow. There is another woman under tree from Barhut, but without any label<sup>67</sup>. Coomaraswamy, however, calls her a Yakṣī or Devatā. She stands on a caparisoned horse. This, again, represents the Latāveṣṭika type of Āliṅgānadohada. Those at Barhut, labelled as such, are no doubt Yakṣīs; but the fact that only a few amongst many female figures there are called Yakṣīs or Devatās shows that the rest belong to an altogether different category. We have two women under tree, one called a Yakṣī and the other a Devatā. These together with another<sup>69</sup> which



has no tree-association but is also called a *Yakṣī*, from their location at the gates of Barhut, appear, as Cunningham has explained, "to be guardians of the Stūpa prototypes of *Dvārapālas* of mediaeval architecture". They had, therefore, necessarily to be distinguished from the rest of the female figures on the railing pillars and hence they were named either *Yakṣī* or *Devatā* and the rest left unlabelled. We have said that the Barhut representations of the woman and tree could be understood as those of the woman performing *Dohada*. This explanation of their activity is not inconsistent even with their identification as *Yakṣī* or *Devatā*. Here it deserves to be pointed out that *Yakṣīs* are supposed to be supernaturally beautiful and their functioning as mortal women is not unknown in literature and in folk-lore.

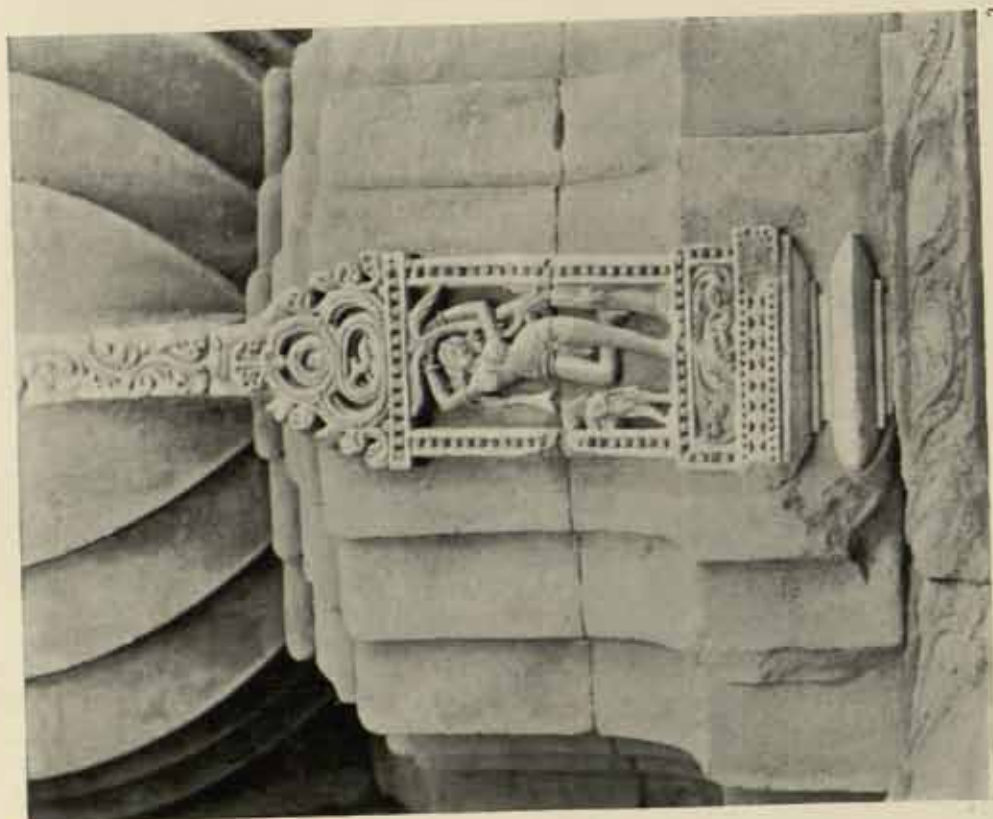
*Bodh Gayā* offers a very interesting type of the woman and tree arrangement. In this a woman is being helped by a man to climb a tree. Bachhofer would not accept this description as "the motion is not felt from the interior"<sup>69</sup>. We fail to see the point of this observation, and cannot imagine how a more effective manner of representing the act of climbing could have been adopted. It is quite clear that the man is not performing the function of a pedestal, but he is actually helping the woman to reach up the tree. This figure illustrates the *Vṛkṣārohaṇa* type of *Āliṅganadohada*. Coomaraswamy refers to another instance from the same area, which, he says, is "the familiar woman and tree" motif, in this case a *Vṛkṣakā* embracing her tree like the *Devatā* at Barhut<sup>70</sup>. From his description the figure would appear to be the *Latāveṣṭika* type of *Āliṅganadohada*.

On the gateways at Sāñci the same motif of woman and tree appears in the round and not in relief. One of the most typical is found in the eastern gateway.<sup>71</sup> The right arm is passed round the stem, not so much for support as for entwining, while her left hand has clasped a bough. Whomever this may represent, *Yakṣī* or mortal woman, evidently she is performing *Dohada* of the *Pādāghāta* type. On the same side as this figure, but just below the uppermost architrave, we have a woman leaning against a tree with one hand raised above the head to the branches. Here we may see not *Aśokadohada*, but *Priyaṅgudohada* or *Sparsadohada*. Six bracket figures in the northern gateway below each one of the three architraves on either side, are shown in varied postures and in association with trees.

Of the figures under the uppermost architrave the one to the left may be identified as the *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada*, for the right leg is raised and placed on the stem of the tree, while the right hand is holding a bough. The right arm of the figure is lost, the left hand is placed along her *Mekhalā*. The posture suggests that the missing right arm must have been amongst the branches.



3



2







We are inclined to identify the figure as an instance of *Sparsadohada*. The figures under the second architrave also represent the same *Dohada*. Below the third architrave also there are two figures in fragmentary condition suggesting the *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada*.

At Mathurā the figures are nude or semi-nude and such a condition is not inconsistent with the act symbolised in the *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada*. The *Parimitābharaṇatva*, mentioned by Kālidāsa, is to be particularly noticed in one instance (Cunningham, A.S. vol. III, Pl. XII, b), for the woman has a single necklace adorning her neck and bosom, and in this respect this figure stands distinct from other figures in the same series from Mathurā.<sup>73</sup> Naturally enough, those are not associated with trees. Other examples of the *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada* are from Mathurā and also from Tadwa on the bank of the Rapti near Śrāvastī.<sup>74</sup> Coomaraswamy identifies yet another instance of woman and tree from Mathurā as *Dohada* motif<sup>75</sup> which is more closely specified, the *Pādāghāta* type of *Aśokadohada*. The kicking with the left leg adorned with heavy *Nūpurās* and the seminudity are both consistent with this interpretation. The tree of one further figure Coomaraswamy calls *Aśoka* tree,<sup>76</sup> but the fruits, do not confirm this identification and the act associated with *Aśoka* is absent. We would, therefore, identify the figure as performing *Sparsadohada*. An interesting bracket figure belonging to the same school comes from Kankali Tila.<sup>78</sup> This is probably an instance of the *Piṇḍitaka* type of *Āliṅgana* *dohada*. Vogel notices another figure from the same area.<sup>77</sup> The sculptors of the Mathurā school seem to have been particularly fascinated by the variations that the *Dohada*-motif admitted. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. I shows a representation of the *Aśokadohada* from a railing. The woman in this case is leaning on the stem of the *Aśoka* tree, her right leg kicking it. The tree has broken into flowers. The fruit with a rather long stem which she holds in her hand is the fruit of the *Aśoka* tree. Still another figure from Mathurā shows "the half back view of a female sculptured on a pillar."<sup>78</sup> If we may identify the vessel in the woman's left hand as a drinking bowl, we have an instance of the *Gaṇḍūṣaseka* type of *Dohada*. It is to be noticed that the figure is nude and she faces the tree, while her right hand is plucking flowers from it. All the figures considered so far are from Buddhist areas and we shall now notice at least one from a Jaina area, at Mathurā.<sup>79</sup> It is nude but for the waistband, which may be identified as *Kiṅkiṇī*. There are no ornaments, except the heavy *Nūpurās*. The right foot presses against a tree while the right hand is plucking flowers from the branches. The left hand carries an instrument, which is identified by Smith as an old type of Indian broadsword.<sup>80</sup> The sword is held in the left hand. If it is a sword, this is



inconsistent with the interpretation we give it. Can this symbolise Āghāta? If so, we have to admit the art motif has become extremely conventionalised.

We may here notice one peculiar feature regarding these sculptures, namely, the presence of a pedestal in the shape of a human being, *Yakṣa* or animal. This serves the purpose of a *Pādapiṭha* and is mainly found in those statues, in which the figure is performing the *Āliṅgana* or *Pādāghāta* type of *Dohada*, but not in those which we have identified as *Nartana* or *Gaṇḍūṣaseka* type of *Dohada*. This fact is very significant: acts symbolising embrace and sexual consummation are not to be performed at the foot of the tree and the inclusion of the pedestal suggests this.

A *Nartanadohada* of the *Gandhāra* school, from *Yusufzai*<sup>81</sup> is shown on a panel of a pillar. Another figure from *Yusufzai* of a 'woman holding a mirror', agrees with the former in all respects, and it may also be characterised as *Nartanadohada*. *Aśokadohada* is also found on a disc on the intermediate rails of the outer enclosure at *Amarāvati*. Cave No. III at *Badami* (6th century A. D.) gives amongst others (Pl. XXVII, *Sparsadohada*), a very striking representation of the *Nartanadohada* motif<sup>82</sup>. The woman holds a mirror and gives the final touches to her toilet. Of the later period, preserved examples are too numerous to be referred to in every case. Some however may be mentioned. The *Maṇḍapam* of the *Rāmacandra* temple at *Rajim*, C. P. has its pillars beset with them (Pl. XXIX). In *Mukhaliṅgam* *Dohada* panels (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3) flank the door of the main temple. From *Orissa* we have the *Aśoka* type of *Dohada* on the *Rājarañi* temple at *Bhuvaneśvar* (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2) and also *Nartanadohada*; from *Khiching*, *Mayurbhanj*, the *Latāveṣṭika* type of *Āliṅganadohada*. From *Konaraka* some *Pādāghāta* *dohada* compositions have been published<sup>83</sup>. The same type of ornamental motif occurs in south India, in a more or less conventional form. It is frequent in the *Cidambaram* temple<sup>84</sup>, from the later *Colaperiod*, etc., and it adorns the *Subramaṇyasvami* temple, *Tanjore*, cited by *Coomaraswamy* as the figure of a *Yakṣi*<sup>85</sup>. The example from *Tadpatri* which *Coomaraswamy* calls a *Yakṣi*<sup>86</sup> and *Havell*, a young woman, probably meant for an *Apsaras*,<sup>87</sup> dates from the *Vijayanagar* period and should be placed alongside with the highly conventionalised forms from *Cidambaram*. In this example the woman stands on a *Makara* from the mouth of which issues the stem of a conventionalised creeper. Still, it is a clear instance of the *Latāveṣṭika* type of *Āliṅganadohada*. These late examples preserve all the essentials of the design. From *Madura* comes a beautiful *Nartanadohada* belonging to the 17th century.<sup>88</sup> The reliefs from *Tanjore* from the *Subramaṇyasvami*



temple already noticed would take us into the next century, and it is significant that the latest literary reference that we have been able to suggest also comes from the middle of the 18th century. Another instance of the Pādāghāta variety of Dohada from within the precincts of the Tanjore temple from one of the pillars in front of the small shrine standing to the right of the Nandī brings us almost to modern times.

## NOTES

1. The term "dohada" is defined in the Śabdārṇava as follows:

tarugulmalatādīnāmakāle kuśalāy kṛtāṃ /  
puṣpādyaupādakāṃ dravyāṃ dohadāṃ syāttu tatkrīyā // (MS p. 60)

This idea of the term should be strictly differentiated from the idea of pregnancy longing, as Coomaraswamy understands it (cf. Y., I, p. 36). The Dohada rites, here mentioned cannot be identified with pregnancy rites, as the same author seems to imply. Nor are "tree marriages" suggested. In the three instances quoted by Coomaraswamy (Hist. of Ind. and Indones. art, p. 64. notes II and III) the tree appears as female and not as male and this does not tally with the invariable "woman and tree motif." Nor do we see here fertility rites, as the expression is commonly understood, performed by women with a view to get children for themselves, or abundance, i.e., the object intended to be fertilised is the person who performs the rite.

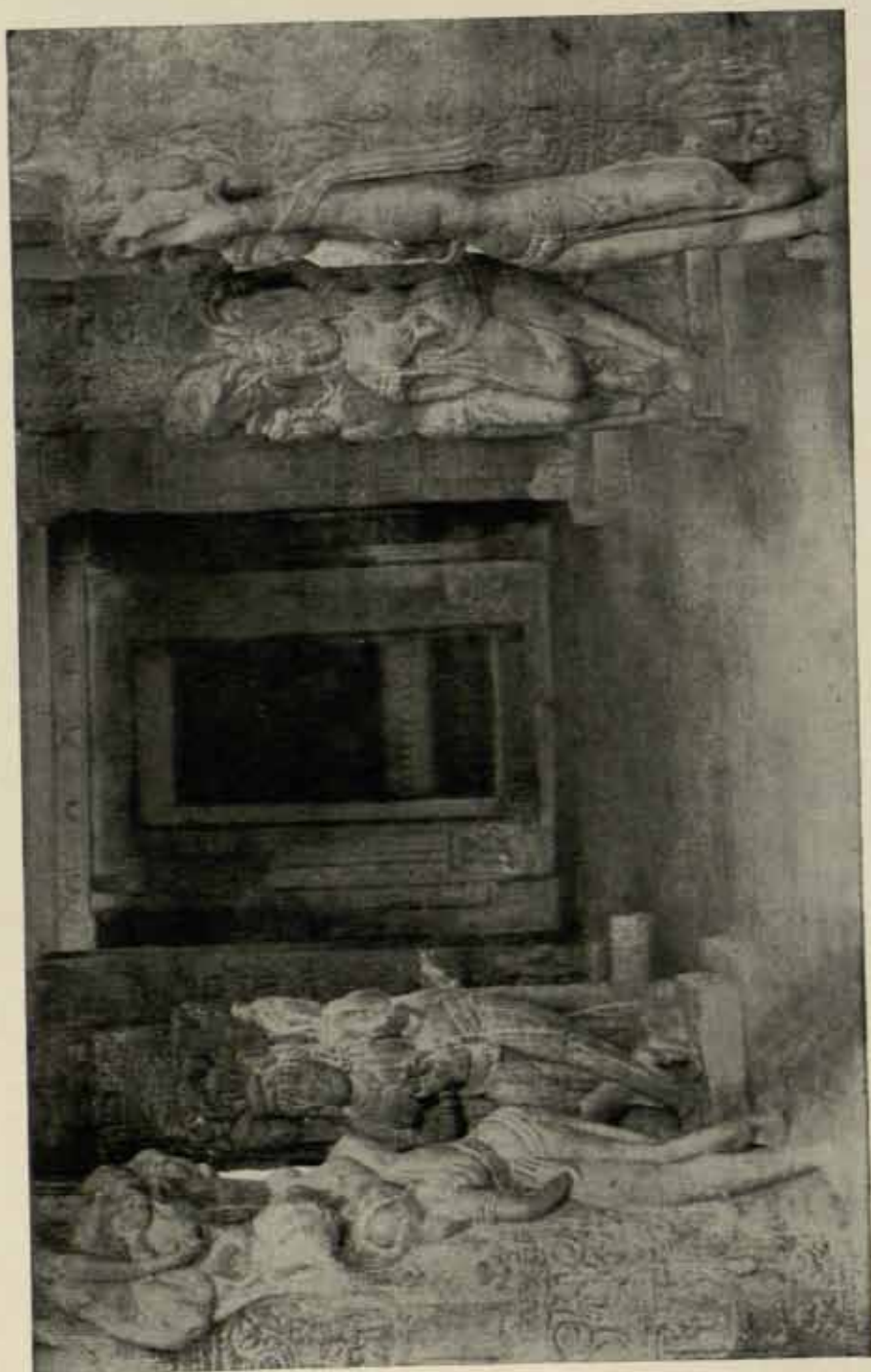
The Dohada rite, however, performed for the sake of the tree, is not a fertility rite, but one of fertilisation, so that the tree may have flowers and fruits in abundance.

We are particularly grateful to Dr. Vogel for readily responding to our request and sending us an off-print of his valuable paper on Woman and Tree or Śālabhañjikā published in Acta Orientalia Vol. VII. We agree with his main conclusion that the woman and tree motif "is a truly indigenous element of decorative art." We do not agree with him when he would characterise every combination of woman and tree as a Śālabhañjikā and say this decorative motif, both in literature and art, must have taken its roots from the flower gathering festival customary in ancient India. From his citations it is clear that the earliest positive reference to Śālabhañjikā occurs in Bāṇa, a contemporary of Harṣa of Kanauj. We believe a clear distinction can be made between "pratiyātana" and "śālabhañjikā": compare, for instance, yojit-pratiyātana, kṛtyāyāni-pratiyātana, vāravilāsini-pratiyātana on one side and toraṇa-śālabhañjikā, stambha-śālabhañjikā, sabha-śālabhañjikā, bhitti-śālabhañjikā on the other. Pratiyātana probably stands for the representation in plastic art of some original where some amount of resemblance between the original and the re-production is essential. The latter is not a reproduction in this sense of the term. It is an original figure conceived by the sculptor and we may not search for its original. Thus the citations he has given do not tend to make clear the origin of the term "śālabhañjikā," and we would preferably accept the meaning of the term as given in lexicons namely a female figure. The interpretation of the term "śāla" as referring to the material of which it is made need not be necessarily wrong when it is remembered that the Barhut, Sāñci and Mathurā railings are stone copies of original wooden ones. And this leads to the conclusion that original figures were made of wood, probably of the Śāla tree. This characterisation of all woman and tree figures as Śālabhañjikā is a little too far-fetched. For in the first place the woman and tree combination figures as decoration on pillars and brackets, as well as on door jambs. In the second place we have no specific literary reference which connects woman and tree as Śālabhañjikā. If indeed the woman and tree at Barhut, Sāñci, etc., represent Śālabhañjikā, in the original sense of the term, the tree should have been depicted as Śāla, particularly in view of the Buddhistic importance of the place and the Buddhistic associations of the Śāla tree, but, unfortunately, some of these are Aśoka and others mango. And, lastly, such an identification does not help us to explain their activity. Hence we interpret these as Dohada figures; or, following the terminology of Sanskrit writers, we may call them Dohada-śālabhañjikā on the model of such expressions as "torāṇa-śālabhañjikā", "stambha-śālabhañjikā" or "śāla-śālabhañjikā".

But for the continued help of T. B. Nayar of the Annamalai University, this paper may not have seen the light of day, not at least in the form in which now it is.



2. rakṣasokāśalakitālayaḥ keśarāścatrakāntaḥ  
pratyāsannau kuravakavṛteḥ mādhavīmaṇḍapasya /  
ekāḥ sakhyāstava saha mayā vāmapādaśbhilāṣī  
kaṇṭhāntaryāyo' vadaṇamadirāṇaḥ dohadacchadmanāṣyāḥ // (MS : Part II-verse 15)
3. navayāvakaṇṭhāpallavitasanḍipurataruṇicaraṇaprahārānūrṅga-  
vāṣāṇnavakīśalayacchalena tamīva rāgamudavahadaśokaḥ /  
madhuramadhuparipūritakāminīmukhakamalagaṇḍāśekādiva tadrasagaṇ-  
dhamātmakusumeṣu bibhradbakulatarū ratāja // (VD : page 165-6)
4. mūle gaṇḍāśekādiva bakulairvāsyate puṣpavṛṣṭyā  
madhvātāmre taruṇyā mukhaśaṣṇī ciraścampakanyadya bhānti /  
ākāṇṭhāśokapādāhaṣi ca rasitaṇaḥ nirbharaṇaḥ nūpurāṇāṇaḥ  
jhaṇṭkāśyānugaitairanukaraṇamivārabhyate bhṛṅgaśāstrīhaḥ // (RN : Act I : verse 18)
5. kadācit bakulataruriva kāmīnigaṇḍāśasidhuhārāśvādamu-  
ditāḥ vikāśamabhaṣata ; kadācidāśokapādapa iva yuvati-  
caraṇatalaprahāraṇaḥkrāntīlaktako' tāgamuvāha / (K : page 121)  
.....bakulaviṣṭeṣu madhugaṇḍāśapracārān, āśokatarutāḍaneṣu caraṇā-  
bhigātān.....(ibid : page 354)
6. mahurūhāḥ dohadasekaśakteraśālikāṇaḥ korikamudvahanti / (NK : Canto III-21)
7. purandhriagaṇḍāśasurāśbhilāṣaṇ  
paśyannaśoko bakuladrumasya /  
priyapriyāpādetalaprahāre-  
mātmānamalpavyasanāṇaḥ viveda // (VC : VII-48).
8. pādāḥgātāśokāṇaḥ vikasati bakulāṇaḥ yojitīmāsyamadyaiḥ / (SD : Pariccheda VII-verse 24)
9. keśarāśokayoh satstrigaṇḍāśāt pādāḥgātaraḥ  
māśāntare'pi puṣpāṇṭyādi / (AS : page 15)
10. strīṇaṇaḥ sparśāt priyāṇgurvikasati bakulāśidhugaṇḍāśekāt  
pādāḥgātāśokāśtilakakuravakau vīkṣaṇāliṅgaṇābhyaṇ /  
mandāro narmavākyāt paṣumpduhesanāśocampako vaktravātāt  
citra gītānāmerurvikasati puro nartanāt kaṇṭhikāraḥ // (MS : page 60 also K. P. : also SED-a)  
pādāḥgātāḥ pramadayā vikasatyāśokaḥ  
śokaṇaḥ jāhātī bakulo mukhaśidhukitāḥ /  
ślokitāḥ kuravakāḥ kurute vikāśaṇ  
āliṅgitaśca tilakāḥ utkaliko vibhānti // (KS : Canto III-26)  
kuravakakucāḥgātākrīḍāsukhena viyujyase  
bakulaviṣṭapīn smatavyaṇ te mukhāśavasecanaṇ /  
caraṇaghaṭanāśūnyaṇ yāsyasyāśoka śaśokātāṇ /  
iti nījapuratyāge yasya dvīṣāṇ jagadūḥ strīyāḥ // (DL : page 168-69 ; also KM : page 73)  
mukhamadirayā pādanyāśaiḥ vilāsavilokitaiḥ  
bakulaviṣṭapī rakṣasokastathā tilakadrumaḥ /  
jalānidhitaścāśāntarāṇāṇaḥ kramāt kakubhaṇaḥ jaye  
jhaḡiti gamitā yāvargyābhīḥ vikāśamahotsavaḥ (Km : page 73)
11. kusumaṇaḥ kṛtadohaśastvayā  
yadaśokoyamudrayiṣyati /  
alākābharaṇaṇaḥ kathannu tat-  
tava neṣyāmi nivāpamālyataṇ // (RV. : VIII-62)  
smarateva śaśabdanḍipuraṇaḥ  
caraṇānugrahamanyadurlabhaṇaḥ /  
amunā kusumāśruvarṣiṇā  
tvamaśokena sugātrī śocyate // (ibid : 63)







12. śiṣṭa sadyaḥ kusumāyāśokāḥ skandhāt prabhṛtyeva śāpallāvaṇi /  
pādena napaikṣata sundarīṇaṁ saṁparkamāsīṇītanūpureṇa // (KS : III-26)  
cf. Mallinatha on the above :  
tanūpuravena stricarapenābhītāṇaṁ /  
dohadaṁ yadaśokasya tataḥ puṣpagaṁbhavet / (ibid. page 45)
13. rakṣāśokaśālakatālaya iti (ibid. note 2)
14. rakṣāśoka kṛtadāri kva nu gatā tyaktvānuraktaṁ janāṁ  
no dṛṣṭeti muḍhaiva cālayasi kim vātāvadhūtāṁ firah /  
utkarṣṭhaghṛtāmānāśadpādāghṛtāsamghaṭadṛṣṭhaocchadaḥ  
tatpādāhatimantareṇa bhavataḥ puṣpodgamoyaṁ kutaḥ // (ascribed to the VK) (KP : page 61)
15. The references are set forth later. See notes : 46-60.
16. ....caraṇayugalasya prasaradbhīṣṭilohitāḥ prabhāpravahai-  
rubhayataśtāṇāṇi / (HC : page 31)
17. rakṣastvaṁ navapallavairahamaṇi śīlaghyāḥ priyāyāḥ guṇaiḥ  
tvāmāyānti śūlmukhāḥ smaradhanurmuktāḥ tathā māmapī /  
kāntāpāṭalāhatitava mude tadvanmamāpyāvayoh  
sarvaṁ tulyamaśoka kevalamaham dhātṛśāśokāḥ kṛtaḥ // (DL : page 90)
18. uccitva prathamamadhaśhṛṣṭaṁ mṛgākṣi  
puṣpaugham śritavṛṇapaṁ gṛhītukāmā /  
aroḍhum padamadadhāśokayaṣṭhā-  
vāmūlam punarapi tena puṣpitābhūt // (KA : Page 140)
19. aṅganīcaraṇatāṇalīlā-  
māpnuvatsabhumānāśokāḥ /  
prekṣitum tadiva bhāgamupetaḥ  
pallavairabhīnavāḥ parivavre // (NV : IX-12)
20. gavīyase vikacākorākamāñjugurñśududvṛttāśadpadaghaṭāvibhavana kinnu /  
vāmabhṛuvāṁ caraṇatāṇādoḥadāni kinnāma na smarasi tāvadaśoka tāni //  
unnīlayanti kuṣumāni manoramāṇi  
ke nāma nātra taravāḥ samayocitāni /  
kasyedṛṣṭaṁ kathaya dohadamasti tasya  
yadṛgvīnimitamāśoka mahiruhasya // (SB : Page 250 : 74-75)
21. alīṅgaṇena kuravo hariṇekṣaṇāṇāṁ  
āmodagauravabhṛto bhuvi sarva eva /  
tanmadhyabhāgapi tathā sa kathannu pāṇḍub  
alīṅgya madratanaḥāmavadhīm prapade // (BC : 198)
22. śrīyāḥ kaṭākṣīraciramambhīḥyastaraṅgayantutpaladamadīrghaḥ /  
drumepi sadyaḥ tilakābhīdhāne prāṇīyate yaiḥ prasavāṅguraśrīḥ // (NV : 1-1)
23. suradanāḥvadanāśavataṁbhṛtaḥ  
tadanuvādiguṇāḥ kuṣumodgamaiḥ /  
madhukarairakaronmadhulolupaḥ  
bakulamākulamāyatapañkṛtibhiḥ // (RV : IX-30)  
śāṭirekamadakāṇaṁ rahah  
tenadattamabhīḥsurāṅgaṇāḥ /  
tābhīrapyupahṛtaṁ mukhāsavaṁ  
sopibadbakulatulyadohadah // (RV : XIX-12)
24. See note 10 : the first verse quoted.
25. ghaṇānāmapi vṛkṣāṇāmākāśo'iti na saṁśayaḥ /  
teṣāṁ puṣpaphalavyaktirnityaṁ samupapadyate //  
uṣmato'mīlāyate varṇaṁ tvakphalaṁ puṣpameva ca /  
mīlāyate śrīyate cāpi sparśastenaṣṭra vidyate //



vayvagnyaśaniniṣṣeṣāḥ phalaṃ puṣpaṃ viśṛyate /  
 śrotreṇa gṛhyate śabdastasmācchṛṇvanti pādapāḥ //  
 vallī veṣṭayate vṛkṣam sarvataścaiva gacchati /  
 na hyadṛṣṭeṣa mārgo'sti tasmāpāsyanti pādapāḥ //  
 puṇyāpuṇyastathā gandhairdhoṇipaiśca vividhairapi /  
 aroḡṣāḥ puṣpitāḥ santi tasmājighṛṇti pādapāḥ //  
 pādaiḥ salilapānācca vyādhinām cāpi darśanāt /  
 vyādhipratikriyavācca vidyate rasanam drume //  
 vaktreṇotpalaṇālena yathordhaṃ ślamādedet  
 tathā pavanatamyuktāḥ pādaiḥ pibati pādapāḥ  
 sukhaduḥkhaḥyośca grahaṇācchinnaśya ca virohaṇāt  
 jīvam paśyāmi vṛkṣāṇāmacaitanyaṃ na vidyate. (MB : Śāntiparva chapter 182 : 10-17)

26. We have evidence of tree-worship both "in its natural form and the other in which the tree spirit is personified and endowed with human shape and human attributes" at Mohenjodaro and Harappa as early as the third millennium B. C. (MIC : page 65.)

27. GB : pp. 109-111.

28. harṣaprasādanitā kāntātyarthaṃ samanmathā  
 sabhrūkṣepakāṭāḥ ca vṛkṣāre dṛṣṭirucyate. (NS : page 101 : verse 44)

29. snigdhatva is described as follows : 'śānandāśrūtā dṛṣṭiḥ snigdheyam ratibhāvajā.'

30. ābhāṣane tu yadvākyaṃ nāma sa smṛtaḥ. (NS : page 276-verse 52)

31. utphullānananetraistu gaṇḍairvikasitairatha  
 kiñcilakṣitadantaṃ ca hasitaṃ tadvidhiyate. (NS : page 76-verse 55)

32. This is an important aspect which deserves to be remembered particularly with reference to Dohada representation in sculpture.

33. tatśāstamāgatayoḥ pritiṅgadyotanārthamālinganacatuṣṭayaṃ  
 spṛṣṭakam, viddhakam, udghṛṣṭakam, piḍṭakamiti. (KS : pp. 84-5)

34. sammukhāgatāyām prayoḥyāyamaṇyāpadeśena gacchato gātreṇa  
 gātrasya sparśanam spṛṣṭakam. (ibid.)

35. prayoḥyam nāyikā sthitamupaviṣṭam vā vijane kiñcit  
 grhṇāti payodhareṇa vīdhynnāyakopi tamavapiḍya grhṇi-  
 yāditi viddhakam. (ibid.)

36. tamasi janatambhāḍhe vijane vā'tha śanakaḥgacchatornāti-  
 hṛvakkālamuddharṇam parāsparasya gātrānamudghṛṣṭakam. (ibid. page 85)

37. tadeva kuḍyasaṃdeśena stambhasaṃdeśena vā sphuṭakamavapiḍayediti piḍṭakam / (ibid. 84-85)

38. lateva śālamāveṣṭayanti cumbanārthaṃ mukhamavanamayedu-  
 ddhṛtya mandasikṛtā tamāśritā vā kiñcidrāmaṇiyakaṃ  
 paśyet tallatāveṣṭakam (ibid. page 86)

A creeper entwining a tree is the characteristic description of this type of Ālīngana. This entwining must also be accompanied by the head of the lover being lowered for kissing him, the other peculiar features being the gentle Śikāra as well as the loving gaze on the face.

39. caraṇena caraṇamākrāmya dvitīyenorudeśamākrāmanī veṣṭayan-  
 tī va tatpṛṣṭhāsaktāikabāhurdvitiyenāṃsamavanamayanti sanmandasit-  
 kṛtā kṛjīā cumbanārthamevādhroḍhumiochediti vṛkṣādhirudhakam / (KS : page 86. Sūtra 17)

The description is very clear and the example in sculpture is true to the description given here. (Bodhgaya pillar figure, cf. Coomaraswamy, Bodhgaya pl. One of the arms will be entwining the back while the other will be about the neck lowering down the face as if to imprint a kiss. Both the varieties now described show that man and woman are standing.

40. śayanagatāvevoruvyatyaṃ bhujavyatyāsaṃ ca sesaḥgharṣa-  
 miva ghanam saṃsvajete tattilatāṇḍulakam. (KS : page 87 : S. 19)

41. rāgāndhavanapekṣitāyau parasparamanuviśatā ivo-  
tsaṅgagatāyamabhimukhopaviṣṭāyāṁ śayane veti kṣirajalakam // (KS : page 87, S. 20)
42. bhāvāsakāḥ kāmukāḥ kaminīnāmiochantyaṅgeṣvambhasīva  
praveṣṭum / (KS : Com : page 88)
43. tadubhayaṁ sthitakarma (KS : page 87 : S : 18)
44. yathā ādīyakaṅkṣakālayamiti / atra prasāritāḥkhyāṁ karaṇam  
śūcitamiti kecidācakṣate / nāyakasyāṁsa eko dvitīyaḥ  
prasāritāḥ iti prasāritakāṁiti vātsyāyanasūtram (KS : page 120 Sūtra 26)  
tadvivṛtaṁ ratirāhasye :—  
priyasya vakṣyaṁsatalaṁ śirothavāḥ nayeta savyaṁ caraṇam nitaṁbini /  
prasārayedvā paramāyataṁ punarviparyayaḥ syāditi hi prasāritam // (KK : page 136)

Have we not here a suggestion that Kālidāsa was an ancient author even for Vāmana and that MA attracted the attention of more than one commentator? This is in favour of a pre-Christian date for Kālidāsa.

45. We have given the Sanskrit rendering of the Prakritic passages :
46. aḥ sandiṣṭāmi devyā gautamacāpalāḥ dolāparibhṛṣṭāyāḥ  
sarucco me caraṇaḥ / tvām tavad gatvā tapaniyāśokasya do-  
hadam nirvartaya // (MA : 71, 11-12-13)
47. halā tvam tāvadidānīṁ devyā yogyadāriketi niyuktā / page 78 : line 10.
48. See note 51 following.
49. yāvadānupādāṁ mama caraṇāḥkṣāra hastayā bakulavalikayā  
gantavyaṁ paridevayigye tīvad vīrabdhohaṁ muhurtakam / (MA : page 71 : 11 : 14-15)  
tasmādekam te caraṇamupanaya / yāvad ślāktakaṁ saṁpūrapaṁkaromi (MA : page 78, 1 : 3)  
eṣa dvitīyopi nirvṛtaparikarmaścaraṇaḥ /  
yāvadādvāpi saṁpūrapau karomi / halā uttiṣṭha // (MA : page 89, 11 : 4-6)
50. eṣa khalu nātipariṣṭāveṣṭosukeva eśākinī mālavikā dūre vartate / (MA : page 72, 11 : 10-11)
51. farakāṇḍapāṇḍugāṇḍasthaleyamābhāti parimitābharaṇā /  
mādhavapariṇatapatrā katipayakusumeva kundalāt // (MA : page 74, verse 8)
52. kisalayamḍorvilāsinī kathine nihitasya pādapaṣkandhe /  
caraṇasya na te bāḥhā saṁprati vāmora vāṁsasya // (MA : page 93, verse 18)
53. yadi pañcarātryabhyantare kusumaṁ darīyati, tatohaṁ tavā-  
bhilāṣapūrayitṛkaṁ prasādam dāsyāmi / (MA : page 71 : 1-13)
54. vāmaḥ khalveṣo'śoko yo vyaṭṭjakaṁ pramāṇikṭya  
kusumodgamaṁ na darīyati. (MA : page 90, 11 : 12-13)
55. anena khalu mukharanūpurārāviṇā  
navāmburūhakomalena caraṇena sambhāvitah /  
aśoka yadi sadya eva mukulāḥ na saṁpatyase  
vṛthā vahasī dohadam lalitakāmistādhāraṇam // (MA : page 91 verse 17)
56. śācaryamāścaryam / apūṇa eva pañcarātre dohadāsyā muku-  
lāḥ sannaddhastapanīyāśokaḥ / yāvad devyai nivedayāmi // (MA : page 130 : 11-13-14)
57. See note 46.
58. caraṇāntaniveditaṁ priyāyāḥ  
sarasaṁ paśya vayasya rāgarekhāṁ // (MA. page 79, verse 11 also cf. verse 12 and 13 following)
59. caraṇānurūpaḥ khalu tatrabhavadāyā adhikara upakṣiptah. (MA : page 79 : line 14)
60. sakhi aruṇatapatramiva śobhate te caraṇam (MA : Page 85, line 9)



61. In the whole course of the description, the Nūpurās play an important part. She is now wearing the queen's Nūpurās (cf. MA, page 83, lines 3 and 4). When the tree is kicked with the Nūpurās there must necessarily be produced the jingling sound.
62. In sculpture however the left or the right foot performs the act.
63. tadubbhavaṃ ca siktam tasyātipatvāt tadānekavidharṇ /  
virutāni cāṅṅau / hīṃkāraṇitakūṭitaruditasiktā-  
dūṭkṛtaphūṭkṛtāni / (KS : page 126-7 : Sūtras 4, 5, 7)
64. An examination of the terms used with reference to the process in this variety of Dohada, will show that the words commonly used are āghāra, tāḍana, prahāra, and all these words convey more than the idea of mere contact. The use of these terms side by side with other terms such as "sāmparka, nyāsa" etc., is clearly an indication of the fact that even at the time of Kālidāsa the idea underlying the motif has become conventionalised and this would prove that the idea must be much older.
65. See KM : page 78.
66. HFAIC : p. 380. 67. Yakṣas : Part I : Plate V-i : p. 39. 68. Ibid : Plate IV-i : p. 39. 69. EIS : Vol. I-Plate XXXIV : pp. 20, 21. 70. HIA : page 33. 71. HFAIC : p. 79 ; ACIC : p. 49 ; ISP : p. 97 ; IIA : pp. 101, 102. 72. ASAR : Vol. III : Plates VI, VII and XI. 73. HFAIC : p. 142 ; ASAR : Vol. XI : Plate XXIII ; ibid : pp. 74-75 ; ibid. 74. Yakṣas : Part I : p. 39. 75. Ibid : Plate VI-ii, p. 39. 76. Ibid : Plate XXII-i. 77. WTS : Plate III-B. 78. AFAIC : p. 141. 79. HFAIC : p. 144 ; fig. 95. 80. Ibid. 81. Ibid : p. 117 ; fig. 67 ; ibid : p. 117 ; fig. 68. 82. RDB : Plate XIX-C. It may be noticed that the plate number and the description do not agree. There is a certain amount of confusion. 83. IS : Plate XLV. The author's description of the figure is particularly happy. We do not, however, agree with her, rather Vogel's identification of it as a Śālabhāṅṅikā ; ACIC : fig. 45 ; IIA : Plate XII, p. 94. 84. A sculpture in the Cidambaram temple was the subject of a note by B. V. N. Naidu and P. S. Naidu, in the Annamalai University Journal, Vol-III No. ii. On a supposedly striking resemblance to the figure published in Yazdani, Ajanta Vol-II, Plate XXI, it has been baselessly identified as Princess Māyā. 85. Yakṣas : Part I : Plate XIX-ii. 86. Ibid : Plate XIX-i. 87. IIA : pp. 101-102. 88. Yakṣas : Plate XXII-ii.
- Abbreviations :** Atharvaveda (AV) ; Mahābhārata (K. ED)-(MB) ; Bharata : Nāṭya-Śāstra (B. ED)-(NS) ; Vātsyāyana : Kāmasūtra (KSS-1929) (KS) ; Kālidāsa : Meghadūta (NS. Ed. 1915)-(MS) ; Kālidāsa : Raghuvamśa (NS. Ed. 1915)-(RV) ; Kālidāsa : Kumārasambhava (NS. Ed. 1906) (KUS) ; Kālidāsa : Vikramorvaśīya (MU) ; Kālidāsa : Mālavikāgnimitra (BMS, Ed.) (MA) ; Vasubandhu : Viśavadveta (NS. Ed. 1906)-(VD) ; Harṣa : Ratnāvalī (NS. Ed. 1916)-(RN) ; Bāṇa : Kādambarī (NS. Ed. 1896) (K) ; Bāṇa : Harṣacarita (NS. Ed. 1897)-(HC) ; Vāmana : Kāvya-lakṣaṇasūtravṛtti with Kāmadhenu (VV, Ed. 1901) (KK) ; Ānandavardhana : Dhvanyāloka with Locana (NS. Ed. 1911)-(DL) ; Rājasekhara : Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (GOS, Ed. 1924)-(KM) ; Śrī Harṣa : Naisadha : (NS. Ed. 1919)-(NK) ; Mammata : Kāvya-prakāśa (BSS. Ed.)-(KP) ; Bilhaṇa : Vīramadeva-kacaritam (BSS. d. 1875)-(VC) ; Keśavamiśra : Alakṣaṇa-sekhara (NS. Ed. 1919)-(AS) ; Viśvanātha : Sahityadarpaṇa (NS. Ed. 1915)-(SD) ; Sāradaśtanaya : Bhāva-prakāśa (GOS. Ed.)-(BP) ; Āpāyayadikṛta : Kuvalayananda (NS. Ed. 1917)-(KA) ; Bhāratacampu (BC) ; Venkateśvaradikṛta : Natesavijaya (VV, Ed. 1912)-(NV) ; Monier Williams : English Sanskrit Dictionary (NED. 1899)-(ESD-M) ; Apte : English Sanskrit Dictionary (2nd. Ed. 1922)-(ESD-A) ; Subhāṣitaratnabhāṣṇagāraṇ (NS. Ed.)-(SB) ; Marshall ; Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation (MIC) ; Smith : History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon (1911)-HFAIC ; Coomaraswamy : History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927) HIA ; Bachhofer : Early Indian Sculpture Vol. I (1929)-(EIS) ; Havell : Indian Sculpture and Painting 2nd. Ed. (1928) (ISP) ; Havell : Ideals of Indian Art (1911)-(IIA) ; Coomaraswamy : Arts and Crafts in India & Ceylon (1913)-ACIC ; R. D. Banerji : History of Orissa (1930, 31)-(HO) ; R. D. Banerji : Memoirs of A. S. of India (Vol. 25-1928) Bas Reliefs of Badami (BRB) ; Kramrisch : Indian Sculpture (1933)-(IS) ; Cunningham : Stupa of Barhut (1879)-(SB) ; Archaeological Survey Annual Reports-Vols. III XI (ASAR) ; Archaeological Survey of India-Annual Reports 1906-1907 ; (ASI-AR) ; The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1891)-(JRAS) ; Chatteropadhyaya : The Date of Kālidāsa (DK) ; Vogel : Woman and Tree or Śālabhāṅṅikā (A. O. VII)-(WTS) ; The Annamalai University Journal ; (AUJ) ; Coomaraswamy ; Yakṣas Parts I (1928) and II (1931) (Y) ; Havell : Hand-Book of Indian Art. (1920) (HBIA).



3

4





## TERRA-COTTAS DUG OUT AT PATNA

By K. P. JAYASWAL

Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Patna, Mathura, Gwalior, Kosam and Rummini Dei have yielded terra-cotta figures. The museums at those places are full of specimens in this line but none owns such a rich and varied collection of terra-cottas as the Patna museum. Recently the Health Department of Bihar and Orissa undertook to construct a modern sewerage in the town of Patna. They started digging last year in the inhabited area of what was formerly called the Bankipur town, which is about six miles from Patna city and over two miles west of Kumrahar. The area under operation may be enumerated by Mahallas : Kadamkuan, Bakarganj, Bhiknapahar, Mussallapur, Golakhpur. The excavations reached in some places down to 20' below the road level. I obtained permission to collect for the Patna Museum the antiquities from the trenches while the operations have been in progress. In the last 12 months we have gathered remarkable objects.

The trenches dug were for the purposes of laying down pipes and for securing the proper levels for drainage. The quantum of earth opened is thus necessarily a few feet, (2' to 5') in width, though the length would cover several miles by now. The evidence shows that the area was inhabited in Maurya times and earlier. This is proved by an inscription found on one of the objects discovered (Pl. XXX, Fig. 3). The steatite disc (toy wheel) (Patna Museum No 109) recovered from a depth of 14' (Kadamkuan) has an inscription in the oldest forms of Asoka letters giving the name of the owner Visākha ('Visākhaśa'). It is reproduced here as a guide to fix the age of the antiquities described. Silver punched and copper coins also have been found which bear Maurya marks. The whole area of excavation has yielded throughout household things implying habitation in Maurya and pre-Maurya centuries. We are in a peculiarly fortunate position with regard to the terra-cottas owing to the known level in each case.



It may be pointed out that the Kumrahar and Bulandibagh Maurya depth (17' to 20') is greater owing to the silt of the inundation which was confined to the south of the old town, having been caused by the river Son. The sewerage excavation shows however no silt. The silt layer at Kumrahar found by Dr. Spooner was six feet in depth. In other parts of India (Sarnath, Rampurva, etc.) the Asokan level is 13'. At Patna, whenever a well is dug, the Maurya level is at 14' or 13'. Nothing Guptan has been found in the present excavations which shows that the place ceased to be inhabited before the Guptan age. The general Maurya level from earlier coin-finds (Golakhpur 15') and other experiences of mine extending over twenty one years at Patna is 14 to 12 feet.

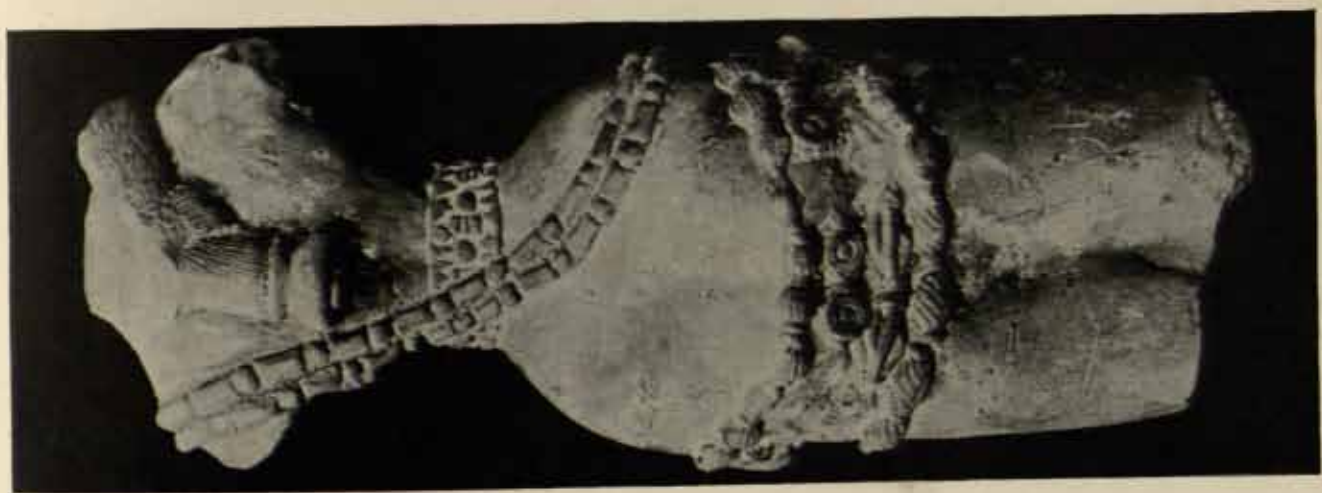
A few specimens are illustrated here. A woman's head (Patna Museum, No. 357) comes from a depth of 17' (Bhiknapahari). It may be taken as pre-Mauryan, i.e., Nandan (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1). A Sun plaque, (Patna museum No. 1) diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " from 14', Kadamkuan, is a Maurya piece. It may be compared with the representation of the Sun-in-chariot at Bhaja and Bodhi Gaya. It is evidently an object of worship. Here the coat-of-mail on the god is remarkable (Pl. XXX, Fig. 2).

The most remarkable work in terra-cotta yet discovered, is Patna Museum No. 975, coming from a depth of 14' 6", near Golakhpur. The torso of a female figure ( $6\frac{3}{8}$ ") is in the round, exhibiting perfect modelling; particularly the right side and the back (Pl. XXXI). The figure goes back to early Maurya times and is a rival of the Didarganj stone statue.

Patna Museum No. 297 (Pl. XXXII, Fig 1), a Yogin, probably Śiva, comes from Bhiknapahari, from a depth of 18 feet. The body is nude. According to the level it should be classed as a pre-Maurya piece.

Patna Museum No. 724 is a toy ( $5\frac{1}{8}$ ") from 12', Bhiknapahari (Pl. XXXII, Figs. 2,3). It looks like a water cyphon. The face marks a high degree of achievement in showing expression. From the same level and the same place we have a head ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ ") in black earth, Patna Museum No. 616, which for its 'primitiveness' might be classed with some of the Mohenjodaro figures. This illustrates the danger of fixing periods basing conclusions on 'primitive' and 'developed' character. Both may exist side by side, as they do today.

Patna Museum No. 928, (Pl. XXX, Fig. 4.) from 11' at Golakhpur (c. 100 A. D.) is the head of a shaven monk with prominent 'Aryan' features.













## "THE CONQUEROR'S LIFE" IN JAINA PAINTING: EXPLICITUR REDUCTIO HAEC ARTIS AD THEOLOGIAM<sup>1</sup>

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

### I

Professor Brown and Mr. Ramachandran have provided us with authoritative and almost exhaustive denominative accounts of the iconography of Jaina painting, in western and southern India.<sup>2</sup> It has long been recognized that as compositions and in symbolism the illustrations of the lives of the Jainas or "Conquerors" are by no means contemporary inventions, but rather slightly varying recensions of archetypal formulae of which the date of fixation can hardly be determined for want of documents. In this respect the Jaina compositions correspond to those of folk art, which are evidently the lineal descendants of types of an unknown and in this case certainly a very remote

1. i.e. in which the arts are referred to that science in which they are more eminently present, as are effects in their cause. The form of the sub-title is suggested by St Bonaventura's *Opusculum de reductione artium ad theologiam*, a translation of which will appear as Part III of my *Mediaeval Aesthetic*, in the *Art Bulletin*, in due course. The peculiar propriety of our procedure in the present, Jaina, connection, will be apparent by reference to Hemacandra's *Triṣaṭṭhalakāpurāṇacaritra*, I, I, 648 ff. where in a description of those who are considering a painting, the first place is given to those "versed in Holy Writ" (*āgama-vit*), whose judgment is based on the picture's agreement with the meaning of Writ" (*āgamārthāvisatvādi*), the second place to the "very pious" persons who delight in the representations (*bimbāni*) of the holy personages as such, third place to the "technical experts" who criticise the draughtsmanship, and fourth to those "others" who are charmed by the colours. These points of view correspond approximately to the well known classification of references as respectively anagogic (*paramārthika*), moral, allegorical, and literal. In the present article, the reader is invited to consider Jaina painting from the first of these points of view, that of the *āgama-vit*, the *vidu*, *ya evaṃ vidvān*.

It should perhaps be explained that "reduction" does not mean "diminution"; reduction, literally "leading back", or "reference", is always "to a superior species", as for example when we speak of "reducing potentiality to act".

2. Brown, W. N., *Miniature paintings of the Jaina Kalpastīra*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934; Ramachandran T. N., *Tiruparutikuṇṭam and its temples*, Madras, Government Press, 1934. I take this opportunity to endorse Professor Brown's suggestion (*JAOS*, 54, 440) that Ramachandran somewhat postdates the earlier paintings at Tiruparutikuṇṭam.



antiquity. In this connection, it is the purpose of the present article to call attention to certain characteristics of the Jaina formulation, as to which there can be said what is also true of Indian iconography generally, viz. (1) that the formulation is in hardly any detail a private property of the sect that makes use of it, and (2) that ultimate explanations can only be found in the Vedic metaphysical tradition, and/or cognate traditions. In other words, the miniatures are not merely illustrations of the life of this or that one of the twenty-four Tīrthamkaras (virtually, "pontiffes") but in the last analysis are illustrations of a universal "Book of Genesis" (bhāva vṛtta, jātavidyā) or cosmogony. In this respect, of course, what can be said of the pictures is equally true of the texts which they "illuminate" in more than one sense.

As in the parallel case of Buddhism, Jaina heterodoxy, although it involved a formal rejection of Vedic tradition, changes nothing essential in the primordial conception of the procession of an eternal avatar, what takes place, so far as the "Conqueror's life" (jīnacaritra) is concerned, is a partial, and only very partial, rationalisation of the underlying "myth",<sup>1</sup> which is now narrated as if its logical sequences had been a series of historical events taking place at stated times and places. It may be granted, of course, that the story told may have had an historical equivalent in this sense, that all of history repeats a primordial pattern. But supposing it be possible to abstract from the story told, by elimination of all its "miraculous" elements, a circumstantial reference, that by no means represents the full intention (*vera sententia*) of the "narrative". The deity indeed assumes a "human nature" in the beginning, but that "has nothing to do with time", and is far from implying that he becomes however great "a man". In other words, it is precisely the miraculous features of the story, which if subtracted from the written or visual narrative would leave us with nothing but the faintest shadow of "biography", that represent its essence. The miraculous legend is not, or need not be, historically true as having taken place at a given place or time, but is metaphysically true as having taken place and as taking place always.

Jainism, like Buddhism, reflects a revolt of the temporal power (kṣatra, regnum) against the spiritual power (brahma, sacerdotum).<sup>2</sup> This revolt is prefigured as a possibility in the figure of Indra, the Vedic Lucifer and prodigal son who takes

1. For what is to be understood by a "myth" see Guénon, "Mythes, Mystères, et Symboles", *Le Voile d'Isis*, No. 190, 1935.

2. Already in the Upaniṣads, kings are sometimes made out to have been the instructors of Brahmins.









possession of the paternal treasures and extroverts the power and the glory of the interior kingdom. But whereas in RV. Indra acts for the most part as Agni's vassal, exercising a delegated power (RV. X, 52, 5, imitated in the Rājasūya, ŚB. V, 3, 5, 27 f. and V, 4, 3, 3, f.), and thus in legitimate relation to, and as protector of, the spiritual operation (*vratapā*, "fidei defensor"). At the same time, there is presented another possibility. This possibility, latent in principio, is realised in Indra's Vaikuṇṭha form: "maddened by pride in his own heroic-energy and deluded by the magic of the Titans" (*svena vīryeṇa darpitaḥ...mohito'suramāyayā*, BD. VII, 54 f.) he attacks the Angels, and has to be "awakened" (*buddhvā*) before he returns to his allegiance. As maddened, deluded, and torpid his status is thus satanic, Lucifer has been darkened, and is then Satan.<sup>3</sup> This satanic possibility is

1. Abbreviations: RV. (or when no indication is given), *Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā*; VS., *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*; AB., *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*; ŚB., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; BD., *Bṛhad Devatā*; BU., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; KS., *Kalpaśūtra*, *Jinacarita*; D., *Dīgha Nikāya*; S., *Saṁyutta Nikāya*; Sn., *Sutta Nipāta*; J., *Jātaka*; SP., *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*; JA., *Journal Asiatique*; JRAS., *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*; JAOS., *Journal American Oriental Society*; ZDMG., *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; MASB., *Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

2. Not to be confused, of course, with the Dragon, whom as Lucifer Indra has already overcome, but in his likeness: "Hell" being a reflection of the Divine Fire, the "Outer Darkness" a reflection of the Dark Ray, or wrath, and sundered from it by the width of the entire universe. In Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 3, for example, the Serpent is not the Devil, but Death. In the same way in Buddhism, Māra (as *Mṛtyu*, "Death", as Gandharva, "Eros") is by no means Satan (as pretended by Przyluski, in JA. CCX, 1927, p. 122). Death is the Father, Life the Son; between whom there is an aeivernal opposition (*vyādhi*) *ab extra*, and an eternal at-one-ment (*samādhi*) *ab intra*. It is the destiny (*artha*) of every Hero to wrestle with the Father (the "unfriendly father," RV. I, 117, 17 and VI, 44, 22, or conversely "unfriendly" son, X, 124, 2), to conquer Death; and when his course is run, not indeed to "die", but to become our Father Death, cf. BU. I, 2, 7, 'so punar ekaiva devatā bhavati mṛtyur eva, apa punar mṛtyurṇ jayati, nainam mṛtyur āpnoti,' "He becomes again the Only Angel, even Death, he has defeated repeated death, death gets him not". Death and Love unify (hence *ekam bhū*, causative "to slay", intransitive "to die") and are immortal; Life divides (*pradhvaṁsayan*, AA. III, 2, 3), Life comes and goes. Varuṇa, Mṛtyu-Gandharva, nirguṇa brahman, *amṛta*: Māra, Āyus, Agni Vaiśvānara, *martya*.

Neither must the occasion of Indra's fall be confused with his wellknown 'kilbiṣāṇi', in which "guilt" are included all those acts of violence, robbery, and deceit which are connected with the primordial act of procession. The distinction is sharp. The *kilbiṣāṇi* are *karṣyāṇi*, things that must be done, and are actually done, by "infallible necessity" (*necessitas infallibilitatis*); the pride and delusion which are the occasion of the fall are indeed inevitable and may be foreseen, but their actuality is a matter not of infallible but of "affective necessity" (*necessitas coactionis*) and in the category of voluntary sin. More exactly, the acts of divine procession are in themselves altogether sinless and insofar as the proceeding power "does not eat of the tree" but merely "looks upon it" (*abhiśākṣīti*, i.e. beholds the world picture as in Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirōpaṇa*, 96) remain immaculate; but insofar as the proceeding power "eats of the tree" (*pippalam .....atti*, I, 164, 20) these are the acts of original sin, and as such forecast the subsequent pride and delusion (*darpa*, *moha*), their reward is death, and hence the prayer, "Release us from the Father's property, from the fetter of Death, from all the angels' sin" (*muccatu....varuṇyād uta yamasya paḍbiṣāt devakilbiṣāt*, X, 97, 16).

As may be seen, Satan is not from the Indian point of view irredeemable; it is similarly understood in Islam that Iblis will be restored at the end of time. This is also implied in the Christian formulation that the fallen angels are "fallen not in nature but in grace". If it is nevertheless said that Satan is beyond redemption, a reconciliation of the



necessarily realised in the due course of history, where it is represented by an actual revolt of the temporal power, such as is reflected in Jainism and Buddhism, and can be recognised in every historical cycle.<sup>1</sup> We find in Jainism and Buddhism an emphatic assertion of the superiority of the regnum (kṣatra), and this in contemporary history coincides with the rule of such kings as Aśoka who are not of the divine lineage, but in the proper sense of the words "tyrants" and "usurpers", and as might be expected ardent patrons of those very heterodox faiths which justify the substitution of moral qualification for that of a "character imprinted" by initiation. That a tyrant may be personally virtuous and courageous is not to the point here made. Whether virtuous or vicious, the tyrant is not ruling by divine right nor according to the Supreme Law (Vedic ṛta and dharma, Pali dhamma), but in accordance with a personally good or evil will, and either way all kinds of irregularity are permitted.<sup>2</sup> What has been said above may seem to have been a digression, but has been necessary because it is precisely the expansion of a double heresy, at the same time spiritual and political, that can alone explain at once the rise of the heterodox sects themselves (in which the older myths are rationalised and humanised), and that of the patronage to which we owe the greater part of the monuments of early Indian art (in which the now pseudo-historical conceptions of the eternal Messiah are illustrated). It is then and therefore precisely at this point that an aniconic imagery and ritual procedure are first subordinated to the felt necessity for a more anthropomorphic symbolism, illustrative of the "gospels" (caritra, etc.) in which the "lives" of the Conquerors are related. That is also what took place in a somewhat different way at the close of the Middle Ages in Europe, "classical" representation encroaching upon "celtic" form, but with this distinction that whereas in Europe the ideal of the static figure before long altogether supplanted that of the kinetic form,<sup>3</sup> in India

contrary dicta can be made as follows: in any temporal order there must always and inevitably be found a Satanic power, an Antichrist, but it by no means follows, nor can it indeed be, that in aeonic sequences this satanic power will be always individually the same. Satan's status from this long point of view is, like that of other angels (devas), rather that of a function than an individual property.

1. In Europe, for example, at the close of the Middle Ages. The revolt of the temporal power is naturally followed by that of the economic power or bourgeoisie (the rise of merchant kings and accompanying colonial expansion in India, the rise of capitalistic industrialism in Europe), and this in turn by that of the manual or proletarian power (contemporary democracy in India and Europe, leading either to communism or to fascism).

2. Aśoka is a "genius", with all the liabilities of genius; the kingdom does not survive him; cf. Alexander, Akhenaton, Akbar and some more modern dictators, good or evil as the case may be. The work of genius cannot endure; it is always distorted by the followers and imitators. Work, on the other hand, that is devoid of idiosyncrasy, being conformed to the Eternal Law (ṛta, dharma), remains perpetually efficacious. What is indicated here in connection with politics, is equally applicable in the field of art.

3. A masterly study of the European sequence in which the ideal of kinetic form is gradually superseded by that of the static figure, see Gleizes, A., *Vers une conscience plastique, La Forme et l'Histoire*, Paris, 1932.







the concept of form continuously controlled even the figural representation, and has retained control until quite modern times; in India, the humanistic (as distinguished from the normally humane) point of view asserting itself only in Mughal painting in the sixteenth century, and elsewhere not before the still very recent surrender of Indian artistic orthodoxy to European sentimentality. One may say that the principles of art are preserved in India today only by the illiterate, for whose conservative ignorance we cannot be sufficiently thankful.

Notwithstanding, then, that the records of early Jaina art are far less complete than those of early Buddhist art, we can confidently attribute a first fixation of its dominant conceptions to a period antedating the beginning of the Christian era, and contemporary with the growth of the canonical literature. Apart even from the type of the seated Illuminate, common to Jainism and Buddhism, and known for both at least from the Kuṣāna period, there has long been known a relief from Mathurā<sup>1</sup>, having on one side a representation of the goat-headed genius Bhagavā Nemeso in the inscription (Hariṇegameśi in the Kalpasūtra), and on the other a dancing scene representing no doubt the music of Indra's court, as in Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1; the theme of this slab is then that of "Indra's command", and it may be remarked that representations of Indra's court and those of the actual commission entrusted to Hariṇegameśi are similarly closely associated in the illustrated manuscripts of more than a thousand years later date.<sup>2</sup>

The representations in Jaina Mss. of the Kalpasūtra story of the transference of the Conqueror's embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of the Kṣatriyāṇī Tisālā (Triśalā) are very well known, and are again illustrated here in Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2. It is by no means without sufficient reason that Indra is so much concerned in this matter of his namesake's, Mahāvīra's nativity. For the

1. Smith, V.A., *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, 1901, Pl. XVIII (misprinted XVII in Brown, loc. cit., p. 15). For other Kuṣāna representations see Shah, C. J., *Jainism in Northern India*, 1932, Pl. XXVI.

2. For examples of manuscript illustrations, and references to the literature dealing with the complex figure of Hariṇegameśi, see Brown, loc. cit., pp. 14—18 and figs. 5—15. The Manuscript Ha. described by Brown, p. 3, and from which he reproduces numerous subjects, is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M. F. A. 35. 38).

My interpretation of the Mathurā relief is the same as Brown's but independent.

In Brown's Fig. 13, it seems to me that the animal-headed figure to left is that of Hariṇegameśi, already about his business in the world; that the river separates earth from heaven; that the four-armed figure to right is that of Indra; and that the seated figure above is that of Śrī, (and thus "in a more excellent way" that of Tisālā herself), the upper register in fact combining what is separately shown in Pl. XXXV, Figs. 3 and 4. The structure below to the left, which indeed looks like a kiln recurs in Pl. XXXV, Fig. 2 and may well represent a ghāt.



Jaina Conqueror's birth is analogically a birth of Indra himself, or what amounts to the same thing, of *Indrāgnī*, Indra and Agni being "twins" (RV. VI. 59,2 etc.), or again in other words, a birth of Indra as the Sun, a resurrection of 'sol invictus', 'il summa sol'. The epithets *Mahāvīra*, "Great Hero" and *Vardhamāna*, "Waxing, or waxen, big", are propria of Indra (e. g. *mahāvīra*, RV. I. 32, 6; *vīratama*... *ṇṇām*, III, 52, 8; *pravṛddha*, IV, 18, 1; *vavṛdhāna*, V, 2, 12). Indra and Agni, or *Indrāgnī* (king and priest, cf. *Harihara*), are born like every messianic hero, of two different mothers, of unlike aspect but kindred nature. In Christianity, for example, these are presupposed in the orthodox doctrine of the dual birth, temporal and eternal: the eternal mother being "that nature by which the Father begets", and from which the Son takes on that "human nature that has nothing to do with time"; the temporal mother the Virgin Mary from whom he takes on human flesh, in V, 2, 2, Buddhist *Mahā Māyā*, Jaina *Devānandā*, Vaiṣṇava *Devakī* and Śaiva *Satī*, *Kālī*; the latter to Vedic "Dawn" and "Mother-Earth," *Sūryā*<sup>3</sup>, the handmaid<sup>4</sup> in V, 2, 2, *Saraṇyū*'s 'savaṇṇā', Indra's second mother *Vikuṇṭhī* (daughter of *Prajāpati*, BD. VII, 49-50), Buddhist *Pajāpati*, Jaina *Tisālā*, Vaiṣṇava *Yasodā*<sup>5</sup> and Śaiva *Pārvatī*, *Gaurī*. The *Kalpasūtra* story of the Conqueror's nativity and corresponding illustrations reproduce with an almost literal fidelity RV. I, 113, 1-3 where Night "when she hath conceived for the Sun's quickening, yields the place of birth (*yoni*) to Dawn", and I, 124, 8, where "sister to more excellent sister yields the place of birth" (*yoni*)<sup>6</sup>.

1. St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 41, a. 5 c, the Son of God being "a natural son", ib. III, q. 32, a. 1. c., begotten "by a vital operation from conjoint principles" (ib. I, q. 47, a. 2).

2. As distinguished from "the other" (*anyām*) in X, 85, 21-22.

3. *Peṣī*, the sense of which as referring to one who is second and subordinated to the Queen (*mahiṣī*) is clear enough from the context. A rendering as "handmaid" is justifiable on the assumption that *peṣī* is from *piṣ* "to grind", viz. in this connection, to "grind corn", whence the sense of "servant" or "handmaid".

4. Foster-mother (not knowing that the child is not her very own) in the Vaiṣṇava story; as *Yasodharā*, bride in the Buddha legend, but either way "Dawn" (*Uṣas*, *yasasvatī* in RV. I. 79, 1 and X, 11,3).

5. Cf. RV. III. 2. 2 and 11, "He became the son of two mothers...he was quickened in unlike wombs and was born as a bull or lion" (*ubhe sa mātṛor abhavat putraḥ...an jinvate jṣṭhareṣu...citṛeṣu nānadat*, etc.); *Gopātha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 33 "Two wombs, one generation" (*dve yonī ekam mithunam*); or as expressed by St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III, q. 35, a. 5 ad 3, "on the part of the child there is but one filiation in reality, though there be two in aspect."

In connection with Professor Brown's Fig. 14, a small correction may be made. For while it is true that "in this art eyes are regularly represented open, no matter what the circumstances", it is not out of place that *Devānandā*'s eyes should be open in this particular case, for *Haricēgamaśī* is leaving, and it is expressly stated (KS. 31) that after the embryo had been removed, *Devānandā* "woke up" (*paṭibuddhā*). As to this matter more generally, it may be observed that sleep or waking are indicated by the positions of the hands, as may be seen by a comparison of Professor Brown's Figs. 16 and 17.





1



2



3



4





## II

We pass on to a consideration of the fourteen prognostic dreams which are similarly transferred from Devānandā to Tisālā. We shall not attempt to deal with all of these in equal detail, but will say that all are characteristic prefigurations of the "Great Hero" (mahāvīra) about to be born, the Sun about to rise. Agni is called a bull, in countless Vedic texts, and sometimes a lion, e. g. in I, 95, 5, "when he is born, they (Heaven and Earth as Agni's parents) attend the lion lovingly" (sīrhaṁ prati joṣayete). The dream of a pure white elephant<sup>1</sup> (Ks. 33, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3, Brown Fig. 21) not only parallels Mahā Māyā's prognostic dream of the birth of the Bodhisattva, but recalls RV. IV, 16, 14, where Indra, assimilated to the Sun, is compared to an elephant (and lion), cf. also AV. III, 22, I, invoking "that elephant glory (varcas) that came into being from Aditi's body" and ib. 4-5, "whatever splendour is the Sun's and the Titan-elephant's may that much elephant-glorious Indra-power (indriyam...hastivarcasam) be congruent (saṁ gacchasva) in me"<sup>2</sup>.

In the vision of Śrī (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 4, Hg. folio 27, Brown Fig. 24) the goddess mother is seated as usual on a lotus that rises from a lotus lake (pauma ddaha, KS. 36, = padma hrada = puṣkariṇī); the two lotus flowers mentioned in the text are held in her hands, but the 'disā ga'ṇḍoru pīvara karabhisiccamāṇim' are omitted. The

1. Analogous to Tisālā's and Mahā Māyā's dreams of a white elephant is Vāmā Devī's vision of a snake crawling on the edge of her bed on the night of Pārśva's conception, who is so named because the snake (sarpa) entered her body from the side (pārśva, from parśu, "rib"), as related by Devendra in comment on the Utaṛādhyaṇa, see Charpentier in ZDMG. 69, 1915, p. 35; that the snake "crawled on" (paḍisappantam = pratisarpantam) manifestly constitutes an 'ati sarpaṇa' like that by which the procession of Arbuda, the son of Kadrū, is effected in AB. VI, 1, cf. RV. IX, 86, 44 where Soma 'ahir na jūrṇam ati sarpati', "as the serpent, over-creeps inveteration", i.e. is rejuvenated and born.

Cf. RV. X, 86, 23, "Parśu, daughter of Manu" and VIII, 6, 46 "Tirindira, child of Parśu"; even Indra's lateral birth (pārśvat, V, 2, 2), prototype of Siddhārtha's in the Buddha legend, is at the same time a birth "from Parśu". As Manu's daughter, Parśu is Iḍā, Maitrāvāruṇī, Mother-Earth, etc., through whom he, Manu, begat the "children of men" (SB. I, 8, 1, 8-11). It is in the same way that Eve, who is the Man's, Adam's "rib", becomes the mother of all living (Genesis, III, 31), begotten in her by him.

If it is not expressly stated that Pārśva, who entered his mother's side as a snake (as may be seen in the miniature reproduced by Brown, loc. cit., Fig. 89, upper register) was also born from her side, as might be expected per analogiam, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming a lateral birth in his case or that of any other of the "Conquerors", which would accord with a rule that is not merely Indian, but universal, cf. for example, Rustam's birth by Caesarian operation, where the myth has been rationalised. The case of Jesus corresponds to that of Pārśva in that the texts are not explicit; in any case his birth is understood to have taken place "without opening the passage" (St Thomas, Sum. Theol. III, 35, 6) and in Hieronymus (Ad Jovinianum, I, 42) is actually assimilated to the Buddha's "to whom a virgin gave birth from her side" (buddam...a latere suo virginis genitum).

2. Cf. RV. X, 14, 8 saṁ gacchaeva tanvā suvarcā (in connection with resurrection).



lotus lake is the same as the Milky Sea that is the subject of another dream, cf. Lakṣmī's epithet 'kṣīra-sāgara-sutā'; Brown's Fig. 13, upper register, being precisely a combination of Pl. XXXV, Figs. 3 and 4. The vision of Śrī is really one of Tisālā herself in a glorified likeness, as Dawn and Mother Earth, Indrāṇī, etc., just as the representations of the Sirimātā in Buddhist art, although not strictly speaking "nativities" are nevertheless "maternities". It may be added that in the Śrīsūkta,<sup>1</sup> which may be regarded at the principal authority for the Gaja-Lakṣmī type in art,<sup>2</sup> Śrī is referred to as the mother of sons, all of whom can be regarded as forms of Agni, Kardama for example corresponding to Puruṣya, and Ciklita, (identified with Jātavedas in the following khila) with the 'anaddhā-puruṣa' Agni made of clay and employed in the Agnicayana ritual (VS. XI, and ŚB. VI, 3, 3, 4 and 4, 4, 14).

The case of the dream of the Fire is even more transparent, and of particular interest here on account of the magnificent illustration in Mr Heeramanek's Ms. Hg., folio 34, Brown loc. cit. Fig. 33, here reproduced in colour, Pl. XXXIV. In the text, KS. 46, "She saw a fire in vehement motion, fed with very brilliant oil and mead (mahughaya-parisiccamāṇa = madhu-ghṛta-pariśicyamāna), smokeless<sup>3</sup> and crackling. The mass of its flames, rising one above the other made as it were a network, and here and there the tips of the quivering flames scorched as it were the very sky (ambaram va ...payantam = ambaram iva ...pacat, cf. RV. X, 45, 7, sukṛeṇa śocisā dyām anakṣan).

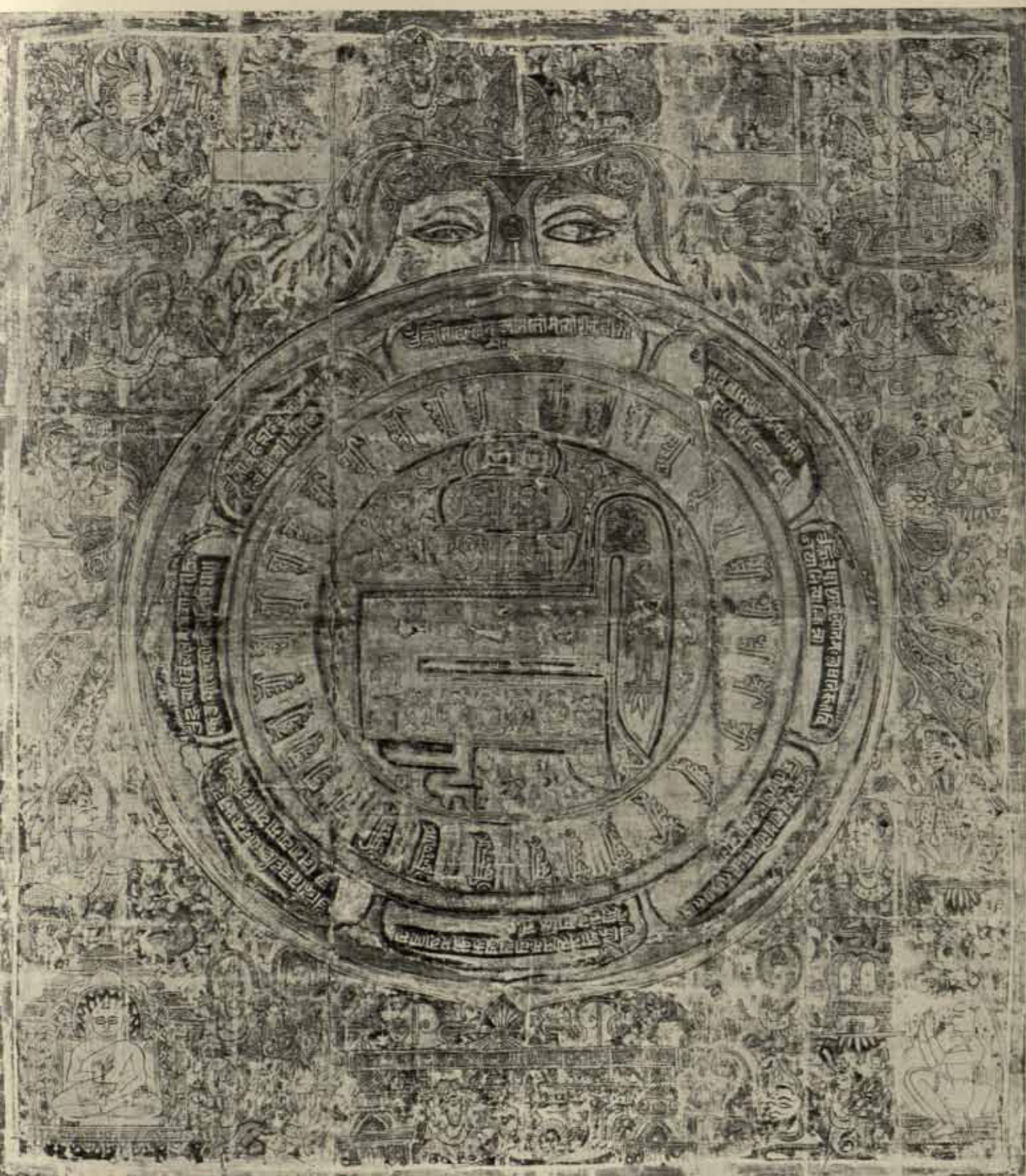
1. Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Rgveda, Breslau, 1906, pp. 72-80, and "Śrīsūkta", in ZDMG. 75, 1921, pp. 37-50.

2. I take this opportunity to call attention to one of the many well-known correspondences of Sumerian with Vedic formulation. That in the Gaja-Lakṣmī compositions, Śrī-Lakṣmī is laved by heavenly streams poured out by the Dikpāla elephants from jars held in their trunks corresponds to the illustration of "the 'hand-maid of the Moon-god' when in pain she bore the divine calf Amarga" (Langdon, Semitic Mythology, pp. 96-97). In Vedic texts the "divine calf" is always Agni, and the Theotokos never herself a solar, but always a lunar principle, an Asurī. The same may be observed in Christian iconography where the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, is often represented as standing or seated in the crescent of the moon, the light of the sun proceeding from the child in her arms. More strictly speaking, Aditi as the eternal mother in 'avinābhāva' union with the father, as nature to his essence, is altogether pythonesse and titaness; Aditi as the temporal (aeonic) Mother, Earth and Dawn, Serpent Queen and Radiant Beauty (Śrī Lakṣmī), although the daughter of the Sun (Dante's "O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy son") is Night and pythonesse by mother-right, only "changing her skin" and becoming "sun-skinned" when she becomes the Bride and Milch-cow by whom all things are brought forth and from whom all milk their nature. For all this see my 'Darker side of Dawn', Washington, 1935; and with RV. X, 85, 24, f. compare St Bernard, Dominica Prima post Octavum Epiphaniae, II, 2, "Christ will present his bride, whom he loved in her baseness and all her foulness, glorious with his own glory, his Church without spot or wrinkle."

It may be added in connection with the Vedic equivalence of Dawn and Mother-Earth (here represented by Śrī, established on her lotus-ground) that in Sumerian doctrine also Mother-Earth, "the mother of mankind", is "heavenly lady" and the "light of heaven" (Langdon, Semitic Mythology, pp. 12, 91).

3. Cf. Kaṭha Up., IV, 3, puruṣo...jyotiḥ iva adhūmakāḥ.









The great fire is blazing on a mountain. As being fed with oil and mead or honey, this is in any case a sacrificial fire, and both in this respect and as being kindled on or from the mountain, answers to countless Vedic accounts of the first kindling of Agni, for example I, 13, 3-5 '(agnim) madhujihvaṁ haviṣkṛtam...barhir...ghṛtapṛṣṭham', and I, 93, 6, 'amanthād (agnim) pari syeno adreḥ'. In the smaller representations of the Fire, in miniatures in which all of the Fourteen Dreams are seen together, it is always shown as burning actually upon an altar (vedi), of the type familiar on Kuṣāna coins.

Tisālā sees also the Milky Sea (khiroya sāyaram = kṣīra-sāgaram) "with its waters spreading in all directions, its wind-driven billows rushing to and from the shore, lashed to foam by the monsters of the deep, with the mighty roar of Gaṅgā-eddy (gaṅgāvarta)", etc. (KS. 43, abbreviated). The picture, Pl. XXXV, Fig. 1, Hg. folio 32, Brown Fig. 30, shows us more than this. Here is the dangerous River of Life, with its near and farther shores, and a 'mumukṣu' waiting on the bank, eager to board the Ship of Life, the Sun-ship, floating on the stormy waters<sup>1</sup>. The mast of this ship is the axis of the universe, cf. Daśakumāracarita, introductory verse, "mast of the ship of the earth, axis of the Zodiac" (kṣaunī-nau-kūpa-daṇḍa...jyotiścakrākṣa-daṇḍa), and the "one foot" of the Sun, who as the watcher in the crow's nest surveys the universe (abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, RV. VII, 61, 1 and parallel passages). An altogether analogous representation is that of the "mansion of the Sun", illustrated from an Alpana painting in A. N. Tagore's Bāṅglār Vrata, pl. 99.<sup>2</sup>

"Then she saw a banner (dhayam = dhvajam) supported by a golden staff", etc. (KS. 40-41), as represented in Pl. XXXV, Fig. 2, Brown Fig. 28, Hg. folio 31. The corresponding Vedic 'ketu', "banner", is always the referent for Agni, Indra, or the Sun, and of the separation of light from darkness, cf. I, 129, 1, where in the beginning "there was no 'ketu' of day and night", whereas in X, 103, 11, Indra is called upon for aid in battle with the Titans when the "flags are gathered" (saṁrteṣu dhvajeṣu), and when the Sun is risen "his banners (ketavaḥ), his rays, are seen abroad amongst the kindreds, like shining fires" (AV. XIII, 2, 16), cf. Song of Solomon, VI, 4, "Terrible as an army with banners"; in the Daśakumāracarita,

1. Cf. for example, RV. VII, 88, 3 "Where I with Varuṇa embarked, drove out our bark into mid-ocean, rode on the crests of the waves, there let us swing in the easy-riding swing"; AV. XII, 2, 47, "Mount this ship of Savitṛ's, let us cross over"; ŚB. II, 3, 3, 14-15 "This ship is heavenwardbound" (nau ha vā eṣā svargyā).

2. The chevron running down the mast is a lightning motif, and can be recognized also in the Alpana painting. In the latter, the "world" (represented by the circle or square) and the "earth-ship" below it, and by which the Sun's one foot is supported (pratigṛha), are separated; in the Jaina miniature combined to form an "ark" with its "beasts" (paśavaḥ).



i.e., "the staff of the banner of the river of life" (kṣaradamara-sarit-ketu-daṇḍa) is again an aspect of the axis of the universe<sup>1</sup>.

For the lotus lake (puṇḍarīya, KS. 42 = puṇḍarīka) cf. RV. X, 107, 10, where the palace in which Indra's nuptials with the Guerdon (Dawn) are to be consummated is "like a lotus-lake" (puṣkariṇīva), and X, 142, 8 "Let there be pools and lotus-lakes" (puṇḍarīkāni). The resonant abode (vimāna) of light (KS. 42, Brown Fig. 31) corresponds to the Vedic "chariot of light" (jyotiratha), wherein Agni, Indra, and all the deities proceed.

"The brimming vase (punna kalasa, KS. 41 = pūrṇa kalāsa, pūrṇa ghaṭa) abode of Lakṣmī, with its bunch of lotus" (kamala-kalāva = kamala kalāpa) is perhaps the most familiar of all auspicious symbols throughout the history of Indian art. It is precisely as the abode of Śrī-Lakṣmī as well as by itself that the brimming vase appears repeatedly in early Buddhist art, for example at Sāñcī<sup>2</sup>. Examples are illustrated here in Pl. XXXV, Fig. 2 (to lower right) and Pl. XXXVI, (a large and admirably executed painting on cotton, unfortunately badly worn). It is however, a peculiarity of Jaina art that this 'punna kalasa', the Vessel of Plenty, is regularly provided with eyes, and thus indeed animated. This form of the symbol has been discussed by Hüttemann (Baessler Archiv, IV, 1913, pp. 52-53) and by Brown, loc. cit., p. 12. According to Hüttemann: Die Vase ist das Symbol des vollkommensten Wissens, des 'kevala-nāṇa-daṁsana'. Brown suggests that the vase = cloud, and that the eyes are "a vestigial representation of the sun", and cites AV. XIX, 53, 3, where "a Full Vessel is set upon Time". A similar symbol is constantly employed in Mesopotamian art<sup>3</sup> where it is always the source of two flowing streams (Vedic dvidhārāḥ). The brimming and inexhaustible vessel, then, is a representation of the Fountain of Life, and as a symbol seems to say "Let Soma never lack, that giveth rest" (somasya sambhuvah, I, 105, 3), "May that unfailing spring (utsam...akṣitam) that the Maruts milk (duhantaḥ) be ever available" (VIII, 7, 16); it is the "reservoir" (koṣam, VIII, 72, 8) and "inexhaustible well (avatam...akṣitam) of Soma", ib. 10-11. It is indeed just as a

1. The axis of the universe has many aspects in one and the same, as well as in cognate traditions. Beside the aspects mentioned above there may be cited also those of the staff of the umbrella of cosmic dominion, that of the axle-tree of the chariot of light (the wheels of which are Heaven and Earth), that of the stem of the rose or lotus that represents the Mother of God, that of the Soma-stalk (RV. IX, 74, 2), and that of the Śiva-liṅgam. The axis is also the trunk of the Tree of Life, the sacrificial post (yūpa), the vertical (stauros, Skr. skambha) of the Cross, and the Islamic qutb. All things are figured (ārpita, AV. X, 7, 32) in this axis.

2. Not indeed as a nativity, but perhaps as a "maternity", cf. my notice of Foucher's Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity, in JAOS. 55, pp. 323-325.

3. Van Buren, E. D., The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams, Berlin, 1933.







'pūrṇa kalaśa' that the reservoir of Soma is represented under Varuṇa's protection, at Bādāmī<sup>1</sup>.

It is moreover precisely in this connection that the eyes, which could in any case be regarded as Varuṇa's eyes, whether the Sun (X, 88, 13 and X, 129, 7) or Sun and Moon (akṣi divas, I, 72, 10 and implicit in V, 62, 8), can best be explained, viz. as "the eyes of Soma, by which eyes of ours we see the Golden (Sun, or Germ)" (somasya svebhir akṣabhiḥ, I, 139, 2); as to which "eyes"<sup>2</sup> a fuller explanation is given in AB. II, 32, "The eyes of the Soma-pressings are the silent praise (tuṣṭīm-śaṁsa=orationes secretae)...He who is a comprehensor of this, he by means of the eyed Soma-pressings reaches the light-world. The silent praise is the eye of the Sacrifice but though the silent praise is actually one, it is uttered twice, so that the one eye may be a pair of eyes"<sup>3</sup>.

These more fully documented explanations are by no means contradictory of those suggested by Hüttemann and Brown, whose interpretations, taken together, in the same way demonstrate for this symbol a significance both physical and spiritual<sup>4</sup>.

### III

Turning now from the prefiguring dreams to their realisation, we shall consider two more, and by no means the least informative of the types of Jaina illustration. Plate XXXVII reproduces a remarkable picture of the "Fortunate

1. My Yakṣas, II, Washington, 1931, Pl. 45, fig. 1. A large variety of forms of the brimming vase are illustrated in this tract, with discussion, pp. 61-64.

2. The "eyes" in I, 139, 2 are those of contemplation (dīr) and intellect (manas), terms which correspond again with Sun and Moon (Cf. BU. I, 3, 14 and 16, and ŚB. X. 3. 3. 7). The text reads actually: somabhiḥ cana manasā svebhir akṣabhiḥ somasya svebhir akṣabhiḥ, "With contemplations and with intellect, the eyes of Soma, by which our eyes", etc., and there can be no doubt that Grassmann is right in taking 'cana' here as "bejahende".

3. An analogy can also be recognized in the ocelli painted on the bows of Indian ships, and ancient ships elsewhere, whereby these ships are as it were animated and assimilated to the Sun-ship and the living (ātmanvat) ships of the Advins. Inasmuch as the two sides of the ship (naumaṇḍe, ŚB. II, 3, 3, 15=bhitti, cf. naumaṇḍa in JB. I, 125, naurmaṇḍapa in Baudh. ŚS., sometimes mistranslated "rudders"), like the two wheels of the chariot of light, correspond to bṛhat and rathantara, āhavanīya and gṛhapatya, Heaven and Earth, the two eyes must be those of the Sun and Moon. For illustrations, see Hornell, J., Indian boat designs, MAB, Calcutta, 1920.

4. A similar dual application of all symbols (actually, the distinction of karma from jñāna kāṇḍa) is highly characteristic of the Vedic tradition, and therefore no more than might be expected in the present case. The same holds good for the analogous Vessel in the Grail tradition, where the Chalice is at the same time a food-provider and a manifestation of the highest truth.

The designation of Soma as śambhū, rendered by "that giveth rest" is significant in this connection; for this "rest", from one point of view, is that which is coincident with the attainment of desire, and from another is the peace of liberation from desire, inasmuch as we no longer desire, but rather love, what we possess.



Sunrise" (śrī sūryodaya is the marginal annotation) of the morning following the night of Tisālā's dreams and actual conception. "He, the thousand-eyed (i. e., all seeing) maker of the day, shining in his radiance, awakened the groups of lotuses (i. e., the 'grounds' of all the worlds). When in due season the Angel of Day had arisen and by the blows of his hands the darkness was expelled, then the Kṣatriya Siddhattha<sup>1</sup> rose from his bed" (sayaññjao abbhuttheti, KS. 59, = sayaññyā abhyuttiṣṭhati). That is in effect a description of the First Sunrise in the beginning of days (agre ahuān) so often celebrated in RV.; that Siddhattha "rises from his couch" is more than a simple daily waking, it is the resuscitation of the Father in the Son, in accordance with the Vedic conception of linear descent, in which the son becomes the "father's father" (pituṣpiti) as well as his "own son", or grandson, 'tanūnapāt', for Agni, indeed is kindled by Agni (I, 12, 6). That sunrise and that sun are indeed the same as those of the corresponding hour when the Great Hero has been actually born and the "universe is resplendent with one light" (KS. 97, cf. jyotir jyotiṣām, "light of lights", RV. I, 113, 1; jyotir ekam bahubhyaḥ, "one light for many", I, 93, 4; ekaḥ sūryah, "one Sun", VIII, 58, 2, etc., and similarly J. I. 76, ekobhāsā ahesum), which is the manifestation of the Conqueror in the worlds<sup>2</sup>. In the miniature, to cite Professor Brown, "the bright golden ball of the sun, with first a blue and then a white rim against a red background (cf. KS. 59, "the inhabited world was, as it were, dipped in saffron"), is just above a variegated mountain peak". That is mount Meru, Vedic 'parvata, adri', "The rock of ages", adrim acyutam, VI, 17, 5, whence the cattle (potentialities unrealised) are freed, the Rock (asman) whence flows the River of Life, 'asmanvatī, sarasvatī', RV. passim; the Himavat of KS. 36, and Meru "around which the Sun for ever circles," Ks. 39.<sup>3</sup> It is upon this same

1. In the Buddhist legend, Siddhārtha is the name of the Son. In either case the goal (artha) attained is that foreseen by Agni, X, 51, 5 "That was the goal (etam artham) I, Agni, wotted of". Note in this connection that the Buddha's corresponding Hesitation (Brahmasaṃyuttam, S. I, 138 f.) is like Agni's really a trepidation—"It was fore-seeing hurt (vihitisa) that I did not utter the Eternal Law". In both cases the unitary principle "shrinks from" the division (extension, crucifixion) inseparable from procession; both express the thought, "May this cup be taken from me"; both assume their task.

2. The release of prisoners and remission of debts (KS. 102), in accordance as it is with Indian custom at the birth of a royal heir, corresponds in reality to the Harrowing of Hell on the occasion of the Bodhisattva's Awakening, J. I, 76, and this is really a "release from what is Varuṇa's, from Yama's hobble, from all original sin" (RV. X, 97, 16). That it is the Indian custom to release prisoners, etc., at the birth of a royal heir affords an admirable example of "regularity", as this term is employed technically in connection with 'agibilia'. The pattern of an orthodox society is, just as much as its ritual where everything is done "in imitation of what was done in the beginning" exemplary, and precisely therefore "regular" (ṛtvyā, dharmya). Exogamy, for example, "depends" upon the principle that the Theotokos is never a Devī, but always an Asurī, i. e., in origin, though she becomes, a Devī by her marriage, just as a woman becomes a "member" of her husband's family.

3. The mountain corresponds to the Buddhist gṛdhrakūṭa, "Vulture Peak", cf. SP. XV, 10, "I have never left this Vulture Peak". That Indra is the officiant corresponds not only to the Brahmanical part he also plays as









Meru that Indra performs the Conqueror's lustration (abhisēya = abhiṣeka, described in KS. 97-99), which is not merely a natal bath and baptism, but a royal initiation (rājasūya),<sup>1</sup> as represented in Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 1, and also, one cannot doubt, the same as the mountain upon which, again with Indra officiating, the Conqueror's sacerdotal initiation (dīkṣā) is effected, as represented in Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 2. Both of the characters thus formally communicated and imprinted are the Conqueror's by divine right, as they are those of every Messiah born in the 'genealogia regni dei'.<sup>2</sup>

We consider next the representation of an apparently trivial episode of the 'enfances', based on Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, parva 10, summarised by Brown, loc. cit. p. 32 in connection with his reproduction of the same miniature, our Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 3. A deity unnamed in this text, but in whom we have previously recognized Death (mr̥tyu),<sup>3</sup> is jealous of the Great Hero's "virtue" (vīryam, virile power),<sup>4</sup> and upon an occasion when the latter is at play<sup>5</sup> with his companions,

Agnīdh when he brings the strew for the Bodhisattva's Throne of Awakening (bodhi-pālāṅka = Vedic vedi), but equally to his position in RV. passim, as officiant at the First Sacrifice, where he obtains his title of "Hero".

1. According to which Indra's vīrya is linked with that of his namesake, in the manner described in ŚB. V, 4, 2, 8-9, citing VS. X, 20. It should be noted that vīrya is "heroism" not merely in the sense of "bravery", but as the "whole virtue" of the "Hero", his "manhood" (not "humanity") in every sense, and as "virility", including the "seminal virtue" (cf. Bühler's rendering of vīrya by "seed" in his translation of Manu, I, 8). It is then as much by his vivifying power as by his bravery that the Hero conquers Death, and awakens these that are asleep.

2. It is remarkable and not without its ironies, that both of the Conquerors, both Great Heroes (Buddhist and Jaina), despite the vehement assertions of Kṣatriya superiority that have been made, abandon the household life, receive a sacerdotal initiation (which is also a 'second birth'), and play the parts of the priestly and omniscient Agni, that of the Brahman who 'jāta vidyāṁ vadati', RV. X, 71, 11; the abandonment of the household life (abhinikkhamana) is precisely the translation of Agni from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya altar. The superiority of knowledge to action, that of intellectual to physical operation, which is of the essence of Brahmanical and of all other orthodox doctrines, is freely admitted; the Kṣatriya as such, the man of action as such, is treated as a mere worldling. And this is carried so far that one may say that in Buddhism and Jainism, the position of the kṣatra, the regnum, although nominally exalted, is actually degraded. What corresponds in Europe is the replacement of the concepts of purity and regularity by those of Puritanism and moralism. The sensibility that is in a measure proper to the regnum (as distinguished from the sacerdotum), now unrestrained and overreaching, becomes a sentimentality, or in other words materialism, characteristically expressed in an undue contempt of the world, no longer seen as a theophany. On the other hand, the doctrine of a due proportion of the outer to the inner life is maintained in both the orthodox developments of Vedic tradition, respectively Vaiṣṇava (karma yoga, Kṣatriya initiation) and Śaiva (jñāna yoga, Brāhmaṇa initiation). In other words, the Indian rejection of Buddhism was normative, in the same sense that the "Thomist revival" (considered apart from the bigotry of some of its exponents) is normative at the present day.

3. MFA, Bulletin, No. 197, p. 38, q. v. I have since discovered (Ramachandran, loc. cit. p. 117) that the story is also told in the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) and in the Vardhamāna Purāṇa, and that here the name of serpent is given there as Saṁgama, i.e. Death, cf. RV. X, 14, 1, where Yama is saṁgamano jananām. The episode is illustrated amongst the older paintings at Tiruparuttikuṇṇam, see Ramachandran, Pl. VII, fig. 1.

4. It is precisely by his "virile-energy", (vīrya, II, 11, 5) that Indra (mahāvīra in I, 32, 6) overcomes the serpent, Ahi, who is also Vṛtra, Death, etc.

5. "Play", sc. līlā; cf. RV. IX, 20, 7 where Soma goes, "playfully" (kṛjūḥ) to his sacrificial death; X, 3, 5 where Agni's flames are "playful"; X, 85, 18 and 42, kṛjantaḥ; X, 79, 6 akṛjan kṛjan; and twenty five other Vedic



"assumed the form of a serpent and appeared at the foot of a tree", just as Māra in the Buddha legend appears at the foot of the Tree of Awakening. All but the Great Hero are terrified and run away (as Indra is similarly deserted in his conflict with Vṛtra, RV. VIII, 96, 7; AB. IV, 5, etc., and the Bodhisattva in his conflict with Māra, J. I, 72). Presently the serpent assumes the form of one of the boy companions, and is no longer recognized; all set about to climb the tree; the winner is to have the privilege of riding on the backs of the losers. Mahāvīra naturally reaches the top first, and there "shines like the Sun above Mt Meru", while his companions hang below as "branch-creatures", i. e. like birds or monkeys. Expressed in Vedic terms, the Great Hero has defeated Death, and as the Solar Eagle rests on the topmost branch of the Tree of Life, while below him are all creatures, nested in its branches; as in RV. I, 164, 22, "It is in that tree that all the eagles taste the mead, abide, and make their nests; at its top, they say, the fig is sweet, which none may reach who knoweth not the Father", cf. also PB. XIV, I, 13 where it is a matter of climbing a tree, and the question is put, "Those who ascend to the top of the great tree, how do they fare thereafter?", and answered "Those who have wings fly away, those without wings fall down"; on climbing the tree, cf. also PB. IV. 7. 10. and JUB. I. 3 and III. 13.

#### IV

Let us consider, in conclusion, no longer the explicit references of the paintings, but the manner in which these references are made. In the miniature last discussed, an example may be seen of the method known as "continuous narration" or "continuous action", defined in Professor Brown's words as "the portraying in one composition of two or more scenes from the same series". Taking first the right hand half of the picture, we see Mahāvīra alone, carrying a "hockey-stick", and before him the Serpent, coiled about the Tree (in a fashion suggestive of Christian representations of the Fall, where indeed the "situation", viz. "in Eden", is the same, although the "event" is different); Mahāvīra's right hand is extended, perhaps about "to pick up the snake like a piece of rope and throw it to the ground". There is no indication of a climbing contest (which seems to be implied by the figures of

uses of root *irij*, and the "stag at large" in VII, 87, 2; and Eckhart's "Eternal playing of the Son.....there has always been this play going on.....eternally before all creatures.....sport and players are the same" (I, 148).

1. For discussion of this motif, see Brown, loc. cit. p. 32. The representation in contemporary Western Indian Vaiṣṇava paintings is similar, but in Rajput Vaiṣṇava paintings the stick is like a polo-stick, and probably served as a herdsman's crook as well as for play.



the two companions in the upper register of Brown's Fig. 67), the Snake is not represented as climbing in competition, for it is in the form of one of Mahāvīra's playmates, and not 'propria persona', that the Snake competes. Then considering only the left hand side of the picture, and ignoring the Serpent, but not the Tree (which still defines the "situation") we see the Great Hero, nimbate as before, but now having won the forfeit, riding on the back of one of the companions, or more probably on the back of the Serpent, on the shoulders of Death, still in the assumed person of one of the companions<sup>1</sup>. In the same way in Brown's Fig. 106, the painter "combines two moments of the narrative...the urging by Krishna's wives and the urging by Krishna himself" (Brown, loc. cit. p. 46).

The method of continuous narration is not of course specifically Jaina, nor even specifically Indian, but rather simply "primitive". In Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 4 we adduce an excellent example from a Buddhist source of the second century B. C., i.e., antedating by more than a millennium and a half the Jaina miniatures that have been discussed above. In this Buddhist relief the Nāga Erakapatra is shown three times in one and the same composition,<sup>2</sup> first as a seven-headed serpent in its own watery home, then in human form with serpent hoods, still in the waters, but in an attitude of worship, and finally in this second form kneeling beside the altar and tree that represent the Buddha.

Here, then, is a method of narration---possible in visual art, but difficult in words<sup>3</sup>---according to which a succession of events is actually represented in spatial simultaneity. The method contrasts with that of a now much more familiar and "realistic" type of art in which a strictly momentary condition, rather than a continuous act of being, is depicted. The limiting concepts are on the one hand that of the "world-picture" (*jagac-citra*)<sup>4</sup> in which all that belongs to every where and every

1. In the conclusion, the Serpent again assumes a terrible ophidian form, but is defeated in conflict, does reverence to Mahāvīra, and retires to its own place. Here the equivalence to Krishna's Kāliya-damana is evident.

2. For the story see JRAS. 1928, pp. 629/30. The type of the seven-hooded, or sometimes three-hooded Nāga of Indian iconography is the protean serpent dragon (Ahi-Vṛtra-Viśvarūpa) whose seven-rayed head becomes by sacrificial transformation Agni, or the Sun with his seven rays, or Seven Suns that light the Seven Regions. Similarly the Sumerian Mushussu, seven-headed dragon slain by Ninurta, and as Langdon remarks (Semitic Mythology, p. 130) "it would be remarkable if this entire Indian and Iranian legend was not ultimately Sumerian". The same applies to the slaying of a polycephalous Hydra by Herakles (really a conflict of the Son with the Father), cf. Frankfort, "Gods and myths on Sargonid seals", Iraq, I, 1934, p. 19. Erakapatra's procession is an *ati sarpapa* in the sense already explained, see also my Darker Side of Dawn, Washington, 1935, and "Angel and Titan, a study in Vedic ontology", to appear in JAOS. immediately.

3. Possible, however, when words employed not as signs but as symbols are pregnant with many meanings; such a use of words tending towards the concept of the single Word (*vāc*) by which and in which the divine intellect (*manas*) expresses and creates all things, cf. RV. VIII. 24. 7 *vīśvāni vīśvamanasah*. "OM" is a "continuous narrative".

4. Śaṅkarācārya Svātmanirūpaṇa, 96; Genesis, I, 31; etc.



when takes place immediately and is seen at a single glance without duration or spatial analysis ; and on the other, that of the static glimpse of what takes place at a single moment in a given time sequence and in a given place determinable geographically. These limiting concepts are then of two entirely different "nows" ; in one case the now of eternity, in the other a dateable now ; and in the same way, concepts of two entirely different "heres", one that is everywhere, the other local. Evidently, the continuously narrative art tends rather to the representation of the now of eternity apart from temporal and spatial extension, than to the now envisaged by the painter of effects and of events.

In this respect the visual art again reflects a point of view that is unequivocally expressed in the Vedas, that of the real immediacy of all the happenings that may seem to be described as taking place in succession. We have treated of this elsewhere in an article entitled *Eternal Creation in the R̥g Veda*<sup>1</sup>, and shall do so now more briefly. That the divine life is uneventful is indicated in RV. by the constant use of the historical present ; by the constant employment of such words as 'sadya,'<sup>2</sup> makṣu, muhur', and 'nu' in the sense "immediately" and not at any one time more than another ; and by explicit statements contradicting from the 'jñāna kāṇḍa' and 'paramārthika' point of view the reality of those "events" that are related elsewhere in the form of "myths" and "legends" (ākhyāna, itihāsa) and, from the literal-minded (karma-kāṇḍa and pratyakṣa-priya) point of view---that of the lowest level of reference---may seem to have actually "taken place".

That RV. deals as stated above only with a timeless act of being will be illustrated here only briefly. Taken together, the three citations next following assert the simultaneity of the Conception, Nativity, and Mission : III, 29,3 "No sooner impregnated than bare the Bull" (sadyaḥ pravītā vṛṣaṇamajana) ; IV, 7, 10 "No sooner born than he displayed his vital-power" (sadyaḥ jātasya dadṛśānam ojas) ; X, 115, 1 "No sooner born than instant waxed and went on his great errand" (yadi jñānad... nu vavakṣa sadyo mahi dūtyam caran). In the same way it is said that all of Indra's famous battles are merely works of imagination, as true and no more true today than they were in the beginning, as true and no more true here than at the outermost limits of space : "All that they call thy battles, Indra, are indeed nothing but thy Magic (māyetsā te yāni yuddhāni āhuḥ), neither hast thou any foe today, nor hast thou ever had in time past" (X, 54, 2, cf. VI, 18, 12) ; "It is by thy speculation that thou art

1. To appear in the Vedanta Kesari, Ramakrishna Memorial Number ; and in French, in Le Voile d' Isis.

2. Literally, "today", "this day". Cf. Eckhart and others, "hodie est eternitas".

3. Cf. also IV, 7, 9, "Ere yet impregnated, she hath conceived ! no sooner born than thou becamest the Messenger" (yat apravitā dadhate ha garbham, etc.).



most slayer of the Dragon" (dhiyā...vṛtrahantamaḥ, VIII, 24, 7). It is the cutting edge of the "tongue" by way of "axe" that "hews" (takṣ) the wood of which the world is made (e.g. I, 20, 2 vacoyuja tatakṣa manasā), by way of spade that digs up Agni (ŚB. VI, 3, 1, 34 and 4, 1, 5). The creation, in other words is noumenal and nominal, a matter of nomenclature (nāmadheya), that is to say of ideas only, of all those forms (nāmāni) that Varuṇa knows speculatively (dhiyā), mirrored, that is to say, in that world-picture of which we spoke above.

The actus primus (ārambha) of the human artist (mantrin, śilpin, etc.) is in the same way a contemplation (dhyāna), the actus secundus or servile operation (karma, vrata) an imitation (anukaraṇa) of this vision (tad dhyātam) seen as if in a mirror (pratibimbavat), i.e. "speculatively". We can hardly wonder then that the result should be in some degree comparable to the world-picture, to some extent and as far as possible a representation of things sub specie aeternitatis, apart from time and space. The same thing can be recognized in the technique of vertical projection, perspective à cheval, the "bird's eye" view of things, which is so characteristic of Jaina painting and Indian art generally as well as of other traditional arts. For it is again the Sun, Varuṇa's "eye", Agni as Mitra 'uṣarbudh', the Buddha as "eye in the world" (cakkhum loke, D. II, 158, S. I, 138, Sn. III, 9, 6,<sup>1</sup> the Sun who is most eminently "equestrian", and is the "bird" that sees the world-picture (viśvam abhi caṣṭe, etc. RV. I, 164, 44, II, 40, 5, VII, 61, 1, X, 85, 18, etc., Kaṭha Up. V, II) spread out (uttānam, prathitam) like a map without horizons (aparimāṇa, aparidhi), and not as one sees who stands below and gazes horizontally, where "distance" is obscured by "foreground".<sup>2</sup>

We are not by any means suggesting that the methods of continuous narration and vertical projection were devised in order to be the presentation of a vision of things apart from time and space, but rather that things seen apart from time and space, in 'dhyāna', Vedic 'dhi', could not have been otherwise represented. One could not merely by an arbitrary and "archaistic" imitation of the method repeat its implica-

1. In other words, the whole of RV. is an "arrangement" of God, who is variously named according to his manifestations (V, 44, 6), whom being One they subdivide mentally (X, 114, 5, cf. III, 19, 4 and VIII, 58, 1), the Sacrifice by which he is extended (X, 90, 6) and discriminated (X, 90, 14) being essentially eternal, and (like the Christian Sacrifice, the Mass) only accidentally connected with time, for "He has once for all done what is inimitable as long as the sun and moon alternately shall rise" (X, 68, 10, Macdonell's translation).

2. Sn. III, 9, 6, bhagavan buddhacakkunā lokam volokesi.

3. Kaṭha Up., V, 11, sarvalokasya cakṣuḥ.

4. The solar point of view (darśana) is not only a hieratic, but also the royal point of view, as distinguished from the plebeian point of view implied by horizontal perspective; the Sun being husband of the Earth stretched out below him (uttānam bhṛmim, X, 27, 13 and X, 142, 5) in the same way that a king is the husband of the earth (bhṛpati).



tions; the thing must "proceed from within, moved by its form". The modality of "primitive" art is not a "style" adapted by a process of reasoning to a given content, but concreated with its content, just as whatever is created in the likeness of a given form is not an imitation of a preexisting form, but, "concreated" with its form, by which it is informed.<sup>1</sup>

It has thus been demonstrated what is the ultimate content of Jaina art, and that its stylistic formulae are not merely appropriate to, but inseparable from the expression of this content, and as a matter of infallible necessity. All this will apply with equal validity to the interpretation of the iconography and technical formulae of other than Jaina Indian arts, none of which can be profoundly understood apart from their roots in Vedic symbolism; and will apply in the same way to all other orthodox arts, Christian or folk art for example. For the burden and idiom alike of all such orthodox art has been continuously transmitted in accordance with the "universal and unanimous tradition" (*sanātana dharma*, *philosophia perennis*, etc.) of which the ultimate source is a "revelation", (*śruti*, etc.) received in the beginning from the Light of Lights.

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- Plate XXXV, Fig. 1. The Milky Ocean. Ms. Hg., Heeramanek collection; Fig. 2. Tisala's dream of the Banners, and the Brimming Vase. Ms. Hg., Heeramanek collection; Fig. 3. Tisala's dream of the Lotus Lake. Ms. Hg., Heeramanek collection. Fig. 4. Tisala's dream of Śrī-Lakṣmī. Ms. Hg., Heeramanek collection.
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1. The familiar doctrine of the inseparability of content and style has been expressed as follows: "The idea of a work is in the mind of the operator as that which is understood, and not as the image whereby he understands" and "Creation does not mean the building up of a composite thing from preexisting principles, but it means that the composite is created so that it is brought into being at the same time with all its principles" (St Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. q. 15, a. 2 c and q. 45, a. 4 ad 2).

This may seem at a first glance to contradict what applies to the artist's servile operation (*actus secundus*), in which an essential form first seen intellectually is subsequently imitated in material. But it must be understood that a form (*idea*, *nāma*) cannot be seen as such, in *saṁādhi* the form is indistinguished from the intellect itself, in *se* and *per se* the form has no independent existence; as soon as the form is envisaged by the intellect, in *dhyāna*, *pratibimbavat*, *pratyakṣata*, and thus objectively, as a model to be imitated, it is already an embodied form, a composite of form and aspect (*nāma*, *rūpa*); indivisibility of content (*nāma*) and style (*rūpa*) in the material object made by art reflects the indivisibility of content and style in what is already as "art in the artist" a "concept", *per verbum* in intellectu *conceptum*, begotten by *manas* on *vāc*, not an absolutely immaterial form, but a formulation.

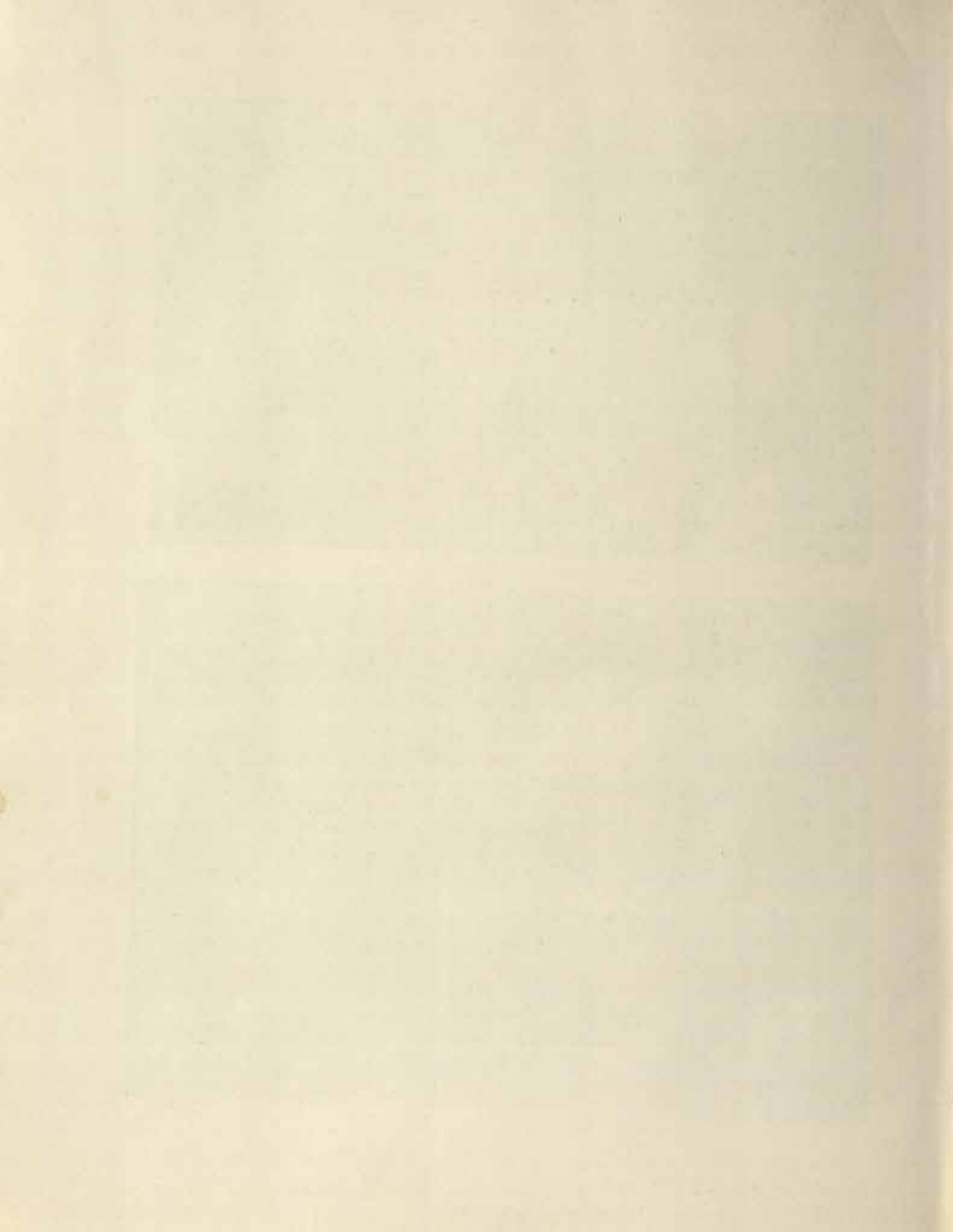












## A NOTE ON RĀGAMĀLĀ

By Nanalal C. Mehta I.C.S.

One of the most interesting illuminated Mss. at the Bodleian collection of Oriental paintings in Oxford is Ms. Laud Or 149. It had received passing mention by Binyon and Arnold in their work 'The Court Painters of the Great Moguls.' Three pictures, Rāgiṇī Kānharā and Vilāval have been reproduced by Stchoukine in 'La peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols' on plate 72 while Rāgiṇī Pañcama was reproduced on plate 73 and assigned to the beginning of the 17th century (see p. 207).

This date is not tenable, for the Laudian Ms. has been in the Bodleian since 1640 and among the pictures of the Rāgas there are two panels of Persian Nastalik calligraphy dated 1587 and 1602-3 (A. H. 1011) respectively, the latter having a picture of a Rāga stuck on the back of the same leaf. The Ms. was probably acquired through Sir Thomas Roe who was ambassador at the court of Jehangir in 1615. The pictures undoubtedly belong to the closing years of the 16th century. The pictures are labelled in Persian on the margin by slips, separately pasted on and are obviously contemporary. They must have been painted at least prior to 1587. The pictures of the following Rāgas were found in this album : 3v. Malhāra ; 5. Mālīgora (?) 8. Gunakālī = Mālavi (?) 9. Vibhāsa ; 9v. Kānharā ; 15. Bhairava ; 19. Āsāvarī ; 20v. Dhanāsrī ; 25. Naṭ ; 29. Hiṇḍol ; 31. Mālakausa ; 33v. Śyāmā Gujari ; 36v. Pañcama ; 40. Varāṇī ; 45. Bhairavi ; 49. Devakālī ; 62. Vilāval ; 66v. Vasanta.

We have here Rāga pictures whose relatively early date is beyond doubt, and which help to bridge the development of the mediaeval Gujarati school of painting and that of the later Moghul and Rajput schools.<sup>1</sup>

1. See my note on page 139 in the Bodleian Quarterly Record, 1932, Vol. VII, No. 76.



Stchoukine published two pictures of Rāga Mālakausa and Rāgiṇī Bhairavi on plates 70 and 71 from a British Museum Ms. which is ascribed also to the beginning of the 17th century. These are undoubtedly earlier than the pictures in the Laudian Ms. and apparently continue the tradition of the western Indian paintings, typified by the illustrations of the Jaina Mss. Rāgiṇī Vasanta (Pl. XLI)<sup>1</sup> belongs to a related and probably even earlier series. Recently some Rāga pictures purely of the western Indian school have been discovered which I hope to deal with in a subsequent note. 'Rāga 2I' (Pl. XXXIX)<sup>2</sup> as the drawing is inscribed on the upper margin, belongs to an altogether different tradition and may be assigned to the latter half of the sixteenth century. Rāgiṇī Mālavi (Pl. XL, Fig. 2) belongs to a series from the end of the 16th century, obviously inspired by the typical Muslim architecture of the period. The pictures were acquired in Udaipur and it is very probable that they were actually painted in Rajputana, judging from the simple colour schemes, the deep red borders<sup>3</sup> and the Hindi labelling in a rectangle painted in yellow at the top of the picture. A certain amount of shading is resorted to in showing off the architectural details of the projections and also the diaphanous quality of the dresses.



Of the second half of the sixteenth century, and painted no doubt in Gujerat, is another series of which Rāgiṇī Yogiyā is shown on Pl. XL, Fig. 1. The Rāgiṇī illustrated on p. 146 belongs to a series of a hundred pictures, the last one

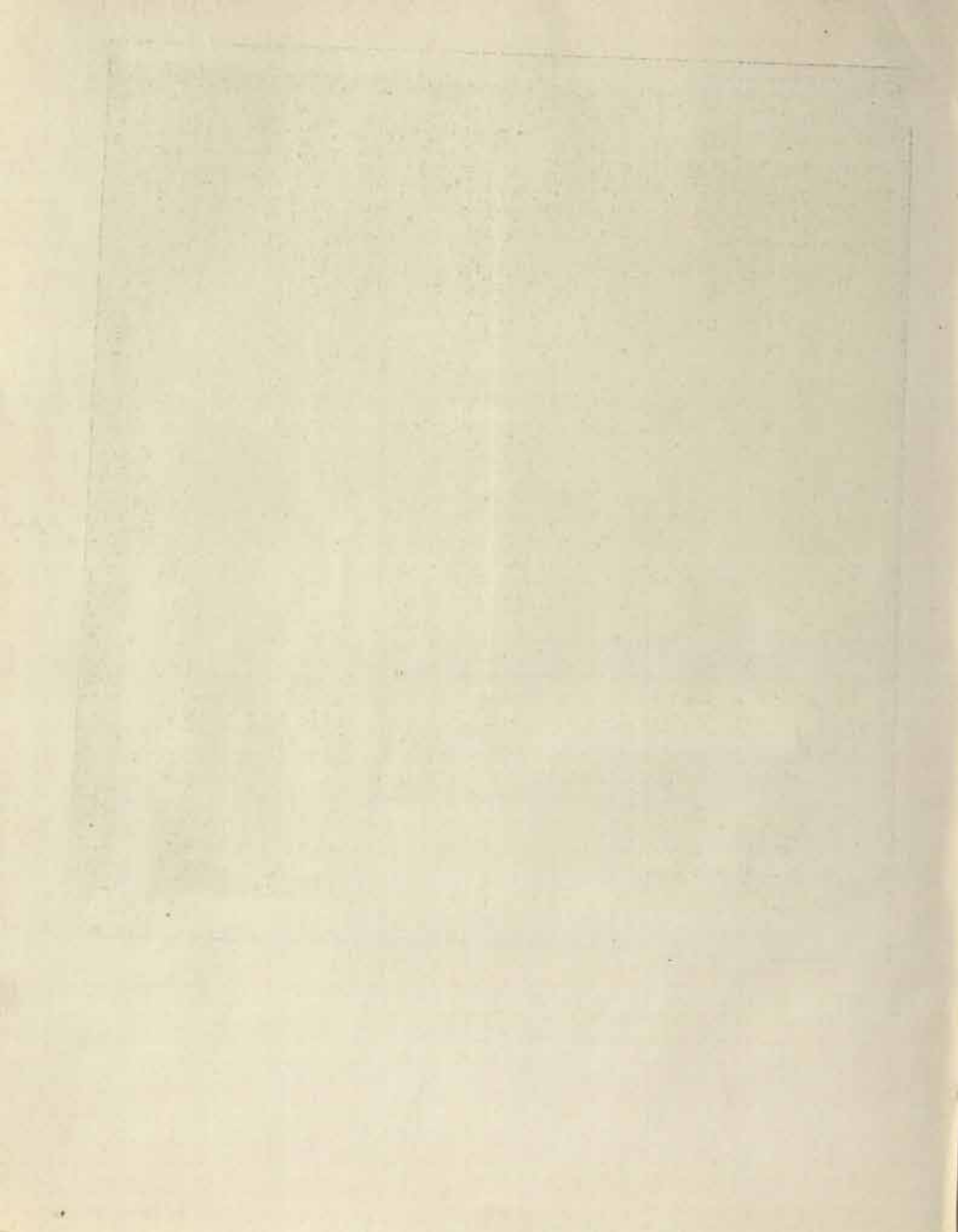
1. Private collection, New York.

2. Private collection, Calcutta. The margins are not shown on Pl. XXXIX.

3. One painting (Rāgiṇī Baṅgālā) however has a figure of a deer caught by a dragon picked out in gold on the border.







being dated Śaṁvat 1709 Jyēṣṭha Vādi 8. The place name is also given but I have not yet been able to decipher it. The series is specially interesting stylistically and I am not aware of the big black ball shaped ornaments worn by women on the wrists and the black hanging tassels in any other period but that of Akbar. Every picture of the series has a conventional border which forms, as it were, the foundation of the pictorial architecture. The venue of the series is undoubtedly Rājputana and the place name which is not quite distinct may be Nasratgarh. The inscriptions at the top are in a somewhat incorrect Sanskrit. The verses appear to have been borrowed from a variety of sources.<sup>1</sup>

From the material now available there can be but little doubt that we shall have to look for the origins of the Rāga pictures beyond the Mogul period and seek some of them in the development of western Indian painting.

1. Of later series of Rāga and Rāgīnīs the following may be mentioned :—

Sumptuous paintings of the early 18th century with Sanskrit inscriptions in the collection of the Thakur Sahib of Dilwara (Udaipur).

The Rampur library series probably of the 17th century, with Persian inscriptions.

Examples of the Deccan style in the collection of the Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari at Hyderabad.

Several distinct styles of Pahlavi Rāga pictures of the 18th and the early 19th century, cf. the reproductions in my Hindi book "Bhāratiya Citrakalā" published by the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad.

British Museum manuscript No. OR. 57b/21934, probably belonging to the early nineteenth century. A good many pictures are signed by the artists, Sitaladās, Giridhārīlāl and Bahādursinha. The inscriptions are in golden letters and some of the mounts are elaborately decorated. Manuscript OR. 56c has 35 paintings. Most of these paintings have on the top of the picture some verses of Hindi poetry by an unknown author ; cf. Bhāratiya Citrakalā, pp. 80-82.



body-like appearance of the Buddha beyond its anthropomorphical limits. There and with this elevation it outgrows itself, it is slightly higher than one expects, but by the little that it is higher, it exceeds the limits. "Puruṣa who has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, investing the earth in all directions exceeds it by ten (aṅgula) fingers' breadth" (RV. X. 90. 1). Such is the Puruṣa before the sacrifice and this excess is not distributed in the sacrifice into the manifested world. It remains beyond it and the Buddha Lokottara comprises it in his substance which also invests the earth in all directions. Of this exceeding quality of the Buddha substance as Mahāpuruṣa, unqualified (nirguṇa) and not manifested (avyakta), i. e., "before the sacrifice", the Uṣṇiṣa is the emblem. The knowledge of it underlies such legends as that of the Brahmin who doubted the body of the Buddha to be sixteen feet high and wanted to measure it with a bamboo rod sixteen feet high. But it constantly rose above the end of the rod;<sup>1</sup> or, a stūpa was built around a small stūpa. As the monument progressed in height the small stūpa always exceeded it by three feet.<sup>2</sup> This outgrowing as an incessant process is marked by a small measure. No measure at all can indicate how far it reaches for it reaches beyond the manifested world in which alone measure counts. Ten aṅgulas, three feet or four aṅgulas<sup>3</sup> connote exactly the same, i. e. a being beyond the limits. It stands for the Mahāpuruṣa as 'nirguṇa'. Such is the function of the smallness of the emblem. There number does not count; it could be indefinitely large and it is variably small, "unmeasured in the measured out"<sup>4</sup> for it does not refer to this world of Māyā, to the cosmos which is ordered by number and measure<sup>5</sup>.

The substance of the Buddha image exceeds the semblance of bodily limits and makes it into that of the Lokottara Buddha. This takes place at the apex of the head (fontanella minor) where the threshold of Brahman (brahmarandhra) is situated and where the thousand petalled (sahasrāra) lotus is unfolded downward with its pericarp aloft. This point on high is 'the door called Vidhṛti (tearing asunder) the Nandana, the place of beatitude'<sup>6</sup>. Here "where the root of the hair divides, the Puruṣa opens the sides of the head."<sup>7</sup> Further it is said: "The channel (nāḍī) called Suṣūmṇā (going upwards within the spinal cord to the brahmarandhra) serving as the passage

1. Hiuen T'sang (Julien), *Mémoires* Vol. II, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 108.

3. *Pratimālakṣaṇam*, (J. N. Banerjee) p. 10.

4. *Atharva V. X. 7. 39.*

5. Māyā being measured out is limited and so is the cosmos, the totality of manifestation.

6. *Āit. Up. II. 4. 3. 7.*

7. *Taitt. Up. I. 6. 1.*



of Prāṇa (breath), through that channel let him proceed upward".<sup>1</sup> "From thence he goes to selflessness and he obtains al(l)-one-ness (kevalatva). Having crossed the limit let him join himself to the limitless in the crown of the head". The Śaivas call it Śivasthānam (abode of Śiva) the Vaiṣṇavas call it Parama Puruṣa.<sup>2</sup>

The 'threshold' is the site of the Uṣṇīṣa. At this place the limit is crossed. Here "the Suṣumṇā leads upwards and pierces the solar orb. By it they go the highest path".<sup>3</sup> This is the place of Nirvāṇa and here the breath (prāṇa, i.e., udāna) passes outside. The place of Nirvāṇa is signalled in reliefs in a twofold manner. Flying Vidyādharaś hold a stūpa, as if it were a crown, above the Buddha's head,<sup>4</sup> and in Pāla stelae the Parinirvāṇa scene is carved just above the head of the main Buddha image in the middle, the eighth and the highest amongst the scenes of his career which are threaded along the edge of the slab.<sup>5</sup>

The site of the Uṣṇīṣa is at the Brahmaṇḍa. It lies in the place of intersection of the vertical axis which passes along the body and beyond it, and an imaginary horizontal plane which rests on the top of the skull. Here the Buddha-world comprehensible by the semblance of his body culminates and this climax of being (bhavāgra) is the point, the moment of transition from the manifested body of Buddha "to the unborn Dharmakāya by the great perpendicular path".<sup>6</sup> The substance (form) of the image refers to both (p. 165).

Along this great perpendicular path Prāṇa leads beyond death.<sup>7</sup> It moves along the Suṣumṇā while at the same time "pervading all"<sup>8</sup>, for "breath is the sap of the limbs."<sup>9</sup>

The comprehensive body of the Buddha is pervaded throughout by the agent which leads beyond the body. Within it, breath inflates what it traverses<sup>10</sup> and makes the limbs round<sup>11</sup>. Its pneumatic activity brings about their vegetation

1. Kaṭha Up. II. 6. 16; Maitri VI. 21.

2. Saṅgahā Nirūpaṇa, 44.

3. Maitri Up. VI. 30.

4. Karli, cf. Coomaraswamy, I.c. Pl. V. Fig. 8.

5. Kramrisch, I.c. Fig. 17, etc.

6. Bardo Thödol (W. Y. Evans-Wentz, The Tibetan book of the dead, p. 89).

7. Br. Up. I. 3. 9.

"It" has been employed instead of "he" on account of the alternative use in this essay, of prāṇa and breath.

8. Anugṛhā, S B E. Vol. VIII. p. 258.

9. Br. Up. I. 3. 19.

10. Taitt. Up. II. 2. "Different from this which consists of the essence of food is the other, the inner self which consists of breath. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former, is the human shape of the latter." The image is identical in the worded and in the sculpted or painted version.

11. Anuvyaṅjana, Burnouf op. cit. p. 616.



aspect, their surging fluid shape. In conformity with this appearance, Hiuen Tshang speaks of the Uṣṇīṣa of the image of Bodh-Gayā as a fleshy cone.<sup>1</sup> The comprehensive substance of the Buddha image remains the same along the vertical axis, below and above the zero point of Nirvāṇa. So it also appears, while in fact the Uṣṇīṣa is an emblem, a thing without qualities, i.e., without thingness, real only by the position it occupies and the reference it bears. It is correct to say that the Uṣṇīṣa is not visible to the eyes of ordinary beings.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be, emblem as it is of 'nirguṇa' Mahāpuruṣa. In 'theory' the Universal Being is invisible to all and the sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita had to leave Śvetadvīpa without having been able to see him.<sup>3</sup>

When it is asked "What knowledge is the Tathāgata possessed of so that the protuberance on his head is shining?"<sup>4</sup> The answer is "Who has known this place is never born again."<sup>5</sup> The Uṣṇīṣa which marks the Brahmarandhra, while pointing upward widens towards the bottom, an inverted shape. It recalls the stūpa in form and meaning.<sup>6</sup> Placed on the zero point it can be traversed either way along the vertical axis. While it is there that the breath (udāna) goes beyond, it also enters by the same channel. At the site of commutation Vāyu, the wind, enters and Agni, Aditya and Brahman,<sup>7</sup> and by placing the hand on the Brahmarandhra (of an image of Śiva or Śakti) Prāṇapratīṣṭhā (the establishment of prāṇa within the image) is performed.<sup>8</sup> With the establishment of breath all is established.<sup>9</sup> By breath or by air, as by a thread this world and the other world are strung together and Prāṇa is Brahman (the sūtrātman). In it the Udāna abides.<sup>10</sup> Such is the place of the Uṣṇīṣa, the plummet on the zero point of Sūtrātman and Suṣumṇā.

This does not exhaust the emblematic function of the Uṣṇīṣa and before approaching its further import the interpretations hitherto made of this symbol have to be considered. The accepted meaning, 'protection from the heat', and its interpretation

1. Mémoires, op. cit. I. p. 359.

2. On Yuan Chwang, Watters, I. p. 197.

3. Cf. Sénart, Légende, p. 111.

4. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, S B E. XXI, p. 427.

5. Saṭcakra Nīrūpaṇa, 45; cf. Bhagavadgītā, S B E. Vol. VIII. p. 79.

6. It may be mentioned that Savitr is called Hiraṇyastūpa, RV. X. 149, 5.

7. Ait. Up. II. 4. 3. 7; Taitt. Up. I. 6. 2.

8. Avalon, Principles of Tantra, p. 398.

9. Atharva V. XI. 4. 15.

10. Cf. Br. Up. III. 7. 2; 9. 9; 9. 26.



as turban have no reference to the Uṣṇīṣa as carved on the actual images. The early texts (Mahāpadāna and Lakkhaṇa Suttanta, Lalitavistara) while enumerating the marks of the Mahāpuruṣa do not interpret them. Burnouf already saw that the Buddhists accepted the term Uṣṇīṣa in a particular sense. It is moreover absent from Brahmanical texts. The Mahābhārata (Śānti parva XII, 336 and 344) describes the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa (white island) and Nara and Nārāyaṇa as having heads like umbrellas (catrākṛtīśīrṣa) and the same character is attributed to the head of the world-ruler by the Bṛhatsamhitā and Sāmudrika Śāstra.<sup>1</sup> This attribute refers to the head alone and not to the part which exceeds it. This quality Buddhaghosa<sup>2</sup> had before him when he commented on Uṣṇīṣasīsa as referring to the well developed forehead and head of the Mahāpuruṣa. It figures separately in the list of Mahāpuruṣa Lakṣaṇas and also among the Anuvyañjanas.<sup>3</sup> It has its prototype in Atharva Veda X. 7.32 "the sky his head" and its tāntric elaboration in Satcakra Nirūpaṇa 40, where Sahasrāra is located in the empyrean (parama vyoma). This lotus has its head turned downwards. In contemporary and traditional tāntric paintings the petals of the Sahasrāra lotus fall back over the wide expanse of the skull. Śrī Kālicaraṇa<sup>4</sup> says : The lotus of a thousand petals is like a canopy. It is above all. But in the centre where "the subtle Bindu manifests the pure Nirvāṇa Kalā the pericarp of the lotus is directed upwards" and so is also the Uṣṇīṣa.

Position and function of this emblem, its static appearance and dynamic meaning, associated as it is with the flame device and exhaustively commented upon in texts, further enlarge its symbolism and suggest a new translation of the term consonant with its significance.<sup>5</sup> The Lalitavistara has it that "after Bhagavān had plunged into deep meditation suddenly from the interstices of the crown of his Uṣṇīṣa there issued the ray of light called the light of knowledge born of itself

1. Br. S. ch. 67. v. 76 ; S.S. p. 78; cf. J. N. Banerjee's lucid account of Uṣṇīṣa-dīraskāṭṭ, etc., IHQ. vol. VII, p. 499.

2. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Indian Hist. Quarterly, 1918, p. 77.

3. Burnouf, op. cit. p. 562, samavipulalāṭaḥ.

4. Amalā Tīpṣṭī. Avalon, op. cit., p. 179.

5. Satcakra Nirūpaṇa, 42.

6. Mention has already been made (Kramrisch, Mahāpuruṣa Lakṣaṇa. The golden book of Tagore, p. 288) that the images of all the deities in India are high above the forehead. Crowns are commonly employed, also for the Sambhogakāya image of Buddha (cf. Mus, Le Buddha Paré, BEFEO, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153), or the hair is piled up high (Jaṭāmukha of Śiva and Avalokiteśvara) and Jaina images have the broad and high skull frequently tapering into a point. Goemara-wamy, The Buddha's cūḍā, etc., op. cit. p. 828 quotes from the Aupapātika Sūtra. There the appearance of Mahāvīra is described with a projection on the top of his head. The head as seat of the higher possibilities of being is enlarged as if to hold them. From the point of view of presentation by the craftsman the means employed, i.e. increased height is the same which he gives in reliefs etc., to figures of outstanding importance.



which brings the remembrance of the former Buddhas. It illuminated all the dwellings of the gods of the pure abodes. The flood of light from the Tathāgata emitted the following Gāthās (verses)<sup>1</sup>. "Such knowledge must have been had by Hiuen Tshang speaking about the 'fleshy cone' on the Buddha's head; there, he says, appear celestial miracles and the divine puissance shows itself in splendour."<sup>2</sup>

The crown of the Uṣṇīṣa is painted golden yellow in the Māra-dharṣaṇa scene, Ajanta, cave I.<sup>3</sup> Its cylindrical shape is cut out in front in a semi-circle so as not to hide the dark Uṣṇīṣa. In its upper part the cylinder of the crown is beset with jewels, in its lower part the gold is worked trellis-like. Well could the light issue from the interstices of such a crown. The golden cylinder of the crown may also be taken as a 'pars pro toto' of the golden ray flashed forth from between the eyebrows<sup>4</sup> of the Buddha. "It extended to all the innumerable worlds of the ten quarters. On its return the ray rested on the top of Buddha's head and transformed itself into a golden pillar just like the mount Sumeru wherein the pure and admirable countries of the Buddhas in the ten quarters appeared all at once illuminated."<sup>5</sup> It can be added that the voice (dhvani) of the Buddha is heard sorting from his mouth, the eye-brow-hair and the bump.<sup>6</sup> This ray of light is one with the Buddha-word. The Buddha-word in its flood of light comprises all the innumerable worlds in all the Buddha-lands that are and have been. The Buddha-word clothed in light is like another Meru, an 'excess' on the higher plane (p. 151) of the comprehensive Buddha-substance encompassed by curves.<sup>7</sup>

The ray is not unsupported. Its radiance is manifested and shines forth once it sorts from the body. Within it the Udāna which leads upwards is light.<sup>8</sup> It is the post (skambha) of the inner life<sup>9</sup>, the vital breath<sup>10</sup>. This

1. Op. cit. and Waddell, Buddha's Diadem or Uṣṇīṣa, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1914, p. 155.

2. Hiuen Tshang, op. cit. I. p. 359.

3. Yazdani, Ajanta, vol. I, pl. XXVIII. The trellis pattern does not show clearly in the plate due to the great reduction from the original.

4. I. e., ūṣṇā, see infra, p. 156.

5. Amitāyur dhyāna-sūtra, SBE, vol. XLIX, p. 166.

6. Bodhicaryāvatāra, p. 419.

7. The 'upper' and 'lower' Meru stand in the relation of dharmakāya and nirmāṇakāya. The returned ray of the Amitāyur dhyāna sūtra encompasses the universe on its way from the ūṣṇā to the uṣṇīṣa. Beginning and end of this manifestation are synchronous in the dharma substance.

8. Cf. Prasna Up. III. 7; III. 9.

9. Atharva V. X 7.

10. Cf. Bṛ. Up. II. 2. 1.

post of the inner life and the upper ray, the *Suṣūmṇā* in which the *Udāna* rises into the limitless,<sup>1</sup> lie in one line,<sup>2</sup> below and above the zero point of the *Brahma-randhra*. This line, following another image, is the *Sūtrātman* in which the *Udāna* abides.<sup>3</sup> By it this world, as if by a thread, and the other are strung together.<sup>4</sup> The images are consistent. Thread and channel, post and ray, are the conducts in the central axis of being. It is along them that air and breath, light and fire go the highest path.<sup>5</sup> For *Vāyu* (air) is *Prāṇa* (breath) and *Prāṇa* is *Agni* (fire).<sup>6</sup> The *Maitri Upaniṣad* speaks of the 'heat' (*uṣṇa*) produced between the breaths (*prāṇa* and *apāna*).<sup>7</sup> "The fiery energy, in the spiration it has its place in the dark heat (*uṣṇa*) that emanates light proceeding upwards"<sup>8</sup>. Parallel with this 'cosmogonical' process the physiological circumstances of *tāntric yoga* consist in the lower limbs becoming cold while the upper part of the head grows 'lustrous' i. e. warm. When the *yoga* is complete, the only trace of warmth to be found in the whole body is at the crown of the head.<sup>9</sup> The passing of warmth and fire in the *Udāna* which carries them beyond death<sup>10</sup> is the miracle of commutation symbolically situated at the crown of the head.<sup>11</sup> The *Uṣṇīṣa* is its emblem and its name connotes it, placed as it is on the point on high where the last heat is gleaned<sup>12</sup> to radiate forth as the pure light of which ray or flame are symbols.<sup>13</sup>

The *Uṣṇīṣa*, it is consistently apparent, far from being a turban or due to a misunderstanding on the side of the craftsman is also neither a bony protuberance nor a fleshy growth, although to describe it the two last anthropomorphical 'secunda comparationis' have been used. It is no thing. It is an emblem and it

1. *Maitri Up.* VI. 21.

2. *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa* (Oertel JAOS) I. 29. 1. (The ray) consisting of breath stands firm aloft.

3. Cf. *Bṛ. Up.* III. 9. 26.

4. *Ibid.* III. 7. 2.

5. *Maitri Up.* VI. 30.

6. *Ibid.* VI. 33.

7. *Ibid.* II. 6 "This heat is the *Puruṣa* and this *Puruṣa* is *Agni Vaiśvānara*".

8. Transl. by Coomaraswamy, *New Approach to the Vedas*, p. 11. Re. *Buddha, Agni Vaiśvānara*, the fiery pillar, the tree of life, see Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 101.

9. *Avalon, Serpent power*, p. 251.

10. Cf. *Bṛ. Up.* I. 3. 9; *Avataṛṇaka Sūtra* (Beal, Catena, p. 41.) "On certain signs at the time of death: if from the summit of the head...the flame departs... (a Buddha)".

11. Cf. *Bṛ. Up.* IV. 4. 2. "He has become one, they say. The point of his heart becomes lighted up and by that light the self departs...through the skull".

12. *Uṣṇīṣa*, "heat-gleaning": *Vārtt. on Pāṇini*, VI. 1. 94 has *uṣṇam īṣate hinasti*, obviously in order to explain the current sense of 'anything wound round the head' to protect from heat. Another meaning of 'īṣ' is to glean.

13. The deep *samādhi* called *uṣṇīṣa vidarśana* (the highest stage of the *vidarśana* process of meditation), Waddell, *Dhāraṇī, Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 49, cf. also *Mahāvīyutpatti* 244, 82 mentioned *ibidem*.



refers to the super-sensible. It has no prototype in nature. Even on the image "it is not visible to the eyes of ordinary beings" and though its shape is apprehended its meaning may not be seen. On some images (Bodhisattva dedicated by Friar Bala)<sup>1</sup> the Uṣṇīṣa was made of precious material<sup>2</sup> or of the pearl Candrakāntā (beloved by the moon). When the moon is about to reflect its light in it, there rises a spring of water.<sup>3</sup> Here the Uṣṇīṣa is not directly emblematic of the breath, fire, sun<sup>4</sup> correspondence but the other luminary, the moon, with its element the water (in which resides the element of fire)<sup>5</sup> is conjured. The symbols in the upper sphere of the human or cosmic appearance are one in essence, Uṣṇīṣa with its flame and ray, the ray emitted from the Ūṣṇā between the eyebrows (at the site of the tāntric ājñā cakra with its moon correspondence) the eyes, one taken as the sun and the other as the moon, all these correspondences have to be understood as analogies where the sensible, i.e. sun, moon, suture of the skull, eye, etc., whether cosmical or human are taken as places of manifestation. That which is beyond manifestation inhabits all these sites to an equal extent and is not comprehended in any. There but its marks (lakṣaṇa) are seen by those who know them.

The Uṣṇīṣa is the foremost Lakṣaṇa on the body of the Mahāpuruṣa, the Buddha. His body is the circumambient substance of the breath which moves throughout it and swells its limbs into a steady roundness. This is epitomised and outgrows the limiting anthropomorphical semblance at the top of the head. It is 'translated' into the higher level at the instance of Nirvāṇa. Of this the Uṣṇīṣa is the monument.

While the Uṣṇīṣa is the emblem most conspicuous in the Buddha image, the Ūṣṇā, the brow-spot, the hairy tuft plays a large part in the texts (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, etc.). On the images however it may or may not be marked. It is situated between the eyebrows, and its place is called Avimukta.<sup>6</sup> According to the Jābāla Upaniṣad,<sup>7</sup> the Avimukta lies where the eyebrows are united with the organ of smell.

1. ASIAR. 1904—5, p. 79. The Uṣṇīṣa is missing. A cavity is cut in its place (into which an uṣṇīṣa of precious material must have been inserted).

2. Re. maṇi (jewel) of the uṣṇīṣa, cf. Beal, *Romantic History of the Buddha*, pp. 289, 413.

3. Hsien Tsiang, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 145.

4. Cf. Ait. Up. II. 2. 11, "for he who shines (the sun) is the breath."

5. References could be quoted in an indefinite number.

6. Bhagavad Gītā VIII. 10.

7. Cf. Sēnart, *op. cit.* p. 155.

Here is the union of the celestial world and of the higher world.<sup>1</sup> On this point of union Brahman is worshipped. Coomaraswamy<sup>2</sup> speaks of the designation of the spider as *Ūṇavābhi*, thread spinner, and of the sun as a spider. The spider image is related to the doctrine of the *Sūtrātman*. The spider image and its reference to the sun is also related to the webbed fingers and toes (see p. 160). In function the *Ūṇā* emblem is allied to the *Uṣṇīṣa*. It flashes forth light which illumines the universe. That it is said to be hairy also leads us back to the *Uṣṇīṣa* which is covered and surrounded by hair. In the early images a long strand of hair is coiled around it.<sup>3</sup> The accepted formula however is that of the curled locks. Coomaraswamy has made it clear<sup>4</sup> that the curly quality means to avoid a 'coming to an end'. Hiuen Tshang was also in the same tradition describing one hair of the Tathāgatha curled to the right. If pulled it is about one foot long but curled it is not longer than half a thumb.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> it is stated that a merit equal to that of all the beings of the universe is required in order to give to a single hair the curly appearance of that of the Buddha.

That the hair encloses the power and life of man is a widely current notion. The manifested power of divinity is shown in the growth of hair<sup>7</sup> (cf. parallelism of the meaning of flame, ray, hair). When the future Śākyamuni spreads his hair before Dīpaṅkara Buddha to walk over it, the power of the previous Buddha is transmitted to the Buddha to be, in this Bodhisattva-gesture. The whole extent of the Buddha power is rolled into his round locks which curl to the right<sup>8</sup>, as the Pradakṣiṇā path leads around the stūpa. The locks around and on the *Uṣṇīṣa* are to be turned to the right, following the course of the sun, the path of life. The craftsmen did not rigorously adhere to this aspect of the symbol. They had more comprehensive means at their disposal to form the substance of the Buddha. Pneumatic dilatation, fluid curves and the smooth roundness of the body are their modes of visualisation for they are aware 'that all joints are joint with breath.'<sup>9</sup>

1. i.e. of the world of the senses and of the intellect.

2. Angel and Titan, JAOS. 55, p. 396 ff.

3. The Gandhāran disguise, the chignon which conforms with anthropomorphic standards, is of no consequence.

4. The Rg Veda as Land nama-bok, p. 31.

5. Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 53.

6. Bodhisattvabhūmi, cf. de la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme, p. 279.

7. Kṛṣṇa for instance is called Keśava in the Bhāgavad Gītā; the (terrestrial) Agni is hairy (keśī) with flames, the middle one with lightnings, while that (celestial) one is hairy with rays. Bṛhad Dvayā, 94; also Kefara, Caesar, cf. Festus, p. 44 "qui scilicet cum caesarie natus est"; etc.

8. cf. for inst. Lalitavistara, VII, second lakṣaṇa.

9. cf. Ait. Up. I. 4. 11.



The hair emblem, unlike the Uṣṇīṣa is taken from the physique of man. It is of no importance from where the symbol is taken to be a valid support of the meaning. That the whole power resides in the hair, and that the hair of the Buddha is curled not only on his head in locks, but singly also on his body<sup>1</sup> (although the latter symptom is not shown in images) localizes it on the surface of the Buddha-field (kṣetra) as emitted from its substance. Here a kind of chthonic magic is at play.

For the earth itself is not only ever active, but it is the constant result of the wind of activity which makes it solid (pārthiva vāyu). All this movement of the entire Buddha-field—its size is measured by chiliocosms—makes the hair on its surface grow in curls, and the words are alive to it which say that the valour of the whole world is required to give to a single hair the curly appearance of that of the Buddha. With all the incessant movement—would it stop, the whole body would collapse<sup>2</sup> which means in terms of form that the image would offer an inert (inane) aspect in mass or colour—an inner balance is maintained, the frictionless equipoise of this ceaseless function within the closed world<sup>3</sup> of the Buddha's body and of the corresponding image. This unmoving Prāṇa<sup>4</sup> in current tāntric practice is known in the retention of breath (kumbhaka) which is located in the Suṣumṇā nāḍī, and this channel (see p. 150) is situated in the spinal axis called Merudaṇḍa.

The fifteenth Lakṣaṇa enumerated in the Mahāpadāna and Lakkhaṇa Sutta<sup>5</sup> speaks of "the frame divinely straight" and this is commented upon by Buddhaghosa that the Buddha "will not stoop nor lean backward nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically." Continuing the description, the eighteenth Lakṣaṇa<sup>6</sup> of the Lakkhaṇa Sutta, that "there is no furrow between his shoulders", is commented upon with understanding "from the small of the back upwards the fleshy covering is as a level golden slab." In another connection furthermore the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta narrates consistently: "He gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look".<sup>7</sup> Buddhaghosa

1. Lakṣaṇa 20, Lalitavistara.

2. Ait. Up. II. 1. 4. 10.

3. cf. Chānd. Up. III. 12. 3.

4. Anugāṭa, p. 258.

5. SBB, Vol. III. p. 15; Vol. IV. p. 138.

6. Vol. IV. *ibid*; cf. Mahāvīyūpaniṣad No. 16 (cātāntarāraṇa).

7. *ibid*, Vol. III. p. 131; Alabaster, Wheel of the Law, p. 113.

comments that the "Buddhas were accustomed on looking backwards, to turn the whole body round as an elephant does, because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed." So they had to be as links of the Merudaṇḍa, through the entire length of which runs the Suṣumnā, the channel of Prāṇa. The golden slab of the back scrupulously records an appearance which gilded bronze images of the Buddha invariably confirm. But whatever the material of the image, the flat and straight back is the rule and not only of the Buddha image but of any Indian main deity. Standing or seated their manifestation is as straight as that of a post (skambha) whereas the lesser divinities yield to the flowing movement that goes on in this world (jagat). The Siamēse tradition describes the ankles of the Buddha as fixed in such a manner that he can turn his entire body without moving his feet. As support of the world, "the Puruṣa stands like a tree in the sky" and Agni (Vaiśvānara) and Viṣṇu of both of whom the Buddha can be considered an avatār are over and over again identified with the cosmic column and tree.<sup>3</sup> Within this tradition the Tibetan image-maker to this day inserts the life-tree, shaped as a truncated pyramid, into the earthen Buddha image.<sup>4</sup>

In touch with the level earth<sup>5</sup> and not supported by lotus flowers (to the end of the Gupta age this is the rule) are the feet of the standing Buddha images. Here as well as in all other images of deities in the rigidly upright stance (kāyotsarga) they are invariably inflated and taut and this often contrasts with the fluid suppleness of the limbs, whatever their volume. As if unwilling to be detached or differentiated from the ground on which they stand or distinct from the mass of the material, the heavy stone or the weighing bronze, of which they are fashioned, they convey their affinity to the earth, felt as it is as 'pārthiva vāyu'. Analogous to the top of the head they too are a place of commutation, for Vāyu here on entering becomes Prāṇa as Prāṇa within

1. Śvetāśvatara Up. III. 8; cf. Rgveda passim.

2. Maitri Up. VII. 11; "(The ray) consisting of breath stands firm aloft." Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, I. 29. 1.

This has been repeatedly shown by Coomaraswamy, cf. A new Approach to the Vedas, p. 30; The Rg. Veda as Land-nama book p. 8; Elements of Buddhist Iconography, pp. 7-10, etc.

Mus, Barabudur, BEFEO, t. XXXII, p. 385 has well summed up the interchangeability of the images of the cosmical axis under the four main forms of mountain, pillar, tree and giant (puruṣa) and their reference to the principle of air (=breath).

3. Acc. to Gagan Lungtok Funtok, transl. by Van Manen, JISOA, 1933 p. 107.

4. Mus, Barabudur, op. cit. based on the Dharma pradīpikā, f. 2b and 3a deals exhaustively with the first lakṣaṇa of the Pālī lists which figures last in the Lalitavistara, i.e., that of the well placed feet with level tread (supraṭṭhitassampādab).

5. Cf. Chānd. Up. III. 12. 3. That earth again is the body in man, for in it the prāṇas rest.



the living body is Vāyu.<sup>1</sup> "Brahman (as prāṇa) entered by the tips of the feet" and this inflation swells them to a great extent before Prāṇa proceeds and equally distributes itself through the limbs while it ascends the high road of the Suṣumṇā. Texts on the making of images agree in describing the feet as full or high like the back of a tortoise<sup>2</sup> and the Bṛhatsamhitā<sup>3</sup> distinguishes in the same way the feet of a universal ruler. The Buddha's substance throughout is permeated by movement like the cosmos of which it is the emblem. From the sole of the feet to the point of the Uṣṇīṣa the image is consistently built up. The within encompasses the without and thus 'fulfilled' is the Buddha Lokottara of whom all the images are made.<sup>4</sup> Visibly the so-called physical and psychological as well as the cosmical inhere in this emblem of the transcendental. On the whole and in an inverse sense "this also has the shape of man."<sup>5</sup>

The shape of man clings to the image of the Buddha Lokottara. Where it outgrows this semblance is the mark of the Uṣṇīṣa and where it comprehends its cosmical extent the fingers (and toes) are marked with nets. Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ, (jālābandhahastapādaḥ)<sup>6</sup> etc., are enumerated in the Sanskrit and Pāli lists among the Mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇāni. Jāla means net or lattice work and both these meanings are valid in the manner of showing it; whether according to Buddhaghōṣa's comment the "net" refers to the lines of the fingers themselves and toes which intersect

1. The Pāli lists do not allude to the 'swelled' feet as a Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa. No. 25 of the Lalitavistara may refer to this mark. Some of the lakṣaṇas, as, for instance "foxy teeth" (the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa have sixty, Mahābhārata, I.c.) are not within the scope of the craftsman. Those which are within his range he not only visualized but in order to show them convincingly, the "image" which in their totality they imply, must have been the object of his contemplation. He does not show single marks, here and there, but the substance itself of the Buddha or Mahāpuruṣa which makes the body of the image. That it is a transfigured body, beyond the appearance of any figure need not be repeated. Altogether it is emblematic and the Uṣṇīṣa, its 'supreme' mark, is nothing but an emblem. The Buddha's substance comprehends the cosmos. The lakṣaṇas, etc., are not physiognomical features but cosmogonical emblems.

2. Ait. Up. II. 1. 4. 1.

3. Pratimālakṣaṇam (ed. J. N. Banerjia) p. 19; Citralakṣaṇa (Laufer) pp. 161, 176.

4. LXVIII. 2.

5. The robe of the monk is the only allusion to his earthly career. No image of the Buddha shows him as a monk.

6. Taitt. Up. II. 2. 5. "Different from this which consists of the essence of food, is the other, the inner self which consists of breath. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of the latter."

'Inverse' is meant in the sense of the valuing which in the case of the image does not proceed centripetally from the grosser to the subtler aspect.

7. J. N. Banerjia, The "Webbed Fingers" of Buddha, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1930, pp. 717-727; 1931, pp. 654-656; Coomaraswamy, ibid. 1931, pp. 365-66; Stutterheim, Le Jālalakṣaṇa, Acta Orientalia, VII, p. 232 have more recently expressed their views on this lakṣaṇa. Feucher's views, incorporated as they are in J. N. Banerjia's papers need not be taken into account here. These partly anthropomorphical and partly technical i.e., "simple craftsman's device"-interpretations leave untouched the traditional meaning of the lakṣaṇa.



like those of a latticed window or whether according to a large number of images a web connects the fingers,<sup>1</sup> the meaning remains the same. The web in-between the fingers as shown by many images generally ends not in straight lines but in curves and is frequently reticulated. Whether on, or in-between the fingers, the net is not a physical trait. It is an emblem, i.e., a meaning visualised. Its prototype is not anthropomorphical and altogether supra-sensible. The simile of a net which may further be elaborated into one like that of the Hamsarāja, the golden mallard<sup>2</sup> serves as an adequate symbol. As the circumambient mass of the image of the Buddha visualizes his substance and does not portray his appearance, its marks help to show qualities which are implicitly contained in the form of the image. They figure as names and guides. The imaged substance (kāya) of the Buddha, this 'kṣetra' of a wide and smooth surface is the emblem (pratīka) of the universe. The universe is frequently pictured in the texts (but also, as will be seen elsewhere in application) as a net, texture or fabric. One of its main threads, the Sūtrātman has been shown already (p. 155).<sup>3</sup> "He verily knows the threads of the warp (tantu) and of the woof (otu) who comprehends all this (universe)".<sup>4</sup> The universe is viewed here as an "haute-lisse" with Agni (Vaisvānara) or the Sūtrātman as major thread. All contingent existence is shot across it, woven forwards, woven backwards.<sup>5</sup> "That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present and future, that is woven like warp and woof".<sup>6</sup> Woven, i.e., comprehensive is this world fabric and whatever exists has its place in its net-work. The universe understood as a woven fabric is tantamount to the cosmos i.e., it is ordered throughout. Microcosmically, referring to the structure of man, it is asked: "Who wove in him breath"?<sup>7</sup> Breath outside the envelope of the body is air and (by air) as by a thread this world and the other world and all creatures are strung together<sup>8</sup> and "whoso may know the stretched out string in which these progeny are woven in, whoso may know the string of the string, he may know the great Brāhmaṇa".<sup>9</sup> Cut across at any level or else in the

1. Cf. Beal, *Romantic History of the Buddha*, p. 55. The fingers and toes severally connected with a fine, net like membrane.

2. Cf. Chinese translation of *Madhyamāgama* text noted by Banerjee, op. cit. p. 655.

3. Agni is also called the thread, RV. X. 5. 3; X. 57. 2, (Agni) the thread, drawn out for the gods.

4. RV. VI. 9. 3.

5. RV. X. 130. 1.

6. Br. Up. III. 8. 4.

7. AV. X. 2. 13.

8. Br. Up. III. 7. 2.

9. AV. X. 8. 37.



vertical direction, the massive world fabric shows its net where everything is fixed in its place. Seen from 'outside', i.e. when broken through (from a view-point in the absolute) the shrine of Brahman is beheld consisting of four nets.<sup>1</sup> What is altogether filled by a thing, that also must be of the same thing up to its limits; its outer surface has the structure of its substance. "Around all beings I went, the web (tantu) of order (ṛta) stretched out for beholding."<sup>2</sup> In a more narrative mode the Mahā Sudassana Suttanta describes the palace of Dhamma hung round with two net-works of bells.<sup>3</sup>

The microcosm of man in whom breath is woven is one instance; the building in which man or the deity dwells another instance or microcosm in relation to the world fabric. Not only the palace of Dhamma has net-works of bells around. They are also on the railing of Barhut and surround the entire stūpa.<sup>4</sup> The railing of a Buddhist stūpa or around a sacred tree has the appearance of, and its primary shape actually has been, a trellis. Its cross-bars are termed 'sūci', needle. By its appearance and primary material as well as by the metaphoric name of 'sūci' the railing is a Jāla (net, trellis). Besides, a net-work of bells is laid out on it. Such a pleonasm of allusions is well applied in visual terms. Its concord holds in manifold pictures the same meaning for it refers to the same vision. The railing pattern, ubiquitous on the facades of early Indian architecture and repeated in stories<sup>5</sup> appears to have retained its original significance as long as the motif has been applied. Actually and according to the general description given in Buddhist books of an abode "perfectly adorned" such an abode has a surrounding rail and a net-work or namental enclosure.<sup>6</sup> Such an abode perfectly adorned is also the throne of the Bodhisattva in Tuṣita heaven. It is spread over with nets of costly texture wherein tinkle innumerable little bells.<sup>7</sup>

The interchangeability of the symbols of body and building, both conceived as indicative of locality to be dwelt in, has been frequently seen.<sup>8</sup> The Buddha in

1. Maitri Up. VI, 28, 38.

The fabric symbolism is also valid in the three guṇas (strands) of Prakṛti.

2. AV. II, 1, 5.

3. Cf. SBB. III, p. 214.

4. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pls. 25-27, Coomaraswamy, HIA, fig. 47 and elsewhere. The coping stone of the railing is called Uggāṣa.

5. For inst. Coomaraswamy, HIA, fig. 31.

6. Beal, Catena, p. 57, note 2.

7. Lalitavistara, (Bibl. Ind.) IV.

8. Cf. Mus, Barabudur, op. cit. passim.

the stūpa is surrounded by the 'jāla' of the railing; pre-natally as six-tusked elephant he should be covered with golden net-works<sup>1</sup> and on being born the Bodhisattva is received by Śakra and Brahman under cover of a beautiful piece of Kausika (silk) cloth<sup>2</sup>. According to the Chinese version<sup>3</sup> the new born Bodhisattva is caught in a golden net by four angels from the highest heaven.

The net as a whole is not visible on the image of the Buddha. He carries its vestiges, pars pro toto, attached to, or on his fingers and toes<sup>4</sup>.

Thus it is beheld as an emblem on his 'body'. Any section across his substance would be marked correspondingly. Such internal levels or fields cannot be seen exteriorised from the image but they may be worded. "They will behold here my Buddha field; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads<sup>5</sup>. Altogether 'cosmogonical', the Buddha image comprehends the universe. The Sūtrātman within its vertical axis rises beyond it across the zero point at the Brahmarandhra. Every degree of being can be read on the central rod below that point, every Buddha-field is expanded there. Each degree of being is identical with a mode of knowledge. At the zero point there can be no identity of any extent. Still, if this is to be conveyed by the image, a symbol, a no-thing may do it: the Uṣṇīṣa.

Jalāṅgulihastapādaḥ and Uṣṇīṣa are concomitant emblems. The fingers and the toes hold up from within the net-work of the universe, the cosmos. The polyvalence of this emblem, which also belongs to Nara and Nārāyaṇa is shown and worded by its similarity to the web on the extremities of palmipedes, and by the designation of Haṁsarāja (see above). Haṁsa is one of the most ancient names of the sun-bird<sup>6</sup> and the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (III. 19 and 25) says of the unique Haṁsa "in the midst of the world he is the fire, he resides in the midst of the waters". If the shrine of Brahman has four nets, the town of Brahman in which dwells the Puruṣa "is all surrounded by Amṛta"<sup>7</sup>. The liquid element, water, the sun-bird, the sun with its rays, the spider analogy of the sun, the spider, weaver of its net, the rays that

1. Lalitavistara V.

2. Ibid. VII.

3. Ibid. (transl. R. Mitra) p. 159.

4. The latter is not indicated in sculpture nor are all the images of Buddha invested with this lakṣaṇa. The same can however be said about the ūṣṇā.

5. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, SBE. XXI. p. 321.

6. Atharva V. XII. 3. 38; ṚV. IV. 40. 5; Citralakṣaṇa, p. 161 says that the web of the feet of the Cakravartin resembles that of the mallard. See also p. 161.

7. AV. X. 2. 29.



issue from the sun, the very lability of these images as they glide one into the other is caught in the likeness of the membrane of an aquatic sun-bird or else within the lines across the long (and golden) fingers (and toes) of the image of Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa. The net-work of this Māyā is pierced permanently at the instant of Nirvāṇa. Embleatically the substance of the image rises above its name and form with a form and a name (uṣṇīṣa) that only belong to this symbol.

The balance within this entire and transfigured body (inclusive of the uṣṇīṣa) is indicated by the Lakṣaṇa 'nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala', "the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms".<sup>1</sup>

Of the pillar and support of the universe the diameter must be wide. For "the Skambha sustains both heaven and earth, the Skambha sustains the six wide directions".<sup>2</sup> Puruṣa pervades all the regions upwards, cross-wise<sup>3</sup>, he breathes cross-wise.<sup>4</sup> His cosmic cross is the proportion according to which he is extended. The wood of this cross is not dead. It sends forth branches Nyagrodha-like, upward and downward within its circumambient fulness. The sap ascends and descends like breath itself, pervasive and its channels appear turgid in the round-limbed image of the Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa. The fluid movement of its surface nowhere ends.

Thus balanced within itself the image is a counter-measure (pratimā) of the universe. There are further emblems which also coincide in order to make this apparent.

Although not enumerated in the lists of the thirty two Mahāpuruṣa Lakṣaṇas and not even amongst the eighty Anuvyañjanas, the ear is most conspicuous in all the images of the Buddha by its extra-ordinary size.<sup>5</sup> The great size of the ear emblem shows the corresponding capacity of the organ. "From the ears proceeded hearing, from hearing the quarters of the world (dis)".<sup>6</sup> The regions (dis) having

1. cf. Mahāpadāna S., I. c. p. 15 and other lists.

2. This does not convey any special length of the arms. It is the average proportion of the human body. Another lakṣaṇa says: Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand. Not every lakṣaṇa can or need be rendered by word and also by figure. (These two lakṣaṇas, i. e. proportions, cannot possibly be employed in one and the same image).

3. AV. X. 35; RV. X. 90. 1.

4. AV. X. 2. 28.

5. AV. X. 8. 19.

6. Detailed measures are given for inst. in Pratimālakṣaṇam, op. cit. p. 13.

7. Ait. Up. II. 4. 1. 6.

become hearing entered the ears".<sup>1</sup> Distance is measured by sound. "A krośa (two miles) is the distance that one can hear the lowing of an ox".<sup>2</sup> The Buddha's ear hears everywhere, it takes in all the sound, all the space of the universe. For sound is a quality of space and within the ear is situated the sense of balance. Immanent within the substance of the Buddha is the universe with all its regions. They have entered the ear qualitatively, i.e. as sound. To be accommodated there, the receptacle ever acts in the sense of balance and orientation. Hearing and the heard, balance and space, the containing and the contained coincide. The substance of the Buddha comprehends the extent of the universe. The ear-emblem marks the place of commutation where distance i.e. all the regions find their equivalent in balance. It is another way of showing the, 'banyan circumference' (nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala) of the Buddha's body, the equal extent of its fathom and its length, and its cosmical (ordered) structure.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha-pratimā 'conforms' with the Mahāpuruṣa, the Buddha Lokottara. It shows its marks interconnected and their meaning coincides. The single emblems are ultimately synonymous. They name what the knowing "see with the heart and distinguish with the intellect".<sup>4</sup> They put it into form, the knowing and competent craftsmen.

1. Ibid. II. 4. 2. 4. Cf. Anugītā, p. 350, "all the quarters residing in the ear."

2. Hiuen Tsiang, op. cit. II. p. 59.

3. This is symbolized moreover by the lakṣaṇa of the long tongue (Lakkhaṇa Suttanta No. 27). In the legend of Pūrṇa (Sela Sutta) Buddha shows the miracle of his tongue which touches his ear. (cf. also Ambaṭṭha Sutta, S. B. B. II. p. 131). In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, XX (Bournouf. p. 234) the tongues of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna reach to the world of Brahmā. All this means as the small Sukhāvatīvyūha (SB E, XLIX, II p. 49) says: "the Tathāgatas cover with their tongues the worlds where they teach." This makes it clear why it is said that the tongue reaches to the ear. The ear holds all the worlds where the Tathāgatas teach. The Buddha-word and his substance are one. cf. Jaiminiya Up. Br. III. 18. "In me the worlds, in me the four quarters." Séart, op. cit. p. 125 has dealt with the long tongue of Agni.

4. Cf. Jaim. Up. Br. III. 35. 1.



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