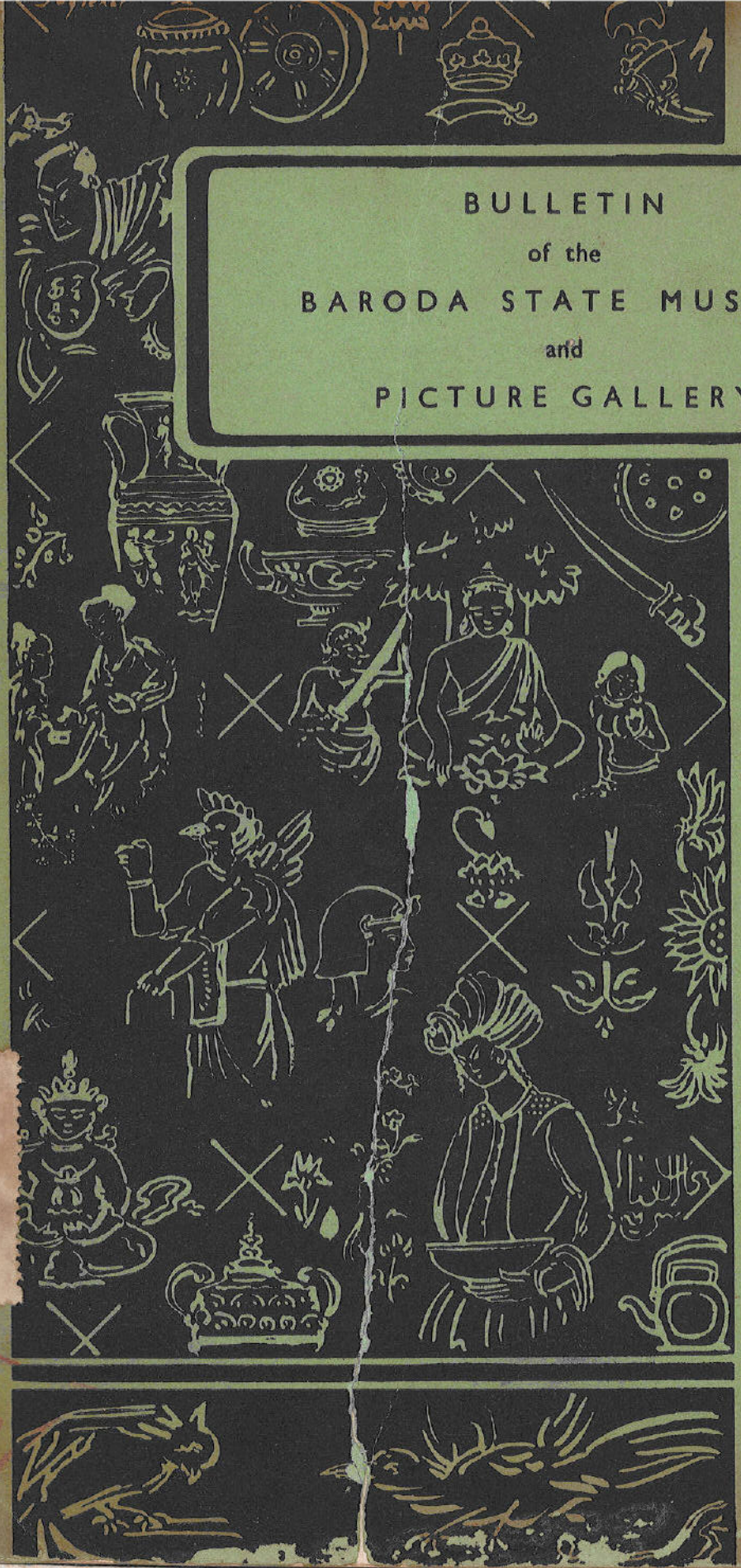
BULLETIN
of the
BARODA STATE MUSEUM
and
PICTURE GALLERY



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ed. by
H. Goetz.

HIS HIGHNESS SIR PRATAPSINGH GAEKWAR, MAHARAJA SAHEB OF BARODA.
Sena Khas Khel Samsher Bahadur,
G.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Farzand-i-khas-i-Daulat-i-Englishia.
Oil-painting by G. D. Deuskar, Baroda Picture Gallery.

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OF THE

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AND

Picture Gallery

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(*August 1943–January 1944*)

Edited
by

H. GOETZ

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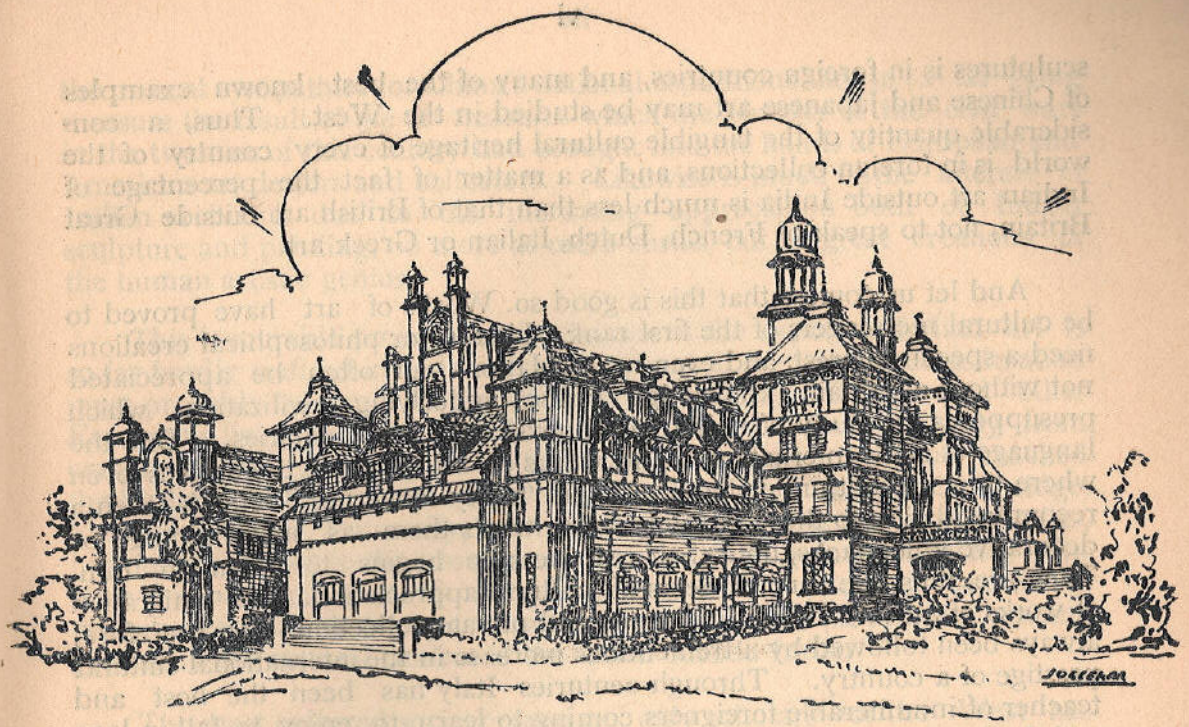
It is a sincere pleasure to me to write a brief introduction to the first Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery. The idea of publishing periodical bulletins explaining India's cultural heritage is an excellent one, and Dr. Hermann Goetz deserves to be congratulated on it.

One of the most suggestive articles in this volume is that by Dr. Goetz on "Modern Art in the World Crisis". It is only through a sympathetic understanding of the greatest cultures of the world that nations can achieve lasting peace.

I wish Dr. Goetz every success in this undertaking. He is a great authority on Indian architecture and the Mughal and Rajput schools of painting and has written extensively on these and other subjects, and I have no doubt that under his editorship the bulletins will be welcomed not only in India but also in England and the U. S. A.

'Dilaram', Baroda,
2nd May 1944.

V. T. KRISHNAMA CHARI.



INTRODUCTORY

BY

H. Goetz

In the last decades it has been a common cry in India that the best of the national cultural treasures has gone to other countries, and that it is easier to study Indian art, ethnography, economics, zoology, botany, etc. in foreign museums and institutes than at home. Undeniably the latter fact had been true even ten or twenty years ago though at present its validity has already become more than questionable. But it is not true that the best of the documentation of its cultural heritage has left India. It is true that many of the finest pieces of Indian art and some of the rarest manuscripts now are in the museums and libraries of America and Europe, and that the most complete collections of Indian natural science or ethnology are to be found in the West. But many of the best creations of the British masters are in the museums of France, Germany, Russia, America, at least a third of the Italian, Spanish or Dutch art treasures is in collections outside Italy, Spain or the Netherlands, number of the costliest French illuminated manuscripts are in Italy, Great Britain, Germany, the U. S. A., one half of Dürer's famous prayer book for Emperor Maximilian has been in a French museum, the overwhelming majority of Greek and Roman

sculptures is in foreign countries, and many of the best known examples of Chinese and Japanese art may be studied in the West. Thus, a considerable quantity of the tangible cultural heritage of every country of the world is in foreign collections, and as a matter of fact the percentage of Indian art outside India is much less than that of British art outside Great Britain, not to speak of French, Dutch, Italian or Greek art.

And let us confess that this is good so. Works of art have proved to be cultural messengers of the first rank. Literary or philosophical creations need a special interest, and even in translations can often be appreciated not without a certain knowledge of the underlying civilization, which presupposes the study of bulky textbooks and commentaries. But the language of art is international, and works of art insinuate themselves even where they are not understood. Their "funny queerness" often is even a recommendation to the collector who treats them as mere strange or decorative knicknacks, until their real message begins to dawn on him. They are, thus, the very pioneers of cultural appreciation. The emigration of works of art into foreign museums and private collections has, therefore, always been followed by a tremendous increase in the international cultural prestige of a country. Through centuries Italy has been the host and teacher of innumerable foreigners coming to learn, to enjoy, to fall in love with Italian culture. And the foreign sympathy and support which Italy has found in her struggle for liberty and national union, had largely been due to the cultural prestige built up by Italian art, literature, music going to other countries. Greece might not have been able to shake off the overwhelming Ottoman yoke without the Pan-European enthusiasm for the classic art of ancient Greece which the abduction of the Elgin marbles to the British Museum had aroused. France would not have found the decisive international support in the last and in the present war without that sentimental admiration kindled by her art and literature all over Europe, North and South America.

In the last hundred years Western opinion, at least in the leading classes, has been completely reversed with regard to the civilizations of Asia. Not only the philosophies, but also the arts of China, Japan, India, Persia, etc., once disregarded as the strange productions of deplorable heathens, are now studied as masterpieces arousing as much enthusiasm as half a millennium ago the newly discovered wonders of Antiquity. It is worth to note that this change of public opinion exactly coincided with the beginning of art export. Japan as an artistic nation was discovered at the very moment that the first modernization of the country in the fifties and sixties of the last century threw on the international markets the family collections of the former daimyos and samurais. The collecting of Chinese art set in with the plundering of the Imperial Summer Palace in 1900, and

the present sympathies for China's national aspirations are in a far-going measure the result of the art treasures which the plunder of the civil wars in the twenties of this century had brought into the hands of European and American art dealers and collectors. Likewise is much of the interest in Indian problems due to the increasing appreciation both of Indian sculpture and painting, no more as mere curios, but as great creations of the human artistic genius.

This favourable propagandist influence of the export of Indian art is so far hardly realized in India. The chief reason for this underestimation must probably be sought in the attitude of the average British and other Europeans living in India. For all new movements spread slowly from certain centres. A change of attitude which may already have reached the leading circles of London, Paris or NewYork, or Oxford, Cambridge, Yale or Chicago University, or even the rich collectors in other cities, has not yet spread to the province or to the average middle class. But from this point of view European society in the East is provincial. And its average opinions are considerably behind the movements winning ground in the cultural centres of the world outside India.

The most cultured society--and not only scholars--of the West has in the last decades rallied round associations specially devoted to the study and appreciation of Asiatic art and civilization, e. g. the India Society (Great Britain), the Vereeniging van Vrienden Aziatischer Kunst (Holland), the Association des Amis de l'Orient (France), the Ostasiatische Gesellschaft (Germany), the Freunde Asiatischer Kunst (Austria), the Society for Asiatic Art (Switzerland), etc. Modern Western museums reserve whole wings exclusively for the same purpose, special museums and institutions of Asiatic art have been founded in Paris (Cernuschi and Guimet), Amsterdam, Stockholm (Ostasiatiska Samlingarna), Budapest (Francis Hopp Museum), Boston (Fogg Art Museum), New York (American Institute for Iranian Art and Archæology), Leningrad, and other places, and their special exhibitions always are social events. The leading art academies have opened their rooms to special shows of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Islamic, Persian art. Indian dancers and ballets like Uday Shankar, Menaka, Ram Gopal, Raden Mas Jodjana have been roaring successes.

But the average colonial European knows hardly anything of this new spirit and still thinks it not worth while to occupy himself with the civilization in whose midst he is living. And yet we are not entitled to reproach him with this slowness of appreciation. For appreciation is the result not only of inborn taste, but of long training. And where there are no or insufficient opportunities of such a training, appreciation and understand-

ing cannot develop. For the disgusting bazar rubbish generally offered to the unsuspecting foreigner must rightly arouse contempt or supercilious condescension.

If most Indian people, thus, are under the impression that their best cultural treasures have been lost to their country, if the majority of Western people living amongst them do not arrive at a sufficient appreciation of the eternal values of Indian art and, through it, also of the other aspects of Indian tradition, it is the result of the failure of the Indian museums to display their treasures, to put their beauty into the right light, to serve as mediators between the private collector and the public, to attract the innumerable things of interest lying half-forgotten all over the country. In the most progressive foreign museums, e. g. in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, the Metropolitan Museum at New York, the Chicago Art Institute, the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge, Mass., the Aziatische Museum at Amsterdam, etc. you will find exhibits not better than those in any greater Indian museum. But what here is lying in a dusty corner, or just a specimen within an "iconographic set" on an overcrowded shelf or stone bank, there is exhibited like a jewel, isolated, within a special setting, under artificial light falling in under well selected angles to bring out its most subtle qualities, it is published in catalogues, monthly reports and cheap postcards; in the costly portfolios of masterpieces and in the expensive art periodicals on the drawing room tables of the snobs of society; in the socialist workmen's courses and the programmes of the broadcasting companies.

The same is true of the sections of natural history, zoology, mineralogy, botany, ethnography and folklore. Apart from a few museums, how little is still shown in India, how often is it eaten up by moths, white ants, etc., how much is still waiting to be collected and studied, often still collectable to-day, but soon irretrievably lost with the modernization of life!

Or are we already permitted to say: It had been so? In any case we may say that it will soon no more be like that! The cultural awakening of India in these last decades will for ever prove one of the great miracles of our time. Schools, colleges and universities have multiplied; periodicals and publishing houses have grown up like mushrooms; theatre, dance and film have already developed to fine standards; and a voluminous scientific literature is being brought out in increasing numbers. Since the last decade also the Indian museums have been caught by this pulsating life current of the time, and everywhere we see at present endeavours to improve the scientific standard and the educational value of institutions which for at least half a century have been but jadugarhs for the lower classes or study centres for privileged scholars and tourists. The museum as a mighty instrument of adult education and as an energy centre of cultural life has been discovered!

Adult education, and the museum as an instrument of adult education, however, are a rather modern discovery, and their development in India lags only slightly behind that of other countries. Up to the beginning of this century museums, even those of a high technical and scientific standard, have everywhere been jadugarhs for the masses and cultural centres only for the privileged few. Modest attempts to extend their educational influence had set in in connection with the socialist folk high school movement. The real formation, however, of the new outlook was part of the second postindustrial wave of democratisation in the U. S. A. in this century. As institutions largely dependent on private or municipal support, the American museums and, as a European pioneer, the "German (Engineering) Museum" in Munich, threw themselves with all their energies upon these possibilities of mass education, as a new way to public usefulness, public interest and public support. Thus they first made museum technique in the modern sense a special science. The European museums followed after the last war, but not before the end of the twenties the opposition was broken which tried to preserve them as an exclusive domain for a handful of scholars and connoisseurs. In the thirties the reform reached the provincial museums, and in the last decade it has swamped India.

This statement needs certain qualifications. For the founders of the Indian museums in the last century have always had before their eyes the educational task of the museum. But their purpose had been different from the aims of our time. Museums had been rather a sort of "kindergarten" where the uneducated native could gaze at the wonders of the West, or be reeducated in the half-forgotten industries of his own past. And this purpose they served well.

But since, teaching and research has been taken over by a quickly increasing number of colleges and research institutes, Western civilization is no more an infallible creed, but a form of modern life to be integrated into the national tradition; and likewise has the past become a spiritual heritage to be integrated into the modern world. The museum, therefore, can no more be a store house of things to be imitated, but must be a living centre of creative inspiration with a much broader and penetrating outlook. The lack of adaptation to this changing cultural scene had made the Indian museums dead institutions. And the introduction of modern museum methods means not only an increased possibility of mass education, it means a more democratic, more inspiring contact superseding the old authoritative methods and a new task, not only teaching useful things, but creating a modern outlook on the national and international problems of our time. Modern India has her own problems, and a mere adaptation of modern Western methods is not sufficient. A synthesis is needed, modern

and Indian at the same time. And we are still experimenting to find out the right way.

The Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, late comers of the earlier tradition, have thanks to the extraordinary personal interest and munificence of their founder, the late Maharaja Shri Sayaji Rao III, grown to an all-round collection almost unique in India which may offer opportunities for the broadest public education in natural science, ethnology, history and art, as in few other museums in this country. It is the fervent wish of His Highness' government to make the utmost of these possibilities. And the present bulletin forms merely one aspect of a general and comprehensive modernisation scheme. Its purpose is not only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it during the last half century, but also to make a wider educated public conversant with them, to resuscitate to life the dead exhibits, to let them reveal their secrets, their meaning, their beauties. A middle line is, therefore, envisaged, a high scientific standard of the contributions on the one side, but also a formulation intelligible to the non-specialist. A middle line will likewise be steered in cultural matters. Things familiar in Gujarat or India need explanation to European or American, African or Australian readers, things known in the West to an Indian public. And in this sense the editor hopes that the Baroda Museum Bulletin will act as a mediator between Gujarati and Indian, Indian and foreign cultural life and help to build up mutual understanding and good will, and a modern civilization, in a world which has become too narrow for the old frontiers and prejudices.

MODERN ART IN THE WORLD CRISIS

The Metamorphosis from a European to a Universal Civilisation and Art

by H. Goetz

When in past years we were speaking of art, we were thinking in national terms, classifying it into English, French, Russian, American, Indian and other art schools. But for the art which is evolving since the last decades, those national qualifications are less and less employed. We simply speak of Modern Art. And in fact, it shows very outspoken common characteristics. These characteristics distinguish it unmistakably from the old traditional styles, in spite of the local features consciously preserved and cultivated both by architects and sculptors, painters and decorators, nay even by poets and musicians. And these characteristics are common all over our earth, in all the countries and continents which have accepted modern civilisation; and they are intruding in the arts of all countries which are coming under the influence of modern life. They often intrude without the people concerned even realizing it, because this modern art has ceased to be European or even American, because it is more and more becoming a world art.

Even in India we witness the progressing invasion of this modern world art. Whereas the unmitigated English art of the 19th century was not assimilated but aroused a nationalist reaction drawing its inspirations from the great old sources of classic and Mediæval Indian tradition, this modern world art is contracting a successful marriage with Indian spiritual and aesthetic ideals. Wherever we see genuine new life at present springing from the resuscitation of the old Indian traditions, it is through such an amalgamation with modern art. And this is quite natural. Old traditions can be revived as little as foreign models can be imitated. For life is creation, eternal rebirth. And as all the other life of this world is begotten in the living union of two different beings, likewise all genuine cultural renascences spring from the living contact of two different, complementary civilizations.

But how can modern art, coming from the West, be acceptable and assimilable to India, whereas the Western art imported in the 19th and early 20th centuries had been repulsive and indigestible? Is it, that in the meantime India has succumbed so much more to the influence of the West? No doubt, India is modernizing herself at an amazing pace. But

modern organization and technique are not an inborn characteristic of Western life, they are of recent origin and had been anticipated in Asiatic civilizations. They must be accounted as a general human heritage, like the invention of the plough and car, of iron and axe, of money and script. No, modern India is more national than ever in the 19th century. And it is Western art which has become assimilable by ceasing to be merely Western, by becoming a world art. But most of us have not yet realized this revolution of cultural trends, as little as they understand the meaning of the political world crisis now passing through its second, and perhaps most ghastly phase of terror and blood. Leading European and American art critics and historians are already quite aware of the new situation. But after the rebellion against 19th century English art India had closed her door to the arts of the outside world so much, that the public in this country has hardly begun to discover that that so alien art is already dead, and that we are again marching towards a common civilization.

For the whole conflict between East and West is of comparatively recent origin. Before the industrialization of the West it had been negligible, in the Middle Ages it had been non-existent. And likewise no fundamental difference of artistic expression and outlook had existed, as has recently been shown by many prominent scholars, especially by Dr. Coomaraswamy, the greatest living protagonist of Indian art in the world. European art of the early and high Middle Ages had, so to say, been "Tāntrik", symbolic, and only these symbols, these yantras, and their interrelations, their mandalas, had counted. Its style, therefore, had been crude but expressive. In the early Christian period it had been, like the late Pāla and Sena art of India, an ornamental reflection of the preceding classic age. In the Romanesque it had been comparable to the Jain images and miniatures. Since the late 12th century we witness a transformation to a Bhākta attitude, sweet, musical, devout, to which nature is a wonder calling for the praise of its creator. The Gothic style of the North, and the early "Renaissance" style of Italy, telling the long, long story of heaven and salvation, of saints and mystics, are the most outspoken counterpart to Rājput art in India. But then the ways began to part. The Flemish miniaturists were the last to reveal any parallelism and similarity to Indian art, viz. the likewise much secularized paintings of the Mughal court artists. For in the 15th century Italian art, in the 16th and 17th that of the rest of Europe became more and more secular, and even where the religious or heroic spirit of the past was revived, it stood in the service of some social or cultural party or organization, of a mighty church, of a powerful state or of a rising commercial class. Its technique of illusionistic representation and of pompous decoration reached an astonishing efficiency, but at the same time its spirit needs became increasingly commercial and often meretricious. The great masters who still rose to the

spiritual union attained by the saints of the Middle Ages, a Michelangelo and Grünewald, Greco and Rembrandt, Bach and Beethoven, died half-understood, if not forgotten.

Yet the real crisis was still to come. And it came with the French Revolution and with industrialization. For both events meant the slow, but inexorable destruction of the society on which the traditional art of Europe had flourished. This crisis dragged over the whole length of the two centuries since passed, and reached its climax in our own days. For the discoveries and inventions of the mind broken loose from the old traditions, built up a new, greater and greater system of control over the forces of nature which completely altered the whole scale of our life and of our relations to nature-given life conditions. With the development of scientific methods in agriculture, industry, commerce the old economy had to disappear, with the multiplication and expanded education of the masses the old social structure was swamped away, with the intensification and acceleration of communications and armaments the old political, national system became untenable, and with the disappearance of distances the old isolation of traditional civilizations. Thus we have become the witnesses of a gigantic economic struggle where greater and greater types of production and distribution overthrow, wave after wave, the preceding industries, peasant properties, old-style shops; of a growing social clash where new mass organizations take over more and more tasks of the old family, clan and caste; of states fighting for larger and larger life space, growing from nations to colonial empires, from colonial empires to giant powers; of a terrible clash finally between an imperialism proclaiming the old ideal of national or racial supremacy and a democracy of not less gigantic dimensions but founded on the actual or potential equality of its partners. Thus, these two last centuries have been a time of transition, not only of the disintegration of an old world, but also of the — not yet completed — growth of another one of much greater dimensions. This, too, is a phenomenon well-known in the history of mankind. For similar centuries of national and civil war, of bloodshed, terror and misery have once preceded the foundation of the Maurya and Gupta, the Roman, the Chinese, the Arab empires.

But as always, such a period of transition had to affect also all the refined and subtle aspects of cultural life. It had to discredit religion and ethics in demolishing the traditional world conception and in disestablishing the time-bound churches. It had to ruin artistic taste in overthrowing the social classes so far cultivating and encouraging art, and in discarding the devotional, heroic or complaisant themes favoured by those latter. This liberation from old traditions has proved to be a tremendous stimulus for new, fruitful experiments. But as all genuine cosmic experiences grow

slowly and spread still more slowly, a chaotic vacuum had to open itself which only since the last decades is beginning to be filled with a new world conception, new ideals, a new sense of beauty. It had been the products of this cultural vacuum which in the last century had been presented to Indians as Western "art". And it had been but right that Indians rejected them.

The transition period from the old aristocratic regime to the industrial age (between 1750 and 1830) had in Europe seen a collapse of the old artistic tradition hardly better than that experienced in India a few decades later. Artists had to start again from the very beginnings, and they acted in the same way as Indian artists in the last half century. The aristocratic ideals and themes had been discarded. Thus they tried patiently to learn from those masterpieces of the past which, as they believed, expressed ideals similar to their own. As the painters of the new Indian middle class have turned their eyes to the eternal creations of the Gupta period, the artists of the young European middle class, a Canova, Thorwaldsen, David, Ingres, Genelli, Flaxman, etc. copied or adapted the architecture, sculpture and painting of the ancient Greeks and Romans. After this "Classicist" school had laid the foundations of a new art, the whole course of former technical and aesthetic evolution was soon run through again, and about the middle of the 19th century all the methods, tricks and dodges of the old masters had been learned again. At least most people thought so.

For the more art had recovered as a technique, the more it had lost even those last shreds of spiritual consciousness and, therefore, of real artistic quality which the 18th century, even in its lowest debasement, had seldom abandoned. After the first impulse of revolutionary enthusiasm and optimistic belief in a new and better mankind had evaporated, most members of the new middle-class, rich and saturated, had sunk down to a depressing level of vulgarity, materialism and gross sensualism, thinly veiled by a hypocritic respectability. No wonder that the champions of the old ideals, the aristocracy, the church, the intellectual classes rebelled against this spreading vulgarity. The artistic expression of this rebellion was a movement which likewise has its counterpart in the similar circumstances of modern India: Romanticism. This movement tried to oppose to this materialistic vulgarity a renaissance of the old idealism and spiritualism, it tried to revive and to continue the ideals of life, of beauty, of mystic religiosity as they had once flourished in the Christian Middle Ages. And as modern Indian artists attempt to revive Gupta architecture, Chandela sculpture, Rājput and Mughal painting, Bengali pattas and Benares textiles, likewise those European artists, the Nazarenes, or Cornelius, Rethel and others in Germany, Delacroix, Chassériau, Doret, Violet-le-Duc and others in France, the Pre-Raffaelites in Great Britain, ventured on a resuscitation of Gothic and Romanesque art.

But they, too, were finally swept away by the swelling wave of materialism and vulgarity inundating Europe about 1860–80, and their experiment became commercialized like all the other schools and techniques of the day. The age of Napoleon III in France may, on the whole, be regarded as the lowest water mark of European official art, a speculation on materialism, social and national arrogance, curiosity, sensational and lascivious instincts. Though this spirit had been powerful to the end of the century, and is still alive in the more vulgar type of cinema and theatre "art". As in the mid-Victorian days India had been, so to say, an outlying British province, it was this art which reached this country via British academism. It reached India very late when in Europe it had already sunk into contempt, if not oblivion. It reached her, of course, purged of that French sensualism so displeasing to the English puritanism of the day, but also devoid of that somewhat philistine idealism through which the great Victorians had mitigated and absorbed the vulgarity of the upstarts of the new industrial age. What remained was a mere sculptural and pictorial technique proud of its capacity of almost photographic imitation. What remained was an architecture and decorative art plundering all the available monuments and documents of the past in search of models and inspirations. Museums were gigantic store houses for this purpose, in England e. g. the Victoria and Albert Museum, or in India the museums of Baroda, Jaipur, Lucknow, Calcutta. No wonder that this art could not appeal to Indians, and that it was repellent to those who loved their own great past.

Yet at that time the artistic revolution in Europe was already in full swing. And an artistic pioneer like Havell would never have been responsive to the greatness of Indian art, if he had not already imbibed those new currents and ideals then reshaping artistic life in France, in England, in the whole Western world. No doubt, this artistic revolution was then not yet victorious. Forces were still in the balance. The avant-garde artists, often leading a more or less proletarian life, formed its revolutionary wing, the rich plutocratic public its conservative wing, and the critics and acknowledged artists, the new academicians, the connecting link. It was, however, just the plutocratic character of the art patrons which made this artistic revolution successful. Whenever a social upper class becomes hereditary, it assumes an aristocratic character. With the leisure to devote much time to the amusements and refinements of life, it can develop its artistic taste. It will patronize art as a desirable life atmosphere and a glamourous foil for its privileged position. Likewise creates the surfeit of a society to whom nothing is denied, a hunger for new sensations and experiments, and a half-amused condescension to the social outcasts who are free from its own cramping etiquette. Thus the very plutocrates became the patrons of an artistic revolution, so far as it could serve their own tastes and dreams. This last factor, however, influenced not the aesthetic self-expression

of art but rather its themes as far as they were not, like landscape and still-life, beyond the pale of social problems.

The period from the eighties, but still more from the "Naughty Nineties" of the last century up to the first World War may be duely regarded as the splendid, glowing sunset of European art proper, reaching the apogee of its aesthetic sensitiveness and technical perfection in the sculptures of Rodin or Bartholomé, or in the great impressionist painters, Monet, Degas, Sisley in France, Whistler, Lavery, Sickert in England, Liebermann, Corinth or Slevogt in Germany, Sargent in America, Prince Troubetzkoy in Russia, Anders Zorn in Sweden, etc. Indeed, the decomposition had already started in the splendid, but sophisticated and unhealthy art of Beardsley, Toulouse-Lautrec, etc. with their oversexed perversity and cult of the rake and prostitute. What had been foreboded in this last art, actually came as a gigantic social collapse over most of the old European upper-classes in the pandemonium of nightlife, jazz, morphium and cocain following on the last war. Since those years that first phase of modern art which might still have been styled European, French, English, German, etc. withered away, since those years modern world art came into its own.

The beginnings of this international modern art go in fact back as far as the middle of the last century. And without it also the just described glowing sunset of European art proper would never have been possible. But what was this new art, whence came its roots, what are its character features ? This modern art is a child of the great cultural revolution caused by that same gigantic expansion and intensification of the whole scale of our life which now labours, in blood and terror, in the birth throes of a new economic, social and political future of continental, if not world dimensions. It began as a new start inspired by a still half-conscious, often chaotic optimism. It was a conscious search for the fundamental principles of beauty, beyond the sphere of the then known traditions which had been exhausted to the last dreg. Its roots, therefore, were threefold: an art conception no more in the European perspective but based on all the newly discovered arts of mankind; an intensified analysis of the aesthetic principles inspired by the progress of mathematics, statics, dynamics and optics; the discovery of new technical mediums of expression, glass, concrete, metal foils, etc. as a result of modern science. Here we can only passim refer to the last two of these factors. They have, however, been of the greatest influence on the evolution of modern art. For without this diligent analysis of the fundamental theoretical issues, without this radical study of new mediums and techniques even the most careful occupation with the non-European arts might have resulted in a mere exotistic fashion, an ephemerous toying with strange sensations and aesthetic ecstases. And

in fact, suchlike sterile short-cuts have not been rare in modern art, as they must always occur in similar circumstances.

In order to set the immense expansion of the artistic outlook in the right perspective, I must venture on another historical disgression. When the bhakti spirit of the late Middle Ages and the progressing secularisation of the early Renaissance had made artists and connoisseurs impressionable to Chinese, then to Greco-Roman art, this attention had first been attracted by the greater imitative skill of those arts. And this concentration on the imitative aspect of art prevailed until the end of the 18th century, however much the special aesthetic and technical problems occupying successive generations might change. Only during a short phase of the high Renaissance a few great masters, Palladio, Lionardo, Dürer, Raffael had become conscious of purely aesthetic problems of harmony and proportion. Then in the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds and of the great Classicist art historian Winckelmann conceptions like dignity, purity of style, economy of expression turn up. But the rediscovery of Mediæval European, of ancient Egyptian and finally of Islamic art in the early 19th century had remained without influence on artistic conceptions. They had been dictated by sentiments of a different nature, by nationalism, religious mysticism, the admiration for a robust and simple barbarism, the secrets of primeval wisdom. The artists and critics of the early and middle 19th century, striving to learn again the forgotten lessons of the great European masters, were not yet ripe for the message of Asia.

But then a political event in the Far East started the great revolution of Western art. Between 1853 and 1863 Japan had been forcibly opened by the Americans and British, and soon the Japanese threw themselves headlong into the modernization programme of the Meiji Era. In their first veering over to Europeanization they threw over board many of the treasures of a highly refined art which through centuries and centuries had been collected in the temples and in the palaces of the Samurais and Daimyos. Masses of these "bizarre curiosities" were thrown on the art markets of Europe and America, first received with bewilderment, then astonishment, finally enthusiasm. First it was the decadent flavour of the Japanese colour prints, of an art of the low-class theatre and brothel, which appealed to the connoisseurs of a not less decadent and immoral Napoleonic France and to artists rebelling against a hypocritic social morality. But then the artistic revolutionaries discovered that there they had found the aesthetic message for which they had been searching. There they were, the new principles of art. A simplification of forms and atmosphere omitting everything inessential; a certain flatness restituting the picture as picture, i. e. an artistic creation on the flat surface of a paper, canvas or wall; a new harmony and rhythm

of lines and movements, daring compositions with unheard-of perspectives, decorative use of the natural beauties of materials never imagined before. But forty years had to elapse since the first proclamation of this gospel by Bracquemond, the Goncourt brothers and Zola in Paris and D. G. Rossetti and Whistler in London, until in the "Naughty Nineties" it had become the accepted fashion of the leisured plutocratic classes, and two more decades until it was completely assimilated into Western art. Yet one famous master after the other was tempted to experiment with the new possibilities. James Mac Neill Whistler, a Paris-trained Irish-American who became a fashionable portraitist and decorator in London and America, was one of the first to introduce the Japanese ideals, lock and barrel, into Western art. His "White Girls" (Symphonies in White), then his famous "Old Battersea Bridge", characteristically called "Nocturne in Blue and Gold" (fig. 5), first applied those Japanese principles of simplification, misty atmosphere and daring composition. It is now one of the treasures of the Tate Gallery, but in 1878 its novelty gave occasion to a libel process against Ruskin. His "Peacock Room" for Mr. Leyland in 1876 was the first grand-style experiment on the track of a Sotatsu, Korin, Koetsu and other Japanese decorators. About the same time Manet's "Olympia" aroused a similar conservative opposition in Paris. Here, too, the same principles were applied, the musical outline, the flat effect created by front-light, the simplified contrasts of light and colour. But the Japanese influence is no more so obtrusive, it is broken through the medium of the Spanish art of a Velazquez and Goya. Likewise in Degas's paintings of ballet dancers it is felt only in the bizarre composition and in the delicate sense of colour valeurs, in that of Van Gogh in the masculine outline whereas in the graphic work of Valloton, Mary Cassat, Beardsley and many others the model of the East remains much more obvious.

And yet the Japanese colour prints, ceramics, lacquer work, etc. had been hardly more than a faint echo of the great Chinese art. But China was a closed country, and first the looting of the Imperial Summer Palace near Peking in 1900 brought sufficient art treasures on the Western markets to open Western eyes to the greatness and the real spirit of Far Eastern art. Now the outlook of the artists and connoisseurs won over the art critics and historians, though only after a bitter struggle lasting almost up to 1930. Scholars began systematically to investigate the whole range of Asiatic art. The last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of this century saw the beginning of a systematic study in all fields, a revision of our views on Egyptian and Babylonian art, the first standard works on Islamic art, the aesthetic rediscovery of Indian art by Havell, the excavations in Eastern Turkistan, disclosing the old links between the East and West, the resuscitation of the old jungle towns of Further India and of the Borobudur in Java, in 1910-12 a renewed craze for Islamic

art following on the successes of the Russian Ballet in Paris and the Exhibition of Master pieces of Muhammadan Art in Munich, and the growing wave of treasures exported from a China torn by revolution and civil war. Between 1910 and 1930 a flood of publications and researches followed, now working with all the improved resources of modern illustration technique, in which not only the history but also the aesthetic interpretation of the Asiatic and other non-European arts was placed on solid foundations. And parallel, there went a renewed study of old European art from the Teutonic migration period to the Romanesque and Gothic styles leading to the discovery of innumerable historical links between the East and the West, especially by the Viennese school of Strzygowski, the Russians, Czechs and French. And from all this there evolved a new art theory, beyond the old classical traditions and applicable to all the arts of mankind, an art theory which restored design, pattern, rhythm, material, etc. to an equal right with naturalistic representation. At present the struggle between the old and the new outlook is not yet definitely closed, but nevertheless we may say that its issue is already decided.

However, it is obvious that such a revolution in the outlook of the art critics and art historians had to have its exact counterpart in a revolution of productive art, the more as it had been the artists who had first started the whole movement. And yet it has been advisable for us first to analyse its critical side. For here the evolution has been smoother than in the field of productive art. Little objection can be raised against the collecting and studying of foreign or old art objects, and aesthetic studies are so much an esoteric affair of specialists that the great public hardly knows of them. And yet even there the dispute had been bitter and obstinate. What then to expect of living art? For art is not merely the creation of individual artists working in solitude under the divine inspiration of beauty, but the product of a bitter struggle between a conservative public and the revolutionary artist—and all great masters have been revolutionaries—as well as between competing artists and cliques for acknowledgment and success. Add to this that most artists are not Olympian gods observing our cultural movements in the detached perspective of history but passionate devotees obsessed by some ideal, or cool craftsmen competing for orders and honours. Thus their own ideas and manifestos seldom reveal the real character of the dark urges moving them, but rather contribute to the general confusion of issues and problems. And it is rather in the growing perspective of time and of the general background of contemporary cultural trends that we can gauge the real role and importance of their work.

We shall, therefore, not dwell on all those many ephemerous currents and cross-currents, movements and counter-movements which have

formed the history of modern art but shall only point out the new inspirations working on it, the successive reactions and final results in the different fields of art. In a certain measure we could note this process already in painting where the revolution first began to work. The initial reaction has always been a rather erratic toying with the new Asiatic, Mediæval or primitive inspirations, generally in connection with some special task lending itself, because of its nature, to the purpose. The Byzantine style could be tried out in churches, Islamic art in synagogues, Chinese and Japanese designs in restaurants and theatres, Egyptian, Muslim, Indian and Far Eastern decorative motives in drawing rooms and fancy articles for ladies. But then we observe another metamorphosis, no more an eclectic imitation of designs, but a realization of fundamental principles and their cautious application. Though still hardly more than a tentative reinterpretation, simplification or modification of generally accepted types, in most cases adapting itself to a new technique and exploiting new material possibilities, they were first received by a storm of indignation from the public but soon accepted and acknowledged. Before the outbreak of the last World War this tentative reform movement had conquered all the fields of art, including architecture where we may mention names like Webb, Voisy, Mackintosh in England, Frank Lloyd Wright in America, Berlage in Holland, Poelart or Van de Velde in Belgium, Messel or Behrens in Germany, and in the industrial arts where first William Morris in England, then the French and Austrians broke new ground. In painting it meant a reaction against the subtilities of Impressionism, a new classicism inspired not by the Greeks, Romans or Renaissance Italians, but by the Chinese (Cézanne), Polynesians (Gauguin and Pechstein), or by pure geometry (Seurat) which soon developed into the expressionism of Van Gogh, Matisse, Munch, Roerich, etc.

If in this reform movement a strong note of social criticism had already been in evidence, the years after the last war helped it finally to break loose from the old traditions. The nerves so long kept down under the pressure of war, exploded in a wild hysteria, orgies of nightlife and revolutionary risings. Central and Eastern Europe were temporarily a chaos, Western Europe and the U. S. A. terribly shaken. Political and economic power was shattered, social prerogatives and standards overthrown, tradition ridiculed, everything novel welcomed, a new Messianic age expected. Thus art went adrift. A pandemonium of crazy experiments was unloosed, often valueless as creations of beauty, and yet not without value for the future, though in a quite different sense. And as the crisis never relaxed completely, as it dragged on into this second World War, these morbid movements have never died out, promoted by a shrill propaganda, welcomed by a sensation-hunting snobbism, hesitatingly acknowledged and—fortunately—quickly forgotten by a bewildered public and not less

aimless art criticism. Futurism, Dadaism, Cubism, Constructivism, Neo-Realism, Surrealism have succeeded each other, changing with the fashions and hysterias of the day. Wild experiments dissolving all the traditional forms of art into the most bizarre caricatures, houses into spirals and globes, sculptures into bent wires and metal sheets, pictures into shambles of broken limbs and fragments of geometrical refractions, resuscitating the magic demonisms of primitive tribes or bringing to the surface the sexual urges of the subconscious dream world of psycho-analysis.

And yet, the same chaos which let loose all these morbid eruptions, set also free a genuine new art, that art which we now accept as the modern world art. Here no wild experiments were made. The new inspirations received from the non-European world simply were developed to their aesthetic and practical consequences. They were, however, not evolved from the nation-bound prototypes of the East but from the broader principles of harmony, balance and rhythm, statics and dynamics, fitness to material and purpose, expression, learned from Eastern art with the help of the new art theory. They were not evolved into some strange, exotic toy things but in strictest harmony with the conditions of modern technique and industry and with the simple, but grand and quick life rhythm of the industrial age. A villa by Frank Lloyd Wright might still preserve the vestiges of Japanese inspiration, (fig. 2), or an American, Dutch or German building those of Babylonian, Central Asian Muslim, Mediæval Gothic brick construction (fig. 1). In the modern concrete building such as developed by Le Corbusier, Gropius, Oud, Luçat, etc. the model of ancient Egypt is hardly to be felt, it is a logical evolution out of the demands of material and of life. In many sculptures the impress of Egypt, Byzantium, India (fig. 3), China may be obvious, but finally there remains only the simplification of forms and the regard for the heavy compactness of the wood, of the stone. In the paintings of Whistler (fig. 5), Degas, Beardsley, etc. the admired Japanese, in those of Gauguin or Pechstein the Polynesian or Melanesian model is still frankly exposed. But in the works of Cézanne the Chinese prototype is hidden behind a new classicism of form and space construction. In those of Matisse (fig. 4) the rich decorative pattern of Persia or India disappears behind a simplified brush technique inspired by the Chinese. A picture of Marie Laurencin (fig. 6) with a few lines expresses the same musical charm, the same rasa as an early Rājput Rāgmālā miniature, without, however, any other contact than that of similar sentiments and means of expression. And many of our modern paintings have returned to a balance between simplified line, decorative pattern, rhythm and restrained suggestion of nature which almost reminds of the master style of Ajantā, Bāgh and Sigiriya. A Tiffany glass may still reveal its Chinese progenitor, but modern ceramics, completely inspired by the Far East and the Islamic countries, can as

little be said to be an imitation of the latter, as any other aspect of modern industrial art.

The triumphal march of this modern art is hardly twenty years old, and yet it has conquered the world with an amazing ease and speed. In the twenties it had still been as revolutionary as the new world outlook on art, in the beginning of the thirties it was acknowledged as a serious proposition, in the years preceding this war it has conquered the world. Thus it is still making its way through a flood of hybrid products, children of the preceding transition period and of the pseudo-academic vulgar "chocolate box" style. But this general infection of the world by that abominable "chocolate box" art had prepared the way for a young, fundamentally healthy art above nations and races, just by definitively destroying the remnants of the old traditions which have had their time. Thus it has spread over the world, it has been adopted by Europeans as well as Americans, Russians as well as Indios, Australians as well as Egyptians, North Africans or Turks.

Thus we see it now intruding everywhere also into Indian art. And this is good so. Old arts can never be revived. But arts can be reborn by the contact with a kindred art. It is through the contact with the great old civilizations of Asia that during the last century European art has found back, on a higher technical level, to its Mediæval communion with the rest of mankind. It has thus brought forth a new, different art, a modern world art. But this child is young, and it has nothing to show than its health and its honesty. We may, thus, expect another synthesis which will give an individual soul or individual souls to this art child. In India many great and deep human dreams are in the last decades trying to find expression. They still struggle with forms which, however wonderful they once have been, can no more be quite those of our time. In the last years, however, we can observe a progressing union between traditional Indian and modern world art. Shall we see a second synthesis from which another great, healthy and spiritual tradition will be born for all mankind ? For this terrible crisis of our time is the travails of a coming cultural union of mankind, even if the time may not yet be ripe for its political brotherhood.

(Public Lecture delivered in the Baroda State Museum on the 6th January 1944.)

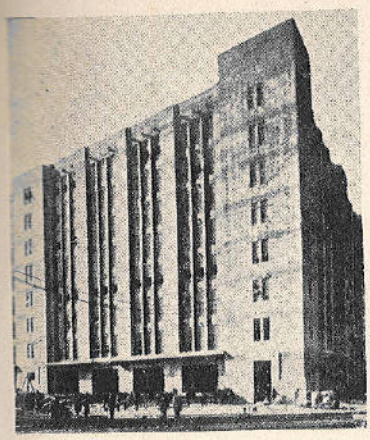


Fig. 1 : Babylonian inspiration : U.S. Army Equipment Office, Brooklyn, by Cass Gilbert, 1918.

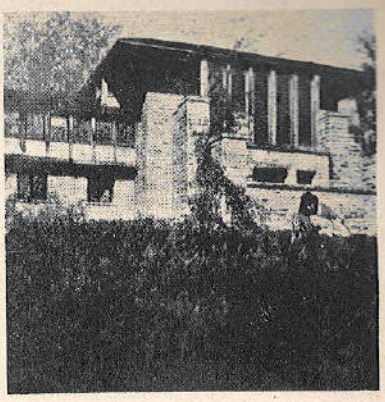


Fig. 2 : Japanese inspiration : Rural School in Wisconsin, U.S.A., by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1900.

Fig. 3 : Indian inspiration : Jackie, sculpture by Jacob Epstein.

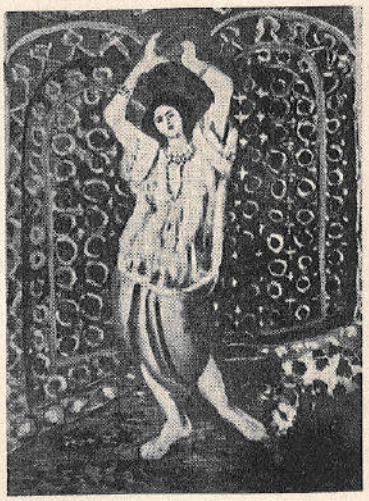


Fig. 4 : Turco-Persian inspiration : Dancer with Tambourine, by Henri Matisse.

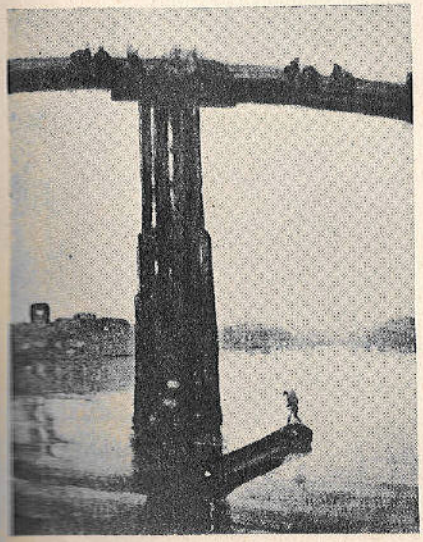


Fig. 5 : Japanese inspiration : Nocturne in Blue and Gold, by Jas. McNeill Whistler.

Fig. 6 : Mixed Rajput and Japanese inspiration : The Girl with the White Dog, by Marie Laurencin.

NĀLANDĀ SEALS IN THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM

by A. S. Gadre

The Baroda State Museum had purchased clay seals and plaques from a dealer in antiquities from Navsari. The provenance of the seals is entered as 'Bihar' in the Museum Registers. As such seals have been abundantly unearthed in the excavations at Nālandā in Bihar they can be described tentatively as Nālandā seals. It is proposed to decribe here eleven of these seals for the benefit of inquisitive visitors to the Museum, who by a reference to this small article can find out for themselves what the legends on these clay seals import. '*Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material*', Memoir No. 66 of the Archaeological Survey of India, had been of great help to me. A brief description of eleven important clay Seals of Offices is given below. The seals are all illustrated on the plate. On palaeographic grounds they can be assigned to about the 8th cent. of the Christian Era.

No. 1 (Museum No. Ac 2/162, 15) (fig. 1).

Upper portion has a seated figure of a goddess, flanked by a tree. There is no crescent to the right (though Dr. Sastri saw one in the seal he has described on p. 50 of the above Memoir). Below the goddess is a double line. In the lower half under a serpent or a zigzag line, there is the following legend in two lines:—

(1) *Gayā-vishayādhi—*

(2) *karaṇasya*

"Of the district court of Gayā" or "Of the Collector of the District of Gayā".

No. 2 (Museum No. Ac 2/162, 8) (fig. 2).

The seals of the great monastery of Nālandā have been found in large numbers in different parts of Nālandā. The upper field is occupied by the Sāranātha or *Dharmachakra* symbol, shown here above a double dotted line. The lower portion contains the legend reading:—

(1) *Śrī-Nālandā-mahā—*

(2) *vihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya.*

This legend is written in mediaeval Nāgari characters, with an ornamented design below.

No. 3 (Museum No. Ac 2/162, 2; 202, 20) (fig. 3).

Circular area in two-lined dented border. Above two horizontal lines a male figure with a protuberant belly sits on a lotus seat, has a heavy ear-ring; crescent to right and Sūrya to left; his right hand has a rosary and the left hand a narrow-necked spouted vessel or a *maṅgala-kalaśa*. The legend below the double horizontal line reads:—

(1) *Bhallāta-vāṭakāgrahare(śa)-*

(2) *Śrīmat-Traividyasya*

"Of the illustrious Traividya, the chief of the *agrahāra* of Bhallāta-vāṭaka".

No. 4 (Museum No Ac 2/162, 2; 202, ?) (fig. 4).

Upper portion—Gajalakshmī standing in centre with an elephant and a *maṅgalakalaśa* on either side. Lower field separated by a broad line has a legend in two lines reading:-

(1) *Nagarabhuktau Kumārāmātyādhi—*

(2) *karaṇasya.*

"Of the court of the heir-apparent's minister in the Province of Nagara (?)".

No. 5 (Museum No. Ac 2/202, 17 and 18) (fig 5).

This is a miscellaneous seal, circular in area within one border line. Above the horizontal line, a male is seated on a lotus, with heavy ear-rings and showing three faces. It might be Brahmā holding a rosary in the right and a *maṅgalakalaśa* in the left hand; below is the legend:—

(1) *Mrakshakalpake*

(2) *Traividya-Brāhmaṇa.*

No. 6 (Museum No. Ac 2/202, 23) (See fig. 6).

Circular seal with the upper field occupied by a seated figure with a halo. The right hand seems to hold a-(?) and the left hand holds a narrow-necked vessel. On the right there is a tree in blossoms and on the left a flower (*padma* ?). The lower portion is separated by a double line and contains the legend:—

(1) *Rājagṛiha-vishaye*

(2) *Pilipiṅkā-nayasya.*

"Of the sub-division of Pilipiṅkā in the district of Rājagṛiha".

For Pilipiṅkā, *vide. Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 318.

No. 7 (Museum No. Ac 2/162, 20) (fig. 7).

Circular seal with a raised border. Above the horizontal line a lotus seat on which Lakshmī in seated cross-legged, right hand on right knee and left hand raised to shoulder, to hold a lotus; she is flanked by curiously shaped animals (a horse and an elephant ?). The legend in the lower field reads:--

(1) *Ninha (?)vishay-ā*

(2) *dhikaraṇasya.*

"Of the district court of Ninha (or Ninna ?).

No. 8 (Museum No. Ac 2/162, 2) (fig. 8) (cf. No. 2 above).

Above a double line is the Sāranātha symbol and below is the following legend:—

(1) *S'rī-Nālandā-mahāvihāre chā-*

(2) *turddiśārya-bhikshu-saṅgha-*

(3) *sya.*

No. 9 (Museum No. Ac 2/202, 25) (fig. 9).

Above, a four-armed goddess seated on an animal facing tot he proper right side. The goddess holds a sword in the upper right hand and a *triśūla* in the right lower hand. A tree stands on each side of the goddess. Below the double line is the legend reading:—

(1) *Dvisūtrā-grāmasya*

"Of the village of Dvisūtrā."

No. 10 (Museum No. Ac 2/202, 2) (fig. 10).

Upper half shows a *liṅga* above a double line, flanked by a female worshipper on either side and a crescent on the top. The lower half presents the following legend in two lines:—

(1) *S'oṇāntarāla-vishaye*

(2) *adhikaraṇasya*

"Of the court of justice in the district of the Soṇadoab."

No. 11 (Museum No. Ac 2/202, 33) (fig. 11).

Above two horizontal lines across the middle of this impression there is a *stūpa* flanked by a tree on each side, the one on the right side looking like a palm. In the lower field there is a neatly written legend of one line which reads

'*Pādapāg-grāmasya*' "Of the village of Pādapāg". Pādapāg is identified with the village of Paḍpā, six miles to the south of Rājgir.

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TWENTY TWO BUDDHIST MINIATURES FROM BENGAL

(11TH CENTURY A. D.)

By

Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D.,

Rājyaratna, Jñānajyoti

Dr. Goetz very kindly sent me a set of twenty-two miniature paintings from the Baroda Museum for examination.

In some respects these miniatures are different from all similar miniatures known to the scholarly world, since they belong to the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā instead of the usual Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. At least eight illuminated MSS. of the latter are known, [1] but except the present one, Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā miniatures are altogether unknown. These miniatures belong to the 11th century A. D. on palaeographical evidence, since the writing of the MS. agrees completely with that of the MSS. Nos. 1688 and 1464 belonging to the Cambridge University Library, and assigned by Bendall to circa 1065 and 1025 A. D. respectively.[2] The *palatal S'* in these MSS. is so peculiar that on the strength of this particular form alone such palm-leaf MSS. of Bengal can be dated in the 11th century[3] .

The MS. is incomplete. In fact, only these twenty-two pages bearing twenty-two miniatures were acquired by the Baroda Museum. It is not possible for us to say where the remainder of the MS. went. Luckily for us, the last folio bearing the last colophon and post-colophon statements has come to the Museum, since by a mere chance this folio had a small but unimportant miniature on it; otherwise the valuable information derived from the last page would have been irretrievably lost. The last folio on the reverse side bears the page mark of 587, and shows that it was an extensive MS. containing the whole of the twenty-five thousand verses of the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. Let us hope the remainder of this MS. will find its way to some collection.

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1. For a list see *infra*.

2. *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* 1883, pp. 100, 175 and Table of Letters at the end.

3. For palaeographical peculiarities see *infra*.

The donor of the MS. according to the post-colophon statement is one Rāmadeva who is said to be a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna.[1] The writing of the MS. was completed in the eighth year of the prosperous reign of Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Paramavaiṣṇava Śrīmad Harivarma Deva in the month of Kārttika, on the twelfth day of the moon, on Wednesday in the constellation of Uttaraphālgunī.[2]

In the recently published *History of Bengal*, vol. I, published by the Dacca University, I could find neither the date of Harivarman nor a genealogical table of the Varman dynasty, except a mention that he ruled over Eastern Bengal with Vikramapura as his capital, and had a long reign extending over 46 years. He is identified with the Chief Hari mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandi, who allied himself first with Bhīma and then with Rāmapāla.[3]

H. Ray's *Dynastic History of North India*, Vol. I, p. 385, assigns the years of ca. 1084–1126 A. D. to the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla. As Harivarman had been a contemporary of Rāmapāla, he may quite conveniently be assigned the same date. Professor Ray also gives a genealogy of the Varman dynasty with six kings ending in Harivarman, reigning from ca. 1050 to 1150 A. D. It may, however, be noted that the writing of the MS. cannot be pushed beyond the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. King Harivarman had under him the powerful and famous Brahmin minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. If, as we assume here, Harivarman commenced his reign in ca. 1084 A. D. the date of the present manuscript should be tentatively fixed at 1092 A. D. as it was written in the eighth year of his reign.

As the MS. on which the miniatures appear, is the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, an account of the Prajñāpāramitā literature will here not be out of place. The Prajñāpāramitā, as is already well-known, is like the Bible of the Christians or the Vedas of the Hindus, the most holy scripture of the Mahāyāna (Northern) Buddhists of India, China, Tibet, Mongolia, Korea and Japan. The Prajñāpāramitā represents an extensive literature introducing the Bodhisattvayāna, in contradistinction

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1. The post colophon statement has:—
देयधर्मोऽयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनः परमोपासकरामदेवस्य यदत्र पुण्यन्तदभवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापितृपूर्वङ्गमं कृत्वा सकलसत्त्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानफलावाप्तय इति । fol. 587 obverse.

2. The text is as follows:—
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरमवैष्णव श्रीमद्धरिवर्मदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये अष्टमे सम्वत्सरे कार्त्तिके मासि कृष्णद्वादश्यान्तिथौ उत्तरफाल्गुनीनक्षत्रे बुधवारे निष्पन्ना । fol. 587 obverse.

3. op. cit. pp.2 01–2.

to the Hīnayānic Śrāvaka and Pratyeka-Yānas, although the new literature is almost entirely based on the model of the original teachings of the Buddha in the Hīnayāna.

The Prajñāpāramitā is known to us in many recensions both extensive and abridged, which demonstrate its great popularity and importance amongst the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The recension with one hundred thousand verses is known as the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; the one of twenty-five thousand is known as the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; the one containing eighteen thousand verses is called the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; the one with ten thousand is the Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and the one with eight thousand verses is called the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. Besides these extensive recensions, many abridged versions are also available in the Buddhist MSS., consisting of seven hundred verses and less. Still more abridged forms of the work are represented by the Prajñāpāramitā Dhāraṇī, Mūlamantra, Hṛdayamantra, and lastly, the Bījamantra when the whole book is reduced to one syllable 'PRAṂ'.

It is difficult to ascertain which of the three recensions came first, the Prajñāpāramitā of hundred thousand or eight thousand or twenty-five thousand, but the general consensus of opinion amongst Buddhist scholars seems to be that the Aṣṭasāhasrikā was composed first which is said to have been recited for the first time by the semi-mythological Maitreya.[1]

With regard to the date of the Prajñāpāramitā literature Dr. Nalinaksa Dutt has very ably shown that the Prajñāpāramitā began to come into existence since the first century B. C. The Chinese translation of the Daśasāhasrikā, we are told, was made by Lokarakṣa in about 148 A. D. The earliest Chinese translation of the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā, in its earlier version at least, was made by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A. D.[2]

The theme of all these works is the establishment of the new Śūnyatā philosophy, and the assertion that Truth can only be realised through the practice of the Prajñāpāramitā alone, leaving aside all the rest like Vīrya, Kṣānti, Dāna, Śīla pāramitās, and the like which had been recommended by the Buddha, in the original Hinayāna. The Prajñāpāramitā, therefore, lays down the foundation of Mahāyāna thought, literature, and way of life, and is considered to be the most important scripture for the Mahāyāna.[3]

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1. See N. Dutt: *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London 1930, Appendix: A Note on the Prajñāpāramitā, pp. 323 ff and the introduction to the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā London 1934, pp. v-xvii.

2. N. Dutt, ed: Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, introduction, p. v.

3. N. Dutt: *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* p. 329.

It will be worth while to refer here to a strange practice connected with the Prajñāpāramitā literature. In Tibet, the Buddhists insert a manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā inside the prayer wheel and seal the covers. This wheel is moved at leisure and frequently. It is believed that with every turn of the wheel the worshipper obtains the merit of reading the Prajñāpāramitā once, and thus he goes on with the *pārāyaṇa* in order to gather a harvest of merit by continually moving the wheel by day and by night ! Visitors to Bodh Nath Caitya in Nepal can even now see hundreds of such Prajñāpāramitā wheels round the corridor of the massive stūpa waiting to be touched and revolved by the devotee anxious to obtain merit

It may, however, be pointed out that the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, as it is handed down to us, is not in the original form in which it was written and translated into Chinese. It was later re-arranged by one Siṁhabhadra in accordance with the chapter headings of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Kārikā* of Maitreyanātha. This Siṁhabhadra was a contemporary of the Pāla King Dharmapāla (ca. 783-815 A. D.).[1] According to Lāmā Tārānāth he belonged to a royal family and became a monk. It is also said that he learnt the Madhyamika texts from Śāntirakṣita and the Prajñāpāramitā from Vairocanabhadra. If this Śāntirakṣita is the same as Śāntarakṣita, the author of the famous polemical work *Tattvasaṁgraha*, the date of Siṁhabhadra will have to be pushed back into the second quarter of the 8th century when Śāntarakṣita was a professor of Nālandā, before he went to Tibet and long before he founded the monastery of Samye in 749 A. D.[2]

Many illuminated manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitā are already known to the scholarly world. The following, is a list of such MSS. of Prajñāpāramitā including the present one.[3] :—

(1) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, dated in the 5th year of the reign of Mahīpālā, MS. No. ADD. 1464 in the University Library, Cambridge.

(2) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated in the 6th year of the reign of Mahīpāla, MS. No. 4713 in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(3) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated in the 39th year of the reign of Rāmapāla, formerly of the Vredenburg Collection and described in *Rūpaṁ*, 1920.

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1. This date is from H. Ray's *Dynastic History of North India*.

2. For an account of Siṁhabhadra see N. Dutt, ed: Pañcaviṁs'atisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, introduction, pp. viii-ix.

3. An elaborate list of palm leaf MSS. bearing miniatures also appears in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 548-549.

(4) Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated in the 8th year of the reign of Harivarman (ca. 1092 A. D.), MS. containing 22 folios with 22 miniatures, in the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. This is the only illuminated MS. of the work known.

(5) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated in the 19th year of the reign of Harivarman (ca. 1103 A. D.), in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

(6) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, undated MS. in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

(7) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated N. E. 191 (A. D. 1071), MS. No. A-15 in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated in the 15th year of the reign of Gopāla, MS. in the British Museum.

(9) Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated N. E. 268 (A. D. 1148), MS. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The above represents a fairly exhaustive list of Prajñāpāramitā MSS. which bear miniature pictures on them. But miniatures are not confined to these Prajñāpāramitā MSS. alone. There are other palm-leaf MSS. mostly belonging to the Pāla period of Bengal, with excellent miniatures, which may be considered to be the very best that Bengal ever produced. These MSS. belong mainly to the Pañcarakṣā group. The *Pañcarakṣā* MSS.[1] are to be found almost in every Buddhist household, and they serve manifold purposes. Like the *Saptaśatī* of the Hindus and the *Kalpasūtra* of the Jains, the Pañcarakṣā is considered to be a holy book of the greatest importance to the Buddhist householder particularly in Nepāl. In domestic difficulties of all sorts, disease, death, child-birth, loss of wealth, and so forth, as also on occasions of rejoicing the holy Pañcarakṣā is recited with great fervour.

Besides the Pañcarakṣā, the Varendra Research Society possesses illuminated MSS. of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and the *Bodhicaryyāvatāra*. These are both rare and valuable.

Except the two MSS. of Prajñāpāramitā showing dates in the Newārī Era (and therefore of Nepāl origin), all other MSS. previously cited form valuable material for the study of Mediæval Pāla art. In this period Buddhism was at its height in Bengal, and the art and sculpture Bengal then developed could hardly be surpassed at any later period. Continually encouraged by the long line of Pāla kings, Buddhism became the most

1. For a list of illuminated MSS. of Pañcarakṣā see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I. pp. 548-9.

popular religion in Bengal, and threatened to wipe out the orthodox Hindu faith. The reaction was brought about by the orthodox Sena kings of the Brahma-Kṣattriya caste, and from that time onwards Buddhism went down and down until all vestige of it disappeared from Bengal, and the whole Buddhist population merged into the Hindu society under various names of castes and sub-castes, mostly unknown in other parts of India. The Muslim administrators subsequently were so busily engaged in furthering their own interests and those of Islam, that both Buddhists and Hindus equally suffered from hardship, conversion and pollution.

The miniatures on the palm-leaf MSS. of Bengal are of the greatest importance for Indian iconography. There are many forms of deities or groups of deities of the Vajrayāna pantheon of whom no Dhyāna or Sādhana is known. But as many of these miniatures are labelled, we become acquainted with new deities and new forms of them. For instance, in the Sādhanamālā no Dhyāna is found of the Eighteen-armed Cundā although there was a temple of the Eighteen-armed Cundā at Paṭṭikerā (district Tipperah) as we learn from the label of one of the miniatures. [1] I remember to have seen an image of the Eighteen-armed Cundā in a temple in the obscure Bihār village of Kurkihār nearly 30 miles distant from Gayā[2]. Again, the Tāntric deity Mahāśrī Tārā is once represented in the miniatures; but only one image in the Indian Museum is known, and only one Sādhana is dedicated to her worship.[3] Miniatures, sculptures and Dhyānas thus mutually explain each other.

Passim it is interesting to note that there are at least three miniatures throwing light on the state of Buddhism in Lāṭadeśa or Gujarāt. These three miniatures illustrate the three deities in the three principal Buddhist temples in Gujarāt. The three labels[4] read as follows:—

1. Lāhṭadeśe Tārāpure Tārā
2. Lāhṭadeśe Kurukullāśikhare Kurukullā
3. Lāhṭadeśe Vuṁkarānagare Cundā.

It is thus obvious that in the Pāla period people in Bengal knew of the existence of at least three Buddhist temples in Gujarāt containing images

1. The label reads—पट्टिकेरे चुन्दावरभवने चुन्दा, Foucher: *Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 199.

2. One more Sculpture from Niyāmatpur, Rajshaki is illustrated to the *History of Bengal* (Dacca), Vol. I, Pl. XXVI, fig. 64. Here the name is strongly spelt as Chuṇḍā.

3. For the miniature, see *History of Bengal*, op. cit. Pl. LXXX, fig. 190; for the sculpture see *Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference* p. 257 f and plate; and for Sādhana, see *Sādhanamālā*, p. 244. It may be noted that this miniature gives eight companions instead of the usual four.

4. Foucher: *Iconographie Bouddhique*, pp. 198, 199, 200, Nos. 48, 53 and 62.

of three Buddhist deities, Tārā, Kurukullā and Cundā. As the artists could depict the deities and temples in their miniatures, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bengal Buddhists used to come on pilgrimage to Tārāpura, Kurukullā Śikhara and Vuṁkarā Nagara in Gujarāt. It is likewise certain that Buddhist Tāntrism had spread to Gujarāt, and that these three places were considered especially sacred. It will be difficult to identify the three places correctly, but we can venture to suggest that Tārāpura is the village of the same name near Cambay, and Kurukullā Śikhara is the same as the Tārāṅgā hill where a Tārā temple exists. The third Vuṁkarā Nagara cannot now be traced. All-powerful time has, however, obliterated all signs of Buddhism from Gujarāt, but the wide prevalence of Jainism may account for its disappearance.

The script of the present MS. is no less important for the study of the palaeography of the Pāla period. As most of the Prajñāpāramitā MSS. are dated, the common peculiarities of their letters permit us to date also undated MSS. with a fair amount of accuracy. This MS. which I place in approximately 1092 A. D., presents the following noteworthy peculiarities:

1. The initial vowel *Ā* is composed of a vertical line ending in a triangle filled in the middle. The lower end of the triangle is slightly to the right extended beyond the vertical. The curling semi-circular limb of *Ā* is joined at one place with the vertical towards the right, and at another with the *serif*.

2. The initial vowel *I* shows two separate circles and a slanting thin stroke below the first circle running from left to right. A slanting line drops from the *serif* in the middle of the two circles, and a short vertical line likewise drops over the second circle without touching it.

3. The initial vowel *E* is almost akin to the modern Bengali *E*, with that difference that the top of the vertical is slightly amplified so that it looks almost like a *serif* or short top line.

4. The consonant *KH*. At the lower end of the main vertical appears a triangle hollow within. From the *serif* or the top line descends a long curved line in the left enclosing the triangle and ending below in a hook.

5. The consonant *TH*. On the top appears a small knob and below it adjoining it, there is a larger knob attached to the left side of the vertical.

6. The consonant *DH*. Lower down on the left of the vertical there appears a knob, and at the top near the *serif* a slanting stroke, elevated at the outer end, and with the lower end touching the top of the knob.

7. The consonant *P* is akin to the Devanāgarī prototype with that difference that the left vertical is angular in the middle with the apex pointing towards the principal vertical.

8. The consonant *R* is similar to the present Bengali *R*, however without the dot under it. But the blank space inside the triangle is completely filled up with ink.

9. The consonant *S'* (palatal), altogether peculiar in this MS., is very rare in others of the same period. Towards the left upper portion of the vertical appears a triangular or circular knob hollow in the middle. Below the knob and touching it, is an angle, open towards the vertical.

10. The superscribed *R* (as in *rdha*) takes usually the form of a thin slanting line elevated at the outer end and descending down to the middle of the letter so superscribed.

All these peculiarities appear also in the script of the Pañcarakṣā MS. in the Cambridge University Library numbered ADD. 1688. This MS. is dated in the 14th year of Nayapāla and has been assigned by Bendall to circa 1065 A. D.[1] Another MS. with the same peculiarities is an Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā belonging to the same Library, ADD. 1464, the 5th year of Mahīpāla, and fixed by Bendall to A. D. 1020 [2].

The dates given by Bendall are approximate only, but the latest dates accepted for Mahīpāla and Nayapāla are somewhat different. According to the compiler of the *History of Bengal*, vol. I., the accession year of Mahipāla was 988 A. D. and thus the date of the MS. written in his reign would be 993 A. D.[3] King Nayapāla, on the other hand, was a contemporary of king Karṇa who ascended the throne in 1041 A. D. [4] Thus the MS. written in the 14th year of his reign would correspond to ca. 1055 A. D.

This discussion leads us to the conclusion that the script used in the present MS. had been current in Bengal from 993 A. D. up to 1092 A. D. if we have to depend solely on the evidence of these three manuscripts. We shall, however, come to more definite results when examining the other MSS. of Harivarman's reign.

After these preliminary remarks we may now proceed to describe the miniatures, along with their artistic and iconographic peculiarities.

1. Bendall: *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.* op. cit. p. 175.
2. Ibid, p. 100.
3. op. cit, p. 180.
4. Ibid, p. 180.

These twenty-two miniatures appear on one side of twenty-two sheets of seasoned North Indian palm-leaf measuring $22\frac{1}{2}''$ in length and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in breadth. On the obverse side (fig 1) the writing is distributed over three sections, with one inch of blank space between and at both ends. The arrangement on the reverse (fig. 2) is almost the same, with the difference that here the margins are decorated with *caitya* pictures, and the blank space between the written sections is covered with mostly geometrical designs in different colours, such as small squares, circles, oblongs, etc. similar to those used on carpets. The miniatures, in the centre are mostly square in size, measuring $2\frac{1}{10}''$ by $2\frac{1}{10}''$ on the average, although sometimes they cover the whole breadth from top to bottom.

These pictures represent Buddhist deities and other objects of worship such as the *caitya* and the holy lamp. As a rule, they have no connection with the subject of the Prajñāpāramitā, but were just added in order to enhance the sanctity of this great book.

The colours used in these miniatures are, as usual, orpiment-yellow, indigo-blue, Indian ink-black, cinnabar-red, and green mixed from orpiment and indigo. All these colours are used in varying shades to suit the subject-matter [1].

The composition in these miniatures follows the Sādhanā description, and the different importance of the figures is expressed by their varying size. The principal deity is always of the largest size, the companions being assigned various diminutive sizes. The deities generally show a halo round the head and an aura behind their bodies, in order that they may be distinguished from common human beings or inferior beings, such as the Nāgas, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas and the like. Usually a crude architectural design appears in the background to show that the deity belongs to a temple which is either terraced or surmounted by a *caitya* or both. When the principal deity is in the middle, the lesser divinities are divided equally on each side. But when the principal figure is on one side, the others are placed either in straight or semi-circular rows. Hardly any blank space is found in these miniatures, for it is usually filled with architectural designs, *caityas*, divinities, animals or ornamental motifs.

These miniatures appear to be the painted equivalents of the contemporary plastic art in Bengal. The subject matter is the same, the representation of Buddhist deities or *Maṇḍalas* in famous temples all over India and outside. The facial features, poses of hands, and attitudes of the different parts of the body, the ornaments, seats, companions, religious

1. On the characteristics of the Pāla miniatures, please refer to *History of Bengal*, of cit. Vol. I, pp. 548-556.

symbols, etc. are the same in both the plastic art as well as the miniatures, and it is not unlikely that the technique in both cases should be similar. Thus the miniatures are plastic in conception, but rarely linear.

Various opinions have been expressed regarding the quality of these paintings, some praising and others deprecating them. But to me these miniatures appear to represent the contemporary Bengali character in every possible way. In one word, they are soft, and of dreamy elegance, with soft lines, a soft colour scheme, a soft expression and a soft atmosphere all around. The lines appear to be highly strung and extremely sensitive, and very emotional indeed. They are capable of producing the same feeling of ethereal happiness as the lyrics of Rabindranath Tagore. The miniatures prove that the Bengali character has not changed much in the course ot these long centuries. To me these paintings appear really wonderful!

The miniatures can be classified iconographically into several groups: seven miniatures belong to Lokeśvara, four to Tārā, two to Mañjuśri, one to Jambhala, four to the Dhyāni Buddhas Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha, three to *caityas* and one to the holy lamp.

While describing the miniatures in detail, I thought it would in Gujarāt be appropriate to start with Jambhala the all-powerful money-god of the Buddhists.

No. E. G. 120. Jambhala[1] is here represented, in the central portion, as a handsome deity, of pleasant and content looks. He is yellow in complexion, and wears a garment of blue colour reaching to the legs. He is seated in Lalitāsana on a white lotus over which a green mat with red borders is spread. He is two-armed; the right hand, touching the right knee, carries the usual citron, and the left is engaged in squeezing over the right leg a mongoose, supposed to be a repository of valuable gems. Jambhala is thus topical of a modern finance minister (fig. 3).[2]

The two upper corners in the miniature are occupied by two female figures carrying the *chowrie* (fly-whisk). These attending figures are not required by the Sādhana but are added here in order to fill up the blank space at the corners. The painter seems to have had a horror vacui. The treatment of the ground in this picture is noteworthy. Below the seat of

1. For further particular see my *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 60, 73, 114, 119.

2. The Sādhana description may be noted here: He is described as–
जम्भलं ध्यायात् सुवर्णवर्णं लम्बोदरं सर्वालङ्कारधरं वामदक्षिणहस्ताभ्यां नकुलीबीजपूरकधरं रत्नसम्भवमुकुटं उत्पल-मालाधरम् ।

Sādhanamālā, p. 560; Sādhana No. 284.

Jambhala and under the feet of the *chowrie* bearers the ground is shown with a light blue patch full of small black hair-lines running from the top to the bottom in an irregular manner.

In the Buddhist pantheon, as is already well known, the Dhyāni Buddhas are of the utmost importance. They represent the five Skandhas or primordial principles, rūpa, vedanā, saṁjñā, saṁskāra and vijñāna, and are regarded as the five progenitors of the families of Buddhist deities. The Dhyāni Buddhas are known as Vairocana, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava and Akṣobhya to all of whom a special colour and a special mudrā is assigned. In the *caitya*, Vairocana occupies the central portion, Akṣobhya the eastern, Amoghasiddhi the northern, Amitābha the western and Ratnasambhava the southern portion.[1] Four miniatures out of our 22 are devoted to the three Dhyāni Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha, the first being assigned two.

* No. E. G. 112 represents Vairocana, in the centre, with four elephants holding lotuses in their trunks, two on each side. Vairocana sits on a light blue mat, and wears the full gown of the Buddhist order with both shoulders covered. He sits in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude, and holds his hands against the chest with fingers arranged in Dharmacakra mudrā. The colour of his body in this miniature is yellow, and he wears a crown of matted hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) rising in a peak on the centre of his head. The halo round the head is of green emerald colour. (fig. 4)

The two elephants at the far side hold two lotuses over his head with their raised trunks. The other two elephants in front hold them likewise over the shoulder of the Buddha.

The composition of this picture, with the deity in deep yellow, and four conch-white elephants delineated in the most life-like manner, presents a peculiar but very pleasing spectacle indeed.

E. G. 113 also represents the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana, singly, without the elephants, deep yellow and clad in the full red robe of a monk with both shoulders covered. He sits on a white lotus over which a blue mat is spread, and shows his distinctive mudrā. The halo is red behind the head while the aura is blue behind the body. At the junction of the shoulders and of the neck two small *caityas* are to be seen where the blue meets the red. The back-ground is white against a red field.

E. G. 114 represents Akṣobhya, light yellow, in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude, seated on a white lotus over which a blue mat is spread. His garment

1. For more details see *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 1 ff.

is the ordinary red monkish robe, with the right shoulder bare. The halo is likewise red, and the aura blue. His right hand, the palm turned inwards, touches the ground and shows the *Bhūṣparśa* (earth-touching) mudrā. Over his shoulders protrude two miniature *caityas*. The left hand rests on the lap and holds the bowl.

As the *Bhūṣparśa* mudrā is the characteristic of Akṣobhya, the Dhyāni Buddha of our miniature has to be identified with Akṣobḥya, although the colour here is a yellow instead of the usual blue. In our MS. miniatures, Vairocona is likewise assigned a yellow colour although usually we should expect to find white.

E. G. 115 represents the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha seated on a white lotus on which a blue mat is spread. He sits in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude, and his two hands are arranged in forming the Dhyāna mudrā on the lap with palms looking upward and carrying a bowl. He wears full monkish robes of red colour covering both the shoulders. His complexion is white, the halo is red and the aura blue, and above the shoulders where the two colours meet, there appear two miniature *caityas* one on each side.

As the Dhyāna Mudrā is his distinctive mudrā, this miniature must be interpreted as Amitābha although the colour of his body is shown white instead of the usual red. In this collection we are thus faced with a colour scheme which seems to be entirely different from that already known, and possibly forms part of the new tradition introduced by the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā school of the Prajñāpāramitā.

Next to the Dhyāni Buddhas in the order of importance there comes Avalokiteśvara, popularly called Lokeśvara[1]. He is the great compassionate Bodhisattva who refused to accept salvation, although fully entitled to it, until all creatures in the world would be released from suffering. Avalokiteśvara, the personification of Mahākaruṇā 'great compassion', was set up as the highest ideal in Mahāyāna, and this accounts for his great popularity not only amongst the Buddhists of India but also of countries beyond her borders, such as Tibet, China (Kuan-yin). Mongolia, Korea and Japan (Kwannon). He is represented under many forms, in Nepāl in at least 108 different variations and names. All these have been illustrated in my *Buddhist Iconography*.[2]

In the present collection seven miniatures are devoted to Lokeśvara. Three among them depict him singly, and the remaining four with companion deities such as Tārā and Hayagrīva. Two other companions, Sudhanakumāra and Bhṛkuṭī, are not depicted here, although all the

1. For his origin and iconography see my *Buddhist Iconography*, chapter III, pp. 32–51.
2. Op. cit. Appendix B, pp. 177 ff.

four constitute what is called the Lokeśvara *Maṇḍala*. Rakta-Lokeśvara has two companions, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi but our miniatures do not seem to represent him except perhaps in one instance.

E. G. 117 depicts Lokeśvara inside a *caitya*. The deity sits in Lalitāsana on a lotus seat covered with a red mat. He is white in complexion, wears a red loin cloth, and is two-armed. The right hand shows the Varada mudrā while the left in an artistic pose presses a lotus stalk against the chest whose flower protrudes over the shoulder. The deity is fully decorated with ornaments, a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and beautiful hairlocks over the shoulders. The halo is red, but the aura is yellow dotted with red.

E. G. 122 shows in the background a temple between two trees which, to conclude from the red flowers and elongated leaves in circular fields, seem to be Aśokas. Inside the temple there stands the solitary figure of Lokeśvara, white against a red background between two miniature *caityas*[1]. It wears all ornaments, a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, hairlocks on the shoulders and a yellow loin cloth. (Fig. 5.)

This figure is, unlike other forms of Lokeśvara, twelve-armed. The principal pair of hands, held against the chest, exhibits the Dharmacakra mudrā. The white lotus in one of his hands protrudes over the left shoulder. Symbols in other hands are very small and indistinct.

I have not come across any Dhyāna describing this particular form of the deity, which must be considered as iconographically important. More elaborate forms are current both in Nepāl and Tibet, and are usually designated as Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, but in these latter the number of heads is seven.

E. G. 124 is the third painting in this group which represents Lokeśvara singly. In the centre he stands under the roof of a common looking temple, against a red background. The deity is white, wears a yellow loin cloth, the head shows the jaṭāmukuṭa crown while hairlocks embellish the shoulders. The right hand reveals the Varada mudrā, while the left holds in an artistic pose a lotus stalk against the breast.

In all these cases the lotus is the main recognition symbol of Lokeśvara. Besides these, there are four other paintings which depict Lokeśvara with companions.

E. G. 116 represents, in the centre, Lokeśvara against a blue background flanked by two deities. He sits inside a temple,

1. These *caityas* are not necessary according to the Sādhana. The painter gives them simply because a vacant spot is disliked by him.

in Vajraparyaṅka attitude[1] on a white lotus over which a green mat is spread, and shows the right hand in the Varada mudrā whereas the left is placed on the lap over which a bowl is placed. Under his left arm-pit passes a lotus stalk whose flower reaches above the left shoulder.

Lokeśvara, conch white, wears a loin cloth of light yellow colour, and *jaṭāmukuṭa* crown. Halo and aura are both red, and a tiny *caitya* figure projects where they meet near the shoulder.

On the right there is the figure of a green goddess, seated in Lalitasana. She presses against her breast a red flower, probably the night lotus, whereas the left hand rests, in elegant pose, on the lap. The figure is evidently the green Tārā, a common companion of Lokeśvara.

On the left, however, sits in ardhaparyaṅka a red demon with a furious countenance and bloodshot eyes, frightful contortions of the muscles and bare fangs. The right hand is raised above the head in token of reverence, while the left rests against his chest, threatening with the raised index. The dishevelled hair rises above his head like so many flames of fire.[2]

From the description it is not at all difficult to recognise the figure as that of Hayagriva, one of the companion deities in the Lokeśvara Maṇḍala.

E. G. 118 is another specimen depicting, with slight differences, the same deity with the same companions. They are, however, shown here against a red back-ground.

The central deity, of white complexion, and with a red loin cloth and a transparent scarf on the upper part of the body, sits in Lalitāsana on a lotus with a green mat spread over it. Here, too, Lokeśvara is two-armed, the right hand in Varada mudrā placed on the right knee, while the left, with a lotus stalk, is raised against the chest. Lokeśvara wears graceful locks, princely costumes, all ornaments and a *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

To his right appears, in Vīrāsana, the small figure of Tārā, yellow with the right hand raised in token of reverence and the left held against the chest. Her dress made of very thin, almost transparent, muslin, shows both below and above a fine circular ormentation.

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1. For a full description of the different 'āsanas' and 'mudrās' see *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Glossary, p. p. 189–199.

2. Hayagrîva is described in *Sādhanamālā*, p. 40 as हयग्रीवो रक्तवर्णः खर्वलम्बोदरः ऊर्द्ध्व-ज्वलत्पिङ्गलकेशः भुजगयज्ञोपवीती कपिलतरश्मश्रुश्रेणपरिचितमुखमण्डलः रक्तवर्तुलत्रिनेत्रः भृकुटीकुटिलभ्रूकाः व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरः दण्डायुधः दक्षिणकरेण वन्दनाभिनयी।

To the left appears, likewise in Vīrāsana, the corpulent and ferocious figure of Hayagriva on a white lotus. His hair rises up like fire flames, he wears a tiger-skin, and of his two arms the right hand is raised in token of reverence, while the left rests against the chest.

E. G. 119 represents a *caitya*, in the background between two distant trees. These trees, in the shape of circles with leaves and red flowers inside, look like an attempt to represent Aśokas. Within the *caitya* Lokeśvara is depicted with two companions. He sits, in Lalitāsana, on a white lotus over which a blue mat with red borders is spread. White and handsome, two-armed, he wears locks down to the shoulders, a red loin cloth, all ornaments and the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The right hand in Varada mudrā rests on the right knee while the left lies on the left leg, holding a long-stalked lotus. (Fig. 6).

To his right appears the diminutive figure of Tārā, with a crown and braided hair, light green, holding a red flower in the left hand.

To the left of Lokeśvara again appears the same awe-inspiring corpulent and repulsive figure of Hayagrīva. The right hand raised in token of reverence, the left resting against his chest, Hayagrīva sits in the Ardhaparyaṅka or half sitting attitude, with one leg raised and the other squatting.

E. G. 125 is a miniature depicting two figures against a white background. The principal figure represents Lokeśvara, in deep red colour, while the companion is light yellow. Lokeśvara is standing, the right hand in Varada mudrā, the left with elegant movement against the breast. Through the fingers of the latter passes the stalk of a white lotus which reaches above his left shoulder. Unlike others this picture of the deity has a distorted face with protruding eyes and a moustache, expressing anger and ferocity. The locks of hair reach down to the shoulders, and he wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and ornaments. (Fig. 7).

On the left there appears a diminutive figure, very corpulent and altogether uncouth, with protruding tumours, thick legs, projecting belly and disproportionate limbs. He wears a yellow loin cloth, but no other under or upper garment. The right hand is raised in token of reverence, while the left is held against the chest.

This red Lokeśvara may be identified with Rakta-Lokeśvara, while the companion must be identified with the fierce god Hayagrīva. This form is uncommon.

Next in the order of importance in the Budhist pantheon comes the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī.[1] His worship as the god of wisdom is very popuar amongst the Buddhists of Nepal and Tibet. He usually carries the sword with which he destroys the darkness of ignorance, and the book of transcendental knowledge or the Prajñāpāramitā. Mañjuśrī thus becomes the male version of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, the female version being represented by the goddess Prajñāpāramitā herself. It is indeed very difficult to say which one is superior among the two, Mañjusrī and Lokeśvara, because both of them receive the same worship, the same reverence and the same devotion at the hands of the Northern Buddhists. Their symbolism, however, is different although interdependent. While Lokeśvara represents Karuṇā or compassion as the highest virtue in a Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī stands for knowledge and wisdom without which emancipation is impossible for a Bodhisattva. Mañjuśrī's favourite mudrā is the Dharmacakra or the wheel-of-the-law which the Buddha turned for the first time at Mṛgadāva at Benares. Thus the Dharmacakra practically is the recognition sign of Mañjuśrī images and paintings.

E. G. 121 represents Mañjuśrī alone, yellow and with eight arms, in a temple in front of two Vaṭa trees. Sitting on a white lotus over which a blue mat with red borders is spread, he wears a red loin cloth and many ornaments. Aura and halo are both white. Of his eight hands, the principal pair is kept in Dharmacakra mudrā before the breast. The uppermost pair shows the sword of wisdom raised horizontally behind the head in the right, and an indistinct object, probably the book of transcendental knowledge, in the left. The middle pair holds the Vajra in the right and the *Ghaṇṭā* in the left, the lowermost pair an arrow in the right and a bow in the left. (Fig.8).

The description answers to the Dhyāna of Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara in the *Sādhanamālā*, and we may take this identification as fairly correct.

E. G. 123 depicts another form of Mañjuśrī. Of the three figures, Mañjuśrī sits on a throne, on a cushion seat, with the legs placed on a footrest. The throne consists of a plank with four legs of which only two can be seen, and a rest for the back. (Fig. 9).

Manjuśrī, white, wears all ornaments, a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, hairlocks on the shoulders and a red loin cloth. He keeps his hands in Dharmacakra mudrā against the chest, and under the left arm passes the stalk of a lotus reaching to the shoulders.

To his left there stand two small figures, one light green, the other light yellow, and both clad only in red loin cloths. The green figure puts

1. For a full account of Mañjusrī see *Buddhist Iconography*, Chapter II, pp. 15–31.

the right hand on the breast while the left rests in elegant pose on the waist. The yellow figure, on the other hand, playfully touches the locks of his hair with the right hand, while the left is bent on the chest.

This miniature represents an iconographic tangle since in the Sādhanās there is not a single Dhyāna describing the scene. For the central deity shows only the Dharmacakra mudrā without any book or sword either in the hands, or on lotuses. Thus it cannot be identical with Mañjuvara, Mañjughoṣa or Vāgīśvara. Neither can the companions be identified. For the present we have to take it as an extraordinary form of Mañjuśrī.

Next to Mañjuśrī in importance is Tārā to whom four miniatures are devoted in the present collection. Tārā, the consort of Avalokiteśvara is generally regarded as an emanation of Amoghasiddhi. Her worship is most popular in Buddhist countries such as Nepal and Tibet as the Great Saviouress. She has a variety of forms, of which Syāmā Tārā or Khadiravaṇī is the chief one, widely represented.

Of our four miniatures two depict her singly and two others with her companion deities, Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā.

E. G. 128 depicts Syāmā Tārā inside a typical Bengali temple with a slanting flat roof surmounted by a *caitya*. The background appears to be a curtain of light blue colour with overhanging ornamental decorations. Within a white halo and red aura Tārā sits on a lotus over which a red mat is spread. Fully decked with ornaments, she wears a loin cloth of light blue colour with fine ornaments. Her upper and lower garments are made of very thin, almost transparent ornamented muslin. This costume creates a very soft effect and reveals considerable power of execution on the part of the unknown painter. (Fig. 10).

Tārā, green with deep red palms and soles, sits in the Vajraparyaṅka and in her right hand, in Varada mudrā near the knee, has a blue jewel (*ratnavarada*), while the left hand on the breast holds the stalk of an Utpala (night lotus) which is swinging above her left shoulder. Thus our miniature may be interpreted as Mahattarī Tārā. [1]

E. G. 126 is another representation of Tārā alone. She stands against a white background, in a pose akin to Tribhaṅga. Green, she wears all ornaments, a red loin cloth, and upper and lower garments of thin and almost transparent, richly ornamented muslin. Her right hand forms the Varada mudrā while the left smoothly touches the breast holding the stalk of

1. For a description of Mahattarī Tārā see *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 136.

an Utpala (night lotus). This picture of the "Standing Tārā" is not only a life-like representation of an aristocratic Bengali lady but gives also a graphic idea of contemporary dress. (Fig. 11).

Now we will describe the composite forms of Tārā represented in two miniatures of our collection.

E. G. 127 depicts Tārā inside a *caitya*. In the remote background the cupola of the *caitya* is flanked by two circles painted with leaves and flowers intended as Vaṭa trees.

Before a light blue screen Tārā, greenish yellow, with all her ornaments and in light blue costumes, sits in Vajraparyaṅka attitude on a lotus. Her right hand is in Varada mudrā, while the left holds before the chest the stalk of an Utpala (night lotus) reaching over her left shoulder (Fig. 12).

On the right of Tārā there sits on a lotus the miniature figure of a bright young girl of pleasing appearance, of yellow complexion and in yellow garments, in an attitude of princely ease. She bears a red flower and wears red flower ornaments.

On the left a corpulent, repulsive blue figure with blood-shot eyes, furious expression, and clad in a tiger-skin, sits on the ground in Ardha-paryaṅka attitude, her hair tied up in a knot over the head.

The whole description corresponds so well to the Sādhanā of Khadiravaṇī Tārā that the identification can hardly be doubted. The figure to the left is Ekajaṭā, and that to the right Aśokakāntā. [1]

E. G. 129 shows a temple surmounted by a *caitya* before a red background. Inside this temple, three figures are to be seen in front of a blue curtain:—

In the centre sits, in Lalitāsana pose on a yellow mat over a white lotus, Khadiravaṇī Tārā, light green (emerald), surrounded by a red halo and a white aura. Profusely decked with ornaments, she wears a red loin cloth under rich upper and lower garments of thin muslin. Her right

1. Sādhana No. 91 describes As'okakāntā and Ekajatā with the following words:—
(१) दक्षिणपार्श्वे अशोककान्तां पीतां नानारत्नमुकुटां वामदक्षिणहस्तयोरशोकपल्लवकुलिशधरां
(२) वामपार्श्वे एकजटां खर्वां कृष्णां व्याघ्राजिनधरां त्रिनेत्रां दंष्ट्राकरालवदनां ज्वलत्पिङ्गलोर्द्धकेशां कर्त्रिकपाल. धारिणीम् ।
Sādhana No. 90 describes the appearance of Tārā with the following words:—
तारां श्यामां द्विभुजां दक्षिणे वरदां वामे सनालेन्दीवरधरां सर्वाभरणभूषितां पद्मचन्द्रासने पर्यङ्कनिषण्णां चिन्तयेत् ।

hand, in Varada mudrā, is stamped with a yellow jewel (*ratnavarada*) while the left, pressed against the breast, holds the stalk of an Utpala (night lotus) swinging over the left shoulder (Fig. 13).

To her right sits Jāṅguli, of yellow complexion, with yellow garments. Her right hand is raised to the breast while the left holds a blue snake before her eyes. [1]

To the left of Tārā is Ekajaṭā, blue, with distorted countenance, and clad in a tiger-skin. Her dishevelled hair rises above her head in a knot like a flame. She carries in her right hand the Kartri red with blood, and in the left the Kapāla bowl pressed to the breast.

Iconographically this piece is very valuable because instead of the usual figure of Aśokakāntā, Khadiravaṇī here is accompanied by the snake goddess Jāṅgulī. Jāṅgulī as a companion of Tārā, however, is not unknown. [2]

The remaining four miniatures (Nos. E. G. 130,131,132 and 133) hardly call for any special remark, since these depict common objects of worship such as the *caitya*, and the holy lamp (No. E. G. 133). The first three represent an ordinary *caitya* but the fourth seems unique. I believe that it is a symbolic representation of the Prajñāpāramitā when it was restored from the nether world by the great Buddhist saint Nāgārjuna. This unique circumstance calls for a detailed description of the picture.

E. G. 131 depicts a *caitya* half-merged in water and flanked by two Nāga youths, one white on the right, and the other, yellow, on the left. The Nāgakumāras intently look at the palms of their hands brought near the face in token of reverence. (Fig. 14).

Both the Nāgakumāras wear a red loin cloth over the upper, human portion of their body whereas the lower one resembles a snake. Over their heads there appear the hoods of three snakes, each spread like an umbrella; they look most life-like and gruesome.

The *caitya* covers the full height of the central portion of the miniature, its upper portion being overshadowed by a spacious cupola-shaped umbrella. Four more suchlike umbrellas, two on each side, are seen floating in the air. These five umbrellas evidently represent the five *caityas* dedicated to the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

In this miniature colour is used in a very ingenious manner. The space is shown in red, while the water of the ocean is light blue. Parallel hair lines drawn lengthwise and crosswise, easily create an impression of violent ebullition of the waters.

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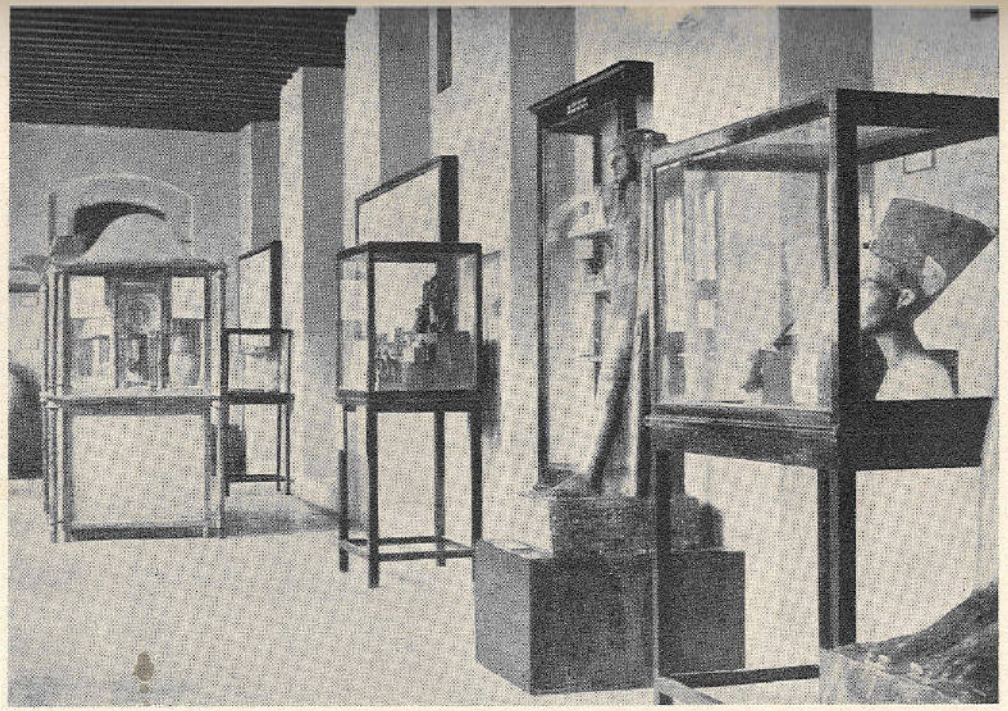
1. Jāṅgulī is described in Sādhana No. 91 as:
" आर्यजाङ्गुलीं श्यामां वामदक्षिणहस्तयोः कृष्णोरगचामरधारिणीम्
शु
2. Jāṅgulī is one of the four companions of Varada Tārā, see Sādhana No. 91 in the *Sādhanamālā* Vol. I, p. 177.

For an understanding of the symbolic meaning of the miniature, it is necessary to recall the story of the restoration of the Prajñāpāramitā. The Mahāyānists claim that the Prajñāpāramitā is not a late work but was revealed by the Lord Buddha himself. But as in his time people were not spiritually advanced enough to receive its teachings, he left the book in the charge of the Nāgas (snakes) in the nether world. It was the saint Nāgārjuna who went to the nether world and brought back the Prajñāpāramitā to the world of mortals, and from him the knowledge spread. In our miniature the Prajñāpāramitā is symbolically represented by the *caitya* in which it was encased for safety. This *caitya* is now brought to the light of the day through the waters of the ocean under the orders of the Nāgakumāras who had so far been in charge of the book and are now shown accompanying the *caitya* with its precious contents.

It now remains to be said that the colours in our miniatures are not used haphazardly or without a plan. Colours are used in the paintings under a definite mystic scheme, based on the psychic experiences of the sādhaka. The white colour, for instance, is the colour of Vairocana with the Dharmacakra mudrā and represents pure knowledge, divine inspiration and transcendental wisdom. The red colour is that of Amitābha and represents Dhyāna, meditation, contemplation and introspection in order to remove the dirt of attachment. The yellow colour is that of Ratnasambhava with the Varada mudrā and stands for serenity, divine bliss and happiness. The green colour is that of Amoghasiddhi with the Abhaya mudrā and stands for protection, divine favour, compassion and freedom from dangers of any kind. The blue colour of Akṣobhya with the earth-touching mudrā means the destruction of enemies like untruth, sin, attachment, etc., and the final triumph of truth.

With regard to the Utpala and the lotus it may be mentioned that the lotus actually means the day lotus with expanded petals which is carried by male divinities. The Utpala or the night lotus, on the other hand, has contracted petals and is carried by female divinities. In case of a doubtful identification this point alone suffices to decide the sex of the deity. Likewise may it be said that the bodice worn by the female deities covers only one shoulder and leaves the other bare, which very probably is intended to indicate the monkish dress for females prescribed by Buddhism. Another remarkable fact is that the facial form, expression and outlines, and the moustache generally shown at the ends of the upper lip, all point to a strong Mongol influence on the Bengali art of the 11th century A. D.

I hope that in this paper I have demonstrated the manner in which the miniatures should be studied from all possible angles so that they may throw as much light as possible on our cultural past in which we are taking a legitimate pride.



View of the New Egypto-Babylonian Gallery: r. Tell-el-Amarna art, m. Egyptian bronzes, etc., Assyrian reliefs, l. the mummy.

Fig. 1: E. G. 132 (obv.): Specimen page.

Fig. 2: E. G. 133 (rev.): Specimen page.

Fig. 3 : E. G. 120 : Jambhala.

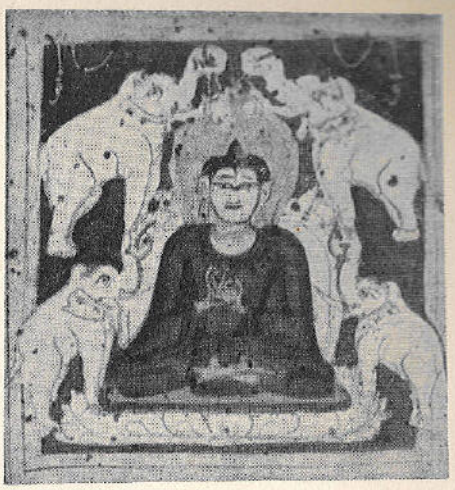


Fig. 4 : E. G. 112 : Vairocana with four elephants.

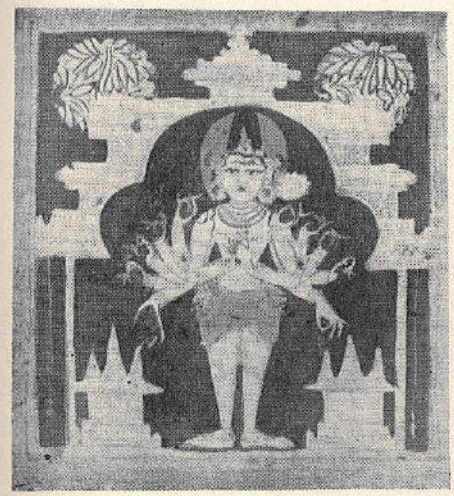


Fig. 5 : E. G. 122 : Twelve-armed Lokesvara.

Fig. 6 : E. G. 119 : Lokesvara with Tara and Hayagriva.

Fig. 7 : E. G. 125 : Rakta-Lokesvara with Hayagriva.

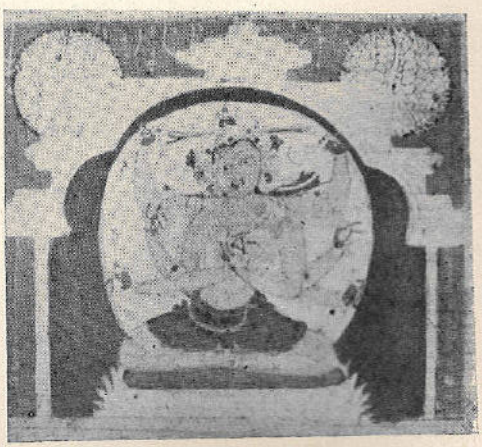


Fig. 8 : E. G. 121 : Dharmadhatu Vagisvara.

Fig. 9 : E. G. 123 : Manjusri with two companions.

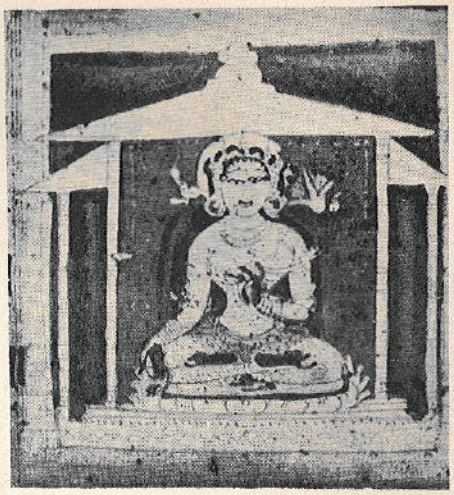


Fig. 10 : E. G. 128 : Mahattari Tara.

Fig. 11 : E. G. 126 : StandingTara.

Fig. 12 : E. G. 127 : Tara with Asokakanta and Ekajata.

Fig. 13 : E. G. 129 : Tara with Janguli and Ekajata.

Fig. 14 : E. G. 131 : Restoration of Prajna-paramita.

A UNIQUE EARLY DECCANĪ MINIATURE

by **H. Goetz**

The miniature here reproduced (1) was acquired by the Museum in 1940. It belongs to a small and very interesting group of paintings which represent the transitional stage between the purely Persian art flourishing in the Deccan under the Bahmanīs and their successor dynasties in the 14th to early 16th centuries, and the national Indian art there springing up towards the end of the 16th century. Within that group it is the sole so far known Rāgmālā illustration, linking that group up with the parallel patronage of Hindu music and dance under Ibrāhīm II 'Ādilshāh of Bījāpur (2)

The miniature was sold in a set of Rājput paintings, but can obviously not be a work of Rājput art. Although no other suchlike miniature is known, there are sufficient indications to determine its origin and date. For buildings of several storeys with a vast central hall like that in our miniature are not known in Northern India, at least in the time in which for other reasons the picture must be placed. The Great Audience Hall at Māndū ("Gadā Shāh's Shop") is the sole still existing example in Central India. In the now destroyed palaces of the Khaljīs and Tughlaqs they may likewise have been common, though all have disappeared. For these early Indo-Muslim palaces must have more or less followed the Persian fashion, and in Persia suchlike halls were an ordinary feature from the Parthians (Hatra) down to the Safavids (Isfahān) and Kajjārs. But in the Deccan the fashion survived until the early 19th century, and especially in Bījāpur quite a number dating from the 16th and early 17th centuries are still standing, viz. the Gagan, Athar, Ānand and Sangīt Mahals. Likewise form the heavily gilded pinnacles on our miniature another characteristic of Deccanī art, and the roof parapet with its overlapping thin arches is to be traced only in one other building, in the Solā Khamba Masjid of Bidar (3). Finally is the female figure purely Hindu, and both its style and dress show a close relationship to the dancers and musicians on the reliefs of the throne terrace at Vijayanagar.

(1) 10½ in. high, 7½ in. broad. The colour scheme is light violet (brick floor in front, lateral niches, window shutters), light green (domes, wall fillings of lateral galleries), carmine (back wall of great hall), ultramarine (bed and carpet), gold (pinnacles, borders, balustrades, dome ornamentation, vessels etc.). The lady's dress is gold with a transparent blue sārī.

(2) H. Goetz, The Fall of Vijayanagar and the Nationalization of Muslim art in the Dakhan, (J. Ind. Hist. XIX, p. 249 ff., 1940).

(3) Arch. Survey Report 1914–15, p. 132 ff.

Both this connection with the late art of Vijayanagar and with the Solā Khamba Masjid in Bīdar offer also the approximate date for our miniature. For the Solā Khamba Masjid is contemporary with the Gagan Mahal at Bijāpur, which was erected in the reign of 'Alī I 'Ādilshāh (A. D. 1557-1580). And Vijayanagar collapsed after the battle of Talikota, 1565, though the destruction of its gigantic capital was not completed before 1567. In these years about 1565–80 also the few other illustrated manuscripts of the same style were executed. Most famous amongst these is the "Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm" in the Chester Beatty Collection, London, which once was in the library of 'Ibrāhīm II 'Ādilshah but had actually been executed in A. D. 1570 under 'Alī I 'Ādilshāh (4). The other is the Tarif-i Husain Shāhi in the Bhārat Itihās Samshodhak Mandala in Poona, of the 3rd quarter of the 16th century (5). In all these manuscripts and miniatures we find the pure Hindu style of Vijayanagar, unassimilated, side by side with a not less pure Persian art tradition. We are, thus, in face of that most interesting phase of Deccanī art when the colonial Persian style of the earlier centuries became Indianized by the absorption and assimilation of the contemporary Hindu art of Vijayanagar after the battle of Talikota.

The cultural reaction which followed on the overthrow of the Tughlaq dynasty in the Deccan had found expression in a purely Persian art. For the art of the Tughlaqs had been a local variant of the old Saljuq-Turkish tradition of Persia, Turkistān and Asia Minor (6). Introduced by the Turkish conquerors at the end of the 12th century, it had been isolated from the rest of the Muslim world by the Mongol invasions and assumed a distinct Indo-Muslim character under the Mameluke and Khaljī sultāns. It was retained by the Tughlaqs as a symbol of the triumphant march of Muslim imperialism over India. But Muhammad Tughlaq had made it a symbol of tyranny and destruction, even to the Indian Muslims, and after his death a general reaction set in leading to a reversion of artistic ideals. Even Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq introduced certain novel features from the post-Mongolian art of Persia (7). In the Deccan, however, where Persian immigration and direct trade with Persia had always been strong, the reaction under a dynasty claiming an old Persian pedigree was much more vehement. And thus things remained until the 16th century. Deccanī architecture in the Bahmanī Empire and first also in its successor states was almost purely Persian.

(4) Arnold-Wilkinson, The Indian miniatures of the Chester Beatty Collection, London 1936; Rūpam no. 31; Artibus Asiae 1927, I, p. 9 ff.; H. Goetz, in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1935, p. 275 ff.

(5) Kramrisch, Survey of Painting in the Deccan, London 1937.

(6) E. Kühnel, in Springer, Kunstgeschichte, vol. VI; Survey of Persian Art and Archaeology.

(7) H. Goetz, Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic Setting, (Journal of the Bombay University VIII, pt. 4, 1940).

We know, however, nothing for certain of the pictorial art of this period. But many of the schools of late 14th and 15th century Persian painting have not yet been identified. The few vestiges of the local Persian style of painting to be traced in our picture, in the above mentioned manuscripts and in a few later examples (5) permit us to ascribe to the period here discussed a group of illuminated manuscripts with a geometrical, especially rectangular surface division which is much more pronounced than in Persian painting proper. For this system, so in contrast to the asymmetrical composition scheme of genuine Persian art, must be late Mediaeval Hindu as it is likewise found in early Gujarāti, Rājasthāni and Basōhli miniatures, in Deccani textile designs and the later Vijayanagar reliefs (8).

Then, after the fall of Vijayanagar, Hindu art suddenly finds its way into this Persian tradition. We know nothing of the circumstances of this change. But from all the descriptions we have of Vijayanagar before its fall, it is obvious that it was full of innumerable accomplished artisans and artists catering for the luxurious tastes of a splendid court and of a rich aristocracy, weavers and embroiderers, jewellers, cabinet makers, architects, etc. as well as singers, dancing girls and courtesans (9). What had become of all these people after the catastrophe? We know that the so unexpected end was protracted over months and months, and that people dispersed in all directions. It is not probable that all of them could find or even intended to find a place of refuge in the southern provinces of the tumbling empire which after the collapse of the central authority were in a hardly less chaotic state. Many may have been caught and brought as prisoners of war to the capitals of the victorious Muslim sultāns, many others may have voluntarily sought an asylum there. Though the old tension between Hindus and Muslims had never disappeared, it had lost much of its former acrimony. Already the later Bahmanis had employed Hindus and displayed a certain interest in their cultural achievements (10). Hindu women, even ladies of Vijayanagar, had married into the leading Muslim houses. The Rāyas of Vijayanagar, on the other hand, employed Muslim mercenaries (8) (9). Thus there were sufficient mutual contacts to permit people to join over into the service of the kings and grandees of Golconda, Bījāpur, Bidar and Ahmadnagar. And we may well assume that those latter were not at all averse to accepting these services. For had not many of those artisans or singers and dancing girls since long been Hindus? Why should they then refuse those famous refugees from the fallen capital of the Hindu South ?

(8) A. H. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Delhi 1933.
(9) Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, and the account of the Persian ambassador Abd-ar-Razzak (Hakluyt Society edition).
(10) Proceedings 2nd Indian History Congress, Allahabad, p. 286 ff.

It is no accident that dancing girls and painters are here mentioned in so intimate a company. Superstition, luxury and vice have always been the first breaches through which a foreign civilization forces its way into an established society, long before their higher achievements enter into a fruitful contact (11). This has been true not only in our own days, but in all times and countries and, therefore, also in the case of the invasion of Vijayanagar culture into the Muslim Deccan. The Hindu illustrations of the Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm depict Hindu goddesses introduced through the backdoor of astrology as the fairies (Rūhānīs) of the seven celestial spheres (4). Those of the Tarif-i Husain Shāhī use the marriage of Husain Nizām Shāh as a pretext for erotic scenes of the Nāyikā Bhēda type (5). The miniature in the Baroda State Museum finally is an illustration of Mālawī Rāgini, a motif of Hindu music. The astrologer, the dancing girl and the singer! And there our miniature links up with the story of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh's II infatuation for Hindu dancers and musicians, with those artistic revelries whose scene had been the Anand and Sangīt Mahals at Nauraspur (12), in the same manner as the fairies of the Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm, once in his library, throw an illuminating light on the tradition of the sultān's veneration for Sarasvatī.

In the next half century we can witness the progress of Hindu influence in all the luxury aspects of Deccanī Muslim civilization. All visitors had once been amazed by the extravagant display of gold and gilded bronze in the dress, the furniture and the palace buildings of the Vijayanagar kings and their nobles (5). Unfortunately we possess so far very few original examples of Deccanī industrial art of that period. But even the sparse miniatures of the reign of Ibrāhīm II and, to a less degree, of his next successors (13), reveal to us a similar fantastic craze for gold and gilded bronze ornaments, for broad gold borders on shawls, scarves, sāris, belts, for belts and girdles of massive golden links, for chains, ink and pen cases pending from the girdle, breast and other ornamental chains, bracelets and jewellery of every sort, for ladies' hair ornaments but also for glittering accoutrements for elephants and horses, for golden howdas, chairs, taburets, mountings and rings round bed, table and door jambs,

(11) The conquest of Rome by the luxuries of conquered Greec, Syria and Egypt is well known. For the 'Abbaside caliphate cp. A. Mez. The Renaissance of Islam, London 1937, for the Marāthas Sardesai, Main Currents of Marātha History, 1926, and Parasnis, Poona in Bygone Days, 1921. In the modern West the Negro jazz-player and singer, the Arab and Maori dancer, the Indian soothsayer, the Chinese magician and Japanese curio shop have fulfilled the same role. For the discussion of the problem cp. A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History, vol. V.

(12) H. Cousens, Bijapur and its Architectural Remains, Bombay 1916.

(13) Kramrisch, op cit.; Goetz, in Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1935, p. 275 f. Coomaraswamy in Artibus Asiae 1927, I; Gray, in Burlington Magazine, vol. 72, p. 74 ff.; Gangoly, in Rūpam, no. 4; N. C. Mehta, Studies in Indian Painting, 1926; Goetz, Geschichte der Indischen Miniature-Malerei. 1934.

for gold on the roofs, pinnacles, etc. Indian princes have always liked such a display of precious metals and stones, and the Grand Mughals have been famous the world over for this splendour. And yet the sparse evidence we have, leaves no doubt that in this respect the court of Ibrāhīm II must by far have outshone the Grand Mughals. And at Golconda, Bīdar and Ahmadnagar the craze must have been the same, though the actual wealth may have not permitted the same display. But the more important fact is that the forms of this display of jewellery are purely Hindu, the same as in Vijayanagar, so far as Muslim religious tradition or special Muslim customs did not enforce the preservation of the Persian style (14).

And the same is true of architecture (1) (7). In the Malika-Jahān Masjid at Bījāpur (1587) the new tendencies still seem rather tentative, but in the Ibrāhīm-kā Rauza (1626-33), originally intended for another queen of Ibrāhīm II, the Deccanī style proper is already in its full swing. Golconda seems to have taken it over under Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1611), first in the Bhagmatī Masjid, called after a Hindu mistress of that king, then in his own tomb. Three features distinguish these new style: First the extended employment of pure Hindu architectural parts. As a matter of fact this concession always remained modest in Deccanī art, and even in the period of strongest Hindu influence never reached the extent traceable in Gujarātī, Gaur and Akbarī-Mughal architecture. Then, the transposition of the metal ornament of Vijayanagar Hindu furniture and wood building into stone. This actually became the chief aspect of Hinduization in the Deccanī architecture of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Finally, a transition from the clear constructive spirit of Persian and Turkish art to an a-structural and rather sculptural vegetative sensuousness and to an unrestrained multiplication of forms, stringing them up, encasing them one in the other which, both, have been characteristics of Dravidian art since olden times. This last tendency, applied to originally pure Muslim forms, has become the mark of the last phase of Deccanī architecture. Under Aurangzēb and Muhammad Shāh it found its way into Mughal and Rājput art, and finally into that of the Sikhs and Marāthas.

We can here merely hint at the parallel invasion of Hindu language and music, the development of Urdu poetry and the reception of the Rāgmālā system of melodies and moods. Though known and used also in the North since the 14th and especially the 15th centuries, they were first fully acknowledged at the Muslim courts of the Deccan and thence conquered the Delhi of Mohammad Shāh. The first wave of Indianization of Indo-Muslim culture had started in 15th century Gujarāt, Rājputānā and

(14) It should be noted that muslim orthodoxy prohibits any such iike display of gold ,silver and jewels.

Bengal, but it had met a counterwave of Safavid–Persian art, literature and taste introduced by the Grand Mughals. It was the second wave of Hindu infiltration following on the collapse of Vijayanagar which finally swamped first the Deccan, then the North and created a uniform late Indian culture, on the very eve of British conquest and Westernization. And in our Baroda miniature we have one of the earliest and, in its relation to Hindu music, unique document of that absorption of South Indian civilizatian after the disaster of Talikota.

Malavi Ragini, Bijapur, ca. A.D. 1570.

THE BARODA PORTRAITS OF QUEEN CATHERINE OF BRAGANCA

by H. Goetz

1. The Princess who brought Bombay to the British Crown.

Like the names of so many other people who once had played a prominent role in human history also that of Catherine of Bragança has been submerged in oblivion by the almighty stream of time. Students of Indian history remember that she had been the princess who once had brought Bombay to the English crown. Specialist of 17th century European history know that her marriage with Charles II of England had been one of the major diplomatic events of that time, and that the fierce defamation campaign directed against her by Lord Shaftesbury and Titus Oates, accusing her of high treason and murder, had been one of the most interesting though also most unpleasant episodes of the struggle between parliament and crown which linked the Puritan Revolution of 1641–59 with the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688–90. The charming, simple and devoted woman behind these events, however, is almost forgotten.

The Baroda State Picture Gallery is very fortunate in possessing two portraits of Catherine of Bragança connected with the two turning points of her life, one painted in 1661 by an unknown Portuguese artist just before her wedding, the other a contemporary copy of a painting by Sir Peter Lely, of 1670, the year of the queen's last and irremediable miscarriage which was to make her the target of the anti-Catholic agitation of the parliamentary opposition. For in consequence of this misfortune the succession to the throne devolved on the Catholic Duke of York, the later James II. The Anglican, Presbyterian and Republican opposition had, therefore, to peg their hopes on a divorce of Catherine which alone could make the way free for another Protestant marriage of the king and for a succession in conformity with the political and religious ideals of the heirs of the Puritan revolution.

The transfer of Bombay had played a very subordinate role in all those events. Who in the reign of the mighty Aurangzeb could foretell that Bombay would become one of the chief strongholds of British power in the East? Who could foresee that it would remain the only good natural port for the ocean steamers of a later age, or that the protective passes of the ghats would no more be a serious obstacle to railways and motor cars ? True, the Portuguese viceroy Dom Antonio de Mello de Castro objected to the transfer of Bombay and obstructed the execution of the treaty from

1661 until the beginning of 1665. He saw that with such an excellent basis, driven like a wedge between the Portuguese possessions, the British would become much more formidable competitors than from their precarious factory at Surat. True, he succeeded in persuading the Lisbon government to attempt a revocation of the transfer, but this latter failed because of Charles's exorbitant demands. For in the last instance greater issues had been at stake in concluding that treaty, the very existence of Portugal, the stability of the British monarchy, the European balance of power.

2. *The Infanta of Portugal.*

Since 1580, two years after the disastrous battle of Alcaçer Kebir and the death of Dom Sebastian, the last king of the great house of Aviz, Portugal had been under Spanish rule. The loose union of crown and customs had slowly developed into a tyranny which sacrificed the manpower and wealth of the small country to the dreams of a proud and reactionary imperialism. In 1640, however, the decline of the Spanish power, attacked by the French, the Dutch and the British, and undermined by the Catalan and Neapolitan revolts, finally offered an opportunity to throw off the foreign yoke. But the caleidoscopic changes of the international diplomatic situation rendered this new-won freedom very precarious, and especially after the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 the prospects had become rather gloomy for Portugal. João IV, of the new house of Bragança, had died in 1656, but the government was in the iron hands of his widow Dona Luisa de Guzman, born Duchess of Medina-Sidonia, the real driving spirit behind the national rising and now regent for the boy king Affonzo VI. Spanish armies were again invading Portugal, but Richelieu's successor Mazarin could not offer open assistance after the recently concluded Franco-Spanish marriage alliance.

But he supported the similar negotiations which the Portuguese ambassador, Dom Francisco de Mello, had started immediately after the restoration of the Stuarts on the throne of England in 1660. Portugal, helpless at home, still possessed immense wealth in her colonial empire. And Dona Luisa offered not only Tangier in Marocco, Bombay in India, the hope for Galle in Ceylon, and splendid trade concessions in Brazil and India, but also two millions of Portuguese crowns in cash and further considerable sums as compensation for an English mercenary army. Nothing could be more welcome to Charles II. For the Puritan Revolution had left the English crown weak and impoverished, but burdened with a useless excessive army, derelict of the civil wars and of the dictatorship of the Lord Protector. Charles was in a quandary between the devil of a parliament which was willing to grant additional funds only on the

surrender of more and more sovereign rights and the deep sea of drastic economies and of the disbanding of troops which to-morrow might form the nucleus of another revolutionary army. What could be better than that treaty which enabled him to get rid of a useless army, and at the same time strengthened him with funds to ignore, at least for the time being, the claims of parliament. Thus in 1661 the treaty was concluded and sealed by the marriage of Catherine, Don João's and Dona Luisa's third child, with the young chivalrous king of England. Early in the year 1662 an English fleet landed at Lisbon 3000 mercenaries, former Ironsides and Cavalier soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Inchiquin, who soon helped to throw back the Spanish invaders in the battle of Ameixial and subsequent other victories. On the same fleet came Charles' special ambassador, the Earl of Sandwich, with the purpose to bring the new queen to England. After ten days of splendid festivals the fleet left again on the 23rd April. On the 14th May 1662 Catherine set her foot on English ground, to be wedded on the 21st of the same month at Hampton Court, first secretly in her bed-chamber by a Catholic priest, then in public by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Who was the new queen of England? Catherine had been born at Villa Viçosa in Alemtejo on the 25th November 1638, and was thus in her 24th year. She had inherited the simple, plain ways, the dutifulness and piety of her father, but nothing of the iron will and resourcefulness of her mother. Her father was already dead but her domineering mother governed the country for the boy king Affonso VI, surrounded by a ceremonious, pious and rather prudish court. Catherine knew no other foreign language except Spanish and no other literature than edifying religious books. Yet she was a charming person. She arrived in Portsmouth, "very shy, very solemn, very sick", "a short, but pretty, dark and black-eyed, lovely little woman." After the wedding night, her husband, a notorious connoisseur of women, described to the Duke of Clarendon his first impression of her. "Her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and not anything in her face that in the least can shock one. On the contrary, she has much agreeableness in her looks altogether as ever I saw, and if I have any skill in physiognomy which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born." In the freer English society she soon lost her shyness, joked with her husband, and Pepys describes her in his memoirs as "debonaire, with all the actions of a fond and pleasant lady that can be."

But this metamorphosis needed some time, and also some bitter disillusions and disappointments. For her education had been severe. She had arrived with a large retinue of "dirty, but pious monks" and of very prudish guardia infantas. "The Portuguese ladies which are come before

the Queen, are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. I find nothing in them that is pleasing, and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country" (Pepys).

In the first of the two Baroda portraits we see this young, shy and solemn infanta of Portugal. The history of the picture is no more known. But in all probability it is identical with the picture which was sent from Portugal in advance to Whitehall. Catherine is represented in the Portuguese, or rather Spanish, court dress; but a divine hand emerging from a cloud of light, behind a curtain, holds the crown of England over the future queen of England. She wears the same farthingale which to all of us has become familiar by Velazquez's wonderful portraits of the queen and daughters of Philip IV of Spain. But it is the sober black costume, the delicate but simple lace cuffs and lace collar, and the simple, lightly undulating, flowing hair which had become the fashion in the years of Spanish misfortunes–and Portuguese resurrection–, which we find in the last paintings of Velazquez and in those of his pupil Mazo, especially in the portraits of Doña Mariana d'Austria. The hands are delicate, the face simple and plain, a little too round, the eye-lids a little too emphasized—a feature obvious also in Catherine's later portraits—the teeth of the upper lip somewhat obtruding, but the physiognomy nevertheless dignified, and a hidden roguish smile playing round the eyes and mouth.

The same Spanish influence is evident also in the style of the picture. No wonder in a time when Portugal was just disengaging herself from sixty years of Spanish political and cultural domination in the very "Golden Age" of Iberian culture! Thus Catherine's portrait follows the approved scheme of Velazquez' infanta pictures, yet with certain qualifications. For the technique is not uniform and reveals the electicism of a good though provincial artist whose name is unfortunately lost to us. The draughtsmanship is clever, but somewhat oldfashioned, and the pretty execution of petty niceties has absorbed the attention of the artist more than the general effect of the picture and the liveliness of the portrait. The face remains rather conventional; the lacework and the embroideries of the handbag are elaborated with the minuteness of a Bronzino or Holbein. Yet in the lights on the heavey golden embroideries the artist experiments in Velazquean impressionism, the colour scheme follows rather the Sevillan than the Madrilene school, and the background is added in a vague, sweeping mannerism evidently copied from greater master pieces. In spite of all these weaknesses, however, the picture has its great charm, and will always remain important as a document of a little known phase of Portuguese art, and of a historical event which put its final seal on the hardly regained freedom of the Portuguese nation.

3. *The queen of England.*

A long series of bitter experiences awaited the young queen. Even the brief honeymoon ended in a discord. It was no easy task for a virtuous and pious woman to be queen of a court of rakes, sceptics and mondaines. England had gone through an incisive social revolution and through the constraint of Puritan rule, and had now burst out in a time of easygoing and merrymaking. Likewise had the Stuart court in its exile learnt the lax morality of the France of Louis XIII and XIV. The English laughed at the solemn grandezza and piety of the Portuguese in Catherine's retinue. The young queen discovered that her husband already had a maitresse en titre, Barbara Palmer Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and later Duchess of Cleveland, and an illegitimate son, the later Duke of Monmouth, not to speak of the smaller fry of actresses and other beauties of the day. The clash between Catherine and her new "lady-in-waiting" ended after many tears in defeat, the Portuguese following was sent home, and the queen had to accept as her own friends the mistresses of her husband. The Londoners had the curious spectacle of the king driving from Somerset House, in the good company of his queen, his beautiful mistress and his illegitimate son, in one and the same coach. The Villiers and other court beauties glittered in silk and jewels whereas the queen appeared simply, even rather severely dressed. But Catherine won her husband's heart back, and when the bad days of persecution and revolt were to come when the rakes and lights-of-love deserted the court, it was she who remained the only true and genuine love of an ageing chivalrous king.

And yet this hard-won matrimonial happiness was merely to be the source of new misfortunes. The queen remained barren, and when after visits to several bath resorts, she finally became pregnant, miscarriage followed on miscarriage. In 1670 a tame pet fox of the king jumped on Catherine's bed, and the last hope for a child went for ever. This meant more than a mere matrimonial disappointment. In the days of absolute or almost absolute royalty it was a great political affair, and in an England still trembling from the aftershocks of the Puritan Revolution it was almost tantamount to another civil war. For Charles II at least maintained the pretence of an Anglican and Presbyterian conformity. But the succession now devolved on his brother James, Duke of York, a stout Roman Catholic convert. This had to enrage the Republicans and Puritans who in the dark years 1665-67 had again begun to rally. The first sunshine of the Restoration had passed, the plague of 1665, the great fire of London and the disasters of the Anglo-Dutch War in 1666, the general misery following on both, all this had created an atmosphere of discontent, excitement and apprehension which slowly assumed a concrete shape in the old obsession of Tudor and Stuart England, the fear of a "Popish Plot". Parliament had

to find scapegoats for a war which had been lost, because it had been unwilling to provide the necessary funds, and from hints at treason to insinuations that plague and fire had been the work of conspirators, only another step was needed. As early as 1667 repeated suggestions were raised that Charles should divorce Catherine. Now, after the last fatal miscarriage in 1670, Buckingham brought before the House of Lords a regular divorce bill which, however, failed thanks to the firm stand of the king. From that time onwards war raged between Charles and his "faithful" Parliament, a war fought, it is true, without armies but with all the vile weapons of sham legality, obstruction, defamations, street terror, open and judicial murder, even well-planned attempts on the life of the king.

It is on the eve of these events that the second Baroda painting shows us Catherine of Bragança. This small picture is neither signed nor dated, not even finished. But it is evidently a copy after one of the pictures for Hampton Court by Sir Peter Lely (1618–80), the fashionable imitator and successor of the elegant Van Dyck. Little has, however, been left of the vividness, sensuous and languid elegance of Sir Peter's genuine works. There is rather a certain warm dignity as in the paintings of his pupil John Greenhill. And though the evidence is not quite sufficient, we may be justified in regarding this copy as an early effort of that young-deceased artist (died 1676). In all probability must the portrait have been executed in 1670. For Catherine seems to be in her early thirties, already with the resignation of a much-disappointed woman, but not yet with the outspoken personality of the "most severe princess of Europe" as the Countess d'Aulnoy described her in 1675. Likewise point the hairdress, with the masses of ringlets hanging over the ears and the isolated curls over the front and temples, as well as the costume with its wide neck-opening and wide sleeves to the last years before the great change of fashion in 1671. The costume offers even a more specified indication, for Catherine is evidently in mourning. And this can refer only to the mysterious death of Henriette d'Angleterre, Duchess of Orleans and sister-in-law of Louis XIV, on the 30th June 1670. No person had ever been dearer to Charles II than his sister "Minette", one of the most cultured women of her age, protectress of Corneille and Racine; and her death had meant a terrible blow to the king. Not long before, she had inspired the secret Treaty of Dover which freed Charles from the control of his Parliament, but also bound him to the cause of France. For Henriette, however, it had been above all a matter of religion, the propagation of Catholicism, and in this respect she must, no doubt, have found the full sympathy of Catherine, the lonely Catholic queen of an anti-Catholic England. She left as her agent the dark, soft and refined Louise de Queroalles who soon was to rise from Catherine's lady-in-waiting to the role of second maitresse-en-titre, Duchess of Portsmouth.

Now that Charles II had in fact been driven into the arms of the Catholic-absolutistic front, the old rupture with the Republican-Puritan opposition had become beyond hope of repair. When the invasion of Holland by Louis XIV in 1672-73 aroused another wave of anti-Catholic indignation, the opposition gained complete control over Parliament and found a dangerous leader in the unscrupulous Lord Shaftesbury, once Charles's own chancellor, but now pretender to the role of a second Lord-Protector. Since 1673, but especially since 1676 Charles had to fight for his very head against the Republicans and Puritans who dominated the country with their "No Popery" agitation. Catherine and the Duke of York were, of course, the first butts of their attack. 1673 Shaftesbury brought in again Buckingham's divorce bill of 1670. But the less the opposition achieved in face of the firm and circumspect defence of Charles, the more reckless became their methods, the more fantastic their allegations and accusations. Finally in 1678 Titus Oates came out with his revelations of a gigantic "Popish conspiracy" in which not only the Pope, the king of France and the General of the Jesuits, but also Catherine and the Duke of York were said to be involved. The king was to be poisoned by Wakeman, Catherine's physician, Ireland to rise in revolt, the population of London to be massacred by secretly armed Catholic partisans, the government to be seized and the Duke of York to be placed on the throne. Catherine was accused to have been in the secret and to have lent the extraterritoriality of her chapel in Somerset House to the meetings of the conspirators.

Though the criminal character and dubious antecedents of Titus Oates, and the evident contradictions in his statements should have warned Parliament, the opposition enthusiastically accepted at its face value this heaven-sent propaganda material and soon got more and more corroboration of similar credibility on the promise of high rewards and complete impunity. Two unfortunate incidents finally convinced even the sceptics, viz. the seizure of the correspondence between the private secretary of the Duke of York and the confessor of the king of France, a purely private but very indiscreet affair, and the mysterious assassination of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a popular magistrate who later on proved to have been the victim of the agitators themselves. The torture chambers were filled with innocents, the courts packed with partisan judges and terrorized by howling mobs, Parliament kept under the control of party guards.

It was in this darkest hour that Charles and Catherine definitively found themselves. Forsaken by almost all, but with the greatest personal courage the king defended his wife, himself cross-examining the witnesses. He refused the terms offered by Shaftesbury: "But for all I will not see an innocent woman abused". And Catherine, standing by him with a singular

devotion and simple piety, wrote to her brother Pedro : "I cannot cease telling you what I owe to his benevolence of which each day he gives better proof, either from generosity or from compassion, for the little happiness in which he sees I live". Her late portraits, full of the sadness of a harrassed woman, reveal also a warm, good-humoured kindness and love which had to win the hearts. And in fact, the flood of vile defamations broke before the personality of "the most severe princess of Europe". Unlike Marie Antoinette she was beyond reproach whereas the agitators discredited themselves by their undisguised terrorism and bland disregard of law and justice. Public opinion began to waver, the fear of a "Popish Plot" changed into the apprehension of a Puritan dictatorship. The acquittal of Wakeman on the 18th July 1679 finished also with the unspeakable calumnies against Catherine. Still the storm was not yet over. The Duke of Monmouth, Charles' illegitimate son, had risen as Protestant pretender, in 1680 the loyal Catholic Lord Stafford was executed on Tower Hill, in 1681 the Parliament of Oxford was terrorized by the party guards, and the assassination of the king on his return to Windsor was foiled by mere chance. But by and by the loyal forces rallied, the opposition dispersed, Shaftesbury had to flee, and by 1684 Charles II again ruled over a peaceful country.

However, this hard-won happiness was only the prelude to the last tragedy. Charles had grown old in this superhuman struggle. His health was shaken. In the night of the 1st February 1685 a stroke paralyzed him, and for days he hung helpless, but with heroic patience, between life and death. In his last night he became a convert to the religion of his wife and of his most loyal followers. Catherine wept at his bed until she fainted. "Alas ! Poor woman ! She asks my pardon ? I beg hers with all my heart". With the rising sun he lost conscience and on the 5th February 1685 at noon the last great Stuart was dead.

4. Regent of Portugal.

In her old days Catherine was again to see the country of her ancestors. The Duke of York had ascended the English throne as James II. But he had neither the generosity and tolerance nor the subtle statesmanship of Charles. In 1688 he had to flee to France before the "Glorious Revolution". Catherine's position became difficult. Though personally on good terms with William III and Mary, her position as the last living symbol of Stuart absolutism and Roman-Catholic sympathies was too exposed. She first retired from Somerset House to the quietness of Euston, and in 1692 finally decided to return to Portugal. In 1693 she arrived at Lisbon, and finally settled down at Bemposta, outside the city, where she had built a palace. Soon she was drawn into the political affairs of her

country, helped in the conclusion of the Methuen treaty of alliance with England 1703, and in the next year became regent, on the illness of her brother Pedro. But not long before him she died, in the last night of 1705, and was buried in the abbey church of Belem, at the side of Manoel the Great, Camões and other heroes of Portugal's past greatness.

She had been neither extraordinarily beautiful nor clever, nor cultured, and yet she had won the crown of life through devotion, charity and piety. What Queen Ahilya Bai had been in the last glow of Indian glory, Catherine of Braganca had been in the Portugal and England of her time. Even if her name were not connected with the rise of Bombay, her portraits may well deserve a place in an Indian museum.

The Portrait sent in advance of the Young Queen to Whitehall, 1661 A.D., by an Unknown Portuguese Artist.

Copy after a Portrait by Sir Peter Lely, probably by J. Greenhill, autumn 1670 A.D.

The New Egypto-Babylonian Gallery

As first instalment of the planned reorganization of the Baroda State Museum the Egypto-Babylonian Gallery has now been completed. War circumstances have for the time being enforced a cutting down of the originally more ambitious scheme. Instead in a new, modern building the section had to be arranged in the rather cramped southeastern gallery of the old museum, and shortage of material so far prevented both an adequate make-up and a sufficient illustration by photos. Nevertheless the new gallery can claim to be a rather representative and instructive collection of Ancient Eastern art and archaeology. Like other small collections of the same type in Europe and America, it is built up on a combined system of originals, plaster casts and photographs, thus offering a panoramic view of the great old civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, Iran and Arabia. Most of the original exhibits were acquired by the founder of the museum, late His Highness Sayaji Rao III, during his travels in Egypt and Europe; a few objects come from the private collections of former British residents and officers. The plaster casts were bought from the British Museum, the Louvre, Cairo and Berlin, mainly through the exertions of the late curator Dr. Cohn-Wiener and of Mr. Spielmann. All these exhibits, so far dispersed over several sections of the museum, have now been brought together in one cultural scheme.

The ancient Egyptian collection comprises a small set of prehistoric stone knives and arrow heads and two slate palettes, one with beautiful antilope designs (5th to 3rd millennium B. C.). The Old Empire is represented by casts of one of the famous diorite statues of king Chefren of the 4th Dynasty, of the statues of Meten, an officer of king Zoser (3rd Dynasty), of the squatting scribe Dersenez, of a lady and a corn-grinding slave girl, and finally of several mastaba reliefs; and by some delicately cut original alabaster vessels. Of the New Empire the following plaster casts are shown: The heads of the reformer-king Amenophis IV - Akhnaton and of his queen Nofretete, as well as a charming relief showing the king in the circle of his family under the benevolent rays of god Aton, and the standing statue of a son of Ramses II. And the following original exhibits: A tomb stone of the reign of Amenophis III with the figure of an official sacrificing to Osiris, and another of a clerk of the time of Ramses II, with his family; bronze idols of Osiris, Amon, Ptah and Horus; idols and amulets, scarabs, ushabtis and ointment pots of green-glazed fayence. To the Late Period belong a mummy in its coffin, plaster casts of bronze idols of Ptah, Osiris, Isis, Thot, Sekhmet, Thoeris, the magician Imhotep, the Apis, the mummy visited by its bird

soul and finally of a sitting cat. The decay of Egyptian religion and art can be studied in a relief from Thebes, of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos which shows Osiris as the holy bull, the Serapis of the Greeks, and Isis as the divine queen of Egypt. The late Roman and Christian centuries are represented by a set of textile fragments with interwoven ornamental medalions and borders, probably from Akhmunein, which reveal the transition both to Byzantine and to early Arabic (Tirāz) art.

The Assyro-Babylonian section possesses only five original exhibits: Three clay tablets (amulets?) with the figures of Ea, Ashshur and Gilgamesh, from the German excavations 1914–18; and two clay idols of the nude mother goddess Ishtar-Ninmah, from the French excavations in the old Elamite capital Susa. Sumerian art is seen in a plaster cast of a priest's head of the reign of the famous Gudea of Lagash. That of Babylonia in the relievo tablet (cast) representing king Nabu-apal-iddin worshipping the sun god Shamash and in the cuneiform tablets with the Babylonian version of the story of the Great Deluge. Assyrian art finally in the copies of two winged, human-headed bulls from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, at the southern entrance of the museum, the plaster casts of the portrait statue of the conqueror Assur-Nazir-Pal and of the Black Victory Obelisk of Shalmaneser II—an important corroboration of the Biblical accounts—and two reliefs (likewise plaster casts) of Assurbanipal-Sardanapal. Of other civilizations of ancient South Western Asia only two documents are in the Baroda collection. A not yet deciphered South Arabian inscription from the realm of the legendary queen of Saba and a big, chamfered jar of late Sasanian-Persian type discovered by the Public Works Department at Navsari which must stand in some, not yet elucidated connection with the immigration of the Parsis to that part of the Indian west coast.

The ancient cultures of South Western Asia and North East Africa have so far found little attention in India. But they are of great historical interest, not only because of their influence on later Mediterranean, Iranian and Arabic civilization. They reveal also important parallels with certain aspects of pre-Aryan Indian tradition, especially in the South. They have been, through Southern Iran, in contact with the Indus Civilization of Mohenjo-Daro, and in old trade connections with Sind and Gujarat. They have exercised an indirect influence on Maurya court art. Finally, they offer reliable historical data for the chronological fixation of the Aryan immigration into India.

All the possible has been done to make the Egypto-Babylonian Gallery interesting and instructive with the help of explanatory labels, charts and maps, both in English and Hindi. It is hoped that the section can be further developed as soon as peace will again permit a friendly intercourse and scientific exchange with other countries.

H. GOETZ.

Art Exhibition of the 15th Gujarati Literary Conference

Under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, the 15th Gujarati Literary Conference had a very successful session, due in a large measure to the whole-hearted collaboration of the Government and representatives of the public. The Art Exhibition of the Conference held on the ground floor of the Picture Gallery stands foremost among the various programmes organised by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad. It was the first occasion when a real effort was made to represent Gujarati art in its different aspects.

In response to an appeal for contributions made to the various literary bodies, art societies and private persons quite a comprehensive collection of exhibits could be brought together from all over Gujarat, whereas the voluntary services offered by a number of artists and workers helped to make the exhibition a remarkable success.

The exhibition was declared open by Her Highness Shrimant Shantadevi, Maharani Saheb of Baroda on the morning of the 25th December, 1943, before a distinguished gathering of state officials, delegates and visitors. Her Highness evinced keen interest in the various sections of the exhibition which mainly comprised of modern paintings and sculptures, posters, caricatures, photographic work, a selection of archæological photos, charts, estampages and stone images, old and modern books and manuscripts and various other industrial and decorative works of Gujarat.

Of the four big rooms in which the exhibition was arranged, two were entirely devoted to a display of paintings received from Bombay and Ahmedabad whereas the paintings from Baroda and the caricatures, posters, illustrations etc. occupied a not inconsiderable part of the other rooms. All this is a gratifying index of the growth of the renaissance movement amongst the Gujarati artists who seek in their pictures to revive the culture and tradition of old Gujarat.

The artists who have figured prominently in the art activities of this province and to whose credit stand a number of beautiful paintings and other works of art are Ravishankar Raval, Kanu Desai, Y. K. Shukla, S. D. Chavada, Somalal Shah, Rasiklal Parikh, Chhaganlal Jadhav and Vinayak Pandya. The whole movement is still in a transitional stage; yet these artists and others like them are working hard for a greater future of Indian painting. If there be any faults and mistakes in their works, they are due to an experimental approach. Their works are the result of sincere researches which will be in the long run to the benefit of art.

It is impossible here to attempt even a brief survey of the exhibits which all have been mentioned in a Gujarati catalogue specially prepared for the exhibition. However, amongst the more important exhibits put up on show were the famous illustrated manuscripts of mediæval Gujarat, the antiquities excavated near Amreli, the Jain wooden panels of Patan, old silver ornaments and musical instruments. The specimens of needle work, lace work and embroidery received from the Female Training College and the Maharani Chimnabai Udyogshala of Baroda were also interesting.

Another feature of the exhibition much appreciated by the public was the children's section which contained exhibits received from the primary schools of Navsari, Anand, Surat and Baroda. A number of specimens sent for show in this section by the Royal children and their companions of the Princes' School proved to be an extraordinary attraction.

The organisation of a separate children's section was found helpful in maintaining closer co-operation between the museum and the educational institutions. During the exhibition week, these institutions regularly sent their students in many batches to attend the show. Almost every afternoon the exhibition rooms were thronged by eager spectators until on the last three days a daily attendance of over 5,000 persons could be registered.

It is, however, regretted that inspite of the popular demand the exhibition could not be prolonged because many paintings were immediately required for the Bombay Art Society Exhibition.

V. L. DEVKAR,
Secretary.

Report on the Working of the Museum during the Half Year from the 1st August 1943 to the 31st January 1944

Personnel: Dr. H. Goetz, Ph. D., resumed his activities as Curator of the Museum and Picture Gallery on the 28th August 1943. Mr. V. L. Devkar, B. Sc., M. Sc., continues his work as Assistant Curator.

Reorganization: The long-planned reorganization of the collections is continued. But the scheme of a new museum building had to be postponed in consequence of the war. This fact sets certain limits to the present reorganization, especially with regard to the spaciousness and make-up of the rearrangement. With these qualification, only the picture gallery and the print room can be regarded as being more or less up to modern standards. A temporary hall of modern Indian sculpture had been added in 1940, the addition of a modern Indian picture gallery is in preparation. The development of the rest of the museum is envisaged on a uniform, coherent system. A historico-archæological survey of Indian civilization will become the centre of the art and cultural sections, surrounded by galleries showing the chief civilizations and arts of Asia, Europe and America, according to the time period system. Great importance will be laid on a strong interlinking with the national and also local traditions, both in the composition and in the interpretation of the collections.

The original arrangement of the Picture Gallery could be restored, as for the moment no urgent air-raid precautions seem necessary. Measures have, however, been taken that in case of a recurring danger the old precautions can immediately be put in force again. A view of "Kanchanjunga at Sunset" by Nicolas Roerich and a "H. M. I. S. Bengal" by Reginald H. Wilson were hanged in the place of some damaged pictures. The Economic Court which had been destroyed in the inundation of 1942, will not be restored, but will be built up in the Shri Pratap Sinh College of Commerce and Economics where it will be better protected and of greater educational use. The lecture theatre which had likewise been considerably damaged, has been thoroughly repaired and provided with a new screen.

The gallery of ancient Indian pictures which had to be removed for the exhibition of the 15th Gujarati Literary Conference, was cleared from low-quality pieces, and temporarily rearranged in two of its former rooms until its envisaged new place will become free. In the same rooms also the modern Indian paintings are temporarily exhibited. Of the new cultural sections the Egypto-Babylonian Gallery has, for technical reasons, first become completed. [See also the special report.] In the Natural History

Sections the non-local birds have been rearranged by Mr. N. B. Joglekar, under the supervision of Mr. V. L. Devkar, according to the system followed at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, though on a much more modest scale. Many of the birds, however, need replacement as soon as an opportunity can be found.

Repairs, Cleaning and Labelling: Ten paintings of the modern Gujarati school and by the Hungarian artists Mrs. Sass Brunner and Miss Elisabeth Brunner were framed, that by R. H. Wilson placed under glass. All the oil paintings were submitted to the usual cleaning. The European marble statues and one modern Indian statue were thoroughly cleaned and repaired by Mr. A. D. Salat who likewise repaired several plastercasts in the Egypto-Babylonian Galleries, the copy of Kanishka's reliquiary from Shāhjī-ki-Dherī, several plastercasts of palæontological sculls and a fine Mediæval statue of an Apsaras which had been seriously damaged by some visitors. A number of other Indian sculptures were cleaned and a pre-Islamic inscription from South Arabia mounted. The Indian textiles were inspected and some bad pieces removed.

The Egypto-Babylonian Gallery was thoroughly labelled both in English and Hindi, and provided with explanatory charts and maps. Likewise were the Greco-Roman exhibits and some modern statues, as well as part of the Indian sculptures and paintings provided with temporary labels. For the modern Indian paintings good labels have been prepared. Amongst the Indian sculptures a fine piece of Gupta art from the neighbourhood of Navsari and a small Kshstrapa lion from Baroda (Indumati Mahal) were identified.

ACQUISITIONS AND TRANSFERS OF EXHIBITS:—

(*1*) *Acquisitions*:

Two Gandhāra Stucco Heads, of the Hadda Type.

Bronze Idol of Pārśvanātha, similar to those found at Mahudī, 5-7th Cent.

Brass Idol of Ambikā, dated 1350 A. D.

Brass Idol of Sambhavanātha, dated A. D. 1650, Ahmedabad.

Brass Idol of Śāntinātha, dated A. D. 1141 (??, or 18th Century ?).

Bronze figurine of Vithoba, in the turban of the Peshwā Period, Poona (?), 18th Century.

Embroidered Chambā Rumāl, with Ganesh, Krishna, Priests, Damsels, etc., ca. 1820 A. D. (half).

Portrait of His Highness Mahārājā Shrī Pratāp Sinh, by G. D. Deuskar.

After the Rain, (water colour), by Chhaganlal Jadhav.
Free Hours in the Village, (water colour), by Miss Vanlila.
Line Drawing of a Woman, by Vishnu Kumar Bhatt.
Adolescence, (etching), by Y. K. Shukla.
Kathā Kalī, (etching) by Y. K. Shukla.
} From the exhibition of the 15th Gujarati Literary Conference, Baroda.

Reflection, (water colour), by H. S. Bendre.
Spare Moments, (water colour), by B. R. Bapat.
} From the exhibition of the Bombay Art Society.

Little Hellenistic Bronze Jug with satyr and "Astarte" (Dove Goddess) heads, perhaps from Ptolemaic Cyprus.

Avalokiteśvara, from a Saka group. Bronze figure (gilded). China (Sui Period, 6th Cent.) or Japan, (Hākuhō Period, 7th–8th Cent.)?

Green and violet brocade with Taoist gods and genii, China, 18th Century.

Attention, (oil study), by Edla Alma-Saxlund, a Norwegian painter.

2. *Transfers*:

A view of the Baroda College, by Mrs. Brunner, was transferred to the College.

ACQUISITION OF BOOKS, ETC. : See Appendix.

SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS, LECTURES, ETC.:—

Two special exhibitions were held:—(1) *Italy, Greatness and Decline of a Nation* (18th November–17th December 1943),

(2) *Exhibition of the Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad* on the occasion of the 15th Gujarātı Literary Conference (25th–31st December 1943). [See special report].

Four public lectures were delivered, three by *O. C. Gangoly*, Bagiswari Professor of Indian Art at the Calcutta University:

(1) *Gothic Art* (21st December 1943), (2) *Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes* (22nd December 1943), (3) *Persian Paintings and Book Illustrations* (23rd December 1943),
and one by the Curator: *Modern Art in the World Crisis* (6th January 1944).

Publications and Research: The present first issue of the *Museum Bulletin* was prepared. The Curator also published two other papers: *The Geopolitical Background of Italy : The Fascist Dream and the Historical Realities*, Military Studies 19, p. 15–28; *Ethnology as a Supplementary Science to Indian Historical Research.* Transactions of the 5th Indian History Congress, Hyderabad 1941, pp. 341–345, 1943, and studied the archæological monuments in Baroda City and the step well of Shevashi.

Other Publicity: A propaganda frame with photos of masterpieces in the Museum and Picture Gallery was put up in the lounge of the State Hotel and Guest House.

Prominent Visitors: Amongst the people who have visited the museum, the following deserve mention: Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir Radhakrishnan, Sir Asok Roy, the Yūvarāj, Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Sastri, Dr. Munshi, several Guests of the Resident, the Czechoslovakian Consul, Australian journalists, the Members of the Agricultural Conference, the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Indian State Ministers Conference, the 15th Gujarati Literary Conference.

Other Items: The Museum was affiliated to the Museums Association, London.

Dr. H. GOETZ, Ph. D.,
Curator.

Appendix

Acquisition of Books and Periodicals :—

G. V. Acharya, A Guide to the Buddhistic Section, Prince of Wales Musem.
Salim Ali, The Book of Indian Birds, 1943.
Arthur G. Arberry, British Contributions to Persian Studies, 1942.
Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, Vol. IV, 1935–1936; Vol. V, nos. 1–3, 1937-1938.
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi, Nos. 65–69.
J. N. Banerjee, Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1941.
C. Barnett, A Master of the Mountains (Nicholas Roerich).
M. N. Basu, Museum Method and the Process of Cleaning and Preservation, Calcutta 1943.
Illustrated Catalogue of the 50th Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Art Society, 1941.
S. N. Chakravarti, Handbook to the Indian Pre-Historic Antiquities, Prince of Wales Museum.
S. C. Chatterjee, Magadha Architecture and Culture, Calcutta 1942.
M. S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat, 1938.

A. K. Coomaraswamy, Why Exhibit Works of Art, 1942.
A. Delduque da Costa, Os Portugueses e os Reis da India (The Portuguese and the Kings of India).
A. Daniélou, Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales, 1943.
Kanu Desai, Mangalashtaka (Pictures), 1943.
———, Ranga Chitra (Water Colours).
———, Ranga Lahari, 1942.
———, Langotsava (Eight Pictures etc. : Festivals before Marriage), 1942.
———, Pictures I & II, 1942.
———, Festival of Life, 1943.
———, Nritya Rekha.
———, Mahatma Gandhi.
S. N. Dhar, Indore State and its Vicinity, Indore 1936.
Durban Museum and Art Gallery: Annual Reports 1940-1 and 1942-3.
J. Epstein, Let There Be Sculpture, 1942.
A. S. Gadre, Important Inscriptions from Baroda State, Vol. I & II, 1943–4.
M. B. Garde, Handbook of Gwalior, 1936.
Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, from 1923–24 to 1939–40.
R. G. Gyani, Guide to the Gallery of Miscellaneous Antiquities, Prince of Wales Museum.
Guide to Hyderabad State, 1936.
Indian Art and Letters, Vols. XVI & XVII.
Indian Culture, Vol. VIII.
Transactions of the Indian History Congress, 5th Session, Hyderabad 1941, (1943).
Memoirs of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Parts 3–4, 1941.
Records of the Indian Museum, June, Sept., Dec. 1941; March, Aug. Nov. 1942.
Annual Report of the Museum and Nara Ratna Mandir, Indore, for 1941.
Sh. Muh. Ismail, Catalogue of Arabic and Persion Inscriptions in the Epigraphical Gallery, Prince of Wales Museum.
H. A. Kennedy, Local Museums, 1944.
Kumar Karyalaya, Kala Darshana.
———, Chitra Sadhana, 1941.
———, Gujrat Kala Kalpa, 1939.
———, Ajanta-ka Kalamandap, 1937.
Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, vol. I, 1943.
Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, vol. IV & V, 1942.
Guide to Mysore State, Mysore 1935.
Records of the Nagpur Museum, Nos. II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII & X.
Descriptive Notes on the Inscriptions deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, 1941.
S. Nawab, Jaina Chitra Kalpalata, 1940.

H. G. Plenderleith, The Conservation of Prints, Drawings and Manuscripts 1937.
A. U. Pope, Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets, Chicago 1926.
S. H. Prater, The Snakes of Bombay Island and Salsette, Prince of Wales Museum.
A Guide to the Art Section, Prince of Wales Museum.
Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Pictures and Modern Indian Pictures, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.
The State Museum Pudukkottai, 1943.
Annual Reports of the Rajkot Museum for 1940–41, 1941–42.
Ramchandra Rao, Choudhury and His Art, 1943.
R. Raval, Ajvali Rat, 1936.
P. T. Reddy, Drawing, Painting and Sculpture, 1941.
Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy for 1937 and 1938.
Subject Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1897–1936.
Annual Report of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay, for 1942–43.
Vishva-Bharati (Abanindra Number), 1942.
Report of the Zoological Survey of India for the years 1937–1941.

The following periodicals are being kept:
Apollo, Britain To-day, Burlington Magazine, Indian Information, New Indian Antiquary, Museum Journal, Science News, Studio.