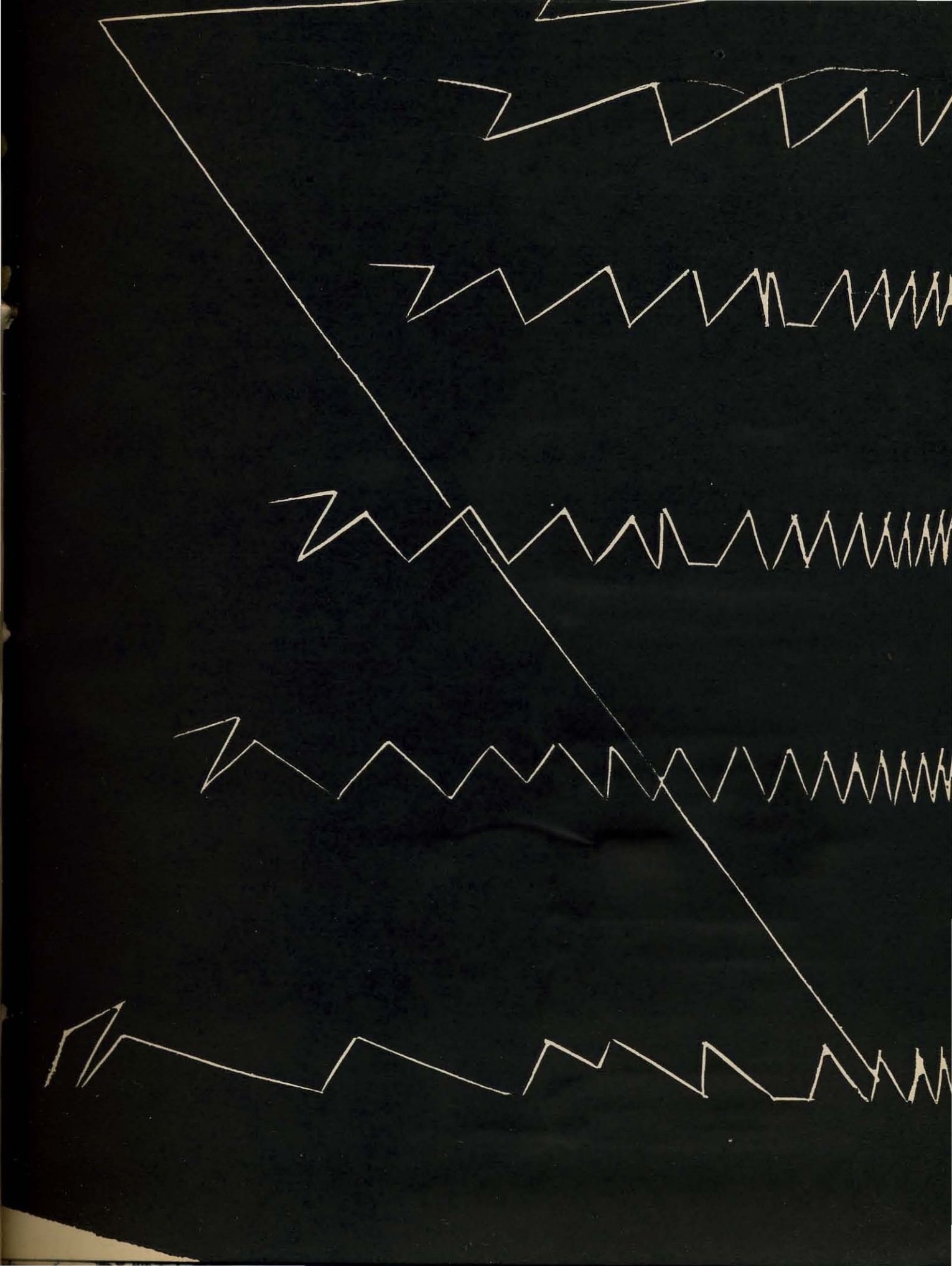




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I, Gulam Sheikh, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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Twelve Poems^{*} from the Good Surrealist

Arvind Krishna Mehrotra

The air folds a sheet of paper,
Countries turn in the wind as feathers
Maps run aground
Toys, globes, tugs bob in the sea
Everything looks alike to the sky
Upon a shoreless earth a war of colours
Nothing changes

Talking of animals I've seen cats
Sulking beside the sea as if there lay at its bottom
A submarine full of mice

A coin, a small fire, a handkerchief
A drop, a wooden elephant, a leaf
A storm, a passage for glaciers, a bowl

The fire has the smell and colour of lemons
The elephant brings down rain with his trunk
The glacier rolls on its side and dies

Hair the length of stars
One eye cocoon, other hive
Ears more luminous than spiders

Mountains, nomads, unafraid children, kings
Walked the continents
Hunted for their sacred features
Strange habits, perfect skulls
Some died, some jumped into rivers
Some in high rows looking like ranges
Under the snow return quietly to the earth
As if they were always meant to be conquered

A foot is discovered, a finger
It belongs to that mountain
Small deep lakes formed where they stood

Twelve Poems from the Good Surrealist

Lines on my palm, fish in an aquarium

When two stones, two branches
Or two hairs rub we have fire
Each time my nails become pink
There's an earthquake
The sky gets crowded with balloons
And prayers and mushrooms
Animals and clowns are the forgeries of dreams

Once upon entering my room
The first thing I did was remove my hands
Then each foot, then the head

The hands ran to a taxidermist
To be stuffed into paws
The left foot went to live with a bald philosopher
The head sits on my desk
I play with it as with a grandson

Wash your hands in lukewarm water
Take off your eyeball
Place it between the thumbs
Apply pressure round the edges
Allow for each image to make a point
Pull them out as you would stings

RELIGION AND ART IN INDIA

A. G. Subramanyam

This cloud, having followed me through the park
Enters my house, stands on the rug, barks
Infuriated I catch him by the neck
Walk ten miles then cross the river
Before releasing him
Though I know clouds
Like dogs always trace their way back

I swallowed the round minute
Fed clocks to my sheep
Tied them to wings of birds
Burnt them in fireplaces
Dissolved them in chemicals
Sent them away in ships I knew would sink
Only to be shown by the round head of a flower
The soil's mechanism

Looking at fruit ripens them
Blood warms around a pea of loose flesh
The milk tooth enters a moon
Mornings I fell from trees are covered wells
I run back to silver windows
My eyes pressed enough to see
A serpent's hood on the curtain
Or breathing near the walls my sister's murderer

Leaves drop their thick green
As it were a freedom
To them an hour a decade
And even the surrounded crow
Grows a secret feather

Just where the valley
Spreads out another sun
The blue sky turns into shades of grey
The mind rolls down a flat mountain

RELIGION AND ART IN INDIA

K. G. Subramanyan

An enquiry into the relationship of Indian art and Indian religion can go a long way to clarify the special features of both. That such a relationship exists has never been in dispute. Even the early European scholars of the Indian art and religious scenes, who had no great sympathy for either, recognized that traditional Indian art grew round religious institutions or religious practices or was deeply coloured by certain basic religious notions. This was the only way they could explain to themselves its strange and complicated imagery. Later scholars, both modern and foreign who had greater sympathy and understanding for the scene, slightly dramatized the relationship and tried to construe all manifestations of Indian art as iconic or diagrammatic representation of religious concepts. Today we may not agree wholly with all their views. But even today, if we scan the complete spectrum of art activity in this country, of which the sophisticated urban manifestations are only a small part, we cannot fail to recognize that such a relationship still persists if only in a large and undifferentiated way. Strangely enough, even the urban manifestations are not free from its shadow, however scanty their roots in tradition may be, and however open they may be to influences from without.

What we call Indian art falls into many strata. At the bottom we see its simplest forms like household decoration and ritual design and close above these various categories of folk art relating to the embellishment of textiles and costume, to the making of toys, fabrication of ritual effigies, even setting up of small shrines. These are what we may call non-professional arts, practiced mostly by men and women in their homes. Above these come the professional crafts related to architecture, to the fabrication of ritual and utilitarian objects, to costume and jewellery. On the top of these come the more sophisticated art of painting, as variable in size and visual dimension as murals, banners, miniatures and book illuminations and parallelly, architectural sculpture and icon-making.

Similarly Indian religious practice also falls into many strata of lesser or greater sophistication. Taking modes

of worship, we see at the bottom nature worship of ocean, sun, moon, and stars, and animistic worship of trees, stones, rivers and animals, including bull, cow, monkey, snake, eagle, just to name a few. Above these come the worship of totemic composites—man-lion, man-elephant, man-boar, man-eagle, man-horse etc., and still above these the worship of deified folk heroes, kings and holy men. Over this comes the worship of dryads, mother and virgin goddesses and over them the gallery of anthropomorphic gods of considerable conceptual complexity like Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Maheswara, Trimurti, Devi, Durga. Over and above these come the worship and meditation of abstract metaphysical entities.

Similarly we can read strata in personal religious attitudes too. At the bottom are practices rising out of taboos, with their sanctificatory baths and ritual cleansing of various kinds. Then come the propitiation of folk-gods through sacrifices and congregational rituals climaxing up in frenzy and trance. Above these are the hieratic Yaga or Yagna with its hide-bound codes of ritual word and act. Then there are types of personal devotion to a god-head cast into definite psychological modes—maternal, filial, menial, romantic and erotic. Above these we may place monistic abstraction resulting in an inworship of the human-essence or 'atma' through abstract meditation. There are, besides these, various kinds of asceticism both physical and mental and above all, the much discussed Yoga, which involves a cybernetic vision of the human personality and an effort to rouse it, into supernal illumination or beatitude through various physical and mental exercises.

This is just a perfunctory classification and cannot be said to cover the whole spectrum of Indian art and religious activity as we know them. Besides, talking about these as strata may lead us to visualise that one superposes the other and covers it up. But this is not the case either in Indian art or Indian religious practice. These different strata work into each other and interpenetrate. The Mythopoeic Indian mind reduces everything into symbols of enormous tolerance and elasticity which persist through

successive changes in religious ideas, metamorphosing themselves and becoming more capacious and expansive. This is probably because of succinct pan-theistic vision the Indian has of his environment, whatever his religious persuasion; all things, from the most humble to the most sophisticated, have in them the 'animus' and so are different forms of the same, and their individual traits or 'persona' are no more than a temporary and contingent mark or costume. One can trace the Indian concepts of metamorphoses, rebirth and trans-substantiation to such a vision. The persistent idea of transformation and flux immanent in Indian notions of life and worship also probably derives from this. So a devout Indian wishes to transform his house into a temple, his life into a holy pageant, he wants to see everything in his environment transformed with its 'animus' glowing. His greatest desire is to transform and rarefy himself, and at the ultimate, to come off his 'cosume' and be 'free', or, as he would say, attain release or 'Mukti'.

The recognition of this idea of transformation and flux as an essential part of Indian life will make it easy for one to understand Indian art forms and Indian art activity in proper perspective. For instance, when an Indian housewife sweeps and mops the approach to the house the first thing in the morning and paints a design on her doorstep she is effecting such a transformation. She sanctifies the doorstep and makes it fit for the deity to cross in. On ceremonial occasions she does this more elaborately; her design spills from the doorstep to the floor, climbs from the floor to the wall, even skirts the door way. The painting cleanses, sanctifies and illuminates the place and dramatises the occasion. Some of this painting is simple arabesque; some of it is made of leaf forms and bird forms and forms of animals and men. Some of them are cryptographs of folklore and others a cosmographic delineations of a place of worship. Pursued further, such an effort at transformation can also be seen in Indian functional art and in Indian architecture, both secular and religious. A metal bowl gets transformed into a swan, a footstool into turtle, boulders get transformed into temples and sculpture, rockfaces into

strings of caves. Obversely shrines mimic caves, mountains, tiered islands; human forms mimic animal forms, animal forms human, even the trees seem nearly human. Such a counter projection of identity and a consequent symbology of great sophistication is basic to Indian art activity and its iconography and, as already mentioned, it pervades Indian ideas on life too. It is this very pervasiveness that makes one wonder whether, in the Indian context, the classification of art into religious and secular is entirely valid. For to the traditional Indian it is hard to know where his religious life ends and secular life begins. His acts of worship are welded inseparably into his normal working life and even his small acts of life like sleeping and waking are suffused with religious sentiment, leave alone matters like birth, procreation and death.

So most Indian art, whether you call it religious or secular, is concerned with rousing an inert thing into life and enlarging its visual reference. Therefore it is almost always naturalistic of sorts, though never blandly naturalistic (except in certain areas of the Graeco-Roman interlude or, later, some areas under Mughal or European influence.). Its avowed attempt is to course the living sap (or 'rasa') into an object. So its functional objects, its architectural details, the surface figuration of its textiles, even its religious cryptograms have a strange bio-morphism. Even its phallic stones, which are some of the most abstract of its objects stare at one with strange enamelled eyes. If at all there is a purely geometrical abstract phase in Indian art it is the Islamic phase, which started with an uncompromising iconoclasm, but even this, if only in part, undergoes a kind of bio-morphism through time; Moslem religious buildings continue to be bare and severe, but Moslem secular architecture like tombs and forts and palaces got over-run with all kinds of naturalistic ornament.

This pervasive bio-morphism, chanting a paen to life and nature, is an invariable hallmark of the art of all indigenous Indian religions, even to the extent of sometimes overriding their basic tenets. A sensuous exultation in

RELIGION AND ART IN INDIA

life is an inseparable part of the Hindu religion which accepts everything as the visible attribute (vibhuti) of the infinite reality, or alternatively, as part of its creative play (leela). But in the Buddhist and Jain religions, which are essentially ascetic, which have strict monastic orders, and are deeply sensitive to the absurdities and shortfalls of existence, its frustrations, its cruelties, its irresolvable opposites, such an exultation forms a small part. 'Beauty is nothing to me', Buddha is quoted as having said in the Buddhist holy books, 'neither the beauty of the body, nor that comes of dress'. His monks and nuns were warned against art objects of any kind around them, certainly not the anthropomorphic 'conversation pieces'. At the most permissive they were allowed to have in their cells plain decoration of wreaths and creepers. But these strictures did not last; the innocuous wreaths and creepers started bristling up with figural insets and in course of time, these grew in size and sensuousness and displaced the wreaths altogether. The folk pantheon and folk lore crept so insidiously into Buddhism in its formative years that, in about six centuries after Buddha, it underwent a schism, breaking into puritanic and permissive sections (Hinayana and Mahayana) and Mahayana Buddhism incited in India an unparalleled efflorescence of iconographic and narrative art for the next six centuries. The Buddhist art of India, the first major phase in Indian art history, illustrates the life of Buddha or the Jathakas (Indian folk stories that Buddhists transformed into the 'birth stories' of the Buddha) but it is suffused with a feeling of sensuous well-being, even concupisence, not a sense of tragedy as one would have expected, the basic premise of Buddhist religion being life is 'Dukha' or suffering. And even though in early Buddhist art Buddha is not represented as a person and his presence is only hinted at with symbols, like footprints, umbrella etc., in later art he is represented as a Yogi or a preacher or a king.

The same thing happens in Jain art too. Although Rsabha, the progenitor of Jain ideas was also belived by Jains to be the progenitor of mathematics and symbology and

Jain religion permitted iconographic representation, Jain monks and nuns were sharply warned against the use and practice of art. But towards the middle ages the position had weakened, and Jain treatises had started classifying art into Nirdosha and Sadosha (non-evil and evil), putting down the representation of landscapes, buildings and nonfigurative ornament under the former and the representation of flying figures, goddesses and women under the latter. But by twelfth century this had relaxed even further and Jain manuscripts had started having marked pictorial content and Jain temples a lot of sensuous sculpture, featuring dancers, musicians, even 'mithunas'. Scholars have tried to explain away this full-blooded celebration of life in the art of these ascetic religions by saying that the sensuous representation of life in Buddhist art was meant to spotlight its fragility, and, in the Jain, to expose its hollowness and hold it to scorn. But, seen by themselves, no one can deny that they are a sensuous tribute to life nor escape the thought that these ascetic religions had been forced to come to terms with popular 'joie de vivre' through time.

So in all Indian art whether Buddhist, Jain or Brahmanical we see a persistence of the sensuous acceptance of nature and a common symbology, resulting from this, even if they interpret it differently. These symbols start in relative simplicity but in association with various religious notions, gather in sophistication. Through the years. Simple animistic forms like plants and trees, animals and birds broaden in in reference and meaning and become the flora and fauna a complicated religious landscape.

To the early animistic Indian, trees were sacred and a symbol of growth and continuity. Even in the seals of the early city civilisations (2000 BC) we see symbolic representation of the 'Peepal' tree, the ficus religiosa of India. It continues its sacred status in Buddhist iconography as the Bodhi tree, the tree under which Buddha received enlightenment. In Brahmanical lore the great God Vishnu dwarfs himself and goes to sleep on a 'peepal' leaf on the glacial waters. The 'sal' tree is associated with Buddha's

birth and 'nirwana' alike; in folklore it is associated with the dryads or Yakshas at the touch of whose feet it breaks into blossom. The dryads are also represented in association with various other trees, the 'ashoka' in full flower, 'the amra' hanging heavily with fruit, the 'kadamba' with its load of orbicular blooms. The ubiquitous banyan tree that spreads span by span on supporting roots almost like a sprawling cathedral was called the 'akshya vat' (the tree of perpetuity); under it teachers taught, pilgrims pitched camps. It was the prototype for 'kalpavriksha' symbolising inexhaustible growth and plenty. The tri-foliolate bilwa tree was sacred to three-eyed Shiva; the Kadamba tree was centre of the frolics of Krishna, the cowherd god. In the Upanishads (early philosophical compendia predating Buddha) the nature of life is expounded through the analogy of a tree whose roots are in the heavens and whose branches grow downwards.

Animals too undergo such symbolic transformation. All over India, even today, terracotta horses, small and big, can be seen in the villages, on the turf, under trees or in walled courtyards. By themselves they symbolise the spirit, mounted they symbolise the hero or ancestor, but in Buddhist iconography its reference enlarges and the horse symbolises Buddha's great departure, from his regal life into the life of an ascetic seeking the spirit. Similarly various other animal forms outgrow their animistic beginnings and get associated with later religious ideas and god-heads—bull gets associated with Shiva, eagle with Vishnu, swan with Brahma, peacock with Karthikeya, tortoise with Jamuna, crocodile with Ganga, tiger and lion with Durga. These animal forms are first seen in the early non-aryan relics, and continue to persist in Indian art even today, covering a long span of 4000 years.

In the anthropomorphic group, the simple hero and ancestor figures, mother goddesses, goddesses of fertility, the awe-striking deities symbolising pox and plague and pestilence gather in iconographic complexity in the later Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. Their passage from stage to stage is an entrancing one and the various 'puranas' from

which Indian religious art derive their content are, in fact, a fecund chronicle of this iconographic progression. In the figure of Devi or Durga is kneaded the mother goddess and the fierce scourges, and the attributes of various male gods; through this fusion, she attains a stature of great mystery and power becoming both the sustainer and destroyer of life, at once enchanting and terrible, almost an encyclopaedic vision of nature. At her most subtle she is Shakti, the female principle without whom the supernal male principle is inert and unmanifest; in erotic symbolism she is the 'yoni' that holds the 'linga'. Similarly Shiva is an eclectic composite of an ascetic deity of the charnel yard, the presiding deity of animals and spirits (pasupathi, Bhutanatha), a phallic god (lingodbhava), and a symbol of supreme meditation and enlightenment (yogi), seated on the heights of Kailasa, the sacred mountain.

In a like manner form concepts too undergo elaboration. A simple Hindu shrine is conceived as a 'generative' cell within which glows the seed (bija) of life. Caves, Hindu and Buddhist and Jain, that hold deities en-wombed in their darkness are an elaboration of this, the deity is in the furthest and the most secret corner, the sculpture and painting on the walls lead one in stages to it. The sanctum of a temple is revealingly, called 'griha griha' or house of conception and the ritual act of 'darshan', which in a Hindu temple is the dramatic rite of showing a resplendent deity within a corridor of darkness, is symbolic of seeing life's renewal day to day, even hour to hour. While a shrine or a cave rises out of a womb-concept, the 'stupa' rises from that of the burial mound, which enshrines the relics of a person to ensure continuity of life. The Buddhist stupa is architecturally and conceptually highly sophisticated; in a semi-circular form it is the cosmic vault symbolising the universe, in its seven-tiered form (pagoda) it is a replica of the tiered heavens, whose topmost tier is that of eternal beatitude.

Like it has an elaborate language of symbols, Indian art has also an elaborate language of gesture, especially in its traditional sculpture and painting. As visual ambivalence

is one of the persistent traits of Indian art this is understandable; each visual entity tries to mimic the other, as has already been mentioned. Its animals look almost human even if human traits are not grafted on them, its trees stand in rows like over-dressed women; its women clung to trees like they were creepers. Even the description of human features in old iconographic digests reveal such an attitude; woman's eyes are likened to the petals of the lotus, to the restless bird 'khanjan', or to fish in water, man's chest to the chest of a lion, woman's thighs to fullgrown banana trees, girl's feet to lotus buds, toes to tendrils. Another important reason for this is that the narrative art of India draws heavily on mime. It tells its stories almost entirely by the manipulation of the human body, through body postures, hand gestures and facial expressions, it keeps environmental accessories small. This, naturally has led it into an elaborate vocabulary of gesture, which in composite usage, is equal to every kind of narrative subtlety, whether it is to describe facts, events, emotional states or even abstract concepts. This mimetic language is common both to the performing and visual arts of India. Parallel to the 'karanas' and 'mudras' of dancing, Indian visual arts have their 'bhargas' (body flexions), talas (proportions) and 'mudras' (gestures) and through the various deployment of these the icons get their special identities, stories get their special emotional character and narrative impact. This gives the anthropomorphic art of India a distinctive quality; its figures (like actors) are not individual but enacting a role, through stance and gesture and expression. They are conceived from inside as a felt composite of these, and not from outside in an objective realistic way. Also its drama, even at its most violent, is contained and rhythmic as in dance, not openly histrionic.

A discussion of the relationship of Indian art and Indian religion cannot pass by Indian erotic art. This aspect of Indian art suffered the antipathy of foreign observers when they first encountered it but now, conversely, a centre of interest to them, the times being more permissive. The Hindu was at no time oppressed by the sense of original

sin, for him sex was part of the play of nature and even holy and sacramental. Even on its first legs Hinduism had phallic cults; in one of the early Upanishads, the Brihadaranyaka, it is mentioned that the nearest analogue to the getting together of the human soul and the ultimate reality in a bliss of enlightenment is that of coition. This was however not the case with the monastic religions like Buddhism and Jainism, whose monks were warned even against the sight of women, or certain areas of Hinduism itself which were exposed to Islamic or Christian puritanism. But at the popular level phallic cults always existed, and, oddly enough, at a certain stage erotic symbolism even made inroads into Buddhist ritual. The phallic cults were not necessarily orgiastic; they were, mainly related to the worship of 'generative power, to ensure racial continuity and progeny. Although there is mention of ascetics who walked naked and Yogis 'with erect phallus' even in the Vedas, they were supposed to be continent and 'urdhwaretasa' those who pulled back their semen into themselves and thereby conserved their power. So the phallic cults in themselves cannot be said to be the basis of the erotic art of India; even the lingas. Whether the plain ones or those with iconographic embellishments, are hardly erotic by any count. A reverential pleasure in the sensuousness of nature, animal and man was, however, a part of the Indian attitude, as one can see in its interweaving of man and nature in art, in its unremitting tribute to human beauty and grace, in its Yakshas and Yakshis, in its mithunas, in its gods and goddesses, Buddhist, Brahmanial, or Jain. To have men and women or animals in poses of intimacy on religious buildings was to the Indian as natural as having flowering bush or fruit-bearing trees—they were a symbol of good auspices and fulfilment. Such a sensuousness is a general feature of Indian art and, within this, erotic figures are traceable on many temples and monuments, some even in the act of coition, though in discreet ways. But with the development of the various devotional (Bhakti) cults the love and union of man and woman becomes a mystic symbol—with its longings, its yearnings, its frustrations, separations, reunions, and ego conflicts; all these become

symbolic of the devotional drama. Even the codes of Indian aesthetics are subtly influenced by these ideas—of the 'Rasas' or emotional juices, which are what animate a work of art, 'Srngara' (love) is considered the primal one,—being what annihilates the ego, breaks up resistances and rounds up communication. It is not surprising therefore, that in certain devotional cults, the devotional codes are almost a ritual aesthetic. The enormous Radha Krishna love that pervades literature, music, dancing and visual art of the Indian subcontinent after about the 10th century are an outgrowth of such an aestheticism.

While in these ramifications the eroticism is succinct, there are phases in Indian art that are more overtly erotic, portraying the sexual act in various forms, some astoundingly terpsichorean. These are the outgrowth of esoteric cults which on the one hand, conceived nature as a composite of the male and the female principles and, on the other, conceived the human body-mind system as a composite tool which can be purified and controlled by exercises and meditation, to the extent that it can perform acts without emotional involvement, as a rarified ritual. As the adherents of these cults believed strongly in the union of the male and the female principle in nature, their rituals too were conceived in an analogous union, although the act was to be sublimated and asexual. That this was not easy and that such rituals were fraught with the danger of deterioration into licentiousness, can be seen from the highly critical references to these practices in Indian devotional literature from time to time. So there are few examples of temples that have erotic representations on a large scale; they are seen mostly in Orissa (Konarka, Bhubaneswar) and Madhya Pradesh (Khajuraho). Whatever that may be, there is no denying that they were an accepted part of the Indian esoteric tradition, and the sculpture, at

least some of them, are examples of great sensitivity. From this it should be evident that the interdependence of Indian art and Indian religion is of a special kind. This relationship stems up from their grass roots, in the region of the generative ideas both partake of, which considered together form the image what we call the Indian ethos. Within it there is a subtle world-acceptance and world-rejection, of sensuousness and asceticism, of withdrawal and involvement, in it there are no strict walls between the sacred and the profane, the religious and the secular. The ideal a devout Indian yearns for is a state of heightened consciousness within which he can perform his action with a sense of philosophic freedom, beyond the sense of opposites; religious and ritual acts are only the exercises by which he attains the necessary psychological refinement. Such a concept allows the Indian religions to accept animistic and idolatrous practices in panoramic continuity with abstract philosophy; the individual is left to refine himself from one stage to the other till he reaches the ideal. From the same concept Indian art derives its width and its special nature that steers clear of the contradictions of realism and abstraction. The Indian artist exults in the visual world with a knowledge of its width and impermanence and changeability; he reacts to it in an internal way, looking for its vital constituents not its immediate facts. He brings this exultation to the objects he creates in a mid-way fusion, his terms of reference are contained within the nature of the object and so relative and semantically variable. This is why Indian aesthetics prefers to postulate such a reference as 'suggestion' not 'representation'; how elaborately and in what manner a work of art will accommodate visual facts will depend upon how much need it has for them to come alive and of what kind.



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Gulam Sheikh

Bhupen Khakhar

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University Office Compound

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Finally, the draft of the new constitution of the Lalit Kala Akademi has been prepared and submitted to the Government. We hope that the much-awaited Khosla Inquiry Commission's report takes into consideration the need for change in the constitution and the Government takes a prompt action in implementing it.

*

We saw a protest of the National exhibition of art this year, by a number of artists who had refrained from the earlier protest and boycott of the Akademi, for some reasons. Two consecutive shows of Rejects from the National exhibition were staged in Shilpi Chakra Gallery, New Delhi to protest against the arbitrary manner of selection and a condescending report on the merits of works chosen for exhibition and for awards by the Selection Committee.

*

The controversy over the role of an artist-intellectual vis-a-vis the state and the society has raged high, with direct hints to Government not to interfere in the affairs of art and artist's freedom. Conflicting, even contradictory (as in the case of Marathi writer B. B. Borkar in Times weekly; 30-4-72) views have been published. while the prepared

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declaration at a Government-convened meeting of intellectuals at the end of recent war speaks of 'a solemn pledge to unite in a broad national cultural front' and 'consistent and principled support of freedom, humanity and justice...particularly by the Soviet Union and several socialist and other countries', the dissenting artists-writers speak of 'imposition' of an ideology they partially or wholly do not support, and memories of Hungary and Czechoslovakia in reference to Soviet Union.

We do not know to which 'national cultural front' or what kind of non-conformism we are heading toward from all that is put in print. On the one hand, what seems to be a defensive cry of intellectuals, shelters the privilege of artistic activity under the guise of freedom and narrows it down to closed-in cell free of extra-artistic endeavours, while on the other it rings an alarm for those who would like to live and work without the dictates of the state and the society.

*

The physical and spiritual casualties of our time are unparalleled in history : the greatest being the war in Viet Nam. Are we equally perturbed by this catastrophe as we memorise Hungary and Czechoslovakia ?