Art and Identity: The Rise of a New Buddhist Imagery

By Gary Michael Tortorello

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If you want to gain self-respect, change your religion.
If you want to create a better society, change your religion.
If you want power, change your religion.
If you want stability, change your religion.

B. R. Ambedkar

While Buddhism arose in India and was an important religion in the history of the subcontinent, its adherents at the time of Indian Independence in 1947 were few. Indeed, the faith at that time was practiced by only a small group of Tibetans located in the Himalayas. Yet by the efforts of an extraordinary individual, B. R. Ambedkar, the religion has experienced a remarkable upsurge in the last thirty-five years. The architecture and pictorial imagery adopted by this new Buddhist movement reveal a process by which ancient symbols have been reinterpreted and given meaning in a new and different social context.

The faith’s success at the time of the historical Buddha (ca. 566-480 B.C.E.) and its resurgence in the twentieth century have hinged in part upon its heterodox approach to the Indian problems of caste and rebirth. Unlike brahmanical Hinduism, it rejects caste distinctions and the karma theory of a soul that is reborn and predestined to live out a life determined by its previous actions. A person’s value is conditioned by current actions and not by the caste into which she or he is born. In ancient India, Buddhism was common among the lowest socioeconomic groups that experienced discrimination by high-caste Hindus.

Buddhism virtually vanished within India following the twelfth century, by which time it had taken root in Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia. During the period of British colonization, India’s largely disorganized and ruined Buddhist monasteries were explored. By the middle of the twentieth century a good many Buddhist shrines had been uncovered, restored, and placed under the natural protection of the Archaeological Survey. Among these are a number of India’s most world-renowned monuments, such as the great stupa memorial at Sanchi and the painted monastic halls at Ajanta, visited by pilgrims from around the world and debated in the standard survey texts of world art.

B. R. Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891, in Maharashtrian in western India. By the time of his death on December 6, 1956, Matruka Ambedkar—as he has come to be known by some—succeeded in bringing Buddhism back to the land of its origins. Ambedkar’s conversion to Buddhism was largely a response to his birth into an untouchable family of the Mahar community in Maharashtra. In the nineteenth century Mahars were “village servants,” mostly landless laborers, outside the castes acceptable to Hindus. Ambedkar was thus among the one-seventh of one-fifth of India’s population condemned to a life of social ostracism, which he later likened to the situation of American-Africans in the United States. His conversion to Buddhism, which disowned caste, was a carefully planned remedy for the social distinc-
tion that bears to Hinduism. Rising through the schools the colonial British made available to a limited number of untouchables, Ambedkar joined recognition in Bombay, Maharashtra’s great ur-
tan trade center, as a leader in the Mahar community’s civil rights struggle. The first in the community to gain a college education, he eventually traveled to the United States where he took a doctorate in economics at Columbia University. Later, in Great Britain, he became a barrister, as Mohandas Gandhi had before him, and took a second doctorate from the London School of Economics. Returning to Bombay, Ambedkar threw himself into the poli-
tics of Maharashtra, winning a seat in Bombay’s Legislative Assembly. In the midst of India’s Independence struggle, Ambedkar rose as the leading champion for the “depressed classes.” While outside of India it was Gandhi who became known as the untouchables’ advocate, within India and among the untouchables, it was Ambedkar who was recognized as their great leader. The roles played by Ambedkar and Gandhi in Indian history are comparable to those played by Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln in American history, both in politics and subsequently in the popular media.

Within the freedom movement Ambedkar became the great advocate of secularism. Despite his continual struggle with Gandhi and the Indian National Congress over their inability to transcend Hinduism’s continuing reliance upon caste and its implicit support of the concept of “untouchability,” he was able to maintain a political presence that allowed him to be cor-
ue the principal shaper of the Indian constitution and main source for that docu-
ment’s staunch secularism. He was also in this role, responsible for choosing the non-
brahmanic wheel and lion capital symbolic adorning the nation’s flag and seal.

In 1935, despairing of Hinduism’s inability to renounce the caste system and the stigma of untouchability, Ambedkar declared his intention to convert to a religion that did not endure the heinous hierarchy. He solemnly assured the Depressed Classes Conference at Yeola, “that though I have been born Hindu, I will not die a Hindu.” He considered Christianity, Is-
lam, Arya Samaj, and Sikhism, but from relatively early on his choice was Bud-
dhism. While it had been virtually extinct in India for centuries, Buddhism was a traditional Indian faith, based upon supposi-
tions familiar to every Indian. Besides rejecting caste, Buddhism was also a major world religion, with vast support in the non-
natives surrounding India and high respect in India itself.

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By Gary Michael Tartakover

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If you want power, change your religion.
If you want equality, change your religion. — B. R. Ambedkar

While Buddhism arose in India and was an important religion in the history of the subcontinent, its adherents at the time of Indian Independence in 1947 were few. Indeed, the faith at that time was practiced by only a small group of Tibetans located in the Himalayas. Yet by the efforts of an extraordinary individual, B. R. Ambedkar, the religion has experienced a remarkable upsurge in the last thirty-five years. The architectural and pictorial imagery adopted by this new Buddhist movement reveal a process by which ancient symbols have been reinterpreted and given meaning in a new and a different social context.

The faith’s success at the time of the historical Buddha (ca. 560–480 B.C.E.) and its resurgance in the twentieth century have hinged in part upon its heterodox approach to the Indian problems of caste and rebirth. Unlike Brahmanical Hinduism, it rejects caste distinctions and the karma theory of a soul that is reborn and predestined to live out a life determined by its previous actions. A person’s value is measured by current actions and not by the caste into which she or he is born. In ancient India, Buddhism was common among the lowest socioeconomic groups that experienced discrimination by high-caste Hindus.

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B. R. Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891, in Maharashtra in western India. By the time of his death on December 6, 1956, Malwa, Ambedkar—as he has come to be known by some—was succeeding in bringing Buddhism back to the land of its origins. Ambedkar’s conversion to Buddhism was largely a response to his birth into an untraceable family in the Mahar community in Maharashtra. In the nineteenth century Mahar was “village servants,” mostly landless laborers, outside the castes acceptable to Hindus. Ambedkar was thus among the one-seventh to one-tenth of India’s population condemned to a life of social ostracism, which he later likened to the situation of African Americans in the United States. His conversion to Buddhism, which disallowed caste, was a carefully planned strategy for the social distinctions as basic to Hinduism.

Rising through the schools the colonial British made available to a limited number of untouchables, Ambedkar gained recognition in Bombay, Maharashtra’s great urban trade center, as a leader in the Mahar community’s civil rights struggles. The first in the community to gain a college education, he eventually traced to the United States where he took a doctorate in economics at Columbia University. Later, in Great Britain, he became a barrister, as Manudas Gandhi had before him, and took a second doctorate from the London School of Economics. Returning to Bombay, Ambedkar threw himself into the politics of Maharashtra, winning a seat in Bombay’s Legislative Assembly. In the midst of India’s independence struggle, Ambedkar rose as the leading champion for the “decrepited classes.” While outside of India it was Gandhi who became known as the untouchables’ advocate, within India and among the untouchables it was Ambedkar who was recognized as their great leader. The roles played by Ambedkar and Gandhi in Indian history are comparable to those played by Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln in American history, both in politics and subsequently in the popular media.

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In 1935, despising of Hinduism’s inability to remove the caste system and the stigma of untouchability, Ambedkar declared his intention to convert to a religion that did not recognize the heinous hierarchy. He solemnly assumed the Depressed Classes Conference at Vebla, “that though I have been born Hindu, I will not stay Hindu.” He considered Christianity, Islam, and the Saigo sects but finally, relatively early on his choice was Buddhism. While it had been virtually extinct in India for centuries, Buddhism was a world-renowned Indian faith, based up on suppositions familiar to every Indian. Besides rejecting caste, Buddhism was also a major world religion, with vast support in the nations surrounding India and high respect in India itself.

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On October 14, 1956, a decade after Independence and precisely two decades after his original declaration of his intention to convert, Ambekar took his Bud-

Buddhist sentiments. Without this essential ingredient, a Buddhist image would remain incomplete. This is particularly true when considering the role of meditation in the Buddhist tradition, where the act of focusing on the present moment is seen as a way to achieve enlightenment.

The Buddhist tradition emphasizes the importance of mindfulness and meditation as means to achieve spiritual progress. These practices are considered essential for the development of wisdom and insight, which are seen as crucial for understanding the nature of existence and achieving liberation from suffering. The practice of meditation is thus an integral part of the Buddhist faith and is a common feature in Buddhist monuments and shrines worldwide.
identify themselves with the international success and power of that world, through the actual possession of these images.

More interesting than these uses of past or imported imagery, however, is the new imagery that serves to express these new Buddhist particular history and aspirations. This art allows a more direct manifestation of the community's creativity, and harnesses that creativity to one of art's most significant potentials, its ability to explore identity. If the adoption of traditional Buddhist forms allows the community to signal its identification with that tradition and to legitimate itself through that prestigious connection, the creation of new imagery allows it to explore its interests and destiny as a modern Indian community struggling for its place in the second-half of the twentieth century.

Public Buddhist monuments are mostly images of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, Ambedkar, and Mahatma Jyotirao Phule (the nineteenth-century Maharashtra leader regarded as Ambedkar's major predecessor). These statues in the new imagery are found at cemeteries, public squares, and the entrances to Buddhist neighborhoods or institutions, in the same kinds of places we are used to seeing statues of Ganesha, Bholenath, and Sita and Rama. These statues indicate the presence of the past and its connection to their lives through their teachings.

The style of these monuments varies greatly from a highly perceptual to a more generalized realism, depending upon the narrative of the patronage. The monuments in front of the Lok Sabha (Parliament) in New Delhi and the Secretariat building in Bombay are realistic works in bronze. Those by the roadside in Karnataka and Maharastra are blander, and often cruder, popular productions in plaster or concrete. Whether the variations in style have more to do with the availability of funds or intentional choice is not yet clear to me. It is possible that thirty-five years do not provide a long enough history to develop the variety of alternatives from which a conscious choice can be made. Nor is there a centralized authority to establish a style or iconographic design. As in the past, style emerges as a matter of group, era, and economic support, not of ideology. Most modern Buddhist art shares the same generalizing distortions of bright colors and somewhat stylized features common to other popular imagery in India.

A typical monumental portrait of Ambedkar can be seen on the highrise leading north from Aungtgaung to Ajanta ring. For the spirit of India's traditional religious imagery of the past two thousand years, when such images have triumphed the same style and iconography regardless of where they are located, Ambedkar is presented as a man in a blue business suit, white shirt, and red tie, with a fountain pen in his pocket and a book in his hand. He is bare-headed; his dark hair neatly combed down, and he bears a pair of black-rimmed spectacles. He stands square in what the ancient iconographic texts call samabhutabha, or no belt. In the context of religious imagery, this figure makes three points: this is a city man, a man of learning, and only a man - not a god.

As a waiter who first came to India in the mid-1960s, I found the style immediately called to mind contemporaneous portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, with its use of an idealized simplified realism, brightly colored surfaces, and decorative expression. This is how the uninitiated typically respond to things they don't understand, explaining them by referring to them into two sets of things they do know, for Buddhists and other people living in Maharashtra, the image is often a bit clearer, and it is a portrait of the Mahar's most modern yet cosmic desires and potentiality. Here, those who had been forbidden presence a sense of the past and its newly clarified role in the community's active present, by displaying an image of the Buddha statesman who shed their cause before the world and taught us that they are more than the "children of god," of Chhatrapati, as Gandhi called them. They are the followers of Ambedkar. The garland around the statue's neck is not part of its structure but something added by his reverent followers. Like the artist's fresh coat of paint, the garland indicates the community's active presence.

The relatively standardized iconography has only existed for a few short decades and has yet to be fixed in a text. Ambedkar's blue business suit is a regular way of depicting his suit in Western painting.

Figure 2: Sakyamuni Buddha in Meditation, ca. 1975, fiberglass, donated by the V. A. Sugathadasa and A. B. Gomes Trust, Vis Loka, to the Shanti Vihar, Shantirota, Nagpur.

Figure 3: Ambedkar statue, ca. 1960, facing west on Aungtaung Road, north of Aungtgaung.

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popularity associated. Indeed, Ambekar's The Buddha and His Dhamma, the bible of the new movement, has a line drawing of this very hand pose on each page. It is, apparently, the new gesture, or mudra, of teaching. 14

This image of a Bombay lawyer is in striking contrast to the standard Hindu god depicted in the traditional ghar of dhoti and kamar, with multiple limbs and fantastic attributes. The contemporary Buddhist imagery combines elements of past art with new features, connecting past traditions with a distinctly different present and future. Seeing Ambekar's image in tandem with the more traditional one of Sakyamuni, as they are regularly shown, emphasizes just this juxtaposition (figs. 4, 5, and 10). Following the rationalism of Ambekar's interpretation of Buddhist doctrine, his portraits emphasize his humanity. In this vision, we return to one of the earliest attitudes of Buddhist theology, which claims that the Buddha is not a god but an enlightened man. Pictorializing the issue proclaims it.

In the Ambekar image's formal pose, and in the repetition of the pose and iconography, we see a construction of the formal identity of Indian traditional art. Thus the Ambekar image is not only identifiable but comparable with the icons of the hegemonic traditions. Variations in its form have been elaborated to explore its meaning. One Ambekar image in Aurangabad, for instance, has beneath it a wheel flanked by seated deer, a familiar composition from ancient art of nearby Ajanta, symbolizing the wheel of the law put into motion by Sakyamuni's first teaching in the deer park at Saranath. Though the intent here seems to be projection of Ambekar as a teacher, it also likens him to Sakyamuni.

The least expensive and so most popular of all religious images in India are the ubiquitous chromolithographs made by the Shirmas and their competitors, which include images of every sect and popular hero. Among these images, which are created for Buddhists by artists who are not themselves Buddhists, one finds Ambekar, Ambedkar (fig. 5), and Phule. Ambekar is here shown in a sympathetic bust portrait, an ethereal vision of Sakyamuni Buddha with one hand raised in the abhaya gesture for dispelling fear floating behind him.

A poster using Ambekar's photograph to call a mass civil rights rally in downtown Bombay also has images of an ancient Bodhisattva and a black panther (fig. 8). It links the contemporary Buddhist movement to its international history through the 1960s and seventies, when Vietnamese American Black Panther party. 27 The Dalit Panthers, who sponsored the rally, are a politicized movement of the left, composed largely of Buddhists. This combination of images indicates the Buddhists' exploration of their identity and potential. While some more conservative Buddhists might reject the panther symbol, some Marat Dalits might reject the Bodhisattva. In this poster, the polarities of the community are emblemized. This is more exact quotation and combination of ancient and contemporary imagery; it is conscious exploration of the Buddhist concern with the meaning of the Buddhism it is developing.

The site of a large and modern funeral ghat, or samadhi, on the beach at Dadar, in Bombay, is marked by a domed memorial in a smug archaic. Pagoda image is common and a particularly large darbar, or shrine, is held each year on December 6, the anniversary of his "death" (fig. 7). The Ambekar Memorial Shrine, which amounts to what in Buddhist terminology is called a cuvina or uupa, combines traditional and modern elements. The most striking traditional elements are the half-round domes rising from a square platform, and the terraced gateway (arches) on the north and south of the platform. The relatively squat proportions of the wall supporting the dome possibly allude to the relief imagery of ancient

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The great site of the new Buddhist geography, the location of Ambedkar's conversion and the first mass conversion, is the Diksha Bhumi (conversion ground) at Nagpur. A great stupa hall is currently under construction there. It would be more useful to see this as a hall containing a stupa. There is a model of the structure, designed by the architect Shao Dan Mal, at the site (fig. 8). Its extremely low base, great height, and flatter profile resemble the ancient stupa of Sanchi (fig. 9) and Amaravati. It also has northern style chaitya and a number of other new features such as an embanked, grassy platform and corner fountains. This is a great stupa-shaped auditorium for mass community gatherings. While the occasions are sites commemorating the great events of the Buddha's life, relics of the faith, or, most often, the Buddha's passing, these new stupas are sites for staging the new Buddhists' future. At Nagpur, the hall's basement contains living spaces for Dikshas (members of the monastic brotherhood) and smaller meeting rooms, which are marked on the exterior by the windows lining the embanked basement. Although the arched form of the windows refers to the traditional past, the very presence of windows indicates the transformation of the stupa's content. At the center of the structure at basement level, a small stupa marks the spot of the great conversion, another connection with the past. The current needs and interests of the Buddhists, however, are represented by new forms that shape a different future. Commemorating the original conversion, Diksha Bhumi Day, one of the community's four great annual observances, has its major ceremony here.

Another kind of building constructed by
the community are meeting halls, which it calls vihāras. While the term vihāra traditionally referred to monastic dormitories, and bhāhīṣṭha still sometimes stay in them, this is not their main function today. Nor are vihāras temples, which they resemble with their images of deities at one end and even altars over these deities. The common Marathi terms for temple, mandir and darśā, are carefully avoided when speaking of vihāras.27 The new vihāras differ significantly from the Buddhist temples built by the Mahābodhi Society at Sumrath or the Birla family at Bhuban, which resemble the temples of the ancient past. Indeed, these vihāras have a different purpose altogether.

Like the Diksha Bhūmi hall, vihāras are gathering places that contain commemorative imagery. The images placed at the end of the hall resemble the sanctum images of the Hindu temple, but here they are part of the human space, not separated in a chamber for ritual purity, with attending priests. People do not pray or make vows to these images; they are memorials, not icons. Some may have rooms for bhāhīṣṭha, but the bhāhīṣṭha’s purpose is to instruct and lead the community, not to attend the images.

Vihāras present a visual narrative that requires care to read. Though not worship halls, they take a form that is only slightly different, encompassing altarpiece platforms and images. The apparent contradictions seem heightened when we witness a scene approximating worship, such as the one shown in Tiratna Buddha Vihāra at Bhuban (fig. 10). Here is a community in the progress of transformation. The common Indian form of the temple hall, altar, and worshipper have been altered only slightly, but the change is highly significant. In a Tibetan context, the Tibetan Buddha image on this altar would be worshiped with devotional faith; in another era, the bhāhīṣṭha would be a priest or a worshipper and the woman holding the incense would be praying. But in this context, where the ideology of devotion is explicitly rejected and an ideology of rationalized action is proclaimed, the woman standing between the ancient imagery of the Buddha on one side and the modern imagery of Ambedkar before Parliament on the other is offering homage not worship. Old forms are transformed by new meanings.

The vihāras are used for community meetings and functions of all sorts, from Buddhist education and political action to pro-school. The Buddhist teachings offered there, called wadunun, are memorial services centered on the Pali texts of the Theravāda canon. Since they are not worship services, they are never called by common terms like pūja, used to designate worship. For the past parts, they are led by lay people, men and women. Discussions begin with an honoring of the Buddha and Ambedkar, but not a call for their blessings.

The Shanti Vihāra, at Shantinoum, on the outskirts of Nagpur, shows the same contradictions (fig. 11). A modest brick structure finished in brightly painted plaster, it has a gathering hall with one image at the far end, surrounded by rooms for the bhāhīṣṭha and others who may reside or meet there. Unlike most vihāras, it has the tower that marks the traditional Indian temple, here assuming the form of a small stūpa. And indeed it is intended to house relics of the Śākyamuni Buddha, which have been donated to the Shantinoum complex. The forms are thus not so unlike those of a Hindu temple. It is clearly a religious structure, with which all Indians are familiar. But the building is intended to link the messages of Ambedkar and the Buddha, and to transform former habits of suppression and social action.

W. M. Godbole, a long-time associate of Ambedkar’s and organizer of the great dikṣā in the vēhās’ design. It is part of an as yet unfinished seminary complex for training bhāhīṣṭha in the evangelical work of spreading Ambedkar’s message, in which social transformation takes a religious form.

Finally, an aspect of the new Buddhist art that we need to consider is the work of individual artists and designers. Ram Tirpude, a local Nagpur artist and perhaps the first new Buddhist artist, began the community’s aesthetic activity by giving already existing imagery a new Buddhist use. Tirpude designed the stage at the Diksha Bhūmi for the original conversion with materials at hand to fashion a miniature of the Sanchi stūpa as a canopy over the heads of Ambedkar and his associates. The continuing situation of Buddhist artists today is seen in the work of P. B. Ramteke. The most popular Buddhist artist today is a former Ambedkarite, either taken from the original group or based on surviving elements of the old style. Ramteke’s Buddhist Grapefruit of 1967 falls in the latter category. An oil painting based on a photograph of a group of familiarly dressed faced, with only parts of the coat and tie. More personal than these images, in which one can see the face, is a successful attempt to bring out the acutely penetrating, yet compassionate gaze of the young man who would become a Mañjūśrī for his community and modern India. The original oil was done as the basis for a widely available, inexpensive color lithograph (fig. 12).

This community-oriented, inspirational art is the equivalent of the traditional art of solidarity and identity found in most religious or political movements in the world. Artists may express themselves either personally or impersonally in this way, in- deed, the B. G. Sharma lithograph (fig. 5) and other commercial works, as we have seen, may be by artists who are not themselves Buddhists. The primary point of these works is what they say, not how or why they say it. This is an art of community, of emblem of identification with group ideals. It stands in distinct contrast to the individualist art of the gallery world of the bourgeois cities.
In the case of Ramiteke, we have an academically trained artist with a gallery career quite separate from his religious art. In his gallery art Ramiteke may occasionally, but only subtly, reveal elements of his Buddhist orientation. While his Buddhist art is naturalistic and communal, his gallery art is essentially abstract and personal in both form and content.

Ramiteke sees his gallery work as having developed in stages over the years from a colorful diagrammatic style in the surrealistic vein of Paul Klee or Joan Miro—both of whose influences he cites with acuity—to increasingly abstract formulations. The stage he reached in 1988 and 1989, he feels expresses his independence from models and his most particular vision. Of the three dozen works of his I have seen, only Joy of Unity (fig. 13) of 1987 has an identifiable Buddhist content. An essentially abstract design of colorful insect, reptile, and birdlike shapes flickering about a cruciform plane of grays and whites, the work on closer inspection reveals a statement on the harmony of India’s religions. The dark rectangle at the bottom represents a structure docked with motifs symbolizing India’s different faiths: a stupa for Buddhism, a cross for Christianity, and a half-moon for Islam. These forms are contained within a curving gray form recognizable as the outline of a Buddhist stupa that unites the other religions. In India, as everywhere in the modern bourgeois world, gallery art is essentially personal and decorative. To succeed in that world, religious artists must leave their social interests relatively obscured.

The study of this new Buddhist art offers a variety of useful insights, not the least of which help us to understand earlier Buddhist art. Since ancient India’s Buddhist traditions came to an end without leaving a literature explaining its beliefs, it is difficult to interpret a great deal of the symbolism and instrumentality of the remains. The presence of this new Buddhist tradition suggests alternative readings for many items about which we can now only speculate. It can offer expansive interpretations for objects and texts whose functional context we have lost. More important, it can provide evidence of a fluency of possible meanings in contrast to the limited ones offered by a literal reading of texts.

Finally, and most significantly, the new Buddhist imagery gives us a genuine revolutionary art. In a discipline that spends much of its effort considering whether or not selected imagery is “revolutionary,” or emblematic of change, or even a facilitator of change, here is an art that is an instrument of social change of the most vital kind. India’s new Buddhists are a community in the process of a profound revolutionary change, which is using visual imagery as a major means to accomplish that transformation.

Normally, when we speak of revolutionary artistic forms in Western art criticism or history we refer to normal novelty. Art that has a technically unusual surface form—a new decorative style, more often than not—we term revolutionary. The changes involved are significant only in the world of aesthetic decoration and elite cultural discourse. Most likely they involve no development in meaning and certainly none in the social or material reality of their producers and consumers—their creators and buyers, if you will. This use of the concept of a revolutionary art is largely a matter of inflated rhetoric.

The art of these new Buddhists is different in two ways. First, it is an art stylistically and pictorially conventional in the tradition. There is no formal novelty. Changes from the past are essentially matters of content. Second, it is an art of social and material transformation, a significant tool in the transformation of Indian culture.

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This may not be the usual way to speak of revolutionary art, but we have so thoroughly lost track of our basic meanings, and taken the analogy of Pablo Picasso's and Jackson Pollock's "revolutionary" transformations of decorative vocabularies so seriously, that it is fitting to have a genuine revolutionary imagery to remind us of the difference between the analogy and the real thing, and to put up how much time we spend on the trivial imagery, which our wealthy compete to possess, and how little time on the imagery that defines our living reality.

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Notes
1 One great deal to Einstein Zollin and Vasant Mehta for introducing me to Buddhism, Ananda- Kor and the Buddhist movement, and for any access to the new Buddhist art. I am also glad to thank S. K. Thor for his discussions with me and particularly for a number of important suggestions he made after looking at a draft of this paper.
2 For a general overview and explanation of the development of India's ancient Buddhist art see Susan and Julia Huntington, The Art of Ancient India (New York: Weatherhill, 1985).
3 Anandkor lies on the edge of Hoshi with attending Columbia University. His writings include numerous comparisons of Indian manuscripts and American Blackies. The most comparable biography is Bhajanari Keli, Be Anandkor, Life and Mission, 2nd ed. (Bombay: Populik Putakon, 1962).
6 Since the 1950 Parliament has introduced these converting to Buddhism in eligibility for the Scheduled Caste reservations in education, government jobs, etc., that they had previously lost upon conversion, this number expected to double, see Times of India, May 5, 1990.
8 Though "Hindoos" is a common synonym in English for the lame translation of the Bahasa India, particularly in the colloquial English words that differentiate among Hindustani, Buddhists, and Jains in India, the term is misleading. In India and in some cases in the United States, "Hindoos" is commonly taken as "Indians," though Hites, for instance, consider themselves to be an Hindus as anyone else. To consider these other Indian religions as Hindus should not suggest that there is something non-buddhist about them.
9 The International Buddhist Laser, marking twenty-five hundred years after Siddhartha's enlightenment or his birth or service, on your source, was celebrated in India, Sri Lanka, and around the world in 1995. Since the Buddhist extender and in dates, like the Christian, are disputed, all Buddhists do not agree precisely on the same dates for these events. Nor do all Buddhists feel comfortable with the title Menas for Anandkor; some seeing this as a Mahayana concept, which does not fit their own Theravada vision.
10 Some have called them new Buddhism or neo-Buddhism, but many among them reject the implication that they are less authentic than other Buddhist sects. Some report Anandkor's critics on the retreat before his conversion, that what he was initially called a "new Buddhism or Newarvikar" (Kote, Anandkor, 1945).
11 One of the most interesting facts of Indian art history is the early presence of extra-continentals on materials by the Hindu-Buddhist edifice. There exists Buddhist art in significant amounts from the third century A.D. onwards, and little material art since before the third century c.
12 Though the practice of asceticism was outlawed soon after independence, and entrance to public temples guaranteed to all and regulated by the civil courts, there is still in activity a significant amount of discrediting. Seventy-one percent of villagers from four untouched villages in India's Buddhistiac receipts according to the 1978-9 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, India's number one most significant census, is not done without operation.
13 This includes others such as Middlepa, the Mohur equalities, goddess, which belonged to the untouchable community rather than to the middleman, and to which there were once a ban.
14 Macy and Zollin, "Religion and Innovation," 146.
15 A Tibetan image occupies the central place at the Tirathana Buddha Vihara, Khambat East, Bombay (fig. 10). There is a life-size Thai bronze image in Naga's Buddha Vihara. A Burmese image sits on a scroll altar at the Shoawin, next to the reliquary with Anandkor's relics, Nagpur. A Japanese image can be found in Nagpur's Ananda Vihar.
16 There is commonly, as in the Storm Vietnam, a decline inscriptions giving the name of the donor.
17 The recent dedication of a priest in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi) showing Anandkor in the long calla, ohm vara, worn by Janashakti Nehru, India's first prime minister, was met with intense criticism by his followers. It was not because of lack of profound that he had on occasion wore even a garment in his days, a cabinet minister—photographs of him dressed in a calla worn, in fact, the basic for the printing—nor because this was not the way the Buddhists want him remembered. See Times of India, April 19 and 20 (with a picture), 1990.
18 The image of Sri Murali at Anand in India is Nagpur in Prapho, Tajam Yarn, or spirit of knowledge. Eleanor Zollin's phrase "painting toward enlightenment" fits this what I have borrowed many Buddhists say.
19 It is not in all uncertainty in India to have one consistent causes images for another.
20 The fact that it is a specifically Thai image seems very nearly no significance. Its presence comes more to Buddhist's ancient and international history.
23 For example, Huntington, Ancient India, pl. 8-8.
24 Such images from Rambo and Ameica can be seen in Heister Zimmer, Indian Art, vol. 2, pl. 10 and 91.
25 The form, which is not as in recent modern histories tend to assume, has essentially not been discussed in modern studies, however. For a comprehensive, image of a Buddhist temple in a Caro- naesthetic profile, see Heister Garber Fren, Buddha]{Chaste} Indian Impressions (New York: Summa, 1980), 330.
26 Sojour are raised to embed three roots of miscre- ations of scriptum, the remains of those who have achieved enlightenment (as in Anandkor), and great sites of the sorts, such in this case.
28 The Christian theological structure at Tartakow makes similar one of a towered-tomb form for its chapel, with the same purpose of displaying an appopriate shape for an Indian religious structure.

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