

Narrative Reliefs Depicting Kṛṣṇa-līlā in the Art of Mathura

Vinay Kumar Gupta*

In the realm of art, two kinds of imageries are generally observed - icons and narrative scenes. In Indian art, narrative scenes are found in large numbers but instead of pure narrative depictions, only some narrative details are incorporated in the basic iconic representations. Narrative representations can be divided into two categories of major/universal and minor/local, based on the main character in the scene and the popularity of the story depicted. By all accounts, Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes in sculptural art fall in the category of major representations where the character of Kṛṣṇa enjoys a pan-Indian popularity as a divine being, supported by ancient religious texts. Even a particular iconographic representation can indicate a narrative story but by incorporating the characters of an incident, the sculptor makes it quite easy for the onlooker to identify the particular story so that he can associate himself with that narrative. In this way narrative representation is a universal, vivid and a kind of dramatic depiction of the popular incidents of past. The narrative Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes can be divided into two categories- (1) isolated representations of an episode and (2) sequential representation of various episodes.

The majority of early Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes narrate the story of Kāliyā-damana and Govardhana-dhāraṇa and that is why a number of such scenes have been included in this paper. At the same time, sequential representations of childhood episodes of Kṛṣṇa-līlā also begin to be represented. These episodes of Kṛṣṇa-līlā have an

allegorical meaning attached to them which is conveyed to the onlooker. The story of Kāliyā-damana clearly tells that the almighty Lord destroys the ego and arrogance of a person who does not realise the meaning of his existence and soul. The Govardhana-dhāraṇa episode is related with the worship of nature - hills, forests, trees, cows and other components of the ecosystem. In the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the Lord himself tells about the importance of the balance in the ecosystem and also of the hills, forests and other living beings associated with them.¹ It might be the earliest literary reference on the importance of the ecosystem.

Previously known life events of Kṛṣṇa

During the Gupta period, depiction of the life-stories of Kṛṣṇa became quite popular. Most of these examples have been found from the walls of Gupta period temples at places like Gaṛhwa, Deogarh, Eran, Varanasi, Mandor, Bhitargaon etc. in north India. The terracotta reliefs of *Dāna-līlā* scene and Govardhana-dhārī Kṛṣṇa from Rangmahal are quite significant. From Mathura, two sculptures, one of Govardhana-dhārī Kṛṣṇa (M.M. No. D 47, Pl. 5) and Kāliyā-damana (M.M. No. 44, 3374, Pl. 3) date back to the late Gupta period. One other Govardhana-dhārī Kṛṣṇa sculpture from Jatipura (near Govardhan) is now housed at Indian Museum, Kolkata.

* Consultant (Publication), Archaeological Survey of India

Sculpture relief from Maholi representing Kāliyā-damana episode (Pl. 1)

This relief was observed at a shrine in village Maholi. The relief is interesting as it represents two male figures and a female figure. The male Nāga figure, which occupies the maximum proportion in the relief, is shown seven-hooded while the female is represented with five snake hoods. Earlier, observing the photograph of the relief, most of the scholars suggested it to be a Nāga-Nāgī panel which were quite popular during Kushan and early Gupta periods. But after visiting the site many times and cleaning the sculpture carefully, it was found that the Nāga-Nāgī figures in the relief were not intended to be the prominent deities. They are shown with folded hands (*añjali mudrā*) towards the side of a third figure. This figure has to be the most prominent figure in the relief and is quite easily identifiable. This third figure, though not as prominent in size, is shown with a *vanamālā* and is not in *añjali mudrā*. In his left hand, he is either holding a *śankha* or a *kamalanāla*. His right hand is missing. He is shown wearing a beaded necklace and heavy *kuṇḍalas* in his ears. Unlike his high stature in the relief, he is not crowned and only has his hair arranged in an upward manner tied as a topknot. It is apparent that the prominent figure of the relief is a human deity and occupies the lesser proportion of the relief because the sculptor aimed to depict a life-episode of him in this relief. Because of its *vanamālā*, this deity must be a Vaiṣṇavite deity and in human form, it can only be Lord Kṛṣṇa. We know of only three episodes of the life of Kṛṣṇa where a serpent figure can be represented. First can be the representation of his elder brother Samkarṣaṇa-Balarāma who is believed to be the incarnation of the cosmic serpent Śeṣa, the other two episodes being the killing of the serpent demon Aghāsura and Kāliyā-damana. There is no possibility of the representation of the first theme, as Balarāma is never shown with folded hands against Kṛṣṇa in any of the early reliefs. The possibility of the second theme also ends because in that episode, serpent King Aghāsura was killed at the hands of Kṛṣṇa. So, the third possibility appears to be the episode represented in this relief. As Kṛṣṇa subdued the Nāga Kāliyā, his wife or wives came out of the River Yamunā and prayed to the Lord to forgive Nāga Kāliyā and even Nāga Kāliyā prayed to God in his pitiable condition to forgive him.² The whole background of this relief has been decorated with lotus flowers and lotus buds to provide the appearance of a water body, possibly Yamunā or a pond near it. The relief might be dated to *circa* fourth-fifth century CE as the sculpture is made of red sandstone with some features in continuance of Kushan artistic tradition while the position of the eyes

and the delineation of the bodies indicate a strong Gupta art influence. All other reliefs representing the episode of Kāliyā-damana depict the subduing of the serpent, Kṛṣṇa thrashing his hoods by his legs or Kṛṣṇa dancing on the serpent hoods. This sculpture might be the earliest representation of this episode of Kāliyā-damana in the realm of Indian art.

There is another red sandstone sculpture (M.M. No. 00.F.17, Pl. 2) belonging to *circa* third century CE, which may be categorized as the one representing Kāliyā-damana episode. The sculpture represents a young male playing on a flute. He wears a round turban and *valayas* and *bājubandhas* in his hands. Such a turban is not found in any ancient sculpture to be worn by a lady. A background full of lotus flowers has been indicated with purpose by the sculptor. All details except for its breast part indicate it to be a male figure. The garland or *vanamālā* which is visible on his left shoulder is not shown running over the breast whereas the lower part of the image is lost to confirm it. Just by looking at the pose, one can be sure that it is a representation of Kṛṣṇa playing flute. The background of lotus flowers confirms that it is a setting of a pond or River Yamunā so the episode presented here must be that of Kāliyā-damana, because it is only during the process of subduing the Nāga Kāliyā that Kṛṣṇa stands over his hoods and dances.³ The above-mentioned sculpture is the only other sculpture where similar background of lotus flowers is observed CE (Pl. 1). *Harivamśa Purāṇa* specifically mentions that Kṛṣṇa was wearing *bājubandhas* during the process, but there is no mention of him playing the flute. The disproportionate breast is attributed as the fault of the sculptor and should not be indicative of the figure represented to be a female. Overall treatment of the sculpture assures that it remained unfinished because of the incompetency of the artist. Anyhow, this image is very significant and might be one of the earliest images representing Kṛṣṇa. Another interesting point is that three early images of Kāliyā-damana from Mathura, datable between third-fifth centuries CE represent this subject in three different manners and indicate three different stages of the episode, e.g. one image kept in Mathura Museum (M.M. No. 44. 3374, Pl. 3) depicts Kṛṣṇa subduing Kāliyā, the second image (Pl. 2) depicts Kṛṣṇa playing flute after subduing Kāliyā while the Maholi image depicts the final stage before Kāliyā left the Yamunā.

Govardhana-dhāraṇa image (Pl. 4)

This sculptural relief made of buff coloured sandstone was observed at a shrine in village Jikhangaon of District Mathura. It is one of the most interesting and the earliest

depictions of this episode in the arena of Indian art. A terracotta panel from Rangmahal region and two sculptural reliefs (Bharat Kala Bhawan No. 147 and Mathura Museum No. D 47, Pl. 5), datable to Gupta period, are also known, which depict this story in early art. An attempt has been made by the sculptor to present a vivid view of the Govardhana hill and the region of Vraja. Unlike all the other such scenes, which are more iconic than narrative (e.g. Pl. 5), this is a purely narrative relief. Maximum space is provided to the hill and a cow whose calf is sucking the milk from its udders. This depiction is to present the panorama of Vraja where cows were found in abundance. Secondly, the depiction of the cow and her calf symbolizes the more important *bhakta-vatsala chhavi* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The cow is not shown in a naturalistic manner whereas the calf is shown with a hump. Lord Kṛṣṇa lifts the mountain with his left palm while his right arm is placed probably at his right thigh as doing the balancing act at the time of lifting the mountain. Kṛṣṇa is shown wearing a *vanamālā*, a beautiful torque, *keyūras* and a very peculiar headdress (*kākapakṣa*), characteristic of his youthful divine nature. Such type of hair-do is also observed in some other Gupta images. In his ears, he is probably wearing long floral *kuṇḍalas*. He wears a *dhoti* tied at his waist. The posture of Kṛṣṇa is shown in such a way that it appears that he held the mountain on his palm with ease. Kṛṣṇa is shown with a *gopikā* on either side. *Gopikās* are shown carrying a pot possibly filled with buttermilk, which they are supporting with their right hand whereas their left hand was possibly at their waist. It is one of the earliest representations in Indian art depicting the closeness of Kṛṣṇa with *gopikās*, which later on became the most important theme for *Rāsa-līlās*.

Sculptural relief depicting Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes (Pl. 6)

This sculptural relief made of red sandstone was observed at village Chauma Shahpur in district Agra. The relief is slightly different from other such reliefs known till now. It appears that the depiction of the story starts from the left side where two males with heavy muscular built are shown with folded hands. To their right is a female having *chaurī* in her left hand. Then the panel is followed by the representation of two persons sitting on a wicker-stool. One of them is a male who is shown sitting to the right side of the lady, confirming the stature of the lady as *vāmāṅgī* (i.e. his wife). The lady is carrying a child in her lap and possibly breast feeding him (from her right breast). One very interesting feature in the iconography of the male is the depiction of *abhaya* in his right hand. He is also shown wearing a jewelled torque. It appears that it is an attempt to represent the scene of the birth of the

almighty in the form of child Kṛṣṇa. Two persons sitting on the wicker-stool might be identified with Vasudeva and Devakī.

Sculpture relief depicting Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes (Pls. 7, 7a - d)

This relief (Pl. 7) was observed at a shrine in village Chursain in District Hathras. In the first scene (Pl. 7 a) from the right side of the panel, the birth scene of Lord Kṛṣṇa can be identified. The first figure sitting on a high stool, decorated with lotus flower design is a male figure and should be identified with Vṛṣṇi *vaṁśī* Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa. He is wearing a beaded necklace and holds some indistinct object in his right hand. Left hand has been shown kept at his left knee while his right hand is at his waist as he is eagerly looking at Kṛṣṇa's birth. Another figure is shown sitting by the side of Vasudeva on a similar type of stool. This figure appears to be of a lady. The maximum space in the relief has been provided to a reclining lady lying on a cot with her just born child by side, is anxious to breast feed her child for the first time. This lady and the child can be easily identified with *mātā* Devakī and her son, the paramount force of the world - Lord Kṛṣṇa. The pose of reclining Devakī is probably inspired from the contemporary iconography of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu images. Two female attendants are looking after the mother; one of them is possibly holding a *chaurī*. One very important feature in this scene is that the lady sitting on a high stool is holding a foot of Devakī in her lap and is probably in the process of applying some medicine on her sole. I am inclined to identify this lady figure either with a goddess or a learned nurse who was busy in post-birth treatment of Devakī. The seated male figure can never be Kariṣa in such scenes (as has been suggested by some scholars for similar type of depictions) because he came to know about the birth of the child only after the children had been exchanged between Devakī and Yaśodā. Another important fact about this scene is that such type of representation goes against the tradition as well as with the episodes of Kṛṣṇa's birth mentioned in most of the *Purāṇas*. Such account is clear to the point that Devakī was unaware of the fact that she had given birth to a male child and it was only after the completion of the transfer of child Ekānamśā that she became conscious. Considering this data as found in most of the religious texts, many scholars believe that the reclining lady in such representations is Yaśodā. It has to be accepted that this depiction of birth scene goes against the classical accounts but the *Bālācharitam* of Bhāsa mentions that Devakī had herself handed over the child to Vasudeva. Ratan Parimoo has quoted that in Bhāsa's *Bālācharitam* in the opening scene of the play, Devakī

holding the infant in her lap, awaits the entry of Vasudeva on the stage, in order to handover the baby to him.⁴ This account of Bhāsa seems to be the inspiration to the artist for such depictions of birth scene. Besides Bhāsa, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also mentions that Devakī had offered prayers to the newly born *Chaturbhuja* Viṣṇu, clearly indicating that she was aware of the birth of her male child.⁵ Composers of majority of religious treatises changed this account and that is why this depiction of birth scene is rarely found in Indian art. Another point, which needs to be emphasized in this scene, is that Vasudeva and Devakī have been shown as aristocratic persons with their drapery, seat as well as the number of attendants. Later *Purāṇas* tell us that Kṛṣṇa was born in the prison of Kāṁsa but *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* tells that he was born in the house or palace of Vasudeva.⁶

The second scene (Pl. 7 b) depicts the episode of the transfer of child Kṛṣṇa in exchange with Nandagopa's daughter, the goddess Ekānamśā. The figure on the right should be identified with Vasudeva holding Kṛṣṇa in his lap while the left figure should be of Nandagopa who holds child Ekānamśā in his lap. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* does not mention the incident of Vasudeva crossing Yamunā. It only mentions that Vasudeva had taken the child Kṛṣṇa to the house of Nanda and Yaśodā situated somewhere in the city. A clear idea could have been inferred about the difference in the dressing of a royal personage like Vasudeva and the head of *Gopas* like Nanda, but unfortunately the relief is too mutilated. In the same scene Yaśodā is probably shown looking at the exchange of the children from a pillar like structure, which has actually been carved to convey to the onlooker the change of place of the incidents from Mathura city to Vraja. The sculptor has been quite successful in his endeavour because this change of frame can be realized even after so much damage to the relief. There is an amazing feeling of movement and vividness in the representation of this episode, which is even more emphasized by the figure of Nanda entering Vraja. The way in which the body of Nanda is shown coming out of the pillar demarcating the change of the frame might be unparalleled in the Indian plastic art. An important point, which needs to be emphasized in this scene, is that in all other representations of the episode of the exchange of babies, a male and a female are shown holding the babies in their respective laps. These two can be identified as Vasudeva and Yaśodā at Gokul.

The next famous episode is represented in which *mātu* Yaśodā is shown churning the buttermilk. The child Kṛṣṇa is picking up the butter to put it into his small mouth.

Nandagopa who is shown sitting on a high stool is shown looking at the child lovingly. One thing which is quite remarkable in this frieze is that when the royal figures of Vasudeva and a lady sitting on a stool have been shown, the stool is highly ornamented and the pose of the sitting is also like an aristocratic person but while representing the episodes of Vraja, the stool has been shown to be plain without any decoration and the pose of Nanda and Yaśodā is quite simplistic and natural. The headdress of both is quite interesting though highly mutilated. Shape of the buttermilk-vase is quite similar to the vases found during excavations at archeological sites in the Gupta and late Gupta period. The *mathānī* has been tied with a rope, which is shown as being pulled by Yaśodā to churn the milk. The sculptor has been successful in representing the intricate feeling of ultimate joy and *paramānanda*, which the parents go through when their child starts toddling and making adorable mischiefs.

The next scene (Pl. 7 c) is the killing of Pūtānā. The female demon Pūtānā came to the Yaśodā's house to breast-feed child Kṛṣṇa at Kāṁsa's. She had poisonous nipples and put one into the mouth of child Kṛṣṇa with the intention of killing him. He being aware of all the intentions of worldly beings sucked her nipple with such a power that her *prāṇa* also came out through her nipple. According to *Harivaṁśa*, Pūtānā had come to Vraja in the form of a bird but she took the form of a lady to hide her true identity.⁷ In the relief under discussion, neither Pūtānā nor Kṛṣṇa have been shown in a seated position. The scene represents the aftermath of Pūtānā putting her nipple in Kṛṣṇa's mouth; as a standing toddler Kṛṣṇa is pulling the right breast of Pūtānā with his right hand and is trying to press her nipple with his teeth with immense power as his right leg is shown slightly lifted in aggression. Pūtānā has been depicted in a very helpless situation as she is throwing her arms about in enormous pain. She is shown bent on her left knee, which indicates her position of putting her breast in Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

The next scene in the relief possibly depicts the killing of Pralambāsura at the hands of Saṁkarṣaṇa. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*⁸ tells that while playing in *Bhāṇḍīra vana*, the *gopas* decided that the winner of the game would ride over the shoulders of the losing player. In this way Pralamba in the disguise of a *gopa* carried Saṁkarṣaṇa on his shoulders to the sky. Then after being reminded by Kṛṣṇa of his divine power, Saṁkarṣaṇa attacked the demon on his head with his fist (*muṣṭiprahāra*) and killed the demon. This scene in the relief depicts Saṁkarṣaṇa riding on the shoulders of Pralamba. Saṁkarṣaṇa can be identified by the remains of *vanamālā* still preserved at his

feet and with the fist of the right hand as he is just about to attack the demon. His left hand is shown kept at his left thigh as to generate the power in the fist to attack the demon. The demon would have been shown with some demonic attributes on his face but not much can be seen now in the mutilated sculpture. By the pose of the demon, it is clear that he is shown flying in the sky as mentioned in *Harivaṁśa*. Depiction of a story related with Balarāma between the series of episodes related with Kṛṣṇa is really interesting and somehow tells that there was not much difference between them as divine figures.

The next scene (Pl. 7 d) to the left depicts the story of *Yamalārjuna bhaṅga*. One day Yaśodā tied child Kṛṣṇa with a *okhala* so that he could not do any mischief in her absence and went for her household work. Kṛṣṇa moved along with the *okhala* and passed between two *arjuna* trees. Between the trees the stick of the *okhala* got entangled and with the thrust of child Kṛṣṇa, both the trees fell down on the earth. This episode is only related with the falling of *arjuna* trees in the *Harivaṁśa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* but in some later *Purāṇas* like *Bhāgavata*, the two trees have been considered as two *Yakṣas* who were freed from a curse by Kṛṣṇa.⁹ Kṛṣṇa as a boy is shown uprooting the trees with his hands. Interestingly, the height of the trees has been shown lesser than Kṛṣṇa. The trees do not appear to be realistic in this depiction. In none of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes so far known from India, *Yamalārjuna* scene has been depicted in this manner and in all of them two figures are shown coming out of the trees as per the reference of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* whether at Paharpur, Bangladesh or at Badami. This scene would be helpful in establishing an early date of about sixth-seventh century CE to this relief.

The last scene (Pl. 7 d) in this relief depicts the story of *Śakaṭa-bhaṅjana*. As per the account of *Harivaṁśa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹⁰, one day Yaśodā had gone for a bath in River Yamunā. Meanwhile, child Kṛṣṇa felt the desire of *stanapāna* and in the frustration of not getting it, he kicked the *Śakaṭa* under which he was lying. Because of his powerful kick, all the articles kept in the *Śakaṭa* fell down and most of them got broken. In some later *Purāṇas* like *Bhāgavata*, this episode is related with the killing of a demon named *Śakaṭāsura*. In the present relief, child Kṛṣṇa is shown kicking the *Śakaṭa* with his right leg because of which the articles like pots, vases etc. kept in it are shown in a disturbed state. It again proves that the idea for the depiction of this relief was derived from an earlier *Purāṇa* like *Harivaṁśa* or *Viṣṇu*.

depicting the scenes of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. One thing, which is notable in all the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* reliefs, is that the sequence of various episodes is not the same as mentioned in *Purāṇas*. But the sculptor has tried to depict the *saumya* incidents and *raudra* incidents in an undisturbed sequence. I am inclined to date this relief to about late sixth-seventh century CE and in this way it would be one of the earliest reliefs depicting a number of *līlās*. Although much deteriorated, it appears to be a complete relief. There would have been similar other reliefs at the site depicting the *līlā* scenes but they are missing now. Ideally, this relief should be part of a late Gupta or a slightly later temple.

Sculpture depicting *Pūtanā-vadha* (Pl. 8)

This sculpture was observed in a heap of Vaiṣṇava sculptures, which have been arranged in a cemented wall at a shrine in village Jawra, District Mathura. The sculpture is a part of an architectural frieze, which depicts the episode of *Pūtanā-vadha*. The depiction is very similar to the above-described *Pūtanā-vadha* relief. In its lower part, the episode depicted seems to be *Keśin-vadha*. This sculptural piece might date back to about seventh century CE.

Sculpture depicting *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* (Pl. 9)

This figure, a bust of a deity should be identified with *Govardhana-dhāraṇa mudrā*. The deity is shown wearing a *vanamālā* and has his right hand kept at his thigh. The left hand, which is broken, was lifted upward by which he held the hill of *Govardhana*. This sculpture might be dated to late Gupta period.

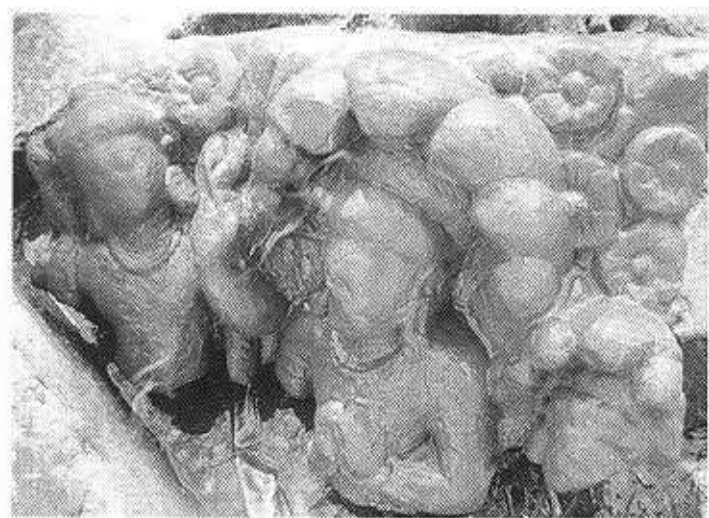
Bust of a Vaiṣṇava deity depicting *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* (Pl. 10)

This small headless bust was observed at a shrine in village Ladpur of Hathras district. The deity is shown keeping his right hand at his thigh whereas the left hand probably held the mountain *Govardhana*. The *vanamālā* running across the knees confirms its Vaiṣṇava identity. There is also a possibility that this bust might belong to Balarāma who is drinking wine from a goblet. But Balarāma is usually not represented with right hand kept at his thigh, as is the case in this image. Besides, a *śrīvatsa* mark is visible at the chest of the deity so its identification as *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* seems to be right. The sculpture might be dated back to about eighth-ninth century CE.

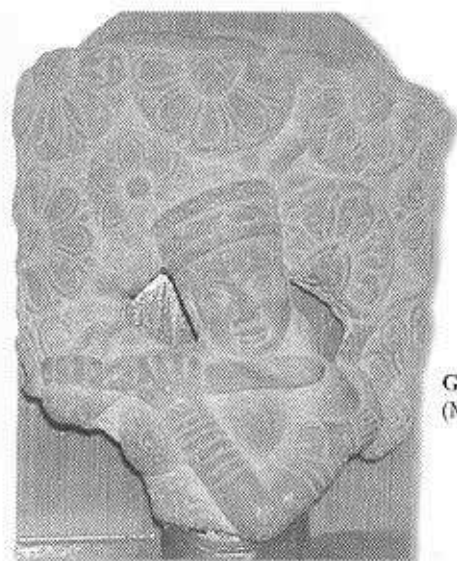
It is surely one of very interesting and important reliefs

References

1. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, 16th chapter and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Pañchama anśa*, 11th and 12th chapter.
2. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 5.7. 47-76.
3. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, 12th chapter, verse 34 and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Pañchama anśa*, 7th, verses 42-43.
4. Ratan Parimoo, "Kṛṣṇa-līlā in Sculptural Reliefs and Temples," *Studies in Indian Sculpture*, N. Delhi, 2000, pp. 243.
5. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Pañchama anśa*, 3rd chapter, verses 10-14.
6. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, 4th chapter, verses 29-31.
7. *Ibid*, 7. 22-28.
8. *Ibid*, 14th chapter.
9. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, 7th chapter and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Pañchama anśa*, 6th chapter.
10. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Parva*, 6th chapter and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Pañchama anśa*, 6th chapter.



Gupta, Pl. 1: *Kaliya-damana*, Maholi



Gupta, Pl. 2: *Kaliya-damana*
(M.M. No. 00.F.17)



Gupta, Pl. 3: *Kaliya-damana* (M.M. No. 44.3374)



Gupta, Pl. 4: *Govardhana-dharana*, Jikhangaon



Gupta, Pl. 5: *Govardhana-dharana*
(M.M. No. D 47)



Gupta, Pl. 6: Sculptural relief depicting Krishna-lila scenes, Chauma Shalpur, Agra



Gupta, Pl. 7: Sculpture relief depicting Krishna-lila scenes, Chursain, Hathras



Gupta, Pl. 7a: Enlarged view of Pl. 7 depicting the birth of Krishna



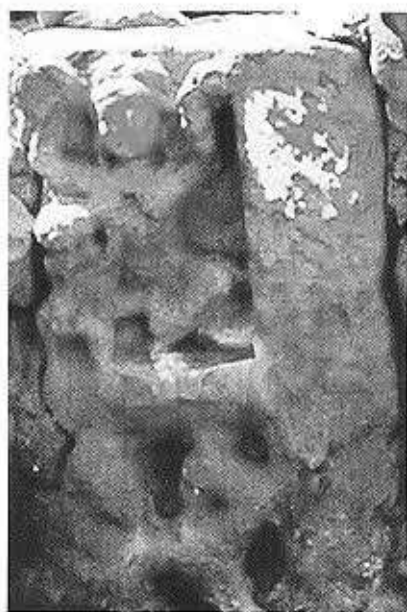
Gupta, Pl. 7b: Enlarged view of Pl. 7 depicting the exchange of children and a household scene



Gupta, Pl. 7c: Enlarged view of Pl. 7 depicting the killing of Putana and Pralamba



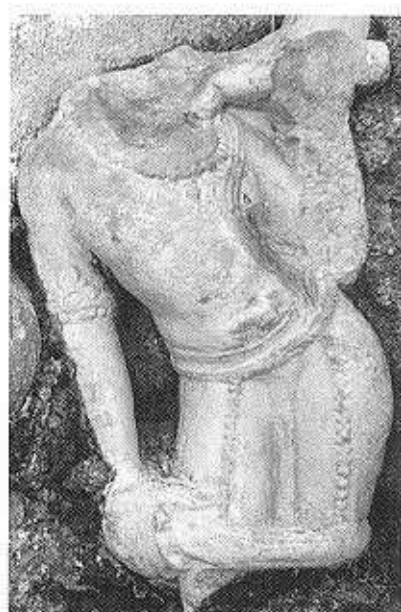
Gupta, Pl. 7d: Enlarged view of Pl. 7 depicting *Yamalarjuna* and *Shakata-bharjuna*



Gupta, Pl. 8: Sculptures depicting *Putana-vadha* Jawra, Mathura



Gupta, Pl. 9: *Govardhana-dharana*, Jawra, Mathura



Gupta, Pl. 10: *Govardhana-dharana*, Ladpur, Hathras