

LETTRE



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STUDY ON THE DIFFUSION OF A TYPE OF MASK THROUGH GREECE, INDIA AND JAPAN

BY FRANÇOIS PANNIER

The study of masks in Europe and Asia leads to the observation that there are sometimes arresting similarities of style. The theory that these are due to chance is often put forward. It does simplify the problem, but fails to provide a satisfactory answer.

The recent sale at auction of a Japanese mask¹ from the Louis Gonse collection brought up a certain number of questions that we discussed in the Toit du Monde's December 1998 newsletter #6, in an article titled *Sur le Dieu-Masque dans les Dionysies et Indra Jatra (On the God Mask in the Dyonisia and the Indra Jatra)*.²

In that article, we noted the many similarities observed between the ancient Greek masks of the Great Dionysia and those used in contemporary Indra Jatra festivals in Nepal.

The very broad diffusion of the style of the masks we will consider here is immediately apparent to us, even if the manner in which it spread has not always been explained.

Nonetheless, the intersection between these different zones and areas are so abundant that it is impossible to approach the subject without considering them.



Monpa or Sherdukpen Mask. Wood. Height: 22 cm
© Musée Barbier-Mueller P.A Ferrazzni-Bouchet

GREECE

Excavation work done at the ruins of the Orthia Temple, called the Temple of Artemis Orthia since the first century, in Sparta, has brought to light a certain number of terracotta masks. The mediocre quality of the materials used for the building of the sanctuary makes our understanding of its construction very incomplete, but an important ensemble of terracotta masks was found near it.³

These masks date to around 615 – 450 BC and are apparently consecrations of those used in theatrical presentations. The original masks were made of more perishable materials - fabric, wood, wax, bark or plaster⁴ – and have disappeared.

A few main types can be distinguished: masks of warriors, young or old, the toothless wrinkled faces of the “old” (but not in the sense of being anachronistic), satyrs, Gorgons, grotesque beings and buffoons.

Dionysus and Artemis

Henri Jeanmaire wrote the following on the origins of the theater:⁵ “There certainly were masks, masquerades, and societies or associations that made use of them and of disguises, in Greece, especially associated with the cult of Artemis. There is moreover a pre-Dionysian element, and probably even pre-Hellenic element, to them.”

In the conclusion of a publication,⁶ Jean-Pierre Vernant wrote: “In the Sanctuary of Artemis, when young people wore the masks for their dances and chants, they were not only representing the figure of the accomplished warrior whose virile courage constituted the ideal of the agoge. They assume, in order to exorcize them by aping them for the duration of the ritual, forms of otherness which, in their contrasts, like between the excessive savagery of the male versus the excessive timidity of the Parthenos, between individual and solitary life versus gregariousness and group life, between deviation, dissimulation and fraud versus blind obedience and strict conformism, between the received whipping versus the victory of conquest, and between opprobrium versus glory, mark the field of adolescence whose extreme borders one must have explored to be integrated, to become in one’s own right an equal, a peer, and a homoios among homoioi.”

However, upon studying the unfolding of the ceremony in the sanctuary, in the course of which the Spartan ephebes were whipped until they bled, and sometimes to death, we have difficulty conceiving of how the masks could have been used in this context.

Although it has been stated that “the rite of flagellation at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was defined as an initiation rite, and more specifically as a tribal initiation rite...”,⁷ we do not understand, when we make the rapprochements with Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux’s designations, how masks might have played a part in this ritual. What would a Gorgon be doing in this context?

This Artemis of Orthia is defined by Jean-Pierre Vernant⁸ as being, for the Greeks, the barbarous Artemis, the Scythian.

The masks were found close to the sanctuary of Orthia. Were they associated with the rituals that took place at the sanctuary, or were they used for other purposes?

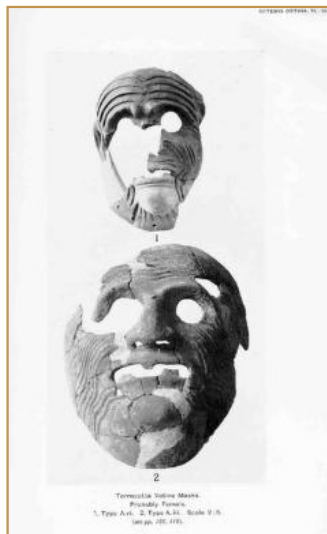
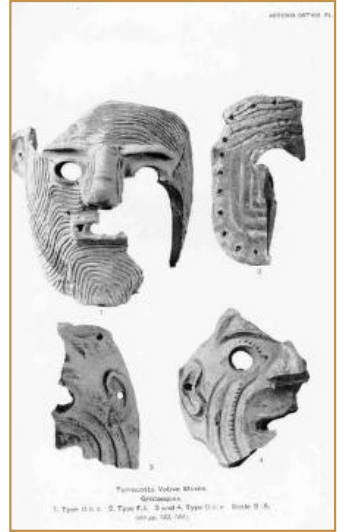
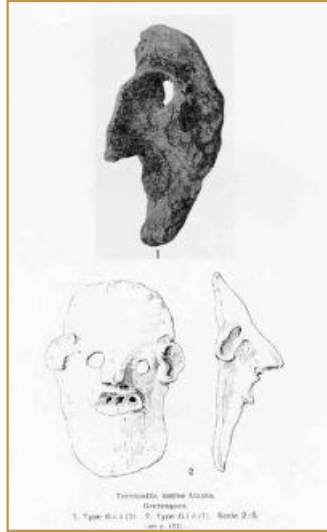
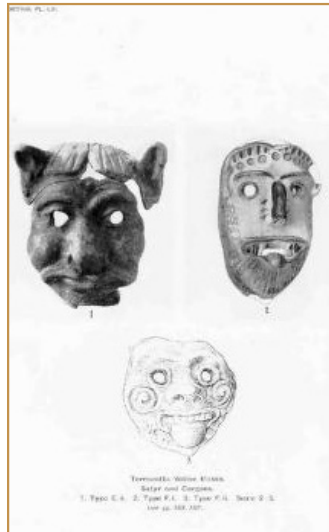
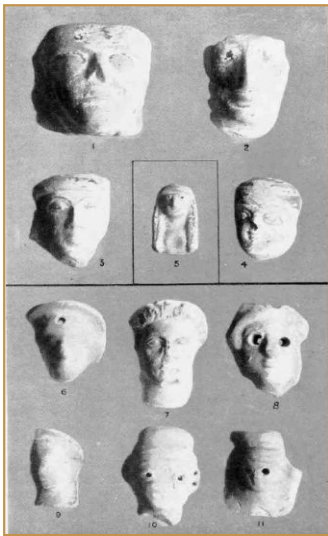
Certain authors refer to them as stage masks, while others call them ritual masks, and some note that it is difficult to classify them as belonging to one category or the other. Others speak of masquerades associated with the cult of Artemis, which is not at all of the same nature.

The origins of Dionysus and Artemis and their cults were probably situated much further east – in Thrace or Lydia perhaps...? The Black Sea is at the center of a region that is rich in very important ancient cultures that remain little known due to the absence of written documentation about them.

Another version of the origin of Dionysus traces it to Nysa near the Indus River. That could explain the style of masks we are examining and their connection with those of the Himalayas.

Artemis is also found in Taurida (Crimea), where she hosts Iphigenia, after having substituted a doe for her to prevent her from being sacrificed by her father to help him win the Trojan War. It is to her and to her brother Orestes that she entrusts her statue to bring back to Attica. It is this Tauridan Artemis that Athens and Sparta pretended to possess.⁹

Excavation work done by Richard MacGillivray Dawkins¹⁰ at the Orthia temple site were the subject of a publication in which a number of terracotta masks found there are illustrated.



Plates of Richard MacGillivray Dawkins publication
 The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta
 Journal of Hellenic Studies - Supplement 5 - London 1929.

Two of these capture our attention in particular:

1. This mask, said to be of a Gorgon, appears somehow very wild and barbarous to us in a Greek context. Also called “Gorgoncion” by Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux,¹¹ it is said to represent the mask of the Gorgon. We are nonetheless very far here from the style we observe of other examples of her seen elsewhere.¹² **(A)**

The illustrated mask of Orthia seems closer in spirit to us to certain Himalayan masks.

Traditions of ceremonies that generally take place at carnival times, in the course of which masks of this type are used, survive in the mountainous areas of Europe, in Sardinia, in Switzerland (in the Lötschenthal in particular) and as far east as Romania. They appear to be the surviving manifestations of very ancient traditions, probably Dionysian or pre-Dionysian, which escaped persecutions and the monotheistic influences of the valleys, thanks to their isolation and their resulting position as the last refuges of archaic customs. The confrontation with the two Himalayan masks¹³ from a private collection appears more relevant to us. **(B, C)**

2. This old woman mask brings to mind masks from Arunachal Pradesh. In the Monpa or Sherdukpen context, this type of character, as one can see him in a film by Peter van Ham, often has a vulgar and scatological function.

Discussing theater, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux¹⁴ presents examples of another type of terracotta mask excavated at Lipari in Sicily, which dates to the 3rd or 4th century BC. These were found among funerary offerings, and that location could lead one to think that their theatrical function might have been complemented by a ritual one – as psychopomps perhaps?

In his description of the encounter between Dionysius and Ariadne at Naxos, Henri Jeanmaire¹⁵ writes about the latter: “By making her succumb to Artemis, Dionysius not only took her from his rival, but reserved her for himself, and made her pass into his empire. His quality as a god of the underworld, the complement, as the Ionian Heraclitus expressly states, of Hades, the god of the dead, shows though clearly in this ancient account, which at the same time sheds light on Ariadne’s affinity for Persephone, who was ravished by the master of the infernal world.”

This quotation is particularly interesting because it tells of both the union of Dionysius and Artemis, and of the god’s relationship with the subterranean and infernal world.

This union between Dionysius and Artemis could moreover justify the presence and the proximity of the temple of Artemis Orthia and the theater of Sparta, where plays inspired by Dionysius were performed. The interpretation of these masks in this context could be modified, and substitute for the one above that associates them with the ephebes that were supposedly masked and whipped during rituals at the sanctuary. Associations between the two divinities are frequently made in the texts.



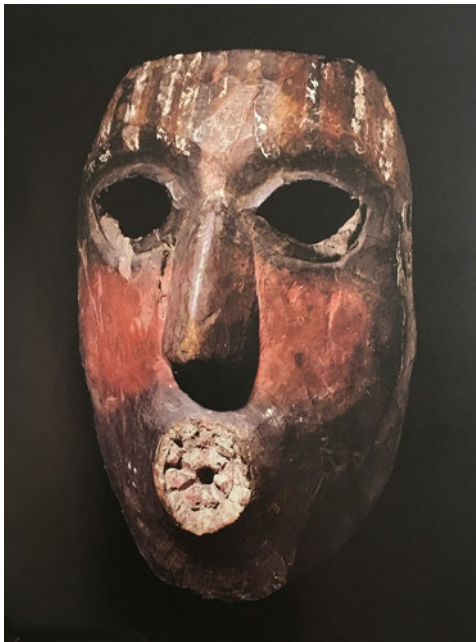
1



A



2



B



C

K. Diltheyxvi noted that both goddesses were involved in hunting, and Henri Jeanmaire¹⁷ states that “they had certain primitive characteristics in common that correspond to the most archaic traits of their cult.”

And that “in the course of an evolution that favored a divine figure who was seductive and full of novel emotions that affirmed itself in Dionysius, there was a tendency to substitute, even in beliefs that were tainted with a certain lugubrious character, this god that dispensed joy and various blessings for the goddess who always retained something of the ancient naturist divinities, and who, in the end, aroused more feelings of terror than amorous ones.” Dionysius’ relationship with the infernal world reminds of the rapprochement we made¹⁸ between the Greek Great Dionysia and the Indra Jatra in Nepal. Indeed, during the latter festival the souls of the year’s dead are gathered to be transported to the paradise of Indra’s mother.

This relationship Dionysius has with the world of the dead is much more evident during the Anthesteria. This was the opportunity for the souls of the dead to come back, accompanied by carriers of maleficent forces and miasmas from the great beyond that the Greeks called the Keres.

After the three days of ceremonies during which one prayed for the deceased and performed sacrifices, these souls were dismissed with a “to the doors with you Keres – the Anthesteria are over!”

It is moreover interesting to note that Artemis visited Lipari, the island of the Cyclops, who made her weapons - a bow, a quiver and arrows - for her.

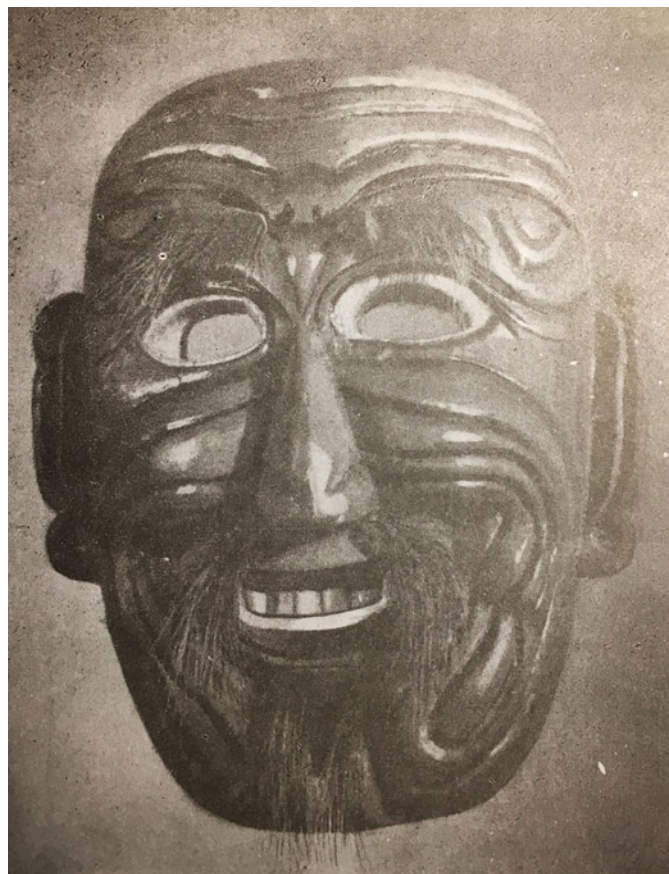
It is said¹⁹ that it was the Cyclops who played the role of shaman instructor to Hephaestus and Athena...

Describing a painting in the temple of Dionysius, Pausanias wrote: “One sees Dionysius leading Hephaestus to the heavens...”

M. Delcourt²⁰ adds the following detail: “Finally, Hephaestus is brought back to Olympus, most often by Dionysius, seated on a mule and drunk...”

In our article on the psychopomp horse,²¹ the texts we examined described only horses. The mention of the mule is something new here. One may however fairly ask oneself if the hybrid nature of this animal, the sterile offspring of a mare and a donkey, does not confer a kind of marginal and ridiculous aspect on this voyage to Olympus. The mule has never been seen as a noble creature, very much unlike the horse.

The mule does not appear to have the intelligence or the sensitivity of the horse either, a characteristic we noted during the evening of lectures and discussions we had on the subject of the psychopomp horse.



*Above :
Monpa mask –Arunachal Pradesh
reproduced by Verrier Elwin.²²*



*Below :
Monpa mask – Arunachal Pradesh
Private collection.*



*Monpa mask - Arunachal Pradesh
Private collection.*

INDIA AND THE HIMALAYAS

In India, the creation of theater is attributed to Brahma.²³ The gods said to him: "Since it is not appropriate for the Vedas to be heard by people of low birth, you should create a fifth Veda for the edification of everyone."

Brahma replied: "I will thus create a fifth Veda called the theater arts, based on history, and which will serve as a vehicle for the meaning of all the holy texts, give impetus to the arts and contain moral lessons in the most profound sense, that will guide men towards virtue, fortune and glory. It will show the world the conduct that must be followed in the future."

This text, the Nāṭya Śāstra, was composed by Bharata Muni towards the end of the second century AD.

This quotation can be taken as a prelude to what Bernard Sergent²⁴ wrote on the theater: "It has been said that Shiva Nataraja is the king of both dance and theater. According to the myth, Shiva participated in the creation of the theater: it was firstly the work of Brahma, but since Shiva was involved in the first theatrical presentation, he enhanced it with his Ananta Tandava dance.

The Greek tradition affirmed that theater had been a product of the cult of Dionysius, and the proof of that is that every piece of Greek theater, whether tragedy or comedy, was inserted into the cult of Dionysius. The plays in classical Athens were performed only once a year, on the occasion of the Dionysia, and the names of the theatrical genres come directly from the cult as well. Tragedy, *tragodia*, means the "song of the buck", because *tragos* is one of the buck's names, and one sang a religious song, a dithyramb, while sacrificing a buck to Dionysius. As for comedy, *komodia*, the term's origins lay in the Dionysian *komos* rites. It is in fact probable that the singing that accompanied the sacrifice of the buck and the *komos* included the *schemata*, the hand movements mentioned above, and the gestures of the pantomime.

The parallels between India and Greece on this point make it possible to consider that the origins of theater in Greece are not exactly as has been related: theatrical forms could accompany the sacrifice of animals in the context of Dionysian rituals since prehistoric times. As in India, theater can be an extension of dance, and this close connection could suggest a past which Greece shares with India – one that would be millennia long.

This idea is one Pierre Levêque²⁵ hinted at when he wrote: "In the larger sense, Dionysius and Shiva represent two very specific forms of a same archetype that undoubtedly dates back to the Neolithic."

He adds: "In my view, this is what the naturalist vision of the first societies consists of: on the one hand, the gods of livestock farming and cultivation that help man in his quest to nourish himself, and on the other, the gods of the wild that make men wild, while still allowing them to insert themselves into an apparently more violent and less propitious natural framework. These are Dionysius and Shiva, and in Scandinavia, the giants that reign over the ice and the snow..."

Before concluding, and to situate Dionysius in the Indian world: "Dionysius did not need to come to India. He was already there..."

Sylvain Lévi studied the ancient connections between India and Greece.²⁶ He notes that for eight centuries, from the time of Alexander's expedition through the period of the reign of Justinian, India had uninterrupted political and commercial connections with the Hellenic world.

The Greeks are called Yavana in the texts and had a certain influence in India. He notes that a late inscription mentions the existence of a Greek prefecture in the Ashoka's kingdom.

When the Indian texts mention the Yavanas of the west, they put them in a zone that connects them with their neighbors, the Gandhari, the Kashmiri, the Bactrians, the Chinese, the Scythians, and the indigenous peoples of the lower and middle Indus River and of Dardistan, Marwar, and Punjab.

The Yavanas invaded the kingdom of Pataliputra in Bihar, whose capital was in the Patana region, in the second century BC or in the first half of the first century BC. They also invaded Orissa on several occasions, coming from Kabulistan and Kashmir. Sylvain Lévi observed that the crowded conditions in Orissa and Bihar must have had repercussions for these events.

Their geographical situation in Southern Nepal put them into direct contact with the Newar of the Kathmandu Valley, which was a hub for the commercial route that connected India with Tibet and Central Asia. That could be one of the elements that explains the rapprochement between the rituals of the Greek Great Dionysia and the Indra Jatra festival that we have already mentioned here.²⁷

Moreover, the Indo-Greek Empire, weakened by the attacks of the Tzacha, a Scythian dynasty, was ultimately absorbed by the latter. Their settlement in the Aryavarta area (between the Indus River and the Gulf of Bengal, the Himalayas and the Vindhya Range) as well as the connection Sylvain Lévi maintains they had with the Kamboja, a tribe of which a branch appears to have migrated to Nepal and Tibet fairly early, and in any event in the 9th century in Northeast India and probably in Tibet,²⁸ suggest they had a very widespread presence and area of influence.

Lastly, he mentions the presence of groups of Yavanas in the Brahmaputra Basin, in Tibet and in Burma. This area extends to Eastern Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh, which are inhabited by Mompa and Sherdukpen populations.

These different areas of Greek influence are interesting and relevant for a variety of reasons in the study of the masks of the region. Obviously, the influences one can observe in the style of the masks between India and Japan could only have been transmitted by way of China.

Elements that would enable us to study way in which this diffusion took place are missing. The subject certainly deserves more research. Nonetheless, when one looks at the masks of Chinese minorities, like those that were shown recently at an exhibition at the Musée Jacquemart-André,²⁹ one cannot help but make this association.



*Mask representing Erlang, "The Scholar", - circa 19th century.
Southwest China. Wood with traces of polychrome.
Height: 27 cm. Patrick Grimaud collection.*

JAPAN

What shape could the Indian and Greek influences on the masks of Japan have taken?

Sylvain Lévi³⁰ observed that Greek painting certainly aroused the admiration and emulation of Indians, but that the fragility of these creations consigned them to be lost to history. He finds a curious reflection of it in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist painting, particularly with respect to borrowings from India on religious subjects, and traditional figures that still exhibit their Greek origin.

Eurasia was subjected to multiple invasions, from west to east and from east to west. The diffusion of cultural elements necessarily accompanied those invasions, and while this phenomenon was not always justifiable, it is often observable in the iconographies.

One of the responses to these influences could be found in the works of Robert von Heine-Geldern, who describes the formation of the Dong Song civilization through the penetration towards Indochina in the advances of the "Pontic migration" that originated in Europe around 1000BC and led a conglomerate of peoples that had left from the northern region around the Black Sea, and in particular the Cimmerians from Taurida, in what is now Crimea, to the borders of China.

These invaders did not cross regions that had not had masks.

Already in the Bronze Age, representations of masks were portrayed, probably reflecting masks that were really worn, like the one engraved on the rock of Okounevo³¹ in the second millennium BC, or the one found on the fragment of a clay vase from Voznessenovka³² that dates to the third millennium BC.

The paintings do leave some evidence of the wearing of masks.

The circa 7th century³³ Kuca reliquary show masked men dancing, and include depictions of hares, demons and birds. The author sees elements reminiscent of shamanism in these.

In a manuscript from Qocho³⁴ in the Turfan area that dates to the 8th or 9th century, a painting shows figures, perhaps masked, with head resembling those of elephants, among others.

Mario Bussagli observed that the iconography becomes Manichean and adopts and integrates Indian designs, both Buddhist and not.

As for the masks of the peoples of Siberia, they provide us with recent or contemporary examples of their styles, as S. Ivanov³⁵ has demonstrated.

Mongolia also has little-known, often lamaic but sometimes enigmatic masking traditions, an example being the 13th century terracotta polychrome piece from Har-Horin.³⁶

However, nothing about these types of masks makes it possible to liken them stylistically to the ones under consideration here.

In his book *Masques et portraits, arts du Japon*, François Berthier³⁷ points out that around approximately 550AD, a man named Chiso arrived in Japan from the land of the Kure in Southwest Korea with a set of masks for the *gigaku*.



1

1. Mask of Baramon, the Brahman.

2. Mask of Kuro, King Suiko's servant.

3. Mask of King Suiko.

4. Mask of Karura, the equivalent of Garuda, Asuka period, 7th century.

5. Mask of Goko. Prince of the kingdom of Wu, and thus a foreigner from the continent.



2



3



4



5

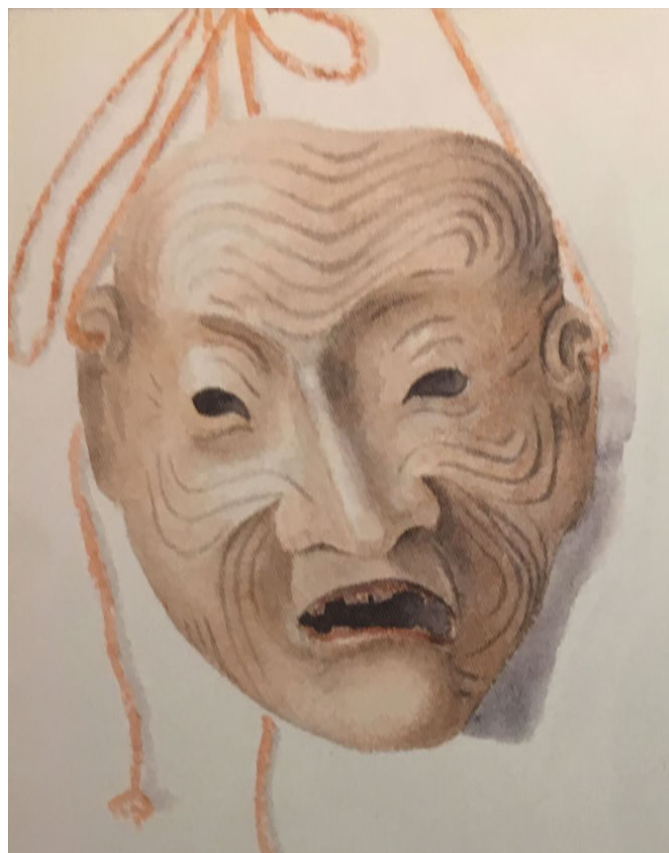
He states that “although they saw light in Southern China, these masked “dances” seem to have distant origins, either in Indochina, or more probably in Central Asia. They also incorporate Indian elements, and according to some, might even show indications of borrowings from ancient Greece.”

The appearance of the performers was concluded with a joyous group of “drunken barbarians” (*suiko*) and a king surrounded by six or eight assistants. “It was in this scene that some thought they discerned a distant reflection of the Greek bacchanalia, recognizing Dionysius in the barbarian king, and Silenus, satyrs and Pan in his acolytes.”³⁸ Certain names attributed to these 7th and 8th century masks from Horyu-ji and Tdai-ji and now in the National Museum of Tokyo are however unequivocal: The bird-man Karura refers to Garuda; Baramon represents a Brahman; Suiko is the drunken Persian king or drunk King Hu; and Kuron, the black man represents the Negritos of Southeast Asia.

These masks of very classical manufacture were preserved in religious or royal patrimonies. At the same period, it is very possible that masks in more popular contexts were used, but the ruling class would have had no particular reason or interest in preserving them.

A little bit later, in about the 8th century, the *sangaku* spectacle from China, another continental import, arrived in Japan. And in the 13th century, a new genre that integrated buffoonery and vulgarity into the theater arts appeared.

A comparison of certain Japanese masks with Greek and Monpa masks yields some unsettling similarities. This style of mask was not used in the same context as the mask of the Asuka period. It can however be surmised that contact endured. It is interesting to note that there is a Noh mask for Okina “the old man”.³⁹ The purpose of the dance of the old man was to ensure human longevity and abundant crops. In Greece, masks of old people were similarly associated with fertility. It remains to be found out if it was used in Japan in a lewd and scatological context like it was among the Monpa, but the notion of vulgarity that the *sangaku* introduced in the 13th century might suggest that it was.



Above: Mask formerly in the Louis Gonse collection, late Edo period (1603-1868), Eve auction of June 26th 2018, lot 106; first sale of the Lair, Dubreuil and Baudoin collection, May 5th through 11th 1924, number 469.

Below: Watercolor by Louis Gonse with the same mask. Reproduced in *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre d'art japonais*, number 184, plate 31.



Les Chefs-d'oeuvre d'art japonais by Gaston Migeon – 1905.
Mask reproduced as number 184, plate 31.

CONCLUSION

Here in conclusion, are two masks that it is interesting to compare:

Above, a Japanese mask from the Renzo Freschi collection, and below a mask from Arunachal Pradesh.

This idea of the diffusion of a mask style between Greece, India, the Himalayas and Japan obviously raises a number of questions.

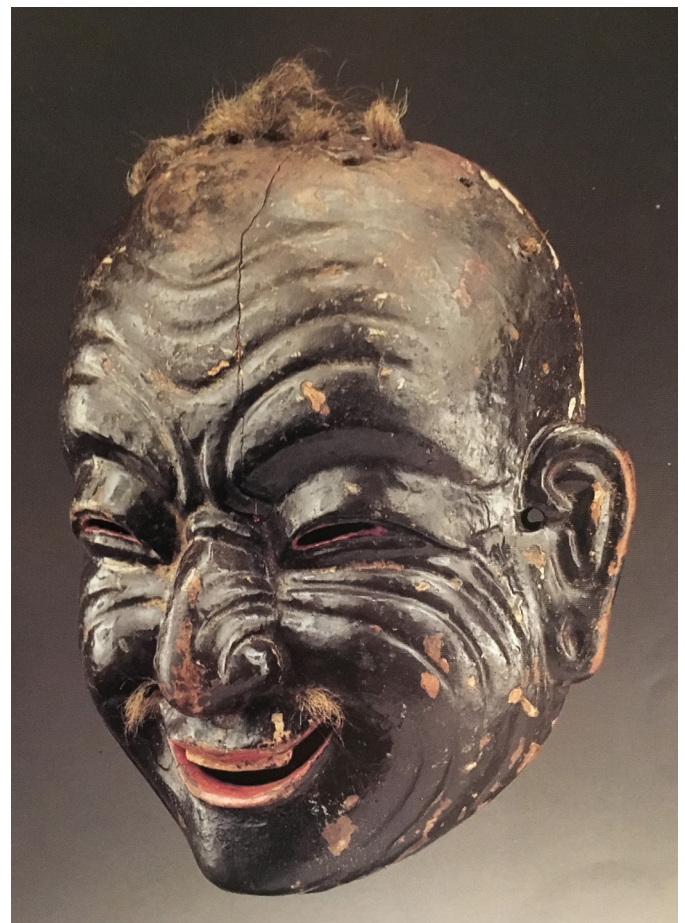
Along what paths did this diffusion occur? There were probably many - among them, the one noted above, suggested by Robert von Heine-Geldern in connection with the Pontic and Cimmerian migrations a very long time ago. The silk roads certainly played a part in this diffusion and had an influence on it, and Central Asia did as well.

What Jacques Giés⁴⁰ wrote commenting on a 9th century painting from Dunhuang of a monk carrying books is most pertinent in this respect:

“Of all of the painted representations found in Dunhuang, the one of the walking monk carrying books and accompanied by a tiger is the most explicit expression of the modalities of the longterm transmission of Buddhism along the paths of Central Asia, from the Indian world to the Far East, and suggests that the work of propagation was performed by a few men, erudite and scholarly monks who brought the sacred texts with them. At the very least, excluding the probably very important role that merchants and traders played, this is the emblematic image that was retained, and its authority rests on the considerable enterprise of translating the Indian texts, that took place beginning in the 1st century AD and ensured the diffusion of Buddhism in China.”

The Horyu-ji and Todai-ji masks with Karura the bird and Baramon the Brahman tend to prove that the Indian influence was not only propagated through manuscripts. Their arrival by way of Korea could only be the result of earlier contacts with India and the Himalayas. Lastly, we may ask in what way the influences of similarities we observe in the masks we have considered here operated. Did they originate from Sparta and the theater Dionysius created? Nothing could be less certain. An Asian (or Indian?) origin appears more likely.

That being the case, we ought to conclude perhaps by quoting Pierre Levêque: “Dionysius didn't have to come to India. He was there already...”



Above:
A mask in the Renzo Freschi collection.

Below:
A mask from Arunachal Pradesh.

NOTES

- 1 Eve auction June 26th 2018, lot 106.
- 2 Published in India, in English, by Professor Prapatitya Pal in his periodical Marg in 2001, vol. 52, #4, translation by Christophe Roustan Delatour.
- 3 Nicolas Richer, Sparte cité des arts, des armes et des lois, Perrin, 2018, page 178.
- 4 Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage*, Flammarion, 2012, page 16.
- 5 Henri Jeanmaire, *Dionysos, histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Bibliothèque historique Payot, 1951, page 310.
- 6 *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'occident 2, Une divinité des marges : Artémis Orthia*, publications du Centre Jean Bérard, pages 13-27.
- 7 Claude Calame, *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles dans la Grèce antique*, Roma (Ateneo), 1977.
- 8 Jean-Pierre Vernant, *La Mort dans les yeux, figure de l'Autre en Grèce ancienne*, Hachette Littérature, 1998, page 26.
- 9 Ibid., page 25.
- 10 R.M. Dawkins (Ed.), "The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparte", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, supplément n°5, Londres, 1929.
- 11 Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage*, Flammarion, 2012, page 25.
- 12 Ibid., page 23.
- 13 Reproduced in the Masques Himalaya catalog, Editions Findakly, that accompanied the 2007 exhibition at the Salle du Vieux-Colombier, shown again at the Musée d'Art Asiatique de Toulon, pages 124-125.
- 14 Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage*, Flammarion, 2012, pages 16-17.
- 15 Henri Jeanmaire, *Dionysos, histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Bibliothèque historique Payot, 1951, page 225.
- 16 *Chasse sauvage*, Rh. Mus, 1870.
- 17 Ibid., page 271.
- 18 Ibid., note 2.
- 19 Michaël Martin, *Le Matin des Hommes-Dieux : étude sur le chamanisme grec, Éléments chamaniques dans la mythologie grecque*, FEC (Louvain-la-Neuve), n°8, July-December 2004.
- 20 *Héphaïstos ou la légende du magicien*, Les Belles Lettres, 1982.
- 21 François Pannier, *Lettre du Toit du Monde* n°27, June 2019, "The Psychopomp Horse and the Phurbu – Observations on a Ritual Object".
- 22 *The Art of the North-East Frontier of India*, Directorate of Research, Itanagar, 1988, page 91.
- 23 Alain Daniélou, *Mythes et dieux de l'Inde, le polythéisme hindou*, éditions du Rocher, 1992, page b500.
- 24 Bernard Sergent, *Le Dieu fou : essai sur les origines de Siva et de Dionysos*, Les Belles Lettres, 2016, pages 342-343.
- 25 Published in Inde, *Grèce ancienne: regards croisés en anthropologie de l'espace*, Centre de recherches d'histoires anciennes, volume 148, Institut Félix Gaffiot, volume 13, pages 125-136.
- 26 Mémorial Sylvain Lévi, *La Grèce et l'Inde d'après les documents indiens*, Paul Hartmann éditeur, 1937, pages 187-203.
- 27 François Pannier, *Lettre du Toit du Monde*, n°6, décembre 1998, "Sur le Dieu-Masque dans les Dionysies et Indra Jatra".
- 28 R. R. Diwarkar (Ed), *Bihar à travers les âges*, 1958, page 312.
- 29 Catalog *Le Masque de la Chine*, Yves Créhalet, mars 2007.
- 30 Mémorial Sylvain Lévi, *La Grèce et l'Inde d'après les documents indiens*, Paul Hartmann éditeur, 1937, page 200.
- 31 Exhibition catalog for *Avant les Scythes, préhistoire de l'art en URSS*, Grand Palais, 1979, n°124, page 136.
- 32 Catalog *L'Art russe des Scythes à nos jours, trésors des musées soviétiques*, n°3, Grand Palais, 1967.
- 33 Reproduced in *Les Peintures de l'Asie centrale* by Mario Bussagli, Skira, collection Terizo Kimura, Tokyo, 1963, pages 86-87.
- 34 Ibid., front page.
- 35 *Ancient masks of Siberian peoples*, Aurora Art Publishers, Leningrad, 1975.
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Photographs:

page 1 - Barbier-Mueller Museum - P.A. Ferrazzni-Bouchet

page 5 - Photos B and C - Bertrand Holsnyder

pages 6 et 7 - Bertrand Holsnyder

page 9 - Patrick Grimaud

page 14 - Renzo Freschi

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6, rue Visconti . 75006 Paris

Telephone: 01 . 43 . 54 . 27 . 05

<https://www.himalaya-arch.com>

contact@himalaya-arch.com

