Pahārī Miniature Painting

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PAHĀRĪ MINIATURE PAINTING

To

the late Eric Dickinson (Dickie)

who so dearly loved

these paintings of the Hills.

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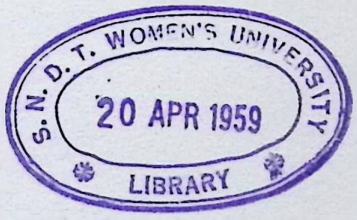
xvi, 409, 47 pl., 306 figs

Paper

15"

KARL KHANDALAVALA

PAHĀRĪ MINIATURE PAINTING



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FOREWORD

Pahārī miniature painting has of late attracted considerable attention in India and abroad. For long it was associated only with the delicate *Kāngrā Kalam* but in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, I had stressed the merits of another important Pahārī school, namely that of Basohlī, and it is gratifying to observe the growing realization that Basohlī painting constitutes one of the most significant phases of Indian miniature art. There are also other schools which are little known, and in the present volume I have attempted as comprehensive a classification as the available data will permit. It has, however, no pretensions to finality. This is inevitable when theories have to be formulated on stylistic data with such assistance as can be derived from a few dated examples, a few inscriptions, and oft-confused traditions.

I have also sought to link the historical, cultural and religious background of the Hill States to the development of Pahārī painting. Such an approach is essential to a correct understanding of the subject.

While indicating the aesthetic merits of the different schools, and also of individual paintings, I have adhered to Coomaraswamy's viewpoint that the qualities of a work of art can be described more effectively by a few simple and understandable observations than by dissertations involving a vocabulary best reserved for text books on geometry and higher metaphysics. At the same time I do maintain that an adequate understanding of Pahārī art is not possible without an acquaintance with the background which inspired it. To that end I have emphasised the cult of the cowherd god, not merely as a fascinating myth, but as a creed of devotion which became the earthly refuge of millions due to the essentially human appeal of the allegory into which it was cast.

The classification and dating of Pahārī miniatures will, I apprehend, remain a matter of controversy for a long time to come. A broad-based system of dates can be put forward with some confidence, but any process of narrowing down the limits to five or ten years is apt to furnish surprises. Nevertheless an attempt in this direction has been made for whatever it is worth. I have been emboldened to take this course in view of the fact that my chronology of Rājasthānī miniature painting, though based largely on stylistic analysis, has been confirmed by the discovery of dated material.

In the task of preparing this volume I have received assistance from every quarter where I sought it. Those who have afforded me the greatest help, in the form of discussions, are my friends Dr. Motichandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum; William Archer, Keeper of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Svetoslav Roerich; and Rai Krishnadasa, Curator of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Since the pioneer days of Coomaraswamy, Ajit Ghose, N. C. Mehta and French, it is Archer who has done the most valuable work in the field of Pahārī painting, while Hermann Goetz and M.S. Randhawa have also contributed articles of interest. Though there are many matters on which I have expressed complete disagreement with the views of these writers my esteem for the work done by them, and particularly for the work done by Archer, remains as high as ever. In a largely conjectural field every scholarly approach contributes to the final solution of difficult problems.

The corrupt Tankrī inscriptions which appear on several Pahārī miniatures are often very difficult to decipher. But they are of great importance and I am indeed grateful to Dr. Motichandra who not only deciphered such inscriptions but also supplied many of the translations which appear in this volume.

A few important matters which could not be included in the text appear in Supplementary

Notes at page 310 and in the Addenda at page 393, including the correction of certain dates which were misprinted in the captions under some reproductions. It must also be remembered that many paintings assigned to the late 18th century may be early 19th century and *vice versa*. It has not been thought necessary to mention this fact in every caption.

I wish to express my thanks to all those who kindly gave me help in one form or another — Kasturbhai Lalbhai; Kallianjee Currumsey Damjee; N. C. Mehta; Svetoslav Roerich; Jagmohandas Modi; F. D. Wadia; The Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; The Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; The Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Messrs. Faber and Faber, London; William Archer; the late Eric Dickinson; M. S. Randhawa; Jagdish Mittal and Mrs. Mehroo Madon, the daughter of my great friend the late B. N. Treasurywala whose unique collection led me to the study of Indian miniature painting.

I have also to thank Mr. Fram Poonawala of Commercial Art Engravers (Private) Ltd., Bombay, for his accurate colour blocks, and Messrs. Vakil and Sons (Private) Ltd. Bombay, for the high quality of their colour printing and the trouble taken in this behalf by their printer Mr. George Menezes. Mr. Isaac of Vakil and Sons (Private) Ltd. was in charge of the production of the book and but for his personal interest and help it would not have been possible to overcome the difficulties which were encountered from time to time. I am also grateful to Mrs. Silloo Gamadia for correcting some of the proofs and to Mr. Burjor Taraporevala for preparing the index.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Pheroze F. Taraporevala of the New Book Co., Private Ltd. whose enterprise was so largely responsible for the book in its completed form with 'Study Supplement' and Appendices, thus greatly enhancing its use for reference purposes.

Karl. Khandalavala

Bombay, 1956.

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PLATE A



VIPRALABDHA — The Grief-stricken Heroine who casts away her jewels.
Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ ins.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF INDIAN PAINTING

In the Rājput Hill States of the Himalayas, the Himavat of Pāninī, there grew up several styles of miniature painting in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. To these styles is applied the general nomenclature, *Pahārī*, which means 'of the hills'. Today a large number of these Hill States have been integrated into the Indian Union as a group under the name of Himachal Pradesh. There is no need however to alter the nomenclature 'Pahārī painting' to 'Himachal painting'. A well established classification should not be lightly disturbed lest the change should cause confusion. Moreover, Himachal Pradesh does not include all the States where the styles broadly designated as *Pahārī*, flourished.

In order to understand the beginnings of Pahārī painting and its relation to the miniature art of the Moghuls and to that of Rājasthān, it is necessary to reorient one's ideas on the development of Indian painting. These ideas were largely based on the conclusions of Coomaraswamy and other early writers. My remarks should not be understood to be in derogation of Dr. Coomaraswamy's great pioneer work in this field, but it invariably happens that with added knowledge a pioneer's conclusions require modification.

The Earliest Frescoes

The earliest known examples of Indian painting are some frescoes[1] in Caves Nos. 9 and 10 at the world famous monastery of Ajantā in Hyderabad State. They are dateable to the first century B.C. or the early first century A.D. and are a product of the Āndhra school of the Deccan, which began with the sculptures of Bhāja in the 1st century B.C. and ended with the latest reliefs of Amarāvatī and those of Nagarjunikondā in the 3rd century A.D. The inspiration of these early frescoes, as well as of the later work at Ajantā, was derived from Buddhism. Their subject-matter was the life of the Master and the legends pertaining to his previous births. The painters of these frescoes were members of secular guilds working under *Avesanīs* (guild foremen), though the entire project of building and decorating a Buddhist monastery or a *stupa* was in charge of a learned monk known as a *navakarmika*.

The Later Frescoes and other Forms of Painting

The next stage of development is found (*a*) at Ajantā in the 5th century Vākātaka frescoes of Caves Nos. 16 and 17, and (*b*) in the 5th century frescoes of Bāgh.[2]

In the late 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. a further progression of the Vākātaka style is seen at Ajantā in Caves Nos. 1 and 2. This last phase at Ajantā also possesses that plasticity of form and beauty of line which marked the Vākātaka period. It is true there are tendencies towards over-refinement, but there is no hint of degeneration.[3] The late 6th century A.D. Chālukyan frescoes of Bādāmī[4] and the early 7th century A.D. Pallava frescoes of Sittanavāsal[5] are more or less in the tradition of the last phase at Ajantā. The Bādāmī frescoes are Brāhamanical, while those of Sittanavāsal are Jain. Thus by the early 7th century A.D. the patronage of the three great religions of India was being freely extended to the painter guilds. But the

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[1] By far the finest and most accurate reproductions of the frescoes of Ajantā are to be found in Yazdani's three volumes published by the Oxford University Press for Hyderabad State. The colour plates are by a photographic process.

[2] *Bāgh Caves*, published by the India Society, 1927.

[3] Nothing can be more inappropriate than to apply the term 'degenerate' to the frescoes of Caves 1 and 2 at Ajantā as some writers have done. This is so even if the term is used only by way of comparison with the earlier Vākātaka frescoes of Caves 16 and 17. The wall paintings of Caves 1 and 2 rank with the greatest masterpieces of Indian Art.

[4] Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate 5 (in colour).
Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 65.

[5] Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate 6 (in colour).
N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (several plates in colour and monochrome).

medium of graphic expression was largely wall painting. There can be no doubt however, that other forms of painting existed. Numerous literary references indicate the use of wooden boards (*phalaka*) for individual pictures of small size, while prepared cloth was also used as a suitable material to paint upon. Fa Hian the Chinese monk who visited India in the 5th century A.D. states that he witnessed a religious festival in Ceylon where pictures of previous incarnations of the Buddha were hung up on each side of the road. Such pictures must have been on cloth.

Ajantā itself offers the surest proof that secular wall painting for the adornment of palaces and fine mansions existed side by side with painting that was purely religious in character.[1] There also appears to have been a regular class of painters who specialized in portraiture. Their services were in great demand as authentic portraits were a definite aid to bringing about matrimonial alliances between ruling houses and between scions and daughters of aristocratic families. The painting of individual pictures was also regarded as an accomplishment for royalty and those of high estate. Even courtesans were expected to be proficient in it. The practice of painting individual pictures was doubtless coeval with the art of wall painting, but not a single picture on wood or cloth or other material such as palm leaf, which can be dated prior to the 10th century A.D. has ever come to light. Our failure to discover such early paintings has to be explained by the theory that wood and other impermanent materials which formed the base, or more correctly the *carrier*, of these individual paintings, must have disintegrated with the passage of centuries, due to the ravages of climatic conditions and pests. Though individual pictures were painted, there is no evidence to suggest the existence of illustrated manuscripts prior to the 10th century A.D. The vogue for illustrating manuscripts appears to be a peculiarly mediæval development.

But the *Silappadikāram* states that painting was employed to decorate articles. There is a reference[2] to shields with forest scenes painted thereon. This reference is intriguing because the Indian artist throughout the ages has remained indifferent to pure landscape painting in the sense in which that term is understood in European or Chinese art. One would not be far wrong in thinking that decorative painting on articles such as shields would be in a broad and perhaps coarse style. Whether miniature painting in the sense in which this term is applied to individual small-scale paintings of the Moghul and Rājput schools was ever in vogue in ancient India, is a matter on which no information is vouchsafed in early Indian literature. Composition, however, was quite advanced, and the painting of groups[3] was well handled even in the earliest Āndhra frescoes of Caves 9 and 10 at Ajantā.

Mediæval Wall Painting

It was once thought that the history of Indian wall painting ended with the last phase of Ajantā. But that view can no longer be countenanced. The tradition of wall painting continued in South India even in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. as evidenced by the frescoes of Kanchipuram, Tirumalāipuram and the remnants of early frescoes in Trāvancore State. But the most interesting of the post-Ajantā frescoes are those of Ellorā[4] of the 9th century A.D. in the Kailāsnāth Temple and in the Jain group of caves, namely the Indra Sabhā and Cave No. 32. Though they may be regarded as a somewhat degenerate continuation of the Ajantā tradition, their importance lies in the fact that in them are to be seen the beginnings of the schools of mediæval wall painting, and of manuscript illustration. The marked plasticity of Ajantā is absent; the facial type tends to become angular and sharp; and the drawing of the eye is often expressionless and even crude. Nevertheless several of the flying groups in the

[1] The oft repeated statement that the Ajantā frescoes are the work of monks, is surely fanciful. It is possible that some monks were amongst the painters, but by far and large these frescoes are obviously the work of highly skilled professional guild artists who were accustomed to paint frescoes in palaces, in state buildings, and in the residences of the aristocracy. In the Tamil epic *Silappadikāram* (Canto 3, lines 95-114) a stage of the 2nd century A.D. for dramatic performances is described as having a canopy painted with many beautiful pictures. This canopy may have been of cloth or a more permanent structure of wood. The *Silappadikāram* is ascribed to the late 2nd century A.D. though some scholars regard it as belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D.

[2] *Silappadikāram*, Canto 14, lines 168-170.

[3] In the *Silappadikāram* (canto 22, lines 1-15) there is a reference to the ministers and attendants of the Pandyan king standing speechless *'like a group in a painted picture'*.

[4] The Ellorā frescoes are reproduced in colour in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of the Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28 and 1933-34. See also my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate 8 (in colour).

Jain caves of Ellorā are of more than ordinary merit. They indicate that the art of wall painting was very much alive in the 9th century A.D. and that the supposed hiatus after Ajantā never in fact existed.

But from the 9th century A.D. onwards, wall painting began to assume a minor role in the scheme of temple decoration, and a marked degeneration in its quality took place. One of the main reasons for the deterioration of Indian fresco painting after the last days of Ajantā was the ever-increasing patronage given to the sculptor guilds and the decrease in patronage given to the painter guilds. The elaborately carved mediæval temple no longer afforded those vast unbroken wall spaces and plain ceilings which had made Buddhist *vihāras* and Jain caves so eminently suitable for fresco painting. The age-old dogma of acquiring religious merit by the construction of dwellings for God was given a new orientation. There arose a belief that increased merit resulted from the excessive skill and labour that went to the building and carving of mediæval shrines. In such a scheme of decoration the art of painting had limited scope.

It is not suggested that no mediæval temples in India were decorated with frescoes. There are remnants of 12th century frescoes at Ellorā itself in the Kailāsnāth Temple, depicting quite lively battle scenes. So also there are remnants of 13th century frescoes in the Vishnu Temple of Mandanpur, Lalitpur District, United Provinces, which are stiff and over-stylized. Frescoes are also found in South India, the most notable being the Cholā frescoes on the walls of a dark *prakāra* in the Brihadisvara Temple of Tānjore. These are of surprisingly high merit for mediæval work. They appear to belong to the reign of Kulottunga III (1178-1216 A.D.). They indicate that the standard of fresco painting in the South country even in the 12th century A.D. retained something of the spirit of Ajantā which was quite lost in the Deccan and in Central India. But even in South India the wall paintings of the Vijayanagar period (1350-1565 A.D.) which are to be found at Leepakshi[1] and other places, failed to emulate the excellence of the Brihadisvara frescoes. These Vijayanagar temple paintings are for the most part mechanical and lifeless, and utterly divorced from the great tradition of fresco painting which flourished at Ajantā, Bāgh, Bādāmī, and Sittanavāsal.

In Gujerāt, Rājputānā, and Bundelkhand, as in most other parts of India, the ruling dynasties of the mediæval period were mainly concerned to decorate temples and civic architecture with numerous sculptures and designs. For instance the splendid Solankī temples of Gujerāt and the famous Candellā temples of Khajurāho were not painted. It was no doubt appreciated by their builders that it would be futile, from the æsthetic point of view, to cramp the somewhat small interiors of beautifully carved stone temples by covering the limited wall space with a series of paintings executed by artists whose inspiration was at a standstill.

In such circumstances the painter guilds had little royal patronage. In fact it was a vicious circle. Stagnation had led to lack of patronage and this state of affairs led to further stagnation. In Gujerāt, the art of wall painting had patently fallen on evil days during Solankī rule, though this dynasty lavished its wealth on splendidly carved and sculptured temples. There is a passage in a *bhāna* by Syamila entitled *Padataditakam* where the *Vidusaka* (jester) sees a temple dedicated to Pradyumna being painted and remarks that the painters of Lāta (Gujerāt) are not very different from monkeys because of their daubs, putting the ink filth of their brushes on the clean building.[2] Though these are the exaggerated words of a jester they no doubt voice the prevailing opinion, and indicate that the painter guilds (*chittāgārasenim*) of Lāta were not thought of very highly.

Manuscript Illustration

The art of wall painting, taken as a whole, appears to have degenerated from the 10th century A.D. onwards. While it was in this neglected condition an interesting development took place, almost simultaneously, in two widely distant parts of the country. This development consisted of

[1] *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 5, p. 184.

[2] Syamila appears to antedate the Solankī period but the art of painting in Gujerāt continued to stagnate during Solankī rule.

(*a*) the production in Gujerāt of illustrated manuscripts on palm leaf of Jain canonical works and (*b*) the production in Bengal and Bihar of illustrated Buddhist manuscripts on palm leaf during the rule of the Pāla Kings. The ancestry of both the Gujerātī and Pāla manuscript illustrations is to be traced to mediæval wall paintings such as those of the 9th century A.D. at Ellorā.

The early Gujerātī manuscript illustrations[1], as also the Pāla manuscript illustrations[2], are on palm leaf, but after the introduction of paper into India this more suitable material gradually supplanted the palm leaf in Gujerāt and also in Nepal where the Pāla style continued to flourish after its extinction in Bengal.

It is fairly certain that the art of manuscript illustration did not exist in India prior to the 10th century A.D. The beginnings of Pāla and Gujerātī manuscript illustration art disclose how limited were the concepts of book illustration at the outset. In the 15th century A.D. however, the manuscript illustrators of Gujerāt, and those who followed the Gujerātī style, realized the possibilities of book illustration in what I have termed the 'opulent manner'. The introduction of paper as a *carrier* enabled illustrators to achieve more gorgeous schemes of decoration than had been possible with the narrow palm leaves. The *Kalpasutra* of the Devasāno Pole Bhandār at Ahmedabād,[3] and the Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* at the Narasimha Pole Bhandār, Baroda, are the most notable examples of this 'opulent style'.

But the Pāla manuscript illustrations throughout remained simpler than those of Gujerāt. This was so even when manuscript illustrations in the Pāla manner were painted on paper in Nepal. Both Gujerātī and Pāla manuscript painting never progressed much in the direction of true book illustration. It was hide-bound by convention and either repeated a set method of pictorial narration, or reproduced with monotonous regularity single figures of Jain or Buddhist deities. The Gujerātī manuscript illustrations, though interesting and naive, never transcended their crude formulas which were degenerate exaggerations of the Ellorā idiom. On the other hand the Pāla and Nepalese illustrations were often quite praiseworthy. The best of them are superior from the point of view of 'pure painting' to the Gujerātī illustrations, even if not so fascinating. This is largely due to the fact that whereas there was a dearth of skilled painters in Gujerāt, the position in Eastern India was quite different. Owing to the extraordinary influence exercised by two master painters and image makers, namely Dhimān and his son Bitpālo, in the 9th century A.D., there grew up schools of painting which followed either the father or the son, and these schools exercised no small influence on the development of art in Eastern India.

While the Gujarātī manuscript illustrations grossly exaggerated the facial types derived from Ellorā, this mediæval idiom was handled in quite a different manner by the illustrators of the Pāla manuscripts. The angularity which would necessarily result from any extensive exaggeration of the Ellorā facial types, was largely avoided by the Pāla illustrators. They retained considerable roundness in the drawing of faces, and did not abandon modelling. The Gujarātī illustrators, however, favoured a rapid *staccato* outline and flat colour effects. Moreover the Pāla illustrators did not develop that schematic treatment of the body, and those peculiarities such as (*a*) the sharp, over-prominent nose; (*b*) the small, pointed, jutting-out chin; and (*c*) the unnatural projection of the farther eye,[4] all of which became the stock-in-trade of the Gujerātī manuscript illustrators, and imparted to their illustrations the effect of gaily painted marionettes against a background of cardboard accessories. Nevertheless Gujerātī manuscript illustration is a most interesting and fascinating art judged within its limitations.

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[1] These date from *circa* 1002 A.D. See my article 'Leaves from Rājasthān' in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 10.

[2] These date from the 10th century A.D.

[3] The Devasāno Pole *Kalpasutra* has to be seen in order to adequately appreciate its rich decoration. I examined it again recently and its wealth of decorative panels depicting various scenes is astounding. See my article 'Leaves from Rājasthān' in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 10. Illustrations of the Devasāno Pole *Kalpasutra* are to be found in colour in Dr. Motichandra's *Jain Miniature Painting from Western India*, 1950, Figs 136-138. The Jaunpur *Kalpasutra* is also illustrated in colour in Dr. Motichandra's said book, Figs 93-102.

[4] The projecting farther eye is rarely seen in Pāla manuscript illustrations, but is not altogether absent.

Though the *line* in Pāla painting was not *staccato* as in the Gujerātī illustrations, it no longer possessed even that degree of spontaneity which is to be found in several panels of the Indra Sabhā Cave and Cave No. 32 at Ellorā. Its tempo is slow and its rhythm somewhat laboured. The mannerisms of the last period of Ajantā are often repeated and are to be seen in the turn of a head, the poise of a body, or the action of a hand. But these mannerisms have become *cliches*, which was never the case at Ajantā nor even in the best frescoes of the Jain caves at Ellorā.

With the Mahomedan invasion of Bihar and Bengal by Bakhtyār Khiljī in 1197-1199 A.D. the Buddhist monasteries of Eastern India suffered greatly, and many monks sought refuge in Nepal and Tibet where they were welcome. In fact the Pāla style of manuscript illustration had already been adopted in Nepal long before 1199 A.D. One result of the Moslem invasion of Bihar and Bengal was that to all intents and purposes the art of manuscript illustration in the Pāla style came to an end in Eastern India. But it continued to flourish in Nepal where the palm leaf *carrier* gave way to paper with the introduction of that material.

The Development of Gujerātī MSS. Illustration

The story of the development of the Gujerātī style manuscript illustration is, however, a very different one. Its evolution was not hindered by the Mahomedan supremacy over Gujerāt which commenced from the 14th century A.D. Paper gradually replaced palm leaf as a *carrier* in the late 14th century A.D. in Gujerāt, and with the ever-increasing use of paper, landscape elements were frequently introduced into the composition and a sense of pictorial narration was developed. But despite these innovations the illustrations remained highly schematic and the types never varied.

During the second half of the 15th century A.D. as already stated, a number of Gujerātī manuscript illustrators favoured gorgeous decoration and texts written in gold and silver on coloured grounds. Thus there grew up the 'opulent style' of the paper period. Such works were produced for wealthy Jain bankers and merchants. In some of the finest of these manuscripts of the 'opulent style', marked Persian influences in the decoration are to be seen. The famous *Kalpasutra* of the Devasāno Pole Bhandār of Ahmedabād, which can definitely be dated to the period *circa* 1475 A.D., has several folios decorated with miniature panels in which are reproduced scenes from Timurid paintings[1]. Persian warriors in Timurid period garb and wearing Timurid style turbans are seen duelling on foot, or in mortal combat mounted on steeds which have stepped out of Timurid miniatures. One of the most remarkable of these diminutive panels painted in Timurid style, is the popular Persian theme of Behram Gur riding a camel with his favourite Azadah seated behind. So also the floral decoration, the panels with birds and foliage, and the arabesques of this manuscript, are all influenced by 15th century Persian painting, as well as by Persian tile designs and Persian pottery. Occasionally a realistic little panel depicting a contemporary pastime is seen. There is a cock fight shown in one such panel, and in another two antelopes held by their keepers enter into combat. This manuscript is not an isolated specimen, though it may well be that very few examples with such a wealth of decoration were commissioned. That its illustrator had seen Timurid paintings admits of no doubt. The Western coast ports of Gujerāt and Cambay were well known emporiums for Persian trade. But the point to note is that though the illustrator of this manuscript was influenced by Persian miniature painting in his border and panel decorations, he held rigidly to the conventions of the Gujarātī style while painting the subject-matter of the *Kalpasutra*. The passing influence of Persian miniature art in the 15th century A.D. in Gujerāt could not create a local school of miniature painting. The enterprising illustrator of the Devāsāno Pole *Kalpasutra* painted his Timurid panels as border decorations, but could not persuade himself to change his old hide-bound Gujerātī mannerisms in depicting the standardized incidents and *dramatis personnæ* of the *Kalpasutra* story. For almost another century and a quarter the Gujerātī convention was to dominate the Jain, Vaishnava, and secular manuscript illustrations painted in Gujerāt and Rājputānā. The reason appears to be that miniature painting, in the sense

[1] Some Persian influences appear to have been derived from painted Persian pottery and from engraved metal work coming into the ports of Gujerāt.

in which the Persians understood that art, was something entirely foreign to the clientele which patronized the illustrators of the Gujerātī style manuscripts. Hence a casual Persian influence in the shape of some Timurid book illustrations or *objects d'art* brought into Gujerāt during the rule of the Sultans, could not create a taste for genuine miniature painting. This clientele wanted its *Kalpasutra*, its *Kālakāchāryakathā*, its *Bālagopālstutī*, and other religious or secular works, in the accustomed manner. The slipshod execution of many of these Gujerātī manuscript illustrations indicates that most of those who commissioned such works were only concerned to obtain a text with stereotyped illustrations. Those who were wealthy naturally favoured the 'opulent style', but none were concerned to be patrons of miniature painting as such. Their outlook was different from that of the Persians, and a change in that outlook could only be brought about by the growth of a well patronized and well established school of miniature painting on Indian soil. It was left to the Moghuls to effect this change in outlook as we shall presently see.

There is one aspect, however, of the Gujerātī style of the late 15th century A.D. and of the 16th century A.D. which must be noted. When Vaishnava manuscripts such as the *Bālagopālstutī* came to be illustrated in the Gujerātī style in the second half of the 15th century A.D. their more lyrical themes, as compared to the Jain texts, demanded a more lyrical treatment. This led to a type of illustration in which subjects such as Krishna dancing with the *gopīs* in the groves of Brindāban, or playing his flute amidst a bevy of milkmaidens, were set against a pattern of trees to signify a woodland, or were framed by a fish-infested stream in the foreground and Chinese clouds against a design of foliage on the horizon. The figures, however, still adhered to the typical Gujerātī convention. Nevertheless, innovations such as these just mentioned, and the adoption in a few instances of decorative motifs derived from Timurid painting, were a pointer to the direction in which the hitherto crystallized Gujerātī style could develop provided some powerful factor could bring about so marked a change in tastes as would result in the orthodox Gujerātī style being regarded as demoded. This powerful factor came in the shape of Moghul miniature painting.

Moghul Miniature Painting and its Influence

In 1526 A.D. Babar the Moghul became master of Northern India and founded the great dynasty which was effectively to guide the destinies of the country for almost two centuries. The early Moghuls were greatly under the influence of Persian culture, and it is well known that they introduced the art of miniature painting at their courts under Persian influence and with the aid of Persian artists. But the accession of numerous Indian painters, trained under the Persian masters, to the Moghul atelier, and the growth of a more original outlook which favoured Indian types, Indian scenes, and realistic, sensitive portraiture, resulted in a school of miniature painting with marked characteristics of its own. The work of the Emperor Humayun's atelier and that of the early Akbar period is usually referred to as the Indo-Persian style, but this nomenclature is quite unsuitable for the main body of miniature painting done at the Moghul court.

By 1585 A.D. the Moghul school had shed its early Indo-Persian character and was developing on original lines of its own. It had begun to portray distinctive female types, namely the Rājput women at Akbar's court. These Rājput female types in Moghul art are very different from the Moghul women with their long flowing robes and Chagatai head-dress. These types were derived from the characteristic Rājput women who attended in large numbers and in a variety of capacities on the Rājput princesses of Akbar's household. One sees these Rājput types in the *Razm Nāmāh* of the Jaipur Darbar, and in many other paintings of the early Akbar school, including the wellknown *Hamzā Nāmāh* now scattered through several collections. To maintain, as some writers do, that these Rājput female types were derived by the Moghul artists from Rājasthānī miniatures is only another way of reiterating the theory that pre-Moghul schools of miniature painting existed in Rājasthān, or that in any event there existed Rājasthānī schools which were contemporary with Babar (1526-1530 A.D.) and Humayun (1530-1556 A.D.). How untenable and how utterly without foundation this theory is, has been

shown by me in my article 'Leaves from Rājasthān' in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3. The Persian masters in Akbar's atelier and their superbly trained Hindu pupils did not require to borrow their Rājput female types from any school. Their outlook was naturalistic and they created most truthful types from the numerous Rājput women at the Moghul court. Anybody who has had the opportunity of seeing Rājput women will appreciate that these types were derived from living models.

The main output of Moghul miniature painting is more Indian than Persian, both in feeling and temperament, and its influence on the development of miniature art in India can hardly be overestimated. That great critic, the late Ananda Coomaraswamy, fell a prey to prejudice when he committed a most grievous error in omitting Moghul painting from his survey of Indian art[1]. The establishment of the Moghul school came at a period of time when the great Vaishnava renaissance[2] of thought, song, and literature, was dominating Indian culture, and it was Moghul miniature painting which created a new vista of the possibilities of book illustration. Akbar's artists had illustrated several Hindu literary works including the *Mahābhārata, Nal Damayantī*, and *Harivamsa*, and in Jehangir's reign Moghul artists such as Sālivāhana were being commissioned by rich Jains to illustrate their invitation letters (*Vijnaptipatras*) to their preceptors,[3] and also stories like the *Sālibhadra Charita*[4]. Those artists who continued to paint in the Gujerātī style gradually began to realize that they could no longer afford to slavishly adhere to their stereotyped illustrations. It was this realization, caused by a revolution in tastes, that led to a transition style of painting which commenced *circa* 1590 A.D.[5] This transition style was brought into being by the impact of Moghul painting on the static, over-conventionalized Gujerātī illustrations, and from this transition style there grew up in course of time during the first half of the 17th century A.D. what is today known as the Rājasthānī school of miniature painting. Not only in its inception, but even in its development the Rājasthānī school was constantly influenced by the prevailing trends of Moghul miniature painting. But it was different in spirit and developed idioms and conventions of its own which imparted to its products that naive charm, passionate feeling, lyrical atmosphere, and musical quality, which were all the heritage of the Vaishnava literary revival.

I will not dwell on Rājasthānī painting as it needs must form the theme of a separate volume. Its relation to Pahārī art has however been considered in Chapter III hereof. It is sufficient to repeat that the belief that there were pre-Moghul schools of Rājasthānī miniature painting, which were different from the Gujerātī school, has no basis.[6] Unfortunately this belief is persisted in by several writers even to this day. In the immediate pre-Moghul period the Gujerātī style was the only style of miniature illustration in vogue in middle and upper India. It flourished not only in Gujerāt itself, but also in Rājputāna, Malwā, and Uttar Pradesh (U. P.). Manuscripts in the Gujerātī style painted in these different provinces have come to light. The Gujerātī style influenced the art of painting even in the far Southern kingdom of Vijayanagar which flourished from *circa* 1350 to 1565 A.D. This is apparent from the miniatures painted by Hindu artists at the courts of the Deccanī Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmednagar in the last quarter of the 16th century after the downfall of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire on the field of Talikota in 1565 A.D. The art of painting at Vijayanagar was a synthesis of various influences. The mediæval idiom of South Indian art mingled with Safavid influences from Persia and with the mediæval idiom of Gujerāt. No miniatures or book illustrations painted in Vijayanagar itself appear to have survived the annihilation of that famed city, but the style that prevailed there could not have been very dissimilar to that seen in the *Nujum ul Ulum* dated 1570 A.D[7]; *the Tarif-i-Hussein Shahi*[8]; and the *Rāgmālā* miniatures

[1] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927.
[2] See Chapter II, The Background of Pahārī Painting, in the present volume.
[3] N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, and Hirananda Shastrī, *Ancient Vijnaptipatras*.
[4] Hirananda Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, Plates 18 and 19. This brochure is in the Gaikwad Archaeological Series, No. 1, 1936.
[5] The earliest known transition style Gujerātī MSS. is the *Uttarādhyayana Sutra*, dated 1591 A.D. in the Baroda Museum. See my article 'Leaves from Rajasthan' in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3.
[6] *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 'Leaves from Rājasthān'.
[7] Arnold and Wilkinson, *The Library of Chester Beatty*, Vol. 2, Plates 3, 4 and 5.
[8] Stella Kramrisch, *Painting in the Deccan*, 1937, Plates 12 and 13.

of the Bikaner Darbar.[1] These manuscripts and miniatures were almost certainly painted by artists of the Vijayanagar kingdom who took up service with the Deccanī Sultans after Vijayanagar was no more than a name. Even if these artists were not refugees from Vijayanagar but were already in the service of the Deccanī Sultans prior to 1565 A.D., they were obviously familiar with the style of painting in Vijayanagar and adapted it to the requirements of their Muslim patrons who had strong leanings towards Persian art and culture.

This early phase of Deccanī art in the last quarter of the 16th century A.D. at the courts of the Deccanī Sultanates did not exercise any appreciable influence on the growth of the Rājasthānī schools of miniature painting which are largely the result of the impact of Moghul painting on the Gujerātī style.

An illustrated manuscript of the *Bhāgavata* dated 1539 A.D. from Assam[2] shows that a form of book illustration also flourished in that province. Influences derived from Nepal as well as from the Gujerātī style are discernable in this manuscript. It would appear that the Gujerātī style, subject to local variations, was the norm for book illustration in middle and upper India in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. and its ramifications were probably widespread. Some writers do not approve of the nomenclature 'Gujerātī style'. But the home of this style was Gujerāt, and a large number of the known productions of this style were done in Gujerāt. Hence the nomenclature 'Gujerātī style', first adopted by Mr. N. C. Mehta, must be accepted as both justified and appropriate.

Just as the impact of the Moghul school on the old Gujerātī style resulted in the growth of the Rājasthānī schools, so also it is to the Moghul school that we have to look for the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting. These beginnings (*circa* 1675 A.D.) post-date the Rājasthānī schools by three quarters of a century.[3] The origin and growth of the Pahārī schools are dealt with in Chapter III of the present volume. Had it not been for the formation of the Moghul school, it is indeed doubtful if the Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools would have come into existence, at least in the form in which we know them. At the same time it must be remembered that the Moghul school could never have given rise to Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniature painting if the background of the great Vaishnava revival and the spirit to which it gave birth, had been absent. Hence it is necessary to comprehend that background. One can only speak to another in a language that both understand.

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[1] Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, 1950, Plates 2 and 4 (in colour).

[2] *Chitra Bhāgavata*, 1950 (in Hindi). The illustrations raise problems of their own if the date is correct. The projecting farther eye is absent. The question of the date has yet to be studied.

[3] Rājasthānī miniature painting does not antedate 1600 A.D.

CHAPTER II.

THE BACKGROUND OF PAHĀRĪ PAINTING

THE CULT OF GOD-LOVE

Love in Early Literature

Love and erotics were themes which from early times had found a place in Indian literature. In the 2nd century A.D. Asvaghosha's *Saundarananda*, though contrasting the vainness of earthly bliss to true salvation, described in an unusually attractive manner the love of Nanda for his wife the beautiful Sundarī whom he was forced to abandon in order to be ordained a Buddhist monk. Vātsyāyana's famous treatise the *Kāmasutra*, composed it is said in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., supplied lyric poets with a veritable dictionary on erotics. The courtesan was elevated to a position where she was regarded not merely as a plaything for the sensual pleasures of a cultured gentry, but as a woman who offered glamorous romance and the intellectual stimulus which the lawful wife seemed unable to furnish. The *Abhisārikā* (a type of heroine) who keeps her tryst under cover of a dark night—so popular with later day poets and painters—was an ancient theme. Her counterpart was to be found in the cultured *hetæræ* who dominated in no small measure the life of the *nagarakas* (men about town) of Kushānā and Gupta times. In the 5th century A.D. the great dramatist Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* was fully cognizant of the theories of erotics systematized in the *Kāmasutra*, while the lyric writer Amaru who lived in the 8th century A.D. or earlier, approached the theme of love with the obvious delight of a Restoration poet. He found satisfaction in versifying even trivial incidents such as lovers' quarrels,

Leave me, unto my lover I said,
Alas! Alas! he left my bed:
Must I now cast away my pride
And lure my lover back to my side?

But it was the theme of mortal love which predominantly engaged the attention of the early poets and writers. The theme was soon to be cast into another mould.

The classic age of the Guptas which set great cultural currents in motion came to a close by 600 A.D. It had been a period of marked intellectual activity but it had produced no simple creed or easily assimilated doctrine. In the 7th century A.D. Harsha of Kanauj was bestowing his patronage on the Buddhists and honouring the great pilgrim Yuan Chwang. But Buddhism, which hitherto had served the needs of the masses, was fast becoming a spent force. The time was ripe for a religious renaissance. No complicated form of Brāhamanism was likely to succeed. Metaphysical speculation could never be a gospeller's weapon. The ordinary man was no longer prepared to accept his Godhead as something beyond comprehension and only to be approached through that network of ceremonials, sacrifices, and *mantras* which was the prerogative of the Brāhamin hierarchy.

The Nayanars

The solution to the situation was worked out most naturally in the South country. A band of poet-hymnists[1], urged by an impassioned God-love, stirred the whole South in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. into devout worship of Shiva. This was the first great movement of God-love in India. It is essential to understand the nature of this God-love because later on in its application to the cult of Gopāla Krishna, the cowherd god, it proved to be the main inspiration for that literary and artistic revival of which Pahārī miniature painting is but one aspect.

[1] The most famous of these are Appar; Tirunana Sambhandhar; Sundaramurti; and Manikkavachakar.

These hymnists sought a vision of the Lord Shiva by unceasing and undivided adoration. It was their method of seeking emancipation. To love God with all the intensity of the human heart is a means to secure union with the all-pervading *Brahaman.* The impassioned, and at times almost maniacal outpourings of the Nayanars were due to an intense emotional complex. It was a complex wherein the love which ravages the heart of a man in quest of the woman of his choice, is sublimated into a love which ravages his heart in his quest of God. A Christian will best understand this complex of God-love through the words of the forty-second Psalm of David :

As the hart panteth after the water brooks,
so panteth my soul after thee, O Lord.

This doctrine called *Bhaktī* implies the highest devotion to God free of all speculation. A somewhat metaphysical enunciation of this *Bhaktī* doctrine is found in the *Tiru Vachakam* of Manikkavachakar,

Thou art not aught in the Universe—Naught is there save Thou.

It is to this vital religious movement of the Shaiva saints, who re-oriented the *Bhaktī* cult, that much of the cultural florescence which marked the rule of the Pallavas and Cholas in South India from 600 A.D. to 1250 A.D. is to be traced. The inspiration of the world famous South Indian bronzes is to be sought mainly in the *Shaiva Siddhānta,* just as the inspiration of the Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools of painting is to be found in the great Vaishnava renaissance which from the 12th century A.D. onwards permeated into and shaped the entire culture complex of Central and Northern India.

The Vishnu cult of *Bhaktī* had its seeds in the *Bhagavad Gitā* which must be older than the 1st century A.D. Even its popular manifestation, namely the worship of Krishna the cowherd god, is of great antiquity. Mathurā sculpture of the Kushānā period establishes the existence of the cult in North India, while the Tamil epic *Silappadikāram,* probably written in the last quarter of the 2nd century A.D. has several references to the cult of Krishna and his consort Pinnāi. One such reference is to the well known episode, often portrayed in 18th and 19th century Rājasthānī painting, of Krishna hiding the clothes of the *gopīs.*[1] The cult must have remained fairly popular in South India as evidenced by the 7th century A.D. sculptures of Mahābhalipuram in the so-called *gopīs'* cave.

The Alvārs

A parallel to the Shaiva gospellers, though less widely known, is found from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. in the Vaishnava hymnists known as the Alvārs. These Alvārs were all *bhaktas* of the God Vishnu in one form or another. One of them named Periyalvār was a devotee of Krishna, and his hymns, the *Tirumoli,* deal with the exploits of Krishna. Another of these saints was the female Alvār named Andal, who conceived a passionate love for Lord Krishna and believed herself to be one of the milkmaid devotees of the god. Her one purpose in life was to seek union with Krishna. There is much to be said in favour of the theory that the *Bhāgavata Purāna* which deals at great length with the life, escapades, and legends of Krishna is earlier than generally supposed and was the outcome of a movement such as that created by the Alvārs. The *Bhāgavata* may, however, have taken its final shape at a later date, because its obvious partiality to the mystic cum sensual aspects of the Krishna legend is a feature absent in the hymns of the Alvārs. But one does sense the beginnings of this mystic sensualism in the life of the female Alvār Andal.

The Bhāgavata

The *Bhāgavata Purāna,* generally ascribed to the 10th century A.D. is the great repository of the Krishna legend through which Vaishnava religious literature succeeded in inspiring a great cultural revival. But the glorification of every incident of Krishna's life is to be found

[1] *Silappadikāram,* Canto 17, where Krishna hides the clothes of Pinnāi.

in earlier literature than the *Bhāgavata.* In the *Tirumoli* of Periyalvār,[1] the infant Krishna cries for the moon and the infant's foster mother Yasodā exclaims:

> *My little one is calling thee pointing with his little hands! O big moon, if thou wishest to play with this black little one, hide not thyself in the clouds but come rejoicing! Wert thou bright all over thou canst not match my son's face. Oh moon, vex him not. If he sleep not the milk he has taken will upset him. Despise him not because he is a child. If he be wrath he will rise up and leap on thee and seize thee! Scorn not my lion whelp as a little one. Go ask King Balī of his youthful prowess!*

Rāmānuja

The hymns of the Alvārs prepared the way for that surge of Vishnu worship with which the name of Rāmānuja is so indissolubly linked. With him the *Bhaktī* cult of Vishnu reached its full stature. He lived in the 11th century A.D. and is in a sense the father of all mediaeval Vaishnava religious literature.

The Gīta Govinda

One must pause here awhile to note a most remarkable literary work which influenced the whole course of Vaishnava religious and erotic poetry. What Rāmānuja's gospel was to Vaishnava philosophy, the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadev was to that great body of literature and art which we term the Vaishnava cultural renaissance.

Jayadev was one of the five jewels of Lakshmansena's court in Bengal in the 12th century A.D. and is the last great name in Sanskrit poetry. Thereafter it was the age of the vernaculars. The *Gīta Govinda* is divided into cantos and is interspersed with songs together with indications of the melody which they are meant to accompany. It is an unusual combination of lyric, dramatic, and narrative forms in Sanskrit literature. It is the song of the divine love of Govinda Krishna and Rādhā the *gopī.* The influence of this poem for centuries to come in every part of India cannot be overestimated. Whether it be regarded as an allegory of the soul struggling to unshackle itself from the fetters of desire in order to achieve emancipation, or whether it be regarded as a pure love lyric, frankly erotic in parts, yet it remains a poem whose passionate, haunting, lilting melody to this day plucks at the heart strings of all those to whom remains dear the story of the cowherd god. Its *dramatis personæ* are Krishna, Rādhā, and the Dutikā (messenger go-between). This triangular situation is faithfully adhered to even in the paintings inspired by this great poem.

Says the Dutikā, to Krishna,

> *Come for she is sick with love and thou her only remedy.*

The Gīta Govinda utilized all the well known material of the Krishna legend but raised it above the level of a mere string of stories and romantic episodes. The legend was transferred into the most vivid and delightful word-pictures expressed in flowing, musical verses with alliterations which made them particularly attractive for memorizing.

> *Lalita-lavangalatāparisilana-komalamalaya-samire*
> *Madhukaranikara-karambita-kokilā kujita-kunjakutire,*
> *Viharati, Harī-riha sarasavasante nrtyati-yuvati janenasamam sakhi virahi-janasya durante*
>
> *In the soft zephyr breezes wafting the fragrance of the lovely lavanga creepers;*
> *In the bower resonant with the cooings of the Kokilās and the humming of the swarms of bumble bees;*
>
> *Harī is roaming in the delightful spring, the panacea for the pangs of separation, and dancing Oh Sakhī with the young ladies.*

[1] J. S. M. Hooper, *Hymns of the Alvārs,* 1929, p. 37.

From the point of view of an illustrator, the *Gīta Govinda* may well be regarded not only as an inspiration but also as a veritable guide because of the completeness and aptness of its imagery.

> *His black body sandal bedecked, clad in yellow, begarlanded, with his earrings dancing on his cheeks as he sporteth. Harī here amongst the band of loving maidens maketh merry in the merriment of their sport. One of the maidens claspeth Harī fast to her throbbing heart. Yet another doth stand dreaming deeply of his lotus face whose sportive glances hath caught and won her heart for its own.*

There is a school of thought which has interpreted even the most sensuous portions of the *Gīta Govinda* and similar verses in other Vaishnava poems as an allegory of the complete surrender of man's soul to God. But one cannot help wondering why it was necessary to introduce into this allegory the most intimate details of sexual passion. The truth appears to be that the dividing line between the mystic aspect and the physical aspect of the loves of Krishna and the *gopīs* became at times very thin, even in the minds of poets like Jayadev and Vidyāpatī. Thus the allegory of divine love oft receded into the background under a passionate surge of sensual excitement. The amorous side of human nature is hard to suppress. With many adherents of the Krishna-Rādhā cult, sensuality predominated and led at times to pitiful degradation, lewd rites, and ribald doggerels.

Another Sanskrit work which has been illustrated by Pahārī painters is Bhānu Datta's *Chittarasamanjarī* which deals with erotics. Bhānu Datta was a well known writer on *Rasā* (love flavour) in the 13th or 14th century A.D. The text of the *Chittarasamanjarī* has been found inscribed on the reverse of some miniatures of the *Basohlī Kalam*.

The Bhaktas

Mādhava and Jnānesvar in the 13th century A.D. and Rāmānand, Nāmdev, Narsingh Mehta, and Vidyāpatī in the 15th century A.D. were all Vaishnava *Bhaktas* who spread the cult of Vishnu and his various manifestations to the four corners of India. The end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century A.D. saw this torch of religious fervour which had been lighted by Rāmānuja, still spreading far and wide. Vallabh, the founder of the Vallabhāchārya sects; Sur Das the blind poet of Agra; and the great Chaitanya of Bengal, were all famous devotees of Krishna with vast followings.

The late 15th or early 16th century A.D. is also notable as the age in which the incomparable Mīrā sang her beautiful songs. Though her verses are not utilized as themes by the painters of the 17th and 18th centuries A.D.[1] her devotional poems typify the zeal in the hearts of all true devotees of Krishna. In her borderland dialect with its appealing rhythm and poignant analogies, she epitomized the sentiment,

My sole possession is Thy love.

Mīrā picturesquely considered herself wedded by contract, even before her mortal life began, to Giradhara the form in which she worshipped Krishna. Said Mīrā,

> *Koi kahe sungo, koi kahe mungo, maito liyo hai hirā sun tol ;*
> *Koi kahe ghatato, koi kahe badhto, maito liyo hai barābara tol ;*
> *Koi kahe kalo, koi kahe goro, maito dekhyo he ghunghata patakhol ;*
> *Mirā kahe prabhu Giradhara Nāgara, mhare purva janama rohe kol ;*
> *Mai maito sapnamen parani Gopāl ; hathi bhi layo, ghodā bhi layo,*
> *Aur layo sukha pāla.*
>
> *Some say he's costly, some say he's cheap,*
> *When I took him, I weighed him against a diamond heap ;*

[1] Mīrā's songs were well known in the Punjab.

Some say he's less, some say he's more,
When I took him, I found him not less nor more;
Some say he's fair, some say he's dark,
But I lifted his veil and his face did mark.
Mīrā sayeth—O Lord Giradhara Nāgara
Destined as Thine in a former birth
Oh Gopāl to Thee in my dream was I wed,
And you brought elephants for me,
And you brought horses for me,
And a palanquin of worth.

Vidyāpatī

Vidyāpatī's verses introduce a more sensuous flavour into this theme of God-love. For the uninitiated there was always the danger of the Godhead being transferred into an unattainable yet supremely seductive human lover. In fact that is what happened in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. The Krishna Līlā paintings of Rājasthān and of the Hill States though they stress the fact that the love of Krishna is unattainable, are never quite able to isolate the handsome, amorous cowherd from the world of human passions.

But though the Rājasthānī and Pahārī painters were influenced by this sensuous flavour which characterizes much of Vaishnava poetry, this influence may not have been derived directly from Vidyāpatī. In fact it would appear that poets other than Vidyāpatī influenced the Rājasthānī and Pahārī painters. I have not found Vidyāpatī's verses inscribed on any miniature.

The sensuous element in Vaishnava poetry was, as a general rule, handled by the miniaturists with marked restraint. It is true that one does come across Rājasthānī and Pahārī paintings in which the love dalliance of Krishna and Rādhā is depicted in all its stark nakedness, but the majority of miniatures which deal with the amours of Krishna and the *gopīs* are free from crudity. They are, however, delicately suggestive of the longing for and the ecstasy of physical union with Krishna. Allegorically it is the longing of the soul for its final union with God. The protrusion of an undisguised element of human love into the mystic cult of God-love lends singular charm to those Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniatures which deal with the amorous aspects of the Krishna legend. It was an approach to intimate human relations in a manner not envisaged by the great fresco masters of Ajantā, Bāgh, Bādāmī and Sittanavāsal. This miniature art never rose to the heights of the frescoes. It moved on a different plane of emotions. Albeit it captured some of the mysticism of the best Vaishnava poetry and splendidly interpreted its rhythm, imagery, and also its bondage to that eternal theme—the love of a lad and lass.

Vidyāpatī had sung in his Maithilī mother tongue—

A garland of ivory pearls caressed the burden of her mountain breasts.

The beauty of the female form intrigued Vidyāpatī greatly,

Dismayed by your breasts the unblown lily lingers under the lake,
Dismayed by your arms the golden lily root leaves not the mud.

Rādhā, in the minds of the miniature painters, surely took shape from lines such as these uttered by the Dutikā to Krishna.

Day by day her breasts grew great,
Her hips increased, her middle waned;
Madan now enlarged her eyes,
All of her childhood fled in fear.

Rādhā is as fascinated with Krishna's beauty as he is of hers.

How shall I tell of Kanu's beauty!
Who shall describe that dream shape!
His lovely form is a fresh cloud,
His yellow garment the lightning's flash;
So black, so black, his waving hair!

Amorous details are also plentiful in Vidyāpatī, but usually expressed with delicacy.

Passion flamed up, I lost my wits,
Who knows when he broke my girdle!
.....my wicked lover parched my lips;
Abetted by the night Rāhu devoured the moon,
And he tore my twin breasts with his nails.[1]

But suddenly emerging from these frank descriptions comes the reminder,

Nobody knows the Lord of lovers.

Rādhā feeling that her beauty has enslaved the blue cowherd demands that his love be for her alone and that he forsake the thought of every other maiden.

But it is not for mere mortals to dictate any course of conduct to the Almighty. The supreme lover of God questions not His ways. Rādhā—the soul—with her pride humbled realizes at last the true meaning of the highest devotion which is known as *Prema Bhaktī*.

O come in wrath or come with grace,
Only let me see thy face.

Rās Līlā

It was no one particular aspect of Vaishnava poetry which became the inspiration of Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniature painting. The inspiration was derived from the sum total of mysticism, devoutness, adoration, rapture, eroticism, imagery, and rhythm, which emerged from the works of many *Bhaktas* and poets, all of whom interpreted the cult of God-love with varying emphasis on some particular aspect of its symbolism.

The culmination of the allegory is to be found in what is generally termed the *Rās Līlā*—the divine sport of Krishna with the fair maids of Braj. The essence of *Bhaktī* is clothed in a theme of great poetic beauty. Krishna had enslaved the hearts of all. The strains of his flute created a tumult in the breast of every *gopī* and drew even the adoring herds of cattle to his side. This piper of Brindāban was seemingly bent on the destruction of a principle that had guided Indian womanhood for centuries—an all too patient and singleminded devotion to her husband, her home, and her family. The *gopīs* were married women, but the ties of wedded life, hitherto so sacred to them, seemed to matter not under the spell of their unbounded love for Krishna. One moonlit night when the air was filled with the fragrance of jasmine there sounded in the woodland a flute. The *gopīs* heard its magic notes and the world of their daily life with its obligations seemed to disappear. They must go to the woodland. Harī was calling them. Vainly did the husband of one of the *gopīs* seek to prevent her from meeting her divine lover. Her spirit forsook its body and she came to Krishna. The *gopīs* gathered around the god who bid them honour their marital obligations and return home. But what is home and hearth to a lover of Krishna! They stood in a circle around him and danced joyously. They thought they had conquered his heart. Then Krishna to humble the *gopīs* disappeared from their sight taking only Rādhā with him. Vainly the *gopīs* searched for Krishna. They found his and Rādhā's footprints and finally they found Rādhā. But she was alone and sorrowing. She too had presumed that she had conquered the god's heart. To satisfy her pride she had pretended that she was weary and had requested the god to carry her on his shoulders. At the moment of her imagined triumph over the god, he had vanished. Rādhā and the *gopīs* now thoroughly humbled returned sadly to the river's bank and forlornly waited, hoping for Krishna to return (Fig 13 and colour detail Plate VII).

Then Krishna, realizing that they were penitent, returned to them and danced with them again. Celestial drums sounded and flowers began to be showered from the clear, starry sky,

[1] The *Kāmasutra* deals extensively with use of finger nails to scratch various parts of the body under stress of sexual excitement.

while the great Gāndharvas and their consorts sang to the glory of *Bhagavān Krishna*. Soon there arose a medley of sweet sounds, as beautiful maidens clinked their anklets, bangles, and girdle bells, while they danced with Krishna. In the midst of the *gopīs* stood Krishna like a great blue jewel shining amongst golden beads. Many were the rhythms of the dances and varied the movements. Round and round the dancing god went the circle of fair *gopīs* resembling a gem-studded garland, now advancing and now receding. Their smiles and dancing eyebrows kept time with their movements, and as their slender waists twisted this way and that way, their full skirts swished and swayed and their soft rounded breasts quivered. Their earrings rocked on their cheeks, and the braids of their hair and the knots of their garments were loosened. And now between each pair of *gopīs* danced Krishna. It was an allusion, but each *gopī* thought the god was dancing with her alone.

This was the great *Rās Mandala*[1] which has repeatedly been pictured by Rājasthānī and Pahārī artists. A blue Krishna appears between each pair of dancing *gopīs* and the whole assemblage whirls round in a circle. In this one supreme night of happy union with the Lord, there passed away many a month of mortal time, till the great dance ended and the errant maidens were sent back to their homes by Krishna. He consoled them by telling them that whoever meditates on him is always near to him.

The allegory is too simple to need explanation. The love of God is not to be judged by the moral standards of mankind. The way to emancipation is undivided devotion and complete humility.

Vallabh and His Influence

Vallabh, the founder of the Vallabhāchārya sects, who worship Krishna in the form of Shri Nāthji, drew largely upon the *Bhāgavata* for the amours of Krishna and the *gopīs*. But his treatment of the theme of God-love was not on the lofty plane of Mīrā's devotional songs nor did it have the delicate beauty of Vidyāpatī's more sensual approach. Nevertheless the influence of Vallabh was very great. It is the followers of Vallabh and his son Bitthal Nāth who constitute the famous group known as the *Braj Bhāsā*[2] poets, centred round Brindāban. The poetry of the *Braj Bhāsā* poets such as that of Sur Dās sank deep into the life of the common man to whom the Sanskrit of Jayadev was a closed book.

Other Writers

In Bengal, Vallabh's contemporary, the great Chaitanya was even regarded by some as an incarnation of Shri Krishna himself. To what extent he influenced the outlook of miniature painters it is difficult to say. Keshav Dās of Orchā (1555-1617 A.D.) famed for his *Rasikapriyā*, and Matī Rāma Tripāthī of Tikāvapur (1650-1682 A.D.) who wrote the *Rās Rāj*, a treatise on lovers, are two Hindi poets whose verses were often resorted to by Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniature painters for illustrating the Krishna-Rādhā theme. Such verses appear either on the face or reverse of the miniature. The verses of Bihārī Lāl, a well known poet of the 17th century who wrote the *Satsāiyā* also appear on Pahārī miniatures.

A list of poets whose verses have been illustrated by Pahārī artists will be found in Appendix No. I to the present volume.

Apart from the wellknown writers there was a host of minor poets, and many unidentified verses appearing on Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniatures must be attributed to one or the other of these numerous poetasters. Frequently the texts on the paintings are corrupt and difficult to understand. Texts from the *Gīta Govinda* and the *Bhāgavata* as well as from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* are also commonly inscribed on Pahārī pictures which illustrate these works. Almost invariably such pictures form a series which sometimes contains as many as one hundred and fifty miniatures. The text which is written at the back of each

[1] The description is taken from the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.
[2] Braj is the country of the Krishna legend and *Bhāsā* means language.

miniature frequently refers to the episode depicted in the picture but sometimes it is not explanatory of the painting. Here again corrupt texts are common. Examples of texts from the *Bhāgavāta* and *Gīta Govinda* are reproduced in facsimile as Nos. 1 and 2 and 3 of the facsimile inscriptions.

The Adoration of the Child Krishna

The intense love for Krishna which the Vaishnava revival fostered had led to an emotional reaction which centred round his amours with the *gopīs*. It also led to the glorification of every childish prank of Krishna the infant; of every exploit of Krishna the youth; and of every action of Krishna the divine incarnation who fulfilled his destiny and left the idyllic groves of Brindāban and the sorrowing milkmaidens, to reign at Dvārakā. The adoration of Krishna the infant is a particularly delightful and human aspect of the Krishna cult. The chubby little butter-thief (*Makhan-Chor*) who was perpetually up to some mischief or the other, struck a note of deep mother-love in the heart of every woman—princess and rustic wench alike. The Pahārī miniature painter, was not slow to recognize this fact and repeatedly utilized this theme with marked success. The delightful *Makhan-Chor* (Fig I) from the most notable of the sets which illustrate the *Bhāgavata* is typical of the charming and almost homely manner in which such themes were handled. Another equally characteristic example is the miniature of Krishna having a bath, reproduced in colour as Plate I. Such incidents might have occurred in any village household. Herein lay that community of thought and emotion between the Pahārī painter and the common man which is usually absent in the Moghul miniature.

PAHĀRĪ PAINTING—IN WHAT SENSE A COURT ART

It is true that the ccmmon man was never privileged to see either the Moghul miniature or the Pahārī miniature. But whereas the former was a vehicle for the portrayal of an aristocratic court life of which the painter was only a spectator, the subject-matter of Pahārī miniature painting was for the most part in tune with the painter's innermost feelings, religious beliefs, and love of epic lore.

Thus though the Pahārī painter invariably worked for a royal or aristocratic patron, the subject-matter of the Krishna legend provided him with material *par excellence* for the portrayal of a strata of social life with which he was familiar but of which the royal courts and their aristocratic retainers knew nothing. After all Krishna was a village boy and the *gopīs* were village maidens. The *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda*, though mediums for the expression of God-love, were also pastorals in the truest sense of that term. The groves of Brindāban were a woodland where any country swain might voice his love for a country lass. In Brindāban the grass was green and the breezes laden with the scent of wild flowers. By the riverside the village herds lazed the long day through, and the herons waded leisurely in the shallow waters by the river banks. The children who tended the herds played blindman's buff or some other game, and the notes of a woodland flute mingled with the endless songs of birds darting amidst the shade of spreading trees. Here, when the shadows of evening were falling, and the herds wending homewards, a cowherdess would keep her tryst.

In the four walls of his patron's atelier the painter translated into form and colour the stories which they both loved. Through the medium of visual representation the patron was brought into contact with the life of the common folk. The painter while interpreting the verses of the *Bhāgavata* and *Gīta Govinda* was at the same time enacting in form and colour a mode of life with which he himself was familiar. Almost all the Pahārī painters were men, who though perfectly respectable, belonged to the lowly placed goldsmith caste, and came from villages. And which Indian villager is not responsive to his herds, his village woodlands, and his rustic associations? But the scene was always idyllic in keeping with the spirit of the true pastoral. The stark realities of life in an Indian village were never permitted to intrude on the setting. The painter was not concerned to picture or interpret contemporary life

PLATE B



UTKA NAYIKA — The Heroine who awaits her lover in suspense.
Garhwal Idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. Size 8½ × 5½ ins.

save as a means of illustrating the varying themes of the Krishna legend. Thus Krishna became a Pahārī cowherd and the *Gopīs* were Pahārī maidens. Brindaban was a village in the Hill States and its groves were often a hillside woodland.

Though the Pahārī painters obviously delighted in scenes of Krishna's youthful exploits, his games, his misdemeanours, and his amours as a young man; yet they also painted with loving care many a more prosaic scene portraying various incidents in his life as told in the *Bhāgavata*. When painting a series of pictures to illustrate the *Bhāgavata* or other comprehensive text for some royal patron, as many as a hundred to a hundred and fifty miniatures in the series were not uncommon. It was a form of book illustration to order. Had it not been that the cult of God-love had permeated deeply into and gripped every strata of society, such book illustration, no matter how technically competent, could never have achieved that delicate, dreamlike beauty which marks the best Kāngrā paintings, nor that pulsating intensity which characterizes the finest Basohlī miniatures.

Yet there is no gainsaying the fact that Pahārī painting by far and large was never the heritage of the masses. Barring a few late folk schools which produced work such as Figs 32 and 35, the entire production of the Pahārī painter was for the edification of royal courts—the princes, their *zennanas*, and the feudal lords who comprised the Rājput aristocracy of Hills. Pahārī painting is the product of small ateliers maintained by Hill Rājās and nobles, though the powerful Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.), as is well-known, had many artists in his employ. The great Basohlī series of the *Gīta Govinda* dated 1730 A.D. from which some examples are reproduced as Plates XVII, XVIII, and Fig 33, was painted under the patronage of a cultured lady named Manaku[1] who was doubtless of royal estate.

Though the vernacular poetry and songs which had propagated the Krishna cult were on the lips of the highest born and the lowliest bred, yet the Rājasthanī and Pahārī schools of miniature painting, which were so largely inspired by the Krishna-Rādhā allegory, were unknown to all save an aristocratic coterie which revolved round the royal courts of Rājput potentates. On the other hand Indian temple sculpture, though also the product of royal or aristocratic patronage, was available to the gaze of every worshipper. The very nature of a temple made it public. But the works of the Pāharī and Rājasthānī miniaturists were for the select few. In a large measure this was due to the fact that refined and skilful miniature painting could never be available to all and sundry. Able miniaturists could find adequate remuneration for their skill and labour only in royal courts. Moreover the idea of displaying royal art treasures in public museums was foreign to the Rājput princes or even to their Moghul overlords. Thus in a sense Pahārī painting is an aristocratic and court art. But what must not be forgotten is that the mere employment of skilled painters by royal patrons could never, in the absence of the great Vaishnava renaissance, have achieved the results which give to Rājasthānī and Pāharī painting their absorbing interest. It was the spread of Vaishnava literature, largely in vernacular form, that had made Krishna and his life a household theme, and it was the rapture of this literary outburst which enabled the artists of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries A.D. to fathom the true meaning of devotion to Krishna and interpret the allegory on which was based the cult of the cowherd god.

Though the Pahārī miniaturists worked for an aristocratic clientele, they themselves were steeped not only in the half-mystic, half-erotic, aspects of the Krishna cult, but also in the story of Krishna's life. It required no mean acquaintance with the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda* to compose over a hundred paintings to illustrate these texts.

So much has been said about Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting being an art of the people, as opposed to the court art of the Moghuls, that it is necessary to remove certain misconception

1 Manaku was not the painter of the series as erroneously thought by Mr. N. C. Mehta who misread the inscription on Fig 33 See Chapter III for a full discussion of the matter.

Coomaraswamy's oft quoted remark[1] that in Rājput painting the folk art of India fused with hieratic and classic literary tradition and emerged as the culture of the whole race equally shared by kings and peasants, is, I am afraid, very far from the truth. That some form of crude folk painting, particularly for outer wall decoration, existed in Rājasthān and in the Hill States, even prior to the advent of the Moghuls, may easily be conceded. But to hold that this folk art fused with the Vaishnava literary renaissance and produced the Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools is to propound a theory contrary to overwhelming evidence. In fact it is only necessary to point out that till the advent of the Moghuls the Vaishnava renaissance, though in full swing, could take the art of Indian manuscript illustration no further than the late 15th and the 16th century A.D. *Bālagopālastutī* miniatures[2] or those of the Assamese *Bhāgavata* of 1539 A.D.[3]

The Influence of the Moghul School

It was the formation of the Moghul school which led to the patronage by Rājput princes of painters well versed in the Krishna cult, the epics, the literature of erotics, and Indian myth and legend. The Moghul ateliers had catered largely to a taste for objective painting such as court *durbārs*, court life, court pastimes, portraiture, and animal, bird and flower studies. No doubt Akbar had initiated an interest in illustrating the great Epics and works like the *Harivamsa* and *Nala-Damayantī*, but his approach to this Hindu literature was different from that of the Rājput courts. To Akbar, the Epics and the *Harivamsa* were the matters of novel interest, but to the Rājput princes the Epics and Vaishnava literature were a way of life. Yet one must recognize the fact that if Moghul miniature painting had not come into being, there may never have been any Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools of miniature painting. It is no part of an art historian's function to permit nationalistic ardour to cloud his vision. It is true that the subject-matter, outlook, and approach of Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting differed from that of Moghul painting, but at the same time it is clear that the Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools never founded a national art equally shared by kings and peasants as Coomaraswamy postulated. These schools for ever remained a court art in the sense that they were created by court patronage and their production was absorbed almost exclusively by court circles.

COOMARASWAMY'S DICTA ANALYSED

The majority of writers on Indian painting have followed Coomaraswamy's utterances without caring to think out matters for themselves. But this admirable critic unfortunately did sponsor certain notions with regard to Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting which cannot stand in the light of our present-day knowledge of the subject. Almost all Rājasthānī and Pahārī paintings which have come to light have been obtained from the *Toshī Khānās* (treasure houses) of ruling princes or from the collections of noblemen. The *Thikānās* (feudal estates) of Rājputānā and the *Jāgirdārs* (landed noblemen) of the Hill States have proved to be quite productive sources for the art dealer. The middle classes and the lower classes knew nothing of these extensive collections stored away in chests and often treasured greatly by their original owners. A few persons in immediate contact with the painter would know of his creations and would perhaps admire their beauty, but once the finished product passed from the painter's hands to those of his patron, it ceased to be accessible to any save the owner and his aristocratic circle of wives, favourites, intimate companions and honoured guests.

The Vaishnava literary and religious renaissance affected all classes of society. Even the illiterate country folk were saturated in the Krishna cult and legend through the medium of countless songs and verses, the recitations of itinerant singers, and the performance of the *Krishna Līlā* plays at festivals and fairs. But to say that miniature painting likewise became the common heritage of the people is contrary to all known facts.

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, p. 2.

[2] *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 10, Plates Nos. 2 and 3.

[3] *Chitra Bhāgavata*, 1950, (in Hindi). I have not had the date on the original read by any expert and therefore cannot vouch for the date, 1539 A.D. as referring to the year in which the MSS. was painted. I would not be surprised if it was painted much later than 1539 A.D.

What did however happen is that the Vaishnava religious and literary renaissance so affected every strata of society, that there arose a demand at the courts of Rājput princes both in Rājasthān and in the Hill States to have not only portraits and miniatures of court life painted but also to have the great masterpieces of Vaishnava literature and the epics illustrated. This desire to possess miniature paintings and to patronize an atelier of artists was inculcated in the Rājput princes by their Moghul overlords whose culture they largely affected. In the last years of Akbar's reign we know that the *Gīta Govinda*[1] was illustrated in the late Akbar school style probably for some nobleman, while Akbar himself, as already noted, had the Epics and other Hindu works sumptuously illustrated for the Imperial Library. Book illustration did not enjoy great popularity during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan but the Akbar school having set the fashion in vogue, this fashion continued to flourish at the courts of the Rājput kings though the Imperial court favoured new developments.

The Epics and the great works of Vaishnava literature unfolded a new vista to the miniaturists working at the Rājput courts. Their approach was subjective because of their sensitivity to their subject-matter. It was an approach which no doubt would have been understood by the common man had he been allowed to share in the joy and emotional response which the work of these miniaturists evoked. In so far as it can be said that Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting breathed the spirit of that religious and cultural revival which was the common possession of the rulers and the ruled. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that in fact the common man was quite oblivious of the growth of Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniature painting. It existed only for the edification and inspiration of a select few.

This leads me to another grave misconception fostered by Coomaraswamy[2] when he said,

Moghul art is at home in the portfolios of princely connoisseurs but the Hindu paintings have stepped from the walls of shrines and palaces where their traces linger still.

Now from what we know of fresco painting at Ajantā, Bāgh, Sittanavsāl, Bādāmī, Ellorā, Kānchī, Tānjore, Madanpur, Leepakshī, Cochin, and Padmanābhapuram, one cannot but feel that Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniature painting never stepped from the walls of shrines and palaces but was a Hindu corollary, albeit different in spirit, to the Moghul miniature. Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniatures were as eminently at home in the portfolios of princely connoisseurs, as were Moghul miniatures. Every discovery of Rājasthānī and Pahārī masterpieces goes to confirm the view that not only were these miniatures suited to portfolios, but were in fact always regarded as portfolio pictures. According to Coomaraswamy, all Rājasthānī and Pahārī paintings are miniatures only in measurement. When enlarged by photographic projection to many times their original size they gain, according to this critic, in grandeur, and it would be difficult to guess that they had not originally been designed on a large scale. But to my mind it would indeed be hard to find work which could more suitably be described as miniature painting than the illustrations to the *Bhāgavata*, such as Plates VII and IX, and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13, or the paintings reproduced on Plates II and III to mention only a few examples.

The true miniature implies fineness in general execution and detail, compact and tidy composition, smooth brush-work, and a proper appreciation of how to organize forms and colour in a format of small dimensions. Judged by these standards Rājasthānī and Pahārī paintings do on the whole recognize the requirements of a miniature art. If however they were transplanted on to walls in an enlarged size they would, I fear, ill-fulfil the requirements of great fresco painting such as breadth of treatment, forceful sweeping brush-work, and avoidance of the meticulous. But why anyone should ever want to visualize a genuine miniature art in terms of enlargements is to my way of thought not understandable. To me such a

1 One leaf of this manuscript with an illustration on each side was discovered by me in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., of Bombay and was first reproduced by me in colour in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1940, 'An Akbar period Moghul Miniature of the *Gita Govinda*'. The volume number refers to the *Roopa Lekha* when it was under my editorship from 1939 to 1946.

2 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, p. 5.

process is anathema. It is no different from trying to visualize the delicate carving on an old ivory comb in terms of life-size sculpture on the walls of a shrine.

A great deal of Pahārī painting is genuine miniature art, though there are examples such as Fig 38 and the *Rāmāyana* paintings from Haripur[1] which not only in size but also in treatment are quite different from the true miniature and correspond more to fresco painting. It is interesting to observe that in some of the still existing fresco paintings in the Hills one finds that the artist has done no more than translate an enlarged miniature on to the wall. How singularly ineffective as a fresco such a treatment can be is seen from the fresco (Fig 20) which is painted on the walls of the Rang Mahāl Palace, Chambā. But another fresco (Fig 14) also from the same palace is more in keeping with the true fresco approach and accordingly is quite successful as a wall painting.

How far an Art of Book Illustration

The approach of the Pahārī miniaturist was often that of a book illustrator, though one would not refer to Pahārī painting in general as an art of book illustration in the sense in which the Persians understood that form of art. For instance the great *Bhāgavata* series (Plates VII and IX and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13) consists of a large number of pictures, each illustrating some part of the text. But they were never intended to be bound into a manuscript of the *Bhāgavata* nor are they a systematic unfoldment of that work. The incidents are chosen at random, depending on the fancy of the illustrator. Due to the large number of illustrations in the series, a good deal of the story is covered, though with undue emphasis on some parts. At the back of each picture are a few lines of the text. There is no attempt at beautiful calligraphy. This can be seen from the facsimile reproductions Nos. 1 and 2. In fact the calligraphy on Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniatures is little more than a label. In Persian book illustration on the other hand the miniatures and calligraphy combine to produce a homogeneous result. The Pahārī paintings of the *Bhāgavata* are really separate miniatures, intended to portray various aspects of the Krishna legend and to act as a pictorial aid and a source of edification to one familiar with the story. Though furnished with captions they contain but little of the text of the *Bhāgavata*. The same is the case with all other sets of Pahārī paintings which illustrate the epics and other works. In the 19th century A.D. when the format of some of these sets became as large as 21×16 inches and even more, the compactness which should exist in a miniature art was increasingly absent. That is one of the principal reasons why late sets of the second quarter of the 19th century A.D. apart from their usually unsatisfactory colouring, are unsuccessful as paintings. These large size miniatures lack cohesion and are generally little more than an unimaginative pictorial narration of incidents wanting in composition, organization, feeling, and sentiment.

NĀYAKA-NĀYIKĀ-BHED

It has already been pointed out how old are the themes of love and erotics in Indian literature, and their subtle influence on the course of Vaishnava poetry has been indicated. Both Sanskrit and vernacular literature recognize classifications of Heros and Heroines. A Western counterpart is found in the grammar of amorous sentiment evolved by the mediæval troubadours of France and Italy. Such classifications may seem to us in the 20th century A.D. to be an artificial and pedantic approach to a theme which requires romantic treatment. But the fact is that such classifications persisted, and whatever may be their intrinsic value, they certainly were instrumental in producing literature and painting of high interest.

Pahārī painters in particular were considerably influenced by such classifications and interpreted them quite charmingly in line and colour. It is not necessary to set out the classifications of the early Sanskrit writers but those of the Hindi poet Kesava Dās in his *Rasikapriyā* are important for the student of Pahārī painting. It is the Heroines (*Nāyikās*) who prin-

[1] Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. II, Pls 21 (colour), 22, 23, 24 and *Catalogue Indian Collections, Boston Museum*, Part V, 1926, Pls. 10, 11, 12, 13.

cipally engage the attention of Pahārī painters. This is both pardonable and understandable. The Heroes (*Nāyakas*), though not neglected are subsidiary to the more attractive theme of Heroines. Kesava Dās's poetry appears to have been very popular with the Pahārī painters. Kesava Dās himself was a native of Orcha in Bundelkhand and his poems had a vogue both in the plains of Northern India and in the Hills. Many Rājasthānī and Pahārī paintings are inscribed with verses from Kesava Dās. The Hero-Heroine theme or *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* as it is called, was not confined in Pahārī painting to the eightfold classification of Kesava Dās. There are *Nāyikā* pictures inscribed with the verses of Matī Rām, Molarām, and Kālibāsa Tribedī, and I have seen sets, all unfortunately incomplete, which appear to be based on other texts which are not easy to identify. Frequently the Hero in these *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* pictures is depicted as Krishna, and the Heroine as Rādhā (Plate IV). But this is not invariably the case (Plate XXIII and Fig 51).

This intrusion of the Krishna-Rādhā ideal into the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme is one more indication of how in the course of time the Krishna legend dominated the entire literature of erotics. All the eight *Nāyikās* (Heroines) of Kesava Dās's classification have been portrayed by the Pahārī painters but the eightfold classification is not adopted by all writers. The number varies. I recently saw a Chambā *Rumāl* (embroidered cloth) in which a tenfold classification of Heroines was adopted.

The Eightfold Classification of Heroines

Kesava Dās's eightfold classification of Heroines is as follows:

(1) *Svādhīnapatikā*[1]—She whose Beloved is under her domination. The usual pictorial formula is the Hero massaging the feet of the seated Heroine, or washing her feet, or painting her feet with lac dye, or applying a *tilaka* to her forehead.

Her good qualities and charms have kept her loved one ever faithful to her and happy to be always in her presence.

He is like to the hem of her bodice, he carries out all her desires,
There is nought he will not do for her at her behest.
Kesava Dās

(2) *Utkā*[2]—She who is alone and yearning for her lover who has not arrived through misadventure or involuntary absence. The usual pictorial formula is a girl sitting alone on a bed of leaves by the edge of a forest pool and wild deer are seen nearby (Plate B). She may also be shown standing alone.

She knows not the reason which has kept him away and all kinds of thoughts cross her mind.

Is he delayed at home, or is he ill in body?
Or has he proved false to me?
Or does he fear this dark rain-swept night?
Kesava Dās

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1 Also called *Svādhīna-bhartrkā*.
The Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate I, Fig 1. Krishna tends Rādhā's feet. Kāngrā school, 19th century A.D.
Roopa Lekha, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 3 opposite page 77. Krishna is painting Rādhā's feet with lac dye. Kāngrā school drawing, 19th century A.D.
Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 42 (in colour). Krishna is applying a *tilaka* to Rādhā's forehead. Kāngrā school, second quarter of the 19th century A.D.

2 Also called *Utkalā* or *Utkanthitā*.
Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate I, Fig 2; Plate 2, Figs 3 and 4. The first miniature is of the Kāngrā school, mid 19th century A.D; the second is also of the Kāngrā school, 1780-1800 A.D; and the third is of the same school, early 19th century A.D. In the first two paintings the *Nāyikā* is standing, while in the third she is seated on a bed of leaves.
Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 26 B. Seated *Nāyikā*, Basohlī type *Kalam*, mid 18th century A.D.
Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 27 (in colour). Standing *Nāyikā*, probably Garhwāl school, end of 18th century A.D.
Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 99. Seated *Nāyikā*, Kāngrā school, late 18th century A.D.
Nehru Birthday Book, 1950, Plate 25. Standing *Nāyikā*, Guler school, 1780-1800 A.D.

In one text the waiting *Nāyikā* muses,

It seems the courtesan is bent on seizing somebody's (her lover's) money.

(3) *Vāsakasayyā*[1]—She who waits by her bedside for her lover having adorned herself in expectation of his arrival. The usual pictorial forumla shows the Heroine waiting at the door for her lover, while maids prepare the bed. Sometimes she is seen actually welcoming her returning lord.

She is happy at the thought of her lover's impending return but is consumed with anxiety.

She glances anxiously at every sound she hears,
Be it the moan of the wind, or the rustle of leaves,
The twitter of a bird, or the movement of a beast.
Thus she awaits the moment of union with her Lord
Ever watching with trembling heart for his home coming.

Kesava Dās

Sometimes she is seen talking to a crow perched on a tree or building. The crow is regarded as a good omen for the lover's safe return. A subclassification of *Vāsakasayyā* is *Agatapatikā* where the Heroine is welcoming the returned lover (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 9 in colour). It is of the Kāngrā school but wrongly described by Gangoly as belonging to the school of Rājputanā.

(4) *Abhīsandhitā*,[2]—She who is separated from her lover due to a quarrel brought on by her own inconsiderate or unkind attitude. The usual pictoral formula is the Hero walking away from the Heroine in a dejected mood (Plate IV).

She spurns her beloved when he endeavours to make amends for wounding her pride. Yet when he departs her grief is greater than before.

When he was speaking I would not answer, when he touched my feet I was harder than stone.
Alas! I repent too late for yielding to the dictates of my anger.
Even sandal paste, the mellifluous rays of the moon, and the soft touch of lotus petals scorch me.
I was over-harsh and Destiny hath made me suffer.

Kesava Dās

(5) *Khanditā*[3]—She who is offended by the conduct of her lover. Marks of unfaithfulness on his person have outraged her feelings. The usual pictorial formula shows the Heroine reproaching the penitent looking Hero.

He made a promise to come at night but did not come till the morning. She upbraids him with bitter words of biting sarcasm.

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1 Also called *Sajjikā*.
Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 6, Fig 12 and Plate 7, Fig 13. The latter is really an *Agatapatikā*. Both miniatures, of which the first is a drawing, belong to the Kāngrā school of the 19th century A.D.
Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 102, Figs 338 and 339. Both belong to the Kāngrā school of the 19th century A.D. In both the Heroine is seen talking to a crow which is a bird of good omen when a lover is about to return.
Rupam, Nos. 19-20, Figs 2 and 3 opposite page 137 and colour plate opposite page 138. The first is really an *Agatapatikā*. It belongs to the early Basohlī school of the period 1690-1700 A.D. The second is also of the Basohlī school *circa* 1720 A.D. The third is again a Basohlī miniature of the period *circa* 1720 A.D.
The Art of India and Pahistan, 1950, Plate 99, Figs 509 and 514. At first sight these two miniatures appear to represent the *Agatapatikā* theme but Fig 509 (which is Fig 51 of the present volume) is labelled *Madhyā Dhīrā* implying a balanced Heroine who controls her resentment on her unfaithful lover's return. It is wrongly described as *Vāsakasajjikā*. Fig 514 also bears a label but it is somewhat indistinct. The *Nāyikā* appears to be offended which would not be the case if the subject was the *Agatapatikā* Heroine.

2 Also called *Kalahāntaritā*
Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 3, Fig 5. It is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 41. Kāngrā school 1780-1800 A.D.

3 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 3, Fig 6. Kāngrā school 1780-1800 A.D.

I have spurned you, yet you come cringing to beg forgiveness by touching my feet,
You are a wastrel who hath bad companions.
In whose homes have you tarried like an owl of evil omen to encompass their ruin,
That you come sneaking into my house after break of day?
Kesava Dās

The poet Matī Rām has expressed the sentiments of the *Khanditā* Heroine in a delightfully terse line.

One woman's feet this wanton touches by night and another's by day.

(6) *Prosīta patikā*[1]—She whose lover has gone abroad on a journey leaving her to pine. The usual pictorial formula shows the Heroine seated with her maids. She will not be comforted.

The appointed day for the lover's return has past and the *Prosītapatikā* Heroine is distraught with grief. Her *Sakhī* (companion) muses,

Does he know that her eyes are blinded with tears
And that she is crying out her young heart piteously,
Wondering—will he ever return.
Kesava Dās

In another text the *Nāyikā* says,

I have bathed in rain drops, I have lived in the dense forest,
What penance is there which I have not performed?
Then why till this day does the delight of mine eyes not return?

(7) *Vipralabdhā*[2]—She who comes to keep her tryst with her lover. But the lover fails her. The usual pictorial formula shows the Heroine throwing her jewels away in grief (Plate A).

She is sore smitten with sorrow and her *Sakhī* (companion) muses,

Every gem studded ornament she wears, sears her delicate skin like a branding iron,
And even flowers pierce her like an arrow.
She breaks her garlands and deeply sighing casts off her beauteous jewels.
Kesava Dās

(8) *Abhīsārikā*[3]—She who braves the dangers of the night and the forest and clandestinely visits her lover at his house. The usual pictorial formula shows her at the entrance of her lover's home (Plate XXIII) while it rains without, or passing through the dark demon-haunted forest in a storm, her path beset with snakes (Fig 57).

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1 Also called *Prosīta preyasī* or *Prosīta-bhartrkā*
Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 4, Fig 7. Kāngrā school, 19th century A.D.

2 Also called *Labdhāviprā*
Journal of Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 5, Fig 9. Kāngrā school, 19th century A.D.
Revue Des Arts Asiatiques, Vol. 3, 1926, Plate 32 (top). Kāngrā school, 1780-1800 A.D.
Roopa Lekha, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 19 (in colour) opposite page 20. Garhwāl school, early 19th century A.D. Wrongly described as *Utkanthitā*.

3 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 6, Fig 11; Plate 7, Fig 14; and Plate 8, Figs 15 and 16. The first is a Kāngrā school drawing of the second half of the 19th century. The Heroine's jewels are falling off her person as she rushes through the forest. The second belongs to the Kāngrā school, 1780-1800 A.D. The third is also of the Kāngrā school, 1780-1800 A.D. The fourth is of the Basohlī school, *circa* 1700 A.D. In the first two miniatures the Heroine is on her way to her lover, while in the latter two paintings she has reached her lover.
Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 101. Garhwāl school, late 18th century A.D.
The Art of India and Pakistan, 1950, Plate 109, Fig 578. The Heroine is a *Suklābhisārikā* because a moon is seen in the miniature.
Exhibition of Art (Royal Academy 1947-48) Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Plate 27. (Published by Country Life Ltd.). Garhwāl school late 18th century A.D. This is a beautiful example from the late P. C. Manuk collection and is very similar to Plate 101 of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, which is by the same hand.
Arts and Letters, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1951, Plate 4. From the Rothenstein collection, London. Unidentified sub-school of the mid 19th century A.D.

Dark is the night and the heavens rent by thunder,
Torrents of rain have made the road impassable,
Yet like a flare she passes, no goblin host can deter her
On Love's way wending.

One is reminded of the description in the famous play *The Toy Cart* said to be written in the 5th century A.D. when the loyal courtesan Vasantasena goes on a very dark and stormy night to the house of her lover Charudatta, and is drenched by the rain. There are several categories of *Abhīsārikā* Heroines but it is only necessary to refer to two of them in connection with Pahārī painting. The Heroine who visits her beloved on a dark and usually stormy night is called *Krsnābhisārikā*. She is supposed to wear dark garments but this injunction is not always adhered to by the Pahārī painter. The Heroine who visits her lover on a moonlit night is called *Suklābhisārikā*. She is supposed to wear white garments. Coomaraswamy's statement in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, p. 68, that only the *Krsnābhisārikā* is represented in Rājput paintings is incorrect. A Kāngrā miniature of a *Suklābhisārikā* is reproduced in the *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 109. Fig 578 She is wearing white garments.

The *Abhīsārikā* and *Utkā* Heroines are creatures of the woodland and of the night. One treads the treacherous forest paths to reach her lover's abode, the other awaits in a secluded forest opening where the wild deer come to drink at a forest pool. The *Vipralabdhā* Heroine is also a creature of the night like *Utkā*, but she has waited in vain for her lover to come to the trysting place in the forest. She is always depicted near to the hour of dawn when she realizes that her vigil has come to naught and in despondency casts off her jewels. The *Abhīsandhitā* and *Khanditā* Heroines have also maintained a night-long vigil for the Beloved, but their waiting has been in the seclusion of their own dwellings. They are invariably represented in a room or pavillion repulsing the advances of the errant Beloved who comes in the early morning, drowsy or dishevelled, having spent the night with another fair lady.

The other three Heroines namely *Svādhīnapatikā, Vāsakasayyā, and Prosītapatikā* are also usually represented in an apartment or pavillion, and the hour of the day varies with the imagination of the painter.

A counterpart of the *Agatapatikā* Heroine is the *Pravatsyat-praiyasī* who is a Heroine whose Lord is about to part from her because he is going on a long journey.

The most popular of these *Nāyikās* is *Abhisārikā* (Plate XXIII). Frequently her path is strewn with snakes that even wind around her hurrying feet. Not uncommonly a demoness carrying a child manifests herself from the blackness of the night lit by a streak of lightning, but fails to deter the *Abhīsārikā*. Less popular but fairly common are *Vipralabdhā* and *Utkā*. The most beautiful example of the former is Plate A in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and a very fine rendering of *Utkā* (Plate B) is in the collection of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad.

States of Mind

Apart from the eightfold classification of Heroines already dealt with, the themes of love flavour (*srngāra*) are manifold. Certain states of the mind in certain situations are referred to in *srngāra* literature and have been utilized by the Pahārī painter.

Viraha—Unhappy love caused by separation. The separation is usually due to the Hero having left the Heroine because of the charms of another woman. Or the unhappiness is due to the Heroine's love not being reciprocated. Often in such pictures the Heroine is seen lying on a bed physically and mentally ill (*Vyādhi*) while her apprehensive maidens attend to her (Fig 46). Such a Heroine is called a *Virahinī*. Sometimes the *Virahinī* is depicted alone near a tree or watching the clouds to whom she makes her complaint of loneliness, and sometimes she is seen conversing with a parrot to whom she unfolds her tale of woe.

Māna (ego).—The Heroine ignores her lover[1] or ignores his messages sent through a handmaiden[2]. She is at length reconciled to him after much imploring on his part. Strictly speaking *Māna* (ego) is an aspect of *Viraha* but this classification is too subtle and I prefer to distinguish the *Māninī* from the true *Virahinī*. In Pahārī paintings depicting the *Māninī*, the Hero is in a subdued and repentant mood but the Heroine turns her face away in anger. Her resentment bars the true realisation of love.

Samyoga—The fulfilment of love resulting from the union of the Hero and Heroine. In Plate XIX and Figs 17 and 37 we see one aspect of this theme. Fig 17 depicts an incident in a story, and is not a representation of *Samyoga* as such. In Fig 37, the union is that of Krishna and Rādhā. The union may be direct (*mukhya*) or indirect (*gauna*) as in a dream.

Abhilāsa (longing) ; *Lālasā* (ardent desire) ; *Udvega* (anxiety) ; *Jagara* (sleeplessness) ; *Jadata* (stupor) ; *Vilāpa* (lamentation) ; *Pravasa* (effect of separation) ; and *Moha* (unconsciousness) are all states of mind for which no standardized pictorial formulas exist, but they can often be recognized in the Heroines painted by Pahārī artists. Several of these states of mind if logically analysed will be found to be hopelessly overlapping.

Certain physical phenomena which are regarded as excitants (*vibhāva*) contribute to create a particular state of mind in the Hero or the Heroine. For instance the advent of the rains ; the crying of kokilas ; the scream of a peacock ; the humming of bees ; the rays of the moon ; and hte burst of Spring, all conjure up a variety of thoughts, and either afford delight to lovers or intensify yearning, as the case may be.

Experience of Heroines

Heroines are also classified according to their experience.

Mugdhā or *Navodhā*—the inexperienced heroine. She is usually a young girl (*Navalabālā*) who does not know the arts of love and is in a subdued and somewhat apprehensive mood at the impending experience of passing her first night with her lover.

Vidyāpati has described her thus :

Childhood and youth are face to face,
She stands uncertain.
Her restless feet reflect her heart's unrest.
Her hand remains continually upon her robe,
She is ashamed to question her companions.

The pictorial representation of *Navodhā* shows the girl being gently led by her female attendants to her lover's bed chamber[3] or shrinking from her lover[4], or coyly resisting his impassioned advances.

Praudhā—The Heroine who is experienced in love[5].

Madhyā—The Heroine in whom love and modesty are equally balanced.

Dhīrā—The Heroine who can control her resentment at her lover's unfaithfulness.

Adhīrā—The Heroine who cannot control her resentment caused by her lover's unfaithfulness.

Dhirādhirā—the Heroine who sometimes can control her resentment against her lover and sometimes is overpowered by her feelings.

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1 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Plate 5, Fig 10.
2 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 74 (A). *Roopa Lekha*, No. 2, April 1929, opposite page 6 (Ghose collection)
3 Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 26 (in colour).
4 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 74 (B).
5 *Roopa Lekha*. No. 4, 1929, *Dampati* (in colour). She massages her lord's foot and her one breast is bared awaiting her lord's amorous advances.

These various aspects of Heroines are on occasion combined. For instance a Heroine is labelled by the painter as *Praudhā-Adhirā*. So also Fig 51 is a representation of a Heroine in whom two aspects *Madhyā* and *Dhīrā* are combined.

Moral Character of Heroines

Another noteworthy classification is according to moral character.

Svakiyā—The Heroine who loves her own lord. For instance Sītā in the *Rāmāyana* is *par excellence* a *Svakiyā* heroine.

Parakiyā—The Heroine who loves one who is not her legitimate lord. Thus Rādhā in the Krishna legend is a *Parakiyā* heroine. And yet in her unswerving love of Krishna she exhibits all the characteristics of the true *Svakiyā*. The *Parakiyā* may be a maiden (*Kanyakā*) or a married woman (*Parodhā*).

The Heroes

The *Nāyaka* (Hero) not only appears in the role which he must occupy in the pictorial representations of the *Nāyikās* (Heroines), but is on occasion the principal theme in *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* pictures. The classification of Heroes is also fairly extensive but the following few types should be noted as being constantly recognizable in Pahārī painting.

Patī—The husband.

Upapatī[1]—The Hero who is a paramour. Krishna's relationship with Rādhā is as an *Upapatī*.

Vaisika[2]—the Hero who consorts with women of easy virtue and is well acquainted with their ways.

Satha[3]—The Hero who is false in his love and heartless.

Manisatha[4]—The Hero who is a false lover and yet is offended by his beloved's angry rejection of his false protestations.

Dhrsta—The Hero who is shameless in his love affairs. Of him the unhappy *Nāyikā* says,

> *In his heart, shame, nor pity, nor fear arises.*
> *Myself as tender as the calyx of the Bakula flower,*
> *O (Destiny) why do you consign me to those hands again !*

Confidantes of Heroes and Heroines

Both *Nāyikās* and *Nāyakas* have their assistants or confidantes who play an important role as 'go-betweens' in the love affairs of the Hero and the Heroine.

The female assistants of a Heroine are extensively classified. Two in particular should be noted. The *Dutikā* (of which there are several types) is a handmaiden (*paricārikā*) or friend and acts as a messenger of love[5]. The *Sakhī* is the constant companion of a *Nāyikā*. The Hero often seeks to influence the Heroine by shrewdly arranging to have his praises sung to the Heroine by the *Sakhī*. The message may be directly spoken (*sāksāt*) or artfully spoken (*vyapadesena*).

In *Gīta Govinda* paintings the *Dutikā* is often seen with Krishna or with Rādhā, doing her best to effect a meeting of the lovers or to bring about a reconciliation when they have fallen out. In Plate XVIII the *Dutikā* has approached Krishna to talk to him. In Plate IV a *Sakhī* is seen consoling the *Abhīsandhitā* Heroine who has turned away her lover Krishna. In Plate XVII the dejected Rādhā is seen seated with two *Sakhīs*.

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1 Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, 1926, Plate 93, Fig CCCII and Plate 94, Fig CCCV.
2 *Ibid*, Plate 93, Fig CCCIII.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 92, Fig CCCI and Plate 95, Fig CCCVI.
4 *Ibid*, Plate 94, Fig CCCIV.
5 *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. II, No. 3. 1940, Colour Plate facing p. 49 shows a *Dutikā* who having spoken to Krishna returns to Rādhā and converses with her.

The *Nāyaka* (Hero) also has his assistants. But one does not find them often in *Nāyaka* paintings. The most important of these are the *Ceta* (servant); the *Vita* (courtier); the *Pithamarda* (comrade); and the *Vidusaka* (jester).

The Function of Birds

Birds also have a function to perform in *srngāra* literature. The presence of a crow si the omen of a returning lover. A crow is sometimes seen in Pahārī miniatures seated on a house top or a tree while the Heroine addresses it or prepares for her lover's return (Gangoly, *Love Poems in Hindi*, Plate 17). A parrot is sometimes the companion of a lonely *Nāyikā*. Or it may be a love-messenger as in Muhammad Malik's famous romance *Paduāvmatī*. An ancient reference to parrots acting as messengers is found in Fausboll's *Jataka* Nos. 127 and 546. One of the sixty-four arts mentioned in the *Kāmasutra* is *suka-sārikā-pralāpana* which means the teaching of parrots and other birds to speak and deliver good news. The theme of a girl with a parrot is on occasion seen in Pahārī painting, but the parrot in most such miniatures is introduced only as a pet bird and not as a love-messenger.

The *Koil* (cuckoo) with its crescendo cry is pleasing to united lovers but distressing to lovers who are separated. A partridge often follows a lonely Heroine and is said to feed on the rays of the moon. A peacock is often in the vicinity of a Heroine particularly when it is raining. It is said to love the rain.

The cuckoo acts as a messenger in the *Duta Kavya* literature which may be defined as 'messenger lyrics'. The gopīs send messages to Krishna through the cuckoo. This device is known as *pikadutam*.

Artificial Concepts

Though some concepts in *srngāra* literature are beautiful, I do not think the main body of it can escape the criticism of artificiality. Much of it no doubt can be explained by the symbolism of the human soul yearning for God. But nevertheless the numerous classifications of situations, mental states, and of Heroes and Heroines, are often overlapping and at times wearisome. The Pahārī painter with rare insight has, as a rule, selected such aspects of *srngāra* literature as would enable him to achieve an interesting or beautiful pictorial representation. That is why the *Abhīsārikā* Heroine is so popular in Pahārī art. No doubt there are extensive sets dealing fully with the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme. These must have been painted to the order of a patron. But one can sense the delight of the painter when he is handling themes that have fired his imagination and one can also sense his apathy when he is compelled to illustrate situations which do not arouse his personal interest. The mediocrity which results from the latter attitude is a feature of many Pahārī miniatures, whether they deal with *srngāra* literature, the Krishna legend, or the Epics.

When a picture is labelled on top or inscribed with a text on the reverse which establishes its connection with the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme, or with some other aspect of *srngāra* literature, then one can be certain that the painter was influenced by one of the many literary compositions which deal with such subjects. But when there is no label or inscription on the picture it is not a sound method to attempt to explain the purport of the picture by reference to some seemingly suitable verses in *srngāra* literature. Vernacular verses can be found to suit almost any Pahārī or Rājasthānī painting, but it must be remembered that many subjects were painted without reference to literary ideas, or any literary work. They were just subject pictures such as a girl playing with a deer (Plate III), or amusing herself with a ball, or whiling away her hours with a musical instrument, or chasing a cat, or enticing a parrot back to its cage.[1] It must not be forgotten that royal and aristocratic patronage usually involved *zenana* (harem) patronage. The ladies of the court, not unnaturally delighted in pictures which were representations of their own daily pastimes. One finds a great many of such

1 Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, 1926, Plate 5 (in colour). It is wrongly described as of the Jaipur school. It is a Kāngrā miniature of the early 19th century. It has no connection with the story of Padumavati and is just a *genre* painting.

subject pictures painted in the Hills at the end of the 18th century and during the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. It serves no purpose to resurrect some Sanskrit or Hindi verse and apply it to such themes, when the inspiration of such pictures was not literary. Such miniatures constituted a gentle and rather placid form of court art which might best be termed *Zenana* art. These miniatures were often delicate and charming, but purely objective. They followed a vogue which had come into being at the Moghul court after 1707 A.D. when subjects such as the sport of fireworks, women bathing, toilet, and other *zenana* scenes were commonly painted. This phase of Moghul painting covers the period 1710 A.D. to 1800 A.D. Its products are sometimes quite attractive, but they lack vitality. The same lack of vitality is to be noticed in this category of *zenana* pictures so popular in Pahārī art during the early 19th century A.D. They are pretty and pleasing, but not elevating.

The *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme was popular with all schools of Pahārī painters. Though the basic formula for the pictorial representation of the eightfold classification of *Nāyikās* was more or less adhered to by every painter, the results were surprisingly free of tedious repetition. The standard themes such as the eight Heroines are easy of identification, but the majority of miniatures in a *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* set can only be interpreted by the label which many of them bear on their margins. A margin label can be seen on Fig 51 which is an illustration from an extensive *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* set of which only a part survives. When there is no label on the face of the picture, the subject-matter thereof can at times be identified from the text which is often inscribed on the reverse of each painting. But there are *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* paintings where no text is written on the reverse of the picture, and in such circumstances identification of the subject matter is a task of considerable difficulty unless a similar *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* painting, already identified, is available for comparison.

RĀGAMĀLĀ PAINTINGS

A well known feature of Rājasthānī miniature art is the constant composition of a series of paintings, usually thirty-six in number, known as a *Rāgamālā* (garland of *Rāgas*). The *Rāgamālā*, though not quite so popular with the artists of the Hills, as with those of Rājasthān, is not infrequently met with in certain schools of Pahārī painting.

In order to comprehend what *Rāgamālā* miniatures are intended to represent, it is essential to understand certain aspects of Indian music. *Rāga* in its primary sense is a combination of notes which creates a mood such as joy, gaiety, yearning, and so forth. Such combinations are not compositions, but only 'melody motifs'. Each such 'melody motif' forms the basis of numberless compositions by different composers. These various combinations of notes became standardized in course of time, and Narada the author of a text on music called *Sangeet Makaranda*, written probably in the 11th century A.D. or even earlier, classified *Rāgas* into masculine and feminine depending on the mood sought to be invoked. The division into masculine and feminine *Rāgas*, whether originated by Narada or not, was accepted by all subsequent writers and the masculine *Rāgas* became six in number, while the feminine *Rāgas*, who were regarded as their wives, were henceforth called *Rāginīs*. The *Rāginīs* were thirty in number, each *Rāga* having five wives. But the names of the *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* varied with different writers and exponents of music. The simple *Rāga* and *Rāginī* classification was further elaborated by some writers, and sons (*putras*) were given to the *Rāgas* and their wives the *Rāginīs*.

Certain *Rāgas* according to some writers were to be sung only in certain seasons, while other writers allocated certain times of the day to each particular *Rāga*. A further development was the association of a 'pictorial motif' with each *Rāga* and *Rāginī*. These 'pictorial motifs' were sometimes suggested by the name of the *Rāga* itself. For instance a *hindola* is a swing and hence in *Rāga Hindola* two lovers are always seen on a swing. Sometimes the 'pictorial motif' was suggested by the underlying sentiment of a *Rāga* or *Rāginī*. Thus *vasanta* means spring. It is the season for the *Holī* and other rustic dances. Therefore *Rāginī Vasanta* is visualized by the spectacle of Krishna dancing with *gopīs* against a background of flowering trees.

It was this association of a 'pictorial motif' with each *Rāga* and *Rāginī* that gave rise to the movement to translate these 'pictorial motifs' into form and colour. The first efforts in this direction were probably made in the late 16th century A.D. at the court of Ebrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, who was a great patron of music and painting, and himself a recognized authority on music. So great was his passion for music that he frequently had himself portrayed by his court artists with clappers (*kurtar* or *chitlikā*) in his hands. By the time the miniaturists began to paint *Rāgamālā* pictures, the 'pictorial motif' associated with each *Rāga* and each *Rāginī* had largely become crystallized, and hence as a rule the principal theme of a particular *Rāga* or *Rāginī* painting is the same in each *Rāgamālā* set of miniatures. For instance the 'pictorial motif' associated with the *Rāginī* known as *Todī* is a lady of fair countenance playing a musical instrument called the *vina* while the deer of the forest gather near her charmed by the melody she is playing. There are several embellishments to this 'pictorial motif' of *Rāginī Todī* in the various texts which describe *Todī*. For instance in one text the lady is described as besmeared with camphor. The painter does not necessarily follow a particular text in illustrating a particular *Rāginī*. But every miniature of *Rāginī Todī* will show a lady, seated or standing, with a *vina* in her hands, and one or more deer around her. So also miniatures of the *Rāginī* known as *Bhairavī* will depict a woman worshipping at a *Shiva linga* (phallus of Shiva). The number of her attendants however may vary. In *Rāga Bhairo* a lady is seen besmearing (*ālepa*) the body of her lover with fragrant sandal paste. Frequently a female attendant is shown in the foreground preparing the sandal paste. In *Rāga Mālkausa* a lady is seen offering betel nut to her lover. Both are seated and attended by female musicians, whose number may vary.

In the better known and more popular *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs*, the 'pictorial motif', so far as its essential features are concerned, remains constant in the miniatures of a *Rāgamālā* set. But differences in the 'pictorial motif' frequently occur with regard to the lesser known *Rāginīs*. For instance the 'pictorial motif' for *Rāginī Devagirī* wife of *Rāga Hindola* may be two women offering garlands and flowers to a *Shiva linga* (phallus of Shiva) or it may consist as in Fig 52 of two women doing *puja* (worship) and burning camphor on a metal burner which is supported on a *Garuda* image (the bird-man vehicle of the God Vishnu).

The great Vaishnava cultural revival had its effect also on the *Rāgamālā* 'pictorial motifs', and often the male lover in miniatures depicting *Rāginīs* such as *Mālkausa* or *Rāmakalī*, is the blue god Krishna. The Krishna cult influenced every form of art and literature. In the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets, the Hero was frequently painted as Krishna, and so also in the *Rāgamālā* sets he is often the gay lover who dances with the maidens in *Rāginī Vasanta* (a melody of Spring) or in *Megha Rāga* (a melody of the rainy season). Or he is the errant lover who returns at dawn in *Rāginī Lalitā*.

The *Rāgamālā* theme has been most effectively handled by the Rājasthānī artists of the mid 17th century A.D. though some Pahārī *Rāgamālā* paintings are also very attractive such as *Rāga Vinoda son of Hindola* reproduced in *Rupam*, 1937, opposite page 15, and *Rāginī Gujarī* reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 33 (top).

An artist while painting a *Rāgamālā* set, was expected to adhere to the 'pictorial motif' with which each *Rāga* and *Rāginī* had come to be associated. But there was no limitation on his ingenuity, his colour sense, and his composition. Thus in the mid 17th century A.D. the Rājasthānī artists painted many of the 'pictorial motifs' associated with various *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* against most charming conventionalized landscapes teeming with trees, flowers, monkeys, and birds. This flair for landscape is not found in the Pahārī *Rāgamālā* sets which rely largely for their success on their vibrant colour schemes and passionate types. In the idyllic world created by the *Rāgamālā* paintings, nature was beautiful and not awesome; animal and birds had no fear of mankind; and love was the mainspring of existence.

It was at one time thought that *Rāgamālā* paintings in the *Kāngrā Kalam* were unknown, but that opinion requires modification. Hirananda Shastri[1] published a Kāngrā drawing with the label *Rāginī Kanada*, and I published a Kāngrā painting of *Rāginī Kakubha* in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate 14. But the most adequate proof of the existence of Kāngrā school *Rāgamālā* paintings is provided by two published examples from the Nahar collection, Calcutta. They are reproduced in Gangoly's *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, 1935, Vol. 2, Plate 24, Fig C; and Plate 35. Each has a Hindi text inscribed on the back and the text in each case mentions the name of the *Rāginī* represented. The first is *Gunakarī Rāginī* and the second is *Desakhī Rāginī*. The miniatures are of high quality and belong to the period 1780-1800 A.D. They obviously form part of a once complete set illustrating the *Rāgamālā* of Braj Nāth, who is the author of the Hindi texts on the reverse of the miniatures. Braj Nāth was born in 1723 A.D. His *Rāgamālā* is a much admired work. Another fine Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century A.D. inscribed on the reverse as *Rāgīnī Mālatī* is in the collection of the Indian National Musuem, New Delhi and *Kedār Rāgīnī* from the same set is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Bānāras.

There are also some Kāngrā *Rāginīs* in other collections. The fact however remains that the *Rāgamālā* theme was not very popular with the Kāngrā school miniaturists.

I have seen two *Rāgamālā* sets of the late *Bilāspur Kalam* but they lack imagination and are rather nondescript in colouring.

Some *Rāgamālā* paintings must also have been executed by the Kulu school artists. A *Rāginī Todī* of the *Kulu Kalam* was reproduced from the Treasurywala collection in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 11, Pl. 7 (in colour).

In *Rāgamālā* sets the text describing the 'pictorial motif' of the *Rāga* or *Rāginī*, as the case may be, either appears at the top of the miniature itself or on its reverse. *Rāgamālā* texts are usually in Hindi and are largely influenced by *srngāra* literature and the Krishna legend.

Connection between Rāgamālā and Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed

That there is an intimate connection between the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme and many of the *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* is quite obvious. Both are based on that most vital of all human experiences —the love of a man and a woman. No matter whether this experience was idealized into a relationship between a Hero and a Heroine, or was sublimated into a union between Krishna and his worshipper, it was a common heritage for the brave and the craven ; for the godly and the ungodly ; for the unswervingly faithful and the shamelessly faithless.

Srngāra literature, though often too elaborately codified and artificial had its roots in human experience. The expectant *Vāsakasayyā Nāyikā* who prepares the bed chamber for her lord's homecoming and the maiden in *Kakubha Rāginī* who holds two garlands in her hands for her returning lover, are as though it were two buds on the same stalk. Their emotions are alike and they both represent the experience which so many a woman undergoes to this very day of waiting with bated breath to end a temporary separation and be once more in the arms of one who is dearly loved.

In *Rāginī Bangāla* the separated lover goes to the forest to do penance hoping for the return of her lord. She is akin to many a *Prositapatikā* Heroine who resorts to the forest to do penance in the belief that it may bring the Hero safely back to her. In *Vairadī Rāginī* the maiden has her lover in subjection due to her charms. She differs but little from a *Svādhīnapatikā Nāyikā* whose lover is completely under her sway. In *Rāginī Desa Varatī* the maiden is really a *Virahinī* Heroine pining for the Beloved. In *Mālkausa Rāginī* the happy relationship of the two lovers is the *Samyoga* state (union of love) of *srngāra* literature. Such instances showing the close relationship of many *Rāgamālā* themes to the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* could be multiplied manifold.

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 17, p. 101. Shastrī controverts Coomaraswamy's statement that *Kāngrā Kalam* Rāginī miniatures do not exist.

It has been said that the illustration of standardized 'pictorial motifs' such as exist in the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* and the *Rāgamālā* are a clog on originality and tend to stereotyped production. But this criticism is not wholely justified. The Nativity of Christ and The Crucifixion are also in a sense standardized pictorial motifs and yet their different interpretations at the hands of many masters are full of varied interest and diverse beauty. It must, however, be conceded that many *Rāgamālā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* miniatures never transcend the bounds of a formal language of love. This was inevitable when the same theme was painted again and again for well nigh two centuries in the Hills. But an art is always to be judged by the best which it produces. Both in *Vipralabdhā Nāyikā* (Plate A) and *Utkā Nāyikā* (Plate B) a formal love-language has been invested with the genius of a master artist and the set 'pictorial motif', as if by the touch of a magic wand, has become a new experience and a new revelation.

The *Abhīsārikā*, *Utkā*, and *Vipralabdhā Nāyikās* were dearest to the hearts of the Pahārī painters because they were creatures of the Hill forests where the beautiful, large-eyed deer roamed and where white musk-roses, yellow creepers (*rasant*), jasmine, and pink peach-buds and salmon coloured apricot blossoms all entwined the tall trees in a mass of colour, sometimes vivid, sometimes delicate. To the Pahārī artists these Hill forests were an enchanted world which at dawn assumed the form of a pretty, fairy woodland, and at dusk became strange, mysterious, and haunted. When the *Abhīsārikā* Heroine wended her way on a dark night through these forests many a ghost and goblin-hag left its abode in the trees and sought to terrorize her. To the dwellers of the Hills these shadowy beings of another world were a reality. No one in the Hills seriously doubts the existence of witches and *churels*. The latter are the ghosts of women who have died in pregnancy. The denizens of the spirit world are indeed many and the Hill folk have quite an extensive classification of various categories of ghosts. The Pahārī artist when he painted the *Abhīsārikā* Heroine was not merely attempting to visualize a description of an *Abhīsārikā's* journey as described by a poet. It was a journey through forests with which he was familiar and the Heroine encountered ghosts, not of his imagination, but well known to every Hillman.

It is the magic of the charmed Hill forests, Hill woodlands, and Hill groves, that contributes largely to the sensitive renderings of the *Abhīsārikā*, *Utkā*, and *Vipralabdhā* Heroines at the hands of Pahārī masters. The representations of the other *Nāyikās* are not without charm but in them one often misses a close personal contact between the artist and his subject-matter. This shortcoming, however, is frequently redeemed by the fact that the Krishna-Rādhā theme intruded into every aspect of *srngāra* literature particularly from the 16th century onwards and imparted to a formal love-language a warmth which is constantly mirrored in many *Rāgamālā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* miniatures. This experience of *Bhaktī* lifts many an otherwise formal rendering from the plane of the purely impersonal into a plane of semi-mystic, semi-erotic experience. It is not always easy to sense this mystic cum erotic experience and it must be conceded that those who are not sufficiently attuned to the Krishna legend will generally fail to recognize it. In so far as there is some reason for the criticism that many *Rāgamālā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* miniatures require an understanding of *srngāra* literature and of the Krishna legend for their full enjoyment. But then the fullest enjoyment of any work of art cannot be divorced from the background and culture of the people who created it. Form, colour, and composition are often sufficient in themselves for the appreciation of a work of art, but there are many works which cannot adequately be judged without reference to their subject-matter.

I do not wish to suggest that the charge of artificiality made against some *Rāgamālā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* miniatures lacks all basis. In fact there are many miniatures which despite the label on them fail to convey the particular aspect of *srngāra* which they seek to depict, and their merit has to be sought not in their interpretative qualities but in their charm of colour or quaintness of treatment.

AN OUTLINE OF THE KRISHNA LEGEND

The Birth of Krishna

Krishna is an incarnation of the God Vishnu. He took birth in order to accomplish the destruction of his uncle the wicked King Kamsa who ruled over Mathurā. It had been foretold that Kamsa would meet his end at the hands of a son born to his sister Devakī, the wife of Vasudev. Hence all Devakī's male offspring were destroyed by Kamsa no sooner they were born. Devakī's seventh child Balarāma was transferred from her womb to the womb of her co-wife Rohinī who was residing with a pastoral community at Brindāban a few miles distant from Mathurā. The miraculous transfer of a fœtus from one womb to another is an ancient theme. The fœtus of the great Jain teacher Mahāvīra was transferred from the womb of a Brahmin lady to that of a Kshatriya lady because no world teacher had yet been born save in a family of the Kshatriya caste (the warrior and princely caste). Devakī's eighth child was Krishna. On his birth, the fetters with which his parents were bound under the orders of Kamsa, became unloosened by divine intervention, and Vasudev took the infant Krishna to the village of Gokul just across the swollen river Jamnā. There he left the babe by the side of Yasodā, wife of the chief herdsman Nand. Yasodā had just given birth to a baby daughter and Vasudev substituted Krishna for the baby daughter whom he took away with him and placed by the side of Devakī. The fetters which had fallen off from Vasudev and Devakī were now miraculously replaced, and the guards who had been cast by the Gods into a deep slumber, awoke. The Gods then caused Vasudev and Devakī to forget all that had happened. The wicked Kamsa believing that Devakī had given birth to a girl-child was no longer uneasy in mind.

Attempts on Krishna's Life

But soon panic seized Kamsa again and he was sore troubled. He ordered a massacre of all worshippers of Vishnu and the slaying of every man-child. Many demons, who were the followers of Kamsa, undertook this nefarious task. Thus it came about that several attempts were made on the life of the infant Krishna whom all regarded as the son of Nand and Yasodā. These attempts on Krishna's life by Kamsa's demons are often depicted in Pahārī painting. The best known of these attempts are as follows :

(1) The demoness Putanā in the guise of a beautiful woman goes to Gokul and suckles Krishna at her poisoned breasts. Krishna sucks so hard at her breast that he drains out her very life-blood and she dies reassuming her hideous demon form. A late 18th or early 19th century Kāngrā school miniature of this theme in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Bānāras, is reproduced in colour in *Rupam* No. 32, opposite page 129. It is a popular incident with Pahārī artists.

(2) The demon Trināvat assumes the shape of a whirlwind and lifts the infant Krishna sky high. But Krishna dashes the demon to destruction and the whirlwind abates.

(3) The demon Bakāsur in the form of a mighty crane seeks to destroy Krishna who has come to the riverside with his companions. The crane swallows Krishna who becomes so red hot that the crane has to disgorge him. Then Krishna seizes its open beak and tears the demon asunder. The crane in Fig 43 is Bakāsur.

(4) Aghāsur the dragon swallows up the unsuspecting herd boys and their herds. Krishna seeing them in distress also jumps into Aghāsur's mouth and then inflates himself to such proportions that he bursts Aghāsur's stomach.

(5) The demon Dhenuka assumes the form of a fierce ass and attacks Balarāma who slays him and throws his body into the palm trees. Krishna then slays Dhenuka's demon followers.

(6) The demon Arishta in the form of a mighty white bull seeks to gore Krishna to death but is seized by its horns and destroyed. A forceful painting of this incident from the *Bhāgavata* set to which Figs 1, 3, 12, 13 and Plate X belong, is reproduced in colour in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, Plate 15.

The Butter Thief

Many were the miraculous feats of Krishna and many were his escapades as a child and as a youth. He stole butter unabashedly (Fig 1) and upset the curd pots of the village matrons. He was the little leader of a village gang, and he and his young companions were constantly up to mischief at the expense of the housewives of Braj. But one and all loved the *makhan chor* (the butter thief), no matter what he did. Whenever his foster mother Yasodā sought to chastise him for his conduct, he was ready with some excuse which, no matter how flimsy, always succeeded in averting punishment, and caused much merriment to his elders.

Kāliya Damana

A well known exploit of Krishna is his quelling of the serpent Kāliya who lived in the river Jamnā and poisoned the water for miles around. One day Krishna, while playing with a ball on the river bank, deliberately let it fall into the river and then leaped in to retrieve it. The terrible Kāliya with his hundred and ten hoods rose from the river depths to destroy Krishna. But the infant God sprang on to Kāliya's hoods and danced thereon assuming the weight of the entire universe. As he beat time on Kāliya's head, the serpent began to die. Then Kāliya's wives, the graceful Naginīs, came and prayed to Krishna to spare their lord. Thereupon Krishna spared Kāliya who worshipped him and begged his forgiveness. This incident known as *Kāliya Damana* is the subject-matter of Plate X, which is also from the *Bhāgavata* series to which Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13 belong. Several miniatures of this incident are reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2. They are dealt with in Chapter 3 of the present volume.

After Kāliya was subdued by Krishna, he was banished from the pool in the Jamnā where he dwelt, and sent back to Ramanaka Dwīpa which was his original home, and which he had left through fear of Garuda (the man-eagle vehicle of Vishnu) who devours all serpents. Krishna promised Kāliya that he would be safe from Garuda's attacks. The Kāliya legend appears to be older than the Krishna cult. The *Satapatha Brahmana* (*XI.5. 5-8*) refers to a *gāthā* relating to a story of a great serpent driven from its home in a lake.

Brahmā and the Calves

One day, while the herds were grazing, the God Brahmā spirited away the calves, and thereafter, when Krishna went in search of them, he also spirited away the *gopas* (herdsmen) and hid them in a cave. There he left them asleep under a spell. Krishna thereupon created a similar herd and similar *gopas*, and no one was any the wiser in the village of Brindāban when the illusory herd and herdsmen returned from pasture. After a year Brahmā went to look at his captives in the cave and found that the *gopas* had taken on the likeness of gods. His astonishment was even greater when he found the illusory *gopas* and their calves at Brindāban. Brahmā then realized the greatness of Krishna and sought his forgiveness and restored the herds and the *gopas*. The latter, when they awoke, never realized that a year had passed by, and they praised Krishna for finding the calves so quickly. In Fig 3 the return of the herdsmen and their calves to the village, after their release by Brahmā, is shown. In this legend a conflict between the Krishna cult and that of Brahmā can be sensed.

Girī Goverdhana

Another legend, which also appears to be based on a conflict between the Krishna cult and that of the God Indra, relates to Krishna raising Mount Goverdhana, which is a hillock a few miles distant from Mathurā. Krishna had persuaded the inhabitants of Braj to cease honouring God Indra, and instead to worship natural phenomena such as rivers and hills including Mount Goverdhana. In retaliation Indra sent torrents of rain over Braj, and it seemed all would perish in the flood. In answer to the prayers of the people of Braj, Krishna lifted up Mount Goverdhana on his little finger and held the mountain aloft so that all the inhabitants of Braj and their herds could take shelter under it from the rain. Though Indra continued to send down torrents of rain for seven days, not a drop fell on Braj. Then Indra realized the greatness of Krishna and humbly sought his forgiveness. The raising of the mountain is

depicted in Fig 2. A beautiful Kāngrā school miniature of the late 18th century A.D. which illustrates this incident, was in the collection of Ajit Ghose of Calcutta and is reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 41, opposite page 18. In the same issue of *Rupam*, another fine example of the same school and period, belonging to the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is reproduced opposite page 17.

Dāvanala-āchaman

A raging fire had set the woodland of Brindāban aflame and driven all the wild animals helter-skelter. The fire also imperilled the village herds as well as the herdsmen who were trapped in the conflagration that ringed the forest. When all seemed lost, the great God opened his mouth and sucked in the tongues of fire, thus averting disaster. The *gopas* and even the herds worshipped Krishna in astonishment and gratitude. The finest example of this theme is the Basohlī school miniature reproduced in colour as Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. Another later but attractive example of an unidentified *Kalam* is reproduced in the *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 115, Fig 538. It is not far removed from the Kāngrā style. Its find spot was Chambā. A third example in a mixed *Kalam* of the late 18th century is reproduced in *Revue Des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol 6, Plate 51(a).

A particularly beautiful example of this theme was purchased by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, from the Jugmohandas Mody collection, Bombay. It forms part of the *Bhāgavata* series to which Figs 1, 3, 12, 13 and Plate X belong. It is not forceful nor highly dramatic like the Basohlī version, but it affords a most interesting comparison for the difference in outlook between the Basohlī masters and the Kāngrā masters.

Krishna the Youth and his Flute

As Krishna grew up he attended to the village herds like any other village lad, and, in the woodlands where the cattle grazed, he and his companions played 'Blindman's Buff' (Fig 19), or 'Hide and Seek', or some other boyish game.

It was perennial spring in Brindāban because of Krishna's presence. The green grass and the flower-bedecked woodland were an ideal setting for a love tale. It was not slow to take form, for Krishna the boy had changed. He was now a handsome youth with raven hair who wandered in the woodland playing his flute. The maids of Braj heard his melodious notes and yearned for the presence of the blue God. But he was elusive and not to be found when they desired him most. They envied his flute, for did he not press it to his lips? They were not alone in their search for him. Even the cows and the birds and the beasts of the forest longed to behold him when he played his enchanting melodies. The theme is constantly illustrated in Pahārī painting. In Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, a Basohlī school version is seen on Plate 31 and a Kāngrā school version on Plate 55.

Cīra Harana

One day the *gopīs* laid their clothes on the river bank and went to bathe in the placid stream. Krishna was watching them, but they were unaware of his presence. Unseen by them, he stole their clothes and climbed into the branches of a *Kadamba* tree.[1] When the *gopīs* finished bathing and left the river, they found to their dismay that their clothes had vanished. Vainly did they search for their garments, till at long last, one *gopī* spied the blue God in the *Kadamba* tree. They were abashed because of their nakedness and sought refuge in the waters of the placid river. From thence they begged Krishna to return to them their clothes, but he would not do so and bade them come out of the water to retrieve their garments. Vainly did they protest their modesty and their shame. Finally in obedience to his wishes they came out of the river with downcast heads, and supplicating him with joined hands received back their clothes from him. The simple girls of Braj had forgotten that the love of God knows no shame and that even a myriad garments could not have covered their nakedness in his presence. In my

[1] The *Anthocephalus Cadamba*.

collection there is a fine late 18th century Kāngrā school painting in which Krishna is seen swimming with the *gopīs* in a pool. But this is one of the water sports (*jala krida*) of Krishna and must not be regarded as a variation of the *cīra harana* theme.

I doubt if Plate 49 B in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, is a Pahārī school miniature of *cīra harana*; but in any event it is not an early 18th century painting, as described, but belongs to the 19th century. The miniature of *cīra harana* reproduced as Plate 49 of Gangoly's *Rājput Painting* may conceivably be a Kāngrā school miniature of the period 1780-1800 A.D., but I incline to Gangoly's viewpoint that it belongs to the mixed Rājput-Moghul school of Northern India. The border suggests a Pahārī origin. An attractive Kāngrā school miniature of this theme belonging to the late 18th century was purchased recently by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, from the collection of S. N. Guptā.

Dāna Līlā

Krishna and his companions were wont to waylay the fair maids of Braj and demand from them a fee (*dāna*) in order to permit them to proceed on their way with their milk pots and curds. If the fee, namely a kiss or an embrace in addition to an offering of curds, was not given willingly, then it was enforced in quite a robust manner. The milk pots were upset and even broken, and the *odhnīs* (wimples) worn by the milkmaids were snatched away. The milkmaids always showed resentment at the demand of toll, but deep in their hearts they were ever delighted to yield to the blue god. This theme, which incidentally does not appear in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, is the subject-matter of five illustrations in the present volume, namely: (1) Fig 9 of the Kulu school, (2) Fig 16 of the Guler school, (3) Fig 47 of the Bilāspur school, (4) Plate XV of an unidentified *Kalam*, and (5) Plate XXII of the Basohlī school. It is most interesting to compare the difference in treatment of the same theme at the hands of artists belonging to different schools.

An offshoot of the *Dāna Līlā* theme is the incident where Rādhā and the *gopīs*, having been waylaid by Krishna and his companions, disguise themselves as soldiers of the king of Mathurā and arrest Krishna and the *gopas* for stealing curds and demanding toll. The *gopas* escape, but Krishna is apprehended. He, however, resorts to his usual wiles and protests his innocence, whereupon Rādhā's heart is melted and she releases him. This charming tale is illustrated in an early 19th century Kāngrā school miniature reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 88 (bottom). A very similar painting is in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart. of Bombay.

Phul Līlā

The sport of gathering flowers is depicted by Pahārī artists either by a composition of two or more girls plucking blossoms as in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 19, or by a group of girls preparing garlands for Krishna as in Fig 5 of the present volume. Flower gathering is an ancient pastime associated with leisure and the cultivation of a sense of the beautiful.

Holī Līlā

Holī is a festival of Spring. The highest and the lowliest mix together on this day and coloured liquids are squirted by men and women on each other through syringes. It is a day of ribald merriment, song, and dance. It was observed by the Moghul Emperors in their harems, and the idea of illustrating it in Rājasthānī and Pahārī art was perhaps borrowed from Moghul paintings, several of which exist, showing a Moghul Emperor playing at Holī.[1] In Pahārī painting the *Holī Līlā* is depicted as the sport of Krishna and the *gopīs* during this saturnalia of the vernal season. In Plate IX one sees the coloured liquids being squirted, while Krishna is being dressed by the *gopīs* in female attire. Such revelry was typical of this festival. Another example of *Holī Līlā* is Fig 38. Several examples of *Holī Līlā* or *Dole Līlā*, as

[1] Arnold and Wilkinson, *The Library of Chester Beatty*, 1936, Vol. 3, Plate 56, Emperor Jehangir Playing at Holī. Stouchkine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plates 63 and 64, showing the Emperors Farruksiyar and Mahomed Shah respectively, playing at Holī.

it is also called, are reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 6, and one in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 47.

Hindol Līlā

Krishna and Rādhā are seen on a swing surrounded by *gopīs* with musical instruments. One such example from my collection was reproduced in colour in the *B.B. and C.I. Annual*, 1944. In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 110, Krishna alone is sporting on a swing with his cowherd companions.

The sport of swinging was very popular amongst the inhabitants of the Kāngrā District.[1] A charming *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature of the late 18th century A.D. showing a girl on a swing is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 39. It is from Samarendranath Gupta's collection now acquired by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. The sport of swinging is shown on a beautiful Gupta period terracotta of the 5th century A.D. in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Bānāras. There is a reference in the *Prema Sāgara* (Pincott's translation, 1897, p. 58) to the cowherds and cowherdesses of Brindāban swinging about on swings and in high strains singing rain-songs. The swing festival of the month of *srāvan*, known as *jhulana-yātrā*, is always associated with Krishna, and in it is to be found the origin of the 'melody motif' known as *Rāga Hindola*.

Go Dhulī Belā

The hour of cowdust is a theme which was greatly loved by the Kāngrā painters. The village cattle returning from their pastures raise clouds of dust along the narrow lanes when it is near to twilight. In Kāngrā miniatures one sees the herds led home by Krishna and his companions, while all the village maidens gather at the windows of their dwellings and gaze lovingly at the meek-eyed cows and the divine cowherd. The idea is charmingly expressed in a line from the Punjabi tale *Hir and Ranjha*:

When they troop home, our tiny street wears beauty like a diadem.

The most famous example of this theme is the beautiful *Cowdust* of the Boston Museum reproduced in colour in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, Plate 51. The example reproduced as Plate VIII of the present volume is another delightful rendering of this subject. Here the herds are seen wending their way through the woodland as they return to the village.

The Wives of the Brāhmans of Mathurā

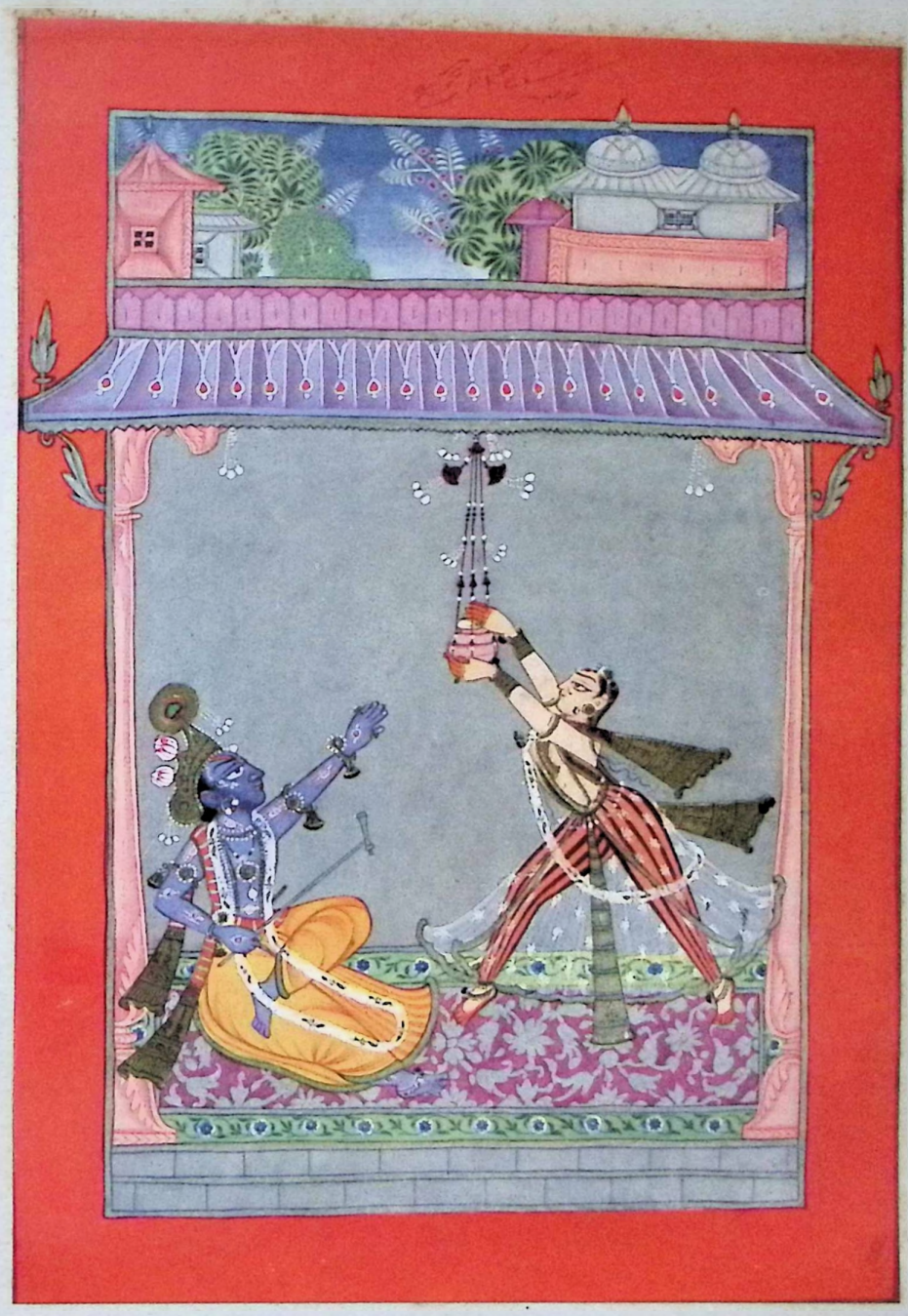
One day when the cowherds of Gokul were hungry, Krishna sent word to the Brāhmans of Mathurā to bring them food. The Brāhmans, however, refused to do so till the sacrifices which they were performing were completed. Then Krishna sent word to the wives of the Brāhmans, who, on their own initiative, carried offerings of food to the beloved God and his companions. One Brāhman was greatly angered and tied up his wife to prevent her from going to Krishna, but her soul left her body and she reached Krishna even before the others. Two versions of this theme are reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, Plates 46 and 57. In the latter painting is seen the wife who was tied up by her husband. Both are Kāngrā school miniatures. Moghul influence is quite marked in the former of the two which is probably ascribable to the period 1750-1775 A.D. and is an example of the Guler idiom. The latter belongs to the end of the 18th century.

Dudhādhārī

Krishna is seen milking a cow. Sometimes he appears disguised as a milkmaid while he milks the cow. The adoption of this disguise was no doubt one of his many devices to effect a rendezvous with Rādhā. A delightful Kāngrā drawing of Krishna milking a cow is reproduced in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Fig 106. It was originally in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection, Bombay. A somewhat similar drawing is reproduced in the *Boston Museum*

[1] Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.*, Vol. 1, p. 397.

PLATE C



Radha and the Curd Pot. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720 A.D.
Bharat Kala Bhavan Banaras. Size 11¼ × 7¾ ins.

Catalogue, No. 5, Plate 70, Fig CCXLI. A miniature of Krishna disguised as a milkmaid is also reproduced in the above-mentioned catalogue on Plate 75 thereof.

Līlā Hāva

A form of love-play indulged in by Krishna and Rādhā. It consisted of dressing in each other's clothes, or exchanging some of their attire. The exchange of attire is a symbol of love and identity. In Plate XXIV Krishna has placed his crown on Rādhā's head as the lovers linger in dalliance. In a late 18th century Kāngrā miniature in the Boston Museum the lovers have completely changed into each other's garments (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 103, Fig CCCXLVII). Behind the simple sport of *Līlā Hāva* is a difficult concept of Vaishnava philosoply. Krishna enjoyed the pleasure afforded by Rādhā's love for him, but could not enjoy the greater pleasure that Rādhā felt when in association with Krishna. It struck Krishna that if he could occupy Rādhā's position he could fulfil his desire. Hence the impulse in Krishna to become Rādhā herself.

Varsā Vihāra

The scene is a sudden rainstorm in the beautiful countryside of the Krishna legend. All the *gopas* and *gopīs* run to take whatever shelter they can find, and, as if by chance, the two lovers, Krishna and Rādhā, come together. They are usually shown clinging close to one another under a canopy formed by the coarse, dark-coloured, woollen blanket, which rustics all over India carry with them for protection from the rain. A peacock is almost invariably shown in the landscape. It is a bird which is supposed to delight in rain. The most beautiful miniature of the *Varsā Vihāra* theme is the well-known *Kāngrā Kalam* example in the Boston Museum. It is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43. Another quite charming but later miniature of this theme is shown in Fig 49,[1] of the present volume.

A variation of the *Varsā Vihāra* theme is seen in the exquisite drawing (Fig 18) where the lovers are sheltering themselves from the rain under a single large umbrella. Another Kāngrā drawing of the late 18th century A.D. in the South Kensington Museum shows a young *gopa* holding an umbrella over the head of the seated lovers (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 93). Two examples are reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, being Colour Plate C, and Plate III, Fig 576. Both are Kāngrā miniatures.

Tāmbula Sevā

The offering of betel leaves by Rādhā to Krishna. The habit of chewing betel leaves has been a gay associate of the Aryans for two thousand years.[2] In India the offering of betel leaf is a matter of social etiquette, but the offering of betel leaf by Rādhā to Krishna is a token of her great love. It has become a part of Vaishnava ritual for worshippers of Krishna to offer betel leaf to the deity. A fine Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century A.D., showing Rādhā with betel leaf in each hand, and Krishna also with a betel leaf which he has accepted from her, is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 8. It is wrongly described there as of the Rājput school. Another example of *Tāmbula Sevā* is reproduced in colour as the frontispiece of the Hindi art journal *Kalā Nidhī*, No. 1. It is a colourful 19th century Kāngrā painting in which the figures of Rādhā and Krishna are drawn larger than usual. Rādhā holds a betel leaf to offer to Krishna as he embraces her. In Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, Plate 40, Krishna is seen standing under a *Kadamba* tree with a *gopī* on either side. One offers him betel leaf and another offers him milk. It is a pleasing Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century and not of the early 18th century A.D. as stated by Coomaraswamy. It will be seen in Chapter III of the present volume, while dealing with the classification of schools, that the origin of the *Kāngrā Kalam* proper is post 1750 A.D. Hence it is not possible to ascribe any *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature to the early 18th century.

[1] Reproduced in colour in *Roopa Lekha*, No. 1, January 1929.

[2] P. K. Gode's article on the nut-cracker in the *Bhārata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*.

THE SPIRIT OF THE KRISHNA LĪLĀ.

Apart from the popular incidents and usual pastimes already enumerated, there are a number of other miscellaneous situations which Pahārī artists have painted while unfolding the tale of Krishna and Rādhā. Such situations are no doubt based on the countless descriptions of these immortal lovers in the vast literature of the *Krishna Līlā*. The term *Krishna Līlā* in its broadest sense embraces the entire Krishna legend, though in a narrower connotation it is limited to the sports and amours of the wayward God who steals the hearts of all and maddens both young and old alike into an insatiable desire to be ever near him, to be ever one with him.

"Gopāl (Krishna) hath embraced me and my body knoweth no pain,
He kissed me and all my sorrow winged away into nothingness,
But now alas that I have set mine eyes on his face
There is no rest for me—only an endless longing."

—Traditional Gujerātī Verse.

But this 'endless longing' (*abhilāsa*) which is expressed both in Vaishnava literature and Vaishnava painting, never resulted in a creed of pessimism. The Godhead was wayward and elusive, but not unattainable. Though he had tormented the *gopīs* and teased them endlessly into distraction, yet he had also given his love to them. The fact that Krishna was envisaged in the form of a cowherd, and led the life of a rustic youth, afforded the poets of the *Krishna Līlā* endless opportunities to weave commonplace situations into the theme of Krishna's dalliance with Rādhā and the fair maids of Braj. Thus we find paintings in which Krishna is chasing Rādhā through the forest;[1] or spying on her while she is cooking her household meals;[2] or unentangling the yo-yo with which she is playing[3]; or peeping at her while she is dressing after her bath[4].

Beholding that my love was at her bath,
She pierced my heart,
A stream of water pouring from her tresses.
The wet cloth hung upon her corse,
Her twin breasts were cakravakas sweet
United by the gods upon the self same shore
Caged in the prison of her arms
Lest they should fly away in fear.

—Vidyāpatī.

Any attempt to divorce the ethics of the *Krishna Līlā* from the background and setting of an idyllic pastoral world would destroy its essential unity. While conceding that it is an allegory it must not be forgotten that the great impetus which the *Krishna Līlā* gave to literature and art was no less due to the sheer beauty and intimacy of the legend than to the fact that it afforded a simple creed for simple minds. The *Krishna Līlā* is not amenable to a scientific analysis. In order to live in its atmosphere, and sense the underlying mysticism which stirred an entire nation into an unprecedented religious fervour, the *Krishna Līlā* must be accepted as a beautiful idea which cannot be separated from the beautiful phantasy into which it has been woven. Singeth the love-lorn *gopī* to herself, ever thinking of Krishna,

Asleep I yearn for Thee, I yearn for Thee awake,
Both body and soul I have made naked for Thee,
Hast Thou no pity for me?
I have become a harlot for Thy sake.

—Traditional Gujerātī Song.

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 47. It is a Pahārī miniature of a mixed *Kalam*. It belongs to the second half of the 18th century and not to the early 18th century A.D. as stated by Coomaraswamy.

[2] Ibid, Plate 56. A very pretty Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century A.D.

[3] Ibid, Plate 41. It is a Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century and not of the early 18th century as stated by Coomaraswamy.

[4] Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 100. Early 19th century Kāngrā miniature in the South Kensington Museum, London.

The *Krishna Līlā* stresses the personal aspect of the Godhead without denying the impersonal aspect. God is the object of love but he is also the perfect lover. He expects complete self-surrender (*akinchanyam*) and approves of such devotion. The true lover of Krishna thinks not of Heaven or Hell nor of emancipation, but is content to be an unquestioning devotee to whom prayer is a form of love.

THE DESTRUCTION OF KAMSA AND KRISHNA'S LATER LIFE

In course of time Krishna fulfils his destiny. He goes to Mathurā and there, while taking part in a tourney defeats all Kamsa's wrestlers, and slays the terrible elephant Kubaliya who is sent to destroy him. Then rushing on to the dais where Kamsa is seated, he drags him by his hair and kills him to the joy and relief of all. Thereafter Krishna installs his own grandfather Ugrasena on the throne of Mathurā.

Later Krishna migrates to Dvārakā and rules there because Mathurā is invested and taken by a demon named Jurāsindhu. This part of the Krishna legend is no doubt based on certain historical events which today are vague and shadowy. Probably Krishna was defeated by another ruler and fled to the West coast where he made Dvārakā his capital. It is at this point that the cowherd god Gopāla Krishna appears to merge into the Krishna who became the ruler of Dvārakā.

The later Krishna legend after the migration to Dvārakā lacks the enchanted atmosphere of his early life and his amours with the fair maids of Braj. But since at times it forms the subject-matter of Pahārī painting, it becomes necessary to briefly recount Krishna's later exploits.

After the retirement to Dvārakā, Krishna marries Rukminī, daughter of Rājā Bhishmaka, by carrying her off on the day fixed for her wedding to another Rājā named Sishupāla. Krishna also had many other wives and thus the great family of the Yadus to which he belonged vastly multiplied. In the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār there is a *Rukminī Parinaya* series in the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

When the Pāndavas were sore pressed we hear of Krishna joining them in the great war of the *Mahābhārata*. On the field of Kurukshetra, where he was Arjuna's charioteer, he spoke forth his teaching—the immorlal *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Balarāma

Krishna's brother Balarāma[1] is always painted white in contrast to the god himself who is blue.

Balarāma is Krishna's constant companion and is usually shown accompanying Krishna in all his youthful frolics, his exploits, and pastimes. He is seen on Plate F, Plates I, VIII, XXI, and in Figs 1, 19, 43 and 44. He can be recognized by his white colour. When Krishna wears a crown, Balarāma is also shown wearing a crown.

His most popular exploit, which is frequently painted by Pahārī artists, is his subjugation of the river Jamnā. One night Balarāma desired to bathe in the Jamnā and bade the river come to him. The river, however, turned a deaf ear to his behest, whereupon Balarāma grew angry and drew her up to him along a furrow which he made with his plough. This legend is the subject-matter of a striking Basohlī miniature in my possession. Balarāma went with Krishna to Dvārakā but returned for a short spell to Braj and sang the praises of Krishna to the *gopīs*.

[1] The cult of Balarāma is an ancient one. An image of him of the Sunga period (2nd—1st century B.C.) is in the Lucknow Museum. There is also a reference in the *Silappadikāram* to a separate temple of Balarāma (canto 9, line 10). This shows that in the 2nd century A.D. his worship was of sufficient importance to warrant temples being dedicated to him.

Sudāmā

A Brahmin named Sudāmā had been a class-mate of Krishna. When in dire poverty, his wife suggested he should visit Krishna. He accordingly did so taking with him a meagre offering of rice. Krishna honoured him at Dvārakā and accepted his offering. Krishna knew Sudāmā's need and when the latter returned to his miserable hovel he found in its stead a palace. In Fig 4 Sudāmā and his wife are seen in their hovel and the latter is urging Sudāmā to visit Krishna.

The Sudāmā story was popular with Kāngrā artists and I have seen many Kāngrā paintings of this theme. An elaborate series of the Sudāmā story in the *Kāngrā Kalam* of the early 19th century is reproduced on Plates 89, 90 and 91 of the *Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, 1926. See also N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 53.

The story seems to have had no vogue with the Basohlī miniaturists, though an illustration in a mixed Pahārī *Kalam* is reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, Plate 29, and wrongly labelled as *Jammu Kalam*. It belongs to the mid-18th century A.D. and not to the 17th century as stated by Coomaraswamy.

The Death of Krishna

Krishna's end is tragic. It is an episode far removed from the sun-kissed woodland of Brindāban and the happy days of his youth.

With the defeat of the Kurus at the battle of Kurukshetra and the death of their leader Duryodhana, a curse was uttered by Duryodhana's mother that Krishna and all his people would perish. And it came to pass that a madness seized the people of Dvārakā and they slew one another. Only the womenfolk and Krishna and his brother Balarāma remained alive. But the latter did penance and left the earth. Alone in the forest, an arrow intended by a hunter for a deer, struck Krishna, and the Great One passed away. Arjuna, the Pāndava, went to Dvārakā to bring Krishna's womenfolk to safety at Kurukshetra. On the way, wild warrior tribes attacked Arjuna and carried away most of the Yadu women. The others were finally led to safety.. Many of Krishna's wives, including Rukminī, became *satī*, immolating themselves on a funeral pyre.

Krishna's city of Dvārakā was engulfed by the ocean.

The abduction of the Yadu women by wild tribes is the subject of a well-known painting by a Garhwāl school artist named Chaitu. It is reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 26, opposite page 53, and in monochrome in N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 18.

Texts of the Krishna Legend

Various texts which deal with the Krishna legend have been illustrated by Pahārī artists. We have already noted the *Bhāgavata Purāna* and Jayadev's *Gīta Govinda*. Recently the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, has acquired a series of 19th century Kāngrā school paintings illustrating the *Parijet Harana* which is in the nature of a supplement to the *Harivamsa*, which also deals with the life of Krishna.

SHIVA

The great God Shiva, who dwells in the Himalayas, is extensively worshipped by all the lower castes in the Hills. His home is believed to be the peak of Khaskar in the pargana Jakpa of Basohlī. Though Pahārī painting does not abound in miniatures which deal with the mythology of Shiva, yet those which are purely Shivite in character are not inconsiderable in number.

The most popular Shaiva themes in Pahārī art are:—

(1) Shiva with his consort Pārvatī and their two children Karttikkeya and Ganesh in a Himalayan setting (Stouchkine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 98). Miniatures illustrating

this theme are often homely in spirit with Pārvatī preparing a meal by a log fire and the children playing around.[1] Thus might a family of wandering pilgrims tramp the snow-clad ranges.

(2) Shiva and Pārvatī—the great lovers (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 113).

A Basohlī school miniature of Shiva and Pārvatī is reproduced as Fig 34. But by far the most beautiful version of this theme is a Garhwāl school miniature in the Boston Museum. It is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32. It is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter III of the present volume. Another attractive example in the *Kāngrā Kalam* is in the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 33).

(3) The descent of the river Gangā.

Shiva at the request of the saint Bhagiratha agreed to bear the weight of the river Gangā when she descended from the sky, as none else could bear her weight. The sixty thousand sons of King Sagara who were the grand uncles of Bhagiratha had been burnt to ashes by the sage Kapila for their offensive attitude to him. They could not enter heaven till their ashes were laved by the waters of the Gangā. Bhagiratha through penance had secured from the gods the boon that Gangā should come to earth and flow over the ashes of Sagara's sons. Gangā rejoiced, thinking she would crush the great God Shiva with her weight. But when she descended on him, she was lost in his matted hair and Bhagiratha had to undergo further penance before Shiva would release Gangā and let her flow down to earth to lave the ashes of Sagara's sixty thousand sons. On Plates 30 and 31 of Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, are two excellent versions of this legend. Both belong to the Kāngrā school of the late 18th century A.D.

The Dance of Shiva

This famous theme of the God's cosmic dance is not treated with any brilliance by Pahārī artists (Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 67).[2]

The Marriage of Pārvatī

The best known illustrations of this theme consist of late 18th century *Kāngrā Kalam* drawings of large size which are uncoloured or partly coloured. They are beautifully executed and are referred to in greater detail in Chapter III of the present volume. One example is reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 63, from Samarendranath Gupta's collection now purchased by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. An extensive series of paintings dealing with this theme is in the possession of the Mandī Darbār.

In Shaiva subjects a mountain landscape is usually introduced to depict Shiva's Himalayan home. Shiva himself is painted white and shown as an ascetic with matted hair, for he in sooth is the greatest of all yogis sitting in silent meditation in the eternal snows.

Other Shaiva Subjects

In Fig 32 we see the worship of Shiva who is seated on his vehicle, the bull Nandī. An intriguing Basohlī miniature of Shiva and Pārvatī both seated on Nandī is in my collection.

On Plate XIII Shiva is shown seducing the wives of certain heretical *rishīs* (sages) who would not honour him. Shiva is seen wearing a garland of skulls, with a cobra in his hair and carrying his trident. This is the aspect in which he haunts graveyards and wanders about unkempt and uncouth.

[1] A delicate drawing of this subject is reproduced in Binyon's *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, Plate 61, Fig 3. It belongs to the *Kāngrā Kalam* of the late 18th century A.D.

[2] The same miniature is reproduced in colour in Coomaraswamy, *Selected Examples of Art*, Plate 2.

Though the cults of Shiva and Vishnu are two separate cults, it is well to remember the words of Vishnu to Daksha who was Shiva's father-in-law:

Only the unlearned deem myself and Shiva to be distinct. He, I and Brahma are one, assuming different names for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the Universe.

The story of Shiva and his great love for his wife Satī and her tragic death and reincarnation in the form of Pārvatī, daughter of Himalaya, is full of possibilities for a painter. But the Pahārī artists never exploited this story as fully as they did the Krishna legend. The reason is not hard to seek. Shiva is a far away God, ascetic, austere, and terrible to behold when aroused. He dwells in distant ranges beyond the ken of human sight. His ways are strange. He smears his body with ashes and keeps company with goblins in graveyards. Pārvatī is beautiful and feminine, but her role is only one of silent admiration for her Lord. Krishna on the other hand was a being intimately connected with the artists. It seemed to them that he lived in their own village, and led their cows to pasture. They loved him and felt sure that he loved them. The Pahārī and Rājasthānī artists regarded themselves as part of the great *Krishna Līlā*.

MISCELLANEOUS MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES

Mārkandeya Purāna

The *Chandī Parva* (section) of the *Purāna* deals with the exploits of the goddess Chandikā, who, to save the gods, destroyed the terrible demon Mahisha and his army. Mahisha was a demon who had assumed the form of a terrifying buffalo. Chandikā rides her vehicle, a tiger, whenever she goes into battle. Sometimes she is seen in a chariot drawn by tigers (*Rupam*, No. 37, Fig 7 opposite page 11). Chandikā also destroyed many other demon chiefs who were a threat to the supremacy of the gods. In one such war with the demons, the goddess Kālī was sent by Chandikā to destroy the demons Canda and Munda. When Kālī accomplished their destruction, Chandikā bestowed on Kālī the name Chāmundā. One of the most important of mediaeval cults is that of Shaktī—The Mother Goddess. Chandikā, Kālī, Durgā, Kausikī are all emanations of the Mother Goddess in her terrible and warlike form when she destroys the forces of evil.

Pahārī painters have frequently illustrated the *Chandī Parva* of the *Mārkandeya Purāna*, also known as the *Durgā Pātha*. These paintings, which for the most part consist of violent battle scenes in which a variety of hideous demons take part, have received quite indiscriminate praise from some critics. They may be effective as representations of the grotesque, but they have little to recommend them as works of art. I do not wish to suggest that grotesque themes cannot be so treated as to possess aesthetic merit. The gargoyles of Notre Dame; the *Yalīs* (fabulous animals) of South Indian temples; and the *ganas* (dwarfs) of early Indian sculpture, are a few instances of the treatment of the grotesque with outstanding brilliance. In fact the very theme of Durgā slaying Mahisha is the subject-matter of post-Gupta sculpture[1] of a very high order. It is interesting in this connection to note that the war of the *Rāmāyana* between Rāvana's demons and Rāma's host of bears and monkeys, is almost always treated by Pahārī painters with far more imagination and subtlety than Durgā's war on Mahisha's demon armies and other *asuras*. There is a reproduction in colour from the *Durgā Pātha* in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 17, while several examples dealing with the Durgā legend and Kālī are to be found in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 26A, 50, 68 and 69. There is also a reproduction in colour of Kālī in the *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 9. The Lahore Museum has a large series of paintings illustrating the *Mārkandeya Purāna* with its text on the reverse. A series of *Durgā Pātha* miniatures in the late Kāngrā style dated 1848 A.D. is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Bānarās, and another set of the same period is in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. Mr. N. C. Mehta has reproduced a typical example from the former series in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 57.

[1] The well-known Durgā relief at Mahabhalipuram, and the damaged sculpture from Elephanta now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Narasimha

Vishnu in his incarnation of the man-lion Narasimha slays the impious *asura* Hiranyakasipu by tearing out his entrails. The subject is never effectively handled by the Pahārī artist. An indifferent example is reproduced by French in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 15. Even the remaining nine incarnations of Vishnu, though often depicted by Pahārī artists, rarely rise above the level of pedestrian efforts.

The Churning of the Ocean

The ocean was churned by the gods and the *asuras* (demons) using the mountain Meru as a churning rod and the serpent Vāsukī as a rope. Out of the ocean came the world poison, then came the goddess Lakshmī, and then the nectar of life. I have seen several late Kāngrā school miniatures of this theme, but none of any merit.

Gaja Lakshmī

When Lakshmī came out of the ocean which was churned by the gods and *asuras*, she rose from the waters seated on a lotus, while four elephants laved her with water from jars held in their trunks. The treatment of this theme is always formal and without distinction. I have reproduced it in Fig 50 only because of the important inscription it bears mentioning the artist and his patron.

Gajendra Moksa

An aquatic monster, usually shown as a crocodile, seized the King of Elephants while he was drinking at a pool and began to drag him under the water. The desperate elephant raised a lotus flower in his trunk as an offering to the God Vishnu beseeching his aid. Vishnu, riding on his man-eagle Garuda, answered the prayer of his devotee and slew the water reptile. The subject is often treated with feeling and skill by Rājasthānī artists, but I have never seen a really successful Pahārī version of this theme. The Pahārī versions are all late miniatures of the Kāngrā school.

Other Themes

Many other incidents in Hindu mythology, too numerous to enumerate, are found in Pahārī painting. Most of such miniatures are works of the second half of the 19th century. At best they are unimaginative illustrations by hack artists who turned out hundreds of Pahārī paintings with monotonous regularity. They seem to find a market amongst those to whom pictures of religious themes have an everlasting appeal.

Individual Deities

Pahārī miniatures of both major and minor deities, with or without their vehicles, are quite common. It is a form of hieratic art which almost invariably lacks aesthetic appeal, though some Basohlī school miniatures of deities are brilliantly coloured. A late *Kāngrā Kalam* illustration in colour of Vishnu on his man-eagle Garuda is reproduced in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 7, while a series of deities is reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plates 16 and 17. A Tantrik goddess is illustrated in the *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 10, and another in *Rupam*, No. 37, Fig 7, opposite page 11.

THE EPICS

The Mahābhārata

Extensive sets in the late *Kāngrā Kalam* of the early 19th century A.D. were devoted to illustrating the numerous incidents of this great epic which deals with the rivalry of two families of cousins, the Pāndavas and the Kurus. The long exile of the Pāndavas, and the final defeat of the Kurus on the field of Kurukshetra are the main events chronicled in this epic. These sets of miniatures are mostly of considerable size, and, with rare exceptions, possess little else by way of merit. A favourite theme with the artist was the incident where the Pāndava King, Yudhishthira, in a bout of dice with the Kurus, gambles away all he possesses including

his wife the noble Draupadī. The Kurus seek to shame her by attempting to strip her naked in the assembly hall. But the Gods hearken to her prayers, and for each veil torn off her person, another wraps itself around her body (Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol II, Plates 36 and 37A). Both these miniatures belong to the late 18th century A.D. and not to the late 17th or early 18th century as stated by Coomaraswamy. They possess no significant aesthetic qualities and their interest lies mainly in their subject-matter though they have received indiscriminate praise. In all these *Mahābhārata* sets quite a number of miniatures illustrate tedious battle scenes.

Kirāt-Arjuna

This episode of the *Mahābhārata* forms the subject-matter of a series of late Kāngrā paintings in the collection of the late Rājā of Aundh. Arjuna, the most famous of the Pāndava brothers, takes the vow of austerity and does penance in the mountains to obtain a vision of the God Shiva. One day in the mountains a huge boar attacked Arjuna while he was doing penance. Arjuna thereupon picked up his bow and loosed a shaft at the creature. At the same time another arrow struck the boar. Arjuna turned round and found he was in the presence of a mountain king and his train. Each questioned the other's right to shoot the boar and entered into a duel to settle the dispute. During the duel Arjuna found that none of his arrows could pierce the mountain king. It was then that Arjuna realized that the hunter (*kirāta*) in the form of the mountain king was the God Shiva himself. The Great God then gave unto Arjuna the divine bow named *Gandiva*, which was only to be used when all other weapons were exhausted and which would never fail him.

The Rāmāyana

Though the *Mahābhārata* rarely seemed to spur the Pahārī artists to paint with inspiration, the same cannot be said with regard to the other great epic, the *Rāmāyana*. Prince Rāma of Ayodhyā, his wife Sitā, and his brother Laksmana are exiled into the forest by the intrigues of Rāma's step-mother. Sitā is abducted from the forest by Rāvana, the demon king of the golden city of Lankā (Ceylon). Subsequently she is rescued and Rāvana and his golden city are destroyed by Rāma with the aid of his armies of monkeys and bears, who have become his faithful followers during his exile. At the end of the exile Rāma is restored to his throne. The rest of the epic deals largely with the doubts cast on Sitā's chastity during her captivity, and the vindication of her absolute purity in thought, word, and deed. Rāma signifies the perfect king and the perfect man. Sitā personifies the ideal of a devoted and chaste wife; while Laksmana typifies the perfect brother and friend. Hanumān, the monkey leader, is the epitome of highest devotion. The *Rāmāyana* is a sermon in epic form on the correct way of life.

The reason why the *Rāmāyana* possessed a much greater appeal than the *Mahābhārata* for the Pahārī painters is that the *Rāmāyana* had become a household language in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. in upper India through the beautiful Hindi version by the poet Tulsidās (1532-1624 A.D.). Moreover, Rāma, no less than Krishna, is an incarnation of the God Vishnu, and hence the *Rāmāyana*, through the medium of Tulsidās, became as much the bible of the Vaishnava renaissance as the *Krishna Līlā*. There is also no gainsaying the fact that the *Mahābhārata*, with its colossal canvas and epic grandeur, is too vast and majestic to be intimate; whereas the *Rāmāyana*, though also conceived on a vast scale, has that homely appeal which so greatly endeared the Krishna legend to every Vaishnava worshipper. The Pahārī painters rose to considerable heights in some of their *Rāmāyana* paintings (Figs 54 and 55), particularly in their rendering of the various aspects of the exile in the forest. In Fig 10 the great Rāma rests his head on Sitā's lap, while Laksmana removes a thorn from his foot. It was such simple incidents that touched the most sensitive chords in the hearts of the Pahārī painters. The same theme, but more elaborately treated, is reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol 2, Plate 60.

In the hunting scene (Fig 53) we again sense that intimacy which existed between the painter and his subject-matter. Laksmana's hunting expeditions in the forest form the subject-



Princess in a garden. Basohli Kalam. 1700-1720 A. D.
N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.

matter of another fine miniature in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 42(B). It is a painting of the last quarter of the 18th century and not of the early 18th century A.D., as stated by Coomaraswamy. The same miniature is reproduced in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1826, Plate 48. Rāma, Sitā, and Laksmana are all dressed in leaves and wear chaplets of the leaves around their heads. This convention was largely adopted in *Rāmāyana* paintings which dealt with the forest exile. The idea appears to have been borrowed from late Moghul miniatures of hunting scenes showing forest folk, clad only in garments of leaves, shooting deer at night.[1]

Many other *Rāmāyana* incidents have been painted by Pahārī artists. Several extensive sets of the *Rāmāyana* were executed in the *Basohlī*, *Guler*, and *Kāngrā Kalams*. One well-known set of unusually large dimensions dealing with the siege of Lankā came from Haripur in Guler and is reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 21 (in colour), 22 and 23, and also in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plates 25 and 26. Both these writers have wrongly described the series as of the Jammu school of the 17th century A.D. In fact it belongs to some unidentified school of the second half of the 18th century A.D. One example of this series is reproduced in colour as the frontispiece of French's *Himalayan Art*, 1931. *Rāmāyana* paintings and drawings of good quality exist in several collections.

Plate V shows Rāma and Sitā back in Ayodhyā after their many tribulations. The faithful Hanumān is seen washing Rāma's feet. The setting is the palace of a Hill Rājā in the architectural fashion of the second half of the 18th century A.D. Sitā and her maidens are all Pahārī ladies and Rāma is a Pahārī chief, save that he wears a crown instead of a turban. Rāmā's face is painted blue because he, like Krishna, is an incarnation of the God Vishnu whose colour is always blue. The device of illustrating the events of long ago in a contemporary setting is found in all schools of Indian painting and sculpture and is a feature common to the art of the world. The story of Christ was repeatedly painted by the Italian masters, in a mediaeval Italian setting. A Kāngrā miniature of the hermitage of the sage Vālmikī, the reputed author of the *Rāmāyana*, is reproduced in colour in Basil Gray's *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 9.

OTHER LEGENDS, STORIES AND SUBJECTS

Aniruddha and Usā

Aniruddha was the grandson of Krishna and Rukminī. Usā, who was the daughter of an *asura* named Banāsura, fell in love with Aniruddha whom she had never seen, save in a dream. Then Usā's confidante, well versed in drawing, painted the portraits of all the great ones of the earth, and when she drew Aniruddha's portrait, Usā recognised the man to whom she had lost her heart. Thereafter Aniruddha is brought secretly to Usā's palace by Usā's confidante. Usā's father discovers Aniruddha and after a fight makes him prisoner. Krishna on behalf of his grandson attacks Banāsura and defeats him, and thereafter the lovers are united with Banāsura's consent. A beautiful series of drawings of this story in the *Kāngrā Kalam* of the late 18th century A.D. is in the collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad. Several unfinished paintings and drawings of this theme, probably from the same series, are reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue*, *No. 5*, 1926, Plates 86, 87 and 88.

Mālatī-Madhu

This story is the romance of Mādhava, the son of the King of Vidarbha, who is sent to the city of Padmavatī for his studies, with a view to his ultimate marriage with Mālatī, the daughter of the King of Padmavatī. The story deals with the courtship of the young couple and the progress of their love affair in the *pāthsālā* (school) which they both attend. It is a tale of ancient origin and forms the plot of Bhāvabhutī's *Mālatī-Mādhava*. There are several versions of the story including a well-known one by the poet Mājhan (1509-1538 A.D.). These

[1] Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1908, Plate 65 (in colour).
N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 51.

versions differ in details. In one, the lovers are represented as being the son and daughter respectively of two ministers in kingdoms in Central India.

A version of this story by a poet named Chaturbhuja Dās, with illustrations in the late 18th or early 19th century Kāngrā style, is the subject of an article in *Rupam*, Nos. 33-34, page 9. These illustrations have no pretensions to being art of a high order, but they establish that the story was not unknown to Pahārī artists.

Sohnī-Mahivāl

This is a sad Punjabī tale of a girl named Sohnī, who loved a herder of buffaloes named Mahivāl. They lived on opposite banks of a river, and every night Sohnī, in order to meet her lover, crossed the river with the aid of an inverted earthen pot, which she used as a float. Her clandestine love affair was discovered by her brothers who objected to what they regarded as a dishonourable alliance. They therefore substituted a pot of unbaked clay for the one she always used. That night when Sohnī crossed the river, the unbaked clay pot disintegrated in mid-stream and Sohnī was drowned. The subject was quite popular with Pahārī painters and I have seen even Moghul miniatures of this theme. The most beautiful of the Pahārī examples is that in the Manuk collection reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 29. It is a *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature of the late 18th century A.D.

In several versions illustrating this tale, Mahivāl is seen sitting on the opposite bank with his buffaloes, while Sohnī crosses the river. A late 18th century mixed *Kalam* miniature of this story is reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 35.

Lailā-Majnun

This is a Persian love tale. Majnun, a chieftain's son, loved Lailā, the daughter of the ruler of a rival tribe. For the love of her he grew mad and spent his life in the desert where wild animals tamely gathered around him. His love of sorrow became second nature to him; and when Lailā finally came to him, he was unable to reconcile himself to a situation which would have ended his sorrow, and strangely enough fled from her. Thereafter Lailā died of grief.

I have seen illustrations of this story in stray examples of the *Kulu Kalam*. But apparently it was not popular with the painters of the Hills. It is a stock theme in Persian and Moghul art.

Sassī-Punnu

To avoid a prophecy that his daughter would come to disaster in consequence of a love affair, the ruler of the city of Binor set his newly born girl-child afloat in a box on the river Indus. The child was however rescued and reared by a washerman. Punnu, the son of the ruler of Kucham in Bokhara, falls in love with Sassī who has lured him to her city by stratagem, and thereafter marries her. Punnu's father disapproves of the marriage and separates the lovers by carrying off Punnu. Sassī goes in search of her beloved but on the way is assaulted by a goat-herd who covets her. She prays to God, who opens the ground below her feet, and receives her into the womb of the earth. Punnu also sets out in search of Sassī and finds a piece of her garment sticking out where the earth had opened to engulf her. He prays to the earth to receive him and the earth opens out at that very spot and entombs him. In the grave the tragic lovers are reunited. There are variations in details in the different versions of this tale.[1] There is a Pahārī illustration of this story referred to in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, p. 118. Two Pahārī paintings illustrating this story are reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 30. One of them is from the Rothenstein collection and is an early 19th century miniature in a local folk *Kalam*. The other, which is from the collection of Samarendranath Gupta, is not a Moghul miniature as suggested in *Rupam*. It is a Kāngrā painting of the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. but evidencing the Moghul influence, which resulted from the considerable

[1] *Art and Letters*, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 32, where a version in verse is given.

migration of artists from the plains to the Hills from 1740 A.D. onwards. In Chapter III of the present volume the topic of these migrations is discussed in detail.

Nala-Damayantī

The story of King Nala is part of the *Mahābhārata*, but obviously a later addition to the epic. Damayantī, the beautiful daughter of the King of Vidarbha, is told by a swan of King Nala's handsome presence. She thereupon falls in love with Nala. A *Svayamvara* is held for her by her father. Princes from far and near are invited to attend on a certain day when the beautiful Damayantī will choose a husband from amongst them, signifying her choice by placing a garland of flowers around the neck of the chosen one. King Nala attended the *Svayamvara* to which also came the gods Indra, Agnī, Varuna, and Yama who had decided to play a trick on Damayantī. When the princess was borne in on her palanquin, she saw to her dismay, five Nalas seated side by side. Each of the four gods had assumed the shape of Nala. In despair she prayed to the gods to deliver her from her quandry. Then the four gods assumed their original shapes and Damayantī cast the garland around Nala's neck. The couple were then united in marriage. Thereafter, the story takes an unhappy turn. Nala gambles away his kingdom and has to go into exile as a beggar. Despite his dissuasions Damayantī follows him. Nala then deserts Damayantī. Many adventures befall both Nala and Damayantī during their separation, but finally they are reunited and Nala regains his kingdom.

The story appears to have appealed greatly to Pahārī artists and has inspired some of the most beautiful *Kāngrā Kalam* drawings. A series of such drawings, which are only partly coloured, are in the Boston Museum. They have been reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plates 39-54. Several equally beautiful drawings from the same or a related series are in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. They were originally in the Treasury-vala collection. A detail from one of these drawings is reproduced as Fig 30. Other collections also possess drawings or paintings illustrating this story. The *Nala-Damayantī* drawings are referred to in greater detail in Chapter III of this volume.

Mādhavanala-Kamakandala

A handsome brahmin named Mādhava lived in the city of Puspāvatī, and all the women of the town were in love with him, to the consternation of their husbands. The king himself in order to test the famed fascination of Mādhava, brought him into the presence of his queens, who were so smitten by his beauty, that the king banished Mādhava. After much wandering Mādhava came to the court of the king of Amaravatī who received him with honour. A young courtesan named Kamakandala, who was a favourite of the king of Amaravatī so fascinated Mādhava by her dance-performance that he offered her the very betel leaf which the king had given him as a mark of honour. The king felt insulted and ordered Mādhava to leave the town. As Mādhava was leaving he met Kamakandala who invited him to her house. He accompanied her and they both fell in love with each other. Next morning they parted with broken hearts. Mādhava repaired to Ujjain where the king of Ujjain came to know of his misery. The king of Ujjain, after satisfying himself about the genuineness of the love which Mādhava and Kamakandala bore to each other, invaded Amaravatī and united the two lovers in marriage with much pomp and ceremony. A Hindi version of this romance was composed for the Emperor Akbar, by the poet Alam in 1584 A.D. I have seen an early manuscript of this story illustrated in the typical Gujerātī style in the collection of Acharya Jinavijayajī Munī. It is dated 1493 A.D. The story was also popular with Pahārī artists and Fig 11 illustrating this romance is from a Basohlī style series painted in Bilāspur. An exquisite detail from a large size Kāngrā school drawing, showing the dalliance of the lovers at Kamakandala's house is reproduced as Fig 17.

Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī

The story of Bāz Bahādur, the Muslim king of Mandu in Malwa in the 16th century A.D. and the beautiful Rupmatī, the daughter of the proud Rājput Thān Singh of Dharmpurī, appears to have become popular in the 18th century A.D. with the artists of the Moghul court.

A number of late Moghul and mixed Rājput-Moghul miniatures depicting these famous lovers are known to exist.[1] The theme also forms the subject-matter of several *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures. Its introduction into Pahārī painting does not appear to be prior to 1750 A.D.; and in all probability the *Kāngrā Kalam* versions were either inspired by Moghul miniatures of this theme, or were actually painted by artists originally trained in the Moghul school who had taken service at the court of Sansār Chand and at other Hill courts and adopted the Kāngrā style. The *Kāngrā Kalam* versions closely follow the Moghul miniatures, which for the most part are confined to showing the two lovers riding out at night or hunting on horseback. An interesting comparison of the Moghul and Kāngrā versions of these lovers riding out at night is afforded by the two reproductions placed side by side in Stouchkine's *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 96, Figs (*a*)[2] and (*b*).

Bāz Bahādur was a very cultured monarch and a great musician. He also delighted in the chase. He saw Rupmatī by chance near a forest pool and fell in love with her. In order to secure her, he overpowered the proud Thān Singh and rode away with Rupmatī.[3] Their love for each other and their mutual interest in music made life an idyll for them. But Rupmatī knew that Bāz Bahādur could easily fall for the charms of another woman, particularly when under the influence of wine of which he was overfond. She kept him to herself as much as possible and the lovers used to ride out at night into the moonlit forests and over star-clad hills. These famed nightly rides were what the artists loved to illustrate. Fig 39 is a most beautiful Garhwāl school painting showing Rupmatī reclining on a hillside while Bāz Bahādur gazes at her with adoration. Their horses are tethered nearby. Fig 39 has been reproduced in colour, but not effectively, in *The Art of India and Pakistan Commemoration Catalogue*, 1950, Colour Plate D, where it is entitled *Lovers in a Moonlit Retreat*. But there is no doubt that the miniature is not just any prince and his lover but is an illustration to the Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī romance, as suggested by Basil Gray in his note in the above catalogue on page 134. The end of this romance is a tragic one. Bāz Bahādur was defeated by the invading Moghul armies under Adham Khan and fled. Rupmatī became the conqueror's captive but took poison rather than yield herself to the victorious invader. The Lady of the Lotus, as poets called her, lies in a masoleoum at Sarangpur and when Bāz Bahādur died he was buryed in her tomb.

Kālidāsa's Poems

The well-known series of drawings illustrating the marriage of Pārvatī have often been described by critics as illustrations to the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1906, Vol. 2, Plate 63). But I am inclined to the view that they illustrate the *Pārvatī Skanda* (chapter) of the *Shiva Purāna*. Two poems of Kālidāsa, however, have been illustrated by Pahārī artists. There is an illustration to the *Meghadutam* in the Lahore Museum, where the banished *Yaksha* addresses the clouds. It is a 19th century Kāngrā painting. Mr. N. C. Mehta has some late 19th century Kāngrā miniatures illustrating *Shakuntala* with the text of the poem on the reverse. Though they are of no artistic importance, they establish that in the second half of the 19th century there were Hill artists who did illustrate some of the works of Kālidāsa.

Bardic Lore

Stories of Rājput chivalry and of the devotedness and courage of Rājput princesses, have always been dear to the heart of every Rājput—king and peasant alike.

It was but natural in the circumstances that the themes of such stories should at times be illustrated by Pahārī artists whose patrons were all Rājput princes and nobles. How much the Rājput valued honour and courage is well expressed in Chand Bardai's *Prithī-Rāj-Rāso*, where Sangagota says to Prithī Rāj on the eve of battle,

[1] An attractive example is reproduced in colour in Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1st Edition, 1908, Plate 64.
[2] Reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 12, opposite page 123.
[3] The *Massir-ul-Umara*, page 395, refers to Rupmatī as the leader of Bāz Bahādur's dancing girls.

O Sun of the Chauhans, none has drunk so deeply both of glory and of pleasure as thou. Life is like an old garment, what matters if we throw it off, for to die well is life immortal.

Hamir Hath

One story of Rājput chivalry which has been illustrated by Pahārī artists is that of Hamir of Ranthambhor. Hamir had given sanctuary to Mahima Sāh, one of the generals of the great Muslim Sultan Alāu'd-din Khiljī. The general was a fugitive from the Sultan's wrath because of his liaison with one of the Sultan's queens. Alāu'd-din laid siege to Ranthambhor, but Hamir, though sore pressed, would not hand over to the Sultan the refugee general who had sought his protection. The general himself, be it said, implored Hamir to take that course. Death and destruction were preferable to Hamir than such a breach of the code of Rājput honour. When Hamir's position became hopeless, the women folk of the palace performed that most dread of all rites—the *Jauhar*. They immolated themselves on a vast pyre rather than suffer the dishonour of falling into the hands of an invader. Hamir and his warriors who had sallied forth from the fort routed the besiegers; but Hamir, alas, was slain in the battle. In another version of the story the ladies of the palace commit *Jauhar* thinking that Hamir's sally against the enemy has failed. Hamir returns to the fort after defeating his foes only to find the ashes of his womenfolk. Broken-hearted he places his son on his throne and then kills himself.

Two miniatures illustrating the *Hamir Hath* story are reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 55. But a much finer set of *Hamir Hath* miniatures belongs to the Mandī Darbār. They were painted by one Sajnu and presented to Rājā Ishvarī Sen of Mandī in 1810 A.D. They have been reproduced in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol 17, No. 132. They are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter III of this volume.

Another *Hamir Hath* set belongs to the Chambā Darbār, and one is with the Patiala Darbār.

Genre Miniatures

Pahārī miniatures in this category are indeed numerous. They are largely concerned with the daily life and amusements of the court, and of zenana ladies in particular.

The following subjects appear again and again:

(*a*) toilet scenes, (*b*) bathing scenes, (*c*) zenana pastimes, such as playing at ball, swinging, or playing chequers, (*d*) a woman walking in a garden, resting by a tree, fondling a deer, or writing a letter, (*e*) music and dancing parties.

This zenana painting is a refined and pleasing form of art, but is mainly objective and evidences no depth of feeling. Yet it mirrors an old-world manner of living in the leisured seclusion of palace apartments and walled garden retreats, far from the realities of existence.

Four grey walls and four grey towers
Overlook a space of flowers,
And the silent isle imbowers
The Lady of Shallot.

Erotics

Entire sets illustrating the act of sexual intercourse in a variety of positions are met with in late Kāngrā art, particularly of the Sikh period. They are technically quite competent but lack aesthetic merit, and judging from their grossness were no doubt commissioned to satisfy the lewd propensities of certain princes and aristocratic gentry. One such picture, painted by an artist named Ustad Perim Singh Pir[1], bears an inscription describing it as 'unheard of'.

[1] *Eastern Art*, Vol. 2, page 166.

Portraiture

The number of Pahārī portraits known to exist is indeed very large. Every prince and noble had his portrait painted, and many copies of one and the same portrait were produced with only minor variations. These, no doubt, were for distribution and presentation. Portraits in the *Basohlī Kalam* or a related style (Plate XI and Figs 36 and 58) are the most effective of all Pahārī portraits. This is largely due to their vigorous colouring and characterization. *Kāngrā Kalam* portraiture, on the other hand, though competent, is apt to be uninspired. In the late Kāngrā art of the Sikh period not only were numerous portraits of Sikh chiefs and nobles painted, but portraits of European military commanders, officials, and travellers, were also made by the artists attached to the courts of the ruling families. Von Ohrlich, in the account of his travels in India[1], mentions that Indian nobles attending a function used to bring artists attached to their courts for sketching those present at the function. He also notes that the artist of the Sikh ruler, Sher Singh (1840-1843 A.D.), was constantly making portraits at a darbār held by Sher Singh at Lahore in 1842 A.D. One such portrait was of Von Ohrlich himself.

Animals and Birds

An interesting but rather neglected facet of Pahārī painting consists of studies of animals and birds executed by Pahārī artists. They are all of the late *Kāngrā Kalam* and mostly belong to the first half of the 19th century A.D.[2] Quite a large number of such studies are in the Lahore Museum.[3] They manifest some European influence and are at times reminiscent of the animal and bird studies of the Patna school, painted during the Company days. But they are more lively, if less elaborate, than the Patna paintings. Though they are not to be compared with the brilliant bird and animal miniatures painted by the great Moghul masters of the 17th century A.D., they are well executed and display a marked sensitivity to bird and animal forms. They are more in the nature of virile coloured sketches than full fledged paintings, and in fact many of them are only sketch book studies made by the artist for practice purposes, or as types to be copied whenever it was necessary to introduce a bird or animal into a painting. Mr. J. C. French has reproduced two admirable studies, one of a pheasant and one of tigers, in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plates 17 and 18. He has also reproduced a pleasing study of spotted deer in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Plate 4 of his article entitled 'Guler Art'.

While endorsing Mr. French's appreciation of these *Kāngrā Kalam* sketches, it is difficult to agree with his statement that the Pahārī bird and animal studies are finer than those of the Moghul miniaturists. Moghul bird and animal painting at its best is a thing not only of extraordinary accomplishment, but of great beauty.

Bāramāsa and Khat-ritu

Miniatures depicting the twelve months (*Bāramāsa*) or six seasons (*Khat-ritu*) are also found in Pahārī painting. A *Bāramāsa* painting is referred to in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, page 193. It is dated 1774 A.D. It is superscribed as being a picture in praise of the month of *Kārttika*, and a verse from Kesava Dās is on the reverse describing the sports and pastimes of the month of *Kārttika*. A miniature dealing with the *Khat-ritu* theme is reproduced by N. C. Mehta in *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 55. It shows a girl on a hillside on a Spring morning.

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[1] *Reise in Indian*, 1845.

[2] Svetoslav Roerich has a pheasant (*Tragopan*) in his collection dated 1810 A.D.

[3] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Nos. L1 to L82.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAHĀRĪ PAINTING AND ITS CLASSIFICATION

The Rānās and Thākurs

In order to understand how Pahārī painting came into being, it is necessary to hearken back to the history of the Hill States for some period of time prior to the second half of the 17th century A.D. It suffices, for our purpose, to know that originally the rulers of the Hills were a large number of petty chieftains known as Rānās and Thākurs. They have aptly been described as the 'feudal barons of the Hills'. This rule of the feudal barons did not end at any one particular period of time. It came to an end sooner in some parts of the Hills than in others. We need not embark on an inquiry as to dates and conquests. It is enough to remember that the rule of the Rānās and Thākurs was replaced many centuries ago by the rule of Rājās, who were Rājputs.

The Rājās

The Rānās and Thākurs in course of time gave allegiance to the Rājās who had become their overlords. There was no one Rājā governing all the Hill States. Numerous principalities, some large, some small, were carved out by the Rājās. Some Rājās were more powerful than others, and the history of the Hills is largely one of constant warfare and constant aggrandizement. Due to their isolated position and the difficulties of access to the Hills, the Rājās, to all intents and purposes, remained independent, even while great political changes took place in Northern India. The Muhammadan invasions of the 11th century A.D. do not seem to have seriously affected the Hill Rājās, and till we come to the reign of Akbar, the Great Moghul, in the 16th century, we may assume, that for all practical purposes, the Hill States, or at any rate most of them, were independent of the dynasties who governed Northern India in succession till the advent of the Moghuls in 1526 A.D.

Absence of Pre-Moghul Miniature Painting

I have already pointed out in Chapter I, that there were no schools of miniature painting in India from the 10th to the 16th century A.D. apart from the Gujerātī and Pāla schools of manuscript illustration. It is futile in the circumstances to think that any art of miniature painting could have flourished in the Hill States prior to the advent of the Moghuls. For one thing, there is not the slightest trace of any pre-Moghul miniature art in the Hills, and for another, the economic condition of the Hill States, which comparatively speaking were very poor, is quite against the likelihood of costly ateliers of miniature painters being maintained under royal patronage. Even if pre-Moghul folk schools of miniature painting had existed in the Hill States during the 15th and 16th centuries A.D., some traces of this folk painting would have remained. No such cataclysm is known to have enveloped the Hill States before the advent of the Moghuls in 1526 A.D. as would destroy every vestige of miniature painting, whether folk art or court art, which may have existed prior to that date. If there is no cause upto 1526 A.D. to account for the total disappearance of every form of miniature painting which may have been executed in the Hills prior thereto, then there is equally no cause to account for its total disappearance after 1526 A.D. In fact Pahārī miniatures which date from the closing years of the 17th century A.D. are known to us, and miniatures of still later date are plentiful despite the earthquake disaster which overtook Kāngrā and the fire which devastated Kulu in more recent times. A further circumstance to be considered is that no

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schools of miniature painting flourished in the main continent of India, prior to the formation of the Sultānate of Bijāpur in the Deccan in the early 16th century A.D. and the advent of the Moghuls in 1526 A.D. Hence it is most unlikely that any pre-Moghul schools of miniature painting could have existed in the isolated Hills. It should be remembered, that throughout their history, the Hills gave rise to no important cultural currents which did not have their origin in the plains.

As the Deccan had no contacts with the Hills in the early 16th century, the only reasonable conclusion is that no miniature painting existed in the Hill States prior to the birth of Moghul miniature painting in the middle of the 16th century A.D. In fact however the most likely date for the origin of the Pahārī school is much later, namely between 1675 and 1695 A.D.

Tārānāth's History Considered

There is one circumstance which may cause students of Pahārī painting to wonder if it is correct to say that no schools of miniature painting existed in the Hills prior to the coming of the Moghuls. Tārānāth, the Tibetan historian-monk, writing in 1608 A.D. states[1]—

> *In Kashmir too, there were in former times followers of the Old Western School of Madhyadesa; later on, a certain Hāsurāja founded a new school in painting and sculpture which is now called the Kashmir School.*

Now the *Old Western School* of painting and sculpture, mentioned by Tārānāth, is referred by him to the 7th century A.D. and thereafter. This could not have been a school of miniature painting because there was no real miniature painting anywhere till the introduction of paper. Even after paper was introduced in the 12th century A.D. its use for manuscript illustration does not appear to have commenced till the 14th century A.D. Thus the Kashmir school which followed the *Old Western School* was obviously a school of wall painting, though some work on prepared wooden boards and on cloth may also have been done. Tārānāth vouchsafes no information as to when Hāsurāja founded the new school of painting. All we know is that the school founded by Hāsurāja was known in Tārānāth's lifetime—namely last quarter of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century A.D.—as the Kashmir school. If there was a pre-Moghul school of miniature painting in Kashmir then the possibility of such a school also spreading to the nearby Hill States would have to be countenanced. Kashmir and the Hill States were close neighbours with constant intercourse. Even as late as 1572 A.D Ali Shah Chak, king of Kashmir, invaded the Hill State of Kashtwār, and the Rājā had to give his sister in marriage to the grandson of the Kashmir king. One, therefore, has to consider the likelihood of any pre-Moghul miniature painting having existed in Kashmir. No such school has ever come to light. If there was any miniature painting in Kashmir in Tārānāth's time, then of course it was post-Moghul, because Tārānāth wrote in 1608 A.D. In the absence of an all-enveloping catastrophe in Kashmir it can hardly be that all traces of an indigenous school of miniature painting, if one existed just prior to 1550 A.D., should totally disappear. Hundreds and hundreds of Gujerātī style illustrated paper manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. are known to exist to this day in many parts of Gujerāt, Rājputānā, and other places. Their existence proves beyond all doubt that illustrations on paper, even when they were painted as far back as the late 14th and early 15th century, have remained excellently preserved in large numbers to the present day. But none of these 14th, 15th, and 16th century manuscript illustrations of the Gujerātī school are miniature paintings in the sense in which the term is applied to the Persian or Moghul miniature schools. Thus the probabilities weigh heavily against there being any pre-Moghul school of miniature painting in Kashmir, and in the circumstances no Kashmir tradition of miniature painting could have filtered into the Hills. What Tārānāth was referring to as the Kashmir school must be regarded as a school of wall painting or banner

[1] Tārānāth's Commentary reproduced in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 1.

painting.[1] It is not at all clear from Tārānāth's account whether this Kashmir school was in existence during his own times.

The Advent of the Moghuls

With the advent of the Moghuls in 1526 A.D. a new era of political events was ushered in and new opportunities for cultural development presented themselves to the Hill States. Early in Akbar's reign the Hill States became tributary to the Moghuls. The story of their gradual subjugation need not detain us. This process of subjugation went on even in Jehangir's reign, and it was this Emperor who occupied Kāngrā Fort, 'the bastion of the Hills', and garrisoned it with Moghul troops. Thereafter right upto 1785 A.D., even during the decline of the Moghul Empire, Kāngrā Fort remained in the hands of the Moghuls.

System of Hostages

Akbar's authority did not rest heavily on the Hill States, but to ensure their fidelity he resorted to the system of having as hostages at his court, princes or close relations of the Hill Rājās. It is related that at the beginning of Jehangir's reign (1605 A.D.) there were twenty-two young princes from the Hill States residing at the Moghul court as hostages. There was little or no interference with the internal affairs of the Hill States, but the system of hostages inevitably affected the cultural outlook of those princes who were detained at the Moghul court, and they on their return influenced the court circles of the Hill Chiefs. One conclusion which emerges very clearly from a survey of the relations of the Great Moghuls with the many States which they had conquered all over the country is that the fashions, art, and architecture of the Imperial court, always influenced the courts of even the greatest of the feudatory rulers. When fashions changed at the Imperial court, many rich and progressive States, and particularly those in close contact with the Imperial capital, were not slow to adopt at least some of the changed fashions. Remoter and poorer provincial centres, however, often continued with the older fashions for a considerable period of time after they had been abandoned at the Imperial court.

Contacts with the Imperial Court

Apart from the princely hostages at the Moghul court, some of the Hill Rājās were in direct contact with the Moghul Emperors. The Hill Rājās, though nominally under the suzerain power, continued to wage war against each other without reference to the Emperor. Some even sought and obtained assistance in men and arms from the Moghul Viceroy of the Hills. It is known from records that the disputes of the Hill Rājās were at times adjudicated upon by the Emperor himself through his nominee, and some of the Hill Rājās had friendly intercourse with the Moghul court. Others gained a place in Imperial favour and were raised to high military rank or advanced to important offices in the administration. For instance, Jagat Singh of Nurpur (1619-1646 A.D.) was sent by the Emperor Shah Jehan against the Usbegs of Balkh and Badakshan. Jagat Singh's father Rājā Bāsu (1580-1613 A.D.) had also held a high military rank in the Moghul army under Jehangir, and Jagat Singh's brother Surajmal (1613-1618 A.D.) was similarly placed. Jagat Singh's son Rājrup (1646-1661 A.D.) was appointed Commandant (*Faujdar*) of Kāngrā for a time. So also Prithvī Singh of Chambā (1641-1664 A.D.) and several Guler Rājās all rendered distinguished service to the Moghul Emperors.

Each Rājā on his accession paid a fee of investure to the Emperor and in return received a patent of installation, a dress of honour (*Khilat*) and other gifts from the Imperial court. Even on other occasions valuable presents were received by the Rājās from the Emperors. Rājā Bāsu of Nurpur, who in 1611 A.D. was in command of Jehangir's punitive expedition against the rebel Rānā of Mewār (Udaipur), was presented in 1612 A.D. with a sword of honour as a special gift from Jehangir. Rup Chand of Guler (1610-1635 A.D.), who was once sent on a military expedition to the Deccan, was also honoured with various gifts by Jehangir, including an elephant

[1] Painters from Kashmir went to Western Tibet during the rule of the Guge kings, but they must have been fresco painters and banner painters—*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 7, pp. 191-204.

and a horse. Surajmal of Nurpur (1613-1618 A.D.) was given a dress of honour and a jewelled dagger by Jehangir before his expedition to invest Kāngrā Fort. In 1645 A.D. the Emperor Shah Jehan gave Jagat Singh of Nurpur (1619-1946 A.D.) a dress of honour, a sword with gold-enamelled mountings, and a horse with a silver mounted saddle; while in 1641 A.D. he gave Prithvī Singh of Chambā a dress of honour and an inlaid dagger.

Gifts were also sent by the Rājās to the Imperial court. One of the most interesting instances on record[1] relates to the presents sent to the Princess Jahānārā, daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, by the Rājā of Sirmoor. The gifts included musk, fruit, animals, and a golden winged bird. How well disposed the Imperial court was to the Hill Rājās can be gauged from this instance where presents were sent even to a daughter of the Emperor. Another instance[2] is the gift of hawks and crystals by Jagat Singh of Kulu (1637-1672 A.D.) to the Imperial court. The Hill Rājās specialized in hawks.

During Shah Jehan's reign (1628-1658 A.D.) the authority of Moghul rule was felt and acknowledged in every part of the Hills and though the Emperor, like his predecessors, did not rule with a heavy hand, it was increasingly realized by the oft times defiant Hill Rājās how small were the chances of a successful revolt against the Imperial authority. The continued connection of the Hill Rājās with the courts of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan in succession, was bound to have its effect in developing and moulding the outlook of the Hill Rājās and the culture of their courts. If they were somewhat unresponsive in the beginning, as they appear to have been, it is not a matter for surprise. Their contacts with the world beyond the Hills had been few; their resources comparatively meagre; and their time taken up in petty warfare. Their courts boasted no polished culture. The Emperor Jehangir's remark when Gur Singh of Kashtwār was captured and brought before him is significant. Jehangir observed that Gur Singh, contrary to the other Rājās of the Hills, looked like the inhabitant of a town! The older generation which had been subjugated by Akbar was bound to be resentful and remain aloof, but the cadets of these royal houses of the Hills who had lived at the Moghul court as hostages, could not avoid their outlook being influenced by the culture of the Moghul court. Similarly those Hill Rājās who served in the Moghul army at many places, including the Deccan, had their outlook widened and became informed of that splendour in the realm of architecture and art which has made the Moghul period justly famous. Just as Moghul culture influenced the courts of Rājputānā, so in course of time it began to influence the courts of the Hill Rājās. Frequent attendance at the Imperial city and gifts of dresses of honour also made for changes in sartorial fashions.

Moghul Influence on Pahārī Architecture

Those Rājās who wished to build new structures in their hill towns now looked to Moghul styles of architecture to provide them with models. Nurpur, for instance, was given its present name in honour of the Emperor Nur-ud-Din Jehangir's visit to this citadel on his return from Kāngrā. Nurpur rose to prominence during the Moghul ascendency in India. No buildings of greater antiquity than the Moghul period are to be found at Nurpur or in its neighbourhood. Nurpur fort was commenced by Rājā Bāsu who died in 1613 A.D. and it was still not complete in 1622 A.D. when the Emperor Jehangir, who was pleased with the site, granted a lac of rupees for building good mansions worthy of the place. The old temple in the Nurpur fort ascribed to Rājā Bāsu (1580-1613 A.D.) has capitals and brackets showing marked similarity in design to those of some of the early Moghul buildings in the Lahore Fort, and the ornamentation on the bases of its pilasters can be traced to the same source. Moreover, the designs on certain of its panels, which must have formed a dado, are also decidedly Moghul in style. There are panels on the outer wall bearing realistic representations of ducks, peacocks, deer, and parrots, and also bands of human figures quite naturalistically treated. The work bears close resemblance to the ornamentation on the early Moghul buildings in the Lahore Fort. Capitals, brackets, and decoration are all in the mixed Hindu-Moghul style in vogue in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir.

[1] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 87.
[2] *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol 30 A, 1917.

The State Kothī at Brahmor in Chambā, which according to tradition was built during the reign of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.) had doors[1] with wooden carved figure-panels which bespeak to the strong influence of Moghul art in the treatment of *jāmās*, turbans, attitudes, and background decoration. Gur Singh of Kashtwār (1618-1629) A.D. who had contacts with Shah Jehan when that Emperor came to the throne is said to have built many fine buildings at his capital and also a palace at Bandarkot on the Chenab. This was done because of his rejoicing when Shah Jehan recognized his son Jagat as the heir apparent of Kashtwār.

All such new buildings were adaptations from Moghul architecture designed to suit the requirements of the particular Rājā who caused them to be constructed. The pre-Moghul civil architecture of the Hills was doubtless derived from a mixture of styles prevailing in the plains. Nothing so grand as Rājā Mānsingh's palace at Gwalior (*circa* 1500 A.D.) could be expected in the Hills. A variation of the simpler Tughlaq style was more in keeping with the mountain terrain where money was not plentiful and warfare constant. But the establishment of Moghul supremacy over the Hills inevitably brought about changes, because the Moghuls had much closer contacts with the Hill Rājās than the pre-Moghul Muhammadan dynasties of North India. Apart from the fact that the architecture and art of the Imperial court came to be regarded as the hall-mark of good taste, the Akbar period style of architecture must doubtless have appealed to the Hill Rājās because it was a most agreeable mixed Hindu-Muslim style. Though the building projects of the Moghul Emperors were numerous, there was never any dearth of first class architects and masons in the country, as a survey of Indian architecture reveals. Consequently, it was not difficult for the Hill Rājās to have their new buildings designed in the early Moghul manner.

It was but natural that the absorption of Moghul culture by the Hill Rājās should first manifest itself in their architecture. Architecture, in the main, is utilitarian, and not in the category of a luxury art such as miniature painting. Moreover, princely power and grandeur can never be adequately conveyed to the common man by the mere maintenance of ateliers of miniature painters. But fine buildings, emulating the new Imperial style, were a means *par excellence* by which the Hill Rājās could create a deep and lasting impression on their subjects, who hitherto were accustomed to simpler and cruder edifices.

Contacts with Moghul Painting

But the Hill Rājās who frequently visited the Imperial capitals were also bound to have become familiar with the art of painting as practised at the Moghul court. Both wall painting and miniature painting were in vogue, and the lavish patronage accorded to the artists of the royal ateliers by Akbar and Jehangir, and even by Shah Jehan in the early years of his reign, was well-known to all courtiers. The Hill Rājās could hardly have failed to observe the interest of the Emperors in both wall painting and miniature painting. It was an interest which came to be regarded in court circles as a sign of high culture. Even Moghul princes and great grandees had their own ateliers of artists. Dara Shikoh's painters[2] and those of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan[3] are well-known to us. It is interesting to note that in 1611 A.D., when Lahore was visited by the English traveller William Finch, he saw a fresco in the Lahore Fort in which Rājā Bāsu of Nurpur (1580-1613 A.D.) was pictured amongst the nobles of Jehangir standing on the Emperor's left hand.[4] Even in the reign of Shah Jehan it appears that there were many frescoes in the palaces of the Lahore Fort. Sebastian Manrique[5] saw a large hall painted from its high roof to the surface of its pavement with sundry fine pictures of battles, the chase, and hunting scenes. Dara Shikoh's palace at Lahore,[6] according to Manrique, was covered with paintings of

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1 Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā*, Plate 6. The doors are now in the Chambā Museum.
2 See the album of Dara Shikoh in the India Office Library, London. He was a son of the Emperor Shah Jehan.
3 Mafuzul Haq, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 621. The Khan Khanan was a great grandee of Akbar's court.
4 *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 1, pp. 126-130.
5 Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 93.
6 Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 22.

Christian saints and included the life of John the Baptist. So also Akbar's buildings at Fatehpur Sikri[1] and the palace at Agra[2] during Jehangir's time had portions profusely decorated with paintings representing Christian, European, and other subjects.

It is not unlikely that some of the Hill Rājās who were in close contact with the Moghul court during the rule of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, possessed a few portrait miniatures done by the court artists. Some of these portraits may have been of the Emperors themselves. The Moghul Emperors often gave their portraits to personages of high rank as a mark of great favour. Shah Jehan at his treaty with Qulbu'l-Mulk was asked by the latter for the Emperor's portrait. Shah Jehan thereupon gave him one which was framed in pearls, and had a string of pearls by which to hang it.[3]

There is also reason to think that some of the Hill Rājās were painted by the artists of the Imperial court and took such portraits back with them to their homes. Such authentic Moghul portraits were at times used for later-day copies.

The Hill Rājās may also have possessed a few miscellaneous miniatures painted by the lesser known artists of the royal atelier. We know, for instance, that Akbar ordered his nobles to have copies of the *Razm Nāmāh* made.[4] These copies are known to us from extant examples[5] as less gorgeous versions of the miniatures made for the royal album. Though they bear the signatures or ascriptions of several of Akbar's court artists, many of them were executed with no great care. The somewhat inferior drawing and colouring, betokening haste, which at times mars some of these copies, has caused many an untrained eye to doubt their genuineness. It was not likely, however, that any of the masterpieces of the Imperial atelier would come into the possession of the Hill Rājās in the seventeenth century A.D., because it was not till after Aurangzeb's reign that the royal collections got dispersed. The first three Moghul Emperors valued their collections of miniatures greatly, even though Shah Jehan seems latterly to have lost interest in the work of the Imperial atelier.

Pahārī Schools are post-Shah Jehan

But though a few Moghul miniatures may have come into the possession of various Hill Rājās during the rule of the first three Moghul Emperors, the probability of any of the Hill Rājās having founded ateliers of their own during that period is remote. The finest artists would never have been available to them, because they were required by the Imperial atelier itself. apart from the fact that it was only a very rich potentate who could afford the best artists. That lesser artists could have been procured, admits of no doubt, since Moghul princes and Moghul grandees did maintain their own small ateliers as already observed. But the maintenance of even a small atelier would require considerable expenditure and the Hill States were far from being rich at that period of time. Their contacts with the luxurious Moghul court had already influenced their mode of life and increased their personal expenditure. Moreover, unlike Moghul princes and Moghul grandees, these Hill Rājās had to maintain their own small armies as efficiently as possible in order to ward off the ever present threat of aggrandizement by one of their neighbours. In addition, it must be remembered, that to the Moghuls with their background of Persianized culture, the love of miniature painting was not a newly found passion. But to the isolated and ofttimes uncouth Hill Rājās, whose principal interests had been warfare and hawking, the love for a courtly art such as miniature painting had to be gradually cultivated. It was therefore natural that some considerable time would elapse before any Hill Rājās could feel the urge to maintain their own artists at their courts at considerable expense in emulation of their Moghul overlords. Though it must be conceded that some of

[1] Traces of the paintings at Fatehpur Sikri are still visible.
[2] Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, p. 238.
[3] *Badshah Nama* I. II. 210.
[4] Badaoni, *Muntakhab-t-Tawarikh*, Vol. 2, p. 331.
[5] The Baroda Museum has some examples from one such copy. I saw another much superior and larger copy with the dealer Gulabchand Godha of Delhi.

this reasoning cannot avoid the charge of speculation, yet the dates of the earliest known Pahārī miniatures lend considerable support to the theory that there were no schools of Pahārī miniature painting till the period 1678-1694 A.D.

The richer and more accessible States of Rājasthān, where the Gujerātī style of manuscript illustration had long been in vogue,[1] began to develop local schools under the impact of Moghul art, more than half a century before the birth of Pahārī miniature painting. The earliest known Pahārī miniatures reveal that they have been derived from the Moghul school of Aurangzeb and not from the earlier schools of Akbar, Jehangir, or Shah Jehan. This circumstance, which will be dealt with in detail a little later on, tends to show that the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting are post-Shah Jehan.

Wall painting appears to have attracted the Hill Rājās as a form of decoration for their palaces and other buildings even before they developed a taste for miniature painting. This was but natural as fresco painting was regarded as an adjunct of architecture. In the Thākurdvārā (shrine) at Nurpur, which is ascribed to Rājā Māndhātā (1661-1700 A.D.)[2], there is fresco ornamentation dealing with the life of Krishna. In one of the panels, according to tradition, there is a portrait of Māndhātā himself. Unfortunately it has been covered with whitewash. This has been the fate of many frescoes in India. The carvings on the old temple of Rājā Bāsu (1580-1613 A.D.) at Nurpur, which have already been noticed, also pertained to the Krishna story. This popularity of the Krishna legend goes to indicate that the Vaishnava religious and literary revival was already well established in the Hills before the Hill Rājās came under the influence of Moghul art and architecture. The Moghul influence was therefore applied to the themes that these Rājās loved so well. A survey of the religious creeds prevalent in the Hills has shown that though the God Shiva was extensively worshipped in the Himalayas, particularly by all the lower castes, the Rājās themselves were for the most part Vishnu devotees.[3] The introduction of fresco painting by the Hill Rājās, as a form of decoration for their buildings, was clearly influenced by the similar practice of the Moghuls whose extensive fresco decorations have already been referred to. There is no evidence to warrant the theory[4] that Moghul influences were adopted by the Hill States, because they had already been adopted by the great Rājput States of Rājasthān. The Moghul influence in the Hills was entirely direct in the beginning. Rājā Bāsu's temple at Nurpur shows its obvious derivation from the architecture of the Lahore Fort buildings. To what extent the Hill Rājās adopted the Moghul practice of decorating their buildings with frescoes it is difficult to say. In a land where climatic conditions quickly work havoc on abandoned structures, frescoes may vanish leaving no traces whatsoever behind. They cannot be packed or stored or transported like miniatures and manuscripts. It may seem almost facetious to make such an observation, yet the exponents of the belief that pre-Moghul miniature painting existed in India, have in their attempts to account for the non-existence of a single pre-Moghul miniature, gone to the length of resorting to the argument that the ravages of time and warfare have obliterated all traces of pre-Moghul miniature painting. It is a theory justly applicable to account for the disappearance of frescoes, but quite chimerical when employed to account for the non-existence of even a solitary pre-Moghul miniature. The recent attempts[5] to attribute the *Gīta Govinda* manuscript of the Gujerāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad; the *Gīta Govinda* manuscript of the N. C. Mehta collection; and the *Chaurapanchāsika* manuscript of the same collection, to the pre-Moghul period, must appear very futile to any student of stylistic development in Indian miniature painting.

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[1] There are a number of pre-Moghul manuscripts in the pure Gujerāti style painted in Marwar and at Jaisalmer.

[2] *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1904-05, p. 115. Dr. Goetz in an article in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, at page 6 states that the Thākurdvārā is of the reign of Rājā Rājrup (1640-1661 A.D.) but gives no reason for this statement which is entirely against the prevailing tradition.

[3] Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F. Province*, Vol. I, p. 261.

[4] *India Antiqua*, p. 161, Dr. Goetz's article on 'Muslim influence in the Himalayas.'

[5] (a) *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. 10, pt. 2, p. 119—'A Newly Discovered Illuminated Gita Govinda' by M. R. Majumdar.
(b) *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 13, p. 46.—'A New Document of Gujerāti Painting' by N. C Mehta. Both the manuscripts belong to the period *circa* 1610-1620 A.D. The *Chaurapanchāsika* MSS is still later. See my article in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 3 on the chronology of Early Rajput Painting where the matter is discussed in some detail.

It is a matter of considerable interest to note that when a Jain pilgrimage to Nagarkot (Kāngrā) led by one Jaysāgara took place in the year 1427-28 A.D. the party saw several fine Jain temples in the Hills, and Rājā Narendra Chandra of Kāngrā showed them even his own temple with images of precious stones.[1] But though these pilgrims have left a fairly detailed record of what they saw there is no mention made of any temples or buildings decorated with frescoes. If the party had come across any such painted structures it is most unlikely that they would have failed to note this fact. Their account would indirectly suggest that the art of fresco painting was not in vogue in the Hills in the 15th century A.D. Thus the probabilities are that even fresco painting was introduced into the Hills after the advent of the Moghuls.

One may assume that the practice of fresco decoration which Rājā Māndhātā of Nurpur (1661-1700 A.D.) adopted from the Moghul court was also fairly popular with other Hill Rājās. This practice may even have been first introduced into the Hills a decade or two before Rājā Māndhātā's reign. The art of painting had been placed on a high pedestal by the Emperors Akbar and Jehangir. Even Shah Jehan maintained an atelier of fine artists, but his patronage to painting was not on the scale of his two immediate predecessors. Many artists who had enjoyed the bounty of Akbar and Jehangir were thrown out of work and these displaced artists found employment with the great nobles of the realms. The fashion to maintain small ateliers became quite prevalent with these grandees when numerous artists, once unavailable, freely offered their services to whoever could give them a living. The traveller Bernier mentions that the Emperor Shah Jehan and the *Omrāhs* (nobles) kept in their pay a number of artists who worked in their houses and taught their children. The best artists were naturally retained by the Emperor himself. One consequence of retrenchment in the royal atelier was that reasonably good artists, with considerable technical skill, became available not only to the grandees who were in constant attendance at the Moghul court, but also to such of the Rājās of Rājasthān and of the Hills who might deem it fit to have painters of their own.

The main reason for the earlier beginnings of the Rājasthānī schools is to be found in the fact that the Gujerātī style was well established in Rājasthān prior to the advent of the Moghuls. The Moghul school came into being in *circa* 1550 A.D. and developed into a full fledged style by 1580 A.D. By *circa* 1600 A.D. even the wealthy and powerful Jain community, for which most of the productions of the Gujerātī school were executed, began to patronize the patently superior Moghul artists.[2] This tendency caused the conservative craftsmen who had hitherto worked in the pure Gujerātī style, to adopt by degrees, some of the features of Moghul painting. The transitional process brought into existence the early Rājasthānī schools. But the position in the Hills was very different. The Gujerātī style and the Pāla style had never filtered into the Hills and there were no other pre-Moghul schools of manuscript illustration. Thus there were no artists in the Hills who could be influenced by Moghul painting to change their older style, and accordingly it was not possible for the process which took place in Rājasthān to also take place in the Hills. Moreover, the States of Rājasthān were in much closer contact with the Moghul court than the Hill States and consequently absorbed Moghul cultural influences sooner than the Hill Rājās. The economic factor also came into play. The Hill States could ill-afford to adopt all the expensive cultural pursuits of their Moghul overlords, while the Rājasthānī States were financially in a more comfortable position to extend court patronage to artists. An added advantage lay in the fact that the wealthy Jain and Vaishnava communities, of both Gujerāt and Rājasthān, also patronized the local artists, who, when they shed the cloak of the conventional Gujerātī style in *circa* 1600, were not slow to garb themselves in another mantle which we call the early Rājasthānī school. Thus we find that there was a fairly ancient heritage of

[1] *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1946, Nagpur*, p. 398 'A Jain Pilgrimage to Nagarkot' by Mul Raj Jain.

[2] See my article 'Leaves from Rājasthān' in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3. So also wealthy Vaishnavas began to patronize artists who painted in the Moghul style. A *Gita Govinda* in the Moghul style of 1590-1605 A.D. of which Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart. of Bombay has a folio, was most probably painted for a wealthy Vaishnava (The *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 88, Fig 412).

manuscript illustration in Rājasthān upon which the new fabric of Moghul painting was easily superimposed, but such a background was entirely wanting in the Hills. Accordingly the introduction of the art of miniature painting into the Hills had to await the enterprise of some Hill Rājā who was sufficiently attracted to this cultural pursuit to maintain an atelier of his own.

Formation of Provincial Schools

The exodus of artists and their families from the Imperial court in the reign of Shah Jehan provided the first real opportunity for the foundation of provincial schools in the Moghul Empire. For instance we find one Sahabadi working at Udaipur in 1648,[1] while Ustad Isa; Mahamad Hamid Rukn-ud-din; and one Ustad Nur-ud-din were all working at Bikanir[2] during the period 1647 to 1687 A.D. That these artists had been trained in the Moghul ateliers is obvious from their work, but it is also clear that the requirements of the Hindu Rājās often gave a new direction to their style and approach. Though the beginnings of the Rājasthānī school are to be ascribed to the early years of the reign of Jehangir which commenced in 1605 A.D., yet the main development of the Rājasthānī schools of miniature painting took place after Jehangir's death in 1628 A.D. due to the ever-increasing dispersal of artists from the Imperial cities. Hitherto almost every artist of merit had attached himself to the royal atelier with the hope of obtaining recognition and honour at the hands of the royal connoisseur Jehangir. Both Akbar's and Jehangir's ateliers were constituted on such an ambitious scale, and so much work was constantly produced, that there was employment not only for the experienced artist but also for the young painter of promise. To produce a fine miniature entails careful and laborious work. It is a slow process. It is interesting in this connection to observe that Abd, the brother of Jehangir's great painter Abu'l Hassan, and himself a most competent artist, records the fact that he took two years to complete a picture of Shah Jehan's Darbār.[3] Of course this was an exceptional case but it indicates that the tempo of production was very slow. Thus arose the need of the royal ateliers of Akbar and Jehangir, with their large output, to employ all available artists of merit and promise. It is not suggested that no competent artists were available to any save the Emperor himself during Akbar's and Jehangir's reigns. Nadim, Bahbud, Mushfiq, Madhu, Qasim, and Ibrahim were all competent painters who worked for Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. It should be noted that Ibrahim was first taken into service by the Khan Khanan at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan which along with Bijapur was one of the two great centres of Deccani painting in the late 16th and early 17th century A.D. Later on Ibrahim left the Khan Khanan's service and travelled all over the country seeking employment, which he no doubt got, but according to the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimī* he never secured a master like the Khan Khanan. Another instance of a good painter, working for someone other than the Emperor, is that of Sālhivana who was attached to the court of Jehangir, but painted an invitation scroll[4] (*Vijnaptipatra*) for the Jain community of Agra in 1610 A.D. and also painted the *Sālibhadra Charita*[5] in 1624 A.D. apparently for a patron other than the Emperor. It is to such painters, who, for one reason or another, were working for patrons other than the Emperor, and at places other than the Imperial capitals, that one has to attribute also works such as the late Akbar period *Gīta Govinda* folio in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.;[6] the Jehangir period *Rasikapriyā* of the Boston

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1 *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 'An Illustrated MSS of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*', by P. K. Gode; and my article in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3 on the same manuscript.

2 Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikanir*, 1950, p.105 and Figs 83 and 93.

3 From a *Rasikapriyā* set dated 1634 A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, we know that in Rājputānā and Bundelkhand inferior painters were producing rather crude miniatures. The Moghul influence is apparent, but it is obvious that such painters had no training at the Imperial atelier. They were the old hereditary artists who had produced the crude Gujerāti style illustrations and were now trying to paint in the Moghul manner without any adequate training to do so successfully. Dr. Goetz's theories in his *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, 1950, pp. 97-120, where several Rājasthāni schools are attributed to the early Akbar period and even to pre-Moghul times, are worse than speculation. I say so, not merely because they lack all factual foundation and are against the weight of all known evidence, but because they are contrary to every reasonable probability. The matter has been dealt with by me in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, where the theories of Dr. Goetz and other writers have been considered.

4 *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 38. (Sarada Ukil Number) 'The School of Shah Jehan', by A. C. Ardeshir.

5 N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, p. 60.

6 H. Shastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, Plates 18 and 19.

Roopa Lekha, Vol 2, No. 3, 1940. 'An Akbar Period Miniature of the *Gita Govinda*', by Karl Khandalavala.

Museum ;[1] and a late Jehangir period or early Shah Jehan period *Rāgamālā* set in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi,[2] which was formerly in the Treasuryvala collection. All these abovementioned works are really Moghul miniatures with Hindu themes, and it is a grave misconception to describe them as Rājasthānī paintings.

It does not fall within the scope of the present treatise to discuss in detail the origin[3] and development of the Rājasthānī schools of miniature painting. It suffices to say that just as the early Rājasthānī schools were derived from the impact of the Moghul schools of the Emperors Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan on the Gujerātī style which prevailed in Rājasthān, so also the early Pahārī school was derived in the main from Moghul painting, though from a later phase therof, namely that of the last quarter of the 17th century during the rule of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The theory that Pahārī miniature painting was derived from Rājasthānī miniature painting is quite fallacious as will be seen later on. But what did happen was that certain conventions, which had become prevalent in Rājasthānī art, were adopted with variations by the early Pahārī painters who had been trained in the Aurangzeb school of Moghul painting. The existence of a few similarities in two provincial schools of painting or architecture must not be regarded as proof that one was derived from the other. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries A.D. every provincial centre sought to emulate, in a greater or lesser degree, the culture, art, and fashions of the Imperial capitals.

It was Akbar who developed the mixed early Moghul style of architecture, so characteristic of his reign, and it was his vast building activities which formed the hub from which the provincial creations of the Rājās of Rājasthān and also of the Hills were derived simultaneously yet independently of each other. In the circumstances, similarities of design and decoration were bound to exist even between the provincial styles themselves. The true position with regard to all the fine arts, the fine crafts, and the fashions of the times, is that the Moghul court was the centre which was continuously influencing both Rājasthān and the Hill States. They in their turn often gave these influences an individual and characteristic direction.

We have already noted the reasons why the Rājasthānī schools came into existence much earlier than the Pahārī schools. A further reason is to be found in the circumstance that many of Akbar's painters came from Gujerāt and Rājputānā, being hereditary artists from families who had illustrated the Gujerātī style manuscripts of the Jains and Vaishnavas. Some of these hereditary artists proved to be excellent pupils under the guidance of the Persian masters of Akbar's atelier, though there must also have been many failures who returned to their homes.

But one can be fairly sure that no pre-Moghul manuscript illustrations were painted in the Hills. Not a single pre-Moghul illustrated manuscript of Pahārī origin, either in the Gujerātī style or any other style has ever come to light, though well preserved collections of pictures and manuscripts exist in many Hill States. Thus there was no class of Pahārī artist-illustrators corresponding to those in Gujerāt and Rājputānā, from which the Moghul atelier of Akbar could draw promising material. There was no return to the Hills of painters who could not make the grade at Akbar's or Jehangir's court, and consequently there was no scope for a school to grow up by a process similar to that which took place in Gujerāt and Rājputānā. There, the illustrators of the Jain and Vaishnava religious books began to realize the necessity of introducing innovations in their hitherto stereotyped and hide-bound conventions in order to keep pace with rapidly changing tastes. These innovations brought into existence the transition style which later developed, under the constant influence of Moghul art, into what is called the Rājasthānī style proper. But in the Hills, the very earliest Pahārī miniatures represent a fully developed style. There are no real primitives or transition style paintings yet discovered in Pahārī miniature art.

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 6*, 1930 (Moghul Painting).
[2] One example was reproduced by me in *Mārg*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 56 (lower plate), and two more in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Fig 17.
[3] Those interested should refer to my article in *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAHĀRĪ PAINTING

CLASSIFICATION OF PAHĀRI PAINTING

The term Pahārī is generic. It is applicable to every school of miniature painting which flourished in the Hills regardless of the most obvious differences in style and outlook. It is no more than a geographical term to differentiate the painting of the Rājput States of the Hills from that of the Rājput States of the plains. In view of the fact that the miniature paintings of both Rājputānā and the Himalayan Hill States were included by the late Ananda Coomaraswamy in the phrase 'Rājput Painting', it became necessary to differentiate the work of two widely distant areas. That of the plains was therefore termed *Rājasthānī*, and that of the Hills was termed *Pahārī*. This nomenclature is too well established to be interfered with, and moreover it adequately emphasizes the geographical distribution of Rājput painting.

As the term Pahārī is only generic, it becomes necessary to formulate a satisfactory classification of Pahārī painting which takes into account not only the traditions which exist in the Hills but also any such wide differences of style as demand separate consideration. Fortunately tradition is not at variance with such differences of style as exist, and hence the task of classification is somewhat simplified.

I might straightway point out that the classification of Pahārī painting on a geographical basis, which Coomaraswamy and other writers following him adopted, is not only misleading but is non-existent. It is a classification borrowed from the Gazetteers of the Hill States wherein it was employed for grouping areas. But this classification has proved to be unsatisfactory as a basis on which to effect a division of the different styles of Pahārī miniature painting. An investigation into the distribution of styles led me long ago to conclude that Coomaraswamy had adopted a faulty basis, and I am happy to observe that Svetoslav Roerich, whose wide knowledge of the Hills — where he lived for many years — cannot be lightly disregarded, has also come to the conclusion that the distribution of styles is so complex that one cannot adopt Coomaraswamy's geographical division of the schools of Pahārī painting. Coomaraswamy, following the Gazetteers, grouped the States east of the River Rāvī as the Jalandhar Group, and those west of the Rāvī as the Dogrā Group. He thought that the former group worked in a style designated the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and the latter group in a style designated the *Jammu Kalam*. Kāngrā was always the leading state in the Jalandhar Group and later became the leading state in all the Hills. Jammu was the leading state in the Dogrā Group only from *circa* 1750 A.D. onwards. This group classification, as I have already stated, is not justified by actual investigation, and even the two main styles (*Kalams*) are not quite correctly designated. Coomaraswamy applied the term *Jammu Kalam* to a style of painting that was in sharp contrast to the *Kāngrā Kalam*. He coined the term *Jammu Kalam* for this style because he thought that this style emanated from the most powerful of the Dogrā Group of States, namely Jammu. But this surmise was wrong. Not only has later research established that the miniatures which Coomaraswamy designated as *Jammu Kalam* really came from Basohlī, but the unbroken tradition of the Hills recognizes only two principal styles, namely the *Kāngrā Kalam* and the *Basohlī Kalam*. Though the former is more famous and more widely known, even in the Hill States themselves, it is of later origin than the *Basohlī Kalam* to which one must turn for the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting. The *Basohlī Kalam* is in marked contrast to the *Kāngrā Kalam* not only in spirit, composition, and colour, but also in its human types, animal types, architecture, landscape, and in its tree and plant conventions. The two schools belong to different worlds as though it were, and yet the inspiration behind them came from the same source — the legend of the cowherd god, the divine lover.

I have already pointed out that the practice of fresco painting, as a form of decoration for the palaces and buildings of several of the Hill Rājās, must have preceded the growth of any schools of miniature painting. Judging from the earliest frescoes which have survived in the Hills, namely those of the Nurpur Thākurdvārā of Rājā Māndhātā (1661-1700 A.D.), it would appear that they are the work of artists trained in the Moghul tradition, who, due to lack of patronage

at the Emperor Aurangzeb's court, had sought employment elsewhere. It must not be thought that these artists, though trained in the Moghul technique, were the equals of those masters who had worked for the Emperors Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, during the period 1580-1650 A.D. Many of those masters were dead, many had retired, and many must have been dispersed when Shah Jehan's patronage to painters decreased. Towards the end of Shah Jehan's reign, only a handful of the 'old brigade' could have survived as active artists at the Imperial court. With Aurangzeb's accession to power, royal interest in the Imperial atelier declined still more, though portraiture, sometimes very fine, and court scenes, hunting scenes, and battle scenes of no outstanding merit, continued to be produced. But one thing which is most apparent is that from about 1650 A.D. onwards the discipline in painting which the Persian masters of the royal ateliers of Akbar and Jehangir had instilled into their pupils and fellow artists, began to disappear. It was but natural. Those younger artists who had to seek a livelihood elsewhere than in the retrenched ateliers of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb had no one to rule them firmly and guide them efficiently. In Aurangzeb's time a marked general deterioration is apparent even in the royal atelier itself. Of course, artists of the calibre of Chatarman and Anupchatar still painted in the grand old manner, but old times had changed. A bigot, albeit remarkable in his own way, Aurangzeb followed his destiny which led him far from his Imperial capital. Ironically enough he too lies buried in the Deccan, the graveyard of the Moghul Empire. No royal atelier of miniature painting could flourish in the reign of a monarch who was intolerant, lacking æsthetic sensibilities, and who spent most of his life on the Deccan battlefields. Although he had artists constantly in his entourage, as he moved from campaign to campaign, yet their work as we know it, was mediocre and provincial. Even the work of the atelier at the Imperial capital of Delhi no longer bore that hall-mark of excellence so characteristic of most miniatures produced by the artists of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan. It is a correct evaluation of the situation to say that Moghul miniature painting as a whole in Aurangzeb's time, when compared to the masterpieces of the period 1580-1650 A.D. appears to be quite mediocre and drably provincial. It is most important to appreciate this deterioration in standards, during the reign of Aurangzeb, while considering the development of the Rājasthānī and Pahārī schools. There being no great masters to set and enforce a high standard of achievement at the Imperial atelier, and there being no effective patronage and no interest from the Emperor himself, æsthetic qualities, drawing, and colouring, were all effected. When the royal atelier itself, and the studios of the Imperial city could not maintain a really praiseworthy standard, it was but natural that many of the dispersed artists, especially those who were not particularly gifted, just tamely followed the unimaginative style and products of the Imperial capital. This circumstance accounts for the more commonplace of the provincial schools of Aurangzeb's time. Most of the work of the Bikanir artists[1] is of this character. Efficient and technically competent, but not inspiring. Such also is the work of Nathu,[2] who probably worked at Bundī. While this was one result of the disintegration of the once great Imperial ateliers, there was also another result which held promise of interesting developments. Some artists with inborn originality and an appetite for colour, were often disinclined to copy the mediocre products of the Delhi studios, and sought to strike out a path of their own. In technical equipment they were often lacking, but they made up for this deficiency by ideas, and a sensitivity to rich, glowing paint. Their heritage, namely the Gujerātī style manuscript illustrations, had created this love for brilliant colour effects. It is to such painters that we must turn for the authorship of sets such as the Rājasthānī *Rāgamālās* of the Boston Museum,[3] datable not earlier than 1660 A.D. and the *Rāgamālā* of 1680 A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.[4] So also it is to such painters that we must turn for the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting in the shape of the early Basohlī school. The foregoing discussion will enable us more

[1] Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikanir*, 1950, Figs 78, 79 and 93.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 66.

[3] Colour reproductions of this *Rāgamālā* and other related sets are to be found in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 1 and 2 and Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plates 1, 2 and 3.

[4] Colour reproductions from this dated set of 1680 A.D. are to be found in the *Nehru Birthday Volume*, 1950, Plate 4 and in the Hindi art journal *Kala Nidhi*, No 2, opposite page 152.

easily to understand the provincial Moghul character of the frescoes of Rājā Māndhātā's Thākurdvārā (1661-1700 A.D.) at Nurpur. Rājā Māndhātā's fresco painters may have come from a provincial centre, or from the Imperial capital itself where sundry studios carried on work. Even the output of the Imperial capital, as already noted, was often provincial in style, when compared to the productions of the former reigns. It is therefore not possible to assert that Rājā Māndhātā's painters came from a provincial centre in Rājputānā. This Nurpur fresco style of the period 1661-1700 A.D. is not however the forerunner of the Basohlī school, though Nurpur is only 20 miles distant from Basohlī as the crow flies.

The Basohlī Kalam

The Basohlī style seems to have originated in Basohlī itself. Basohlī State was bounded on the North by Bhadrawah, on the East by Chambā and Nurpur, on the South by Lakhanpur and Jasrota, and on the West by Bhadu and Mankot. The original capital was at Balor, the ancient Vallapura, twelve miles West of Basohlī which was the later capital founded in about 1630 A.D. near the right bank of the Rāvī. Leaving aside the ancient history of Basohlī we find Rājā Krishan Pāl reigning in about 1570 A.D. He was one of the several Hill chieftains subdued in the thirty-fifth year of Akbar (1590 A.D.) who appeared at the Imperial court with valuable presents. Such were the beginnings of the contacts which Basohlī State had with the Mogul court. The old palace at Balor, and the walls and domes of its fortifications were, according to tradition, built by Krishan Pāl. They show evidence of having been erected during the Moghul period. Thus, as was the case with Nurpur, the State of Basohlī also seems to have been quick to adopt the Moghul style of architecture of Akbar's reign. Here again we find evidence of the fact that the first borrowings by the Hill States from the culture complex of the Moghul court consisted of architectural forms and designs. The art of miniature painting, and even fresco painting is of later adoption. Krishan Pāl's reign is ascribed to the period 1570-1595 A.D. The next Rājā of importance was Bhupat Pāl (1598-1635 A.D.) who founded the town of Basohlī. He was succeeded by his seven year old son Sangrām Pāl (1635-1673 A.D.) who as a boy is said to have been for a time at the Moghul court and to have caused a flutter in the Emperor's harem by his youthful beauty. The Begums who were allowed to see him were delighted by his handsome countenance and gave him rich presents. Sangrām Pāl, owing to his early association with the Moghul court, may have obtained a few paintings through Imperial favour, but it is most doubtful if he ever had the leisure to establish an atelier of artists at his own capital.[1] He fought twenty-two battles during his reign of thirty-eight years and was constantly involved in intrigues and counter-intrigues. He was followed by his younger brother Hindal Pāl (1673-1678 A.D.) who was in his turn succeeded by his son Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.).

Kirpāl Pāl's Atelier

The reign of Kirpāl Pāl is a great landmark in the history of Pahārī miniature painting because to the end of his reign are ascribed the earliest dated Pahārī miniatures so far known to exist. In the Lahore Museum; the Srinagar Museum, Kashmir; the Boston Museum; and in some private collections there are miniatures of oblong format illustrating Bhānudatta's *Chittarasamanjarī*. Several of these miniatures belong to a single extensive set while others are from closely related sets illustrating the same treatise or some other text dealing with the Hero-Heroine theme. They are marked by vitality, rich colouring, and peculiar facial types which are distinct from the facial types in Rājasthānī art. Their architecture overlaps their red borders, and actual pieces of dark green, shining beetles' wings are stuck in the painted jewellery to produce the effect of emeralds. Dealers referred to such paintings as 'Tibeti'[2], meaning pictures

[1] In *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, p. 6, Dr. Goetz states that the golden age of Basohlī painting was from the time of Sangrām Pāl but adduces no evidence in support of this assertion.

[2] Coomaraswamy was never able to find out why dealers referred to these paintings as 'Tibeti'. But the reason is quite simple to understand. It was given to me by the late Radhakrishna Bharany, that prince of Amritsar dealers, who was a grand old man in his own way and whose information about find spots was always reliable. From the Hills there was an infiltration of the Basohlī style, are known to style into Nepal and several early 18th century Nepalese scroll paintings, evidencing a variation of the Basohlī style, are known to exist. Dealers who were familiar with such scrolls regarded them as coming from Tibet, and having regard to their stylistic affinities with Basohlī painting, concluded that Basohlī miniatures were also from Tibet. Hence the name 'Tibeti' given to Basohlī miniatures.

from Tibet. Of course, they are not from Tibet. Coomaraswamy was the first to notice them in his *Rājput Painting*, 1916, where he attributed them to the Jammu school of the 17th century A.D. and rightly called them *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* pictures though he did not identify the text which they sought to illustrate. In 1926, in his *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, at page 7, Coomaraswamy still labelled these miniatures as of the Jammu school and ascribed them to the middle or late 17th century A.D. How correct this astute critic's late 17th century dating proved to be we shall presently note. With regard to the provenance of the so-called 'Tibeti' pictures, it should be noted that in the *Archæological Survey Report*, 1918-19, Part I, page 31, some late specimens of 'Tibeti' pictures in the Lahore Museum, dealing with mythological subjects from the *Durgāpātha*, had been published and ascribed to Basohlī. This ascription was based on the fact that the find spot of many of these 'Tibeti' type pictures was Basohlī. It proved to be a correct ascription. But Coomaraswamy, though he referred to this ascription, still maintained in his aforesaid catalogue that it was more likely that Jammu was the main source of such pictures. He further observed that these 'Tibeti' type pictures represented the oldest type of Pahārī art and the continuation of some older tradition. The first part of his observation, that they represented the oldest type of Pahārī art, calls for no comment; but the second part, that they represented an older tradition, has no firm basis. The miniatures which Coomaraswamy reproduced from the *Chittarasamanjarī* appear on Plates 92-96 (Figs CCC to CCCIX) of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*. They are not all from the same set, but they all belong to practically the same period and have marked stylistic similarities. Figs CCCI to CCCVII, all of which have the Sanskrit text on the reverse, form part of one set, while Fig CCCVIII which has no text, and Fig CCCIX which has a Hindi text on the reverse, are from different sets. Perhaps Fig CCC, which has a Sanskrit text, belongs to still another set. One fine example of the same period and type, which was formerly in the Treasurywala collection, is reproduced in the present volume as Plate XXIII; and another, in the Rothenstein collection, obviously from the same set as Figs CCCI to CCCVII of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, is reproduced in *Rupam* Nos. 19-20 as Fig 2 opposite page 137. Samarendranath Gupta, one time curator of the Lahore Museum, informed me that the find spot of the Lahore Museum *Chittarasamanjarī* paintings was Basohlī, according to the dealer who brought them. But no further proof of their origin was forthcoming. In 1928, the late Hirānanda Shastrī, one time Government Epigraphist, disclosed to the All India Oriental Conference held at Lahore that he had acquired a miniature from a dispersed set with the name *Chittarasamanjarī* written on it. Moreover, one leaf of this *Chittarasamanjarī* manuscript, apparently the colophon, bore the following inscription:—

1. Isvarasya rachanām khalu drashtum tuchchhatām cha jagatah parichetum
   chitta-vitta-bahu-chitra-yut=eyam kāritā hi Kirapāla-nripena

2. Vatsare nripati-Vikram-ābhide netra-bāna-muni-chandra-sammite
   Māgha-māsi sita-saptami-tithau deva-pujya-divase hi manjari

3. Airāvatī-tira-bhave suramye Visvasthalī-nāma-dhare pure cha
   Chitreshv=abhijnena hi Devidāsen=āpāri nānāvidha-chitra-yuktā

These lines may be freely translated as follows:—

"In order to see the creation of God and to realise the hollowness of the world this (*Chittarasamanjarī*), containing many pictures, (which are) the wealth (*i.e.* creation) of mind, was caused to be prepared by Rājā Kirapāla Pāla. (It was completed) on the auspicious day, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the Vikrama year (which is) counted by the eyes, the arrows, the sages and the moon, *i.e.* 1752 in the town called Vivasthalī (the modern Basohlī) which lies on the beautiful banks of the Airavatī (the modern Rāvī), by Devidāsa, who is well-versed in the art of painting."



Radha with Dutika. Kāngra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Illustration to the Gita Govinda. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay:
Size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

In 1936 Hirānanda Shastrī published the miniature acquired by him (*Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, Plate 6). It is not certain whether Shastrī's miniature belongs to any of the sets represented in the Boston Museum, Lahore Museum, and Srinagar Museum. Only a careful tally of the serial numbers, inscriptions, and sizes of the miniatures in these museums would afford an answer to this question. Tentatively, I regard Shastrī's example as part of the series to which the miniature *Parvāsī Patī* of the Lahore Museum belongs (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 97, Fig 508). The Boston Museum miniatures are however certainly contemporary with Shastrī's example. The shorter figures in the latter, can be explained as the work of an inferior assistant in Kirpāl Pāl's atelier.

Be that as it may, the inscription established that Basohlī was the provenance of such sets. It also established that the period to which they belonged was the end of the 17th century and the beginning of 18th century A.D. The inscription further established that Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694)[1] was a patron of miniature painting. A Rājā who had a series numbering at least 130 miniatures[2] prepared for him, must in all likelihood have maintained an atelier, even if a small one. The discovery of the *Chittarasamanjarī* colophon by Hirānanda Shastrī, when regarded in the light of certain other factors, leads to the conclusion that the so-called 'Tibeti' paintings of the dealers, as well as the miniatures which Coomaraswamy characterized as *Jammu Kalam*, are all products of the *Basohlī Kalam*.

The other factors which influence this conclusion are as follows:

(1) Basohlī and nearby places were repeatedly the find spot of what dealers called 'Tibeti' paintings.

(2) There exists to this day a tradition in the Hills that the two most important *Kalams* of Pahārī painting were known as *Kāngrā Kalam* and *Basohlī Kalam*.

(3) An authentic and contemporary portrait of Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī himself (Fig 58) is in the typical style which we call the *Basohlī Kalam*. There can be no doubt that Fig 58 is a contemporary portrait and not a later copy like the portrait of this prince in the Lahore Museum.[3] It has the rich, full-bodied colouring of early Basohlī art. In the late copies of the second half of the 18th century, the colour, though following the earlier tradition, is apt to be dry and lacking in depth of tone. In Fig 58 we have a man of about forty years of age, and as there is good reason to think that Kirpāl Pāl was born about 1653 A.D. his portrait (Fig 58) cannot be earlier than 1690 A.D. nor later than 1694 A.D. in which year he died.

There can be no doubt that Ajit Ghose was correct in his conclusion, which he published in a long article on the Basohlī school in *Rupam*, No. 37, page 6, that Coomaraswamy's *Jammu Kalam* was really the *Basohlī Kalam*. Since then the nomenclature *Jammu Kalam*, which Coomaraswamy mistakenly gave to the *Basohlī Kalam*, has fallen into disuse.

There was no Jammu school till *circa* 1740 A.D. when the disorder in the plains, following upon the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. made Jammu a great centre of commerce and wealth, due to an influx of traders and artisans who were all welcome. At this period of time Jammu was ruled by the wise and farsighted Ranjit Dev (1735-1781 A.D.). During the first twelve years of his regnal period he was kept captive at Lahore under the orders of the Moghul Emperor, as he had incurred the suspicion of the Moghul governor of the Punjab. During his captivity, Jammu was governed by his brother Ghansār Dev, who acted as regent. Ranjit Dev was probably released in or about 1747 A.D. on payment of a ransom, and once more assumed the reigns of government. In 1752 A.D. Ahmad Shah Durrānī invaded the Punjab which was

[1] Hutchinson and Vogel in their *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, ascribe Kirpāl Pāl's reign to 1678-1693 A.D. but the inscription establishes that Kirpāl Pāl must have lived upto at least 1694 if not 1695 A.D.

[2] Hirānanda Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, p. 8.

[3] *The Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Plate 2.

ceded to him by the Moghuls. Ranjit Dev appears to have lent support to the Afghan invader and received favours from him. With the cession of the Punjab, Moghul supremacy over the Hill States virtually came to an end, and Ahmad Shah Durrānī did not interfere with Ranjit Dev and the other Hill chieftains. Ranjit Dev soon made his power felt in the Hills and the town of Jammu prospered greatly. Ranjit Dev had a younger brother named Balvant Singh (Fig 61), who appears to have been inordinately fond of miniature painting and kept artists in his employ. Balvant Singh's atelier will be discussed in detail later on, but for the nonce, it is well to remember, that the beginnings of the Jammu school do not appear to antedate *circa* 1740 A.D. when Balvant Singh employed artists from refugee families. These artists had sought an asylum in the Hills due to the insecurity which prevailed at the Moghul capitals after Nadir Shah's orgy of plunder in 1739 A.D.

The regent Ghansār Dev appears to have followed a liberal policy in permitting refugee merchants and craftsmen from the plains to settle in Jammu, regardless of caste or creed, and Ranjit Dev on his release continued the same liberal policy. In fact, several Hill Rājās were quick to realize that their principalities stood to benefit by the influx of merchants and artisans from the plains. It is true that during the reign of Ranjit Dev's predecessor, Dhrub Dev (1703-1735 A.D.), there was a close relationship between Jammu and Basohlī, and it may accordingly be inferred by some writers that Jammu must have adopted the *Basohlī Kalam* in the time of Dhrub Dev (1703-1735 A.D.). Thus only a change of style took place with the influx of refugee artists in *circa* 1740 A.D. Such an inference is not to be regarded as far-fetched. The possibility that definite evidence to establish this and other inferences will be forthcoming cannot be ruled out. But nevertheless I would like to endorse Svetoslav Roerich's opinion that it is fallacious to think that an untold wealth of material still remains to be brought to light. It has become a fetish with certain critics to postulate wild theories about Pahārī and Rājasthānī painting under the all-embracing cloak that we are still on the fringes of discovery, and that vast dark continents lie beyond our ken. If one only pauses to think of the thousands and thousands of Pahārī miniatures, from every corner of the Hills, which Svetoslav Roerich and others, including the writer, have seen, the realization must come that even the prolific studios of the Hill Rājās could not have produced very much more in the course of a century and a half. Regard must also be paid to the fact that a good deal may have perished in the Kāngrā earthquake of 1905 A.D. and the subsequent fires in Kulu and Chambā.

Today we may regard it as firmly established that the two main *Kalams* of Pahārī miniature painting are the *Basohlī Kalam* and the *Kāngrā Kalam*. It is not suggested that every painting in the Basohlī style emanated from Basohlī itself, nor that every *Kāngrā Kalam* painting emanated from Kāngrā. That the Basohlī style influenced nearby States, as well as States further afield, is well known. *Basohlī Kalam* paintings have come from Nurpur, Mānkot, and Jasrota, amongst the neighbouring States, and also from distant Bilāspur. It is interesting to note that Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.), in whose reign the inscribed *Chittarasamanjarī* was painted by Devidāsa, married a Mānkot princess as his second wife. I have in my collection an inscribed portrait in the *Basohlī Kalam* of the blind Sital Dev of Mānkot being led by two attendants. In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 106, Fig 515, the same Rājā is shown, and the inscription on top specifically mentions his name. These portraits of Sital Dev probably belong to the mid 18th century, though this Rājā reigned in the 17th century.

It may seem a little surprising that the earliest known examples of Pahārī miniature painting should come from Basohlī, which was not a large State, and that the *Basohlī Kalam* should be regarded as one of the two leading schools of Pahārī painting. But it must be remembered that Sangrām Pāl of Basohlī (1635-1673 A.D.) had made himself a force in the Hills, and Basohlī had become a State to be reckoned with. Thus Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.) came to the throne of a small but important State with high pretensions. Maybe he maintained a royal atelier because of these pretensions, or maybe he had developed a genuine fondness for miniature painting. As the *Chittarasamanjarī*, painted by Devidāsa, is dated in the year 1694 A.D.

which was the sixteenth and last year of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, it is reasonable to assume that his atelier was founded in the eighties of the 17th century.

The so-called Basohlī Primitives

Before dealing with the work of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, I will advert to certain miniatures published by Ajit Ghose in his article in *Rupam* No. 37, Figs 1 to 5. Ghose regarded them as Basohlī primitives, and even ventured a 16th century dating! He thought they represented the beginnings of the Basohlī school. I have no doubt in my mind that Ghose fell into the not uncommon error of confusing the archaistic with the archaic. The stunted figures with clumsy large heads stuck close on to their necks; the long scarves with floral patterned ends, first seen in the reign of Shah Jehan (1628-1658 A.D.); the crude workmanship, so typical of Pahārī folk artists in the later 18th century; and the similarity between Ghose's Fig 1, and Fig 32 of the present volume, dated 1805 A.D., all go to prove that these so-called primitives are much later than the beginnings of the Basohlī school. Their red backgrounds, and the composition overlapping the margins, are features met with even in late works, and in no way affect the conclusion that they must be regarded as the products of a mid 18th century folk school imitating, in a rude fashion,[1] the courtly output of the *Basohlī Kalam.*

Derivation of the Basohlī Kalam

I have already dealt at length with the reasons why we must discountenance the existence of an older tradition of miniature painting in the Hills from which the Basohlī school could have developed. It may however be contended that an older tradition of fresco painting existed, which was the forerunner of the Basohlī school. The possibility of an entire school of fresco painting having disappeared without leaving any trace behind, is not remote in a country like India. All that one can say is that no such older tradition makes itself felt in Rājā Māndhātā's Nurpur frescoes[2] of 1661-1700 A.D. which are the earliest surviving frescoes in the Hills. Nor does the miniature painting of Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.), which is the earliest Pahārī miniature painting known to us, reveal its ancestry from some older school of fresco painting. Kirpāl Pāl's painters were quite obviously the products of the late Moghul school of Aurangzeb's time. When the known *Chittarasamanjarī* and related sets of the Kirpāl Pāl period (1678-1694 A.D.) are analysed, it will be found that they represent an already well developed art. The architectural forms are not those of Shah Jehan's or Aurangzeb's time, but of the Akbarī and Jehangirī schools. It would appear that in Kirpāl Pāl's reign the newer forms of architecture, introduced by Shah Jehan, had not taken a foothold in Basohlī. The Shah Jehan type pillars are rarely seen.[3] The wooden pillars of the pavilions in the *Chittarasamanjarī* miniatures, are simple, with fan-shaped capitals (Fig G1); the pavilion weather-shades (*chhaja*) are sharply sloping and painted in narrow vertical panels (Plate XXIII); and the domes are either severely semi-circular with wide weather-shade (Fig E1), or patterned like an inverted lotus (Fig D1), or in the form of a shallow inverted dish. Similar architectural features are seen in 17th century Rājasthānī miniatures (compare Fig D1 with Fig D; and Fig E1 with Fig E). Both Rājputānā and the Hills had derived their domestic architectural forms, in the 17th century, from the mixed Moghul style of the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir, and this style remained in vogue in most provincial centres to the end of the 17th century A.D. and even later. Its retention was to be expected because only the richest of the feudatory States could hope to keep pace with the change in architectural forms at the Imperial capital. Thus, though the Shah Jehan style of architecture, as seen at Delhi and Agra, had come into being well before 1650 A.D. the Hill States and most of the Rājasthānī States did not adopt the Shah Jehan architectural forms till the 18th century A.D. Basohlī architecture of the 17th century A.D. did not borrow its forms from Rājasthānī architecture, as some writers think, but directly from Moghul architecture. In fact, Basohlī domestic architecture of the 17th century A.D. as seen in the miniatures of Kirpāl

[1] Their colouring is dry and lacks the richness and depth of tone so characteristic of all early Basohlī painting. Some of them are now in the collection of Mrs. Shantikumar Morarjee, Bombay.

[2] There is also repainting on Rājā Māndhātā's Thākurdvārā in a much later Kāngrā style.

[3] They appear in a somewhat clumsy form in one of the *Chittarasamanjarī* miniatures of the Lahore Museum (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 97, Fig 508), and in a more graceful form in a somewhat later Basohlī miniature, Plate C herein.

Pāl's reign, is more Moghul in form than most Rājasthānī domestic architecture of the same century. The pavilions ; entrance gateways ; round pilasters supporting a lotus ; the multifoil arches; inlaid niches in the wall; and the patterned *jalīs* (stone trellis-work) — all bespeak strong Moghul influence (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 94, Fig CCCIV and Plate 95, Fig CCCVII). The point to appreciate is that Basohlī, as well as other Hill States such as Nurpur, absorbed Moghul influences in architecture and art directly from the source and not via the Rājasthānī States. Even their geographical position favoured direct influences from the source, and not via the Rājasthānī States which were south of the Imperial capitals of Lahore and Delhi. The statement[1] that '*Basohlī painting was first introduced from Rājputānā (Amber? and Bikaner?)*' is not only without any basis, but as will be seen later on is quite opposed to the data which emerges from an analysis of the Rājasthānī and Pahārī styles.

Characteristics of the Basohlī Kalam

An architectural peculiarity, seen in several Basohlī miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, is the animal or monster head projecting from the base of a pavilion (Fig G1) or from the base of an entrance gateway.[2] Now this architectural *motif* is only seen in early Basohlī art and never thereafter. Nor is it seen in the architectural forms of any other school of miniature painting, either in the Hills or in Rājputānā. A protruding gargoyle from the top of a pavilion-pillar appears in some Basohlī type miniatures and also in some Rājasthānī miniatures; but the protruding gargoyle at the base of a pavilion or gateway, is confined to the Basohlī school of the late 17th and early 18th century A.D. It is interesting to note that at Nurpur, which is only about 16 miles, as the crow flies, from Basohlī, one finds a somewhat similar *motif* in the old temple built by Rājā Bāsu (1580-1613 A.D.). The threshold at the entrance of the central chamber has a projecting grotesque animal, and the same device formed part of the threshold of the eastern entrance. In the middle of the threshold of the entrance to the sanctum, a pair of these projecting grotesque animals are again to be found. This *motif* is not Moghul in origin, and its presence in Basohlī architecture, seen in Basohlī miniatures, was doubtless inspired by similar *motifs* in Hindu temples such as the Nurpur shrine.

In the *Chittarasamanjarī* dated 1694 A.D. and many similar miniatures, the architecture dominates the picture space. This type of composition is increasingly seen in the reigns of Aurangzeb, Farruksiyar, and Mahomed Shah. The date of the *Chittarasamanjarī* accords well with the period when such compositions were in favour with Moghul miniaturists.

Other features in early Basohlī painting which evidence borrowings from Moghul miniatures are to be found in the blue and white chinaware (Plate XXIII), and the inlay panels and golden dishes (Plate XIX) placed in the multifoil arched niches of domestic residences. The carpets in early Basohlī miniatures are also of Moghul design[3] and appear to have been imported from the Moghul workshops (*karkhanas*).

With regard to the male and female types, found in the *Chittarasamanjarī* and related sets of Kirpāl Pāl's time (1678-1694 A.D.), we can discern the influence of a specific period of Moghul art, namely the late Aurangzeb period. The Hero in Plate XXIII of the present volume, as also the Hero in Plate 96, Fig CCCIX, of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, are more definitely related in type and costume to the late Aurangzeb school (1680-1707 A.D.) than to either the Shah Jehan school (1628-1658 A.D.) or the Farruksiyar school (1713-1719 A.D.). Despite the fact that the Hero in both the abovementioned miniatures is in a seated posture, it can be observed that his figure is elongated and slim. This characteristic, of elongating figures, first makes its appearance in Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707 A.D.),[4] and is continued into the Farruksiyar period (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 63). In Plate 94, Fig CCCIV of

[1] Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, 1950, p. 161.

[2] This *motif* can be seen in the miniatures reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plates 92, 95 and 96. On Plate 95, Fig CCCVII, it appears at the base of the pavilion and again at the entrance gateway. It is also to be found in the *Chittarasamanjarī* miniature dated 1694 A.D. (Hirānanda Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, Plate 6).

[3] *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 94, Fig CCCV; and Plate 96, Fig CCCIX.

[4] *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition, Delhi*, 1911, Plate 36(b) and Plate 45(b).

the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, an instance of this elongation is seen in the standing figure of Krishna. Its absence in several miniatures of the same period (*Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, Plate 6) can be accounted for by the fact that a number of miniatures, in extensive sets, must have been painted by inferior assistants of the guild-master. These inferior artists could not maintain uniformity of style.[1]

With regard to the female figures in these *Chittarasamanjarī* and related sets of the late 17th and early 18th century A.D. there are three types to be noted:

(1) The type illustrated in Plate XXIII. There is an almost wild expression on the face. Though the face in this type is invariably full of intensity, it would not be termed an elegant countenance. Nevertheless it is the most effective type, being admirably in keeping with the bold and passionate character of Basohlī art.

(2) The type illustrated in Plate 92, Fig CCCI; Plate 93, Fig CCCIII; Plate 94, Fig CCCIV; and Plate 95, Fig CCCVI, of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*. The face tends to be long and narrow, and in proportion to the width of the face a great deal of the white of the eye is seen (Enlarged Face Detail No 14). The nose, as a rule, is sharp, and the chin does not slope markedly downwards to its junction with the throat. The figure is slim, and elongated in the manner of the late Aurangzeb period miniatures The hair, forehead, ears, neck, and bosom, are all so prominently covered with a mass of elaborate jewellery that this feature instantly strikes the eye. The costume is not the usual skirt (*gāgarā*) and bodice (*cholī*), but consists of tight-fitting pyjamas (*salvār*), bodice (*cholī*), and a long, skirted, overgarment (*pesvāj*) fastening in front on the chest, and allowed to hang from the waist downwards, without any fastenings, to just below the calves. With movement, the *pesvāj* opens out on either side showing the full length of the pyjamas. This overgarment has long sleeves. Two sash ends, of finest gold weave, fall from the waist to the feet. The head is covered with a wimple (*odhnī*) elegantly draped across the bosom and one shoulder, trailing its prettily fringed ends which reach almost to the ankles. Excellent examples for noting the details of these garments are Plate 97 of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, datable to the period 1700-1720 A.D. and a similar picture belonging to N. C. Mehta which is Plate D of the present volume. Now this costume, just described, is taken almost in its entirety from a similar costume in fashion during the Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb periods [compare Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 41, Figs (a) and (b)]. This type of costume, however, is almost entirely absent in Rājasthānī miniature art of the 17th century or early 18th century A.D. The face of this second type of female figure of the *Chittarasamanjarī* sets, is not, however, derived from Moghul art. It follows the usual Basohlī convention so far as the construction of the eye is concerned.

(3) The type illustrated in Plate 92, Fig CCC of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*. It is this type, which with modifications is seen in Mānaku's *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 which will be dealt with later. It is more rounded than the second type, and not so fierce and ungainly as the first type. Its derivation from certain female types of the Aurangzeb period is apparent (Fig B).

These three female types, described above, can be regarded as the standard types of the Basohlī school, though ofcourse variations are to be found. In fact the Basohlī school was so conservative that later Basohlī work is not always easy to distinguish from earlier work. One feature often met with in the female types seen in Basohlī miniatures deserves particular notice. In Plate XXIII, for instance, the *Nāyikā* (Heroine) has her hair falling in strands over her shoulders. See also Plate XXII. A still better example which illustrates this characteristic (Fig B1) is Mr. French's well known picture of Krishna seated on a throne attended by

[1] An excellent illustration of this elongation is to be found in the figure of the attendant to the right in *Rupam*, Nos 19-20, Fig 2, opp. p. 137. This miniature from the Rothenstein collection is from the same series as the examples reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plates 93, 94 and 95. The elongation of figures is also seen in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, Plate 10. Subsidiary figures are sometimes conciously shortened (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 3).

gopīs (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 1). It is not far removed in date from the *Chittarasa-manjarī* sets and may be ascribed to the early 18th century A.D. It is thus more or less coeval in point of time with the beginnings of the *Basohlī Kalam*. Now this characteristic of strands of hair falling over the shoulders is rarely seen in Rājasthānī miniature painting of the late 17th or early 18th century A.D. But it did come into vogue in Moghul painting in the late Aurangzeb period and it is obvious that the early Basohlī artists borrowed this fashion, of allowing the hair to fall in strands over the shoulder, from the Moghul miniaturists of the Aurangzeb school. The Basohlī artists, however, in adopting this fashion, made the strands of hair much longer. The difference in treatment is illustrated by Figs B1 and B. Apart from the inscribed *Chittarasa-manjarī* set and the fine portrait of Kirpāl Pāl (Fig 58), we do not know for certain what else was produced by Kirpāl Pāl's painters. But it is quite likely that they painted more than one *Chittarasamanjarī* series and also painted *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII); *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XXII); *Love Scene* (Plate XIX) and the magnificent *Krishna and Rādhā on the Banks of the Jamnā* (Plate XX) which was formerly in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection. *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (reproduced in colour as Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938) is a work of such primitive grandeur that one would be tempted to place it earlier than Kirpāl Pāl's reign. But I do not think it is feasible to assign the beginnings of the Basohlī school to an earlier reign, and this masterpiece must therefore be regarded as a product of Kirpāl Pāl's atelier till more evidence is forthcoming.

That *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII) and *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XXII) are contemporary can be seen from a comparison of the male and female types in these two miniatures. The resemblances are too obvious to require description. The contemporaneity of *Love Scene* (Plate XIX) with the *Chittarasamanjarī* sets can also be seen by comparing it with Plate 93, Figs CCCII and CCCIII, of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*. An analysis of the male and female types will reveal how closely related these three miniatures are, while the architectural settings are also similar. *Love Scene* (Plate XIX) is a particularly fine rendering of the *Nāyikā* theme and one of the best examples of its period. It has no inscription at the back, but it obviously portrays a *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* situation and may belong to one of the *Chittarasamanjarī* sets of Kirpāl Pāl's time. In any event it could not be later than the early 18th century A.D. Its vivid contrast of red and black, accords well with the passionate lovers who gaze almost fiercely at each other. The dark room and painted niches are lit up by the flare of a torch carried by one of the girl-attendants, and at the same time a ruddy glow is cast over the faces of the Hero and the Heroine.

Equally intense, though wrought in a different mood, is *Krishna and Rādhā on the Banks of the Jamnā* (Plate XX). Rādhā's face (Enlarged Face Detail No. 9) is a variation of the first basic type represented by the face of the Heroine in *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII). But it appears to be an unusual variation which is never seen in any later period Basohlī miniatures. Plate XX is not likely to post-date the last decade of the 17th century A.D. and its colour organization and its colour rhythm are unequalled in the whole range of Basohlī miniature painting.

In Plate XX and also in *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938) one notes that Basohlī art, in addition to its characteristic facial types and warm vivid colour contrasts, had at its very inception formulated three other conventions which are peculiar to this school and which constantly reappear in later Basohlī miniatures. These three conventions are :

(1) The delineation of a forest or grove by a circle of trees occupying the main picture space. The *dramtis personnæ* are placed within this circle. This convention is seen even in a somewhat later example such as *Krishna and Gopas Playing Blindman's Buff* (Fig 19), which is attributable to the middle of the 18th century A.D.

(2) The marked stylization of tree forms. There are two usual forms. The first is a tree which has the appearance of a circular, many-petalled, Dahlia flower. It is furnished with either

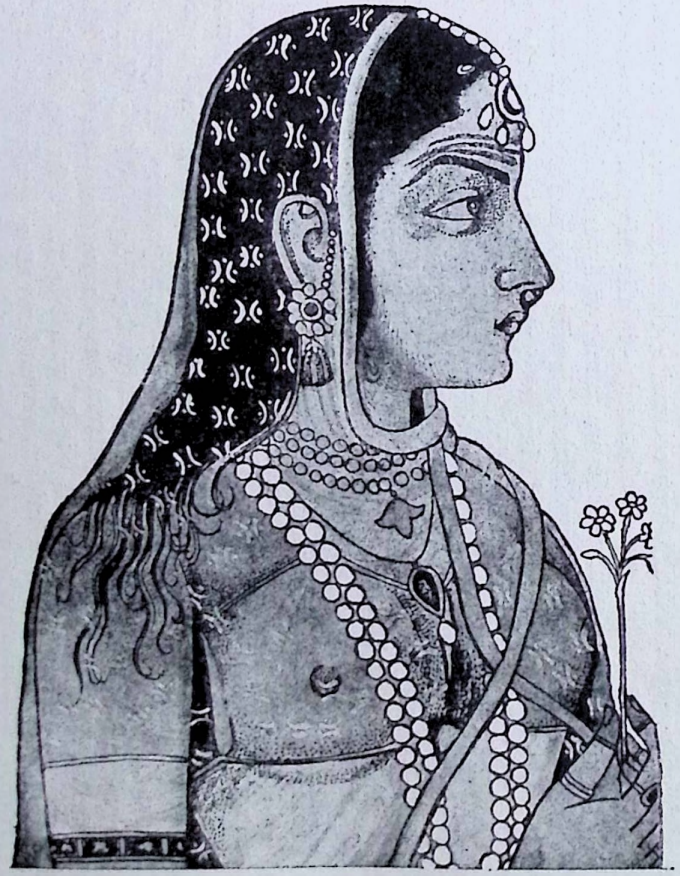

Fig. B. Moghul School, Aurangzeb period, late 17th or early 18th century A.D. The hair falls in separate strands along the shoulder.

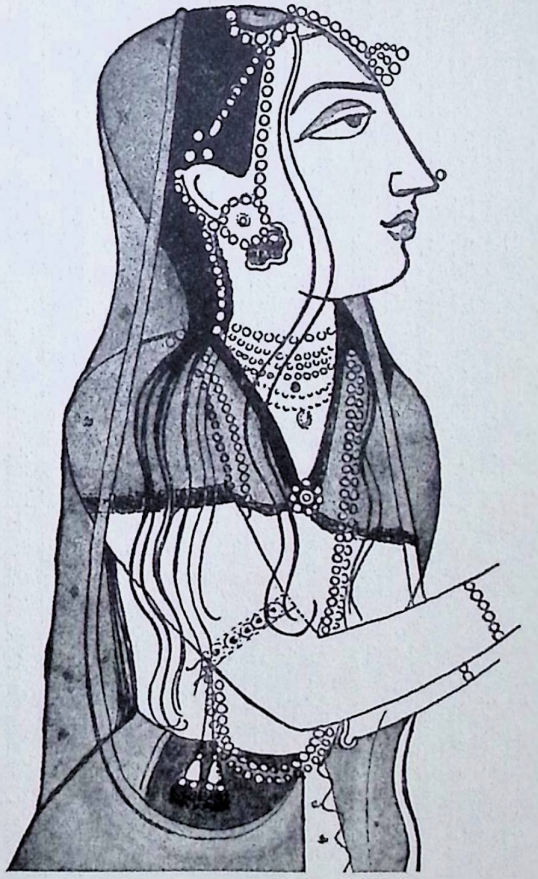

Fig. B1. Basohli School, post-Kirpal Pal period, *circa* 1705-1710 A.D. The hair falls in separate strands along the shoulder and also across the cheek. The device is derived from Moghul miniatures of the Aurangzeb period such as Fig B.

a short thick trunk (Fig J3) or long narrow stem (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 22). The second form is an oval with the leaves drawn within the oval (Fig L1). Numerous instances of both forms, and their variations, are to be seen in Plate XX and Fig 19, but the Dahlia form with the long, narrow, stem-like trunk, is not depicted in these two miniatures.

(3) Stylization in the delineation of cattle (Fig H2). This stylization can be seen in the forms of the sleeping cattle in Plate XX, and more suitably in *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938). It should be noted that in keeping with the intense, passionate, wide-eyed faces of men and women in Basohlī art, even the cattle are not the gentle, well-rounded kine so characteristic of the Indian scene as depicted in Kāngrā miniatures (Fig H5). They have lean, narrow bodies, set on rather high legs; and their small, narrow heads, with somewhat wild eyes, are usually turned upwards as though in search of their beloved friend Krishna. In some miniatures, where Krishna is shown in the midst of a herd, the upturned heads gazing at him are meant to indicate the adoration which even the cattle of Braj had for the divine cowherd.

A Period of Experiment

There is no doubt that Basohlī miniature painting is a highly stylized form of art, but at the same time it is vital and full of primitive strength. One question that defies an entirely satisfactory solution is how the Basohlī school came to adopt its peculiar facial types; its distinctive colour organisation; and its primitive conventions, despite the fact that it was largely influenced by Moghul painting of the late 17th century A.D. That the head of Kirpāl Pāl's atelier was an artist trained in the Aurangzeb school admits of little doubt. Whether he was the artist Devidāsa of the *Chittarasamanjarī*, or another artist, it is not possible to say. But he appears to have been an experimentalist. He was familiar with the painting of the Aurangzeb period because he had been trained in that school, and he also appears to have been familiar with the Rājasthānī schools which during the years *circa* 1650-1680 A.D. were producing primitive looking miniatures of the type of the Boston Museum *Rāgamālā* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plates 1-9) and the *Rāgamālā* dated 1680 A.D. of the Indian National Museum (*Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Figs 24 and 25). But the head of Kirpāl Pāl's atelier was not a painter in the Rājasthānī style. Had it been otherwise, that fact would have revealed itself in a variety of details. On the other hand his training in the Moghul style of Aurangzeb's days is instantly apparent. At the same time he was a man well-versed in Vaishnava literature and suffused with its spirit and apparently felt that glowing colour effects and more vigorous human types than those seen in Moghul painting were required to capture the passionate atmosphere of the Krishna legend. It was a period of innovations in many provincial centres, and a painter of genius was not likely to be content with reproducing what he had learnt in the school of Aurangzeb. There is no reason to think that a sensitive artist of those days would not be alive to the fact that even the crude *Bālagopālastutī* manuscript illustrations of the Gujarātī school, or those of the transition period, as seen in the *Gīta Govinda* of the Gujerat Vernacular Society and the *Bhāgavata Dasamaskanda* dated 1610 A.D. (*Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3), were more in the spirit of Vaishnava literature than any refined Moghul painting could be. He may well have been familiar with such manuscript illustrations which were not far removed from his own times. He possibly borrowed the idea of a strong red or yellow monochrome background from some such transition period manuscript, or from the work of some Rājasthānī school such as that of Udaipur which had already produced the great *Bhāgavata* of 1648 A.D. now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (*Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3). His fondness for painting trees to a formal pattern may have been derived from similar sources (compare Fig J3 with Fig J2; and Fig L with Fig L1). In his hands, however, the shapes of trees seen in Rājasthānī miniatures, underwent many variations. So also his manner of stylizing cattle may be traced to some Rājasthānī source, which in its turn evolved the formula from Gujerātī manuscript illustrations (compare Figs H and H1 with H2). But in the construction of his human types he indicates his debt to the Moghul art of the Aurangzeb period, to which the costumes also belong. The characteristic formulas employed by

him for drawing female faces were largely of his own fashioning, though a type such as the Heroine in *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII) may have been suggested by types similar to those seen in the Boston Museum's Rājasthānī *Rāgamālā* set, datable about 1660 A.D. (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5,* Plates 1-9). The male types in Basohlī painting, however, are entirely different from those seen in Rājasthānī painting of the period 1610-1700 A.D. If one compares the inelegant squat, *jāmā*-clad male figures, of the Boston Museum *Rāgamālā* series (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5,* Plates 3, 5 and 7) with the elongated and more refined male figures in Basohlī art as seen in Plates XXII and XXIII of the present volume, the difference is immediately apparent. Moreover the faces of the Boston Museum *Rāgamālā* male figures with their dowdy, stare, lack the bold and intense expressions seen in the *Chittarasamanjarī* paintings (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5,* Plate 92, Fig CCCI; Plate 93; Plate 94; and Plate 95, Fig CCCVI).

The formula for delineating a forest by means of a circle of trees occupying the main picture space (Plate XX and Fig 19), is peculiar to Basohlī art, and is constantly employed. One does not find this formula in Rājasthānī art of the 17th century A.D. except in those illustrations to the *Bhāgavata* which depict Krishna swallowing the forest fire. Therein the forest is shown by a circle of trees. It is just possible that the Basohlī formula of a circle of trees was adopted from a 17th century Rājasthānī *Bhāgavata* illustration, and was thereafter employed whenever a forest or grove had to be delineated. But it is also possible that the formula was conceived directly, without any outside influence. After all it is a formula which might easily suggest itself to an artist seeking to formalize the various elements of his composition. This formula is seen, for instance, in a Gujerātī style manuscript illustration of the 16th century A.D. (Fig A). The tendency to symbolize and formalize has been inherent in the Indian artist for centuries.



Fig. A. Circle of trees to depict a forest. From a Jain MSS. illustration of the 16th century A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

The phenomenon of Basohlī art, being at its very inception (1678-1694 A.D.) a complete synthesis, is best explained on the hypothesis outlined above.

An interesting fact to note is that in some early Basohlī miniatures, such as *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XXII) and *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII), the male figure is strikingly in the manner

of Moghul painting of the Aurangzeb period, and the stylization of the face which is observed in *Love Scene* (Plate XIX), *Kirpāl Pāl* (Fig 58), and *Portrait of a Hill Prince* (Fig 36), is absent. But at the same time it is curious to note that the female figures in both Plates XXII and XXIII, referred to above, are completely in the Basohlī idiom. It is not difficult to perceive how Kirpāl Pāl's painters, in the process of evolving the *Basohlī Kalam*, often mixed together the new outlook, which the guild-master of the atelier was striving to achieve, with the older background of their training in the Moghul school of the Aurangzeb period.

I have already dealt with the theory, advanced by some writers, that Basohlī miniature painting was derived from some older tradition in the Hills. But such a theory is contrary to every legitimate inference which can be drawn from the known facts and the stylistic features of Basohlī art. There is one aspect of the matter, however, which requires further investigation. It is well known that the figures in several Nepalese scrolls[1] of the early 18th century A.D. show similarities to the male and female types in Basohlī painting. With the spread of the Basohlī school the style may have reached Nepal in the first two decades of the 18th century. But what are the possibilities that it was a style from Nepal which fused with the Moghul style of the Aurangzeb school to produce the *Basohlī Kalam* ? We know that Pratab Malla of Nepal had many pandits, writers, and artists at his court, and there is a record that in 1657 A.D. he placed in Pau Bahal a painting of figures engaged in churning the ocean. This painting, probably a scroll, was directed to be taken out on great festival days. Whether such paintings were different from the usual Buddhist banners of that period is not known. The discovery of such mid-17th century scrolls may throw some light on the origin of the types adopted by Kirpāl Pāl's atelier.

But the conclusion, that the beginnings of Pahārī miniature art do not antedate *circa* 1675 A.D. would remain unaffected, no matter whether the types peculiar to Basohlī were influenced by mid-17th century Nepalese painting, or were independently evolved by Kirpāl Pāl's artists. The available evidence establishes :

(1) that there was no pre-Moghul school of miniature painting in the Hills.

(2) that the earliest known Pahārī miniatures, namely those of Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.), were influenced by Moghul painting of the Aurangzeb period (1658-1707 A.D.).

(3) that the earliest Pahārī miniatures were not derived from Rājasthānī miniature painting.

(4) that the influence of the Moghul schools of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, which is so pronounced in Rājasthānī painting at every stage of its development in the 17th century, is not to be found in Pahārī miniatures. No earlier influence than that of the school of Aurangzeb is traceable in Pahārī painting.

This influence, as already observed, is seen (a) in the frequent elongation of figures, both male and female, in early Basohlī art ; (b) in certain male types (Plates XXII and XXIII), and in the fashions adopted for their *jāmās*, *pagrees*, and *patkās* ; (c) in the striped *salvārs*,[2] muslin *pesvāj*, narrow *patkās*, narrow *odhnīs*, and curved slippers[3] worn by ladies and their attendants ; and (d) in a particular mode of coiffure (Fig B1).

Had the beginnings of Pahārī miniature art antedated *circa* 1675 A.D., then it is fairly certain that the characteristic *chākdār jāmā* (four or six pointed) of the Akbar period would have made its appearance in Pahārī painting. But there is not a single Pahārī miniature known

[1] *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 42.
Boston Museum Bulletin, Vol. 18, No. 106, p. 15.

[2] The striped *salvār* came into vogue during the Aurangzeb period (1658-1707 A.D.) and was also in fashion during Farruksiyar's reign (1713-1719 A.D.).

[3] The curved slippers worn by a Moghul lady of the mid-17th century as illustrated in Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 41 (b), should be compared to similar slippers worn by the *Virahini* in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1920, Plate 97.

to me in which the *chākdār jāmā* is seen. At the Moghul court this type of *jāmā* continued to be worn in Jehangir's reign (1605-1628 A.D.), and though it went out of fashion in Shah Jehan's time (1628-1658 A.D.) it made an occasional appearance in Moghul miniatures of that period. But in the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.) it disappeared altogether. In Rājasthānī miniature painting, the beginnings of which are attributable to *circa* 1600 A.D. the *chākdār jāmā* is constantly seen, and it continued in vogue in the Rājasthānī schools even after it lost favour at the Moghul court during the reign of Shah Jehan. This was due to the fact that the provincial centres of Rājasthān did not discard the fashion of the *chākdār jāmā*, till at least 1670 A.D., if not somewhat later. It appears in one of the miniatures of the great *Bhāgavata Purāna*,[1] painted at Udaipur in 1648 A.D. and in several other Rājasthānī sets,[2] contemporary therewith, or attributable to the period 1650-1680 A.D. It is not seen however in the *Rāgamālā* set of 1680 A.D.[3] in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Having regard to the fact that the Pahārī Rājās copied all the fashions of the Moghul court, there can be no doubt that the *chākdār jāmā* must have been worn in the Hills till at least 1650 A.D. just as in Rājasthān. But by the time the Pahārī Rājās became sufficiently interested in miniature painting to maintain ateliers of their own, the fashion of the *chākdār jāmā* had completely disappeared from the Hill courts. That is the reason why the *chākdār jāmā* is never seen in Pahārī painting and its absence lends considerable support to the theory that the beginnings of Pahārī miniature art are not likely to antedate the reign of Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.) to which the earliest known Pahārī miniatures belong.

It should further be noted that neither the small, flat, tightly bound *atpatī* turban of the Akbar period,[4] nor the larger, loosely wound turban of the Jehangir period,[5] is seen in Pahārī miniature painting, though both varieties are found in the work of the Rājasthānī schools during the period 1610-1650 A.D.[6] That these two types of *pagree* were also in use in the Hill States during the same period, is certain. In fact, a copy[7] of a portrait of Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī (1598-1635 A.D.) in the Lahore Museum, doubtless from a Moghul original, shows this Rājā wearing a loosely wound turban such as Jehangir favoured. The absence in Pahārī miniatures, of the Akbar period *atpatī* turban, and also of the loosely wound turban affected in Jehangir's reign, is a further indication that no school of miniature painting existed in the Hills in the first half of the 17th century A.D.

In the Akbar and Jehangir periods a common device in Moghul painting was the shadow under the armpits, but it is rarely seen in the reign of Shah Jehan (1628-1658 A.D.). This device was also adopted in Rājasthānī painting and was in use till *circa* 1650-1670 A.D.[8] Its appearance is rare in Pahārī art, but it is not entirely absent. It is seen, for instance, in the *Portrait of a Hill Prince* (Fig 36) datable to *circa* 1700 A.D. Having regard to the late commencement of the *Pahārī Kalam*, one would not normally have expected to find this device in Pahārī painting. But it must be remembered that this armpit shadow is only a technical *cliche*, and may well have been adopted by a Pahārī artist from some Moghul or Rājasthānī miniature of the first half of the 17th century. Its appearance therefore in Pahārī painting affords no basis on which to conclude that Pahārī schools existed during the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir. In Fig 36, the elongation of the figure in the manner of the Aurangzeb school, is most noticeable, despite the fact that the prince is seated.

More Devices and Conventions

In almost all the miniatures of the early Basohlī school of Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.), as well as in later work, one finds an unusual technical device. Minute particles of shining, dark

1 *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, *Leaves from Rājasthān*, by Karl Khandalavala.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.* But it appears in a closely related set of the *Amaru Sataka* in the Prince of Wales Musuem, Bombay.
4 Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 7.
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 21 (b).
6 *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 7.
7 *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Plate 2.
8 *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 7, 55.

green beetle's wings are gummed on to the paper to represent emeralds in necklaces, armlets, bracelets, crowns, etc. These particles rarely get detached from the paper. The device is not an unpleasing one when used with restraint, even if it may be regarded as an over-elaboration. But what is important to remember is that this device is a feature of Basohlī miniature painting from its very inception. There is no basis for the belief, prevalent amongst earlier writers, that the use of beetle's wings indicates a later phase of the Basohlī school. The *Chittarasamanjarī* paintings of 1694 A.D. display this device, and even *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938) which must also belong to Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.), has beetle's wings introduced into crowns and jewellery. The beetle's wings device has always been thought to be unknown to Rājasthānī painting, but Svetoslav Roerich has some portraits from Kotah State which show this device in the jewellery. But as the Kotah portraits are of the 18th century A.D. the appearance of the beetle's wings device in them does not help us to determine the source from which the earliest Basohlī painters adopted this conceit. Another device seen in Basohlī miniatures, namely of representing pearls by thick, raised blobs of white paint, appears also in Rājasthānī painting. It is however so obvious a method that it is not necessary to conclude that one school borrowed it from another.

All Basohlī miniatures are framed in by broad red borders though occasionally a yellow or blue border is also seen. The picture frequently intrudes on to the border as in *Love Scene* (Plate XIX), *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XXII), *Blindman's Buff* (Fig 19), and *Madhyā Dhirā Nāyikā* (Fig 51). Inscriptions, either in white ink (Fig 8), or black ink (Figs 51 and 52), often appear on these borders. These inscriptions, which are in the nature of name-labels, are generally in Tankrī characters. Tankrī is not confined to the Dogrā States but is met with all over the Punjab Hills, except perhaps in Simla District. Several varieties exist. That of Jammu is called *Dogrī*. These inscriptions are as a rule corruptly written and difficult to decipher. Sometimes there are Sanskrit texts on the reverse of Basohlī miniatures in Nāgarī characters (see Facsimile Inscription No 3). Instances of Hindi texts in Tankrī characters are also known.[1] The intrusion of the picture on to the borders is not necessarily a sign of early work. One finds this intrusion in *Blindman's Buff* (Fig 19) which is attributable to the middle of the 18th century A.D. But from 1730 A.D. onwards the general trend in Basohlī painting was to confine the picture within the borders.

Another feature of the Basohlī school is the method of depicting the sky as a narrow, blue strip with white clouds, at the very top of the picture. This convention, which persists in both early and late work, can be seen in Plates D, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXII and XXIII, and in Figs 19, 33, 34 and 51. In night scenes the blue of the sky is very dark. When falling rain has to be shown, the device employed is a series of short strokes of white paint in parallel lines from the sky to the foreground. This device is seen in *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII). The same device is to be found in Rājasthānī *Nāyikā* paintings of the third quarter of the 17th century A.D.

Aesthetic Merits—Plate XXIII; Plate XXII; and Plate XX

The aesthetic merits of the early Basohlī miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's time 1678-1694 A.D. are uniformly high. It was a period of intensive creative activity and experiment, conducive to the formulation of new ideas. Hence the creations of this period possess that fresh vigour, vitality in every glance and gesture, pulsating colour, and high strung rhythm, which so often characterize the beginnings of a truly significant movement in art. In miniatures such as *Love Scene* (Plate XIX); *Krishna and Rādhā* (Plate XX); *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XXII); *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII); and *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (Plate 10 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938), which last named is perhaps the supreme masterpiece of Basohlī art, we see the high water-mark of early Basohlī painting.

In *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII) the figure of the Heroine dominates the scene. She has lifted her prettily embroidered skirt to avoid the rain sodden earth. How feminine

1. See Coomaraswamy's notes in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, page 174, in his description of Plate 96.

a gesture when her bare bejewelled feet have carried her a long way in utter disregard of the darkness and torrential rain! On her face is writ large her determination to let nothing deter her from keeping her tryst with her paramour. He, by contrast, elegantly seated in his sheltered pavilion, with his *jāmā* unloosened in front, is not a little surprised at his beloved's passionate devotion to him—a devotion that can overcome every obstacle and every terror of the night. The artist has cleverly employed the dandified Hero as a foil to accentuate the merits of the Heroine.

He only knows what riches are whose love comes to him from afar,
Whose arms that dearest form unfold while yet with rain it's wet and cold.

This is the supreme triumph of love when hearth and home and marital bonds all seem of little consequence, and the *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* in obedience to an overpowering passion, goes to him whom she loves. There is no pausing to think if he is worthy or not of her affection and devotion. She has made him her God, and doubt must never cross the minds of those who worship Ghanasyama (the God Krishna). The *Abhisārikā Nāyikās* of the *Kāngrā Kalam* artists are far more beautiful than the *Basohlī Kalam* Heroine of Plate XXIII. They are delicate creatures, gracefully terror-stricken as they flee to their tryst through the terrible night. But the Basohlī Heroine, with her gaunt form and passionate glance is like a primeval goddess towering over the elements, never doubting that she will reach her journey's end.

Dāna Līlā (Plate XXII), again typifies the spirit of Basohlī art, but this time in the sphere of fun and frolic. A young gallant waylays the milkmaidens, just as Krishna used to do, demanding his toll. The theme which was very popular in Indian miniature painting has been treated in a variety of ways (Plate XV and Figs 9, 16 and 47). The Basohlī artist has handled the theme with more than usual vigour. The gallant has snatched away the *odhnī* (wimple) of one of the girls, and thrown down her earthen pot. She, out of modesty, tries to draw her companion's *odhnī* around her, and at the same time complains of the gallant's improper behaviour. One of the girls in the rear, accuses the gallant, but the young man is in an amorous mood and determined to obtain his toll, probably of a kiss, before returning the garment. The varying expressions of anger, resentment, and amazement on the faces of the four girls are finely rendered despite the fact that all the faces conform to a single type. The extreme simplicity of the composition, set against a rich ochre background, and the absence of all complicatons and accessories, has given this miniature its unfailing appeal. I do not know that a more effective *Dāna Līlā* exists in Pahārī painting.

Krishna and Rādhā on the Banks of the Jamnā (Plate XX) has been regarded by all critics who have seen it as one of the most beautiful Basohlī miniatures which has hitherto come to light. Its fascination is largely due to its brilliant colour orchestration and the naive handling of the theme. At the foot of a little knoll in the forest, which is depicted by a circle of trees, sit the two lovers amorously gazing at each other. There is a suggestion of demureness in Rādhā's attitude as she draws her *odhnī* (wimple) closer round her body, but the bold-eyed Krishna has no inhibitions. His ardour is candid, his approach passionate and direct. He is little disposed to indulge in the art of subtle wooing. In the quiet of the forest where only gaily plumed birds flit from one colourful mass of foilage to another, Rādhā surrenders to the blue God.

And when he fixed his gaze upon my breasts
I turned my back on Harī, and sat me down,
But cunning Madhava scanned my body with smiling face,
The body I sought to hide would not be hidden.
—*Vidyāpatī.*

Beyond the forest, on the bank of the Jamnā, a cowherd has spread his wrap and fallen asleep fanned by the cool breeze which gently ruffles the lazy river. A white cow, whose colour balances the white frill of Rādhā's skirt, also sleeps near the cowherd, while another with upraised head

scents the air as though it had an intimation of Krishna's presence in the forest. The same theme, as depicted by a Kāngrā artist, is reproduced on Plate VI, where the lovers sit on a bed of leaves. It has much grace and charm, qualities always predominant in the *Kāngrā Kalam*, but it lacks the throbbing colour rhythm, the forceful drawing, and the almost primitively emotional approach, which all combine to elevate the Basohlī masterpiece to a much higher plane of aesthetic achievement.

The Post-Kirpāl Pāl Period

Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.) was succeeded by Dhirāj Pāl (1694-1725 A.D.). That Kirpāl Pāl's atelier must have been continued by Dhiraj Pāl is more than likely. Though we possess no dated Basohlī miniatures between 1694 and 1729 A.D. nevertheless there is enough material to warrant the conclusion that the Basohlī school flourished during this period. We can trace a continuation of the style which was evolved during Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.). It has lost something of the primitive ardour which had characterized the beginnings of the school, but such a development is not altogether surprising. Of course, there must be paintings of the early years of Dhiraj Pāl's reign (1694-1725 A.D.) which are indistinguishable from those of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, but there are also certain types of miniatures which it is safer to date nearer 1720-1725 A.D. than 1700 A.D. For one thing, the female type with the long, narrow face and sharp nose (Enlarged Face Detail No. 14), does not remain in vogue much after Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.). A miniature such as the exquisite *Virahinī* (*Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, Plate 97), where this abovementioned type is seen, could hardly be later than 1710 A.D., though, to provide for a margin of error, I have dated the Enlarged Face Detail No. 14 to the period 1700-1720 A.D. There is more elegance in the *Virahinī* miniature, and more suavity in the handling of its composition, than is found in the *Chittarasamanjarī* set of the Boston Museum where the same type of female figure appears in several miniatures (in particular Plate 93, Fig CCCIII; and Plate 94, Fig CCCIV, of the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*). The clouds for instance in the *Virahinī* miniature, with their precise net-work like design, are a distinct advance in form on the strip of sky and blotches of white cloud seen in *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII), and in the *Chittarasamanjarī* miniatures of the Boston Museum. The introduction of the delicate spray-like tree in the *Virahinī* miniature is another departure from the formalization of Kirpāl Pāl's atelier (1678-1694 A.D.), while the pose of the *Virahinī* herself, holding a flower in her right hand, in the approved Moghul manner, is a hearkening back to the Moghul standards of elegance. Nevertheless the *Virahinī* miniature of the Boston Museum is fairly close to the beginning of the 18th century A.D. which is the date rightly ascribed to it by Coomaraswamy in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, at page 175 thereof. The same, or a sightly later date must be ascribed Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Princess in a Garden* (Plate D) which is similar to the Boston Museum *Virahinī*. Whether these two paintings are meant to portray *Virahinīs* or are merely representations of a princess, idling her hours in a garden, accompanied by a maid, is difficult to say in the absence of labels on these miniatures. But I incline to the view that both these paintings belong to a category of pictures made expressly for the delectation of the royal *zenana* of Dhiraj Pāl (1694-1725 A.D.), and represent a facet of the daily life of secluded ladies of high estate. With the atelier well established, there must have been an increasing demand, in Dhiraj Pāl's time and thereafter, for such miniatures where the subject-matter was of higher interest to the occupants of the *zenana*, than the Krishna legend. A similar category of pictures which depict women bathing, playing games, or at their toilet, etc., are found in Kāngrā, Rājasthānī, and Moghul art. It was a development to be expected at any court possessing a firmly organized and considerable atelier. It is of interest to note that there is an inscription on a Moghul painting of the saint Shah Mard, in the Indian National Museum, which states that it was given by the Emperor Jehangir to the Empress Nur Jehan as a present in his second regnal year.

To the post-Kirpāl Pāl period also belongs the late Mr. J. C. French's well-known and frequently reproduced *Krishna and Maidens* (French, *Himālayan Art*, 1931, Plate 1). This delightful miniature is representative of a style which was the forerunner of many later Basohlī

paintings. These, however, often lack the gay spontaneity of Mr. French's masterpiece. The female type in *Krishna and Maidens* is derived from one of the types of the Kirpāl Pāl period (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 92, Fig CCC). The faces of the maidens in Mr. French's miniature (Fig BI) are really a mixture, albeit a charming one, of the three types of female faces seen in the Kirpāl Pāl period and already described at length. This new variation of the female face in Basohlī painting, became a standard type till *circa* 1730 A.D. The bridge of the nose is almost in a straight line with the sloping forehead; the back of the head is pronouncedly egg-shaped; and the *odhnī* (scarf) covers only the extreme rear of the head. The wild-eyed expressions of earlier Basohlī art have been softened down, though the faces are not lacking in intensity. The tresses hang loose over the shoulders in strands, and one or two wisps of hair fall along the cheek. This conceit can be traced back to figures such as that of the Heroine in *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (Plate XXIII), though in Dhiraj Pāl's time (1694-1725 A.D.) it is more gracefully effected (Fig BI).

Another well-known Basohlī miniature of the same period is the lovely *Rāga Vinoda*[1] of the South Kensington Museum, which was formerly in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose. It has been reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 37, opposite page 15; in Basil Gray's *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate I; and in the *Connoisseur*, 1948.

In attributing this miniature, *Rāga Vinoda*, to the end of Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1694 A.D.) I think Basil Gray[2] has somewhat antedated it. It is contemporary with Mr. French's *Krishna and Maidens* and reveals the same female types and faces which, on stylistic grounds, appear to be of the post-Kirpāl Pāl period and must have been evolved about a decade later than 1694 A.D. I would therefore attribute *Rāga Vinoda* and Mr. French's miniature to *circa* 1705-1720 A.D.

Rāgamālā and Nāyaka-Nāyikā circa 1720 A.D.

Following on the style just discussed, but probably closer to 1720 A.D. than to 1700 A.D. comes an extensive[3] *Rāgamālā* set. An example from this set, *Rāginī Devagirī*, is reproduced as Fig 52. Several examples from the same set as Fig 52, and also from similar but perhaps slightly later sets, are reproduced on Plates 32 to 34 of *The Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*. Another example from the set to which Fig 52 belongs, is reproduced by Ajit Ghose as Fig 8 of his article on Basohlī Painting in *Rupam*, No. 37, and still another from the same or a related series is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 21). The *Gujarī Rāginī* belonging to this category[4] (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 33, Fig LXXIV) proclaims its ancestry from miniatures such as Mr. French's *Krishna and Maidens* (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate I). But a stiffness has crept into all these later *Rāgamālā* paintings. The female figures, with a few marked exceptions, tend to be either rigidly elongated or formal (Fig 52). However the construction of the face, and the mannerism of the egg-shaped back of the head, still persist in imitation of the *gopīs* in Mr. French's *Krishna and Maidens*. The expressions, on the faces of the women in the later *Rāgamālā* sets (Fig 52) though quaint are queerly frozen, and somewhat in contrast to the eager countenances in the South Kensington Museum's *Rāga Vinoda* and Mr. French's *Krishna and Maidens*. Some of the miniatures from these later *Rāgamālā* sets are finer than others, and an example such as *Gujarī Rāginī* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 33, Fig LXXI) is particularly attractive. The practice of painting *Rāgamālā* sets appears to have become popular in Basohlī art during the first quarter of the 18th

[1] Basil Gray in his *Rājput Painting*, 1948, p. 24, states that the inscription on this miniature appears (according to Dr. G. D. Barnett) to be the name of a painter Viradatta son of Ujjvaladatta. In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 126, Item 50, Gray again relies on Dr. Barnett's reading of the inscription and further describes the miniature as an illustration to the *Rasa manjari* of Bhānudatta. But there is no doubt that Dr. Barnett has failed to correctly decipher this Tankrī inscription which clearly reads *Rāga Vinoda Hindola da putra* = *Rāga Vinoda* son of *Hindola*. The miniature is therefore a *Rāgamālā* illustration and has nothing to do with the *Rasamanjari*.

[2] Basil Gray, *Rājput Painting*, p. 24.

[3] This set includes not only *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs*, but also the variations termed the sons of the *Rāgas*, and therefore its number must be much in excess of 36 miniatures.

[4] The Boston Musuem *Rāgamālā* examples could not be far removed in time from each other. Though *Rāga Vinoda* (Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate I) appears to be earlier than any of the Boston Musuem examples, it may transpire that it is a contemporary painting. The quality of work in one and the same series often differed widely.

century A.D. The inclusion of even the sons of the *Rāgas* in these sets indicates that someone particularly interested in musical modes commissioned them. It may have been Dhiraj Pāl himself, but we have no information as to his love for music or otherwise.

To the post-Kirpāl Pāl period, and also dating somewhere between 1700-1725 A.D. is to be ascribed a series of *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* paintings (Fig 51), probably from different sets. These have often been confused with the earlier miniatures of the *Chittarasamanjarī* type of Kirpāl Pāl's time (1678-1694 A.D.). These later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* miniatures may also be illustrations to the *Chittarasamanjarī*, though this fact has not yet been satisfactorily verified. A number of miniatures of this category are in the possession of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad and one from the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay[1] is reproduced as Fig 51. Ajit Ghose reproduced an example, from a closely related set, as Fig 10 of his article on Basohlī Painting in *Rupam* No. 37. An examination of the series, though incomplete, in Kasturbhai Lalbhai's collection, indicates that it should be ascribed to a date near about 1720. Nevertheless by way of caution I have dated Fig 51 as 1700-1725 A.D. There is adequate reason for a date as late as 1720 for these miniatures, despite the general resemblance of their architecture, trees, composition, and colour, to the earlier *Chittarasamanjarī* type miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's time (1678-1694). In some of them the Hero (Fig 62) wears a stiffly pleated *jāmā* coming right down to his ankles. Now this type of *jāmā* is first seen during the reign of the Emperor Farruksiyar (1713-1719). Even in Aurangzeb's reign it never came down to the ankles. After 1719 A.D. when Mahomed Shah came to the throne, the pleated *jāmā* reached right down to the ground. Farruksiyar, we know, was very particular about the fashions of his court, and these fashions appear to have been adopted by the Hill aristocracy and also the courts of Rājasthān. Farruksiyar undoubtedly had contacts with the Hill Rājās for he even married a daughter of Kirāt Singh (1681-1728 A.D.) Rājā of the Hill State of Kashtwār. The Farruksiyar style of *jāmā* is not to be found in miniatures of the Aurangzeb period. Two miniatures of the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* series in Kasturbhai Lalbhai's collection depict the Hero wearing a stiffly pleated *jāmā* coming down to the ankles. Moreover the body of the Hero in each case is somewhat squat and clumsy, while the head appears too large for the torso. In other paintings of this set, however, the *jāmā* worn by the Hero is not as long as it became in the Farruksiyar period. But in estimating the date of a set of miniatures on the basis of stylistic data, a single painting may ultimately provide a conclusive terminus for the entire set. In *Madhyā Dhirā Nāyikā* (Fig 51), the Hero's *jāmā* is not down to the ankles, but the figure is squat and the head too large in proportion to the body. This degenerate method of drawing the head too large and shortening the figure is a characteristic of Moghul painting of the Shah Alam period (1759-1794 A.D.) and also of Rājasthānī miniatures from 1750 to 1800. Hence the appearance of this feature in Basohlī art, as early as 1720 A.D., is a matter of some surprise. However, one cannot date miniatures such as Figs 51 and 62 to a period any later than 1725 A.D. without raising a host of difficulties. Only the discovery of a similar dated set will fully solve the problems raised by the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* series to which Figs 51 and 62 belong.[2]

Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjāb Hills*, 1952, page 13, Figs 8 and 9, has reproduced two examples from this *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* group and has dated them 1695 A.D. But he appears to have been misled into thinking that these two miniatures are contemporary with the earlier *Chittarasamanjarī* series painted for Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī in 1694 A.D. (Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, Plate 6),[3] and a related miniature in the Rothenstein collection (*Rupam*, Nos. 19 and 20, Fig 2 opposite page 137).[4] He states at page 87, Note No. 10, that the miniature *Rādhā Disconsolate* (reproduced by him as Fig 8)

[1] Due to an unfortunate error, the caption under Fig 51 ascribes it to the collection of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad.

[2] Fig 51 is also reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 99, Fig 509. The date ascribed to it is 1700 A.D. At page 126 of the abovementioned catalogue the subject is described as *Vāsaka-sajjihā*, but the inscription clearly reads *Madhyā Dhirā*.

[3] Also reproduced by Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, p. 12, Fig 6.

[4] Also reproduced by Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, p. 12, Fig 7. This miniature belongs to the same series as the Boston group (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plates 92 to 95). Archer's dating of this miniature as 1695 A.D. is legitimate, but not so his description. This *Agatapatikā* depicts the Vidusaka companion of a Nāyaka.



Krishna slaying Bakasur. Bilaspur Kalam. 1750-1775 A.D. Artist Kishenchand. Svetoslav Roerich Collection. Size 13½ × 10⅝ ins.

is from the examples originally collected by the late Eric Dickinson, and that one of these examples bears a colophon to the effect that it was made for Rājā Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī by a painter named Devayanī in 1695 A.D. But this statement with regard to the colophon is inaccurate. The Dickinson collection possessed only two examples of a Basohlī *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* series, one of which is the miniature reproduced by Archer in his book as Fig 8. Both the examples of the Dickinson collection were acquired by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, and neither of them bears any colophon at all. The Tankrī inscription on the miniature reproduced by Archer as Fig 8 reads as *Nāyikā Vipralabdhā*, while the inscription on the companion miniature reads as *Nāyikā Prositapatikā*.

I do not know how Archer was led to believe that one of these two examples bore the colophon mentioned by him. I can only surmise that he was misinformed. The present writer remembers having mentioned to the late Eric Dickinson that Hirananda Shastrī's miniature (Archer, *Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, page 12, Fig 6) was from a series painted by one Devidāsa in 1695 A.D. for Rājā Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī, and Dickinson may have erroneously concluded that his two examples belonged to the same series and were painted in 1695 A.D. by the artist Devidāsa, whose name was unfortunately corrupted into Devayanī.

Several examples from these later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets have been reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950. Two of them, namely, Plate 97, Fig 514, and Plate 99, Fig 514, are from the series in the collection of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai. They have been dated to the period *circa* 1720 A.D. Two more from the Lahore Museum are reproduced on Plate 98 and similarly dated, while a further example from the Allahabad Museum is reproduced on Plate 107, Fig 518. This last mentioned miniature is unaccountably ascribed to the period 1700 A.D. though 1720 A.D. would appear to be a more appropriate date. In most of these works the back of the head is rounded, and not egg-shaped as in Fig 51, but this difference does not necessarily indicate that Fig 51 must be earlier than *circa* 1720 A.D. Even in *Rāginī Devagirī* (Fig 52), which is not likely to antedate *circa* 1720 A.D., the back of the head is egg-shaped. It may however be observed that the egg-shaped type of head increasingly tends to disappear after *circa* 1720 A.D. One example of this category, from the collection of Sir William Rothenstein, is reproduced in *Rupam*, Nos. 19 and 20, Fig 3, opposite page 137, and another (in colour) from the collection of Stella Kramrisch is reproduced in the same issue of *Rupam* opposite page 138. It has yellow and blue borders. The Rothenstein example is Fig 9 of Archer's book.

The faces of the Heroines and their maidens in these abovementioned *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets can be distinguished from the three types of female faces seen in the earlier *Chittarasamanjarī* and related miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.). They possess, however, a family resemblance to some of the female faces seen in a *Gīta Govinda* set dated 1730 A.D. to be dealt with hereafter. The bodies of the female figures in these later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets are generally more fleshy than those of the female figures of the earlier *Chittarasamanjarī* type miniatures.

A female type which is common in these later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets can be seen in Fig 10 of Ghose's article on Basohlī Painting in *Rupam*, No. 37, or in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 97, Fig 514. Several of the female figures in these later *Nāyaka-Nāyika* sets wear black pom-poms on their wrists, and have black tassels hanging from their armlets. The Heroines in these sets are dressed in tight-fitting pyjamas and wear a long transparent over-garment (*pesvāj*) as in Fig 51. This over-garment often has frilled lapels in the Moghul manner. The attendants of the Heroines are, however, dressed in a skirt (*gāgrā*), and an abbreviated bodice (*cholī*) which exposes the lower half of the breasts.[1] Moreover when the *gāgrā* (skirt) is worn, it often comes right down to the ground. Though the architectural forms of these later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets are similar to those of the earlier *Chittarasamanjarī* type miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, yet the grotesque animal head projecting at the base of a pavillion, is never seen in these later *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets.

[1] *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 98 (*top*).

More Examples of the Post-Kirpāl Pāl Period

To the same period,[1] namely *circa* 1720 A.D., is to be ascribed the Lahore Museum's *Vipralabdhā*, reproduced in colour as Plate 22 of Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926. This miniature is inscribed with a verse from the *Sundar-vilas*. Contemporary with it is the miniature of Krishna stealing butter, reproduced by Ajit Ghose in *Rupam*, No. 37, Fig 9, opposite page 12. Its derivation from a slightly earlier type such as *Krishna and Maidens* (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate I), is not difficult to observe.

Another miniature of the period *circa* 1720 A.D. is *The Great Shiva* (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 5, opposite page 10). It is from the collection of Mr. N. C. Mehta and affords an interesting comparison with Fig 34 of the present volume, to which it is closely related. Pārvatī is applying some kind of paste to the forehead of her lord who, as usual, is painted white. The mountains in the background follow a conventional formula constantly seen in Moghul art.

One of the most attractive genre studies of the post-Kirpāl Pāl period is *A Lady's Toilet* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Vol. 2, Plate 32B). It has also been reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 107, Fig CCCCI, and referred to at page 203 thereof as belonging to the late 18th century. But this dating is impossible of acceptance. The lady's face, figure, and coiffure, as well as the treatment of the flowering sprays and cypress tree, preclude a date later than 1730 A.D. The decorative composition is well suited to the slight theme. It may be observed that the *Basohlī Kalam* artists possessed exceptional skill in the handling of decorative elements, and these were subtly introduced even into works whose main appeal lay in their emotional content.

Plate C, Plate XXI, and Fig 34

Rādhā and the Curd Pot (Plate C) from the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is one of the masterpieces of the post-Kirpāl Pāl period. Its most likely date is *circa* 1720 A.D. but it may even be somewhat earlier. It is reproduced in monochrome in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 100, Fig 506, where it is ascribed to the early 18th century.

Krishna has come to visit Rādhā at her house and is seated in the outer pavilion. A pot of curds is suspended from the ceiling in the manner commonly found in Pahārī miniatures (Fig 1). Rādhā has risen and stretched forward to take down the curd pot. She stands on her toes attempting to reach the vessel while the wind plays with her finely textured garments. Krishna is intrigued with her efforts, for indeed she makes a pretty sight, and raising his hand exclaims,

> *O Dear, touch not the curd pot nor take it down,*
> *You look so charming in this pose, touching the swinging loop,*
> *Stay as you are!*
>
> —*Bihārī Lāl*

The miniature is thus an illustration to Doha No. 223 of Bihārī Lāl's *Satsaiya*. In the *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 100, Fig 506, this miniature (Fig C) is incorrectly described as Rādhā extinguishing a lamp. But what was regarded as a lamp, is really a curd pot.

The architectural forms in Plate C are in no wise different from those seen in the miniatures of the Kirpāl Pāl period, save that the elegant pillars are of the Shah Jehan order which is uncommon in such miniatures. Rādhā's face is more closely related to the types seen in the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets of *circa* 1720 (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 97, Fig 514) than to the types seen in the miniatures of the Kirpāl Pāl period.

The delightful *Infant Krishna on Nanda's Shoulder* (Plate XXI), which also belongs to the period 1700-1720 A.D. possesses all the spontaneity of early Basohlī painting. Nanda is very

[1] In the *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, p. 32, this miniature (K-35) is ascribed to the early 19th century. But so late a date is quite out of question.

much a Moghul gentleman, but the little cowherds and their cows are in the approved Basohlī manner. Nanda's *jāmā*, reaches to only a little below his calves, and his waist-sash ends (*patkā*) have floral designs on them like those seen on the *patkās* worn in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. The rendering of the cows is very typical of cattle in Basohlī miniatures. The eyes are staring, while the heads are lifted high and slightly elongated.

Another example of this period[1] *circa* 1720 A.D. is *Shiva and Pārvatī* (Fig 34). The colour is rich and satisfying, and the execution efficient, but a slight stiffness is apparent. Nevertheless the untiring devotion of the beautiful Pārvatī to the Great Yogī, naked and uncouth, who puts her love to the hardest tests, is rendered with a directness and simplicity which is only met with in Basohlī art. The Chamba fresco of the same theme (Fig 14), though more elaborate, lacks the emotional content of the Basohlī miniature.

Several other examples of the period 1700-1725 A.D., in various collections, could be referred to, but it is rather futile to describe a number of miniatures of which no reproductions are available to the reader in any book or journal.

The Gīta Govinda of 1730 A.D. with the Mānaku Inscription

Dhiraj Pāl (1694-1725 A.D.) was killed in battle and succeeded by his son Medinī Pāl (1725-1736 A.D.) who was only a child of eight years at the date of his succession. He was obviously too young to take any interest in the atelier of his father, but it is fairly certain that some member or members of the royal household fostered the art of painting during Medinī Pāl's reign. It is to this reign that one has to ascribe the well-known *Gīta Govinda* series bearing the Mānaku inscription of 1730 A.D. As needless confusion still prevails with regard to such an important inscription, it is necessary to elucidate the true position at some length. Mr. N. C. Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, page 49, mentioned the existence of a Sanskrit verse on a painting in a *Gīta Govinda* series belonging to the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbar. This inscription in verse form, is as follows :



Mr. Mehta misread the date, as well as the text of inscription. He translated it to the effect that in Samvat 1887 = 1830 A.D. a devotee of Vishnu, who was a florist, famous for her character and celebrated for her accomplishments, got the painter Mānaku to compose the illustrated *Gīta Govinda* varied and elegant in style.

Incidentally Mr. Mehta was misled into thinking that this *Gīta Govinda* set belonged to what he termed the Tehrī-Garhwāl school. In fact it is a Kāngrā series of Sansār Chand's time as will be seen hereafter.

Several years later Mr. Mehta became aware that there was a *Gīta Govinda* set in the Lahore Museum in the *Basohlī Kalam* with an inscription in gold on the face of one of its miniatures (Fig 33). This inscription was identical with the inscription on the *Gīta Govinda* of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. In the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Mr. Mehta published an article, with some illustrations, on the Lahore Museum *Gīta Govinda*. He opined that this set was the authentic one painted by Mānaku, and that the Tehrī-Garhwāl set had been attributed to Mānaku by some later artist as a mark of honour. Mr. Mehta also concluded that Mānaku was a female artist who described herself in the inscription as an accomplished painter, devoted to Vishnu,

[1] Due to an error, the date in the caption under Fig 34 is given as mid-18th century A.D.

and as having illustrated the *Gīta Govinda* with lovely pictures in 1730 A.D. Mr. Mehta read the date right on this occasion, but misinterpreted the inscription worse than before. During a visit to Lahore I photographed the inscription and later had it read by that great Sanskritist, Mahamohapadhya P. V. Kane, ex-Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University. He confirmed my doubts about the correctness of Mr. Mehta's translation of the inscription. Thereafter, I had the inscription read by several eminent Sanskrit scholars, namely Dr. Katre, Director of the Deccan College Research Society; Mr. Dandekar, Professor of Sanskrit, Poona University; Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute; Dr. Vasudev Agravala, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India; and Dr. Motichandra, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. They one and all agreed with Mahamohapadhya P. V. Kane's translation of the verse which is as follows:

> 'In the Vikram year 1787=1730 A.D. Mānaku who was a (female) devotee of the unborn (*i.e.*, of God), who was famous (in the composition) of verses in the Mālinī metre, who is very much honoured in the estimation of those possessed of qualities, made a (male) painter compose (this) picture relating to the *Gīta Govinda* diversified with a delicate letter-press (writing).'

Mahamohapadhya Kane stated that Mānaku was certainly a woman because of three adjectives in the feminine gender, and that she had entrusted the composition of the picture to a male painter. All the eminent authorities who read the inscription opined that if the name Mānaku was to be regarded as that of the male painter, and if his female patron was to be regarded as unnamed in the inscription, then one would have to go to the length of saying that the person who composed the verse was very deficient in his or her knowledge of Sanskrit, and used a most awkward and unusual compound *Mānaku-Chitrakartā*. But in every respect the verse is in good grammatical Sanskrit, and is well composed in the Mālinī metre, which is a form in Sanskrit poetry. It is too far fetched a suggestion that a person who could compose efficient Sanskrit verse would use the awkward compound *Mānaku-Chitrakartā* if he desired to say that the name of the painter was Mānaku. Moreover, all these authorities are agreed that it is unlikely in the extreme that the lady in whose honour the verse was written should be unnamed therein, and that name of the painter whom she commissioned should be mentioned.

In a recent article in *Roopa Lekhā* Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Mr. Mehta, writing about this inscription, again commits a series of errors. This time he translates the verse to mean that one Mālinī, noted for her qualities, who was a devotee of Vishnu, had a pictorial version of the *Gīta Govinda* in beautiful and varied script composed by the painter Mānaku. Mr. Mehta, however, does admit that the language of the verse would permit of another interpretation, namely, that Mānaku had the *Gīta Govinda* illustrated by a male painter. Mr. Mehta then goes on to say that Mānaku is a common and somewhat plebian name for both males and females in the Hills and hence it would be more appropriate to consider Mālinī — some exceptionally talented princess of the royal house of Basohlī — as the patron of Mānaku the painter. In face of the opinions expressed by the galaxy of eminent Sanskrit scholars above mentioned, Mr. Mehta's interpretation, which affirms Mānaku to be the painter of the series, cannot be accepted. There is no substance in the argument that Mānaku is a plebian name. *Mānak* means a ruby, and it is a name in common use by those of high estate as well as by those who are lowly born. In fact Medinī Pāl of Bhadrawah State (1707-1735) had a younger brother named Mānak, who is said to have founded the present town of Bhadrawah. Mānak was also the name of the brother of Rājā Dip Chand of Bilāspur State (1650-1667 A.D.).

There was a painter named Mānak, and another version of the name is Mānaku. I will deal with him later on, in order to clarify the confusion which has been caused with regard to this painter by the wrong interpretation of the Mānaku inscription.

In my review of Basil Gray's *Rājput Painting*, 1948, in *Mārg*, Vol. 3, No. 2, page 53, I adverted to Mr. Mehta's faulty translation of the Mānaku inscription, and thereafter in *Roopa Lekhā*,

Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, page 17, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the noted epigraphist, reconsidered the Mānaku inscription and translated it as follows:

'In the Vikrama year 1787=1730 A.D. Mānaku who is eminent (through possessing) a multitude of virtues, who is an expert in the Mālinī metre, and who is devoted to Vishnu, had the painting of the *Gīta Govinda* produced, decorated with beautiful writing.'

Dr. Chakravarti further opined that it was clear that the patroness was Mānaku; that the name of the painter was not mentioned; and that the word *Mālinī* had no reference to an individual but to a Sanskrit metre. Though Mr. Mehta has appended an editorial note to Dr. Chakravarti's article, maintaining that the final word has not yet been said on this inscription, one may regard the matter as closed, and beyond the pale of further controversy. It is necessary however to point out that a serious error with regard to this inscription has crept into *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, where it is stated at page 100 that the colophon of the Lahore Museum *Gīta Govinda* series—by which is meant the Mānaku inscription—mentions Medinī Pāl of Basohlī. But there is absolutely no reference to Rājā Medinī Pāl of Basohlī (1725-1736 A.D.) in the said inscription, though the date 1730 A.D. establishes that the series was painted in his reign. The same error has crept into Basil Gray's *Rājput Painting*, 1948, page 24, and moreover, Mr. Mehta's mistake in ascribing the series to an artist named Mānaku has been repeated by Gray.

It has not been possible to trace the identity of the lady Mānaku. The *vansāvalis* (genealogies) of the Hill Rājās do not give detailed information about the members of the royal family. The find spot of the series is not known, but it appears fairly safe to attribute these miniatures to Basohlī, and to regard Mānaku as a queen or princess of the ruling Balauriā house.

Elsewhere in this volume I have dealt at length with the question as to how the Mānaku inscription of the Lahore Museum, dated 1730 A.D. came to be written again on the Tehrī-Garhwāl *Gīta Govinda* which belongs to the period 1780-1800 A.D. For the present it is sufficient to note that the Basohlī school *Gīta Govinda*, of the Lahore Museum, bears the authentic Mānaku inscription, and that many years later the same inscription was put on the Tehrī-Garhwāl series. The authentic inscription is in gold paint on the face of one of the miniatures (Fig 33) of the Lahore Museum set, whereas in the case of the Tehrī-Garhwāl *Gīta Govinda*, the inscription appears in ink on the reverse of one of the miniatures in the series.

As is common in Indian history, royal ladies of the Hills were often patronesses of religious projects. For instance, Shām Devī, queen of Bikram Singh of Guler, consecrated a temple in the year 1688 A.D. The *Gīta Govinda* set, commissioned by Mānaku, appears to have been a very extensive one. It probably numbered a hundred paintings or more. About fifty-five paintings of this set are in the Lahore Museum, including the miniature which bears the Mānaku inscription (Fig 33). Several miniatures from this very set are also to be found in various public and private collections. Ajit Ghose reproduced one example in colour in *Rupam*, No. 37, opposite page 6. This miniature was later on given by him as a gift to Mrs. Ananda Coomaraswamy. Two examples, which also were in the Ajit Ghose collection, are reproduced in colour in the present volume as Plates XVII and XVIII. One miniature of this set was reproduced in colour in *The Times of India Annual*, 1949, page 15; and another belonging to Ajit Ghose is reproduced, in monochrome, in Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., 1930, Plate 39. It has a grey background, and is one of the most attractive miniatures in the series. Two more miniatures of this set, from the Lahore Museum, are illustrated in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 102, where they are dated *circa* 1730 A.D. though the date in the inscription is quite specific. Another appears in Archer's *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 10. Some examples of this series are in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras; the Trivandrum Museum; and the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Those in the last named Museum were originally in the Treasurywala collection and in the collection of the artist Sama-

rendranath Gupta. One of them is a pure landscape of hills and trees inhabited by many snakes. No human figures are shown. Amongst those from this set in the collection of Mr. N. C. Mehta is a fine version of the *Girī Goverdhana* legend.

The examples from this series, in the Lahore Museum, include illustrations of the *Vishnu Avatārs* (reincarnations of the God Vishnu) which are mentioned in a verse of the *Gīta Govinda*. These are the least interesting miniatures in the set from an aesthetic viewpoint. They are typical of a formal heiratic art, with little to enthuse over, save their colouring. But their presence, in this otherwise beautiful series, is an indication that the set was commissioned by the lady Mānaku, not only due to her desire to possess illustrations of the most attractive themes of the *Gīta Govinda*, but also out of devotional zeal which naturally demanded the inclusion of the *Avatārs*. This attitude of mind, which never divorces the requirements of religion from the requirements of aesthetics, is prevalent throughout the history of Indian painting and sculpture. The miniatures in the Lahore Museum from this series, include some which depict grossly erotic themes, namely the physical union of Krishna and Rādhā. They are not exhibited by the Museum authorities. Their colouring, like that of all the miniatures in this series, is attractive, but the subject-matter is crude. In later Kāngrā art, entire sets depicting sexual intercourse between a Hero and Heroine, are to be found. They were almost certainly made for satisfying the lewd instincts of those who commissioned them, and not one of these sets has anything to recommend it. The erotic miniatures of the Lahore Museum *Gīta Govinda* are at least charmingly coloured, and the primary object in painting them, was not to produce lewd pictures, but to illustrate the erotic passages of Jayadev's great poem where Rādhā surrenders to the Blue God.

Characteristics of the Gīta Govinda Set of 1730 A.D.

The format of the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 A.D. is oblong, and each miniature is enclosed by broad red borders. On the reverse of each miniature are verses from the *Gīta Govinda* (facsimile inscription No. 3). The size of each painting, including the borders, is approximately $12\frac{1}{3}$ ins. × $8\frac{5}{8}$ ins. The backgrounds are either yellow (Plate XVIII), orange, flame, grey, brown (Plate XVII), or olive green. The workmanship throughout is excellent, and the set is in a state of perfect preservation. Though the miniatures of this set do not possess the primitive vigour of early Basohlī art in Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.), as seen in Plates XIX ; XX ; XXII ; and XXIII, there is no gainsaying the fact that this *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 A.D. is a triumph in colour, and represents the high watermark of that phase of Basohlī art to which it belongs. Each miniature of the set is confined within the four borders, and the neatness of execution, both in drawing and colouring, is so marked, that it is apparent that the artist favoured a very refined treatment of the Basohlī idiom which he had adopted. The architecture is precisely drawn, and in correct alignment (Plate XVII). The tree forms, with sprays emerging at the sides, and short trunks (Fig K2), have forsaken the older Basohlī formula (Figs L1 and J3), and are usually of the type seen in Plate XVIII. The circular composition of trees, though not frequently seen in this set, is not totally absent. The beetle's wings particles are freely employed in jewellery and other accessories.[1] The tight fitting pyjamas, and transparent, long over-garments (*pesvāj*), worn by women in the *Chittarasamanjarī* type miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's time (1678-1694 A.D.), are never seen. In the *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 A.D. the women always wear a skirt (*gāgrā*), and bodice (*cholī*) and scarf (*odhnī*), as in Plates XVII and XVIII. The faces of the women in this series conform to two types, both of which are illustrated in the chart of Enlarged Face Details as Nos. 11 and 13. The tendency for the back of the head to be egg-shaped,[2] which was seen in earlier Basohlī miniatures such as Fig 51, Fig 52, and Enlarged Face Detail No. 14, has disappeared. Moreover, the faces are broader than the earlier types seen in the Enlarged Face Details Nos. 9 and 14. The pupil of the eye is large, and placed at the extreme edge of the eye nearest the nose. In Enlarged Face Detail

[1] Roerich has suggested that the beetle's wings particles may have been adopted by the Basohli artists from a similar device seen on many *Kamarbands* (waist-sashes) of the late 17th Century, produced at Lucknow, and popular in the Moghul capitals.

[2] A small silver cup was worn at the back of the head under the *odhnī* (wimple) and this created the egg-shaped effect. This fashion of wearing a silver cup under the *odhnī* appears to have had a diminished vogue after *circa* 1725 A.D. though it never went completely out of favour.

No. 13 one notices that the face, save for the drawing of the eyes, rather resembles the broad and somewhat heavy faces of women in Moghul painting of the same period, namely the reign of the Emperor Mahomed Shah. The figure of Krishna is always depicted in the manner seen in Plates XVII and XVIII, his face being of the broad type illustrated in Enlarged Face Detail No. 12. Neither Krishna nor the female figures in this series are elongated in the manner of the miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's time (1678-1694 A.D.). The elongation of figures seen in Moghul art in Aurangzeb's days, and also in the reign of the Emperor Farruksiyar (1713-1719 A.D.), was not much favoured by the new artists of Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.). The abandonment of the elongated type in Basohlī art after 1725 A.D. was conceivably due to the influence of Mahomed Shah's prolific atelier. Rādhā and her companions sometimes wear black pom-poms on their wrists and have black tassels hanging from the armlets (Plate XVII). This feature is also seen on occasion in earlier Basohlī art during Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.). In Fig 10 of Ajit Ghose's article on Basohlī painting in *Rupam*, No. 37, a black tassel is also seen hanging from the waist. The fashion of black pom-poms worn on the wrists, and of black tassels hanging from armlets and at the waist, is first seen in Moghul painting of the 16th century A.D. Later on it became a prominent feature of early Rājasthānī miniature painting during the period 1610-1680 A.D. Its presence or absence, however, in a Basohlī painting, affords no guidance to the date of the miniature.

In the *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 A.D. the glowing colours are at times so startlingly blended and juxtaposed, that the contents of the miniature are almost invariably a secondary reaction. Once the first sensation of throbbing colour has subsided, the vision is confronted with a design which, though unusual, is so simple in its essentials, that the mind is not compelled to explore it. Owing to the excellent condition of the series, the colours at first sight appear very fresh, but closer inspection shows that in fact they have mellowed considerably. The series is not likely to have been painted by a single artist, but the family or guild which executed it has maintained a uniform standard of excellence. No doubt the chief artist constantly superintended the work and probably designed the whole set and indicated the colour schemes to be employed. This was a very usual practice. Certain features remain constant in the series. For instance, water is always a silver-grey or grey-brown colour, and the ripples are depicted by incised lines probably done with the thumb nail. These incised lines are not discernable in the colour reproduction Plate XVIII. The trees usually conform to the type Fig K2. The high horizon is always a strip of white clouds against a blue sky.

Plate XVII

In Plate XVII two confidantes urge Rādhā to meet Krishna at the rendezvous. She has been separated from him due to a lover's quarrel. She is dejected and grieving. Her pride stands in the way of her seeking an early reconciliation with her lord. Night is approaching. Red streaks are seen in the sky. Krishna, who is surely in league with the confidantes, waits at the rendezvous which is symbolized by a tree. He knows she will come. His half expectant, half knavish expression, betokens his confidence. The allegory is that the wayward soul will finally seek refuge in God. The tree against which Krishna is leaning is a departure from the usual type (Fig K2) seen in this series. Considerable reliance is placed on the gestures of the hands, and the attitudes of the figures, to convey different moods.

Plate XVIII

In Plate XVIII Krishna sits on a bed of leaves. The method of drawing the leaves by an outline of dark green against a lighter green ground, is characteristic of the set. The confidante has come to Krishna in order to convey news of Rādhā who, due to the usual lover's quarrel, is distraught and reluctant to see her Lord. The rich yellow ochre background is characteristic of many Basohlī paintings. The trees are so placed as to balance the figures. The confidante bends slightly, in adoration of Krishna, as she speaks to him. She also loves the Blue God. The use of pure white for the front of the confidante's skirt is a bold and successful device.

The intensity, which is so characteristic of the best Basohlī work, is achieved not only by the facial types with their large, protruding, antelope-like eyes, but also by the hot colour schemes which the Basohlī artists favoured. It is the intensity of mystic fervour, where devotion is passionate, where love is frantic, and where retribution is pitiless.

Medinī Pāl and After

Medinī Pāl (1725-1736 A.D.) died while he was still a youth of nineteen years, and was succeeded by his son Jit Pāl (1736-1757 A.D.). The *Basohlī Kalam* continued to flourish during the period 1730-1750 A.D. and much that is commendable was produced. At the same time one senses that the high excellence which characterized the *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D. was rarely attained. But the decline was gradual. In *Krishna and Rādhā* of the Lahore Museum (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 101) we find all the beauty of the *Gīta Govinda* paintings, though it is not unlikely that it belongs to the close of Medinī Pāl's reign. The decline becomes more obvious in the reign of Jit Pāl (1736-1757 A.D.), to which period one may assign the

PLATE G



Blindman's Buff—Basohlī Kalam *Circa* 1750 A.D. See Fig 10.

Rāmāyaṇa series of the Lahore Museum.[1] It has the same format as the *Gīta Govinda*, and is painted in the same style. But it is nowhere so fine an achievement. At times, however, it is not easy to differentiate the products of Jit Pāl's reign (1736-1757 A.D.) from earlier work. This is due to the fact that Basohlī art clung tenaciously to its own vocabulary. The distinguishing criterion, may on occasion, be limited to a certain dryness and want of depth in the colour, which often manifests itself in the later miniatures.

Fig 19 and Related Miniatures

To Jit Pāl's reign (1736-1757 A.D.) may be ascribed the intriguing *Blindman's Buff* (Fig 19). The subject-matter is charmingly handled against a yellow background, but the colour scheme, though most attractive, lacks that richness of tone which characterizes earlier Basohlī miniatures. Moreover the technique of Fig 19, though competent, falls far short of the precise execution of the *Gīta Govinda* set of 1730 A.D. The figures tend to be a little stiff and in some of them the head is too large for the torso. This tendency towards squatness is now increasingly noticed after 1730 A.D. The circular composition of trees, for depicting a forest, is still adhered to, while the simplicity of treatment and the artist's naive approach to the theme ensure a most successful result. The circumstance that the subject-matter intrudes on to the borders is not necessarily an indication of an early date. The colour reproduction (Plate G) though not inaccurate fails to convey that slight dryness in the colour which is seen in many examples of this period.

In the N. C. Mehta's collection, Bombay, are two equally charming studies of Krishna's youthful pastimes (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, opp. pp. 78 and 80). They are contemporary with Fig 19 and possess the same characteristics. The picnic scene has reference to the incident described in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* where Krishna and his cowherd companions are enjoying an alfresco meal, and in the meanwhile the God Brahma steals the calves. In the other miniature where Krishna is seen stealing butter, the heavy heads of the children are a very noticeable feature.

Another group of paintings of the mid-18th century consists of formal representations of Hindu deities (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plates 16 and 17).[2] They are of no particular interest save that their colouring is attractive. To the same period must be assigned the Tantric manifestations of the goddess Durga (*Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 10 ; and *Rupam*, No. 37, Plate 2, Fig 7).

It was in the reign of Jit Pāl that Basohlī came increasingly under the influence of Jammu, then ruled by the great Ranjit Dev (1735-1781 A.D.). Jit Pāl was succeeded by his son Amrit Pāl, who was only twelve years of age at his father's death. In 1759 A.D. Amrit Pāl married a daughter of Ranjit Dev, and it is said that he constantly resided at Jammu. Ranjit Dev continued to exercise considerable control over Basohlī throughout Amrit Pāl's reign (1757-1776 A.D.).

Basohlī Painting in the Reign of Amrit Pāl

Amrit Pāl (1757-1776 A.D.) through the favour of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1735-1781 A.D.) considerably extended his territories absorbing Bhadu and Lakhanpur States, and several other areas. Amrit Pāl in his turn assisted Ranjit Dev in the conquest of the States of Bhadrawah and Kashtwār and also in other military expeditions.

Amrit Pāl is described as an ideal ruler and was most solicitous of his subjects. Bardic tradition refers to his reign as the golden age of Basohlī. He built the old palace which still exists. It is in the mixed Moghul-Rājput style of the 18th century with Moghul flower decoration. There is no doubt that Basohlī enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amrit Pāl. Political conditions in India were rapidly changing, and the effect of these changes on the Hill States

[1] It has not been reproduced.
[2] Wrongly ascribed to the 17th century in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5.*

needs to be considered in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the influences from Moghul India on the art of painting in the Hills. The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. was the first serious blow to the mighty Moghul Empire, already weakened by Aurangzeb's obstinacy, bigotry, and useless wars. His indomitable will had staved off disaster, but his successors were not made of his stern stuff. Nadir Shah's invasion was really a glorified raid for plunder, but the terrible sack of Delhi by the Persian hordes shook the Empire to its foundations and created panic. One of its results was an exodus of artisans and skilled craftsmen from the Imperial capital to other courts, including those of some of the Hill Rājās. But it is a mistaken belief that art ceased to flourish at the Imperial capital after Nadir Shah's invasion. In fact, the reign of Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) witnessed a partial revival of Moghul miniature painting, and even after Nadir Shah's invasion the Imperial atelier, though temporarily disrupted, continued to function again. In the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.) the Imperial atelier had been neglected. The Emperor's austere and narrow outlook frowned on painting save for portraiture, durbar and battle scenes, and hunting exploits. Love, music, and all other forms of pleasure were anathema to Aurangzeb. His puritanical attitude had led to a serious decline in the art of painting at the Imperial capital, and many good artists migrated to provincial centres.

With the succession of Jahandar Shah (1712 A.D.) to the Imperial throne, a violent reaction set in. This dissolute monarch and his notorious concubine, the vicious Lāl Kunwar, gave themselves up to an orgy of pleasure. Grand illuminations took place three times every month. The Emperor was surrounded by companions of low birth and abominable morals. Music and dancing parties were the order of the day, and intoxicating wines flowed freely. This violent reaction was brief, because Farruksiyar came to the throne in 1713 A.D., but henceforth the court of the Great Moghul entirely ceased to be puritanical. Though Jahandar Shah's orgies were not perpetrated by his successors, the Imperial court in the reigns of Farruksiyar (1713-1719 A.D.) and Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D). was given up to pleasure. Fireworks displays were greatly loved, and music and dancing parties were much favoured.

The general reaction to Aurangzeb's mode of life is reflected in the paintings produced at the Imperial capital during the reigns of Farruksiyar and Mahomed Shah. One commonly finds miniatures of music and dancing parties; fireworks displays; playing at Holi; love scenes; zenana pastimes; toilet scenes; bathing scenes; etc. Subjects such as a prince on his horse receiving water at a village well from rustic belles; or Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī riding out at night, were also much in vogue. When we come to the Kāngrā school of Pahārī painting, we will have to consider the influence of this Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period on the miniature art of the Hills.

Basohlī had remained more or less isolated till 1739 A.D. It is this circumstance which accounts for the persistence of the Basohlī idiom, without any substantial change, right from its inception in Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.) upto Jit Pāl's reign (1736-1757 A.D.). But Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1739 A.D. and the unrest which followed in its wake, made the ordinary routes of travel through the plains, via Sirhind and Lahore, unsafe for merchants and travellers proceeding to Kashmir and the North-West Frontier. A new route was accordingly adopted. It entered the outer hills near Nahan and passed through Bilāspur, Nadaun, Haripur in Guler State, Nurpur, Basohlī, and thence to Jammu. The popularity of this new route increased when Ahmad Shah Durrānī invaded India in 1752 A.D. and the province of Punjab was ceded to him by the Moghuls. In fact, with the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrānī, the Moghul supremacy over the Hill States came to an end. In 1762 A.D. Ahmed Shah Durrānī again invaded the Punjab, and Ranjit Dev of Jammu helped him in his expedition against his governor in Kashmir. But Durrānī suzerainty over the Hill States was always nominal, and from 1752 A.D. the Hill States were, to all intents and purposes, quite independent till Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.) made himself the overlord of the Hills. The new trade route, now wending its way through Basohlī and Jammu, greatly benefited these States

who levied a toll on merchandise. The confusion and disorder in the plains of Northern India, brought about by the invasions of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Durrānī, and the Maharattas; and by the raids of predatory bands of Sikhs, diverted trade to several Hill States, and many wealthy merchants sought an asylum in Jammu where Ranjit Dev welcomed them warmly. Thus Jammu flourished, and Basohlī, which was more or less tributary to Ranjit Dev, also prospered in its wake. Numerous artisans, no less than traders, also sought a refuge in the Hills, and it is known that Jammu and Basohlī benefited by the settlement of skilled craftsmen in their territories. This new found prosperity was bound to have its effect on cultural pursuits such as painting and architecture. Amrit Pāl of Basohlī (1757-1776 A.D.), as already observed, preferred to build his great palace in the elaborate late Moghul-Rājput style of the 18th century A.D., rather than adopt the earlier and much finer models of the 17th century. He doubtless wished to be a patron of such forms of art and architecture as were fashionable. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere, the *Basohlī Kalam*, which had originated in the reign of Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.), would have to yield to the more fashionable schools of miniature painting which existed in the plains. The change however could not have been a sudden one, and before it was fully effected the fortunes of Basohlī began to decline. There is reason to surmise that Amrit Pāl, with his somewhat florid tastes, did not patronize the old Basohlī artists who painted in the typical Basohlī idiom. Several of these painters were forced to migrate to neighbouring States which had not been affected by the new prosperity and the new culture which had its centre at Jammu. Basohlī style painting of the second half of the 18th century is more likely a product of States where the Basohlī style had penetrated, rather than of Basohlī itself. That the States of Mānkot and Rāmnagar adopted the Basohlī style, is certain. I have a portrait of Sital Dev of Mānkot (Fig 70) which appears to be of this period and is in a local Basohlī idiom. So also I have a late *rāgamālā* painting from Bandrāltā, now called Rāmnagar, which shows the influence of the Moghul school of the second half of the 18th century A.D. upon another local idiom. Local *Kalams* in the Basohlī idiom were also developed at Jasrota, and probably at Bhādu, Bhadrawah, Chanehnī, Lakhanpur. The *Basohlī Kalam* spread even further afield, as for instance to Bilāspur, Kashtwār and Chambā.

The prosperity of Basohlī during Amrit Pāl's reign (1757-1776 A.D.) is typified by his palace which the populace regarded as one of the seven wonders of the Hills. In keeping with the new palace, a new atelier of artists came into being. Amrit Pāl's frequent residence at Jammu may have accelerated the change. We know that from *circa* 1740 A.D. onwards, refugee artists from the plains were working at Jammu. There is the instance of Ranjit Dev's brother, Balvant Singh, who maintained an atelier, and other princes must have followed suit. In the beginning, the artists from the plains appear to have produced miniatures in a style very reminiscent of the Mahomed Shah school (1719-1748 A.D.). The frequent introduction of Hill landscapes into such paintings often invested them with a charm which their Moghul counterparts lacked. Typical examples of the work of these refugee artists are *Lady on a Terrace*, in the Lahore Museum; and *Lady Seeking Solace* in the South Kensington Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 60 and 61).[1] It is not possible to say, for certain, if these two miniatures were painted at Jammu, or in some other Hill State where refugee artists had taken employ. Their most likely date is 1750-1760 A.D. The female types in these miniatures belong to the courts of Delhi and Lucknow, and so does the formal composition in an architectural setting. The backgrounds, however, reveal a new inspiration — the landscape of the Hills.

Fig 65

In *The Portrait of a Balauriā Rāṇī* (Fig 65), we have a miniature of quite unusual interest. The old Tankrī inscription on the reverse reads, *Srī Rāṇī Valaurī dī Surati*, which means 'the likeness of the exalted Balauriā Queen'. We may regard Fig 65, as a product of Amrit Pāl's

[1] Archer has ascribed these two paintings to the Punch school, but I am doubtful if any such school existed. Moreover, the date 1780 A.D. given by Archer is much too late. Both these miniatures are in the characteristic manner of the Moghul school at Delhi, Lucknow, and Faizabad, during the Mahomed Shah period (1719 – 1748 A.D). The question whether there is sufficient evidence to ascribe a school to Punch is discussed later on in the present volume. The *Lahore* Museum example is G-11 of the *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922.

new atelier, where the influence of the Moghul school predominated. The possibility that Fig 65 is an authentic portrait of the Jammu princess who became Amrit Pāl's queen, cannot be ruled out. We have a portrait of a lady of high estate in the miniature entitled *Begum Sakir out Hawking* (Fig 59), while the equestrian study (Fig 67) is obviously from life. But even if Fig 65 is to be regarded as an idealized version of Amrit Pāl's queen, it enables us to form an estimate of the type of painting which had displaced the older *Basohlī Kalam* at Amrit Pāl's court. That the old Tankrī inscription is contemporaneous with the portrait cannot be doubted. The queen appears to be a young girl of about eighteen years of age, and assuming she was twelve[1] at the time of her marriage in 1759 A.D., the most likely date for Fig 65 would be *circa* 1765 A.D. In any event, Fig 65 cannot, on stylistic grounds, be assigned to a period later than the third quarter of the 18th century, and accordingly the inscription must refer to Amrit Pāl's queen. It should be noted that a concession to the orthodox *Basohlī Kalam* has been made in the use of the broad red borders which surround the miniature. The queen herself, however, is dressed in the Moghul manner, and affects the turban, which had a vogue at the Imperial capitals, amongst ladies of rank, during the 18th century. Archer, in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, page 16, has stated that if an inscription includes a reference to a State by words such as *Jasrotiā*, or *Guleriā*, or *Chambāwāl* (*Cambyāl*), then we can be sure that the subject of the picture was painted away from his own State. But Archer has fallen into the error of thinking that terms such as *Jasrotiā*, *Guleriā* and *Chambāwāl*, denote a State. They are clan names. If Archer's statement was correct, then the use of the clan name *Balauriā*, in the inscription on the reverse of Fig 65, would indicate that the portrait was not painted in Basohlī. Archer's deduction is acceptable only for those cases where the clan name is not used. For instance, if a personage is described as being of Nurpur, then the reference is clearly to the State, because the clan name of the Nurpur Rājās is *Pathaniā*. But where a clan name is used, Archer's deduction is fallacious. It is well known in the Hills that the ruling classes constantly used their clan name, even in their own States. In fact it was a matter of pride with most Hill chiefs and nobles to prefix or suffix their clan name to their birth name. For instance the chiefs of Mānkot were always wont to prefix *Mānkotiā* to their names, and similarly the Mians of Tilokpur always suffixed the clan name *Kishtwāriā*. In the portrait of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl (Fig 58), the inscription reads, *Bilaurī Kirpāla*, and yet the likelihood of a contemporary portrait of Kirpāl Pāl being painted outside Basohlī State, during the period 1690-1694 A.D., is too remote for consideration. *Balauriā*, is the clan name of the Rājās of Basohlī. Different considerations might have prevailed if the inscription had not contained the clan name *Balauriā*, but had described Kirpāla as the Rājā of Basohlī.

The Decline of Basohlī Painting

But with Amrit Pāl's death in 1776 A.D. and the succession of Bijai Pāl (1776-1806 A.D.) the fortunes of Basohlī State began to decline. Rāj Singh of Chambā invaded Basohlī town in 1782 A.D. and sacked it. Shortly thereafter in 1783 A.D. the traveller George Forster crossed the Rāvī at Basohlī. In his account of his travels he stated that the Chambā ruler invaded the Basohlī districts, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages. Foster was struck by the desolate appearance of the country owing to the invasion. It is true that by 1794 A.D. Bijpai Pāl restored the fortunes of Basohlī to some extent, and even made inroads into the frontiers of Chambā. But Jit Singh of Chambā retaliated and invaded Basohlī again, and it was restored to Bijai Pāl only on payment of indemnity.

Bijai Pāl was succeeded by Mahendar Pāl (1806-1813 A.D.). He greatly embellished Amrit Pāl's palace at Basohlī and added the Rang Mahāl and Sish Mahāl. There are some Kāngrā style frescoes in the Basohlī palace, and these no doubt belong to Mahendar Pāl's reign. The introduction of *Kāngrā Kalam* frescoes into the decoration of the palace is another indication that the old Basohlī school had yielded place, in the land of its birth, to other styles of painting which had become more fashionable. It will be seen later on that the *Kāngrā Kalam* spread all over the Hills with the suzerainty of the great Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.).

[1] Amrit Pāl was fourteen years old at the time of his marriage to the Jammu princess in 1759 A.D.

Bhupendar Pāl (1813-1834 A.D.) succeeded Mahendar Pāl but by now the Sikhs were the paramount power in the Hills. An extensive series of *Rāmāyana* drawings in the Kāngrā style in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, belongs to his reign.

Kalyān Pāl (1834 A.D.) was the last ruler of Basohlī. In 1846 A.D. he was pensioned and the whole State transferred to Gulāb Singh of Jammu. There are portraits of Jit Pāl (1736-1757 A.D.), Mahendar Pāl (1806-1813 A.D.) and Bhupendar Pāl (1813-1834 A.D.) in the Lahore Museum in addition to the portraits of other Basohlī Rājās already mentioned.

The *Basohlī Kalam*, though apparently displaced from court favour during the reign of Amrit Pāl (1757-1776 A.D.), continued its existence in other States. But it was losing its pristine vigour. To this period of decline may be attributed Mr. Alma Latifi's *Kedārika Rāginī* (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1952, Plate 104, Fig 528), and *Bathing Scene* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 107, Fig CCCC).[1] The old formulas are still adhered to, but the treatment is rigid, and the design lacks subtlety. The glowing colour of the earlier work is absent, and it is obvious that we are in the presence of an art pleasing but uninspired. The probable period of these two miniatures, representative of provincial idioms, is 1760-1780 A.D.

To the same period must be attributed *Bālārāma* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 69). The stunted bodies with heavy faces are in the characteristic manner of the Shah Alam school (1759-1806 A.D.) of Moghul painting. It must be remembered that influences from the plains were constantly filtering into the Hills from 1740 A.D. onwards. Every upheaval in Northern India caused some of its inhabitants to seek a less troubled existence in the Hill States.

A Basohlī Artist in Chambā[2] *and other Traditions*

The artist Jagdish Mittal who went to copy frescoes at Chambā obtained information of interest, from living descendants of the old painter-families, about several well known Chambā artists of the last century. One of the traditions prevailing refers to a Muslim artist who came from Basohlī as part of the dowry of a Basohlī princess given in marriage to a Chambā prince. It is interesting to observe that the Hill States, in common with the States of Rājasthān, employed Muslim painters who had left the Imperial capitals. Though the tradition in its present form would assign this Muslim artist to the end of the 18th century the probabilities are that the tradition is incorrect in certain details. The truth would appear to be that the artist in question must have come to Chambā from Basohlī during the second quarter of the 18th century. That an idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* prevailed at Chambā is fairly clear. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* series of the Bhurī Singh Museum, Chambā, no doubt illustrates one idiom of Basohlī art as practised in Chambā probably in the third quarter of the 18th century. Some illustrations from this series are reproduced in *Marg* Vol. 7, No. 4, to accompany Dr. Goetz's article 'Rājput Sculpture and Painting during the reign of Umed Singh of Chambā'. Whether they were actually painted in the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764 A. D.) or not one cannot be absolutely certain.

Another interesting tradition relates to a family of now extinct painters hailing from the village of Maniyāl, about eight miles from Ranikhet, in the United Provinces. They were Brāhmans and worked at the court of the Chānd kings. Having regard to the fact that most Pahārī artists belonged to the lowly goldsmith caste, it may seem surprising to find a Brāhman family following the painter's profession, but this instance is not an isolated one.

One of these artists, named Lokmanī Tripāthī is said to have lived about 1600 A.D. and was a painter of great merit. Along with his brothers and cousins, who were no doubt his pupils, he went to various Hill States including Basohlī, Nabhā and Garhwāl, and sold his paintings at these courts. He was followed by Jai Rām ; Kripa ; Manirām ; and Padī, who all flourished about 1650 A.D. Then came Permananda Tivary, *circa* 1710 A.D.; Krishnamanda Tivary, *circa* 1740 A.D. ; and Madhusudan and Bhavan Dutta, *circa* 1780 A.D. Prof. R. N. Deb of the Allahabad University culled this information during his visit to an exhibition, held at Ranikhet in 1949, where some of the paintings of this family of artists were on display. All the paintings

1 In the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, p. 203, the date ascribed to this miniature is late 17th or early 18th century. But the style precludes such an early dating.

2 The topic is further dealt with under the heading — The Chambā idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam.

which Prof. Deb saw were pronounced by him to be late Kāngrā miniatures. I am indebted to Prof. Deb for kindly making available to me the information he obtained. I have not seen the paintings myself, but late Kāngrā art is easy to recognize. Prof. Deb thinks that the dates ascribed to these artists have been incorrectly stated by those to whom the tradition was handed down. This is more than possible, but the tradition in substance, should not be disregarded lightly. It establishes that the Hill Rājās not only maintained their own ateliers, but were ready to augment their collections by purchasing miniatures from artists not in their employ. The traditional dates of these Maniyāl painters appear to be untrustworthy, but if they are to be accepted as correct, then Lokmanī Tripāthī, and his immediate successors, must have painted in the Moghul style. The family could not have adopted the *Kāngrā Kalam* till the second half of the 18th century as it did not come into existence till then.

Local Idioms of the Basohlī Kalam

With the growth of the *Basohlī Kalam* it spread in course of time to neighbouring States and even further afield. It was apparently regarded as the norm in Hill painting till at least 1740 A. D. A local idiom probably grew up at Nurpur. *Woman feeding Cranes* (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 3) may be an early example of this idiom, (*circa* 1720-1730), as suggested by Ajit Ghose. The *Nāyikā* theme in Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, 1950, Plate 28, may also be from Nurpur.[1] In fact many miniatures classified generically in this volume as *Basohlī Kalam* must have been painted at centres other than Basohlī itself. In the Indian National Museum there is a *Rāmāyana* painting in the Basohlī idiom which bears an inscription stating that it was painted in Mandī to the order of one Kapur Girī. Its likely date is a little after the mid-18th century. Here we have proof positive that a Basohlī idiom was practised in Mandī.

The origin of the local idiom at Chambā possibly dates to the advent of the Muslim painter from the Basohlī court. But it may be of even older duration. The portrait of Rājā Ugar Singh (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 54), who reigned from 1720 to 1735 A.D., appears to be an example of this local Basohlī style.[2] The two female attendants in this portrait study, are not far removed from some of the *gopīs* in the *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D. (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 102, top). The main difference lies in the construction of the eyes. The portrait may not be a contemporary study, but is in no event later than 1750 A.D. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* of the Bhurī Singh Museum also illustrates a Basohlī idiom in Chambā probably in the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764 A. D.). See also pages 264 and 265.

The prevalence of a local idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* at Jammu prior to *circa* 1750 A.D. is suggested by the miniature *Madhya Kalahāntaritā* (Fig 60). Though Fig 60 belongs to the mid-18th century, and is a product of Rājā Balvant Singh's atelier, yet Krishna's face is obviously derived from a Basohlī type. We may therefore plausibly conclude that the *Basohlī Kalam* had been adopted in Jammu sometime between 1700 and 1740 A.D. The latter date marks the beginning of a new phase of art in Jammu, due to the influx of refugee artists from the plains.

We may also conclude that the *Basohlī Kalam* was adopted by smaller States during the first half of the 18th century. For example, *The Blind Sital Dev* (Fig 70) illustrates the style at Mānkot ; while the court scene (Fig 63), indicates its existence at Bandrāltā.

Some time ago, several miniatures illustrating the story of *Mādhavanala Kamakandala*, were acquired in Bilāspur. The series came from the possession of a family for one of whose ancestors it had been painted in Bilāspur in the middle of the 18th century A.D. The tradition of its origin appears to be reliable. Fourteen paintings from this set are in the Roerich collection, while two examples, formerly in the Dickinson collection, are now in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, including Fig 11. Lines from the text appear on the reverse of each miniature.

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1 But our knowledge of painting in Nurpur is sketchy and Archer's article in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, is largely based on speculation.

2 Archer attributes this portrait of Ugar Singh to the Jammu school. This is not an impossible attribution, but Archer appears to have been influenced by the fallacious theory that the use of the suffix *Chambāwāl* in the inscription indicates that the portrait was not painted in Chambā. The probabilities are that it was painted in Chambā. See page 219.

The traditional date of the series accords completely with its stylistic characteristics. The format, composition, and tree conventions, are largely those of the *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D. (Plate XVIII). The colouring, however, lacks brilliance, and a tendency manifests itself to draw the head too large for the torso (Fig 11). The text on the reverse of Fig 11 describes Kamakandala's grief when Mādhavanala is forced to leave her and resume his wanderings. In the miniature, the hero of the tale is seen with his *veena*. He appears disconsolate and sad at heart. If the traditional origin of the series is accepted, then it is possible to reason that the series is the work of a Basohlī artist who migrated to Bilāspur in the mid-18th century. Examples from a remarkably similar series illustrating the *Rāmāyana* are also in the Roerich collection. Their find-spot was Suket. They may be the work of the same artist who painted the *Mādhavanala Kamakandala* set, or the style may have spread to other States.

Several other miniatures, the provenance of which is not possible to determine with any certainty, proclaim their derivation from the *Basohlī Kalam*.

The *Pet Deer* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 48A)[1] is not unlikely to have been painted in Chambā. The excessive length of the lady's body, from the waist-line to the feet, is a Chambā characteristic. Its probable date is *circa* 1735-1750 A.D.

Rādhā and Krishna (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig 57),[2] may also have been painted in Chambā. There is a striking resemblance between Rādhā in this picture and the standing hand-maiden in the portrait of Ugar Singh of Chambā (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 54). I would ascribe it to the period 1735-1750 A.D.

In *Krishna rescuing Nanda*, of the Lahore Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 23),[3] the female worshippers are derived from the *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D. Their faces, attitudes, and costumes, find a counterpart in Plate XVII. Even the tree forms, when analysed, are found to have been evolved from miniatures such as Plate XVIII and Fig 33. A date between 1740 and 1750 A.D. is indicated but the provenance cannot be ascertained.

In *Flower Gathering* of the Lahore Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 19),[4] we meet a female type which may well be the precursor of the *gopīs* in *Dāna Līlā* (Fig 9), ascribed to the *Kulu Kalam*. The long *cholī*, with the frills in front, is common to both miniatures. The sprays in the foreground of *Flower Gathering*, have a counterpart in the sprays seen in Fig 5, of the present volume, which may also belong to the *Kulu Kalam*. A suitable date would be *circa* 1730-1750. Archer, in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, suggests a Nurpur origin but this is questionable.

From the mid-18th century there appears to have been a gradual migration of painters from Basohlī to other States. This was due to the new outlook at Amrit Pāl's court which favoured artists accustomed to paint in the Moghul manner. There are several Hill schools of the second half of the 18th century which are derived from the *Basohlī Kalam*. The provenance of most of them remains unknown. Occasionally, however, the decipherment of a difficult Tankrī inscription affords a clue.

One such provincial example is a study of Mihr Singh of Kashtwār (1771-1786 A.D.) in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 516).[5] The inscription thereon reads *Srī Mhh (Mihr) Singhjī Sant Mau Kotā Kantak*. The meaning of the phrase[6] *Sant Mau* is not clear, but the words *Kotā Kantak* no doubt refer to the *chaugan*

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1 Coomaraswamy ascribes it to the 18th century and regards it as early Kāngrā with some Jammu analogies. Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, ascribes it to the Jammu school, *circa* 1760 A.D. but this attribution is not convincing.

2 Archer ascribes it to the Jammu school, *circa* 1760 A.D. but Chambā is a more feasible provenance.

3 Archer ascribes this miniature to Guler *circa* 1745 A.D. He has been largely influenced in this conclusion by comparing the three musicians with those in the portrait of Rājā Govardhan Chand (Fig 16 of his book). The attribution is problematic.

4 In *Rupam*, No. 37, p. 14, Ajit Ghose has stated that the miniature is not a product of the main Basohlī school.

5 In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950. p. 127, Basil Gray states that the inscription is said to refer to one 'Jai Singh', which might mean Jai Singh of Kulu (1731-1742 A.D.). But obviously Mr. Gray's informant has misread the inscription. Though the name of the Rājā may be read as "Maha Singh" of Kashtwār (1661-1674 A.D.), it is unlikely to refer to him, because the *chauri*-bearer wears a *jāmā* reaching the ground. This type of *jāmā* cannot antedate 1713 A.D.

6 The reading of the phrase *Sant Mau* may be questioned as the letters are indistinct, but the words *Kotā Kantak* are clear.

(village green) of Kashtwār where an annual fair known as *Kantak Jātrā* is held. The origin of the annual *Kantak Jātrā* on the *chaugan* is to be traced back to the reign of Bhagwān Singh (1642-1661 A.D.) who defeated the Basohlī army, which had occupied Kashtwār, and captured and beheaded its leader named Kantak. The unfortunate general's head was used for football on the *chaugan*. To commemorate the defeat of the Basohlī army, Bhagwān Singh instituted a *melā* (fair), called *Kantak Jātrā*, to be held yearly on the *chaugan*. The portrait of Mihr Singh may have been painted on the anniversary of the *Kantak Jātrā*. It conforms to the general features of the *Basohlī Kalam*, but local characteristics are seen in the slim body, broad face, and noticeably heavy jaw of the *chaurī*-bearer. Mihr Singh, was a Muslim by faith, and bore the name Sa'idmand Khan. It is said that after his accession he became insane.

The portrait of Mian Mukund Dev (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 42) illustrates the *Basohlī Kalam* as practised at Jasrota in the third quarter of the 18th century. The Mian, though not one of the Rājās of Jasrota, was no doubt a member of the ruling house. Like Balvant Singh of Jammu, he also appears to have maintained his own atelier. He was apparently eclectic in his tastes, and artists nurtured in the old *Basohlī Kalam* worked side by side with the more fashionable refugee painters from the plains, trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 40). There is no reason whatever to ascribe the last mentioned study to Jammu, as Archer has done. It must be ascribed to one of Mukund Dev's own artists at Jasrota.

There is a group of paintings, all possessing the same characteristics, which have hitherto been classified as belonging to the *Basohlī Kalam*. But it is fairly certain that they represent the output of some provincial idiom. Many principalities had remained unaffected by the new found prosperity of Basohlī and Jammu, and by the new culture complex which it brought in its wake. They are related in style though they may not all be from the same State.

This group is represented by the following :

(a)	Rādhā and Krishna[1]	.. *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5.* Plate 65. Fig CCXXV.
(b)	Krishna with the Flute[2]	.. *Ibid*, Plate 70, Fig CCXXIV.
(c)	Girl on a Stool	.. *Ibid*, Plate 107, Fig CCCXCVIII.
(d)	Dalliance of Rādhā and Krishna	.. Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 30.
(e)	Phulasajjya	.. *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 18 (in colour).
(f)	Lovers Feeding Deer	.. *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 5.
(g)	After the Bath.[3]	.. *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 100, Fig 535.

Their distinguishing characteristics may be analysed thus :

(1) Large, ponderous heads, so closely set on the neck as to appear clumsy.
(2) An excessively heavy jaw.
(3) The nether limbs are ungainly and wooden.
(4) The distance between the waist-line and the feet is unnaturally excessive.
(5) A creeper-like tree, with a narrow stem, is frequently introduced.

It is apparent that these miniatures belong to a period of decline, but nevertheless they possess a quaint vigour of their own. Having regard to their characteristics, it is not easy to assign them to a period earlier than the third quarter of the 18th century.[4] Moreover, the cows in

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1 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 32 A.

2 *Ibid.*, Plate 31, and Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 14, where following Coomaraswamy it is wrongly ascribed to Jammu.

3 In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 120, it is stated that this miniature probably belongs to the Kulu school, but the reason for this attribution remains obscure.

4 Coomaraswamy's much earlier dating is difficult to accept.

Krishna with the Flute, have heavy bodies, short necks, and large heads. These are characteristics of the second half of the 18th century (Fig H5). In earlier Basohlī miniatures, the cattle have narrow bodies, long necks, and narrow heads (Fig H2).

Another provincial example, probably of the last quarter of the 18th century, is *Trivanī Rāginī* (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 104, Fig 519). It represents an art lingering amongst old forms and conventions, but bereft of that virile imagination which contributed so largely to the fascination of the early *Basohlī Kalam*.

The existence of numerous Hill *Kalams*, evidencing the characteristics of Basohlī art, has led some critics to opine that a primitive style of painting existed all over the Hills long prior to the Basohlī school of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.) But a careful analysis of these Hill *Kalams* leads to the conclusion that they all post-date the Basohlī *Kalam*, and are derived therefrom. The available data also supports this conclusion. Until we discover Pahārī miniatures, bearing unimpeachable dates,[1] of a period considerably prior to 1675 A.D., we must discountenance the theory of a primitive style prevailing all over the Hills long prior to Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.).

Basohlī Portraiture and related Portrait Studies

Portraiture, in all probability, was the first form of miniature art with which the Hill Rājās became familiar. There is reason to think that portraits of several of them were painted at the Moghul court when they were in attendance there, while others may have been painted by Moghul school artists specially commissioned for the purpose. For instance there are portraits[2] of Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī (1598-1635 A.D.) and Hindal Pāl of Basohlī (1673-1678 A.D.) which are obviously 18th century copies of earlier miniatures. The features are naturalistic, in the approved Moghul style, and Bhupat Pāl's turban is of the Jehangir period.

Fig 64

Sometimes the copies were not faithful reproductions of the originals. This can be seen in the portrait of Rājā Mān Singh of Guler (Fig 64) who ruled from 1635 to 1661 A.D. The Rājā served in the Moghul army, and was frequently at the Imperial court. In Fig 64 Mān Singh is dressed in a *jāmā* and turban of the late Jehangir period, but the artist took the liberty of drawing Mān Singh's eyes in the Basohlī idiom. Moreover the colour scheme of the miniature, with its dark brown background, is foreign to the Moghul palette. The probable date of the portrait is the first quarter of the 18th century. Mān Singh affects the pointed moustaches which were popular with the Guleriā Mians.

Fig 69

Another copy, or perhaps an adaptation from a Moghul original, is *Rājā Rup Chand of Guler* (Fig 69) who ruled from 1610 to 1635 A.D. Here again the eyes of the Rājā and of his retainers, though not quite in the Basohlī idiom, are a departure from the accepted manner of the Moghul portrait painters. The Rājā himself is attired in a flowered *jāmā*, a fashion to which the court of Shah Jehan was partial, while the retainers wear a costume constantly worn by attendants during the reign of the Emperor Jehangir, including the high-backed slippers. Rup Chand's horse, with its small head, snorting nostrils, and narrow arched neck, is typical of the chargers seen in miniatures of Akbar's and Jehangir's time. The plaited mane is not an anachronism introduced by the copyist to accord with the equestrian fashion of the first quarter of the 18th century to which Fig 69 must be assigned, but the strange looking dog, which resembles the animal in Fig 36, is most probably an innovation which found no place in the Moghul original. The high horizon, with a strip of sky, is an established Basohlī mannerism, while the crenellated

[1] In the realm of Indian miniature painting, the utmost caution must be exercised in the matter of dates. I have in my possession a late 18th century Kāngrā drawing bearing the date 1748 A.D. But the writing arouses such grave suspicion that the date must be regarded as worthless. Wishful thinking, has led more than one critic to the hasty acceptance of a date which has later been proved to be incorrect. It is essential that dates and inscriptions be deciphered by experts before reliance is place on them by the art historian.

[2] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Plate 2.

clouds bear a close resemblance to those in Plate XI, which also belongs to the first quarter of the 18th century. The costumes of the retainers, and the characteristics of the charger, may at first sight lead one to surmise that Fig 69 is a contemporary portrait of Rup Chand (1610-1635 A.D.) But it proclaims its close kinship to Plate XI in many details such as the treatment of eyes and beards; the design of the crenellated clouds over the slightly curved horizon; the *patka* worn by the attendant on the extreme left; and the turban of the fan bearer. Moreover, Fig 69 differs in its colour tonality from early Moghul portraiture. Rupchand was constantly in the service of the Emperor Jehangir and received from him the title of Bahadur, and a dress of honour and two weapons. He also served in the Deccan. Later on he fought for the forces of Shah Jehan, and was killed in an expedition against Garhwāl. Thus Rup Chand was more than likely to have had equestrian portraits of himself painted at the Moghul court. To designate Fig 69 as the work of a contemporary artist, is to raise insuperable problems. If he be regarded as a Moghul artist of the Jehangir school who had settled in Guler during Rup Chand's reign, then it is most improbable that he would portray Rup Chand and his charger in the manner of a Moghul artist of the early 17th century, and yet introduce awkwardly drawn retainers with beards painted in the coarse 18th century technique[1]. It would be equally difficult to account for the presence of the ill-proportioned dog, and a background and colour scheme that have no counterpart in Moghul painting of that period. If, on the other hand we regard Fig 69 as the work of a contemporary Pahārī artist, then we are hard put to account for an equestrian portrait study in which man and horse have stepped out of a Moghul miniature of the period *circa* 1630 A.D., to the exclusion of all the other elements in the miniature.

The reason for the production of these 18th century copies is not far to seek. With the ever increasing popularity of miniature painting in the Hills, each Rājā who maintained an atelier, evinced the desire to possess portrait studies of his illustrious ancestors. When a Moghul original was available, the task was simple. At times, however, these portraits may have been reconstructions from traditional accounts of the ruler's appearance and personality. The existence of several copies, portraying one and the same Rājā, is due to a custom in vogue at the Hill courts. Many Rājās were wont to include in their collections the portraits of other Hill chiefs, both living and departed. This led to copies being made for presentation purposes. The traveller Moorcraft has recorded the fact that the collection of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā included portraits of many of the neighbouring Rājās and their predecessors. In this connection it may be observed that many inscriptions, appearing on portraits are likely to have been written thereon at the instance of rulers to whom they were presented or into whose possession they passed by way of marriage gifts or dowry. Royal collections were usually in charge of a custodian or librarian who sometimes made entries on the miniatures. One such entry is seen at the base of Fig. 70 where a serial number has been put on the portrait. This may have been done by a custodian at the Mānkot court, or the miniature may have been presented by a Mānkot Rājā to another ruler and the entry made by the latter's librarian. It is not without significance that almost all the existing portraits of Pahārī Rājās, whether copies or originals, are of rulers who lived during the Moghul period. This indicates that the Hill chiefs were first introduced to the art of miniature painting as a result of their contacts with the Moghul court.

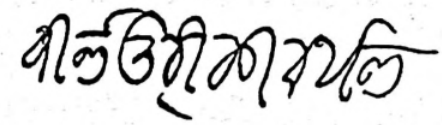
The Portrait of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl—Fig 58

The discovery of this contemporary portrait of Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.), confirms the evidence supplied by the colophon[2] of the *Chittarasamanjarī*. It firmly establishes that the style of painting, known today as the *Basohlī Kalam*, prevailed at his court. The importance of Fig 58 is therefore obvious, even apart from the controversial issue as to whether the origin of Pahārī miniature painting is to be traced to Basohlī no earlier than the last quarter of the 17th century. Fig 58 bespeaks its contemporaneity by that almost savage vitality, and

[1] In the Jehangir period the beard was painted with meticulous care, using the very finest of brushes known popularly as *ek bal kalam*=a brush with one hair. In the late 17th and the 18th century, the beard was either a broad mass of dark colour, with little or no attempt at shading, or alternatively a series of coarsely drawn lines.

[2] Supra. p. 64.

that depth and the richness of colour, which only the earliest Basohlī miniatures possess. It is unfortunately in a much damaged condition. Nevertheless the treatment of the rich strawberry coloured fabric of Kirpāl Pāl's *jāmā*, indicates the hand of a highly accomplished painter consciously evolving a somewhat primitive form of exposition. The anomalies of Basohlī art are not easy to explain. Its forceful style, backed up by sharper and stronger colour contrasts than those seen in Moghul portraiture, appear to have appealed greatly to the Hill Rājās. These hardy chiefs, bred in the wild rugged hills, to whom fighting was the salt of existence, responded but slowly to the urbane and refined aesthetic sense of the Moghuls. It is no wonder then that the bold and vivid style of Basohlī painting had a greater attraction for them in the beginning than the subtle and more delicately balanced art of the Moghuls. The Tankrī inscription on the reverse of Fig 58 is reproduced below:



It reads *Bilauriā Kirpāl*. It is not unlikely that Fig 58 was commenced in the last year of Kirpāl Pāl's reign, and never completed owing to his death. This surmise is based on the fact that the design on the carpet, though outlined, remains to be coloured.

The unusually large expanse of the white of the eye, and the minute size of the pupil, are prominent characteristics in Fig 58. The same characteristics are prominent in (a) Hirānanda Shastrī's *Chittarasamanjarī* miniature (Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, Plate 6); (b) The Boston Musuem examples (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plates 92-95); and (c) Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 9 and 14. Though no infallible conclusion can be formulated from such comparisons, yet it may be accepted as a good working rule that these characteristics are only to be found in early Basohlī miniatures. By the time of Medinī Pāl (1725-1736 A.D.) the size of the pupil had increased, and the large expanse of the white of the eye was somewhat narrowed down by the shapely eyelids (Enlarged Face Details Nos. 11, 12, and 13). The portrait of Kirpāl Pāl in the Lahore Museum[1], as rightly observed by Coomaraswamy, is a late 18th century copy. Experience indicates that the Tankrī inscriptions on Pahārī portraits and other miniatures are mostly authentic. Accordingly they are invaluable to the art historian. But they cannot be isolated from a study of stylistic characteristics. The failure to observe this rule of caution can lead to quite extraordinary results in the matter of dating.

Fig 36

Fig 36 is a typical Basohlī style portrait, though it may not be of a Basohlī Rājā. It bears no inscription. The sloping forehead and prominent eyes are characteristic, while the colour scheme has the usual brilliance associated with Basohlī miniatures. The background is green, against which the prince's white *jāmā* and red turban stand out in fine contrast. The carpet is red, with yellow and blue borders. The roof of the pavillion is painted yellow, green, red, and white. The dog is dark brown, while the attendant wears a garment of pinkish hue and a red turban. The Hill Princes were always partial to portraits in which they were shown smoking a hukkah. Moreover they often desired to be portrayed with their falcons, which they greatly prized. Falconry was a sport held in high favour in the Hills. The traveller Moorcroft,[2] who gives us some interesting information about the Hill Rājās, mentions that hawking was a favourite amusement in the States of Bhimber and Rajaurī. In Fig 36 the prince's hawking glove rests on his lap and he holds a cord attached to the leg of his pet falcon which is perched on the bolster behind him. The arm-pit shadows are very apparent. This superfluous technical device, seen frequently in Moghul portraiture during the reigns of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) and Jehangir (1605-1628 A.D.), and in Rājasthānī painting upto 1680 A.D.[3] at least, was also

[1] *The Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Plate 2.
[2] Moorcroft, *Travels, 1819-1825*, Vol 2, p. 303.
[3] *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-2, No. 2, frontispiece and Plate 4.

employed by the Basohlī school painters of the early 18th century A.D. to which period Fig 36 belongs. The arm-pit shadow is seen only in early Basohlī paintings. The elongation of the bodies of the Prince and his attendant, also indicates that Fig 36 could not be later than 1720 A.D. In all probability it was painted by an artist, trained in the Moghul school of Aurangzeb, who had adopted the Basohlī style which was evolved in Kirpāl Pāl's atelier (1678-1694 A.D.). Fig 36 is a brilliant characterization of an athletic prince, vacillating, opiniated, and pleasure loving, but not wanting in that astounding form of courage which only Rājput chivalry bred. In Pahārī portraiture it is generally the profile which is shown. The beautiful carpets, seen in such miniatures, were mostly imported from the Moghul factories (*kārkhānas*). But later on it seems some Hill Rājās had their own carpet manufactories. Moorcroft[1] mentions one such small manufactory for carpets, maintained by Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1823 A.D.) for his own use. The architecture in Fig 36 is of the early Basohlī type.

Plate XI

Another magnificent portrait study is Plate XI. It was originally in the Treasurywala collection, along with Fig 36. It belongs to the same period as the latter, namely the early 18th century. It is a court scene, laid in a garden. The tree to the right, is very reminiscent of the type seen in the *Virahinī* miniature of the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Pl. 97). The reasons for ascribing the *Virahinī* to 1700-1720 A.D. have already been dealt with. The fashion adopted by the Emperor Farruksiyar (1713-1719 A.D.) of wearing a *jāmā* which reached to the ankles, had apparently not influenced the Hill State where Plate XI was painted. It is not possible in our present state of research, and in the absence of an inscription, to locate the sub-school to which Plate XI belongs. The Rājā's turban affords no clue. It is not a profitable task to attempt to locate the provenance of a painting by reference to the shape of turbans worn. In Plate XI the turban of the Rājā, and of the seated retainer, is closely modelled on the headgear affected by the Adil Shahī Sultans of Bijapur. The style may have been introduced into the Hills by a Pahārī Rājā who served with the Moghul army in the Deccan. Though the Rājā in Plate IX may not be a Balauriā chief, yet the influence of the *Basohlī Kalam* is evident.

Fig 8

Of more than passing interest is the study entitled *Sripata Simha Jagir* (Fig 8). Here again it is not possible to say to which sub-school this miniature belongs, but it undoubtedly has been influenced by the *Basohlī Kalam.* Though I have assigned it to the mid-18th century, it could be considerably earlier. The *jāmās* worn by the attendants are at least as long as they were in the late Aurangzeb period (*circa* 1690). But they do not extend to the ankles as in the reign of Farruksiyar (1713-1719 A.D.). This fact by itself however, is not a ground for ascribing to Fig 8 a date prior to 1725 A.D. Fig 8 was reproduced by me in *Mārg* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 51, as the *Wine Taster.* A very similar painting was in the Dickinson collection of Lahore, which was recently acquired by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. But the version in the Dickinson collection bears no inscriptions. Dr. Motichandra has deciphered the corrupt Tankrī writings on Fig 8 which indicate that the two men with the conical, bead-embroidered dunce-caps (*chonga topī*) are two Gosains. The name of the Gosain in the white costume, drinking wine, is Nirmalji, while the one who holds a musical instrument is named Bhagwānji. The name of the bearded prince is given as *Shripāt Simha Jagir.* It is possible that Fig 8 is a much corrupted version of a story to be found in Rose's *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab.* In the reign of the Emperor Jehangir there was a Gosain named Bhagwānji who avoided a meeting with the Emperor by burrowing through the ground. Jehangir, however, seized Bhagwānji's disciple, a Gosain named Narain, but failed to make him speak as Narain was carrying out a penance of silence. Jehangir took Narain to Lahore and gave him seven cups of poison, each sufficient to kill an elephant, but Narain resisted the effect of the potion. Bhagwānji then explained to Jehangir how Narain had acquired his powers, and thereafter the

[1] Moorcroft, *Travels, 1819-1825,* Vol I, p. 143.

Emperor himself gave orders for the building of a new temple at Bhagwānji's request. This legend must have been well known in the Punjab and in the Hills, as the incident is said to have taken place at Lahore. A Pahārī painter, a hundred years after the Emperor Jehangir's death, not knowing how the Emperor looked, and having no portrait of Jehangir at hand, appears to have painted some Hill potentate as though he were the Emperor Jehangir. The prefix *Shripat Simha* is only a honorific title, and the name *Jagir* may be a corruption of 'Jehangir'. The name *Nirmalji* could well be a corruption of 'Narainji'. Thus the incident is transferred to the court of a Hill prince, and Bhagwānji is made a witness to his disciple's feat. The decipherment of the inscriptions on Fig 8 negatives the original surmise that the incident depicts the ancient practice of wine-tasting. Many Indian potentates who feared intrigues and plots, adopted the precaution of having their wine tasted before consuming it. But whatever be the true interpretation of the scene, the dramatic element heightened by the warm colour scheme has been handled with outstanding success. The Gosains, though a religious sect, were an important trading community. Their religious heads were known as *Mahants*. They used to buy opium in Kulu and take it to the plains of the Punjab. In Southern Punjab, the Gosain and Bairagī sects were often addicted to a sweetish intoxicant called *bhāng*.

Gosains and Bairagīs are at times depicted in Pahārī painting. In Fig 28 the mendicants appear to be Bairagīs in conversation with a Rājā's falconer. In Fig 27 two Gosains are obviously the butt of the painter's wit. They sit with a single shawl around them, comically embracing each other. The tall conical headgear worn by Nirmalji and Bhagwānji in Fig 8, is also worn by the Gosains in Fig 27.

Figs 63 and 70

Fig 63 is an example of the Bandrāltā idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam*. The inscription reads *Bandrāl Rājā Chand Singh*. It can hardly be suggested that such an elaborate composition was painted elsewhere than at Chand Singh's own court. As no genealogy of the Bandrāltā kings is available, the date of this particular Rājā cannot be ascertained. But the miniature appears to belong to the first quarter of the 18th century. There is considerable resemblance between the page boy in the *Portrait of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl* (Fig 58), and his counterpart in Fig 63. The *jāmās* worn by the attendants are those of the Aurangzeb period. The fashion of Farruksiyar's court (1713-1719 A.D.), where the *jāmā* extended to the ankles, had apparently not influenced the State of Bandrāltā in Chand Singh's time. The tendency to elongate the body is noticeable in the figures of the retainers, and this characteristic also lends support to the early date ascribed to this unusually fine court scene. The Rājā, who appears to have dined and wined, not wisely but too well, is seen pouring some liquid from a flagon into the receptacle held by a retainer. Bandrāltā is today known as Rāmnagar. The latter name came into use only after the State was taken over by the Sikhs and given in fief to Suchet Singh of Jammu.

The portrait of *Rājā Hataf Bandrāl* (*Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, Plate 121) is yet another example of the Bandrāltā idiom of the first quarter of the 18th century. It has several characteristics in common with Fig 63. The prince's body is slim and elongated, and his features sharp, while his turban resembles that of the retainer standing behind Chand Singh. Rājā Hataf, however, wears fresh flowers in his turban in addition to a plume. The rosary round his neck is not unlike the beads worn by some of the retainers in Fig 63.

Fig 70 is a study of Rājā Sital Dev of Mānkot, now known as Rāmkot. He appears to have ruled about the mid 17th century A.D. Nothing is known of his reign. The fact that he was blind is evident from Fig 70, and also from another portrait of him in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 106, Fig 515)[1]. Neither Fig 70 nor Mr. Latifi's miniature are contemporary portraits, though there is no reason to think that they were not painted in Mānkot. Their most likely date[2] is the second quarter of the 18th cen-

[1] In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 127, it is stated that the inscription on this portrait is not legible and appears to start *Sri Bān Sih* or *Sri Bāl Sih*. But the inscription is quite clear and reads *Sri Rājā Sital Mānkotia*.

[2] The first quarter of the 18th century cannot however be ruled out. The costumes in Fig 70 are of the Aurangzeb period, and the arm-pit shadows are seen on the figure of Sital Dev.

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tury. Their colouring lacks that richness and depth of tone which is a distinguishing feature of the earlier products of the Basohlī school and its early provincial idioms. The inscription on the reverse of Fig 70 reads *Mankotia Sital.*

Other Portrait Studies

The portrait of Mihr Singh of Kashtwār (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 516), has already been dealt with at length. Another interesting portrait study is reproduced in *The Catalogue of the Art of Greater India Exhibition, Los Angeles*, 1950, Fig 117. It bears an inscription, which no doubt mentions the name of the Rājā, but it is not decipherable in the reproduction. It appears to belong to the first quarter of the 18th century.

An example of the *Basohlī Kalam* as practised at Jasrota during the mid-18th century is the portrait of Mian Mukund Dev in the W. B. Manley collection, England (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 42). Though it adheres to the conventions of the Basohlī school, it is formal and devoid of that vitality which for instance characterizes Figs 36 and 58. It is of importance however to note that the painting overlaps the borders. Mukund Dev's portrait thus affords conclusive proof that this mannerism, though common in early Basohlī miniatures, is not necessarily an indication of an early date. Mukund Dev's portrait can in no event be earlier than 1740 A.D. This is established by the fact that the *plein air* study of him, in the manner of the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 40), is at least contemporary with, if not earlier than the Basohlī version.[1]

Another mid-18th century portrait in a provincial idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* is reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, Plate 122, Fig DXC. The Rājā has not been identified. Here again the painting intrudes on the borders.

In *Roopa Lekha* 1940, Vol. 2, No. 3, the colour frontispiece is a portrait of a Hill prince in the *Basohlī Kalam.* It belongs to the second half of the 18th century. Mr. O. C. Gangoly's article thereon is entitled 'A Kāngrā Chief', but the portrait is obviously not that of a Kāngrā ruler. For want of an inscription the Rājā cannot be identified. The portrait is set against a bright yellow background and framed in by a *jarokha.*[2] This device, borrowed from Moghul painting, was not infrequently employed in later Pahārī portraiture (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 116, Fig 590). The superlatives accorded to this miniature by Mr. O. C. Gangoly are altogether misplaced. It is nevertheless a good example of the late *Basohlī Kalam.*

The Dogra Prince (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 34 B), also appears to belong to the second half of the 18th century. The prince wears fresh flowers in his turban, a custom peculiar to the Hill aristocracy. If I am right in thinking that he is no other than the dissolute and cruel Rājā Braj Rāj Dev of Jammu (1781-1787), to whom he bears a fairly close resemblance,[3] then the miniature must have been painted in the late 18th century. Braj Rāj Dev was the son of the famous Ranjit Dev. The artist has painted his subject with an air of bravado, but at the same time arrogance is writ large on the face.

One more portrait in the Basohlī idiom, which also appears to be of Rājā Braj Dev, is in the collection of Mr. W. B. Manley, England (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 106 Fig 525). Here again the Rājā wears fresh flowers in his turban the shape of which is similar, in all the portraits of this chief. He also affects bangles (*kara*), and large round earrings each set with two pearls. If the surmise that the two abovementioned portraits are of Rājā Braj

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1 The first influx of refugee artists from the plains to the Hills took place after 1739 A.D.

2 An ornamental arched window-opening, with a rail.

3 Portrait of Braj Rāj Dev in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 44. The same portrait is also reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 540, and wrongly ascribed to Chambā. Allowance must be made for the fact that the Coomaraswamy portrait is in the Basohlī idiom, while the other belongs to the more naturalistic Jammu school.

Dev is correct, then there is reason to think that the Basohlī idiom continued to flourish at Jammu throughout the second half of the 18th century. It may not, however, have been so popular as the school initiated by the refugee artists from the plains, such as those who worked for Balvant Singh of Jammu (Fig 61).

The corpulent Rājā, holding what appears to be a polo stick (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 121), is typical of many portraits in the *Basohlī Kalam* done in the first half of the 18th century. They have a novel appeal to those not familiar with the Basohlī school, but nevertheless a number of them are relieved from mediocrity only by their colouring.

Amongst the later Pahārī portraits in the Basohlī idiom, are studies of the Moghul Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. This practice, of producing local adaptations based on available portraits of the Moghul Emperors, was not confined to the Basohlī school. Likenesses of these monarchs were painted by the refugee artists working at Jammu[1] during the mid 18th century, while Fig 26 is a *Kulu Kalam* version of a traditional equestrian portrait of Aurangzeb in his old age. The origin of this practice may be attributed to the refugee painters trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748 A.D.).

THE KULU KALAM

In the second half of the 18th century A.D. a local school of painting existed at Kulu. Its origin is not known but in all probability it could not be earlier than 1750 A.D. Kulu Valley is the ancient Kuluta of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang who observes that even in those times the people were much afflicted with goitre, as they are to this day in parts of the Hills. In the caricature Fig 7, the man smoking a hukkah suffers from this affliction.

Its capital is Sultanpur founded in *circa* 1660 A.D. It was probably in the prosperous reign of Pritam Singh (1767-1806 A.D.), that some artists settled in the Kulu Valley, and their work developed into the *Kulu Kalam.* None of the Kulu paintings show any indication of a date earlier than the second half of the 18th century A.D. Roerich informs me of a tradition in Kulu that birch-bark paintings of the 9th—10th centuries A.D. existed in the Valley until recent times, and that they were contemporaneous with the metal masks of that period. There is now no trace of them. If they existed, they must have perished in the fire of 1937.

Dāna Līlā—Fig 9

One category of Kulu miniatures is represented by *Dāna Līlā* (Fig 9). The masculine faces of the *gopīs* are peculiar to this *Kalam.* Other characteristics of Fig 9, which constantly appear in the Kulu school, are as follows:

(a) the women wear bodices which come right down to the waist, and have a V-shaped frill in front.

(b) the women are noticeably flat-chested.

(c) the torsos of the male figures are also flat, and devoid of modelling (Fig 23).

(d) the back of the head, in female figures, is egg-shaped. This feature is a derivation from Basohlī art.

(e) the arms, particularly of the women folk, are thin and weedy, while the hands and fingers are unusually long.

(f) the background consists only of the cream-tinted paper on which the miniature is painted. There is no colour wash on the background, though the figures are all coloured. This technique also appears in the Jammu school 'pre-Kāngrā' phase.

(g) one or more birds are seen flying through the sky. This is a mannerism which appears in many Kulu paintings. It is prominent in *Girls Flying Kites* (Plate XIV), and *Portrait of Aurangzeb* (Fig 26).

[1] *The Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 1951-52, No. 2, Plate 12, Fig 10.

(h) The womenfolk are commonly dressed like Gaddī girls. The Gaddīs are a nomadic people. The Hindu Gaddīs of Chambā and Kāngrā are hillmen.

(i) The willow tree repeatedly makes its appearance as a formal decorative element in the composition (Fig 23, and *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 6). A feature on the Kulu Valley trek, according to the traveller Moorcroft, was the constant occurrence of plantations of willows. They were used for basket making.

(j) the borders of the miniature are a pale brick-red. In some cases they are dark brown.

(k) The cowherds wear Tibetan type caps, borrowed no doubt from Lahul and Spiti, which at one time were under the control of Kulu. Two of the standing boys in Fig 9 (extreme right, and second from left) are seen wearing such caps. They are worn in Kulu even today. Moorcroft observed these caps, remarking that they were usually red, with an upturned border of black.

(l) The women have high rounded foreheads, with the hair tightly brushed back from the temples.

(m) as a rule the nose is slightly upturned.

Dāna Līlā (Fig 9) is by far the best and most lively example of its category which I have seen. It seems to be an early example of the Kulu school. The figures are fairly tall and slim, whereas the tendency in later Kulu paintings is for the body to be squat (Figs 28, 29 and 35).

Figs 23 and 28

Another example of the Kulu school is the *Portrait of Haridāsa* (Fig 23). The willow tree is used as a formal element in the composition, and the figure is painted against the uncoloured cream background of the paper itself. The *jāmā* falls almost to the ankles, and has many pleats. Several studies of Haridāsa exist, indicating that he was a person of rank, but it has not been possible to identify him.

The miniature *A Falconer Meeting Gosains*, (Fig 28), is also a work of the Kulu school but it belongs to a category in which the background is always a light powder-blue, while the painting itself is framed in by a brown border. The figures tend to be squat indicating a late date. The costume of the falconer can usefully be compared with that of *Haridāsa* (Fig 23). The Gosains are wearing gowns patterned with a series of short strokes of colour. This form of patterned textile appears almost exclusively in paintings of the *Kulu Kalam*. It is seen in the costumes of the retainers in Fig 26 ; on the skirt of the girl (second from the left) in Fig 9 ; and on the scarf (*odhnī*) of the girl (on the right) in Plate XIV. The face of the Gosain standing to the extreme right in Fig 28, closely follows the construction of the face of the girl standing on the left in *Girls Flying Kites* (Plate XIV). This type of physiognomy (Enlarged Face Detail No. 1) is often seen in both male and female figures of the Kulu school. The subject matter of Fig 28 may be no more than a record of some notable personage, or some well known retainer, conversing with Gosains. But it may also have reference to the gradual recruitment by Tedhī Singh of Kulu (1742-1767 A.D.) of a band of wandering Bairagis who had come to Kulu in his reign. Tedhī Singh recruited about a thousand of them and formed them into a bodyguard to secure his position against those who were plotting against him.

An interesting *Kulu Kalam* portrait of a Rājā with a lady is reproduced in *Roopa Lekha* Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, opp page 11. It is from the N. C. Mehta collection. The willow tree and a row of birds in flight appear in the composition. The Rājā wears a thick *kamarband* (waist-sash) and fresh flowers in his turban, while his *jāmā* almost reaches to the ground. The lady's face follows the formula of a large, rounded forehead with hair tightly brushed back from the temples, and somewhat masculine features. She is dressed in a fully embroidered gown with frills on the lapels. The background is an apple green. The miniature is unfortunately not inscribed but appears to belong to the late 18th century. It is reproduced in colour in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 15th June 1952, p. 32.

Plate XIV and Figs 26 and 27

Kulu does not seem to have been interfered with by the great Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1825 A.D.). The first writer to mention the Kulu school was J. C. French[1] in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, at pages 15 and 24. French reproduced one example, *Krishna and Rādhā Rising from the Pine Trees* (*Himalayan Art*, Plate 2), from the collection of the Rai of Rupī, the descendant of the old Rājās of Kulu. French referred to the frequent presence of pines in miniatures of the *Kulu Kalam*. An example related to that reproduced by French is *Two Gosains* (Fig 27). The pines are seen therein. In *Krishna and Rādhā Rising from the Pine Trees* (*Himalayan Art*, Plate 2), the face of the god is obviously derived from Krishna types in Basohlī painting, while Rādhā's face possesses the common characteristics of female faces in Kulu miniatures, namely, the rounded forehead, and turned-up projecting nose. The two Gosains in Fig 27 each have a garland of dried flowers twisted around their conical caps. This fashion must have been borrowed by the Gosains, who roamed the Hills, from the Gaddīs who commonly wound a chaplet of dried flowers around their tall pointed caps. The subject matter of Fig 27 is not at all clear. One Gosain has a document in his hand, and both are covered by a single shawl. They wear many ornaments and look more like jesters than Gosains. There appears to be a vein of sarcasm in the subject matter of the painting.

The late B. N. Treasurywala published some paintings, from a series in his collection, in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XI, page 133.[2] He ascribed them tentatively to the Kulu school. He gave no reasons for doing so, but informed me that dealers often referred to such pictures as being of the *Kulu Kalam*. Incidentally his classification was correct. The fact that some dealers referred to certain types of miniatures as being of the *Kulu Kalam*, was known to me. Later, I traced the source from which this nomenclature was derived. This matter will be dealt with hereafter. Two examples from Treasurywala's series, namely *Girls Flying Kites* (Plate XIV), and a local version of Aurangzeb's portrait (Fig 26), are reproduced in the present volume. Plate XIV adequately illustrates the colour scheme of this set. The blue of the backgrounds in this series, is darker than that of the backgrounds seen in miniatures such as Fig 28 where a light powder-blue shade is employed. In Plate XIV one notes several characteristics of the *Kulu Kalam* such as (a) the narrow, weedy arms; (b) the egg-shaped back of the head; (c) the unduly long hands and fingers; (d) the scarf (*odhnī*) patterned with short strokes of colour; and (e) the presence of two birds flying in the background. In other examples of this series (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XI, Plate 6, Figs 1 and 2) the willow tree, common in the *Kulu Kalam*, is present as a formal element in the composition. In Plate XIV, as in all examples of this series, the breasts of the women are most peculiarly drawn. They consist of two small circles having no relation to the anatomy of the chest, and devoid of all modelling. The women wear a double row of pearls binding the hair, a fashion sometimes seen in Basohlī miniatures (Plate XXII). In *Rāginī Devagirī* (Fig 52) a single band of pearls binds the hair. Though the workmanship of the series to which Plate XIV belongs is somewhat unrefined, these miniatures possess a quaint charm which entitles them to special notice. Even in Fig 26, which is a local version of a traditional portrait of Aurangzeb, a bird is seen flying in the background, though it really has no place in the composition.

A Kulu Folk Kalam

Still another group of *Kulu Kalam* miniatures is represented by *Venugopāla* (Fig 35). This group is closest to a pure folk art, and examples of this category are more common than most other types of *Kulu Kalam* miniatures. In Kulu, the god Krishna is known as Thakur Gopal. This group is usually characterized by markedly squat figures, and cattle drawn in clumsy imitation of the Basohlī manner (compare Figs H2 and H3). A certain variety of the pine tree

[1] There is a reference to painting in Kulu, in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, page 20, where the author states that he saw photographs, bought in Sultanpur, which purported to be copies of portraits of the late Kulu Rājās. These photographs were in the style of Plate 35 A of Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2. The provenance of Plate 35 A is uncertain.

[2] Other examples from this series are Fig 26 as well as the miniatures reproduced in *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art Vol. XI*. namely *Todī Rāginī*, Plate 7 (in colour); a toilet scene, and a girl under a willow tree on Plate 6 thereof.

(Fig M) almost invariably appears in the landscape, and a few birds in flight are often placed near the horizon. The backgrounds in this group, are a pale blue, while the borders are of a brown tint. The bare lower limbs of the *gopas* (cowherds) are straight and wooden (Fig 35). The faces of both male and female figures are characteristic, with rounded foreheads and projecting noses (Fig 35 and Enlarged Face Detail No. 2). The hair of the women folk is brushed back tightly, and the back of the head is egg-shaped. It is fairly safe to assume that the miniatures of this group were not produced for court circles. At the same time the poor village folk were most unlikely to have patronized any form of miniature painting. But a bourgeois clientle of traders may well have purchased such works. Another possible use for such pictures can be suggested. It is known that pictures of the Krishna legend were displayed at various festivals, and it is possible that paintings such as Fig 35, which are akin to a folk art, were used on such occasions. There are several references in Indian literature[1] to what are called 'picture showmen' who appear to have displayed scrolls representing the slaying of Kamsa, or the reward of good and evil deeds in the realm of *Yama* (the god of death). These showmen, who displayed the *Yama* subjects, were known as *Yamapattaka*. In Jain Prakrit texts the word *mankha* is used for 'picture showmen' who were mendicant entertainers securing alms by displaying pictures of deities. Kulu is wellknown for its *Melās* (fairs), and it is quite likely that pictures of the Krishna legend, in a crude style, were displayed at such fairs by 'picture showmen' for the entertainment of the common folk. The miniature *Venugopāla* (Fig 35), and all such similar paintings belong to the late 18th or early 19th century A.D. The increasing squatness of the figures in this group indicates decadent work. Moreover a comparison of this group with a crude folk-style miniature such as *Shiva Pujā* (Fig 32), dated 1805 A.D. affords further support for the late date ascribed to *Venugopāla* (Fig 35). Though *Shiva Pujā* (Fig 32) is not of the Kulu school, the squatness of the figures, and its unrefined execution, are typical of crude forms of folk art in the Hills in the late 18th and early 19th century A.D.

Fig 29

Another example of the Kulu school is reproduced as Fig 29. It is from a series illustrating some unidentified tale. The inscriptions on the paintings are so corrupt that it has not been possible to identify the story. Two miniatures of this series, including Fig 29, are now with the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, and were originally in the Treasurywala collection. Several examples from this set were once in the possession of the art dealer, K. C. Popli of Bombay. From an examination of all these miniatures it appears that the story relates to life after death, and tortures in Hell by terrible demons. Dr. Motichandra has tentatively deciphered some words in the inscription on Fig 29 to read,

Demon ? . . . . lifting the aerial car from . . . . king of gods ?

This series is painted on the reverse of a set of miniatures of a local *Kāngrā Kalam* which themselves are of the late 18th century A.D.

The Kāngrā paintings are earlier than those of the Kulu school. This is indicated by the fact that the reverse of one of the miniatures in the Kāngrā series, remains blank. The squat figures in the Kulu series suggest a date at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century.

It seems quite likely, from an examination of several Nepalese scrolls[2] of the first half of the 18th century A.D., that the types seen in the Kulu school have been influenced not only by the *Basohlī Kalam*, but also by Nepalese painting. In Fig. 29, the conical hats with brims,

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, p. 183, 'Picture Showmen' by Coomaraswamy.

2 Compare the faces in Fig 29 with the face of the woman at the extreme left in the lower half of Plate 1(a) of Dr. Motichandra's article 'A Painted Scroll from Nepal' published in *Marg*, Vol. 4 No. 1. Compare also the tree in Fig 29 with the spray-like trees seen in the lower half of Plate 1(a) of Dr. Motichandra's said article. Further compare the headgear worn by the worshipping figure in Plate 2(a) of Dr. Motichandra's said article with that worn by the seated king in our Fig 29. The scroll reproduced by Dr. Motichandra is datable to the first quarter of the 18th century A.D.

surmounted by plumes, are seen. These conical hats are derived from Tibet. The fashion probably came to Kulu, via Lahul which borders on Tibet.

Reasons for a Kulu Kalam Classification

The grounds for the conclusion that there was a Pahārī school known as the *Kulu Kalam* are as follows :

(1) Miniatures of the type of *Venugopāla* (Fig 35) are reported by dealers to have been found repeatedly in the Kulu Valley, but not in other parts of the Hills.

(2) Mr. J. C. French, the author of *Himalayan Art*, has referred to some miniatures in the collection of the Rai of Rupī, a descendant of the Kulu Rājās, which were regarded as being of the *Kulu Kalam*. An example of the *Kulu Kalam* which French reproduced as Plate 2 of his *Himalayan Art*, has several characteristics in common with the miniatures which I have ascribed to the Kulu school.

(3) Miniatures such as the of *Portrait of Haridāsa* (Fig 23), which have an uncoloured background of cream paper; formal willow trees in the composition; and brownish borders, are referred to by dealers as being of the *Kulu Kalam*. So also miniatures such as the *Falconer Meeting Gosains* (Fig. 28), with pale blue backgrounds, and brownish borders, are assigned by dealers to the Kulu school. The reason for the use of this nomenclature is as follows. At a village named Basisht Kund, 27 miles from Sultānpur, the capital of Kulu, there lived a family of painters who were known to have followed their hereditary calling up to the end of the 19th century. A descendant of these artists, named Gyanchand, had in his possession several miniatures, painted by his ancestors, which he sold to Amritsar dealers. These paintings so closely resembled Figs 23 and 28 as to make the theory of a common source inevitable. Gyanchand always referred to his forefathers as exponents of the *Kulu Kalam*. The family appears to have settled at Basisht Kund some time in the latter half of the 18th century.

It is in no way unlikely that several of the miniatures which have been classified herein as belonging to the *Kulu Kalam* were not painted in Kulu itself, but in nearby Mandī, or other neighbouring areas. That is the view held by Svetoslav Roerich. The style, however, has acquired a generic name due no doubt to its supposed origin in the Kulu Valley. The Kulu school has no pretensions to high aesthetic merit. But it displays a naive approach which accords its output a certain measure of distinction. Sometimes, as in *Dāna Līlā* (Fig 9), it captures that primitive vitality which is associated with the *Basohlī Kalam*, but as a rule its tempo is more even.

Miniatures Related to the Kulu School—Phul Līlā (Fig 5) and Fig 7

There are several miniatures, such as *Phul Līlā* (Fig 5), which may tentatively be regarded as belonging to the *Kulu Kalam*. In Fig 5 the background consists of the natural, cream tint of the paper, and the women folk have weedy arms, rounded foreheads, and slightly upturned projecting noses. These characteristics suggest a Kulu origin, or a provenance where a variation of the *Kulu Kalam* was in vogue. *Phul Līlā* is a composition of considerable charm. The *gopīs* are gathering flowers for weaving into garlands. The art of making garlands has been referred to in the *Kāmasutra*, as one of the sixty-four arts, under the name of *Mālya-granthana-vikalpa*. The gentle sport of gathering flowers, is an ancient pastime, indulged in by men and women of leisure. In Bilhana's *Vikramankakavya*, King Vikram marries a Silhāra princess, and he and his whole harem are described as amusing themselves by gathering flowers from trees and creepers.[1] The sprays in the foreground may be compared to those in the Lahore Museum's *Flower Gathering* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 19) which pertains to the same theme. Krishna and the *gopīs* are somewhat diminutive in size, a mannerism also seen

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 5, p. 317.

in *Venugopāla* (Fig 35). The miniature in all probability belongs to the last quarter of the 18th century. Krishna is seated on a platform which resembles a rustic stage for the performance of the *Krishna Līlā* during fairs and festivals.

The caricature Fig 7 also appears to belong to the Kulu school.

A Kulu Bhāgavata—Fig 21 and Fig(a)

In the Lahore Museum there is a series of about fifty-five miniatures which were labelled by the Museum authorities as illustrations to the *Harivamsa*. Several examples from this series are in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, including Fig 21. A few are in private collections. They are of small format, and the border is characteristic. I was long aware that the colophon of the manuscript was in the possession of Samarendranath Guta, but despite my best efforts I was unable to procure it for examination when the illustrations to the present volume were being printed. Accordingly, I accepted the label of the Lahore Museum, and described Fig 21 as an illustration of the *Harivamsa*. Moreover, I classified this miniature as belonging to an unidentified idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam* of the period 1800-1825 A.D. Sometime thereafter, the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, purchased the Gupta collection, including several examples of the series under discussion. Along with them, I fortunately found the colophon of the manuscript, together with a translation thereof by the one time Government Epigraphist, the late Hirānanda Shastrī. The colophon proved to be of high interest and states,

Raghunāthapura nagrame sri Pritama
Singha vrita (varta) mana Kalasadharyo
va (ba) nāyakem chitra kara Bhagwān.

The date is given as Asvina, 2nd *tithi*, Samvat 1851 =26th September 1794 A.D. Thus the colophon informs us that the manuscript was written in 1794 A.D. in Raghunāthpura for Shrī Pritam Singh, and that the painter was named Bhagwān. The text is in Hindi and script is Sāradā. It was also discovered that the manuscript was not the *Harivamsa* but the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. There is no locality in the Hills known to-day as Raghunāthpura, but those familiar with the history of the Hills will have no doubt that Raghunāthpura means Kulu. In the reign of Jagat Singh of Kulu (1637-1672 A.D.), the image of the god Ragunāth was brought by magic and stealth from Oudh to Makaraha the old capital of the State. The reason for this surreptitious removal of the image was that Jagat Singh was responsible for the death of a Brahmin, and it was predicted that he could only avoid the consequences of his sin by surrendering his kingdom to the god Raghunāth of Oudh. When the god arrived at Makaraha, Jagat Singh formally conveyed his realm to the god by placing the image on the throne. Thenceforth the Rājās of Kulu regarded themselves as merely the vice-regents of Raghunāth, and as ruling in his name. Thus the city of Raghunāth can only refer to Kulu. The identification of Raghunāthpura with Kulu is made certain by the circumstances that the only Hill Rājā named Pritam Singh, ruling in 1794 A.D., was Pritam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806 A.D.). There was a Prit Singh of Jaswan, who might have been alive in 1794 A.D., but then it is not possible to equate Raghunāthpura with Jaswan, or any city in that State. That Pritam Singh of Kulu had artists in his employ is apparent from an inscribed miniature in the N. C. Mehta collection wherein Pritam Singh is seen at a music party. The workmanship of this miniature is not however of a high order, and the female musicians therein bear some resemblance to the *gopīs* in Fig 38.

The series to which Fig 21 belongs lacks many of the usual characteristics of that group of miniatures which dealers refer to as the *Kulu Kalam*. It appears to be a local idiom of the Kāngrā school. Of course several styles of painting may have grown up in Kulu. At the same time it is possible that the artist Bhagwān, who painted the series, came to Pritam Singh's court from another State. Krishna's face in Fig 21, has more than a passing resemblance to some Guler types. The migration of artists from one court to another must indeed have been common in the Hills as elsewhere.

The colouring of the series is pleasant despite a certain dryness which prevails. The date of the series, namely 1794 A.D., is not far removed from the date suggested by me, before the colophon was discovered. Nevertheless the fact that the series was painted in 1794 A.D., supports the theory of the writer that many Pahārī miniatures, ascribed by critics to the first quarter of the 19th century, may belong to the end of the 18th century and *vice versa*.

In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, page 130, item 541, two miniatures from this series, in the Lahore Museum, were assigned to the Chambā school, *circa* 1800 A.D. In view of the discovery of the colophon, this classification is no longer maintainable. But apart from this circumstance, it is not clear why they were ascribed to Chambā.

Fig 21 was originally in the Treasurywala collection. The treatment of drapery is wooden, and the figures lack resilience. But in technique the miniatures are neat and competently handled. The female figures are tall, but not of slender proportions. In view of the fact that God is often called Bhagwān, the colophon was interpreted by the late Hirānanda Shastrī to mean that the manuscript was painted by God. But there appears to be no justification for this interpretation. Bhagwān is also a very common proper name, and it seems certain that the colophon refers to an artist named Bhagwān. Part of a similar series, but of larger format, dealing with Krishna themes, and said to be a manuscript of the *Rāsā Panchādhyayi*, is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras (*Nehru Birthday Volume*, 1950, Plate 23). It is incorrectly ascribed to the Basohlī school. In this manuscript the trees are in the manner of the pines in the *Kulu Kalam*, while the hanging sprays of the willow are also to be found as a decorative element in the composition. Some miniatures from this series including Fig. (a) were in the possession of an art dealer of Amritsar but they got dispersed and their present whereabouts are not known. In Fig. (a) the treatment of the pines is typical of the *Kulu Kalam*. Both the *Bhāgavata Purāna* series (Fig. 21) and the *Rāsa Panchadhyayi* series are almost certainly the work of the same painter or artist-family, and accordingly Fig. (a) must be ascribed to *circa* 1794 A.D.



Fig. (a). Krishna Dancing with Gopīs. Kulu Kalam, *circa* 1794 A.D. Illustration to the *Rāsa Panchadhyayi*. It should be noted that this miniature is contemporary with Fig. 21 which is an illustration to the *Bhāgavata Purāna* dated 1794 A.D., as established by the recently discovered colophon. Accordingly the caption under Fig. 21 must be regarded as incorrect.

Doubtful Attributions

Of late, a few miniatures have been reproduced as belonging to the *Kulu Kalam*, but it is not known on what grounds such ascriptions have been made. In *Roopa Lekha* Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, opposite page 79, is a miniature of Krishna and *gopīs*, which N. C. Mehta regards as an example of the *Kulu School*. But the faces of the stunted *gopīs* are more akin to those seen in Plate XII and Fig 25, than to the types of the *Kulu Kalam*.

In *The Studio*, February 1948, page 45, a lady with a *veena* is reproduced and ascribed to the Kulu school. The sprays of a willow tree appear in the composition, but the lady has little in common with the types seen in Kulu miniatures. I would prefer to ascribe this study[1] to a provincial idiom of the Basohlī school of the mid-18th century.

In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, page 129, Item 535, Mr. Alma Latifi's miniature of a lady smoking a hukkah after her bath, is stated to probably belong to the Kulu school, *circa* 1750 A.D. But I have already pointed out that this painting should be regarded as a provincial idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam*.[2] It does not evidence any Kulu characteristics.

The miniature of a lady smoking a hukkah, from the Baroda Museum (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 537, ascribed to Kulu, is more akin to miniatures such as Plate XII and Fig 25, than to the Kulu group. But no definite conclusion can be arrived at as our knowledge of painting in Kulu is still fragmentary. The art of miniature painting in the Kulu valley appears to be a growth of the second half of the 18th century. In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, page 129, Item 536, the miniature of Krishna and Rādhā, reproduced by French in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 2, is ascribed to the early 18th century. But the second half of that century appears more appropriate.

THE BILĀSPUR KALAM

The State of Bilāspur is only about 32 miles north-west of Simla. It is thus far away from the sphere of Basohlī influence. It developed a school of painting in the second half of the 18th century A.D. Svetoslav Roerich's investigations brought this fact to light, and he succeeded in acquiring several very fine examples of this local *Kalam*. Roerich kindly placed the results of his investigation at my disposal and later on I obtained confirmation of the facts which had been investigated by him.

The paintings acquired by Roerich belong to what must have been an extensive series illustrating the *Bhāgavata* (Plate F and Figs 43, 44 and 47). On one of the miniatures of this set in Roerich's collection the name of the artist is inscribed as Kisenchand. The family which possessed these *Bhāgavata* miniatures gives the traditional date of Kisenchand as *circa* 1750 A.D. He was a member of one of the artist families which it is said were working at Bilāspur in the reign of Devī Chand (1741-1778 A.D.). It is a historical fact that Devī Chand's reign was one of great prosperity for Bilāspur and the octroi dues in the town amounted to Rs. 20,000 a year. Bilāspur town had been founded as the capital of the State in 1654 A.D. by Rājā Dipchand. Many artisans and merchants from the plains came and settled at Bilāspur during Devī Chand's reign. Though tradition ascribes the date *circa* 1750 A.D. to the artist Kisenchand, the conclusion which I have arrived at is that Kisenchand's date must be nearer 1770 A.D. than 1750 A.D. The *Bilāspur Kalam* appears to be of mixed origin. It is not unlikely that some influences were derived from the early Kāngrā style of 1765-1770 A.D. It must be remembered, that Bilāspur is bounded on the North by Kāngrā, and Devī Chand of Bilāspur (1741-1777 A.D.) had friendly relations with Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā (1751-1775 A.D.) to whose reign the *Rāmāyanā* series dated 1769 A.D. has been ascribed. Devī Chand had gone to Ghamand Chand's aid when Kāngrā was invaded by Abhai Chand of Jaswan

[1] The same miniature is referred to in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 129, Item 534, as belonging to the Kulu school, early 18th century.

[2] Supra p 90.

State. Kisenchand's family probably migrated from the plains after 1740 A.D. and in course of time its members may have been influenced by the various developments which were taking place during the 'pre-Kangra' phase (1740-1775 A.D.) at several centres in the Hills such as Jammu Guler and Kāngrā. But the Bilāspur painters were not mere imitators and their work bears the impress of their originality. This can be seen from the quite unique *Suklabhisārikā Nāyikā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras (*Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950 Plate 109, Fig 578) which also belongs to the Bilāspur school. The prominently gnarled and knotted tree trunks with grass at their roots; the softly rounded hillocks; the peculiar device of little dots fringing the foliage of trees; and the unusual landscape composition, all go to indicate a product of the *Bilāspur Kalam*. The *Nāyikā*, however, is not so robust as Kishenchānd's *gopīs* and follows the pattern of the delicate women of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. The miniature is not from Garhwāl as stated in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 135 Its date is 1775-85.

Plate F and Figs 43, 44 and 47

In Fig 43, the cowherds, led by the dark-bodied Krishna and his brother Balarāma, have entered the woodland. The herds graze lazily around and drink by the riverside. Nearby a monster crane wades in the shallow stream. But it is not a harmless water bird. It is the demon Bākasura who has assumed the form of a crane, in order to approach Krishna unsuspected, and destroy him. But Krishna sensed the danger and Bākasura met with the same fate which befell every demon sent by the wicked Kamsa to accomplish the young god's destruction. The sequel to Fig 43 is to be found in Plate F. Bākasura swallowed Krishna, but the god became red hot and the demon had to disgorge him. Then Krishna seized the mighty crane's beak in each hand and tore the creature asunder. In Plate F, the cowherds are seen aiding Krishna, as he destroys the crane. The calves affrighted by the commotion scamper away, but the older members of the herd seem unconcerned.

In Fig 44 the cowherds are seen taking their cattle to pasture. On the extreme left a calf gallops to join the herd and the animated actions and gestures of the young herdsmen create an atmosphere of liveliness as morning breaks over the sleepy secluded village.

Fig 47 is a detail from what appears to be a *Dāna Līlā* scene. It illustrates the female types to be seen in the series. The women-folk of the *Bilāspur Kalam* are quite buxom in comparison to the delicate ladies of the Kāngrā school, while the male figures also have robust bodies. Many of the cowherds have short necks and heavy faces, but their figures are never squat.

The compositional elements in all these miniatures are arranged in rather unusual but clever designs. At the same time there is a tendency towards intricacy which does not exist in the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* miniatures of 1730 A.D. (Plates XVII and XVIII), where the value of empty spaces of colour is emphasized.

The workmanship of these *Bhāgavata* miniatures is of a high order, and their colouring is delightful even apart from the novelty of particoloured cows dappled with gold. The world of the Krishna legend is unfolded to us by a design quite different from that of Basohlī and Kāngrā art, but the mode of expression achieves its objective. Kisenchand's miniatures may not possess the profound qualities of the best Basohlī paintings, nor the dream-like charm of the best Kāngrā work, but with their splendour of gold, their enamel-like effects, and their landscape decor, they come closest of all Pahārī paintings to the spirit of true book illustration.

The frequent use of gold on the bodies of the cows is a conceit peculiar to the Bilāspur *Bhāgavata*. Another characteristic of the series is to be found in the prominently gnarled and knotted tree trunks. Kisenchand was apparently prone to the use of an endless variety of tree forms, and struck a happy medium between the excessive formalization of the Basohlī school and the naturalistic treatment of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

The Late Bilāspur School

Even after Kisenchand's time, miniatures continued to be produced at Bilāspur, but the brilliance of the former work was altogether absent. I have seen two *Rāgāmālā* sets of the *Bilāspur Kalam*, painted in the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. which were mediocre productions. The conditions in the State itself were not favourable for cultural pursuits after 1785 A.D. Devī Chand's son Māhān Chand (1778-1824 A.D.) was a worthless ruler, and the State suffered greatly by several invasions, and its territory was much reduced. Moorcroft visited Bilāspur in March 1820, and remarks that the Rājā's dwelling, whitened and decorated with flowers in fresco, is neat but not large. He found the bazar in a ruinous condition and half the shops deserted, the town having twice been plundered by the Gurkhas. Māhān Chand's son Kharakh Chand (1824-1839 A.D.) was also a wastrel, and Bilāspur fell upon very evil days in his reign.

The merits of the *Bilāspur Kalam*, though they have to be judged by the scanty material of Kisenchand's *Bhāgavata* set, appear to have been high. Kisenchand himself must have produced other works of excellence, and as there were several families of painters working at Bilāspur in his time, it is more than likely that they were benefited by his brilliance.

THE PROBLEMS OF PROVENANCE

Though much work remains to be done to achieve a comprehensive classification of Pahāri painting, it is no longer a satisfactory method to ascribe every Hill miniature to either the Basohlī school or the Kāngrā school. It is true that a large number of paintings can be so classified, particularly if the provincial idioms of these schools are included in the two principal catagories. Even so, there are many miniatures which cannot aptly be grouped with one or the other of the two main *Kalams*. An instance in point is the output of the Kulu Valley. Fortunately the existence of the *Kulu Kalam* is established. But those miniatures which cannot properly be related to any school, and the provenance of which is unknown are, for the nonce, best described as belonging to an unidentified *Kalam*. In many cases the provenance of a particular style may for ever remain unsolved. Not only did small ateliers spring up all over the Hills during the 18th century, but it is evident that artists also transferred their services from one State to another due to various causes. Moreover there is reason to think that there were several itinerant painters who went from court to court selling their pictures and perhaps making a temporary stay here and there to execute commissions. All these factors led to the growth of differing styles of work even at one and the same centre, and moreover brought into existence what are best regarded as mixed Kalams. Svetoslav Roerich has rightly pointed out that the same style of work appears to have emanated even from centres distant from each other. Hence the problems of provenance are often beset with pitfalls and difficult to unravel when the data available to the investigator is inadequate.

Shiva Seducing the Wives of the Brahmans—Plate XIII

This unusual miniature was reproduced in *Marg*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 51, where it was ascribed by me to the Kulu school.[1] But on further consideration it appears wiser to hazard no opinion as to its provenance. In the *Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition of Indian Art*, 1948, it was stated that Plate XIII belonged to the Basohlī school of the mid-18th century, and it was described as *The Meeting of Shiva and Pārvatī*. The pavilion has affinities to the architecture[2] seen in Basohlī miniatures, and the colouring is rich and warm. But the faces of the women, the broad strip of sky with birds in a row, and the unusual tree forms, are not quite in keeping with the Basohlī tradition. It may be a product of a provincial idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam*, but at the same time it displays certain characteristics of Kulu painting. The theme appears to relate to the incident wherein Shiva, in the form of a mendicant, seduced the wives of certain

[1] I was influenced by the facial types with large, receding, rounded foreheads and the hair brushed well back as in Fig 9, and also by the formal row of birds in the sky as in Fig 35

[2] *Rupam*, Nos 19 and 20, Fig 3, opposite page 137.

heretical *rishīs* (sages) who paid no honour to him. One of the erring spouses has already yielded to Shiva, while another, with an indelicate gesture, induces her companion to join her in surrendering their bodies to the wandering beggar who has won their love. The date of the miniature is not easy to determine. It may well belong to the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. But the conventional birds, the squat form of the woman embracing Shiva, and the treatment of the trees, are factors which go to support a date nearer 1750 A.D.

Despite the artist's quaint conception of the theme he has handled his material with remarkable success. The tense expressions on the faces of the love-maddened women are admirably depicted, and the effect is heightened by full-bodied, warm tones which dominate the colour scheme.

Toilet—Plate XII; and Vata Sāvitrī—Fig 25

These miniatures, from a series in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, must also be regarded for the time being as belonging to an unidentified *Kalam*. The protruding eyes are derived from the Basohlī school, but the straight nose in line with the forehead, and the pointed chin, are in the Kāngrā manner. It is to be observed that in the case of the two standing maidens in *Toilet*, the *odhnī* (wimple) is worn over the head and both shoulders and then tucked in at the waist. This method of wearing the *odhnī* is peculiar to this series. While listing the Treaurywala collection, prior to its sale to the nation, I tentatively labelled these paintings as a Mandī folk *Kalam*[1]. The reason was that miniatures with affinities to *Toilet* (Plate XII) were known to have come from the Mandī area. But the find-spot of *Toilet* was Chambā[2], and that provenance cannot be ruled out altogether. The type of comb seen in Plate XII is still used in Chambā, and the large nose-ring is a Chambā characteristic (Fig 20). The treatment of the *odhnīs* (wimples) worn by the seated attendants in Plate XII consists of a series of semi-circuler folds, a method also observed in Fig 20. In workmanship these miniatures lack refinement, but their peculiar characteristics and unusual colouring arouse interest.

The background of Plate XII extends much higher and forms a curved horizon. This is not shown in the reproduction. The theme of *Vata Sāvitrī* (Fig 25) is the worship of the banyan tree. The significance of bird is not however apparent.

A miniature which has affinities to Plate XII is reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 103. It is ascribed to Kulu or Mandī. Though the suggested provenance may be correct, the matter is not beyond doubt. Numerous sub-schools of mixed origin, bordering on a folk art, came into existence all over the Hills during the last quarter of the 18th century and first quarter of the 19th century. It is an almost impossible task to classify them because they seem to have borrowed freely from each other. Moreover, political conditions in the Hills at the end of the 18th century, due to the depredations of the Sikhs, seem to have caused artists and artisans to move from unsettled areas to localities where life and property were more secure.

Abhisārikā Nāyikā—Fig 57

This *Nāyikā* painting bears a superficial resemblance to the series to which Plate XII and Fig. 25 belong. But it is more refined in execution. It is not unlikely that its provenance is the Mandī-Kulu area, as suggested by Roerich. The pine trees are somewhat similar to those which are constantly seen in the *Kulu Kalam* (Fig 35). But this variety of pine, locally known as *cheer*, also makes its appearance in the portrait of Rājā Sidh Sen of Mandī (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 4 B). Though the influence of the *Kāngrā Kalam* can be discerned in the conventional attitude of the Heroine, and in the composition in general, the face of the lady is not in the characteristic Kāngrā manner. The broad expanse of the dark, angry sky, and the wind

[1] This classification was adopted in the *Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition of Indian Art*, 1948, where Plate XII was listed as Item 452.

[2] The late B. N. Treasurywala has made a note to that effect on the reverse of Plate XII.

swept rain, are mainly instrumental in creating that eerie atmosphere which poets always stress in their verses penned on the *Abhisārikā* theme.

The thunder clouds are trumpeting like a herd of elephants,
And the fierce rain is like a blinding mist
As forked tongues of lightning crash over the dreaded forest paths.

The probable date of Fig 57 is the end of the 18th century.

While I do not approve of every local *Kalam* being referred to as a sub-school I have been constrained to employ this nomenclature to avoid a complicated terminology. Strictly speaking the term 'school' should only be applied to a considerable group of sufficient importance to influence the style of painting over a fairly widespread area. The term 'sub-school' then becomes self-explanatory. The vernacular term *Kalam* is very elastic, and is loosely applied to a school, a sub-school, and also to all local variations of a school or sub-school.

Krishna and Rādhā—Fig. 24

Another example of a mixed *Kalam* of unknown provenance is *Krishna and Rādhā Dressed in Lotus flowers* (Fig 24). The Basohlī influence is present in the sloping foreheads, but it is apparent that the artist was also familiar with the gentle-eyed Kāngrā types. The date of the miniature would probably be the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. when the *Kāngrā Kalam* influence was widespread.

Worship of Krishna—Fig. 31

A miniature of high interest, and quite unique of its kind, is the *Worship of Krishna* (Fig 31). The left side of the miniature (upto the figure of the standing woman) is painted in the established Basohlī idiom, including the formalized tree under which Krishna is seated. But the lady reclining in a pavilion is drawn in the Kāngrā school manner of 1775-1800 A.D.

The architecture of the decorative pavilion also has mixed characteristics. The domes and projecting gable are of the early type seen in Basohlī miniatures of Kirpāl Pāl's reign (1678-1694 A.D.), but the fluted pillars resting on a 'double lotus' base belong to an order of pillars which became popular in the architecture of Kāngrā and other Hill States only after *circa* 1750 A.D.

The wide-eyed maiden standing on the steps of the shrine, next to the pillar, is the *sakhī* (female attendant) of the lady reclining in the pavilion. The *sakhī* is apparently conveying a message to Krishna who sits in the forest attended by a *chaurī* (fly-whisk) bearer, and worshipped by birds and beasts. The artist it appears was versed in the *Basohlī Kalam* and also in the high Kāngrā art of Sansār Chand's court.

Fig 31 represents a quite unique experiment in Pahārī art, and whatever one may think of its success, it establishes three propositions:

(1) that the *Basohlī Kalam*, even in its original idiom, did continue into the last quarter of the 18th century A.D.;

(2) that the *Basohlī Kalam* had spread to many Hill States distant from Basohlī;

(3) that there existed at least a few artists in the last quarter of the 18th century A.D., who were equally proficient in the Basohlī style and the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

It was but natural that the artist should have thought that the delicate Kāngrā type was eminently suitable to portray the Heroine, and that the less delicate Basohlī type was better suited to the attendant *sakhī*. The choice of the Basohlī type for Krishna, was no doubt due to the fact that the artist regarded him as an intense and passionate being. It is important to note that the standing *sakhī* in Fig 31 bears out an observation already made, that figures in Basohlī art of the second half of the 18th century A.D. frequently tend to be stunted. On the

other hand the excessive elongation of the fly-whisk bearer is a freak tendency seen in more than one school of the late 18th century, and particularly in Chambā.

Shiva Puja—Fig 32

While dealing with the Kulu school I had referred to the growth of crude forms of folk painting typified by examples such as *Venugopāla* (Fig 35). One such specimen, namely *Shiva Puja* (Fig 32), of unidentified provenance, is fortunately dated in the year 1805 A.D. It thus provides a fair indication of the period to which such forms of folk art belong. In common with even refined miniatures of the late 18th and early 19th century A.D. the figures in these folk paintings are stunted, while the faces are drawn too large for the torsos and are close-set on the neck. These characteristics are plainly seen in the two female figures in *Shiva Puja*. The application of colour in Fig. 32 is crude and careless, and the drawing is clumsy. These features are constant in the folk painting of this period. Some examples of this folk art, such as *Venugopāla* (Fig 35), are delightfully naive, but others like *Shiva Puja* (Fig 32) have little to recommend them. In truth the only interesting feature of Fig. 32 is the fact that it is dated, and hence of value to an art historian. In Fig. 32, Shiva's vehicle, the bull *Nandī*, with its ample body and short neck, is unlike the narrow-bodied kine seen in Basohlī miniatures (Fig H 2). It is more in the manner of the heavy-bodied, short-necked cattle of Kāngrā art (Fig H 5). The drawing of the faces of the two worshipping women appears to have been influenced by some Basohlī type miniature which the artist had seen.

A Bhāgavata in the Berlin Museum

In the *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 6, 1929-30, some quite interesting examples from a *Bhāgavata* set were reproduced by Ernest Waldschmidt to illustrate his article 'Illustrations De Krishna Līlā'. They were from the Berlin Museum and belonged to the Jagor and Leitner collections. Waldschmidt described them as of the Jammu school, following Coomaraswamy's classification, and ascribed them to the 17th century A.D. In doing so he referred to a painting reproduced by Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* as Fig 267 thereof, and stated that it was dated 1625 A.D.

Waldschmidt fell into a series of errors.

(a) The paintings are not of the Jammu school. Nor do they belong to Coomaraswamy's Jammu group, which in fact is only a wrong nomenclature for Basohlī painting. They belong to a mixed *Kalam* which has Basohlī influences in it.

(b) They are not of the 17th century A.D. but definitely post-date 1750 A.D. In several of the miniatures reproduced by Waldschmidt the bodies are squat and the necks short. The foliage is a mixture of conventional and naturalistic tree-forms. The cows are mild looking and somewhat fat. Goetz was approximately right when he ascribed these miniatures to the early 19th century A.D. in a German journal which is referred to in a footnote on page 203 of Waldschmidt's article. They appear to be of the late 18th century A.D.

(c) The miniature reproduced[1] by Coomaraswamy as Fig. 267 of his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, is not dated 1625 A.D. as stated by Waldschmidt. Dr. Coomaraswamy only conjectured its date and labelled it as *circa* 1625 A.D.

In fact it is an 18th century miniature with Basohlī influence. I am drawing pointed attention to this error on Waldschmidt's part lest those who have read his article should believe that a Pahāri painting dated 1625 D.A. is in existence, and that it has been ignored by the writer while propounding the theory that the earliest Pahāri paintings do not antedate the last quarter of the 17th century.

[1] Also reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 29.

Conclusions

We thus see that the art of miniature painting secured a foothold in the Hills during the last quarter of the 17th century and gradually became popular at the courts of the Pahārī Rājās. It has already been noted that artists trained in the Moghul school of the Aurangzeb period, and familiar with the trends of Rājasthānī painting, must have had a large say in the formation and development of the *Basohlī Kalam* which became the norm in Pahārī art, at least upto 1740 A.D. Several of the artists who worked at the Hill courts during this period obviously came from the plains in search of patronage, but in course of time local artisans such as goldsmiths and wood-carvers were attracted to their ranks and appear to have been apt pupils. Some of the artists from the plains may have occasionally painted in the pure Moghul manner of the late 17th century, but it seems that by far and large the Hill States were partial to the *Basohlī Kalam*, and the artists from the plains appear to have adopted this style in a greater or lesser measure. It is also possible that the ranks of these artists were augmented by emigrant painters from Kashmir. Similarly the possibility of some influences, *via* Tibet and Nepal, has to be countenanced.

The output of these ateliers which worked in the Basohlī and related styles during *circa* 1675-1740 A.D., does not appear to have been very large. It must be remembered that miniature painting was a newly acquired taste at the Hill courts, and the ateliers formed by Rājās such as Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.) were in all probability limited to three or four artists, at least in the beginning. These ateliers, however, must gradually have increased in size with the more ready availability of local talent. In this connection it may be noted that goldsmiths, wood-carvers, stone-carvers,[1] architects, draughtsmen, wall painters, and such like artisans accustomed to drawing patterns and designs, would quite easily be able to turn their talents to miniature painting. We must not forget that it required only a few Persian masters at Akbar's court to train a host of Indian craftsmen and transform them into artists of high calibre. The number of really fine Basohlī miniatures produced appears to be comparatively small. In fact it is negligible when compared to the thousands and thousands of Pahārī paintings belonging to the *Kāngrā Kalam* and its variations. From 1740 A.D. the migrations of artists from the plains commenced in increasing numbers. These 18th century Moghul artists were mostly trained in the school of Mahomed Shah. With their advent we come to the important stage of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting with which we shall deal next. But before proceeding to do so I will again emphasize the fact that in the second half of the 18th century certain distinctive schools such as the *Kulu Kalam* and the *Bilāspur Kalam* also came into being. I have no doubt that there were also other such distinctive schools, but we have not so far been able to identify them satisfactorily. These distinctive schools, however, did not spring into existence quite independently of the two main *Kalams*, namely, the *Basohlī Kalam* and the *'pre-Kāngrā' Kalam*. They owe something to both.

PRE-KĀNGRĀ PAINTING

The fame of Pahārī miniature painting has rested largely on the products of the Kāngrā school, and the term 'Kāngrā Painting' has, in common parlance, been applied to all miniatures emanating from the Hills. The fact however is that the Kāngrā school is the best known of all the Pahārī *Kalams*. It has never been adequately realized that the Kāngrā school is a late development of Pahārī miniature painting, and that its beginnings postdate those of the Basohlī school by about three quarters of a century.

Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.), appears to have been the first of the Hill Rājās to maintain an atelier of artists, as we have already seen. His example was emulated at a later date at other Hill courts where the ruling prince happened to possess cultural and artistic

[1] Carved and sculptured temples were built in the Hills from early times. The theory that there must also have been a contemporary school of painters wherever sculpture was practised is one which cannot be applied to the development of art in India, save with many limitations.

pretensions, as well as the finances to support artists in the regular pay of the State. The drastic retrenchment of the royal atelier at the Imperial capital of Delhi, in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.), led to a considerable migration of artists from Delhi to the courts of Rājputānā. So also the artists who worked at Kirpāl Pāl's court, and created the Basohlī school, were painters trained in the school of Aurangzeb. It is possible that some Hill Rājās did emulate Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694 A.D.) as early as the last quarter of the 17th century A.D., and maintain artists in their employ. But at present we have no evidence of any group of painters working in the Hills in the last quarter of the 17th century apart from the artists of the Basohlī school. See page 239 where a portrait of Rājā Māndhātā of Nurpur is discussed.

But after 1739 A.D. we have definite evidence of the employment of refugee artists from the plains at several Hill courts. Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi took place in 1739 A.D. and despite the fact that the Persian king's invasion of Hindustan was only a glorified raid for plunder, it caused many artists and artisans from the plains to seek a refuge in the Hill States, where life and property seemed safer from rapacious invaders. The artists who migrated to the Hills were mostly trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748 A.D.). They were technically competent, but the prevailing tastes at the Moghul court had inclined them towards effete and petty forms of art, in which paintings pertaining to zenana life predominated. Though their skill in portraiture was not wanting, their figures tended to be stiff and formal, and their painting of beards was effected by a series of coarse strokes lacking the exquisite brush work of the best Moghul portraiture.

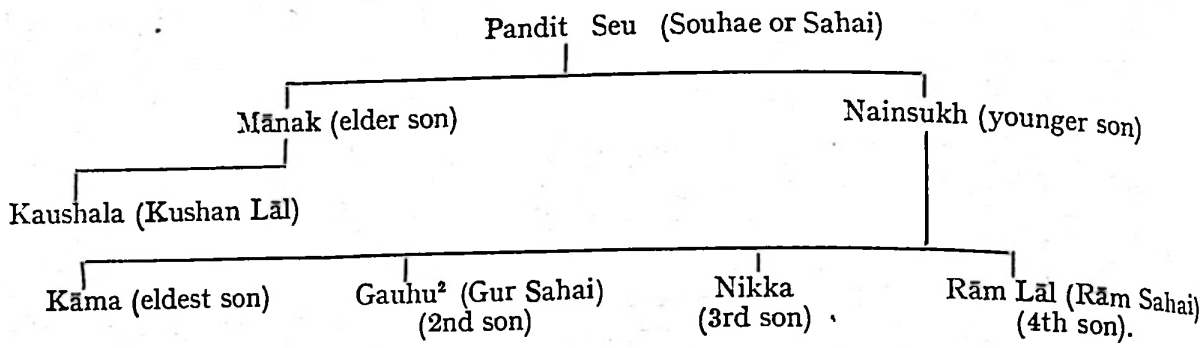
It is to the earlier work of these refugee artists at Hill courts that I have applied the term 'pre-Kāngrā'. Till *circa* 1740 A.D. the prevailing fashion was the *Basohlī Kalam* and its provincial idioms. If any other styles of painting existed in the Hills between 1675-1740 A.D. they have yet to come to light though it is not improbable that a few stray painters of the Aurangzeb school, working purely in the Moghul style, were now and then accorded patronage by some Hill Rājās. Adequate evidence however is lacking for any definite conclusion. But a sudden change in Pahārī miniature painting took place from 1740 A.D. onwards and affords proof of a considerable influx of artists from the plains. Moreover, when this new style is analysed it is found to be in close imitation of the Moghul school of the first half of the 18th century, and in particular of the Mahomed Shah period, as practised at Delhi, Faizabād, and Lucknow. Such a change could hardly have been wrought overnight if it was an internal development in the Hills. The most acceptable conclusion is that this sudden change was due to painters from Delhi and other Northern cities migrating in fairly rapid succession to various Hill courts from 1739 A.D. onwards. In fact it appears that these migrations were periodical. They commenced with the invasion of Nadir Shah and continued whenever the Durrānī incursions made Northern India insecure. We know for certain that during the reign of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1735-1781 A.D.) many wealthy merchants from the plains sought an asylum in the Hills where they established branch firms for safety and security. Jammu flourished due to the influx of these traders and artisans. The traveller Forster[1] has remarked that due to the raids of the Persians, Afghans, and Sikhs, the Kashmir trade was diverted from the old route *via* Sirhind and Lahore, in the channel of Jammu where branch firms were established. Many political refugees also found an asylum in that State. Malka Zamānī[2] was one of the most eminent of such refugees, while another was the widow of Mir Mannu, the famous viceroy of Lahore. Thus Jammu became a small but active centre of displaced Moghul society and was fertile soil for cultural pursuits such as the arts. In fact one of Ranjit Dev's brothers, named Balvant Singh, maintained an atelier and was inordinately fond of having himself painted.

A Family of Artists

Of the painters who migrated to various Hill courts we have but meagre information. Their numbers must have been considerable though the names of only a very few have so far

1 Forster, *Travels*, p. 282-3.
2 She was the Emperor Mahomed Shah's consort.

come to light. In a series of sketches[1] in the Lahore Museum we have the portraits of a group of artists and from the inscriptions thereon the genealogy of at least one artist-family can be derived as follows :



Pandit Seu appears to have migrated and settled at Jasrota. There is an inscribed miniature in the Lahore Museum of Balvant Singh of Jammu at a music party (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 35) painted in 1748 A.D. by Nainsukh who describes himself as Nainsukh of Jasrota. Since Nainsukh was one of the artists attached to the atelier of Balvant Singh of Jammu, as we shall presently see, it is obvious that he refers to Jasrota as the place of his domicile. It can, therefore, be deduced that his family settled in that State. Not only did the family settle in Jasrota, but one or more members of the family appear to have worked for a Jasrota grandee named Mian Mukund Dev. An equestrian *plein air* portrait of this nobleman, in a style related to Nainsukh's work, is in the Manley collection, England (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 40). It may be that Pandit Seu himself took service with Mian Mukund Dev and painted the portrait referred to, or it may be the work of some other member of the family. Pandit Seu must have been a middle-aged man when he migrated from the plains, even if we assume that he came to Jasrota as early as *circa* 1740 after Nadir Shah's devastating invasion of Northern India in 1739 A.D. At least we know that Nainsukh, his son, was about twenty-five to thirty years of age in *circa* 1750 A.D. This can be deduced from the fact that there is a painting of that period in the Jalan collection, Patna, which shows Nainsukh as a fairly young man presenting his handiwork to his patron Rājā Balvant Singh of Jammu (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 36). Though this miniature is not inscribed, we can be sure that the artist therein, standing with folded hands behind Balvant Singh, is none other than Nainsukh. The reason for the above conclusion is to be found in the circumstance that an inscribed portrait of Nainsukh himself exists (*Rupam*, No. 37, opp. p. 63). It may be that the *Rupam* portrait belongs to the Lahore Museum series of Pandit Seu and his family, where Nainsukh's likeness is missing. Another portrait of Nainsukh with a golden background is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The fact that at least one member of the family entered the service of Mian Mukund Dev of Jasrota, and that another, namely Nainsukh, worked for Balvant Singh of Jammu, goes to indicate that the members of this artist family spread out after settling in Jasrota State and offered their talents to whichever court or nobleman favoured the Moghul style of the Mahomed Shah period. In consonance with Indian tradition, all the members of this family doubtless followed their hereditary calling, and adopted the style and mannerisms of the head of the family-guild. This is a factor which has to be borne in mind in any discussion on Indian miniature painting. Similarities of style, and resemblances in types, are often found between the output of various States, and this circumstance may well be accounted for by the fact that members of the same family-guild had separated and taken employment at different Hill courts. Rām Lāl seems to have worked at the Chambā court as will be seen later on.

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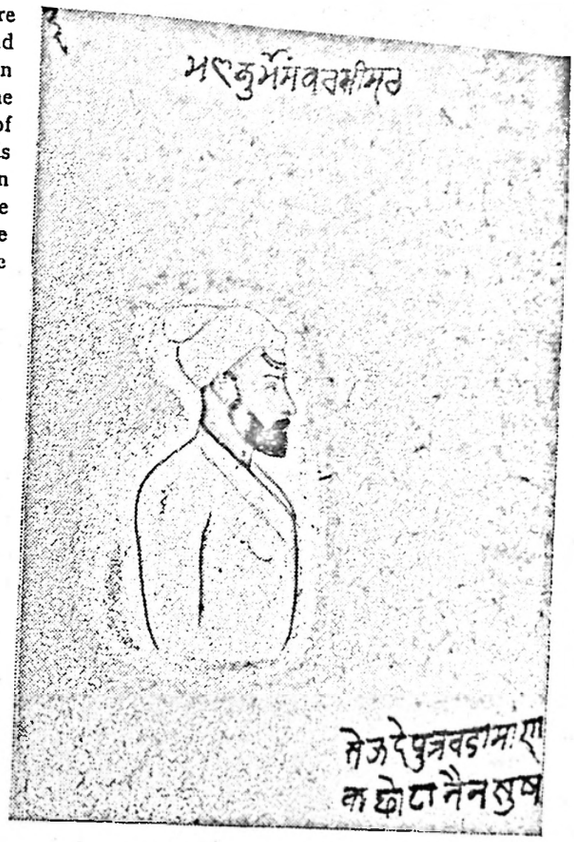
[1] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, pp. 64 and 65, Nos. D-115 to D-122.

[2] Gauhu and Nikka are said to have worked at the Court of Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790). M. S. Randhawa (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1) gives some genealogies including that of the family of Pandit Seu. But as is common with such genealogies they are unreliable. So also the supposed origin of all these families in Guler is clearly due to wishful thinking which results in unscientific investigation of confused vague traditions. See Appendix No. 2 for fuller discussion.



Portrait of the artist Mānak in the Lahore Museum. He was the elder son of Pandit Seu and brother of the artist Nainsukh. The inscription at the top reads 'Manaku Musavir Misr'=the painter Manaku belonging to the Misr caste of Brahmans. The inscription at the bottom reads 'Seu de putra vada Mānak chhota Nainsukh'=son of Seu elder Manak, younger Nainsukh. The sketch is unfinished. The artist is wearing the court costume of that period. His sensitive features are very noticeable.

The Prevalence of the Pre-Kāngrā Style

The 'pre-Kāngrā' style is not confined to Jammu. It appears at Jasrota as already stated, at Basohlī (Fig 65), at Guler (Figs 72, 74, and 76), and at Chambā (Fig 87)[1]. There is no reason to think that it did not also prevail in other States including the powerful and important State of Kāngrā. For ought one knows the most beautiful example of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting known to me, namely *Begum Sakir out Hawking* (Fig 59), may be from Kāngrā though ofcourse it may equally well be from Jammu, or Guler, or Basohlī under Amrit Pāl.

Certain close similarites which exist between the 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Jammu, Jasrota, Chambā, Guler, and elsewhere, go to suggest that members of Pandit Seu's family took service at various courts and played an important role in founding the style which was later to develop into the *Kāngrā Kalam*. It must not be thought that Pandit Seu's family constituted the only group of painters, trained in the Moghul style of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748 A.D.), who migrated to the Hills. We know, for instance, of a very competent painter named Vajan Sāh, who worked in the same style and was attached to the atelier of Balvant Singh of Jammu. Similarly there must have been many other skilled artists, all trained in the Moghul school of the first half of the 18th century, working at various Hill courts.

The circumstance that the 'pre-Kāngrā' style was the vogue in Pahārī art from 1740 onwards has not hitherto been sufficiently stressed. There has been a tendency to deal with 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures in the context of particular schools and patrons,[2] and not as part of a new movement common to many Hill States after 1740 A.D. While I have no quarrel with the method which classifies the products of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting into various schools, it should not be forgotten that just as the *Basohlī Kalam* and its variations was the prevailing style in the Hill States till *circa* 1740 A.D., so also the 'pre-Kāngrā' style was the prevailing fashion from *circa* 1740 to *circa* 1775 A.D. But even during this period of thirty-five years the 'pre-Kāngrā' style was gradually acquiring characteristics which gave it a new orientation. This change in outlook was a contemporaneous development in States which had adopted the 'pre-Kāngrā' style. It is a fundamentally incorrect approach to talk of Guler or Jammu as the birth-place of Kāngrā painting. Its birth-place cannot be localized to a single State. See page 265.

The next stage of development in Pahārī painting has acquired the generic name *Kāngrā Kalam*. Although this may not be an ideal nomenclature, it is so firmly established and so

1 The 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Chambā is dealt with under the heading 'The Chambā idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam' at pages 219, 220.

2 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952.
Marg, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Art' by M. S. Randhawa.

widely accepted in the Hills, that it is undesirable to alter it. Bearing this in mind I have referred to miniature painting in the various Hill States after *circa* 1775 A.D. as idioms of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Thus we have the Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, or the Chambā idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and so forth. Certain distinctive styles however, such as those of Basohlī, and Kulu are excluded. But this is all a matter of nomenclature and the Guler or Chambā idioms of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, may also for convenience be referred to as the Guler school or the Chambā school. Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, page 17, inclines to the view that the Guler style was taken to Kāngrā in about 1780 A.D., thus becoming the *Kāngrā Kalam* itself. There is, however, sufficient evidence to negative this conclusion. Moreover it does not accord with the tradition in every Hill State that the Katoch court of Kāngrā was not only the chief propagator of the *Kāngrā Kalam* but also the parent source. See heading *The Birthplace of Kāngrā Painting*, at page 265 herein. One fact which must be borne in mind in ascribing dates to 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures is that the upper limit is *circa* 1740 A.D. The lower limit has to be extended in some instances to 1775 A.D. because there was a period of a decade or so (*circa* 1765-1775) when the early products of the *Kāngrā Kalam* and the late products of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase were being produced side by side. In fact, it is at times not easy to decide whether a miniature should be termed early Kāngrā or late 'pre-Kāngrā'. It must not be forgotten that in dealing with Pahārī miniature painting we have to take into account a very extensive area and we cannot predicate one pattern of development in all the Hill States. As a working rule, however, it may be assumed that those examples of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style which are considerably influenced by the Moghul school of Mahomed Shah do not post date *circa* 1760 A.D. At the same time it should be noted that even prior to *circa* 1760 A.D. many of the refugee artists had begun to incorporate into their work influences born of their new environment and atmosphere, and had succeeded in imparting to their pictures a freshness and charm (Fig 59) which the cloying school of Mahomed Shah usually lacked.

Similarities between 'Pre-Kāngrā' Painting and the Moghul school of 1700-1750 *A.D.*

Before I proceed to consider the products of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style in various States, it is well to note some of the similarities between 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures and the output of the Moghul school at Delhi during the first half of the 18th century, and particularly during Mahomed Shah's reign (1719-1748 A.D.). In the realm of portraiture *Balvant Singh and Attendants* (Fig 61) may be regarded as a sufficiently good example for purposes of comparison. The figures are all somewhat stiffly drawn and the attitudes very formal. The costumes in favour at Mahomed Shah's court had already been adopted by many of the Hill Rājās and their followers, even prior to 1740 A.D. For instance, in Fig 61 we see the long, full-skirted *jāmā* reaching almost to the ground, while the *kamarband* (waist-sash) is tied a little above the waist-line. Even the manner[1] of drawing the costumes is similar to that of Mahomed Shah's artists. There is little effort to depict the folds of the skirted portion of the *jāmās* or the gather in the sleeves, while sensitivity to texture is wanting. Again, the grouping of rigid courtiers in seried rows at one end of the picture (Fig 61) is a method of composition which was used by Mahomed Shah's painters.[2] Beards are depicted by the flat application of colour or by coarse lines. This was also the technique of the Moghul schools of the 18th century. In earlier Moghul art the beard was most carefully drawn by means of a series of very fine and closely-knit brush strokes.

Many compositions during the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase were based on miniatures with which the artists were apparently familiar prior to migrating to the Hills. For instance, in the Lahore Museum there is a study of a lady of rank sitting on a terrace with her attendants and musicians (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 60)[3] which is obviously derived from

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1 *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 6, 1930, Plate 63, Fig CXLVI.

2 *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Darbar*, 1911, Plate 58(a).
Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 6, Plate 63, Fig CXLVII (a fragment).

3 Archer attributes it to Punch and ascribes it to the period 1780 A.D. But in fact it is an example of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting of the period *circa* 1750-1760 A.D. The find-spot was Punch, but the provenance is not known. There was no Punch school.

Moghul miniatures of Mahomed Shah's reign.[1] So also a somewhat similar theme in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 61) reveals the unmistakable influence[2] of the Mahomed Shah school.

A common device in the treatment of hill landscape during the Mahomed Shah period is also seen in 'pre-Kāngrā' paintings. It consists of low, rounded hillocks, sometimes semi-circular, with little blobs of paint in the shapes of trees interspersed along the slopes and ridges (Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 41; Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 58). A 'pre-Kāngrā' example which illustrates this device is Mian Mukund Dev of Jasrota out riding, in the Manley collection, Guildford (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 40). In the last named miniature, as well as in several other 'pre-Kāngrā' paintings[3] a tree-form is seen in which the leaves consist of small flat circles closely grouped together. This tree-form is also borrowed from the Moghul schools of the first half of the 18th century (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 144; Blochet, *Collection Jean Pozzi*, 1930, Plate 46; and a *plein air* equestrian study in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, No. 15, 232). Most of these devices continued, in one form or another, even into the period when the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase developed into the full-fledged *Kāngrā Kalam*. Thus the architectural setting and the flat circular leaves are both seen in *Makhan Chor* (Fig 1). Again in *Krishna Playing Holī* (Fig 38) the device of a line of cypresses on the horizon separated at intervals by rounded trees is borrowed from 'pre-Kāngrā' painting which in its turn borrowed this *cliché* from the school of Mahomed Shah (Rai Krishnadās, *Bhārat kī Chitrakalā* (Hindi), Plate 22).

Even some of the female types seen in the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase are derived from Moghul miniatures of the Mahomed Shah period. For instance, in the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler one sometimes finds a characteristic coiffure, the hair being tied into a long projecting knot at the back of the head (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 26 and 30). A similar style of hair-dressing is affected by the musician in the left lower corner in a miniature of the Mahomed Shah period in the Bibilotheque Nationale, Paris (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 58). In fact this miniature, which is quite typical of the Mahomed Shah period, has several female types which can usefully be compared[4] with certain 'pre-Kāngrā' types (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 30 and 60). Moreover when a lady is not drawn in profile but is shown facing the spectator then the full face has a somewhat flat and rounded appearance (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 60, third lady from the left). This peculiarity, in a less exaggerated form, is seen repeatedly in the school of Mahomed Shah (Blochet, *Manuscrits Arabe, Persans et Turcs*, Plate 56). Later on in the *Kāngrā Kalam* this peculiarity in the drawing of the full face persists (Fig 13 and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 23).

It is unfortunate that only a few miniatures from the prolific output of the Moghul schools of the first half of the 18th century have been published. A careful comparison between the

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1 During the first half of the 18th century the Moghul artists commonly portrayed the theme of a lady sitting on a terrace with her attendants or musicians. Frequently, half the background was occupied by a marble pavilion with panelled interior, the other half being a landscape of hills and water.
Kuhnel, *Miniaturmalerei in Islamischen*, 1923, Plate 125.
Gaston Weit, *Miniatures Persanes, Turques et Indiennes*, Plate 62, Fig 124.
Asiatic Art Auction Catalogue of the American Art Association, 1929, p. 69.
Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 59.
Blochet, *Peintures de Manuscrits Arabes, Persans et Turcs de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Plate 56.

2 Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 57(b), where it should be noted that the lady has placed a large cushion on her lap and rests her hand thereon. Even this attitude has been copied by the artist of the Victoria and Albert Museum example. It is not suggested that the artists working at the Hill courts copied any specific miniatures of the Mahomed Shah school. The point to remember is that these refugee Hill artists had themselves been trained in the Moghul school of the first half of the 18th century, and hence it was but natural that their compositions, types, attitudes, devices, etc., should be derived from that school.

3 In Fig 59 of the present volume this tree-form is seen in the lower right hand corner, but the study of Mian Mukund Dev out riding affords a better illustration of this type of tree-form. It is also seen in the lower left hand corner of the study of Govardhan Chand of Guler listening to his musicians (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9, and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 16) and again in a painting of Shiva and his family, from the late Manuk collection (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 29.). See Fig O herein at page 285.

4 Compare the musician in the Stchoukine miniature, holding an upright *sitar*, second from the lower left corner, with the musician holding an upright *sitar* on the extreme right of Archer's Fig 30. Also compare all the faces in the Stchoukine miniature with the faces in Archer's Fig 60. Several striking resemblances will be found. Further compare the faces of the women in the pool in Blochet, *Manuscrits Arabes, Persans et Turcs*, Plate 54, with those of the women in Archer's Fig 26.

products of the Moghul school during this period and the work of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase will go to show how freely the latter borrowed types, compositional motifs, and devices from the former. For instance, the banana plant, common in the Hills, is utilized as a decorative element in Pahārī painting by borrowing the idea from the Mahomed Shah school (Blochet, *Collection Jean Pozzi*, 1930, Plate 43). So also the motif of a leafy tree and flowering plant in close proximity (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig 22) is a compositional device of the Mahomed Shah period (Blochet, *Collection Jean Pozzi*, 1930, Plate 43).

The Pre-Kāngrā Phase in Guler

It was long thought that the earliest dated 'pre-Kāngrā' miniature known to us is the well-known portrait of Goverdhan Chand of Guler (1745-1773 A.D.)[1] listening to his musicians in the collection of the Guler Darbār (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9, and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 16).[2] The date was stated to be 1743 A.D. but in fact the painting is not dated. The matter is more fully discussed at pages 187 and 195 and the conclusion arrived at is that though undated the period of the painting is round about 1744 A.D. This study depicts Goverdhan Chand as a young man of about 30 years of age. He is slim and athletic in build. It is obvious that the portrait was painted by a refugee artist of the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period. Perhaps the artist was a member of the family of Pandit Seu who, as we have already seen, migrated to Jasrota and settled there. The trees at the base of the miniature are in the Moghul manner, while the king, his courtiers, attendants, and musicians, are all genuine portraits, naturalistically drawn. The standing attendants, as can be seen, are dressed in the long *jāmā* reaching down to the ankles. This was the fashion of wearing the *jāmā* at Mahomed Shah's court and the fashion was often adopted at the courts of the Hill States and those of Rājputānā.

In the Guler Darbār collection there are also several other paintings which, though not dated, are no doubt correctly ascribed by tradition prevailing at the Guler court, to the period of Rājā Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.). Guler is an offshoot of Kāngrā State and its foundation as a separate kingdom in the 15th century A.D. is the subject of a well-known legend which is not quite relevant to our theme. The Guler Rājās served in the Moghul armies of Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeb. Guler which is about 20 miles distant from Kāngrā appears to have enjoyed a period of comparative peace, conducive to artistic activities, during the reign of Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.).

Since it is fairly clear that Dalip Singh of Guler reigned upto 1745, the beginings of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler must be attributed to the last five years of his reign. The prevailing style of painting in the Hills upto 1740 was, as we have seen, the Basohlī idiom, and accordingly if the Guler court patronized aṅ atelier prior to that date, the artists must have worked in the Basohlī style or a local idiom thereof. The portraits of Rajā Mān Singh and Rājā Rup Chand (Figs 64 and 69), which have been ascribed to the first quarter of the 18th century, indicate the existence of such a local idiom during the reign of Rajā Dalip Singh (1695-1745). It was about 1740 A. D. that the migrations to the Hills commenced and it seems that some skilled refugee artists from the plains took service under Dalip Singh and continued under Goverdhan Chand. Such appear to be the beginnings of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler. The atelier produced work of considerable merit, due no doubt to the liberality and interest of Goverdhan Chand who must be regarded as one of the foremost patrons of Pahārī miniature painting. Of the several studies of Goverdhan Chand in the Guler Darbār collection there are some equestrian portraits the earliest of which can be assigned to *circa* 1740-1745 judging from the youthful face and figure of the

1 The date 1730-1775 is given in Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, but it appears to be incorrect. According to the Guler Darbār, Goverdhan Chand's reign commenced in 1744, and according to Man Mohan's *History of Mandi State*, p. 67, Dalip Singh was still reigning in 1745, which means that Goverdhan Chand's regnal period is most likely 1745-1773.

2 See also Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, Plate I (in colour), and *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Art', Fig 6. In the same article the equestrian portrait of Goverdhan Chand is illustrated as Fig 2. These are all works in the Moghul style. The unusual composition in the study of Goverdhan Chand listening to music is solely due to the angle from which the artist sketched the scene.

Rājā.[1] He is apparently riding his famous horse which Adina Beg the Moghul Governor of the Jalandhar Doab coveted and tried to obtain by force. But the Guleriā chief repelled the arms of the arrogant Moghul and retained his horse. The Rājput Hill chiefs prized their steeds no less than did the Rājās of Rājasthān. But whereas late Rājasthānī art abounds in studies of favourite chargers, similar studies are not seen in Pahārī painting though equestrian portraits are not uncommon. The Guler Darbār also possesses a portrait of Rājā Bikram Singh of Guler (1661-1675) riding with his brother on his war-elephant,[2] and a rather similar study of Goverdhan Chand (1730-1775) on a caparisoned state elephant.[3] The Bikram Singh miniature does not appear to be a contemporary painting. The drawing of the elephant rather suggests the mid-18th century and I incline to the view that it was got prepared by Goverdhan Chand at about the same time when his own portrait mounted on an elephant was painted, namely 1745-1750. It is more than likely that Goverdhan Chand commissioned his artists to paint studies of his ancestors, the faces being taken from contemporary Moghul portraits or traditional descriptions.

Dalip Singh Playing Polo — Fig 72

The miniature of Rājā Dalip Singh of Guler playing polo (Fig 72) belongs to the period 1740-1745 A. D. It is typical of 18th century Moghul miniatures depicting the sport of polo, of which several exist. Dalip Singh (1695-1745 A.D.) came to the throne as a boy of seven, whereas he is about fifty years of age in Fig 72. Dalip Singh (who is riding the white horse in the right foreground), as well as his companions, are all wearing the long, full-pleated *jāmā* of the Mahomed Shah period. Though the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler commenced in the reign of Dalip Singh (1695-1745 A. D.) the real credit for its development in that State must go to Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.) who appears to have been a real patron of miniature painting. If the regnal period of Dalip Singh as given by Hutchinson and Vogel, namely 1695-1730 A.D. were to be accepted then it would be difficult to attribute Fig 72 to the reign of Dalip Singh and one would be inclined to conclude that it was painted after Dalip Singh's death by one of Goverdhan Chand's court artists and not earlier than *circa* 1740 A. D. But in view of the fact that it now seems that Dalip Singh ruled upto 1744 or 1745 A. D. it is feasible to regard Fig 72 as a contemporary study.

States such as Guler, Kāngrā, and Jammu, which were more accessible than the inner Hills, were well suited to be asylums for those inhabitants of the plains who were wearied of the constant threat of rapine and massacre and these were probably amongst the first States to which the refugee artists went in search of employment.

More Portraits of Goverdhan Chand — Fig 74

Another example of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting at Guler, and one which illustrates a stage in the development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style into the full fledged *Kāngrā Kalam* is the portrait of Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.) in the Allahabad Museum. It shows the Rājā conversing with three ladies (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 22). In this study Goverdhan Chand has lost his youthful appearance. His figure is no longer athletic and his face has become a little puffy. It would appear that the artist had perforce to be kind to his sitter but nevertheless one realizes that the portrait was painted when the Rājā was at least thirty-five. On this assumption the date of the Allahabad miniature would be *circa* 1750-1755[4] which date accords well with its stylistic development. Here we see female types which are exquisite and delicate. It is apparent that the refugee artists were slowly developing a style of their own and formulating new types under the influence of their environment in the Hills. Even the delicate tree landscape on the left hand side of the miniature, though painted in the naturalistic Moghul manner, has borrowed the motif of sprays emerging from a tree, from Basohli art (Fig K-2).

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2 *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Art', Fig 2.
3 *Art and Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Plate I, opp. p. 32. In the *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 102, Basil Gray regards it as belonging to the late 18th century and rightly does not consider it to be a contemporary portrait.
4 *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Art', Fig 3.
Archer also assigns this portrait to *circa* 1750 A.D. Its likely date is 1750-1755.

An even more instructive miniature is that of *Goverdhan Chand and his Family* (Fig 74). In this painting it is clear that the Rājā has aged considerably. He appears to be at least forty. On the basis that he was about thirty in 1745 A.D., as already stated, the earliest date ascribable to Fig 74 would be 1755-1760. Hutchinson and Vogel in their *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, give Goverdhan Chand's reign as *circa* 1730-1760 A.D., but the date given in the revised edition of Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, 1940, Vol. I, p. 71, is 1730-1773 A.D. In Fig 74, the young boy seated opposite Goverdhan Chand is his eldest son Prakash Chand who appears to be about ten years of age. The lady seated with a child on her lap may be Goverdhan's *rānī* said to be a lady from Jammu. All the women folk in the miniature however are types, and not genuine portraits. But these types were no doubt based on female attendants, musicians, and dancers who were in constant attendance at the court and who were not obliged to remain in purdah.[1] The Guler artists may have been fortunate in their original models, but in any event it must be admitted that their creations are comely and graceful. To some extent of course they were also influenced by the female types which they had commonly painted at the Imperial cities before they sought a refuge in the Hills. It is important to observe that even as late as *circa* 1755-1760, to which period Fig 74 belongs, the *Standard*[2] Kangrā female type (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 20) is not seen at Guler. It appears to have been adopted at Guler about 1773 A.D. when Prakash Chand came to the throne. On the other hand the types which appear in Fig 74 may have influenced the *Bhāgavata* type of the *Kāngrā Kalam* (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 17 and 22). Late studies of Goverdhan Chand after his death, of which several exist, should be ignored for analysis of style.

Dāna Līlā — Fig 16

This miniature belongs to the Lahore Museum and illustrates an incident from the Krishna legend. It is indeed interesting to observe how the 'pre-Kāngrā' artists handled the Krishna theme when they were not busy painting royal portraits and court scenes. The faces of the *gopīs* are based on types common in Moghul miniature painting during the first half of the 18th century (compare Fig C and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 19). The long kiss-curl falling on the cheek of each *gopī* is also derived from an 18th century Moghul fashion. So also the tree with its pronounced shading and naturalistic foliage is in imitation of tree-forms constantly seen in Moghul miniatures of the Delhi and Lucknow *Kalams* during 1700-1750 A.D. Even the colouring[3] of Fig 16 with its brown background and warm tones approximates to the Moghul palette as seen in the best work of the Mahomed Shah period. The find spot of this miniature was Guler and several paintings of this type were from time to time obtained in Guler by the Amritsar dealers. Such miniatures were referred to in Guler itself as being of the *Guler Kalam* and there is no reason to doubt the attribution. The faces of Krishna and the *gopas* find their counterparts in the faces of the attendants standing behind Goverdhan Chand of Guler in the music party painted *circa* 1745 (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9). The Moghul painters working at the court of Mahomed Shah could never have handled the Krishna theme with any measure of success, but when some of these very artists were by force of circumstances compelled to migrate to the Hills, they began to interpret the legend of the cowherd god with a new-found understanding. Fig 16 represents a transition stage during the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (1740-1775), and its most likely date is *circa* 1755-1760 A.D. Even though lacking in mischievous gaiety and flexibility, one realizes that the artist has made a genuine effort to express himself and has not been content merely to produce a technically competent miniature. The charm of the *Dāna Līlā* story is present in sufficient measure to evoke an emotional response,

So sure, so sure, you are!
Way-laying us poor maidens;

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1 Aristocratic Rājput ladies remained in the seclusion of the harem and hence it is unlikely that we possess any authentic portraits of the Hill princesses.

2 *Infra*, 'The Kāngrā Kalam', at pages 145 and 146.

3 A miniature almost identical with Fig 16 but having a brilliant yellow background is in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. The yellow background is no doubt a n experiment inspired by Basohlī art.

Oh shame on you
Who thinks we have no eyes save for Ganshyam!

More Examples of the 'Pre-Kāngrā' Phase at Guler

Other noteworthy examples of 'pre-Kāngrā' art which can be ascribed safely to Guler are *The Emergence of Kausikī* and related paintings from the *Markandeya Purāna* series; *Shiva*

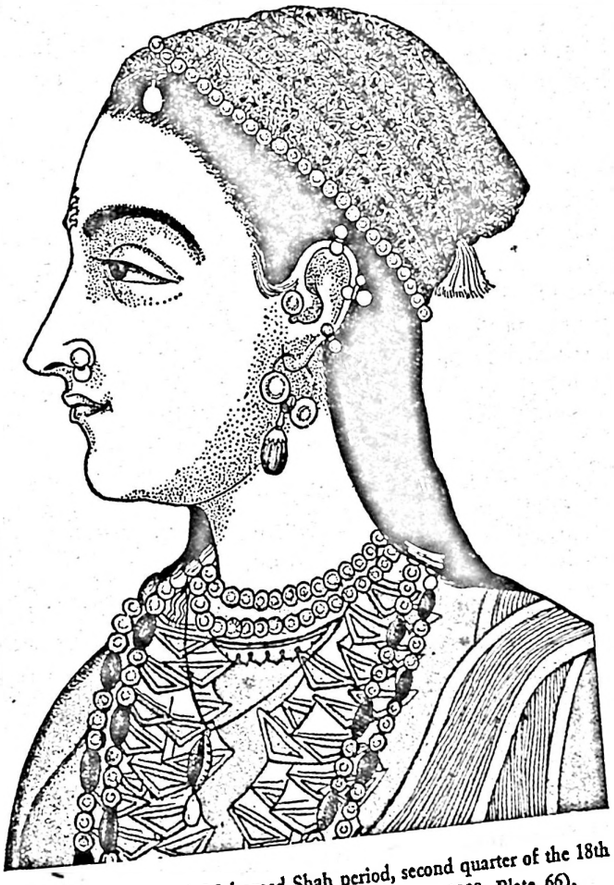

Fig c. Moghul school, Mahomed Shah period, second quarter of the 18th century. (Stchoukine, La Peinture Indienne, 1929, Plate 66).

and Parvatī; and the *Lady by the Lake* (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30). Archer ascribes them to the period *circa* 1755 A.D. I would rather allow for a margin of error and regard them as products of the period *circa* 1750-1775 A.D. The most likely date however of Figs 29 and 30 is *circa* 1760 A.D., while the *Markandeya Purāna* series may be nearer 1770. It is difficult to lay down any hard and fast rules to gauge the progress of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting into the fully developed *Kāngrā Kalam*. The progress in one State may have been slower than the progress in another State. Moreover in the case of individual artists there may well have been little change in the work produced by them in *circa* 1775 A.D. as compared to that of *circa* 1750 A.D. In fact we are often in a realm of conjecture and must even countenance some overlapping between the 'pre-Kāngrā' style and the full-fledged *Kāngrā Kalam*.

In the Jalan collection, Patna, is a painting of Krishna and his playmates enjoying the sport of *Hindol Līlā* (*The Art of India and Pakistan, 1950, Plate 110*). It is assigned in the abovementioned catalogue to *circa* 1780 A.D., and described as a Kāngrā miniature. But it would be more appropriate to regard it as a 'pre-Kāngrā' painting from Guler of the period

1750-1775 A.D. Its most likely date is *circa* 1760 A.D. and it is more or less contemporary with Fig. 16 of the present volume. In the same collection there is a miniature of Krishna and Rādhā on a balcony with musicians below (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 19). Though it belongs to the last stage in the development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase of Pahārī art yet it would not be an incorrect nomenclature to describe it as an early example of the *Kāngrā Kalam* at Guler. The line of distinction during the period 1765-1775 A.D. is often thin. The miniature possesses that tenderness and lyric quality which characterizes the *Kāngrā Kalam* proper, all over the Hills. In fact the real difference between the last phase of 'pre-Kāngrā' art and the early *Kāngrā Kalam* is often no more than a matter of feeling, and of the spirit underlying a miniature.

One of the finest of 'pre-Kāngrā' paintings from Guler is *Holī Līlā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 47)[1]. Its relationship to Fig. 16 and particularly to the miniature in the Jalan collection of Krishna on a swing, already referred to above, is evident. But it appears to be later than either of them and is representative of the period (1765-1775 A.D.) when the 'pre-Kāngrā' style and the *Kāngrā Kalam* were overlapping each other. This miniature also may be regarded either as characterising the last phase of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Guler, or the early phase of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. It is all a matter of nomenclature. A tendency to elongate the figure,[2] though without undue exaggeration, is noticeable in several 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures from Guler, while another distinguishing feature is the use of warm tones. In paintings from Guler one notes a marked fondness for skirts (*gāgrās*) with a series of horizontal stripes (Fig 16) though of course such skirts were not peculiar to Guler.

The Court of Rāma—Fig 76

This miniature is characterized by deep, warm colouring. It is attributed by me to Guler on the basis of comparison with other paintings acquired in Guler and consistently referred to by the Amritsar dealers as products of the *Guler Kalam*. It appears to be contemporary with the Boston Museum's *Sri Krishna and Rādhā* and *Sri Krishna Awaiting Rādhā*[3] (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 43 and 44 A).[4] Miniatures of this category evidence types rather different from those seen in Fig. 16 or in *Holī Līlā* (Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate I). But this goes to prove that there was not only one 'pre-Kāngrā' style of painting in Guler. It may however be noted that Rādhā's face in the Boston Museum example *Sri Krishna with Rādhā*, already referred to, has a marked resemblance to that of the young *gopa* seated next to Krishna in Fig. 16. Fig. 76, as well as the Boston Museum miniatures related to it, may be ascribed to the period 1760-1775 A.D. A compositional device seen in some miniatures of the 'pre-Kāngrā phase, and borrowed from late Moghul painting, is a background consisting of a pillared pavillion, the columns of which are sometimes shown in marked perspective (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 18 and 36). In some works the setting is a pillared verandah or outer hall, with one or two of its columns cutting the composition into compartments (Fig 76, and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Figs. 22, 35, and 39).

Another Guler example from the *Rāmāyana* is *Court of Rāma* (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 114). It however belongs to the period when the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler had practically come to an end and accordingly it is later than the miniature Fig. 76 of the present volume. It would be nearer 1775 than 1765 A.D. Note the retainers in the foreground and also in the top panel. They are wearing very thick, wide *kamarbands* (waist-sashes), a fashion which appears to be of late origin at the Guler court and seen constantly only after Goverdhan Chand's death in 1773 A.D.

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1 It is reproduced in colour in Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate I. Archer ascribes it to Kāngrā and dates it *circa* 1780 A.D., but Guler is almost certainly its provenance and its most likely date is 1765-1775 A.D.

2 This characteristic would no doubt manifest itself in the work of those painters at Guler who remembered the tendency towards elongation in the Emperor Farruksiyar's school (1713-1719 A.D.) and adopted it as a device which lent elegance to the human figure.

3 Also reproduced in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 18.

4 Coomaraswamy's dating, namely 17th-18th century is not accurate. But his description of these two miniatures as early Kāngrā, is not wide of the mark.

A Large Size Rāmāyana Series from Guler

While dealing with the Guler school it becomes necessary to consider a well known series of *Rāmāyana* paintings illustrating the episode of the seige of Lankā. The series is of unusually large size each painting being approximately 3 × 2 feet. These paintings have been reproduced by Coomaraswamy in his *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 21 in colour, and Plates 22 and 23. They are also reproduced in his *Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, 1926, Plates 10-13. Three reproductions appear in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plates 15, 16A, and 16B; and one reproduction in colour is the frontispiece to French's *Himalayan Art*, 1931. Coomaraswamy has stated that the series was almost certainly painted by Jammu artists but there is no basis for this conjecture. Part of this series, including drawings, is in the Boston Museum ; one painting and a few drawings are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York ; nineteen drawings are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; and Ajit Ghose possessed several examples. We know on Ajit Ghose's authority (*Roopa Lekha*, No. 2, April 1929; page 5) that this *Rāmāyana* series belonged to Rājā Raghunāth Singh of Guler (1884-1920 A.D.). Thus the series came from Haripur, the principal town of the State, and not from Jammu as was hitherto supposed. But the question which still remains for consideration is whether this series was painted in Guler. Rādhākrishna Bharāny, the Amritsar dealer, impressed upon me that paintings, other than those of the Basohlī type, which had a large expanse of red or brick-red background were usually from Guler. He regarded the *Rāmāyana* series as belonging to the Guler school and I do not think the matter admits of much doubt. It should be noted that the conical headgear worn by Bibhishana, Rāma, and Laksmana in this series (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 21) is very similar to the headgear worn by the *mahout* (elephant driver) in the portrait of Rājā Bikram Singh of Guler (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 1, opposite page 32). It consists of a conical helmet surmounted by a knob, and round the base of the helmet a scarf is tied. So also the coats of mail, braided in front, worn by Bikram Singh and his brother, are similar to those worn by Rāma and his companions.

The find-spot of a miniature is a factor which taken by itself does not indicate the provenance of the painting, but it is an important matter to take into consideration if similar miniatures are repeatedly obtained from the same locality. Merely by reason of the find-spot being Haripur one cannot rule out the possibility of this series having come into the possession of the Guler Darbār, though painted elsewhere. Intercourse between the rulers of Hill States, even distantly situated from each other was not uncommon for many of the ruling families were connected by marriage ties. Of course it is not likely that any ruler who had commissioned such an unusual series would part with it. In any event the series is nowhere so early as the 17th century as stated by Coomaraswamy, nor does it belong to the early 18th century as stated by J. C. French in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, and by Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs. 11-13. I cannot conceive of this series being painted before 1750 A.D. and in fact it may belong to even the last quarter of the 18th century. Its architecture is of the 18th century, but such architecture could be either ante 1750 A.D. or post 1750 A.D. and be found in many Hill States. Hence it is not a decisive factor with regard to date or the provenance of the series. But Rāvana, Sitā, and the two female attendants in Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 23, give a fair indication as to the period of these paintings. Their bodies are wooden, and their faces are heavy and lacking in expressiveness. The female attendant holding a *chaurī* tends to be squat and lifelessly statuesque, while the treatment of drapery worn by the women, as well as the treatment of Rāvana's *jāmā*, is stiff and inelegant. These are all features which hardly accord with a date prior to 1750 A.D. The treatment of plants and trees in this series is most attractive and several tree-forms hearken back to Basohlī art. But the same can be said of the out-size *Parijet Harana* miniatures in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, which clearly belong to the 19th century. Another factor to be taken into account in estimating the date of the *Rāmāyana* series is its large size. I am unable to agree with Coomaraswamy's statement that these *Rāmāyana* paintings are designs for frescoes. Those that were finished are elaborately coloured; the trees and plants are carefully painted ; and

gold and silver is lavishly used. There can be no doubt that some ruler desired to possess a set of paintings illustrating the seige of Lankā in a size never before attempted. Perhaps this ruler had heard of the Emperor Akbar's great *Hamza Nāmā* series of large size paintings, or of the larger Rājasthānī cartoons. Be that as it may, the *Rāmāyana* series was an end in itself and the paintings were not meant to serve as designs for frescoes. For some unknown reason the series was never completed. It must however be admitted that the artist of this series has avoided the pitfall of attempting to paint such outsize pictures as though they were small miniatures. His approach in most of these paintings is that of a fresco painter and hence several of the series such as Plate 21 (in colour) and the drawing Plate 24 of Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, are highly successful efforts. They have a largeness of conception which at times is truly grand, and the bewildering assault by an army of bears and monkeys on a golden citadel peopled and defended by the most fearsome of demons has never been so powerfully illustrated in any series of *Rāmāyana* paintings. Moreover none has conveyed so well that atmosphere of fantasy and the supernatural which characterizes this episode of the epic. It is apparent that the painter of the series was more responsive to the bear and monkey hosts and to the horrific demons who fought for Rāvana, than to Rāmā, Sitā, Laksmana, and the other human actors in the scene, all of whom are somewhat uninteresting and common place.

The tendency to commission large scale paintings of the epics and of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* was a late development in Pahārī art. Every large scale series which I have seen to date belongs to the 19th century or at the earliest to the late 18th century A.D. The script at the top of the *Rāmāyana* paintings is in Devanagarī characters but the names of a few personages in some of the drawings of the series are indicated in Tankrī script. The presence of the Tankrī script however gives no indication of the provenance of the series. I have already pointed out that Coomaraswamy was quite mistaken in thinking that the Tankrī script was used only in the Dogrā States. In fact it was common all over the Hills. In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, page 129, Item No. 530, Basil Gray dates this *Rāmāyana* series as mid-18th century A.D., and states that the style is not Kāngrā as we know it but resembles Chambā or perhaps Kulu. No reasons are adduced for the suggested provenance. Gray's dating however is to my mind much more satisfactory than that of Archer. Even in Rājasthān the vogue of the large size cartoon was a development of the second half of the 18th century.

Archer[2] rightly ascribes the series to Guler but gives no reason for the suggested early date, namely *circa* 1720 A.D., beyond saying that its rounded treatment of the figures, its use of tree idioms similar to those in the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* of 1730, and its slightly awkward admixture of schematic structure and lively naturalism can perhaps justify the attribution to 1720 A.D. But none of these rather slight reasons commend themselves on a careful analysis. The squat, stiff and somewhat plump female figures are an unpleasing combination of the female types in the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D., and certain heavy Moghul types of the mid-18th century. The deterioration in the handling of the human figure is evident throughout the series. The tree-types are varied and can be found in late Basohlī art, in late Kulu art, and in the late art of Guler itself. The presence, therefore, of a few trees which resemble those in the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 is not very helpful in determining the date of the series.

Controversial Dates

Two miniatures which depict the unveiling of Draupadī (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 36[3] and 37[4]) can also be attributed to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler.[5]

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1 The complete page of the *Hamza Nāmā* miniatures at Vienna measures approximately 31 × 25 inches.

2 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952.

3 Also reproduced in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 14. It is from the collection of the late Sir William Rothenstein.

4 From the collection of the Lahore Museum.

5 Coomaraswamy states (*Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, page 21), that he is inclined to associate the two abovementioned paintings of the unveiling of Draupadī with the Mandī school but no reasons are given for the Mandī ascription. It should be noted that the Rothenstein collection version is inscribed with a verse by Bamsidhāra and also with a verse by Rāmagunī. I have not been able to identify the latter poet, but the former flourished in *circa* 1735 A.D. We do not however know when he composed the verse in question.

Coomaraswamy ascribes them both to the late 17th or early 18th century, while Archer who has reproduced one of them, namely the example from the Rothenstein collection, dates it as *circa* 1730 A.D. Gray in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 131, Item 548, states that it belongs to the late 18th century, while Goetz has suggested that it was painted just prior to 1775 A.D. Goetz's date to my mind is nearest the truth. Archer's early date is based on a process of comparisons, the foundation of which is the famous *Rāmāyana* series from Guler which Archer ascribes to 1720 A.D. But as we have already seen this *Rāmāyana* series is of much later origin and accordingly the very basis adopted by Archer is open to objection. There are also other grounds for preferring the viewpoint of Dr. Goetz. In the Pandava group (left foreground) of the Rothenstein miniature the face of the young beardless Arjuna is almost identical with that of the middle cowherd seated under the tree in Fig. 16 of the present volume. Now the most likely date of Fig 16 is *circa* 1755-1760. Again the background of the Rothenstein miniature has cypresses alternating with rounded trees in the manner of Fig 38 of the present volume. This formal device could only have been adopted in Guler after 1740 A.D. at the very earliest, because it was introduced by the refugee artists from the plains. Even the pavilion bespeaks the Moghul architecture of the mid-18th century. The stiff stylized attitudes of the figures and the theatrical moustaches are all in the manner of the Delhi and Lucknow schools of the second half of the 18th century. Moreover the Rothenstein miniature cannot be far removed in date from the Lahore Museum example, and it seems fairly certain that the artist of the latter was influenced in his portrayal of the bearded types seated on the extreme left, by the standardized, conventional, and inferior portraiture of the Shah Alam period (1759-1806 A.D.) when personages such as Ahmed Shah Durrānī, Nadir Shah, and others, were drawn again and again. Thus these two miniatures of the unveiling of Draupadī are really post-1760 A.D. and as such are later products of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler and not amongst the earliest examples of Guler painting as suggested by Archer. Neither possesses any real aesthetic merit, though indiscriminate praise has been bestowed on the Rothenstein miniature by some critics. The only reason for dealing with them at length in the present volume is the fact that wide differences of opinion prevail as to their date. In view of the above discussion a date no earlier than 1760-1770 can be ascribed to *The Arrival of the Chariot* belonging to the late J. C. French which is also assigned by Archer to *circa* 1730 A.D. (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 18).

Archer[1] in his chapter on the Guler school has to my mind given unjustifiably early dates to some of the paintings reproduced by him. For instance his Fig 17, *The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven*,[2] ascribed to 1765 A.D. is really a late 18th century miniature from Guler in which the older tradition of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase has been maintained, but in a stiff and somewhat lifeless manner. The drawing of hands is indifferent, Laxmī is a clumsy figure, and the foliage is wooden. The hard colouring would also suggest a date considerably later than that assigned to it by Archer. Goetz in a German journal[3] suggested 1740 A.D. but that is out of question. The phenomenon of an idiom belonging to one period continuing into a later period in a somewhat decadent form, is not unknown in the realm of Indian miniature painting, and is apt to mislead any critic into errors regarding dates. Again Archer's Fig. 21, *Chandī Devī*, assigned by him to 1750 A.D., and his Fig 20, *Lady with the Messenger*, assigned to 1765 are both not likely to be earlier than 1775-1785 A.D. They do not belong to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase and would more legitimately be classified as belonging to the Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, assuming that Guler is their real provenance which is not improbable.

Archer's Fig 24, *Rājā Prakash Chand*, assigned by him to 1760 cannot be earlier than 1775-1780 A.D., because Prakash Chand who is about 30 to 35 years of age in this portrait was born in *circa* 1745 A.D. Prakash Chand's dates are discussed later in relation to the Kāngrā school. So also Archer's Fig 31, *Lady and the Plantain*, assigned by him to *circa* 1765, and his Figs 32

[1] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952.
[2] Reproduced in colour in Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 5, where it is wrongly described as Rājasthāni.
[3] A detail from this miniature is reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 44 B.
Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, p. 12.

and 33, *Toilet*, and *Govardhan Chand with his Rānī*, both dated *circa* 1770, are all later examples. In the last named miniature the Rājā is not Goverdhan Chand, to whom he has no resemblance, but if the miniature is from Guler, as it appears to be, then the Rājā is almost certainly Bhoop Singh of Guler (1790-1826) whom he resembles quite closely.[1] As Bhoop Singh was born no earlier than 1765, and probably later, the love scene reproduced by Archer, which shows Bhoop Singh to be at least twenty years old, could not be earlier than 1785 A.D. Archer's *Toilet* is either a product of the late Prakash Chand period or the early Bhoop Singh period, and accordingly its date would be *circa* 1790-1800 A.D. *The Lady and the Plantain* is so stiff and conventionalized that 1800-1825 would be more appropriate for this study. None of these three miniatures belong to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler, and they should properly be classified as examples of the Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam* subject to the reservation that *The Lady and the Plaintain* may not be from Guler at all. It is true that the plantain tree often appears in Guler paintings but it must be remembered that the plantain is very common all over the Hills and is seen in numerous miniatures. Too much stress should not, therefore, be laid on the presence of the plantain as indicating that the miniature hails from Guler.

The colour frontispiece of Archer's *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, is a lady with a hawk, and this is also ascribed to Guler *circa* 1760. The provenance is in all likelihood correct, but here again we have what is really an example of the Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam* and a date between 1780 and 1800 would be more appropriate. The red background is undoubtedly a Guler characteristic, but I would not go so far as to connect all miniatures having a red background with Guler. The Guler artists were also very fond of a chocolate-brown background (Figs 16 and 82). The Amritsar dealer Rādhākrishna Bharany once told me that he was struck by the fact that most of the pictures acquired by him which had a considerable expanse of red[2] or chocolate-brown background were found in Guler. Semi-circular horizons and hillsides (Figs 82 and 10), though commonly seen in Guler painting are also seen in other schools and cannot be considered peculiar to Guler.

Some observations

The 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler naturally centred around Goverdhan Chand's court, but it is not unlikely that some Guleriā nobles[3] also emulated their masters. We know that at Jammu the king's brother Balvant Singh maintained an atelier, while a Jasrota grandee named Mukund Dev also patronized artists. It is pertinent to consider what happened to the local artists at these various Hill courts when the influx of the refugee painters began. Some who were not pliant enough to master the Moghul technique or too conservative to adopt it may have carried on in the old Basohlī idiom or have gone to other States where their art was still acceptable. Others no doubt tried to follow the new trends and fused their art with that of the new comers. The development of 'pre-Kāngrā' art was a process of gradual evolution all over the Hills and any attempt to visualize it as confined to a particular State or States will result in a wrong perspective. It is fortunate that at least part of the Guler Darbār collection has remained sufficiently intact to yield us an insight into the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler during Goverdhan Chand's reign. So also it is fortunate that a group of paintings from Balvant Singh's atelier have survived and give us some idea of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Jammu. But the collections of other Hill Darbārs have not fared so well. Sansār Chand's great collection appears to have been widely dispersed, and so also those of Suket, Kulu, Chambā, Basohlī, Nurpur, and many other States. Roerich has pointed out how royal collections were often divided amongst heirs and how they also disintegrated due to the practice of giving miniatures as marriage gifts and dowry. To the knowledge of the writer quite a number of miniatures painted at Goverdhan Chand's court are no longer in the collection of the Guler Darbār. The output during the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase

[1] *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birth-place of Kāngrā Painting', Fig. 10.

[2] See colour reproduction in Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 38.

[3] There is a fine pre-Kāngrā portrait of *Bishan Singh Guleriā* in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay. He was obviously a member of the ruling house because he is referred to as 'Raja'. He wears a full-skirted *jāmā* of the Mahomed Shah period touching the ground. The background is chocolate coloured.

was nowhere so prolific as during the hey-day of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and with the dispersal of most royal collections valuable evidence as to the sequence of development has often been lost. At the same time what has come to light is indeed very considerable and sufficient to establish the broad lines along which Pahārī miniature painting evolved.

The 'Pre-Kāngrā' Phase in Jammu

Jammu was one of the States which benefited most by the migrations from the plains and there is good reason to think that refugee artists were accorded patronage by the ruling house. We have definite evidence that Balvant Singh, also known as Balvant Dev, the brother of Rājā Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1735-1781 A.D.), maintained an atelier of artists. It has already been observed that the artist Nainsukh worked at his court and we know the names of two more of his painters namely Vajan Sāh and Dīdī. It is apparent that all of them were trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period. A study of Balvant Singh listening to music, by Vajan Sāh, is in the N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay. An inscription thereon states that it was painted in the year 1748 A.D. It is very similar to the Lahore Museum study by Nainsukh[1] of the same scene painted in the same year. Of Dīdī we know from an inscribed but unfinished sketch[2] of Balvant Singh in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It appears that part of an album, which must have belonged to Balvant Singh, found its way into the hands of a dealer in England some time during the last century or in the early years of the present century. This dealer marked his prices in English currency on the reverse of each miniature. Moreover the name 'Balvant Dev' was written in English on several portraits of this prince. We have not however to rely on the English inscriptions for our identification of Balvant Singh. His name appears on Fig 61, as well as on several other miniatures including the Lahore Museum study by Nainsukh and another portrait, also by Nainsukh, in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

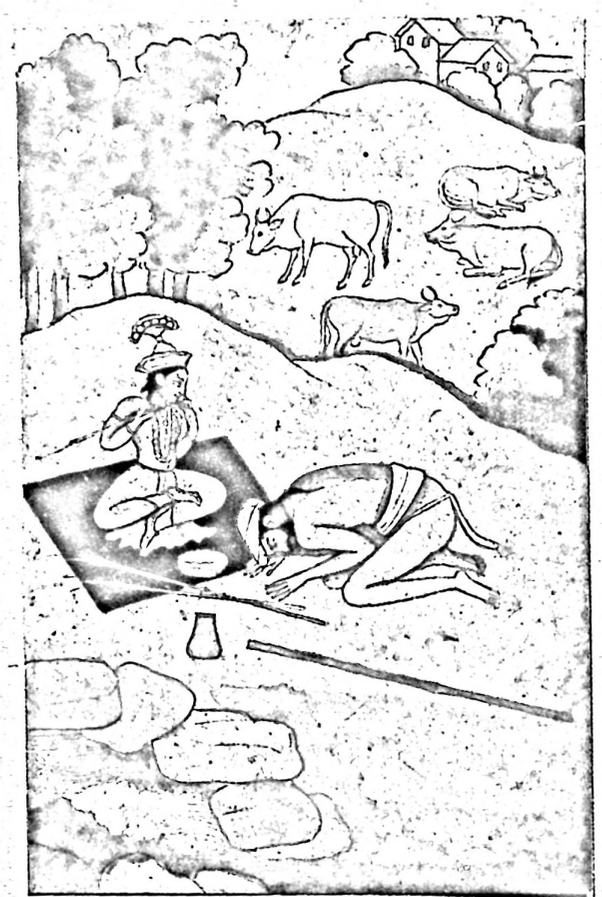
Some of the Balvant Singh paintings which were originally in the possession of the English dealer passed it seems into the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum while one lot was purchased by the late Sir Dorab Tata who presented several of them to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in 1921. A few that remained in the Sir Dorab Tata collection were later acquired by the author. The Manley collection, Guilford, also possesses examples from this Balvant Singh group. Several of the Balvant Singh miniatures have been published by Archer[3] while some more were published by the present author in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52, No. 2, under the title 'Balvant Singh, a patron of Pahārī Painting.' Some interesting sketches of Balvant Singh are also to be found in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, and the Jalan collection, Patna. All these drawings and paintings studied together afford us valuable material for analysing the trends and development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase in Jammu. They also yield us an insight into the daily existence of these Hill princes and their manner of living. Of singular interest is a portrait of Balvant Singh clad in a yellow Chinese mandarin robe with dragons embroidered thereon. It is in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay.

Trends and Development—Fig. 60, Plate XV, and Fig. (b)

The earliest dated miniatures of the Balvant Singh group belong to the year 1748 A.D. But it may be that Balvant Singh formed his atelier shortly after the talents of refugee artists from the plains became readily available. It is even well within the bounds of possibility that the atelier existed prior to 1739. But in that event the artists must have worked in a local idiom, derived from the Basohlī school, until the migrations from the plains gave the work of the atelier a new direction and outlook. In the Balvant Singh group there is one miniature *Madhyā Kalahāntaritā* (Fig 60) which has obviously been influenced by a local idiom of the *Basohlī*

1 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 35.
2 *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52, No. 2, 'Balvant Singh, a patron of Pahārī Painting' by Karl Khandalavala, Fig. 1.
3 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and probably also Fig. 43.

Kalam. It appears to be the work of a refugee artist from the plains who sought to combine certain elements of the prevailing local style with his own technique and methods. The result, if not successful, is certainly interesting as illustrative of a mixed style which appears to have developed in Jammu. I am inclined to regard *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XV) as also a product of this mixed style[1] painted near about 1760 A.D. Though it is a fine piece of painting it suffers from



Fig(b). Cowherd Worshipping Krishna. Pre-Kāngrā Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1760 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

the same defects as Fig 60. Here again we do not find the Krishna and Rādhā of the *Bhāgavata*, but a thinly disguised Moghul gentleman and an equally thinly disguised Moghul lady as the divine lovers. Even the *gopīs* in Plate XV cannot quite suppress the fact that they are merely court attendants of the Mahomed Shah period enacting the role of milk maidens. The artist appears to have realized[2] that the pure Moghul style in which he was wont to paint could not capture the spirit of the Krishna legend. He therefore probably sought to effect a compromise between the courtly Moghul school and the more vigorous local idiom. The male and female types in Plate XV should be compared with those in *Madhyā Kalahāntaritā* (Fig 60) which, as already stated, belongs to the Balvant Singh group. A family resemblance is discernable. In both Plate XV and Fig 60, Krishna is dressed in the style of the Mahomed Shah period with high-waisted, full-skirted *jāmā* reaching almost to the ground. Whatever one may think of this experiment there can be no doubt that the golden hillside, the coral-tinted rocks, the massed trees, and the white castle perched on the summit against lowering clouds, have all combined to invest the miniature with an atmosphere of beauty and fantasy rarely to be found in the Moghul school of the 18th century. *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XV), and *Cowherd Worshipping Krishna*

[1] In the caption under Plate XV the *Kulam* is stated to be unidentified, and the date suggested is the late 18th century A.D., but the subsequent discovery of Fig (b) has caused me to revise my opinion.

[2] Gyan Chand of Kulu once said to me that the *Kulam* for Krishna must be different from the *Kalam Badshāhī* (court style)

(Fig b) though an unfinished work, both illustrate the effect which the hill landscape had on the refugee artists from the plains. Incidentally one notes the similarity in the treatment of cattle in these two miniatures.

The majority of the miniatures of the Balvant Singh group depict the activities of the Rājā himself and constitute a record of his day to day life. They follow the general lines of Moghul painting of the first half of the 18th century, and there are many stylistic similarities between the output of Balvant Singh's atelier and that of the contemporary atelier of Goverdhan Chand of Guler. That was but natural as the 'pre-Kāngrā' painters all belonged to the Moghul school of 1700-1750 A.D., and moreover members of the same family appear to have painted at different centres.

Most of these 'pre-Kāngrā' painters were good portraitists. Even if their brush-work lacked the subtility of early Moghul portraiture, their studies were well executed and lively. Musicians, singers, dancers, courtiers, attendants, etc. were all drawn with care, and their characterizations were often of high excellence. Their note books no doubt teemed with thumb-nail sketches. The likenesses thus sketched were not infrequently utilized for portraying the *dramatis personnae* in illustrations to the epics and other literary or religious works and stories. Although we have no positive evidence of painters at the court of the great Ranjit Dev (1735-1781 A.D.) himself, it is unlikely in the extreme that the ruler of the powerful State of Jammu, with refugee artists easily available and only too willing to accept his patronage, would have remained indifferent to the maintenance of a court atelier. It must be remembered that patronage of the art of miniature painting had become almost a *sine qua non* of princely estate and court culture with the Rājput chiefs of Hills during the second half of the 18th century. A parallel phenomenon is seen amongst the Rājput chiefs of Rājasthān. The ruler of almost every principality had artists in his empioy. This fact accounts for the vast production of miniatures both in the Hills and in Rājasthān during the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Fortunately, however, the Balvant Singh group of miniatures, being the product of a court atelier, and including examples such as *Madhya Kalahāntaritā* (Fig 60) and *Cowherd Worshipping Krishna* (Fig b), may be regarded as representative of the pre-'Kāngrā' phase and its development at Jammu.

Rājā Balvant Singh

Apart from the fact that Balvant Singh was one of the four sons of Rājā Dhrub Dev of Jammu (1703-1735 A.D.) we know little or nothing about him from historical records. He had a son named Sām Singh and a grandson named Lehnā Singh, but the present ruling family which came into power under the Sikhs is descended from a brother of Balvant Singh named Surat Singh.

The miniatures show Balvant Singh to be a man of about 30 years of age in 1748 A.D.[1] Fig 61 of the present volume obviously belongs to the same period. In later years he grew portly (Plate H). It appears that his artists were largely occupied in producing portrait studies of the Rājā himself and depicting various incidents and occasions in his life. So fond was Balvant Singh of having a pictorial record of all he did that even his daily chores, such as the trimming of his beard, have been recorded by his painters.[2] We see the Rājā examining a painting,[3] vetting a horse,[4] performing worship,[5] watching dancers,[6] inspecting his estate,[7] out duck shooting,[8] resting in camp,[9] or writing a letter (Plate H.)

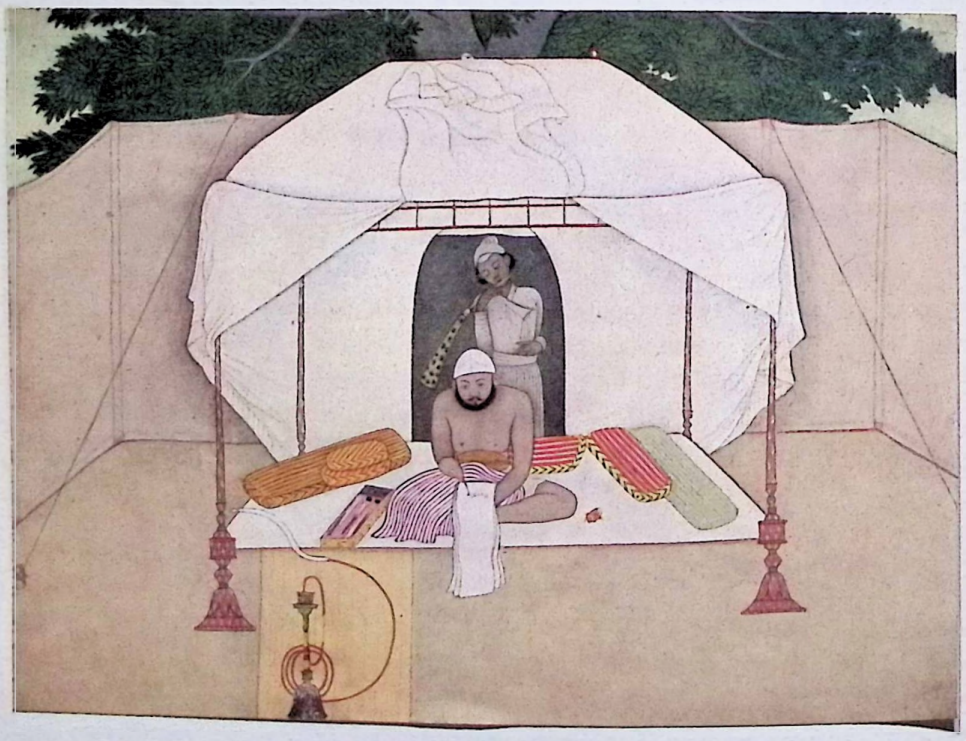
1 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 35.
2 *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 1951-52, No. 2, 'Balvant Singh a Patron of Pahāri Painting' by Karl Khandalavala, Fig. 2.
3 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 36.
4 Ibid., Fig. 38.
5 Ibid., Fig. 39.
6 Ibid., Fig. 37.
7 *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52, No. 2, 'Balvant Singh a Patron of Pahāri Painting' by Karl Khandalavala, Fig. 3.
8 Ibid., Fig. 6.
9 Ibid., Fig. 7.

Balvant Singh was a man of catholic taste and like many of the princes of his time fond of music, dancing, and painting, in addition to more vigorous pastimes such as shooting and riding. Some of the Balvant Singh miniatures are fully coloured such as Plate H, while a number are unfinished. There are also some, such as Fig 60, where the background alone is uncoloured and the figures stand out against the natural cream tint of the paper. Balvant Singh's artists being trained in the Moghul school adhered to the technique of not painting directly on the *wasl*, but on a single sheet of paper which would later be pasted upon the *waslī*. The existence of Fig 60 and Fig (b) in the Balvant Singh group indicates that the Rājā must also have had sets of the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed* and the Krishna legend prepared for his delectation. We do not know the date of Balvant Singh's death, but judging from the miniatures he must have lived well past 1760 A.D.

Plate H and Fig 61

In Plate H we see Balvant Singh somewhat advanced in age as compared to Fig 61. He has grown stout and his face is puffy. Whenever he was out on a march he used to have his bed placed under a canopy. We derive this information from the inscription on a somewhat similar miniature in the possession of the writer (*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52,

PLATE H



Balvant Singh writing a letter. Pre-Kāngrā Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1760 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

No. 2, 'Balvant Singh a Patron of Pahārī Painting', Fig 7). The Rājā is writing a letter, and since it is a warm day he has removed his upper garment. The page boy at the back is fast asleep. It is only in the miniature painting of the Hills that one finds such touches of humour. The date of the miniature is *circa* 1760 A.D.

In Fig 61 Balvant Singh is seen as a much younger man. The very tall attendant standing behind him is a familiar figure and appears in other paintings of the Balvant Singh group. The Rājā is giving audience to his courtiers. One holds a petition in his hand, while another has what appears to be a bag of money. The figure-drawing is somewhat formal, but the faces are all excellently characterized and each is an individual portrait of merit.

Two Jammu Miniatures

Two more examples of 'pre-Kāngrā painting and most probably of the Jammu school are a prince examining a horse (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 33),[1] and a group of men blowing the long Indian pipes (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 117, Fig 621). The former painting consists of two parts pieced together apparently at some later date. The inscription on the upper margin is not easily decipherable but suggests that one Dayal Singh is examining a horse. The personage meant is possibly Dalel Singh, the son of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1735-1781 A.D.). Dalel Singh was murdered by his brother Brajraj Dev when the latter came to the throne. Dalel Singh may have maintained his own artists, or his portrait may have been painted by one of Balvant Singh's painters and later joined to the part consisting of the horse and attendants. Dalel Singh was religious minded and in the miniature he is seen telling the beads of his rosary. The miniature of the pipers is wrongly described by Gray (*Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 139) as being a mid-19th century miniature of the Kāngrā school. It belongs to the same period as the majority of the Balvant Singh group namely, *circa* 1750-1760 A.D. It is a vigorous study full of verve and action such as is rarely seen in Pahārī painting.

Doubtful Attributions

Archer[2] in his essay on the Jammu school has included several miniatures, as having a Jammu origin though there is no firm basis for such inclusion. The *plein air* study of Mian Mukund Dev of Jasrota out riding (Archer, Fig 40) was in all probability painted at Jasrota itself where the artist Pandit Seu's family had settled. Mukund Dev it appears was a patron of painting and one or more members of Pandit Seu's family may have been in his employ. So also the portraits of Mian Tedhī Mighalau of Bhotia State; Mian Kailasvatī of Bandrālta; and Mukund Dev of Jasrota (Archer, Figs 45, 46 and 48) may have been painted in these States and not in Jammu. The fact that these three portraits are mounted alike is no indication that they were painted at one and the same place or by the selfsame artist. Miniatures were often mounted or remounted in a uniform manner by their owner. For instance a famous Shah Jehan album, a few miniatures of which are in the Prince of Wales Museum, was obviously remounted in the 18th century by its then owner because it includes several 18th century paintings along with those of the Shah Jehan period—all on uniform mounts. No doubt all these three portraits belong to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (1750-1775 A.D.) but each may have been painted in a different State and have come into the possession of a single owner by way of gift or presentation. The stylistic similarity which exists between the portrait of the Bhotia Mian and that of the Bandrālta Mian (Archer, Figs. 45 and 46) only goes to establish what I have stated before, namely that the output of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase all over the Hills has marked affinity of style.[3] Many a problem can be solved if it is remembered that the members of the artist-families from the plains must have spread out in search of employment to different States. So also *Bahadur Singh with Children* (Archer, Fig 51)[4] which is in the 'pre-Kāngrā manner, could as easily be the product of any Hill State as of Jammu. Vogel in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 200, Plates 1 and 2, has also reproduced two 'pre-Kāngrā' style portraits one of which appears to be of a Rājā from Hindur State.

I have already pointed out that the portrait of *Ugar Singh of Chambā State; The Lady with the Buck;* and *Rādhā and Krishna* (Archer, Figs 54, 56, and 57) are all examples of a local Basohlī idiom which in all probability prevailed at Chambā between 1735 and 1750 A.D. So

[1] Also reproduced in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 43.

[2] *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952.

[3] There is a fine portrait of Nawab Adina Beg in the same style in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay. The Nawab has aged and the probable date of the painting is *circa* 1755 A.D.

[4] The miniature of Bahadur Singh is of poor quality and probably a late example, though Archer ascribes it to 1750 A.D. A similar study of the same personage is in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay. It bears an inscription giving the name as Bahadur Sena and a date Samvat 165. If the date is meant to be 1650=1593 A.D. as being the year in which the miniature was painted, then it is a thoroughly unreliable date. There was a Bahadur Singh of Kulu and also a Bahadur Singh of Kashtwar. But they both lived in the 16th century. The subject of the present portrait has not been identified.

also *Lady seeking Solace* (Archer, Fig 55) is almost certainly a late product[1] of the Chambā school. The progress of painting in Jammu after the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (1750-1775 A.D.) is really a topic to be dealt with while considering the *Kāngrā Kalam*, but it is necessary at this stage to clarify certain complications created by Archer while dealing with the Jammu school. He has referred to what he terms a 'Jammu-Sikh' style (Archer, Figs 49, 50, 52, and 53). Now it is true that a Sikh style grew up in the Hills, but it was a late and debased development which spread to many Hill States where Sikh domination prevailed. The Sikh style, which is represented by paintings such as Fig 6, has its own characteristics. Archer, however, applies the term 'Jammu-Sikh' to several Kāngrā miniatures which should categorically be differentiated from the Sikh style. Archer seems to have been misled by the somewhat inferior quality of their drawing, the presence of squat figures, the use of large turbans with high *kulās*[2], thick *kamarbands*[3] (waist-sashes), and the long, pointed beards which the gentry of the Katoch court affected in the reigns of Ghamand Chand and Sansār Chand. But in fact the Sikh influence could hardly have had any foothold in Kāngrā till after the fall of Sansār Chand in *circa* 1805 A.D. It is true that in Ghamand Chand's reign (1751-1775 A.D.) the Sikh chieftain Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā had invaded the Hills in *circa* 1770 and compelled Ghamand Chand to pay tribute; and still later another Sikh leader, Jai Singh Kanheyā, claimed some sort of sovereignty in the Hills till *circa* 1786 A.D. But this Sikh sovereignty over certain parts of the Hill States was not in the nature of a permanent occupation or conquest. It was only the assertion of paramountcy for the purpose of collecting tribute and occasional plunder. The real Sikh influence on the court life of the Hill States in the matter of dress, ornamentation, beards, accoutrements, manners, etc. commenced at a much later date when the great Ranjit Singh dominated the Hills and forced the Hill Rājās to attend his court at Lahore. Even the State of Jammu in the reigns of Ranjit Dev (1735-1781 A.D.) and Brajraj Dev (1781-1787), though plundered by the Sikhs on more than one occasion, was unaffected by the modes and manners of Sikh court life. It was not till *circa* 1812 A.D. that Jammu became more or less a Sikh State and thereafter the style of painting in Jammu was no doubt the Sikh style as seen in the portrait of Cet Singh of Jammu dated 1839 A.D. (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 123, Fig DXCI.). The paintings to which Archer[4] has applied the nomenclature 'Jammu-Sikh' are quite unconnected with the Sikh style, nor should they properly speaking be equated with the Jammu style. The reason is that the Jammu school is no more than the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Jammu, and the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, as we have seen, was the prevailing style all over the Hills during the period 1740-1775 A.D., and not confined to Jammu. Archer's nomenclature is therfore inappropriate as it suggests that there was a distinctive Jammu style which was influenced by Sikh painting as early as *circa* 1780 A.D. and that this mixed style travelled to Kāngrā. But there is no basis for such a theory. The Kāngrā paintings which Archer calls 'Jammu-Sikh' really represent the style of group portraiture which was quite common at the Kāngrā court. Their draughtsmanship is lacking in fineness and virility, there is an atmosphere of pretentiousness if not of pomposity, and an array of figures is much favoured. The colour schemes are bold and sometimes quite striking as in *Sansār Chand Celebrates the Festival of Basant* (Fig 77). These paintings of the Kāngrā court are of great historical importance and will be referred to again while dealing with Sansār Chand's atelier. They are the natural outcome of the circumstances in which they were painted namely, a tendency to rapid production of many court scenes in which effect and bravado, rather than refined workmanship, was sought. The result was that there was a falling off from the high standards of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style of portraiture. But this immediate deterioration was not due to any Sikh influence. A miniature which possibly represents a scene at the court of Brajraj Dev of Jammu (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 49) is in this very manner and indicates that this deteriorated style of painting was not confined to

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1 Archer assigns it to 1760, but *circa* 1790 A.D. would be more appropriate. It is dealt with later on as an example of the Chambā school.

2 It is not a Sikh style turban but a type worn by the Katoch Rājās and also by Prakash Chand of Guler.

3 These also are not of Sikh style or origin.

4 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 49, 50, 52, and 53; and *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 'Sansār Chand of Kāngrā' Plates 1, 2 and 4.

Kāngrā but also prevailed in other States. Of course, superior styles of painting also existed side by side both in Kāngrā and in Jammu as can be seen, for instance, from the finely wrought portrait of Sansār Chand in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, and the well-drawn study of Brajraj Dev in the Manley collection (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 47 and 49)[1].

The 'Pre-Kāngrā' Phase in Kāngrā

That refugee artists from the plains also went to the Kāngrā court after Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1739 A.D. is fairly certain. Hamir Chand (1700-1747 A.D.) was the ruler of Kāngrā at the time of Nadir Shah's raid into Hindustan. He was succeeded by Abhaya Chand (1747-1750 A.D.) and Rājā Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.)[2]. There are indications that in the reign of Ghamand Chand there was an atelier of painters at the Kāngrā court, no doubt formed from artists who were migrating to the Hills after 1739 A.D. and who migrated in even larger numbers after 1752 A.D. following upon the ever increasing feeling of insecurity which descended upon the inhabitants of the plains after Ahmad Shah Durrānī's invasion of 1752 and the more devastating invasion of 1756 A.D. The reasons for the belief that Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā (1751-1774 A.D.) maintained an atelier of artists are as follows:

(1) The court of Kāngrā, particularly during the reign of Ghamand Chand (1751-1774) was perhaps the most powerful of the Hill courts. In fact in 1758, Ghamand Chand was appointed by Ahmad Shah Durrānī as the governor of the Jalandhar Doab. It is well known that Ghamand Chand raised the prestige of Kāngrā to its former glory and founded the beautiful town of Tira Sujanpur and embellished it with many fine buildings. A court of such high prestige of a chieftan well on his way to be the overlord of the Hills, who was patronizing architects and artisans of merit, was bound to attract migrating artists. Moreover it must be remembered that it had become an established fashion in the Hills for most courts, and even the grandees thereof, to have their own ateliers of artists.

(2) There are many examples of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting which it is not possible to ascribe to any particular State, and accordingly it is well within the bounds of probability that several of these were painted at the court of Ghamand Chand.

(3) That Ghamand Chand had a collection of paintings is indeed likely because the traveller Moorcroft, who has left us a most interesting account of Sansār Chand's court, remarks that a portrait of Alexander in Sansār Chand's possession was stated by Sansār Chand to have come to him by inheritance. It is hardly feasible to suppose that he inherited only this single painting. If Ghamand Chand had a collection of paintings then one would normally expect a paramount chief not to be content merely with a collection but to follow the prevailing fashion of maintaining an atelier which would enhance the prestige of his court.

(4) Sansār Chand was only a boy of nine when he came to the throne in 1775 A.D., and it is too much to expect a child of nine or even a child of 12 or 14 years to conceive the idea of commencing an atelier. What must have happened was that the boy-king became interested in the pictures which were being produced by the artists already attached to the court before he came to the throne. As he grew older his interest no doubt increased, and when his political ascendancy resulted in his court becoming famous for its brilliance and patronage, his atelier was greatly enlarged and became famous all over the Hills. There is no evidence to suggest that it was only after Sansār Chand came to the throne that artists were employed by the Kāngrā court. We know that the neighbouring State of Guler was almost certainly tributary to Ghamand Chand. We also know that refugee artists from the plains worked at the Guler court of Goverdhan Chand (1730-1773) from at least 1740 A.D. onwards. In the circumstances it is unlikely that no refugee artist took service at the splendid Kāngrā court during the same period.

[1] The latter portrait is also reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 540.

[2] Between these two rulers Rājā Gamir Chand reigned for only a year 1750-1751 A.D.

In this connection it may be noted that Sansār Chand's foremost artist was one Kushan Lāl. Now Kushan Lāl, as I have already stated, appears to be Kushala, a relative of Nainsukh who was working for Rājā Balwant Singh of Jammu in *circa* 1750. It is likely that Kushan Lāl as a young man went to Kāngrā and worked at Ghamand Chand's court and later on due to his skill and long experience at the Kāngrā court became the master of the great atelier which Sansār Chand maintained.

(5) Tradition at the Hill courts connects the Kāngrā style with Kāngrā itself, and not with Guler or any other State. Of course, tradition is not conclusive. It is possible that some artists from Guler joined Sansār Chand's atelier after the death of Goverdhan Chand of Guler in 1773. But that does not affect the question whether there was a school of painting in Kāngrā in Ghamand Chand's time. From 1743 to *circa* 1770 the work of the Guler school is illustrative of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase. The type of female face most commonly seen in Kāngrā painting (straight nose almost in line with the forehead, narrow curved eyes, and characteristic chin) is not seen in the Guler school during Goverdhan Chand's reign (1730-1773) but makes a sudden appearance in the early years of Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790). Now this type of face was apparently copied by the Guler artists from some outside source when Prakash Chand came to the throne. But what was that source? To my mind this female facial type was evolved by artists working at Ghamand Chand's court. Prior to 1765 the work of these artists must no doubt have belonged to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, but this style, be it remembered, was itself in a state of constant development all over the Hills. In fact the period 1765-1775 is one in which the late 'pre-Kāngrā' phase and the early Kāngrā school overlap each other. The popularity of this facial type rapidly increased after 1775, not only in Kāngrā itself, but all over the Hills. This type is one of the chief characteristics of the Kāngrā school and the term *Kāngrā Kalam* (brush) came into common use amongst Pahārī artists as indicative of the style belonging to Kāngrā. I agree, it is possible to contend that this female facial type originated in some State other than Kāngrā and was later borrowed by Kāngrā and Guler. At the same time it must be remembered that the artist families of the Hills maintain a unanimous tradition that the typical *Kāngrā Kalam* originated in Kāngrā, and spread to Guler, Chambā, Basohlī, Mandi, and other States. The mere fact that only four portraits of Ghamand Chand are known to exist, and that too in an inferior style, is too slight a circumstance on which to base the conclusion[1] that Ghamand Chand did not patronize the art of painting. Almost all the portrait studies of Sansār Chand himself are in an inferior style, while only two portraits of Devī Chand of Bilāspur (1741-1778) are available though it is now known that he was a patron of painting. Such instances could be multiplied. It is likely that Ghamand Chand, who was busy with power politics, did not take any appreciable personal interest in his atelier and did not care to have portraits of himself painted. But such an attitude would certainly not preclude him from maintaining an atelier of artists. On the contrary its maintenance would be most feasible from the prestige point of view for a prince with pretensions to the paramountcy of the Hills. Thus the Kāngrā school to my mind developed from the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase as practised in Kāngrā itself. It is not necessary to resort to the theory[2] that the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase artists of Guler went to Kāngrā and started the Kāngrā school. The 'pre-Kāngrā' phase was in vogue in many States, and similarities in style between the work done in different States during this period (1740-1775) may easily be accounted for by the fact that almost all these 'pre-Kāngrā' phase artists were trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period. Moreover many members of the same artist-family took employment in different States. The fact that no 'pre-Kāngrā' type portraits of Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.) or of his son Sansār Chand as a young boy are known to us is not a circumstance which precludes a 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Kāngrā. For one thing Sansār Chand's great collection of miniatures appears to have been widely dispersed after the flight of Sansār Chand's son Aniruddha from Kāngrā due to the intolerable demands of Ranjit Singh. By this time Sansār Chand was dead, and Aniruddha no doubt took the

[1] This theory is propounded by Archer in *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, p. 2. A fifth portrait appears in *Marg* Vol. 7, No. 3.
[2] Ibid, p. 3.

collection with him when he fled to British territory for safety. It is reported that he escaped with all his household goods. But thereafter the collection got dispersed. It is known that some part of the collection is with the Lambagraon Darbār, some with other descendants of his, while some items almost certainly went as dowry to the Garhwāl Darbār. But there can be little doubt that a large part of the collection is not traceable today. Therefore, the mere absence of 'pre-Kāngrā' phase portraits of Ghamand Chand, and of Sansār Chand as a young boy, in the collections of the Lambagraon Darbār and other descendants of Sansār Chand, affords no proof that such portraits never existed. It is significant that though the finest artists were at Sansār Chand's court, very few portraits of him in a skilled and refined style have come to light[1], though a number in a coarse style are known to exist in different collections. That there were many portraits of Sansār Chand in the refined style can hardly be doubted, and yet the fact that most cannot be traced indicates the extent to which some royal collections have become dispersed.

(6) When we come to the *Kāngrā Kalam* it will be necessary to consider a *Rāmāyana* series dated 1769 A.D. (Figs 54 and 55). For the time being it is enough to point out that there is good reason to think that this series was painted at Ghamand Chand's court. If this is so, then it could hardly have developed save out of a 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Kāngrā itself.

The 'Pre-Kāngrā' Phase in other States

We have already observed that painting in the 'pre-Kāngrā' style appears to have been patronized at Jasrota by a grandee named Mian Mukund Dev[2]. So also the portraits of a Bhotī Mian[3] and a Bandrāltā Mian[4] go to suggest the spread of the style to smaller States. It is true that Bhotī, if not Bandrāltā, was tributary to Jammu, and it may be argued that such portraits were painted when the tributary chiefs attended the court of Ranjit Dev.[5] That is possible, but this very circumstance itself would have induced at least some of the lesser States to follow the example of their overlords or their exalted neighbours. That painting flourished at Bandrāltā from the early 18th century onwards seems fairly certain, and there can also be little doubt that Basohlī under Amrit Pāl (1757-1776 A.D.) followed the example of Jammu and began to favour the Moghul style of painting. The palace of Amrit Pāl was decorated in the Moghul fresco style, and the portrait of Amrit Pāl's queen (Fig 65)[6] indicates patronage of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Basohlī. Fig 65 is unfinished, but the old Tankrī inscription thereon is obviously contemporary. It seems to have been a common practice to write inscriptions on paintings before they were completed. Several unfinished miniatures from Balvant Singh's atelier bear inscriptions. These inscriptions probably served the purpose of an identification tag when the artist had several pictures in hand at the same time and was being aided by family members or pupils in their completion. Many reasons can be advanced for miniatures remaining unfinished. A probable cause is to be found in the practice that prevailed of the artist making one or more copies, with slight differences, of one and the same painting. Such copies were frequently required for presentation or for the delectation of the zenana. Hence an unfinished copy was likely to remain with the artist if the requisite number had already been supplied.

There are many 'pre-Kāngrā' style paintings, the provenance of which it is not possible to determine for want of adequate data such as was available while considering the Jammu group and the Guler group. Two typical examples, which have already been referred to, are *Lady on a Terrace* in the Lahore Museum, and a lady listening to music in the *Victoria and Albert Museum* (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 60 and 61). Archer ascribes

1 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 47. It is in the collection of the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.
2 *Ibid*, Fig 40. A study of the Mian and his entourage out riding is not likely to have been painted in another State.
3 Ibid, Fig 45.
4 Ibid, Fig 40.
5 The attendance every year of the tributary chiefs is mentioned by Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 9.
6 Also reproduced in my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, Fig. 108.

them to Punch *circa* 1780, but I have pointed out that the existence[1] of a Punch school is doubtful, and that in any event these two miniatures are nearer to 1760 than 1780 A.D. A somewhat later example, probably belonging to the last period of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (1765-1775 A.D.), is *The Expectant Heroine* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 66). It is also ascribed to Punch, but I prefer to regard the provenance as uncertain. A late 'pre-Kāngrā' example of high merit, which may be from Guler, is Coomaraswamy's *The Wives of the Mathura Brahmans*, while another equally competent and somewhat earlier miniature (*circa* 1760-65) is *Bhils Hunting Deer at Night* in the collection of Lady Herringham (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 46 and 42 A). The theme of a woman, clad in leaves, hunting animals at night was popular with the Moghul artists of the first half of the 18th century and many versions[2] exist. I have no doubt that Coomaraswamy has correctly regarded Lady Herringham's miniature as an example of the Pahārī school, even though the date given by him namely, early 18th century cannot be accepted.

In the late P. C. Manuk collection there was a *Tambula Seva* which has been reproduced in colour in Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 8. Gangoly ascribed it to the Jaipur school[3] but it is obviously a *'pre-Kāngrā' Kalam* miniature of excellent quality. Its rich warm colouring is reminiscent of some of the tones found in the Balvant Singh group of paintings from Jammu, and in the 'pre-Kāngrā' group from Guler. The Moghul influence is strong, and as in the case of *The Portrait of the Balaurī Ranī* (Fig 65) it is framed in a lightly coloured window-arch (*jarokha*). It belongs to the period *circa* 1760 A.D.

Sohnī and Mahiwal also in the collection of the late P. C. Manuk (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 29) is indeed an exquisite miniature of the last period of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase and can best be ascribed to 1765-1775 A.D. The theme was also known to the Moghul school artists of the first half of the 18th century.[4] The miniature may well be from Guler but it is not advisable to venture any definite opinion. It is the most attractive version of the subject known to the writer.

Shiva and Pārvatī from the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta, (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 33) is yet another fine example of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style of *circa* 1765-1775 A.D. A sketch of *Gangāvatarana* by a painter named Udut Singh in the India Office Library, Johnson collection, Vol. 34, folio 4, has been ascribed by Stchoukine[5] to the Kāngrā school of the last quarter of the 18th century. The atmosphere created by the landscape setting does suggest that it is a Pahārī miniature of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase but in that event it would belong to the third quarter and not to the last quarter of the 18th century as suggested by Stchoukine. Udut Singh has painted several miniatures in Vol. 34 of the Johnson collection. It may be that he went to a Hill court for some time and later returned to the plains bringing with him paintings and unfinished sketches made in the Hills, one of which came into Johnson's possession along with other examples of Udut Singh's work.

An illustration to the story of Sāssī and Punnu in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi[6] (*Rupam*, No. 30, opp. p. 70, bottom) is characteristic of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at its best. The female types are somewhat similar in workmanship and drawing to those in Fig 73 of the present volume which depicts a music party. But it may be a little earlier than Fig 73 and can be ascribed to *circa* 1760-1765 A.D.

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[1] *Supra* p. 120. The matter is more fully discussed later on.

[2] Moghul examples can be seen in Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 51; Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1908, Plate 65; and Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 61(a).

[3] The reviewer of Mr. Gangoly's book in *Rupam*, No. 30, p. 57, has fallen into the same error and ineptly remarks that *Tambula Seva* is in the usual facile later Rājasthānī (Jaipur) style. In fact it is far removed from the Jaipur style.

[4] A good example of this period is in the possession of Mrs. Sillo Gamadia of Bombay. It was formerly in the Sir Ratan Tata collection.

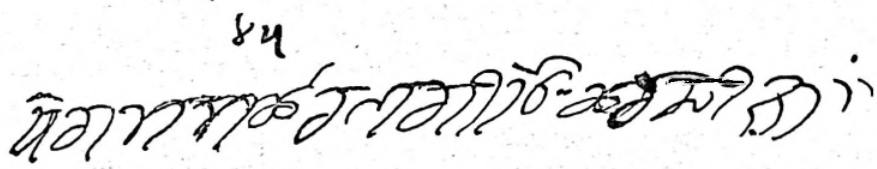
[5] Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 94(a). Johnson who built up the collection in India returned to England in 1790 A.D.

[6] It was originally in the collection of Samarendranath Gupta of Lahore.

A miniature of Shiv and Pārvatī seated in the Himalayas, in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, (*Nehru Birthday Volume*, 1950, Plate 19) also belongs to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase. Its probable date is *circa* 1760 A.D.

Figs 59, 67 and 73

Begum Sakir out Hawking (Fig 59) is perhaps the most outstanding example of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting which has yet come to light. The inscription on the reverse is as follows :



It is difficult to decipher but appears to read,

'Begam Sakir lagi . . . kardiji'

The meaning is not clear but it seems that the lady on the horse is a personage of rank known as Begum Sakir. I have not been able however to discover any lady of that name. It is possible that she was one of the persons of high estate who sought refuge in Jammu some time after 1740 A.D. Her entire retinue consists of women, and even her hunter is a woman dressed in male costume. The colouring consists almost exclusively of varying tones of green, save for the white horse and the birds. The effect thus produced, though unusual, is most attractive. It is futile to speculate on the provenance of this miniature. The female types do not approximate to any known Guler or Jammu miniature of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, but that factor would not be conclusive against a Guler or Jammu origin. Incidentally there is a fairly close resemblance between the Begum and the Basohlī *Ranī* (Fig 65). Had it been possible to identify this interesting personage, who appears to be the wife of a Muslim grandee, governor, or commander, some more light would have been thrown on the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase of Pahārī art. The title 'Begam' precludes the lady being the wife of a Hindu prince. I am not inclined to regard her as the consort of any of those Hill Rājās who were Muslims by faith such as the Chiefs of Kashtwār, Rajaurī or Punch. Such consorts would ordinarily be referred to as *Ranīs* because these Muslim Hill chiefs, who were only converted Rājputs, were always known as *Rājās*. The probable date of the miniature is 1750-1760 A.D. The hill landscape is treated with a fine feeling for atmospheric effect, while the handling of perspective is in the approved Moghul manner of the 18th century. One is tempted to think that this brilliant study may be the work of the master-painter Kushan Lāl at the Kāngrā court after Ghamand Chand was made governor of the Jalandhar Doab by Ahmad Shah Durrānī. But here we are in the realm of futile speculation, and wishful thinking must be held in rein till concrete evidence is forthcoming. It is of interest to note that the method of bridling the horse is similar to that in vogue in Guler in Goverdhan Chand's time,[1] but this method is also seen at Kāngrā. The bridling of the horse in Fig 67, however, is different.

The equestrian portrait (Fig 67) is another intriguing example of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase. The lady astride the horse has a marked resemblance to the principal musician in the study of Balvant Singh by Nainsukh in the Lahore Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 35). But in the absence of more data, the provenance must remain undetermined. The probable date of the miniature is 1750-1755 A.D.

The music party (Fig 73) is a 'pre-Kāngrā' miniature of high quality. The workmanship is careful, and the colour rich and warm. But here we have the spirit of Moghul art and the atmosphere is not that of the Hills. The female types, however, are more tender than usually seen in Moghul painting of the 18th century. The upper part of the picture has been cut off

[1] *Marg.*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birthplace of Kāngrā Art', Fig 2.

because it must have been damaged or worm-eaten, but the inscription which was probably on the upper margin has been copied again on to the mount of the miniature. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity. It reads,

Vasitu Ganda u di

which means, 'the musician Vasitu, her picture'. Apparently Vasitu, who must be the lady with the *sitār* (a stringed musical instrument), was a singer of repute at some Hill court, and the *Ranī*, who is sitting on a chair, desired to have a painting of herself listening to her favourite musician. In the distance is a river with boats, and beyond are some people with a horse. The most likely date of Fig 73 is 1760-1775 A.D.

Some Characteristics of Pre-Kāngrā Painting

While it is not easy to enumerate the characteristics of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting, the following may be noted. It is however well to remember that all these characteristics are not always present:

(*a*) a marked influence of the Moghul school of the first half of the 18th century.

(*b*) warm, rich colours with depth of tone.

(*c*) competent brush-work and precise drawing.

(*d*) the hair is drawn with care, and is not a flat mass of black colour. The hair often recedes from the temples.

(*e*) faces are modelled.

(*f*) portraiture is skilful with good characterization.

(*g*) in the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler the female figure is slim and tall with a long, slender neck, small well-formed face, and slightly up-turned nose.

(*h*) hillocks are well-rounded.

(*i*) trees are naturalistically drawn. Moreover one often finds low shrubs or trees with circular flat leaves massed close to each other (Fig 0).

(*j*) use of red or chocolate-brown for considerable expanses of the background. This feature is usually peculiar to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler. But it is also to be found in Guler painting after 1775 A.D.

The wide area over which the 'pre-Kāngrā' style prevailed is not a circumstance to occasion any surprise. When artists and artisans in considerable numbers were constantly seeking refuge in the Hills it was but natural that no one State could possibly absorb them. This was particularly true with regard to those who followed the painter's profession. No Hill State was rich enough to employ all the artists who fled to the Hills, and in consequence they spread out far and wide wherever their talents could secure them a living. Thus it is to my mind a fundamental error to think of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting as being confined to two pockets in the Hills namely Guler and Jammu, or to regard Guler as the birthplace of Kāngrā art.[1] The *Kāngrā Kalam* though always linked with the State of Kāngrā is really the logical development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase in Pahārī art. One of its prominent characteristics, however, namely the *Standard* female type (Enlarged Face, Detail No. 20) appears to have been evolved in Kāngrā itself, as we shall presently see, and thereafter adopted all over the Hills. It is true that the 'pre-Kāngra' phase at Guler had certain characteristics which may be regarded as peculiar to it, and the same may be said of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Jammu. Hence there is no objection to the use of the nomenclature 'Guler school' or 'Jammu school' provided these schools are not isolated from the general trends of development in the Hills which, broadly speaking, fall into three periods.

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1 Archer enunciated this view in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, and M. S. Randhawa has followed it in *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the Birthplace of Kāngrā Art'.

(*a*) The *Basohlī Kalam* and its idioms.

(*b*) The 'pre-Kāngrā' phase which commenced with the influx of refugee artists after 1739 A.D.

(*c*) The logical development of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, to which long usage has given the nomenclature *Kāngrā Kalam.*

It is essential to remember while tracing the development of Pahārī painting that many portraits of Pahārī chiefs are by no means contemporaneous. Failure to bear this in mind will lead to untenable conclusions. For instance, there are two portraits reproduced by M. S. Randhawa in *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, as Figs A and B on page 42, one being of Jagdish Chand of Guler (1570-1605) and the other of Bikram Singh of Guler (1661-1675). Randhawa took them to be contemporaneous studies and accordingly suggested that they were the earliest paintings from Guler. However on grounds of style, technique, costume, and historical data, it is clear that they cannot have been painted earlier than the second quarter of the 18th century. To ascribe the portrait of Jagdish Chand to the late Akbar or early Jehangir period would be to countenance a stylistic impossibility. Even Bikram Singh's portrait appears to be an unfinished 18th century copy or adaptation from some contemporary Moghul school portrait or sketch. Bikram Singh be it remembered spent much of his time in the service of the Moghul Emperor.

In all probability both these portraits were got prepared in the atelier of Goverdhan Chand (1730-1773 A.D.) who, in common with other Pahari Rajas, no doubt desired to have a series of portraits of his illustrious ancestors.



Fig. (c) Sketch of a group of musicians at the court of Balwant Singh of Jammu.

THE KĀNGRĀ KALAM

The *Kāngrā Kalam* is a nomenclature applicable to the schools of painting which followed the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase. But as already pointed out it is often difficult to differentiate between the last stage of pre-Kāngrā painting and the early *Kāngrā Kalam*. This overlapping period can for all practical purposes be assigned to *circa* 1765-1775 A.D. It is important to note that the extraordinary fame achieved by the Kāngrā school during Sansār Chand's reign (1775-1823 A.D.) and the wide-spread imitation of the style were largely responsible for the adoption of the nomenclature *Kāngrā Kalam* even for works done outside Kāngrā. The result is that down to this day the artist families of the Hills will refer to every painting in the Kāngrā style as being of the *Kāngrā Kalam* though they may be aware that it was painted outside Kāngrā. The provenance whenever indicated is by phrases such as '*Guler idiom of Kāngrā Kalam*' or '*Chambā idiom of Kāngrā Kalam*', and so forth. When one talks of Kāngrā painting in general, it should be understood in this wide sense. Thousands and thousands of *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures were certainly not painted in Kāngrā itself, and in most cases it is impossible to decide the exact provenance without the task degenerating into sheer guess-work.

I have already dealt with the problem whether there was a 'pre-Kāngrā' school of painting at the court of Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā (1751-1774 A.D.) and answered that question in the affirmative. Though no concrete evidence is available to establish the existence of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting under Ghamand Chand, yet the discovery of a *Rāmāyana* series dated 1769 A.D., which appears to have been painted in Kāngrā, goes a long way to support the viewpoint that there was a 'pre-Kāngrā' phase in Kāngrā itself just as there was a similar phase in Guler, Jammu, Jasrota, Basohlī and other States. If I am right in thinking that this *Rāmāyana* series of 1769 was painted at Ghamand Chand's court, then it is indeed likely that the style of the *Rāmāyana* series developed out of a 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Kāngrā.

A Rāmāyana Series dated 1769 A.D.

The series as it exists today consists of 28 examples in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay. The date appears on the reverse of each miniature as V.S. 1826=1769 A.D. Two examples are reproduced in the present volume as Figs 54 and 55.

This set proclaims itself in several ways as the logical precursor of many later *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings. Its colour harmonies and types tend to disassociate it with the trends of contemporary painting at Guler or Jammu. Kāngrā seems the most likely source. The following characteristics of the set should be noted.

(1) The female facial type is not yet crystallized into the *Standard* Kāngrā type represented by Enlarged Face Detail No. 20. Some of the female faces in these *Rāmāyana* miniatures approximate to the face of the lady smoking a hukkah (Fig 48). In one instance however there is a female face closely approximating the *Standard* Kāngrā type of Sansār Chand's reign. It is the face of Sītā in Fig 54 where she is shown sitting next to Rāma.

(2) In Fig 55 the drawing and treatment of the *sannyasīs* (ascetics) are unquestionably in the late Moghul manner of the first half of the 18th century A.D. Their bodies are coloured to a smooth salmon-pink shade or blue-grey, while a thin wash of gold is applied to their long matted hair. All these are conventions and technical devices of Moghul artists.

(3) In some of the miniatures the reds and yellows are much stronger in tonal effect and more full-bodied than the reds and yellows seen in later Kāngrā art. At the same time several miniatures display the softer colour schemes which are usually associated with Kāngrā painting.

The conclusion which I have arrived at after a careful study of this *Rāmāyana* series is that it should be regarded as an example of the early *Kāngrā Kalam*. It belongs to the period 1765-1775 when late 'pre-Kāngrā' painting and the early Kāngrā school overlapped each other. The series is less in keeping with 'pre-Kāngrā' art than with the *Kāngrā Kalam* proper, despite the fact that it lacks the delicacy of line and colour which one usually associates with Kāngrā painting. There are obvious crudities, such as the stunted figures in the farther background in Figs 54 and 55, and the stiff treatment of drapery. Albeit the spirit which pervades these miniatures, which tell of the forest exile and the storming of Lankā, is not that of contemporary Moghul painting. The farther background figures are clumsily stunted due to a fallacious belief that this device aided the sense of perspective (Fig 55). These stunted figures have no doubt been copied from the Moghul school of the Shah Alam period (1759-1805 A.D.) where the same device prevailed. So also the naturalistic tree forms, with pronounced shading of foliage, are a legacy of contemporary Moghul art. But in their composition, their format, their landscape treatment, their trees, and their floral borders, these miniatures are forerunners of later Kāngrā painting. Just as it is not possible to conclude that there was only one 'pre-Kāngrā' style in the Hills, so also we must regard the early *Kāngrā Kalam* as being constituted of several styles, one of which is represented by the *Rāmāyana* series of 1769 A.D. From the aesthetic point of view the *Rāmāyana* series is not an outstanding achievement. Its figures are not subtle and its mood not inspiring. Nevertheless one cannot escape the feeling that in many details of treatment, though not in physical types, it reveals itself as one of the sources which influenced such later creations as the exquisite *Bhāgavata* series of Sansār Chand's reign (Plates VII, X and J and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13). For instance the *sannyasīs* in Fig 55 are remarkably similar to a group of *sannyasīs* in one of the miniatures of the well-known *Bhāgavata* series of Sansār Chand's time. This miniature was in the possession of the art dealer K. C. Popli, but its present whereabouts are not known. So also resemblances between certain tree-forms in the *Rāmāyana* paintings and the *Bhāgavata* miniatures can be observed. Note the sun-flower-like plant to the right in Fig 55 and a similar plant to the right in Plate X.

The *Rāmāyana* paintings are the earliest dated examples of the *Kāngrā Kalam* so far known to us. They are representative of a transition stage. The style of the refugee painters was undergoing a change. This was the inevitable outcome of their new environment. In the Himalayan hills they found a different landscape, different flora and trees, and different physical types both male and female. The dominant influence of the late Moghul school was modified in course of time into another idiom such as that seen in Figs 54 and 55. The workmanship of the series varies. Even the colouring is not of uniform merit and seems to be by more than one hand. In the Lankā scenes the citadel of Rāvana is always painted in gold, and the architecture appears to be inspired by that of Tira Sujapur, the city founded by Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.). The shrub with flat circular leaves, so prominent in the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, still persists. In Fig 54 the principal tones are warm reds and yellows, while in others, cooler shades prevail. Most of the paintings have suffered damage from smoke, perhaps during a fire. A few may have been coloured at a later date over the original drawings. That is my surmise as they fall below the general standard of the set. A line of text from the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsī Dās is written on the back of each painting.[1]

The *Rāmāyana* series establishes that the typical female type in the *Kāngrā Kalam* which I have hereafter referred to as the *Standard* type (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 20) had been evolved by 1769 A.D. as can be seen from the face of Sītā in Fig 54. This *Standard* type, of course with variations, appears to have caught the imagination of artists even in States other than Kāngrā, because, we see its first appearance in Guler in *circa* 1773-1775 in the portrait of Prakash Chand (Fig 68)[2]. We also see a variation in the sketch of a lady smoking a hukkah (Fig 48) dated 1777 A.D. But we do not know the provenance of Fig 48 and can infer nothing from the fact that its find-spot was the Kulu Valley. The type in Fig 48 has parallels in the *Rāmāyana* set.

[1] See 'Supplementary Information on Illustrations' for the translation of the *chaupais* (verses) on Figs 54 and 55.

[2] It again appears in Fig 83 which can be dated *circa* 1775 A.D.

The Female Face in the Kāngrā Kalam—Two Main Types.

There are two main types of the female face constantly seen in the *Kāngrā Kalam*. The first type, which is the more common of the two, is referred to in this volume as the *Standard* type. The nose is almost in a straight line with the forehead, the point of the chin is at an unusually long distance from the throat, the face is flat and devoid of modelling, the eyes are long narrow and curved, and the hair is an even mass of black colour. The visual impression is of greater breadth than length. Enlarged Face Detail No. 20 is characteristic of the *Standard* type, while variations are seen in Enlarged Face Details Nos. 16 and 24. A type similar to No. 16 appears to have been quite popular at Guler[1] and also at Chamba[2] (Fig 66), while No. 24, which lacks the delicacy of Nos. 16 and 20, was common in later Kāngrā art. It is not possible to illustrate all the variations of the *Standard* type because their number is very considerable. But there is no real difficulty in differentiating any variation of the *Standard* type from the other main type of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. This latter, I have called the *Bhāgavata* type because it is seen in a famous series[3] of illustrations to the *Bhāgavata* painted in Sansār Chand's time (Plates VII, X, and J and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13). In the *Bhāgavata* type the face is well modelled and shaded so judiciously that it possesses an almost porcelain-like delicacy. The nose is small and slightly upturned, and the hair is carefully painted. Whenever the *Bhāgavata* type is seen, the miniature is invariably of good workmanship. The same cannot be said of miniatures wherein the *Standard* type appears. Sometimes they can be delicate in the extreme, but too often are coarse or slipshod in drawing or brushwork. Nevertheless the overall effect even in such work can often be pleasing.

I have already indicated in some measure, while dealing with the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, how new types came to be evolved. After the refugee artists of the ateliers at Guler and other States had worked in the Moghul manner for some time, the new requirements of their patrons, the change in their environment, and also the natural instinct of inventiveness inherent in every painter possessing imagination, all combined to produce a new outlook. They seem to have felt a need for creating new physical types for the *dramatis personnae* of their miniatures. Painting at the Moghul courts of the Emperors Farruksiyar (1713-1719 A.D.) and Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) was often of considerable merit, but a goodly portion tended to be effete. This was due to the fact that the artists were largely concerned with the production of zenana art. Such was the background of the refugee painters who came to the Hills. The requirements however of the Pahārī Rājās, with their love of the Krishna legend, the epics, and bardic lore, were very different from those of the Moghul court. It took some time for the refugee artists to capture the spirit of Vaishnava literature and infuse it into their paintings. *Dānā Līlā* (Fig 16), for instance, though a miniature of high quality, is somewhat aloof in the handling of its theme. But when, with the passage of time, we come to Fig 10, we find the haunting beauty of the story of the forest exile and the devotion of Sita and Laksmana for the great Rāma most feelingly and tenderly expressed. Here is the spirit of Tulsidās's immortal *Rāmāyana*.

It should be noted however that the refugee artists at the Hill courts, though they learnt to express the spirit of the great Vaishnava revival, did in their turn create a very pronounced interest in court circles for the *zenana* picture. In the time of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.) the demand for zenana paintings was so considerable and widespread that this form of art looms quite large in a survey of the Kāngrā school.

It may be that the origin of the *Bhāgavata* type is to be traced to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler. One finds somewhat similar types in existence at Guler as early as *circa* 1755 A.D. (Fig 74)[4]. Accordingly the possibility must be countenanced that after Goverdhan Chand's

[1] *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the Birthplace of Kāngrā Art', Fig 7 *circa* 1775 A.D. Reproduced in the present volume as Fig 83. *Art and Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 'Guler Art', Plate 3.

[2] Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre* Plate 20. Also reproduced in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 34.

[3] This series is well known to all dealers, and because of their constant reference to the *Bhāgavata type* I was induced to adopt a similar nomenclature.

[4] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 29, *circa* 1755-60 is also very close to the *Bhāgavata* type.

death in 1773 A.D. some Guler artists took service with Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Be it remembered at the same time that Prakash Chand of Guler who succeeded Goverdhan Chand, was also a keen patron of painting and hence it is unlikely that he would part company with his best artists. It is therefore possible that the *Bhāgavata* type was evolved in Kāngrā itself. The mere fact that we have no concrete evidence to indicate precisely which 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures were painted in Kāngrā, does not justify our ignoring the possibility of types similar to the *Bhāgavata* type having been painted not only in Guler but also in Kāngrā State during the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase in the Hills. For instance if *Begum Sakir out Hawking* (Fig 59) was perchance painted in Kāngrā, then it is easy to conceive the *Bhāgavata* type being evolved in Kāngrā itself. Be that as it may, the *Bhāgavata* type together with its variations was considerably in vogue in Kāngrā and Guler and no doubt also in other States between 1775-1800 A.D. Typical examples of the *Bhāgavata* type are illustrated as Enlarged Face Details Nos. 17, 21, 22 and 23. It is of interest to note that the full face (No. 23) always has a flattened appearance. The *Bhāgavata* type is seen only in miniatures of high quality and the explanation of this circumstance is that none but the most skilled artists could cope successfully with the *Bhāgavata* type. The *Standard* type is to my mind an idealized form of a mould of features still to be seen in the Hills. I have seen Pahārī maidens who might have stepped out of a Kāngrā painting, even to their long, narrow glancing eyes. Nevertheless both the main types probably owe something to literary sources in the process of their evolution.

As the fame of the *Kāngrā Kalam* is indissolubly linked with the reign of Sansār Chand it is necessary to consider the career of this fabulous monarch and how far popular beliefs and traditions accord with known facts.

Sansār Chand of Kāngrā

When Sansār Chand came to the throne in 1775 A.D. at the age of ten he was the ruler of a State which had been restored to its ancient limits and much of its former prestige by his grandfather Ghamand Chand. The State boasted an efficient mercenary army, while civic projects were not neglected. Ghamand Chand had founded the town of Tira Sujanpur on the Beas and had embellished it with many fine buildings. He also appears to have maintained an atelier of artists. Thus Sansār Chand stepped into a heritage of political power and artistic endeavour. He proved to be the most notable prince who ever ruled in the Hills. Let us cast a brief glance at the political set-up of Northern India at the time of Sansār Chand's succession. The Durrānī held the Punjab which had been ceded by the Moghul Emperor to Ahmed Shah Durrānī in 1752 A.D. But in the outlying portions of that province Durrānī rule was weak and the old Moghul governors were practically independent. The Hill States had freed themselves from all foreign domination but the fort of Kāngrā was still held by the Moghul governor Saif Ali Khan. Through all the vicissitudes of the Moghul Empire the Fort of Kāngrā had remained invincible as the last bastion and symbol of the Moghul overlordship of the Hills. But a new power was rising from the confusion that ruled in the plains—the redoubtable Sikhs. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, a Sikh chieftan had already made inroads into the Hills, while another Sikh leader Jai Singh Kanheya had begun to show his mailed fist.

Sansār Chand was a youth of great ambition and he joined hands with Jai Singh Kanheya to capture Kāngrā Fort. The Fort was surrendered in 1783 A.D. but to Sansār Chand's chagrin it was Jai Singh Kanheya who secured possession of it by strategem. It was not till 1786 A.D. that a compromise was effected and Jai Singh gave over Kāngrā Fort to Sansār Chand. All this is history and appears to have little to do with our theme, but it must be remembered that the Hill Chiefs believed that '*He who holds the Fort holds the Hills.*' The Fort mattered much to Sansār Chand whose ambition was to consolidate the Hill States under his despotic rule. This was an ambition he largely fulfilled before he fell from power. His political greatness is the background against which the *Kāngrā Kalam* of Pahārī miniature painting developed and flourished to such an extent that the Kāngrā school became a synonym for Pahārī art.

With Kāngrā Fort in his hands and a large mercenary army under his command, Sansār Chand forced many Hill States into submission and made them tributary and compelled their chiefs to attend his court. Chambā was invaded and Mandī sacked. The young Raja of Mandī, Isvarī Sen, was kept at Nadaun as a captive for twelve years.

Sansār Chand did not rest content with his military successes. He became a patron of culture. His fame as the paramount Hill Chief spread far and wide, and his court attracted a host of persons skilled in learning or the arts. It was the golden age of Kāngrā history. As befitted his position and his pretensions, he became a great builder and also maintained an atelier of artists which became the most famous atelier in the history of Pahārī painting. Many places in his State were beautified by him and his gardens at Alampur, a city founded by Alam Chand (1697-1700 A.D.), were said to rival the gardens of Shalimār at Lahore.

Ghulām Muhai-ud-din in his *Tarikh-i-Panjab*[1] says, 'for many years Sansār Chand passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Noshirvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others, resorted to Kāngrā and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hands that he was regarded as the Hatim of that age and in generosity the Rustom of that time.'

Sansār Chand held his court at Nadaun, a place so pleasant and beautiful that the saying came into being—*'Who that comes to Nadaun will go away?'* The traveller Moorcroft remarks that it was a favourite resting place of merchants travelling betwixt Kashmir and Hindustan being the chief mart of a rich province and famed for its comforts and attractions. It suffered heavily during the Gurkha occupation and was in a delapidated condition when Moorcroft visited it in 1820 A.D. Thus for twenty years Sansār Chand ruled as the undisputed monarch of the Hills before his tragic downfall and loss of all political power.

It is this period of twenty years (1785-1805 A.D.) that saw the rise and greatest achievements of the Kāngrā school of miniature painting, the fountain-head of which was Sansār Chand's famed atelier. Despite the popularity of Kāngrā painting, much ignorance prevails as to its development.

Sansār Chand's Atelier

Sansār Chand's fame and liberality were such that his court attracted numerous artists who greatly enlarged the atelier which had been started by Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.) with the refugee artists who had sought asylum in Kāngrā due to the anarchy prevailing in the plains. Unfortunately the artists at Sansār Chand's atelier did not sign their handiwork but tradition has handed down to us a few of their names. Mr. J. C. French[2] mentions one Kushan Lāl who was said to be Sansār Chand's favourite painter. That is the tradition at the Lambagraon Darbār, the Maharaja of which is a direct descendant of Sansār Chand. Another of Sansār Chand's artists was one Fattu[3] who appears to have lived to a ripe old age. It is not known when he left Sansār Chand's atelier but he was in the service of Balbir Sen of Mandī (1839-1851 A.D.) after Sansār Chand's death. I have reproduced a rather conventional painting by Fattu done in his old age, namely, *Gaja Lakshmī* (Fig 50) which bears the date 1843 A.D. and the following inscription (Facsimile Inscription No. 5).

The Painter Fattu presented (this picture) to Sri Maharājā Balbir Sen while he was camping at Alampur Garden.

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1 Quoted in Hulchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933. Vol 1, p. 181.
2 French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, p. 69. I have already referred to Kushan Lāl while dealing with the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase.
3 Ibid, p. 85.

Another painting by Fattu is reproduced by J. C. French in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 1. It will be referred to again later on.

An artist named Sajnu who was working at Mandī in 1810 A.D. was also known to be one of Sansār Chand's painters. He apparently took service with the Mandī Darbār some time after 1805 A.D. when the Gurkhas had brought Sansār Chand to a sad pass and his atelier perforce began to disintegrate.

Another of Sansār Chand's painters was an artist named Purkhu. He is mentioned in Baden-Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, Vol. 2, page 355.

Several paintings definitely known to be from Sansār Chand's atelier are in the possession of the Maharājā of Lambagraon. One of them, which is quite typical, illustrates the dalliance of Krishna and Rādhā. It is reproduced by J. C. French in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 22. Two more are reproduced in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 'Sansār Chand of Kāngrā', Plates 1 and 4. The latter is of exceeding interest as it shows Sansār Chand displaying the work of his artists. Others from the same collection appear in *Marg*, Vol 7, No. 3.

A collection[1] of paintings done at Sansār Chand's court was also in the possession of another descendant of Sansār Chand named Zaildar Shri Rām Singh Banurī of Bhwarna, Palanpur District. From this collection an extensive set relating to the exploits of the Goddess Durga, was purchased by the Punjab Government for the Chandigarh Museum, while four illustrations to a *Shiva-Pārvatī* set have been reproduced in colour in *March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952. The collection also contained portraits including some of Sansār Chand himself, as well as large size procession scenes (Fig 77) and other scenes (Fig 81) in which Sansār Chand is the principal figure. Many of these paintings are of high importance from the historical point of view, but they also enable us to form an idea of the character of Sansār Chand's atelier which I will presently discuss in some detail. Rām Singh inherited the paintings from his father Mian Bhawānī Singh of Alampur. One of them has been reproduced in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 'Sansār Chand of Kāngrā', Plate 2. It depicts Sansār Chand playing *Holī*, and amongst the assemblage is O'Brien, the renegade Irish soldier who became one of his military commanders. It is also reproduced in *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 1.

Now these large size paintings[2] from Sansār Chand's atelier such as *Sansār Chand Celebrates the Festival of Basant* (Fig 77) or *Sansār Chand Celebrates Gokul Asthamī* (Fig 81), or those reproduced as Plates, 1, 2 and 4 to illustrate J. C. French's article on Sansār Chand in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, present several problems. They are impressive in composition and bold in colouring, but the drawing is often indifferent and the brush work lacks real refinement. They are indeed far removed from the many exquisite paintings which we have been wont to ascribe to Sansār Chand's artists. It is but natural then that the query should arise whether these ambitious and somewhat florid paintings represent the high water mark of painting at Sansār Chand's court. If the answer were to be in the affirmative then it would follow that the Kāngrā's prince's atelier acquired fame not because of any high aesthetic achievement but as a result of the political ascendency of its patron. By no stretch of imagination can these large-size court scenes and procession scenes, impressive as they are, be regarded as art of a high order, though from the point of view of the art historian they are of undoubted importance. But a careful consideration of all the available data goes to establish that Sansār Chand's atelier was composed of a variety of artists and that the work produced ranged from the common-place to the superlative. From what we know of Sansār Chand we might almost expect such a result. He appears to have been unwisely generous, vain to fulfil the role of a great patron of arts and

[1] This collection, has now been largely sold out. Several examples from it purchased by the Punjab Govt. are reproduced by M. S. Randhawa in *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3.

[2] See also *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 'Sujanpur Tira' by M. S. Randhawa, Figs 2 to 19, where paintings from the Lambagraon collection and Ram Singh's collection are reproduced. Figs 77 and 81 of the present volume were also formerly in Ram Singh's collection.

learning, lacking in discrimination, and much flattered by the thought that his court, like a dazzling star, attracted talents from far and wide. But the talents varied greatly, in any event in the sphere of painting. He was not a royal connoisseur in the sense in which the Emperor Jehangir was, but at the same time he may not have been entirely lacking in taste. It is said that his favourite artist was Kushan Lāl, and this painter, if he was the son of Manak and the grandson of Seu, which I think is probable in the extreme, must have been a master artist. Sansār Chand's atelier in the days of his glory appears to have been an exceptionally large one. The size of the atelier was no doubt in keeping with Sansār Chand's pretentions. Moorcroft who met the Rājā in the days of his decline observes that even at that time he had many artists in his employ. In the circumstances it becomes clear that the somewhat vainglorious style of Figs 77 and 81 would not be without its appeal at his court. A comprehensive idea of this class of work in Sansār Chand's atelier can be obtained from the reproductions in *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3, which illustrate Mr. Randhawa's article on Sansār Chand. They are of unequal merit but it is apparent that some painters of the Moghul school of the Shah Alam period had found their way to the Katoch court. This fact is reflected in the frequent presence of stunted figures, stiffly drawn horses, crowded compositions, weak draughtsmanship, and noticeably awkward treatment of arms and hands. Only a very few of them have any pretensions to aesthetic merit such as Fig 81 of the present volume and the night scene in *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3, where Sansār Chand's son Anniruddha is seen dressed in a gorgeous robe and high turban, smoking a hukkah in the company of his courtiers and musicians. In the same article in *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Mr. Randhawa has published a painting of Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā (1751-1774 A.D.) which depicts the ruler on the banks of a river attended by courtiers. The squat ungainly figure of the foremost courtier, and the poor quality of the drawing, are very noticeable. The date of the miniature must certainly be the last year of Ghamand Chand's reign (1774 A.D.) if the youth in the group is the boy prince Sansār Chand as mentioned in the article. Mr. Randhawa states that this miniature of Ghamand Chand is the earliest example of Kāngrā art produced at Tira Sujanpur. But this is far from correct. The miniature on the contrary appears to be one of the last works produced in the reign of Ghamand Chand and is obviously by an artist of the Moghul school of the Shah Alam period. This fact goes to indicate that artists from the plains were migrating to Ghamand Chand's court and accordingly it may be assumed that this ruler maintained an atelier. It may further be assumed that work superior to the portrait under discussion, was also produced in his reign.

In fact it seems certain that several styles of painting were practised at the court and having regard to the large number of artists employed it was but natural that they varied greatly in their capabilities. This is reflected by the output of the atelier. For instance the *Shiva-Pārvatī* paintings (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952) though not unattractive are definitely ornate and nowhere so fine as the exquisite miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* (Plates VII, X, and J and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13), the *Gīta Govinda* (Plate E), the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56), the *Rāgamālā* (Figs 78 and 79), the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings (Fig 30), and the *Shiva-Pārvatī* drawings.[1]

The reason for thinking that these above mentioned sets are the work of Sansār Chand's painters are as follows :

The *Gīta Govinda* series (Plate E) and the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* are in the possession of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. Now there can be no doubt that these two sets do not belong to the Garhwāl school[2] with which they have nothing in common. Their presence in the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār collection is capable of a most plausible explanation. When Aniruddha Chand, the son of Sansār Chand, came to the throne, Kāngrā along with many other Hill States was completely under the domination of the great Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Ranjit Singh demanded the hand of one of Anniruddha's two sisters in marriage for Hira Singh the son of his Prime Minister Dhian

[1] The *Shiva-Pārvatī* drawings and the *Nala Damayantī* drawings are dealt with in detail later on.
[2] See sub-heading *The Garhwāl Idiom of the Kāngrā Kalam*.

Singh of Jammu. Aniruddha played for time, and when he could stave off the insolent demand no longer he decided to abandon his throne rather than dishonour the proud Katoch dynasty by an alliance with Dhian Singh's son whom he regarded as of a lower rank. He pretended to agree with Ranjit Singh's demand and in the meantime sent his family and all his household possessions, which no doubt included his paintings, across the Sutlej into safety, and then himself fled into British territory. Soon thereafter Aniruddha married his two sisters to the Rājā of Tehrī-Garhwāl. It is surmised that the *Gīta Govinda* and *Bihārī Satsāiyā* sets, along with other miniatures from the collection of Sansār Chand, were given to the two princesses as part of their dowry by Aniruddha. It was quite common for paintings to be given as part of a dowry and it will be remembered that even a painter was included in the dowry of a Basohlī princess who married a Chambā prince.[1] The above surmise affords the most likely explanation for the presence in the Tehrī-Garhwāl collection of two such magnificent sets. An illustrated manuscript of the quality of the *Gīta Govinda* would have been a royal possession before it became a part of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār collection. In this view of the matter Aniruddha Chand, more than any other prince, must be regarded as the royal owner from whose possession it passed into the ownership of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. If Aniruddha Chand was the owner of this manuscript then it becomes certain that it belonged to his father Sansār Chand. The reason is that Kāngrā miniatures of the quality and merit of the *Gīta Govinda* series were never painted in Aniruddha Chand's time nor as a matter to that after 1805 A.D. from which year Sansār Chand's downfall commenced. The *Gīta Govinda* series (Plate E) is closely related to the *Bhāgavata* series (Plates VII, X, and J and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13), while the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56) is closely related to the *Rāgamālā* (Figs 78 and 79). Despite differences in workmanship and details, the female type in all these four sets is the *Bhāgavata* type and they all hail from a common source in the sense that the artists who painted them were all nurtured in the same tradition. If we could locate the provenance of any one of these sets then we could with some measure of confidence ascribe all four sets to one and the same atelier. In this task we are fortunately aided by the internal evidence supplied by one of the miniatures of the *Rāgamālā*, namely Fig 79. Here the background is clearly the river Beas flowing through the gorge which separates Alampur and Tira Sujanpur which can be seen to be right. The bridge over the gorge, with a man riding across it, was never built, but the project must have been well known and much talked about before a change in fortunes reduced Sansār from his high position to a vassal of the Sikhs and caused him to abandon his plans. The same setting, namely Alampur on one side and Tira Sujanpur on the other, is to be seen in a miniature of Krishna and Rādhā in the Ajit Ghose collection (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951 plate 15, opp. p. 7). The bridge, which was never built, is shown, and a man is riding across on a horse. The topography of the background in Fig 79 being certain, there cannot be much doubt that the *Rāgamālā* was painted at Sansār Chand's court in the hey-day of his glory (1785-1805 A.D.). This deduction receives convincing support from the fact that we have definite proof that the *Bhāgavata* type of female face was painted by at least one of Sansār Chand's artists, and that this artist's work was of the high quality seen in the *Rāgamālā* (Figs 78 and 79) and the other sets related to it. The artist in question is Fattu[2] who, it is well known, was in Sansār Chand's employ, and the painting referred to is in the collection of Mian Basant of Arkī (*Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 'Sansār Chand of Kāngrā', Plate 3). It depicts ladies playing *Pachisī* (a game of chequers). They are sensitively drawn, with delicate porcelain-like faces and gossamer drapery so typical of the *Bhāgavata* type. The landscape in the background is also reminiscent of the atmospheric effects often seen in the *Bhāgavata* series.

With regard to the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings and the sets related to that series, here again if we could connect one of these sets with the court of Sansār Chand then stylistic similarities would warrant our ascribing all the sets to the same atelier. Now in the Lahore Museum there is a drawing of Sansār Chand being entertained by dancers and musicians (*Catalogue of the Paint-*

[1] Supra, p. 93

[2] His later work, done in his old age (Fig 50), shows a falling off from his former standards.

ings in the Central Museum, Lahore, 1922, Plate 14). There can be little doubt that the Rājā in this drawing is Sansār Chand[1] at about the age of forty. The drawing is one of considerable delicacy and fine quality, and establishes that skilled draughtsmen were working in Sansār Chand's atelier even though all the artists at his court were not of equal competence. The square-jawed face of the old drummer, as also the cadaverous features of the attendant in the extreme lower left corner of this drawing should be noted. The artist, as was customary, must have made sketches of these two faces for future use. Every artist, whether of the Moghul, Rājasthānī, or Pahārī school, kept working-sketches drawn from life. The models were usually attendants, musicians, dignitaries etc., at the court (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1951, Plate 14). When the artist was employed on illustrations to the epics or other stories and legends, his sketches from life supplied him with a variety of types for depicting the *dramatis personnae* in any incident which he happened to be painting. When one turns to the drawing of the marriage of Shiva and Pārvatī (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 63) it can easily be observed that the startled square-jawed Brahman, to whom Shiva is kneeling, is derived from the old drummer of Sansār Chand's music party; while this very Brahman when shown kneeling before Shiva in the pavilion is invested with the cadaverous face of the attendant in the extreme left lower corner of the Lahore Museum drawing. We can therefore plausibly conclude that the series relating to the marriage of Shiva and Pārvatī was the work of one of Sansār Chand's artists. From this conclusion the normal corollary would be that the *Nala-Damayantī* and *Usha-Aniruddha*[2] sets were also products of Sansār Chand's atelier. A circumstance which lends colour to this view is that in these sets the architectural settings are strikingly reminiscent of Tira Sujanpur.

The Bhāgavata Series

The *Bhāgavata* series is now broken up and spread over various collections. By far the largest number of miniatures from this set are in the possession of Mr. Jugmohandas Mody of Bombay.[3] It was from his lot that the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, recently acquired, about a dozen examples of fine quality, and high aesthetic merit including Plate J. *Kaliyā Damana* (Plate X) and *The Incident of the Cows* (Fig 3) are from the Mody collection. Six paintings from this series are in the possession of Mr. F. D. Wadia of Poona including *Makhan Chor* (Fig 1) and *Waiting for Krishna* (Fig 13). A colour detail from Fig 13 is reproduced as Plate VII. Three miniatures were in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection including *Love Striken Gopis with Krishna* (Fig 12). One with a gold background was in the Dickenson collection recently acquired by the Indian National Museum. Some examples are in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay, and some, including a companion picture to Fig 1, are in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.[4] Stray examples from this set are also known to be in other collections. The average size of each miniature is 12×8 inches. The borders are either plain blue as in Plate 15 of my *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, or dark blue with a floral design in gold thereon (Figs 12 and 13). The set must have contained well over a hundred miniatures. Lines from the *Bhāgavata* are to be found on the reverse of each miniature (Facsimile Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2). The find-spot is said to be Kashmir, but of course the series has nothing to do with Kashmiri painting which during the relevant period (1780-1800) was producing only second rate manuscript illustrations. It is also rumoured that the artist who painted the series was one Chuniya and that he worked at Sansār Chand's court. I have not however been able to trace the source of this rumour nor have I been able to trace any Pahārī artist named Chuniya. My own belief is that the series must be the handiwork of one of the highly trained refugee artists

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1 In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Item 566, p. 133, Gray has rightly suggested that the Rājā appears to be Sansār Chand. In the Lahore Museum drawing he is somewhat younger than he appears in the Boston Museum portrait (*Boston Museum Catalogue*, No. 5, Plate 123, Fig DXCVI). In another portrait in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay, Sansār Chand is aged about fifty or more and has grown very corpulent. He is seen playing with a child while musicians and dancers entertain him. Another good portrait for comparison with the Lahore Museum example is to be found in *Marg* Vol. 7, No. 1, Fig 9, where Sansar Chand is seated with his courtiers and is smoking a hukkah.

2 This set is similar in quality to the *Nala-Damayanti* series and is referred to later on.

3 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 2 and 4. Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate 4.

4 One of the examples in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is reproduced in *The Nehru Birthday Volume*, 1950, Plate 25. The reproduction is of poor quality.

of the Moghul school who fled to the Hills. Although it is far removed from the spirit of Moghul painting of the first half of the 18th century, yet the Moghul influence is markedly present. Many of the male types, as for instance the seated Nand and the bearded cowherd with a green shawl in Plate J are purely in the Moghul tradition. Perspective is handled in the typical Moghul manner (Fig 3), the tree-forms are naturalistic (Fig N), and the technique rivals that of the very best products of the 18th century Moghul school. The method of modelling the face is also borrowed from Moghul art and consists of a series of fine brush strokes of darker colour against the flesh-tint of the face (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 17 and 21). But the atmosphere is that of the Hills, and in sheer lyrical quality the series has nothing in common with Moghul painting despite its high degree of refinement and its aristocratic approach. Let no mistaken notions prevail about the *Bhāgavata* paintings being an expression of the folk-spirit of India. They typify a court art *par excellence*, intended solely for the edification of royalty and nobility. It is obvious that the artist was seeking to please as much by the excellence of his technique as by the tenderness and grace with which he invested the incidents and *dramatis personnae* of the Krishna legend. Here we have no pulsating vigorous art in the manner of the Basohlī school, but albeit it is a thing of beauty. All the miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* series are not of equal quality but the masterpieces were probably by a single hand. They may well be the work of Kushan Lāl. Herein, as also in the *Gīta Govinda* set, Rādhā is the poet's ideal,

More beautiful than the moon she sallies forth,
More beautiful than the pearls that shimmer round her neck
And the gleam of gold upon her raven hair.
Softly she treads the ground
Eyes shyly glancing down
While the zephyr, scent-laden, rests
Within her wimple of gossamer weave
And unveils her beauteous breasts.

—*Vaishnava Lyric*

The miniatures of our *Bhāgavata* are of oblong format, but there can be no doubt that more than one *Bhāgavata* series of equal merit was painted. That there was a *Bhāgavata* set of vertical format is evident from *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 41) which in no way differs from the *Bhāgavata* miniatures of oblong shape. What appears to be a painting from the same series to which Fig 41 belongs is *Krishna Playing the Flute* (*The Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 15). There is also a miniature in the Manuk collection depicting the birth of Krishna (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 35) which is closely related to our *Bhāgavata* series. The marked Moghul influence can easily be observed. Archer[1] has ascribed the *Bhāgavata* paintings to 1790 A.D. but I would prefer to allow for a margin of error and assign them to 1780-1800 A.D. The series deals with a variety of incidents in the life of Krishna, and some of the scenes, where processions or crowds are depicted, are composed with considerable ingenuity. Colour schemes vary according to the mood of the incident portrayed. In *Makhan Chor* (Fig 1) there are strong accents creating an effect of brightness, while in the dreamy woodland scenes such as *Gopīs waiting for Krishna* (Plate VII and Fig 13) there is a remarkable softness in the moonlit atmosphere despite the relief afforded by the colourful garments of the *gopīs*.

Examples from the Bhāgavata—Plates VII, X, and J, and Figs 1, 3, 12, 13, and 41

Fig 1 is an amusing miniature which employs the method of continuous narration. On the left, Yasoda is churning butter, while on the right she is seen running towards a pot the contents of which have overflowed. It was at this moment that Krishna and his companions were guilty of larceny. The sequel, where Krishna is caught and punished for his misdeeds, is in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. The technique is of a high order and the ability of the artist to capture

[1] Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, p. 10.

the effect of the transparent gold-woven *odhnī* (wimple) worn by Yasoda, is indeed praiseworthy. The trees in the *Bhāgavata* series, as already observed, are naturalistically drawn in the Moghul manner of the 18th century A.D., while architectural features are derived from the palaces of the Hill Rājās. The peaceful atmosphere of a prosperous Indian village where the headman's wife (Yasoda) performs her daily chores and children romp in the court-yard, is admirably portrayed. Such rustic dwellings are typical of the better class farm-houses in the Kāngrā Valley. In the clear blue sky a bird wings back to its mate seated on a nearby tree. The churning pot which rests on an earthen platform, the churning stick, and the earthen jar hung from the roof, are all characteristic of village life. Indian women while at work often wear their finery such as necklaces, bracelets, armlets, nose-rings, and forehead ornaments. But it is unlikely that Yasoda while churning butter would be clad in garments as rich as those she is wearing including an *odhnī* (wimple) of transparent gold weave. Nevertheless the resulting exquisiteness of Yasoda's appearance justifies the incongruity.

Fig 3 deals with the incident of Brahma stealing the calves, which has already been narrated in Chapter II. Here the calves are seen returning home to the village, and the cows, rejoicing at the sight of their offspring, rush forth madly with uplifted tails to meet them, while the herdsmen vainly seek to keep them under control. The drawing of the cows in their headlong stampede betokens an intimate study of the heavy action of charging cattle and the brute force latent in these mild creatures. On the top of the knoll is the village, and in the distance cowherds and milkmaidens are seen returning homewards. The perspective of the distant view is most knowledgeably handled and bears the unmistakable impress of the Moghul school.

Fig 12 is a woodland scene in the Hills by the riverside. All the *gopīs* desire Krishna but they are not envious of one another. They all rejoice together when they are with him, and when he is away they commiserate with each other in their misery. The landscape with its naturalistic trees is typical of the *Bhāgavata* series.

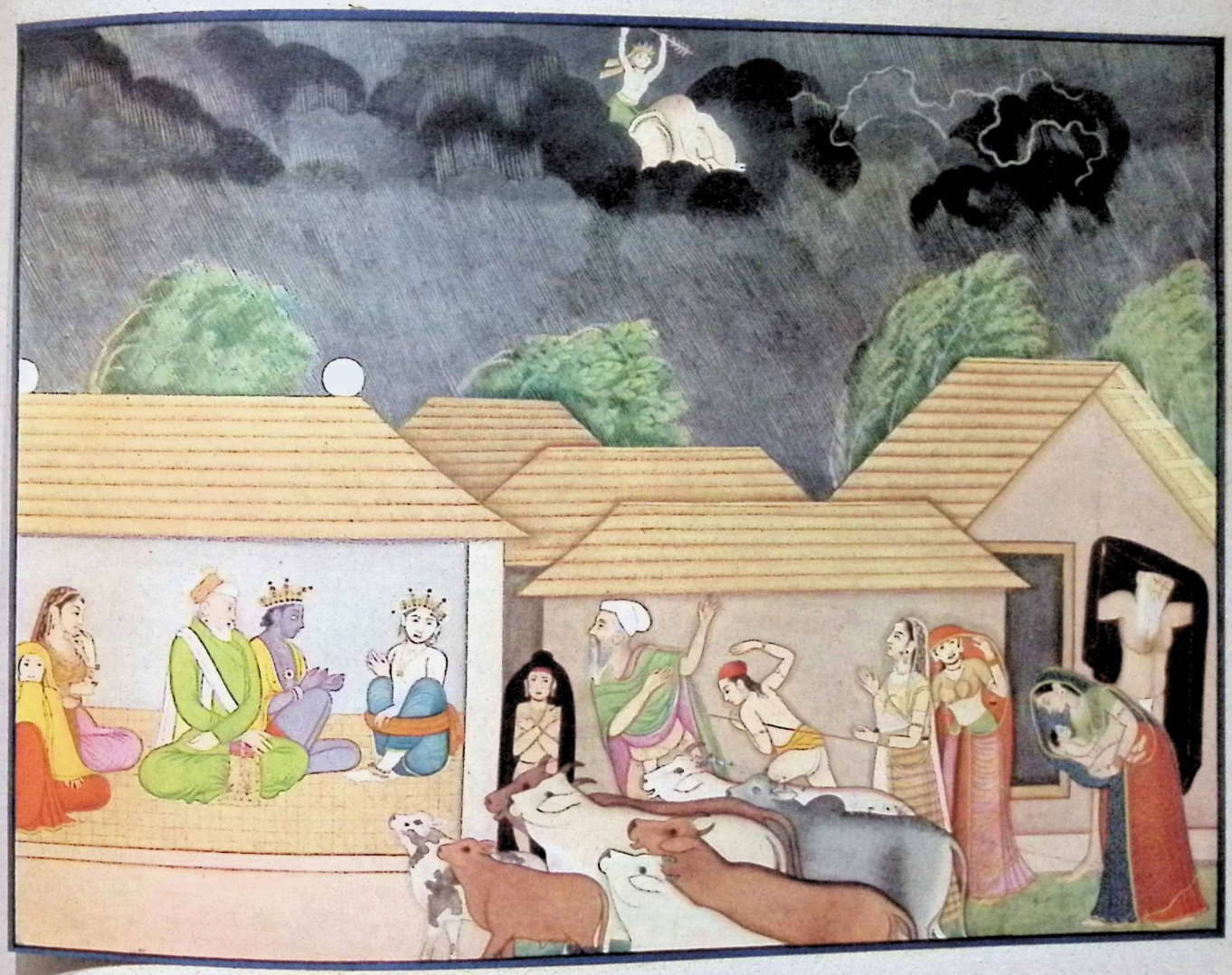
In Fig 13 and its colour detail Plate VII, the similarity of the landscape setting to that in Fig 12 is apparent. The *gopīs* are seated in a circle waiting for Krishna to return. It was the night of the Rās Mandala. To humble their pride Krishna disappeared and they searched for him in vain. Now they are penitent and ridden with anxiety lest he should desert them on this night of nights. Their attitudes and expressions most poignantly convey their feelings. A full moon is in the sky, and its silvery light gleams through the opening in the forest. The *gopīs* are in their finest attire of gold and silver raiment.

Plate X invites instant comparison with the well-known Boston Museum miniature of the same theme reproduced in colour in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 53. How widely different in treatment are the two miniatures. The sorrowing band of Krishna's relatives and friends who fear for his safety, are not pictured at all in Plate X. The Boston Museum picture is in some ways more attractive, but the dread serpent Kāliya, as he leaps right out of the water, is more convincingly portrayed in our example. So also Krishna's dance on the serpent's hoods is more realistic and vigorous in Plate X.

Assuming the weights of three worlds Murārī became ponderous,
He dances about on hood after hood, he beats time with his feet.
—*Bhāgavata Purāna*

The animation of the surrounding scene, which appears in the Boston Museum version, is however lacking in Plate X. The action of one of the serpent-wives of Kāliya in offering lotuses to Sri Krishna is a deft touch on the part of the artist. It will be noticed that though the *Nāginīs* wear *odhnīs* (wimples) of gold weave, and golden ornaments, they wear no *cholīs* (bodices). In contrast to the awesome, black Kāliya, the serpent bodies of the *Nāginīs* are gaily coloured, and from the waist upwards they assume human form. Their faces are drawn in the characteristic *Bhāgavata* style.

PLATE J.



Indra's Deluge on the inhabitants of Braj. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate J is the prelude to the raising of Mount Goverdhan by Krishna. The god Indra riding his elephant has commenced his terrible downpour of rain on the inhabitants of Braj for having ceased to worship him. The terrified herdsmen and their families appeal to Krishna to save them. The young god is seen seated in his house with his foster-father Nand and his brother Balarāma. Even the cattle appear to be supplicating Krishna to succour them from Indra's wrath. The scene is an exceptionally fine rendering of a prosperous hill village about to be swept by a great hill storm. Archer in his *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate 4, has reproduced a miniature from the same series where Mount Goverdhana is being worshipped. This led to Indra's wrath.

Though Fig 41 does not belong to the *Bhāgavata* series of oblong format, it is obviously by the same hand or the same guild. The perspective of the landscape in the background affords an interesting comparison with the landscape in Fig 3. Rādhā, as she dances, is grace personified, while Krishna and the *gopas* look on in rapt admiration. Higher up the hillside the cows are grazing, and in the farthest distance a mountain rears its high peak. The scene is typical of the Hill country. The Pahārī artists who painted Figs 41, 13, and 3, translated Krishna and the *gopīs* from the flat countryside of Braj into their own hill domain, and enacted the Krishna legend amidst a mountain landscape with Himalayan trees and peach and almond blossoms entwining the branches.

The Gīta Govinda—Plate E

The *Gīta Govinda* series is mainly in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. It is of smaller format than the *Bhāgavata* set but stylistically similar. The workmanship and colouring are as fine if not finer.

Mr. N. C. Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, described these *Gīta Govinda* miniatures as being products of the school of Tehrī-Garhwāl. But it is clear that they have nothing in common with the Garhwāl school. On the reverse of one of these miniatures the Mānaku inscription—the original of which appears on the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D.—has been copied in ink. Mr. Mehta, however, was not aware in 1926 of the existence of the original. The date in the Mānaku inscription being 1730 A.D. it was not easy to reconcile the style of the Tehrī *Gīta Govinda* with so early a date. Here was an indication that the inscription on the Tehrī series was a copy. But Mr. Mehta took another course which unnecessarily complicated matters. He persuaded himself to regard the date in the inscription as Vikram Samvat 1887= 1830 A.D. Even so, miniatures of the outstanding quality of the Tehrī *Gīta Govinda* could not have been painted so late as 1830 A.D. It must be remembered, however, that what is clear to day about the development of Pahārī painting was nowhere so clear in 1926. Mr. Mehta then fell into a second error. He misread the inscription. Strangely enough he had discussed the inscription with no less a person than the famous orientalist the late K. P. Jayaswal, but apparently Jayaswal had never applied his mind to the matter. The result was that Mr. Mehta was led to believe that the inscription referred to one Mānaku as being the artist of the Tehrī *Gīta Govinda* series. But in fact the inscription did not contain the name of any artist, and Mānaku was the lady who commissioned the series. The correct reading of the inscription has already been dealt with at length.

Under the belief that the Tehrī series was painted by an artist named Mānaku, Mr. Mehta equated this name with 'Mānak' the painter of *Blindman's Buff* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21) which also happens to be in the Tehrī collection. He also ascribed another set of charming miniatures in the Tehrī collection which illustrate the *Satsāiyā* of Bihārī Lāl (Fig 56), to Mānaku.

The correct position, however, is that there is only one painting, namely *Blindman's Buff* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Plate 21), which bears the artist's name Mānak. There are no grounds for attributing any more works to this painter, whosoever he be.

At this stage it is pertinent to inquire how the Mānaku inscription which appears in gold on a miniature of the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* series of the Lahore Museum painted in 1730 A.D. (Fig. 33) also came to be written in ink many years later on the back of one of the miniatures of the Tehrī *Gīta Govinda* series which, as I have already pointed out, was painted at Sansār Chand's court during the period 1780-1800 A.D. Several explanations can be suggested. It is possible that Mānaku, the patroness of the Basohlī *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D., was a lady of high estate whose cultural attainments and deep devotion to the popular Krishna cult were known throughout the Hills. Thus her name may have become a synonym for piety and patronage of religious works amongst the Pahārī painter-guilds. The *Gīta Govinda* series commissioned by her may have been well known because Basohlī at one time possessed the leading atelier. In such circumstances the artist of the Tehrī *Gīta Govinda* might well have regarded himself, in all humility, as inspired by the spirit of the pious lady Mānaku and have written the well remembered lines on the reverse of one of the miniatures of the series painted by him.

Another not unlikely explanation is that someone, other than the artist, who was familiar with the verse, wrote it on the reverse of one of the miniatures of the Tehrī series, not with a view to any deception, but in honour of Mānaku. This may have been done before the series came into the possession of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. Mr. Mehta has reproduced miniatures from the *Gīta Govinda* series in *Rupam* No. 26, Figs 5 and 6, opp. p. 52, and also in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 23 and Plate 24 (in colour). A beautiful night scene in colour is to be found in O. C. Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 44, while another fine example appears in the present volume as Plate E. As in the case of the *Bhāgavata* series some of the borders are plain while others are decorated with gold. The miniatures are about 11 x 7 ins, and on the reverse of each are lines from the *Gīta Govinda* elaborated by commentaries thereon.

In Plate E, Rādhā is seated on the banks of the Jumna expectantly awaiting her divine lover. Wild flowers are in bloom in abundance and the trees are peopled with gay warblers. A *sakhī* (companion) stands near Rādhā and both have turned their heads as if startled by some sound,

Something in the forest stirred

It may be the soft footfall of Krishna, who knows? The artist has contrasted the lazy, carefree atmosphere of the riverside with the pent-up agitation in Rādhā's breast. Though she was the maiden he loved best, none could be sure of him. It was always the same refrain. Will he come?

In this love-tide of Spring when the spirit is glad,
And the parted—yes only the parted—are sad,
Thy lover, thy Krishna is dancing with glee
With troops of young maidens, forgetful of thee.

Gīta Govinda

The Bihārī Satsāiyā — Fig 56.

This series which illustrates Bihārī's *Satsāiyā* is mainly in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. It also appears to have been comprised in the dowry given to one of Sansār Chand's two daughters who were married to Rājā Sudarshan Shah of Garhwāl (1814-1859 A.D.) in circumstances already narrated. The drawing and colouring are of the same high order seen in the *Bhāgavata* and *Gīta Govinda*. The miniatures are on the small size each being approximately $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ ins., but the figures are drawn on a fairly large scale and usually dominate the picture space (Fig 56). Bihārī Lāl (1603-1663 A.D.) is one of the most famous of the *Braj Bhāsā* poets and his best known work is the *Satsāiyā* dealing with the Krishna-Rādhā romance. In the Tehrī series, a couplet from the *Satsāiyā* is inscribed on the fly-leaf of each miniature. Mr. N. C. Mehta has reproduced several beautiful examples from this set in his *Studies in Indian Painting*,

1926, Plates, 22, 25 and 26, and also in *Rupam* No. 26, Fig 2, opposite page 50. As already pointed out, Mr. Mehta mistakenly regarded these paintings as belonging to the Garhwāl school and painted by one Mānaku. It is not unlikely that the series is slightly later than the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda*, but beyond ascribing it to the period 1780-1800 I will not hazard its date. It is true that in the caption under Fig 56 I have suggested *circa* 1800 A.D., but on further reflection I would prefer to be more non-commital. The reason is that the *Bhāgavata* and *Gīta Govinda* sets may be nearer 1780 than 1800 A.D. Sansār Chand's atelier produced its best work between 1780-1800 and these years should for all practical purposes be regarded as the peak period of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. From 1805 A.D. degeneration set in due to the changed political circumstances in which Sansār Chand found himself. In Fig 56 Krishna has a tryst with Rādhā near the cowpen. But both the lovers appear to be reticent. Every miniature in the series is framed in an oval placed within four decorated corners. The faces of the women-folk are of the *Bhāgavata* type.

The Rāgamālā—Figs 78 and 79.

The Indian National Museum, New Delhi, has recently acquired a magnificent *Rāgamālā* series consisting of eighty paintings. It includes *Rāgas*, *Rāginīs* and their *putras* (sons). As already stated it supplies internal evidence that it was painted at Sansār Chand's court. Just as the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda* sets resemble each other, so also the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* and this *Rāgamālā* series are stylistically related to one another. Accordingly its date would be 1780-1800 A.D. The female faces are of the *Bhāgavata* type and the treatment of each musical mode is fresh and original.

Rāginī Dhanashrī Malkoshedī (Fig 78) shows the river Beas in the background with Alampur and Tira Sujanpur on either side joined by the bridge which was never built. The lady seated on the terrace is playing with two white rabbits, while a horseman armed with lance and shield rides across the bridge. There is a strange stillness brooding over the scene as if to emphasize the loneliness of the beautiful Heroine.

In *Rāginī Basant Hindoladī* (Fig 79) the mood, however, is different. Two girls are gathering wild flowers on the banks of a stream. Their enjoyment from this simple pastime is obvious from their faces and carefree movements. Each miniature of this series has a plain blue border. The size is approximately the same as that of the *Bihārī Satsāiyā*. This set affords further proof that *Rāgamālā* miniatures in the *Kāngra Kalam* do exist.[1]

Plate A—Vipralabdhā.

The *Vipralabdhā Nāyikā* has waited long for her lover. But he has failed to meet her at the trysting tree. Unhappy and dejected she has cast off the jewels which she had worn to beautify her person. What value have jewels to one whose lord is faithless? This miniature in the *Bhāgavata* style is surely one of the loveliest of Kāngrā paintings known to us. The trysting spot is a knoll where tall leafy trees, entwined by creepers, raise their strange forms. The night is starlit and the moon has emerged from a dark cloud suffusing the scene in its mellow light. In the foreground is seen a bed of leaves prepared by the *Nāyikā* for herself and her lover to lie upon. Alas her loving preparations have all been in vain. Below the knoll, flows the placid river. Plate A belongs to the high art of the Sansār Chand school during the period 1780-1800 A.D. Another attractive *Vipralabdhā* miniature is in the British Museum (*Revue des Arts Asiatique*, Vol. 3.)

Plate IX—Holī Līlā.

This miniature is an excellent example of the delicacy which many *Kāngrā Kalam* artists brought to their creations. The scene depicted is the *Holī* festival when all the accepted conventions of correct behaviour are freely abandoned. Yet the celebration of this occasion by the

[1] See page 30, para 1, *supra*.

milk-maidens of Brindaban is marked by an almost refined gaiety. The usual coloured liquids are being squirted, and the *gopīs* are dressing a submissive Krishna in female garments. Nevertheless the tempo of the scene is not one of riotous hilarity. To some extent the actions of the *gopīs* are stylized, but fortunately this element in the picture does not detract from its charm. The colouring is typical of Kāngrā art with yellow, orange, blue, green, pink and mauve prevailing. Our miniature corresponds in almost every detail to a drawing reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Indian Drawings*, Vol. 2, Plate 12, where the subject is described as *Dressing Rādhā for the Holī Festival*. But that description is not correct as the central figure is Krishna. In the Coomaraswamy version there are copious notes to indicate the colours intended to be used. The workmanship of our miniature is finer than that of the drawing, though both must have been made from the same sketch or pounce. In Plate IX the *gopīs* are of the *Bhāgavata* type and accordingly it must be assigned to 1780-1800 A.D. A somewhat similar composition from a later period is reproduced in Archer's *Kāngra Painting*, 1953, Plate 6. But it lacks the grace of the earlier work though the colour scheme is effective. The faces of the *gopīs* are of the *Standard* type, and their bodies are rather squat. Archer rightly suggests *circa* 1800 as its date.

Some more miniatures in the Bhāgavata Style.

While discussing the *Bhāgavata* type of female face, occasional references have been made to miniatures in the *Bhāgavata* style reproduced by other writers. A few more important examples in books or journals, are mentioned below. They all belong to the period 1780-1800 A.D.

The *Abhisanditā Nāyikā* and *Khanditā Nāyikā* of the Lahore Museum[1] are both well known. Gray in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 139, Item 612, ascribes *Khanditā Nāyikā* to *circa* 1825 A.D. But paintings of this quality were not produced after 1800 A.D.. Enlarged Face Detail No. 17, is taken from *Khanditā Nāyikā*.

Utkā Nāyikā[2] was originally in the possession of Coomaraswamy who has ascribed it to the early 18th century. But that date is out of question.

Girl on a Swing,[3] now in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, was formerly in the collection of Samarendranath Gupta, Lahore. Gangoly equates the girl with Rādhā, but in fact it is just one of the zenana type pictures so popular during this period. The old duenna in the gown is an idea borrowed from 18th century Moghul painting. It is a miniature of great charm.

Rādhā with Krishna playing his Flute[4] in the Lahore Museum is set in an oval frame with corner-sprandrels like those of Fig 56. The figures are on a larger scale than usual, but there is nothing lacking in that delicacy of workmanship which characterizes the *Bhāgavata* style.

Rāma Bending the Bow,[5] from the Manuk collection is a miniature of great excellence. It is similar in technique to the *Bhāgavata* series. But the colours are warmer and there is a difference in the handling of architecture. Archer is right in thinking it is a little earlier than the *Bhāgavata* set. It may, however, have been painted in Guler and not at Sansār Chand's court. Some of the work done at Guler during Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790 A.D.) was of a surprisingly high standard.

Giri Goverdhana[6] in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, affords an interesting comparison with a painting of same theme in the *Standard* style[7] in the same issue of *Rupam*. Though both are works of undoubted merit, the superior technical excellence of the former is

1 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, 'The Eight Nāyikās' Plate 3, Figs 5 and 6.
2 Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 41 (*Abhisanditā* in colour).
3 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 48 B.
4 Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 39 (in colour).
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 40 (in colour).
6 Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate 3 (in colour)
7 *Rupam*, No. 41, opp. p. 17.
Ibid., opp. p. 18.

immediately apparent in the drawing and modelling of faces and hands. As Gangoly rightly observes there is also an improvement in the attitudes, poses, and grouping, while the composition has attained greater cohesion and concentration, and a more organized presentation worthy of the gravity of the theme.

Krishna and Gopas by the Jumna[1] from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is related in manner and technique to the *Bhāgavata* series; while *Rādhā and Krishna in the Grove*[2] from the Victoria and Albert Museum, is another fine example of the *Bhāgavata* style. Its beauty is much enhanced by its simple and concentrated composition.

Miniatures in the Standard Style

The majority of miniatures of the *Kāngrā Kalam* belong to the *Standard* type, or the variations thereof. The characteristics of the *Standard* type have already been noted. The most significant difference from the *Bhāgavata* type lies in the formula adopted for the female face. But in fact the same difference is to be found even in the male face, only it is not so obvious. If, however, a careful examination is made it will be seen that the outline of the male face in the *Standard* style follows the outline of the female face in that style (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 15 and 16), and similarly the outline of the male face in the *Bhāgavata* style follows the outline of the female face (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 17 and 18).

While dealing with the vast number of miniatures in the *Standard* style it must be remembered that more often than not it is an impossible task to locate the provenance of a particular miniature. Certain idioms of the *Kāngrā Kalam* such as those of Guler, Chambā, and Garhwāl can on occasion be identified. But here again I wish to utter a note of warning. These identifications should not be regarded as fool-proof unless there is some internal or external evidence to support them. For instance in Fig 68 where the female attendants are of the *Standard* type we find that the seated Rājā is Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790 A.D.). Accordingly it is certain that Fig 68 belongs to the Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

Whereas the *Bhāgavata* style is limited to the period 1780-1800 A.D., or at the latest to 1805 A.D., the same is not the case with the *Standard* style which continued in vogue throughout the 19th century. One observation, however, requires to be made in this connection. Whereas miniatures in the *Standard* style painted during the period 1780-1805 are usually of good quality, there is often a falling off in merit after *circa* 1805, and this process of deterioration becomes more marked after *circa* 1825 A.D.

Plate 1—Krishna's Bath

The scene of Krishna having his bath has that touch of humour which is rarely found outside Pahārī painting. Yasoda is seen supporting the obstreperous infant on her feet while water is being poured over his head. This is the manner in which children are given a bath in many Indian homes to this very day. Balarāma, painted white as usual, is in a nursemaid's arms, to the left. The courtyard architecture is typical of the Sansār Chand period, and the rich colouring and elegant drawing all bespeak to a date between 1780-1800 A.D. The tendency to draw little children as squat and stubby, so prevalent in the 19th century, is absent in our miniature. The faces and figures of the women-folk follow what has been termed the *Standard* style in Kāngrā painting. It is the season when the mango trees, seen in the background, are laden with their yellow-red fruit, and the air is warm and nature is in a joyous mood. The peacocks which inhabit many Indian villages wander about unafraid in the courtyard. The utensils are of shapes which were very popular in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[1] *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate III Fig 505.
[2] Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate 2.

Plate II—Toilet.

A typical zenana picture showing an elegant lady at her toilet. The mirror is in a golden frame and the lady has three attendants, betokening her high station in life. The garments of the attendants are of coarser weave than those of their mistress who wears a transparent mauve muslin gown and a *salvar* (pyjamas) of brocade with a design of gold dots thereon. Like many Pahārī ladies of high station she constantly smokes her hukkah. It is apparently evening as the toilet operations are taking place on an uncovered balcony. In the caption under Plate II the date suggested is 1800-1825, but it is equally possible that the miniature was painted near about 1790 A.D. It should be compared with the portrait of Rājā Prakash Chand of Guler (Fig 68) which cannot be later than 1775 A.D. In Fig 68 the *Standard* type of female face is already seen but there is no suggestion of squatness in the figures. In Plate II on the other hand a tendency towards squatness is present and the faces are large in proportion to the torsos. These characteristics indicate a date towards the last decade of the 18th or the first decade of the 19th century. It is not possible to be definite because miniatures of the type of Plate II could have been painted in either period. I have nothing against the method which seeks to narrow down the upper and lower limits while dating a *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature, and I have on occasion employed this method in the present volume. At the same time I am acutely conscious of the fact that many *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures which I regard as belonging to the first quarter of the 19th century may well be of the late 18th century, and *vice versa*. Subjects such as *Toilet* had a great vogue during the periods referred to above. Their popularity with the ladies of the court, with their circumscribed lives and limited pleasures, can easily be understood.

Plate III—Girl Feeding Black Buck.

Here again we have a typical example of zenana art. A lady beguiles the hours resting against the trunk of a tree in a park and plays with a tame black buck which wears a red collar to which tinkling bells are attached. The formal row of flowers symbolizes a garden. The tree with its spray-like branches is borrowed from Moghul art. Numerous Kāngrā miniatures of a girl playing with a deer or standing near a deer are known to exist. It was a formal theme which was repeated again and again with sundry variations. Our miniature is a good example of the delicacy which so often characterizes Kāngrā paintings and lends charm even to the most trivial subject matter. The date in the caption under Plate III is given as *circa* 1800. But the miniature could have been painted any time between 1780-1800 A.D. It is my belief that a date later than 1800 A.D. is not feasible in this particular instance.

Plate IV—Abhisandhitā Nāyikā.

The *Abhisandhitā* Heroine is downcast having turned her Lord away. The Hero in the form of Krishna appears dejected at his lady's refusal to forgive him. The oval frame of the picture with corner-spandrels is a late development. The miniature belongs to a series now scattered. The date in the caption under Plate IV is given as *circa* 1800. I would suggest 1790-1810 A.D. as the most likely period during which it was painted.

Plate V—Hanuman Washing Rāma's Feet.

The long forest exile is over and Sīta has been rescued from Rāvana. Rāma, the ideal man, and Sītā, the ideal woman, are happily enthroned again in their kingdom of Ayodhya. To those familiar with the epic the feeling of joyous reunion, subtly suggested in the faces of Rāma and his consort, will be apparent. They make a handsome couple and though the setting is a Hill palace, and the *dramatis personnae* are clothed in the fashions of a Hill court, the artist's interpretation of the undisturbed happiness which Rāma and Sītā were not to enjoy for long, is undeniably sensitive. There is a sense of isolation which is suggested by the battlemented walls that shut out the palace from the outer world. The royal couple seem so far away from the whispered rumours of evil tongues which were to end their new-found bliss. Here in the company of a few adoring handmaidens and the ever faithful Hanuman, there is peace and rest and soft music after the long travail. The maiden in the middle of the group to the right, holds Rāmā's

bow and quiver of arrows. They are a reminder of the days in the forest and the struggle against Rāvana. A comic relief is afforded by Hanuman who glances up at the girl playing the drum as if he did not approve of her performance. The Indian artist was always most successful in humanizing Hanuman's monkey form. The curtain, partly rolled up, at the top of the picture, is a common device borrowed from Moghul painting; while the doorkeeper with a long stick, standing in the distant entrance-arch, is another favourite Moghul *cliche* derived from Persian miniatures. The workmanship of Plate V is of high excellence, particularly the faces of Rāma and Sītā which have a delicate porcelain-like finish which the colour reproduction fails to convey. The mount surrounding the miniature is coloured pink with a close hatching of short strokes in a darker shade of the same colour. Such pink-coloured mounts were common in Kāngrā painting. The device of hatching with short strokes appears frequently in paintings from Mandī though, of course, it is not peculiar to that State. Plate V may be from Mandi but women with similar features are also found in paintings from Guler and Chambā.

Plate VI—Krishna and Rādhā on the Banks of the Jumna.

Krishna and Rādhā sit on the banks of the Jumna on a bed of leaves. Rādhā is adjusting her earring coquettishly, while Krishna looks on with love and mischief in his eyes. Both figures are slim and well proportioned. The oval frame is a late 18th century device which became increasingly popular in the 19th century A.D. The sunset glow has tinged the top of the knoll where the lovers linger, though the hour to return home to the village has past. The woodland is depicted by the formula of a semi-circle of trees naturalistically drawn. It is unlike the formula in Basohlī art which consisted of a complete circle of formalized trees. The date in the caption under Plate VI is given as the end of the 18th century. The figures are slim and well proportioned and this fact to some extent does indicate that 1780-1800 A.D. is the most likely date of the miniature.

Plate VIII—Cow Dust.

This colourful miniature of the hour when the herds come home, is a fine example of Kāngrā art. Despite the somewhat squat forms of the *gopas*, and of the lowermost *gopīs* in the foreground, the composition and colouring make it a work of unquestionable merit. While it cannot be compared to that great masterpiece namely *Cowdust* of the Boston Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 51) it has captured the happy atmosphere of the homecoming of the herds when the herd-boys play their pipes and sing, and the notes of Krishna's flute send a surge of love through the hearts of the *gopīs*. Here the herds have emerged from the woodland on the outskirts of the village. Balarāma is coloured white as usual, while Krishna's complexion is more purple than blue. This shade of colour is often used to depict the dark-skinned god. The cows are painted as only an Indian artist can paint cows, for he truly reveres and loves them. There is a haze in the sky as the hour of twilight approaches. Krishna and Balarāma wear crowns but the other *gopas* wear the typical Hill cowherd's cap bound with a scarf. The date in the caption under Plate VIII is given as 1800-1825 A.D. This is likely enough as the miniature appears to belong to the first decade of the 19th century but at the same time it is not possible to rule out the last decade of the 18th century from consideration. It is possible that the miniature was painted in Garhwāl.

Plate XXIV—Rādhā Wearing Krishna's Crown

The theme is *Hawa Līlā* or the exchange of garments. Krishna has placed his crown on Rādhā's head. She sits on a bed of leaves and her body from her waist downwards is uncovered, suggesting that she has had union with Krishna or is indulging in love-play prior to having union with him. Rādhā's bodice has also been removed and she is covered only with her wimple through which her bare breasts are seen to emerge. But despite the somewhat erotic content of the picture there is not even a hint of indelicacy. The lush woodland where the lovers have retired is peopled with many birds seeking their nests, and the grey sky suggests that night is drawing nigh. The date in the caption under Plate XXIV is given as 1800-1825 A.D., but it

may be a work of the period 1790-1800. If it is a product of Sansār Chand's own atelier in the days of its glory, then a date later than 1805 A.D. would not be feasible. The elaborate wood-land background has some affinity to that seen in *Krishna in company with his Worshipper* (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 22) which painting is known to be the handiwork of one of Sansār Chand's artists.

Plate K—Sheltering from the Rain

The theme is *Varsa Vihāra*. A sudden storm has burst in the Hills and Krishna and Rādhā take shelter under the same umbrella clinging close to each other. The lovers are dressed in all their finery. The artist has taken the liberty of ignoring the fact that the *Varsa Vihāra* incident took place while the two lovers, along with the other *gopas* and *gopīs*, were tending the village herds. Another version of the same theme is seen in Fig 49. The date in the caption under Plate K is given as *circa* 1800. The miniature appears to belong to the period 1790-1810 A.D. and it is not possible to be certain if it is product of the late 18th or of the early 19th century.

Fig 2—Girī Goverdhana

This is a fine version of the raising of Mount Goverdhana by Krishna. The scene is rendered with feeling and has captured the spirit of the incident. The *Bhāgavata* says that Krishna uprooted the mountain with a single hand and held it aloft as a boy might a mushroom on his little finger. The cows that shivered on account of excessive rain and wind, and the *gopīs* and *gopas* affected with cold, all gathered below the mountain which protected them like a giant umbrella. Praised by all, Krishna held the mountain aloft for seven days and the god Indra wonder-struck withdrew his clouds. The gratitude of the inhabitants of Braj, and also their astonishment at Krishna's feat is aptly expressed by the artist,

> *This is some incarnation of the Primeval Male ;*
> *Murārī is the God of even Gods ;*
> *How can Mohan be mortal*
> *O brother ! he has raised a mountain on his little finger.*
>
> —*The Prem Sāgar.*

A most human touch is seen where Krishna places one hand on the head of a frightened child to reassure it. To the right a cow bellows its thanksgiving. Nand is the bearded figure in Moghul costume raising his hands aloft while his wife Yasoda clings timorously to his arm.

The colour scheme is most satisfying, as also the composition. The dark angry clouds ring the top of the pinkish coloured mountain as though they were an army investing a fortress. The arrangement of the group under the mountain is exceedingly well planned. It is obvious that the artist has bestowed much thought on the composition of this group. Fig 2 should be compared with other versions of the same theme reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 41, opp. pages 17 and 18.

In the caption under Fig 2 the date is given as 1800-1825 A.D. Though one cannot rule out of consideration a late 18th century dating, the squat female figures go to suggest the first decade of the 19th century.

Fig 4—Sudāma and his Wife

Sudāma in rags, is urged by his wife to visit Krishna. Sudāma's tiny hovel, with gaping holes in the roof, is contrasted with the other houses in the village which are simple but well built. Even the poor wife wears patched garments, such is the poverty of this couple. The desolation of Sudāma's existence is symbolized by a wall of partition which cuts off his humble dwelling from the rest of the village. The facial types are not quite in the *Standard* style but suggest a variation thereof. The date given in the caption under Fig 4 is 1780-1800. The superior drawing and colouring of the miniature appear to rule out a date later than 1800 A.D.

PLATE K



VARSA VIHARA—Krishna and Radha sheltering from the Rain. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig 15—Gopīs.

The date in the caption under Fig 15 is given as 1800-1825 A.D. It is probably correct but at the same time a late 18th century dating cannot be ignored. The provenance of the miniature cannot be determined. The late B. M. Treasurywala suggested Suket, but the late Bandrāltā school seems to me more likely judging from some miniatures which the dealer Rādhā krishna Bharany informed me were of the Ramnagar Hill Kalam.

Fig 46—Vyādhī

Vyādhī illustrates one of the extreme states of separation in love. The Heroine is not only mentally ill but physically so wasted through pining for her lover that she is in a stupor. Naught that her anxious attendants can do appears to revive her. She lies motionless with her garments displaced and her breasts bared. One maiden fans her and another prepares cooling sandal paste to apply to her feverish body while a third sprinkles cool rose-water over her bosom. There is consternation in the Heroine's household at her alarming condition. Anxiety or sorrow is writ on the faces of all the womenfolk despite the fact that all are drawn as conventionalized types :

O Mādhava ! she has lain upon her bed,
Love's shaft has wounded her sorely,
The zephyr, the soft moonbeams, and cool sandal paste
All scorch her like an angry fire,
Oh Mādhava ! her state is dire ;
Her limbs are taut, her voice is dumb,
Naught can restore her save Thee,
Oh heartless gallant, come, oh come !

—*Vaishnava Lyric.*

The lovesick heroine is a lady of high estate living in a fine mansion and having many maidens to attend to her wants. Her bed is covered with a richly woven cloth and the floor is carpeted. The pillars are similar to those in Plate V. This order of pillars was common in the second half of the 18th century in Hill palace architecture. The faces of the Heroine and of most of her attendants conform to the type illustrated as Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16. The workmanship of the miniature is indicative of a high degree of competency, and there is careful brushwork in details such as the jewellery, utensils, furniture, patterns on drapery, and architectural ornament. Despite the fact that the miniature is elaborately designed and executed, it possesses much of that delicacy, grace, and tenderness, which characterize Kāngrā art as its best. In this miniature we have not yet reached the stage where the decline of Pahārī art set in. But it was not long to come. Even here, there is no longer the feeling of the fresh mountain air but rather of cloying breezes overladen with an opiate fragrance. It is interesting to compare the elaborate treatment of the theme of *Vyādhī* in Fig 46 with the much simpler method of the Basohlī school during the early 18th century (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 27A). Our miniature is probably a product of the Mandī school according to Svetoslav Roerich. That opinion has much to commend it. Several such elaborate paintings with meticulous details, crowded architectural composition, and females with sharp faces, have been known to possess a Mandī origin. But there is no real difference between such Mandī miniatures and the *Kāngrā Kalam* in general. The date given in the caption under Fig 46 is *circa* 1800 A.D. The period to which it is best ascribed is 1790-1810 A.D.

Fig 49—Krishna and Rādhā Sheltering from the Rain

This is another version of the *Varsa Vihāra* theme. As stated in Chapter II, the most beautiful rendering of this subject is in the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43 in colour). In Fig 49 the artist has doubtless entered into the spirit of his subject

matter and has been highly successful in his treatment of landscape. He appears to have followed the description of the rainy season given in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*

> *the clouds which were thundering-were very drums sounding, and in the midst of them the flash of lightning was like the glitter of weapons, while the rows of cranes were like white banners being fluttered. Peacocks and frogs were celebrating praises, and the branches of lofty trees were waving whereon cuckoos, pigeons, and parrots were seated as they noisily chattered.*

All these elements are seen in Fig 49. A flight of cranes winging upwards into the sky is not an uncommon device in Pahārī painting. It is a sight which the artists must have seen repeatedly in the countryside near every river and pool.

Fig 49 has been reproduced in colour in *Roop Lekha*. No. 1, January 1929. The date given in the caption under Fig 49 is 1800-1825 A.D. The figures tend to be squat but this characteristic is not conclusive of an early 19th century dating. The workmanship is praiseworthy and the possibility of the miniature belonging to the last decade of the 18th century cannot be disregarded.

Fig 75—Shiva and his Family

This theme was fairly popular with the Pahārī artists and several versions exist. Shiva, the naked yogi, helps Pārvatī to prepare the evening meal. Their children Ganesh and Kartikeyya are playing around, while Shiva's bull Nandī, for want of any better occupation, is licking the tiger on which Pārvatī rides when she assumes her tamasic aspect as Durga. A cat and a peacock complete this scene of the wandering family at rest. There were occasions when the artists liked to think of the great and terrible Shiva as a homely god, mindful of his devoted wife of royal estate who never wearied tramping the mountain fastnesses like a beggar, and who never questioned the Great One's inscrutable ways. Shiva wears the crescent moon on his matted hair. The date given in the caption under Fig 75 is *circa* 1800 A.D. and the miniature was probably painted in the last decade of the 18th century.

Fig 84—Venugopala

Krishna plays his flute and the *gopas* and *gopīs*, and even the cows, thrilled by the music are drawn to his side. A folk-version of the same theme in the *Kulu Kalam* is reproduced as Fig 35. The date in the caption under Fig 84 is almost certainly correct in view of the uniformly stunted figures of the *gopīs*. I would personally suggest *circa* 1825 A.D. Despite a certain stiffness in attitudes and movement our miniature is pleasing and aptly illustrates the verse:

> *Ah who would tarry*
> *When Murārī plays the flute ?*
> *Love must be of little worth*
> *If you should tarry*
> *When Murārī plays his flute.*
>
> —*Vaishnava Lyric*

Some more Miniatures in the Standard Style

As already stated the vast majority of *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures are in the *Standard* style and it is not possible to refer to them in detail. The more important of those which have been reproduced in various books and journals are mentioned below. While considering them it must be remembered that Coomaraswamy has ascribed several miniatures of the *Kāngrā Kalam* to the early 18th century whereas we are now aware that the beginnings of the *Kāngrā Kalam* do not antedate the period 1765-1775 A.D.

Agatapatikā[1] in the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta, belongs to the late 18th century A.D. The diminutive figures in the courtyards find a parallel in paintings from Guler of this period. This feature, however, is not necessarily an indication of provenance which may be Garhwāl.

Padumāvatī[2] depicts a girl enticing a parrot back to its cage. It has nothing to do with the romance of Padumāvatī and is just a genre picture of a type very common in Kāngrā art. The short, stunted figure of the girl indicates the first quarter of the 19th century.

Guna Garvita[3] is a *Rāginī* painting of *circa* 1800 A.D. Other examples from the series to which it belongs are in private collections.

Vishnu riding on Garuda[4] is a theme frequently found in Kāngrā painting. Its date would be *circa* 1800 A.D.

Shita Vihāra[5] is stated by Gangoly to belong to the Chambā school, though no adequate reasons are given for this ascription. It is merely mentioned that from the types of figures and the headgears represented, the miniature may be attributed to the school of Chambā. The figures, however are of the *Standard* type of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and moreover there is nothing distinctive about the headgear. The miniature may have been painted in Chambā but equally well it may have been painted in Guler or Kāngrā or some other State towards the end of the 18th century, to which period it belongs.

Hour of Cowdust[6] appears to be a work of the period *circa* 1800-1825 A.D. Gangoly mentions a possible provenance as Chambā but adduces no reasons for his opinion. The background landscape is more suggestive of Kāngrā itself than any other State.

Navodha[7] is best dated *circa* 1790-1800. The figures are tall and graceful.

Ladies Bathing[8] is a characteristic of zenana type painting. The idea and composition are borrowed from Moghul art of the 18th century. *Circa* 1800 is its likely date.

The Birth of Gangā[9] is contemporary with Fig 75 of the present volume, while a second version[10] of the same theme is somewhat earlier and belongs to the period 1780-1800. Bhagiratha is painted in the Moghul manner.

The Dance of Shiva[11] is probably a product of the later Sansār Chand school during the period 1805-1825 A.D. The figures of the womenfolk are short and stunted.

Yasoda and Krishna[12] is an example of the *Standard* type at its best. The colouring is well nigh perfect and the theme is most sensitively handled. It belongs to the period 1780-1800. It is possible it was painted in Guler. It should be compared with Fig 68 of the present volume.

Crying for the Moon[13] is another most attractive example of the *Standard* type. Its date would be *circa* 1800. Some of the figures tend to be short with oversize faces, but *Yasoda* herself is exquisite. It is not far removed in style or time from Plate I of the present volume, though the latter is somewhat earlier.

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1 Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 9 (in colour), where it is wrongly ascribed to the Jaipur school of Rājasthānī painting.
2 *Ibid.*, Plate 5 (in colour) where it is wrongly ascribed to the Jaipur school of Rājasthānī painting.
3 *Ibid.*, Plate 6 (in colour) where it is wrongly ascribed to the Jaipur school of Rājasthānī painting.
4 *Ibid.*, Plate 7 (in colour) where it is wrongly ascribed to the Jaipur school of Rājasthānī painting.
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 24.
6 *Ibid.*, Plate 25A.
7 *Ibid.*, Plate 26 (in colour).
8 *Ibid.*, Plate 28 (in colour).
9 *Ibid.*, Plate 30.
10 *Ibid.*, Plate 31.
11 *Ibid.*, Plate 34. Also reproduced in colour in Coomaraswamy, *Selected Examples of Indian Art*, Plate 2.
12 *Ibid.*, Plate 36 (in colour).
13 *Ibid.*, Plate 37 (in colour).

Svadhinapatikā[1] is a late example and *circa* 1825 may be suggested as its date. The faces are heavy and the figures lack delicacy though the workmanship of the miniature is technically quite competent.

Rāma in Exile[2] can be assigned to *circa* 1800. The faces are unusually sharp. This variation of the *Standard* type is sometimes met with.

The Sports of Krishna[3] from a *Gīta Govinda* series is ascribed by Coomaraswamy to the early 18th century. But it belongs to the period 1800-1825 and its most likely date is *circa* 1810 A.D. Many of the *gopīs* have stunted figures. A companion picture[4] from the same series shows Krishna wearing a long, high-waisted *jāmā*, a thick brocaded *kamarband* (waist-sash), and a type of turban common at the Katoch court. The costume is characteristic of a late period and these two miniatures were possibly painted in Sansār Chand's own atelier after his downfall in 1805 A.D.

Shri Krishna with the Flute,[5] is also wrongly ascribed to the early 18th century. Its likely date is *circa* 1800. The same remarks are applicable to *The Bonds of Love*[6] and to *Shri Krishna Milking*.[7] The last named appears to be slightly earlier than the other two.

Krishna Following Rādhā[8] described as early 18th century belongs in fact to the period 1790-1800 A.D. Here we find a few tree-forms from Basohlī art of *circa* 1730 A.D., but this circumstance only indicates that certain early mannerisms lingered on and were sometimes seen in late work. The schematic arrangement of trees is also a hearkening back to old formulas, but the figures of Krishna and Rādhā patently belong to the late 18th century. Their faces may be regarded as a variation of the *Standard* type.

Cow dust[9] of the Boston Museum is one of the great masterpieces of Kāngrā art. Though it is in the *Standard* style yet few *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings, even of the more accomplished *Bhāgavata* type, can compare with it. It belongs to the period 1780-1800 which justifies its attribution by Coomaraswamy to the late 18th century. It is probably a product of Sansār Chand's atelier. The rendering of the cows is particularly fine, and the groups of expectant maidens, clustered at the windows, is an ingenious device to afford relief to the expanse of the whitewashed walls. But its chief merit lies in its exquisite interpretation of the lyrical beauty of that most happy and romantic of hours when the village herds come home and the handsome village swain is Gopala Krishna and every village girl is his darling. Into the drab daily existence of millions, the creed of the cowherd god brought a golden gleam of joy, and their lives became anchored to an everlasting dream.

A drawing of the same subject[10] is a variation of the fully coloured example. Coomaraswamy suggests it is possibly by the same hand, but this can not be so as it is much inferior in sensibility, composition, and draftsmanship.

Rādhā Cooking[11] of the Lahore Museum, *circa* 1780-1800 is a delightful piece and may be compared to a somewhat similar miniature in the *Bhāgavata* style from the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 25). Both are characteristic of the trend to utilize even commonplace scenes as themes for the enfoldment of the Krishna story. This

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1 *Ibid.*, Plate 42 (in colour).
2 *Ibid.*, Plate 48.
3 Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 38.
4 *Ibid.*, Plate 39. Also reproduced in The *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 85.
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 40. Also reproduced in The *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 74.
6 *Ibid.*, Plate 41.
7 *Ibid.*, Plate 45. Also reproduced in *The Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 75.
8 *Ibid.*, Plate 47.
9 *Ibid.*, Plate 51. (in colour). Also reproduced in *The Boston Museum Catalogue No.* 5, Plate 72.
10 *Ibid.*, Plate 52. Also reproduced in *The Boston Museum Catalogue No.* 5, Plate 71.
11 *Ibid.*, Plate 56.

tendency is indicative of the extent to which the life of the common man had become bound up with the cult of the blue god.

The Wives of the Mathura Brahmans,[1] datable *circa* 1800 utilizes the method of continuous narration. It is concerned to illustrate an entire incident in all its phases and the composition has accordingly become of secondary importance. But each individual scene is well handled.

Shri Krishna with the Flute[2] is an earlier version of the theme illustrated in Fig 84 of the present volume. Its likely date is *circa* 1800.

Lakshmana removing a thorn from Rāma's foot,[3] belongs to the group where the *Standard* type face is rather sharp and angular as in *Rama in Exile* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 48).

The Hermitage of Valmikī,[4] the legendary author of the *Rāmāyana* is a late 18th century version of this theme which is also illustrated in a miniature from the Rothenstein collection (Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 9 in colour). The Rothenstein example is slightly earlier.

Shiva and Pārvatī[5] consists of two large-sized heads set in an oval. Coomaraswamy ascribes it to the late 18th century, but *circa* 1825 A.D. would be a more appropriate date. The fashion for large-sized figures or heads in the *Kāngrā Kalam* appears to be a development of the 18th century. The late date of the miniature is further evidenced by the fact that Pārvatī's face markedly resembles a variation of the *Standard* type frequently seen in Kāngrā painting of the period 1825-1850 A.D. (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 24).

Virahinī[6] is of unusual interest as it depicts a Pahārī artist painting pictures on the wall of the Heroine's home. He is dressed in a long flowing *jāmā* and turban, and squats on a table in front of the fresco. Around him are his brushes and colours. The likely date of the miniature is *circa* 1800. The Heroine conforms to the same well-defined facial type already observed in Fig 75 of the present volume.

The Pet Deer;[7] *The Storm*;[8] *Radhas' Toilet*[9] and a companion picture bearing the same title[10] are all typical *genre* studies of life in the zenanas of the well-to-do inhabitants of the Hill States. They can all be dated *circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy describes the two toilet scenes as Rādhā's toilet but they may be no more than the usual zenana type pictures which were not intended to be associated with the Rādhā-Krishna theme.

Rāsa Mandala[11] which can be dated 1780-1800 A.D. is an example which does not fully conform to the *Standard* style nor yet to the *Bhāgavata* style. Such variations are not uncommonly met with.

Shiva and Pārvatī Enthroned[12] which belongs to the late 18th century may be a product of Sansār Chand's own atelier before his downfall in 1805 A.D. The rendering of the Himalayas in pointed rock-formations is indeed interesting, and suggests the Mahal Morian range.

1 *Ibid.*, Plate 57.
2 *Ibid.*, Plate 59 A.
3 *Ibid.*, Plate 60.
4 *Ibid.*, Plate 61.
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 64.
6 *Ibid.*, Plate 70 A. Also reproduced in *The Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 99.
7 *Ibid.*, Plate 71 A.
8 *Ibid.*, Plate 71 B.
9 *Ibid.*, Plate 72 A.
10 *Ibid.*, Plate 72 B.
11 *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 19.
12 *Ibid.*, Plate 58.

Two Hermits[1] belongs to the period 1780-1800, though Coomaraswamy ascribes it to the early 19th century. But that appears to be too late a date considering the qualities of the miniature.

Rādhā and Krishna[2] is characterized by angular facial types which are a departure from the normal *Standard* style. The miniature may be dated *circa* 1800 A.D. and no doubt is representative of some local idiom.

Krishna with the Flute,[3] and two versions of *Krishna and Rādhā*[4] are examples of the late 18th or more probably of early 19th century. The figures tend to be squat.

Ganesa[5] belongs to the same *Gīta Govinda* series which is illustrated in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 38 and 39. It must accordingly be ascribed to the period 1800-1825, and is not an early 18th century miniature as stated by Coomaraswamy.

Dāna Līlā[6] according to Coomaraswamy may be from Garhwāl. This is possible but it may equally well belong to any other State. Some of the women have a crescent-moon mark (*chandan tilaka*) on their foreheads, but this circumstance, as pointed out by me hereafter in the section on the Garhwāl school, is by no means a conclusive indication that the painting hails from Garhwāl. Its likely date is *circa* 1800.

The five miniatures illustrating the Sudāma story[7] were almost certainly painted at Sansār Chand's court. They have a family resemblances to a *Shiva-Pārvātī* series which is known to be the work of Sansār Chand's artists. The elaborate architecture is also suggestive of Tira Sujanpur in its glory. The Sudāma series may be dated *circa* 1800. If it is a product of the early 19th century, as suggested by Coomaraswamy, then it must in all probability have been painted before 1805 A.D. It is representative of a rather ornate style which seems to have been practised at Sansār Chand's atelier alongside simpler and aesthetically more significant work. As already observed artists from many quarters flocked to the Katoch court with the result that several different styles of painting were simultaneously in vogue.

Vasakasayyā Nāyikā[8] attributed by Coomaraswamy to the early 18th century belongs in fact to the late 18th or early 19th century. The figure of the Nāyikā is stunted and the treatment mechanical.

Līlā Hava[9] may be dated *circa* 1800. Its interest lies mainly in its subject matter. Rādhā who is dressed in Krishna's garments has a crescent mark (*chandan tilaka*) on her forehead, but as already observed this fact would not justify our attributing the miniature to Garhwāl.

The two versions[10] of a lady standing near a tree are late examples and belong to the end of the 18th or to the early 19th century. Coomaraswamy ascribes the second of these two miniatures, to the early 18th century but the stunted figure of the maiden and the lifeless drawing leave no room for doubt that it is a very late work.

Rādhā and Krishna[11] is a Kāngrā miniature of the late 18th century and not from Oudh as suggested by Coomaraswamy. The types belong unmistakably to the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Painting in Oudh was of a very different category.

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1 *Ibid.*, Plate 61.
2 *Ibid.*, Plate 78.
3 *Ibid.*, Plate 80, Fig CCXXXIV.
4 *Ibid.*, Plate 80, Fig CCLXV; and Plate 81, Fig CCLIII.
5 *Ibid.*, Plate 84.
6 *Ibid.*, Plate 88.
7 *Ibid.*, Plates 89, 90 and 91.
8 *Ibid.*, Plate 102, Fig CCCXXXIX.
9 *Ibid.*, Plate 103.
10 *Ibid.*, Plate 109, Fig CCCCXXIX; and Plate 110, Fig CCCCXXI.
11 *Ibid.*, Plate 130, Fig CCXCVIII.

The Messenger's Arrival[1], from the Rothenstein collection, appears to be a local variation of the *Standard* type and is probably a product of the first quarter of the 19th century. The female types are markedly elongated and somewhat in the manner of the Lahore Fort frescoes of approximately the same period (*Rupam*, Nos. 27 and 28 opp. page 86). Another miniature in a similar style is *The Cat and the Parrot* (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 2). These two miniatures may also usefully be compared with the late frescoes in a temple at Siba painted, it is said, about 1874 A.D. (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Plate 4, 'Kāngrā Frescoes' by French). It may be that they are examples of a local style of miniature painting in Siba State during the 19th century.

Krishna and Rādhā[2], from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, also reveals a facial type which is a variation of the *Standard* type. It is reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 40, opp. p. 132, and can be ascribed to the late 18th century. Though one cannot be certain, yet this miniature with its brown background and delicate flowering-bush is most probably from Guler. The female facial type may be compared to that seen in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig 33. The brown background and flowering-bush are also seen in Fig 82 which is from Guler.

Rādhā and Krishna in the Moonlight[3], from the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi, is indeed a fine example of the *Standard* type possessing all the technical excellencies of the *Bhāgavata* style. The faces closely resemble Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 15 and 16. It belongs to the period *circa* 1800 A.D. It is instructive to compare this miniature with the same theme by a Basohlī artist (*Art of India and Pakistan*, Plate 101). The vigour and formal composition of the later style are in marked contrast to the softness, delicacy, and naturalistic treatment of the Kāngrā painting.

Krishna consoling Subhadra[4], from the Lahore Museum, is probably from Guler and belongs to the late 18th century. It is conventionalized and lacking in any spontaneity of feeling.

Shiva and Pārvatī with Nandī[5], *circa* 1800, from the Lahore Museum, is characteristic in its treatment of this popular theme. It is pleasing but without any intensity of feeling. A similar theme is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (*Illustrated Weekly of India*, 7th March 1954).

A Lady with her Pets[6], from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, belongs to the well-known category of zenana pictures. The squat, ungainly figure of the lady indicates the period *circa* 1825 A.D. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it gives us an idea of the variety of pets that were often kept in the zenanas of the nobility to amuse the inmates.

Krishna swallowing the Forest Fire[7], from the collection of J. C. French, is a Kāngrā version of the great Basohlī masterpiece *Dāvanala-āchaman* reproduced as Plate M in the present volume. Viewed by itself the Kāngrā version is full of interest, but when it is compared to Plate M the grandeur and intensity of the latter quite overshadow it. It was acquired in Chambā but has none of the characteristics of the known Chambā idioms. I do not know on what basis Gray[8] suggests that it is probably from Chambā. It appears to belong to the last quarter of the 18th century.

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1 *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 108, Fig 503.
2 *Ibid*, Plate 108, Fig 362.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 109, Fig 558.
4 *Ibid*, Plate 112, Fig 560
5 *Ibid*, Plate 113.
6 *Ibid*, Plate 115, Fig 611.
7 *Ibid*, Plate 115, Fig 538.
8 *Ibid*, p. 130, item 538.

Lady in a Garden[1] datable *circa* 1825 belongs to the category of zenana paintings, as also does *The Love-sick Lady*[2], *circa* 1800. The latter is however a much superior work. Incidentally it portrays an interesting variation of the *Standard* type.

Yasoda with the infant Krishna[3] is a formal composition. Its likely date is *circa* 1800.

The Palace Lady with her Maids[4], from the Victoria and Albert Museum, is typical of a type of composition which became very popular in Kāngrā painting towards the end of the 18th century to which period it belongs. The picture space is divided up into compartments and in each compartment some incident is depicted. The final result often lacks cohesion though the device is useful for the method known as continuous narration. In the miniature under discussion we first see a lady of high estate at her toilet; next we see her listening to her musicians, and on the right side of the composition we see the maid-servants performing the daily chores of the household. The female faces are a mixture between the *Bhāgavata* type and the *Standard* type.

The Lady and the Plantain[5] is a late conventional example of zenana art. Archer describes it as a Guler painting of *circa* 1765, but it cannot be earlier than *circa* 1800. Moreover as already stated the Guler attribution may not be correct.

Awaiting the Lover[6], *The Expectant Heroine*,[7] *Lady on her way to Tryst*[8] and *The Jilted Lady*[9] are all ascribed by Archer to Punch. But as I have already stated it is extremely doubtful if there was ever a Punch school. If these four miniatures are to be classified at all, then Garhwāl is a more likely provenance. But no definite opinion can be ventured.

The Gathering Storm[10], from the Victoria and Albert Museum, also belongs to the category already described where the composition is divided compartment-wise. The love-lorn lady in the courtyard of her mansion attended by her hand-maidens is characteristic of quite a large output of the Kāngrā school. A counterpart to the above mentioned miniature is found in *The Gale of Love*[11] also from the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Heroine and the maidens are hurrying to shelter. It has marked affinity to Fig 46 of the present volume which, according to Roerich, was probably painted in Mandī from where it was acquired. All these works may be ascribed to *circa* 1800.

The Festival of Spring[12], *circa* 1800, has already been referred to as an inferior version of the same theme in the *Bhāgavata* style reproduced as Plate IX of the present volume.

Krishna and the Milkmaids[13], in the possession of Mr. W. Archer, is a good example of the *Standard* style. The types are pleasing, the technique efficient, and the mood joyous. It belongs to the late 18th century. A similar miniature is illustrated in the *Salar Jung Museum Souvenir*, Hyderabad, page 6.

Lady and the Mirror[14], from the Victoria and Albert Museum, illustrates a type of work which appears to have had some vogue round about 1825 A.D. It will be noted that the figures and

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1 *Ibid*, Plate 116, Fig 593.
2 *Ibid*, Plate 116, Fig 590.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 117, Fig 583.
4 Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 3. Also reproduced in Vincent Smith, *Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Ed, 1930, Plate 160.
5 *Ibid*, Fig 31.
6 *Ibid*, Fig 58.
7 *Ibid*, Fig 66.
8 *Ibid*, Fig 69.
9 *Ibid*, Fig 70.
10 Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plate 5.
11 *Ibid*, Plate 9.
12 *Ibid*, Plate 6.
13 *Ibid*, Plate 7.
14 *Ibid*, Plate 8.

the faces are much larger than usual and not in the true spirit of a delicate miniature art. Archer has suggested 1800 A.D. but that seems too early a date.

The Kite[1] is an indifferent work of the period *circa* 1825 A.D. Kāngrā painting abounds in such mediocre studies of zenana pastimes.

Krishna and Rādhā[2], and another miniature bearing the same title[3], from the collection of Mr. J. C. French are both characteristic of the manner in which Kāngrā artists handled this theme. The former belongs to the late 18th century and not the early 18th century as stated by French. It was probably painted at Sansār Chand's court and is the finer of the two examples. The latter is most probably a work of the first quarter of the 19th century though French has ascribed it to the 18th century. It has nothing in particular to commend it.

Vishnu in his Lion Incarnation[4] which was in the collection of the Mahant of Damthal may have some appeal to those interested in mythology. As a work of art it leaves one quite unmoved.

Krishna in communion with his Worshipper[5] from the collection of the Lambagraon Darbār is known to be the work of one of Sansār Chand's artists and accordingly affords us an insight into one of the many styles of work which prevailed at his court. Its technique is excellent and the charm of the Krishna-Rādhā romance is sensitively interpreted. Miniatures such as this in the *Standard* style, along with those of the *Bhāgavata* style already dealt with, represent the high art of Sansār Chand's court. The lush woodland, and the hidden bowers where the divine lovers spent their happiest moments, are conjectured with all the beauty of the descriptions which one finds in the *Braj Bhāsā* lyrics. Nature also aided the Pahārī artist and frequently offered him a ready made setting of hill woodlands which corresponded to the word-pictures of the Krishna love-poems.

Playing Ball[6] from the Lahore Museum is a good example depicting a popular pastime with the zenana ladies. It is of interest to note that similar themes, where a single female figure is depicted playing with a ball or indulging in some other form of amusement, were also exceedingly popular with the Mārwār school of Rājasthānī artists during the late 18th and early 19th century. But the facial type of the Mārwār school is entirely different from that seen in Kāngrā art. The miniature belongs to the late 18th or early 19th century.

Svadhinapatikā;[7] *Utkā*;[8] *Prosita preyasī*;[9] *The Message*;[10] *Vipralabdhā*;[11] *Māninī*;[12] and *Vāsakasayyā*[13] reproduced by Coomaraswamy to illustrate the *Nāyikā* theme are all *Kāngrā Kalam* examples belonging to the late 18th or early 19th century. *Utkā* may belong to the second quarter of the 19th century. It is not worth while pursuing the problem of their provenance. Some of them may be products of Garhwāl and one or two may have been painted in Guler. But as I have repeatedly pointed out unless some satisfactory data is available we are largely in the realm of conjecture in view of the fact that numerous paintings done in different parts of the Hills have marked resemblances. The movement of painters from one district to another, for a variety of causes, can easily account for such similarities in style. Of such move-

1 *Ibid*, Plate 10.
2 French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 8.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 16.
4 *Ibid*, Plate 15.
5 *Ibid*, Plate 22.
6 *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 13 opp. p. 99.
7 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, Plate 1, Fig 1, Coomaraswamy, *'The Eight Nāyikās'*.
8 *Ibid*, Plate 1, Fig 2.
9 *Ibid*, Plate 4, Fig 7.
10 *Ibid*, Plate 4, Fig 8.
11 *Ibid*, Plate 5, Fig 9.
12 *Ibid*, Plate 5, Fig 10.
13 *Ibid*, Plate 7, Fig 13.

ments we have concrete evidence as for instance those which occurred after the break-up of Sansār Chand's atelier. All these miniatures, though pleasing, are representative of a somewhat formal art, and cannot compare with the beauty of such exquisite interpretations as are seen in Plates A and B of the present volume, which also depict the *Nāyikā* theme.

Another version of *Utka*[1] of the late 18th century is also reproduced by Coomaraswamy. It is a far more graceful representation than the example just referred to above belonging to the second quarter of the 19th century. The latter is stiff and stilted in movement and affords a good illustration of the decline in Kāngrā art.

Of the miniatures reproduced by Stchoukine, *Shiva with his Family*[2] belongs to the late 18th century. Pārvatī conforms to the *Standard* type illustrated as Enlarged Face Detail No. 16.

The Lady with the red Shawl[3] may be from Guler and belongs to the late 18th or early 19th century.

Utkā Nāyikā[4] is a pleasing rendering of its theme with an attractive woodland background. It probably belongs to the last decade of the 18th century.

Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī[5] is a *Kāngrā Kalam* version of this famous story so popular with the 18th century Moghul artists. The swift horses, the moonlit hills, and the silent night have successfully re-created the atmosphere which lent beauty to the romance of these two lovers. Rupmat"s devotion to her lord is subtly rendered as she gazes at the prince who was unworthy of her adoration.

Krishna and Rādhā in the Forest,[6] of the Victoria and Albert Museum, is from an extensive series now spread over many collections. It is the most charming example of this set which I have seen and is surely one of the masterpieces of Kāngrā art. The series is probably the work of one of Sansār Chand's artists during the last decade of the 18th century. It is reproduced in colour in *The Studio*, Feb. 1948. To the same series belongs *Utkā Nāyikā*[7] also of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is a very attractive miniature but tends to be somewhat obviously dramatic.

Shiva and Pārvatī on Mount Kailās[8] appears to belong to the first quarter of the 19th century. The drawing is stiff and the treatment excessively formal. Another indifferent miniature of Shiva and his family, also of the same period, is reproduced in Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 8.

The Toilet of Rādhā[9] belongs to the first quarter of the 19th century. As in many late Kāngrā paintings the landscape element is formal. It is not possible to suggest the provenance.

Kakubha Rāginī[10] in the possession of Mr F. D. Wadia is an example of the 19th century which gives an adequate idea of the raw greens which are so frequently found in 19th century Kāngrā painting. The workmanship of the miniature is however of a fairly high order.

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1 *Ibid*, Plate 2, Fig 4.
2 Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 94, Fig (b).
3 *Ibid*, Plate 95, Fig (a).
4 *Ibid*, Plate 95, (Fig (b).
5 *Ibid*, Plate 96(a). Also reproduced in colour in *Rupam*, No. 12, opp. page 123.
6 *Ibid*, Plate 97(b).
7 *Ibid*, Plate 99.
8 *Ibid*, Plate 98.
9 *Ibid*, Plate 100.
10 Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, Plate 14 (in colour).

Mr N. C. Mehta has also reproduced some examples of the *Standard* type in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926. *Sudāma's Hut*[1] from the Jalan collection, Patna, should be compared to Fig 4 of the present volume with which it appears to be contemporary.

From the same collection is *Worshipping the Bull*[2], which belongs to the late 18th or early 19th century. It should be observed that the old compositional formula of a pavilion occupying about half the picture space, and a background of hills or water in the other half, which was derived from Moghul painting of the period 1700-1750, still persists. We have already noticed the frequent use of this formula in 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures.

Glory of Spring,[3] which apparently depicts a *Prosita preyasī Nāyikā* is from the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, to which it was presented by Kunwar Bichitr Shah a descendant of the royal house of Tehrī. It may accordingly have been the work of a Garhwāl artist in the early 19th century. But it is not unlike numerous other *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures save for the precise and somewhat solid treatment of the palace in the background. On the reverse of this miniature is a quatrain by the poet Senapatī.

A Storm[4] from the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is typical of a theme repeatedly painted by Kāngrā artists during the late 18th and early 19th century. Another version is reproduced in colour in *March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952 on page 33.

A Cloudy Day[5] appears to be an example of the early 19th century and but for the delineation of the stormy background is of no particular interest.

Rāginī Vasanta[6] from the Jalan collection, Patna, though somewhat frozen in movement is a pleasing example and characteristic of much work done all over the Hills in the late 18th and early 19th century. It should be compared to Fig 84 of the present volume which is somewhat later in point of time. The figures in *Rāginī Vasanta* are not so short or stunted as in Fig 84.

The Hindi art journal *Kalā Nidhī* has also published some Kāngrā paintings of the *Standard* type from the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. A *Tambula Seva* is reproduced in colour as the frontispiece of issue No. 1. It has also been reproduced in *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 3. The figures of Rādhā and Krishna are on a large scale and fill the picture space. The date would appear to be *circa* 1825 A.D. Considering its late period it is a good example with an effective colour scheme.

In issue No. 2 opp. page 130 is a colour illustration of the episode where the baby Krishna was tied to a mortar nearby two trees. He dragged the mortar till it lay across the trunks of the trees and then pulled it uprooting them. By doing so he freed the two sons of Kuvera, named Nala and Kuvara, who had been transmuted into tree-forms by the magic of the sage Narada. The miniature belongs to the same period as Plate I of the present volume, namely 1780-1800 A.D., and has considerable affinity to it.

O. C. Gangoly in his *Love Poems in Hindi*, 1936, has also reproduced several miniatures of the *Standard* type, some of which have not hitherto been noticed in other publications. *Khandita Nāyikā*[7] is a fine rendering of its theme and probably belongs to the late 18th century. It has all the delicacy and charm associated with the best products of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

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1 N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 53.
2 *Ibid*, Plate 54.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 55.
4 *Ibid*, Plate 58.
5 *Ibid*, Plate 59.
6 *Ibid*, Plate 60.
7 Gangoly, *Love Poems in Hindi*, 1936, Plate 11.

Virahinī Nāyikā[1], though a later work, of the early 19th century, is an effective interpretation of the *Vāsakasayyā Nāyikā* where the heroine is talking to a crow who is considered a good omen for her absent lord's speedy return. Says the *Nāyikā*,

I promise you a feast of curds and rice
If my lover returns today.

Though the figures are somewhat stunted, the atmosphere of expectancy and the reliance on omens, so common amongst Indian womenfolk of all classes, is ably depicted.

Varsa Rtu Varnan[2] has a dramatic landscape which is almost certainly intended to be Tira Sujanpur on the Beas. It is an effective picture and it is more than likely that it was painted in Sansār Chand's atelier during the late 18th century.

Noon-Tide[3], from the Manuk collection, is a fine example of the *Standard* type. It would not be wise to hazard the provenance of this delightfully coloured miniature but its date can be suggested as 1775-1785 A.D.

The Lady and Gazelle[4] is representative of a very popular theme. But it is not as pleasing as Plate III of the present volume. Both the lady and her maid are somewhat squat and the probable date of the painting is the early 19th century.

Lovers letting off Fire-Works[5] is a good example of zenana type painting at its best. Fireworks were a favourite form of amusement with royalty. The Emperor Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) was fond of fireworks displays and so was the Emperor Jahandar Shah (1712-1713 A.D.). The prince and princesses are amusing themselves by letting the sparks from fireworks fall into a tank. The figures are nicely proportioned and the date appears to be the late 18th century.

Two studies from a *Sudāma*[6] series from the Rothenstein collection can be ascribed to the late 18th century. They are rather in the manner of Fig 4 of the present volume. It seems that certain stock conventions were observed by the many Pahārī artists in illustrating the *Sudāma* story.

Ladies with a Peacock[7], from the collection of J. C. French, is quite an unusual example. The ladies are not dressed in skirts (*gāgras*) but in baggy Pathan-type pyjamas. Instead of a *cholī* (bodice) they wear a loose vest (*badian*). They may be Pahārī Muslims but this is only a conjecture as Sikh ladies also adopted a similar costume. I would not therefore venture to say that this miniature was painted in one of the Muslim States of the Hills. It probably belongs to the early 19th century or even mid-19th century. The faces are a variation of the *Standard* type. The ladies may perhaps be from the zenana of a Rājput Hill State which had adopted the Sikh manner of dressing. In Guler for instance the court dressed in the Sikh style during Jai Singh's time (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 16). It is not easy to suggest the provenance of the miniature.

Abhisārikā[8], from the collection of the late Prof. Rothenstein, which is now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, belongs to one of the many later schools of about *circa* 1825, which almost border on folk art. The figure of the *Nāyikā* is more robust than graceful, and the rounded features have no elegance. From the same school comes the *Lady and Confidantes* also in the Rothenstein collection (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 8).

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1 *Ibid*, Plate 17.
2 *Ibid*, opp. page 47.
3 *Rupam*, Nos. 22 and 23, opp. page 68, in colour.
4 *Ibid*, No. 12, opp. page 123, in colour.
5 *Ibid*, No. 12, opp. page 123, in colour.
6 *Ibid*, Nos. 19 and 20, opp. page 239.
7 *Ibid*, No. 21, Plate 4, opp. page 9.
8 *Ibid*, No. 21, opp. page 6. It is also reproduced in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 4.

Shita Vihāra[1], also from the Rothenstein collection, is rather artificial. It probably belongs to the early 19th century when almost every Hill State had its own atelier.

Toilet of Rādhā[2], which was in the possession of Ajit Ghose, is one of the most exquisite versions of this oft-repeated theme. Probably the lady is intended to be a princess and not Rādhā. It is possible that the miniature is from Guler. It appears to belong to the period 1775-1785. Both in colour and line it evidences all that delicacy and grace which has made the *Kāngrā Kalam* so famous.

Sashī and Punnu[3], from the Rothenstein collection, is a late example of the period *circa* 1825. Its chief interest is as an illustration of this well-known romance.

The illustrations to the MSS of *Sundara-Sringāra*[4], which was in the Ajit Ghose collection, may be ascribed to the late 18th century. I do not think they are later. A few of the female faces somewhat resemble the *Bhāgavata* type, while others can be regarded as a variation of the *Standard* type. The fact that one of the *Nāyikās* in the illustrations has a *chandan tilaka* (crescent-mark) on her forehead is no ground for the suggestion that the illustrations are of the Garhwāl school. It is not easy to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion with regard to the provenance of these paintings. Though their workmanship is not of a high order they are not without charm.

Putanā-Vadha[5] is a quite vigorous version of this exploit of the baby Krishna. It appears to belong to the late 18th century and may have been painted at Sansār Chand's court.

The illustrations to the *Madhu Malatī MSS*[6] would appear to belong to the first decade of the 19th century, but it is possible they are slightly earlier. The fact that the *chandan tilaka* (crescent-mark) is seen on the forehead of the lady in the colour illustration would not justify our attributing it to Garhwāl. There are no other features of the Garhwāl school to be observed. The workmanship is not of the best but the miniatures are interesting as book illustrations.

An *Utkā Nāyikā*[7], in the collection of the late Eric Dickenson, is quite typical of the treatment of this subject. It may be from Garhwāl having regard to the face of the lady with a somewhat projecting nose. It probably belongs to the late 18th century. It should be observed that the spike-like flowers in pink and white are not peculiar to Garhwāl but are met with in paintings all over the Hills. No conclusion as to provenance should be based on their presence.

Muhammad on Burag[8], from the Baroda Museum, is an Islamic theme painted in the Kāngrā manner. It may have been done at one of the Hill States governed by chiefs who had embraced Islam, such as Kasthwar, Rajaurī or Punch. The faces are of the *Standard* type, and the most likely date is the late 18th century. Dr. Goetz has suggested[9] that it was painted for Saif Ali Khan the last Moghul governor of Kāngrā Fort. This is also a possibility to be considered.

The study of a prince and princess seated on a terrace[10], from a Dutch collection, appears to belong to the late 18th century. It is not possible to locate its provenance. It could equally well be Kāngrā, Chambā, or Guler. The face of the princess belongs to the *Standard* type seen in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16. If we could indentify the beardless prince then the provenance could be ascertained.

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1 *Ibid*, No. 21, opp. page 6. It is also reproduced in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate I.
2 *Ibid*, No. 29, opp. page 16.
3 *Ibid*, No. 30, opp. page 20.
4 *Ibid*, No. 30, opp. pages 40 and 50.
5 *Ibid*, No. 32, opp. page 129 (in colour).
6 *Ibid*, Nos. 33 and 34, opp. pages 9 and 11.
7 *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 1, opp. page 6 (in colour).
8 *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, Plate 5, Fig 4.
9 *Ibid*, page 41, 'A Muslim Painting of the Kāngrā School'.
10 *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Plate 35, Fig 1.

Kāngrā Kalam miniatures of the period 1780-1805 A.D. are as a general rule superior, both in drawing and colouring, to the large output which characterized the 19th century from 1805 upto 1850 A.D. The colour harmonies of the earlier works are rich and full-bodied as in *Krishna's Bath* (Plate I), or of a delicate tonality as in *Girl Feeding Black Buck* (Plate III). In the work of the 19th century A.D., though the colouring is often effective, a tendency towards raw greens is pronounced in the painting of verdure and foliage. A common technical device seen in Kāngrā miniatures, particularly of the 19th century, consists of a series of thin, horizontal black lines drawn close to each other over the green which represents grass. The effect of these parallel black lines is to tone down the colour of the grass, but at the same time this treatment of verdure is somewhat uninteresting and mechanical. The device can be seen clearly in the colour reproduction *Abhisandhitā Nāyikā* (Plate IV).

Another characteristic to which frequent reference has been made, and which existed to some extent even in the late 18th century, is the tendency to give a squat appearance to both male and female figures. This shortcoming often detracts from the attractiveness of the painting. In the late 18th and the early 19th century, the figures, even when somewhat squat in appearance, do as a rule avoid ungainliness. But towards the end of the first quarter of the 19th century the figures not only tend to be squat but also wooden (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 5). A point to note is that in one and the same miniature some figures are well proportioned and elegant, while others, being usually the subsidiary personages, are stunted. This is noticeable in *Toilet* (Plate II) where the attendant on the extreme left is squat compared to her elegant mistress gazing in the mirror. This tendency also affected painting in Rājasthān.

A Shiva-Pārvatī Series and its date

A group of four paintings which deal with the *Shiva-Pārvatī* legend have been reproduced in colour in *March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952. They are from an extensive series which has now been acquired for the East Punjab Government and which was formerly in the possession of Sansār Chand's descendant Ram Singh of Bharwana. The series is beyond doubt a product of Sansār Chand's atelier and may belong to the late 18th or the early 19th century. Some of the subsidiary figures are stunted in appearance and there is a tendency towards over-elaboration. The compositions are often lacking in cohesion though occasional passages are well rendered and with feeling. Yet the true spirit of Kāngrā art at its best is absent. These miniatures are fairly typical of a considerable body of work done in the Hill States particularly in the early part of the 19th century. They are largely illustrative in character. In the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series, the gilded architecture is probably inspired by the buildings of Tira Sujanpur in its glory, and the palace scenes afford an authentic insight into the life of the zenana. The carpets are no doubt those which were manufactured in the small carpet factory which Sansār Chand maintained for his personal requirements. The female faces are interesting, and more than one variation of the *Standard* type can be observed. The illustration of Ratī imploring Shiva to restore her husband to life is truly attractive, and the hills where Shiva meditates were no doubt inspired by the bizarre formations of the Morian Mahal range with which the artists were familiar. In fact this range seems to have inspired the hill-forms in many Kāngrā paintings of Sansār Chand's atelier. The traveller Vigne has aptly described it as an agitated sea suddenly arrested and fixed into stone. The tract is almost destitute of trees and bleak and barren.

A large number of miniatures from this series has been reproduced by M. S. Randhawa in *Roopa Lekha*, 1953, Vol. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, pages 23-39. Many critics would be inclined to date the series towards the end of Sansār Chand's reign, and some have suggested an even later date. But its date cannot be later than 1823 A.D., in any event, and in fact would appear to be much earlier when the series is carefully analysed. Often our preconceived notions on dating have to be partially revised in the light of fresh evidence. Several of the paintings of the Balvant Singh album, for instance, would have been ascribed to a date much later than the mid-18th

century if data to the contrary had not been available. So also the *Rāmāyana* series of 1769 A.D. (Figs 54 and 55) may at first sight appear to be of later date, but the authenticity[1] of the inscription is beyond question and several of the miniatures, including Figs 54 and 55, are contemporary with it. A few however seem to have been coloured later on, while the floral borders may also have been added subsequently. A critical assessment of the characteristics of the *Rāmāyana* series indicates that it is in several respects a precursor, albeit of inferior quality, of the well-known *Bhāgavata* miniatures. The lavish use of gold for architecture seen in the *Shiva-Pārvatī* paintings is also found in the Lankā scenes of the *Rāmāyana* of 1769, while crude demons and squat figures appear in both sets. The colouring of the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series is on the whole effective, and despite certain shortcomings there are several points of excellence. To me it appears that the series was painted before Sansār Chand's downfall in 1805 A.D.[2] Even 1790—1795 A.D. would not be an improbable date. The artist appears to be Sajnu or one of his school[3]. It may be noted that the god Indra in the series (*Roopa Lekha* 1953, Vol. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, opp. pages 25 and 26) wears only a slight beard, and if his crown were to be replaced by a Katoch turban then a resemblance to the young Sansār Chand, before he kept a full-grown beard, can be discerned. It is possible that the painter of the series wanted to suggest a comparison between Indra, the great victorious leader of the gods, mounted on his war-elephant, and Sansār Chand, the ambitious warrior-king, seeking to subdue all the Hills. When dealing with the paintings of Sansār Chand's atelier we must never forget that several styles of work were in vogue simultaneously.

The size of each of the 110 miniatures in the series is 16 × 12 inches. In them one finds certain features such as the *chandan tilaka* (crescent-mark) on the foreheads of womenfolk, and shrubs with spikes of white or pink flowers which, according to Mr. Mukandi Lāl[4], would establish the provenance as Garhwāl. But we know the set was painted at Sansār Chand's court by one of his artists. Moreover these abovementioned features have been noticed in miniatures from several schools of Pahārī painting and therefore no basis exists for Mukandi Lāl's theory.

The owner of the set was a descendant of Sansār Chand, and it was long known in the family that this set was the work of one of Sansār Chand's artists. Sansār Chand's son, Aniruddha, died leaving two sons Ranbir Chand and Pramodh Chand. At the intercession of the British, Ranjit Chand of Lahore granted them a jagir in Mahal Morian. Prior to that Ranbir Chand resided at Arkī and that fact explains how an Arkī family came into possession of a painting by Sansār Chand's well-known artist Fattu (*Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 'Sansār Chand of Kāngrā', Plate 3). It was no doubt a present from Ranbir Chand to one of the members[5] of the Arkī family. Ranbir Chand, it seems, possessed at least a part of Sansār Chand's collection because Aniruddha, when he fled from his throne, took all his possessions into British territory and there is no doubt that the valuable collection of miniatures was removed to safety. Ranbir Chand had a *sirtora* (son by a concubine) named Pardhan Chand, who came into possession of that part of Sansār Chand's collection which had remained with Ranbir Chand. Rām Singh, the owner of the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series is the grandson of Pardhan Chand. Aniruddha's other

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[1] The fact that each miniature in the series bears the date 1769 A.D. is undoubtedly an unusual feature because we know of no series where every miniature is dated. But that may have been the result of an idiosyncracy of the artist or the patron. It must be rememberod that the set was acquired many years ago when hardly anyone was interested in Pahārī painting, and Pahārī miniatures were obtainable at ridiculously cheap prices. It is inconceivable in the circumstances that anyone would be interested in faking the inscriptions. Nor is it possible to regard the series as a 19th century copy bearing the date of the original set. Such copies were unknown in the 19th century save in the case of portraits. The first half of the 19th century was a period of great activity for original productions even if they were not often of much merit. That copies of older works were made for tourist consumption in the present century, is true, but no one could possibly regard Sir Cowasji's set as a 20th century copy. Moreover, the skillful treatment of trees and other details in some of the miniatures goes to support the date 1769 A.D. Further-more when we remember that Fig 48 of the present volume is dated 1777 A.D., and that Molarām's *Mor Priya* (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, opp. page 120) is dated 1775 A.D., there is no reason to feel any surprise that the *Rāmāyana* series (Figs 54 and 55) is dated 1769 A.D. Of course it is not the work of a master artist. So also Molarām was an artist of mediocre talents. Dr. Motichandra who read the inscriptions also regards them as contemporaneous with the paintings.

[2] In passing it may be noted that the drawing of the hills in *Adoration of Kumara* (*Roopa Lekha*, 1953, Vol. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, opp. p. 39, is exactly in the manner seen in Fig 77 of the present volume which cannot be later than 1805 A.D., even if the principal figure is Aniruddha and not Sansār Chand.

[3] See *infra* 'Mandī Idiom of the Kāngrā Kalam'.

[4] See *infra* 'Garhwāl Idiom of the Kāngrā Kalam'.

[5] Probably the then Wazir of Arkī, one of whose descendants is the present owner of the painting.

son, Pramodh Chand, died childless at Almora, where he was exiled for revolting against the British. He too must have owned a part of Sansār Chand's collection but it no doubt got dispersed. Sansār Chand had a brother named Fateh Chand and his descendants are the jagirdars of Lambagraon. This branch of the family also possesses a part of Sansār Chand's collection including some fine examples. The head of the Lambagraon family, Dhrubdev Chand, now lives at a place called Maharaj Nagar.

It is of interest to note that Rām Singh also had a portrait of Nawab Kalab Ali Khan of Rāmpur in his collection. Kalab Ali Khan's grandfather, Gulām Mahomed Khan, when deposed by the British, was given an asylum by Sansār Chand at Nadaun. He died at Tira Sujanpur in 1822 A.D. Sansār Chand greatly missed him and had a tomb erected over his remains. A portrait of Gulām Mahomed Khan, painted at Sansār Chand's court, was later on presented by Pardhan Chand to Kalab Ali Khan as the latter desired to possess it.[1] Pardhan Chand paid a visit to Kalab Ali Khan at Rāmpur and received many favours. It was perhaps on this occasion that Kalab Ali Khan presented Pardhan Chand with a portrait of himself and this portrait was inherited by Rām Singh. Some Urdu documents with Alma Latifi refer to these facts.

It was Nawab Gulām Mahomed Khan who induced Sansār Chand to raise Rohilla levies instead of maintaining an expensive army composed of Rājputs, Afghans, and Rohillas. But these levies led by the Nawab himself failed to avert the doom which finally befell the Katoch chieftain.

Sansār Chand, it is said, even went to Delhi on one occasion (1795-1796 A.D.), and interviewed the British authorities with a view to having Gulām Mahomed Khan restored to the throne of Rāmpur. This fact indicates that he had personal contacts with a great city such as Delhi and probably saw examples of the decadent art which was being practised there at the time under the feeble Emperor Shah Alam.

Sansār Chand's Downfall and the break-up of his Atelier

Sansār Chand's dream was to establish a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab but he was driven back by Ranjit Singh in his two attempted invasions of the plains in 1803-1804 A.D. About this time he invaded Bilāspur, and the Hill Rājās smarting under the wrongs they had endured at his hands formed a confederacy against him and called in the Gurkhas to their aid. The invitation was acceptable to the Gurkhas who had their own designs on the Hill States. They invaded Kāngrā in 1805 A.D. and were aided by several Hill chieftains. Sansār Chand was defeated and forced to take refuge in Kāngrā Fort. For four years the seige of the Fort went on and in the meantime the Gurkhas plundered and laid waste the whole country. Many of the inhabitants fled to neighbouring States. Stark ruin faced the people of Kāngrā, and the State that had become the mightiest in the Hills crumbled away. It is said that grass grew up in deserted towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun where the most brilliant of Hill courts had held sway. Sansār Chand in desperation sought the help of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. He escaped from the Fort by stratagem and went to Tira Sujanpur to await much needed aid. In 1809 A.D. Ranjit Singh after long parleying marched against the Gurkhas and defeated them. He then took possession of Kāngrā Fort to which course of action Sansār Chand had perforce to agree. By degrees Ranjit Singh disclosed his true intentions and Kāngrā State became tributary to the Sikhs. The disillusioned Sansār Chand, not too honest himself in his political designs, retired to his beautiful retreat of Tira Sujanpur. As years passed, Ranjit Singh treated Sansār Chand with decreasing respect, and the exactions of the Sikhs reduced him to near penury. His revenues which once were thirty-five lakhs a year had dwindled to such an extent that after paying his troops he had but seventy thousand rupees left yearly for his own expenses and those of his family.

[1] Another portrait of Gulām Mahomed Khan was in the collection of the Lambagraon Darbār.

This course of events had a vital bearing on the art of miniature painting in the Hills. The great atelier of Sansār Chand had hitherto laid down the standards which other States had emulated, but it began to disintegrate from 1805 A.D. onwards when the Katoch ruler was beleagured in Kāngrā Fort for four long years while it was invested by the Gurkhas. Maybe a few artists had accompanied Sansār Chand into Kāngrā Fort and lived there during the seige. But it is obvious that in the circumstances to which Sansār Chand had been reduced the greater part of his atelier could never have been with him in the Fort. Moreover the financial strain of the seige would never have permitted him to maintain his atelier intact. His sources of revenue were cut off by the Gurkhas who were plundering his State. The break-up of the atelier was therefore inevitable, and the artists who composed it dispersed to other Hill States. This dispersal gave a fresh impetus to the art of painting in many centres and partly accounts for the very large output of *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures in the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. The States that absorbed these artists appear to be Mandī, Chambā, Garhwāl, Guler, and even many of the smaller States. The lead given by Kāngrā during the days of Sansār Chand's supremacy had resulted in the *Kāngrā Kalam* being adopted by most Hill States as the accepted fashion in miniature painting, and consequently the migration of Sansār Chand's own artists after 1805 A.D. to various Hill States perpetuated this accepted fashion.

Moorcroft's Account of Sansār Chand

A very vivid picture of Sansār Chand after his downfall has been left to us by the traveller Moorcroft who visited him in 1820 A.D. when Sansār Chand was fifty-four years old.

"Rājā Sansār Chand is a tall well formed man, about sixty. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rai Anirudha Singh, has a very handsome face and a ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansār Chand was formerly the most powerful Rājā from the Satlej to the Indus. All the potentates, from the former river to Kashmir were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit Singh."

"The loss of territory, and falling off of his dependencies have so much reduced the revenues of Katoch (Kāngrā), that, as the Rājā assured me, he has but 70,000 rupees a year for the expenses of himself and his family, after paying his troops. His resources are, however, still respectable, his country is strong, his peasantry resolute and warmly attached to him, and he has a large property in jewels which might be turned to better account. His pride, however, prevents him from making the sacrifices necessary to the improvement of his means, and whilst he spends large sums upon a numerous zenana, and a parcel of hungry retainers, he allows the defences of the country to fall into ruin, and keeps his soldiers short of powder and ball."

"Since the loss of Kāngrā, the Rājā has resided principally at Sujanpur, or rather Alampur, on the right bank of the Beas, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor was at Tira, where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian palaces, but they are now made no use of, except for the Rājā's personal armoury, in which are some splendid swords, and for a small manufactory of carpets for his own use."

"Sansār Chand quitted this residence, it is said, in consequence of its being distant from water, but another reason is assigned by popular rumour. On one of the Rājā's visits to Lahore, Ranjit-Singh remarked that he had heard much of the beauty of the palace at Tira, and should like to see it. Sansār Chand replied that he should have felt honoured by the visit, but that he had quitted Tira, and the place had fallen into so much decay, that it was unfit to receive the Sikh Chief, as he might satisfy himself by sending a person to inspect it. Ranjit accordingly dispatched an envoy for this purpose, but a messenger, sent off immediately by Sansār Chand,

with orders to travel day and night, anticipated the Sikh envoy, in sufficient time to give Tira a dismantled and desolate appearance. The report made by the Sikh deterred Ranjit from his proposed visit, but the circumstance excluded Sansār Chand from his patrimonial mansion."

"Rājā Sansār Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure, he passed this period at a small *bangala*, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Rājā retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and *naching* (dance parties), in which the performers recite most commonly *Brijbhākha* songs relating to Krishna. Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balarām, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the *Mahābhārata*; it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rājās, and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head bound with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Rājā could not tell me from where the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

The Decline of Kāngrā Painting at Sansār Chand's Atelier

Though Sansār Chand had a number of artists in his employ even in the days of his decline, it is evident from the fact that his revenues were greatly reduced that he could not afford to maintain the brilliant atelier which had become so famous when he was the overlord of the Hills. Artists of the highest merit could not be procured without payment commensurate with their skill. Sansār Chand's atelier in the days of his decline had greatly deteriorated and this is apparent from certain paintings produced by his artists after 1805 A.D. There is a miniature in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay which shows Sansār Chand when he was about 50 years of age. He is watching a dance performance. The female dancers are stunted and graceless in appearance. The entire work bespeaks the decadence that had set in at the court of the fallen overlord.

Sansār Chand died in 1823 A.D. and was succeeded by Aniruddha Chand who, as we have already seen, fled from the State in *circa* 1828 A.D. rather than yield to Ranjit Singh's demands for the marriage of his sister to the son of Ranjit Singh's Prime Minister.

The fame of the *Kāngrā School* is not undeserved. It must be judged by its best productions and not by the thousands of mediocre and indifferent miniatures which exist. From *circa* 1800 to 1840 A.D. the demand for miniatures was so great in the Hills, that painters flourished in every State and their output was prolific. The majority of these painters however lacked an inventive mind and initiative. Judging from the material available it seems fairly safe to opine that the best productions of the Kāngrā school belong to the period 1780-1800 A.D., and after 1805 A.D. there is a decline in the art of miniature painting in the Hills. But this is only a generalization and is subject to exceptions. There are some charming miniatures which post date 1805 A.D.

Moorcroft observes that there were a large number of paintings in Sansār Chand's collection dealing with the Krishna legend and the Epics. This fact indicates the popularity of the Krishna story with the premier atelier of the Hills. Sansār Chand's love of the Krishna legend is also indicated by Moorcroft's statement that the evenings were devoted to singing in which the performers mostly recited *Braj Bhāsā* songs relating to Krishna. There is no doubt that at all the Hill courts the Krishna legend was passionately loved, and the large number of Pahārī miniatures which deal with the story of Krishna go to prove that it was the favourite subject of Pahārī painters.

Kāngrā Painting after 1825 A.D.

With the death of Sansār Chand in 1823 A.D. the Kāngrā school did not come to an end. Every State had its painters, particularly after the downfall of the paramount Chief in 1805 A.D. These painters and their descendants continued to work at various Hill courts not only during the period 1825-1850 A.D. but even thereafter. A large number of Kāngrā school paintings which are in the hands of various dealers, are all post 1850 A.D. Their colouring tends to be harsh and at times even garish. The sunset of Pahārī art is to be ascribed to the period 1825-1850 A.D. What was produced thereafter was rarely worthy of note. I have seen several large *Bhāgavata*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Rāmāyana* sets which all belong to the period *circa* 1825-1850 A.D. The quality of work is uneven. Some paintings in these sets are quite praiseworthy but the majority are mechanical and indifferent. Almost invariably the subordinate figures in these miniatures are squat with heads too large for their torsos. The female type seen in these later sets generally conforms to that illustrated in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 24, which is from a rather fine *Bhāgavata* set which must have been painted nearer 1825 than 1850 A.D. When Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 24 and 20, are compared, it will be seen that the types which generally prevailed during the period 1825-1850 A.D. have lost the elegance of the earlier types.

A *Durga Patha* set in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, dated 1848 A.D. has already been mentioned. Two miniatures therefrom are reproduced by N. C. Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plates 56 and 57. The former hardly betrays its late date, but the latter has all the demerits of the art of that period. Another dated miniature belonging to the mid-19th century A.D. is *Gaja Lakshmī* (Fig 50). Like the *Durga Patha* miniatures just referred to above it was painted for Babir Sen of Mandī in 1843 A.D. by Fattu, one of Sansār Chand's well-known painters. But it represents the art of Fattu in his decline and old age when he had lost that delicacy of touch and colour which marks his earlier work.

In the collection of Mr. H. A. N. Medd, formerly of New Delhi, there is an *Abhīsārikā* dated 1841 A.D. As is common in this period, the action of the Heroine as she strides forth, is ungainly and stiff, while her figure is squat with the head set low on the neck. The foliage of the forest from which a demon peers out is, however, well-rendered. I have repeatedly noticed, that even in works as late as *circa* 1850 A.D. the treatment of trees and landscape is often surprisingly good, though the figure-drawing usually remains indifferent.

Mistaken Ideas on the Influence of Oudhī Painting on the Kāngrā Kalam

Dr. Goetz in his article, 'The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Punjab Himalayas' published in *India Antiqua*, 1947, sees a very strong influence from Oudh at the court of Sansār Chand. He states that the new court-dresses of Sansār Chand were those of Faizabad and Lucknow under the Nawabs Shuja-ud-Daula and Asaf-ud-Daula, and that the palaces of Tira Sujanpur and Nadaun are purist Lucknow architecture, while the Baradārī at Tira is a smaller imitation of the great Imāmbara of Asaf-ud-Daula, and the garden houses at Nadaun resemble the Bādshah Bāgh. These statements are only half-truths. Since the time of the Emperor Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) the high-waisted, full *jāmā*, reaching down to the ankles, had been adopted at several Hill courts. It was also adopted by the Nawabs of Oudh. Safdar Jung (1739-1754 A.D.), during his semi-independent governorship of Oudh was influenced by the Imperial court in matters of fashion ; and so also the dresses worn by his successor Shuja-ud-Daula and his entourage were copied from the costumes prevalent at the Delhi court during the time of the Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) and of those who succeeded him. A portrait of Ahmad Shah (Kuhnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 1923, Plate 122) shows the Emperor in a *jāmā* and waistband of the pattern which was copied at the Oudh court with variations.

The costume at Sansār Chand's court was the high-waisted *jāmā* coming down to the ground, which fashion had been adopted by all the Hill States from the Moghul court of Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.). The *kamarband* (waist-sash) was however thicker and broader than usually seen at the Moghul court, and this variation appears to have been copied from the Sikhs. The

turban was thick and round, with a long *kula* (conical projection from the centre of the turban). It is seen even in the time of Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.). This type of turban was also in use at Guler during Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790 A.D.). The Katoch clan appears to have adopted it in the second half of the 18th century, but it was certainly not derived from the Oudh court where the turbans worn were quite different in shape.[1]

Even architecture during the reigns of Ghamand Chand and Sansār Chand was of the late Moghul-Rājput style. So also it was late Moghul architecture mixed with an European flavour which influenced the Nawabī architecture of Oudh. It is possible however that some masons who had worked for the Nawabs of Oudh were also employed by Sansār Chand. But the point to note is that the root-source of Kāngrā architecture in the reigns of Ghamand Chand and Sansār Chand was the late Moghul-Rājput style and not the architecture of Oudh. As Mr. J. C. French[2] has rightly remarked, Kāngrā architecture is simpler and more austere than its prototype. The architecture of Oudh on the contrary tends to be florid.

So far as the art of painting is concerned it is not correct to say that the influence of the *Oudhī Kalam* of Shuja-ud-Daula's and Asaf-ud-Daula's times is to be found in Kāngrā painting. The early Oudhī style was in no way different from the Moghul style of the first half of the 18th century because we know that several Moghul artists left Delhi to settle in Oudh. It has already been observed how refugee artists, trained in the Moghul style, also migrated to the Hills from 1739 A.D. onwards, and were influenced by their new environment and patronage to develop the 'pre-Kāngrā' Kalam.

Thus even if some artists from Oudh did migrate to the Hills during the mid-18th century, they did no more than carry the Moghul style with them. There was no distinctive Oudhī style at the time. The *Oudhī Kalam* proper was a later development during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-1775 A.D.) and is sometimes referred to as the school of Meherchand[3] son of Gangarām. Meherchand and his pupils, one of whom was Manedin,[4] were technically well equipped artists who could have put their talents to more worthwhile themes than the love scenes they delighted to paint. Nevertheless this school produced the best work of this period in Oudh. There were also other *Oudhī* painters, less talented than Meherchand, who followed in the footsteps of the Moghul artists of the Shah Alam school at Delhi. Moghul painting in the reign of Shah Alam (1759-1806) shows a marked deterioration from that of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748 A.D.). Many pictures were painted, often with considerable technical skill, but they lacked in aesthetic sensibilities.[5] There were also marked tendencies towards pinkish complexions, undue stippling of the face in an attempt to achieve shading, and stunted figures with heads too large for their torsos.

Some painters of the Shah Alam school do seem to have found their way to the Hills but their influence was not appreciable on Kāngrā painting save that they appear to have been responsible for introducing the undesirable *cliche* of squat retainers and stunted subsidiary figures. This *cliche* has already been observed in the portrait of Ghamand Chand belonging to the Lambagraon Darbār,[6] and thereafter it persisted in certain types of painting at Sansār Chand's court (Fig 77). It seems that these later refugee painters were also responsible for the crowded and confused compositions seen in several of the large procession and court scenes painted during Sansār Chand's reign. But the significant work of the *Kāngrā Kalam* is quite unrelated to the school of Shah Alam, no matter whether these Shah Alam period influences filtered into the Hills from Delhi or Oudh.

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1 Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 88(b), and Fig R-7 herein.
2 *Art and Letters*, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 20.
3 See *Rupam*, No. 17. Also Kuhnel, *Islamische Miniaturmaleri*, Plates 105, 133 and 134.
4 There is a love scene by Manedin in my collection. He appears to have been a skilful pupil.
5 *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Darbār*, 1911, Plate 37(a) is a Shah Alam period painting of Akbar playing Holi. So also is Plate 30(a) described as Amir Timur. See also Clarke, *Indian Drawings*, 1922, Plates 1; 2; 3; 5, Fig 6; etc. in Wantage Bequest. Several miniatures in the Wantage Bequest are Shah Alam period copies wrongly considered to be originals.
6 *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3. 'Sujanpur Tira', Fig 3.

As far as the school of Meherchand is concerned it does not seem to have had any influence on the Kāngrā school. The best examples of Kāngrā painting reveal it to be an art of a high order, full of lyrical beauty, exquisite drawing, and exquisite colouring. It is like a sensitive plant, so delicate and dream-like that you fear to touch it. It breathes the air of the Hills and is wrapt in their fantasy and mystery. It revels in Hill woodlands, Hill streams, and romantic castles which quaintly rise out of towering mountain-sides. It is peopled with women-folk as fresh and lovely and as shy as Himalayan flowers. But the art of the Imperial court of Shah Alam and of the court of the Nawabs of Oudh is either gaudy and ornate, or effete and sensuous, or vulgar and bawdy. Over it lingers an atmosphere of staleness such as envelops the end of an orgy. Its men are lewd and its women are harlots. Even a technically fine Oudhī miniature such as *Love Scene* by Meherchand (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 46) pales into insignificance when compared to a Kāngrā masterpiece. The miniature art of Delhi, Faizabad, and Lucknow, in the later decades of the 18th century is by far and large the dregs of the famous school of Moghul painting, while the art of Kāngrā during that very period produced some of the greatest masterpieces ever created in Hindustan.

That some painters from Oudh may have migrated to Sansār Chand's court is not unlikely. But that is a very different proposition from saying that Kāngrā art was influenced by Oudhī painting. Painters from far and wide must have sought the patronage of the famed Hill Chief, and this fact no doubt accounts for the various styles of work in his atelier, as also for the inequality of the output. While we have no definite proof of any Rājasthānī artists migrating to the court of Sansār Chand it is not unlikely that some competent artists from Rājasthān did take service with him. Normally one would have expected artists from nearby centres, such as Delhi and Lucknow, to seek their fortunes at Sansār Chand's court, but it is well-known that artists often went far afield to courts whose ateliers had achieved great renown. It has been long known that at the Hill town of Arkī, which is just about 20 miles from Simla, artists from Jaipur had been employed to decorate the walls of buildings and palaces with frescoes. This happened in the middle of the 19th century A.D. Mr. N. C. Mehta has recently described the Arkī frescoes in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, page 10. In the 19th century, Jaipur artists had won much renown for their fresco work and it is known that they were invited to the Peshwa court of Poona where they executed many frescoes and also miniatures. Some fragments of these Peshwa period frescoes are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Some Problems of 'Pre-Kāngrā' and Kāngrā Painting Considered

In the case of the family of Pandit Seu we have a genealogy which we can regard as reliable but great care has to be exercised before accepting the genealogies which are given by living Pahārī artists even if contained in genealogical rolls. They are often fantastic, based on confused traditions, and there is no means to check their authenticity. It is indeed a pity that we do not even know the names of the vast majority of the artists who painted the Pahārī miniatures. But the anonymous character of Indian art is proverbial. Even when a name does come to light, more often than not it remains but a name. We are fortunate that we have been able to discover examples of Nainsukh's work and also that of two of his sons namely Gur Sahai and Rām Lāl. There is also reason to think that one example by Mānak exists, but it is tantalizing that no example bearing the name of Sansār Chand's favourite artist, Kaushala (son of Mānak), has yet been discovered.

While dealing with the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase, I gave the genealogy of the family of Pandit Seu at page 118. It is based on the reading of the inscriptions on the portraits D115 to D122 of the Lahore Museum (Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, pages 64 and 65). The genealogy as given by Gupta in the abovementioned catalogue is incorrect in so far as he states that Nainsukh was the second son of Mānak, whereas he is the second son of Pandit Seu and thus the younger brother of Mānak. The portraits of Mānak and Kaushala both bear inscriptions which clearly state that Mānak was the elder (*barā*) son of Pandit Seu, and Nainsukh his younger (*chhotā*) son. Thus the genealogy given by Gupta has to be altered to this extent that Mānak and Nainsukh were brothers.

This revised genealogy does not solve any problems, though it makes certain solutions plausible. The fact that Mānak and Nainsukh were brothers makes it fairly certain that they both painted in the same manner. Now there are marked resemblances between some of the works of Balvant Singh's atelier and some of the miniatures painted for Goverdhan Chand of Guler. Accordingly it is not unreasonable to assume that Mānak was working at the Guler court at about the very time that Nainsukh was in the employ of Balvant Singh of Jammu. Nainsukh was about 25 to 30 years old in *circa* 1750 A.D.[1] and if Mānak was but slightly older he would still have been actively painting at the Guler court during Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790 A.D.). It may thus be that he is the artist of *Blindman's Buff* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21). He and his son Kushan Lāl (Kaushala) may have migrated to the Kāngrā court in *circa* 1790 A.D., when Prakash Chand, due to his spendthrift ways, appears to have been forced to abdicate. Bhoop Singh of Guler (1790-1826 A.D.) was no connoisseur of fine painting, and Sansār Chand's court would naturally attract artists of merit. By this time Mānak would have been an old man, and *Blindman's Buff* may be one of his last great works. Kushan Lāl, who was Sansār Chand's favourite artist, must have naturally become the master-painter at Sansār Chand's court on Mānak's death or retirement. The golden hillside in Mānak's *Blindman's Buff* has a counterpart in one of the miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* series in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, where Nand with his family is leaving Gokul. There also we see a golden hillside. Kushan Lāl, who I believe to be the artist of the *Bhāgavata* series,[2] probably copied the idea of a hillside in gold from his father's masterpiece *Blindman's Buff*. If this theory be correct then the *Bhāgavata* must have been painted after 1790 A.D. It should be remembered that *Blindman's Buff* is in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār, and it was in all probability a gift from Aniruddha,[3] because it certainly does not belong to the Garhwāl school. If this surmise be acceptable then *Blindman's Buff* must originally have been in Sansār Chand's collection — a circumstance which supports the theory that Mānak and his son Kushan Lāl came from Guler and took service with Sansār Chand. The theory would also lend support to the viewpoint that the *Bhāgavata* style was developed in Guler and later taken to Kāngrā, probably by Mānak and his son, when Prakash Chand of Guler abdicated in *circa* 1790 A.D. The scene from the *Rāmāyana*, in the *Bhāgavata* style (Plate Q herein and Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, Plate 3), may be regarded as evidence of the existence of this style in Guler before its adoption in Kāngrā, as it appears to be earlier than the *Bhāgavata* series. The truth may be that Mānak and his son Kushan Lāl both worked at the Guler court either till Prakash Chand abdicated in 1790 A.D., or till shortly before his abdication. The second alternative has to be considered because these artists may have left Guler when Prakash Chand's financial predicament and irregular payment made it apparent that a crisis was in the offing. If they left Guler about 1785 A.D., then that approximately may be the date of Mānak's *Blindman's Buff*. The period 1785-1790 A.D. may also be the date of the *Gīta Govinda* series (Plate E). It is almost certainly earlier than the *Bhāgavata* series, and exhibits one pronounced Guler tendency namely the occasional presence of elongated female figures (Plate E). After the migration of father and son to Sansār Chand's court, Mānak may have painted the *Gīta Govinda* set, and a little later on, say *circa* 1790 A.D., Kushan Lāl may have commenced the *Bhāgavata* set. They appear to be by two different masters, though basically following the same style. The colouring of the *Gīta Govinda* is richer than that of the *Bhāgavata*. It usually employs a denser green (Plate E) for the foliage of trees than is seen in the *Bhāgavata* set (Plate VII). But some of the *Gīta Govinda* miniatures do approximate to the colouring of the *Bhāgavata*. Perhaps they are by the hand of Kushan Lāl who may have helped Mānak with the *Gīta Govinda* and favoured that clarity of tone seen in the *Bhāgavata*. Both sets are extensive and are unlikely to be the work of a single artist.

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[1] *Supra*, page 118.

[2] Archer thinks that the artist Purkhu (Baden Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 355) may be the painter of the *Bhāgavata* series because he is supposed to have possessed remarkable clearness of tone, which Archer feels is a striking feature of the *Bhāgavata* set. But Purkhu was not a great colourist, whereas the colouring of the *Bhāgavata* is very fine indeed. It is possible however that he painted some of the miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* wherein the colouring is not of the highest quality.

[3] *Supra*, p. 151. Aniruddha after fleeing from Kāngrā is said to have lived for several years in Garhwāl prior to his death.

Gifted pupils no doubt aided the masters, and even so each set must have taken several years to complete. Differences in quality are always noticeable between the miniatures of one and the same series.

That some members of Pandit Seu's family did migrate to the Guler court is evident from the fact that the artist Nikka is referred to by his living descendants as "Nikka of Guler'. Now Nikka was the third son of Nainsukh, and though his father went to Jammu at the court of Balvant Singh, he apparently went to Guler to join some elder members of the family working at that court. Such elder members were in all probability his uncle Mānak and his cousin Kaushala (Kushan Lāl). Nikka must have worked for Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.) and it may be that the excellent portrait of this Rājā with the Brahman Avatara (Fig 85) is by Nikka.

But we must never elude the truth that the data at our disposal does not enable us to say with certainty where a particular style originated nor how it came to be adopted in other States. None of the many theories put forward in the present volume are regarded by the author as irrefutable. They are meant to be no more than tentative deductions from evidence available. Ofttimes they are only suggestions. I apprehend it is our misfortune that quite a number of Pahārī paintings which might have afforded guidance no longer exist or cannot be traced. It may be queried whether it would serve any useful purpose to gain further knowledge about the origins of the various *Kalams*. Apart from the fact that knowledge is always an end in itself, adequate information of the kind contemplated would enable us to throw more positive light on the development of a remarkable renaissance in painting which flourished, strange to say, in the isolation of Hill-girt States on the far-away Himalayan frontier of this great sub-continent.

Another matter which requires reconsideration is the period to be assigned to the rule of Goverdhan Chand of Guler. The dates hitherto accepted by historians were *circa* 1730–1773 or 1730–1760 A.D. But recently the present Chief of Guler informed Mr. W. Archer that according to the *vansavalī* (genealogical table) of Guler the date should be 1744-1773 A.D. Whether the Chief's reading of the *vansavalī* is correct or not, may have to be verified. I assume that Hutchinson, Lepel Griffin, Massey and others, who have written about the Punjab Chiefs had recourse to this *vansavalī*. However, if the date 1744-1773 is correct, it solves the difficulty[1] which I felt in attributing Fig 72 to the reign of Dalip Singh himself. Dalip Singh's reign has been given by historians as 1695–1730 A.D. As Dalip Singh was aged seven when he came to the throne the new date would make him fifty-one at the time of his death. In Fig 72, which shows Dalip Singh playing polo, the Rājā looks nearer fifty than forty, and accordingly Fig 72 may be dated 1740-1744 A.D. On this assumption it can be said that the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler commenced in the last years reign of Dalip Singh's reign though its fullest development took place during the rule of Goverdhan Chand from 1744 onwards.

It will be remembered that at page 122 I discussed the well-known study of Goverdhan Chand listening to musicians[2], and stated that it was the earliest dated 'pre-Kāngrā' miniature known to us. It was J. C. French who first described this study in his *Himalayan Art* as bearing the date 1743 A.D. All subsequent writers accepted this statement. But it now transpires that the miniature is not dated. There is a date on the fly-leaf, namely 1743, altered to 1744 A.D. But this date 1743 on the fly-leaf was written by the present Chief of Guler himself who subsequently amended it to 1744. The Chief informed W. G. Archer of this fact during Archer's recent visit to Guler. The Chief in writing the dates on the fly-leaf only desired to record the date of the accession of Goverdhan Chand. These dates were not written on the fly-leaf when French visited Guler. What appears to have happened is that French understood the Chief to say that the miniature was dated 1743 A.D. though the Chief merely intended to convey that 1743 A.D.

[1] *Supra*, page 123.
[2] French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9.
Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 10. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 'Guler the birthplace of Kāngrā Art', Fig 5.

was the accession date of Goverdhan Chand. The Chief now states that even 1743 is incorrect and the date should be 1744. I examined the painting myself in the company of Dr. Motichandra and found an inscription on the reverse which Dr. Motichandra has translated.

It is written by a later ruler, Raghunath Singh of Guler (1884-1920 A.D.), who states that the miniature is a portrait of his great-great-grandfather, who was none other than Goverdhan Chand. The name 'Goverdhan Chand' in fact appears separately on the reverse of the miniature, though not as part of the inscription written by Raghunath Singh. The dates written by the present Chief are also to be seen on the fly-leaf, but there is no date on the miniature itself.

Thus we have to reconsider the date of this important painting. Fortunately we have sufficient material to conclude that the date must be approximately 1744 A.D., and hence the unintentional error committed by French, in stating that it is dated 1743, proves to be of little consequence. The matter is dealt with in detail later on under the heading 'The Dates of Goverdhan Chand and Prakash Chand'.

The Collection of the Lambagraon Darbār

I have already stated that the Chief of Lambagraon possesses a part of Sansār Chand's famous collection. Both the *Bhāgavata* type as well as the *Standard* type are to be found in these miniatures. Moreover, work of the highest quality is seen alongside the efforts of mediocre artists, and this circumstance is further proof of the unequal output and heterogenous character of Sansār Chand's atelier.

One of the most important items in the collection is a *Bāramāsa* (seasons) series. It is clearly related[1] in style to the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56) of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār, as well as to the *Rāgamālā* of the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, and thus affords considerable support to the theory[2] that the *Gīta Govinda* (Plate E) and the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56) were both products of Sansār Chand's atelier and formed part of the dowry given to the Garhwāl court by Aniruddha, son of Sansār Chand. The faces of the females in the *Bāramāsa* series are in the typical *Bhāgavata* style. Similar faces are seen in the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56) and the *Rāgamālā* (Figs 78 and 79). Moreover, the existence of the *Bāramāsa* set in the Lambagraon collection tends to confirm the viewpoint[3] that the *Bhāgavata* (Plates VII, X and J, and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13); the *Gīta Govinda* (Plate E); the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56); and the *Rāgamālā* (Figs 78 and 79), were all products of Sansār Chand's atelier. On the fly-leaf of each of the *Bāramāsa* miniatures are lines from Kesava Dās, neatly inscribed in gold. It is obvious the series was prepared for the royal patron Sansār Chand himself.

Amongst the miniatures of the *Standard* type in this collection are several of high quality and some of them reveal Sansār Chand's fondness for dramatic effects such as a flight of cranes against dark rolling clouds, lit by flashes of curled lightning. So also several of these paintings go to indicate Sansār Chand's partiality for woodland scenes where the lush, luxuriant vegetation is entwined with floral creepers. Several variations of the *Standard* type are seen in this collection. It was but natural that in a large atelier such variations should exist.

Living Painters

To this day some of the descendants of the painter-families are still to be found in the Hills. But few of them indeed practice the art of their ancestors. There is no patronage and the stream of inspiration is dried up. The quality of the work of these living artists may to some extent be gathered from the reproductions which accompany an article by Villiers Stuart in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 48, January 1926, on Huzurī who lived at the village of Oster in Kāngrā. J. C. French also refers to this artist in *Himalayan Art*, page 20. In common with

[1] Even the corner-spandrels in blue and gold are similar to those of the *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56). They appear to be companion sets.

[2] *Supra*, page 151.

[3] *Supra*, pages 150-152.

several Pahārī artists, Huzurī kept up the practice of painting occasional studies of the Moghul Emperors. Such portraits were often most inaccurate. Villiers Stuart has also reproduced a painting by a living village artist of a Gaddi family on the trek. I have seen several paintings of this class, and probably such village painters are the descendants of the folk-style artists of the early 19th century to whom *Venugopāla* (Fig 35) and similar pictures can be attributed.

IDIOMS OF THE KĀNGRĀ KALAM

I have already indicated that the term *Kāngrā Kalam* is generic and is applicable to all miniature painting of the Hill States in the *Bhāgavata* and *Standard* styles from about 1765 A.D., onwards. That many of these miniatures were painted in States, other than Kāngrā itself, has also been noted. Accordingly it is necessary to ascertain if the provenance of any of the *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings known to us can be located. It is undoubtedly possible to ascribe certain miniatures to Guler, Garhwāl, Chambā, and Mandī, on the basis of internal evidence or authentic information. It is also possible to suggest the provenance in some cases by effecting comparisons with miniatures of the class mentioned above. But this latter method is not entirely reliable because of the fact that work with stylistic similarities appears to have been done in several States. Moreover, it is essential to remember that even when we have succeeded in locating the provenance of a particular *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature, it does not follow that the style of that miniature was the only style of painting practised in the State where it was painted. Several styles of work seem to have flourished contemporaneously in one and the same State. This circumstance was very noticeable when we were considering the work done in Sansār Chand's atelier. Bearing in mind all the above observations we will proceed to consider such of the known miniatures in the *Kāngrā Kalam* as can reasonably be ascribed to the States of Guler, Garhwāl, Chambā, and Mandī. I have limited this task, in the main, to these four States, apart from Kāngrā itself, as the available data does not permit conclusions on the work in the Kāngrā style in most other States.

The Guler Idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam

We have seen that Guler was one of the most important centres of 'pre-Kāngrā' painting during the reign of Goverdhan Chand (1730-1773 A.D.).[1] He was succeeded by Prakash Chand, who inherited his father's interest in art, and much work of fine quality was produced in his reign. This is not surprising. There were skilled artists working in Goverdhan Chand's atelier, and there would be no reason for them to seek employment elsewhere being assured of the continuance of royal patronage when Prakash Chand came to the throne.

Our knowledge of painting in the reign of Prakash Chand is dependent on two sources namely (a) the available portraits of this Rājā and (b) tradition at the Guler court which ascribes certain miniatures in the royal collection to the reign of Prakash Chand.

Portraits of Prakash Chand—Fig 68 and Fig 85

We will first consider the portraits. *Prakash Chand listening to Music* (Fig 68) shows the Rājā as a young man of twenty-five years or so. He was born round about 1745 A.D., as we shall see hereafter, and therefore must have just ascended the throne when Fig 68 was painted. This miniature may accordingly be regarded as one of the earliest examples of painting in his reign. The study of Prakash Chand as a boy[2], really belongs to the reign of Goverdhan Chand. The great importance of Fig 68 lies in the fact that the faces of the women-folk are of the *Standard* type of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and accordingly it can be inferred that this type had come to be adopted in Guler from *circa* 1773. The *Standard* type is never seen in the work of Goverdhan Chand's reign, and its sudden appearance at Guler in *circa* 1773 goes to suggest that it was an outside influence. I have already pointed out earlier that this influence may have come from the State of Kāngrā itself. Hereafter the *Standard* type became increasingly popular at Guler

[1] According to present Chief of Guler the date should be 1744-1773 A.D.
[2] *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 6, 'Guler the birthplace of Kāngrā Art' by M. S. Randhawa.

and is repeatedly seen in works of Prakash Chand's time. Fig 68 has a yellow background, no doubt a legacy of the period when the Basohlī idiom was popular in Guler.

A second portrait of Prakash Chand, in the Lahore Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 23), is an excellent characterization, and indicates that highly skilled artists were still working at his court after his father's death. It shows him to be slightly older than in Fig 68. It should be noted that Prakash Chand always wore the thick round turban with high *kula* (conical projection from the centre) which was also worn by the Katoch Rājās of Kāngrā at this period.

A third portrait, also in the Lahore Museum (*Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 12; and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 24), shows him smoking a hukkah on a terrace. In the background his horses are seen being exercised, while his retainers are performing their various daily duties. Here we have an interesting study of the daily life in a palace courtyard. The Rājā is 35 years old or more in this miniature and consequently its date would be *circa* 1780. Archer appears to be mistaken in ascribing this miniature to *circa* 1760 at which date Prakash was but a lad of about fifteen. Behind the Rājā stands a retainer, partly cut by the arch over the terrace. This method of composition, showing only a part of the retainer's figure, was popular during the second half of the 18th century and was often employed by the 'pre-Kāngrā' period painters (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Figs 35 and 39). Several of the servants in the courtyard are seen to have short, stunted figures, a device supposed to aid perspective and which no doubt was introduced into Hill painting by some Moghul artists of the Shah Alam period (1759-1806 A.D.) who came to the Pahārī courts. Prakash Chand wears a thick, broad *kamarband* (waist-sash). This type of *kamarband* is not seen in Goverdhan Chand's reign (1730-1773 A.D.) and appears to have been adopted by Prakash Chand, and also at the Kāngrā court, in imitation of the *kamarband* worn by the Sikhs. It is also seen in Chambā paintings of the late 18th century.

A fourth portrait is in the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 123, Fig DCI). Here the Rājā appears to be at least forty and its date must be *circa* 1785 A.D. Prakash Chand is wearing his characteristic turban and thick *kamarband* (waist-sash).

A fifth portrait, and incidentally one of the finest portrait studies in the whole range of Pahārī painting, shows the Rājā in his old age sitting with his moneylender Brahman Avatara (Fig 85).[1] Prakash Chand was a spendthrift and squandered money on artists, musicians and shikaris. Accordingly like many other Hill Rājās he resorted to moneylenders when funds in the royal treasury ran short.

It is well known that Sansār Chand also used to borrow money from Brahman moneylenders. One of them laid a curse on the Rājā's head and then committed suicide when he could not recover his dues.

Prakash Chand is the white bearded figure smoking a hukkah. He appears to have been on excellent terms with his creditor, so much so that he decided to have this study commissioned. Prakash Chand, like Balvant Singh of Jammu, was very fond of having his portrait painted. Probably the Brahman Avatara, who appears to be a very dignified person, was a local banker and a personal friend of the Rājā. In the foreground, to the left, is the Brahman's son offering sweetmeats to the young Shamsher Singh, grandson of Prakash Chand, seated on the lap of an attendant. The identification of all the personages in the miniature is based on the information given to Mr. Randhawa by the Rājā of Guler who is fully conversant with the pictures in his collection and the personages therein. Prakash Chand is about seventy years old in Fig 85. Certainly not less than sixty-five. Accordingly the date of the painting is *circa* 1810-1815 A.D. Prakash ruled from 1773 to 1790 A.D. It seems he abdicated thereafter because Bhoop Singh,

[1] *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 8, 'Guler the birthplace of Kāngrā Art' by M. S. Randhawa.

his son, ruled from 1790 to 1826. Possibly his abdication was brought about by his extravagant expenditure. Fig 85 was painted when he was no longer the ruler of Guler. But he still had some skilled artists in his employ as is apparent from the excellence of the portrait in question. It is indeed rare to find work of this high quality as late as 1810-1815. This study, however, illustrates that it is dangerous to be too precise about the dates of Pahārī miniatures. It will be noted that even the Brahman's son in Fig 85 is wearing the thick broad *kamarband* (waist-sash) which became fashionable at Guler during Prakash Chand's reign.

Other miniatures of Prakash Chand's time—Figs 80, 82 and 83.

We also have a study of Prakash Chand's queen, Anant Devī, who was a princess from Chambā (Fig 83).[1] But it is obvious that this is not an authentic portrait. The queen, and most of her hand-maidens, conform to the *Standard* type seen in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16. The Rānī is playing with her son, Bhoop Singh, who is aged about ten. Bhoop Singh, as we shall see, was born in *circa* 1765 and accordingly the date of Fig 83 would be *circa* 1775 A.D. It is a charming study and affords further proof of the fact that the *Standard* type female face of the *Kāngrā Kalam* had come into vogue in Guler early in Prakash Chand's reign. The queen is seated in a raised garden-pavilion. Her musicians and attendants are all around. A note of humour is introduced by the antics of a monkey drinking water from the fountain in the foreground. To the left an attendant is feeding a parrot in its cage. A peacock struts on the roof. Birds and animals were often kept in the zenana to afford amusement and relieve the tedium of endless leisure.

Bhoop Singh on tour accompanied by Wazir Dhian Chand (Fig 80) is another fine example of the work done in Prakash Chand's reign. As Bhoop Singh is aged about ten, the date of the painting must be *circa* 1775 A.D. The landscape background is realistically rendered and a small, dark, leaf-denuded tree, of a type that later became very common in the Garhwāl school, can be seen against the horizon. The thick broad *kamarband* (waist-sash) is much in evidence. Wazir Dhian Singh is the bearded personage riding a white horse immediately behind the young prince. Here we have a most instructive study of how the cavalcade of a Hill chief traversed the countryside. Fig 80 should be compared to another miniature of Bhoop Singh out shooting (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 10 on page 38) which must have been painted in *circa* 1785 as the prince is about twenty years of age. It is not as fine as the earlier example but is full of movement and action. A boar hunt is in progress and a leopard breaks cover and mauls one of the retainers. There is no doubt that an artist had accompanied Bhoop Singh and witnessed the incident. One or more artists generally accompanied a royal patron on all his expeditions and campaigns. This practice existed at the Moghul court from the 16th century.

Another study of Prakash Chand's time is *Toilet* from the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 38 in colour; and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 32). The large expanse of red cloth-background and an equal expanse of the green foreground is a colour combination which induces me to accept this miniature as the work of the Guler school. I have seen this rather unusual combination in a painting which came from Guler and which was referred to by the living Guler artists[2] of the early 20th century as a work of the *Guler Kalam*. They stressed the predominance of 'stone' red (as they called it) and green in large expanses of the picture space. But for this feature the miniature is not distinguishable from any other *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings. The female faces are of the usual *Standard* type seen in Plate II, while the cypress and the plantain trees are common features to many idioms of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Even the pattern on the cloth background, though often seen in Guler paintings, is also repeated in works from Mandī, Garhwāl and elsewhere.[3] The rather stiff and somewhat stunted figure of the nearmost attendant suggests that it belongs to the end of Prakash Chand's reign. Archer's date of 1770 appears to be much too early.

[1] *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 7 on p. 36.
[2] This information was given to me by Rādhākrishna Dharāny, the Amritsar dealer.
[3] It is a common pattern in white against a red ground, and no conclusion as to provenance should be drawn from its presence.

Lady with the Messenger (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Panjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 20) may again be from Guler, but the date ascribed to it, namely 1765, is doubtful. The seated girl with the flattened face corresponds to Enlarged Face Detail, No. 23, and a date prior to 1785 does not seem feasible.

Mr. J.C. French has reproduced two painted *papier mache* book-covers of Garuda in flight, and Shiva-Pārvatī, in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Plates 2 and 3, for his article on Guler art. They are from the collection of the Guler Darbār. But for the fact that it is known they were painted in Guler, it would not be easy to differentiate them from the work done in other States. They belong to the late 18th century and were probably painted towards the end of Prakash Chand's reign. The female faces are of the *Standard* type seen in Fig 83.

Again in *Girl with a Musical Instrument* (Fig 82) we have an example of the Guler idiom probably painted in Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790). The face is of the *Standard* type and the lady wears the Katoch-type turban. Most of the background is an expanse of chocolate-brown colour, much favoured by Guler artists. On either side are the delicate flowering-shrubs, also popular in Guler art. This type of delicate flowering-shrub is also seen in Prakash Chand's portrait (Fig 68) and in several other works from Guler. Ofcourse it is not peculiar to Guler, but is a feature to be taken into account along with other characteristics if they are present. The find spot of Fig 82 was Guler, and it was regarded by the local artists there as being of the *Guler Kalam*.

The Lady with the Hawk (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, frontispiece in colour) is yet another study from Guler of the Prakash Chand period (1773-1790). Its most likely date is *circa* 1785 A.D. The main indication of its Guler origin lies in its expanse of red background and the unusual female facial type which, when carefully analysed, is a refined variation of Enlarged Face Detail, No. 4. It is indeed a most pleasing study and possibly an authentic portrait in the sense that the type has been taken from life. Later on this type may have become standardized and been utilized in other miniatures. Ofcourse the type may have been borrowed from a provincial Moghul school (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 82).

Another example from Guler of an *Utkā Nāyikā*[1] is reproduced in colour in *The Nehru Birthday Volume, 1950*, Plate 26. It is now in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. The face is not the *Standard* type, nor is it the characteristic *Bhāgavata* type. It was originally in the collection of the Guler Darbār and is known to be the work of a Guler artist. Save for the figure, the miniature resembles some of the paintings of the *Gīta Govinda* series (Fig E) which later found its way into the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. The fact that it comes from Guler indicates that work somewhat similar to the *Bhāgavata* style of Sansār Chand's atelier was also being produced at the Guler court of Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.). This is not surprising because both the Guler court and the Kāngrā court employed artists of high merit, and accordingly painters from the same family or guild may have been in the employ of these courts. I have already pointed out that *Festival of Spring* and *Bending the Bow* both from the Manuk collection (Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, 1953, Plates 1 and 3) are more likely to be from Guler than from Kāngrā. If I am right in my conjecture then it is clear that the *Bhāgavata* style was in vogue not only at Sansār Chand's court (1775-1823) but also at the Guler court during Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790). It may have travelled from Guler to Kāngrā.

Vipralabdhā (*B.C. Law Memorial Volume*, 1945, Part V, Opp. page 643) is also from Guler and is a companion picture to the *Utkā Nāyikā* discussed above. The compositional device of a flowering-shrub on either side of the *Nāyikā*, is present. It was a common feature in Guler painting (Fig 82).

[1] It is also reproduced in the *B.C. Law Memorial Volume*, 1945, Plate 1, opp. page 142 to illustrate an article on 'Guleria Painting' by Hirananda Shastri.

The Elopement of the Princess and Drummer (French, *Himalayan Painting*, 1931, Plates 6 and 7) is also from Guler, and belongs to the collection of the Guler Darbār. The female faces more or less conform to the *Standard* type. It appears to be a work of Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790 A.D.).

Other miniatures which are probably of the Guler school of the Prakash Chand period have already been referred to while discussing various examples of the *Standard* style.

We may note in particular *Yasoda and Krishna* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, Plate 36) where the face of the female attendant with the *chaurī* is of the type seen in Fig 68. Again, the flowering-shrub, as a compositional device, against a delicate sky, is a favourite Guler convention, while the subdued but rich tonality of the colour scheme is seen oftener in Guler than elsewhere.

Krishna consoling Subhadra (*Art of India and Pakistan*, Plate 112, Fig 560) is an experiment in perspective with the use of architectural forms. It is mostly at Guler in the late 18th century A.D. that we find the artists preoccupied with this technical aspect in their treatment of buildings, pavilions, corridors, and pillars. The elongated female types also indicate the provenance to be Guler.

The characteristics of *Krishna and Rādhā* (*Art of India and Pakistan*, Plate 108, Fig 362) have been sufficiently indicated at page 171, while the *Lady with the Red Shawl* (Stchoukine *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 95, Fig a) is attributed to Guler because of the red colour of the shawl which is utilized more as a background than as a garment, the presence of formal flowerbeds in the foreground, and the use of the flowering-shrub as a compositional device against a delicate sky. The facial type which resembles Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16, was also popular at Guler in Prakash Chand's reign.

Noon-Tide (*Rupam*, No. 22 and 23, opp. p. 68) can be attributed to Guler because of the female facial types, the elongated figure of Krishna, and the subdued but rich colouring.

In the *Toilet of Rādhā* (*Rupam*, No. 29, opp. p. 16) the female types correspond to those seen in Fig 68, while the flowering-shrubs as a compositional device are present. A further Guler characteristic is the subtle use of gold in the middle-sky. I have noticed this treatment of the sky with gold, in miniatures belonging to the Guler Darbār painted by the court artists of Prakash Chand.

Even Plate II of the present volume may well be from Guler. The facial types, the shades of rust-brown, the rich contrast of midnight-blue and orange-yellow, the delicate green of the middle-sky, and the wide expanse of white terrace, all combine to yield a colour tonality which can be likened to that of certain miniatures of the Guler school.

So also Plate V, though ascribed to Mandī, could equally well be assigned to Guler. Roerich acquired a painting similar to Plate 5 from Mandī, and it was stated to be the work of a Mandī artist. Hence the Mandī attribution. But in this connection the migration of artists from one State to another must always be borne in mind.

Fig 10 and Fig 38

The Guler school, in common with other Hill ateliers, seems to have developed more than one style of painting. There is reason to think that *Laksmana Removing a Thorn from Rāma's Foot* (Fig 10) and *Krishna playing at Holī* (Fig 38) both represent a Guler idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. The find-spot of both these miniatures was Guler, and the Amritsar dealer, the late Rādhākrishna Bharāny, found a number of paintings with similar characteristics in Guler where they were attributed to the *Guler Kalam* by artists who were still working in Guler at the beginning of the present century.[1] In both these miniatures the nose is somewhat sharp and pro-

[1] These 20th century artists of various Hill States were descendants of painter-families. But they are to be regarded more as craftsmen, who prepared miscellaneous designs for goldsmiths, wood-carvers, etc, than as painters of real merit.

jecting (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 4), while a rather slovenly method of outlining the breasts is employed. A circle is drawn which partly covers the *cholī* (bodice), and is partly below it. Fig 10 is a more refined work than the large painting Fig 38 which was probably intended to be a design for a fresco. The theme of Fig 10 was very popular with Pahārī artists.

The artists who painted Fig 10 and Fig 38 were not great painters, nor was their technique of a high order, nevertheless they were able to endow their work with much sincerity. The devotion of both Laksmana and Sitā for Rāma, and their concern for him even when the cause of his distress was trivial, is admirably portrayed in Fig 10.

The large Holī scene (Fig 38) is more in the fresco tradition than in that of miniature painting. Compositionally it is brilliant with two streams of *gopīs* converging towards Krishna, and cleverly arrested, every now and then, by groups of girls engaged in some frolic of their own. Krishna's youthful figure is inadequate and disappointing, but one almost forgets this shortcoming in one's admiration for the manner in which the artist has handled well nigh a hundred *gopīs*. While maintaining the effect of a mass of figures surging towards Krishna, the artist has introduced many separate interludes which merit individual attention. Fig 38 is to my mind a lesson to those who glibly speak of all Rājasthānī and Pahārī miniatures as being frescoes on a small scale. They are nothing of the kind, and when one examines Fig 38 carefully and compares it to the many miniatures reproduced in this volume, it becomes abundantly clear, how widely different is the approach of the genuine fresco-artist from that of the genuine miniaturist. Fig 38 is completely unsatisfactory as a miniature, but highly successful as a fresco design. The careless workmanship of Fig 38 may be attributed to the fact that it was never intended to be anything more than a guide to the painter who was to transfer it in an enlarged form to decorate a wall. Both Figs 10 and 38 probably belong to the end of Prakash Chand's reign.

In Fig 10 we can observe certain not uncommon Guler characteristics such as the use of a chocolate shade for the large expanse of the hillock, and the manner in which the ridge of the hillock is drawn with repeated dents. In Fig 38 the *gopī* who has spread out her red shawl like a background against her body, is reminiscent of the lady in a similar attitude in Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 95(a).

In *L'Offrande de Krishna* (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 92) the female types with sharp noses have a family likeness to those seen in Fig 38. But they are more graceful. The miniature appears to be from Guler and contemporary with Figs 10 and 38.

The Dates of Goverdhan Chand and Prakash Chand

In my editorial note to Mr. Randhawa's article on the Guler school in *Marg* Vol. 6, No. 4, I had discussed the dates of Goverdhan Chand and Prakash Chand. This note now requires to be amended in view of the circumstance that the study of Goverdhan Chand listening to musicians[1], which according to French bore the date 1743, in fact bears no date.[2] The line of reasoning now adopted differs from that in *Marg* to some extent, but the result remains substantially the same.

The latest revised edition (1940) of Lepel Griffin and Massy's *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, gives us the following dates:

Goverdhan Chand	1730 — 1773.
Prakash Chand	1773 — 1790 (died 1820)
Bhoop Singh	1790 — 1826.

[1] French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9.
Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 16.
Marg, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 5.

[2] *Supra*, page 187.

In Hutchinson and Vogel's *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, the dates given are:

Goverdhan Chand	..	..	..	1730 — 1760.
Prakash Chand	..	..	..	1760 — 1790.
Bhoop Singh	..	..	..	1790 — 1820.

The former set of dates appears to be more correct, though according to the present Chief of Guler the dates of Goverdhan Chand are 1744-1775 A.D.

In *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 10, Bhoop Singh, the son of Prakash Chand, is out hunting with Vazir Dhian Singh. The prince is depicted as a young man of about twenty years of age. The miniature cannot be later than 1785 A.D. because we know that Dhian Singh left the service of the Guler State in that year and set himself up independently in the *ilaqua* of Kotla. Thus taking the date of Fig 10 as 1785, at the latest, it will follow that Bhoop Singh could not have been born later than 1765 A.D. Now assuming that Bhoop Singh was born when his father Prakash Chand was twenty, it would follow that Prakash Chand was born in *circa* 1745 A.D. When we turn to Fig 85 of the present volume we see Prakash Chand (with the white beard) as an old man of at least sixty-five, but more likely seventy. As Prakash Chand died in 1820, he could not in any event have been born later than *circa* 1750 A.D., even if Fig 85 was painted in the year of his demise. We will now proceed to consider if it is at all likely that Prakash Chand was born much earlier than 1745 A.D. We know that Prakash Chand's grandfather, Dalip Singh, was born in 1688 A.D.[1] and assuming that Dalip Singh was between twenty and twenty-five when his son Goverdhan Chand was born to him, one arrives at the date of Goverdhan Chand's birth as *circa* 1708-1712 A.D. Now in Fig 74 of the present volume we see Goverdhan Chand as a man of between forty and forty-five, while his son Prakash Chand, who is seated in front of him, is a boy of about ten. Thus the date of Fig 74 can approximately be calculated as *circa* 1750-1755 A.D. As Prakash Chand is only about ten years of age in Fig 74, he could not in any event have been born before *circa* 1740 A.D. Thus we are safe in concluding that Prakash Chand was born between 1740 and 1750 A.D. Having regard to the fact that Bhoop Singh was born to Prakash Chand not later than 1765 A.D. it would be appropriate to curtail the likely dates of Prakash Chand's birth to 1740-1745 A.D. Now if *circa* 1745 A.D. is accepted as a working hypothesis for Prakash Chand's birth-date, we find that Fig 74, where Prakash Chand is a boy of ten, should be dated *circa* 1755 A.D. Moreover, as Goverdhan Chand is between 40 and 45 in Fig 74, his birth-date may be taken as *circa* 1713-1714 A.D. On this basis the date of the famous study where Goverdhan Chand is listening to music[2] would be *circa* 1743-1744, as Goverdhan Chand is about thirty years of age therein. Thus, even though it transpires that Mr. French was mistaken in thinking that this miniature was dated 1743, still its date cannot be far removed from 1743-1744 A.D. According to the present Chief of Guler, the accession date of Goverdhan Chand is 1744 A.D., and it may well be that this study was painted in his first regnal year.

Adopting the same basis, viz. that Prakash Chand was born in *circa* 1745, the date of Fig 85, where the abdicated Rājā is seen with his moneylender, would be 1815 A.D. or thereabouts. This accords well with the dates given in the revised edition of Lepel Griffin and Massy, where it is stated that Prakash Chand died in 1820, though he ceased to reign in 1790 A.D. In the foreground of Fig 85 we see Shamsher Singh, the young son of Bhoop Singh, sitting on the lap of an attendant. He is aged about five in *circa* 1815 A.D.

No historian of the Hill kingdoms states that Prakash Chand was a boy-king, which would be the case if he came to the throne in 1760, as stated by Hutchinson, and not in 1773. Even the present Chief of Guler on his reading of the *vansavalī* regards Prakash Chand's accession date to be 1773 A.D. and this date may now be accepted as more or less correct.

[1] Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 1933, Vol. 1, p. 205.
[2] French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9.
Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 16.

Miniatures of Bhoop Singh's time—1790-1826 A.D.

Two studies of Bhoop Singh after he ascended the throne are reproduced in *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Figs 11 and 12 on page 39. The former can be dated *circa* 1800, and the latter *circa* 1815 as Bhoop Singh has grown portly and appears to be aged about forty-five to fifty. He has his son Shamsher Singh on his lap and his queen is by his side. The finest artists in the State were still probably in the employ of the aged Prakash Chand who appears to have given up the *gādī* (throne) in 1790. These portraits of Bhoop Singh, though interesting, are not comparable with the fine studies of Prakash Chand. It should be noted that Bhoop Singh, in both these portraits, has given up wearing the typical Katoch turban affected by his father. It is replaced by a smaller and more compact one. In the second portrait study, where the young Shamsher Singh is sitting on his father's lap, the queen's face, as well as the faces of her attendants, all conform to the *Standard* type seen in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 24. Moreover the attendants are somewhat stunted, and stiff in their attitudes. It is obvious that though the artists in Bhoop Singh's employ were reasonably competent at portraiture, they were on the whole, men of mediocre ability.

The Yagna of the Court Tailor (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 14 on page 40) even if painted in the reign of Bhoop Singh round about 1820, is doubtless the work of one of Prakash Chand's fine artists. It has many of the excellent qualities of Figs 80 and 85 of the present volume. For the identification of the subject matter we have to rely on the information given by the present Chief of Guler to M. S. Randhawa. According to the Chief, the boy-prince seated with his mother watching the ceremony, is Jai Singh, brother of Shamsher Singh and son of Bhoop Singh. Shamsher Singh is seen as a child of five in Fig 85 datable *circa* 1815 A.D. and assuming that Jai Singh was only a year or so younger than his brother, the miniature of the Yagna, where Jai Singh is aged about ten, would have to be dated *circa* 1820-1822 A.D. I have proceeded on the assumption that the boy-prince is Jai Singh, otherwise I would have ascribed the painting to the last years of Prakash Chand's reign.

In Archer's *Indian Painting in Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 33, we see a Rājā lying on a couch with his queen. Archer has suggested that it is a portrait of Goverdhan Chand and has dated it *circa* 1770. The painting does appear to be of the Guler school, but the Rājā surely resembles Bhoop Singh at the age of twenty or twenty-five, and not Goverdhan Chand. Therefore the date of the miniature would be 1785-1790 and not 1770 A.D.

The Lady and the Plantain Tree (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 21) may not be from Guler at all as already stated while dealing with the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Guler. Archer has ascribed it to 1765, but it is not likely to be earlier than *circa* 1800 and probably later, whatever be its provenance. The crude drawing of the arm round the tree, the thick legs, the stiff body, and the hard treatment of the architectural background, all betoken a date later than 1800, even if it is from Guler. *Circa* 1810-1820 would be appropriate. It may be compared to *Girl at her Toilet* (Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, 1950, Plate 12).

The decline of the Guler school is first seen in Bhoop Singh's reign and thereafter appears to have been rapid. Stiffness and artificiality are quite obvious in studies such as *Shamsher Singh playing with his Uncle* (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig 13 on page 39) which can be ascribed to *circa* 1820 A.D. In the reigns of Jai Singh (1878-1890 A.D.) and Raghunath Singh (1890-1920 A.D.) there is a marked influence of the Sikh school, and all life and vitality has departed from the art of Guler (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Figs 15, 16, and 17 on pages 40 and 41).

It is not easy to formulate the characteristics of the Guler idioms of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, as these idioms have differing stylistic features. The following points may however be noted, bearing in mind that they are not necessarily peculiar to Guler. A combination of these however

may help us frequently to arrive at a reasonably safe conclusion.

(1) Large expanse of chocolate-brown (*Rupam* No. 40, opp. page 132) or red in the background (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, frontispiece in colour).

(2) Combination of a large expanse of green with a large expanse of red as the dominant colours in the painting (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 38 in colour).

(3) The presence of delicate flowering-shrubs as an ornamental feature in the composition (Figs 68 and 82).

(4) The horizon consisting of a curved flat plane (Fig 82).

(5) Plantain trees in the background, sometimes in combination with cypresses (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 38).

(6) Formal garden in squares in the foreground (Fig 83).

(7) The facial types seen in Fig 10 and Fig 38 does not seem to occur outside Guler.

(8) Presence of a rounded hillock with its ridge indented at intervals.

(9) The subtle use of gold for the middle-sky of the background.

(10) The female facial type most frequently conforms to Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16.

The Garhwāl idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam and the artist Molarām

The fame of this school is connected with the rather picturesque figure of a poet-painter named Molarām about whom much has been written. The school was referred to as that of Tehrī-Garhwāl by N. C. Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, but in fact there is no Tehrī-Garhwāl school. Tehrī was not in existence till 1815 A.D. In 1803 A.D. Rājā Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl (1785-1804 A.D.) was driven out of his State by the Gurkhas. When the British expelled the Gurkhas they retained part of Garhwāl State, and Sudarshan Shah, son of Rājā Pradyuman, was given the remaining part. Sudarshan Shah made Tehrī his new capital as the old capital Srinagar remained with the British. The artist-families remained at Srinagar, and Tehrī never became a centre of art.[1]

In the mid-17th century A.D. Prithipat Shah (1638-1660 A.D.) was the ruler of Garhwāl. To his court Sulemān Shikoh, the son of the ill-fated Dāra Shikoh, came as a refugee to escape his uncle, the relentless Aurangzeb, who showed no mercy in the fratricidal war from which he emerged as victor when the Emperor Shah Jehan was old and feeble. Sulemān Shikoh came to Garhwāl in 1658 A.D. and in his retinue were two artists[2] named Shām Dās and his son Har Dās. No doubt Sulemān Shikoh had inherited a love for miniature painting from his father Dāra who, it is well-known, had artists in his employ. But Sulemān Shikoh was not fated to live long even in exile. After a year and a half he was surrendered by Medinī Shah, son of Prithipat Shah, to Aurangzeb whose stern demand that Sulemān be handed over to him could not be resisted by a small Hill State. Sulemān Shikoh died in the Gwalior fort and was doubtless poisoned. Medinī Shah (1660-1689 A.D.) later became a favourite at the court of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The artist Shām Dās is said to have been the son of a court painter of the Emperor Shah Jehan. After Sulemān Shikoh was treacherously handed over to Aurangzeb, the artists Shām Dās and Har Dās stayed on at the court of Garhwāl and are said to have been treated with favour. It seems that Medinī Shah of Garhwāl and his son Fateh Shah were both patrons of poets and artists.

No works attributable to Har Dās are known to exist, but three paintings by an artist named Shām Dās or Shyamdās are in the India Office collection, the collection of Sitarām Sah of Banāras, and that of Prof. Agha Haider Hassan of Hyderabad, respectively. Of course Shām Dās is not

1. *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21. No. 1, 1949-50, p. 27.

2 One has to rely on the tradition prevailing amongst the descendants of Shām Dās that their ancestor and his son Har Dās were painters attached to Sulemān Shikoh. But there is no reason to doubt this tradition. Dāra Shikoh had an atelier of artists, and it is more than likely that his son Sulemān also maintained artists in his employ. The tradition is not of recent origin as it dates back to the time of Molarām in the second half of the 18th century. Shām Dās is said to have been the son of Shah Jehan's painter named Banwārī Dās. If this be true then the probabilities are that he followed his father's profession. The family is still known as the family of *Musavars* (painters) in Garhwāl (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 23, No. 1 and 2, 1952, page 40).

an uncommon name and there may have been more than one painter named Shām Dās. But there can be no doubt that both these artists painted in the Moghul manner of the late Shah Jehan period to which they were accustomed. To suggest that they are the founders of the Garhwāl school is however a misconception. The Garhwāl school, as we know it, came into existence at a much later date and is an idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

Mr. Mukandi Lāl has suggested that a portrait of the Emperor Aurangzeb (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 37(a), opp. page 32) may be the work of Shām Dās or Har Dās. This is only a conjecture, though possibly a correct one as the portrait appears to have been acquired in Garhwāl. A portrait of the Rohilla Nawab Nazībudullah (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 37(b), opp. page 32) from the collection of Bālak Rām, a descendant of Molarām, is also tentatively ascribed by Mr. Mukandi Lāl to either Shām Dās or Har Dās.

Har Dās had a son named Hīra Nand, also called Hīralāl, who was born in Garhwāl. Nothing is known about him though it is safe to assume that he was also conversant with the art of painting. Hīra Nand's son was Mangat Rām who is said to have painted pictures and to have drawn designs for being executed by goldsmiths. A sketch of a sword handle attributed to him is reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 2, opp. page 118. Some woodcuts attributed to him are reproduced in French's *Himalayan Art*, Plates 19 and 20. A drawing of two camels fighting, reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 7, opp. page 18, may, according to Mr. Mukandi Lāl, the writer of the article therein, be the work of Mangat Rām, but this drawing, which was in the possession of Mangat Rām's descendants, is more likely to be the work of Hīra Nand or Har Dās. Miniatures of camel fights were more popular in the 17th century than in the 18th century. Moreover, the camels are in the stock attitude of bending their necks and attacking each other's legs as seen in several 17th century Moghul miniatures. The finest of these is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[1] The technique of the drawing suggests it is by a Moghul artist of the late 17th century A.D. which is the period of Har Dās and Hīra Nand. As the Garhwāl school came into existence only in the late 18th century it would be natural to find Har Dās and his son Hīra Nand painting in the characteristic Moghul style of the second half of the 17th century A.D. The Indian National Museum, New Delhi, has recently purchased a lightly coloured drawing of a girl's head in the Moghul style of the late 17th century A.D. painted by an artist named Hīra Nand, who may well be the son of Har Dās.

A portrait of Rājā Fateh Chand of Garhwāl (1689-1713 A.D.), in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 39(a), opp. page 33), may also be the work of Hīra Nand. It is in the Moghul style of the late 17th or early 18th century.

Mangat Rām in all probability was more concerned to draw designs for sword hilts, scabbards, images, etc., rather than to paint beautiful pictures.[2] A portrait of him is reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 8, Fig 2 on page 25. He was the father of the famous Molarām whose name is always linked with the Garhwāl school. Though much is known of Molarām, we know next to nothing of his six brothers. That Molarām was a very well known figure in the art world of Garhwāl in the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. admits of no doubt, but the attempt which has been made to regard him as a great artist is I am afraid a misguided effort.

Molarām was a poet and has written a good deal about himself in Hindi verse in a rather self-laudatory strain in the '*History of the Rājās of Garhwāl*' composed by him for Hastidāl the Gurkha governor of Garhwāl. Mr. Mukandi Lāl, a countryman of Molarām, has pardonably been obsessed with the high achievement of the Garhwāl school. There is no doubt that he is right in thinking that the Garhwāl idiom produced some of the finest miniatures of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. But I fear he has gone astray in attributing the masterpieces of the Garhwāl school to Molarām.

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[1] *Album of the Exhibition of Indian Art*, Delhi, 1948: *Indian Art* (Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay), 1954, Plate 27.

[2] Mukandi Lāl has vaguely attributed certain paintings to him (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 23, No. 1 and 2, 1952, page 43).

The truth appears to be that Molarām was quite an important personage in Garhwāl being a philosopher, a poet, a painter, and even something of a diplomat. It is said that when a governor of Rājā Jakrit Shah (1780-1785 A.D.) of Garhwāl rose in rebellion against him, Jakrit Shah went to Molarām and asked him to enlist the help of the Rājā of Sirmoor to suppress the rebel. Molarām however did not go to the Rājā of Sirmoor but painted a picture and composed an appropriate poem and forwarded both to the Sirmoor prince, Rājā Jagat Prakash, who was duly impressed and sent aid to quell the rebellion. The poem was a very flattering one with the simile that when an elephant is caught by a crocodile only another elephant can save him.

Molarām, being a man of considerable importance and of versatile talents, came to be looked upon as a leader of poets and painters in Garhwāl. It is not an uncommon phenomenon to find a man of social importance, who possesses but mediocre abilities as a painter or musician, being praised by an uncritical public as a great exponent of these arts. Though Molarām's biographical verses are full of himself and exaggerate his own importance, yet there is no reason to doubt that he had acquired a considerable, though undeserved fame as a painter. Maybe Molarām in his verses has sought to boost his merits as a painter because he had an unhappy feeling at the back of his mind that in truth he was not a great artist and that many of his much lesser known contemporaries were the real masters of Garhwālī painting. In his verses, Molarām tells us of how an artist named Bāqar Ali Fardak came to him having heard of his greatness and satisfied himself of the outstanding beauty of Molarām's art. So also we are told how one Manī Rām Bhairagī, and Hastidāl Chautariya the first Gurkha governor of Garhwāl during the Gurkha occupation, came and satisfied themselves that Molarām's paintings were as wonderful as they were reputed in all the world to be. This excess of self-praise is highly suspect.

A critical examination of the valuable material brought to light by Mr. Mukandi Lāl goes to show that Molarām, who says he was trained by his father Mangat Rām, was in the beginning a fairly competent but unimaginative painter in the late Moghul style of the first half of the 18th century A.D.

A partly coloured drawing of a wine-imbibing courtesan, by him, entitled *Mastanī*, painted in 1771 A.D. in the late Moghul manner of the mid-18th century, is reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā* Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate I, opp. page 120. It is a fairly competent drawing but far from being a masterpiece as suggested by Mr. Mukandi Lāl. But I agree with Mr. Mukandi Lāl that it is the work of an adult and hence Molarām's birth date may well be *circa* 1740 A.D. but in no event later than 1750 A.D. Mr. Mukandi Lāl in his earlier essays on Molarām had given Molarām's birth date as 1760 A.D. Molarām at one stage went to Kāngrā and was thereafter influenced by the *Kāngrā Kalam.* This may have happened after 1771 A.D. when *Mastanī* was painted. He knew Kāngrā well and once prepared a map[1] of it for the Garhwāl court. Apart from *Mastanī* the rest of Molarām's work reproduced by Mr. Mukandi Lal and others is all in the Kāngrā style though several sketches in the Moghul manner attributed to him are known to exist.[2] He is said to have died about 1833 A.D.

A large number of paintings have been attributed to Molarām by Mr. Mukandi Lāl and also by Molarām's descendants. Some of these bear a verse by Molarām written in white or black ink, with or without a date, on the top of the picture. A second category consists of pictures which bear a verse by Molarām on the reverse of the painting, and a third category consists of miniatures which bear no verse or inscription.

The first group undoubtedly appears to be the work of Molarām himself. The majority of the paintings in this group are of mediocre quality though a few are not entirely without merit. But none of them attain the high level of the best Garhwāl miniatures. The second group may

[1] This map is reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 46(*a*), opp. page 38.
[2] One such sketch which bears a verse by Molarām may be his handiwork (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 23, No. 1 and 2, 1952, Plate 60, opp. p. 46.

contain some works of Molarām. This group is least known. The one published example from this group is probably not the work of Molarām.

The third group includes some of the masterpieces of the Garhwāl school and these masterpieces are certainly not the work of Molarām. Only some mediocre examples in this group can rightly be attributed to him. We will now proceed to examine the published miniatures comprised in each group.

In the first group are:

(1) *Mor Priya* or *The Damsel and the Peacock* (*Rupam*, No. 2, Fig 4, opp. page 27; and *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 6, opp. page 120). The verse at the top of the miniature is by Molarām and is dated 1775 A.D. The girl with a peacock in the foreground is stiffly conventionalized. This mediocre type of art was frequently produced by *Kāngrā Kalam* artists. When Molarām visited Kāngrā he no doubt acquainted himself with the *Kāngrā Kalam*, but he himself was never able to attain any real proficiency in this style. It may be however that the Kāngrā style was first introduced into Garhwāl by Molarām. His visit to Kāngrā was probably during the last years of Ghamand Chand reign (1751-1774 A.D.).

(2) *Rājā Lalit Shah and Molarām* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 4, opp. page 121). It must have been painted between 1772 and 1780 A.D. It is a most indifferent painting. It bears an inscription, said to be by Molarām, in black ink on the face of the miniature.

(3) *The Damsel and the Partridge* (*Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, colour plate on page 35). It is also reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 2, opp. page 13. The verse which deals with the subject matter of the painting is dated 1795 A.D. and is by Molarām. This miniature like *Mor Priya* is conventionalized. The figure of the damsel is stunted.

(4) *Krishna and Rādhā* (*Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Fig C, opp. page 39). The subject is the *Varsa Vihāra* theme. Mr. O. C. Gangoly in his article in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, rightly opines that it is a clumsy imitation of the famous *Varsa Vihāra* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43). I have no doubt it is by Molarām, though his name is not mentioned in the descriptive verse inscribed characteristically in white ink on the top of the miniature. I cannot accept Mr. Mukandi Lāl's suggestion that this painting is not from Molarām's brush. It is in keeping with his style and his mediocre talents.

(5) *Narsingh Avatār* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 15, opp. page 25). The verse at the top of the miniature describes the subject matter and contains Molarām's name, but no date. It is a thoroughly lifeless and uninspired work and much inferior to a similar subject reproduced by French in *Himalayan Art*, Plate 15, from the Mahant of Damthal's collection. The latter miniature is not of the Garhwāl school, but several drawings or pounces from it no doubt existed. One of these must have come into Molarām's possession and he painted his inferior version therefrom.

(6) *Vasaksayyā Nāyikā* (*Rupam*, No. 8, Fig 5, opp. page 27; and *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 20, opp. page 24). The verse at the top of the miniature is by Molarām. It is one of a set of eight *Nāyikās* dated 1810 A.D., in the possession of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. The date appears on the *Abhīsārikā Nāyikā* of this set. Though it cannot bear comparison to the best *Nāyikā* paintings of the Garhwāl school, it is somewhat superior to the other miniatures by Molarām already listed above. But this is the limit of Molarām's achievement indicating that by dint of hard practice he was able to produce by 1810 A.D. a few paintings that escaped mediocrity.

(7) *Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl and his brother Kunwar Prakāram Shah* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 24, opp. page 15). This is an indifferent piece of portraiture. It bears an inscription in black ink, said to be by Molarām, on the face of the picture.

(8) *Khanditā Nāyikā* (*Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, Plate 99, Fig. CCCXXV). It is a drawing displaying the usual lifeless style of Molarām. The verse by Molarām which is inscribed at the top of the picture is in black ink. Molarām's usual characteristic was to write the verse in white ink.

(9) *Mayukha Mukhī* (*Rupam*, No. 8, Fig 6, opp. page 29; and *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, plate 52, opp. page 39). There is a verse by Molarām at the top in black ink describing the subject matter of the miniature, but no date. The painting is a mediocre effort in Molarām's usual style.

(10) *Gopī and Baby Krishna* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 33, opp. page 46). A mediocre work in Molarām's usual stiff style. The verse at the top of the miniature is by Molarām and deals with the subject matter of the painting. It is dated 1787 A.D.

(11) *Equestrian Portrait of Jaidev Dev Wazir*[1] (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952, opp. page 33). Jaidev was minister to Raja Lalit Shah of Garhwāl (1772-1780 A.D.) and also to Rājā Jaikrit Shah (1780-1785 A.D.). The minister on horseback is shown with his retainers. Molarām's inscription in white ink appears at the top of the miniature. From the technical point of view it shows a fair degree of competence but it is quite uninspiring and formal. Molarām's great shortcoming appears to have been that he lacked the inborn genius which makes for greatness. He was no doubt a sincere man and strove hard to achieve merit, finally deluding himself into the belief that he was a great painter.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly with justification remarks that Molarām's authentic work is marked by coarse drawing, particularly in the treatment of clouds, and by a general lack of refinement and grace (*Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, page 36). The clouds, in Molarām's authentic works, are highly conventionalized into a schematic spiral forms or into schematic half elipses. His imagination does not transcend these formal shapes. His womenfolk are stiff and lacking in grace, as in *Mor Priya*, or are somewhat stunted as in *The Damsel and the Partridge*. His colour sense lacks in ideas, as can be seen from the colour plate in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, on page 35, while his application of colour has no brilliancy and the general effect produced is dull and wanting in depth of tones. As a draughtsman also Molarām is disappointing. His line possesses neither delicacy, nor flow, nor elegance. One has no desire to belittle Molarām, but the facts stare one in the face. His importance as an artist is entirely exaggerated. He had a studio which was renowned, and he may have been quite a good teacher, though his own work was indifferent. That he was a well-known figure in Garhwāl, and quite a good poet, admits of no doubt. He was in fact a much better poet than a painter. Owing to his many talents as poet, painter, philosopher, and diplomat, and his standing with the Rājās of Garhwāl, it seems that he was looked upon and respected as the doyen of painters and poets in the State. One might compare Molarām's position to that of the president of an Academy, or a poet-laureate of a royal court, who is much honoured and flattered in his own day due to the position he holds. When however he is assessed by posterity he is found to possess only mediocre attainments.

Of the second group of miniatures attributed to Molarām, only one has been published. It is a drawing which bears four verses by Molarām on the reverse and has been reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 5, opp. page 116. Mr. Mukandi Lāl has entitled it *Consoling the Queens*. The verses have no reference to the subject matter of the picture. One of the verses consists of a tirade against the falsity of the times and particularly against the court entourage which appears to have had no regard for truth. This verse is dated 1769 A.D.

[1] Also reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952, opp. p. 40.

I do not think that the drawing can be dated by the verse. In fact I have no doubt that the drawing was commenced long after this particular verse was composed. The drawing is in the Kāngrā style, and Mr. Mukandi Lāl infers from the date of the verse that Molarām adopted the Kāngrā style round about 1769. But this is an assumption based on the belief that the drawing itself is dated 1769 A.D. It is superior to Molarām's usual standard of draughtsmanship and even if it is to be attributed to him it must belong to the period *circa* 1810 A.D. when he had captured something of the spirit of Kāngrā painting. By 1769 A.D. he had certainly not attained any proficiency in the Kāngrā style. Most probably it is the work of a fairly talented pupil who drew the picture on a sheet of paper on which Molarām had written four of his numerous verses, one of which was composed in 1769 A.D. When a verse by Molarām, which is descriptive of the miniature on which it appears, happens to be dated, then it is not unreasonable to assume that the miniature is contemporary with the date of the verse. But when there is no connection between the dated verse and the picture, then one must discard the date of the verse in favour of stylistic considerations.

Of the third group the following published miniatures have been attributed to Molarām, but in most cases the attribution is erroneous:

(1) *Blindman's Buff*—a drawing (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50. Plate 10, opp. page 24). This is a sketch corresponding to the well-known painting of *Blindman's Buff* by Mānak in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21 in colour).[1] This sketch was found with Balak Rām, the great grandson of Molarām, and from this circumstance Mr. Mukandi Lāl concludes that it was a sketch prepared by Molarām for his pupil Mānak. First and foremost there is no evidence that Mānak was Molarām's pupil.[2] Secondly the sketch may well have been made from Mānak's miniature and not for Mānak's miniature. Thirdly, as stated by O. C. Gangoly in *Marg*, Vol. 4, page 37, it is well known that in Indian pictorial practice successful masterpieces have been copied by other artists to meet the continuous demands for a popular picture. This sketch found with Balak Rām may have been made by Molarām, or someone else, from Mānak's painting of *Blindman's Buff*. It is necessary to emphasize that the existence of the sketch in Balak Rām's possession is an inconclusive circumstance. Sketches, with colour notes thereon, were the tools of an artist's trade in India, and every artist possessed numerous sketches and charts copied by himself, or for him, from the works of other artists. The possibility that Mānak was a pupil of Molarām need not be seriously considered. The sketch is of indifferent draughtsmanship thus suggesting it is a copy by an artist much inferior to Mānak.

(2) *Blindman's Buff* (*Roopa Lekhā* Vol. 21, No. I, 1949-50, Plate II, opp. page 30). It is a finished drawing with light washes of grey. The subject is the same as that just discussed above. It is in the collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad which was originally the Tagore collection of Calcutta. The drawing was purchased by G. N. Tagore from Balak Rām. Hence Mr. Mukandi Lāl concludes that it is the work of Molarām (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. I, 1949-50, page 20). But its fine workmanship has little resemblance to Molarām's somewhat slovenly technique and coarse drawing. This sketch is certainly not from his brush. It appears to be a somewhat late but efficient copy made from Mānak's miniature, perhaps by some pupil of Molarām who possessed a surer and finer touch than that of his master.

(3) *Response to Rukmanī's Message* (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 12, opp. page 25). Mr. Mukandi Lāl is perhaps right in thinking that this miniature is by Molarām. It is similar to his style of drawing and painting, and in keeping with his mediocrity of imagination and workmanship.

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[1] In *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Mānak's picture is reproduced opp. page 24, in monochrome, to accompany Mukandi Lāl's article therein.

[2] Mānak in all probability was the son of Pandit Seu. In any event the miniature *Blindman's Buff* does not belong to the Garhwāl School. The matter has been dealt with at page 186.

(4) *Welcoming the Rains* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 13, opp. page 30). It is in the collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad. It is ascribed by Mr. Mukandi Lāl to Molarām on various grounds set out by him in his article in the abovementioned issue of *Roopa Lekhā* at page 22 thereof. It was acquired from Balak Rām, and belongs to the Garhwāl school, but none of the reasons given by Mr. Mukandi Lāl for ascribing it to Molarām are valid. In all probability it is not by Molarām, whose women lacked delicacy, and whose colour sense tended to be dull and heavy. The miniature in question is rather above Molarām's level of creative work.

(5) *Dāmpatī* (*Rupam*, No. 8, Fig 7, opp. page 29; and *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 14, opp. page 31). It is also reproduced in colour in *Roopa Lekhā*, No. 4, 1929. It is ascribed to Molarām by Mr. Mukandi Lāl, but save for the fact that he obtained it from Balak Rām there is nothing to support this ascription. The circumstance of Balak Rām's possession is quite inconclusive. He got a number of paintings by inheritance, and in consonance with the best Indian tradition prevailing amongst artists and craftsmen, he has attributed almost every picture of note in his possession to an illustrious ancestor, namely his great-grandfather Molarām. But such attributions cannot be seriously considered when the available evidence is sifted and it is found that all Molarām's authentic work is too mediocre to warrant any Garhwālī masterpiece, whether in Balak Rām's possession or not, being ascribed to Molarām. Mr. O. C. Gangoly has arrived at a similar conclusion in his article 'The Problem of Molarām' in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, page 34. Mr. Gangoly, however, accepts the attribution of Molarām as the painter of *Dāmpatī*, though he does not state his grounds for doing so. The painting bears no signature or inscription. In my opinion it is not by Molarām because its colour scheme is quite different from any miniature Molarām painted, and its technique is much more refined and subtle than Molarām ever achieved in his authentic miniatures. It is most significant that all the miniatures which bear Molarām's own inscriptions, describing the subject matter of the painting, never rise to any heights.

(6) *Mānini Rādhā* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, opp. page 42, in colour). This miniature may well be by Molarām to whom it is ascribed by Mr. Mukandi Lāl. The women are stunted and somewhat clumsy, while the colouring, though not as dull as is usual with Molarām, is incoherent and lacks subtility.

(7) *Utkanthitā Nāyikā* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 19 in colour opp. page 20). The subject of the miniature is wrongly described. It is really a *Vipralabdhā Nāyikā*. It is attributed by Mr. Mukandi Lāl to Molarām, and this may be a correct attribution. It belongs to his most mature period, namely *circa* 1810 A.D., and is pleasing enough though the Nāyikā is rather stiffly drawn. By way of comparison, however, it should be noted that the same subject in the hands of a real master (Plate A of the present volume) is transformed into a vision of exceeding beauty.

(8) *Krishna Visiting Rādhā* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 21, opp. page 24). Mr. Mukandi Lāl's attribution of this miniature to Molarām may well be correct. It is of no particular merit, though not unpleasing. The figures tend to be stiff as in all Molarām's work. The painting was originally in the possession of Kunwar Bichitrā Shah, a descendant of the royal house of Tehrī-Garhwāl.

(9) *Varsa-Vihāra*—a drawing (*Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Fig B, opp. page 39). Also reproduced in French's *Himalayan Art*, Plate 21, and attributed by him to Molarām, possibly on information derived from Tulsi Rām a great-grandson of Molarām. The drawing was in the collection of Tulsi Rām. As rightly pointed out by O. C. Gangoly in *Marg*. Vol. 4, No. 4, page 39, this drawing is in all likelihood a sketch traced from the famous *Varsa Vihāra* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43 in colour), which also belongs to the Garhwāl school. The drawing may have been traced by Molarām himself, though I gravely doubt if even the tracing is his handiwork. There is a certain lively charm, even in the traced sketch, which to me seems foreign to Molarām's somewhat heavy hand.

(10) *Varsā Vihāra* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 58). It is also reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43. This most beautiful of all miniatures of the *Varsa Vihāra* theme is now in the Boston Museum. It was acquired from Balak Rām who attributed it to Molarām. But it is inconceivable that Molarām who, even in his most mature works of the year 1810 A.D., could just rise above the level of mediocrity, should be the painter of one of the masterpieces of Pahārī miniature art. I have already dealt with the inconclusiveness and inadequacy of Balak Rām's attributions. He had no personal knowledge of his great-grandfather's work, and there is no reason to suppose that the paintings that came into his possession by inheritance from Molarām did not include the works of other Kāngrā and Garhwālī artists. Molarām held a somewhat exalted position amongst the artists of Garhwāl, and may have been a good teacher of painting though not a very competent artist himself. Accordingly all the probabilities are that Molarām collected a number of paintings which were the works of his pupils or which were presented to him by other artists who looked upon him as the doyen of all painters and craftsmen in Garhwāl. Moreover, Molarām may have brought several fine paintings with him from Kāngrā, to be used as models, or may have procured such paintings from time to time. There is no warrant for Mr. Mukandi Lāl's statement that neither Molarām nor his descendants were collectors of others' paintings but only creators and preservers of their own paintings, and that Balak Rām must be believed if he attributes a particular work to a particular ancestor (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 17). Mr. Mukandi Lāl's earlier opinion, expressed in *Rupam*, No. 8, page 23, that Molarām must have had paintings of many masters in his studio, is correct. Balak Rām who was born in 1867 A.D. could not possibly know whether Molarām collected the works of other artists or not. Balak Rām's own father Tej Rām was not born till 1833 A.D., after Molarām was dead. By the time Balak Rām came to the age of understanding, the family traditions had no doubt cast the usual halo of glory around the name of the family's most illustrious ancestor, and every beautiful picture in the family's collection was automatically attributed to Molarām. Those who purchased miniatures from Balak Rām perpetuated these attributions. I do not suggest that traditions cannot afford valuable guidance, but with regard to Molarām the family traditions become unacceptable when we are confronted with the mediocrity of his authentic paintings. Tradition cannot be permitted to override commonsense.

Coomaraswamy in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, at page 161, states that *Varsa Vihāra* is perhaps from Garhwāl. There is no doubt that it is from Garhwāl, but there is equally no doubt that it is not by Molarām. Dr. Coomaraswamy was right when he stated that Molarām had attained a fictitious importance as his was the only name known in Pahārī painting in the early years of this century. Molarām did paint a picture illustrating the *Varsa Vihāra* theme, namely the miniature illustrated in *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Fig 3, opp. page 39. It is obviously copied from the Boston Museum *Varsa Vihāra* or from a traced sketch thereof. As stated by O. C. Gangoly in the abovementioned issue of *Marg*, Molarām's effort falls very short of the original model in beauty, dignity, and restraint, and lacks the superb grandeur of the landscape background of the original. Another version in close imitation of the Boston Museum example is reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Fig 576, but it is not so fine.

(11) *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 101). Coomaraswamy states at page 184 of the abovementioned Catalogue that it was ascribed by Balak Rām to Molarām. But it is much too beautiful, and too finely executed to be Molarām's work.

(12) *Kāliya Damana* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54A). It is attributed to Molarām by Balak Rām. Here again the high quality of the miniature makes the attribution an impossible one.

(13) *The Timid Bride* (*Navala Bāla*). Reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 74B. It is attributed by Balak Rām to Molarām, but it is definitely superior to his known standard of work.

(14) *Mahadev and Pārvatī* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 65). Also reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32. It is attributed by Balak Rām to Molarām, and Mr. Mukandi Lāl has accepted this attribution. This miniature is recognized to be one of the greatest achievements of Pahārī miniature art. To ascribe such a masterpiece to an artist of Molarām's limited talents is proof positive of the utter unreliability of Balak Rām's attributions.

(15) *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī* (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Colour Plate D). It is labelled there as *Lovers in a Moonlit Retreat.* There is no doubt that this miniature is by the same hand as *Mahadev and Pārvatī*, and hence cannot be by Molarām.[1] A finer colour reproduction of this splendid painting appears in the present volume as Plate L. Since it is by the same artist who painted *Mahadev and Pārvatī*, Mr. Mukandi Lāl has attributed it to Molarām (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 22, opp. page 14). That such an attribution is completely out of question is apparent from what has already been stated, and the reasons for this conclusion need not be reiterated.

(16) *Krishna Visiting Rādhā* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, colour plate opp. page 38). It might be by Molarām though it is not in his usual style. It is a work of no particular merit, though much praised by Mr. Mukandi Lāl.

(17) *Usha Swapna* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, Plate 28, opp. page 38). It is ascribed by Bālak Rām to Molarām. It may be of his authorship. The maiden is stunted and ungainly, and the architecture is crowded. It is a work of some intricacy, but of no real merit. Through the arch one can discern the old palace on the banks of the river at Srinagar, and the twin hills Nar and Narayan. This topographical detail enables us to be sure that the miniature was painted at Garhwāl, but otherwise there is nothing to differentiate this painting from somewhat similar works executed in other parts of the Hills such as Kāngrā and Mandī.

(18) *Goverdhan Dharan* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, Plate 29, opp. page 38). It is ascribed by Mukandi Lāl to Molarām as being an early creation when the artist was still partly under the influence of the Moghul school. There is no adequate reason, however, for ascribing the miniature to Molarām, or even to the Garhwāl school. It appears to be a late 'pre-Kāngrā' or early *Kāngrā Kalam* miniature of the period 1765-1775 A.D. It is not possible to determine its provenance.

(19) *Dāra Shikoh* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 38(b), opp. page 33). Mr. Mukandi Lāl ascribes it to Molarām. It is an indifferent and artificial work in the decadent Moghul style of the late 18th century.

(20) *Rājā Jaikrit Shah on an Elephant* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 39(c), opp. page 36). It is ascribed to Molarām by Mr. Mukandi Lāl, and perhaps rightly so. It is a mediocre work, the elephant being weakly constructed and poorly drawn. Jaikrit Shah ruled from 1780 to 1785 A.D. The portrait belongs to the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār.

(21) *Prince Pritam Shah* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 40(a), opp. page 36). Pritam Shah was the youngest brother of Pradyuman Shah. It is ascribed by Mr. Mukandi Lāl to Molarām, and belongs to the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. It is obviously a late and formal work. It is probably by Molarām as it is said that Pritam Shah used to take lessons from Molarām in the art of painting. A sketch of Rājā Pradip Shah of Garhwāl (1713-1772 A.D.) is possibly by Mangat Rām. It is reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 39(b), opp. page 33. It belongs to the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār.

(22) *Head Studies* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, Plate 41, opp. page 36). Mr. Mukandi Lāl ascribes these excellent sketches to Molarām. If this ascription is correct then it is strange that one who could make such lively working-drawings should rarely be other than pedestrian in his full fledged paintings.

[1] It is also reproduced in monochrome as Fig 39.

The Twin Hills

In some paintings of the Garhwāl school such as *Krishna and Rādhā Looking into a Mirror* (Fig 40) and *Dāmpatī* (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 14, opp. page 31) two hills are seen in the background with a river flowing at the foot thereof. Mr. Mukandi Lāl states that the hills are the Nar and the Narayan on the two sides of the Gangā where it flows by Srinagar, the ancient capital of Garhwāl (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 31). This identification of the hills is correct, but it must be remembered that a common feature of the Hill country is the presence of a river flowing through two hillocks rising on either side. In a Garhwāl school painting the presence of the twin hills, and a river flowing in between them, may indicate that the artist intended to depict the Nar and the Narayan and the river Gangā. But there are many miniatures which do not belong to the Garhwāl school and yet a river flowing between twin hills is depicted therein. The point which I wish to stress is that the presence in a Pahārī miniature of two or more hills with a river flowing in between, does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the miniature belongs to the Garhwāl school. The Pahārī artists rarely introduced exact topographical details into the landscape backgrounds of their pictures, and hence it is not wise to arrive at conclusions as to the provenance of a picture by reference to its landscape background unless it contains some distinctive features. For instance in the miniature *Krishna and Rādhā*, reproduced in colour in *The Studio*, Feb. 1948, Plate 3, the buildings nestling on the hillside across the river are suggestive of Tira Sujanpur but they may be no more than a formal element in the landscape.

In *Kāliya Damana* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54A; and *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, Vol. 1, 1951, Plate 30, opp. page 39) one finds the buildings known as the 'Rānī Hat' on top of one of the hills in the background; while on the opposite bank of the river are to be seen the old palaces of Srinagar which were affected by the flood of 1893 A.D. These topographical details make it clear that the landscape in *Kāliya Damana* is intended to represent the river and hills at Srinagar, Garhwāl.

Again in *Krishna and Rādhā looking into a Mirror* (Fig 40) the twin hills in the background, and the perpendicular rock on the right, make it fairly certain that the landscape setting is the Alakananda river, as the Gangā is known at Srinagar.

Architectural Features in relation to the problem of Provenance

Mr. Mukandi Lāl has at times relied on certain architectural features for ascribing certain miniatures to the Garhwāl school. But architecture is not an adequate guide to the provenance of a *Kāngrā Kalam* painting. A more or less common style of palace and domestic architecture was in vogue in the Hill States during the second half of the 18th century A.D. Be it Kāngrā, Garhwāl, Mandī, or Chambā, the miniatures painted there often show remarkable similarities in the architectural forms employed, and mere variations are no clue to establish the provenance. Courtyards and pavillions are similar to those in Plate I and Fig I—the wooden pillars and wooden panelling in the interior being usual features. *Hanuman Washing Rāma's Feet* (Plate V) which may have been painted in Mandī or Guler has an inner pillared pavilion and outer walls of a Hill palace. The style is typical of palace architecture throughout the Hills in the second half of the 18th century and in the early 19th century A.D. In *Vyadhī* (Fig 46), which does appear to belong to the *Mandī Kalam*, the typical ornate minarets of late 18th century Hill architecture can be seen. In addition to the circumstance that a common style of palace and domestic architecture was in vogue in the Hills in the second half of the 18th century, it must be remembered that the products of Sansār Chand's court were regarded throughout the Hills as the norm for all Pahārī artists to follow. In consequence, details of architecture appearing in miniatures painted at Sansār Chand's atelier during the period 1775-1805 A.D. were freely introduced into the works of artists who were employed at other courts. This was done regardless of the fact whether any buildings conforming to the architectural style of Sansār Chand's time were to be

found or not in the particular State to which the artist belonged. This fact has to be borne in mind in dealing with the problems of provenance.

There is one architectural feature however which appears to be peculiar to Garhwāl. It is the pillar-base consisting of the 'double-lotus' motif in which the petals of the upper lotus are excessively long (Fig G4). But I have found even this feature in a miniature of the Nurpur idiom.

Certain Features of Garhwāl Miniatures considered

Rai Krishnadāsa, the learned curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, is somewhat sceptical of the Garhwāl school having produced any real masterpieces of Kāngrā painting. He is tentatively inclined to the view that all the masterpieces emanating from Balak Rām's collection, (which was originally Molarāms' collection) were not painted by local Garhwāl artists but are the work of Kāngrā artists, probably of Sansār Chand's court, who migrated to Garhwāl during the late 18th and early 19th century. Having regard to the startling difference between Molarām's work on one hand, and several outstanding miniatures which were originally in Balak Rām's collection, on the other this surmise of Rai Saheb may be the truth of the matter. But even so, it would not be incorrect to refer to these masterpieces, painted in Garhwāl, as being of the Garhwāl school, in view of the circumstance that a local flavour can be observed in them. Three of the finest miniatures from Garhwāl are reproduced in the present volume being *Utkā Nāyikā* (Plate B) ; *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī* (Plate L) ; and *Krishna and Rādhā Looking into a Mirror* (Fig 40). Other outstanding Garhwāl school miniatures which have been reproduced in various treatises are :

(1) *Shiva and Pārvatī* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32 in colour ; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 65). This miniature is by the same hand as *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmālī* (Plate L).

(2) *Varsa Vihāra* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43 in colour; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 58).

(3) *Gaicharan Līlā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 45 in colour). It was originally in the S. N. Gupta collection but has been acquired by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

(4) *Kāliya Damana* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 46 in colour ; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 53 in colour). This miniature appears to belong to the same set as *Gaicharan Līlā* mentioned above. This set, in all probability, was an extensive series illustrating the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Mr. Mukandi Lāl is quite mistaken in thinking it is not of the Garhwāl schoool.[1]

(5) *Kāliya Damana* of the Boston Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54 A). This miniature, as already observed, has topographical details which enable us to conclude that the landscape background is Sringar, the old capital of Garhwāl.

(6) *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* of the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5, Plate* 101).

(7) *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* from the Manuk collection (Archer, *Garhwl Painting*, 1954; and *Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan*, Plate 27). It is by the same hand as the Boston Museum example mentioned above.

(8) *Sudāma* from the late Eric Dickenson collection (Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954; and *Illustrated Weekly of India*, July 12th, 1953, page 37).

(9) *Utkā Nāyikā* (Gangoly, Rājput Painting, Plate 27).

(10) *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* of the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 100, Fig cccxxxiii ; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 73A.

[1] *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, pp. 36 and 37.

It will be noted that *Utkā Nāyikā* (Plate B), *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī* (Plate L), and *Shiva and Pārvatī* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32) all have a common feature which at times is seen in miniatures which hail from Garhwāl. This common feature consists of a tall, dark tree with branches jutting out on either side completely denuded of all their foliage. This stark, barren tree dominates the background in each of the three abovementioned miniatures, of which the latter two are undoubtedly by the same hand.

In the remaining masterpieces of the Garhwāl school, listed above, the tall foliage-denuded tree, dominating the background, is not seen, but another characteristic at times appears viz: small, dark trees, in the farther background, having gaunt twigs barren of all foliage. In *Kāliya Damana* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54A), several such trees are seen, while in another version of *Kāliya Damana* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 53) a single bare tree is seen in the background. Such trees are also seen in Fig 40.

The presence of these dark leaf-denuded trees, whether they dominate the picture space or not, is a feature mostly met with in miniatures from Garhwāl. But the fact that such trees are not solely seen in the Garhwāl school is apparent from several paintings as for example the miniature in the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series painted at Sansār Chand's court where Ratī beseeches Shiva to restore her lord to life (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952).[1] In fact this feature may have been introduced into Garhwālī painting by artists from Kāngrā who had migrated to Garhwāl. Later on it developed into one of the characteristics of the Garhwāl school. Such trees are also met with in paintings from Guler, including those in the Guler Darbār collection. Hence this *cliche* may have travelled to Garhwāl from Guler or Kāngrā. In fact Archer thinks that the Garhwāl masterpieces were painted by artists from Guler who, he surmises, must have accompanied the Guler princess who married Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl (1785-1804 A.D.). But my own belief is that the Garhwāl masterpieces were painted by artists from Sansār Chand's court, and not by artists from Guler.

There is another tree-type which has also come to be associated with the Garhwāl school. In this type the branches with their foliage assume a fan-like formation. The most characteristic example of this tree-form is in the beautiful *Utkā Nāyikā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 27). It is again seen in the famous *Varsa Vihāra* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43) and again in *Abhīsārikā Nāyikā* also of the Boston Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 73 A).[2]

With regard to the facial types seen in the Garhwāl school it is indeed difficult to arrive at any conclusion. They are not different from the types seen in other *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures though, in some, the nose is not in a straight line with the forehead but projects outwards from the dip where the nose and the forehead meet. A characteristic example of this type of face is seen in *Utkā Nāyikā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 27) which is from Garhwāl. But a general similarity to the usual Kāngrā type undeniably exists, because after all the Garhwāl school is only an idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

In *Gaicharan Līlā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 45) the back of the head is drawn rather large, while the top is more rounded than usual. As the head is plentifully covered with a mass of black hair, partly visible through the transparent *odhnī* (wimple), the predominant effect is one of a mass of hair covering a large head. At one time I thought that this type of head was seen only in the Garhwāl school, but closer investigation proved this proposition to be fallacious. It is also seen in the Nurpur idiom and other miniatures but is common in Garhwāl.

[1] Also reproduced in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 24, Nos 1 and 2, 1953, opp. p. 37.
[2] Also reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue*, No. 5, Plate 100, Fig cccxxxiii.

Two Mistaken Beliefs

Some well-known, collectors such as the late B. N. Treasurywala and Ajit Ghose, used to believe that miniatures where the lush foliage of trees was entwined with pink and white blossoming creepers, belonged to the Garhwāl school. This idea gained considerable currency. Of course, the study of Pahārī painting was then in its infancy. There is however no substance in this belief. Though many Garhwāl school miniatures, such as *Gaicharan Līlā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 45 in colour), evidence the characteristic in question, it has been found to be a very common feature of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. This is not a matter of surprise because the red and white dog-rose ; the yellow and white jasmine ; and peach and apricot blossoms, abound all over the Hills.

Another old-time belief, prevalent amongst certain dealers, was that the presence of two doves or two birds seated close to each other on a tree (Fig 39) indicated that the painting was by Molarām, or at least that it was a product of the Garhwāl school. Needless to say there is no substance even in this belief. Pahārī artists of all schools commonly depicted a pair of birds sitting on a tree in the landscape background.

The Chandan Tilaka

Mr. Mukandi Lāl in his article on the Garhwāl school (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 22) states that no artists, save Molarām and his pupils, have placed the sacred Shivite *chandan* mark on the foreheads of the women painted by them. This mark is shaped like a crescent moon. At page 23 of the above article Mr. Mukandi Lāl states, 'wherever you find this *chandan* (not round small *tika* or perpendicular *tilak* but horizontal half curved) religious mark on the forehead, be sure that the picture is either by Molarām or by his pupils and others of the Garhwāl school'. But this observation is not borne out by an examination of Pahārī paintings in various collections. The *chandan tilaka* is illustrated in Fig U.

It is true that this *chandan* mark appears frequently on the foreheads of ladies in Garhwāl school miniatures. It can be seen clearly in *Utkā Nāyikā* (Plate B), and in *Krishna and Rādhā Looking into a Mirror* (Fig 40), both of which can be ascribed to the Garhwāl school with some measure of confidence. But it also appears on the foreheads of the women-folk in the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series which we know for certain was painted at Sansār Chand's court (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952).[1] This instance alone falsifies Mr. Mukandi Lāl's theory, and such instances can be multiplied manifold. This crescent mark can again be seen on the foreheads of the ladies in *Toilet* (Plate XII) which is certainly not from Garhwāl. The attendants in this miniature wear a red *chandan* mark, but that on the forehead of their mistress is coloured black. The crescent mark is also seen on the foreheads of the ladies in Fig 25 which belongs to the same series as Plate XII. Amongst other miniatures in which the *chandan* mark appears is a quaint *Rāmāyana* picture in the British Museum (Binyon, *Asiatic Art at the British Museum*, 1925, Plate 60, Fig 2) probably of the Chambā school[2]. The crescent mark is again seen in Fig 82 of the present volume, from Guler, and in *Dāna Līlā* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 83) which is probably from Kāngrā. Still another published example which disproves Mr. Mukandi Lāl's theory is *Tambula Seva* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 6 in colour) where the crescent mark appears on the forehead of Rādhā. That this is a miniature of the 'pre-Kāngrā' Kalam and not of the Garhwāl school is apparent.

There are also several unpublished miniatures which cannot be regarded as belonging to the Garhwāl school and yet the crescent *chandan* mark appears on the foreheads of females therein. Thus the presence of the crescent *chandan* mark is by no means conclusive that the miniature belongs to Garhwāl. It is only one matter to be taken into account if further data is available to indicate a Garhwālī provenance.

[1] Also reproduced in *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, 1953, opp. p. 37, and in this volume as Plates N and O.
[2] Also reproduced in Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, Pl 3. But the elongation and types suggest Chambā.

Reasons for Attributions to Garhwāl

We must now proceed to consider the reasons for the attribution of all the abovementioned miniatures to Garhwāl. With regard to those which bear inscriptions by Molarām, no doubts can be entertained, but what of the much finer miniatures which cannot be the work of Molarām and to which a Garhwālī origin has been assigned ? The method which I have adopted for my conclusion is as follows:

I have proceeded on the basis that all miniatures acquired from the family of Molarām are the works of Garhwālī artists, or of artists settled in Garhwāl, as several of these, such as for instance *Kāliya Damana* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54A), provide internal evidence that they were painted at Srinagar the old capital of Garhwāl. I have then analysed the characteristics of all such miniatures and deduced the following results:

(1) A tall, dark, leaf-denuded tree sometimes dominates the landscape, as in Plates B and L. See Fig Q.

(2) Dark, leaf-denuded trees of small size sometimes appear in the background landscape, as in Fig 40. See Fig Q1.

(3) A fan-like tree sometimes makes its appearance as the main motif in the landscape, as in *Utkā Nāyikā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 27). See Fig Q2.

(4) The landscape setting is sometimes adopted from the scenery of the Alakananda river at Srinagar, as in Fig 40. The sky is often a deep blue.

(5) Palaces or buildings when drawn on a small scale on the landscape background are quite sharply defined and three dimensional, as in Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 54A.

(6) A rain-swept landscape is depicted by a series of straight, white, parallel lines set extremely close to each other. A continuous streak of thin, curly lightning extends along the cloud-laden sky from end to end (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 73 A).

(7) One of the female facial types has a slightly projecting nose, as in Plates B and L.

(8) Sometimes the woodland background, particularly in *Nāyikā* paintings, has an eerie atmosphere of fantasy with its bizarre tree-forms (Plate B ; and the *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* from the Manuk collection reproduced in *The Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan*, Plate 27; and in Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, Pl 5).

(9) Some of the women-folk have large heads, the top of the head being more rounded than usual. The head is thickly covered with a mass of jet black hair, partly visible through the transparent wimple (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plates 53, 74 A, and 74 B).

(10) Women-folk frequently have the sacred crescent-moon mark (*chandan tilaka*) on their foreheads. See Fig U.

(11) When the double-lotus motif appears in pillar-bases, then the petals of the upper lotus are often excessively long (Fig G4).

(12) A river is sometimes depicted by scroll-like ripples. (Archer *Garhwāl Painting*, Pl 1).

None of these abovementioned features are peculiar to Garhwāl, though some are rarely seen elsewhere. But if these features are borne in mind, and if one has an intimate acquaintance with the miniatures known to have been acquired from Balak Rām of Garhwāl, then it is often possible to identify the work of the Garhwāl school. Thus there can be little doubt that the *Abhisārikā Nāyikā* from the Manuk collection (*The Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions*

of India and Pakistan, Plate 27)[1] is from Garhwāl, and by the same hand as the *Abhisārikā* acquired from Bālak Rām and reproduced in *The Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 101.

So also there can be no doubt that the *Abhisārikā* reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 73A, is from Garhwāl, and that the *Abhisārikā* of the Lahore Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 59) is also from Garhwāl and not from Punch. One has merely to compare the Lahore Museum miniature with that reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 101, to note the striking similarity. Even the snakes, and the fallen necklace of the hurrying *Nāyikā*, are almost identical in the two compositions. Archer was mistaken in ascribing the Lahore Museum *Abhisārikā* to Punch. Its find-spot was undoubtedly Punch, but as I have repeatedly stated this circumstance by itself can never be a guide to provenance. In fact the *Utkā Nāyikā; The Expectant Heroine; The Abhisārikā;* and the *Vipralabdhā* (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Figs 58, 66, 69, and 70), which have also been ascribed by Archer to Punch, are probably of Garhwāl origin.

Glory of Spring (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Plate 55) has already been dealt with[2] as probably of Garhwāl origin. Bichtr Shah, the owner, was a member of the ruling house of Garhwāl. *Rādhā Bathing* is much later than 1875 (Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, Pl 8).

Dāna Līlā,[3] of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Gangoly, *Love Poems in Hindi*, 1936, Plate 23), can be ascribed quite safely to the Garhwāl school. Rādhā has a large, rounded head, and the *chandan tilaka* mark on her forehead, while the small leaf-denuded trees are seen in the background, as also the characteristic architecture. Late 18th or early 19th century.

Girī Goverdhana,[4] which was in the Ajit Ghose collection, can be ascribed to Garhwāl. The women have the *chandan tilaka* on their foreheads, and large, rounded heads with a mass of black hair. Moreover the leaf-denuded trees are seen in the background, as well as the characteristic architecture. The cows also follow the pattern of those in *Varsa Vihāra* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43). It is a fine rendering of the theme, even if slightly theatrical. The colouring is particularly attractive. It is best ascribed to the late 18th century and falls but little short of the Garhwāl masterpieces.

Sudāma setting out on his Journey (*Illustrated Weekly of India*, July 12th, 1953, page 37)[5] can also be ascribed to the Garhwāl idiom. An almost leaf-denuded tree dominates one side of the composition, while the undulating hills with blob-like trees influenced a later artist named Chaitu. The ripples of water have a scroll-like formation. It will be remembered that ripples of water with a similar scroll-design are often seen in the Garhwāl school.

A few more miniatures which are probably from Garhwāl may also be noted.

(1) *Maninī* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, Plate 26, opp. page 38). It is however no different from many a *Kāngrā Kalam* painting. It belongs to the early 19th century.

(2) *Līlā Hava* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 103, Fig CCCXLVII). Rādhā has a *chandan tilaka* on her forehead. It can be ascribed to the late 18th century.

(3) *Go Dhuli Bela* (Plate VIII). It is similar to many other *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings. The *chandan tilaka* is seen. Some critics may be inclined to regard the colour scheme and the drawing of the cattle as further indications of a Garhwālī provenance. Garhwāl

[1] Also reproduced in Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, plate 5.
[2] *Supra*, p. 175.
[3] Also reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 24, opp. page 102.
[4] *Rupam*, No. 41, opp. page 18.
[5] Also reproduced in colour in Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, Pl 1. It was one of a set belonging to the late Eric Dickinson.

miniatures sometimes have that warmth of colour seen in Plate VIII, but I would not go so far as to say that this warmth of colour is never seen outside Garhwāl.

Our survey, so far, of the Garhwāl idiom, discloses several styles of work ranging from the mediocre studies of Molarām to masterpieces such as Plates B and L.

The Artists Mānak and Chaitu

Hereafter we will consider the work of yet another Garhwāl artist named Chaitu. But before doing so I would like to deal with the problem of a painter named Mānak who, without sufficient basis, has been regarded as an artist of Garhwāl. Mr. N. C. Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21, reproduced a beautiful miniature entitled *Blindman's Buff*, from the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. On its reverse is an inscription *Mānak ki likhi* which means 'painted by Mānak'. Mr. Mehta appears to have concluded that Mānak was a Garhwālī artist from the fact that this miniature belonged to the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. But it must not be forgotten that the Darbār collection also included the *Gīta Govinda*, (Plate E) and *Bihārī Satsāiyā* (Fig 56) sets, which, as we have seen,[1] were not the work of Garhwālī painters but were executed in Sansār Chand's atelier. Thus in the absence of any intrinsic evidence in the miniature itself, the mere fact that the find-spot of *Blindman's Buff* was Garhwāl would not entitle us to regard Mānak as a Garhwālī painter. No other work bearing the name 'Mānak' has yet been found from any collection in Garhwāl. I do not suggest that *Blindman's Buff* could not have been painted in Garhwāl. The point which I wish to emphasise is that it contains no indications at all that it is a product of the Garhwāl school. Its style is quite consistent with it having been painted at Sansār Chand's court or at Guler. It may even have been presented to the Garhwāl Darbār as part of the dowry which included the *Gīta Govinda* and *Bihārī Satsāiyā* sets. Or it may have found its way into the Darbār collection by some other means. In this connection it should be noted that Sudarshan Shah of Garhwāl had married princesses from Kāngrā and Guler. The fact that sketches of Mānak's *Blindman's Buff* were in the possession of Molarām's descendants does not assist us in ascribing Mānak's masterpiece to the Garhwāl school. That Molarām was intimately connected with the Garhwāl court is well-known, and he and members of his family would no doubt have been at liberty to make any sketches or tracings they desired from the portfolios of the royal collection. As regards the problem whether the 'Mānak' of *Blindman's Buff* is 'Mānak', son of Pandit Seu, that matter has already been dealt with at page 186. Mānak of course was quite a common name in the Hills.[2]

Mr. Mukandi Lāl has attempted to establish that Manāk was a Garhwāl painter by reference to the Garhwāl *vansāvalī* which contains a long list of notable personages who were subjects of Rājā Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl (1785-1804 A.D.) and gave *nazarana* (ceremonial gifts) at his Darbār (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 24). One name in the *vansāvalī* is 'Mānku Lekhwar of Dasolī'. Dasolī is a pargana in Upper Garhwāl. 'Lekhwar' means a writer, and the term is equivalent to a private secretary. But there is no valid reason to think that the 'Mānku Lekhwar of Dasoli' was an artist, and still less reason to connect him with Mānak the painter of *Blindman's Buff*.

With regards to the painter Chaitu, Mr. Mehta has reproduced a painting which bears his name. It is entitled *The Rape of the Yādava Women* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 18; and *Rupam*, No. 26, colour plate, opposite page 53). It belonged to the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. *The Rape of the Yādava Women*, though not without passages of merit is, on the whole, a rather staid and formal composition lacking in flexibility and vigour. The colouring is intense, but not subtle, and as observed by Mr. Mehta, Chaitu not infrequently paints some of his figures white, thus affording vivid contrasts of colour

[1] *Supra*, p. 150.

[2] There is a reference to a portrait of a painter named Māuku (Mānku) in Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue*, No. 5, page 242). The portrait is not published.

to his compositions. In addition to *The Rape of the Yādava Women*, Mr. Mehta has reproduced two paintings, namely *Rāma's Departure* and *Dāna Līlā*, which he has attributed to Chaitu and rightly so (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plates 19 and 20). The stylistic similarities are apparent.

With regard to Chaitu I do not think there should be any doubt that he was a Garhwāl artist. In *The Rape of the Yādava Women*, and also in *Rāma's Departure*, which is from a *Rāmāyana* series painted by him, a small, gaunt, foliage-denuded, tree is seen in the landscape background. This feature, as I have already observed, is seen in a number of miniatures which there is reason to think were painted in Garhwāl. It cannot however be asserted that the presence of small, foliage-denuded trees on the horizon of the landscape background, necessarily leads to the conclusion that Chaitu's work belongs to the Garhwāl school.

Mr. Mehta has stated in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, page 50, that a few signed miniatures by Chaitu are in the Manuk collection and in that of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. I have not been able to trace them. Perhaps Mr. Mehta's information is incorrect, or he is referring to paintings which he ascribed to Chaitu on grounds of style.

In the Garhwāl *vansāvalī*, referred to by Mr. Mukandi Lāl (*Roop Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 24), one 'Chaitu Sāh' is mentioned, and Mr. Mukandi Lāl, not unreasonably concludes that the reference is to the painter Chaitu because the term 'Sāh' is a honorofic caste designation of goldsmiths in Garhwāl. It is well-known that a large number of Pahārī painters belonged to the 'Sunār' or goldsmith caste. Molarām's descendants are still addressed as 'Sāh', because Molarām's ancestors had taken up the profession of goldsmiths, though Molarām describes his forbears, who came to Garhwāl with Suleman Shikoh, as Tunwār Rājputs. Whether the Chaitu of the *vansāvalī*, is Chaitu the painter, it is not possible to say for certain, since Chaitu is quite a common name. If, however, Mr. Mukandi Lāl is correct in his surmise that the *Vansavalī* mentions the artist Chaitu, then there is good reason for concluding that Chaitu was a painter from Garhwāl. Moreover, his style is in keeping with the work done in Garhwāl during the early 19th century.

The miniature *Dāna Līlā*, reproduced by Mr. Mehta as being the work of Chaitu, is more charming than his other compositions. The simple, undulating background of hillocks, dotted with small trees, seen in *Dāna Līlā*, is also characteristic of *The Rape of the Yādava Women*. Chaitu seems to have been fond of this background treatment. He probably painted in the early 19th century judging from the quality of his work. He was a better artist than Molarām, though he produced nothing which can compare to the work of the unknown Garhwālī masters who painted such outstanding miniatures as *Utkā Nāyikā* (Plate B), *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī* (Plate L), and *Rādhā Looking into a Mirror* (Fig 40).

Utkā Nāyikā—Plate B

The *Nāyikā* who is waiting for her lover is perplexed at his failure to arrive at the appointed hour. The painter has revealed her state of mind by the actions of her hands. The usual bed of leaves, on which the lovers will lie, is already prepared. A deer, unafraid, rests near the pool. It is a starry, moonlit night, and the birds who have settled in the branches of nearby trees, have awoken from their sleep and are gazing at the *Nāyikā*. The artist has taken the liberty of introducing wild ducks and herons actively fishing on the water bank though in all probability they would be asleep at that hour. The strange shapes of the forest trees lend an eerie atmosphere to this scene of loneliness. But the slender, graceful *Nāyikā* is not afraid. She is only disturbed in mind and consoles herself by saying,

Oh howsoever it be, surely my Giver of Bliss will come!

Pahārī art has rarely produced so beautiful and sensitive a painting of the Hero-Heroine theme as this *Utkā Nāyikā* by an unknown master.

PLATE L



Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. Garhwal idiom of the Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1780-1800. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī—Plate L

This miniature was exhibited at the London Exhibition of Indian Art, 1947, and later at the Delhi Exhibition, 1948, where it attracted much attention. It is reproduced as Colour Plate D in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, and labelled *Lovers in a Moonlit Retreat.* Mr. Mukandi Lāl has suggested (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, page 23) that the face of the prince in Plate L resembles that of Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl and that the miniature perhaps portrays this monarch and a favourite queen resting in the countryside. But there is no doubt, as already observed by me in Chapter II, that Plate L is an illustration to the story of Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī. In the Sarola collection of Kotah, which was recently purchased by the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, there is a Rājasthānī miniature of the same theme in the mixed Rājput-Moghul style of the mid-18th century A.D. The resemblance between Plate L and the mixed Rājput-Moghul version is striking. In both, it is a moonlit, starry night, the lady has her head resting on her lover's lap, a quilt is spread under them, and the setting is a hillside background. Two horses' heads appear in the right lower corner of the mixed Moghul-Rājasthānī version, whereas in Plate L they are in the left lower corner. There can be little doubt that Plate L was painted by a Pahārī artist who was familiar with the formula employed by Moghul and Rājasthānī artists of the mid-18th century to depict this incident of the Bāz Bahādur-Rupmatī legend. The mixed style was popular in Delhi at the time, and also in some of the States of Rājasthān. Plate L is beyond question by the same hand which painted the beautiful *Shiva and Pārvatī* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32 in colour; and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 65). There is a marked similarity between the two paintings, not only in general appearance but even in small details, down to the two leopard cubs playing in the hollow of the hillside. The mixed Rājput-Moghul version, in the Sarola collection, falls far short of the delicacy which characterizes the Pahārī miniature and fails to convey the spirit of the poignant story of the famed lovers of Mandu. The horses, which are of the finest Mārwār breed, make a handsome sight as they stand alert at the foot of the hillside. Rupmatī is the beautiful and sensitive woman of the romance, as she relaxes gently near her lover, the good-looking but weak Bāz Bahādur. He loved her well, though he was unable to remain faithful to her. The landscape is a triumph in the delineation of hill scenery. The setting is not the rugged snow-clad Himalayan ranges, but the gentler forest-clad foothills. Though the artist has borrowed the formula of his composition from a mixed Rājput-Moghul miniature, he has transformed the landscape into a vista of his own hills. There can be little doubt that the setting is not an imaginary one, though the lotuses spreading over the pool is a conventional note. It is a scene with which the artist was familiar and which moved his sensitive spirit. No Moghul, Deccanī, or Rājasthānī painter ever obtained that measure of success in the treatment of landscape backgrounds which many a Pahārī artist achieved. Plate L is an epitome in line and colour of the happiest moments of the two ill-fated lovers who could not stem the tide of their destiny, but whose passion became a theme of bardic lore, and a beautiful memory that lingered in the grim, walled forts of the Thikānas of Rājasthān, and in the cowering mountain castles of the Rājput chieftains of the Hills.

Krishna and Rādhā looking into a Mirror—Fig 40

Though the subject matter of this miniature is somewhat formal, it is invested with unusual charm by the masterly handling of the landscape background, the excellent colour scheme, and its almost perfect technique. Krishna and Rādhā have been translated by the imagination of the artist from their rustic environment of the village of Brindaban to the precincts of a palatial Hill mansion. In the foreground is a large bowl-fountain, in the Moghul manner, while the pillars are an elaborate 18th century version of the chaste Shah Jehan period columns. Such pillars were much in favour in the palace architecture of the Hills in the second half of the 18th century and thereafter. The miniature is of the Garhwāl school, and accordingly the hills in the background are no doubt intended to represent the Nar and Narain at Srinagar. The lovers have come onto the balcony overlooking the river to enjoy the cool of the evening, and are idly whiling away the moments gazing at their faces in a mirror. To Krishna and Rādhā

every moment was created for love, and love alone. Their love-play was often so childlike and simple that it had a strong human appeal for those who worshipped the blue god. It must not be forgotten that the love-play of Krishna and Rādhā, as expressed in song, dance, and painting, provided countless women, whether they drudged in a village or lived in the isolation of palace walls, with the only romance of their lives. Miniature paintings were not accessible to a village wench who only knew the Krishna legend through song and dance; but to royal and aristocratic ladies, and their numberless handmaidens, the products of the court ateliers were available for their delectation. Many a lonely queen, discarded royal mistress, or love-lorn palace handmaiden, must have gazed at paintings such as Fig 40 and merged her being into that of the beautiful Rādhā to secure a few moments of bliss with Krishna—her God and her lover. Even to the painter himself, minatures such as Fig 40 must have been a means of transporting the spirit to that world of romance and idyllic beauty where God was a lover, and his devotee was the beloved. It is necessary to understand that one aspect of the Krishna cult was the merger of the personality of the devotee, whether male or female, into the being of Rādhā in order to taste the bliss which Rādhā derived from Krishna's company.

That Pahārī artists gave considerable thought to the composition of a picture is apparent from an examination of the thousands of unfinished Kāngrā paintings which exist. Under the thin overlay of white pigment which covers the preliminary drawing one frequently sees how figures or objects have been redrawn into positions different from their original placement in order to achieve a satisfactory balance. In Fig 40 it is interesting to note that the symmetrical composition of pillars with the centralized placement of the two principal figures and the fountain, would have resulted in monotony but for the clever distribution of the two *sakhīs* (handmaidens).

Though the love of Krishna and Rādhā is the tale of a village lad and a village lass, yet in the hands of court painters the setting was freely transformed from a village dwelling to a fine mansion or a royal palace. The incongruity troubled neither the painter nor his patron, and this attitude of mind indicates the extent to which Pahārī painting was a court art. Fig 40 is as refined, as aristocratic, and as technically perfect as the best of Moghul miniatures. Even Krishna and Rādhā have the air and graces of a high-born prince and princess. The *sakhīs* are not the *gopīs* of Brindaban but maids-in-waiting of a royal harem. Albeit the painter has succeeded in conveying the spirit of the Krishna story, and by the use of an admirably handled landscape has infused the regal setting with all the lyric charm of the legend.

The Garhwāl school did not end with Molarām. Mr. Mukandi Lāl informs us that even as late as 1877 there were five families of artists working at Srinagar, and that only two of these families were the descendants of Molarām (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 25). There is an imaginary portrait of Dāra Shikoh by Molarām's son Shib Ram (1790-1855 A.D.), and a sketch *Goverdhan Dharan* by another son named Jwala Rām (1788-1848). They are both poor efforts (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 16, opp. page 19; and Plate 17, opp. page 31). *A Lady Smoking* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952, Plate 64, opp. p. 67) is also ascribed to Jwala Rām. No reasons, however, are given for this ascription. It is much superior to the slovenly *Goverdhan Dharan*, and it is difficult to believe that both works are of the same artist

The Dates of the Garhwāl Miniatures

We are aware from the dates on Molarām's miniatures that his work in the Kāngrā style was spread over the period *circa* 1775-1833 A.D. His best work appears to have been produced round about 1810 (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 20, opp. page 24).

Chaitu also appears to have painted during the early 19th century, though it is quite possible that he too, like Molarām, commenced his career as an artist in the late 18th century. But what of the masterpieces of Garhwāl art such as Plates B, and L, and Fig 40? On the

basis of style it is unlikely that such fine productions are the works of the 19th century when, generally speaking, a certain stiffness had crept into the *Kāngrā Kalam* all over the Hills.

Moreover, as far as Garhwāl is concerned it was invaded by the Gurkhas in 1803 and remained under Gurkha domination till 1815 A.D. The rule of the Gurkhas was so harsh and oppressive that thousands fled from Garhwāl to avoid being sold into slavery. Molarām, however, though a native of the State, stayed on, and appears to have been unmolested by the invaders. But it was not likely that an outside artist would migrate to Garhwāl or reside in Garhwāl during the Gurkha rule. Accordingly the Garhwāl masterpieces could not have been painted between 1804 and 1815, while a date later than 1815 A.D. is well-nigh out of question. It must therefore be assumed that the masterpieces were all painted prior to 1804 A.D. I am in agreement with Rai Krishnadāsa's theory that they are the work of one or more of Sansār Chand's artists who, for one reason or another, left Kāngrā and sojourned for a while in Garhwāl. Several circumstances go to support this theory as a plausible one. I have already adverted to the fact that the device of a dark, leaf-denuded tree dominating the composition (Plates B and L) was seen in the miniature of Ratī imploring Mahadev from the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series painted at Sansār Chand's court (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec, 1952).[1] In the *Bāramāsa* set of the Lambagraon Darbār one finds even more convincing proof of this theory. In several miniatures of this set are to be seen those small, leaf-denuded trees in the background so characteristic of several Garhwālī masterpieces. Moreover, in the miniature from this set depicting the month of Jestha, there is a forest-clad hillside with a hollow in which two young tigers are playing. A similar hill-side hollow with two leopard cubs is seen in the beautiful Garhwāl masterpieces *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī* (Plate L) and *Shiva and Pārvatī* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32, and Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 65). A concidence of this nature can hardly be accidental, and indicates that one of Sansār Chand's artists, conversant with the *Bāramāsa* set, painted Plate L and its companion picture *Mahadev and Pārvatī*. Even the pool with lotuses, set in the hollow of the hills, seen in Plate L, has its counterpart in other paintings from Sansār Chand's atelier now in the collection of the Lambagraon Darbār. Yet another indication that artists from Sansār Chand's court went to Garhwāl is to be found in the fact that in the miniature depicting the month of Bhadaon from the *Bāramāsa* set, the figure of Rādhā is obviously the prototype for the *Abhisārikā* seen in the Garhwālī masterpiece reproduced in Coomaraswamy's *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 73A. Moreover, even the method of depicting rain employed by the Garhwālī masters, namely by means of closely set, thin, white, unbroken parallel lines, has been borrowed from the *Bāramāsa* set of Sansār Chand's atelier.

There is no doubt that the Garhwālī masterpieces evidence an entirely superior level of work from that of Molarām, Chaitu, and the hundreds of other paintings which were produced in Garhwāl. But apart from the unknown painters of the Garhwālī masterpieces, whose stay appears to have been fugitive, there were many other artists working in the State.

It should be remembered that there were several families of painters settled in Garhwāl. This is apparent from the fact that even in 1877 there were five families of artists working in Srinagar of which only two families were the descendants of Molarām (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, page 25). We may therefore assume that quite a number of artists had settled in Garhwāl. One more circumstance to consider is that Molarām himself was striving to imitate the Garhwālī masters. This is evident from his *Varsa Vihāra* (*Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Fig C, opp. page 39) which is an inferior imitation of the famous *Varsa Vihāra* of the Boston Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 43). Again in *Vasakasayyā Nāyikā* (*Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950, Plate 20, opp. page 24) painted in 1810 A.D., we observe that Molarām is attempting to copy the imaginative tree-forms of the Garhwāl masterpieces. One possible theory is that some skilled Kāngrā painters settled in Garhwāl with the break-up of Sansār Chand's famed atelier when this one time paramount Chief was beleagured in Kāngrā Fort from 1805

[1] Also reproduced in *Roopa-Lekhā*, Vol. Nos. 1 and 2, 1953, opp. p. 37; and in this volume as Plate N.

to 1809 A. D. by the Gurkhas. The difficulty in the way of the acceptance of this theory is the circumstance that Garhwāl itself was overrun by the Gurkhas in 1803, and Pradyumun Shah had to fly from his capital of Srinagar. It may be that the Gurkhas were not harsh to the artists settled in Srinagar, because we know that Molarām stayed on and was even visited by Hastidāl, the Gurkha Governor of Garhwāl. But even so, the Gurkha rule left Srinagar desolate and impoverished, and it is unlikely that artists from Sansār Chand's court would have been tempted to migrate to Srinagar after 1804 A.D. Of course artists already settled in Garhwāl may well have stayed on at the capital being assured that there would be no molestation, even if patronage was wanting. I am however more inclined to the view that these masters came to Garhwāl from Sansār Chand's court some time between 1800 and 1803 A.D. and thereafter, due to the Gurkha occupation sought a refuge elsewhere. In fact these masterpieces are so few in number that this circumstance itself suggests that those who painted them did not stay long in Garhwāl. Some of their works may conceiveably have been presented by them to so well-known a personage as Molarām, and that may be the reason for some of the masterpieces being found in Bālak Rām's collection.

The output of the Garhwāl school was prolific, but the masterpieces are limited in number. It is these few gems of Pahāri art that really give the Garhwāl school its importance, though hitherto it was the association of Molarām with this school that invited attention to it.

It is not likely that the group constituting the Garhwāl masterpieces is the handiwork of more than two or three artists. Sansār Chand had a large atelier, but the number of artists working therein must have varied from time to time. At the turn of the century Sansār Chand was so busy with his military plans to conquer Lahore itself that he may not have given his accustomed attention to his atelier, nor have desired to incur the expenditure of maintaining it at its former strength. In such circumstances some talented painters may have migrated to Garhwāl where the effeminate Pradyumun Shah was apparently a patron of the arts.

In the captions under Plates B, L, and Fig 40, I have given their dates as 1780-1800 A.D. On stylistic grounds they belong to that period. But it may be that they were actually painted during the period 1800-1803 A.D. Whatever be the correct dates of these miniatures, it is clear that the landscape of Garhwāl, and of its capital Srinagar, made a deep impression on the artists who painted these works, and even imparted a definite individuality to their style.

Though the sojourn of the Garhwāl masters in Garhwāl seems to have been of short duration, yet the Garhwāl school did not come to an end with the Gurkha invasion. The artist-families settled in Garhwāl, such as that of Molarām, continued to paint during the period of the Gurkha occupation and a considerable amount of work appears to have been produced. So also, after 1815, when the Gurkhas were driven out of Garhwāl, the local artists continued to produce numerous paintings. In fact the output of the Garhwāl school has been very considerable though of unequal quality. The masterpieces, as already stated, are very limited in number, but there are quite a few works which, though not of the excellence of Plates B, L, and Fig 40, are undoubtedly possessed of aesthetic merits such as *Cow Dust* (Plate VIII). The major part of the production of Garhwāl, however, is of no real significance, and the same can be said of the *Kāngrā Kalam* in all other States. It is always necessary to differentiate between the truly significant output of Pahārī art, and that which is merely pleasing or decorative. This distinction is often lost sight of.

The Chambā Idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam and Fig 87

Our knowledge of painting in Chambā upto the reign of Rāj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.) is indeed meagre. The statement[1] made by Dr. Goetz that Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.) introduced the Basohlī style into Chambā and that a few Chambā paintings of late 17th century date survive to show this influence can hardly be correct. Dr. Goetz has not published the paint-

[1] *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, p. 8.

ings to which he refers. The wood carvings at Brahmor Kothī (Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā*, Plate 6) ascribed to Prithvī Singh's reign are in the Moghul manner. This is evident from the costumes, types, and the background of curved arches. Dr. Goetz (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 31, page 139) states that the Brahmor reliefs are in the Basohlī style but it is difficult to discern any Basohlī influence such as the sloping forehead and protruding eyes. The Basohlī school appears to have come into existence only after Prithvī Singh's death in 1664 A.D. Possibly the Brahmor carvings are later than Prithvī Singh's reign.

I have already stressed the fact that there were several idioms of the *Basohlī Kalam* and there is good reason to think that one such locale was Chambā. But the *Basohlī Kalam* is not likely to have been adopted in Chambā till the first quarter of the 18th century when interest in maintaining ateliers first began to manifest itself at Pahārī courts.

A portrait of Ugar Singh (1720-1735 A.D.) from the Rothenstein collection[1] goes to indicate that the Basohlī style had obtained a foothold in Chambā. As already pointed out[2] the female attendants evidence the influence of Basohlī art of *circa* 1730 A.D. while even the drawing of Ugar Singh's eyes suggests a Basohlī mannerism. · Archer regards Ugar Singh's portrait as a work of the Jammu school because its colouring resembles that of some Jammu studies. Ugar Singh was a refugee at Jammu but that was prior to 1720 A.D., and it is not possible to ascribe so early a date to this portrait. It may belong to the last years of Ugar Singh's reign, namely *circa* 1733-1735 A.D., or it may have been prepared after his death at the instance of his son Umed Singh (1748-1764 A.D.) by a 'pre-Kāngrā' school artist whose colour harmonies resembled those of the *Jammu Kalam*. The latter theory is the more likely one.

Ugar Singh (1720-1735 A.D.) was succeeded by Dalel Singh (1735-1748 A.D.) and we may assume that the Basohlī idiom remained in vogue during his reign. The 'pre-Kāngrā' style may also have been practised after 1740 A.D. as it is not improbable that some refugee painters from the plains sought an asylum in Chambā. On this matter, we have no definite information but certain inferences can be drawn. Moreover a number of sketches in the Moghul style have been found with the descendants of the painter-families of Chambā.

Umed Singh (1748-1764 A.D.) followed Dalel Singh, and governed well. It is not unlikely that he patronized some artists who worked in the 'pre-Kāngrā' style which had become the fashion in the Hills during the 3rd quarter of the 18th century. He was married to a Jasrota princess and we know that Pandit Seu's family had already settled in Jasrota and its members were taking service under various Hill chiefs and nobles. Therefore an artist from Jasrota would easily be available to Umed Singh. It would appear, as we shall presently see, that Umed Singh did avail himself of the services of an artist who in all probability belonged to the family of Pandit Seu, and it is likely that he also had other artists in his employ.

It is not, however, till we come to the reign of Rāj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.) that we have some concrete evidence of the trends of painting in Chambā. Rāj Singh was only nine when he came to the throne and he died in battle after a reign of thirty years. His time was largely occupied in wars, but it is certain that there were artists at his court. A portrait of him as a mere youth at a music party is in the collection of Mr. N. C. Mehta (Fig 87). The face of the female dancer is characteristically in the *Standard* style. As the date of the painting is approximately 1770 it would appear that the *Standard* type came into vogue both at Guler (Fig 68) and Chambā (Fig 87) at about the same time. This is not altogether surprising. It must be remembered that Guler was more or less tributary to Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā (1751-1774 A.D.), while Chambā was also invaded by this powerful chief. If the *Standard* type was evolved in Ghamand Chand's atelier between 1765 and 1770, as may well be the case, then it is not difficult to account for its adoption more or less simultaneously in Guler and Chambā and other States. The work which was being produced in the atelier of the paramount Hill Chief was not likely to remain

[1] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, Fig 54.
[2] *Supra*, page 94.

unknown to the artists of other Hill courts for long. Members of the same artist-family often worked in different States, and distances being short, frequent contacts were easy to maintain.

The importance of Fig 87 lies not only in the fact that it is the earliest known miniature of Rāj Singh's reign (1764-1794 A.D.), but also in the circumstance that it indicates the existence of an atelier at the Chambā court prior to 1764 in which artists were working in the 'pre-Kāngrā' style. Though the face of the dancer in Fig 87 belongs to the *Standard* type of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, all the musicians, attendants, and courtiers are painted in a manner typical of the work of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase. In fact Fig 87 belongs to the same category as the art produced at the Guler court of Goverdhan Chand (1730-1773 A.D.) and in the atelier of Balvant Singh of Jammu. The only real distinction lies in the fact that the painter of Fig 87 has introduced the *Standard* type of female face in the person of the dancer. As Rāj Singh was but a youth when this study was painted it seems likely enough that it is the work of an artist who was already in the employ of the Chambā court before Rāj Singh came to the throne in 1764 A.D. The style of Fig 87 makes it quite clear that the artist was a refugee painter trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period and accordingly we can conclude that he found his way to Chambā sometime between 1740 and 1760 A.D. Here we have one more indication of how widespread was the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase in the Hills. Archer is inclined to confine the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase to Guler and Jammu on the ground, amongst others, that art in the Hills seems only to have flourished where there was a patron interested in painting. But this theory overlooks a consideration of importance, namely that it had become a fashion and a matter of prestige, from a cultural point of view, for every Hill court to have an atelier. Moreover, almost every Hill Rājā was partial to having numerous portrait studies of himself painted. A further fact of importance to be considered is that these Rājās, without exception, loved the Krishna legend, the epics, bardic lore, and the *Braj Bhāsa* songs, and thus were sure to obtain no little enjoyment in seeing the incidents of the *Bhāgavata*, or the Krishna-Rādhā romance, or the *Mahābhārata*, in line and colour. Hence it came about that even those Rājās who had no particular interest in painting for its own sake, were keen to patronize ateliers of their own wherein portrait studies could be produced, and the literature which they loved could be illustrated in a manner agreeable to them. Accordingly many of the Pahārī courts sought to absorb refugee painters from the plains who had fled to the Hills. It may be, however, that Guler and Jammu were the first Hill States to welcome these refugee painters and later the fashion spread to other States. If this aspect of the matter is accepted then it is not necessary to resort to a theory which connects every 'pre-Kāngrā' phase miniature with either the atelier of Goverdhan Chand of Guler or that of Balvant Singh of Jammu. It is true that it was not an uncommon practice for Hill Rājās to possess a series of portraits of contemporary and departed ruling chiefs, but a clear-cut distinction must be made between such portrait-sets on the one hand, and elaborate court studies such as Fig 87, on the other. It is unlikely that Figs 87 and 63, for instance, were not painted at the Chambā court and the Bandrālta court respectively. Each of these two miniatures obviously depicts the court of the Rājā concerned, and it is the courtiers, attendants, dancers, and musicians of that very court who are portrayed in the paintings. Thus there should not be any doubt that Fig 87 was painted in Chambā by one of Rāj Singh's own artists, and as such it affords proof of the existence of a 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Chambā.

Fig 87 is finely executed and in the best manner of 'pre-Kāngrā' art. It is possible that it is the work of one of the members of Pandit Seu's large family. At the same time we must remember that there were artists such as Vajan Sah at Balvant Singh's court who, though unconnected with Pandit Seu, painted in a similar style.

Several portraits of Rāj Singh as a grown-up man may now be considered. The first[1] shows him smoking a hukkah with a falcon sitting at his side while a *chaurī* bearer is in attendance. It is typical of many *Kāngrā Kalam* portraits of this period.

[1] Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā*, 1909, Plate 4.
Artibus Asiae, Vol. 10, No. 3, 'Portrait Painting in Kāngrā and Chambā', Plate 5.

The second[1] is a well executed study of the Rājā walking in a garden-pavilion with his queen or a favourite. He has his arm around her neck. The couple is smoking hukkahs carried by maid-servants. The female faces are stylized, all being of the *Standard* type seen in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 16. The lay-out of the garden is based on the Moghul gardens of that period. In the background are rows of cypress and plantain trees, so commonly seen in *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings of all the Hill States. No reliance should be placed on this feature alone in determining the provenance of a Kāngrā miniature. It became a widely accepted convention in the late 18th and early 19th century. In the foreground are two ducks. Archer[2] suggests that this study of Rāj Singh represents the Guler style carried to Chambā by Guler artists. But this is only a supposition. We have yet no satisfactory material from which to conclude that the *Kāngrā Kalam* originated in Guler. On the contrary the probabilities are that the *Standard* type was adopted by Guler (Fig 68) from an outside source, perhaps Kāngrā itself. This was certainly the case with the Garhwāl school. As early as 1775 A.D. we find Molarām[3] imitating the *Standard* type of the *Kāngrā Kalam* after his visit to Kāngrā which must have been in Ghamand Chand's reign sometime between 1669 and 1775 A.D. No doubt the possibility of a Guler artist having gone to Chambā exists, but it is equally possible that the *Standard* type was introduced into Guler via Chambā after Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.) of Guler married a Cambayal princess named Anant Devī (Fig 83). But even assuming that a Guler artist took the *Standard* style to Chambā it does not follow that the style of painting at Chambā in Rāj Singh's time should be referred to as the Guler style. Guler itself may have adopted the *Standard* style from Kāngrā. One cannot lightly overlook the tradition which all the artist-families in the Hills have long maintained, and still maintain, namely that the *Kāngrā Kalam* came from Kāngrā and was sooner or later adopted by every Hill State. If Guler was the cradle of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, then so outstanding a fact was not likely to be forgotten in the Hills in less than a hundred and fifty years. Gyanchand of Kulu impressed on me that Kāngrā was the source of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

A third portrait[4] of Rāj Singh occurs in a painting of the Rājā's Darbār. It is a remarkable miniature of high excellence. Numerous courtiers are arrayed in two parallel rows, while musicians are seated in front of the Rājā who has his pet falcon by his side. The background is a large tank in a Moghul type garden. It would thus appear that talented artists were employed by Rāj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.). A fourth portrait, which is in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, is somewhat similar to the first study. Yet another miniature wherein Rāj Singh is seen is reproduced in *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Plate 35, Fig 2. The Rājā is seen at the left-hand top corner holding his darbār, and lower in the picture space he is again represented walking out of the palace gate with a small child on his left and accompanied by his courtiers. The thick-set figure of the Rājā with his long pointed beard is immediately recognizable. The miniature is characteristic of the style which prevailed in several States during this period for portraits, darbār scenes and processions. A portrait of Rāj Singh can also be recognised in a Chambā *Rumāl* (embroidery) depicting probably the marriage of his son Jit Singh (*Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, Vol. 3, Pl 1.)

Rāj Singh built the Rang Mahāl palace, the foundations of which had been laid by Umed Singh (1748-1764 A.D.). Several of the frescoes in this palace were painted during Rāj Singh's time but they were added to in later reigns. Dr. Goetz states in *The Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 31, page 145 that the Rang Mahāl was completed in 1755 by Umed Singh but this is

[1] *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 'Portrait Painting in Kāngrā and Chambā', Plate 3.
Stchoukine, *La Miniatures Indienne de La Musee de Louvre*, Plate 20.
[2] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, Fig 34.
[3] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, page 44.
[4] *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 6, opp. p. 120.
Artibus Asiae, Vol. 10, No. 3, 'Portrait Painting in Kāngrā and Chambā', Plate 4. Its present whereabouts are not known. It was presented along with some other Chambā miniatures to K. F. Von Ujfalvy by Rājā Shām Singh of Chambā when this traveller visited that State in 1881 A.D. (Ujfalvy, *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaya*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 87-95). It is reproduced in his book.

contrary to the prevailing tradition. But Dr. Goetz is undoubtedly justified in his surmise that Moghul influence came into Chambā in the reign of Umed Singh when refugee artists, artisans, and scholars were seeking to escape the troubled conditions which prevailed in the plains while the Moghul Empire was tottering. It is not, however, possible to locate the wall paintings or the miniatures which may have been painted in Umed Singh's reign, with any degree of certainty. Most of the existing Chambā frescoes are late, and the earlier miniatures in the Bhurī Singh Museum may be no earlier than Rāj Singh's reign.

Rāj Singh was succeeded by Jit Singh (1794-1808 A.D.). There is a portrait of him[1] with his queen, in the Chambā Museum. The architectural setting is ornate and the general presentation stiff and formal. The two ducks in the foreground should be noted. May be Jit Singh was not as interested as his predecessor in maintaining skilled artists at the court.

Vogel[2] observes that a peculiarity of Chambā portraits consists in the fact that the Rājā is often portrayed with his queen and the heir apparent. But this peculiarity can be seen even in work from Guler (Fig 74). Sansār Chand was also wont to have himself portrayed with his son Aniruddha, though his queen is not seen in such studies.

Jit Singh was succeeded by Charat Singh (1808-1844 A.D.) who was but a boy of six at his accession. In 1839 the traveller Vigne passed through Chambā. He has described Charat Singh as 'not tall, inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression and a weak voice'. Vigne has also left a description of the Rājā's brother, Zorawar Singh, between whom and the Rājā great cordiality and affection existed. Zorawar Singh is described as—'not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome but inexpressive features and is always splendidly dressed *a la Sikh* with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead over the turban'. The Rajā's daily life is described thus: 'The Rājā passes his time very monotonously devoting a great part of every morning to his puja; then follows the breakfast and the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the 'green' on an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen'.

There is a portrait[3] of Charat Singh in the Chambā Museum where he is seated with his queen in a garden, while handmaidens and musicians are in attendance. The portrait bears out Vigne's description of the Rājā. The trees are well handled, but the human figures betray that stiffness which was observed in Jit Singh's portrait.

A Local Idiom

Though painting in Chambā followed the general lines of the *Kāngrā Kalam* there are some miniatures wherein a local idiom is discernible. Perhaps it was peculiar to a small group of painters, as the number of paintings in this idiom does not appear to be large. Two miniatures in this Chambā idiom are reproduced in the present volume being *A Love Scene* (Fig 22) and *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 42). The main characteristic of this idiom is the facial type which is quite unmistakable (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 6 and 7). The mouth is noticeably small, the eyelids are curved, the eyebrow is arched into almost a quarter circle, the chin is rounded and small, and the well-formed nose juts forward giving the face a perky appearance. In the frescoes of the Rang Mahāl palace a similar type of face, though with a more rounded chin, is seen in several panels. One such face, from an unreproduced panel, is illustrated for comparison as Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5. Another characteristic of this Chambā idiom is the elongation of both male and female figures, at times to the point of exaggeration. The impression created is of excessive length from the neck to the feet, with the head rather abruptly perched

[1] *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 'Portrait Painting in Kāngrā and Chambā', Plate 6.
Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhurī Singh Museum, Chambā*, 1907, Plate 5.
[2] *Ibid*, page 14.
[3] *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Plate 4, opp. p. 49.

on the neck. This elongation is seen in *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 42) in the figure of Rādhā and also in the figure of the man playing the tambourine. It should further be noted that the body, from the waist to the knee, is disproportionately short in comparison to the length of the leg from the knee to the ground. A third characteristic in this group of Chambā miniatures is the treatment of the background. The landscape takes the form of a series of fairly well defined arcs, one above the other. These arcs have sharp angular projections, and above the arcs is seen a streak of pure white cloud with sharp ends. This treatment of the background can be observed best in *Love Scene* (Fig 22), though it is also present in *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 42). Sometimes the landscape background consists of a single semi-circular arc instead of a series of arcs, and above this single arc are white, fleecy Chinese clouds floating in a monochrome sky (Basil Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 10 in colour).

It is interesting to note that the somewhat unusual form of tree seen on the right of the miniature *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 42) is also seen in the Rang Mahāl frescoes. A similar type of tree can often be observed on *Rumāls* (embroidered cloths) from Chambā.

All the female facial types in the Rang Mahāl frescoes do not conform to the type illustrated as Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5. Other types of faces are also seen, as for instance in the panel *Krishna and Rādhā* (Fig 20).

My reasons for assigning *Rādhā Dancing before Krishna* (Fig 42) to Chambā are as follows :

(1) A drawing very similar to Fig 42 was found with an artist-family in Chambā by Jagdish Mittal, the young painter, who copied the Chambā frescoes. It was probably the original sketch for Fig 42, and was known to be the work of one of the ancestors of the family.

(2) The living artists, such as Hiralāl and Bilu Mistry and others, confirm that the elongated types of Fig 42 evidence a Chambā characteristic. Jagdish Mittal found this type amongst the sketches in the possession of the local artist-families.

(3) The female facial type in Fig 42 is also to be found, with a slight variation, in some of the Rang Mahāl frescoes of *circa* 1800-1850 (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5).

(4) The peculiar tree-form, on the right, in Fig 42, is found in the Rang Mahāl frescoes and also in *Rumāls* (embroidered cloths) from Chambā.

Once the provenance of Fig 42 has been established it is evident that *Love Scene* (Fig 22) belongs to the same school and idiom.

A Love Scene—Fig 22

A young prince and a princess are seen seated together on a throne-like chair. The prince has a flask in one hand and a wine cup in the other. Their faces are strikingly similar, but the faces of males and females in numerous Pahārī miniatures, when analysed, are found to be alike. The differentiation of sex is effected by the hair, headgear, costume, and ornaments (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 15 and 16). The lovers are seated on a terrace, and in true Indian fashion have removed their slippers. The miniature is daintly handled thus giving an otherwise formal subject a charm of its own. In the caption under Fig 22 the date suggested is 1800-1825, but it could as well belong to the late 18th century.

Rādhā Dancing Before Krishna—Fig 42

This miniature affords an interesting comparison with Fig 41 which deals with the same theme. Fig 41 is representative of the *Kāngrā Kalam* at its best. It is the work of a very superior artist whose technique was strongly influenced by Moghul painting. Fig 42 on the other hand is a provincial derivative from the Basohlī tradition with which *Kāngrā Kalam* influences have been mixed. It is *gauche* in comparison to Fig 41, and yet so delightfully quaint and unusual that it arouses immediate interest. Here Rādhā is not the practised, elegant, danseuse

of Fig 41, emulating the movements of a court dancer, but just a village girl, clad in garments of coarse stuff, who on hearing the seductive notes of the god's flute seeks to please him and entice him to her side with her rustic dances while he archly glances in another direction. The cowherd companions of Krishna are dressed in a costume found repeatedly in Pahārī paintings of all schools. Their straight, unshapely, pillar-like legs are no different from the similarly drawn legs of cowherds in *Kulu Kalam* folk-painting (Fig 35).

More Chambā Miniatures

In the British Museum[1] there is a miniature from the *Rāmāyana* wherein the figures of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakshmana are abnormally elongated The facial types resemble those of Fig 42 and accordingly the miniature would appear to be from Chambā and not from Garhwāl.

Another miniature, entitled *Krishna and Rādhā*, which is also ascribed to Chambā, is reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 107, Fig 546. The facial types would suggest Chambā and the date assigned to it, namely *circa* 1800 A.D. is correct. But the statement at page 131 of the abovementioned catalogue, namely that its foliage and water are in the Chambā convention, should be accepted with reserve. Similar foliage and water can be seen in miniatures which appear to have no connection with Chambā.

Amongst other miniatures which may be regarded as of the Chambā school of the last quarter of the 18th century, is that of a lady listening to a *veena*, in the collection of the late Sir William Rothenstein (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 3). The face of the *veena* player, as well as that of the lady seated on a cushion, is similar to one of the types in the Rang Mahāl frescoes (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5), while the river landscape forms an arc high up in the picture-space as in Fig 22. In the catalogue of the Rothenstein collection, at page 9 of the abovementioned journal, Archer has classified this miniature as Pahārī and the date provisionally given is *circa* 1770 A.D. Later in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, Fig 55, Archer ascribed this painting to Jammu, *circa* 1760. But Chambā *circa*, 1790 A.D., seems to me to be a more suitable attribution.

Rāma and Sītā in the Forest,[2] from the Chambā Museum, is typical of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and it is only Sītā's face which gives a clue to its provenance. Sītā resembles the type seen in Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5, from the Rang Mahāl frescoes of *circa* 1800-1850.

From the drawings acquired by Jagdish Mittal from the Chambā artist-families one might venture to suggest that *Shri Krishna with the Flute* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 55), as well as *Rādhā and Krishna* (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 76), belong to Chambā. The slightly tilted nose and round forehead appear to be characteristics of certain miniatures painted in Chambā. Moreover the tree-forms resemble those often seen in Chambā *rumāls* (embroideries).

The fresco of Rāma and Sītā from a Chambā temple (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Plate 1) evidences certain later types seen in Chambā painting. Such types appear in a *Prositapreyasi* from the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection (*B.B. & C.I. Annual*, 1942, in colour) which is almost certainly from Chambā. It can be ascribed to the reign of Charat Singh (1808-1844 A.D.).

Lady being led to her Lover,[3] ascribed by Archer to Punch *circa* 1770, appears to be from Chambā, and can be dated *circa* 1800. The female types resemble some of those in the Rang Mahāl frescoes, while the lady to the left has an elongated figure in the manner of the Chambā idiom (Fig 42).

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[1] Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, Plate 60, Fig 2; and Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, Pl 3.
[2] *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Plate 3.
[3] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, Fig 65.

Lady on a Terrace[1], which Archer has assigned to Punch *circa* 1760, also appears to be a Chambā miniature. I have already observed that the existence of any school in Punch is doubtful. The painting is not likely to be earlier than 1800 A.D. and may be later. The excessively elongated figures, as well as the facial types resembling Enlarged Face Detail, No. 7, proclaim its Chambā origin. The throne is also similar to that seen in Fig 22, while the presence of two ducks is a feature commonly introduced in Chambā miniatures. It was observed in the portrait of Rāj Singh as well as of Jit Singh. This miniature is signed 'Rakham Jamil Musavir' which means 'work of the painter Jamil'. Perhaps Jamil was an ancestor of a modern Chambā artist named Malik Gulām Mahomed. Archer[2] is incorrect in saying that a Muslim painter's name on a miniature would indicate that it was painted in a Muslim Hill State. As was the case in Rājasthān, there must have been many Muslim painters at the Hill courts of the Rājput Rājās. Even the Muslim hat, worn by the attendant in the foreground, which Archer places reliance on to ascribe the miniature to a Muslim Hill State, was commonly worn by many handmaidens at Hindu courts. It is repeatedly seen in Rājasthānī painting.

The Expectant Heroine,[3] from the Rothenstein collection, also appears to be from Chambā. The excessive elongation, the semi-circular horizon, and the Chinese clouds are all present. It belongs to the late 18th century. Fig 590 in *Art of India and Pakistan* seems to be from Chambā.

Svadhinapatikā Nāyikā—Fig 66

This is yet another miniature which may be ascribed to Chambā during the reign of Rāj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.). The unduly elongated figure of the *sakhī* (confidante) is a Chambā characteristic, as already observed, while the semi-circular horizon and the Chinese clouds, often seen in Chambā painting, further support the suggestion that Fig 66 is from Chambā. Rādhā's face is of the *Standard* type seen in the study of Rāj Singh walking with his queen.[4] This female facial type is also seen in Guler. Krishna is washing Rādhā's feet, so completely is he in subjection to her charms. On the reverse are verses from Keshav Dās.

Some Incorrect Attributions to the Chambā School

In O. C. Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, the author has attributed a portrait of Rājā Prakash Chand of Guler, reproduced therein as Plate 23, to the Chambā school on the ground that it resembles some Chambā portraits. But there is no valid reason for the attribution. Such portraits were painted in Guler and also in other States. The portrait is from Guler.

So also Gangoly's attribution to the Chambā school of *Shitavihāra*, and two versions of *Cowdust* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plates 24, 25A, and 25B respectively) is without justification. *Shitavihāra* may have been painted in Chambā but it could equally well have been painted in any other Hill State where the *Kāngrā Kalam* was in fashion. With regard to the version of *Cowdust* which Gangoly has reproduced as Plate 25A, it might be remarked that the landscape background is suggestive of Tira Sujanpur and Alampur, and not of Chambā. As to the second version of *Cowdust*, reproduced by Gangoly as Plate 25B, and which incidentally is the great masterpiece of the Boston Museum, one can venture to say that it is more likely a product of the famous atelier of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā than that of Rāj Singh of Chambā.

In *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 540, a portrait of a Rājā and his minister is ascribed to the Chambā school, but the Rājā is Brajrāj Dev of Jammu and the miniature is an example of the late Jammu style. So also in the same catalogue, Plate 106, Fig 525, is a portrait study of a Hill Chief which is attributed to Chambā. But this study again is surely a portrait of Brajrāj Dev and should be assigned to Jammu.

[1] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 81.
[3] Gray, *Rājput Painting*, 1948, Plate 9.
[4] Vogel, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, Plate 3.
Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 34.

Items No. 541 and No. 545 at pages 130 and 131 respectively of *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, are also attributed to the Chambā school. They form part of two distinct but stylistically related sets. Item No. 541 consists of two miniatures from the same series to which Fig 21, reproduced in the present volume, belongs. In the caption under Fig 21 the painting is described as an illustration to the *Harivamsa*, while Item No. 541 in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, is similarly described. But this description, which was borrowed, both by Basil Gray and the present writer, from the label on this series in the Lahore Museum, is erroneous. I have since discovered that the series illustrates the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, and not the *Harivamsa*. Moreover I have discovered[1] the colophon of the manuscript to which these paintings belong and it reveals that the manuscript was made for Shri Pritam Singh at Ragunāthpura (Kulu) in 1794 A.D. This manuscript has already been discussed at some length in connection with Fig 21. It establishes that the ascription of Items Nos. 541 and 545 in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, to the Chambā school is incorrect. I do not know on what grounds these items were ascribed to Chambā.[2] Ajit Ghose once informed me in a letter that the dealer from whom he obtained a few examples of the series, to which Item No. 541 belongs, told him that the illustrations were from the *Harivamsa* and that the colophon of the manuscript stated the place name to be Chambā and the date to be 1735 A.D. The dealer was obviously misinformed by someone who was unable to read the colophon correctly. However, the matter is now beyond the pale of dispute as the colophon was read by the eminent epigraphist the late Hirānanda Shastrī and also by Dr Motichandra.

Some Chambā Traditions

Jagdish Mittal while copying frescoes in Chambā met some of the descendants of the old painter-families and from them gathered the following traditions:

(1) There was a craftsman named Malik Gulām Mahomed who died at Chambā at the age of seventy in or about 1930. It is said that his grandfather left Lahore owing to disturbances and migrated to Basohlī where he was a court-artist. The Basohlī Rājā later sent him to Chambā as part of the dowry given to a Basohlī princess who married a Chambā prince. He is reputed to have been a great painter and to have painted some of the frescoes of the Rang Mahāl. Having regard to Malik Gulām Mahomed's age and date of demise, it can hardly be possible that his grandfather was born before 1780 A.D. In fact having regard to the custom of early marriages in India the birthdate of Gulām Mahomed's grandfather normally would be nearer 1800-1810 A.D. Even if he left Lahore as a young man, and assuming he was born *circa* 1780, he would be at the Basohlī court round about 1805. Thereafter if he was sent to Chambā in a few years he would be at the Chambā court in 1810 or so. It may thus be that he worked at the end of Jit Singh's reign (1794-1808 A.D.) and into Charat Singh's reign (1808-1844 A.D.) and perhaps even into Srī Singh's reign (1844-1870 A.D.). The tradition illustrates the practice of sending even a painter as part of a royal dowry. Having regard to the fact that the *Basohlī Kalam* had lost much of its importance by 1800 A.D. it is problematic whether Gulām Mahomed's grandfather was a painter in the Basohlī style or not. Gulām Mahomed's father was also a Chambā artist and a master-carver in wood. Unfortunately neither the name of Gulām Mahomed's father nor that of his grandfather is remembered. This is somewhat strange and it is probable that the tradition of the migration from Lahore and of the artist accompanying the Basohlī princess to Chambā as part of her dowry, relates to a much remoter ancestor of Gulām Mahomed. The only disturbances[3] in Lahore which caused migration of the residents were those of the year 1712 A.D. when the Emperor Bahadur Shah died at Lahore and ruffians and vagabonds began to lay hands on the property of the resi-

[1] *Supra*, page 108.
[2] Probably Gray was influenced by the somewhat elongated female figures.
[3] The tradition relates to 'disturbances' and not to any invasions such as those of Ahmed Shah Durrānī.



DAVANALA-ACHAMAN—Krishna swallowing the Forest Fire. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1690-1700 A. D. Possession Author. Reproduced as Plate 10 of *Indian Sculpture and Painting* by Karl Khandalavala. See pages 70, 72 and 76 of the present volume. Size 11¼ × 7⅞ ins.

dents of the city. The streets were crowded with homeless persons who sought a dwelling place even in small shops. A contemporary writer states that the confusion was so great that the scene resembled the Day of Judgment.[1] Traditions in India as to dates are vague and not always easy to reconcile. The sending of an artist from Basohlī to Chambā as part of a royal dowry would be more in keeping with the prestige of Basohlī art during the first half of the 18th century than with its decline in the early 19th century. A Basohlī artist from the scintillating ateliers of Dhiraj Pāl (1694-1725 A.D.) or Medinī Pāl (1725-1736 A.D.) or Jit Pāl (1736-1757 A.D.) would indeed have been a worthy and most welcome offering to the Chambā court. However, the tradition in its present form would indicate that Mahendar Pāl (1806-1813 A.D.) or Bhupendar Pāl (1813-1834 A.D.) was the Basohlī Rājā who sent Gulām Mahomed's grandfather to the Chambā Court. Mahendar Pāl concluded a treaty with Chambā. He re-embellished the palace at Basohlī and built the Rang Mahāl and Sish Mahāl. Of Bhupendar Pāl we know that he commissioned a Rāmāyana series (see page 256).

(2) There was a well-known artist named Durgā who also painted murals in the Rang Mahāl. Hiralāl, his grandson, is still alive and aged about fifty, so Durgā in all probability could not have been born before 1820 A.D. In fact it would be likely that he was born later. Durgā therefore must have worked in the reigns of Charat Singh (1808-1844 A.D.) and Srī Singh (1844-1870 A.D.). Durgā, it is said, was a contemporary of Gulām Mahomed's grandfather. Durgā's son, Mangnu, was also an artist, and so was his grandson Hiralāl. Another Chambā artist who died only two years ago was Bilu Mistry. His family was related to that of Durgā.

(3) An artist named Tārāsingh painted frescoes in the Khānchandī palace and also in the Ovrī Dharamsāla in Chambā. He was active about the mid-19th century. He was reputed to be a fine craftsman and a great student of the Tantric cult. He had a pupil named Dhyan Singh who died about two years ago aged a hundred.

(4) Amongst others who followed the painter's profession in recent times at Chambā were two brothers, Sonu and Jawahar, who both died in the first quarter of the present century. One Dhanidās of Guler also appears to have worked with Durgā.

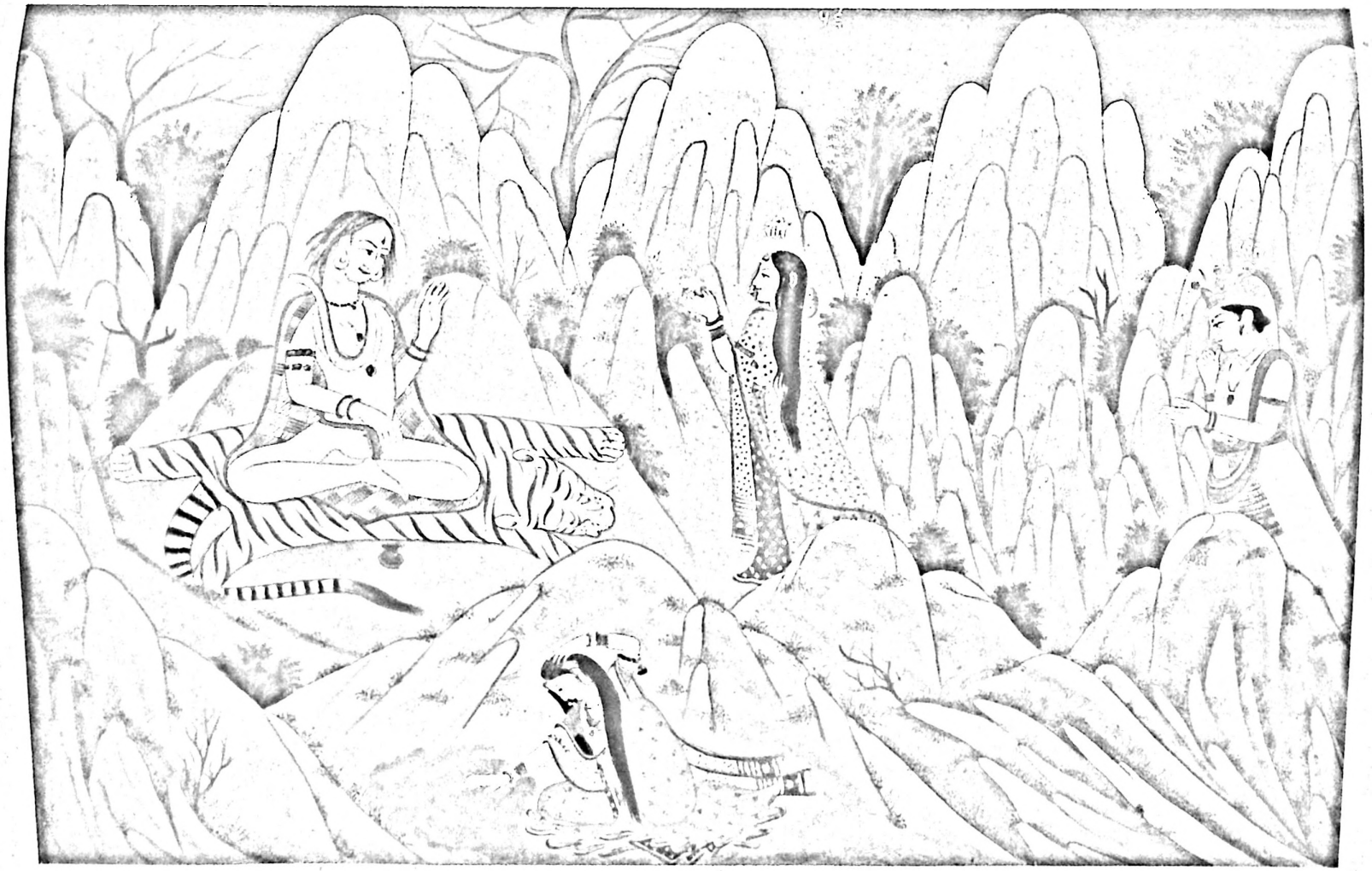
The Mandī Idioms of the Kāngrā Kalam

The beginnings of the Mandī idiom are probably to be found in the reign of Surma Sen (1781-1788 A.D.), who was the heir-apparent of Shamsher Sen (1727-1781 A.D.). In the late years of Shamsher Sen's reign, however, his brother Dhurchatia acquired so much power in the affairs of the State that the heir-apparent, Surma Sen, had to flee as his life was in danger at the hands of Dhurchatia. Surma Sen and his tutor, a Brahman named Bhairagī Rām, fled to Suket and Bilāspur, and thence finally to Nadaun where they found an asylum at the court of the great Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.). Later on Surma Sen raised a force, re-entered Mandī, and drove out the party that was inimical to him. When he succeeded to the *gadī* he ruled well and the State prospered.

Surma Sen during his stay at Sansār Chand's court must undoubtedly have come into contact with the latter's famous atelier of artists. When he became the ruler of Mandī and it prospered, it is likely that he emulated the example of the paramount Hill Chief and took some artists into his employ. That an idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* was in vogue at Mandī has been observed at page 94, while the portraits of Rājā Sidh Sen (French, *Himalayan Art*, Pls 4a and 4b) would indicate the prevalence of still another style related to what we call the *Kulu Kalam*. But Surma Sen was probably responsible for the introduction of the Kāngrā style.

When Surma Sen died his heir Ishvarī Sen was only four years of age. During Ishvarī Sen's minority, Sansār Chand at the invitation of the Wazir Bhairagī Rām invaded the State

[1] Sayid Mahomed Latif, *Lahore and its History*, p. 71.



Rati imploring Shiva to restore Kamadeva to life. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A. D.
From a Shiva-Parvati series purchased by the East Punjab Government from Ram Singh,
a descendant of Sansar Chand at whose court it was painted.
See pages 178 and 179. Size 16 × 12 ins.

in 1792 A.D. to subdue the truculent nobles and at the same time plundered the capital town of Mandī. The young Ishvarī Sen was taken by Sansār Chand to Tira Sujanpur as a State prisoner and detained at Sansār Chand's court for twelve years. During this period Mandī was denuded of wealth and territory, and faced economic ruin. If the late Rājā Surma Sen (1781-1788 A.D.) had any artists in his employ they must probably have fled from Mandī after 1792 A.D. and sought employment in other States.

The young Ishvarī Sen was released only after the defeat of Sansār Chand in 1805 A.D. at the battle of Mahāl Morian by the combined forces of the Gurkhas and the confederacy of Hill Chiefs which had been formed against him. Ishvarī Sen returned to his State and ruled peacefully until 1826 A.D. He however had to pay tribute to the Sikhs who had become the dominant power in the Hills on Sansār Chand's downfall. When Sansār Chand was beleaguered in Kāngrā Fort by the Gurkhas from 1805 to 1809 A.D. Kāngrā was ravaged and the great atelier of Sansār Chand disintegrated. The artists who constituted it naturally sought employment in other States and a few, who were probably known to Isvarī Sen, settled in Mandī.

Hamir Hath painted by Sajnu in 1808-1810 A.D.

We know of one such artist named Sajnu who was formerly one of Sansār Chand's painters. He painted a series of illustrations to the *Hamir Hath* which he presented to his new patron Rājā Ishvarī Sen of Mandī on the 16th day of Māgha (Jan./Feb.) Samvat 1867=1810 A.D. The illustrations, numbering 21 miniatures, are still in the collection of the Mandī Darbār and have been reproduced by Hirānanda Shastrī in *The Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. 17, No. 132, October 1915. It took the artist two years to complete the series. They are in the late Kāngrā style of the early 19th century with many figures and palace buildings occupying the picture-space. Several of them depict battle scenes. Their workmanship is good and they provide data for the Kāngrā style of the period 1800-1810 A.D. Sajnu must have left Sansār Chand's service in 1805 when the Kāngrā chief was driven into his forts by the Gurkhas. We find him already at Mandī by the beginning of 1808 at the latest. It was not till 1809 that the Gurkhas were driven off and hence Sajnu could not have been in Sansār Chand's employ during the siege.

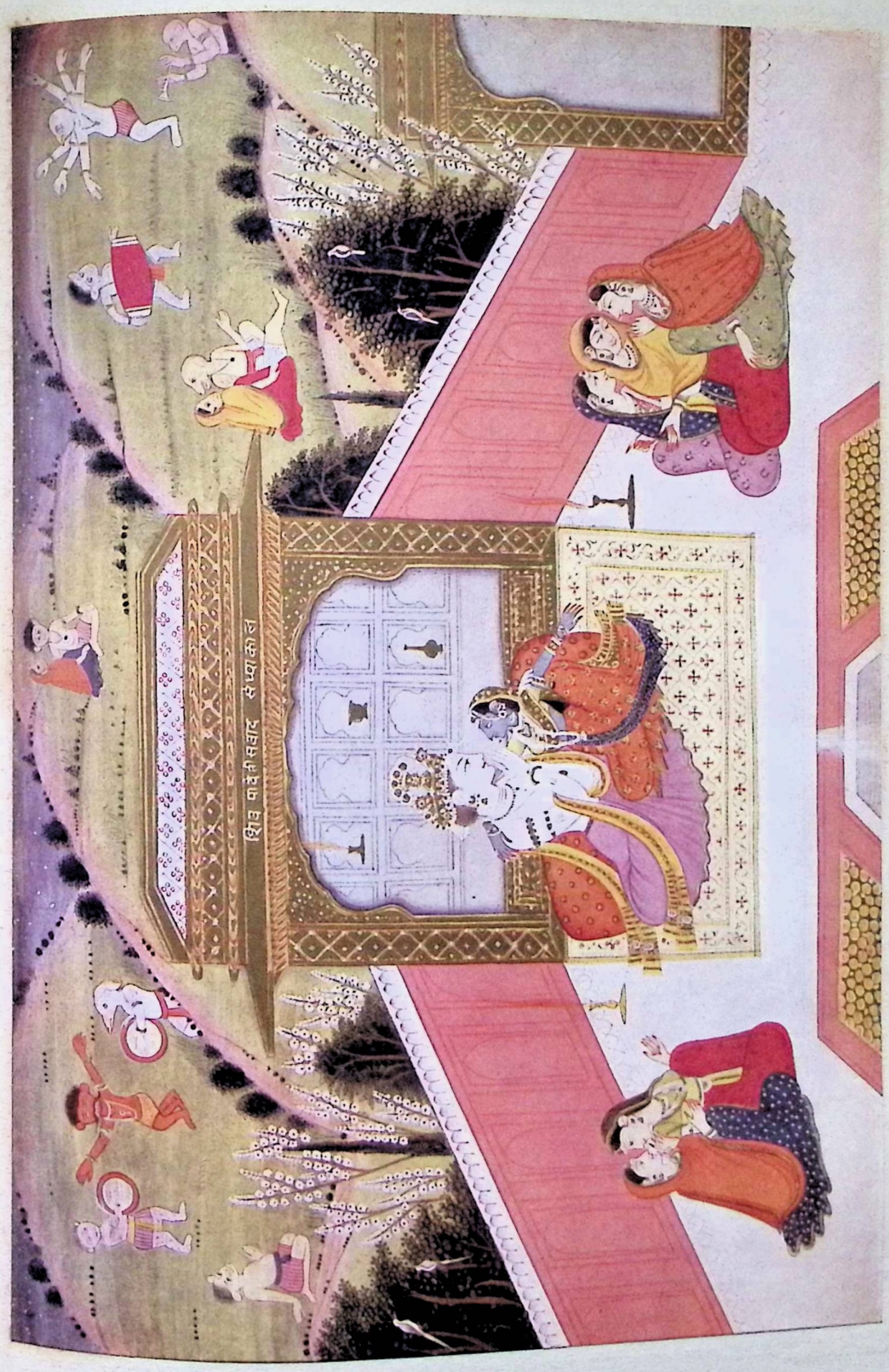
It is but reasonable to assume that the *Hamir Hath* is representative of the very manner in which Sajnu painted at Sansār Chand's atelier in *circa* 1800. This is a circumstance of importance because it indicates that the rather elaborate and technically efficient style of the *Hamir Hath* cannot be excluded from the range of Kāngrā painting of the last decade of the 18th century. Thus the *Marriage of Shiv and Parvatī* series[1] (*March of India*, Nov.-Dec. 1952), part of which has the technical excellence of *Hamir Hath*, is more likely to belong to the end of the 18th century than to the last years of Sansār Chand's reign as some critics appear to think. To my mind it is doubtful if any painters remained in Sansār Chand's employ after his defeat at Mahāl Morian in 1805. The atelier must have broken up and scattered, and it is not even certain to what extent Sansār Chand was able to save his famous collection from the plunder and rapine that ensued.[2] When the siege ended in 1809 Sansār Chand's court had lost all its glamour. No doubt, he again gathered artists around him, as is evident from Moorcroft's account, but they appear to have been of mediocre talents. The great painters were no more.

All the miniatures of the *Hamir Hath* series are not of equal merit, but some, such as Ala-u-din hunting with his queen on horseback, and another where the Sultan is surrounded by his harem, go to establish that Sajnu was a master-painter, even though he favoured complicated

[1] Two miniatures of good workmanship from this series are reproduced in colour in the present volume as Plate N and Plate O. The series is unequal in quality but the best work, such as Plate N and Plate O, suggests the hand of Sajnu or one of his school. Some miniatures in the series are crudely executed and may have been painted at a much later date to complete the series left unfinished by Sajnu and his pupils.

[2] It may well be that the pictures which Aniruddha inherited and finally brought away with him into British territory in *circa* 1828 represented only a part of the once vast collection of Sansār Chand. This fact may account for the absence of 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures in the present collections inherited by Sansār Chand's descendants. It was the practice to keep miniatures in albums, and each album would be packed separately. Thus the 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures of Ghamand Chand's time may have been grouped together in packets (*baslās*) which could not be retrieved during the holocaust which followed Sansār Chand's defeat.

PLATE O



Dalliance of Shiva and Parvati. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A. D.
From a Shiva-Parvati series purchased by the East Punjab Government from Ram Singh, a descendant of Sansar Chand at whose court it was painted.
See pages 178 and 179. Size 16 × 12 ins.

compositions and a wealth of detail. Many of the women are gracefully drawn, though elegant types mingle with squat forms which are not so pleasing. But Sajnu, like many other good artists, was not above the conventions of the period in which he worked. Several of the Muslim ladies of the Sultan's harem are seen wearing a tall hat bound with a scarf. This was apparently the headgear affected by Muslim ladies and Muslim handmaidens at Hill courts, because all the *dramatis personnae* of the story are depicted by the artist in the costumes which were in vogue in the Hills during the late 18th century. The turbans worn by the Sultan's entourage, as well as those worn by Hamir's courtiers, appear to follow the style which was favoured in Mandī. The large round Katoch turban of the Kāngrā court is not seen.

Uniforms somewhat similar to those worn by the East India Company's troops are introduced in the series. The reason for this may be as follows. I have already adverted to the fact that the renegade O'Brien,[1] known as 'Gibbern Sahib', had drilled Sansār Chand's troops and devised for them a uniform adapted from that worn by the Company's sepoys. If Sajnu, who worked in Sansār Chand's atelier, had perchance seen the troops who wore the uniform designed by O'Brien, then these troops were apparently introduced by him into his *Hamir Hath* illustrations. They all wear broad-brimmed hats similar to that which O'Brien himself is seen wearing in the Holī scene reproduced in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Plate 2. These troops of O'Brien are also seen in a painting in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay where Sansār Chand is watching a dance performance. But in that miniature they are wearing tall hats and not the broad-brimmed ones. In the *Hamir Hath* it is the Sultan's gunners who are incongruously garbed in Company-type uniforms. If however the above surmise is incorrect, then the uniforms of the gunners in the *Hamir Hath* may have been copied from those worn by some other Ferangī-trained sepoys whom Sajnu had seen.

The tendency to include many figures in the picture-space, within an architectural setting, is a feature which one often finds in miniatures hailing from Mandī. It may have been a fashion introduced by Sajnu who appears to have been partial to it. One such miniature, which is almost certainly of the Mandī school, is *Vyadhī* (Fig 46) where the architectural forms, including pillars and bulbous minarets, which repeatedly appear in Mandī paintings, are to be seen. A companion miniature to Fig 46 is *The Gale of Love* (Archer, *Kāngrā Painting*, Plate 9).

Sajnu being a competent artist it is not unlikely that he and Fattu, another of Sansār Chand's painters who settled in Mandī, were the heads of the atelier maintained by Ishvarī Sen (1788-1826 A.D.) and continued by Balbir Sen (1839-1851 A.D.).

There is also a painting by Sajnu in the Punjab Museum where Krishna and Rādhā are trapped in a house on fire (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Pl 28.) Rādhā's face is a variation of the *Standard* type, but Krishna's face is rather large and heavy. The architecture is painted white, and in the style seen in the *Hamir Hath* and Fig 46. Sajnu was a skilful artist but he lacked that subtle refinement and lyrical quality which the masters of the *Kāngrā Kalam* were able to impart to their creations. The inscription on the reverse of the miniature states that it was painted by Sajnu in Samvat 1865=1808 A.D. At this date we know that Sajnu had migrated to the Mandī court. The colouring is somewhat 'raw' in parts, and but for the authentic inscription it would normally be ascribed to *circa* 1825 A.D. This miniature illustrates what I have repeatedly stressed, namely that a margin of error must be provided for while dating Pahārī miniatures. Randhawa has incorrectly ascribed it to Tira Sujanpur.

Other Examples of the Mandī School

Probably also of the Mandī style is *Hanuman Washing Rāma's Feet* (Plate V). It is a well finished miniature with gold, in an architectural setting. The facial types of Rāma

[1] O'Brien was a soldier in the service of the East India Company. He struck an officer whose reprimand he resented, and then deserted. He found his way to Sansār Chand's court where he was employed. He established a manufactory of small arms and drilled a regiment of 1,400 men. His grave is still pointed out at Sujanpur. Another European named James was also in Sansār Chand's service.

and Sītā (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 15 and 16) are in the manner of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Svetoslav Roerich possesses a very similar miniature of the same subject, but of smaller size, which is definitely known to belong to Mandī. Many Mandī school miniatures have a somewhat ornate appearance due to the free use of gold and elaborate borders.

One such painting of large size by Sajnu is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. It depicts Rajā Isvarī Sen worshipping Shiva and Parvatī enthroned. The border consists of figures of worshippers and deities. The inscription states it was painted by Sajnu in 1808 at the order of Isvarī Sen. Though skilful in workmanship it suffers from over-elaboration. *The Return of Rāma* (*Catalogue of the Central Museum, Lahore*, Pl 17) is similar in style to Plate V and may be from Mandī. It could however be from Guler.

Vyadhī (Fig 46) also appears to be from Mandī. It has been dealt with at page 165.

Ishvarī Sen and Balbir Sen

Rājā Ishvarī Sen (1788-1826 A.D.) has been described by the traveller Moorcroft, who visited Mandī in 1820 A.D., as 'a short, stout man about thirty-five, of limited understanding and extreme timidity. In his infancy he was either a ward or a prisoner to Sansār Chand and he was indebted to the Gurkhas for restoration of his Rāj. He assisted them in their invasion of Kāngrā and also aided Ranjit Singh in his operations against Kāngrā and Kulu. This has not preserved him from the fate of the other Hill Rājās. He is tributary to the Sikh, and treated by him with contumely and oppression'.

A portrait of Ishvarī Sen has been reproduced by Dr. Goetz in the *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, Vol. 2, Part 1, 1944-45, to accompany his article therein entitled 'Rājā Ishvarī Sen of Mandī and the History of Kāngrā Painting'. The portrait is in conformity with Moorcroft's description of Ishvarī Sen, but is of no aesthetic merit. It is typical of its period. In the abovementioned article Dr. Goetz states that some of the most beautiful of Kāngrā sets, including the *Nala and Damayantī* drawings as well as the related *Kumārasambhava* drawings, formerly in the Schneider-Kainer collection, Berlin (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 2, Fig 13, opposite page 167), have been attributed to Mandī. Dr. Goetz expresses no opinion on this attribution. There appears to be no basis whatsoever for attributing these two sets of drawings to Mandī. I have already indicated that they must be regarded as products of Sansār Chand's atelier.

Still another portrait of Ishvarī Sen is in the collection of Mr. N. C. Mehta. The women folk are in the *Standard* style of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. The colouring lacks richness, and the technique is poor. This fact indicates that all the work of Ishvarī Sen's atelier was not of the level of the Sajnu's *Hamir Hath*. By the time this portrait was painted, nearby *circa* 1820-1826 A.D., it may have become increasingly difficult for the Hill courts to secure the services of competent artists. Sajnu's work under Ishvarī Sen has already been dealt with.

That Ishvarī Sen's successor, Balbir Sen (1839-1851 A.D.), also maintained an atelier is borne out by the fact that a series of paintings of the *Durgā Pātha* were executed for him in 1848 and were presented by him to his *Guru* (spiritual guide) in Banāras. The series is now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. Two of the paintings in this series have been reproduced in N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plates 56 and 57. The former is a hermitage scene and not unpleasing, but the latter, which depicts Durgā slaying the demon buffalo Mahisa, is devoid of any real merit. The style is typical of mid-19th century Kāngrā art. Vitality is gone, the colour schemes are inclined to be raw or garish, and the technique, which is sometimes quite competent, fails to raise the series above the level of dull mediocrity.

Fattu, a well-known artist of Sansār Chand, was also in Balbir Sen's employ. It is not known when he migrated to Mandī. *Gaja Lakshmī* (Fig 50) painted by him in 1843 A.D. was presented to Balbir Sen at Alampur. But Fattu was obviously an old man in 1843 A.D. and had lost the

inspiration of his earlier days at the court of Sansār Chand. Kāngrā art had already declined, and Fattu sailed along the stream that had forgotten its source in the mountains and was flowing listlessly into the sea. Fig 50 is well executed but entirely formal. Another study by Fattu, of one Virasingh with a gosain, is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhāvan, Banāras. An artist named Fattu-Ray also worked at Mandī during this period. He was an indifferent artist and has to be distinguished from Fattu. A portrait study by him is in the N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

Mr. N. C. Mehta has two portrait-studies of Balbir Sen. In one of them the architecture of the pavilion, wherein the Rājā is seated, is ornate, the pillars being in the manner of Plate V, while the women folk are in the *Standard* style of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Both the miniatures are indifferent in workmanship. The painter of one of these studies is described as Vaikuntha of Nurpur, and the date given is 1840 A.D., just after Balbir Sen came to the throne.

Painting in Nurpur

Of painting at Nurpur our information is lamentably sketchy. That there was a school of painting in this State from the late 17th century onwards appears more than probable. It has already been noted that during Rājā Māndhātā's reign (1661-1700 A.D.) the Thakurdvāra of the Nurpur fort was decorated with frescoes.[1] Moreover, it is more than likely that some of the miniatures to which we give the general nomenclature 'Basohlī', are really from Nurpur. But we are not yet in a position to localize all the various styles which have perforce to be grouped together as the *Basohlī Kalam*. A miniature said to be of the early Nurpur school was acquired by Ajit Ghose from Nurpur.[2] Even when we come to the late 18th century our knowledge of the Nurpur school is scanty. The late Hirānanda Shāstrī mentions[3] having examined a Nurpur collection, namely that of the Rājā, but he has neither described it nor published examples therefrom.

A pair of 18th century painted doors from a Nurpur temple (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 'Kāngrā Frescoes', Plate I), indicates the Moghul influence. Nurpur would be favourably situated for such influences because of its proximity to the plains. The traveller Forster passed through Nurpur in 1783 A.D. and found it enjoyed a state of more internal quiet and was less molested by the Sikhs and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories. Prithvī Singh (1735-1789 A.D.) must have been the ruler of Nurpur at the time, and the art of painting may have prospered during his beneficent reign.

One Mian Kartār Singh of Nurpur has a number of paintings said to belong to the collection of his ancestor Rāmsingh Pathānia who set himself up as the Wazir (minister) of Jaswant Singh, the minor son of Bir Singh of Nurpur (1789-1846). Bir Singh was deprived of his throne by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh of Lahore in *circa* 1815 and died in 1846 when Jaswant Singh was about seven years of age. Rāmsingh was the son of Shāmsingh the last Wazir of the State. Having proclaimed the young Jaswant Singh as Rājā of Nurpur, and himself as Wazir, he joined a rebellion in 1848 against the British. This rebellion was due to the fact that after the first Sikh War, certain Hill tracts which were ceded by the Sikhs to the British were not restored by the latter to their original Hill rulers whom the Sikhs had deposed. The rebellion was put down in 1849 and Rāmsingh who fled to Kāngrā was betrayed, taken prisoner, and banished to Singapore.

This collection was damaged in a fire said to have occurred in Rāmsingh's house after his rebellion had failed, and a large number of the miniatures were partly burnt. Some are just fragments. If all these traditional facts are accepted, and there is no reason to doubt them, then we can conclude that the collection had been formed by 1849. Whether Rāmsingh himself formed the collection, or whether he inherited it in whole or part, it is not possible to say. But

[1] *Supra*, page 57.
[2] French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 3.
[3] *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 17, No. 132, p. 35.

it is regarded as a family collection and thus we may assume that the collection was commenced before Rāmsingh's time. Apparently, it was not this collection which Hirānanda Shāstrī examined, because he explicitly states that it was the collection of the Rājā of Nurpur and makes no mention of the miniatures being damaged by fire.

Now the fact that Mian Kartār Singh's collection was a family collection belonging to a Nurpur grandee cannot lead us to the conclusion that the miniatures therein are representative of the styles of painting which prevailed in Nurpur. It will be remembered that the collection of the Garhwāl Darbār, contains at least two very important sets painted at the court of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā.[1] It was the failure to recognize this fact that led N. C. Mehta to regard them as examples of the Garhwāl school. It is thus necessary to exercise caution before arriving at the conclusion that the miniatures in Mian Kartār Singh's collection are representative of the Nurpur school and its various styles.

Both Archer and Randhawa have written articles on the Nurpur school of painting in *Marg*, Vol. 8, where miniatures from Kartār Singh's collection are reproduced. They have proceeded on the basis that the Nurpur styles can be derived from Kartār Singh's collection, doubtless by reason of the fact that it is an old family collection of a Nurpur grandee, namely Wazir Rāmsingh, who fled his State in 1849 A.D. and was thereafter deported as a political prisoner. But this circumstance, though entitled to due weight, is not enough by itself to justify the conclusion that the miniatures in the collection are a guide to the several styles of painting which flourished at Nurpur at various periods. Certain aspects of this collection which have been overlooked, both by Archer and Randhawa, raise substantial doubts as to how far we are justified in assuming that the material in Kartār Singh's collection affords a reliable basis for the ascription of certain styles of painting to Nurpur. At page 95 of the present volume, I have observed that *Flower Gathering* of the Lahore Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 19) proclaims its derivation from the *Basohlī Kalam* but that it is not possible to determine its provenance with certainty. I further observed that this miniature may well be a precursor of *Dāna Līlā* (Fig. 9) which I have ascribed to the *Kulu Kalam*. Now several miniatures in Kartār Singh's collection disclose female facial types which resemble those in *Flower Gathering* or are related thereto. The question is whether we can assume that this female type with its long, rather unfeminine face, is the creation of the Nurpur school, and secondly whether all miniatures wherein this type appears are from Nurpur ? One difficulty in coming to any definite conclusion is that somewhat similar female facial types, wearing similar costumes with the long V-necked *cholī* (bodice) are to be found in the Kulu school as for instance Fig 9. That Fig 9 is a *Kulu Kalam* miniature is fairly certain because it has all the characteristics of that group of miniatures to which the nomenclature *Kulu Kalam* is applicable.[2] One way of surmounting the difficulty is to assume that this female facial type originated in Nurpur as a derivation from Basohlī art and that later on the type was used by some *Kulu Kalam* painters who may have migrated to the Kulu-Mandī area from Nurpur.

At the same time we must bear in mind the fact that the women whom we see in *Flower Gathering* and *Dāna Lilā* (Fig 9) are dressed like certain types of Gaddī girls with long V-necked *cholīs* (bodices) and full gathered-skirts well above the ankles. This costume would indicate Kulu as a much more likely source than Nurpur. The Gaddīs have always been wont to trek across the mountains from Chambā to Kāngrā and Kulu every year, but Nurpur is not a Gaddī trek. A further fact to remember is that there are less than half a dozen miniatures in Mian Kartār Singh's collection where any appreciable resemblance to the distinctive female type of *Flower Gathering* and *Dāna Līlā* (Fig 9) can be seen. One would normally have expected a great many pictures of this group in the collection of a Nurpur grandee if such miniatures represented a characteristic Nurpur idiom. Moreover, it may be observed that Kartar Singh's collection is a

[1] *Supra*. page 150.
[2] See heading *Kulu Kalam* at page 103.

very mixed one. A large part of it consists of miniatures which even Archer and Randhawa do not attempt to relate to Nurpur. When this aspect of the matter is pursued, a circumstance of considerable significance emerges in the shape of an inscribed portrait of Rājā Tedhī Singh of Kulu (1742-1767 A.D.) which is in Kartār Singh's collection. Archer suggests that it must be one of a series of royal portraits painted in Nurpur, but we cannot overlook the fact that there are no other portraits of this supposed series in the collection. Nor are there any other circumstances to justify the suggestion. On the contrary this portrait unmistakably appears to be a product of the *Kulu Kalam* with the characteristic willow tree dominating the entire composition. Its pink-orange background is also seen in Kulu paintings of the time of Pritam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806 A.D.) namely in several miniatures from the *Bhāgavata Purāna* series (Fig 21)[1] and other related sets (Fig a). The crude streaky clouds on the horizon are just a variation of the usual blotchy cloud effects in Kulu painting. Normally one would expect a characteristic product of the *Kulu Kalam* to be painted in Kulu and not in Nurpur, and accordingly the most likely explanation for the presence of Tedhī Singh's portrait in the Nurpur collection of Kartār Singh is that it was obtained from Kulu by one of his ancestors, namely Rāmsingh or Shāmsingh, or was presented to one of them. Though we have no record of the relations between Nurpur and Kulu in the 18th century when Prithvī Singh (1735-1789 A.D.) and Bir Singh (1789-1815 A.D.) were the Rājās of Nurpur, and Tedhī Singh (1742-1767 A.D.) and Pritam Singh (1767-1806 A.D.) were the Rājās of Kulu, yet the relations between these two States may well have been cordial[2]. Both the Nurpur and Kulu ruling families are of the Chandarbansī or Lunar race of Rājputs. Tedhī Singh's portrait may not be a contemporary work. I am personally inclined to think it was done in the reign of his son Pritam Singh (1767-1806 A.D.). That was a prosperous reign and it is certain that Pritam Singh had artists in his employ. Pritam Singh of Kulu, as also Bir Singh of Nurpur, were both doubtless compelled to attend Sansār Chand's court on more than one occasion between the years 1790-1805. They were both tributary to Sansār Chand and it is well-known that the Katoch overlord used to insist on the attendance at his court of the all tributary chiefs, much to their chagrin. It is therefore not unlikely that on one such occasion Shām-singh, the Wazir of Bir Singh of Nurpur, may have met Pritam Singh of Kulu at the Katoch court. As Shāmsingh was obviously a collector of paintings it would be quite natural for the Kulu Rājā to make a present to Shāmsingh of a few Kulu miniatures including the portrait of Tedhī Singh (1742-1767 A.D.) which has been discussed above. This is only a surmise, but some such thing seems to have happened because in addition to Tedhī Singh's portrait there is a small group of miniatures in Kartār Singh's collection in which, as I have already observed, the female types are drawn in the style of the *Kulu Kalam*. These few miniatures are definitely related to each other, and one of them has the same pinkish-orange background and the same streaky clouds seen in the portrait of Tedhī Singh. Moreover, almost all of them have the characteristic weeping willow of the Kulu school, in the background. As Tedhī Singh's portrait is quite typical of the *Kulu Kalam*, it would follow that the group of miniatures in Kartār Singh's collection to which this portrait is related, also belong to the Kulu school. Though I do not suggest that my theory is infallible, it does raise a formidable doubt as to whether this group which Archer and Randhawa ascribe to the Nurpur school has anything to do with Nurpur.

But this is not the only group in Kartār Singh's collection so assigned. Archer assigns at least three other small groups of miniatures to Nurpur on the slender basis that they come from Kartār Singh's collection, and by reason of some similarities with a miniature acquired by Ajit Ghose in Nurpur (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 3). The earliest of these groups is distinctly related to some of the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets of *circa* 1720 (Fig 62) which I have dealt with at page 80 of the present volume. There I have classified them as *Basohlī Kalam* on the ground that though many Basohlī type paintings must have been done in States other than Basohlī, nevertheless we are still not in a position to localize the various idioms with any degree of certainty. It is more than likely that a Nurpur idiom or idioms of the *Basohlī Kalam* existed. At the

[1] This series was painted in 1794 A.D. for Pritam Singh. See page 108.

[2] Bir Singh died in 1846, but he was forced to leave his state in *circa* 1815 A.D.

same time I would not be prepared to ascribe to Nurpur the group to which Fig 62 belongs only by reason of the fact that two or three paintings in a related style were found in a Nurpur collection. Fig 62 is from a series of *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* miniatures in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Their find-spot is not known. Personally I am inclined to ascribe Kasturbhai Lalbhai's *Nāyikā* series to Basohlī itself during the reign of Dhiraj Pāl (1694-1725 A.D.). The male figures are squat with oversize faces as is generally the case in the *Chittarasmanjarī* of Devidāsa dated 1694. The architecture is similar in style and treatment, and so is the colour tonality. Moreover one miniature from Kasturbhai's series (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 99, Fig 514) is so closely related in its composition and details to an example from the *Chittarasmanjarī* of 1694, in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, that it would appear that Kasturbhai's miniature must have been derived from that painted by Devidāsa. Hence I favour the view that Kasturbhai's set also belongs to Basohlī and cannot be later than *circa* 1720 A.D. The female types however differ in the two sets.

Another series, but different in colour, costume, and physical types to Kasturbhai Lalbhai's set, is represented by two miniatures in the Indian National Museum (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, Fig 8). These two miniatures are also ascribed by Archer to Nurpur in his article in *Marg*, Vol. 8. Unfortunately no inscribed material comes to our aid. There are several other Basohlī type sets in various collections which have peculiarities of their own and no doubt represent some Basohlī idiom, but to localize them to any particular Hill State is an almost impossible task. If we were to adopt the method of localizing these idioms by their find spots, or by reason of the fact that a few similar miniatures were found in a family collection in a particular State, then we would be largely in the realm of speculation. Our surmise might be as easily right as wrong. For instance there are a number of Basohlī miniatures in the collection of the Lambagroan Darbār, and this collection is known to have come from Sansār Chand's famous atelier. Yet from this circumstance alone we cannot conclude that they represent the Kāngrā idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* though it is possible that they represent a Basohlī idiom practised at Kāngrā before the time of Sansār Chand.

In the absence of inscribed material we are beset with many problems. Who started the collection, which Kartār Singh owns? Was it Wazir Shāmsingh? If so he could easily have collected miniatures from various States. The Nurpur idiom of his time could certainly not have been the type represented by Fig 62 because it belongs to a period when Shāmsingh was not even born. Moreover we do not even know which pictures from this collection, if any, were acquired in Nurpur, and which in other States. In fact our knowledge of local styles is so nebulous that apart from some miniatures of the *Chittarasmanjarī* which bears the colophon of 1694 A.D.,[1] and the contemporary portrait of Kirpāl Pāl (Fig 58), we do not know which other styles of the *Basohlī Kalam* were practised in Basohlī itself. For instance we cannot even be certain that the famous *Gīta Govinda* of Mānaku dated 1730 A.D. (Plates XVII and XVIII) was painted in Basohlī or some other State. It is only because the nomenclature *Basohlī Kalam* exists in the Hills for all work related to the *Basohlī* style of Kirpāl Pāl's time, that we use it as a generic term. It does not follow that a miniature described as *Basohlī Kalam* was painted in Basohlī. It may or may not have been painted there. For ought we know the pictures which Archer and Randhawa attribute to Nurpur may have been painted in Basohlī itself, or some other Hill State. The elongated female facial type is so common that we cannot possibly attribute every miniature wherein this type appears to the State of Nurpur. This female facial type is for instance seen in Plates XIX and XX though there is no reason whatever to attribute them to Nurpur. Again *Madhya Dhira Nāyikā* (Fig 51) has many of the features of Kasturbhai Lalbhai's *Nāyikā* set, yet the female type is quite different. Thus it is best not to venture on any classification of these Basohlī idioms unless the miniature bears an inscription as in the case of *Court Scene* (Fig 63) and *The Blind Rājā Sital Dev* (Fig 70). In passing it may be noted that though

[1] *Supra* page 64.

Archer gives a date as late as 1740 for the *Nāyaka Nāyikā* series of the Kasturbai Lalbhai collection (Fig 62), I do not think a date later than 1720 A.D. is likely.

So also some other groups from the Kartār Singh collection, which are ascribed by Archer and Randhawa to Nurpur, may not come from Nurpur at all. One of these groups is most likely a Chambā idiom, as for instance Plate 6 of Randhawa's *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, while another group belongs to Kāngrā during Sansār Chand's reign. Archer cites *Lady on a Terrace* (Fig 62 of his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*) which he had originally attributed to Punch, as an example of one of the later Nurpur styles. But I feel that the Nurpur attribution is as fallacious as was the Punch attribution. I am of opinion that this miniature belongs to Chambā, or in any event is so strongly influenced by the late Chambā idiom, represented by Figs 22 and 42 of the present volume, that it should not be classified as of Nurpur. Wazir Shāmsingh had excellent opportunities of acquiring some Chambā miniatures for his collection, and probably did so, and these I apprehend are wrongly ascribed by Archer to Nurpur. It must be remembered that Bir Singh of Nurpur, who had to fly from his State in *circa* 1815, sought refuge on at least one occasion in Chambā because his sister was married to Rājā Charat Singh of Chambā. If Wazir Shāmsingh had accompanied his master on any such occasion he could easily have obtained a few Chambā miniatures for his collection. In fact it seems that during the earlier part of Bir Singh's reign the style of portraiture so common in Kāngrā, Guler, and Chambā, was also adopted in Nurpur. There is a portrait of the young Bir Singh in Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, Plate 5 (in colour), and it is typical of the Chambā style of portraiture of the reign of Rāj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.), as can be seen by comparison with Rāj Singh's own portraits in *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 10, No. 3, and in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. Bir Singh's portrait was probably painted when he came to the throne in 1789 A.D. He appears to be about twenty two in this portrait and that fits in with the fact that he was an elderly man when the traveller Vigne met him about 1835 A.D. One feature of this portrait of Bir Singh may be noted. It is the orange colour of the umbrella held by an attendant over the seated figure of the prince. The attendant's turban is also of the same bright orange. This splash of orange colour is seen in certain miniatures of Kartār Singh's collection to which I will presently refer. Orange is a commonly used colour, but the accent here is characteristic.

Archer also ascribes miniatures such as *Utka Nāyikā* (*Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 1, opp. page 6) and *Utka Nāyikā* (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 100) to Nurpur. But the female facial type with its long face and slightly heavy jaw and up-turned nose is so common in many Kāngrā paintings of Sansār Chand's atelier that the Nurpur attribution is far from certain. This type, for instance, is seen in several paintings of the Lambagraon Darbār which are known to be the work of Sansār Chand's artists, and no doubt the type had come into vogue in other States also. It is seen in both male and female faces.

Archer has also referred to the serrated background of hills in *Lady on Terrace* (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig 62) and remarked that such serrated hills indicate a Nurpur idiom. Such hills appear in the large *Durgā Pātha* set which belonged to Sansār Chand's descendant Rām Singh of Bhawarna and which has been purchased by the East Punjab Govt. Archer opines that this set must also have been painted at Nurpur and presented to Sansār Chand. But this theory is not feasible. A large set consisting of about two hundred miniatures might form part of a dowry, but it is not likely to have been given as a mere present. We, however, know of no matrimonial alliances between Nurpur and Kāngrā during the reign of Sansār Chand. But a more serious objection to regarding a background of serrated hills as characteristic of the Nurpur school is the fact that such backgrounds are not infrequently seen in late 18th and early 19th century work. It is a mannerism which seems to have been adopted by more than one school, and its origin is probably to be found in the tendency of Sansār Chand's painters to depict frequently the hard serrated hills of the Mahal Morian range in the landscape backgrounds of their miniatures. We must not forget that after 1805 many of Sansār Chand's artists took service under other rulers, and consequently several of the styles and mannerisms that were in

vogue at Sansār Chand's court came to be adopted in various States, if they had not been already adopted before. The *Durgā Pātha* set is almost certainly the work of Sansār Chand's artists.

The true position appears to be that we are still in the dark about the Nurpur school, though I have no doubt that painting was practised in Nurpur and that some of the miniatures which we term *Basohlī Kalam* and *Kāngrā Kalam* are the work of Nurpur artists. The question is which Basohlī and Kāngrā idioms are we to ascribe to Nurpur ? This query permits of no satisfactory answer. We must await the discovery of inscribed material to decide whether Archer's and Randhawa's attributions are justified or not.

There are however, a few miniatures which may be ascribed tentatively to Nurpur. It will be remembered that I referred to a portrait of Bir Singh of Nurpur, (Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, Plate 5) where there was a splash of vivid orange colour, namely the umbrella held over Bir Singh. Now there are certain miniatures in the Kartār Singh collection which make use of this accent of orange colour in some garment or some small part of the picture. It is a very characteristic accent, and though too much reliance cannot be placed on this characteristic it is possible that this colour-accent is a Nurpur mannerism. Two such miniatures have been reproduced by Randhawa in *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plates 24 and 25, being an elopment on a elephant, and a drinking party with several semi-nude women. The style of these paintings is of the late 18th century and they would thus be contemporary with Bir Singh's portrait, referred to above, which we can be fairly sure was painted in Nurpur. There is another miniature of Krishna and some *gopīs* reproduced in Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, Plate 18, which also has the characteristic splash of orange colour on the carpet on which Krishna is seated. The idiom is derived from the *Basohlī Kalam* though the faces of the *gopīs* are not in the savage Basohlī manner. In fact the faces of the *gopīs* are quite refined and resemble the face of Rādhā in a burnt fragment in the Kartār Singh collection (*Marg*, Vol. 8). Maybe here again we have the Nurpur idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* of the second half of the 18th century. But these are bare suggestions.

The portraits of Rājā Bir Singh and Wazir Shāmsingh reproduced by Randhawa in *Marg*, Vol. 8, are in the Sikh style and do not throw any light on the Nurpur school.

In the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras is a portrait of Rājā Māndhātā of Nurpur (1661-1700 A.D.) It bears an inscription 'Pathānia Rājā Māndhātā'. His face, with long moustaches, is painted in the Basohlī manner. The background is chocolate, as in the portrait of Mānsingh of Guler (Fig 64), and there is a flowering-shrub on each side in the foreground which was a compositional device popular with Guler artists. It appears to be a work of the early 18th century, but it could be even contemporary and painted in Nurpur itself, in which event it would indicate the prevalence of the Basohlī idiom at Nurpur at the very time when the atelier of Kirpal Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.) was functioning. The inscription does not solve our problems.

Nurpur was a centre of trade with Chambā, Kashmir, and Ladakh, and it is quite possible that the Nurpur idioms of the late 18th and the early 19th century were influenced by the work done in Chambā during Rāj Singh's reign (1764-1794 A.D.) and thereafter. The traveller Vigne met Bir Singh at Chambā many years after he had fled his State in 1815 A.D. on its forcible annexation by Ranjit Singh. He describes Bir Singh as—'now an elderly man, short in stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere and a good-natured, manly but very melancholy expression'. After the Sikh annexation of the State in 1815 the art of painting must have wilted as it did in every State which the Sikhs conquered. The pompous style of the Sikh school is dealt with later on. In 1840, as already observed, we find a Nurpur artist named Vaikuntha working at the court of Balbir Sen of Mandī, but he does not appear to have been a painter of any merit.

Bilāspur-Sirmoor Idiom—Fig 45

It seems that both at Bilāspur and Sirmoor a style of painting in the manner of Fig 45 was in vogue during the late 18th and early 19th century. Fig 45 has been ascribed to Sirmoor,

but such facial types are also to be found in late 18th century miniatures belonging to the Rājā of Bilāspur (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 34). It is probable they were painted during the reign of Mahan Chand (1778-1824 A.D.). They are different from the masterpieces of Devī Chand's time (Plate F and Figs 43, 44, 47) and a marked deterioration in style is often apparent. This may have been due to the fact that Mahan Chand (1778-1824) was a wastrel, his government was oppressive, and the capital was plundered twice by the Gurkhas and left in a ruinous condition. The relations between Bilāspur and Sirmoor were close. Dharam Prakash of Sirmoor had come to the help of the Queen-Regent during Mahan Chand's minority when Sansār Chand of Kāngrā attacked Bilāspur State. Moreover, Mahan Chand's son, Kharakh Chand, married two princesses from Sirmoor.

Painting in Bilāspur of the period 1750-1775 has been dealt with earlier as a separate school, but the late Bilāspur productions have been grouped together with the related Sirmoor style as an idiom of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. This classification is justified, I feel, by the fact that the influence of Kāngrā painting is increasingly present (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plates 32, 34, and 37). Plate 36 of the same publication strikes a somewhat different note.

In Fig 45 there is a tendency for the face, which is low-set on the neck, to jut forward, while the limbs are angular rather than in curves. The colours are bright, and a raw green is prominent in trees and grasslands. Gold is profusely used for ornaments, headgear, *odhnīs* (wimples), and *patkas* (waist bands). The movements of the men and women, who people the scene, are stiff and even awkward, as for instance the *gopī* running along the river bank in the foreground. The treatment of trees is quite characteristic with sprays of small flowers, resembling a necklace of beads, dotted all over the foliage, a convention borrowed from Bilāspur.

Svetoslav Roerich makes a distinction between what he calls the *Sikh Hill Kalam* and the *Sikh Kalam* of the plains. In this classification Sirmoor naturally falls into the former group. Though the *Sikh Hill Kalam* has all the failings of a decadent art it is more lively than the Kalam of the plains. It is useful to compare Fig 45 with the same theme painted by a Basohlī artist (Fig 19), and also with Manak's *Blindman's Buff* (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21). By the time Fig 45 came to be painted, the inspiration which created the two great schools of Pahārī painting, namely the *Basohlī Kalam* and the *Kāngrā Kalam*, had almost vanished. Fig 45, despite its stunted figures and cluttered background, is not without appeal. Krishna indeed is a naive figure as he embraces Rādhā, both hidden from the eyes of their companions by a circle of bushes. The introduction of the *gopīs* into the game of *Blindman's Buff* is a late innovation. In the other two examples of the same subject, namely Fig 19 and Mānak's masterpiece, Krishna and his cowherd companions are the only participants in the game.

Was there a school in Punch?

A few miniatures were acquired by dealers from Punch. This perhaps led Dr. Goetz[1] to suggest the existence of a Punch school. Punch is the ancient Parnotsa. The ruling dynasty was Muhammadan but of Rājput ancestry. From 1586 to 1752 A.D. Punch was in subjection, even if nominal, to the Moghuls, and after 1752 A.D. it was under Durrānī rule. In 1819 A.D. it came under the Sikhs, and the Rājā whose sympathies were with the Afghans was expelled from his State which was granted in fief to Rājā Dhian Singh the younger brother of Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu. The traveller Vigne passed through Punch in 1837 A.D. during the reign of Dhian Singh who was assassinated in 1845 A.D.

Archer in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1953, has devoted an entire chapter to the Punch school, but his grounds for believing in its existence are inadequate. He has started with the premise that the find-spot of four paintings in the Lahore Museum was Punch. Now I have already pointed out that one of them, *Lady on her way to the Tryst*, is obviously from

[1] *India Antiqua*, page 163, 'The Coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Punjab Himalayas'.

Garhwāl; that another, *Awaiting the Lover*, is also probably from Garhwāl; while the third, *Lady on a Terrace*, is a 'pre-Kāngrā' miniature stylistically quite unrelated to the other two and much earlier than them. The fourth, a fragment, could have been painted anywhere, and affords no individualistic features. Thus these four miniatures, which were all found at Punch, are not a connected group and no conclusions can be drawn from the fact that their find-spot was Punch. They may have come from the collection of a gentleman settled in that State. All we know is that they were obtained in Punch and sold through an Amritsar dealer to the Lahore Museum. But several collections in the Hills were of a mixed character. Archer has sought to attribute other miniatures to Punch on the basis of these four miniatures. But as the basis is uncertain it is not possible to postulate the existence of a school at Punch, and the fact that a painting in his collection[1] is signed by a Muslim artist, and one of the ladies in this miniature wears a Muslim hat, does not affect the issue. While dealing with the Chambā idiom I pointed out that this miniature is almost certainly from Chambā and that the fact that the girl wears a Muslim hat and that the painter was a Muslim cannot throw any light on its provenance. We are thus left with the position that Archer's 'Punch school' is really a mixed group including some 'pre-Kāngrā' work, some paintings from Garhwāl, some from Chambā, and others the provenance of which it is difficult to locate. We may, therefore, regard the existence of a Punch school as doubtful in the extreme.

Amritsar dealers also talk of other idioms, but in the absence of adequate data I could arrive at no conclusions.

Painting in Jammu

Of painting in Jammu during the late 18th century and early 19th century we know but little, yet there is no doubt that there were painters settled there. By the time that Brajrāj Dev came to the throne in 1781, his uncle Balvant Singh was probably dead, and it is not known what happened to his atelier. Some of his artists or their descendants may have stayed on in Jammu. The fact that Brajrāj Dev had painters at his court is indicated by the several portraits of this Rājā[2] to which reference has already been made.[3] From the circumstance that two of these portraits are in a Basohlī idiom it may be inferred that at least one of his artists painted in the late Basohlī style. But in the main it must have been the *Kāngrā Kalam* which was in vogue at Jammu from 1781 to *circa* 1812.

Brajrāj Dev died in 1787 and was succeeded by his minor son Sampuran Dev (1787-1797 A.D.) who died at the age of twelve. Thereafter, Sampuran's cousin, Jit Dev (1797-1812 A.D.) came to the throne. Jit Dev was deposed in 1812 or thereabouts by Ranjit Singh, and henceforward the State was completely under the control of the Sikhs. Thus from about 1812 onwards the Sikh style of painting must have prevailed in Jammu. In 1820 Jammu was conferred as a fief upon Gulāb Singh, a scion of the Jamwāl family, who was a favourite of Ranjit Singh and who was given the title of Rājā by his Sikh master. A portrait of Gulāb Singh in Sikh style has been reproduced in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, Plate 7.[4]

The portrait of Brajrāj Dev with attendants (*Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 105, Fig 540), is a competent study revealing the influence of the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Jammu where important ateliers flourished under the patronage of Balwant Singh and Ranjit Dev.

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[1] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 62.

[2] *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950 Plate 105, Fig 540.
Ibid., Plate 106, Fig 525.
Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 34 B.
Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 49.

[3] *Supra*, pages 102 and 136.

[4] The name is wrongly given as Kharak Singh.

The Sikh Kalam

The Sikh school is in the main a degenerate continuation of the *Kāngrā Kalam* in some Hill States, and also in the plains of the Punjab, when the Pahārī Rājās were conquered by Ranjit Singh (1780-1839 A.D.) and subjected to his tyrannical demands.

The Sikhs started as a religious organization but circumstances compelled them to become warriors. In course of time there came into being twelve confederacies or *misls* as they were called. The *misls* were in the beginning little more than groups of freebooters seeking to acquire power in North India after Ahmad Shah Durrānī's last invasion of the Punjab in 1767 A.D. One Jassa Singh of the Rāmgharia *misl* was the first to turn his attention to the Hill States and invade Kāngrā in 1770 A.D., then ruled by Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.). But Jassa Singh's defeat in the plains by the Kanheya *misl* in 1775 A.D. ended his aspirations in the Hills. Thereafter it was Jai Singh Kanheya who had a considerable say in the politics of the Hill States. He became the master of Kāngrā Fort in 1783 A.D. when it was surrendered after the death of the last Moghul governor Saif Ali Khan. Much to Sansār Chand's chagrin it was surrendered to the Sikhs who, at his own instance, had helped him to capture the fort from the Moghuls. Jai Singh held Kāngrā Fort till 1786 A.D. when he was defeated in the plains by a confederacy aided by Sansār Chand, and withdrew from the Hills.

Ranjit Singh

But a new and greater danger was in the offing. Ranjit Singh of the Sukerchakia *misl*, then but a lad of twenty, took possession of Lahore in 1800 A.D. and in the following year assumed the title of Mahārājā. His military prowess enabled him by degrees to assume the headship of the Sikh *misls* and he became the paramount ruler in the Punjab.

In 1809 A.D. Sansār Chand of Kāngrā was hard pressed by the Gurkhas aided by a confederacy of Hill Chiefs who had resented his heavy hand during his paramountcy of the Hills from 1786 to 1805 A.D. He found his position so hopeless that he called in Ranjit Singh to aid him. The Sīkh Chief defeated the Gurkhas but himself took possession of the Fort and soon reduced Sansār Chand to the position of a feudatory. Then followed the debacle of the Hill States. One by one they were annexed by Ranjit Singh or made tributary to him. The descendants of the Sun and the Moon, the proudest and most aristocratic of Kings, crumbled against the arms of a new power and sank into virtual oblivion. But all the might of Ranjit Singh's sword could not enable him and his parvenu court to create a school of painting even faintly comparable to the schools of Basohlī, Guler, Jammu, and Kāngrā at the height of their glory. The downfall of the Hill States and the rise to power of the Sikhs brought many a Kāngrā school painter to the court of Lahore or to courts of Ranjit Singh's provincial governors. History, however, has repeatedly shown that a great court art cannot thrive in insensitive surroundings. The court art of the Emperor Shah Jehan wilted and faded during the reign of the unsympathetic Aurangzeb, and so also the *Kāngrā Kalam* languished in the plains and the subjugated Hill States under Sikh rule.

Cheetah Baiting—Fig 6

The Sikh school produced a great deal of work but more often than not it was lifeless and second-rate. The old *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* themes continued to be painted, as also the old legends and myths. But more popular were hunting scenes, darbār scenes, and portraits which were produced in large numbers. This was natural for a people whose sudden rise to power lacked a cultural background, and whose military prowess was their chief claim to eminence. The miniature *Cheetah Baiting* (Fig 6) is typical of the Sikh school. It is pompous, gaudy, and the action appears petrified. It is, however, interesting in its details. In the foreground a falcon returns to the gloved hand of the falconer after bringing down its prey, while in the right hand corner *shikārī* (hunting) dogs are seen baiting the cheetah which is so ill-drawn that it is but a caricature of this supple creature which personifies rhythm when in action. The umbrella over the Sikh

chief, is not meant to be a realistic touch but is a device incongruously introduced as an insignia of royalty. Though the umbrella-bearer must have accompanied his master he could hardly have been holding the umbrella over the chief while the latter's horse was galloping forward. The costumes are characteristic of the Sikh school.

In *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 6, is another *Sikh Kalam* miniature of the 19th century showing a tiger hunt. It is of no particular merit, but in the right hand corner a retainer on horseback at full gallop is seen capturing a deer by throwing his bow over its head. The idea was perhaps borrowed from 18th century Rājasthānī miniatures showing Rupmatī galloping with Bāz Bahādur and attempting to capture a deer in the same manner with her bow.

Sikh Portraiture

The Lahore Museum has a large number of portraits of the *Sikh Kalam*, and there are also many in other collections. A typical example is *Jemadār Khusal Singh* (*The Library of Chester Beatty*, 1936, Vol. 3, Plate 92). He was a nobleman of Ranjit Singh, who fell into disfavour in *circa* 1818 A.D., but was subsequently restored to his former position. He was the officer appointed by Ranjit Singh to collect the tribute which had to be paid by Mandī and other States to the Sikhs.

Another typical example of Sikh portraiture from the British Museum is reproduced in Stchoukine's, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 91. It shows a Rājā leaning against a cushion giving audience to a courtier or minister who sits in front of him with folded hands. The miniature is well executed within the limitations of its style.

A more impressive example is Gulāb Singh of Jammu (*Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Plate 7). Archer has described the chief as Kharak Singh, but informs me that this was done by oversight.

Coomaraswamy has published several Sikh school portraits in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, including one of Sucet Singh of Jammu dated 1839 A.D., on Plate 123. The inscription thereon states that it was presented to Sucet Singh by the painter in Samvat 1896= 1839 A.D. Sucet Singh was the youngest brother of Gulāb Singh who was made Rājā of Jammu in 1820 by Ranjit Singh. Sucet was a good soldier and a gay courtier, and the portrait seems to do his character justice. He was killed in 1843 A.D. by the troops of his nephew Hira Singh whom he sought to displace at the Lahore court.

Another example of Sikh portraiture is the music party illustrated in colour in Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1908, Plate 69.

Several *Sikh Kalam* portraits have been reproduced by Samarendranath Gupta in *Rupam*, No. 12, including Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, and Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia the first Sikh chieftain to invade Kāngrā. Amongst them are the Sikh *Gurus* (the religious leaders of the Sikhs). These portraits of *Gurus*, of which quite a number exist, have little to commend them. Most of them appear to be imaginary studies painted in a formal, listless style, while some are indifferent versions of earlier Moghul portraits. The Lambagroan Darbār has a good set of these *Gurus*.

Of much greater appeal are the portraits of Europeans of the Company days. That of William Moorcroft in particular will greatly interest all students of Pahārī painting. To him we owe a most useful account of his travels through the Hills including a valuable description of the court of Sansār Chand in the days of his decline. These portraits of Europeans, clad in the quaint costumes of those times, range from the second quarter of the 19th century onwards. The Lahore Museum has several examples, and I have seen a number with dealers.

Several Sikh school portraits in the British Museum have been reproduced in the *B. B. and C. I. Annual*, 1949 to accompany Mulk Raj Anand's article 'Painting under the Sikhs'. They include portraits of (i) Hira Singh who killed Sucet Singh of Jammu, (2) Dhyan Singh,

father of Hira Singh, which is dated 1844 A.D., (3) the same Dhyan Singh with two young nobles and (4) a reputed study of Dalip Singh (1843-49 A.D.) with a queen or favourite. A painting of the *suttee* (immolation) of Ranjit Singh's wives, and another of the signing of the Treaty of Lahore in 1846 A.D. in which the British Governor-General and his commanders are seen, are also reproduced in the same Annual. Several of these paintings have again been reproduced in *Marg*. Vol. 7, No. 2, by the same writer to accompany an article on Sikh painting. The pompous Sikh style at Guler in the days of Jai Singh (1878-1890 A.D.) and Ragunath Singh (1890-1920 A.D.) can be seen in *Marg* Vol. 6, No. 4, Figs 15, 16 and 17 on pages 40 and 41.

Ranjit Singh's Successors

Ranjit Singh's successors were not able to rule in the undisputed manner of their great ancestor. Kharak Singh who succeeded him was deposed and died in 1840 A.D. and Kharak's son, Nau Nehal Singh, who came to the throne died very shortly thereafter in the same year as his father. Nau Nehal Singh was succeeded by Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, but about whose legitimacy there was some doubt. He was assassinated in 1843 A.D. and Dalip Singh, also a son of Ranjit Singh, ascended the *gadī*. Dalip Singh was deposed by the British Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in 1848 A.D. and the British annexed the Punjab in 1849 A.D. after the Second Sikh War. Dalip Singh was later taken to England. It appears that he was interested in painting and himself had learnt to paint. The Shah Burj in the Lahore Fort was decorated during the Sikh period and Dalip Singh, before being taken to England, pointed out to one Faqir Qamru-d-din, a flower in one of the arched panels of the back wall, and said to him, 'Hazrat ever remember that this flower was painted by me'.[1]

There are many frescoes of the Sikh period to be found in the Punjab but the majority of them are as indifferent as the miniature paintings of this period (*Rupam*, No. 12, Plate 4, opp. page 128). Those, however, of the Lahore Fort, done in Ranjit Singh's time, claim attention with their elongated female types indulging in a variety of sports such as swinging, dancing, and playing at Holī. Today they are faded and damaged but they are obviously the work of a Pahārī artist who had not fully succumbed to the decadence of the Sikh school (*Rupam*, Nos. 27-28, page 86, Figs 1-6).

The Second Half of the 19th century

Though Sikh rule in the Punjab ended in 1849 A.D. several painters continued to work at Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, and other centres. There is a fine drawing of goldsmiths in the Lahore Museum signed by an artist named Ramadeya (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 75 A). It belongs to the third quarter of the 19th century and European influence is obvious in the modelling of the faces. Ramadeya is almost certainly none other than Ramdyal, son of Purkhu who has already been referred to as one of Sansār Chand's leading painters. Baden Powell,[2] who mentions both father and son, states that Ramdyal was still living in 1872 A.D. and had inherited much of his father's talent. Another miniature by Ramdyal of a Gaddī and his dog was in the collection of Ajit Ghose.[3]

Amongst other artists of this category who worked in the second half of the 19th century was Kapur Singh of Kapurthala. Several paintings by him of mendicants, as well as several bird studies, are in the Lahore Museum.[4] He was apparently well-known in his lifetime, and his name is still remembered. One Kehar Singh who lived upto *circa* 1880 A.D. used to practise his art at Amritsar in the style of Ramdyal. But he was not as fine a draughtsman. He made numerous sketches of artisans at work and a drawing by him, of a goldsmith with his bellows, is in my collection.

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[1] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vols. 1 and 2, page 53. 'Historical Notes on Lahore Fort' by Vogel.
[2] Baden Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, page 355.
[3] *Roopa Lekhā*, No. 2, April 1929, p. 13.
[4] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Nos. Q 22-27 and L 79-L 82. Two of his studies, rather hybrid in character, are reproduced in Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, 1st Ed., Figs 223 and 224.

PLATE P



HOLI LILA — The Festival of Spring. Late 'Pre-Kangra' or early Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1765 — 1775 A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum (Manuk and Coles Bequest). See page 126 of the present volume. Size 10½×7½ ins.
By courtesy of Faber and Faber Ltd., London, from 'Kangra Painting' by W.G. Archer.

HUMOUR IN PAHĀRĪ ART

Of all the schools of Indian miniature painting the only one in which a healthy spirit of fun and caustic wit is sometimes encountered is the Pahārī school. The reason for this is obscure, but the fact remains undisputed that several Pahārī painters did possess a keen sense of humour which crept into their work. In the Lahore Museum there were several amusing studies. One is of a dancing and singing scene in which men afflicted with goitre take part.[1] Apparently the artists who settled in the Hills were much amused at the grotesque appearance of those who suffered from this ailment. Goitre was a common complaint in Kulu and other Hill States.

Another humorous miniature depicts a marriage procession with the rotund bridegroom, who suffers from goitre, riding a half-starved nag.[2] The practice of mounting the bridegroom on a horse is an ancient and honoured custom amongst the Rājputs. But even tradesfolk and such-like, who had never mounted a horse in their lives, sought to ape the Rājput tradition. They would procure any old nag and set the bridegroom thereon, no matter how ill-suited be his appearance for an equestrian performance. The miniature appears to be a jibe at such folk who sought to imitate the Rājput custom and made a mockery of it. The well-known Moghul painting of the witty, but unwieldy Mulla Dopiyaza[3] on his rickety horse, of which many copies exist, may well have inspired the painter of the Pahārī miniature in his portrayal of the bridegroom and his nag. Such pictures appear to belong to the 19th century Kāngrā style.

There were also two domestic scenes[4] in the same Museum, in one of which a woman is giving a man, perhaps her errant husband, a good slippering, or it may illustrate the Hill-saying 'recieve the bride's followers courteously but on departure give them a shoe-beating!'

The Opium Eaters—Plate XVI

In the same light-hearted vein, with a tinge of sarcasm, is the miniature of the opium eaters waging war against a mouse (Plate XVI). A woman is preparing the potion for the addicts when they suddenly discover the rodent and seek to destroy it. Though many are the weapons in their armoury, and though three mounted addicts also join the fray with drawn swords, the mouse still seems to be eluding its frantic opponents. All the addicts are depicted as lean, bony, emaciated creatures, and even the three horses are as miserable looking as their riders. There are several Moghul miniatures of opium eaters in which the drug addicts are similarly drawn as emaciated individuals. The artist of Plate XVI had doubtless seen a Moghul version. Plate XVI appears to be a serio-comic comment on the evils of opium-quaffing which leads to physical degeneration and the inability to act with an alert mind. The miniature cannot fail to amuse, and is quite arresting with its deep yellow background. It probably belongs to the late 18th century, but the provenance is uncertain. Another version is in the Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Caricatures

There are also several large-size caricatures drawn by Pahārī artists either in the late 18th or the 19th century depicting Vaishnava religious personnages.[5] In one of them the names inscribed are Prem Dās, Gharib Dās, Tulsī Dās, Kesar Singh, Rāj Singh, and Rām Singh (*Catalogue of Indian Paintings, in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, Plate 11; and Coomaraswamy *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 35 B). These caricatures are perhaps intended to be pictorial comments on men of religion whom the painter appears to have regarded as charlatans deserving of derision rather than reverence. Their provenance has not been ascertained. In a similar style, though the subject-matter is different, is the caricature of three musicians in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Stouchkine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 90). It is ascribed by Stouchkine to the Sikh school of the 19th century.

[1] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, J 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, J. 18.
[3] *The Loan Collection of Antiquities, Coronation Darbar*, 1911, Plate 53(c).
[4] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922, J 19-20.
[5] *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922 J 36-39.

Gaddīs at a Halting Station on a Mountain Route—Fig 7

Another amusing cartoon is *Gaddīs at a Halting Station on a Mountain Route* (Fig 7). Its kinship to the cartoons already discussed is obvious, but it is quite different in its subject-matter. Here we have a scene with a number of figures in action. The Gaddīs are the picturesque, semi-pastoral people of the Hills. They dwell largely on the range that divides Chambā from Kāngrā, and cross from Chambā to Kāngrā and back according to the grazing available. The men wear tall pointed caps with flaps on either side to pull over their ears in severe weather. Often the cap is adorned with a garland of dried flowers, or a tuft of feathers, or a string of beads. Besides grazing their livestock, they also indulge in a little trading and are well-known as hard bargainers. Who can blame them? It is a hard life in the Hills. Mr. J. C. French in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, quotes a doggerel,

It's always nice to meet a Gaddī,
He offers his cap and asks for your coat!

In Fig 7 one sees the Gaddīs making purchases from a small store in the valley before climbing up the mountain pass. The shopkeeper is having an argument with a Gaddī who has caught his hand. Three of the Gaddīs are having a violent tussle, but the others seem unconcerned. The Gaddīs carry their goods in sewn goat skins strapped across their backs, and use a stick with a flat round piece on top for the mountain journey. In the upper left-hand corner is an inhabitant of the valley peacefully smoking his hukkah. He suffers from goitre, very common in Kulu, to which locality this drawing may belong. Seated behind the shopkeeper is a musician wearing a *jāmā* with a pattern of short black strokes on it such as is seen in several Kulu miniatures, as for instance *Falconer Meeting Gosains* (Fig 28). The coarse but simple Gaddīs are the nomads of the Hills, and their harmless failings and pardonably crude manners are depicted in Fig 7 with an acute power of observation which would do credit to the best of modern caricaturists.

PAHĀRĪ DRAWINGS

It is indeed a fortunate circumstance that a large number of Pahārī drawings have survived. When we speak of Pahārī drawings we must not understand them to be sketches which were never intended to be coloured. In fact a drawing was never an end in itself with the Pahārī artist, subject to certain exceptions. Some drawings were used as *pounces* or for obtaining tracings therefrom, while some were in the nature of exercises to achieve proficiency. Thus Pahārī drawings are really incomplete miniatures. Sometimes they are found with a white priming on the paper to which a few light washes of colour may or may not have been added. The reasons for a large number of Pahārī drawings being still in existence are as follows:

(1) Many drawings were made for use as *pounces*. The outline would be so pricked with a pin that it consisted of a large number of tiny holes very close to each other. This was called the *pounce*. Whenever the artist wanted to make a picture from the *pounce* he would place the *pounce* on a clean sheet of paper and then sprinkle powdered charcoal or red chalk over the *pounce*. When the powder was rubbed with a quick movement it passed through the holes and deposited itself on the clean paper reproducing thereon the outline of the *pounce*. This charcoal or sanguine outline was then gone over with a finely pointed brush charged with colour to make the outline permanent. A *pounce* was apt to get damaged if not carefully operated and hence it was customary for the artist or his assistant to make several tracings from a *pounce* and keep them in reserve. It is because of this procedure that several identical drawings of the same subject are not infrequently found to exist. For instance there is a drawing in my possession obviously made from the same *pounce* which was used for the famous Boston Museum *Cowdust* (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 51).

(2) Whenever a series of pictures illustrating an epic, a story, or a poem, had to be made, the usual procedure was for the artist to first prepare the drawings of the entire series and then take up the work of colouring them. It often happened that for one reason or another, such as the death of the artist, or the death of his patron, or a political upheaval, the series was never completed and remained in the stage of uncoloured or partly coloured drawings. When Kāngrā was devastated by the Gurkhas, and Sansār Chand was beleaguered in Kāngrā Fort for four long years, his atelier got dispersed. Many a series commissioned by him remained incomplete because the artists had to flee for safety and seek employment at other courts. Some of these incomplete sets such as the beautiful *Nala-Damayantī* drawings, the *Marriage of Pārvatī* episode, and the *Aniruddha and Usā* story, have survived and are known to us. The changing fortunes of the Hill States must have often disrupted the work of an artist. This resulted in the survival of numerous incomplete pictures many of which had not progressed beyond the outline.

(3) A large number of drawings were made as exercises in order to obtain mastery over *line*. It was not uncommon for pupils to repeatedly copy the compositions of their mentor or of other well-known artists, with a view to improving their own draughtsmanship. These drawings were never intended to be coloured. Sometimes they were lightly shaded and washed in grey when the artist desired to practice modelling after having completed the outline. One such example is *Krishna and Rādhā* (Fig 37).

(4) A drawing was commonly made of a particular subject and then the colour scheme was written in detail thereon. This drawing was intended to be retained as a colour-guide for producing several miniatures of the same subject. Sometimes, in addition to the names of the colours written on the drawing, one finds touches of paint on various parts of the composition to indicate the exact shades to be used. A characteristic example, with the colours written thereon, is reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate CXI. Not only the names of colours, but even pattern-names are written on this drawing. But every drawing on which the names of colours were written was not meant to be a colour-guide for the purpose of making several miniatures of the same subject. Quite frequently the colour names were lightly written on a drawing as an aid to memory for the artist who was to colour it. It sometimes happened that the master-artist who made the drawing did not colour it himself but handed it over to another indicating the colours he desired to be used. This division of labour was an inheritance of the early Moghul ateliers where the finished product was at times the work of as many as three artists, while a fourth prepared the *hashiya* (border). That this division of labour existed to some extent even in Pahārī painting is obvious from the colour notes appearing on many drawings, and also from the fact that the colouring of a miniature is often unworthy of the drawing. In this connection it should be noted that amongst artist-families in the Hills and in Rājasthān, when the head of the family died leaving a number of drawings and incomplete miniatures, many of these were coloured and completed by the surviving members of the family.

Thus we find that apart from those miniatures which remained incomplete, due to one cause or another, there were also many drawings which were so to say the stock-in-trade of the Pahārī artist. Some of these drawings are amongst the most beautiful productions of the Pahārī schools despite the fact that they were never intended to be works of art complete in themselves. It is a curious phenomenon that many of these Pahārī drawings do in fact achieve their end though they were intended only as a means to an end. When drawing is an end in itself, as is often the case today, both in Europe and India, then it is apt to be a more conscious species of art than these Pahārī sketches by artists who were quite innocent of any desire to produce only a drawing. Herein lies the secret of the outstanding charm of many a Pahārī sketch. They reveal to us the artist behind the scenes and hence they possess an intimacy which the finished

PLATE Q



Rama bending the Bow. Illustration to the Ramayana. Kangra Kalam, probably painted at Guler. *Circa* 1780—1790 A.D.
See page 159 of the present volume. British Museum (Manuk and Coles Bequest). Size 11½ × 8 ins.
By courtesy of Faber and Faber Ltd., London from 'Kangra Painting' by W. G. Archer.

product often lacks. It is as though we had pulled aside the curtain and seen the artist at work, freely drawing and re-drawing figures, and revelling in the delicate sweep of his brush and the elegance and sensitiveness of his *line*. It is a somewhat sad reflection that the European critic and art lover has shown a much keener appreciation of Pahārī drawings than the majority of Indians who are apt to dismiss them as meriting no more than passing attention or a curious glance. Dealers refer to them as *khākhās*.[1]

Basohlī School Drawings

The vast majority of drawings which have come down to us belong to the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Those of the Basohlī school are few and far between. One example which is Basohlī in type, is reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 37, Fig 6 opp. page 11, from the collection of Ajit Ghose. There were also a few in the Treasurywala collection. Drawings of Hill Rājās, in the Basohlī style, are met with off and on, being mostly late 18th century copies. One such example is the outline portrait of Kirpal Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.) in the Lahore Museum (*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Plate 2). The paucity of Basohlī drawings is probably due to the fact that the production of the Basohlī school was not prolific and by the time the school went out of fashion the sketches which remained in the hands of artist families had been utilised for colouring. Many *Basohlī Kalam* portraits have obviously been coloured at a date much later than that of the outline drawing. Moreover the disappearance of the Basohlī school was a gradual process. It lost ground with the ever-increasing popularity of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. But Kāngrā art met with a more sudden end due to the ruin which encompassed the Hill States when they were overrun by the Sikhs. Artists lost their patrons and had to migrate, and thus thousands of sketches which were intended to be fully coloured were left for ever unfinished. For instance a descendant of the artist Sajnu had many such sketches in his possession.

Kāngrā School Drawings—Nala-Damayantī

Amongst the most important of the *Kāngrā Kalam* drawings known to us are three incomplete sets dealing with the story of Nala and Damayantī; the Marriage of Pārvatī; and the episode of Aniruddha and Usā.

The *Nala-Damayantī* set is of fairly large dimensions, each miniature being approximately $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was planned as an extensive series of which forty nine examples were in Coomaraswamy's collection. Thirty of these were purchased by the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, 1926, Plates 39-54). Thirteen examples from the same or a closely related series are in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. They were formerly in the Treasurywala collection (Detail Fig 30). Some were in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose of Calcutta though their present whereabouts are not known, while there are some stray examples to be found in other collections. One of the examples which belonged to Coomaraswamy[2] is numbered 112 indicating that in all probability the series extended to a hundred and fifty miniatures. The white priming appears on all of them and over the priming the original outline has been redrawn. Some are lightly coloured while one of the examples in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, has an underlay of deep red on which another colour was to be superimposed.

I have already observed, while dealing with the provenance of the *Bhāgavata* series, that the *Nala-Damayantī*, *Marriage of Pārvatī*, and the *Aniruddha-Usā* drawings, are all products of Sansār Chand's great atelier and were commenced during the period 1780-1800. The probable explanation for their remaining unfinished is that the artists desired to complete the outline in each series before taking up the task of colouring, and in the meantime a major catastrophe occurred. This catastrophe may have been the death of the master-artist who had planned the three sets, but a more likely cause for the stoppage of work was the dramatic change in the fortunes of Sansār Chand who suddenly found himself bereft of his kingdom in 1805 A.D. and beleaguered

[1] The term is equally applicable to Rājasthānī and Moghul drawings.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, page 63.

PLATE R



Krishna and Radha in the Grove. Kangra Kalam. 1780—1800 A.D. See page 160 of the present volume.
Victoria and Albert Museum (Manuk and Coles Bequest). Size 6¾ × 5 ins.
By courtesy of Faber and Faber Ltd. London, from 'Kangra Painting' by W. G. Archer.

in his great Fort. Thereafter the atelier disintegrated rapidly and these three sets remained for ever incomplete. It is fortunate that they did not perish in the holocaust which overtook Kāngrā when the Gurkhas marched in.

It is difficult to obtain satisfactory reproductions of the *Nāla-Damayantī* series owing to the delicacy of the outline. The reproductions do not convey the light touch in the originals. Somewhat satisfactory, but not entirely adequate, are the details in Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. 2, Plates 6-10.

Though the series pertains to a well-known romance of the epic age the story was largely a vehicle for the artist to illustrate a cross section of life amongst the Rājput aristocracy of the Hill States on occasions such as an important marriage alliance. Ofcourse the incidents of the story are not neglected, but nevertheless we are patently aware that a panorama of life in a Rājput Hill court is being unfolded before us. This is how they lived, this is how they loved, watching the moonrise from their pillared balconies in the silence of a Himalayan night. The white-washed castle walls and minarets, gleaming in a silvery light, and the dark sentinel pines, stirred their romantic hearts and they became the great lovers of old—Nala-Damayantī, Usā-Aniruddha, or Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī. To the Rājput the three most delightful things in life were a beautiful horse, a beautiful sword, and a beautiful woman.

The *Nala-Damayantī* series does not deal with the story as told in the *Vana parvan* (section) of the *Mahābhārata* but illustrates the version found in Sri Harsa's *Naisadhacarita*. Prof Handiqui[1] who translated the *Naisadhacarita* has shown how closely Sri Harsa's text was followed by the artist of the series, and A.C. Eastman[2] has reinforced this conclusion. As in the *Naisadhacarita* the illustrations end with the moonrise scenes when Nala has taken his bride to his city of Nisadha. The travail of the two lovers after their happy union is not dealt with at all. The series is confined to the *svayamvara* (choosing of the bridegroom by the bride), the marriage, the return of the happy couple to Nisadha, and the honeymoon ending with the moonrise scenes.

The series represents the high water mark of Pahārī art during the Sansār Chand period, and the architecture resembles that of Tira Sujanpur. The mode of life depicted in these drawings is luxurious, genteel, and aristocratic, with chivalry and romance as dominating factors. To the artists this mode of life spelt an old-world beauty which was restful in comparison to the state of constant warfare which prevailed amongst the Hill Rājās. To this old-world beauty they turned when afforded an opportunity to do so. If one cannot be responsive to this way of life, which was a foil to the proud, martial, unbending spirit of the Rājput clans, then the *Nala-Damayantī* series will not yield the full measure of its loveliness.

These drawings afford us a finer medium to estimate the quality of *line* in Kāngrā painting than the finished products. It is by no means a calligraphic *line*. The 'sweep' and 'arabesque' of Persian art is absent. The *line* flows softly, at times staidly, but it is never hesitant. It has a rhythm as gentle and pure as the notes of a hill-shepherd's flute. Judged as a technical achievement the *line* of the best Kāngrā drawings is almost faultless, and its remarkable delicacy betokens skill of a high order. But it is much more than a technical *tour de force*. The cunning of the artist's hand alone could never have imparted to it that sensitivity which compels us to liken it with some rare and lovely Himalayan bloom, too exquisite to touch. It is not sufficiently realized how adept the Pahārī painter was in displaying the quality of his *line* to the best possible advantage. A common device was the architectural background consisting of more or less straight lines which acted as a foil to the curves of the gracefully costumed women who inhabit Kāngrā paintings and whose movements are as languorous as a summer breeze. But the *line*

[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 12, p 526, 'The *Naisadhacarita and Rājput Painting*'.
[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 70, No. 4, p. 238,—'The *Naisadhacarita* as the source of the *Nala-Damayanti* drawings'.

in Kāngrā art could be most lively when the occasion demanded such treatment. A girl beating a drum, or Nala loosening an arrow (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, 1926, Plates 48 and 51) are instances in point. But lively though it became when fairly vigorous movement had to be depicted, yet its tempo was always held in restraint (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 83, Fig CCXXVI) and it could never reconcile its inherent delicacy with a spirit of complete abandonment. It is never a crudely powerful *line* such as is seen in the best Basohlī miniatures. It eschews impetuousity or coarse strength, though these qualities are often desirable and most suited to the interpretation of certain themes. But no form of art can possess every desirable quality and few I think would want the drawing in *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures to be otherwise than it is lest it lose the magic of its charm.

The Marriage of Pārvatī

The series illustrating the marriage of Pārvatī is possibly by the same artist or artists who executed the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings. Unhappily very few examples of this set are known to exist. A splendid drawing, formerly in the Samarendranath Gupta collection, is now in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 63), while five drawings were in the Schneider-Kainer collection, Berlin (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 2, Fig 13 opp. page 161). It may be that the series illustrates the *Pārvatī Khanda* of the *Śhiva Purāna* but it does not illustrate Kalidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* as generally thought.

Aniruddha and Usā

The *Aniruddha-Usā* series (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, 1926, Plates 86-88) is ascribed by Coomaraswamy to a pupil of the *Nala-Damayantī* master, as in his opinion it is slightly inferior. But the most beautiful examples of this series are in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad, and some of these are remarkably similar to the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings.

Other Kāngrā Drawings

There are many *Kāngrā Kalam* drawings of high quality in various collections. The Indian National Museum, New Delhi; The Lahore Museum; The Boston Museum; Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad; and the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, all possess fine drawings, while quite a number are in other collections. Amongst the notable drawings which have been published are the following:

(1) *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, 1926.
   (*a*) Plate 70, Fig CCXLI. Krishna is seen milking a cow.
   (*b*) Plate 71—The hour of cowdust. Only the roofs and the trees in the background are coloured.
   (*c*) Plate 83, Fig CCLXXVI. An animated sketch of the *Holī* festival.
   (*d*) Plate 108, Fig CCCCXXVI. A princess gracefully disporting herself in a garden.

(2) Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. 2,
   (*a*) Plate 11 : A group of female musicians.
   (*b*) Plate 12. A drawing almost identical with colour Plate IX of the present volume.
   (*c*) Plate 13. One of the most delightful of Kāngrā sketches showing young girls and boys at play.
   (*d*) Plate 14. The Jamnā Ghat.
   (*e*) Plate 16, Fig 2. A girl dancing.

(3) Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2.
   (*a*) Plate 25. A vigorous scene of a fight between Rāma's bear and monkey hosts and Rāvana's demons. The *line* is coarse but charged with unusual power. This drawing may emanate from some centre other than Kāngrā.

(*b*) Plate 5. Krishna and *gopīs*. Only the figures and cows are left uncoloured.

(*c*) Plate 59 B. A sketch of Rādhā forsaken by Krishna. It is similar in design to a painting in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi,[1] from the *Bhāgavata* series.

(4) Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929.

(*a*) Plate 93. Rādhā and Krishna sheltering from the rain.

(*b*) Plate 94(*a*). The descent of the river Gangā by Udut Singh. This artist[2] has painted several miniatures in the Johnson collection, India Office Library.

(5) *Catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 1922.

Plate 14. It depicts a Rājā being entertained by musicians and dancing girls. The extant portraits of Sansār Chand leave no doubt that the Rājā is Sansār Chand himself. This excellent drawing, which unquestionably hails from Sansār Chand's atelier, affords evidence which enables us to ascribe the *Marriage of Pārvatī* and the *Nala-Damayantī* sets to the same source. This evidence has already been discussed on p. 152. The drawing belongs to the period *circa* 1800 A.D. having regard to the fact that Sansār Chand is depicted therein as a man of about thirty-five years of age. He had already become somewhat portly by then. Here we have an intimate glimpse into the life of these Hill chieftains in their hours of leisure during the dark evenings, particularly in winter. Their favourite pastime was listening to songs and watching the practised art of skilled dancing girls. The hall was lit by oil-wick burners over which were placed transparent gauze-like covers to protect the flame from gusty night-winds. Additional lighting was provided by open flares held by retainers and constantly fed with oil from slender-necked receptacles. The Chief himself sat on the carpeted ground leaning against huge bolsters and behind him there stood a servitor who sometimes held a spittoon. Into this the Chief would no doubt frequently eject the juice of betel-leaf with a squirt-like action of the lips. Near him lay his sword, while a seated page-boy often held a second weapon on his lap. The Rājput rarely forgot his trusty blade of steel, even in his hours of leisure. It never lay more than an arm's length from him. Almost invariably the Chief smoked his hukkah during the performance, while miscellaneous attendants stood around. Many of the songs pertained to the Krishna legend and varied from amorous verses to deeply religious recitative forms known as *Kirtans* and *Bhajans*. These Hill chiefs never seemed to tire of this form of entertainment and their passion for the legend of the cowherd god doubtless influenced the productions of their ateliers. Sansār Chand, though not a connoisseur in the true sense of the term, was an enthusiast, and it is known that he regularly inspected the work of his artists. The tradition prevailing at the Lambagraon Darbār that Kushan Lāl was his favourite painter indicates a more than casual interest in the output of his atelier.

(6) *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 3 op. page 77. Krishna is painting Rādhā's feet with lac dye. *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, Plate 11 opp. page 30. This is a fully shaded drawing of Mānak's *Blindman's Buff*.

(7) Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, Plate 61, Figs 1, 2 and 3. The first of these is a toilet scene, the third is a charming study of Shiva and Pārvatī living the life of wanderers in the Himalayan ranges, while the second is probably a detail from a miniature of a Nala-Damayantī series, where the lovers are watching the moonrise.

(8) French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931.

(*a*) Plates 10 and 11. They are described as part of a *Mahābhārata* series. They however appear to be illustrations to *Karuna Bharana* a Braj Bhāsā play.

[1] This painting was originally in the Jagmohandas Mody collection, Bombay.

[2] *Supra*, page 140.

(*b*) Plate. 12. Krishna and Rādhā seated on the trunk of a tree.

(*c*) Plate. 13. An illustration to some story. It is most competent in its draughtsmanship, even if somewhat unrefined.

(9) *Eastern Art*, Vol. 2, Fig 12 opposite page 159. Krishna and Rādhā are wandering in the forest. Though of no marked delicacy it is a good example of the freedom with which the Kāngrā artists often sketched the preliminary composition.

(10) Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1938, Plate 39, Fig 106. Krishna is seen milking a cow. It should be compared with a similar drawing in the *Boston Museum Catalogue No.* 5, Plate 70, Fig CCXLI.

(11) *Studio*, February 1948, Plate 7, page 42. A lady smokes a hukkah. The background is coloured but the figures remain unfinished and are effectively set off by the background.

These *Kāngrā Kalam* drawings mostly belong to the late 18th and the early 19th century A.D. An adequate guide to dating is provided by those drawings which can confidently be ascribed to Sansār Chand's atelier during the period 1780-1805 A.D., while further guidance is of course afforded by the available dated examples of Kāngrā painting. Dated drawings are even rarer than dated paintings, though not altogether non-existent. I have seen a drawing which was in the possession of the late Rādhākrishna Bharāny, dated 1811 A.D. Unfortunately I did not photograph it. It resembled the detail seen in the right hand panel of the drawing from the *Nala-Damayantī* series which is reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue No.* 5, 1926, as Plate 45, Fig CXIV. In the dated drawing Krishna lies on a bed while Rādhā, who is standing nearby, glances shyly at him as he grasps her scarf with his outstretched hand. But this dated example does not disclose that high standard of draughtsmanship seen in the *Nala-Damayantī* series which is obviously earlier in point of time.

Figs 17, 18, 30, 37 *and* 53.

The dalliance of Mādhavanala and Kamakandala (Fig 17) is one of three panels in a large drawing. It depicts the culmination of their love at first sight when Kamakandala takes Mādhavanala to her house after he has been ordered by the King of Amaravatī to leave his domain. The drawing is in *sanguine*, and though it does not possess the refinement of the *Nala-Damayantī* drawings, nor their meticulous craftsmanship, it is nevertheless the work of a master-artist who has rapidly sketched his theme with a sureness and verve which could hardly be improved upon. The firm outline which depicts the yielding, love-smitten courtesan, and the passionate, handsome Mādhavanala, seems charged with powerful emotion as the bodies and arms of the two lover entwine rhythmically in a close embrace. I have ascribed it to the period 1800-1825 A.D. but it may well belong to the late 18th century.

By contrast with Fig 17 the drawing of Krishna and Rādhā in a shower of rain (Fig 18) is more in the delicate style of the *Nala-Damayantī* series and in all likelihood was executed prior to 1805 A.D. It is indeed one of the happiest efforts amongst Kāngrā sketches. The guilty lovers seem very conscious of the fact that they have made the rain an excuse for being together under a single umbrella in close proximity to each other.

The detail from the *Nala-Damayantī* series (Fig 30) depicts the actual marriage ceremony of *kanya-dāna* where the priest pours holy water on the hands of the bride and bridegroom. The reproduction does no justice to the fine quality of the drawing. It will be noted that the faces are of the *Bhāgavata* type.

Fig 37 is a late drawing belonging to the second quarter of the 19th century. The outline is complete and the first grey-black colour washes have been applied. The *line* is competent but it has lost the charmed quality of the earlier work such as Fig 18. Rādhā appears to be offering Krishna a betel leaf which he ignores as he makes amorous advances to her.

The sketch of the forest scene from the *Rāmāyana* (Fig 53) is one of a large series of drawing illustrating this epic. Though I have ascribed it to the period *circa* 1800 A.D. it may in fact be nearer to 1775 A.D. as some of its facial types seem to have been influenced by the early *Rāmāyana* paintings dated 1769 A.D. (Figs 54 and 55). For instance, the face of the man in the mid-foreground of Fig 53 wearing a conical cap of leaves, has a marked resemblance to the faces of Rāma and Laksmana in *Surpanakha Seeks to Entice Rāma* (Fig 54). As a preliminary drawing Fig 53 is an unqualified success being characterized by marked economy and a simple outline. It may lack in delicacy but it is a sound workman-like sketch which instantly reveals the practised hand of a sensitive draughtsman. The slain wild boar which Laksmana drags to the forest retreat, and the dead antelope lying nearby, are drawn with a deftness which only an artist who had carefully studied wild life could hope to achieve.

Three Sets in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras

In the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, there are three sets of drawings which are important to note.

(1) A series of 120 sketches to illustrate the *Jaimenīya Asvamedha*. They are dated V. S. 1865 = 1808 A.D. They are preliminary drawings, rough and rapid.

(2) A series of 700 *Rāmāyana* drawings dated V.S. 1873 = 1816 A.D. The inscription states that they were made in the reign of Bhupendar Pāl of Basohlī (1813-1834 A.D.) at Basohlī by the artist Ranjha. The text is written at the back of each drawing and the scribe was a Kashmiri named Sudarshan. They are of oblong format $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the drawing is in sanguine. The style is the *Kāngrā Kalam* of the early 19th century. This is but natural because the *Kāngrā Kalam* had displaced the old Basohlī school even in the home of its origin. We know for instance that Mahendar Pāl (1806-1813 A.D.) had embellished the great palace at Basohlī with frescoes painted in the Kāngrā manner. The drawing is very free though not delicate nor finished. Obviously Bhupendar Pāl had artists in his employ, and his interest in the art of painting must have been considerable for him to have commissioned such a vast series. The *Rāmāyana* and both *Jaimenīya Asvamedha* sets being dated afford us definitely valuable material for dating Pahārī drawings, and also aid us in assessing the draughtsmanship and quality of the Kāngrā style of the early 19th century. One conclusion to be drawn from these two sets is that the earlier emphasis on delicacy of outline was on the wane, and though the technique was fairly sure and free, there was a tendency to become slovenly when the compositions were complicated.

(3) A series of drawings in sanguine illustrating the *Karuna Bharana*, a Braj Bhāsā drama of the 17th century. They also appear to belong to the early 19th century. An examination of these drawings goes to indicate that the two drawings in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Pls. 10 and 11) which French labelled as illustrations to the *Māhābhārata* are really illustrations to the *Karuna Bharana*. Of course the two Calcutta Museum drawings are much finer in the quality of their *line* than those of the Kalā Bhavan, and they are also earlier. They appear to be contemporary with the *Nala Damayantī* series of Sansār Chand's atelier.

SOME CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS

The Origin of the Garhwāl Masterpieces

Archer in his Garhwāl Painting, 1954, pages 1-5, has suggested the theory that the Garhwāl masterpieces were the work of artists from Guler who migrated to Garhwāl during the period 1769-1775 A.D. He assigns several reasons for the suggested migration and we will now consider their validity.

PLATE S



Wearing Bracelets. Kangra Kalam, 1790-1800 A. D. See 'Supplementary Information' in the present volume. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

(*a*) The first reason is that following the death of Goverdhan Chand of Guler in 1773 A.D. the artists at Guler were confronted with a crisis and hence it is not unlikely that even before his death patronage had already slackened. But this reason is not supported by the facts as we know them. Goverdhan Chand's successor, Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.), was a great patron of the arts, including painting. Some excellent work was produced in his reign. In fact he was so lavish in his patronage that he got into grave financial difficulties and apparently had to abdicate in *circa* 1790. Therefore, it is improbable that any of Goverdhan Chand's master-artists left the Guler court till at least 1785-1790 when it became obvious that Prakash Chand's financial position had become untenable.

(*b*) The second reason is that in 1783 the depredations of the Sikhs had made the normal trade route through Guler insecure. But many Hill States had to face these depredations which, at this stage, were only transitory and more with a view to exact tribute than to conquer and rule the Hill territories. In any event, it is clear that Prakash Chand continued to maintain a first class atelier at Guler till about 1790 A.D., and hence the theory of a sense of insecurity, due to Sikh depredations, may be ruled out of consideration as a ground for Guler artists migrating to Garhwāl in 1783.

(*c*) The third ground, and one which is relied on most, is that either shortly before or shortly after Rājā Lalat Shah (1772-1780 A.D.) came to the throne of Garhwāl, a marriage was effected between his son Pradyuman Shah and a Guler princess, daughter of one Ajab Singh, and that Guler artists went to Garhwāl on this occasion and settled there. The authority for this marriage, as far as I know, is only a statement by Mukandi Lāl in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1951, page 36. The basis of Mukandi Lāl's statement is not known, and should be checked upon before being accepted. But in any event no dates are given by Mukandi Lāl with regard to this marriage. Assuming, however, that the marriage did take place prior to 1780, we have further to assume that artists accompanied the Guler princess. There is no evidence to justify this conclusion though such a possibility cannot be ruled out of consideration. But strange to say the main characteristics of the Guler idiom of *circa* 1770-1780 are not traceable in the work of the Garhwāl masters. Even the physical types are very different. This fact rather militates against the theory of Guler artists having migrated to Garhwāl before 1780 or thereabouts, either on their own, or as part of the retinue of a Guler princess. On the contrary, as I have already pointed out at page 217, the output of the Garhwāl masters goes to indicate that they had worked in Sansār Chand's atelier and that the probable date of their sojourn in Garhwāl was the end of the 18th century.

(*d*) The fourth ground is that certain verses of Molarām on two paintings namely, *Mor Priya* and *Consoling the Queens* (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Pl. 6, opp. page 120, and Pl. 5, opp. page 116), go to indicate that he was embittered at the time. The verse on *Mor Priya* reads,

I Molāram care more for sincere appreciation rather than for reward of thousands of villages and tons of money.

The verse on the reverse of *Consoling the Queens* is one of four separate verses and runs thus,

I Molarām say these are hard times. It is very difficult to get on for those who live by their honest labour when the court is surrounded by lying officials, lying household servants, and lying attendants. The writers (clerks) are liars. Even the paper on which they write and the pen and ink with which they write are false. The very alphabets are liars. There is not a grain of truth anywhere. The royal seal of the Lord of the land is not truthful. The officials and courtiers swear falsely by the Lord. They speak lies with

their eyes, as well as their tongues. Their whole life, their work, their religion, all are false. They do not keep their word. Samvat 1826, 15th Phagun (1769 A.D.).

Archer thinks that Molarām's state of mind must have been due to the success of new artists who had come to Garhwāl, and hence concludes that the Garhwāl masters must have migrated to Garhwāl between 1769 and 1775 A.D., and that Molarām, who hitherto painted in the provincial Moghul manner, henceforth copied the Kāngrā style from 1775 onwards in an effort to resuscitate his position. But a fact of prime importance which this argument overlooks is that we know that Molarām had visited Kāngrā during the last years of Rājā Ghamand Chand's reign (1751-1774 A.D.), and his earliest painting in the Kāngrā style is dated 1775. Accordingly it is but reasonable to assume that his adoption of the Kāngrā style in 1775 A.D. was the result of that visit, particularly when his miniatures have no resemblance to the work done at Guler in *circa* 1775. Besides, the embittered state of mind which the second verse reveals is almost certainly due to palace intrigues which apparently jeopardized Molarām's position at the court. It must be remembered that Molarām was held in esteem by the Garhwāl Rājās not merely as a painter but also as a capable diplomat. I do not think the verse indicates any bitterness with regard to his position as an artist. As regards the first verse, it discloses a very common sentiment in India amongst artist-craftsmen, and it is fallacious to regard it as an indication of any bitterness against anyone. Moreover, I have already pointed out at page 202 that *Consoling the Queens*, on the reverse of which the second verse appears, is not likely to be the work of Molarām, and that the picture was painted long after the verse was written in 1769. Thus one cannot even connect the second verse with any picture, nor even with Molarām's practice of the art of painting. If Archer's interpretation was correct, the verse would not employ a phraseology which is quite evidently applicable to political intrigues and corruption prevalent in the State.

Again it must not be forgotten that it is not till *circa* 1810A.D. that we find Molarām trying to copy some of the mannerisms of the Garhwāl masters. In none of his earlier works is there even a hint that he knew of the existence of the Garhwāl masterpieces. This goes to indicate that the Garhwāl masters most probably worked at the end of the 18th century, as suggested by me at page 218, and fled the country in 1803 A.D. when the Gurkha invasion began. In 1818, when Manī Rām Bhairagī visited Molarām he remarked on the fact that Srinagar, the capital city, was deserted by the good and the learned.

It is only in the 19th century that we find some influences from Guler trickling through into Garhwāl. In 1813 Guler was seized by the Sikhs and henceforth ceased to have an independent existence. This circumstance may have led some Guler artists to seek employment at other courts, and a few such artists may have migrated to Garhwāl after 1815, when the Gurkhas were driven out of that State. Of course, it is easy to visualize other ways also in which a style of painting in one State could exercise influence in another State. But whatever the reason be, the Guler influence in Garhwāl is a late development.

This Guler influence can be seen, for instance, in several late miniatures reproduced in *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, which are rightly ascribed to Garhwāl by some critics.

(1) *Svadhinapatikā* — Plate 1, Fig 1.
(2) *Utkā* — Plate 1, Fig 2.
(3) *Prosita preyasī* — Plate 4, Fig 7.
(4) *The Message* — Plate 4, Fig 8.
(5) *Vipralabdhā* — Plate 5, Fig 9.
(6) *Vāsakasayyā* — Plate 7, Fig 13.

Here the physical types, the architectural treatment, and the use of the flowering shrub as a compositional device, may all be the result of influences from Guler. But none of these miniatures are earlier than 1800, and in all probability they were painted after the Gurkhas were driven out of Garhwāl in 1815. They appear to be contemporaneous with the work of the Garhwālī artist Chaitu.[1] Another miniature *Rādhā Bathing* (Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, Plate 8) ascribed by Archer to Garhwāl, and rightly so, also evidences some influence from Guler, but this miniature is doubtless a late work. One example of the series to which *Rādhā Bathing* belongs, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and its colouring, particularly in the treatment of the green hillsides, goes to indicate that it belongs to the first quarter of the 19th century. Archer has ascribed *Rādhā Bathing* to a period as early as *circa* 1785, but the companion picture in the Prince of Wales Museum should dispel all doubts in the matter. All the earlier Garhwāl work, including the Garhwāl masterpieces, is unrelated to the Guler idiom either in physical types, landscape composition, or general colour tonality. On the other hand the physical type for Sudāma in Garhwāl miniatures illustrating the Sudāma story (Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, Plates 1 and 6) has clearly been borrowed from the Sudāma type created by some of Sansār Chand's artists (*Boston Museum Catalogue*, No. 5, Plate 89, Fig CCXCII). This is one more circumstance in support of the theory put forward at page 217 that it was artists from Kāngrā who were responsible for the Garhwāl masterpieces, though of course they gave their work in Garhwāl a new stamp of individuality under the influence of the landscape of Garhwāl and its flora. We have already noticed a similar phenomenon while considering the 'pre Kāngrā' phase, and observed how rapidly a new individualistic style can develop as the result of a new atmosphere and new surroundings.

Of course, all these theories as to the influences behind a particular school of Pahārī painting can rest only on probabilities, in the absence of unchallengeable data. Oftimes, differences of opinion occur even as to the provenance of an important miniature, and this makes the problem of tracing influences even more complicated. For instance there is a *Rāmāyana* miniature in the British Museum (Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, Plate 60, Fig 2; and Archer, *Garhwāl Painting*, 1954, *Encounter at the Pool*, Plate 3 in colour) which Archer ascribes to Garhwāl, whereas in the present volume it is ascribed to Chambā[2] on grounds of style. Incidentally a further reason for the Chambā attribution may be noted. In the British Museum there is a miniature which was acquired by J. C. French in Chambā.[3] It is attributed to one Hirālāl. Now there is an extraordinary resemblance between the face of the girl (third from left) in this miniature, and the face of the girl in *Encounter at the Pool* standing on the extreme left on the white platform surrounding the tree. As the miniature attributed to Hirālāl is almost certainly an example of the Chambā school,[4] the attribution of *Encounter at the Pool* to Chambā appears to be correct. The colour schemes of the female costumes in *Encounter at the Pool* do not afford much assistance in determining its provenance because similar colour schemes for female costumes are to be found in many schools of Pahārī painting. Combinations of red and blue, purple and blue, yellow and red, etc., were very common in female attire all over the Hills.

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[1] I have already stated at page 213 that I was not able to trace in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, any miniature bearing an inscription that it was painted by Chaitu. Mr. N. C. Mehta was probably misled by an inscription on the reverse of a painting which reads

Chaitu eh dé gharé dé

which means 'from the house of Chaitu'. The miniature which bears this inscription is clearly not the work of Chaitu. It is a *Rāmāyana* painting in the *Bhāgavata* style, belonging to the period 1780-1800 A.D., and much finer than Chaitu's known work. It apparently came into Chaitu's possession just as many fine paintings which are not the work of Molarām were found in Molarām's collection. Such paintings no doubt afforded inspiration to the lesser artists namely Molarām and Chaitu. The inscription is significant. The person who wrote it was most probably the person who acquired the miniature and he has been careful not to attribute it to Chaitu but merely records that he obtained it from the house of Chaitu. He probably was aware that it was not the work of Chaitu, and hence the deliberate phraseology of the inscription.

[2] *Supra*, page 224.

[3] It is illustrated in the Study Supplement as *Delivering the Message* attributed to an artist named Hirālāl. The reason for this attribution cannot be discovered, but it is possible that this miniature belonged to the family of Hirālāl, a Chambā painter who died recently, and hence the attribution. This attribution has been made by Binyon in *Revue des Arts Asiatique*, Vol. 3, page 103. From where Binyon got his information is not known.

[4] The faces of the two women on the extreme right, as well as the face of the woman, second from left, in Hirālāl's miniature all bear a striking resemblance to a characteristic Chambā facial type seen in some of the Rang Mahal Palace frescoes at Chambā (Fig 14, and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 5).

The Origin of Basohlī Painting

In *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, page 1, Dr. Goetz in his article 'The Basohlī Reliefs of the Brahmor Kothī, A.D. 1670' seeks to establish that Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī (1598-1635 A.D.) was the founder of the Basohlī school. We will, therefore, consider if there is any substance in the theory evolved. It may be said at the outset that the factual basis of the theory is incorrect, and hence the line of reasoning founded on an incorrect statement of facts leads to conclusions of no value. This basis consists of certain wooden bas-reliefs of the *Kothī* (administrative head-quarters) at Brahmor in Chambā State. This *Kothī* according to tradition was built by Rājā Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.)[1], and there is an addition to it, said by Dr. Goetz to have been constructed by Umed Singh (1748-1764 A.D.)[2]. Most of the wooden carvings of the Brahmor *Kothī* have been removed to the Bhurī Singh Museum, Chambā[3], as the *Kothī* was in a partly ruinous condition. Now there are two distinct styles of work to be found in these carvings and it is necessary to consider both styles for the purpose of the present discussion. One style is represented by figures of courtiers or attendants in Moghul costume (Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhurī Singh Museum*, Plate 6; *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig 2 on page 26; and *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1954, Fig 4 opp. page 4). This is a refined style of carving displaying marked Moghul influence of the late Aurangzeb period or of the first quarter of the 18th century and having no connection with the Basohlī style. One thing is fairly certain that none of these Moghul style reliefs could belong to the time of Prithvī Singh who died early in Aurangzeb's reign in 1664 A.D. Though tradition ascribes all the carvings of the *Kothī* to Prithvī Singh it is obvious that such could not be the case having regard to the length and close pleating of the *jāmās* worn by the courtiers, and the excessively broad cross-bands of their turbans. Dr. Goetz ascribes the reliefs (*Marg*. Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig 2 on page 26) to Umed Singh's time (1748-1764 A.D.), while he ascribes a quite similar relief (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1954, Fig 4, opp. page 4) which is patently contemporaneous with those just mentioned, to the reign of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.). The former ascription may well be correct, but the latter ascription is quite impossible even though the figure to which it relates is found in that part of the *Kothī* said to have been built by Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.). Its presence in that part of the *Kothī* only goes to prove that the structure has many later additions. Whether these Moghul type reliefs all belong to the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764) or to any earlier reigns, namely those of Dalel Singh (1735-1748 A.D.), Ugar Singh (1720-1735 A.D.), or Udai Singh (1690-1720 A.D.), is not very relevant to decide. One thing is certain that these Moghul type reliefs of courtiers and attendants cannot on stylistic grounds be earlier than *circa* 1700, and in all probability are considerably later. This lateness is also emphasized by the fact that another relief in an absolutely similar style, also from the Brahmor *Kothī*, and now in the Bhurī Singh Museum, depicts a girl playing with a ball attached to a string (*Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig 3 on page 28).[4] Now the depiction of this type of zenana pastime is essentially a development of Moghul art of the second quarter of the 18th century, and the wood-carver no doubt borrowed this motif from a Moghul or Rājput miniature of a similar subject. Having regard to the fact that it is obvious at a glance that the reliefs of the courtiers, already referred to above, and the relief of the girl playing with a ball, are contemporaneous, it would be fairly safe to conclude that all these reliefs were executed in the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764 A.D.). The second style of wood sculpture from the Brahmor *Kothī* is to be found in sculptured panels inserted into the lintels of porchways now removed to the Bhurī Singh Museum. These sculptured panels have figures which are in the Basohlī manner with marked sloping foreheads, projecting noses, and protruding eyes. It is these sculptured panels (*Roopa Lekha*,

[1] Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, 1911, Pt. 1, p. 8.

[2] Dr. Goetz has given no reasons for ascribing the extension to Umed Singh, though the ascription is not an improbable one on grounds of style. Even in the carving of the Chamunda temple at Devī Kothī, which has an inscription of Umed Singh dated 1754, the Moghul influence is evident.

[3] Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhurī Singh Museum*, 1911.

[4] Dr. Goetz states in the caption below this illustration that this relief of the girl playing with a ball, from the Brahmor *Kothī*, originally came from Umed Singh's palace in Chambā town after its partial destruction in 1774-1775. No reasons are given for this statement, but it may well be correct, and only goes to prove that there have been several later additions to the wood-carving of the Brahmor *Kothī*.

Vol. 25, No. 1, 1954, Fig 1 opp. page 4, and Fig 2 opp. page 5) which form the basis of the theory advanced by Dr Goetz. He attributes them to *circa* 1670 A.D. during the reign of Chattar Singh of Chambā (1664-1690 A.D.) on the following grounds :

(1) that the only princes of Chambā who were connected with Basohlī were Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.) and Chattar Singh (1664-1690 A.D.) by reason of the fact that Prithvī Singh married a Basohlī princess, and Chattar Singh was her son. The first statement is doubtful, but at any rate we have no evidence, and Dr Goetz puts forward none.[1] So also there is no evidence to suggest that Chattar Singh was the son of Prithvī Singh by a Basohlī princess. Prithvī Singh had eight sons.

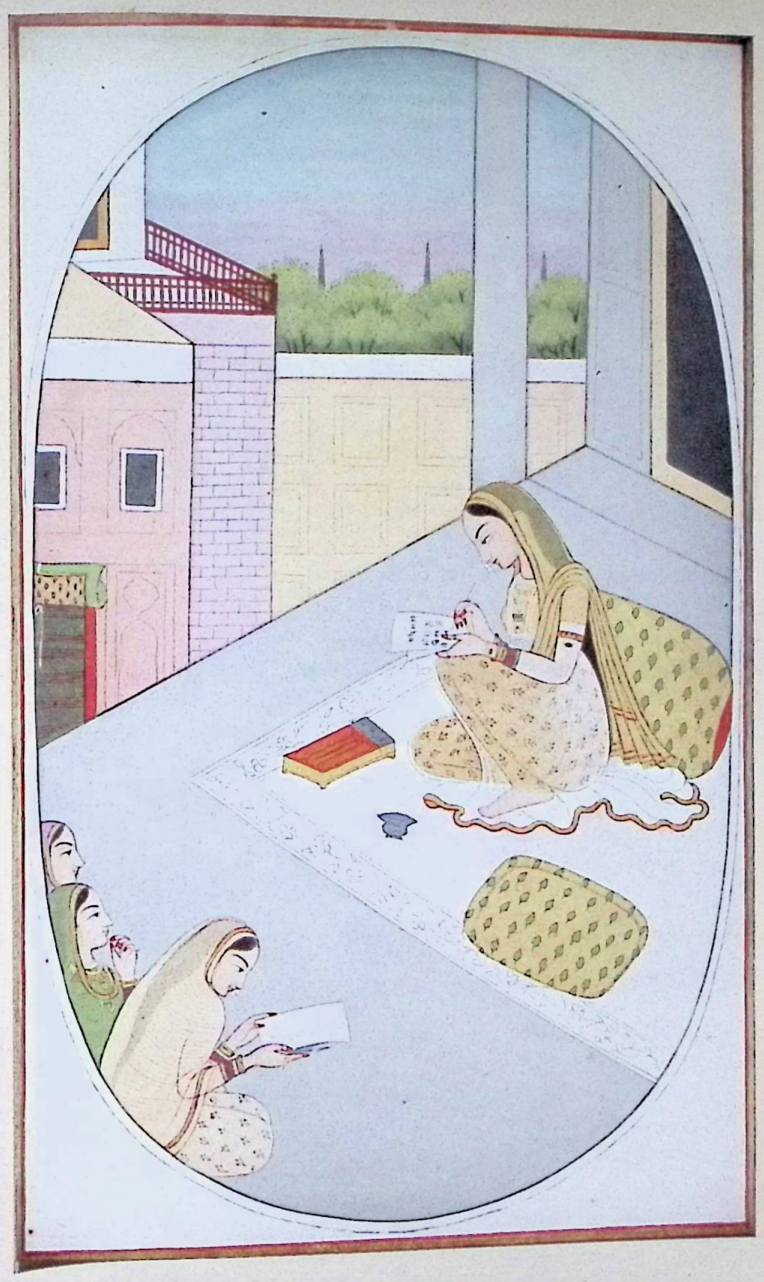
(2) that both Prithvī Singh and Chattar Singh stayed a 'long time' in the Brahmor *Kothī*. Of this again there is not the slightest evidence, though undoubtedly most of the Chambā kings must have occasionally sojourned at the *Kothi*.

(3) that one of these sculptured panels in the Basohlī style (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1954, Fig. 1, opp. page 4) which shows Brahma in the centre, with Shiva-Parvatī on one side, and Vishnu-Laksmī on the other side, is to be interpreted as the god Brahma in the role of the divine priest presiding over the marriage ceremony of Chattar Singh's daughter to Prince Bidhī Singh of Kulu. Apart from the fact that adequate proof of this marriage is wanting, the reason given for this interpretation is that in a Chambā *rumāl* (embroidery)[2] which depicts the marriage of Jit Singh of Chambā (1794-1808 A.D.), the god Brahma is shown as the priest presiding over the ceremony seated in front of the sacrifical fire. Now this interpretation for the Brahmor *Kothī* panel is quite fanciful. There is no wedding scene depicted, and there is no sacrificial fire even though the carver found enough space for depicting two flowers. Brahma does not even symbolically hold the ladle used for pouring *ghee* (clarified butter) on the sacrificial fire, and in fact there is not a single indication in the entire panel to even remotely connect it with a marriage ceremony. Dr Goetz observes that Brahma is the central deity, 'a quite anomalous position in this time', but the explanation for his being the central deity is so simple that it is difficult to understand how it was by-passed in favour of a far fetched interpretation. Brahmor is equivalent to Brahmapur, and the town is in fact referred to in two Chambā inscriptions of the 10th century as Brahmapura = the city of Brahma. Now quite obviously the presiding deity of Brahmor could never be relegated to a subordinate position in a building erected in Brahmor. He would necessarily be the central deity in any panel in which other deities were depicted. Thus the entire theory that the panel belongs to Chattar Singh's reign, *circa* 1670, falls to the ground. But the mere circumstance that the reasons given by Dr Goetz for assigning the panel to Chattar Singh are ill-founded, does not preclude the possibility of the panel belonging to that reign. That possibility however is ruled out of question by the fact that these Basohlī-type sculptured panels are on the very face of them crude later additions to the porchways and are clumsily wedged in between the upper and lower beams of the lintels. This is so apparent that it is beyond the scope of controversy. They have no relation to, and no unity with the original carving of the porchways. Not only are they of inferior workmanship, but they exhibit every characteristic of late 18th century Basohlī-type folk painting namely, large heads close-set on the neck, stunted bodies, unshapely limbs, awkward attitudes, and badly drawn animals. If one compares these figures to the squat figures of mid-18th century wood-carving in Chambā, such as the panels in the Chamunda temple (*Mārg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig. 6 on page 30, and Fig. 7 on page 31) it becomes clear that the Basohlī-type panels of the Brahmor *Kothī* are even later. Moreover it is interesting to note that in these Basohlī-type panels of the Brahmor *Kothī* is the figure of a girl playing with a ball — an idea obviously borrowed from the earlier Moghul-type panels of Umed Singh's time (*Mārg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig 3 on page 28, and Fig 6 on page 30). This Basohlī sculpture

[1] There is a statement in the *Chambā Gazetteer, Punjab States*, Vol. 22 A, 1904, page 93, that Prithvī Singh married a daughter of Sangram Pāl of Basohlī, but the dates of these Rājās make such an alliance so unlikely that Hutchinson and Vogel have avoided reference to this supposed marriage in their history of the Punjab Hill States.

[2] *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, No. 3, Pt. 1, p. 35.

PLATE T



Lady writing a Letter. Kangra Kalam. 1790-1800 A.D. Artist Mīnaku.
See 'Supplementary Information' in the present volume. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

of a zenana girl playing with a ball makes it fairly certain that these Basohlī-type reliefs, at the earliest, could not antedate *circa* 1750 A.D. Their style, however, establishes a much later date, as already observed. Dr. Goetz has fallen into the common error of confusing the archaistic with the archaic. This was the very error into which Ajit Ghose fell when he described certain examples of 18th century Basohlī painting as the 'Basohlī primitives' of the 16th century (*Rupam*, No. 37, Figs 1 to 5). It was on the basis of these Basohlī-type reliefs, wrongly ascribed to Chattar Singh's reign, *circa* 1670, that Dr. Goetz made the following further deductions :

(*a*) that painting was practised in Chambā as early as the reign of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.). The logic of the deduction is not apparent.

(*b*) that painting in Chambā could only have been taken over from Basohlī by reason of the marriage of Prithvī Singh to a Basohlī princess. Here again the logic of the deduction is not apparent, even assuming there was any painting during Prithvī Singh's reign in Chambā, and even assuming that he married a Basohlī princess which fact itself is most doubtful.

(*c*) that Sangram Pāl of Basohlī, at the time of the marriage of Prithvī Singh of Chambā (1641-1664 A.D.) to a Basohlī princess, must have been a minor, and therefore the initiative for starting a school of painting has to be assigned to the reign of his father Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī (1598-1635 A.D.), and accordingly Bhupat Pāl must have been the founder of the Basohlī school of painting just as he had been the founder of Basohlī town. Frankly it is not possible to comprehend this argument, nor is it necessary to make an effort to do so having regard to the fact that the very basis of all these theories is non-existent in so far as the Basohlī-type panels of the Brahmor *Kothī* belong to the third quarter of the 18th century at the very earliest, and in all probability are even later. They appear to be hap-hazard additions by some local carvers to fill up some of the many missing gaps in the ornamentation of the *Kothī*. My own belief is that this slip-shod partial renovation took place as late as the first quarter of the 19th century.

The fact that portraits of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 AD.) and Chattar Singh (1664-1690 A.D.) exist (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1954, Fig 6 opp. page 4, and Fig 5 opp. page 5) does not help us in the least to conclude that the art of painting was practised during their reigns. Both these portraits, which are late products, show the Rājās dressed in costumes and turbans of the mid-18th century. The faces were either from the artist's imagination, or from traditional descriptions, or from some old Moghul portraits or copies thereof. The same is true of portraits of other early Pahārī Rājās. For instance I have already referred at page 143 to a portrait of Jagdish Chand of Guler (1570-1605 A.D.), who ruled in the days of Akbar, and yet no one would seriously suggest that such late copies establish the existence of a school of Pahārī miniature painting at Guler or any other Hill State during the 16th century. Randhawa in his *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, page 4, has again repeated the unfortunate error of thinking that the portraits of Rup Chand, Mān Singh, and Bikram Singh of Guler, are contemporary studies.

The Origin of Painting in Chambā

It follows from the discussion of Dr. Goetz's theories as to the origins of Basohlī painting that he ascribes the beginnings of miniature painting in Chambā to the reign of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.). But no evidence in support of this viewpoint has yet been produced and accordingly the problem cannot be discussed on any intelligible basis. If the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting are no earlier than *circa* 1675 in the State of Basohlī, then it may be fairly safe to suggest that the art of miniature painting was not introduced into Chambā till after 1700 when the work of the Basohlī school began to be emulated at the courts of several Hill Rājās. In *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 'Rājput Sculpture and Painting under Rājā Umed Singh of Chambā', Dr. Goetz has dealt with painting in Chambā in Umed Singh's reign (1748-1764 A.D.). Apart from Umed Singh's own portrait (reproduced as Fig 11 in the abovementioned article) there is only a single series illustrating the *Bhāgavata Purāna* which can with some justification be ascribed to Umed Singh's time. The mural (Fig 1 of the said article) is a mhuc later work. With regard to these *Bhāgavata Purāna* miniatures (Figs 8 and 12 of the article) they clearly indicate

the influence of Basohlī art, but the treatment is already refined and lacks the savage vitality of early Basohlī paintings. We may however be fairly certain that this *Bhāgavata Purāna* was a development from some earlier Basohlī idiom at Chambā. In the Study Supplement to this volume will be found two miniatures, one being a portrait of Udai Singh of Chambā (1690-1720 A.D.) and the other a study of Jai Singh and Shakat Singh, two of the eight sons of Prithvī Singh (1641-1664 A.D.). Prithvī Singh was born in 1619 A.D. but we do not know the birth dates of Jai Singh and Shakat Singh. They were the brothers of Chattar Singh who ruled from 1664 to 1690. In fact Jai Singh was appointed as Chattar Singh's Wazir on the latter's accession to the throne in 1664, and Shakat Singh was sent by Chattar Singh to the court of Aurangzeb in 1678 to pacify the Emperor for disobedience of his commands to demolish temples in the State. But Shakat Singh turned back before reaching Delhi. In view of what has been stated above, Jai Singh must have been a grown-up man in 1664 A.D., and Shakat Singh also a grown-up man at least in 1678 A.D. Now in their portrait-study we find Jai Singh and Shakat Singh to be grown-up men about thirty five and thirty years of age respectively. Accordingly it would be easy for anyone so minded to conclude that the miniature depicting them could not be much later than 1675 A.D. even assuming that Jai Singh when he became Wazir of the State in 1664 was only twenty five years old. If this line of reasoning was correct it would establish the existence of the *Basohlī Kalam* at Chambā even before the accession of Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.) to whose reign I have ascribed the very beginnings of Pahārī miniature art. But it is precisely this type of reasoning that has led many critics of Pahārī painting into fanciful conclusions with regard to the dating of Pahārī miniatures. It is not enough to relate a name-label to a known historical personage and ignore all other considerations including carefully collated data as to style, colour, etc. When one examines the portrait study of Jai Singh and Shakat Singh, that peculiar 'dryness' of colour, so characteristic of many Basohlī paintings of the second quarter of the 18th century and later, is immediately apparent. The colour in early Basohlī art has a certain depth and richness which much of the later work does not possess. The difference is not capable of any accurate description, but it can be sensed quite easily when one has carefully analysed a large number of Basohlī miniatures.

Fortunately the portrait of Udai Singh (1690-1720 A.D.), in the Study Supplement, throws light on the matter. Udai Singh, son of Chattar Singh (1664-1690 A.D.) and nephew of Jai Singh and Shakat Singh, was quite young when he came to the throne in 1690 A.D. and accordingly Jai Singh continued to act as the Wazir of the State but died while Udai Singh was still a young man. In his portrait-study Udai Singh is fairly elderly and has grown gross, no doubt as the result of the debauched life he led. Therefore even assuming his portrait to be a contemporary study it could not have been painted earlier than 1710 to 1720 A.D. Now the portrait study of Jai Singh and Shakat Singh has the same tonal quality as that of Udai Singh, and it appears that it must have formed part of a series of royal portraits of Chambā rulers and princes, which was commissioned either by Udai Singh or a later Chambā ruler. If we regard these two portrait studies as belonging to the later part of Udai Singh's reign then we could conclude that the Basohlī style had come to Chambā by about 1710 A.D. But it is likely that both miniatures belong to a still later period and were commenced as part of a portrait-series by Ugar Singh (1720-1735) or Dalel Singh of Chambā (1735-1748 A.D.). I am inclined to the latter view. In any event these two portrait studies go to indicate the existence of an idiom of the *Basohlī Kalam* at Chambā during the second quarter of the 18th century if not a little earlier. It has already been surmised at page 94 that the introduction of the Basohlī idiom to Chambā was due to a Basohlī artist accompanying a Basohlī princess as part of her dowry on the occasion of her marriage to a Chambā prince. This event, therefore, must in all probability have taken place during the first half of the 18th century because it is not feasible to assign the study of Udai Singh or that of his two uncles to a date later than 1750 A.D.

The Birthplace of Kāngrā Painting

In view of the data now available it would be difficult to contend that any one particular State was the birthplace of Kāngrā painting. The *Kāngrā Kalam* is really the

outcome of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style, and was a gradual process of evolution all over the Hills. Archer[1] and Randhawa[2] have both opined that Guler was the birthplace of Kāngrā painting, but this conclusion appears to have been based partly, if not largely, on the circumstance that the Guler Darbār collection — one of the few Hill collections to remain tolerably intact — contains several 'pre-Kāngrā' miniatures as well as examples of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. It was accordingly thought that the *Kāngrā Kalam* was developed at Guler, and that later on artists from Guler were responsible for the spread of the Kāngrā style throughout the Kāngrā valley. If this conclusion is correct, it must follow that what was really the *Guler Kalam* came to be known as the *Kāngrā Kalam* due to Sansār Chand's political paramountcy and the creation by him of a large atelier. But such a theory is not easy of acceptance. For one thing it is entirely contrary to the tradition all over the Hills, namely that Kāngrā was the fountain-head of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, and secondly Sansār Chand's political ascendency surely could not eradicate from all living memory so remarkable a fact as Guler being the birthplace of the entire Kāngrā school. One must not forget that Sansār Chand's political ascendency ended as early as 1805, and moreover, the Katoch overlord was so bitterly hated by all the Hill Rājās, that if in fact Guler was the birthplace of Kāngrā art the truth would soon have asserted itself, at any rate after 1805, and put paid to the pretensions of Kāngrā to be the fountain-head of the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

Fortunately, there is definite evidence — already dealt with — to show that the 'pre-Kāngrā' style did not exist only in Guler but also in Jasrota, Jammu, Chambā, Basohlī, and no doubt in other States. Svetoslav Roerich, who is of opinion that it is futile to attempt to locate the birthplace of the *Kāngrā Kalam*, has seen a fine series of 'pre-Kāngrā' paintings, in the Moghul manner of the 18th century, of known Suketī provenance. The existence of a 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Suket explains the origin of miniatures such as the study of *Bahādur Singh with Children* (Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 51). Archer regards Bahādur Singh's portrait study as an example of Jammu painting, but we are now in a position to identify this portrait as being that of Bahādur Singh of Suket, younger brother of Rājā Bhikam Sen of Suket (1748-1762 A.D.). A similar portrait study, in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay, bears an inscription stating that the portrait is of Bahādur Sena. The suffix 'Sena' makes it certain that the personage in question is Bahādur Singh of Suket particularly when the period of the study fits in completely with the period during which Bahādur Singh lived. At page 135 of the present volume I had stated that Bahādur Singh of these two portrait studies has not been identified. It is true that there is no ruling prince of that name in the mid-18th century, but on further consideration there can be no doubt that the subject of these two studies is Bahādur Singh, son of Garur Sen of Suket (1721-1748 A.D.) and brother of Bhikam Sen (1748-1762 A.D.). The inscriptions do not refer to him as a Rājā. It is well to remember that intimate family studies, such as that of Bahādur Singh and his children, could never have been done outside the State of the personage depicted therein.[3]

Now just as we find that the 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Guler later on developed into the *Kāngrā Kalam* round about the beginning of Prakash Chand's reign, namely 1773 A.D., so also we find that the 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Chambā developed into the Kāngrā style round about 1770 A.D. This can be seen from Fig 87 which is a study of the young Rāj Singh of Chambā (1764-1794 A.D.). It bears an inscription 'Rājā Rāj Singh Chhamiya (Chambial)', and a further inscription which states that the picture was sent to the Mandī Darbār by Rām Souhae. Now we know that Rām Souhae (Sahai), also known as Rām Lāl, was one of the artist-sons of the painter Nainsukh. It thus becomes obvious that the original of Fig 87 must have been painted by Rām Souhae at Rāj Singh's court for the Rājā's album. Fig 87 is doubtless one of the contemporary copies made from the original by Rām Souhae. At some later date, probably after Rāj Singh's death, it was acquired by the Mandī Darbār from the artist himself. It was a fairly common practice for a Hill Rājā to acquire portrait-studies of other Hill rulers for his collection. Such acquisitions

[1] Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, and in the Introduction to Randhawa's *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955.
[2] *Marg*, Vol, 6, No. 4, and Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, and *Art and Letters*, Vol, 29, No. 1. See Appendix No. 2.
[3] This matter is of great importance in deciding problems of provenance.

PLATE U



Radha Chiding Krishna. Kāngrā Kalam. 1790-1800 A.D. See 'Supplementary Information' in the present volume.
Gopikisson Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

were often by purchase, and the price at which Fig 87 was acquired is mentioned in the inscription as being forty six rupees — a large sum of money in those days. The price indicates the status of the artist, and the high remuneration he could obtain for his paintings.

Thus Fig 87 affords us further proof of the fact that the members of the family of Pandit Seu (Souhae or Sahai) spread out all over the Hills seeking employment in different States. The family had settled in Jasrota[1] where one of its members appears to have worked under a Jasrota grandee named Mian Mukund Dev. Nainsukh, the younger son of Pandit Seu, took service under that remarkable patron of painting, Balvant Singh of Jammu. It is not known for certain where Mānak, the elder son of Pandit Seu, went, but Mānak's son Kāushāla (Kushan Lāl) became the favourite painter of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Nainsukh's sons, Nikka and Gauhu (Gur Souhae or Sahai), took service at the Guler court. In fact, Gur Sahai appears to have been one of the prominent artists of Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790 A.D.). Rām Lāl (Rām Souhae or Sahai) took service under Rāj Singh of Chambā (1764-1794 A.D.) as would appear from the inscription on Fig 87, while nothing is known to date of another son of Nainsukh, named Kāma.

In addition to Fig 87 we have an example of the early *Kāngrā Kalam* at Chambā in the *Aniruddha-Usā* set of the Chambā Darbār now presented to the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. We can easily observe that the style of this set is a direct development from the 'pre-Kāngrā' style. Had Kāngrā not been devastated from 1805 to 1809 A.D. by the Gurkhas, and by the Hill confederacy at whose invitation the Gurkhas came to fight Sansār Chand, then I have little doubt that the 'pre-Kāngra' style, would also have been found in Sansār Chand's famous collection of which only a part now exists. The *Aniruddha-Usā* set is said to have been painted in Chambā, probably by Rām Lāl. See colour plate in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 1.

Turning to Jammu, we do not know what happened to the royal collection of Ranjit Dev (1735-1781 A.D.). That he had painters in his employ is certain. There is an inscribed 'pre-Kāngrā' portrait of Ranjit Dev in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and there is no reason to think that it is a work of Balvant Singh's atelier. It is too far fetched a suggestion that Ranjit Singh's portraits were painted by his brother's artists. This portrait proves, what was obvious even otherwise, that a ruler of Ranjit Dev's unique status and great influence did maintain his own artists. Archer is of opinion that only Balvant Singh patronized an atelier at Jammu. But the fortunate circumstance that many paintings from Balvant Singh's atelier have come to light is by no means a satisfactory basis for such a belief. It must be remembered that Ranjit Dev had a brilliant court and encouraged people of all sorts to settle in Jammu and granted special concessions to the courtiers and nobles of Delhi and Lahore who had fallen on evil days. He even gave a house to Mughlani Begam, the famous widow of Mir Mannu, the viceroy of the Punjab, after his death in 1753 A.D. Many courtiers, officials, and bankers of Lahore were living in Jammu during Ranjit Dev's reign. It is inconceivable that in these circumstances he did not patronize refugee artists from the plains.

One question which arises for consideration is how it comes about that the transition from the 'pre-Kāngrā' style to the *Kāngrā Kalam* is a process almost simultaneous in several States. One explanation is that there were several painter-families in the Hills and that the members of these families were spread out over various States. Distances being short, the members of any particular family must often have met each other on occasions such as family marriages, or the death of an important member of the family, and so forth. Such meetings would inevitably result in the interchange of ideas and a scrutiny of each others sketches and paintings. The *Standard* female facial type may well, in the first instance, have been derived from some famous *Kuttinī* (dancing girl) at a Hill court, and probably the origin of the *Bhāgavata* facial type is also to be traced to some beautiful dancing girl or singer. If this theory be correct, then having regard to the normal intercourse between members of painter-families working in different States, the rapid spread of an attractive formula for female facial types can easily be accounted

[1] This is indicated by the inscription on 'Balwant Singh's music party' in the Lahore Museum. See page 118.

for. Of course variations were bound to occur. It is not possible, however, to trace the development of these variations in any chronological sequence, nor is it even possible to trace the original source of the *Standard* and *Bhāgavata* female facial types. All efforts in this direction must, in the ultimate analysis, be regarded as speculative. The utmost we can say is that some variations of the *Standard* type and *Bhāgavata* type were more popular in certain States than in others. For instance the *Standard* types seen in Fig 65, and in Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plates 18 and 19, were much favoured in Guler during Prakash Chand's reign (1773-1790 A.D.), while the *Standard* types such as those seen in Plates N and O, and in Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 26, were popular at the court of Sansār Chand. But one should be cautious of attributing a miniature to a particular State only on the basis of a female facial type popular in that State. The reason is that there is no type exclusive to any one State. For instance the *Surprised Maiden* (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 12) is not from the Kāngrā Valley at all. At first sight it might appear to be from Guler, but more careful analysis would indicate the late Garhwāl school of the first quarter of the 19th century when the Guler idiom appears to have travelled to that State. The Garhwāl origin suggested by me recieves some measure of confirmation from the fact that the miniature formerly belonged to Tikka Narendra of Garhwāl. Again *The Crow's Message* (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 14) is likely to be from Chambā. It has been included as an example of Kāngrā valley painting because Randhawa no doubt thought it came from Guler. *The Lonely Lady* (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 9) is undoubtedly from Guler, but similar facial types are seen in paintings from Chambā (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, Plate 3) and Kāngrā (Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, 1950, Plate 14). Again *The Lament of Separation* (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 15) is from Guler, and yet a very similar facial type is also seen in work from Kāngrā done at Sansār Chand's court (Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting* 1955, Plate 38). Facial types seen in Mandī painting are also seen in miniatures from Kāngrā (compare Plate 28 from Mandī, with Plate 39 from Kāngrā, in Randhawa's *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955). This is but natural as we know that at least two of Sansār Chand's artists, namely Sajnu and Fattu, migrated to Mandī. Such instances of similarity in facial types can be multiplied manifold. Sometimes the colour tonality of a miniature may come to our aid to unravel problems of provenance, but colour also can be quite inconclusive.. No State developed any colour tonality so characteristic and exclusive as to afford us a definite differentiating factor. To some extent, however, colour tonality can be useful to an experienced investigator to resolve difficulties, provided undue reliance is not placed on certain colour combinations and tones.

The Kulu-Mandī School

Svetoslav Roerich is rightly of opinion that the style of painting referred to herein as *Kulu Kalam* is a style common to the Kulu-Mandī area. This opinion receives support from several miniatures of Mandī Rājās reproduced by Man Mohan in his *A History of the Mandī State, 1930*. The portrait studies of Chatar Sen, Kesab Sen, and Shamsher Sen show marked affinities to the Kulu style, while the portrait study of Shivjawala Sen resembles certain provincial Basohlī idioms. Roerich feels that no hard and fast classification of Pahārī styles is possible. Distances were short, artists often shifted from one State to another, and many differing styles prevailed in one and the same State. He therefore favours a more general classification such as Basohlī-type, Kāngrā-type, etc. without undue emphasis on provenance unless specific data to establish a definite provenance is available. Roerich's viewpoint may not appeal to all critics but it is well to bear it in mind when one is investigating the problems of provenance.

There are portraits with the Mandī Darbār which also have affinities to the style known as the *Kulu Kalam*. One such portrait is that of Rājā Sidh Sen (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 4b), now in the possession of Mr. N. C. Mehta of Bombay. Its probable date is the last quarter of the 18th century and the formalized pine tree of the *Kulu Kalam* (Fig. 35) is seen dominating the composition.

CHAPTER IV

TECHNIQUE AND ANALYSIS

The Technique of Pahārī Painting

In the matter of technique the Pahārī artists largely adopted the methods of the Moghul miniaturists.

The first step in the painting of a Pahārī miniature was the preparation of the paper. Hand-made paper was used, and that manufactured at Sialkot in the Punjab and known as *Sialkotī* was popular, though papers made at other centres were also employed. New sheets of *Sialkotī* or other brand of paper were gummed together to form a base or *carrier*[1] of the required thickness. An equally common practice was to use a new sheet of paper for the top layer of the *carrier*, while the other layers were pages taken from old account books and gummed together. It is due to this latter practice that one often finds that the reverse of a Pahārī miniature consists of a discoloured old page bearing accounts written in ink. Frequently the paper employed was glazed during manufacture, but it seems to have been equally common for artists to glaze an unglazed surface. A Hindi verse on the back of a Pahārī miniature in the Boston Museum[2] refers to a love-sick heroine having given 'clean paper, fresh and shining like glass' for painting a portrait of her lord. The reference is to the glazed or burnished paper used by Pahārī artists. *Sanganerī* and *Kashmirī* papers were next in popularity to *Sialkotī*.

The second step was to draw the outline of the proposed miniature. This was done free-hand with a fine brush, though ofttimes a *pounce* was used. The method of using a *pounce* has already been described in Chapter III in connection with Kāngrā drawings. If a *pounce* was used then the outline obtained by means of the *pounce* was gone over with a brush. This preliminary outline, whether free-hand or with the aid of a *pounce*, was drawn in black or sanguine, and on occasion in pale yellow. Sometimes the outline was first drawn in black and reinforced in sanguine, or vice versa. A fine brush seems invariably to have been used for the outline, though in fresco painting we know that specially prepared pencils called *kittalekhanī* were used for the preliminary drawing.

The third step was the application of a priming to the surface of the paper over the outline. This priming consisted of a thinly applied coating of white colour. It was unusual to apply the priming to the entire surface of the miniature in one operation. The more popular method was to proceed piecemeal and first apply the priming only to a portion of the picture space but so as to include the principal figure. The priming being thinly applied it was possible to discern the black or sanguine outline underneath the priming. This outline was then redrawn on the priming with a fine brush. Corrections to the original outline were freely made at this stage. This second drawing on the priming was also done in black or sanguine, and was often of great delicacy as in the *Nala-Damayantī* series.

The fourth step was to burnish that part of the paper to which the white priming had been applied and on which the outline had been redrawn. This burnishing was done with a rounded stone referred to as a *gholtī*. The stone was either an agate, a piece of ivory or marble, or a smooth stone commonly found in the Beas and other rivers. The method of burnishing was to lay the painting face down on a flat piece of glass or a slab of marble and then rub the reverse of the painting with the *gholtī* employing a quick forward and backward action. Another method, used only for small areas, was to cover the surface of the miniature with a thin sheet of paper

[1] The term *carrier* is more appropriate. The pasteboard formed by pasting several sheets together was known as a *wasli*.

[2] *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, p. 189.

and then gently but firmly rub the covering sheet with the *gholtī*. The burnishing of the white priming was an important process because it was this burnished priming which provided the base on which the painter had to lay his colours.

Having burnished the priming the painter either proceeded in stages to cover the remaining surface of the miniature with priming, or he proceeded forthwith to apply colour washes to the part already burnished. Each artist had his own method though the latter procedure was more common than the former and accounts for the fact that sometimes even the outlines of several figures and objects in a miniature remain unfinished though other figures and objects are not only covered with priming and burnished, but even partly coloured. In folk-style paintings and late works one often finds that the priming is omitted altogether and the process of burnishing is hardly utilized.

The fifth step was the application of colour. The colours used were mostly mineral and not vegetable, and each artist prepared his own colours. Several coatings of colour were usually given for each shade employed. After one application of a particular colour it was allowed to dry and then burnished. Thereafter another coat of the same colour would be added and burnished. In this way the desired depth and richness of tone would be built up by repeated applications of the same colour. Each coat was allowed to dry and was usually burnished before the application of the next coat. These several coats of paint were very thinly applied though the final effect was a smooth enamel-like tempera. Even in the application of colour no set method was followed. Often enough the artist would leave a figure incomplete to start work on another part of the miniature. Usually however the background architecture and landscape were lightly coloured before the figures were painted.

Gold (*sunā*) and silver (*cadī*) were applied last of all. Gold was polished directly with a bear's claw or a tiger's claw or a pig's tooth. For broad effects leaf-gold was applied over a base of mixed glue and sugar, while for minute work a soluble gold was used. This soluble gold (*halkarī*) was made by mixing with gum. Borders were sometimes painted before the miniature was completed, and in Basohlī painting the picture often protrudes onto the borders.

The sixth step was the final one. After the colouring was complete the outline was once more strengthened in black or sanguine. The object was to make it precise as it was apt to become blurred during the process of colouring.

The above steps tally not only with the methods of living Pahārī artists but also accord with one's observation of unfinished Pahārī paintings.

Colours and Brushes

Gold was mostly used for ornaments, crowns, turbans, utensils, thrones, woven and painted textiles, and carpets. It was also used for lining clouds and depicting streaks of lightning. On rare occasions the entire background of the miniature was painted in gold, as for instance the hillside in *Dāna Lilā* (Plate XV). A gold background is also to be seen in some of the miniatures of the *Bhāgavata* series, and a golden sky appears to have been popular at Guler.

Silver was used for woven and painted textiles, hukkahs, and other objects. It was also used to depict water and lotuses. Silver tarnishes after a time, and in consequence it is always seen as a metallic grey-black colour wherever it appears in Pahārī painting. The cushions in Plate V are an instance in point.

The palette of the Pahārī artists was quite extensive and ranged from full-bodied yellow, red, blue, green, and orange, to delicate pastel shades and powdery blues and mauves. The more delicate shades are seen only in Kāngrā painting and not in the Basohlī school.

The names of the colours intended to be used in a miniature were frequently written on the drawing either as an aid to memory or to afford guidance to the artist who was to colour the drawing or a duplicate thereof. Though there was no elaborate system of division of labour amongst Pahārī artists such as existed in the Emperor Akbar's atelier, there can be no doubt that several drawings in an extensive series were coloured by members of the principal artist's family or by his pupils. A good example of a Kāngrā drawing with numerous colour notes thereon is to be found in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate CXI. This drawing also illustrates the practice adopted by some artists of writing instructions on the drawing itself with regard to the patterns to be used for border designs, miscellaneous decoration, and architectural ornaments. These notes were meant for those whose function it was to complete the picture and colour it. Another good example of a drawing with numerous colour notes thereon is Krishna being dressed by the *gopīs* in a woman's garb (Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. 2, Plate 12). It is wrongly described by Coomaraswamy as Rādhā's toilet. The coloured version of this drawing is Plate IX of the present volume.

The artists prepared their own colours and brushes, and squatted on the floor of the studio while at work.

A list of the principal colours employed, and their local nomenclature, is set out hereunder. These have been taken from the colour notes found on Pahārī drawings :

Almond	..	*badāmī*. It is a shade of pink.
Black	..	*kārī*. Lamp-black from soot. *Kajal* is from burnt ivory.
Blue	..	*nīlā*. Made from indigo. An ultramarine seems to have been made from lapis lazuli and was known as *lazward*.
Blue (sky colour)	..	*asmānī*.
Brown (pale)	..	*uda*. In practice the shades vary.
Flesh (fair complexion)	..	*gaurī, cherī*. Coomaraswamy[1] describes it as light yellow or golden.
Green	..	*savaj, soj, hara*. Made from terraverte, and also other minerals. *Hara* is probably a malachite green. *Sayhal* is light green.
Green (pistachio)	..	*sojā pistakī*. *Amberī* is mango green. *Zamurratī* is emerald green. *Totia* is parrot green. *Jangalī* is verdigris. *Mugen* is lentil green. *Tarboozī* is melon green.
Grey (smoky)	..	*dhumra*. *Fakhtai* is pigeon grey.
Gold	..	*sunā*.
Khaki	..	*khākī*. Coomaraswamy[2] describes it as buff, but it is dark cream to khaki. Frequently seen on roofs of hill dwellings.
Orange	..	*norajī, nārangī*.
Purple	..	*harnujī, hiraunjī*. A shade of purple which is derived from earth said to be found at Hormuz in the Persian Gulf. *Sosnī* is purplish — blue.
Purple (dark)	..	*baingnī*. The colour of a brinjal. *Jamānī* is the colour of jambul.
Rose	..	*gulābī*.
Red	..	*lal, saindhurī*. Made from red lead. *Surakhī, geru*, is red ochre.
Red (cinnabar shade)	..	*samgarphada = samgarf*. *Gudha or gutei* is brick red.
Red (carmine)	..	*kirm*. Made from the Kermes insect. *Naswarī* (Barbery berry).

[1] *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5. 1926, p. 21, where a list of colours is given. The present list is more complete but does not pretend to be exhaustive.

[2] *Ibid.*

Red (lac colour)	..	*lākadedī*. *Mahourī* is a red lac dye.
Sandalwood colour	..	*sandila*.
Sepia (light)	..	*abarage*. Coomaraswamy[1] describes it as pale grey.
Silver	..	*cādī, rupā*.
White	..	*supeda*. Made from powdered conch shell, white chalk, or zinc white. *Kapoorī* is camphor white.
Yellow	..	*vasmati, vasanti, peolī*. Made from orpiment. *Peolī* or *gaugolī* is a rich, deep yellow from the urine of a cow fed on mango leaves. *Ramraj* is yellow ochre.

All impurities were removed from the colour during preparation, and various gums were used as a medium. The term *halkā* used with any colour indicates a light shade of the same.

The brushes employed were mostly made of squirrel hair, and cut to suitable shapes to accord with the needs of the artist.

An Artist's Training

The stock method for training the young Pahārī artist was to make him proficient at drawing (*a*) certain standardized female types; (*b*) a variety of male faces, young, old, bearded, wizened, and so forth; (*c*) animals; (*d*) birds; and (*e*) floral and geometrical designs. In his teacher's collection of drawings and *pounces* the young pupil was sure to find all the facial types, patterns, and objects which it was necessary for him to master. Frequently the teacher had charts on which a number of male and female faces; or human figures in various poses; or birds; or animals; or designs, were drawn. One such chart of birds and animals from Bundi State in Rājasthān is reproduced in *The Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, 1939-40, opposite page 8. These charts would be given to the pupil who would assiduously imitate the figures on the chart, and what was more important would memorize them in every detail. Thus in course of time the pupil had complete mastery over what may be termed a set of drawing exercises. For instance, an old man, a dancing girl, a tree, a bird in flight, a galloping horse, or a furious elephant, could all be depicted by the pupil with ease, and when he embarked on his first composition it was built up from these memorized forms.

Once the pupil had mastered a sufficient variety of forms and learnt how to balance a composition, he practised the technique of colouring in right earnest and became a full-fledged painter. If he was gifted he did not remain content to master only the set forms which he had derived from his instructor's charts, but created many new forms based on careful observation of life and nature. It is essential to remember that though the Pahārī artist during his apprenticeship utilized a certain number of standardized forms, he was as a rule inventive. His mind was attuned to the beauty of a Hill landscape and his powers of observation were acute. Moreover, it is certain that he was not content to reproduce only the facial types derived from the charts given to him during his pupilage. The Pahārī artist was ever eager to make sketches from life, and these he later utilized in his compositions. This is particularly true of the *Kāngrā Kalam* painters. A leaf from an artist's sketch book, where two male heads are obviously drawn from life, is reproduced in French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 14, Fig (a).

Though the Pahārī artist was not devoid of individuality he never strayed far from the accepted traditions of the school to which he belonged. Most of the work of the Basohlī and Kāngrā schools is within the framework of formulas which are easily recognizable as being peculiar to these *Kalams*. The guild discipline which played so important a part in the production of Indian sculpture was certainly existent in ateliers such as those of Kirpāl Pāl and

[1] *Ibid.*

Sansār Chand. But it also appears to have prevailed amongst smaller units such as a family of artists working exclusively for some Hill chief. It was this guild discipline which was largely responsible for the fact that local idioms were regarded as no more than variations of one or the other of the main schools of Pahārī art namely the *Basohlī Kalam*, and the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

AN ANALYSIS OF ARCHITECTURAL FORMS, CATTLE, TREES, COSTUMES, ETC.

Architectural Forms

Architectural forms in early Basohlī painting as well as in early Rājasthānī miniatures are derived largely from the mixed Rājput-Moghul architecture of the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir. It is the existence of this common source which accounts for several interesting parallelisms. Some writers, however, are apt to forget this circumstance and conclude that the architecture of the Hills in the 17th century was derived directly from Rājasthānī models of that period.

The cupola Fig D is from a Rājasthānī miniature dated 1634 A. D. while the cupola Fig D-1 is from a Basohlī miniature of the last decade of the 17th century. The latter is a somewhat intricate variation of the inverted lotus motif, though simpler versions thereof are also found in early Basohlī art. Moghul prototypes which are basically similar are to be commonly found all over North India. It is well to remember that the vast building activities of the Moghuls and the fusion of styles which took place in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir gave rise to a wealth of ideas, and the inventiveness of the Indian architect created numerous variations of basic forms. For instance the cupola Fig E from a Rājasthānī miniature[1] of *circa* 1660 A.D. and the cupola Fig E-1 from a Basohlī miniature of the last decade of the 17th century A. D., are basically the same, but different in detail. Both are variations of a formula common in early Moghul architecture, and it is fallacious to conclude that Fig E-1 is a derivative of Fig E. Thus the parallelisms which exist between architectural forms seen in Rājasthānī and Pahārī art afford no basis for the belief that the Basohlī school was derived from Rājasthānī painting.

The extent to which Basohlī architecture was directly indebted to Moghul architectural forms is best illustrated by the entrance gateways seen in two miniatures reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 94, Fig CCCIV; and Plate 95, Fig CCCVII. In the former, the spiral pilasters, each surmounted by a lotus bud; the cusped archway; and the floral decoration, are all so typically Moghul that no question of their being derived from Rājasthān can arise. In the second miniature the pilasters are each surmounted with a half-open lotus bud, and this again is a Moghul innovation. Even the usual form of the wooden pavilion pillars seen in Basohlī miniatures (Fig G-1) is closer to Moghul models than to the type seen in the Boston Museum Rājasthānī *Rāgamālā* of *circa* 1660 A.D. (Fig G). Moreover in some Basohlī miniatures, as for instance Plate C, the pavilion pillars are of the graceful Shah Jehan order which was not evolved in Rājasthān but by the architects of the Emperor whose name is inseparable from that dreamlike structure of perfection, the Tāj Mahāl. The painted or inlaid wall-niches, with cusped arches (Plate XXIII), again betoken the direct influence of Moghul architectural decoration, while the carved wooden fringe projecting downwards from the cornice of the pavilion in Plate XXIII is in imitation of the bud and stem motif seen in early Moghul architecture. In passing, it is of interest to note that sometimes the pavilion in Basohlī miniatures is hung with floral wreaths (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Plate 98, Figs 513). This is an ancient custom and a reference to it is to be found in the Tamil epic *Silappadīkāram*[2], where a canopy is described as beautified by overhanging garlands.

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[1] *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 92, Fig. CCC.

[2] Canto 1, lines 45-53.

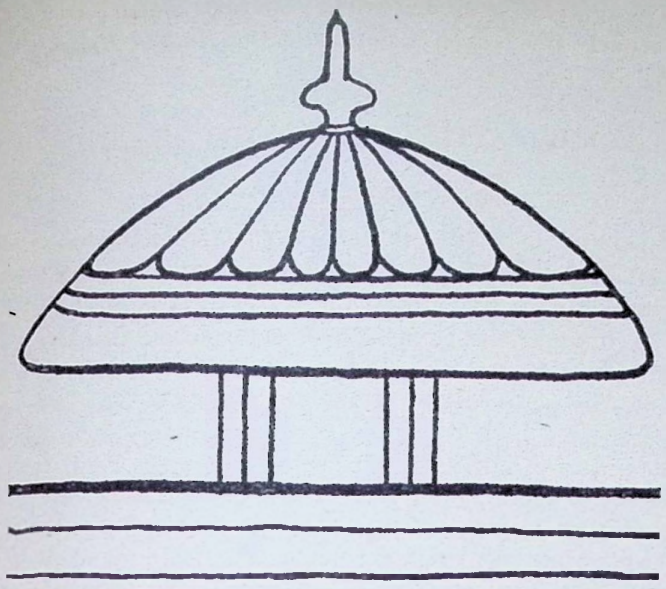


Fig. D.
Cupola from a Rajasthani miniature of the *Rasikapriya* dated 1634 A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

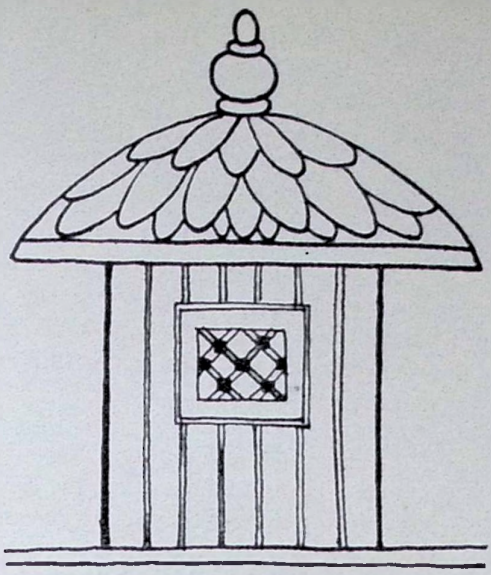


Fig. D-I.
Cupola from a Basohli miniature of the Kirpal Pal period *circa* 1694 A.D. in the Boston Museum.

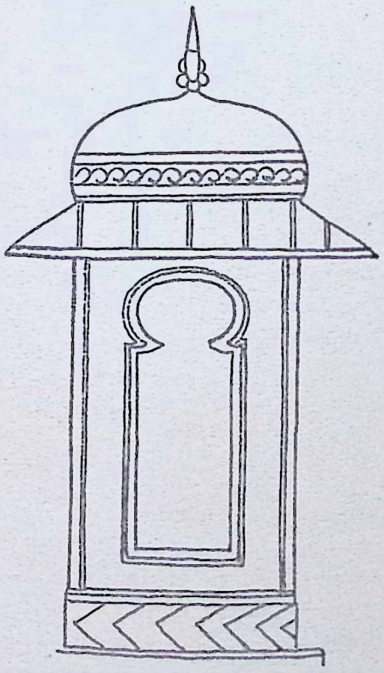


Fig. E.
Cupola from a Rajasthani Ragamala miniature *circa* 1660 A.D. in the Boston Museum.

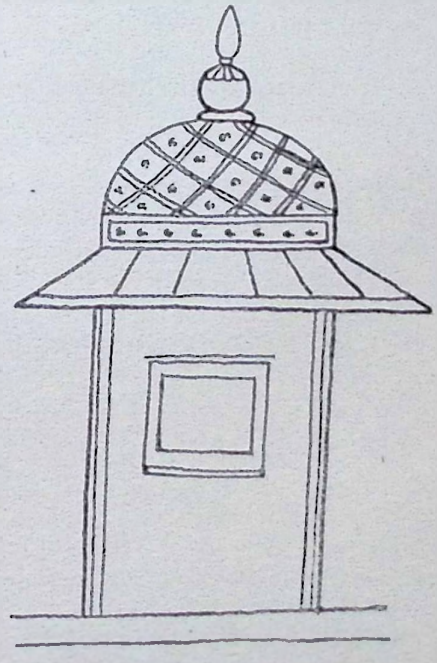


Fig. E-I.
Cupola from a Basohli miniature of the Kirpal Pal period *circa* 1694 A.D. in the Boston Museum.

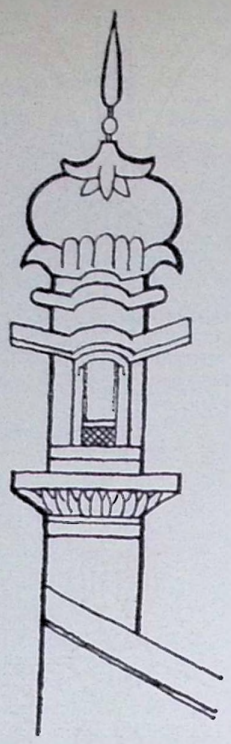


Fig. F.
Minar from a Kangra miniature.
circa 1800 A.D.

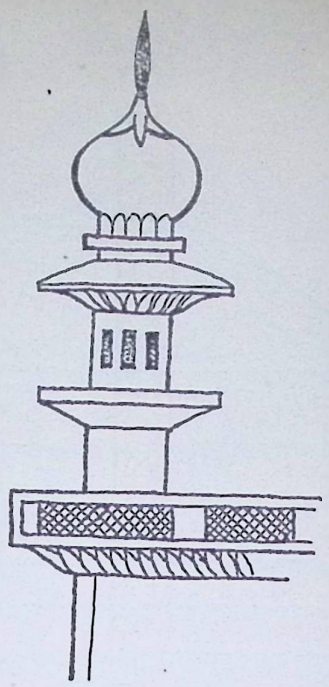


Fig. F-1.
Minar from a Kangra miniature
circa 1800 A.D.

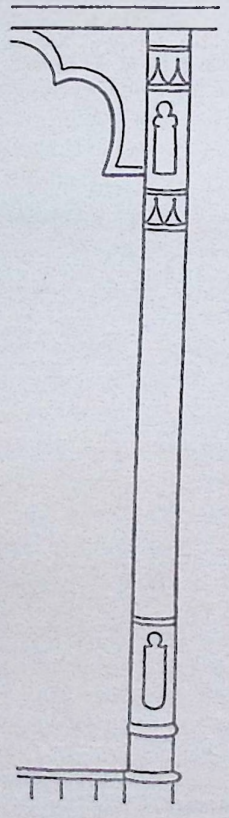


Fig. G
Wooden pillar from a Rajasthani miniature
circa 1660 A.D. in the Boston Museum.

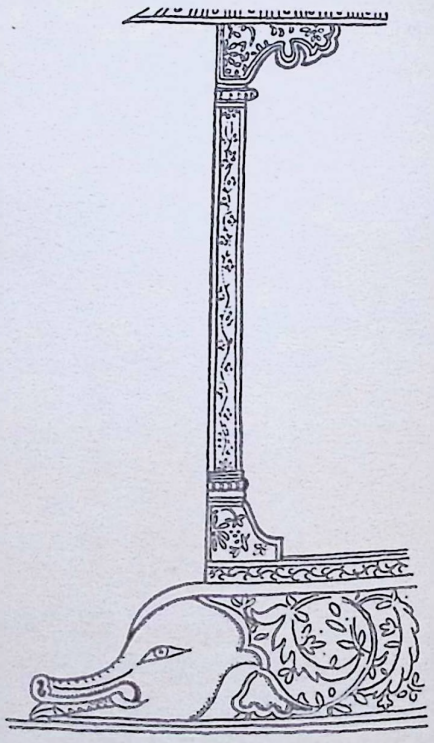


Fig. G-1
Wooden pillar and pavilion base with projecting monster head, from a Basohli miniature of the Kirpal Pal period *circa* 1694 A.D. in the Boston Museum. The projecting monster head at the base is seen only in early Basohli miniatures of the late 17th century.



Fig. G-2.
Wooden pillar from a Kangra miniature of the period 1780-1800 A.D. in the Wadia collection.

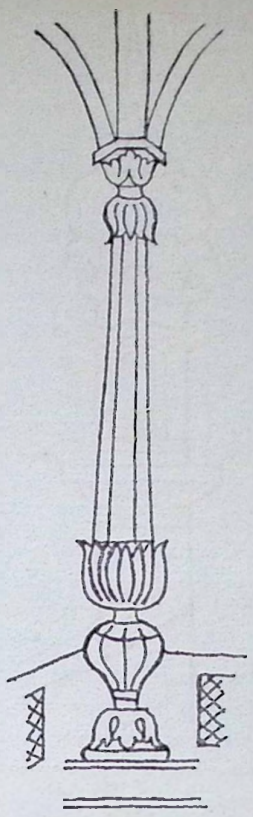


Fig. G-3.
Stone pillar from a Kangra miniature *circa* 1800 A.D. in the author's collection.

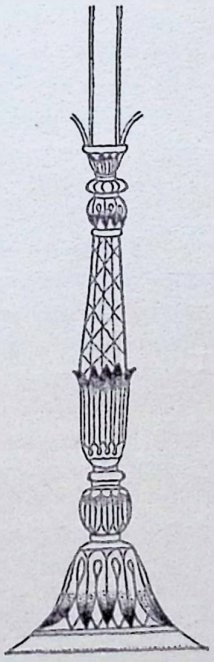


Fig. G-4.
Stone pillar from a Garhwal miniature *circa* 1780-1800 in the Mukandi Lal collection. This type of pillar with very long lotus petals along the shaft is most often seen in the Garhwal school.

In Kāngrā miniatures of the late 18th century the architectural forms underwent a complete change. This was due to the fact that in the second half of the 18th century there were building activities afresh in many States including Kāngrā, Guler, Jammu, Basohlī, Mandī and Chambā. The new spate of building activity was partly due to the increased prosperity of many Hill States, following on the break-up of the Moghul empire, and partly to the fact that the old 17th century buildings were outmoded or required renovation. The new style was based on the late Moghul architecture of the first half of the 18th century. Airy pavilions of white or pink stone; semi-circular arches supported by elegant pillars (Plate V) ; open terraces with low trellised railings (Fig 40) ; and slender rococo minarets rising against the sky (Fig 46), were all greatly in fashion. A typical pillar of that period (Fig G-3) employs the 'double lotus' motif both for the base and the capital. This motif which consists of upright petals surmounting inverted petals is presented in a variety of designs, one of which is seen in Fig 40. In Garhwāl architecture the upright petals in this motif are often of much greater length than the inverted petals (Fig G-4).

The cupolas of the minars usually follow the patterns illustrated as Figs F and F-1. These supplanted the older types seen in Figs D-1 and E-1. Even the wooden pillars of this period have undergone a change. A popular type is that illustrated as Fig G-2 where a variation of the 'double lotus' motif is employed both for the base and for the capital.

Though the Moghul suzerainty virtually ended with the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durrānī in 1752 A.D., the Hill States still adhered to the culture complex of the Moghuls in their building activities and in the fashions of their courts. Floral decoration in fresco, so common in Moghul architecture, continued in vogue at the residences of the Hill Chiefs. Moorcroft during his visit to Bilāspur in 1820 A.D. observes that the Rājā's dwelling, whitened and decorated with flowers in fresco, was neat but not large.

Cattle

The conformation of cattle in Baṣohlī painting is quite distinct from that of cattle in Kāngrā miniatures. The Basohlī formula is seen in Fig H-2. It probably owes something to a Rājasthānī type such as Fig H-1 which, in its turn, was derived no doubt from the cows seen in Gujerātī MSS illustrations (Fig H). In Fig H-2 the following characteristics are to be noted, (*a*) the narrow body with narrow quarters sloping backwards ; (*b*) the small head set on a long upraised neck; (*c*) the fore feet planted together in front and (*d*) the hind feet spread out to bear the weight of the body.

The cattle in Kāngrā miniatures (Fig H-5) may also have been derived from a Rājasthānī type such as Fig H-4, but they differ widely from Basohlī cattle. They have (*a*) large, heavy, rounded bodies, that do not slope backwards; (*b*) broad, ample quarters; (*c*) short necks with large heads and (*d*) a placid expression which contrasts sharply with the agitated appearance of cattle in Basohlī painting. Typical Kāngrā cattle are seen in Plate VIII and Fig 3.

In Plate XXI the bodies of the cows are somewhat heavier than is usual in Basohlī miniatures, but the long necks, upraised heads, and agitated stare, persist.

In Plate XV the type is mixed, while in the Bilāspur school (Figs 43 and 44) the cattle approximate to the Kāngrā formula.

A hearkening back to the Basohlī type (Fig H-2) is seen in the late *Kulu Kalam* (Fig H-3), but the neck is short, the head large, and the body of fairly generous proportions.

In certain late Basohlī style miniatures, which are probably provincial works (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 31) the bodies of the cows are large and heavy with broad

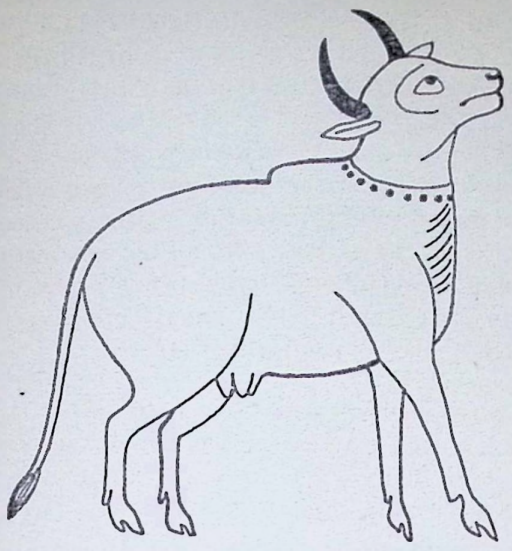


Fig. H. Cow from a Gujerati style MSS of the *Balagopalastuti* of the early 16th century.

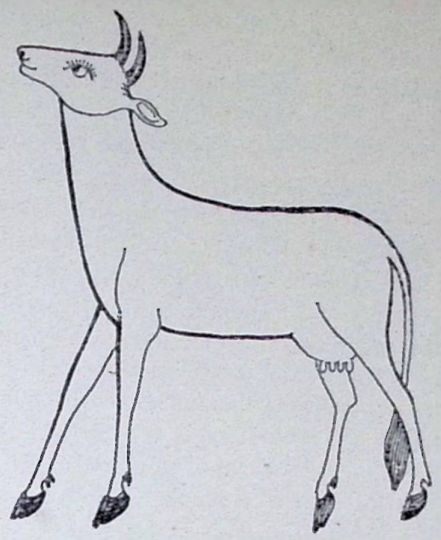


Fig. H-2. Cow from a Basohli miniature of the Kirpal Pal period *circa* 1690 A.D. in the author's collection.

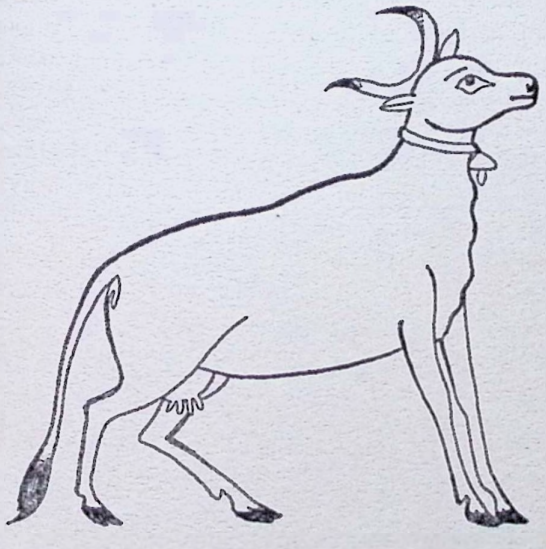


Fig. H-1. Cow from a Rajasthani Ragamala miniature of the second half of the 17th century A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. H-3. Heifer from a Kulu school miniature of the early 19th century A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. There is a hearkening back to the Basohli idiom (Fig. H-2), but the drawing is clumsy.

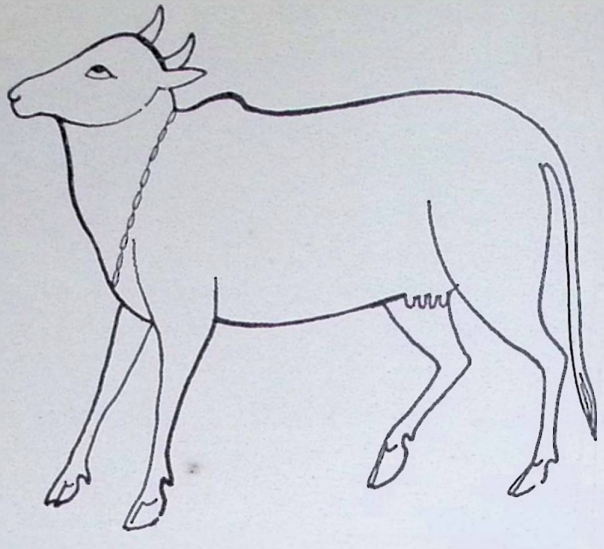


Fig. H-4. Cow from a Rajasthani miniature of the mid-18th century A.D. in the Wadia collection.

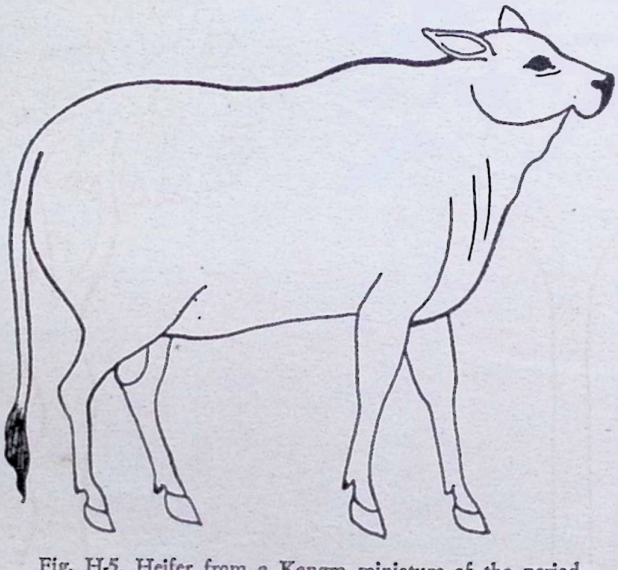


Fig. H-5. Heifer from a Kangra miniature of the period 1780-1800 A.D. in the Modi collection.

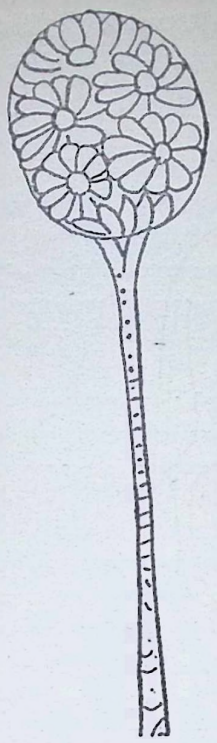


Fig. J. Tree from a Gujerati style MSS illustration of the 15th century A.D. in the author's collection.

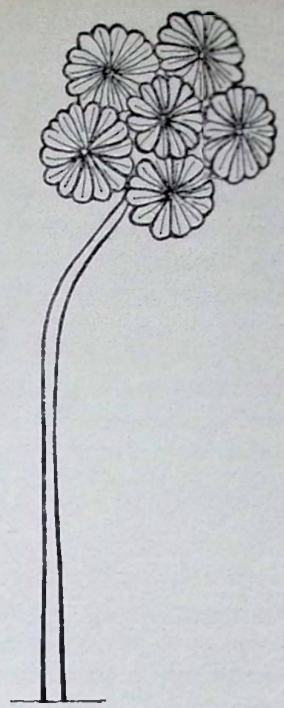


Fig. J-1. Tree from a Rajasthani miniature of the *Rasikapriya* dated 1634 A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

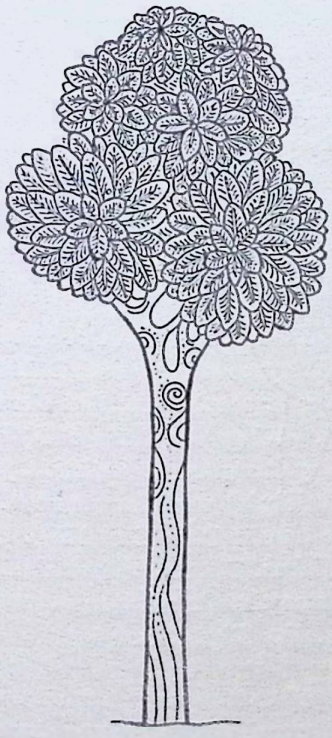


Fig. J-2. Tree from a Rajasthani miniature of the early 18th century A.D. in the author's collection.

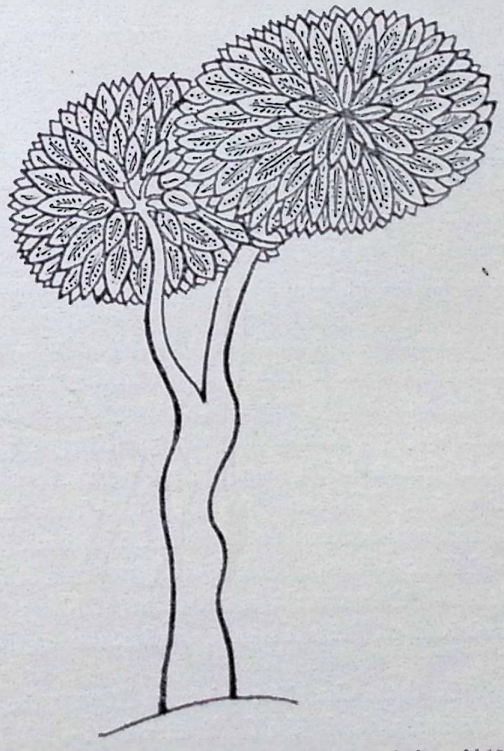


Fig. J-3. Tree from a Basohli miniature of the mid-18th century A.D. in the author's collection.

quarters like the Kāngrā type (H-5), but they adhere to the Basohlī formula (Fig H-2) in their stance, their upraised heads, and their staring eyes. The characteristic Basohlī type (Fig H-2) did not remain long in vogue after *circa* 1730-1740 A.D.

Trees

The tree-forms in Basohlī painting are invariably stylized and were probably influenced to some extent by Rājasthānī prototypes. A characteristic formula is that seen in Fig J-3 which may have been derived from Rājasthānī types such as those illustrated in Figs J-2 and J-1. The last mentioned type in its turn appears to be a derivative from trees in Gujerātī MSS illustrations (Fig J).

Another popular tree-form in Basohlī painting is shown as Fig L-1. It has certain affinities to a type frequently seen in Rājasthānī miniatures (Fig L). Both are ovoid and the foliage is schematically placed within the outline of the oval. The trees seen in Plate XX and Fig 19 are typical of the usual forms seen in Basohlī painting.

In the *Gīta Govinda* series of 1730 A.D. (Plate XVIII and Fig 33) there is a departure from the usual forms. The type illustrated as Fig K-2 supersedes the older formula seen in Plate XX. Fig K-2 also appears to be derived from a Rājasthānī formula such as Fig K-1. Even the projecting sprays in Fig K-2 have their counterpart in another popular Rājasthānī type (Fig K). But the Basohlī artist never imitated Rājasthānī tree-forms though it is quite likely that he borrowed ideas therefrom. He usually employed trees in a circular formation (Plate XX and Fig 19) and effected the most delightful colour combinations, rarely seen in Rājasthānī miniatures. The type seen in the *Gīta Govinda* of 1730 A.D. (Fig K-2) appears to have had a considerable vogue during the period 1730-1750 A.D., even though it never completely ousted the older forms viz., Figs J-3 and L-1.

In the Bilaspur idiom of the Basohlī school (Fig 11) both the older and the newer types are seen.

Another popular Basohlī formula is the weeping willow (Plate D). Later on it was considerably employed in the *Kulu Kalam*, though often replaced by a slender spray-like plant (Fig 23). The cypress also appears in Basohlī painting (Plate XX), while a tall fir-like pine is sometimes seen in Kulu miniatures (Fig 27). The Kulu school however was more prone to use another species of pine (Fig M) known locally as *chir* and referred to by botanists as *Pinus Longifolia*. It is seen in Fig 35 where its pine-cones are in marked contrast to the dark foliage.

The refugee artists from the plains who fled to the Hills in *circa* 1740 A.D. and thereafter, were not partial to innovations, and they painted trees in the approved naturalistic Moghul style of the first half of the 18th century A.D. (Fig 16). Trees or shrubs with flat circular leaves were very popular during the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase (Fig O). When the *Kāngrā Kalam* slowly took form at the hands of these refugee artists the fashion to paint trees naturalistically remained in vogue. The result was that tree-forms in Kāngrā art (Fig N) were far removed from the formalized treatment of trees in Basohlī miniatures. The trees in Plate E and Figs 1, 12, 13, 54 and 56 are characteristic of the types seen in the *Kāngrā Kalam*. The majority of Pahārī schools followed the naturalistic tree-forms of Kāngrā art though sometimes a mixture between Basohlī and Kāngrā forms is seen, as for instance in the *Bilāspur Kalam* (Figs 43 and 44).

In some Chambā miniatures (Fig 42) the tree-types tend to follow the formulas of Basohlī painting, while in the Garhwāl school a tall leaf-denuded tree (Fig Q) at times dominates the composition (Plate B and Fig 39). Small, leaf-denuded trees are also common in the Garhwāl

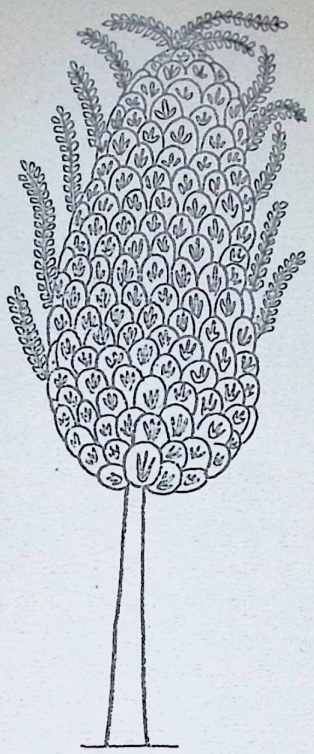


Fig. K. Tree from a Rajasthani Ragamala miniature of *circa* 1680 A.D.

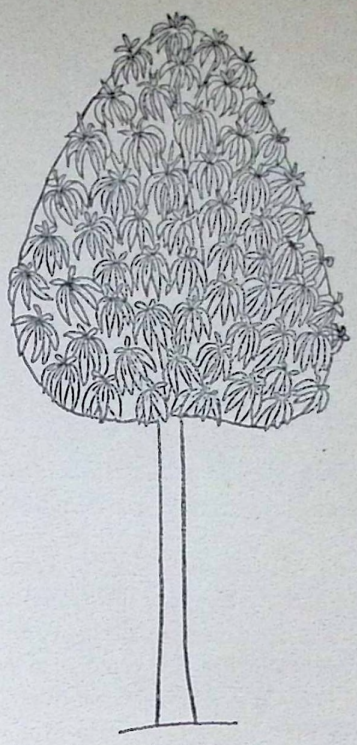


Fig. K-1. Tree from a Rajasthani miniature of the second half of the 17th century A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

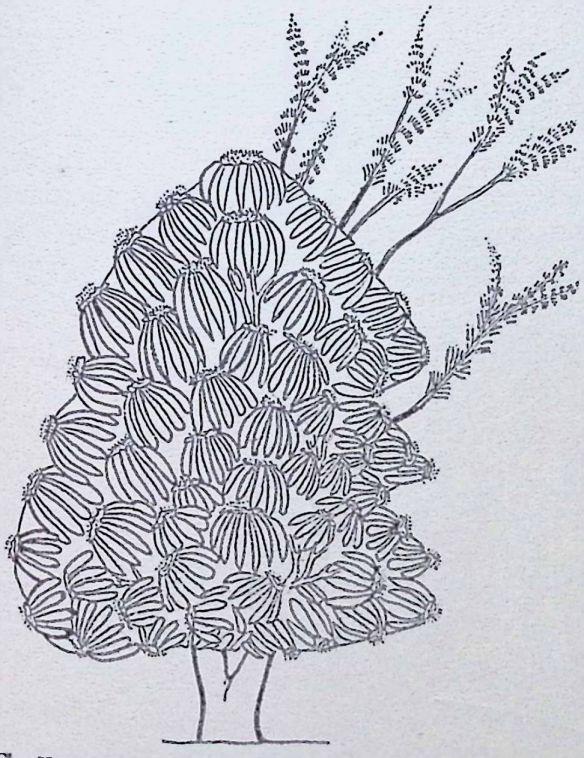


Fig. K-2. Tree from a Basohli miniature dated 1730 A.D. in the author's collection.



Fig. L. Tree from a Rajasthani miniature of *circa* 1680 A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

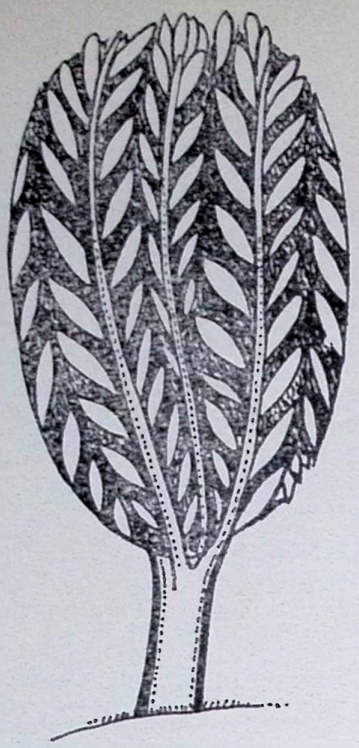


Fig. L-1. Tree from a Basohli miniature of the mid-18th century A.D. in the author's collection.

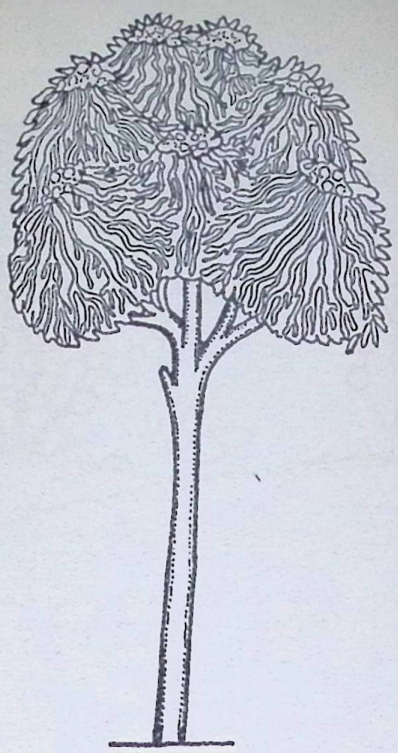


Fig. M. Formal pine tree from a Kulu school miniature of the early 19th century A.D. in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. This pine appears repeatedly in the Kulu-Mandi school miniatures.

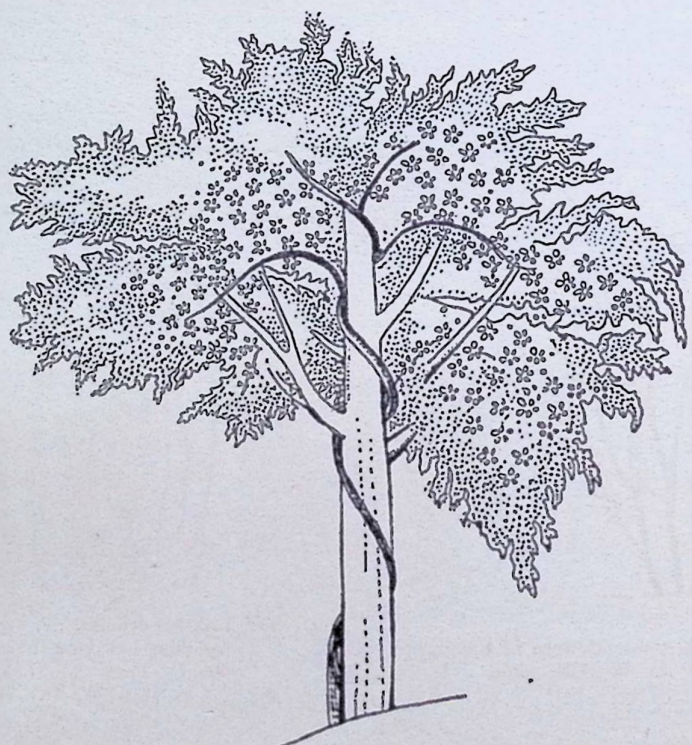


Fig. N. Tree from a Kangra miniature of the period 1780-1800 A.D. in the Wadia collection. The treatment is naturalistic.

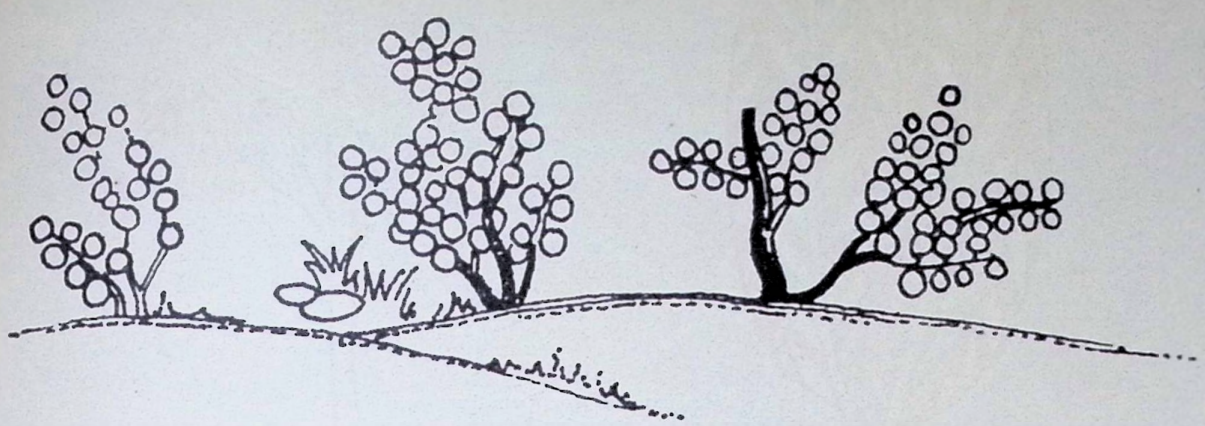


Fig. O. Shrubs with flat circular leaves which appear commonly in 'pre-Kangra' painting *circa* 1740-1775. This type of shrub is borrowed from Moghul painting of the first half of the 18th century. From a 'pre-Kangra' miniature in the Manley collection.

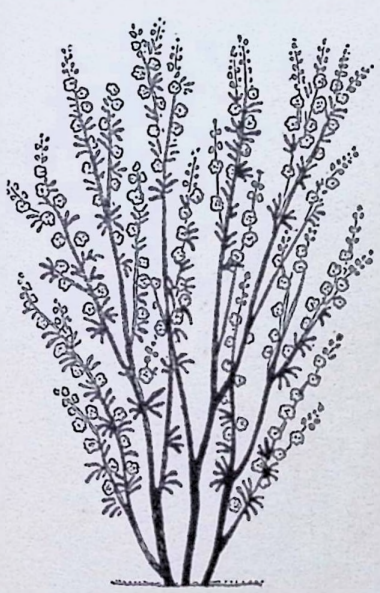


Fig. P. Flowering shrub, constantly seen in Kangra painting, particularly in the Guler idiom.

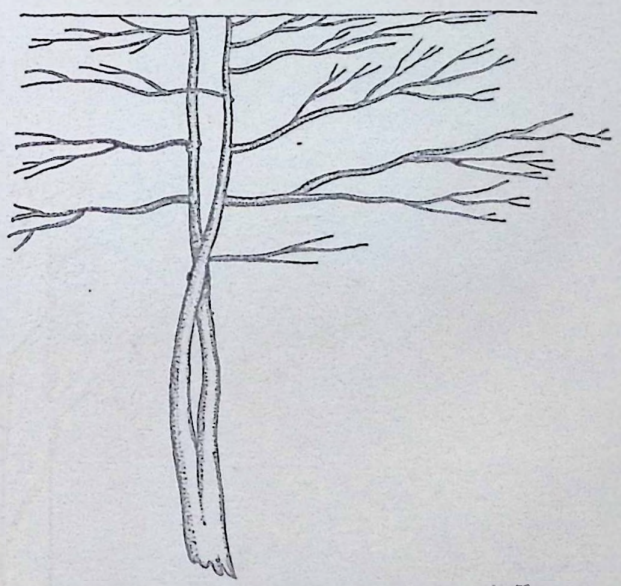


Fig. Q. Tall, leaf-denuded tree, sometimes seen in Kangra painting, but most frequently in the Garhwal idiom. From a Garhwal school miniature *circa* 1780-1800 A.D. in the Boston Museum.

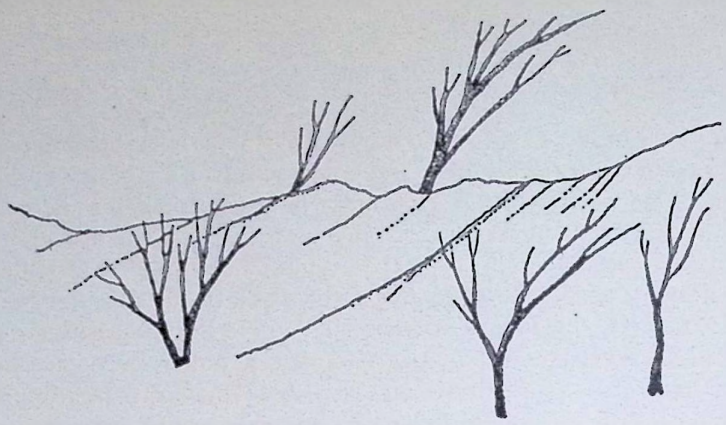


Fig. Q-1. Small, leaf-denuded trees, sometimes seen in Kangra and Guler painting, but most frequently in the Garhwal idiom. From a Garhwal school miniature of 1780-1800 A.D.



Fig. Q-2. Fan-shaped tree seen in the Garhwal idiom. From a Garhwal miniature *circa* 1780-1800 in the Boston Museum.



Fig. Q-3. Shrub with flowering spikes, seen in Kangra painting, and more frequently in the Garhwal idiom. From a Kangra painting of *circa* 1800 in the possession of the East Punjab Govt.

school (Fig Q-1) as well as a plant with spikes of white or pink flowers (Fig Q-3). In Guler, a graceful flowering shrub is repeatedly used as a compositional device (Fig 82 and Fig P). The fan-shaped tree (Fig Q-2) sometimes characterizes the Garhwāl idiom.

Male Attire

Two main forms of male attire are to be found in Pahārī painting :

(1) The first consists of the *dhotī*, which is a broad loin-cloth wrapped round the lower half of the body and then taken in between the legs and tucked in at the back of the waist. An excellent illustration of the *dhotī*, which is a garment of ancient origin, is to be found in Plate IV. The upper part of the body remained bare, though a scarf (*dopāttā*) was usually thrown over the shoulders and across the chest. This was the standard costume for Krishna. Sometimes he wore a girdle of bells, and a *patkā* (waist-sash) was attached to the front of the *dhotī* (Plates XVII and XX). In the *Premsāgar*, Krishna is described as wearing a peacock crown, a floral wreath around his neck, a yellow silk *dhotī*, and a yellow cloth (*dopāttā*). Rāmā and Laksmana are also clad in *dhotīs* in Fig 10, and so also is Mādhavanala in Fig 11. Krishna is sometimes painted with only a garland of flowers and no *dopāttā* across his shoulders.

(2) The second type of costume was adopted from the Moghul court and consists of (*a*) tight-fitting pyjamas (*salvār*) and (*b*) a *jāmā*, which is best described as a long, full-skirted coat which has one lapel crossing over the other fastened with ribbons near the armpit and at the waist. The *jāmā* reaches to the calves, or to the ankles, or even to the ground. The length of the *jāmā* varied from period to period of Moghul rule. See Figs R to R-7 which illustrate the fashions most favoured in different reigns.

A head-gear consisting of a turban (*pagree*) was always worn with a *jāmā*. The *jāmā* is fastened either near the right or the left shoulder. The Pahārī Rājās all appear to fasten the *jāmā* to the left. The prevailing practice in Moghul India was for Hindus to fasten the *jāmā* to the left, and for Muslims to fasten it to the right. The rule was not invariably observed.

In early Basohlī paintings the *jāmā* is identical with the type worn in the Aurangzeb period. This form of *jāmā* is seen in Plates XXI, XXII, and XXIII. It is patterned with floral designs and extends below the calves, but not upto the ankles. The *patkā* round the waist encircles the waist-line proper, and is never very broad, though the ends of the *patkā* are of ample width and decorated with floral sprays. Long ribbons (*kus*) hang down from near the armpit where the *jāmā* is fastened.

The turbans in Plates XXII and XXIII are also typical of the fashion in *pagrees* during the late Aurangzeb period. They have unusually broad cross-bands, and are somewhat long and sloping as in Fig S-2 taken from Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 65. In Plate XXII, the two-handled dagger, stuck in the *patkā*, is a Moghul fashion.

In the time of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719 A.D.), who was fond of fine raiments, the *jāmā* became longer and reached almost to the ankles, while the pleats in the *jāmā* became more numerous as in Fig R-5 taken from *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 63. There was again a change of fashion in the reign of Mahomed Shah (1719-1748) when the *jāmā* began to reach the ground and in addition became high-waisted resulting in the *patkā* being worn higher than the waist-line proper as in Fig R-6 taken from *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 64. The increase in the number of pleats in the *jāmā* continued to remain in fashion during Mahomed Shah's reign. These changes in fashion at the Imperial capital undoubtedly influenced sartorial fashions at the Hill courts. Sansār of Kāngrā, as well as the Guler Rājās, often affected a broad waist-band (*kamarband*). This type of waist-band is sometimes seen in the reign of the Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-1754 A.D.) and the fashion was undoubtedly derived from the Moghul court. It was also popular with the Nawabs of Oudh but there is no reason to think that the



Fig. R.



Fig. R-1.

Fig. R. The *chakdar jama* (four-pointed or six-pointed) of the Akbar period (1556-1605) went out of fashion at the Moghul court after *circa* 1628. Never seen in Pahari painting, because the genesis of Pahari miniature art is about 1675 A.D., by which time the *chakdar jama* had completely gone out of vogue at the Hill courts which usually copied the fashions of the Imperial court. The narrow waist-sash with thin long ends is also typical of the Akbar period and is not seen in Pahari painting. The turban here is of the *atpati* type. See caption under Fig. S. From a miniature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Fig. R-1. The *gherdar jama* (round-skirted) of the Akbar period (1556-1605). It is short in length, falling just over the knees. The turban is of the large round type very common in the reign of Akbar but not in general use thereafter though Moslem divines were partial to it even in later reigns. It is not seen in Pahari painting. The large round turban of Sansar Chand's court (Fig. S-3) seems to have been evolved independently of any Akbar period headgear. From a miniature in the British Museum.



Fig. R-2.



Fig. R-3.

Fig. R-2. The *gherdar jama* (round-skirted) of the Jehangir period (1605-1628). It is similar to the *gherdar jama* of the Akbar period but somewhat longer, though this was not always the case. The *patka* (waist-sash) ends are long, but broader than those of the Akbar period. The turban is the large, loosely wound type (Fig. S-1.) popular in the Jehangir period, but rarely seen thereafter.

Fig. R-3. The *gherdar jama* (round-skirted) of the Shah Jehan period (1628-1658). As a rule it is slightly longer than the Jehangir period *jama* and with more pronounced pleating. The turban is characteristic of the Shah Jehan period, but is not unknown in the Jehangir period (1605-1628). The cross-band of the turban is fairly broad in Shah Jehan's time. The *patka* (waist-sash) ends are usually shorter in the Shah Jehan period than in the preceding reigns. There is a tendency towards flowered *jamas* of thick material, while in the earlier reign of Jehangir, plain material or thin muslin was more in vogue. Floral patterns begin to appear on the *patka* (waist-sash) ends. In the earlier reigns, the patterns on the waist-sash ends were always geometrical designs as in Fig. R-2. From a miniature in the Vever collection, Paris.



Fig. R-4.



Fig. R-5.

Fig. R-4. The *gherdar jama* of the Aurangzeb period (1658-1707). It was usually a little longer than seen in this illustration, particularly in the late Aurangzeb period. The pronounced pleating of the *jama* in Shah Jehan's reign continues, as also the fondness for thick flowered material. The *patka* (waist sash) ends tend to become broader and shorter, though this is not invariably the case. The cross-band of the turban also tends to be broader than in previous reigns. The floral designs on the waist-sash ends, introduced in the reign of Shah Jehan, continue to be greatly in favour. From a miniature in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Fig. R-5. The *gherdar jama* of the Farrukhsiyar period (1713-1719). It was in this reign that the Emperor, who was fond of fine clothes, started the fashion of wearing a long *jama* which stopped short of the ankles and was very fully pleated. There was also a tendency for the waist-line to be higher than before. The *patka* (waist-sash) ends, though not worn in this illustration, generally conform to the type seen in Fig. R-4, while the turban conforms to the fashions seen in Figs. R-4. and S-2. From a miniature in the Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.



Fig. R-6.



Fig. R-7.

Fig. R-6. The *gherdar jama* of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748). It was in this reign that the *jama* reached the ground, while the waist-line was higher than seen in Fig. R-5. The full-skirted effect with many pleats became even more pronounced than in the time of Farrukhsiyar. The turban is fairly characteristic of this reign and appears to be a variation of that seen in Figs. R-4 and R-5. From a miniature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Fig. R-7. The long *jama* of the Mahomed Shah period (Fig. R-6) as adapted at the court of the Nawabs of Oudh in the time of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla (1754-1775). The Pahari courts of the mid-18th century copied the long *jama* reaching to the ground, from the Moghul court, and not from the court of Oudh. The headgear is peculiar to Oudh, and is not seen at the Imperial court, nor at the contemporary Pahari courts. From a miniature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Hill Rājās borrowed the fashion from Oudh. It was already in vogue at Jammu by 1750 A.D. In Fig 61 the retainer on the extreme right wears a broad waist-band. Later on, about 1780 onwards, the *kamarband* was not only broad but also thick as in Fig R-8.



Fig. R-8.
Retainer wearing the broad thick *kamarband* (waist-sash) which is frequently seen in Kangra painting in many Hill States after *circa* 1780. From a Guler school miniature in the Guler Darbar collection.

In the portrait of Haridāsa (Fig 23) we find the type of *jāmā* which came into fashion during the Farrukhsiyar period (1713-1719) and continued in vogue in certain Hill States till 1800. In Plate XV the high-waisted *jāmā* of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748) is seen trailing the ground, and it appears again in Fig 61 though there it is not so high-waisted.

As already observed, the *chākdār jāmā* (four or six-pointed) of the time of Akbar and Jehangir is never seen in Pahārī art because miniature painting was not practised in the Hills till the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.).

Sometimes a coat extending to the knees (*farjī*) was worn over the *jāmā* as in Figs 8 and 28. The lapels of such coats were often of fur (Fig 8).

It is not suggested that the style of the *jāmā* affords a sure indication of date. Even in late 18th century Pahārī miniatures the *jāmā* may not reach the ankles nor trail the ground. But if a *jāmā* of the Farrukhsiyar pattern (Fig R-5) is seen in a Pahārī miniature one can be fairly certain that the miniature cannot antedate 1713. So also if the *jāmā* is of the Mahomed Shah pattern (Fig R-6) the miniature cannot antedate *circa* 1725 and in all probability does not antedate *circa* 1740 A.D. It must be remembered that the changes in fashion at the Imperial court did not immediately come into vogue at provincial courts. There the older fashions often lingered on for many years particularly with the more conservative minded of the Hill nobles and gentry.

Sikh Costume

In Sikh painting the costumes worn are quite distinctive. The pyjamas (*salvār*) ; the shirt with long sleeves (*kurta*) ; the short jacket with short sleeves ; the broad waist-band covering the buttocks ; and a variety of turbans, can all be seen in *Cheetah Baiting* (Fig 6). A type of *jāmā* worn by the Sikhs is seen in the portrait of Sucet Singh (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, Plate 123). It is a long, loose coat, opening along the front, while round the waist a broad waist-band covering even the buttocks is sometimes tied. Sucet Singh wears this type of waist-band. Several of the Hill Rājās affected the Sikh costume when their States became tributary to the Sikhs.

Cowherds

The attire of the cowherd companions of Krishna usually consists of a pair of shorts (*janghia*) with a decorated *patkā* tied round the waist. The ends of the *patkā* hang loose in front. The upper part of the body is bare, but the cowherds mostly carry a coarse, woollen blanket (*goghī*) thrown over the shoulder (Fig 44). This blanket was used as a protection from the rain and bad weather. It is so shaped that it can be slipped over the back of the head like a hood. The manner of wearing it is seen in Fig 44 where it is worn by the two cowherds standing behind Bālarāma who is in the centre of the picture. In Fig 49, Krishna and Rādhā have tied their two *goghīs* together to form an open tent which shelters them from the rain.

The headgear of the cowherds consists of a pointed cap (*kula*) around which is tied a decorated sash (*pechī*) with loose ends. Krishna and his brother Bālarāma frequently wear this costume when tending the cows with their companions, or when engaged in sport (Figs 19, 43, and 44). Sometimes the young cowherds wear a *salvār* with a *patkā* tied round the waist, and a scarf (*dopāttā*) thrown over the shoulders (Plate XXI).

Infants

The baby Krishna and his companions usually wear a long loose shirt (*kurta*) which has the appearance of an old fashioned night-gown (Fig I). In the *Premsāgar*, the infant Krishna and his brother Bālarāma are described as dressed in blue and yellow frocks with little curls scattered over their foreheads. This description is faithfully followed in Fig I. Sometimes, as in Plate XXI, Krishna and Bālarāma are dressed in small *jāmās*, but instead of *patkās* they have girdles round their waists.

Ornaments worn by Males

Ornaments are often worn by males. Krishna usually wears a necklace or a string of beads, armlets, bracelets, earrings, anklets, and a girdle (Plate XVII). The earrings are of the type known as *bāla* consisting of a wire with two pearls attached (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 12). Rājās and princes also wear ornaments namely, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and jewelled waistband buckles (Plate XXII and Fig 22).

Turbans are decorated with a large jewelled or enamelled broach which also serves as a plume-holder. It is called a *sarpes* (Plate XXII and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 6). Another turban-ornament is a jewelled fillet worn round the turban and is known as *mālaband* (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 6).

Crowns, Turbans, and Caps

Krishna, Rāma, and other deities, as well as the ancient kings of the Epics, are commonly shown wearing crowns (*mukata*). But the Hill Rājās are always depicted with turbans (*pagrees*). The usual type of crown seen in Pahārī painting is a gold bejewelled circlet with five triangular or petal-shaped points projecting vertically therefrom, while there are two semicular projections at the rear (Plates V and XVII). The central triangular or petal-shaped projection in front is higher than the side projections, and in the case of Krishna is surmounted with peacock feathers. Such a crown is called *mor-mukata*. The side projections in Krishna's crown may be surmounted with lotus buds (Plates XVII and XVIII). A crown with only three projections (Plate IX and Fig 5) is less commonly seen.

The turban (*pagree*) seen in Pahārī painting assumes a variety of shapes (Plates XI, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII and Figs 8, 11, 16, 22, 23, 26, 28, 36, 39, 51, 58 and 61). Some of them (Plates XXII and XXIII) are typical of the *pagrees* of the Aurangzeb period (Figs R-4 and S-2), while some (Figs 8 and 39) are similar to those of the reigns of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719 A.D.) and Mahomed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.). The turban seen in Fig 26 resembles the sloping type affected by the Rājās of Bundī State in Rājasthān during the 18th century, while that seen in Fig 58 is somewhat similar, and was apparently popular in Basohlī at the end of the 17th century. The type seen in Fig 61 seems to have been affected at Jammu during the mid-18th century, and also at Chambā (Fig 22).

Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (1775-1823 A.D.) used to wear a large, round turban with a tall *kula* projecting therefrom as in Fig S-3 (*Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, 1926, Plate 123, Fig DXCVI). Rājā Prakash Singh of Guler (1760-1790 A. D.) wore a somewhat similar turban (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 23).

The Pahārī Rājās sometimes wore fresh flowers in their turbans as in the portrait of Rājā Hataf (*Boston Museum Catalogue No. 5*, 1926, Plate 121, Fig DLXXXVIII).



Fig. S.
The compact, flat, *atpati* turban, peculiar to the Akbar period (1556-1605). Note the bands at the rear. Sometimes these bands are not present. Never seen in Pahari painting. By the time Pahari miniature painting came into being, about 1675 A.D., the typical turbans of Akbar's time and Jehangir's time (Fig. S-1) had ceased to be in fashion at the Imperial court and also at the courts of the feudatory Hill States which usually adopted the fashions of their Moghul overlords. From a miniature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Fig. S-1.
Large, loosely wound turban of the Jehangir period (1605-1628). Rarely seen thereafter. Never seen in Pahari painting save in a few copies from original Moghul school portraits of those Pahari Rajas who had attended Jehangir's court and must have had their portraits painted there. From a miniature in the British Museum.



Fig. S-2.
Typical turban of the Aurangzeb period (1658-1707), with broad cross-band. Frequently seen in Pahari miniature painting because the beginnings of Pahari miniature art were about 1675 A.D. and this type of turban was then in fashion at many Hill courts. From a miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum of the Emperor Bahadur Shah I (1707-1712). This was the type of turban in the Aurangzeb period and it continued in the reign of Bahadur Shah and even thereafter.



Fig. S-3.
Large round turban with tall projecting *kula*. Greatly in favour at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823). It was also in vogue, though to a lesser extent, at the contemporary courts of Guler and certain other Hill States, where it is usually of lesser circumference and the *kula* is not quite so tall.

Although a variety of turbans are found in Pahārī miniatures, any attempt to predicate the provenance of a painting on the basis of the turban alone is fraught with danger. The reason is that we cannot limit any one type of turban to a single State, and moreover in each State a variety of turbans were in fashion at one and the same period of time (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Plate 9). In Rājasthānī miniature painting, certain types of turbans, such as the Jodhpurī and Bundī types, can give us a clue to the provenance of the miniature, but this is not the case in Pahārī art. The absence in Pahārī painting of the typical Akbar period *alpatī* turban (Fig S), as also of the large round turban (Fig R-1), and the loosely wound Jehangir period turban (Fig S-1), has already been discussed in Chapter III. It indicates that the art of miniature painting was a late development in the Hill States.

Another form of headgear seen in Pahārī painting is the conical cap (*kula*). It is worn by young Krishna and his cowherd companions. It has a sash (*pechī*) tied round it (Figs 19, 43, 44 and 45). It is also worn at times by Krishna as a grown-up man (Plate XV). When worn by Krishna and his brother Bālarāma, the peak of the cap is surmounted with peacock feathers. Sometimes the cowherds wear a round cap without any *pechī* (Figs. 3 and 41). A small, conical cap, with a hank of wool tied around it, is on occasion worn by some of the Gosain orders (Fig. 28). Gosains are also seen wearing a tall dunce-cap (*chongā topī*) surmounted by a small umbrella-like structure to which tassels are attached (Figs 8 and 27). The *chongā topī* is either plain (Fig 27) or embroidered with beads (Fig 8). In Fig 20 a band of flowers is wound round the *chongā topī*.



Fig T.
The *pesvaj* as worn at the Moghul court in the reigns of Shah Jehan (1628-1658) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707). It was adopted by the Basohli courts and the courts of other Hill States. Underneath the *pesvaj*, the bodice *(choli)* can be seen. The *patka* (sash) hangs from the waist being tucked into the *salvar* (pyjamas) at the stomach. From a miniature in the India Office Library, London.

Another type of cap seen mostly in *Kulu Kalam* miniatures has a conical crown and turned-up brim (Figs 9 and 29). It is of Tibetan origin.

The cap worn by the *Gaddīs* (Fig 7) has already been described in Chapter III, while the close fitting cap worn by Brahmans and mendicants and pulled well over the ears is illustrated in Gangoly's *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 35, lower right-hand corner.

Female Dress

There are three main types of costumes worn by women in Pahārī miniatures.

(1) The first consists of (*a*) tight-fitting pyjamas (*salvār* or *sothan*), (*b*) a loose or tight bodice (*cholī*) to cover the breasts, and (*c*) a long transparent over-garment like a skirted gown (*pesvāj*). It has a 'V' shaped neck fastening in front over the breasts but opens out on either side of the body from the fastening to the ankles. Attached to the waist in front there hangs a long, narrow sash (*patkā*) reaching almost to the ground. The *patkā* is usually decorated, but may be plain. Over the head and shoulders is draped a long, narrow scarf (*odhnī*), usually transparent, with its decorated ends trailing almost to the ankles. This type of costume was very popular at the Moghul court during the reigns of Shah Jehan[1] and Aurangzeb, and even thereafter[2] (Fig T). It is frequently seen in early Basohlī art and even appears in later Basohlī painting. But it is rarely found in miniatures of the *Kāngrā Kalam*. It is natural that this costume should appear in

1 Stchoukine *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plates 41 and 42.
2 *Ibid.* Plate 57 (a).

early Basohlī art having regard to the fact that many influences from the Aurangzeb school are apparent in Basohlī painting. Moreover, it is certain that the aristocratic ladies of the Hill States where the *Basohlī Kalam* flourished, had adopted the *pesvāj* and its accessories when this mode of dress became the fashion at the Moghul court in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan (1628-1658 A.D.).

The *pesvāj* as seen in Basohlī miniatures is well illustrated by Plate D and Fig 51, while a slightly varied form is seen in Plate XIII where it is worn by the girl second from the left. In Plate XIII the bodice (*cholī*) under the *pesvāj* can be seen. Sometimes, and particularly in Moghul miniatures, it appears as if no bodice is worn under the transparent *pesvāj*. The front lapels of the *pesvāj*, from the neck to waist, were often frilled (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 41 b). Such frills are seen on the *pesvāj* worn by the girl in Plate XIII, and are common in Basohlī painting. In Plate XIII the *patkā* is of a plain, dark green material, whereas in Plate D the *patkā* of the princess is of gold weave and decorated. Moreover the *odhnīs* in Plate D are narrow long scarves with gold or silver borders, whereas the *odhnīs* in Plate XIII are broad and made of coarse black material. The *pesvāj* in Plate D has long, lightly crinkled (*churidār*) sleeves coming down to the wrists, whereas in Plate XIII the sleeves of the *pesvāj* are short. Usually the *pesvāj* has long sleeves. In Fig 51 the lady does not wear a *patkā* (waist-sash) and the same is the case with the attendant in Plate D.

(2) The second type of costume consists of (*a*) tight-fitting pyjamas (*salvār* or *sothan*) and (*b*) a long dress reaching to the ground which is best likened to a high-waisted 'Empire gown'. Coomaraswamy calls it a *jagulī* but that term is not used in the Hills. In its coarse form it is known as a *doru*. The *doru* has a round neck and is fastened below the throat and again below the breasts. Between the two fastenings the gown is so shaped as to form a narrow oval opening which discloses the skin in the middle of the chest if no bodice (*cholī*) is worn underneath. In its more elegant form this 'Empire gown' opens out on either side from the waist downwards like the *pesvāj*. Sometimes a *patkā* is worn with this gown (Plate XV), but usually there is no *patkā*. A scarf (*odhnī*) covers the head and shoulders but it is not the long narrow scarf with trailing ends, usually worn with the *pesvāj*. It is in the nature of a broad mantle and is more correctly referred to as a *chaddar* though the words *odhnī* and *dopāttā* are also commonly used for any form of scarf or wimple covering the head and shoulders. Often the scarf which covers the head is draped diagonally across the body and falls over one shoulder. The *dopāttās* in *Toilet* (Plate II), and that worn by Rādhā in *Dāna Līlā* (Plate XV) are so draped. The 'Empire gown' is worn by the attendants in *Toilet* (Plate II) while the lady herself wears a more elegant version of this costume. *The lady with a deer* (Plate III), and *Rādhā* (Plate VI) also wear elegant Empire gowns. A gown of coarse fabric is worn by Rādhā in Fig 42, and by the girls flying kites in Plate XIV where it is without the characteristic narrow oval opening in front. The material for the elegant 'Empire gown' should be transparent and is often edged with gold or has a coloured border. The material may be plain (Plate II) or have a design (Plate III). The narrow, oval opening in front, which characterizes the 'Empire gown', is clearly seen in *Krishna and Rādhā* (Plate VI) where Rādhā has worn yellow pyjamas (*salvār*) but no bodice thus exposing her white skin through the oval opening of her dress.

In *Kāngrā Kalam* miniatures the 'Empire gown' is commonly worn and contributes in no small measure to the graciousness of Kāngrā art. Sometimes a turban is worn with the 'Empire gown' or the *pesvāj* (Plate XV and Fig 59). The Balauria queen (Fig 65) also wears a turban. The 'Empire gown' and the *pesvāj* are really distinct[1] from each other though a transparent 'Empire gown' (Plate II) does resemble a *pesvāj* (Plate D). But the 'Empire gown', which reaches to the ground, is longer than the *pesvāj*, while the fastenings and the cut of the neck in the two garments

[1] There seems to be some confusion on this point in Coomaraswamy's *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, 1926, p. 35, where he refers to an earlier form of *jaguli* appearing in Moghul paintings of the Shah Jehan period and in Jammu (meaning Basohli) miniatures. But as I have indicated, the costume worn in the Shah Jehan period and seen in Basohli miniatures is really a *pesvāj* and not an 'Empire gown'.

are different. Sometimes the 'Empire gown' is so shaped from the waist upwards that it fits tightly over the breasts (Plate VI) and has the appearance of a bodice and gown combined into a single garment. At other times it does not tighten over the breasts and then is not so graceful in appearance. The origin of the 'Empire gown' is not clear. It may have developed from the *pesvāj* when this garment, borrowed from the Moghul court, became fashionable in the Hill States. The absence of the 'Empire gown' in Basohlī painting of the late 17th and early 18th century suggests that only the *pesvāj* was in use amongst the aristocratic ladies of that period and that the elegant transparent 'Empire gown' was a later development from the *pesvāj*. In fact the transparent 'Empire gown' is often referred to as a *pesvāj* in the Hills. The term *doru* is reserved for a coarse, loose fitting gown made of thick material worn by poorer folk.

(3) The third type of costume consists of (*a*) a skirt (*ghāgarā*), (*b*) a tight-fitting bodice (*cholī*), and (*c*) a scarf (*odhnī* or *chaddar*). A *patkā* (waist sash) may or may not be attached to the front of the skirt. The bodice (*cholī*) may be so abbreviated that the bare lower segments of the breasts can be seen (Fig 16), or it may come right down to the waist as in *Dāna Līlā* (Fig 9). The neck of the *cholī* may be round or 'V'-shaped, and the fastening is always at the back. This type of costume is adequately illustrated in Plates A, IX, XV, and XXIII, and in many other illustrations of the present volume. In Plate A the *Nāyikā* wears a mauve skirt (*ghāgarā*) with a yellow *patkā* attached to its front. The *patkā* was either tucked into the skirt or tied round the waist with a thin string. The *odhnī* (wimple) not only covers the head and shoulders but is taken across the skirt and tucked into the waist. This was a common method of wearing an *odhnī* when the costume consisted of *ghāgarā* (skirt) and *cholī* (bodice). Sometimes the gather of the skirt (*ghāgarā*) near the waist was of a different colour from the rest of the skirt. This can be seen in Plate A where the gather is green, and also in Plate E where the seated Rādhā has a skirt of gold but the gather near the waist is blue. This fashion, it should be noted, does not afford any indication as to the provenance of the painting. The *odhnīs* (wimples) were either transparent or opaque. *Odhnīs* made of a fine gold weave are most effectively handled in the *Bhāgavata* series. An unusual method of draping the *odhnī* is seen in *Toilet* (Plate XII). The skirt (*ghāgarā*) often has a broad embroidered border (Plates I, XXI, and XXIII). Such *ghāgarās* were usually worn in the Hills on festive occasions, and the borders were sometimes painted in patterns of silver and gold instead of being embroidered. The *ghāgarā* (skirt) and *cholī* (bodice) were worn by the rich and the poor alike, though of course the quality of the material differed. But the elegant transparent 'Empire gown', and the equally elegant *pesvāj*, were worn only by the wealthy and aristocratic members of society. The Pahārī artists, however, never hesitated to clad the village *gopīs* of Brindāban in beautiful transparent 'Empire gowns' if they felt inspired to do so. In their illustrations of the Krishna legend these artists were a law unto themselves quite unhampered by the realities of village life.

Ornaments worn by Females

Womenfolk wear a variety of ornaments :

(1) A *kanthī* round the throat consisting of a black thread with an amulet (Fig 5). It is usually worn by married women.

(2) Necklaces (*hāra*), chokers (*gulebanḍ*), and collarettes. These may be of gold, or composed of strings of pearls. The gold necklaces are sometimes gem-set. In Basohlī painting, shiny green particles of beetle's wings (*sonkirwa*) are frequently employed to depict emeralds (Plates D, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII and XXIII).

There are many varieties of necklaces seen in Pahārī miniatures. Sometimes a large pendant is attached to a string of pearls (Plates XXII and XXIII), while another variety consists of a long necklace made up of a series of plaques (Fig 42). The latter is called a *kathulī*.

(3) Armlets (*bajubanḍ*). These may be of plain gold, or gem-set. A popular type is a band of gold encircled by pearls. Sometimes black tassels (*maktul*) in gold mounts

are attached to the armlets. They are prominent in the figure of Rādhā in Plate XVII. They do not signify that the miniature belongs to an early period in the development of Pahārī painting. Erroneous ideas however still prevail that the presence of black armlet tassels, and black pom-poms attached to the wrists, indicates an early date. No doubt Plate XVII was painted in 1730 A.D. but the black armlet tassels are seen even in later miniatures such as *Girl Feeding Black Buck* (Plate III) *circa* 1800 A.D., and *Toilet* (Plate II) of about the same date or a little earlier.

(4) Bracelets (*kangan*). These may consist of a single bangle (*karā*), or a series of bangles (*churī*), or a long solid cuff which is usually fringed with pearls and gem-studded in the centre (Plates XXII and XXIII). A black pom-pom (ball of black silk) may be attached to the wrists when bracelets are worn (Plate XVII).

(5) A string of pearls along the parting of the hair (*sis-māga*). It can be observed in Plate XVII and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 13.

(6) A pendant adorning the forehead (*tīkā* or *benā*). It is prominent in Plates XII and XVIII. It may be attached to the *sis-māga*. When it is crescent-shaped it is known as *chand-benā* (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 13).

(7) A double or single string of pearls across the head (*bandī-benā*) from ear to ear (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 1 and 13). This is common in Basohlī miniatures, but rare in the *Kāngrā Kalam*.

(8) Earrings. These are of several varieties. A hanging cluster is called *jhumkā* (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 24), while the large round type encircled with pearls is known as *karnphul* (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 11).

(9) A round or crescent-shaped ornament worn on the side of the hair (*sis-phul*). It can be seen in Plates II, XXII, XXIII and Fig. 14.

(10) Nose-ring (*nath*). It may be a large ring (Plate XII) or a small ring studded with two pearls (Plate XVII). P. K. Gode has traced the antiquity of this unusual ornament, as worn by Hindu women, to the 11th century A.D. (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. 19, Pt. 4, p. 313). In some parts of the Hills it is called a *bālu* and is regarded as a sign of married life and an indication that the husband is living. But in the miniatures it is commonly worn even by unmarried girls.

(11) Finger-rings (*unghotī*).

(12) Toe-rings (*anvat-bichhiya*).

(13) Anklets (*nupura* or *pazeb*). Sometimes bells are attached to the anklets (Plate XXIII).

(14) Foot-rings (*padasāra* or *churī*). See the foot-rings of the Heroine in Fig 46. They may be made of gold or pearls.

(15) Girdle of pearls (*kardhanī*). See Plate C.

(16) A string of pearls or a gold chain on one side of the forehead (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 24).

Ornaments formed a very important aspect of female attire and they were to be worn with care and precision. One of the sixty-four arts in the *Kāmasutra* is that of adorning oneself with ornaments (*bhusana-yojana*).

Toilet

A high-born woman's toilet has ever been an elaborate ritual in India. As early as the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. we find several Kushana sculptures of Mathurā pertaining to this theme, while the references in early Indian literature how to beautify the female body are numerous. The women-folk whom the Pahārī painters depicted in their miniatures, were as particular about

their personal appearance as their sisters in other parts of the country. When one realizes how secluded, sheltered, and leisured, was their existence, it was but natural that they devoted considerable time to their daily toilet. The miniatures, as well as various texts, reveal the following processes as commonly used to beautify the body :

(1) After the bath, fragrant, scented water or sandal paste was applied to the body (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 72). Sandal paste was considered to be very cooling and was indispensable in the hot weather.

(2) In the middle of the forehead was placed a small round mark (*tilaka*) of vermillion paste. It can be seen in Plate XXIV. Sometimes a crescent-shaped sectarian mark (Fig U) was made on the forehead with vermillion or black paste just above the round *tilaka*. This crescent mark (*chandan tilaka*) appears frequently in Garhwāl school miniatures (Plate B), but is not confined to paintings hailing from Garhwāl. It is seen again in Plate XII. The matter is discussed in detail in Chapter III. Other sectarian marks (*chāp*) were also occasionally employed. In *Holī* (Plate IX), the *gopīs* have dressed Krishna as a woman and have applied two sandal paste crescent-shaped marks on his forehead.



Fig. U.
The *chandan tilaka* (crescent mark on the forehead) is often seen in miniatures of the Garhwal idiom, but is not peculiar to Garhwal as thought by some critics.

(3) Sometimes the cheeks were slightly tinted with a coloured powder corresponding to the present day fashion of applying rouge. The Heroine in Plate XXIII appears to have tinted her cheeks. There is a reference to the tinting of cheeks in Kalidāsa's *Meghadutam* where he says,

Now over the cheek the Lodh's pale pollen shines

The Lodh is the Lodra tree (*symplocus racemosa*). In the *Kāmasutra* there is a reference to *visesaka-cchedya* which was a kind of paint for the face much liked by fashionable young ladies (*vilāsinī*).

(4) The glamour of the eyes was enhanced by the use of collyrium as an eye-salve, giving them a dark lustrous appearance (Plate XII).

(5) The palms of the hands, the fingers, and the finger nails were painted with a red pigment, usually *henna* (Plate XVII). The soles of the feet and the toe nails were similarly stained red (Plate II). Sometimes the pigment used for painting the finger nails and toe nails was a lac dye and it was applied with a brush (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Plate 3, opp page 77).

(6) The practice of wearing flowers behind the ear is referred to by the poet *Kalidāsa* in his *Meghadutam* when he says,

Sirisha blossoms deck the tender ear

but this practice is rarely met with in Pahārī miniature painting. In most cases what appears to be a flower behind the ear, will on closer inspection reveal itself to be a gem-set ornament which extends right round the ear. The common Indian habit of putting flowers in the hair and binding the tresses with a braid of flowers (*veni*) is strangely enough not seen in Pahārī painting.

Coiffure of Females

The art of hair-dressing was of high importance in Kushāna and Gupta times and is one of the sixty four arts mentioned in the *Kāmasutra* where it is called *kesa-mārjana-kausala*.

But the coiffure of Pahārī ladies was far from being elaborate. Three styles of hair-dressing should be noted.

(a) The hair was brushed well away from the forehead and allowed to fall unplaited along the back (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 11, and Plate E). Sometimes, and particularly in Basohlī miniatures, a few strands of hair were allowed to form a kiss-curl (*kākā-paksha*) on the cheek (Plates XIII and XVII and Enlarged Face Detail, No. 13).

(b) The hair was brushed back from the forehead and allowed to fall in thin long strands over the sides of the shoulders and over the breasts while a couple of thin strands fell along the cheek (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate XX). A detail from the above miniature is illustrated as Fig B1. This style of coiffure is found only in the Basohlī school of the late 17th and early 18th century, and was derived from a somewhat similar Moghul fashion of hair dressing (Fig B) during the late Aurangzeb period namely the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century A.D.

(c) The hair was parted in the centre and smoothed down on either side of the forehead sloping towards the ears. At the back it was allowed to hang loose (Plate II and Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 16, 20, 22 and 24). Sometimes a kiss-curl (*kākā-paksha*) was allowed to fall on the cheek (Plate VI).

Coiffure of Males

Males wore either short hair (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 10 and 12), or hair upto the neck (Enlarged Face Details, Nos. 15 and 18). Sometimes males kept long hair and then it was wound into a bun-shaped knot on the head (*kesa-bandha*) as worn by Rāma and Laksmana in Fig 10. Shiva's matted locks (Plate XIII) are known as *jatā-bandha*.

Sectarian Marks and Dyes used by Males

A variety of sectarian marks (*chāp*) were applied to the body by males. For instance in Plate XVII, Krishna has red sectarian marks on his forehead, temple, neck, upper arm, and forearm. The mark on the temple is meant to represent a conch which is one of Vishnu's insignia (Enlarged Face Detail, No. 12). In Plate XX the sectarian marks on Krishna's body are painted in white, while in Plate C they are painted in both red and white and include a mark on the back of the hands. In Plate XXIII the Hero has red sectarian marks on his forehead and neck. The God Shiva is also shown with his sectarian marks on his forehead in Plate XIII and Fig 14. Devout Hindus are always particular to apply the sectarian marks on their bodies every day.

Sometimes the soles of Krishna's feet are dyed red as can be seen in Plate VI.

Garlands

A garland (*mālā*) of flowers is always worn by Krishna, and sometimes also by Rādhā, the *gopīs*, and Heroines (Figs 42, 46 and 49). A garland made of two varieties of flowers and reaching to just below the knees is known as *vaijayantī* (Figs 2, 9 and 38), while a garland made of flowers and leaves and reaching right down to the feet is called *vana-sraj* (Plate XVII). A garland made of jewels is known as a *ratnamālā* (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 8).

Rāma also wears a flower garland (Plate V and Fig 10), while the God Shiva wears a garland of skulls (Plate XIII) a reminder of the fact that in his more awesome forms he inhabits graveyards.

Krishna's Flute

Krishna is often depicted playing his flute (Plate VIII and Figs 35 and 42). When the length of the flute is only twelve inches it is known as a *venu*; while one of about seventeen inches is called a *vamsī*. Another variety almost three feet in length is known as a *muralī*. Each variety has different stops. Krishna appears to be playing a *vamsī* in Plate VIII. It is

difficult to gauge the length of his flute in Figs 35 and 42. In Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 14, Krishna is seen playing a *muralī*.

Footwear

Krishna is often seen barefooted but sometimes he wears golden sandals (Plate XVII) or red slippers (Plate XV). Princes usually wear slippers (Plate XXII and Fig 23).

Women go barefooted or wear curved coloured slippers (Plate III). Curved sandals are also worn (Plate D). The type of slipper known in Garhwāl as *Salemshahī* is no different from that seen in Plate III. This type was apparently popular in many Hill States. *Salemshahī* slippers are said to have been introduced into Garhwāl by Prince Suleman Shikoh who took refuge there in 1658 A.D.

Objects of Use

Articles of furniture, and objects such as jewel boxes, betel leaf boxes, scent bottles, utensils, mirrors, fly-whisks, and paraphernalia used in worship, call for no particular comment save that the white and blue chinaware popularized by the Moghuls is sometimes seen in Basohlī paintings.

The fans used by Princes and ladies of high estate were often painted with figures in the Kāngrā style. These are products of the late 18th and the 19th century. I have a fragment of a fan with a girl and deer painted thereon, while another specimen was reproduced by Mr. N. C. Mehta in *Roopa Lekha*, No. 4, 1929.

Hukkahs were usually of silver, with decorations damascened in black or enamelled in colours. Gold enamelled or gilt hukkahs were less common (Plate XI).

Umbrellas used by royalty were dome-shaped and made of thick, richly decorated cloth (Figs 6 and 26), whereas the humbler folk employed an umbrella made from birch back (*bhoj-patra*) as seen in Fig 18.

Amongst articles of toilet the type of comb seen in Plate XII is still in vogue in Chambā.

Arms and musical instruments seen in Pahārī paintings are not peculiar to the Hills save for the long curved horn blown by a *gopī* in the upper centre of Fig 38. Amongst musical instruments the *veena*, the *sarangī*, the *sitār*, the *sehnai*, the pipe, the straight horn, the tambourine, the *mrdhanga*, and the kettle-drum are all to be found in Pahārī miniatures. The *vecna* is often painted in elaborate patterns (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 6), as also the *mrdhanga* (Fig 41).

Hashiyas and Borders

The term *hashiya* is applied to the beautifully decorated mounts of Moghul miniatures. Strictly speaking there are few *hashiyas* in Pahārī art, though mounts hatched with pink or blue strokes (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1951, Plate B opposite page 32) are common. But the term is at times loosely used to describe any decorative border surrounding a miniature and in that sense it may be applied to the border decoration in Pahārī painting.

In the Basohlī school the border surrounding the miniature is invariably plain. It is usually red, but may be yellow or blue. On rare occasions some shade of brown or green is employed. The border varies in width from approximately half an inch to an inch and often consists of four strips of paper of the requisite size and colour carefully pasted around the four sides of the miniature. At other times the border is first painted on the very paper used for the miniature and the subject matter of the painting frequently intrudes onto the border (Plate C, Plate XIX and Plate XXII).

In the *Kāngrā Kalam* the borders are either plain or decorative. The plain borders are either red, blue (Plates E, I and IX) or yellow (Plate B). Sometimes, but rarely, other colours are employed, and on occasion a combination of two colours is seen as in Plate VIII. The decorative borders are usually blue with floral or leaf design in gold thereon (Plate 11). In Fig W little birds are introduced into the leaf and stem pattern. The gold decoration is not uncommonly combined with white or coloured flowers. A decorative border of red and gold (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 44) is less common than the blue and gold combination. Sometimes the decorative border has a yellow ground and a multicoloured floral pattern thereon without gold (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 32). Other combinations such as blue and white (Plate VI), or brown and gold, are also met with on occasion. These decorative borders in Kāngrā painting are generally a little less than half an inch in width.

The Basohlī artists appear to have had no fondness for decorative borders. They, probably considered them unsuitable for the type of miniatures which they produced. Trained though they were in the Moghul style of the Aurangzeb period they had consciously initiated a new movement to interpret the spirit of Vaishnava literature and accordingly they utilised only such elements of their training as suited their purpose. No one who has seen the original of Kirpāl Pāl's portrait (Fig 58) and the masterly treatment of the *jāmā* and face can doubt the technical facility possessed by the artist. It is therefore apparent that the new style was a conscious departure from the accepted modes with which the painter was conversant.



Fig W.
Border from a
Kangra Miniature

The position however was very different with regard to the refugee artists who migrated to the Hill States after 1739 A.D. They were accustomed to the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (1719-1748 A.D.) and their first inclinations were to follow their traditional training. It was due to the influx of these artists that the device of a decorative border came to be adopted in the *Kāngrā Kalam* which took shape during the second half of the 18th century A.D. The decorative border was a device familiar to the refugee artists because it had long been in vogue in Moghul painting and had continued into the 18th century (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 62). The decorative border is seen in the *Rāmāyana* series of 1769 A.D. (Figs 54 and 55) and probably came into vogue in Kāngrā painting somewhat earlier.

Another type of border decoration which appears in Kāngrā painting in the late 18th century and becomes increasingly popular in the 19th century is seen in Plates IV and VI and Fig 50. In each case the miniature itself is of oval format and in addition to the surrounding decorative border the four corners are also decorated with a floral design. This oval format with decorated corners is also derived from Moghul painting of the 18th century (Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, 1929, Plate 61, Fig B). Sometimes, and mostly in the 19th century, the usual decorative border surrounding a Kāngrā painting is broader and more elaborate than usual. Patridges, or falcons attacking their prey are placed in cartouches which are interspersed in the floral design. This idea is also borrowed from Moghul painting of the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan when animals and birds were commonly introduced into the *hashiya*. In the Moghul ateliers the artist who prepared the *hashiya* was different from the artist who painted the miniature, but such division of labour must rarely have been necessary for the borders employed in Kāngrā painting.

A miniature by Sajnu in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, has an elaborate border of worshippers and deities in cartouches, while another in the same collection which depicts Shiva and Pārvatī being honoured by *rishīs* (hermits) has

a border of *ligams* (phallic symbol). Yet a third painting in the Kalā Bhavan, of a girl reclining on her bed, has a border of *sāras* (cranes) and partridges. It is probably by Gur Sahai.

The Kāngrā fashion of surrounding the miniature with a decorative border spread to many schools and sub-schools. It is seen for instance in Fig 21 where a geometrical pattern is substituted for the usual floral design.

The reason for the absence in Kāngrā painting of beautifully decorated *hashiyas* may be due to the fact that they had more or less gone out of fashion even in Moghul painting by the second half of the 18th century. They entailed laborious work, much gilding, and considerable cost. Or it may be that the Kāngrā artists favoured the simple decorative border set against the pink mount which was in general use. Personally I have no liking for the pink mount, whether stippled or hatched, but the decorative borders are as a rule effective.

Perspective

In Basohlī painting the problems of perspective have little or no significance because the artist approached the issue of spatial relations with a clear cut formula. This required that the foreground, the middle distance, and the background, should each occupy a certain proportion of the picture space, and that the sky should form the upper limit of the picture regardless of the consideration whether it was appropriate or not to introduce it into the scene. The recession from foreground to horizon was deliberately ignored, but not because the artist was ignorant of the rules of perspective.

In Basohlī painting the emphasis is entirely on the *dramatis personæ* and glowing colour effects. The artist was alive to the fact that figures set against a patch of rich colour emerge forth in splendid isolation and are not overwhelmed by the brilliance of their setting. A deep yellow or red or other monochrome background of solid colour was a *sine qua non* for the method of presentation evolved by the Basohlī artists. Accordingly a recession of planes, necessitating graded tonal values, would have been completely destructive of the brilliant, glowing effects which the Basohlī painters sought to achieve.

When one realizes that Basohlī art was a complete synthesis at its very inception and that it was the outcome of the genius of a master who was technically well equipped and trained in the Moghul style of the Aurangzeb period, it becomes apparent how carefully planned was the method of representation. There was an intentional return to the principles which utilized a language of simple conventions to convey to others the setting in which the principal actors were placed. A river, a forest, a hillside, a sky, the clouds, and falling rain were all reduced to certain forms which to the mind of an Indian instantly conjured up the vista they sought to unfold. It was the old method of the stone carvers of Bharut and Sanchi before the birth of Christ. It was a method of interpretation deeply ensconced in the heart of every Indian artist throughout the ages and it repeatedly asserted itself in his work whenever he followed his own inclinations. Herein only the most elementary rules of perspective could function without detriment to the result.

In Kāngrā painting on the other hand we find that perspective, even in its advanced forms, is both understood and practised. The reason is not hard to find. The Moghul artists of the days of Jehangir and Shah Jehan in the 17th century had considerably enlarged their ideas on perspective due to the influence of European prints and engravings which they saw in considerable numbers. The knowledge thus acquired by them was passed on to the Moghul artists of the 18th century who accordingly knew how to handle the recession of planes and create spatial relationships by the use of atmospheric effects. It was these refugee Moghul artists of the 18th century who were largely responsible for the growth of the Kāngrā school and in consequence perspective came to be handled by the *Kāngrā Kalam* painters in the characteristic Moghul manner. In Fig 3 the distant landscape is typically Moghul in treatment, and again in Fig 41 it is the

methods of Moghul painting that are most efficiently employed. So also in Plate E the manner in which the spatial relation between the nearer and the farther bank of the river is handled evokes high admiration for the artist's understanding of the rules of perspective and the subtle devices employed to achieve his ends.

But the rules of perspective were not invariably observed in Kāngrā painting, and sometimes, particularly in sub-schools, there was a return to flat effects. More often than not this was due to the fact that such miniatures were the work of lesser artists who had not mastered perspective.

Stippling

Stippling was done with brushes (*kalam*) which had hard hairs so that they would not be too pliable. Though mostly squirrel hair, from the squirrel's tail, was used for brushes, other kinds of hair were also used for making brushes intended for specialized work. Brushes were made from camel hair, with hair from the back of a goat, from the ear of a cow, from the forehead of an ass, from the sides of a musk deer, and from the back of a big rat.

CHAPTER V

THE DREAMLAND OF THE HILLS

It is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of art in India that Pahārī miniature painting was the child of an epoch when the great kingdom of the Moghuls was crossing into the wasteland of doomed empires. Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan lay in their noble masoleums which proclaimed their love for all that was beautiful. But the sun had set on the glory of Moghul art. What mattered beauty to the monarch who had set his face towards a mirage which he ever pursued, and which ever eluded him! But even the indoimtable Aurangzeb had to bow to his destiny. He knew the end had come as he wrote sadly to his son Muhammad Azam Shah,

Whatever the wind may be I am launching my boat on the waters

He was the architect of the ruin which followed close on his death and a succession of debauched weaklings sat on the throne of Babur. And yet the extraordinary vitality of the Basohlī school was evolved by gifted emigrant painters during the listless Aurangzeb period, and the grace and delicacy of Kāngrā painting was the handiwork of artist-families who fled to the Hills after the debacle of 1739 A.D.

The explanation of this phenomenon, to some extent at least, is to be sought in the new environment in which the artists found themselves. It was as though the clean crisp mountain air and the natural beauty of the secluded Hill States had brushed away the cobwebs gathered in the sprawling neglected capitals and the decadent courts of the later Moghuls. The Hill States were fertile soil for a new outburst of artistic activity. Hitherto initiative had been cramped by the rapid degeneration which was inevitable when the descendants of the once proud house of Tamerlane too lightly cast off the cares of government to seek solace in the arms of harlots and dancing girls. Into the ken of these artists settled in the Hill States there rose another vision,

Amorous felon false to all,
Amorous felon false to thee,
Saffron robes his body grace,
Flowery wreaths his limbs entwine,
There's a smile upon his face.

—*Gīta Govinda*

Gopal Krishna disported in the lush hill woodlands and the every maiden's eyes were drawn to him. There he danced again in the meadows. It was the beautiful *Rās Mandala* which the artists had forgotten,

All wild with love, and drunk with wanton bliss,
Wooing, caressing each young dancer's hand,
With many an eager glance and many an eager kiss.

—*Gīta Govinda*

Though the *gopīs* had forsaken the path of righteousness in their passion for Krishna, their love was pure and not to be compared to the practised wiles of the courtesans of the Imperial capitals. It was the joyous romance of youth,

One more bolder than the rest
Strains him to her heaving breast
Sings sweet music in his ear
In that youthful company.

—Gīta Govinda

To the rulers of the Hill States the Krishna legend was a source of endless delight and happiness, and soon the artists in their employ were imbued with its perennial beauty. In their hands it became not a mere storehouse of charming tales and incidents but a means for the pictorial revelation of a creed which they had lacked the opportunity and the urge to express in the cloying atmosphere of the pleasure ridden cities of the Moghuls.

These simple men, most of them of lowly caste,[1] found a haven in the Hills for both body and soul. It was as though they had come closer to an understanding of that love which knows no restraints and which cannot be judged by the standards which prevail in the littleness of our mortal existence. The doubts that assailed sophisticated minds never touched them because their mental processes were easily receptive to the philosophy which Krishna himself had expounded with regard to the love which the *gopīs* bore him.

Dancing, they sing my praises, surely not
For them the rites of atonement—nay I wot
Sin's very name is forgot.
To heaven they go not but earth they fill
Brimful of heaven, chanting my name.

—Jnānesvar

It was this understanding of the Krishna legend that enabled these artists to portray the romance of the blue god with a delicacy that rarely degenerated into lewdness. Of their personal lives we know nothing but we can assume that their daily existence was in no wise different from that of the goldsmith families who live in the Hills to this day. Those who would invest it with the glamour, romance, and gaiety of a Bohemian world await complete disillusionment. Morning breaks and the *sonar* (goldsmith) after his ablutions worships his family idol in the corner of a room. Then all day long he fashions precious metals and after the evening meal oft listens to the reading of the *Rāmāyana* or joins in a *Bhajan* (religious group singing) till the night is old. Each dawn brings in another day, and another day, like the beads of a rosary, one no different from the other. But the mountains lay amidst them in all their loveliness. There could be no doubt that Shiva wandered over these snow-capped ranges, and that Krishna roamed the woodlands of the flower-bedecked foothills. At the hour of cow-dust when the herds come home a cowherd played his pipe and the hill rivulet swelled into the Jamnā that flowed by Brindaban. From the doorways of rustic wooden dwellings, shyly glanced the fair maids of Braj, and Yasodā came with outstretched hands to take home her darling.

Maybe, their own lives were dreary and unromantic but they could be merged into the most beautiful of all romances. The intense hold which the Krishna legend has on the masses to this day is in no small measure due to the fact that it creates for them two different worlds, one a solace and a refuge from the drab reality of the other.

In the dreamland of the Hills the unknown masters of Pahārī painting revealed the vision which was theirs. The Basohlī artist disclosed the spiritual wrestlings of his soul through

[1] The fact that the majority of Pahārī painters belonged to the goldsmith caste is not to be wondered at. Goldsmiths were required to prepare elaborate designs for jewellery and articles such as ornamental boxes, sword hilts, and other objects. Thus the apprentice goldsmith underwent a sound training in drawing and was fairly well equipped to pursue his studies as an artist if he decided to follow that vocation.

PLATE W



Prince Aniruddha at a Moonlight Dance Party. Kangra Kalam. First quarter 19th century. See Supplementary Information. Formerly in the collection of Sansar Chand's descendant Ramsingh of Bhawarna. Now in the Punjab Government Museum, Simla.

exotic loveliness of colour and passionate types that cared little for feminine graces or the elegant undulation of draperies. His women were creatures of a world in which melancholy lyricism was unknown. Here love was ever ardent like the spirit that animated the hot rhythm of his palette. The Basohlī Heroines belonged to no particular period or place, they were timeless in a universe revealed by means of a novel design. In the intensity of Basohlī art lies its principal claim to greatness. Human beings and animals move across a background not as shadowy dream-like images but pulsating with emotion. Their frenzied eyes are ever in search of the object of their adoration, human or divine. The compositional affectations which one finds in Basohlī painting may not always be convincing, but they effect an intelligible transition between various parts of the picture and rarely fail to stimulate. It is not as though the significance of the scene never determined the position of figures and objects, or movement and expression. Some may find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the physical peculiarities of men and women in Basohlī miniatures, but Basohlī art would have lost its appeal if its characteristic types had been substituted by hot-house flowers of studied elegance. The Basohlī school evinced no inclinations towards a refined aestheticism lest it be found wanting in profound values. Religious intimations were often presented with the provocative abandon of a pagan art which exercised no restraints on human passions. And yet, none can deny the sincerity of the artists who sought to invest such scenes with the presence of God, and thus blend two ways of thought.

The Basohlī school was the creation of a period when vigorous movements strove to give a new direction to the art of miniature painting. But with the increased influx of the Moghul school artists from 1740 A.D. onwards, the popularity of the Basohlī school waned. A new approach came into being which was finally crystallized into the *Kāngrā Kalam*. With its delicate women of aristocratic gait and mein, its soft colour harmonies, its light architectural masses, and refined drawing and brushwork, there was not only a reversion to the technical excellence of Moghul painting but a return to the spirit of a courtly art and to the contemporary mode of life prevailing amongst men and women of genteel upbringing. The hieratic import of these paintings was partly effaced by their human presentment and by a nostalgic quality which lingered over them ever hearkening back to Hill palaces and Hill woodlands. Coomaraswamy has aptly epitomized it as a feminine art. Not puritanical, not devoid of the heart-beat of a divine humanism, but somewhat wrapt in lyrical isolation, distantly trafficking with a world of cloudy myths. It is a stately art, but it does not advance only the viewpoint of the mighty. It saw the fleeting vision which Hindi poetry gave to the 17th and 18th centuries and perceived its significance. If it reflects a world of gallantry, love, and aristocratic traditions, it also discloses the urge to voice those longings which the magic of few words could stir in every heart,

Dusk are the woodlands
Dark the sky above.

It is the trysting time of the immortal lovers. It is the moment when the *Abhisārikā* will start on her hazardous journey through the haunted forest. The moon is shy, and will hide behind the clouds lest the maiden grow timid at the flood of golden light.

O lady fair ! why seek an uncoth kiss
From him who sports with every cowherd maid ?
O lady fair ! can it be bliss
To be wooed by him who grazes herds
And idles in the woodland glade ?
O lady fair ! what is the magic of his kiss
That maddens every maid ?

Vidyāpatī

But all knew it was bliss to be wooed by him, to be loved by him. There was no real doubt, and all the questioning of the poets was only to stress the intensity of a passion that had become a religion.

It was but natural that the artists should translate the object of their adoration to the beautiful setting in which they themselves dwelt. It was equally natural that their patrons should expect them to do so because there was an age-long bond between the Rājput chiefs and their beloved Hills. Here abounded forests and groves where grew the mango, the yew, the birch, firs, elders, dwarf Himalayan oaks, sycamores, poplars, the cherry, the barberry, the dog-rose, and shrubs of mimosas and accacias, while wild flowers entwined every hedge and the air was laden with their perfume. The Beas, the Rāvī, the Chenab, all stormy torrents as they wended tempestuously through the hills, had their stretches of more even flow which could be likened to the quieter waters of the Jamnā where the blue god had sported with the comely maids of Braj. Romance had long lingered over these rivers. Sohnī, before her tragic end, had often floated over the Chenab on dark nights to meet her beloved Mahivāl, herder of buffaloes. The goddess Rallī had gathered flowers by their banks, and maybe the terrible strange Mahadeo, with his beloved Pārvatī, following her lord without complaint, came in his wanderings over the great range of Dhaula Dhār and rested awhile in hill meadows.

The five-fold face of Shiva is smeared with ashes,
Three eyes he hath, one with fire aglow,
Oh why should Uma in her radiant youth
A wandering beggar choose to be her spouse?
Nay listen friend, boundless his wealth for them who seek for truth,
For he is the Lord of the Universe,
Let all men know.

Vidyāpatī

It is true that even before the various schools of Pahārī miniature painting came into being, certain forms for the illustration of the incidents of Krishna legend, the Shiva-Pārvatī episode, the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā Bhed*, the *Rāgamālā*, the *Bāramāsa*, etc. were becoming crystallized in Rājasthānī painting. That the Pahārī artist had seen at least some of these set forms is apparent; but it is equally clear that his own interpretations of all these well known themes was largely influenced by the natural beauty of the varied landscape of the Hill country, and by the unusual colour effects which were oftimes to be seen at dawn or when the Hills were gilded by a fiery sun setting into the eerie tranquility of the vast, unknown, unearthly spaces stretching beyond the great ranges. This new inspiration is a very important element in Pahārī art, and it should be observed how natural aspects often lose their solidity to blend with the enveloping atmosphere. Pale white palaces melt into the air, and outpost strongholds, perched on towering crags, become sentinels not only of the earth but also of the sky. A flight of cranes seems but momentary against black angry clouds, a vision scarce seen and gone,

O stay, Oh stay
She prays the cranes

but the *Nāyikā's* piteous lament is of no avail.

Even the women with their eyes of a timid fawn and lips red as the bimba fruit have a willowy grace and an ethereal presence as though the architect of the universe had designed them to be part of the Hills he had created. In this almost fairy world of strange forest forms, mist-blurred mountains, and wondrous colour, it was inevitable that love and romance, real or imagined, should be the breath of life. This fact accounts for the preponderance of such themes in Pahārī painting. The flowery poetry of the Krishna legend, the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed*, the *Rāgamālā*, and the *Bāramāsa*, served admirably to convey the sentiments of both earthly and divine love. It also enabled the spiritual relationship contemplated by the creed of the cowherd god to be expressed in terms of that physical background which was so intimate an element in the lives of those who dwelt in the Hills.

This is the key to the understanding of Pahārī art and is the reason why its interpretations of well known themes possess an unmistakable quality, call it what you wish, which distinguishes

it from Rājasthānī miniature painting, though both had a common basis of symbolism created mainly by Vaishnava poetry. But even in expressing this symbolism the Pahārī artist often utilized the setting in which he lived and thus this symbolism has a local colour in Pahārī art. The rhythm and curves of the Hill forest trees and creepers are woven into a unified pattern with the graceful movements of *Nāyikās* and with the rhythmic fall of their drapery; while a Hill storm, with clouds about to break, poignantly emphasizes the bursting anguish in the breast of a long-separated and unhappy Heroine. The pale white of Hill palaces stresses the purity of the fair maiden who pines within, ever constant to her absent lord, while the clear, flower-scented starlit summer night, such as is seen only in the Hills, seems to say,

There is no greater bliss for any heart
Than loving you fair maid.

Vidyāpatī

And when springtime came, every accent in nature was a reminder of what the poets had sung,

The mango hath put forth young crimson leaves,
The cuckoo will not cease to call its mate
Exulting in the joy of spring,
And bees are roaming round in thieving bands
Stealing the honey from each dew lipped bud,
And cupid lies in wait
To draw his flowery bow and twang its string,
'Ah me ! there is no end to lovers' longings'
I heard a maiden sing.

Vidyāpatī

And when the blood-red rising moon, like a giant ball, loomed out of the pale sky, all knew how true it was that,

The moon causes more heat
Than ever did the sun,
And the coolest sandal paste is of no avail
For moonstruck hearts.

Vidyāpatī

It was not easy for a mere mortal like Rādhā to love the blue god and have no envy in her heart when he cast glances at other maidens,

Oh Dāmodar[1] *! how many co-wives dwell together*
Happily in Mathura town,
And yet I cannot share thy love with any other.
Alas ! I'm just a foolish cowherd girl
To be so proud because you placed
A lotus garland round my neck
And kissed me in my rustic gown,
Yet pity me, my mind is in a whirl,
What shall I tell to you, O Dāmodar !
What shall I tell !

Vidyāpatī

The poignant beauty of such sentiments, expressing the frailties of all human passion, is sensitively pictured again and again when the tormented love-lorn *Nāyikā* of the Hill painters,

[1] Dāmodar is one of the names of Krishna

'anxious as a roe from fear of the hunter', waits in vain in the lonely Hill forests or groves, or in far away Hill homesteads, for the lover-god who will not come.

The romantic strain in the Hill chiefs found expression not only in the Krishna legend but also in many other romances in which they delighted such as *Nala-Damayantī*, *Aniruddha-Usā*, *Bāz Bahādur and Rupmatī*, and such ancient tales. It must be remembered that the rulers themselves were in large measure responsible for the choice of the legends and stories which their artists illustrated for their edification. It is of interest to note that in all paintings of the *Nala-Damayantī* episode the whole story is not illustrated but only the part which deals with the bliss of first love before tragedy entered the lives of the lovers.

But there was also another side to the nature of these warlike rulers. The vast canvas of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, studded with the epic struggles of old, delighted their martial spirit, just as did the bardic lore of Rājput chivalry. It is, however, tragic to observe, from a survey of the history of the Hill States, that in their intrigues for power the Hill chiefs did not always honour the code of conduct which Rājput tradition enjoined. Nevertheless with all their failings the best of these chiefs were brave warriors who knew that the manliness of their race depended on the ideals of heroes such as Hamir of Ranthanbhor who, though facing destruction, refused to surrender a fugitive enemy general to whom he had given asylum,

It is but once that a lion is born,
It is but once that the plantain puts forth its fruit,
It is but once that a maiden is anointed with oil,
It is but once that a good man utters his word

The formation of the Hill ateliers was influenced in the beginning largely by prestige considerations and the desire to emulate the practice of the Moghul court and the courts of Rājasthān in patronising miniature painting. But there is no doubt that several of the Hill rulers soon grew fond of this art and derived much pleasure from it. Sansār Chand of Kāngrā, Goverdhan Chand of Guler, and Balwant Singh of Jammu, were all connoisseurs with a keen interest in the production of their ateliers. The Pahārī Rājās and their households found in miniature painting a form of court art which could be enjoyed leisurely in the privacy of their palaces. The paintings were easily stored in *bastās* (portfolios) and being of small dimensions could be handled and enjoyed with an intimacy that would be impossible in the case of works of art of large size such as frescoes and sculptures. Here was one more form of easily assimilated cultural entertainment added to their already great passion for music and the dance. South of the Hill homeland a once mighty empire was crumbling, and yet in the seclusion of the Hill fastnesses, brave romantic chieftains, ruling over their small principalities and often engaged in petty warfare, emerged as patrons of an art of undeniable beauty and high achievement. The artist and his royal patron both share in the glory of Pahārī painting. And though unseen by the common man, Pahārī art in its interpretation of the Krishna legend, with which it so largely dealt, voiced the feelings of millions. The humble artists poured forth their creations seeking to capture the momentary bliss of a love that seemed to belong to the world of men and women and yet was without the pale of this mortal existence. So much that is beautiful in Pahārī painting is an expression of spiritual longings in the language of earthbound passions.

O Rai, without you all is dark,
All is without hope.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Colour Plates

Plate I : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Probably from Kāngrā.

Plate II : Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Probably from Guler.

Plate III : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The blue border is not original. Probably from Kāngrā.

Plate IV : Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Probably from Kāngrā. It is part of an extensive series which is now scattered. Archer thinks that this series and other similar sets are from Garhwāl, but they are more likely to be from Kāngrā during Sansār Chand's time.

Plate V : Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Probably from Mandī. But Chambā or Guler cannot be ruled out from consideration.

Plate VI : Probably from Kāngrā. Says the poet Vidyāpatī,

This night of spring
Together we will spend
And satisfy our longings
Ere dawn is on the wing.

Plate VII : Formerly in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection, Bombay.

Plate VIII : Most probably from Garhwāl.

Plate IX : Recently acquired by the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Plate X : The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows :

The serpent hood already weighed down by the weight of the earth embodied in Krishna, was further distressed by the blows from Krishna's feet. Seeing the serpent's condition, his wives were much agitated. With their clothes, ornaments and coiffure dishevelled, and placing forward their children, they prostrated themselves and offered salutation to the Lord of all Beings. Folding their hands to obtain the release of their sinful husband they sought the protection of Him who affords protection to the weak. The wives of the serpent addressed Krishna thus — 'You are incarnated to prevent wickedness by inflicting punishment on sinners with justice. As you treat your enemy and your son alike, the punishment of this wicked snake is well deserved.'

Plate XI : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Plate XII : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. That part of the background which extends higher has been avoided in the reproduction. Probably from the Mandī area.

Plate XIII : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The date in the caption is a misprint. It should be second quarter of the 18th century.

Plate XIV : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. From the Kulu-Mandī area.

Plate XV : Probably from Jammu. Its likely date is *circa* 1760-1770 A.D. and not late 18th century as stated in the caption. See page 132.

Plate XVI : An inferior version is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Plate XVII : The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows :

Rāga Gujarī. Rūpaka Tāla.

The confidante thus addressed the Kalahāntaritā (separated Heroine) who was troubled by passion, torn aside from the enjoyment of love, in a dejected mood, and who was always pondering upon the acts of Harī-'Harī is proceeding to the rendezvous, the sweet breeze is blowing, oh friend, do you get greater pleasure by staying at home? Oh proud one, do not show your pride to Mādhava'. Dhrupada. 'Heavier than the palm-fruit, why do you want to prevent your pitcher-like breasts from attaining their desired end? (How many have not sung this refrain not long before!) Do not leave the most handsome Harī. How is it that you are grieving and weeping piteously? The bevy of maidens is laughing at you! Look at Harī sleeping on the bed made of lotus petals and satisfy your eyes. Why do you give thought to dire depression? Hearken to my disagreeable and sharp advice. Go to Harī and speak to him sweet words. How is it that you grieve your heart so much'? (May the delicate verses of Jayadeva about Harī give pleasure. End of the 18th song from the Gīta Govinda.)

Plate XVIII : The text on the reverse is reproduced as Facsimile Inscription No. 3. The translation is as follows:

Seeing her, engrossed in love, in the bower, unable to go, the confidante beholding her love-stricken behaviour for Govinda, addressed her thus:

The text does not appear to bear any relation to the subject matter of the miniature.

Plate XIX : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Plate XX : Formerly in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection, Bombay.

Plate XXI : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Plate XXII : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Plate XXIII : Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Says the poet Vidyāpatī,

I have come to your beautiful house,
Though the night is black
And the rain-swept ground
Harboured the snakes that barred my track
And coiled around my feet;
Shall I repent my act and homeward start?
Shall I tell every maiden
That meeting you is sin
That meeting you will only break the heart?

This miniature probably belongs to a series executed in the time of Kirpal Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.), though it is not from the *Rasmanjarī* set painted by Devidāsa in 1694. No information relating to Devidāsa or those who must have worked with him is available. But it is clear that Devidāsa had received his training in the school of Aurangzeb though not necessarily in the Imperial atelier itself. When we refer to the school of Shah Jehan or the school of Aurangzeb, the term does not necessarily have reference to the court atelier. Artists worked for grandees and nobles, and even on their own, executing commissions for religious heads and lay patrons. Devidāsa was doubtless one such artist who having received his training in the style prevalent during the Aurangzeb period later found his way to the Basohlī court and took employment under Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1694). There were many such artists who having absorbed, in a greater or lesser degree, the methods of the school of Shah Jehan or Aurangzeb took service at various courts in Rājasthān and developed individual styles under their Hindu patrons who were partial to the epics, the *Rāgamālā*, the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bhed*, the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, and the literature of the Krishna legend. It is not fully appreciated how great a factor was the subject-matter of Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting in creating individualistic styles following upon the impetus which the Moghuls gave to the stereotyped art of book illustration which had hitherto prevailed.

Plate XXIV: An inferior version is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. A line from Vidyāpatī says,

I make him rest on a bed of wet lotuses
But even they dry at his burning touch.

The lotus bed is seen in Plate XXIV.

Plate A: A similar but inferior example is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Plate B: Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta.

Plate D: Compare with the somewhat similar composition of the Boston Museum example now reproduced in colour by Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, 1954, Colour Plate 6.

Plate E: Same series as the *Gītā Govinda* of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows:

Bumble bees are maddened with the sweet fragrance of the mango flowers, the sweet singing cuckoos are feverish in their appeal to the ears, and waiting wives expectant of the arrival of their beloved, full of joy, pass languorous days.

Plate F: The set was originally in the possession of a member of the royal family of Bilāspur. This circumstance indicates that Kishenchand, the painter of the set, was a court artist.

Plate H: Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Balvant Singh's face should be compared with that of the central figure in Plate 66 of Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 1st Ed. 1908. It is obvious that the miniature reproduced by Havell is a study of Balvant Singh by a camp fire. There is another fine night scene of a marriage ceremony in the collection of Alma Latifi of Bombay which appears to be a work of Balvant Singh's atelier judging by its affinities to the night scene reproduced by Havell. The Indian Museum, Calcutta, as well as the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, possess some interesting examples from the atelier of this great patron of miniature painting. It seems that one or more albums belonging to Balvant Singh, containing both finished and unfinished miniatures by his artists, came into the possession of some dealer long after Balvant Singh's death, and the miniatures got dispersed amongst several collections. Some were taken to England and sold there. Sir Dorab Tata appears to have bought most of his Balvant Singh group in England (*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, 1951-52, No. 2).

The strong Moghul influence in Havell's night scene is very apparent.

Plate J: Formerly in the Jugmohandas Modi collection, Bombay.

Plate L: Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta.

Plate N, Plate O: The reason for stating at page 179 that the *Shiva-Pārvatī* series appears to belong to school of the artist Sajnu is that the similarities in matters of detail between some of the miniatures in this series and some of the paintings in the *Hamir Hath*, painted by Sajnu at Mandī, are not likely to be a mere matter of coincidence.

Plate P: Formerly in the P. C. Manuk collection, Patna. So also Plates Q and R.

Plate S: Probably from Kāngrā during Sansār Chand's time.

Plate T: The name of the artist Minaku is written on the paper which the lady is holding. It is not possible to say if the artist is Mānak son of Pandit Seu. There may have been several artists bearing the name Mānak or its variations Mānaku and Minaku. Both Plates S and T display great delicacy of brush work.

Plate W: The stout clean-shaven figure is Aniruddha. The painting belongs to the first decade of the 19th century.

Monochrome Illustrations

Fig. 1. Formerly in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection, Bombay. Krishna and Balarāma are clad in yellow and blue frocks respectively, as described in the *Premsāgar*. Reproduced in colour in the Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art — *The Krishna Legend* by M. S. Randhawa.

The border is plain blue. The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows:

Once while the maid servants were engaged in other work, Yasodā, wife of Nand, herself churned the curds. She taking him in her lap began weaning him, beholding with pleasure his face lighted with a smile. Then leaving aside the unsatisfied child she went quickly towards the boiling milk which was over-flowing.

Fig. 2. The background is brown-red. Nand is dressed in a white *jāmā* and yellow *pagree*. The women are dressed in a variety of colours. Probably from Guler.

Fig. 3. Pale sky with sunset glow. Hillside green. The three cows are dappled black and white; grey; and pure white, respectively. The calves are white, grey, and beige. Krishna wears a yellow *dhoti*, and the *gopas* are clad in red shorts and purple or red caps. The women are dressed in a variety of colours, pink, yellow, red, blue, purple, and green. Nand has a white *jāmā* and white *pagree* with brown cross-band. The herdsman in the background is covered with a grey-black *ghogī*. The tree trunks are brown with green foliage. The architecture is in grey, brown, white, and pink, while the roofs are straw coloured. The border is plain blue. The text on the reverse is reproduced as Facsmile Inscription No. 1. The translation is as follows:

Srī Krishna changed himself in the forms of the calves and cowherds as they were. They held in their hands sticks, horns, flutes, and leaves, and wore the same dresses and ornaments. They also adopted the same character, qualities, names, shapes, ages, and the mode of walking etc. Srī Krishna manifested himself exactly in the same form as they were. This supported the dictum of the Vedas that the entire world is the manifestation of Vishnu. The Universal Soul himself was turned into calves and cowherds. Then surrounding himself with his self-created calves, and thus playing with himself, the Universal Soul entered Vraja.

Once upon a time when five days had remained for the completion of the year, Krishna while grazing the calves entered the forest with Balarāma. At that time the cows grazing on the summit of Mount Goverdhana saw from a distance their calves near Vraja. Seeing them they were over-powered with love, and forgetting themselves and not caring for the cowherds they rushed on by a difficult path, mooing, and with their tails upraised.

Fig. 4. Sudāmā is clad in a tattered brown-beige *jāmā*. His wife wears a purple skirt with patches of green, and a white *odhnī* with patches of black. The hut has a pale green floor, beige walls, and grey-brown roof. The tree in front has a blue-grey trunk. The hedge surrounding the hut is grey. The *maidan* (open ground) is dark green, and the white wall beyond encloses beige coloured houses with dark beige roofs. The sky is white and blue, with purple-grey clouds. The earthern pots outside the hut are pale yellow. The border is plain red.

Fig. 5. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Uncoloured ivory background. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*, red *dopatta* and yellow crown. No gold is used in the miniature. The *gopīs* are dressed in a variety of colours — orange, blue, yellow, brown, green, purple, and red. The trees have red flowers and also purple buds. The platform is salmon-pink. There is considerable shading of faces. In the Hills, flower-gathering is often associated with the worship of the image of the goddess Rallī who herself used to gather flowers. Pahārī girls when they pluck flowers often sing,

Others gathered flowers in their baskets,
Dear Rallī gathered them in her skirt.

Probably from the Kulu-Mandī area.

Fig. 6. Gold sky. The horses are dark brown and white respectively, while the saddle-cloths are blue and gold, and black and gold. Magenta umbrella. The horsemen wear green *salvārs* and red or yellow jackets. Pink and green hills. The border is brown and gold. There is a Tankrī inscription on the reverse which has not been deciphered.

Fig. 7. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Uncoloured ivory ground. Hills and figures in washes of light grey and dark grey. Probably from Kulu.

Fig. 8. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Background yellow. Deep rich colours are used for the costumes. A similar painting in the Dickinson collection, Lahore, is now in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. The inscription on the margin is referred to at page 100. A late fresco at Damthāl, similar to Fig 8, has an inscription which, in conjunction with local tradition, supports my interpretation of the scene at page 100. The two gosains, it is said, belonged to Damthāl which is on the fringe of the outer Hills.

Fig. 9. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Uncoloured ivory background. The *gopīs* are dressed in white and pale red skirts and wear red or blue *odhnīs*. Krishna wears a pale yellow *dhotī*. The *gopīs* have red caste marks on their foreheads. The trees are a pale blue-green. The border is red. The corrupt *Tankrī* inscription on the reverse has not been deciphered.

The somewhat mannish female types seen in Fig 9 are often met with in the *Kulu Kalam*. In the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, there is a miniature where such types are seen against that powdery-blue background which is so frequent in the Kulu school, and peculiar to it. This is one more reason why Archer's suggestion that these types are of the Nurpur school (*Marg*, Vol. 8; No. 3, 'Some Nurpur Paintings', Figs 3, 4 and 5) is not acceptable in the absence of more data. See pages 235 and 236 herein.

Fig. 10. Brown background. Green trees. Sītā wears a red-orange skirt, green *cholī*, and pale brown *odhnī*. Rāma has a yellow *dhotī*, while Laksmana wears a brick-red *dhotī* and green *dopāttā*.

Fig. 11. Formerly in the Dickinson collection, Lahore. The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows :

Kamakandala was distressed. The heartache increased and the fire of separation came out of her body. Praise be to the lady who laved herself with tears, and due to separation did not sleep a wink. Her throat was parched and her body numbed. The air of the forest fanned her passion but the knowledge given by Giraph kept her awake. Deep and indescribable is the ocean of separation. As a doe in a trap she forgot yoga and contemplation.

The verse describes Kamakandala's grief when Mādhavanala resumes his wanderings.

Fig. 12. The *gopīs* are dressed in a variety of colours, including silver and gold skirts. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*. The pale foreground is suggestive of a moonlit night. The river is grey, and the sky pale blue. The text on the reverse was not available for translation. This miniature is now in the possession of Mrs. Madhuri Desai of Bombay.

Fig. 13. Formerly in the Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee collection, Bombay. See colour detail Plate VII. The text on the reverse is reproduced as Facsimile Inscription No. 2. It gives an excellent idea of the picturesque language in which devotion to Krishna is usually expressed. The translation is as follows :

The gopīs said — 'Darling, your birth has enhanced the fame of Vraja which has now even surpassed the heaven and other worlds, and, therefore, Lakshmī, the queen of beauty and grace, leaving her heavenly abode is residing and serving this place. Even the best lotus flowers growing in sparkling ponds in winter do not compare with your eyes. As a matter of fact, your eyes have stolen our grace and also our hearts. But Lord, we are your unbought slaves whom you have wounded with your glances.

You have saved us many a times from the poisoned water, from the dragon Aghāsura, from the storm, lightning, rains, and wild fire, and from Vrshabhāsura and Vyomāsura. We know that you are not only the delight of Yasodā but you live in the hearts of all living beings. O Lord of Vrshnis, foremost in satisfying the desire of your lovers, those who seek the shelter of your feet out of fear of the world, you give them protection under your lotus-like hands. Those very hands which held the hands of Lakshmī, please put them upon our heads. Oh, remover of the grief of the Vraja people, why have you disappeared on account of our pride, because even your smiles are sufficient to break all pride to pieces. Oh friend, please show us your beautiful lotus-like face. Your feet remove the sins of those who seek their shelter. Your feet which follow the grazing calves are the abode of beauty. You placed your lotus-like feet on the hood of the snake and you place those very feet on our breasts. Oh, lotus-eyed one, intelligent people are engrossed by your sweet and beautiful speech, which has also enamoured us. Please regale us with your speech and nectar-like kisses. Your nectar is like a story sung by the poets, for it removes sins and is auspicious to hear. Those who hear it are the biggest alms givers on this earth. Your smiles and coy glances, your amorous sports, your auspicious memory, your heart-touching conversations in private, and your endearing words still agitate our mind. The thought that while grazing the cattle your feet might not be injured by sharp stones and sprouting grass troubled our minds. At sunset when you returned, the dark blue curls played on your lotus-like face covered with dust. We again and again remember that appearance of yours. You fulfil the desires of others, you are worshipped by Lakshmī. You are the ornament of this earth, people remember you in calamity. Please put your lotus-like feet, worshipped by hundreds, on our breasts, to remove our grief. Your nectar-like lips increase the pleasures of love, and destroy sorrow. They are kissed by the sounding flute and they make people forget other loves. When you go to wander in the forest in the daytime our moments change to years, but when you return at sunset, seeing your curls playing on your face we are unable to close our eyelids. Leaving our husbands, sons, families, and relatives, and transgressing their orders, we come to you. You deceiver! Knowing the tune of your music we are drawn there. It is you only who can abandon the company of such women in the night. Your all knowing understanding, smiling face, loving glances, and your spacious chest — the abode of Lakshmi — oh remembering them, our desire increases. You have been incarnated to offer asylum to the people of Vraja, yet that alone causes the welfare of the entire world. Leave aside your miserliness and offer solace to the burning hearts of those who desire you. We placed your delicate feet on our breasts slowly, fearing lest they might be injured. With those very feet you are wandering on the hard forest ground in the night. The very thought that the stones and pebbles might injure your feet makes our heads swirl.' End of the 31st chapter dealing with the eulogies of the gopīs for Krishna in Rāsa, in the 10th section of the Bhāgavata Mahā Purāna.

In the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay, there is a *Rāmāyana* painting similar in style and format to the famous *Bhāgavata* series (Figs 3, 12 and 13). This indicates that there must also have been a *Rāmāyana* set in the *Bhāgavata* style painted at Sansār Chand's court. In a similar style some examples from a *Rukminī Harana* series are to be found in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Fig. 14. The frescoes illustrated in Figs 14 and 20 belong almost certainly to the reign of Chattar Singh (1806-1844.). The tendency to draw squat figures is manifest. The facial types in some of these frescoes give us a clue to certain local Chambā idioms.

Fig. 15. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Blue background, purple rocks, and grey water. The *gopīs* are dressed in a variety of colours—orange, yellow, purple, and grey water. The water pots are golden. The tree has a purple-grey trunk and gold, red, and cream. The water pots are golden. The tree has a purple-grey trunk and green foliage. This miniature forms part of a series of which several were in the Treasury-wala collection and are now in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. They represent some local style.

Fig. 16. The background is dark brown. The tonality is subdued.

Fig. 17. The inscription on the reverse is reproduced as Facsimile Inscription No. 4. The translation is as follows :

After Mādhojī and Kamakandala had exchanged many tender words, the latter assembled all kinds of musical instruments and sitting in her lovely room began manifesting her musical skill which so much pleased Mādhojī that he himself began strumming the vinā showing his skill over the instrument. This caused Kamakandala to fall deeply in love with him and she addressed him thus — 'My Lord, to this day I have not regarded anybody as my master, so from this day you become my lord. Please promise never to leave one who has put faith in you. From now on there is nobody else except you to look after my welfare.' When Kamakandala thus expressed herself, Mādhojī engaged himself in amorous sports in the course of which he explained and showed to her the intricacies of love-making as given by Kokkoka. At this Kamakandala became his body and soul, and addressed him thus — 'My Lord, you alone are the saviour of my life, I have nobody else in the world. Please never leave me, as this will mean my death'. After this they passed the whole night in enjoyment till dawn.

Kokkoka is the author of the *Ratirahasya*, a work on erotics. He flourished, it is said, in the early 13th century A.D. in the Konkan.

Fig. 18. The umbrella appears to be made from *bhojpatra* (birch bark).

Fig. 19. It is reproduced in colour as Plate G.

Fig. 21. Originally in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Salmon-pink background. The floor where Krishna is seated is blue. He is wearing a dark red *dhotī*, while the women-folk are dressed in various colours — orange, yellow, red, and grey. The border-pattern is painted in yellow and red. This border is characteristic of the entire series. The caption under Fig 21 is incorrect. The colophon of the M.S.S. was discovered after Fig 21 was printed. See page 108. Fig 21 is representative of a style of work which was not confined to the *Bhāgavata Purāna* M.S.S. to which it belongs. Fig (a) on page 109 is from a similar M.S.S. and the same style is seen in an example in the Baroda Museum which illustrates a verse by the poet Gang (*Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. 9, 1953, Plate 25, Fig. 50). The script in which the verse is written is said to be Mandelī. This is quite possible because Kulu and Mandī are neighbours. Roerich believes that what is termed the Kulu style also prevailed in the Mandī area. Several paintings in the style of Fig 21 are also in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi, Bombay, and some are in other collections.

Fig. 22. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Blue sky. White and violet clouds. Green hills and grey background. White terrace. The throne is red and gold. The prince is dressed in a deep beige *jāmā* and the princess in a chocolate-brown gown.

Fig. 23. Uncoloured ivory background. The *jāmā* is white and the *pagree* is red.

The inscription on the reverse reads, *Portrait of Haridāsa*. I have another portrait of the same individual in a similar style with a similar inscription. I am inclined to the view that the portrait is of Bisht Harī Dās, a general of Rājā Sidh Sen of Mandī (1684-1727 A.D.). The portrait is of course of much later date. If the identification is correct it goes to support Roerich's theory that what is called the *Kulu Kalam* was also practised in Mandī. See page 269.

Fig. 24. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The lotus petals in which the lovers are clad are painted white and shaded in pink and red. The background is dark green. The border is brick-red and bears an inscription which was not available for translation. The date may be earlier than suggested in the caption.

Fig. 25. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. White-yellow background. The tree has a pink trunk and green foliage. The lady is dressed in a yellow and brown skirt with brown *odhnī*, while her attendant wears a pink skirt and red *odhnī*. The water is painted in strips of green, black, and yellow. Probably from the Mandī area.

Fig. 26. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Blue background. The upper half of the horse is white, and the lower half is painted red. From the Kulu-Mandī area.

Fig. 27. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Green background. The trunk of the centre tree is pink. White and blue sky. The carpet has yellow and brown stripes. The gosain on the left wears a red *jāmā*, and both wear red caps bound with silver *pechīs*. The shawl wrapt around the two figures is black with white flowers. The cushion is silver. Probably from the Kulu-Mandī area.

Fig. 28. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Blue background. The *jāmā* of the man holding the falcon is white. The robes worn by the gosains are white with black spots. From the Kulu-Mandī area.

Fig. 29. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Uncoloured ivory background. The garments worn by the various figures are coloured red, green, blue, and brown. The King wears a yellow *pairan*, red jacket, and red cap. The throne is yellow and the cushion is green with black stripes. The umbrella is coloured brick-red, yellow, and blue, while the sarcophagus lifted by the winged figures is yellow and dark grey with white birds. The foreground is pale green. The inscription is difficult to decipher. See page 106. Maybe the series deals with the *Vikram Baitāl*.

Fig. 30. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Fig. 31. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The background of the pavilion is red. Rādhā who is seated inside wears a green skirt and blue *odhnī*. The cushion is striped in blue and purple. The pillars are blue, with their capitals decorated in white and green. The carpet is coloured white, purple, and blue. The standing *gopī* has a red skirt and a blue *odhnī*. The birds and animals are in various colours. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*. The tree has a pale purple trunk and green foliage.

Fig. 32. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The background is grey-blue and the hillside green. The river is grey. Nandī, the bull, is white, with a green cloth on his back and has red trappings. The women wear green skirts, red *cholīs* and white *odhnīs*. Shiva is white and seated on a yellow tiger skin. There is another date also on the reverse of the miniature namely Samvat 1848=1791 A.D. It is not clear which of these two dates should be taken as the date of the painting. The difference in dates, however, is not appreciable, and indicates that this type of folk painting belongs to the late 18th and early 19th century.

Fig. 34. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Dark green background. White and blue sky. Brick-red canopy with underpart of awning painted white. Orange coloured tiger skin. Pārvatī wears a brick-red *odhnī* and skirt. Shiva is painted pale blue, while his bowl is brick-red and his rosary is orange. It may be even earlier than the mid-18th century.

Fig. 35. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. The background is pale blue. The colouring is sober with brown predominating. From the Kulu-Mandī area.

Fig. 36. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. Green background. Red carpet with yellow and blue border. The prince is dressed in a white *jāmā*, while the attendant's garments are pink. Both wear red *pagrees*. The dog is brown. The architecture is in yellow, green, and white.

Fig. 37. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay.

Fig. 38. The figures are dressed in a variety of colours—red, green, yellow. The background is brick-red. The architecture is white and brick-red.

Fig. 39. Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta. It is reproduced in colour as Plate L.

Fig. 40. Formerly in the Dickinson collection, Lahore. The architecture is white and pink. The fountain is grey. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*, and Rādhā is clad in red. One of the attendants is dressed in orange. The hills are pink against a blue sky, and the foliage is green.

Fig. 41. Formerly in the Tagore Collection, Calcutta. The colouring is similar to that in the *Bhāgavata* series (Figs 3, 12 and 13).

Fig. 42. Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī* and Rādhā is clad in a yellow gown which resembles the *doru*. The girl playing the drum is dressed in slate-blue. One *gopa* wears violet shorts and a red cap, and the other wears yellow shorts and a violet cap. The trees are green with brown sprays emerging from the tree on the left. Blue sky and white clouds. The background is cream.

Fig. 43. *Fig.* 44. *Fig.* 47. The colour scheme is generally similar to Plate F.

Fig. 45. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*, while the girl in the foreground has a cobalt blue skirt and orange *odhnī*. The others are dressed in a variety of colours, while gold is freely used in the costumes. The foliage is green with pink and white blossoms, and the water is grey.

Fig. 46. The women are dressed in a variety of colours including gold. The carpet is red. The architecture is white and shaded in pink against a blue sky.

Fig. 48. Uncoloured ivory background. The girl's costume is flecked with gold as also the cushion. The terrace railing is orange. The reading of the inscription appears to be as follows :

Samvat 1834 *mahinā māgha sudī pravina sasache kā kalati arajamo.* The meaning of the inscription is not clear. On the margin is written *chitta Garibam* which may mean *'portrait of Garibam'*. Perhaps she was a musician at some Hill court.

Fig. 49. Krishna is clad in a yellow *dhotī*. Rādhā wears a red gown and the *gopī* near her is dressed in purple and red. The green trees are set off against dark grey clouds and golden lightning. The houses in the distance are straw coloured.

Fig. 50. The curtain at the back is red with gold spots. The pale purple lotus rests on a green table with golden legs. The pots held by the elephants as well as those on the floor are gold. The terrace is white. The elephants are white with coloured trappings. Lakshmī wears a yellow and gold skirt and yellow *cholī*. The ground below the white terrace is raw green. The floral border is blue, gold, and white.

The inscription on the reverse is reproduced as Facsimile Inscription No. 5. The translation is as follows:

Invocation of Mahālakshmī. Śrī Samvat 1900, *Vaiśākh* 13 (*A.D.* 1843). *The painter Fattu presented this (picture) to Srī Mahārājā Balbira Saina while he was camping at Alampur garden.*

Fig. 51. In the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay, and not in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad, as mistakenly stated in the caption under Fig 51. Mr. Latifi has two more examples from this set. The label on the border is dealt with at page 26.

Sings the poet Vidyāpatī,

Said I, he is my Lord,
He is a refuge
Like the shelter of a tree,
Alas what hath he proved to be?
A heartless fraud, with roving eyes
For every maid he sees.

Fig. 52. Green background. Red border. Red canopy with white fringe. The standing girl wears a red and white skirt and blue *cholī*, and the other a red skirt. The utensils are silver. The translation of the inscription on the border is as follows :

Rāginī Devakarī (Devagirī) wife of Hindola.

The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, has a very fine set of Basohlī *Rāgamālā* of this period. The most likely date is *circa* 1720 A.D.

Fig. 53. Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta.

Fig. 54. The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows :

(1) *Surpanakha* (In Tankrī).

(2) *Once the wicked Surpanakha, cruel as a serpent, sister of Rāvana went to Rāmachandra and became love-lorn after seeing both the brothers* (in Hindi).

Fig. 55. The translation of the text on the reverse is as follows :

(1) *Agasta Milāpa* (in Tankrī).

(2) *They saw before them the blue coloured Rāma, the shelter of all happiness accompanied by Sītā and his brother* (in Hindi).

Fig. 56. Krishna wears a yellow *dhotī*, while Rādhā is dressed in a red and gold skirt and red *odhnī*. The *gopī* behind her wears a blue *odhnī*. The platform of the cowpen is white, anp below it the figures stand on a patch of green grass. The wall of the cowpen is pink. The tree trunk is grey with green foliage against a blue sky. Same series as the *Biharī-Satsāiyā* of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār.

Fig. 57. The Heroine is dressed in a red skirt, red *cholī*, and black *odhnī*. The tree trunks are blue, grey, and pink respectively, with green foliage. The background is grey with black clouds, while the grass in the foreground is green.

Fig. 58. Obtained through Samarendranath Gupta, Lahore. The background is yellow. Kirpāl Pāl's *jāmā* is a deep maroon and his *pagree* is white with a black band. The boy seated in front wears a pink and blue striped *jāmā* and red *pagree*, while the attendant behind wears a green *jāmā* and red *pagree*. The bolster is striped in light and dark purple with black tassels. The inscription on the reverse is reproduced in facsimile at page 99. A portrait of Kīrpāl Pāl is also in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay. It appears to be a copy of the second half of the 18th century. Another copy is in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

Fig. 59. Originally in the Samarendranath Gupta collection, Lahore. Almost the entire painting, including the background, and the costumes worn by the womenfolk, is in various shades of green. The horse is white. The inscription on the reverse is reproduced in facsimile at page 141.

Fig. 60. Originally in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. The deep ivory-brown background is uncoloured. Krishna wears an orange *jāmā*, while Rādhā is dressed in a red skirt and purple *cholī*. She is seated on a white stool with yellow legs. The hukkah is yellow. The translation of the text is as follows :

The Lord of the Yadavas (Krishna) has come and my eyes are engrossed in him. He tried to reason with me but at that moment I did not care. My Lord left me and now I am pining for my handsome partner whom I did not like. What should I say my confidante ! My shyness and passion have fought a battle within me.

Fig. 61. Originally in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. The ivory background is uncoloured. The figures are dressed in white *jāmās*. Balvant Singh wears a purple *patkā* and white *pagree*. The attendant behind wears an orange *pagree*. The hukkah is of silver and set on an orange cloth. The banana leaf on the floor is green.

Fig. 62. Formerly in the Tagore collection, Calcutta. The inscription reads.

The maiden unaware of her youth and hearing the advice of her confidante decided not to hear him (*Krishna*). On the top margin of the painting the *Nāyikā* is described as *Ajnāta Yaunvanā Nāyikā*.

It is not yet possible to assign the various idioms which are grouped under the generic term 'Basohlī', to particular States. The group to which Fig 62 belongs, may or may not have been painted in Basohlī, and the same is true of the group of which Fig 51 is an example. There are quite a number of *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* sets, all painted in the *Basohlī Kalam*, with differing characteristics. But that by itself is no ground for thinking that each set comes from a different State. Several different styles of work were practised in one and the same State, either contemporaneously, or at different peroids.

Fig. 63. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. It is classified as belonging to the Bandrālta idiom because of the inscription. See page 101. Green background. Yellow foreground. The Rājā wears a white and gold *jāmā*. The retainers are garbed in white, orange, yellow, and green *jāmās*.

Fig. 64. The inscription reads, *Rājā Mān Singh Gulerī*. Brown background. Red borders. The Rājā wears a white *jāmā* and a red turban and black and white *patka*. The scabbard is red.

Fig. 65. The inscription on the reverse is dealt with at page 91. It may be suggested that the portrait is of a Basohlī princess married to a Rājā in Jammu or Guler, and that accordingly Fig 65 is an example of the 'pre-Kāngrā' style at Jammu or Guler. In fact Goverdhan Chand of Guler (1745-1773 A.D.) is said to have married a Basohlī princess who was known popularly as 'Balorī Rānī'. But it is not likely that a Guler or Jammu queen would be described in the phraseology of the inscription on the reverse of Fig 65 because the phrase '*Rānī Balauria*' implies that the portrait is of the Queen of the Balaurias. Red border. Uncoloured background. Yellow and purple turban.

Fig. 66. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. On the reverse is a verse by Keshav Dās. White architecture, pale green background, pink foreground, blue sky, white clouds, dark green trees, Krishna in yellow, the *Nāyikā* in red skirt and purple *cholī*, and the attendant in purple skirt and green *odhnī*. Red borders. The verse reads as follows:

Attracted by her virtues the lover lives with her for ever. She is known as Svadhinapatikā, according to Kesavadās.

Fig. 67. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. The horse is a roan standing on a pink-tiled pavement. A similar pink-tiled pavement is seen in a miniature in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, of Balvant Singh sitting on a terrace. We know that Balvant Singh owned a very similar roan coloured horse (Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, 1950, Plate 15), and the lady astride the horse bears a striking resemblance to Balvant Singh's principal songstress who is seen in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 35. We may therefore conclude that Fig 67 belongs to the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase at Jammu and is an equestrian portrait of Balvant Singh's principal singing girl who no doubt accompanied him on horseback on his jaunts and expeditions.

Fig. 68. Green rolled curtain. Yellow background. Ivory carpet with red and blue flowers. Attendant on left in red, and on right in blue-grey. Seated lady in orange. The Rājā wears a white *jāmā*, and gold turban with white *kulā*. On the reverse is an inscription

stating that it was a gift to the Mandī Darbār—*Mandī Gādī era Nazra*. Some of the words cannot be deciphered, but the portfolio is mentioned as No. 5.

Fig. 69. Formerly in the Treasurywala collection, Bombay. White horse, green saddle cloth. The Rājā wears a purple *jāmā* and green salvar. The retainers are clad in white, orange, and green. Dark green to brown background. Green foreground. Blue sky. White dog.

Fig. 70. The inscription on the reverse is dealt with at page 102. Green background. The attendants are clad in yellow and green *jāmās*. The Rājā wears a white *jāmā*.

Fig. 71. Uncoloured background. Body of marmot is brown-black.

Fig. 72. A somewhat similar composition of Sansār Chand playing polo is in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay.

Fig. 73. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection. The inscription is dealt with at page 142. White terrace. Standing attendant on left is in purple, Vasitu in dark green dress and orange *odhnī* holding yellow *sitar*. The girl with the red drum is clad in yellow, the lady on the chair wears a silver *salvār* and orange dress, while the attendant behind her has a grey dress with orange *odhnī*. The cushion and the chair are red. The river is grey and the sky blue. The top of the picture has been cut away.

Fig. 74. All the work done in Goverdhan Chand's atelier was not of the high level of Fig 74. For instance there is a painting in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, of Goverdhan Chand watching the performance of a male dancer. The two boy attendants seen in French, *Himalayan Art*, 1951, Plate 9, on the left, are also to be seen in the Kalā Bhavan's example. But they have grown somewhat older and it is apparent from the drawing, and poorer quality of colour, that this miniature is not the handiwork of the master who painted the study reproduced by French.

Fig. 75. Formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay. Text on fly leaf. Cream border with gold and silver design. Shiva is white. Pārvatī wears a purple skirt and orange *odhnī*. The bull is black, the tiger yellow, and the cat grey. The foreground is green. The silver and green hills are tipped with pink. The child Ganpatī is red, and Kumāra is white. The sky is blue.

Fig. 76. Green background. White pillars and pink base. Rāma in yellow, Sītā in red and gold. Tall attendant in corner is dressed in a yellow striped skirt and purple *odhnī*, while the girl in the rear is in red and blue. The umbrella is gold fringed with pearls, and the rolled up curtain is red. The cushion is gold and the shield black. Red borders. White flowers at base.

Fig. 77. Formerly in the collection of Sansār Chand's descendant Rām Singh of Bhawarna. Sansār Chand and all his nobles are clad in yellow *jāmās* because it is the festival of Basant. Sansār Chand's name is written on the fly leaf of the painting. Sansār Chand's youthful portraits can sometimes be mistaken for those of his portly son Aniruddha. But for the name-label I would be inclined to identify the principal figure as Aniruddha.

Fig. 78, *Fig.* 79. The *Rāgamālā* series to which Figs 78 and 79 belong is the finest of the known *Rāgamālā* sets in the *Kāngrā Kalam*. Several examples from a somewhat similar but not so fine a series are in the collection of Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay. Those which were in the Nahar collection, Calcutta, (Gangoly, *Rāgās and Rāginīs*, 1935, Vol. 2, Plate 24, Fig C; and Plate 35) are from yet another set. The bridge shown in Fig 78, joining Alampur and Sujanpur, was in fact never built though its construction no doubt was envisaged. Perhaps Sansār Chand himself instructed his artists to depict this bridge which he intended to erect, but his sudden fall from power in 1806 A.D. must have forced him to abandon the

costly project. This intended bridge is again seen in a 19th century topographical painting in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras, of the town of Sujanpur and the palace-fortress of Tira. The Nigal river discharges into the Beas opposite Sujanpur Tira and during the rains the ferry communication is suspended due to the velocity of the current. The bridge must have been contemplated to offset this inconvenience and was no doubt a much publicized topic before circumstances prevented its construction.

For the sport of flower-gathering depicted in Fig 79 see the note at page 313 on Fig 5.

Fig. 81. Formerly in the collection of Sansār Chand's descendant Rāmsingh of Bhawarna. Sansār Chand is clad in a deep green *jāmā*.

Fig. 82. The terrace is white, the semicircular background is chocolate brown, and the sky is blue. The lady is dressed in green.

Fig. 84. The sky is bright blue, the foreground raw green. Krishna wears a yellow dhoti. The women's garments are of various colours. The cows are white. The water grey. Blue and gold border.

Fig. 87. The inscription on the margin reads: *Mahārājā Rāj Singh.*

Over the figure of the dancer is written *Kuttinī* which means a dancing girl. On the reverse is written *Rājā Rāj Singh Chhamiya* (*Chambial*) and there is a further inscription which reads *Mandī Rām Sahai dī bhaejjadā dāma 49 rupiya.* This inscription is discussed at page 266.

Rāj Singh is clad in a white and gold *jāmā*. The dancer wears a costume of pale lemon. The carpet is rich red. The sky is a deep blue, a characteristic seen not only in Chambā and Garhwāl paintings, but also seen in some miniatures from Kāngrā. Accordingly no inference as to provenance should be drawn from this fact alone. This deep blue sky is also seen in another set of paintings from Chambā which illustrate the story of Aniruddha and Usā and are referred to at page 268. Some of them are probably by the hand of Rām Sahai.

Fig (*a*) on page 109. — Yellow background, green grass, grey river, green pines. Blues and reds prevail in the costumes. The miniature is now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. Each miniature of this series has an extensive text on the reverse. It appears to be a *Gīta Govinda* series. The Kalā Bhavan possesses several examples of this series.

Note:

M. S. Randhawa informs me that the Nadau branch of Sansār Chand's family inherited a fine *Bhāgavata* set done at Sansār Chand's court. This was later on stolen. He thinks it is likely that the famous *Bhāgavata* series (Plates VII and X and Figs 1, 3, 12 and 13) belong to this stolen set. This surmise is very feasible as I have no doubt that the *Bhāgavata* set reproduced herein was painted at Sansār Chand's court. See also page 152.

APPENDIX I

POETS WHOSE VERSES APPEAR ON PAHĀRĪ MINIATURES

The following is a list of poets whose verses are inscribed on Pahārī miniatures. Sometimes the verse appears at the top of the picture though it is more usual to find it on the reverse. Occasionally it is written on a fly-leaf attached to the painting. This list is far from complete since only those who have specialized in Hindi poetry are in a position to trace the authorship of the hundreds of verses which are inscribed on Pahārī miniatures. It must be remembered that the number of Hindi poets who wrote on the Krishna-Rādhā theme, and on the Hero-Heroine classification (*Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bheda*), was legion, and many of them were only minor versifiers. A fairly common device in Hindi poetry is for the poet to refer to himself by name in his verse. It is only when this device occurs in verses inscribed on a miniature that it becomes possible for one who is not a savant in Hindi poetry to ascertain the authorship of the inscribed lines. For instance a verse from Matī Rām inscribed on a miniature in the Boston Museum reads,

She weeps continually, says Matī Rām,
The tears ever flowing from her brimming eyes,
Since her darling went away she seems transformed.

In the list given below all the poets are Hindi authors save Jayadev, Bhanu Datta, and Srī Harsa who wrote in Sanskrit. Tularām wrote in Punjabi.

(1) *BAHĀDUR.* His name appears on some *Nāyikā* paintings in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. If the name has been corruptly written then he may be the poet known as Bhu Dhar of Asothar District, Fathipur, who attended the court of Bhagwant Rāi Khichī, and flourished in *circa* 1750 A.D. There was also a poet named Bhu Dhar of Banāras born in 1643 A.D.

(2) *BAMSIDHARA.* A Brahman of Ahmedabad who flourished in *circa* 1735 A.D. He wrote a work named *Alankar Ratnākar* in collaboration with another poet named Dalpatī Rāj in 1734 A.D. It was inscribed to Rājā Jagat Singh of Udaipur where the poet lived. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, page 62, quotes a verse of Bamsidhara inscribed on a Pahārī painting in the Rothenstein collection of Draupadī being unveiled (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 36).

(3) *BHANU DATTA.* A Sanskrit poet who flourished in the 13th or 14th century A.D. He wrote the *Rasmanjarī* which deals with love and erotics. The text of this poem has been found on Basohlī *Nāyaka Nāyikā* miniatures painted during the reign of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl of Basohlī (1678-1694 A.D.). See Hirananda Shastrī, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, 1936, page 8. There it is referred to as *Chittarasmanjarī*, meaning an illustrated *Rasmanjarī*. See pages 63 and 64 of the present volume. Bhānu Datta was a Brahman and said to be an inhabitant of Tirhoot.

(4) *BIHARĪ LAL CHAUBE.* One of the most celebrated of Hindi poets. He lived *circa* 1603-1663 A.D. According to tradition he was born at Gwalior. As a boy he lived in Bundelkhand and later went to Mathurā. His patron, Rājā Jai Singh of Amber, treated him most handsomely. This Jai Singh was probably Jai Singh Mirza brother of Mān Singh. Bihārī's famous work is his *Satsāiyā* (*circa* 1662 A.D.) a collection of seven hundred couplets largely dealing with the amours of Rādhā and Krishna. He wrote in the *Braj Bhāshā* dialect. Bihārī's verses appears on several Pahārī miniatures and on the fly-leaves in a series of *Kāngrā Kalam* paintings from Sansār Chand's atelier and now in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, page 54). One of his verses also appears on the fly leaf of Fig 56 which belongs to the same series. The *Satsāiyā* has sections dealing with the *Nāyakā-Nāyikā* theme and also with the six seasons.

(5) *BRAJNĀTH.* Born 1723 A.D. His *Rāgamālā* is a much admired work. His verses appear on the reverse of two Kāngrā *Rāginī* paintings which were in the Nahar collection, Calcutta (Gangoly, *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, 1934, Vol. 2, Plate 24, Fig C, and Plate 35.)

(6) *CHATURBHUJA DĀS.* Author of a version of the *Madhu-Mālatī* romance. His date is not known. An illustrated copy is described in *Rupam*, No. 33-34, page 9.

(7) *DEV DATT.* Commonly known as Dev Kavī. He lived *circa* 1763-1745 A.D. He was a Sanādhya Brahman born at Etawah. He wandered over the country from place to place and his best known patron was Rājā Bhogī Lāl. His works include the *Rāsbilas*, the *Jatibilas*, and *Premchandrika*. His verse is of an erotic character. From the point of view of form and language he is one of the greatest Hindi poets. He wrote in the *Braj Bhāshā* dialect. A Hindi verse which may well be by him appears on the reverse of a *Virahinī* miniature (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, p. 188.). The verse mentions a poet named Dev. There was another Dev Datt who flourished *circa* 1770 A.D. He was the author of *Lālitya Latā* a work resembling the *Lalit Lalām* of Matī Rām. The name Dev is quite common and maybe the verse on the Boston Museum miniature is by some poetaster. Verses by a poet named Datt appear on a miniature in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

(8) *GANG.* The name Gang has been noted by Dr. Coomaraswamy[1] on a modern work. He thinks the verse is by one Gang Parsād of Supauli in District Sitapur, a 19th century poet who composed a work called *Dutī Bilas* dealing wtih *Dutikas* (messengers or go-betweens). The name Gangā also appears in a verse pasted on the back of a late Kāngrā painting, of a man embracing a girl, in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart, of Bombay. The name is also to be found in verses on the reverse of a Kulu-Mandī school painting in the Baroda Museum (*Journal of Indian Museums*, 1953, Vol. 9, Plate 15.) There were several poets who were called Gang or Gangā. There was Gangā Prasād, a bard of Akbar's court, who excelled in sonnets; Gangā Patī a tasteful poet who flourished *circa* 1719 A.D; Gangā Dhār who wrote a commentary on Bihārī's *Satsāiyā*; and Gangā Rām of Bundelkhand a commonplace 19th century poet.

(9) *HARSA.* A Sanskrit poet who is the author of the *Naisadhacarita*, which describes the love of Nala for Damayantī. He flourished probably in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. The *Nala-Damayantī* drawings of the Boston Museum and of the Indian National Museum are based on his *Naisadhacarita*. See page 252. He is usually known as Srī Harsa.

(10) *JAYADEV.* The author of the *Gīta Govinda* perhaps the most beautiful of all poems dealing with the Krishna-Rādhā romance. He is regarded as one of the greatest figures in Sanskrit poetry. He flourished in the 12th and early 13th century A.D. at the court of Laksmanasena of Bengal. Many Pahārī paintings illustrate the *Gīta Govinda* and lines from the text are often inscribed on the reverse of the miniatures. The most famous *Gīta Govinda* sets are the Basohlī series of 1730 A.D. bearing the Mānaku inscription; and the *Kāngrā Kalam* series from Sansār Chand's atelier now in the collection of the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār. Lines from the text are inscribed on the reverse of each miniature in these two sets.

(11) *KALIDĀSA TRIBEDĪ.* From Banpurā in the Doab. Flourished *circa* 1700. Considered to be an excellent poet. He was for many years in attendance at the court of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and afterwards at the court of the Rājā of Jambu. He composed the *Badhu-Binod*, but his best known work is an anthology called *Kālidāsa Hajārā* containing selections from poets who flourished from 1423 to 1718 A.D. One of his verses appears on a drawing reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, Plate 98. The verse is set out at page 177 of the said catalogue.

(12) *KESAVA DĀS SANĀDHYA MISRA.* Lived 1555-1617 A.D. Belonged to Orcha, in Bundelkhand, and is the famed author of the *Rasikapriyā* and the *Kavī Priyā* the latter being

[1] Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, p. 22.

dedicated to a famous courtesan named Pravin Ray Paturī. His patron was Rājā Madhukar Shah of Orcha, and he was also greatly patronized by Indrajit, the son and successor of Madhukar Shah. The *Rasikapriyā* deals extensively with the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* theme and its verses are constantly inscribed on Pahārī paintings. Translations from the *Rasikapriyā* are to be found in Dr. Coomaraswamy's article 'The Eight Nāyikās' in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128.

(13) *LACHIRĀM.* The author of a *Braj Bhāshā* descriptive drama called *Karuna Bharana* based loosely on the *Bhāgavatā Purāna Dasamahāskanda.* The author lived during the time of Shah Jehan in the 17th century. A series of drawings illustrating the *Karuna Bharana* is in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. See page 256.

(14) *MATĪ RĀM TRIPATHĪ.* Belonged to Tikavapur, District Kānpur, and flourished 1650-1682 A. D. He was one of a family of famous brothers all of whom were Hindi poets. He first lived at the court of Mahārājā Rāv Bhāu Singh of Bundī and afterwards at that of Rājā Sambhu Nāth Sulānkī. In honour of his first patron he composed a work called *Lalit Lalām.* He led a wandering life going from one royal court to another. His *Rās Rāj* is a treatise on lovers containing a *Nāyikā Bhed* and was quite popular with Pahārī artists. He also composed a *Satsāiyā.* As a poet he is famed for the purity and sweetness of his language. Many of his verses are considered equal to those of the poet Bihārī Lāl. Matī Rām's verses appear on several Pahārī miniatures including one mentioned in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5,* page 179.

(15) *MOLARĀM.* A famous poet-painter of Garhwāl who flourished in the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century A.D. His verses are inscribed on Garhwāl school miniatures in various collections. For details of such miniatures and for the life of Molarām the reader should refer to the articles by Mr. Mukandi Lāl in *Roopa Lekha* Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49; Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50; Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950; Vol. 22, Nos. 1 and 2, 1951; and Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952.

(16) *RĀMĀGUNĪ.* I have not been able to trace this poet. Maybe he was one of the sect of Rām Sanehis, worshippers of Rāma, who flourished in the 18th century A.D. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. I, page 62, quotes a verse by Rāmāgunī which appears on the same painting of Draupadī being unveiled on which the verse by Bamsidhara is inscribed (Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 36).

(17) *SENAPATI.* Kanaujī Brahman who lived during the period 1589-1649 A.D. He excelled in his descriptions of nature and is famous for his verses on the six seasons. His lines dealing with the advent of Spring are inscribed on the reverse of an early 19th century Garhwāl painting in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Bānāras (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Plate 55).

(18) *SUNDAR DĀS.* Belonged to Gwalior and flourished *circa* 1627-1658 A.D. He was given the title of *Mahā Kavī Rāi* by the Emperor Shah Jehan. His principal composition is the *Sundara Srngāra*, a work on lovers. A series of late 18th or early 19th century Kāngrā miniatures illustrating the *Sundara Sringāra*, in the Ajit Ghose collection, are reproduced by O. C. Gangoly in *Rupam*, No. 30, opposite pages 49 and 50. Gangoly states that he has also seen two *savaiyas* (stanzas) of this poet inscribed on Pahārī miniatures.

(19) *SUNDAR DĀS.* Belonged to Mewār and flourished *circa* 1620-1650 A.D. He was the most famous disciple of Dādu the founder of the Dādu Panthī sect. His most popular work is called the *Sundar Bilas* and a verse therefrom is inscribed on the reverse of a Basohlī painting in the Lahore Museum (Gangoly, *Rājput Painting*, 1926, Plate 22).

(20) *SUR DĀS.* A name to conjure with in Hindi poetry. The blind poet of Agra was the disciple of Vallabh the founder of the Vallabhāchārya sect. Sur Dās is said to have lived dur-

ing the period 1483-1563 A.D. He translated many passages from the *Bhāgavata Purāna* into verse, and his lyrics dealing with Krishna and Rādhā are collected in two works namely the *Sur Sāgar* and the *Surāvalī*. The Emperor Akbar called him to his court in his old age. He died at Gokul. He is the most famous of the *Ashta Chhap* group who wrote in the *Braj Bhāshā* dialect of the Mathurā country, the homeland of the god Krishna. The *Ashta Chhāp* or 'Eight Seals' is the name given to the eight poets who were the disciples of Vallabh and his son Bittal-Nāth. The name signifies that the poems of this group of eight disciples constitute the standard by which all *Braj Bhāshā* poetry is to be judged. Lines from Sur Dās are inscribed on the reverse of an early 19th century *Kāngrā Kalam* painting in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart, of Bombay. Therein Krishna tells his companions to waylay the *gopīs* and exact toll. The painting corresponds to the verse. A Kāngrā painting bearing verses by him is also in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

(21) *TULARĀM.* I have not been able to trace this poet. A verse by him in Punjabi appears on a drawing of *Vasakasayya Nāyikā* reproduced in the *Boston Museum Catalogue, No.* 5, Plate 102, Fig. CCCXXXVIII.

(22) *TULSIDĀS.* One of the greatest names in Hindi poetry. He flourished in the second half of the 16th century A.D. His great masterpiece is the *Rāmāyana* which has become a bible to the Vaishnavas. It is not just a translation in Hindi of the great epic, though it follows the story in outline to some extent. Lines from Tulsidās's *Rāmāyana* appear on the reverse of each miniature of a *Rāmāyana* series dated 1769 A. D. in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart, of Bombay. Figs 54 and 55 are illustrations from the said series.

Note: A Verse from a poet named Kāsī Rām appears embroidered on a Chambā rumal of the 19th century A.D. in the Lahore Museum (*Rupam*, No. 32, Fig A, opposite page 134). Kasī Rām (1658-1707 A.D.) attended the court of Nizamat Khan, a Subedar of Aurangzeb. He has a reputation for being a graceful poet.

APPENDIX II

PAHĀRĪ PAINTERS AND GENEALOGIES OF ARTIST-FAMILIES

The list below includes (a) artists whose work are known, (b) artists whose works have not hitherto been discovered, (c) artists whose names are known only from traditional genealogies. It must be pointed out however that these genealogies, whether traditional or contained in genealogical rolls, are not at all reliable as regards dates or relationships. Even the names of certain artists in these traditional genealogies may be fictitious or incorrect.

(1) *AMARCHAND OF BILĀSPUR.* Mr. J. C. French saw a painting by him which is mentioned in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, p. 85. Rājā Amarchand died at the end of the 19th century A.D. He was an amateur painter of royal birth.

(2) *ATRA.* Said to be a great-grandson of Nainsukh (No. 57) and grandson of Ranjha (No. 69). He is supposed to have worked at the Chambā court. See Genealogical Table No. I. It is possible that he is the same as the 19th century artist Attara of Kāngrā mentioned in Baden Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 351, as the painter of a faithful drawing of a tea plant.

(3) *BĀQAR ALĪ FARDAK.* A Muslim painter who visited Molarām (No. 56) and is said to have stayed with him for further study of the art of painting (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, pp. 25-26). It is not known from where Baqar Ali came, but he must have been an artist at some Pahārī court. Molaram mentions him in his writings.

(4) *BASANT SINGH.* A cousin of the Rājā of Arkī. Painted modern versions of the old art of Kāngrā. J. C. French met him and mentions him in his *Himalayan Art*, 1931, page 85. He was an amateur painter.

(5) *BASIA.* Said to be the great-great-grandfather of Lachhman Dās (No. 48A). None of his works are known.

(6) *BHAGWĀN.* A painter who appears to have been in the employ of Rājā Pritam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806 A.D.). He illustrated a *Bhāgavata Purāna* for his patron in 1794 A.D. Fig 21 is from this manuscript and not from the *Harivamsa* as stated in the caption. The colophon of the M.S.S. was traced after the caption under Fig 21 had been printed. See pp. 108, 109.

(7) *BIBRĀMO BHĀB (Bhimrām Bhāu).* He is mentioned as the painter of a charming miniature in which the errant Krishna is begging forgiveness of Rādhā. It belongs to the late 18th century. The provenance cannot be ascertained (Wyn, *Indian Miniatures*, 1950, Plate XI).

(8) *BILU MISTRY.* A Chambā painter who died about two years ago at the age of sixty-five. He was related to the family of the artist Durgā (No. 19). See p. 228.

(9) *CHAITU.* A Garhwāl painter of the early 19th century A.D. His name appears on the *Rape of the Yādava Women* formerly in the Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār collection (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 18). This miniature is now in the possession of Mr. N. C. Mehta. See page 212.

(10) *CHANDNU.* Said to be a son of Purkhu (No. 64) and to have worked at Sujanpur. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No paintings by him are known.

(11) *CHETU.* Said to be a great-grandson of Kaushala (No. 42), and according to tradition worked at the Guler court during the reign of Rājā Shamsher Singh (1826-1877). No known

work of his exists. He obviously has no connection with Chaitu (No. 9). If one keeps in mind Chaitu's style and date, as well as the fact that Chetu worked for the decadent court of Shamsher Singh between 1826 and 1877, then it is difficult to envisage the possibility, as Randhawa has done in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. I, of Chetu of Guler being the same as Chaitu of Garhwāl (No. 9). See Genealogical Table No. 1.

(12) *CHHAJJU*. A painter of the 19th century A.D. at some Sikh court. A portrait by him of one Visava Singh seated in a garden with courtiers, is reproduced by Dr. Goetz in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 123.

(13) *DEVIDĀSA*. A Basohlī artist of Rājā Kirpāl Pāl's atelier (1678-1694 A.D.). Painted a *Rasamanjarī* series. The folio bearing the inscription which contains his name was in the possession of Hirānanda Shāstrī and is now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. This folio is reproduced in the Study Supplement herein. See page 64.

(14) *DHANDIDĀS*. A painter from Guler who worked in Chambā in the mid-19th century. He was a contemporary of Durgā (No. 19) and his portrait is probably by Durgā from whose descendants it was obtained by Jagdish Mittal.

(15) *DHOKU*. Said to be a grand-uncle of Lachhman Dās (No. 48A) and to have worked at Sansār Chand's court. See discussion under Padmu (No. 61). No works by Dhoku are known. See Genealogical Table No. 3.

(16) *DHUMUN*. Said to be the father of Purkhu (No. 64). See Genealogical Table No. 2, and the discussion under Purkhu (No. 64) where it is pointed out how nebulous are the grounds for saying that Dhumun was originally a Guler artist who migrated to a village called Sanlotī. It would indeed be strange that the fact that Dhumun came from Guler could be remembered though no information is vouchsafed as to Dhumun's ancestry and whether Dhumun originally came from some other place or was born in Guler.

(17) *DHYAN SINGH*. A Chambā painter, and pupil of the artist Tārāsingh (No. 80). He was alive a few years ago and aged a hundred. See p. 228.

(18) *DĪDĪ*. A painter in the employ of Balvant Singh of Jammu, *circa* 1750 A.D. An unfinished sketch of Balvant Singh by Didī is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 1951-52, No. 2, Fig 1). See page 131.

(19) *DURGĀ*. A Chambā master-painter of the mid-19th century. He painted several of the frescoes of the Rang Mahāl Palace, at Chambā, probably in the reigns of Charat Singh and Shrī Singh. See page 228.

(20) *FAKIR ALĪ*. A Muslim painter said to have worked at Mandī in the mid-19th century. His name is known but his work has not been identified.

(21) *FATTU*. One of the well known Kāngrā artists of Sansār Chand's atelier. A work by him of women playing *pachisī* is reproduced in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, to accompany Mr. J. C. French's article "Sansār Chand of Kāngrā". The miniature *Gaja Lakshmī* (Fig 50) in the present volume bears an inscription that it was painted by Fattu for Balbir Sen of Mandī (1839-1851 A.D.) in whose service the artist appears to have been in his old age. Randhawa in *March of India*, Vol. 6, No. 4, March-April 1954, at page 81, reproduces Fattu's miniature of women playing *pachisī* as Fig 2 and states that according to the owner it was painted by one Hastu a court painter of Sansār Chand. The original owner of this miniature was Mian Basant Singh of Arkī and he informed French that it was the work of Fattu, one of the well known artists of Sansār Chand. The present owner has apparently got the names mixed up. For colour reproduction see Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Pl. 17. According to the Amritsar dealers, Hastu (No. 32) was an artist of the post Sansār Chand period. See pages 151 and 233.

(22) *FATTU-RAY.* A painter whose name appears on an inferior picture in the Mandi idiom of the reign of Balbir Sen (1839-1851). He is not the well known Fattu who painted Fig 50. This is evident from the much poorer quality of his work and from the fact that he distinguishes himself from the well known Fattu by calling himself Fattu-Ray. See p. 234.

(23) *GANDA.* Said to be a grandson of Purkhu (No. 64) and to have worked in Jammu and Kashmir. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No paintings by him are known.

(24) *GAUHU.* Second son of Nainsukh (No. 57). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-120. He is obviously the artist Gur Souhae or Sahai who seems to have worked at the Guler court during the reign of Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.) and even thereafter in Bhoop Singh's reign (1790-1826). In an article in *March of India*, Vol. 6, No. 4, March-April 1954, M. S. Randhawa states that Fig 4 accompanying the said article is by one Gur Sahai. This miniature is also reproduced in colour in Randhawa, *Kāngrā Valley Painting*, 1955, Plate 23. It shows a prince with a lady seated in a pavilion by a fountain. The prince resembles Bhoop Singh of Guler in his youth. But this mediocre painting is not likely to be the work of Gauha, son of Nainsukh. It may however be the work of Gur Sahai (No. 29) who was not so fine an artist as his father Nikka (No. 60) and his uncle Gauhu (No. 24). Several miniatures of the Prakash Chand period in the Guler Darbār collection must be by Gauhu and Nikka, but for want of attributions we cannot identify them with certainty. See Genealogical Table No. 1, and page 118.

(25) *GHATHU RĀM.* Worked at the court of Shamsher Singh of Guler (1826-1877). A study by him of Jai Singh of Guler (1877-1884) and Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner, Jullunder Division, is reproduced as Fig 9 in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 8. Two more signed paintings by him are in the Guler Darbār.

(26) *GULĀBU RĀM.* A living Kāngrā painter. Mr. J. C. French met him in 1929 (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, p. 101). He is said to be a great-grandson of Sansār Chand's artist Purkhu (No. 64) and grandson of Rāmdyal (No. 65). From the known dates of Purkhu and Rāmdyal the genealogy of Gulābu Rām is suspect. See Genealogical Table No. 2. where the name of Gulabu Rām's father is not given. Also see Purkhu (No. 64).

(27) *GULĀM MOHAMED.* A Chambā artist, whose grand-father was said to be a Basholī painter who came to Chambā as part of the dowry of a Basohlī princess married to a Chambā prince. Gulām Mahomed was born in the late 19th century and the tradition relating to his grand-father is in all likelihood applicable to a more remote ancestor. See page 226.

(28) *GURDITTA.* Said to be a grandson of Purkhu (No. 64) and to have worked in Jammu and Kashmir. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No paintings by him are known.

(29) *GUR SAHAI.* In the genealogical table of Pandit Seu's family given by Randhawa in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, one Gur Sahai is shown as the son of Nikka (No. 60). This Gur Sahai would thus be the grandson of Nainsukh (No. 57) and nephew of the elder Gur Sahai also known as Gauhu (No. 24). He must have been a 19th century artist who worked at Guler in the reign of Bhoop Singh (1790-1826 A. D.) His work, which includes erotic pictures, should not be confused with that of his uncle Gauhu (No. 24) who is said to have worked under Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790). There are some paintings signed in Persian by one Gouhar Sahai in the collection of the Abdul Rahaman Chaughtai of Lahore, but as I have not seen the paintings it is not possible to identify the artist. See also Gauhu (No. 24), where a painting said to be by one Gur Sahai is discussed. Randhawa in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, has incorrectly attributed to Gur Sahai (No. 29) many works in the Guler Darbār collection which are probably by Gauhu (No. 24) and Nikka (No. 60).

(30) *HARICHARAN DĀS.* Said to be a Garhwāl artist of the 19th century A.D. He is mentioned by Ajit Ghose in 'The Schools of Rājput Painting,' *Roopa Lekha*, No. 2, April 1929,

as an artist of note who painted a beautiful *Gīta Govinda*. Nothing is known of him and Mr. Ghose has reproduced none of his works. The existence of this artist is doubtful in the absence of other evidence.

(31) *HARĪ SINGH*. An artist who is said to have worked in Nalagarh State during the period 1788-1857. (M. S. Randhawa, 'Paintings from Nalagarh,' *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1 and 2).

(32) *HASTU*. A Kāngrā artist who flourished about 1860 A.D. Mr. J. C. French saw his work (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, p. 85). In *March of India*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Randhawa has mistakenly attributed Fig 2 therein to Hastu. It was in fact painted by Fattu, one of Sansār Chand's court painters. Hastu was not one of Sansār Chand's artists. See Fattu (No. 21). In *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Randhawa says that according to the Guler Darbār, Hastu was a Guler artist. This may be possible, and in that event he must have worked at Shamsher Singh's court (1826-1877).

(33) *HIRALĀL*. A living Chambā artist aged over sixty years. He is the grandson of Durgā (No. 19). See page 228 and Genealogical Table No. 4.

(34) *HIRALĀL*. A Pahārī artist to whom a miniature in the British Museum is attributed though it is not known on what grounds. He is mentioned by Binyon in *Revue Des Arts Asiatique*, Vol. 3, p. 103. He may be Hiralāl (No. 33) or Hiralāl's father. The painting attributed to Hiralāl was originally purchased by J. C. French in Chambā and it is without doubt in the Chambā manner. See page 260.

(35) *HIRA NAND*. Also referred to as Hiralāl. He was the grandfather of the Garhwālī artist Molarām (No. 56). In fact all Molarām's ancestors are believed to have been artists. He doubtless painted in the Moghul style of the late 17th century A.D. to which period he belonged. In his day the *Kāngrā Kalam* had not come into being. A portrait of a girl in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, by one Hira Nand is probably by him. It is in the provincial Moghul style. See page 198. He may also have painted in the 'pre-Kāngrā' style.

(36) *HAZURĪ*. A Kāngrā painter who was living in 1929 A.D. when Mr. J. C. French met him. French saw a painting by him of Alexander the Great (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, pp. 20, 101). There is also a painting by him in the British Museum and some of his work is reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1926. See Padmu (No. 61) and Genealogical Table No. 3. See also page 188. Father of Lachman Dās (No. 48A).

(37) *JAMIL*. A Muslim painter whose name appears on a 19th century miniature in Archer's *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig 62. The miniature is probably from Chambā, and not from Punch as stated by Archer. See page 225.

(38) *JAVLA RĀM*. A Garhwāl artist and son of Molarām (No. 56). Flourished 1788-1848 A.D. A sketch by him of *Girī Goverdhana* is reproduced in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (1949-50), Plate 17, opp. p. 31.

(39) *JAWĀHAR*. Chambā painter who died at the beginning of the present century. Said to be a brother of the artist Sonu (No. 77). No paintings by him are known.

(40) *KĀMA*. Eldest son of the artist Nainsukh (No. 57). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-119. No work by him has been traced. See Ranjha (No. 69). See also page 118.

(41) *KAPUR SINGH*. A Kapurthala artist of the second half of the 19th century. Six portraits of mendicants by him are in the Lahore Museum being Nos. Q22-27, and four bird studies L79-82. See page 244.

(42) *KAUSHALA.* Son of the artist Manak (No. 52). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D117. He is almost certainly the same as Kushan Lāl, (No. 47) the favourite painter of Sansār Chand. See pages 118, 185, 186. No work by him has been traced.

(43) *KEHAR SINGH.* A Sikh artist of the second half of the 19th century A.D. Many drawings by him were in the possession of the Amritsar dealer the late Radhakrishna Bharany. Kehar Singh worked at Amritsar about 1870-1880 A.D. A study of a goldsmith by him is in my possession. See page 244.

(44) *KIRPA.* Said to be a grandson of Purkhu (No. 64) and son of Rāmdyal (No. 65) and to have worked in Jammu and Kashmir. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No works by him are known save that Gulābu Rām (No. 26) has a painting of Srinagar town said to have been done by Kripa.

(45) *KIRU.* Said to be a great-great-great-grandson of Nainsukh (No. 57) and to have worked at the Patiala court in the second half of the 19th century. See Genealogical Table No. 1. No paintings by him are known.

(46) *KISHENCHAND.* A Bilāspur artist who painted a *Bhāgavata* set (Plate F). His name appears on one of the miniatures of this series in the collection of Svetoslav Roerich. Flourished *circa* 1750-1775 A.D. He was obviously a court painter. See page 110.

(47) *KUSHAN LĀL.* The favourite painter of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. He is almost certainly the same as Kaushala (No. 42). No work by him has been traced.

(48) *LACHMAN DĀSS.* A living Kāngrā artist. He claims descent from Pandit Seu (No. 74), as being son of Rām Dayal (No. 66), great grandson of Ranjha (No. 69) and a great-great-grandson of Nainsukh (No. 57). He is about 72 and accordingly if one proceeds on any normal basis with regard to marriage customs and birth of children in India, then the unreliability of Lachman Dāss' genealogy, and accordingly of the entire Genealogical Table No. 1, becomes apparent. For instance, to conform with the known dates of Nainsukh, one would have to assume that each intervening artist in Table No. 1. was born when his father was forty. Randhawa in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 6, states that Lachman Dāss' family is said to have migrated from Guler to a village called Rajol during the last phase of the reign of Shamsher Singh of Guler (1826-1877). This is possible because Ranjha (No. 69) may have gone to Guler but that circumstance would not help in the least to establish that Nainsukh (No. 57) and his father Pandit Seu (No. 74) settled and worked in Guler. All the inscriptional evidence shows that the family first settled in Jasrota, and that Nainsukh worked in Jammu. See pages 118 and 131. Mr. J. C. French saw the paintings of one Lachman Dāss of Ajodh when he visited Kāngrā in about 1929 (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, page 111). It may be that the artist referred to by French is Lachman Dāss (No. 48). See Genealogical Table No. 1.

(48A) *LACHMAN DĀS.* A living artist. Son of Hazurī (No. 36) who, it is said, died in 1929. Randhawa, in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, states that the family of Lachman Dās came to Kāngrā from Guler at the time when Sansār Chand of Kāngrā was married to a lady from Guler. Of such a marriage we know nothing, and the migration from Guler to Kāngrā is as problematic as the marriage, particularly in view the unreliability of the information gathered from Lachman Dās. See Padmu (No. 61). It is said that the ancestors of Lachman Dās worked at Nurpur, Sujanpur, and Sirmoor. This is possible because it was common for members of an artist family to spread out to several States. But all this information, apart from its unreliability, throws no light on the question as to where the family originally settled and where it came from.

(49) *MANGNU.* A Chambā painter of the second half of the 19th century. Son of Durgā (No. 19). Did some of the Rang Mahāl frescoes. See p. 228 and Genealogical Table No. 4.

(50) *MAJNU.* A painter whose name appears on a miniature *Girī Goverdhana* in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras (*Rupam*, No. 41, opp. page 17). It is also reproduced in colour in *The Krishna Legend* by Randhawa (under publication by the Lalit Kalā Akādamī). See page 159 where this miniature is discussed.

(51) *MĀNAK.* A Kāngrā artist. His name appears in an inscription on the reverse of a painting *Blindman's Buff* in the collection of the Tehrī Garhwāl Darbār. It is reproduced in colour in N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 21. He may be the same as Manāk (No. 52). See page 186.

(52) *MĀNAK.* Eldest son of the artist Pandit Seu (No. 74). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-116. It is not possible to say for certain that this Mānak is the same as the Mānak who painted *Blindman's Buff*. That is more than likely, but Mānak is a common name. Mānak's portrait is reproduced on page 118 herein. There is also a portrait of an artist inscribed *Mauku* (*Mānku*?) *Catarevala* in the Boston Museum (*Boston Museum Catalogue, No. 5*, page 242). See pages 118, 185 and 186 of the present volume. See Genealogical Table No. 1.

(53) *MANGAT RĀM.* A Garhwāl artist and father of Molarām (No. 56). Mr. Mukandi Lāl refers to some unsigned drawings said to be by Mangat Rām, (*Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50, p. 17.) He was a goldsmith and a drawing of a sword handle by him is reproduced in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49, Pl. 2, opp. p. 117. Some woodcuts by him appear in French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931, Pls. 19 and 20. See Genealogical Table No. 5.

(54) *MINĀKU.* The name of this artist appears on Plate T. in the present volume. It may be a variation of Mānaku. It is not possible to say if the artist is the same as Mānak (No. 52) son of Pandit Seu (No. 74) but it is obvious that the workmanship of Plate T is of a high order. See page 312.

(55) *MOHANA.* This artist's name appears on a late 19th century Pahārī drawing of Ganesha in the N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

(56) *MOLARĀM.* A well known Garhwāl artist of the second half of the 18th and first quarter of the 19th century A.D. Though a prominent personage he was a painter of no particular merit. Many works by superior artists have indiscriminately been attributed to him. For miniatures bearing his name, see Mr. Mukandī Lāl's articles on the Garhwāl school in *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1948-49; Vol. 21, No. 1, 1949-50; Vol. 21, No. 2, 1950; and Vol. 22, Nos. 1 and 2, 1951; and Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952. Mr. Mukandī Lāl's attributions of uninscribed paintings to this artist are mostly erroneous. See pp. 197-209 and Genealogical Table No. 5.

(57) *NAINSUKH.* Second son of Pandit Seu (No. 74). A portrait of an artist named Nainsukh is reproduced in *Rupam*, No. 37, page 63. That this is a portrait of Nainsukh, son of Seu (No. 74), is certain. Nainsukh's name appears on several miniatures of Rājā Balvant Singh of Jammu. See pages 118 and 131. There is not the slightest warrant for the statement made by Randhawa in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 4, that Nainsukh was a Guler artist who went only temporarily to Jammu. No evidence exists to indicate that Nainsukh was a Guler artist. On the contrary we have proof positive from an inscribed miniature in the Lahore Museum (see Study Supplement) that Nainsukh came from Jasrota and worked in the atelier of Balvant Singh of Jammu. His name appears on several portrait studies of Balvant Singh. Much confusion of thought arises by ignoring the fact that the members of the family of Pandit Seu (No. 74) all worked in the same style and took employment in different States. See pages 118 and 131 and Genealogical Table No. 1.

(58) *NANDU.* A Kāngrā artist who was living in 1929 A.D. when Mr. J.C. French visited Kāngrā and saw his paintings (French, *Himalayan Art*, 1931. p. 100-101). Nandu had a genealogical roll showing that his ancestor, one Suraj, came to Kāngrā in 1563 A.D. and that

his family had worked as artists ever since. Such information is usually inaccurate and in this particular instance it is much too nebulous to be relied upon to support the contention that the art of miniature painting was in vogue in the Hills even in the 16th century A.D. Suraj, if he existed, must have been a woodcarver or a goldsmith or a wall decorator of sorts.

(59) *NAR SINGH.* A painter who is said to have worked in Nalagarh State (M. S. Randhawa, 'Paintings from Nalagarh', *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1 and 2).

(60) *NIKKA.* Third son of the artist Nainsukh (No. 57). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-121. His descendants refer to him as 'Nikka of Guler' indicating that he took service at the Guler court. None of his paintings are known but he doubtless painted several of the miniatures of the Prakash Chand period (1773-1790) in the collection of the Guler Darbār. See pages 118 and 187.

(61) *PADMU.* Said to be the grandfather of Lachman Dās (No. 48A) and to have worked at Sansār Chand's court. Now Padmu's son, Hazurī (No. 36), died in 1929 at the age of 80 and therefore he was born in *circa* 1850. If one goes by the normal marriage customs amongst poor folk in India and relates them to the bearing of children, then it would be more than reasonable to assume that Hazurī was born to Padmu before the latter was forty. In that event Pādmu's birthdate would be *circa* 1810 and he would have been only thirteen when Sansār Chand of Kāngrā died in 1823. But we are told that Padmu died in 1870 at the age of ninety (Randhawa *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 9.) If this be correct Padmu was born in *circa* 1780 and it would accordingly follow that he was seventy years of age when Hazurī was born to him in 1850. I am pointing out such improbabilities only to illustrate how nebulous are the genealogies, dates, and traditions of artist and artisan families, not only in the Hills, but all over India. There is often a kernel of truth, but it is not easy to uncover it in a mass of garbled dates, names, and traditions. No paintings by Padmu are known. It is dangerous to base any theories on these traditions and genealogies, particularly if there exists inscriptional or other cogent evidence to the contrary. See Genealogical Table No. 3.

(62) *PĀRA.* A woman artist of Kāngrā who died at a very advanced age in the early years of this century. The then living Kāngrā artists spoke of her art in terms of great respect. I never saw her paintings, but I met an old Amritsar dealer who had seen her. She is the only reputed Pahārī woman painter.

(63) *PERIM SINGH PIR.* A Sikh school painter of the 19th century A. D. whose name is inscribed on a grossly erotic miniature in the Berlin Museum (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 2, p. 166).

(64) *PURHKU.* One of Sansār Chand's leading artists. He is referred to in Baden Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 355 in the following terms.

Purkhu an artist in the service of Rājā Sansār Chand Katoch . . . There is remarkable clearness of tone and delicacy of handling in most of Purkhu's works, but he was not so great a master of colour as many other artists inferior to him in other respects. His son Rāmdyal, who is still living, inherits much of his father's talent.

See Footnote, No. 2, on page 186. He is said to be the son of Dhumun (No. 16) who it is stated came from Guler and settled in a village called Samlotī (Randhawa, *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 8). But such information is too vague for arriving at the conclusion that Purkhu's family originally came from Guler. Gulābu Rām (No. 26) could not possibly give authentic information on this matter dating back more than 175 years. See Genealogical Table No. 2. Baden Powell also refers to several portraits of the Emperors of Delhi which were painted by Purkhu. He further mentions having seen an interesting portrait by Purkhu of Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngrā who was the artist's patron.

(65) *RĀM DYAL.* A fine drawing of goldsmiths at work bearing the name Rāmadeya is in the Lahore Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Rājput Painting*, 1916, Vol. 2, Plate 77A). Rāmadeya is probably the Rāmdyal who is referred to in Baden Powell, *Handbook to the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 355, as a competent living artist who was the son of Sansār Chand's painter Purkhu (No. 64). A painting by one Rāmadyal, of a Gaddī with his dog, in the collection of Ajit Ghose, is mentioned in *Roopa Lekha*, No. 2, April 1929, p. 11. Rām Dyal is said to have worked at Sujanpur. See page 244 and Genealogical Table No. 2 (*Rām Dayal*).

(66) *RĀM DAYAL.* Said to be a great-grandson of Nainsukh (No. 57) and to have worked at the court of Bijai Sen of Mandī (1851-1902). None of his paintings are known. See Genealogical Table No. 1.

(67) *RĀM KRISHAN.* Said to be a son of Purkhu (No. 64) and to have worked at Sujanpur. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No paintings by him are known.

(68) *RĀM LĀL (Rām Souhae or Sahai).* Fourth son of the artist Nainsukh (No. 57). His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-122. Painted Fig 87. See pages 118, 266, and 268. Also see Genealogical Table No. 1.

(69) *RANJHA.* In *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Randhawa gives a genealogy of the family of Pandit Seu (No. 74). See Genealogical Table No. 1 herein. There he shows one Ranjha as one of the four sons of Nainsukh (No. 57). Much reliance cannot be placed on this genealogy. Randhawa seeks to equate Kāma (No. 40) with Ranjha (No. 69), but this is unwarranted. The most one can say is that Nainsukh (No. 57) had a fifth son named Ranjha whose portrait is not in the Lahore Museum. But the genealogy given by Randhawa is none too authentic as it makes no reference to Kāma (No. 40), and it may well be that Nainsukh (No. 57) never had any son named Ranjha. In any event Ranjha (No. 69) is not likely to be the Ranjha (No. 70) who worked in the late Kāngrā style at the court of Bhupendar Pāl of Basohlī (1813-1834).

(70) *RANJHA.* An artist who prepared an extensive *Rāmāyana* series of sketches for Rājā Bhupendar Pāl of Basohlī (1813-1834). See page 256. These uncoloured sketches are in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. The work for some reason was never completed.

(71) *RULDU.* Said to be a son of Purkhu (No. 64) and to have worked at Sujanpur. See Genealogical Table No. 2. No paintings by him are known.

(72) *SAJNU.* A painter who, according to the Guler Darbār, worked at Guler, probably in the second half of the 18th century (Randhawa, *Art and Letters*, Vol, 29, No. 1, p. 7). This Sajnu, if he worked at Guler, appears to be different from Sansār Chand's well known artist Sajnu (No. 73) who migrated to Mandī after 1805 and took service under Isvarī Sen of Mandī (1788-1826). Sajnu is a common name. No works by this Sajnu of Guler are known.

(73) *SAJNU.* One of Sansār Chand's painters who, after that ruler's downfall, took service at Mandī, and painted a *Hamir Hath* series in 1810 A.D. (*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 17, No. 132). His name also appears on a painting in the Lahore Museum dated 1808 A.D. It is now in the collection of the East Punjab Govt. It also appears on a painting of Isvarī Sen of Mandī in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banāras. See pages 230, 232 and 233.

(74) *SEU* (*Suhae or Sahai*) known as Pandit Seu. His portrait is in the Lahore Museum, No. D-115. He was the ancestor of a family of artists. Mānak (No. 52) and Nainsukh (No. 57) were his sons. Kaushala (No. 42), was his grandson. Kama (No. 40), Gauhu (No. 24), Nikka (No. 60), and Rām Lāl (No. 68), were also his grandsons. See *Catalogue of Indian Painting in the Lahore Museum*, 1922, p. 65, where Nainsukh is wrongly described as Mānak's son, though in fact he was Mānak's brother. Pandit Seu was a Misr Brahman, probably from Kashmir, but

he no doubt worked in the Moghul manner at one of the capital cities of North India, and appears to have migrated to the Hill State of Jasrota round about 1740 A.D. See page 118.

(75) *SHIBA.* Said to be the great grandfather of Lachhman Dās (No. 48A). No works by him are known. See Genealogical Table No. 3.

(76) *SHIB RĀM.* A Garhwāl artist, son of Molarām (No. 56). Flourished 1790-1855 A.D. A sketch by him of Prince Suleman Shikoh is reproduced in *Roopa Lekha* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1949-1950, Plate 16, opp. page 19. See Genealogical Table No. 5.

(77) *SONU.* Said to be a Chambā artist who died at the beginning of the present century. Brother of the artist Jawāhar (No. 39). No works by him are known.

(78) *SULTĀNU.* Said to be a son of Rām Lāl (No. 68) and to have been a court artist of Rājā Shamsher Singh of Guler (1826-1877). No work of his is known. See Genealogical Table No. I.

(79) *SUNEDĪ.* An artist of the second half of the 18th century whose name is inscribed on a *Kāngrā Kalam* illustration to the *Rāmāyana* in the author's possession. Another painting by him is in the Bharāt Kalā Bhavan, Banāras.

(80) *TĀRĀSINGH.* A Chambā painter of the second quarter of 19th century A. D. He was a great student of the Tantric cult and painted several Tantric subjects. He also painted some of the frescoes in the Akhand Chandī Palace and in the Ovrī Dharamsālā at Chambā. Reputed to be a very fine craftsman. See page 228.

(81) *UDUT SINGH MOSAVIR.* A miniature by him of the *Gangāvatarana* theme is in the Johnson Albums, India Office collection (Stouchkine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Plate 94(a)). His style suggests that he was one of the refugee artists from the plains, trained in the Moghul school, who fled to the Hills in the mid-18th century A.D. but probably returned to the plains. See page 140.

(82) *VAJAN SĀH.* One of the talented artists of Balvant Singh of Jammu. See p. 131.

(83) *VAKUNTHA.* (*Vaikuntha*) of Nurpur. A painter of Rājā Balbir Sen of Mandī (1839-1851). His name appears in an inscription on the reverse of a painting in the N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay, which depicts Balbir Sen giving audience. The date in the inscription is 1840 A. D.

Note:

(*a*) One Kishen Singh of Lahore is mentioned by Mulk Raj Anand as a well known Sikh school painter. (*Marg* Vol. 7, No. 2, 'Painting under the Sikhs'). Maybe he means Bishen Singh of Amritsar mentioned by Baden Powell as a painter of large Darbar scenes of Ranjit Singh and Sher Singh. Baden Powell also refers to a portrait of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh by one Juin Rām, a painter of Meerut in the suite of Lord William Bentick.

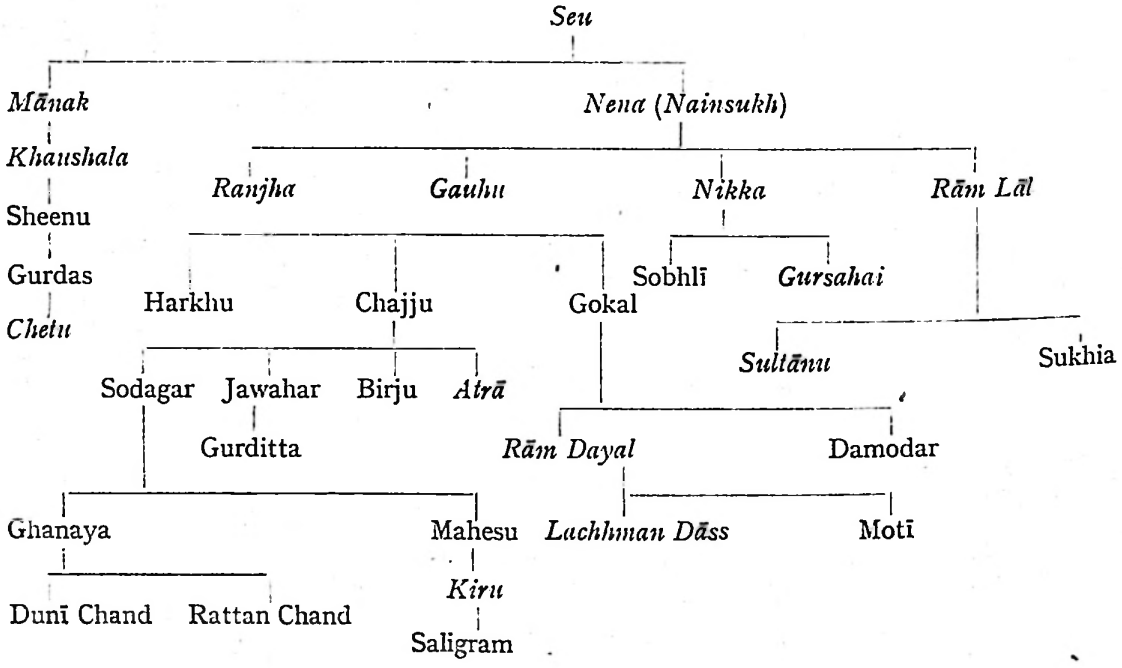
(*b*) I have not included the names of the Maniyal artists mentioned at page 93 because it is not clear as to which of them painted in the 'pre-Kāngrā' and Kāngrā styles.

(*c*) The 19th century frescoes of the Narbadeshwar Temple in Kāngrā are said to have been done by some of Sansār Chand's painters. The term 'frescoes' is not used in this volume in a technical sense, but to denote wall paintings.

GENEALOGIES

The most reliable genealogy of any artist-family of the Hills is that relating to the family of Pandit Seu (No. 74) as set out at page 118 herein. It is based on inscriptional evidence and carries us as far as the sons of Nainsukh (No. 57). In *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Randhawa has given an extended genealogy of this family (Table No. 1). Randhawa informs me that in addition to traditional data he has also investigated Patwārī land records. Unfortunately he has not published the relevant extracts from these records to enable us to judge to what extent and in what manner they support his genealogies given in Tables Nos. 1, 2 and 3. I have already indicated that implicit reliance cannot be placed on these Tables as there are several improbabilities apparent. They are useful, however, when other evidence is available to afford corroboration. Table No. 4 has been compiled by Jagdish Mittal, and Table No. 5 by Mukandi Lāl. The names in the Tables given in italics are of those Hill artists who are reputed to have practised the art of painting either as a part-time or full-time occupation.

TABLE NO. 1.



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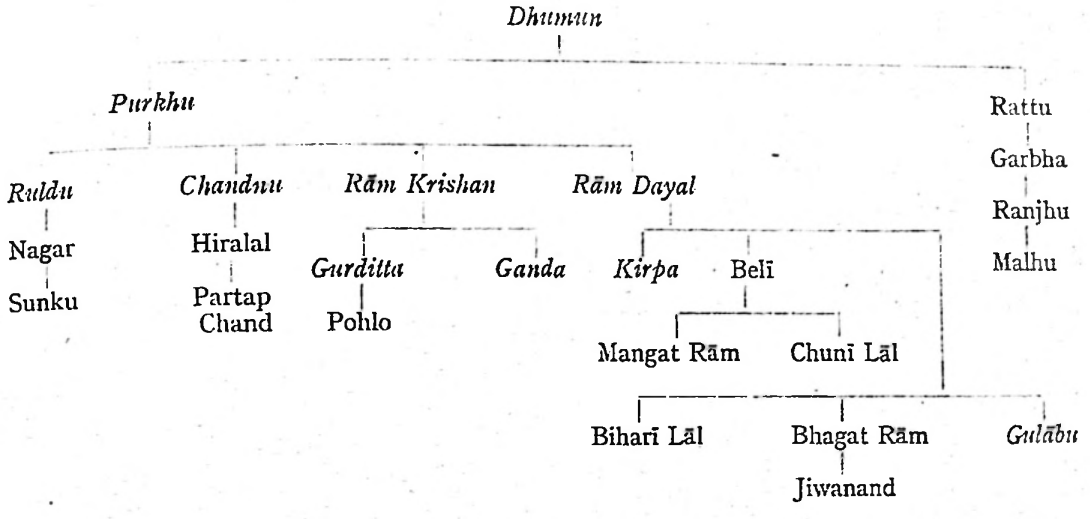

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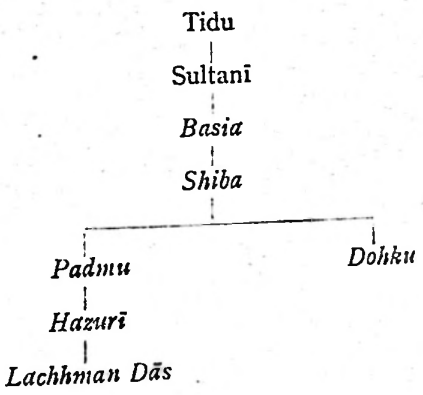


TABLE NO. 4.

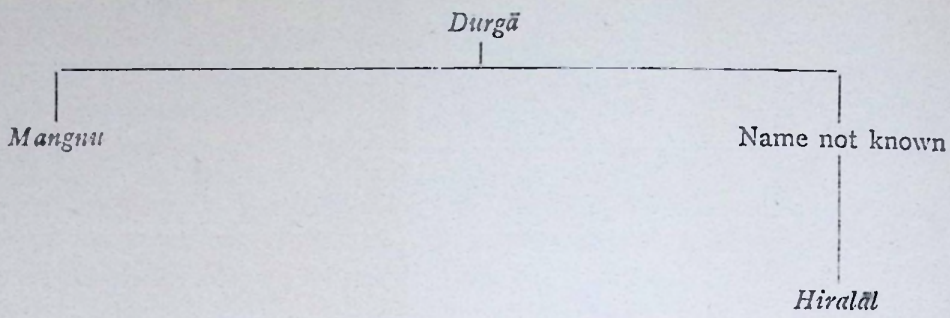
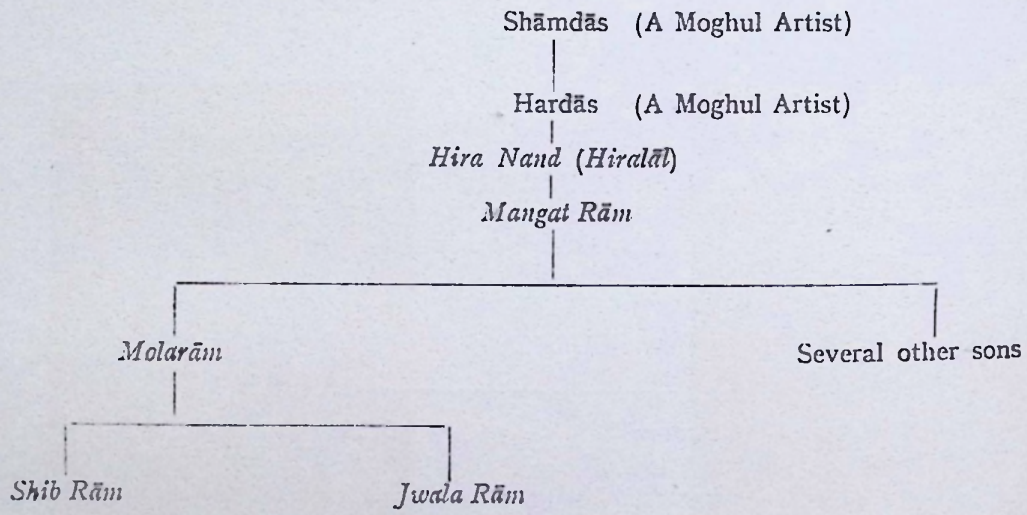


TABLE NO. 5.

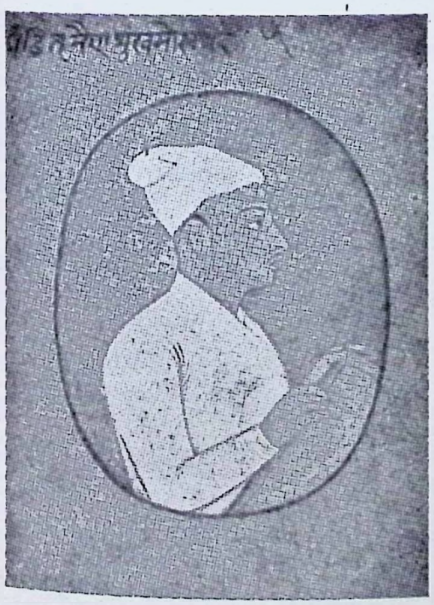




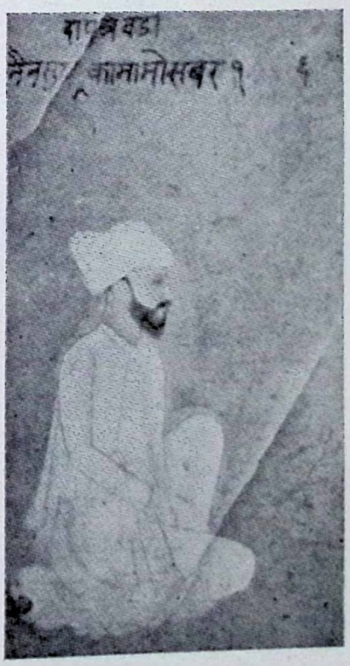
Pandit Seu (No. 74)
Father of Nainsukh (No. 57) and Manak (No. 52)



Dhandidas of Guler (No. 14). He worked at Chamba.



Nainsukh (No. 57) as a young man. Son of Pandit Seu (No. 74) and brother of Manak (No. 52). Worked at the court of Balvant Singh of Jammu. For Manak's portrait see page 119.



Kama (No. 40)
Eldest son of Nainsukh (No. 57).



Kaushala (No. 42). Son of Manak (No. 52). The favourite artist of Sansar Chand of Kangra.



Gauhu (No. 24). Second son of Nainsukh (No. 57). Probably worked at the Guler court.



Nikka (No. 60). Third son of Nainsukh (No. 57). Worked at the Guler court.



Ram Lal (No. 68).
Fourth son of Nainsukh (No. 57). Worked at the Chamba court.



MAKHAN CHOR (The Butter Thief). Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Possession F. D. Wadia, Poona. Size 11¾ × 8¾ ins. Reproduced in monochrome as Fig. 1.

APPENDIX III

BRIEF HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Only such material as may be of use for the study of Pahārī Painting or for the identification of incidents or inscribed portraits, has been included.

AKHNUR

The clan name is Akhnuria.

The State was a feudatory of Jammu.

BANDRĀLTA (now called RĀMNAGAR)

The clan name is Bandrāl

Bounded on the North by Chanehnī, on the South by Mānkot, on the East by Bhadrawah, and on the West by Balwalta. The capital was originally called Nagar.

When Ranjit Singh became overlord of the Hill States he gave Bandrālta in fief to Suchet Singh, brother of Gulab Singh of Jammu, in 1822 A.D. The old ruling family was deposed, and for some time sought the protection of Sansār Chand at Kāngrā. They later went to Garhwāl. It is possible that some painters went to Garhwāl with the ruling family.

The State was in close touch with Jammu from the beginning of the 18th century.

The genealogy is not known though we have portraits of certain Bandrāl Rājās such as Fig 63. The last Rājā to exercise power was Bhupdhar Dev. On Suchet Singh's death in 1844 the fief reverted to Jammu.

BANGAHĀL

The clan name is Bangahālia.

The State included Bara-Bangahāl in the Rāvī Valley, and all the territory now lying between Kāngrā and Kulu called Chota-Bangahāl. The capital was at Bir.

PRITHĪ PĀL — 1710-1720: Treacherously murdered by his father-in-law Sidh Sen of Mandī with a view to annex the State. But in fact a large portion of the State was annexed by the Kulu Rājā, Mān Singh, who was married to the sister of Prithī Pāl and who was called in to repulse the Mandī attack. Rājā Prithī Pāl was a drunken, madcap voluptuary. He was always to be found in the company of Gaddī women, drinking and dancing with them.

RAGHNĀTH PĀL — 1720-1735: Son of Prithī Pāl. Repelled invasions by Mandī with the help of Kulu. Went to the Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab to appeal against these aggressions. In his absence Shamser Sen of Mandī seized Karanpur.

DALEL PĀL — 1735-1749: Son of Raghnāth Pāl. Resisted aggressions by a combination of States. Submitted to Adina Beg, the Moghul Governor, in 1745.

MĀN PAL — Came to the throne in 1749. Died on his way to Delhi where he was going with the object of securing help from the Moghul Emperor against his aggressors. In his absence the State was annexed by Guler and Kāngrā. Mān Pāl's widow, with her infant son Nihal Pāl, sought refuge with Rāj Singh of Chambā who gave her a small *jagir*. In 1785, Sansār Chand of Kāngrā married a daughter of Mān Pāl and lent a force to Uchal Pāl, a son of Mān Pāl, to recover his territory which was then in the possession of Mandī. But the expedition was unsuccessful. Thereafter the Kulu and Mandī Rājās paid rupees five lacs to Sansār Chand to secure themselves in possession of Bangahāl State. Uchal Pāl died soon after, leaving three sons and a daughter under Sansār Chand's protection. The daughter married the Rājā of Sibā. One son, Rām Pāl, died in 1843; and another, Bahādur Pāl, in 1854.

BASOHLĪ (*Ancient Balor*)

The clan name is Balauria.

Bounded on the North by Bhadrawah, on the East by Chambā and Nurpur, on the South by Lakhanpur and Jasrota, and on the West by Bhadu and Mānkot.

GAJENDAR PĀL — 1530-1570: Had brothers named Godhin Pāl, Keshab Pāl, Haibat Pāl, Biju Pāl, Masu Pāl, Mehī Pāl, Balabhadar Pāl, and Hast Pāl, all of whom he raised to the dignity of Wazirs (ministers) and exercised authority through them.

KRISHAN PĀL — 1570-1595: Son of Gajendar Pāl. Was one of the thirteen Hill Chiefs who submitted to Akbar and appeared at the Moghul court with valuable presents in *circa* 1590. The gateways and towers which remain of the old fortifications of Balor, the capital of the State, are ascribed to his reign.

KEHAR PĀL — 1595-1598: Had a younger brother named Jas Pāl.

BHUPAT PĀL — 1598-1635: Grandson of Krishan Pāl. Born *circa* 1573. A man of great physical strength and huge stature. He was imprisoned for fourteen years by the Emperor Jehangir due to the intrigues of Jagat Singh of Nurpur who ruled over Basohlī during this period. Regained his freedom in *circa* 1627 A.D. and with the help of one Fateh Jang drove out the Nurpur forces from Basohlī. Fateh Jang was made Wazir. Bhupat Pāl invaded Bhādu, Bhadrawah, Chambā, and Kashtwar, and plundered Nurpur. He married a Kashtwar princess and a Chanehnī princess. Founded the new capital of Basohlī on the Rāvī, in 1630 A. D. Went to the Moghul court of Shah Jehan in 1635 A.D. where he was killed through the intrigues of his foe Jagat Singh of Nurpur.

SANGRAM PĀL — 1635-1673: Son of Bhupat Pāl by his Kashtwarī *rānī*. Born 1628. Was seven years of age at his accession. Is said to have resided at the Moghul court during his youth where his handsome countenance excited the curiosity of the Emperor's harem. He waged war with Kashtwar, Guler, Bilāspur, Chambā, and Nurpur. He fought twenty-two battles and was said to have been victorious in all. Married twenty-two times. He made Basohlī into a powerful and quite important Hill State. He left no issue. During his minority Fateh Jang, the Wazir during Bhupat Pāl's reign, continued to act in the same capacity. Mir Khan was the Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1666 and issued a decision against Sangram Pāl in his dispute with Chambā state over certain territory.

HINDAL PĀL — 1673-1678 : Son of Bhupat Pāl by his Chanehnī *rānī*. Brother of Sangram Pāl. Was of mature age when he came to the throne.

KIRPĀL PĀL — 1678-1693 : Son of Hindal Pāl. Married a Bandrālta princess and a Mānkot princess. Maintained an atelier of artists and the beginnings of Pahārī miniature painting are to be ascribed to his reign. Mirzā Reziā Beg was the Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab during his reign.

DHIRAJ PĀL — 1693-1725 : Killed in war with Chambā. He had two sons, Medinī Pāl and Ratan Pāl. There was a treaty of friendship between Dhiraj Pāl and Udai Singh of Chambā in 1708, but it did not hold good for long. Basohlī artists may be went to Chambā.

MEDINĪ PĀL — 1725-1736 : Son of Dhiraj Pāl. Was eight years old at his accession. Married a Guler princess. Invaded Chambā in 1735 A.D. He had two sons, Ajit Pāl and Vikram Pāl. Basohlī artists may be went to Guler in this reign.

JIT PĀL (Ajit Pāl) — *1736-1757 :* Son of Medinī Pāl. Annexed Bhadu State. Appears to have been dependent on Rājā Dhrub Dev of Jammu. Had two sons, Amrit Pāl and Bikram Pāl, both born in 1749 by different *rānīs*.

AMRIT PĀL — 1757-1776 : Son of Jit Pāl. Born 1745. Was twelve years of age at his accession. Married a daughter of Ranjit Dev of Jammu in 1759, and also a Kāngrā princess. He resided much at Jammu and appears to have been dependent on Ranjit Dev. He assisted Ranjit Dev in the conquest of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar and led an army against Chambā on behalf of Ranjit Dev. He was an ideal ruler, and Basohlī achieved great prosperity in his reign. Built the palace at Basohlī. It appears that in his reign the 'pre-Kāngrā' style began to oust the old *Basohlī Kalam*. Amrit Pāl seems to have favoured Moghul influences in art as can be seen from his palace.

The prosperity of Basohli during this reign was largely due to the troubled state of affairs in Northern India. Traders going to Kashmir and further afield selected the safer route via, Nahan, Bilāspur, Haripur, Nurpur, Basohlī, and Jammu. The result was that the States along this route levied a toll on merchandise and thus greatly benefited themselves.

BIJAI PĀL — 1776-1806 : Son of Amrit Pāl. Born in 1763. Basohlī declined in his reign. Rāj Singh of Chambā invaded Basohlī in 1782 A.D. and reached the capital. The traveller Forster passed through Basohlī in 1783 A.D. and comments on the desolation wrought by Rāj Singh's invasion. On Rāj Singh's death Bijai Pāl invaded Chambā but Jit Singh of Chambā retaliated and invaded Basohlī which had to pay a war indemnity. This happened in *circa* 1797.

MAHENDAR PĀL — 1806-1813 : Son of Bijai Pāl. Greatly embellished the palace at Basohlī and added the Rang Mahāl and Sish Mahāl. Married a Jasrota princess. Concluded a treaty with Chambā in 1806. Became tributary to Ranjit Singh of Lahore after 1809 A. D. and frequently had to go to Ranjit Singh's court at Lahore.

BHUPENDAR PĀL — 1813-1834 : Son of Mahendar Pāl by the Jasrota princess. Born in 1806. Had frequently to attend Ranjit Singh's court at Lahore as he was tributary to the Sikhs. Married a Bhatial princess. Mian Sajan Singh was Wazir during his minority.

KALYĀN PĀL — 1834-1857 : Son of Bhupendar Pāl by the Bhatial princess. Born 1834. Was an infant at the time of his accession. Ranjit Singh annexed the State in 1836 A.D. on the murder of Mian Lajan Singh who was acting in the interests of the infant Rājā against his grandmother and her advisers. Ranjit Singh gave the State to Hirā Singh of Jammu. The traveller Vigne passed through Basohlī in 1839 A.D. and notes that the State was then under

the control of Suchet Singh of Jammu. In 1845 A.D. the Sikhs were expelled, but in 1846 A.D. the State passed under the control of Gulab Singh of Jammu. Kalyān Pāl married a Sirmoor princess in 1850 and later a Mānkot princess. When Hirā Singh of Jammu held the State, he administered it through Mian Mahtab Singh Tirikotiā.

BHADRAWAH

The clan is Bhadrawaria.

Bounded on the North by Kashtwar, on the East by Chambā, on the South by Basohlī and on the West by Chanehnī.

NĀG PĀL — Died *1620:* Contemporary of Akbar. Went to the Moghul court. Is said to have been granted the privilege of royal drums by Akbar. Built the temple of Basak Nāg at Bhadrawah. An image of Nāg Pāl himself is worshipped in the temple. His father is said to have been Bishambhar Pāl and his mother a Kashtwarī princess named Rānī Kandanī. Another legend says his father's name was Mahan Pāl.

BHAKT PĀL — Came to the throne *1620.* Youngest son of Nāg Pāl. Bhadrawah invaded by Basohlī and made tributary to it. He had three sons, Dhrub Pāl, Rup Chand, and Kimat or Mān Chand.

DHRUB PĀL — Died *1691:* Son of Bahkt Pāl. He had three sons, Abhaya Pāl, Jai Chand, and Kalyān Chand.

ABHAYA PĀL — 1691-1707: Son of Dhrub Pāl. Had two sons, Medinī Pāl and Manik Chand.

MEDINĪ PĀL — 1707-1735: Son of Abhaya Pāl. Founded the town of Bhadrawah and made it his capital. The old capital was Dughanagar. He had two sons, Sampat Pāl and Harakh or Harsha Chand.

SAMPAT PĀL — 1735-1770: Son of Medinī Pāl. Born 1710. Married a Jammu princess and a Jasrota princess. Built the fort of Rantagarh and named it Medinīpur. The State began to decline in this reign and was probably tributary to Jammu. He had five sons, Fateh Pāl, Jhāgar Chand, Bhup Chand, Sangar Chand, and Kundan Singh. Of his daughters, Suratu was married to Abhaya Chand of Kāngrā; Darsanu to Prithvī Singh of Nurpur; Naginu to Rāj Singh of Chambā; and Tholu to a Jasrota Chief.

FATEH PĀL — 1770-1790; Son of Sampat Pāl. Born in 1732. Invasion by Chambā in 1783 A.D. Deposed in 1790 and imprisoned at Chambā by Rāj Singh of Chambā from 1790 A.D. to his death. His brother Bhup Chand, who had married a Chambā princess named Atharbanu, sided with Rāj Singh of Chambā.

DĀYĀ PĀL — 1790-1810: Son of Fateh Pāl. Born in 1756. Was a vassal of Chambā. Temporarily removed and replaced by Bhup Chand who, in his turn, was also soon removed and imprisoned at Chambā with his brother Fateh Pāl. Invasion by Kashtwar, and the capital was sacked. Later Dāya Pāl was driven out of the State as a result of internal dissensions.

PAHĀR CHAND — 1810-1821: Son of Bhup Chand by a Chambā princess named Atharbanu. Born in 1789. He was a cousin of Dāya Pāl. Fled the State in 1821 A.D. when his rebellion against Chambā failed. Thereafter Bhadrawah was ruled as a province of Chambā, first being under the governorship of Zorawar Singh, brother of Rājā Charat Singh of Chambā,

and then under that of Zorawar's son Prakim Singh. The traveller Vigne passed through Bhadrawah in 1838 A. D. and remarks on the beauty of the valley. In 1846 A.D. Chambā surrendered all claims to Bhadrawah and it came under the rule of Jammu. Bhadrawah had valuable deodar forests.

BHADU

The clan name is Bhadwal.

Bounded on the North and East by Basohlī, on the South by the Karaidhar range, and on the West by Mānkot. The capital is Bhadu on the Bhinī river.

ABHIMAN PĀL—Said to have been a contemporary of Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī (1598-1635) who invaded Bhadu and made it tributary to him.

MĀN PĀL

CHATAR PĀL

UDAYA PĀL—Lived *circa* 1723 A.D.

PURAN PĀL—Bhadu annexed to Basohlī by Jit Pāl of Basohlī (1736-1757 A.D.).

HAST PĀL

PRITHVĪ PĀL: Contemporary of Amrit Pāl of Basohlī (1757-1776 A. D.) The traveller Forster visited Bhadu in this reign. Amrit Pāl freed Bhadu from payment of tribute to Basohlī. Forster speaks of Bhadu as tributary to Jammu.

JAI SINGH—Ruled till later than 1820 A.D. Thereafter the State came under the sway of Suchet Singh of Jammu. Jai Singh had a son named Autar Singh.

BHAU

The clan name is Bhauwal

Frequently in conflict with Jammu. Became tributary to Māharājā Ranjit Singh in the early 19th century. Annexed by Rājā Gulab Singh of Jammu sometime shortly after 1820.

BHIMBAR

The clan name is Chibh

Situate between the Chenab and the Jhelum, South of Rajaurī and Punch.

It was visited many times by the Moghul Emperors while going to and returning from Kashmir.

In 1810 Ranjit Singh invaded Bhimbar. Its ruler, Rājā Sultān Khan, resisted, but in vain, and part of his territory was made over by the Sikhs to one Ismail Khan who was later killed

by Sultān Khan. This led to another Sikh expedition being sent against Sultān Khan in 1812, but it failed. Sultān Khan, however, was inveigled into coming to Lahore where he was imprisoned for six years in breach of all the promises given by the Sikhs to restore the State to him. He was liberated in 1819 and later killed by treachery at Jammu. Moorcroft passed through Bhimbar in 1822 when Sultān Khan was still alive. Sultān Khan was succeeded by his nephew Faiz Talat Khan, who was dispossessed in 1840.

BHOTĪ

The clan name is Bhatial.

Situate North of Jammu. Capital at Krimchī. A feudatory of Jammu State. Annexed by Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1834 A.D.

BILĀSPUR (Kahlur)

The clan name is Kahlurea.

Bounded on North by Kāngrā and Mandī, on the West by Hoshiarpur District, on South by Hindur (Nalagarh), and on the East by Baghal and Suket.

GYAN CHAND — 1570-1600 : The State became tributary to the Moghuls. Gyan Chand was converted to Islam under the influence of the Viceroy of Sirhind who sent a force to Bilāspur and arrested the Rājā. The Viceroy was so struck by his splendid presence that he gave his daughter in marriage to Gyan Chand. He had three sons Bhik Chand, Rāma, and Bhima, of whom the latter two embraced Islam.

BHIK CHAND — 1600-1620 : Son of Gyan Chand. As heir-apparent he would not abandon the Hindu faith and fled the State and married a daughter of Rājā Triloka Chand of Kāngrā. Also married a Bāghal princess. He had a son, Sultān Chand, by the Kāngrā *rānī* and a son, Kesab Chand, by the Bāghal *rānī*.

SULTAN CHAND—1620-1630: Son of Bhik Chand. In a fierce encounter between Sultān Chand and his brother Kesab Chand, who was a rival claimant to the throne, both were killed.

KALIAN CHAND — 1630-1645 : Son of Sultān Chand. Married a daughter of Rājā Shyam Sen of Suket. War with Hindur State. Killed in war against Suket. He had eight sons.

TĀRĀ CHAND — 1645-1650 : Eldest son of Kalian Chand. A weak and timid ruler. Much territory lost to neighbouring States.

DIP CHAND — 1650-1667 : Restored the prestige of the State. Founded the capital called Bilāspur on the Sutlej and built a palace called Dholar. The old capital was known as Kot-Kahlur. Married a Kulu princess named Kunkam Devī, and a Mandī princess named Jalel Devī. Served with Aurangzeb's army on the North West Frontier and received a present of five lacs of rupees. Raid on Bilāspur by Sikh bands in 1656. Poisoned by the Rājā of Kāngrā at a dinner when he visited Nadaun. Had two sons by his Mandī *rānī*, named Bhim Chand and Dhān Chand, and a daughter by his Kulu *rānī*.

BHIM CHAND — 1667-1712 : Son of Dip Chand. Was a child at accession. The Regent, Mānak Chand, brother of Dip Chand, governed the State harshly and was expelled. He

went for aid to Kāngrā and to the Viceroy of Sirhind and got Bilāspur invaded, but the invasion was repelled with the help of Hindur State. Bhim Chand helped Kulu in a war against Bashahr. Wars with the Sikhs. Made a league with Kāngrā, Guler, and other States and unsuccessfully attacked the Sikhs. Built a temple containing a likeness of his step-mother Kunkam Devī who had burnt herself and her daughter to death because of a court intrigue. In 1700 Bhim Chand and Alam Chand of Kāngrā again attacked the Sikhs but were routed.

AJMER CHAND — 1712-1741 : Son of Bhim Chand. Peaceful reign. A deeply religious king. Married princesses from Garhwāl and Sirmoor. He had seven sons of whom Devī Chand ascended the throne, and another, named Zorawar Chand, acted as Wazir for some time during the minority of Devī Chand's son, Mahan Chand.

DEVĪ CHAND — 1741-1778 : Son of Ajmer Chand. Helped Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā against Abhai Chand of Jaswan who had invaded Kāngrā. At a later date Abhai Chand was expelled by his brother Jagrup Chand and it was Devī Chand who helped the Jaswan Rājā to regain his State. Sent his Wazir to Nawab Adina Beg, the Moghul governor of Jalandhar, to allay his displeasure at certain annexations made by Bilāspur of Hill territory which the Moghuls had taken. The State prospered greatly and many people from the plains settled in Bilāspur. Married a Katoch princess. Maintained skilled artists at his court. He bestowed favour on a Brahman from Banāras named Jangar with whom he was very friendly.

MAHAN CHAND — 1778-1824 : Son of Devī Chand. Born in 1772 A.D. Was a child of six at accession and the State was governed by Wazir Rāmu of the Darol family. The *rānī* gave aid to Nawab Saif Ali Khan, the last Moghul governor of Kāngrā Fort, when he was beseiged by the Sikhs and Sansār Chand of Kāngrā because Bilāspur bore a grudge against Sansār Chand. Mahan Singh was a debauched ruler. Invasion by Sansār Chand of Kāngrā and much territory lost to the State. Territory also lost to the Rājā of Hindur, and later to the Sikhs. Mahan Chand joined the Gurkhas in the confederacy against Sansār Chand which led to Sansār Chand's downfall. Even after the Gurkhas were driven out of Kāngrā by Ranjit Singh in 1809, they continued to occupy Bilāspur till 1814 after which they were driven out by the British in the first Nepalese War. Later in 1819 the Sikhs made inroads into Bilāspur with the help of the fallen Sansār Chand's contingent. The traveller Moorcroft passed through Bilāspur in 1820 A.D. He remarks that the Rājā's palace was decorated with flowers in fresco. He found the bazar in a ruinous state due to pillage by the Gurkhas before they were driven out.

KHARAKH CHAND — 1824-1839 : Son of Mahan Chand. Born 1813. A debauched ruler. The traveller Vigne passed through Bilāspur in 1835 A.D. and again on his way back in 1839 when he found it in a deplorable condition with the bazar almost deserted and the people so oppressed that much of the population had fled to other States. Finally a revolt occurred led by the Rājā's uncle Jagat Singh. Shortly afterwards the Rājā died. Vigne remarks that the Rājā's chief pleasure was riding on fighting elephants of which he kept a great number. Married two Sirmoor princesses who were twin sisters. According to Vigne, the Rājā was a good-looking young man, with fair complexion, and of middling stature.

JAGAT CHAND — 1839-1857 : Uncle of Kharakh Chand and descended through Mian Chimna, third son of Rājā Ajmer Chand. Mian Changhnian who was descended from Suchet Chand, second son of Rājā Ajmer Chand, was overlooked for the succession. Temporarily, Jagat Chand had to flee the State because one of Kharakh Chand's *rānīs* said she had a posthumous son and aided by the Rājās of Sirmoor and Suket she invaded Bilāspur. The British, however, reinstated Jagat Chand. He was religious minded. Restored prosperity to the State.

HIRA CHAND — 1857-1883 : Grandson of Jagat Chand and son of Narpat Chand who died in 1844. A capable ruler. His Wazir was Mian Bhangī.

AMAR CHAND — 1883-1889 : Son of Hira Chand.

BIJAI CHAND — 1889-1927 : Was a minor at accession. Abdicated and died in 1930.

CHAMBA

The clan name is Chambial.

Bounded on the North-West and West by Jammu and Kashmir, on the North-East by Ladakh, Lahul, and Bara Bangahāl, and on the South-East and South by Kāngrā and Gurdāspur.

GANESA VARMAN — 1512-1559 : Beginning of Moghul influence in the Hills. Built the fort of Ganeshgarh following the Moghul technique.

PRATAP SINGH VARMAN — 1559-1586 : Son of Ganesh Varman. Repaired many temples and built new ones. War with Kāngrā. Guler occupied by the Chambā army.

VIR VAHNU — 1586-1589 : Son of Pratap Singh.

BĀLABHADRA — 1589-1641 : Son of Vir Vahnu. Reputation for piety and extravagant religious gifts. This conduct led to the financial ruin of the State. He was therefore deposed in *circa* 1613, and the State was ruled by his son Janārdhan. War with Nurpur during which Janārdhan's brother, Bishambhar, was killed, and Chambā defeated. Later Janārdhan was assassinated by Jagat Singh of Nurpur by treachery in *circa* 1623. Jagat Singh then dominated Chambā for many years. Janārdhan appears to have been the Chambā Rājā who paid his respects to the Emperor Jehangir at Kāngrā in 1622. Bālabhadra's other sons were named Mān Singh and Sudar Sen.

PRITHVĪ SINGH — 1641-1664 : Son of Janārdhan. Was hidden in Mandī during his minority. Recaptured Chambā from Jagat Singh of Nurpur. Given a dress of honour, a horse, and an inlaid dagger by Shah Jehan. Visited the Imperial court at Delhi frequently, and was shown much favour by Shah Jehan and given valuable gifts of inlaid daggers, a jewelled turban-ornament (*sirpaich*), etc. Several temples erected in his reign. He went on a pilgrimage to Allahabād, Banāras, and Gāya. He had eight sons, Shatru Singh (Chatar Singh), Jai Singh, Indar Singh, Mahipat Singh, Ragunāth Singh, Rām Singh, Shakat Singh, and Rāj Singh. The Kothī of Brahmor is said to have been built in his reign. The figures carved in wood, dressed in pleated *jāmās*, and turbans, indicate Moghul influence in costumes, types, and backgrounds of cusped arches. These figures all appear to post date the reign of Prithvī Singh, and belong to the 18th century. They were probably carved in the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764). See page 261.

CHATAR SINGH — 1664-1690 : Son of Prithvī Singh. Invaded Basohlī. Founded the town of Chatargarh which became an emporium of the Central Asian trade. Lahul was divided between Chambā and Kulu in his reign. He had two sons, Udai Singh and Lakshman Singh. He appointed his brother Jai Singh as his Wazir. He was ordered by the Emperor Aurangzeb to pull down the temples in his State but he defied these orders and gilded the pinacles of certain temples. He was ordered to present himself at Delhi for his defiance, but sent his brother Sakat Singh in company with Rāj Singh of Guler. But they turned back before reaching Delhi and Aurangzeb was too preoccupied to enforce his orders. Moghul authority was waning in the Hills, and in 1690 Chambā with other States beat off an attack by the Moghul viceroy Mirzā Reziā Beg.

UDAI SINGH — 1690-1720 : Son of Chatar Singh. Governed well in the beginning but later gave way to evil ways and pleasures. Misruled the State, was deposed, temporarily restored, and later killed by his officials when he appointed a barber, with whose daughter he had fallen in love, to the office of Wazir. His brother, Lakshman Singh, was killed with him. In the beginning of his reign his Wazir was his uncle Jai Singh who died in 1696. In 1708 there was a treaty of friendship between Basohlī and Chambā, but it did not last for long and in 1725.Dhiraj Pāl of Basohlī attacked Chambā and was killed in battle.

UGAR SINGH — 1720-1735 : Son of Mahipat Singh. Was appointed regent when Udai Singh was deposed. But when Udai Singh was temporarily restored he fled to Jammu and entered the service of Dhrub Dev of Jammu as a soldier. Dhrub Dev helped him to gain the throne of Chambā when Udai Singh was killed. Erected a temple at the spot where Udai Singh was killed to placate Udai Singh's ghost. Was deposed by his officials who brought his cousin Dalel Singh from exile to be ruler of Chambā. Ugar Singh did not oppose but set the town on fire and fled to Kāngrā where he died soon afterwards.

DALEL SINGH — 1735-1748 : Son of Raghunāth Singh. On coming to the throne he got Ugar Singh's two sons, Umed Singh and Sher Singh, imprisoned at Lahore. Abdicated and became a hermit (*sadhu*) when Umed Singh, on his release from captivity by the Moghul governor of Lahore, Mir Mannu, marched to Chambā. His daughter married Bajai Deo of Jammu. When Ugar Singh was on the throne Dalel Singh had taken refuge with Dhrub Dev of Jammu but was handed over by Dhrub Dev to the then Moghul governor, Zakaria Khan, who imprisoned him in Lahore fort. When Ugar Singh's misrule increased the Moghul governor with the aid of a bribe was persuaded to free Dalel Singh and actually helped him to regain Chambā and drive out Ugar Singh. Zakariah Khan died in 1745 and it was the next Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab, Mir Mannu, who released Umed Singh from captivity.

UMED SINGH — 1748-1764: Son of Ugar Singh. Ruled well. The Akhand Chandī portion of the palace at Chambā was erected by Umed Singh, and he also built a palace at Nada changing its name to Rājnagar. Married a daughter of the Rājā of Jasrota. He probably had refugee painters of the Moghul school at his court. It is said that the foundations of the Rang Mahāl palace were laid by him, though Dr. Goetz attributes its entire construction to him. An illustration of how unsettled were the conditions in the plains of Northern India at this time is afforded by the fact that when Umed Singh visited the Moghul Viceroy, Mir Mannu, in *circa* 1748, special prayers were recited in the State for his safe return from Lahore. Umed Singh, before he ousted Dalel Singh, was in Moghul captivity, and was trained and educated in the Moghul manner and inbibed Moghul culture. The wood carvings of the Chamunda temple at Devrī Kothī, which bears an inscription of 1754, are in the mixed Moghul style. So also the wood carvings in mixed Moghul style on the Brahmor Kothī appear to belong to his reign and not to that of Prithvī Singh. See page 261.

RĀJ SINGH — 1764-1794 : Son of Umed Singh. Born at Rājnagar in 1755. Succeeded the throne at the age of nine. War with Kāngrā. Ranjit Dev of Jammu, whose sister was Rāj Singh's mother, interfered a great deal with Chambā during Rāj Singh's minority. When Rāj Singh threw off this Jammu influence Ranjit Deo sent an army under Amrit Pāl of Basohlī to occupy Chambā. Rāj Singh, however, drove the Jammu forces out in 1775, with the aid of the Rāmgarhia Sardārs, after they had occupied the capital for three months. Rāj Singh married a daughter of Sampat Pāl of Bhadrawah State. He invaded Basohlī in 1782 A.D. and Kashtwār in 1786 A.D. He greatly venerated Chamunda Devī, the goddess of war of the Chambā Chiefs. Died fighting against Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. He maintained an atelier of artists of merit. He completed the Rang Mahāl palace. During his minority his Wazir, under the Queen-Regent, was Mian Aklu, who was later removed from office by Rāj Singh.

Rāj Singh was a powerful ruler. When he invaded Basohlī in 1782 he is said to have looted its famous palace. The Bhadrawah princess whom he married was Naginu, sister of Fateh Pāl of

Bhadrawah (1770-1790). Fateh Pāl's brother, Bhup Chand, was married to a Chambā princess Atharbanu, and Bhup Chand sided with Rāj Singh when the Chambā ruler's forces under the Chambā Wazir, Nathu Barotru, captured Bhadrawah fort.

JIT SINGH — 1794-1808: Son of Rāj Singh. Born in 1775. Was nineteen when he came to the throne. Invaded Basohlī. His sons were Charat Singh and Zorawar Singh. He managed the State well and it was never in debt. When he invaded Basohlī he took a heavy war indemnity from Bijai Pāl of Basohlī (1776-1806). In 1797, Shah Zamān of Kabul appointed Jit Singh to the *diwānī* of the Hills side by side with Sampuran Dev of Jammu. Though the Afghan overlordship was nominal, the appointment indicates the prestige of Chambā during Jit Singh's reign. Though Jit Singh had to conclude a treaty of alliance with the powerful Sansār Chand of Kāngrā it was only a temporary measure to stave off the aggressive Sansār Chand. Jit Singh did not keep up the high standards of painting during Rāj Singh's time, though he did maintain artists at his court. His Wazir was Nathu Barotru.

CHARAT SINGH — 1808-1844: Son of Jit Singh. Succeeded to the throne when he was six years of age. His mother Rānī Sāradā was a Jammu princess. Bhadrawah State annexed in 1821. The traveller Vigne visited Chambā in 1839 A.D. and met Charat Singh and his brother Zorawar Singh. The latter, he says, was splendidly dressed *a la Sikh* with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead over the turban. Rānī Sāradā erected the temple of Rādhā-Krishna in 1825. He had three sons, Srī Singh, Gopal Singh, and Suchet Singh. Charat Singh's sister married Bir Singh of Nurpur. Charat Singh himself married a Katoch princess.

The art of painting continued in his reign in the late Kāngrā style. Most of the wall paintings of the Rang Mahāl belong to this period as also those of the fountain-house of Suhī-dā-Marh. The able Nathu Barotru was the Wazir of the State and on his death in 1838 his son Bhāga became the Wazir. Nathu was on very good terms with Ranjit Singh of Lahore and thus Chambā was saved from Sikh aggression. When the traveller Vigne met Charat Singh, his refugee brother-in-law, Bir Singh of Nurpur, was also in Chambā. Vigne made portrait sketches of Charat Singh, Zorawar Singh, and also of Bir Singh.

SRĪ SINGH — 1844-1870: Son of Charat Singh. Succeeded to the throne at the age of five. Married a Suket princess. The State prospered under British surveliance which continued thereafter in the reigns of his successors. His uncle, Zorawar Singh, fled from the State as there were suspicions against him of desiring to seize the throne. Zorawar Singh died in Jammu in 1845 after going to Bhadrawah of which he had been made titular Rājā. The Sikhs invaded Chambā in 1844 at the instance of Hirā Singh who was the power behind the throne at Lahore, but retired on Hirā Singh's assassination in the same year. Srī Singh's daughter married the Mahārājā of Kashmir.

GOPĀL SINGH — 1870-1873: Brother of Srī Singh. Abdicated in 1875. Died in 1895. He had three sons, Shām Singh, Bhurī Singh, and Pratap Singh.

SHĀM SINGH — 1873-1904: Son of Gopāl Singh. Married a Kashmir princess and also a Sirmoor princess. Abdicated in 1904.

BHURĪ SINGH — 1904-1919: The Bhurī Singh Museum, Chambā, is named after him.

CHANEHNĪ

The clan name is Hantal.

Bounded on the North by the Chenab, on the East by Bhadrawah, on the South by Bandrāltā, and on the West by Bhotī.

SHAMSHER CHAND — Ascended the throne in *1760 :* Assisted Ranjit Dev of Jammu in his expedition against the governor of Kashmir who had rebelled against the Durrānī. Was killed by Prithvī Singh of Nurpur.

KISHOR CHAND

TEGH CHAND — Died leaving a daughter. The daughter's claim to the *gādī* was opposed by Dayal Chand (a son of Jahāgar Chand who was a younger son of Shamsher Chand) but was supported by Basu (a son of Badan Chand who was another son of Shamsher Chand). Basu was killed in a contest and Dayal Chand succeeded to the *gādī*. The traveller Forster passed through Chanehnī in 1783, and the traveller Vigne in 1839.

DAYAL CHAND—In his reign Suchet Singh, brother of Gulāb Singh of Jammu, sacked the town of Chanehnī, and though Dayal Chand secured the intervention of Lahore he could only recover part of his State.

DALPATPUR

The clan name is Dalpatia.

A feudatory of Jammu. Situate in the Tavī Valley.

DATARPUR

The clan name is Dadwāl.

Situate in the Dasuya Tahsil of Hoshiarpur District.

DATAR CHAND — Founded the State as an offshoot of Sibā in *circa* 1550.

GANESH CHAND

CHATAR CHAND

UDAI CHAND

PRITHĪ CHAND

JAI CHAND

DALEL CHAND

UGAR CHAND

NAND CHAND

GOVIND CHAND — *Circa 1806-1818 :* The State came under control of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā in 1786 A.D. Joined Gurkhas against Kāngrā in 1805.

JAGAT CHAND — *1818 :* The State had become subject to Ranjit Singh in 1809 A.D. and after 1818 the State was annexed by the Sikhs who gave Jagat Chand a *jāgir*. Later he was deported for rebellion in 1848 against the British. Died in 1877.

GARHWAL

Western District of Kumaon. Bounded North by Tibet, South-East by Almora and Nani Tal, South-West by Bijnor and North-West by Tehrī.

FATEH SHAH (FATEH SINGH)—1689-1716: Son of Medinī Shah (1660-1689). See page 197. Wars with the State of Kumaon. His daughter married a son of the Rājā of Bilāspur.

DHALIP SHAH — 1716-1717: Son of Fateh Shah. Ruled for only a few months.

UPENDRA SHAH—1717: Brother of Dhalip Shah. Ruled for only nine months.

PRADIP SHAH — 1717-1772: Son of Dhalip Shah. In 1757 Najib Khan the Rohilla invaded the Dun territory and established his authority there. Najib Khan died in 1770.

LALAT SHAH — 1772-1780: Son of Pradip Shah. He made his son Pradyumun the governor of Kumaon with the title of Rājā. Lalat Shah was said to be an oppressive ruler. He had three other sons Parakrām, Pritam, and Jaykrit.

JAYKRIT SHAH — 1780-1785: Invasion by Kumaon forces upto Srinagar the capital of Garhwāl. Jaykrit Shah murdered. Pradyumun had to abandon Kumaon.

PRADYUMUN SHAH—1785-1803: Archer's statement that he married a Guler princess, is incorrect. Driven out of his State by the Gurkhas and killed fighting against them in 1804. Pritam was taken prisoner and sent to Nepal. Pradyumun was mild and effete to a degree, but his brother Parakrām was of stouter heart and possessed a more manly temperament. Parakrām was always intriguing against Pradyumun. Garhwāl was under the oppressive Gurkha rule till 1814, when the Gurkhas were driven out by the British who gave a part of Garhwāl back to Sudarshan, son of Pradyumun. One of the Gurkha governors of Garhwāl, namely Hastidal, was a friend of the artist Molarām and was better disposed towards the people than the other Gurkha governors.

Hardwicke who visited Garhwāl says that Pradyumun Shah was of middle stature, of slender make, with regular features but effeminate. He spoke quickly but not remarkably distinct. Pradyumun introduced his brothers, Parakrām and Pritam, to Hardwicke who observes that in their dress no sign of greatness or ostentation appears; they were in plain muslin *jāmās* with coloured turbans and kummarbands, without jewels or other decoration, nor was the dress of the Rājā in any respect more distinguishing than those of his brothers.

SUDARSHAN SHAH — 1814-1859: Son of Pradyumun. Married two daughters of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā when Aniruddha (son of Sansār Chand) fled his State and sought refuge in Garhwāl. Also married a daughter of Karm Parkash of Sirmoor. Moorcroft visited Garhwāl in 1819. Due to the Gurkha invasion, and also earthquake and flood, Srinagar was partly in ruins and there was little trade. Moorcroft was told that the exactions of the Gurkhas had driven the people from their homes. Moorcroft met Pritam Shah, uncle of Sudarshan Shah. Pritam Shah had been taken by the Gurkhas to Nepal and there he had married a daughter of the uncle and minister of the Nepal Prince. The earthquake was in 1802.

BHAVANI SHAH—1859-1872: His successor Pratāp Shah married a Guler lady. This alliance was incorrectly attributed by Archer to Pradyumun Shah. See *Roopa Lekha* Vol. 26, No. 2, p. 78.

GULER

The clan name is Guleria.

Originally extended from Ganesh Ghatī in the East to Reh in the West, and from the Beas in the South to Gangot and Jawalī in the North. It is an offshoot of Kāngrā.

RĀM CHAND — 1540-1570: Invasion by Chambā army. The Delhi Emperor was Sher Shah, whose son Islam Shah subdued many Hill States but was very well disposed towards Rām Chand.

JAGDISH CHAND — 1570-1605: Son of Rām Chand. Did not join in the revolt against the Moghuls with whom he remained on good terms.

VIJAYA CHAND — 1605-1610: Son of Jagdish Chand.

RUP CHAND — 1610-1635: A younger brother of Vijaya Chand. Given gifts of an elephant and a horse by Jehangir for helping the Moghuls in taking Kāngrā Fort. Sent on a military expedition to the Deccan by Jehangir. Received gifts of dresses of honour and two weapons from Jehangir. Killed in war against Garhwāl. Remained loyal to the Moghuls whom he served in several campaigns. He was a brave soldier.

MĀN SINGH — 1635-1661: Son of Rup Chand. Called 'Singh' (lion) by the Emperor Shah Jehan because of his valour. The Emperor gave him a horse of great value. He remained faithful to the Moghuls and fought for Shah Jehan on the Frontier. Conquered Mandī and Suket. He was attached to the Moghul army by Aurangzeb in 1647 for the seige of Kandahar. He built the fort of Māngarh. Abdicated and retired to Banāras to lead a holy life.

BIKRAM SINGH — 1661-1675: Son of Mān Singh. Fought in the Moghul army of Aurangzeb on the Frontier. Valuable dresses of honour were given to him by the Emperor. He was a man of great physical strength. Aurangzeb made him the *Thānadār* (Headman) of the Kāngrā Hills.

RĀJ SINGH — 1675-1695: Son of Bikram Singh. Came into conflict with the Moghuls on several occasions, and in combination with other States repelled the inroads of Mirzā Reizā Beg, the Moghul governor of Lahore.

DALIP SINGH — 1695 to 1744 or 1745: Seven years old at accession. Guler invaded by the Rājās of Jammu and Basohlī during his minority. The Queen mother, with the help of Chambā, Mandi, and Bilāspur, resisted the invasion. Some artists may well have worked at his court after 1739 A.D. He was a pious ruler. Man Mohan in his *History of the Mandī State*, 1930, mentions Dalip Singh as being alive in 1745 when Adina Beg marched through the Hills. The dates given by Hutchinson and Vogel, namely 1695-1730, appear to be incorrect.

GOVARDHAN CHAND — 1744 or 1745 to 1773: He maintained an atelier of artists. Fought successfully with Adina Beg, the Moghul governor of the Jalandhar Doab, over a horse owned by him which the Moghul governor coveted. A reign of comparative peace and prosperity. Married a Jammu princess and is also said to have married a Basohlī princess. He was one of the most notable patrons of Pahārī miniature painting.

PRAKASH CHAND — 1773-1790: Son of Govardhan Chand. The State came under the control of Kāngrā. Appears to have abdicated in 1790. Died in 1820. Married a Chambā princess named Anant Devī and also a sister of Surma Sen of Mandī. Had a brother named Prakaram Chand. In 1785, Dhian Singh, the Wazir of Guler, made himself the independent ruler of Kotla which was part of Guler State. Kotla was taken by the Sikhs in 1811 and a *jāgir* given to Dhian Singh. See p. 190 for reasons for Prakash Chand's abdication.

BHOOP SINGH — 1790-1826: Son of Prakash Chand. The State was annexed in 1813 A.D. by Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Bhoop Singh was one of the Hill Chiefs who joined the confederacy against Sansār Chand of Kāngrā in 1805.

SHAMSHER SINGH — 1826-1877: Son of Bhoop Singh. Died without an heir.

JAI SINGH — 1877-1884 : Brother of Shamsher Singh.

RAGUNĀTH SINGH — 1884-1920 :

HINDUR (Nalagarh)

The clan name is Hindurea

Bounded on the North by Bilāspur and Hoshiarpur, on the East by Mahlog and Bāghal, on the South by Patiala and Kharar Tahsil of Ambālā, on the West by Rupār Tahsil of Ambālā.

SANSĀR CHAND — 1568-1618 : Built a Divankhana at Nalagarh.

DHARM CHAND — 1618-1701 : Eldest of Sansār Chand's eight sons.

HIMAT CHAND — 1701-1705 : Son of Dharm Chand. Fell fighting against the Pathan inroads.

BHUP CHAND — 1705-1761 : Son of Himat Chand.

MĀN CHAND — Son of Bhup Chand. There were factions in the State and Mān Chand was killed by his uncle Padam Chand who in his own turn was killed.

GAJE SINGH — A distant collateral of the ruling family was brought to the throne to end the prevailing chaos. It was Devī Chand of Bilāspur who, having declined to be the ruler of Hindur, brought in Gaje Singh.

RĀM SARAN — 1788-1848 : Son of Gaje Singh. His daughter married Parmodh Chand, grand-son of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. See *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, for his and Ugar Singh's portraits.

BIJE SINGH — 1848-1857 : Married two daughters of Karm Parkash of Sirmoor.

UGAR SINGH — 1860-1876 : One of Rām Saran's sons.

ISRĪ SINGH — Came to the *gādī* in 1876. Was allied by marriage with Guler and Kāngrā.

JAMMU (Durgara)

The clan name is Jamwāl.

Bounded on the West by the Chinch, on the East by Chanehnī, Bandrālta, Mānkot and Jasrota, on the North by the Dodhera range, and on the South by the plains.

KAPUR DEV — Died in *1560 :* His two rival sons Jag Dev and Samil Dev partitioned the kingdom on his death, the former ruling at Bahu, and the latter at Jammu.

Bahu Branch

JAG DEV — 1560-1585 :

PARASRAM DEV — 1585-1610 : Revolt against the Moghuls.

KRISHEN DEV — 1610-1635 :

AZMAT DEV — 1635-1660 :

KIRPAL DEV — Came to the throne in *1660 :* Repulsed inroads into the State by Mirzā Reziā Beg, the Moghul governor of the Punjab.

ANANT DEV — Jag Dev's branch ceased to rule after Anant Dev's reign and appears to have been expelled from Bahu during the reign of Harī Dev (1650-1675 A.D.) of the Jammu Branch.

Jammu Branch

SAMIL DEV — Came to the throne in *1560.*

SANGRAM DEV — Died *1625 :* Fought the Moghuls, but later aided their forces in several expeditions. Was presented by Jehangir with a robe of honour, a horse, and an elephant.

BHUPAT DEV — 1625-1650 :

HARĪ DEV — 1650-1675 : In his reign the Bahu Branch appears to have been expelled.

GAJAI DEV — 1675-1703 : He had four sons.

DHRUB DEV — 1703-1735 : Son of Gajai Dev. Invaded Guler with assistance of Basohlī and Bhadu, but driven back. Maintained close relations with Basohlī State. Asserted supremacy over neighbouring States. Gave asylum to the refugee prince Ugar Singh of Chambā. Had four sons, Ranjit Dev ; Ghansar Dev ; Surat Dev ; and Balvant Dev also known as Balvant Singh. The last named maintained an atelier of his own, and one of his leading artists was Nainsukh of Jasrota. Balvant Singh's atelier is fully dealt with in the text. See p. 131.

RANJIT DEV — 1735-1781 : Son of Dhrub Dev. The most notable ruler of Jammu. He was kept in captivity for twelve years at Lahore at the instance of Zakariah Khan, the Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab, who suspected his loyalty. His brother, Ghansar Dev, acted as regent during his captivity. Was released on payment of ransom in *circa* 1747 A.D. on the intervention of Adina Beg Khan, Moghul Governor of Jalandhar. Supported Ahmad Shah Durrānī during the invasion of the Punjab, and on its cession by the Moghuls in 1752 A.D. received favours from Ahmad Shah. Jammu greatly prospered during his reign due to merchants and artisans from the plains seeking refuge there. Basohlī and several neighbouring States such as Kashtwar and Bhadrawah were under his control. He sent Amrit Pāl of Basohlī to invade Chambā in *circa* 1775 A.D. but the force was driven back. The traveller Forster passed through Jammu in 1783 and has praised Ranjit Dev's administration and his fairness to Hindus and Muslims alike. The heir apparent, Brajrāj Dev, caused much trouble to his father and allied himself with a Sikh *misl* to attack Jammu. But after some encounters the invasion ended in a stale-mate. The feudatories of Jammu had to attend Ranjit Dev's court, though they also held their own courts on such visits which took place yearly. Akhnur, Dalpatpur, Riasī, Bhotī, and Sambā, were all tributary States.

BRAJRĀJ DEV — 1781-1787 : Son of Ranjit Dev. He was a debauched ruler. Jammu plundered by the Sikhs and much booty taken. He had his brother, Dalel Singh, and Dalel Singh's son, Bhagwant Singh, killed by treachery with the help of a cousin named Mian Motā. Another cousin named Zorawar Singh refused to carry out the dark deed. Jit Singh, another son of Dalel Singh, was not with his father and thus escaped. This occurred before 1783. Brajrāj was killed in 1787 in a battle against the Sikhs.

SAMPURAN DEV — 1787-1797: Was a minor at the time of his accession. Jammu was subject to Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Mian Motā, the eldest son of Surat Singh, was his Wazir.

JIT DEV — 1797-1812: Son of Dalel Singh. He succeeded Sampuran Singh who died at the age of twelve. One Mian Dedu of the royal house of Jammu, a freebooter, troubled the Sikhs till he was finally killed in 1820 fighting against them. His name is cherished in Jammu as a veritable Robinhood. In 1812, Jit Singh appears to have been deposed and Jammu granted as a *jāgir* to Kharak Singh, son of Ranjit Singh. Jit Singh had two sons, Raghbir Dev and Devī Singh, who were given asylum by the British.

GULĀB SINGH — 1820-1857: Was descended from Surat Singh, the third brother of Ranjit Dev. Took service with Ranjit Singh and rose to great prominence at the Sikh court. Jammu was conferred on him as a fief in about 1820, and later he became the virtual overlord of many Hill States such as Mānkot, Kashtwar, Bandrālta, Chanehnī, etc. His two brothers, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh, also won renown in the service of Ranjit Singh. Dhian Singh rose to be his Prime Minister and was made Rājā of Punch, while Suchet Singh was made Rājā of Bandrālta. M. Jacquemont who visited Gulab Singh describes him as very handsome, a lion in courage, but with the plainest, mildest, and most elegant manners. Zorawar Singh Kahluria, a son of the Rājā of Bilāspur, took service under him. Gulāb Singh was practically independent though he made his conquests nominally on behalf of the Sikh power.

RANBIR SINGH — 1857-1885:

JASROTA

The clan name is Jasrotia.

Bounded on the North by the Karaidhar range, on the East by Lakhanpur, on the South by the plains, and on the West by Sambā. The capital is Jasrota.

BHABU DEV: Ruled during Akbar's reign and tendered his submission to the Moghuls in 1588-89. Later, he again revolted against the Moghuls.

BHUJ DEV

FATEH DEV

TĀJ DEV

SHIV DEV

JAG DEV

SIKH DEV

DHRUB DEV

KIRAL DEV

RATAN DEV — He was a contemporary of Ranjit Dev of Jammu.

BHĀG SINGH

AJAB SINGH

LĀL SINGH

RANBIR SINGH — Tendered his allegiance to Ranjit Singh who marched into Jasrota in 1808.

BHURĪ SINGH — He was entirely subject to the Sikh domination which started in 1808.

The State was annexed by Ranjit Singh, and in 1834 A.D. it was conferred by him as a fief on Hirā Singh, son of Dhian Singh of Jammu who was Ranjit Singh's Prime Minister.

JASWAN

The clan name is Jaswal.

Situate in Hoshiarpur District.

GOVIND CHAND—Was reigning in 1572.

BIKRAM CHAND

ANIRUDH CHAND— Grandson of Govind Chand. Was ruling in 1588. Joined rebellion against the Moghuls. Is said to have been amongst the Rājās who submitted and accompanied Zain Khan Koka to the Moghul court with valuable presents.

SAMIR CHAND

MĀN SINGH

AJAB SINGH

RĀM SINGH

AJIT SINGH — Submitted in 1745 to Adina Beg the Moghul Governor.

JAGHAR SINGH

ABHIRAI SINGH

JAGRUP SINGH

PRIT SINGH

UMMED SINGH — Was ruling in *1805:* Joined the coalition of Hill States against Sansār Chand of Kāngrā in 1805. Jaswan State was annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1815 A. D. Died at Almora where he was exiled for revolt against the British in 1848.

KĀNGRA

The clan name is Katoch.

Bounded on the North by Kulu and Chambā, on the East by Mandī and Suket, on the South by Bilāspur, and on the West by Jaswan, Sibā, and Guler.

DHARM CHAND — 1528-1563 : Made his submission at Nurpur camp to Akbar who received him with favour.

MANIKYA CHAND — 1563-1570 : Son of Dharm Chand.

JAI CHAND — 1570-1585 : Confined by Akbar, but later released. Kāngrā invaded by the Moghuls.

BIDHĪ CHAND — 1585-1605 : Son of Jai Chand. Rebellion by Hill Chiefs in 1588-89 against Moghul supremacy. He later submitted, and along with other Hill Chiefs, sent valuable presents to the Emperor Akbar. He also came with twelve other Hill Chiefs to Akbar's court to tender allegiance. He had to leave his son Triloka Chand as a hostage at the Moghul court. Married a Chambā princess.

TRILOKA CHAND — 1605-1612: As a boy-prince he was at the Moghul court as a hostage, and is said to have incurred the displeasure of Jehangir (then Prince Salim) by refusing to part with a pet parrot.

HARI CHAND II — 1612-1627 : Jehangir's army captured Kāngrā Fort in 1620. Jehangir visited Kāngrā in 1622 A.D. He went by way of Sibā and Guler and returned via Nurpur and Pathankot. He was fascinated with the valley and ordered a palace to be built of which only the foundations were laid. The Rājā of Chambā paid allegiance to Jehangir at Kāngrā and had many favours conferred on him. Hari Chand II was 12 years of age in 1620. He is said to have been killed by the Moghuls against whom he appears to have waged guerilla warfare. He died childless.

CHANDAR BHĀN CHAND — 1627-1660 : Harrassed the Moghuls greatly. He was descended from Kalyān Chand, younger brother of Dharm Chand. Local tradition refers to many of his exploits.

He was eventually captured and kept a close prisoner at Delhi.

VIJAI RĀM CHAND — 1660-1687 : Founded the town of Vijaypur. The old palace buildings thereof have decayed. He was the son of Chandar Bhān Chand. Vijaypur (Bijapur) remained the residence of the Rājās till the reign of Ghamand Chand.

UDAI RĀM CHAND — 1687-1690 : Brother of Vijai Rām Chand who died childless.

BHIM CHAND — 1690-1697 : Son of Udai Rām Chand. Repelled an invasion by the Rājā of Jammu. Sought favour of the Moghul Emperor by attendance at the Imperial court. Built a temple at Vijaypur. His brother, Kirpāl Chand, built the Bhawarnawalī water-course.

ALAM CHAND — 1697-1700 : Founded Alampur on the Beas, opposite Sujanpur.

HAMIR CHAND — 1700-1747 : Son Alam Chand. Had a long reign. Nawab Saif Ali Khan appointed the Moghul governor of Kāngrā Fort in 1740.

ABHAYA CHAND — 1747-1750 : Erected the Thakurdwara in Alampur. Commenced in 1748 the fortress-palace of Tira, known later as Sujanpur-Tira or Tira-Sujanpur.

GHAMIR CHAND — 1750-1751 : Uncle of Abhaya Chand, who died childless, and younger brother of Hamir Chand. Had eleven sons.

GHAMAND CHAND — 1751-1774 : A son of Ghamir Chand's younger brother. Ghamir Chand's own sons were excluded from succession by the State officials. Period of the break-up of the Moghul Empire. Wrested back much territory from the Moghuls. Was appointed

Governor of Jalandhar Doab by the Afghan invader Ahmad Shah Durrānī in 1758 A.D. Asserted supremacy over many Hill States. The town of Sujanpur, founded by him, was embellished with many fine buildings. Recruited a large army of Rohilla and Afghan mercenaries. Restored Kāngrā to much of its former prestige. Must have patronized painters.

TEGH CHAND — 1774-1775 : Son of Ghamand Chand. Pursued his father's policies. He had three sons, Sansār Chand, Fateh Chand and Mān Chand.

SANSĀR CHAND II — 1775-1823: Son of Tegh Chand. Succeeded to the throne at the age of ten. The greatest ruler of the Hills. Subdued many Hill States and compelled their Chiefs to attend his court. Maintained his supremacy with a large mercenary army. Patron of a large atelier of artists. Secured the return of Kāngrā Fort in 1786 A.D. Kept the young Rājā of Mandī a captive at Nadaun for twelve years. Invaded Chambā, Bilāspur, and other States. Maintained a brilliant court where highly talented men and skilled artisans gathered. Great builder. Enlarged Alampur and laid out numerous gardens at Alampur and other places. Coalition of Hill Chiefs combined with the Gurkhas to destroy Sansār Chand's power. Sansār Chand was defeated and forced to take refuge in Kāngrā Fort in *circa* 1806 A.D. The countryside was plundered by the Gurkhas and the confederacy. After four years of seige Sansār Chand sought the help of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The Gurkhas were driven off and the Fort taken over by Ranjit Singh. Sansār Chand retired to Tira Sujanpur and was subjected to indignities by the Sikhs. His income was greatly depleted. The traveller Moorcroft visited Sansār Chand in 1820 A.D. The traveller Forster passed through the Kāngrā Hills in 1783. Naurang was his Wazir when he was beseiged in Kāngrā Fort. Sansār Chand had a brother named Fateh Chand whose life was saved by Moorcroft's medical skill. In 1785 Sansār Chand married a daughter of Mān Pāl of Bangahāl. He also married a Suket princess. One Jamalo, a dancer, was his favourite concubine in the days of his decline.

ANIRUDDHA CHAND — 1823-1828 : Son of Sansār Chand. On his accession the Sikh court presented him with gifts including a horse, a bow, shawls, and jewels. Later Ranjit Singh demanded that Aniruddha's sister be married to Hira Singh, the son of his Prime Minister Rājā Dhian Singh of Jammu. Aniruddha fled from his State in 1828 with his family and personal possessions rather than yield to the insulting demand, and sought refuge in British territory. He thereafter, gave his two sisters to the Rājā of Tehrī-Garhwāl in marriage. Aniruddha died in *circa* 1832. After Aniruddha's flight a Sikh named Lehna Singh Majithia was Governor of Kāngrā. Nadaun was given as a *jāgir* to Jodhbir Chand a younger son of Sansār Chand by a Gaddī girl named Nokhu. Jodhbir Chand died in in 1873.

In 1833, at the intervention of British, Aniruddha's two sons, Ranbir Chand and Parmodh Chand, were granted a *jāgir* by Ranjit Singh in Mahal Morian where they took up their residence. The traveller Vigne met the two brothers there in 1835. Ranbir Chand died childless in 1847, and Parmodh Chand, who was sent as an exile to Almora for revolt against the British, died in 1851. Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, who had offered his own grand-daughter in marriage to Hira Singh after Aniruddha's flight, was granted a *jāgir* by Ranjit Singh. He died almost immediately thereafter and his son Ludar Chand succeeded to the *jāgir*. Ludar Chand was followed by Partāp Chand in 1851. He died in 1864 and Col. Sir Jai Chand became the head of the Katoch clan. Fateh Chand's branch are the Lambagraon Chiefs.

KASHTWAR

The clan name is Kashtwaria.

Bounded on the North by Ladakh, on the East by Padar and Chambā, on the South by Bhadrawah, and on the West by Kashmir.

VIJAI SINGH — 1550-1570:

BAHADUR SINGH — 1570-1588 : Son of Vijai Singh. Kashtwar invaded in 1572 A.D. by Ali Shah Chak, King of Kashmir. Bahādur Shah gave his sister, Shankar Dei, in marriage to Ali Shah's grandson Yakub Shah Chak.

PARTĀP SINGH — 1588-1618 : Son of Bahādur Singh. Also known as *BHUP SINGH*. Invasion by the Moghuls.

GUR SINGH — 1618-1629 : Another invasion by the Moghuls. Gur Singh made captive, and later imprisoned, but released after some time by Jehangir who had been much impressed by him. Jehangir gave him a horse and a dress of honour. Came to the court of Shah Jehan, with tributes, on Shah Jehan's accession. Built a palace at Bandarkot and good houses at Kashtwar. Gur Singh's son, Bhagwān Singh, fought for the Moghul army in Shah Jehan's Deccan campaign and was rewarded by the Emperor.

JAGAT SINGH 1629-1642 : Son of Gur Singh. Invaded Bhadrawah. Invasion of Kashtwar by Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī in which Jagat Singh was killed.

BHAGWĀN SINGH — 1642-1661 : Brother of Jagat Singh. Was at the Moghul court when his brother was killed. Regained the State with the help of the Moghuls capturing the Basohlī general Kantak who was beheaded. To commemorate the victory a yearly *melā* (festival) was instituted called *Kantak Jātrā*. His Wazirs were Jewan Sen and Kahn Sen.

MAHĀ SINGH — 1661-1674 : Was learned in the *shāstrās* and wrote poetry. Kashtwar prospered in his reign. Due to pressure from Aurangzeb many Muslims were appointed to offices in the State and a mosque was built and Mullas (religious leaders) from Kashmir employed. His son, Jāyā Singh, went to the court of Aurangzeb. He had three sons, Jāyā Singh, Rām Singh, and Sirdār Singh. He abdicated in 1674. One Ghias-ud-Din, and after his death one Muhabat Khan, were the Kashtwar hostages at the Moghul court.

JĀYĀ SINGH — 1674-1681 : Son of Mahā Singh. Sent his son Kirat Singh to the Moghul court. Kashtwar was prosperous in his reign. Jāyā Singh is said to have embraced Islam under the influence of a Muslim saint and changed his name to Bakhtiyar Khan. He made his brother, Rām Singh, his Wazir. The Rājā's youngest brother, Sirdār Singh, was made Commander-in-Chief of the army, but due to discontent retired to Kashmir and later went to the Delhi court. Rām Singh was sent to Delhi by the Rājā, probably as a hostage, along with one Abdul Qasim.

KIRAT SINGH — 1681-1728 : Son of Jāyā Singh. A good ruler. Was also converted to Islam due perhaps to pressure from the Moghul court. Adopted the name of Saadat Yār Khan and received a gift of rupees three lacs and an elephant from Aurangzeb. His sister, Bhup Dei, was married to the Emperor Farruksiyar in 1717 A.D. His brother, Mian Muhammad Khan, accompanied Bhup Dei to the Moghul court. It seems the ladies of the Kashtwar ruling house adhered to the Hindu faith and did not embrace Islam. Kirat Singh's uncle, Rām Singh, who had long been at the Moghul court, acted as Wazir. Rām Singh had apparantly become a Muslim while at Aurangzeb's court and received the name of Dindar Khan. Kirat Singh was assassinated by one Krishna who in his turn was slain by Inayat-Ullah, son of Abdul Qasim.

AMLUK SINGH — 1728-1771 : Son of Kirat Singh. Gave much money to dervishes. Was known as Sa'adatmand Khan. He had four sons, Mihr Singh, Sujan Singh, Dalel Singh and Guman Singh.

MIHR SINGH — 1771-1786 : Son of Amluk Singh. Bore the name Sa'idmand Khan. Is said to have become insane. Invasion by Basohlī in *circa* 1784 A.D. when Mihr Singh fled to Kashmir. Later on the State was occupied by the Chambā forces who set up one Kundan Singh, youngest son of Sampat Pāl of Bhadrawah, as Rājā, but thereafter Kundan Singh was

suspected of plotting and imprisoned at Chambā. The State was regained by Mihr Singh, with the help of his brother Sujan Singh, shortly before his death. This brother, Sujan Singh, had at one time quarrelled with Mihr Singh and gone to Jammu soon after the latter's accession, while Dalel Singh, another brother, had done likewise and gone to Chambā. Mihr Singh's queen was named Vilasamājī. The traveller Forster passed through the State in 1783 A.D.

SUJAN SINGH — 1786-1787 : Brother of Mihr Singh. Reigned only ten months and on his death a pretended son of Mihr Singh, named Prithī Singh, was put on the *gādī*, but was done to death in six months by Ajit Singh, son of Guman Singh. Ajit was replaced by an officer from Jammu, named Lāl Dev, sent by the Jammu King. Due to Lāl Dev's tyranny the rightful heir, Inayat-Ullah Singh, was installed on the throne.

INAYAT-ULLAH SINGH — 1788-1789 : Son of Sujan Singh. He had resided at the Jammu court, perhaps as a hostage. Was imprisoned at Jammu prior to his accession. Was killed by treachery by his own cousin Gulāb Singh and his Wazir Nur-ud-din. He made a journey to Srinagar to pay his respects to the Durrānī Governor of Kashmir, Nawab Azad Khan, and had to maintain a *vakil* (consul), named Muhammad Hafiz Ullah, at the governor's court.

TEGH SINGH — 1789-1823 : Son of Inayat-Ullah Singh. Known as Saif Ullah Khan. Visited Kashmir *circa* 1790 A. D., and received valuable presents from Nawab Abdullah Khan, the Durrānī governor of Kashmir who had rebelled and defeated Timur Shah Durrānī with the help of Kasthtwar forces under a general named Dalipu. Tegh Singh's claim was disputed and he was displaced by one Anwar Singh (a son of Fateh Singh, and grandson of Ajit Singh and great grandson of Guman Singh). But Anwar Singh was poisoned and Tegh Singh restored. Tegh Singh gave asylum to Shah Shuja of Kabul and refused to surrender him to Ranjit Singh from whose clutches Shuja had escaped after Ranjit Singh had compelled him to part with the famous Kohi-i-Nur diamond. Ranjit Singh bore a grudge against Tegh Singh for this defiance and at his instance Gulāb Singh of Jammu seized the State in *circa* 1820 A.D. by stratagem and took Tegh Singh prisoner. Later he was poisoned at Lahore in 1823. Zorawar Singh Kahluria, an illegitimate son of the Rājā of Bilāspur, and a brave soldier, was put in charge of the State by Gulāb Singh. Tegh Singh had three sons, Jaimal Singh, Zorawar Singh, and Dilawar Singh. His Wazirs were first one Jatojī and thereafter one Lakhpat Rai who later held high office under Gulab Singh of Jammu. One of Anwar Singh's brothers, named Dalip Singh, took refuge in Chambā, while the others went to Jammu.

KHARĪ - KHARIYALĪ

The clan name is Chibh

On the left bank of the Lower Jehlum.

Rājā Umar Khan was ruling when Ranjit Singh invaded the State. Umar Khan died before any settlement was reached and Ranjit Singh granted half the State to Umar Khan's son, Akbar Alī Khan. On his death his territory was confiscated and a pension given to Amir Khan, second son of Umar Khan.

KULU

The clan name is Kolī or Kolua

Bounded on the North by Ladakh, on the East by Tibet, on the South by the Sutlej and Bashahr, and on the West by Suket, Mandī, and Chambā.

BAHĀDUR SINGH — 1532-1559: Rupī became part of Kulu in his reign. Rebuilt the town of Makarahar and built a palace there. Three Kulu princesses were married to the Chambā prince Partāp Singh, son of Ganesh Varman, in this reign.

PARTĀP SINGH — 1559-1575:

PARBAT SINGH — 1575-1608:

PRITHĪ SINGH — 1608-1635:

KALIAN SINGH — 1635-1637: Brother of Prithī Singh

JAGAT SINGH — 1637-1672: Transferred the capital to Sultanpur and built the temple of Raghunāthji and conveyed his realm to the idol of Ragunāth. Since then the Rājās of Kulu regard themselves merely as the vice-regents of Ragunāth. Sent presents of hawks and falcons to the Moghul court where his son was residing as a hostage. Invaded Lāg State. He had three sons, Harī Singh, Bidhī Singh, and Fakir Singh. Is said to have married a Chambā princess. Lahul was divided between Chambā and Kulu in his reign.

BIDHĪ SINGH — 1672-1688: Son of Jagat Singh. Invaded Lahul. Fakir Singh, his brother, went to Delhi as a hostage.

MĀN SINGH — 1688-1719: Invaded Spitī. War with Mandī. Kulu was a powerful State in his reign.

RĀJ SINGH — 1719-1731: He appears to have been a magician and could breathe out flames. He gave a cold reception to Guru Govind Singh, the Sikh religious leader, who sought his help against the Muslims.

JAI SINGH — 1731-1742: Son of Rāj Singh. Fled due to a revolt in his State engineered by his Wazir, Kalu of Diyar, and later became a holy man.

TEDHĪ SINGH — 1742-1767: Brother of Jai Singh. Enlisted a bodyguard of *Bhairagīs* (mendicants). Invasion of Kulu by Ghamand Chand of Kāngrā. Had three illegitimate sons named Pritam Singh, Charan Singh, and Prem Singh.

PRITAM SINGH — 1767-1806: Son of Tedhī Singh by a concubine. A prosperous reign. It is certain that there were artists at his court. Bhāg Chand was his Wazir.

BIKRAMA SINGH — 1806-1816: Son of Pritam Singh. Invasion by the Sikhs.

AJIT SINGH — 1816-1841: Son of Bikrama Singh by a concubine. Kulu visited by Moorcroft in 1820 A.D. Sansār Chand of Kāngrā instigated the king's uncle, Kishan Singh, to dispute the succession. Kishan Singh, with assistance from Kāngrā, advanced into Kulu and Ajit Singh fled but returned and captured Kishan Singh. On the Sikh invasion of the State, Ajit Singh fled to Shangrī which was under British protection. There he died in 1841. His Wazir was Sobha Rām.

THAKUR SINGH — 1841-1852: On Ajit Singh's death a first cousin named Thakur Singh was recognized by the Sikhs as Rājā, with Rupī as his *jāgīr*. Thakur Singh visited Mahārājā Sher Singh at Lahore. After the first Sikh War, under the treaty of 1846, Kulu was to all intents and purposes dismembered as a State, though Thakur Singh was confirmed in his *jāgīr* of Rupī. Thakur Singh died in 1852 and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Gyan Singh.

GYAN SINGH — 1852-1869: The British withdrew all political powers from him and changed his title from Rājā to Rai. Gyan Singh died in 1869, and was succeeded by his son Dalip Singh.

DALIP SINGH — 1869-1892 : On Dalip Singh's death an illegitimate son, Megh Singh, succeeded.

MEGH SINGH — 1892-1921 : On Megh Singh's death his son, Bhagwant Singh, became Rai of Rupī.

BHAGWANT SINGH — 1921 : This must be the Rai whom J. C. French, the author of *Himalayan Art*, 1931, met when he toured the Hill States. He showed paintings to French.

KUTLEHR

The clan name is Kutlehria

A small principality situate on the borders of Kāngrā and Hoshiarpur.

Yadu Pāl was the ruler who submitted in 1745 to Adina Beg, the Moghul Governor.

LAKHANPUR

The clan name is Lakhanpuria

Bounded on the North by the Karaidhar Range, on the East by the Rāvī, on the West by the Ujh river, and on the South by the plains.

BALABHADAR — Ruled during the reign of Akbar. Involved in the revolt of 1588-89. The State fell to Nurpur in the latter part of the 18th century. Later ceded by the British to Gulāb Singh of Jammu.

MANDĪ

The clan name is Mandial.

Bounded on North by Kulu and Kāngrā, East by Kulu, South by Suket, West by Kāngrā.

AJBAR SEN — 1499-1534 : Founded the town of Mandī. Built the old palace called Chaukī, now in ruins. Also built the temple of Bhutnāth. His queen built the temple of Triloknāth. Her name was Suratrānā Devī. His Wazir was Bisht.

CHATAR SEN — Son of Ajbar Sen. Some authorities[1] say he reigned from 1534-1554, but it appears that he died in the lifetime of his father.

SAHIB SEN — 1534-1554 : Son of Chatar Sen. Married Prakash Dei, a daughter of the Rājā of Bilāspur. She was a wise and pious lady. She had many drinking fountains constructed along various roads, laid mule-tracks, and gave generously to Brahmans. In this reign the Moghuls exacted tribute from Mandī of only Rs. 500 a year, because the poverty of the Hill States was proverbial.

As was the case with other States, Mandī had to maintain a *Vakīl* (representative) at the court of the Moghul Emperor, another was required to be resident at the local court of the Moghul Faujdār (governor) of Kāngrā.

NARAIN SEN — 1554-1574 : Son of Sahib Sen. Was deformed. Is said to have been cured by an ascetic Sidh Chunī-Munī. Built the fort of Naraingarh.

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[1] Hutchison and Vogel give his dates as 1534-1554 those Sahib Sen as 1554-1575; those of Narain Sen as 1575-1595, those of Kesab Sen as 1595-1623 and those of Hari Sen as 1623-1637. I have adopted the dates given by Man Mohan in his *History of the Mandi State*.

KESAB SEN — 1574-1604 : Probable that Mandī came under the paramountcy of the Moghuls in his reign.

HARĪ SEN — 1604-1637 : Had a reputation of being a most expert hawker. The Hill breeds were much prized and there was a trade in them with dealers from the plains.

SURAJ SEN — 1637-1664 : Son of Harī Sen. War with Kulu. Married a daughter of Jagat Singh of Nurpur. War with Guler. He had a silver image of the god Madho-Rai made in 1648 A.D. by one Bhima, a goldsmith, because all his sons had died and he despaired of an heir. His daughter married Harī Deo of Jammu. Built the palace in Mandī called Damdama.

During his minority his Wazir was one Kroria Khatrī who schemed with Jagat Singh of Nurpur to have Suraj Sen murdered when he went to Nurpur to marry Jagat Singh's daughter. The plot leaked out and Kroria was put to death. Later on his Wazir was one Mian Jalpu. Suraj Sen was a brave and dashing soldier. Defeated various *Rānās* including Mian Rām Chand of Kot Sulhanī. He also married a Katoch princess from Kāngrā, and a daughter of the Rānā of Surajpur. He was a very devout Hindu.

SHYAM SEN — 1664-1679 : Brother of Suraj Sen. War with Suket. Built temple of Shyam Kālī on the hill adjoining Mandī town. During Suraj Sen's rule he had left the State and taken refuge in Chambā. A sister of Shyam Sen was married to Rājā Dip Chand of Bilāspur and was the mother of Bhim Chand of Bilāspur.

Shyam Sen was pleasure loving and extremely fond of music and spent much of his time in his harem. War with Kulu, and though successful he was later ambushed and nearly lost his life because he insisted on taking an unsafe route to a place named Kandhi where he had ordered his troupe of musicians and dancing girls to meet him.

GUR SEN — 1679-1684 : Son of Shyam Sen. Visited holy places in India and brought back an image from Jagannāth. He was very fond of duck shooting.

He married a daughter of Rājā Bidhi Parkash of Sirmoor. During his father's rule he had gone to Nepal for three years and it is said that 700 men from Mandī accompanied him. He helped the Rājā of Nepal to regain a certain fort and received many favours. He made war on Kulu which had to pay him a war indemnity. Had a brother named Dhān Chand. Avoided an attack on the State by the Moghul governor, Nawab Hussain Khan, by resort to an amusing trick of a forged *firman* (order) from the Moghul Emperor commanding the governor to give up the expedition against Mandī and proceed to the Deccan. Helped Bilāspur to stave off an attack by the Rājā of Suket who was aided by the Moghul governor of Lahore and other Hill chiefs.

SIDH SEN — 1684-1727 : Was a great warrior. Wars with Suket and Kulu. Added much territory to the State. He was reputed to be a magician with power over demons. He was a man of giant stature. Built the temple of Sidh-Ganesh near Mandī and also the temple of Sidhbhadra. Had a daughter who was married to Prithī Pāl of Bangahāl. His son, Shiv-Jawala Sen, predeceased him.

In the beginning of his reign his Wazir was the wise Mian Jappu an illegitimate son of Rājā Shyam Sen, while the commander of his forces was the gallant Mian Bir Singh. Annexed the territory of the Rānā of Hatlī. Captured the dissolute Prithī Pāl of Bangahāl by strategem and had him assassinated, but Kulu and Kāngrā secured most of Bangahāl and Sidh Sen gained little by his treachery. His son, Shiv Jawla Sen, married the daughters of Mian Abhai Chand and Mian Jai Rām. Sidh Sen's forces, under his generals Prohit Dhanu and Bisht Harī Dās, captured Garh Dhansar. The brave Rānā of Tikroo was also defeated and his territory annexed. Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikh religious leader, visited Mandī and was well received. Sidh Sen used to venerate Sadhus and religious devotees. He is said to have built fourteen temples in all.

Prohit Bishanpat and Bisht Harī Rām were amongst his military commanders. He had many *sartoras* (sons of concubines) and the names of some are known — Sainu, Trainu, Assu, Nadu, and Ishar.

SHAMSER SEN — 1727-1781 : Son of Shiv-Jawala Sen by a Hatialī princess. Succeeded to the throne at the age of five. Married a Chambā princess, daughter of Ugar Sen. In his later years power was seized by his brother Dhurchatia whose designs caused the heir apparent, Surma Sen, to take refuge in Kāngrā with Tegh Chand. But later Surma Sen returned with help and expelled Dhurchatia.

During his minority the wise Jappu remained the Wazir of the State but due to intrigues was got murdered by the Queen mother who was in league with Harī Dās and one Dharm Nath and Sidh Sen's *sartoras*. The faction which opposed the Queen mother consisted of Jappu, the commander-in-chief Bir Sen, and Prohit Dev Datt. When Shamsher Sen took the government into his own hands he developed a liking for low companions. His *Jalebdars* (personal servants) included one Bhadia, a blacksmith. He did many crazy things and appears to have been of weak intellect with the result that imposters like Prohit Basantu and a gosain named Bhiwanī Gir could impose upon him and receive favours. He appointed a low caste man named Mangtu as his adviser. Shamsher Sen married a daughter of the Mian of Mukhanpur and also a daughter of Mian Alam Katoch of Jasinghpur. His generals included Surjan Singh, Dev Datt, Mian Badalin, and Dān Chand. In his reign the famous Moghul governor, Adina Beg, in the course of a triumphant march through the Hills received the submission of the Rājās of Jaswan, Mānkot, Nurpur, Bhaboria, Kutlehr, Bangahal, Guler, and several others. Forewarned by Rājā Dalip Singh of Guler, Shamsher Sen sent one Mian Udhar Singh of Mandī, a friend of Dalip Singh of Guler, to the Moghul governor assuring him of the loyalty of Mandī State to the Moghul Emperor. He thus staved off an invasion by Adina Beg's forces. His *vakil* (representative) at the court of the Moghul governor of Lahore was one Kimu a very clever man.

SURMA SEN — 1781-1788 : Son of Shamser Sen by his Katochī *rānī*. The State prospered. Had to acknowledge the paramountcy of Sansār Chand of Kāngrā.

Surma Sen, when crown prince, had fled the State with his tutor Bhairagī Rām. Bilāspur refused to give him asylum but Tegh Chand of Kāngrā gave him shelter and help. Surma Sen expelled Durchatia who fled to Jammu, while Durchatia's colleague, Mian Uchhab, was killed though he put up a brave resistance. Bhairagī Rām became the Wazir when Surma Sen ascended the *gādī*. Surma's Sen's sister married Rājā Prakash Chand of Guler. A half hearted attack on Rājā Pritam Singh of Kulu by Surma Sen was repulsed. Amongst his commanders were Sardar Pandit Jai Kishen, Wazir Jhagru, Mian Parvin, Mian Gauhar Singh of Guler, Bisht Din Dayal, and Bisht Achhru Rām. Surma Sen was a very fine horseman.

ISHVARĪ SEN — 1788-1826 : Son of Surma Sen. Mandī was invaded by Sansār Chand of Kāngrā in 1792 A.D. and Ishvarī Sen, who was then eight years old, along with his brother Salim Sen was taken to Tira Sujanpur and kept a captive at Sansār Chand's court for twelve years. Regained his freedom with the Gurkha invasion of Kāngrā in 1805 A.D. Moorcroft visited Mandī in 1820 A. D. and met Ishvarī Sen. The ex-Rājās of Bashahr and Nagpur obtained asylum in Mandī in this reign.

He married a Katoch princess, daughter of Sansār Chand's brother Fateh Chand. It is said that Fateh Chand gave his daughter in marriage to Ishvarī Sen, who was a captive at the Kāngrā court, to prevent Sansār Chand putting Ishvarī Sen to death in a fit of caprice. When Sansār Chand had invaded Mandī and tried to take the impregnable fort of Kamlah he conspired with two Mandī officers named Murlī and Wazir Mānku, but a loyal partisan of Ishvarī Sen, named Bhāgu, foiled the conspiracy. Later on court intrigues led to the execution of Bhāgu. In this reign there was a man in Mandī named Khannu. He was a mighty warrior with a monstrous

face whose very appearance frightened the enemy. He is said to have killed Ishvarī Sen's tutor, Bhairagī Rām, who was initially responsible for inviting Sansār Chand to intervene in the affairs of Mandī State. Though Ishvarī Sen regained his freedom in *circa* 1805 he was subjected to a crippling tribute by the Sikhs who had overrun the Hill States. This was however reduced by bribing Jemadar Kushal Singh, the Sikh tax collector in the Hill States. There is a portrait of the Jemadar in Arnold and Wilkinson, *The Library of Chester Beatty*, 1936, Vol. 3, Plate 92.

Ishvarī Sen had many good qualities and was hospitably inclined. Married a princess of Rampur Bashahr and it is known that when he went to that State for his bride he had taken a troupe of musicians and dancing girls with him. This was apparently a common procedure on such occasions.

ZALIM SEN — 1826-1839 : Son of Surma Sen. Carried on intrigues against his brother Ishvarī Sen during the latter's rule. Made over the State to Balbir Sen before his death.

He was a cruel and capricious ruler and hated by his subjects. He had his Wazir, Dharī Khātu, murdered. Other ministers who served him were, Mahī Dayavar, Doogla, Anant Rām and one Goshaoon. A ministership offered to Wazir Kapoor of Kulu was refused. One of his commanders was Sodha Guleria.

BALBIR SEN — 1839-1851 : Son of Ishvarī Sen by a concubine. He was twenty-two at the time of his accession. The traveller Vigne met him shortly thereafter and describes him as follows : 'The young Rājā himself is short and stout in person with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European-like countenance.' He had three sons, Bajai Singh, Pradhan Singh, and Mān Singh. The traveller Vigne mentions that Balbir Sen's palace was adorned with frescoes. Mandī was occupied by the Sikhs under General Ventura in 1840 A.D. and Balbir Sen was sent prisoner to Amritsar. He was released in 1841 A.D. by Sher Singh and returned to Mandī. After the defeat of Sikhs by the British he remained under the protection of the latter. The negotiations for protection were carried on by a Mandī official named Prohit Shibhu.

Ishvarī Sen had no legitimate issue but he left four *sartoras* of whom Balbir Sen was one, the others being Ratan Singh, Kapur Singh, and Bhāg Singh. Zalim Sen also had no legitimate issue but only one *sartora* named Raghunāth Singh. Balbir Sen however was chosen by Zalim Sen ignoring his own *sartora*, as also Mians Tega and Dalla grandsons of Dhurchatia, and Zalim Sen's own brother Mian Ude Singh. Balbir Sen had a religious bent of mind. Balbir Sen's release from Sikh captivity was largely due to Upadhadharī, an official of Mandī. In 1843, Tikka Rudar Sen of Suket quarelled with his father Raja Ugar Sen of Suket and took refuge in Mandī. In 1846, Bhup Singh, son of Mian Tega, made a bid for the throne but the rebellion was suppressed. Balbir Sen had two wives, one the daughter of the Rānā of Chiragh and the other a daughter of Mian Sadh of Guler. She became the mother of Bijai Sen. He also had two *sartoras*, Pardhan Singh and Mān Singh.

BIJAI SEN — 1851-1902 : Son of Balbir Sen by his Gulerī *rānī*. Came to the *gādī* at the age of four. Married a grand-daughter of the Rājā of Datarpur, and also a niece of the Rājā of Guler. It is of interest to note that by strategem he secured a portrait of the Datarpur princess before marrying her. In all he married eight wives.

MANKOT (Now called Rāmkot)

The clan name is Mānkotia.

Bounded on the North by Bandralta, on the East by Bhadu and Balor, on the South by the Karaidhar range, and on the West by Bhotī.

PRATĀP DEV — Ruled during the reign of Akbar and was one of the thirteen Hill Chiefs who came to his court with valuable presents to offer their submission after a revolt against the Moghuls in 1588-89.

ARJAN DEV

SITAL DEV — He was apparently blind as his portraits indicate. See Fig 70.

MAHIPAT DEV

DHOTA DEV

TREDĪ SINGH — He was apparently the Rājā known as Tehrī Singh who offered his submission to Adina Beg, the Moghul governor, in *circa* 1745.

AJMAL DEV

DALEL SINGH

CHATAR SINGH

APARAB SINGH

In 1783 A.D. the traveller Forster passed through Mānkot and states that a chief, dependent on Jammu, resided there. This indicates that the State must have become tributary to Ranjit Dev of Jammu. Mānkot was annexed by the Sikhs in 1820 A. D. Later it was conferred as a fief on Suchet Singh of Jammu.

NURPUR

The clan name is Pathania.

Bounded on North by Chambā, on the East by Kāngrā and Guler, on the South by the Punjab plains, and on the West by the river Rāvī.

BAKHT MAL — 1513-1558 : The fortress of Māukot was erected in his reign. Helped Sikandar Shah against the Moghuls but was taken prisoner and put to death in 1558. Built the fort of Shapur on the Rāvī.

PAHĀRĪ MAL — 1558-1580 : Brother of Bakht Mal. He conceived the idea of shifting the capital Pathankot, which was too near the plains, to Dhamerī (Nurpur), but died before the change could be carried into effect. He is also referred to by historians as Bihārī Mal and Takht Mal.

BAS DEV — 1580-1613 : Son of Pahārī Mal. He transferred the capital from Pathankot to Dhamerī (Nurpur). Was one of the chiefs who submitted to the Moghuls after the revolt of 1589 and accompanied Zain Khan Koka to the Imperial court. Built Nurpur Fort and the ruined temple in the Fort. Rebelled several times against the Moghuls. Shown favours by Jehangir at whose court he was often in attendance. Was pictured amongst the nobles of Jehangir in a fresco in the Lahore Fort seen by the traveller Finch in 1611 A.D. Led the Moghul expedition against the Rānā of Mewar in 1611 A.D. Given a sword of honour by Jehangir. Was also known as Basu. He had three sons, Suraj Mal, Jagat Singh, and Madho Singh.

SURAJ MAL — 1613-1618 : Son of Bas Dev. Served with Prince Khurram's[1] army in the Deccan campaign. Honoured by Jehangir, on the occasion of leading a force against Kāngrā, with a standard of drums, dresses of honour, an elephant, and a jewelled dagger. Later rebelled against the Moghuls, was defeated and sought refuge in Chambā where he died.

JAGAT SINGH — 1619-1646 : Brother of Suraj Mal. Served in the Moghul army. Presented by Jehangir with a jewelled dagger, a horse, and an elephant. Jehangir and his Empress Nur Jehan visited Nurpur in 1622 A.D. and both were delighted with the site. Jehangir granted a lac of rupees for the construction of worthy buildings at Nurpur. Revolted against the Moghuls but was pardoned. Invaded Chambā in 1623 A.D. Took control of Basohlī State till about 1627 A.D. Contrived to have Bhupat Pāl of Basohlī assasinated when Bhupat Pāl attended the Moghul court at Delhi. Fought for the Moghul army on the Frontier. Returned to Lahore in 1638 A.D. and received presents from the Emperor Shah Jehan. Again rebelled against the Moghuls but was pardoned. In 1645 A.D. presented by Shah Jehan with a dress of honour, a sword with gold enamelled mountings, and a horse with a silver-mounted saddle. He changed the name of the capital Dhamerī to Nurpur in honour of Jehangir's visit. Jehangir was known as Nur-ud-din. Nurpur attained prosperity during his reign. He was always intriguing against the other Hill Princes.

RĀJRUP SINGH — 1646-1661 : Son of Jagat Singh. Given a dress of honour by Shah Jehan. Fought in the Moghul army and was absent from his State for ten years. Served in the expeditions to Kandahar under Aurangzeb in 1652, and under Dārā Shikoh in 1653. Given presents by Dārā Shikoh and his wife to induce him to join Dārā against the other sons of Shah Jehan in the fratricidal war. But he failed Dārā, and fought for Aurangzeb. Helped Aurangzeb to coerce the Rājā of Garhwāl to give up the fugitive prince Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā. Rājrup's younger brother, Bhāu Singh, also served with the Moghuls and in 1886 became a convert to Islam and received the name of Murid Khan from the Emperor Aurangzeb and was given a portion of Nurpur territory (in the hands of the Moghuls) in fief, with Shapur as its capital. This State of Shapur was overturned by the Sikhs in 1781. The name Murid Khan became the surname of that branch of the family.

MĀNDHATA — 1661-1700 : Son of Rājrup. Held high office under the Moghuls. Built the Thakurdwara in the Nurpur Fort. It is adorned with frescoes pertaining to the Krishna legend. Appears to have been much in attendance at the Imperial court. He is reputed to be the author of many of the *Rhapsodies of Ghambir Rai* which sing the praises of the war-like Jagat Singh.

DĀYĀDHATA — 1700-1735 : His son, Indar Singh, married a daughter of the Kāngrā Rājā and settled in that State. Dāyadhata had four sons, named Prithvī Singh, Indar Singh, Mahan Singh, and Sundar Singh, all by different *rānīs*.

PRITHVĪ SINGH — 1735-1789 : Son of Dāyādhata. The traveller Forster passed through Nurpur in 1783 A.D. and found it well governed and but little molested by the Sikhs who were gaining power in the Hills. Nurpur became tributary to Sansār Chand of Kāngrā some time after 1786 A.D. Prithvī's son, Fateh Singh, predeceased him. Forster states that Nurpur enjoyed a state of more internal quiet and was governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories.

BIR SINGH — 1789-1846 : Son of Fateh Singh. Driven from his State by the Sikhs in 1815, he settled in Arkī. He was married to a Chambā princess, the sister of Charat Singh. In 1826 he plotted against the Sikhs and sought to recover Nurpur. He failed and was imprisoned, but ransomed after seven years by Charat Singh of Chambā. The traveller Vigne met Bir Singh at Chambā in 1839. He has described Bir Singh as short of stature, with a long face, large

[1] Prince Khurram later became the Emperor Shah Jehan.

aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere and a goodnatured, manly, but melancholy expression. Bir Singh died in 1846 before the walls of Nurpur which he again tried to retake when the Sikhs were defeated by the British in 1845. For the later history of Nurpur see page 234.

PUNCH

The clan name is Mangral.

Bounded on the North by the Pir Panjal range, on the West by the river Jehlum, on the South by the plains, and on the East by Rajaurī.

SIRĀJ-UD-DIN KHAN—Descended from the Rathors of Jodhpur. Became a Muhammadan. Appointed ruler of Punch by the Emperor Jehangir (1605-1628).

FATEH MUHAMMAD KHAN—Son of Sirāj-ud-din.

ABDUL RIZAK KHAN

RUSTAM KHAN—Son of Abdul Rizak.

SHĀBĀZ KHĀN—Grandson of Abdul Rizak.

RUHULLAH KHAN—His reign came to an end in 1819. The succession intervening between Shābāz Khan and Ruhullah Khan is not ascertainable clearly. Punch was under Moghul suzerainty from *circa* 1586 to 1752, and thereafter under the Durrānīs. In 1814, a Sikh invasion was frustrated, but in 1819 the State was annexed by the Sikhs and the Rājā, who always supported the Durrānīs, was expelled. Soon thereafter Punch was granted by Ranjit Singh in fief to Rājā Dhian Singh, younger brother of Gulāb Singh of Jammu. The traveller Vigne passed through Punch in 1837. In 1846, after the first Sikh war, Punch was made over to Rājā Gulāb Singh and this caused trouble between Gulāb Singh and Jawāhir Singh, son of Dhian Singh, who regarded himself as the ruler. In 1859, after Gulāb Singh's death, Jawāhir Singh agreed to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Motī Singh who ruled till 1897.

RAJAURĪ

The clan name is Jaral.

Bounded on the North by the Pir Panjal, on the West by Punch, on the South by Bhimbar, and on the East by the river Chenab.

SARMAST KHAN — 1580-1600 : A contemporary of Akbar to whom he offered valuable presents. Akbar always took the route via Raujarī on his way to Kashmir. He ordered that all members of the ruling family under the Rājā should be addressed as Mirza, and this mode of address remained in force in the Rajaurī family.

TĀJ-UD-DIN KHAN — 1600-1646 : Also known as Chatar Singh. The Emperor Jehangir, who frequently visited Rajaurī on his way to Kashmir, notes that the people suffer from goitre. In 1644 A.D. Shah Jehan marched to Kashmir, via Rajaurī, with his son Aurangzeb, and a halt was made at Rajaurī where the Rājā's daughter, Rāj Bai, was married to Aurangzeb. Her son was Bahadur Shah who succeeded Aurangzeb in 1707.

HAYAT-ULLAH KHAN — 1646-1648 : Son of Tāj-ud-din Khan.

INAYAT-ULLAH KHAN — 1648-1660 : Grandson of Taj-ud-din Khan. Erected some fine buildings in Rajaurī, employing skilled workmen from the plains, and also laid out a garden called Shalimar. His Wazir was Ajab Singh.

HIDAYAT-ULLAH KHAN — 1660-1683 :—An indolent ruler who left the management of his State in the hands of his brother Rafi-Ullah-Khan.

AZMAT-ULLAH KHAN — 1683-1760 : Was three years of age when he ascended the throne. Due to plots against his life was sent out of the State to Delhi where he was looked after by the Rajaurī princess who was married to the Emperor Aurangzeb. When he attained the age of discretion he was allowed by Aurangzeb to return to his State. Later on, after Aurangzeb's death, he helped Aurangzeb's son, Azam Shah, in the fratricidal war. When the Durrānī became overlord of the Hills in 1752 A.D. he maintained cordial relations and sent a contingent with his son, Rahmat-Ullah Khan, to help in the Durrānī expedition against the Moghul governor of Kashmir. After this expedition Rahmat died. When the king as a minor was at Delhi the State was ruled by his uncle Rafī-Ullah-Khān whose nephew, Lutf-Ullah Khan, was made the Wazir.

IZZAT-ULLAH KHAN — 1760-1765 : Son of Rahmat-Ullah Khan.

KARM-ULLAH KHAN — 1765-1808 : Long disputes took place with the Durrānī governor of Kashmir who even attacked Rajaurī but was repulsed. Finally peace was made and Karm Ullah visited Kashmir. He was also friendly with Ranjit Dev of Jammu. He had four sons.

AGAR-ULLAH KHAN — 1808-1819 : Son of Karm-Ullah. Sent his brother Rahim-Ullah to Kashmir as Agent of the State. Agar-Ullah pretended to help the Sikhs of Ranjit Singh when they advanced on Kashmir, but actually contrived their discomfiture. For the part played by him, Rajaurī was attacked by the Sikhs in 1815 and the capital looted and the country laid waste for miles around. The Sikhs again attacked Kashmir in 1819 and Agar-Ullah fought against them but they were helped by his brother Rahim-Ullah, and Agar-Ullah was made prisoner and confined at Lahore till his death in 1825. His brother Rahim-Ullah was made Rājā.

RAHIM-ULLAH KHAN — 1819-1847 : Moorcroft visited Rajaurī in 1823 and describes the Rājā as a mild, good-humoured man. Vigne also met the Rājā in 1835, then aged about sixty-five, and describes him as 'short, but large and muscular, his mouth large, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes smaller in proportion and the expression of his countenance though somewhat stern and heavy is decidedly a good one.' Despite the best efforts of Rahim-Ullah and his son Faqir-Ullah Khan, the State finally fell a prey to the greed of Gulāb Singh of Jammu, and the British connived. The family of the Rājā went into exile whilst an entire populace wept.

RIASĪ

The clan name is Riasial.

A petty State tributary to Jammu.

SAMBĀ

The clan name is Sambial.

Situate between Jammu and Jasrota, it is now a *tahsil* in Jammu territory.

The State came under the control of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1735-1781) and in *circa* 1822 it fell to the share of Suchet Singh, brother of Gulāb Singh of Jammu, to whom it was given in fief by Māharājā Ranjit Singh.

SIBĀ

The clan name is Sibai

It is an offshoot from Guler State in the Kāngrā district.

Jehangir passed through Sibā State on his way to Kāngrā in 1622. The State was subject to Sansār Chand of Kāngrā from 1786-1805. Guler invaded Sibā in 1808 A.D. and annexed it. Taken by Ranjit Singh in 1810 A.D. Restored by the Sikhs to Gobind Singh in 1830 A. D. Two Sibā princesses married into the family of Rājā Dhian Singh of Jammu, Prime Minister of Ranjit Singh.

KILĀS CHAND — circa 1550 :

PRĀG CHAND

SANSĀR CHAND

NARAIN CHAND

TILOK CHAND

KISHAN CHAND

JAI CHAND

PRITHĪ CHAND

AMAR CHAND

JASWANT SINGH

BHĀG SINGH

LAKEL SINGH

MADHO SINGH

SHER SINGH

GOBIND SINGH — Circa 1806-1845 : Bhup Singh of Guler annexed the State in 1808 A.D. It came under Ranjit Singh in 1810. Restored to Gobind Singh in 1830 A.D.

RĀM SINGH — 1845-1874 :

SIRMOOR

Bounded on the North by the Simla States of Balsan and Jubbal, on the East by the Tons river, on the South by Kalsia and Ambālā, and on the West by Patiālā.

DHARM PARKASH — 1535-1567 :

DIP PARKASH — 1567-1583 :

BAKHT PARKASH — 1583-1605 :

BHUPAT PARKASH — 1605-1615 :

UDECHAND PARKASH — 1615-1616 :

KARAM PARKASH — 1616-1630: Founded the capital, called Nahan, in 1621 A.D.

MANDHATA PARKASH — 1630-1654 :

SOBHAG PARKASH — 1654-1664 :

BIDHĪ PARKASH — 1664-1684: Son of Sobhag Parkash. Also known as Budh Parkash. Had a brother named Harī Singh.

MEDINĪ PARKASH — 1684-1704: Also known as Mat Parkash.

HARĪ PARKASH — 1704-1712 :

BIJE PARKASH — 1712-1736 :

PARTIB PARKASH — 1736-1754 :

KIRAT PARKASH — 1754-1770 :

JAGAT PARKASH — 1770-1789: Son of Kirat Parkash.

DHARM PARKASH — 1789-1793: Son of Kirat Parkash and brother of Jagat Parkash.

KARM PARKASH—1793-1815: Brother of Dharm Parkash. Abdicated in 1815 and died in 1826. Married a Guler princess. His Wazir was Mauji Rām Māhta. Karm Prakash had four daughters, one of whom married Sudarshan Shah of Garhwāl, two of them married Bije Chand of Nalagarh, and one married Kharak Chand of Bilāspur.

FATEH PARKASH—1815-1850: Moorcroft visited Nahan in this reign. Fateh Parkash was then fourteen years of age.

RAGHBIR PARKASH—1850-1856 :

SHAMSHER PARKASH—1856-1898 :

SUKET

The clan name is Suketia.

Bounded on the North by Mandī, on the East by Kulu, on the South by the river Satlej, and on the West by Bilāspur.

ARJUN SEN — 1540-1560 : Encroachments by Mandī. The territory of Rupī was lost to Suket in his reign.

UDAI SEN — 1560-1590 : Son of Arjun Sen. Built a fort named Udaipur.

DIP SEN — 1590-1620 : Moghul influence must have come either in his reign or that of his predecessor.

SHYAM SEN — 1620-1650 : Married a Guler princess and a Bashahr princess. Went to the court of Shah Jehan at Lahore. Given a dress of honour. War with Bilāspur, whose ruler Kalian Chand had married Shyam Sen's daughter. Kalian Chand was killed. Shyam Sen and his brother Naurang Singh were confined at Delhi by the Moghuls owing to the intrigues of Jagat Singh of Nurpur, but later Shyam Sen was released. Built the fort of Māngarh. Kulu and Mandī made considerable inroads on Suket territory during Shyam Sen's imprisonment. He had two sons, Rām Sen and Prithī Sen, and a daughter, by his Guleri *rānī;* and a son, Harī Sen, by his Bashahri *rānī* who, with her son, was banished for an attempt on the life of Rām Sen.

RAM SEN — 1650-1663 : Son of Shyam Sen. War with Mandī. Erected the fort of Rāmgarh. Became insane and died.

JIT SEN — 1663-1721 : Son of Rām Sen. Wars with Mandī in which Suket was defeated and lost territory.

GARUR SEN — 1721-1748 : Grandson of Harī Sen. His queen, the daughter of the Rānā of Himli, built the Suraj Kund temple which still exists. Visited Kulu and Kāngrā and gained their support and thus silenced all opposition to himself from his own people who would not regard him as the rightful heir to the throne. Had two sons, Bhikam Sen and Bahādur Singh. Founded the town of Suket.

BHIKAM SEN — 1748-1762 : Son of Garur Sen. He had two sons, Ranjit Sen and Kishan Singh. Along with other Hill States, Suket asserted its independence during this period owing to confused political conditions in the plains.

RANJIT SEN — 1762-1791 : Son of Bhikam Sen. He had a brother, Kishan Singh, whose daughter was married to Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Owing to disaffection, Kishan Singh obtained help from Kāngrā and burnt and sacked the town of Suket. He then retired to Jagannāth. He had a son named Mian Bishan Singh who shot the Suket minister, Ghorkhan, while out hunting, because he bore him a grudge. He also had a grandson, Narender Singh, who was instrumental in obtaining a reduction of the levy imposed on Suket by the Sikhs in the reign of Bikrama Sen. Narender had married his daughter to Maharaja Sher Singh of Lahore. Ranjit Sen married a Sirmoor princess and a Guler princess. Prosperous reign. His two sons, Amar Singh and Mian Singh, by his Guleri *rānī*, both died when young. The Government was carried on by an able minister named Narpat whom the heir-apparent, Bikrama, disliked. The latter therefore withdrew from the State and went to Bilāspur.

BIKRAMA SEN — 1791-1838 : Son of Ranjit Singh by his Sirmoor *rānī*. Returned from Bilāspur on his father's death and ascended the *gādī*. Gave allegiance to Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. Moorcroft visited Suket in 1820 A.D. Bikrama Sen was tall and handsome, and strict in the administration of his State and in punishment of crimes. Put to death the Wazir Narpat. Removed the capital to Baned, now Sundernagar. The old capital Suket then came to be known as Purana Nagar. Later, was imprisoned by the Rājā of Bilāspur, but escaped. Had two sons, Ugar Singh and Jagat Singh, and one daughter who married into the Nurpur royal house.

UGAR SEN — 1838-1876 : Son of Bikrama Sen. Invasion by Sikhs. Came under British control after 1846 A.D. He was fond of music. By his Kutlehr *rānī* he had two sons, Shib Singh and Rām Singh, and a daughter, Dei Sārdā, who was married in 1853 to Srī Singh of Chambā. By his Jamwalī queen he had a son, Rudar Sen, and by his Patiala *rānī* a son, Mian Narain Singh. Built the temple of Shiva at Amla Bimla. Was well versed in Sanskrit.

RUDAR SEN — 1876-1879 : Son of Ugar Sen. Married a Katoch princess in 1843 and a Garhwāl princess and a Bilāspur princess in 1853. He later married a daughter of Jai Singh of Arkī.

ARIMARDAN SEN — 1879 : Son of Rudar Sen by his Bilāspur *rānī*. Had a sister who was married to the Rājā of Sirmoor, and a brother named Dusht-Nikandan Sen. Died shortly after accession. Was only 15 when he came to the throne.

DUSHT NIKANDAN SEN — 1879-1908 : Son of Rudar Sen. Married an Arkī princess, niece of Rājā Dhian Singh of Arkī. Had two sons, Bhim Sen and Lachman Sen, who succeeded to the *gādī* in 1908 and 1919 respectively.

TIRIKOT

The clan name is Tirikotia.

A small principality situate in the outer Savalak Hills bordering the plains.

THE NAWABS OF OUDH.

SA'ADAT KHAN — 1724-1739 :

SAFDAR JUNG — 1739-1754: Some artists from Delhi migrated to Oudh after Nadir Shah's invasion of 1739.

SHUJA-UD-DAULA — 1754-1775: Many painters worked at his court in the late Moghul manner.

ASAF-UD-DAULA — 1775-1797: The activity in painting continued, but with each succeeding reign the output became poorer.

WAZIR ALI — 1797-1798 :

SA'ADAT ALI — 1798-1814 :

GAZI-UD-DIN-HAIDER — 1814-1827 :

NASIR-UD-DIN HAIDER — 1814-1833 :

THE SIKH MAHARĀJAS OF LAHORE

RANJIT SINGH — 1792-1839: He was responsible for the overthrow and decline of the Hill States. A decadent style of Kāngrā painting was in vogue at his court and it continued in the reigns of his successors. His power was paramount in the Punjab from *circa* 1800.

He bore a grudge against the Hill Rājās, whom he had vanquished, because he knew that these blue-blooded proud Rajput chieftains despised him as an upstart of no pedigree. They would not give their daughters in marriage to Ranjit Singh and when a Pathania, Mian Padma, did so, he was ostracised by the Hill Mians. The Mians were the descendant of the noble houses of the Hill States. Ranjit Singh was born in 1780.

KHARAK SINGH — 1839-1840: Son of Ranjit Singh. Deposed after a few months.

NAU NIHAL SINGH — 1840: Son of Kharak Singh. Killed on way back from his father's funeral.

SHER SINGH — 1841-1843: A reputed son of Ranjit Singh. Was assassinated.

DALIP SINGH — 1843-1849: A reputed son of Ranjit Singh. Deposed by the British.

THE MOGHUL KILADĀRS OF KĀNGRĀ FORT

NAWAB ALI KHAN — The first Moghul Kiladār of the Fort. Appointed by Jehangir after the Fort fell to the Moghuls in 1620.

HURMAT KHAN — Son of Nawab Ali Khan. Appointed in the reign of Jehangir.

NAWAB ASAD ULLAH KHAN — Appointed in the reign of Shah Jehan.

KOCH QULI KHAN — Appointed in the reign of Shah Jehan. Remained in command of the Fort for 17 years.

SAYYID HUSAIN KHAN — Appointed in the reign of Aurangzeb.

HASSAN ABDULLA KHAN PATHAN — Appointed in the reign of Aurangzeb.

NAWAB SAYYID KHALIL ULLLAH KHAN — Appointed in the reign of Aurangzeb.

SAIF ALI KHAN — Appointed in 1740 during the reign of Mahomed Shah. He remained in command of the Fort till his death in 1783. He was the most remarkable of the Kiladārs of Kāngrā Fort maintaining his position even when Moghul authority came to an end in the Hills and he was isolated and beleaugered holding nothing beyond the range of his guns.

When Ranjit Singh obtained possession of the Fort in 1786, after raising the siege by the Gurkhas, he appointed Desa Singh Majithia to be the Kiladār of the Fort.

THE MOGHUL EMPERORS

BABUR — 1526-1530:

HUMAYUN — 1530-1556: Commencement of the Moghul school with strong Persian influence due to Humayun's bringing Persian painters to his court after his return from exile in 1555 A.D.

AKBAR — 1556-1605: In this reign, due to the great Indianization of the Imperial atelier, the Moghul school developed its own marked characteristics. The famous *Hamzāh Nāmā* series on linen, where the Indian influence is first noticed, was commenced in this reign and not in the reign of Humayun as maintained by most European writers on Indian art. This is clear from the dates given in Badaoni's *Mumtakhabu't Tawarikh*, and the *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

JEHANGIR — 1605-1628: The reign of the royal connossieur. In some respects, particularly in portriture, the reign of Jehangir was the peak period in Moghul painting.

SHAH JEHAN — 1628-1658: Some splendid work was done in this reign, but towards its end the beginning of the decline can be sensed.

AURANGZEB — 1658-1707 : His religious bigotry and apathy to all art brought about the decline of the Moghul school. He spent the last years of his life in the Deccan and never returned to the Imperial capital of Delhi. He married a daughter of Taj-Ud-Din Khan of Rajāurī.

BAHADUR SHAH — 1707-1712 : There is no revival in his reign. But a reaction against Aurangzeb's austerity probably set in and was responsible for the revival which took place later.

JAHANDAR SHAH — 1712 : A profligate ruler, effeminate in character, indolent and licentious. The tendency came into being for effete and romantic themes such as love scenes, music parties, zenana pastimes, etc. He fell in love with a low-bred woman, Lāl Kaur, and delighted in low company.

FARRUKSIYAR — 1713-1719 : The same tendencies continued because Farruksiyar also enjoyed the company of low, pleasure-loving people. But a partial revival in the quality of the output is noticed. He married a sister of Kirat Singh Kashtwar.

MAHOMED SHAH — 1719-1748 : The partial revival in quality seen in the former reign was often maintained, but effete and romantic tendencies continued. He resigned himself to frivolous pursuits. The invasions during his reign led to many artists seeking refuge in the Hill States, and thus the 'pre-Kāngrā' phase of Pahārī art commenced.

AHMAD SHAH — 1748-1754: He was the son of Mahomed Shah by a dancing girl named Udham Bai. Wine and women became his ruling passion. The revival reached a stage of stagnation.

ALAMGIR II — 1754-1759: The stagnation continued, though the Emperor himself was religious minded and not a profligate. But he lacked the qualities that make for capable government.

SHAH ALAM — 1759-1806: A great deal of work was produced, and though another revival was attempted in the form of copying the works of the Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan periods, the results indicate that the glory of Moghul painting was gone for ever.

AKBAR II — 1806-1837 : An utterly decadant period for Moghul painting.

BAHADUR SHAH II — 1837-1857 : Even the shadowy semblance of Imperial Moghul rule ended with the Mutiny of 1857.

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Sashī and Punnu, Rupam, No. 30.

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Roopa Lekha, Vol. 27, No. 1, where Randhawa's article on 'Kāngrā Artists' which appeared in *Art and Letters*, Vol. 29, No. 1, is republished with unexplained alterations in some of the genealogies. Thus the position remains as unsatisfactory as before with regard to the reliability of these genealogies.

Marg, Vol. 10, No. 2, where W. G. Archer writes on 'Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills'; Mulk Raj Anand on 'Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs' and Bhai Gian Singh on 'Techniques of Fresco Painting'.

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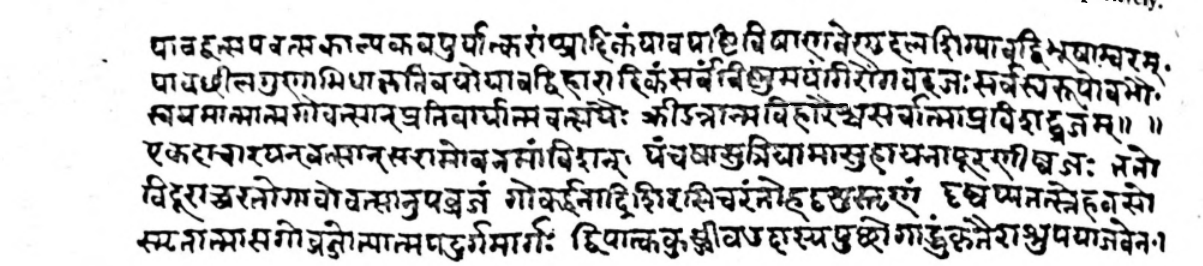
Facsimile inscriptions on the reverse of Fig 3, Fig. 13, Pl : XVIII, Fig 17 and Fig. 50 respectively.



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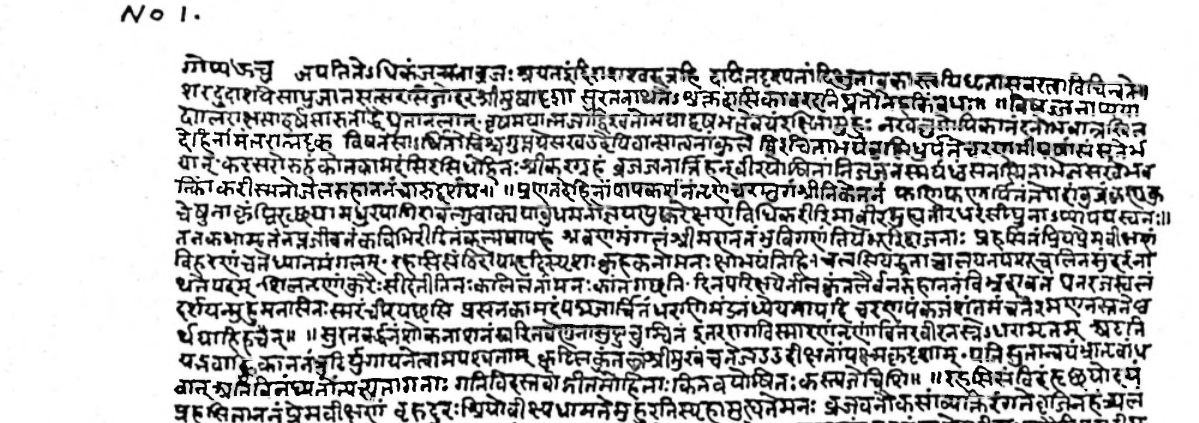

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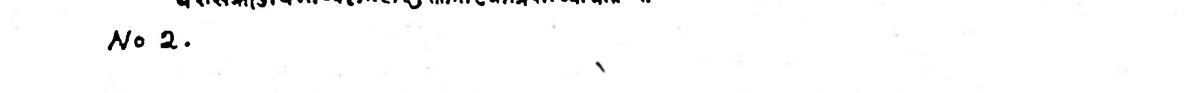

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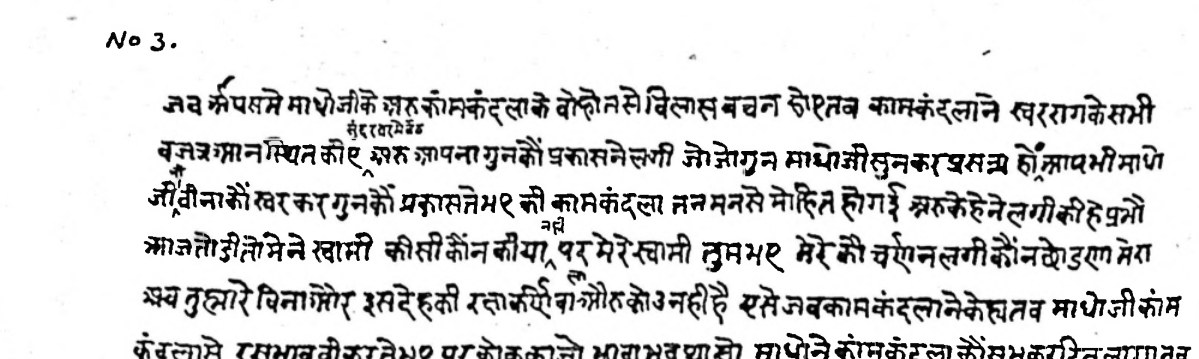

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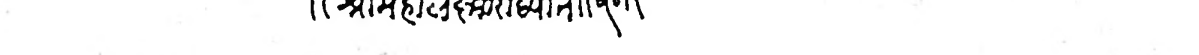


No 5.

IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF PAHĀRĪ PAINTINGS

Indian Museums

1. Allahabad, Municipal Museum.
2. Aundh, Aundh Museum.
3. Banāras, Bhārat Kalā Bhavan,—An extensive collection.
4. Baroda, State Museum and Gallery.
5. Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum.
6. Calcutta, Indian Museum.
7. Chambā, Bhurī Singh Museum. Not confined to the Chambā school.
8. Chandigarh, Museum under construction. The collection is at present housed at the Punjab Government Museum, Simla. An extensive collection containing a part of the former collection of the Lahore Museum. Also contains most of the Guler Darbār collection and many examples from the collections of Rāmsingh of Bhawarna, Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler, Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh of Nalagarh and the Mānkot Darbār.
9. Lucknow, Lucknow Museum.
10. New Delhi, National Museum (under construction) at present housed at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Extensive collection. Includes the B. N. Treasurywala, S. N. Gupta and Eric Dickinson collections. Also some examples from the Jugmohandas Mody collection.

Foreign Museums

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Extensive collection built up by Coomaraswamy.
2. Lahore, Central Museum. Part of the extensive collection was given to the Chandigarh Museum on the partition of India and Pakistan.
3. London, British Museum. Contains part of the Manuk and J. C. French collections.
4. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Contains the Rothenstein collection and part of the J. C. French collection.

The fate of the collections in German Museums is not known. Munich is reported as safe.

Private Collections, Indian (including well-known collections now dispersed).

1. Bilāspur Darbār, Bilāspur.
2. Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh, Nalagarh. Mostly acquired by Punjab Museum.
3. Mrs. Helen Chamanlal, New Delhi.
4. The Mahant of Damthal. Collection dispersed.
5. Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee, Bombay. Collection dispersed.
6. Late Eric Dickinson, Lahore. Acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi.
7. O. C. Gangoly, Calcutta.
8. Ajit Ghose, Calcutta. Collection largely dispersed.
9. Guler Darbār, Haripur. Major part of collection acquired by Chandigarh Museum. The Chandigarh Museum is also referred to as the Punjab Museum.
10. Samarendranath Gupta, Lahore and New Delhi. Acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi.
11. Mr. Justice Jailal, New Delhi. Acquired by the Punjab Museum.
12. Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

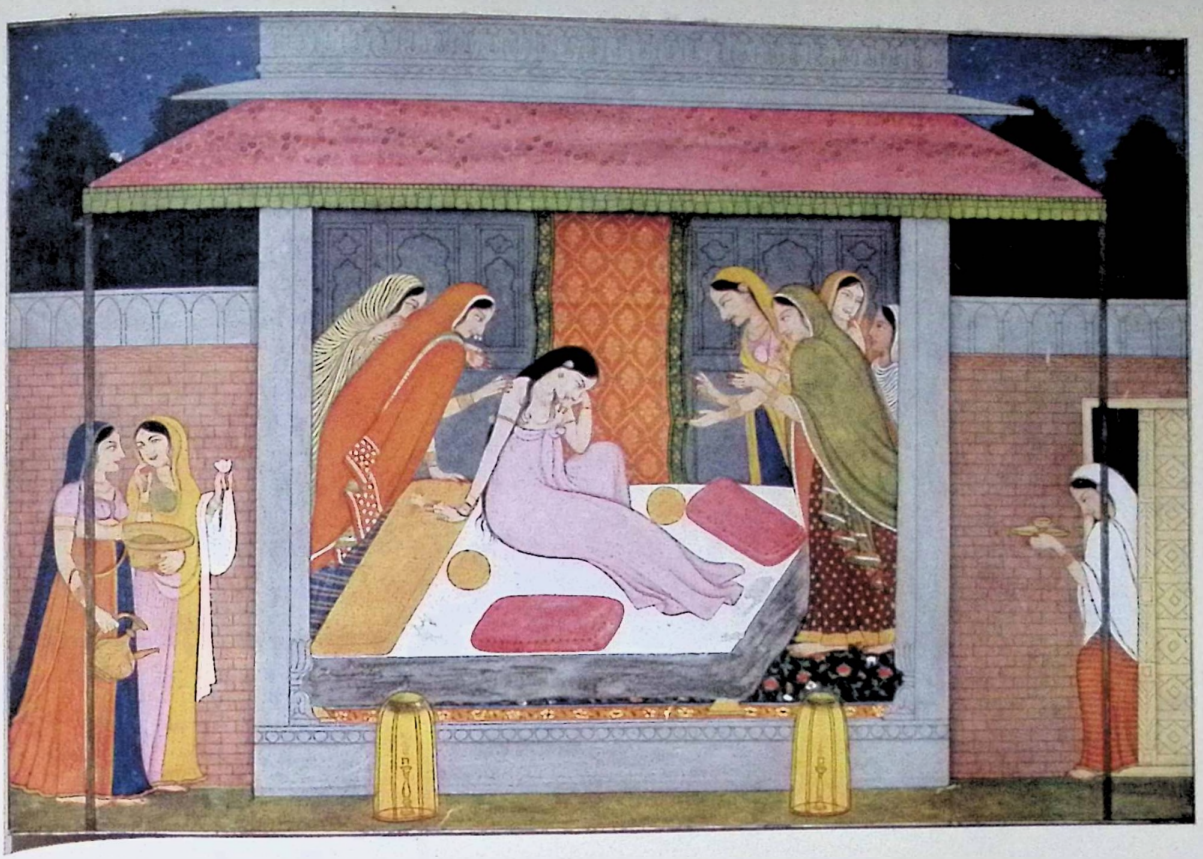
13. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., Bombay.
14. Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta.
15. Karl Khandalavala, Bombay.
16. Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur. Several acquired by the Punjab Museum.
17. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Ahmedabad. Formerly the Tagore collection, Calcutta.
18. Mukandi Lāl, Dalhousie and Garhwāl.
19. Lambagraon Darbār. Inherited part of Sansār Chand's famous collection.
20. Alma Latifi, Bombay.
21. Mandī Darbār, Mandī.
22. Mānkot Darbār, Mānkot. Acquired by Punjab Museum.
23. N. C. Mehta, Bombay.
24. Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad (Deccan).
25. Jugmohandas Mody, Bombay.
26. Mrs. Shantikumar Morarjee, Bombay.
27. Raja of Nadaun, Nadaun.
28. Sant Prakash Singh, Alawalpur.
29. Rāmsingh of Bhawarna. Collection dispersed, largely acquired by the Punjab Museum.
30. Svetoslav Roerich, Bangalore and Kulu.
31. Rai of Rupī, Sultānpur. Collection dispersed.
32. Suket Darbār, Suket.
33. Capt. Sunder Singh. Inherited from the Kotla family of Guler. Acquired by Punjab Museum.
34. Late Sir Dorab Tata, Bombay. Collection dispersed.
35. Tehrī-Garhwāl Darbār, Tehrī-Garhwāl.
36. Late B. N. Treasurywala, Bombay. Acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi.
37. F. D. Wadia, Poona.

Private Collections, Foreign.

1. W. G. Archer, London.
2. Abdul Rahaman Chaugtai, Lahore.
3. Late J. C. French, London. Dispersed between British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
4. W. B. Manley, Guilford.
5. Late P. C. Manuk, Patna and London. Divided between British Museum and other institutions.
6. Sir William Rothenstein, London. Acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Note: Some of these collections have only a few Pahārī paintings but they are of sufficient interest to be noted.

PLATE Z



Usha's dream. Illustration to an Aniruddha-Usha series. Chamba idiom of early Kangra Kalam. 1770-1775 A.D. Probably painted by the artist Rām Lal. Formerly in the collection of the Chamba Darbar. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. See page 268. Size 8½ × 6½ ins.

ADDENDA

(1) *Kulu Kalam*

The conclusions which I had arrived at with regard to the Kulu Kalam (pp. 103-109) have received further support from certain new discoveries. Recently Jagdish Mittal, the artist, was commissioned by the Lalit Kalā Akadami, to copy a fresco in an old palace in Sultanpur, the capital of Kulu. This fresco is in the Kāngrā style and belongs to the reign of Pritam Singh (1767-1806).

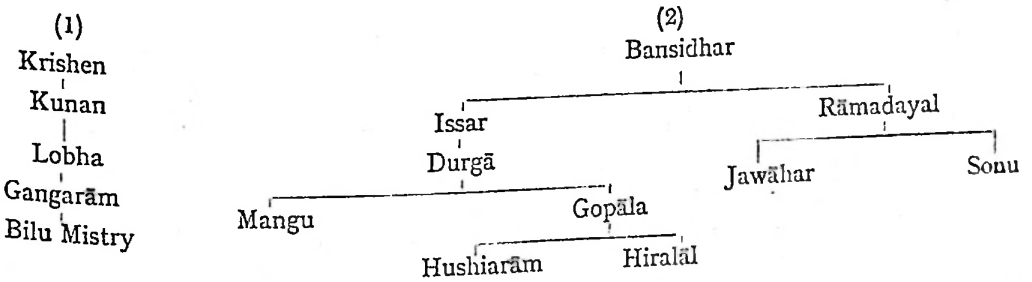
While copying this fresco Mittal discovered another room in this palace with a fragmentary fresco illustrating a scene from the *Rāmāyana*. The female types therein correspond almost exactly to the female types of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* dated 1794 A.D. (Fig. 21)[1] and the *Gīta Govinda* (Fig. (a) on p. 109) which I have ascribed to Kulu.

There is enough local evidence to indicate that this palace was decorated by Pritam Singh and in fact an inscribed equestrian portrait of his son, Bikrama Singh (1806-1816), is to be found on its walls in the very apartments where the *Rāmāyana* fragment was discovered. Mittal also secured an illustrated MSS of *Mālatī Madhu* identical in style with the *Bhāgavata Purāna* of 1794 A.D. What is so interesting is that it bears a colophon stating it was painted in 1799 A.D. during the reign of Pritam Singh at Ragunathpura by the painter Bhagwān. Thus the colophon establishes that these illustrations are by the same artist who painted the *Bhāgavata Purāna* of 1794 (Fig. 21). Bhagwān was doubtless one of the court artists of Pritam Singh. This MSS of *Mālatī Madhu*, which was secured from one of the members of the ex-ruling family of Kulu, as also several other miniatures coming from the same source completely support my identification of various miniatures illustrated in this volume as examples of the *Kulu Kalam*. Some of them portray Kulu personalities and others are from a *Rāgamālā* series.

One of the most interesting of these miniatures is a portrait study of Rājā Tedhī Singh of Kulu (1742-1767) with a lady and two female attendants. The style appears to be just a little earlier than that of Pritam Singh's time and we can sense how the style of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (Fig. 21) was developed from the style prevailing in Tedhī Singh's reign. We must thus place the beginnings of the *Kulu Kalam* earlier than Pritam Singh's reign.[2] I hope to have photos of the *Rāmāyana* fresco, Tedhī Singh's portrait (in colour) and one example from the *Mālatī Madhu* (in colour) published in *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4. See also 'Study Supplement' Nos. 145A and 145B.

(2) *Genealogies of Chambā Artists* (see Appendix II).

The following somewhat extended genealogies have recently been obtained from Chambā by Jagdish Mittal, but one cannot vouch for their authenticity. The first table deals with the ancestry of the artist Bilu Mistry, (No. 8. in Appendix II). The second table deals with the ancestry of the artists Hiralāl (No. 33), Durgā (No. 19), Mangu (No. 49), Jawāhar (No. 39) and Sonu (No. 77) in Appendix II. All the persons mentioned in these tables are said to have been artists themselves.



[1] See page 108 where the erroneous caption under Fig. 21 has been rectified.

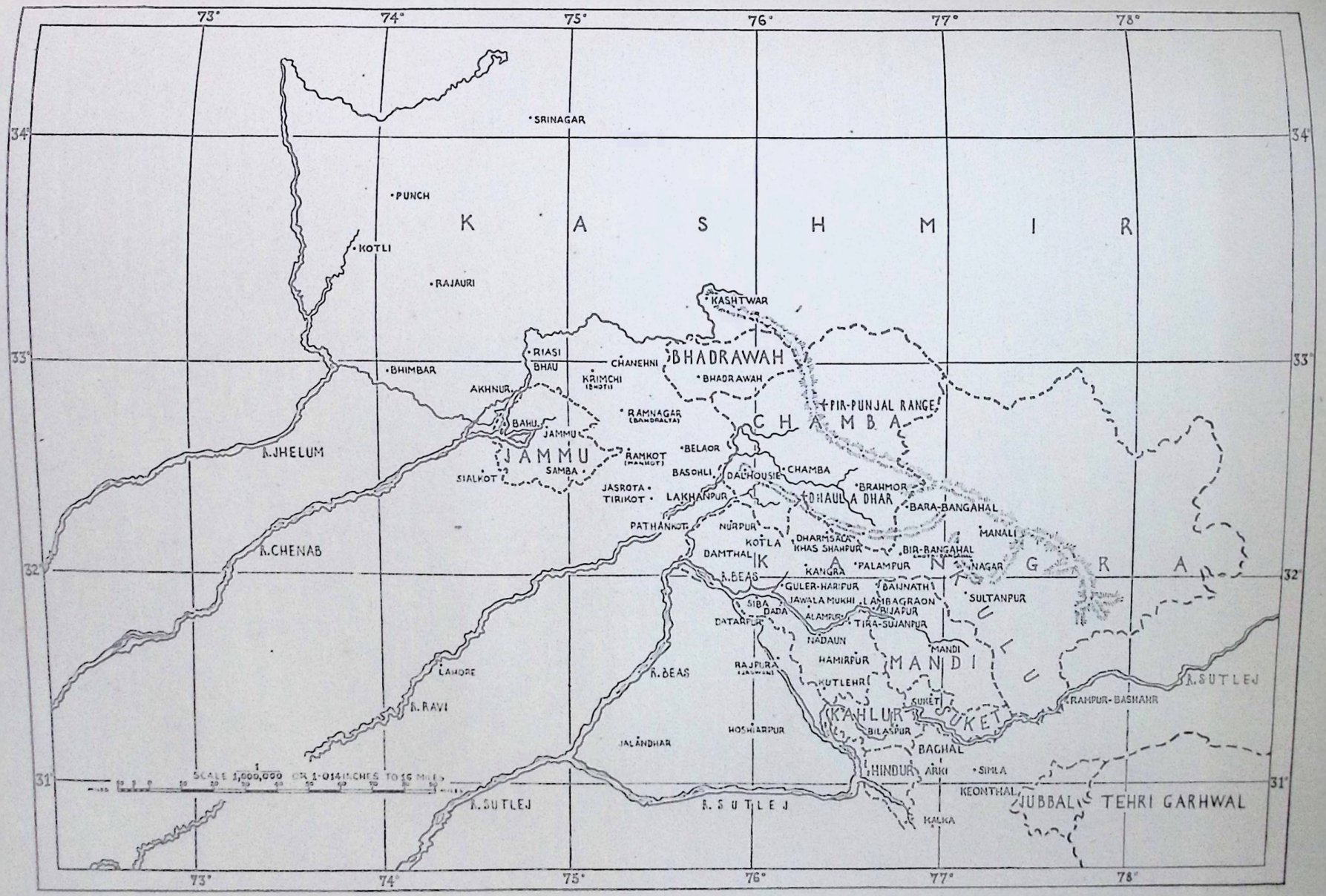
[2] At page 103 I had suggested that the *Kulu Kalam* may have developed in Pritam Singh's reign.

(3) *Nalagarh Painting*

In *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, there is an article by M. S. Randhawa on Nalagarh Painting accompanied by seven illustrations from the collection of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh. Two Nalagarh artists, Harī Singh and Nar Singh (Nos. 31 and 59 in Appendix II), are referred to therein though their particular works have not been identified. It is apparent that Nalagarh painters adopted the same idiom as that of Bilāspur-Sirmoor (see p. 239). They probably came from Bilāspur to the Nalagarh court. This would be quite natural because Gaje Singh, father of Rām Saran of Nalagarh (1788-1848), was brought to the throne by Devī Chand of Bilāspur (1741-1778) who had been called in to restore order in the unsettled affairs of the State. The paintings belong to the late 18th and first half of the 19th century. Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh's collection has now been acquired by the Punjab Government Museum, Simla. Nalagarh is also known as Hindur. For genealogy see p. 355.

(4) *Origin of Garhwāl Masterpieces* (see pp. 256- 260).

In *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 26, No. 1, there is an article by Mukandi Lāl entitled 'Garhwāl School Not Founded by Guler Artists'. Herein he points out that the theory put forward by Archer in his *Garhwāl Painting*, 1955, that Guler artists went to Garhwāl about 1775 and painted the Garhwāl masterpieces is partly based on a fallacy. This fallacy lay in assuming that a Guler princess (daughter of one Ajab Singh) was married to Pradyuman Shah of Garhwāl (1785-1804) and that Guler artists had accompanied her to Garhwāl. But Archer's authority for this statement about the alleged marriage was, strange to say, Mukandi Lāl himself (see *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 36). It appears that Mukandi Lāl was guilty of a careless statement and what he really meant to say was that a Guler lady was married to Pratāp Shah of Garhwāl (1872-1886). I was always doubtful of the correctness of Mukandi Lāl's statement and in fact said so at page 258 of the present volume. My misgivings have proved correct. Thus Archer's theory about Guler artists going to Garhwāl about 1775 with the marriage party has no factual basis. I have dealt with Mukandi Lāl's article in my review of *Roopa Lekhā*, Vol. 26, No. 2, published in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 1-2.



Map of the Hill States showing the important centres where painting flourished. Only two main mountain ranges are shown, but all the area is hilly.

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Wazir Ali, Nawab of Oudh (1797-1798) — 375
Wazir Jhagru, Mandī General — 366
Wazir Kapoor of Kulu — 367
Wazir Mānku, Mandi officer — 366
Willow trees in Pahārī painting — 104, 107, 236, 282

Yadu Pāl, Raja of Kutlehr — 364
Yakub Shah Chak — 361

Zain Khan Kokā — 358, 368
Zakaria Khan, Moghul Viceroy of the Punjab — 350, 356
Zalim Sen, Raja of Mandī (1826-1839) — 367
Zenana painting — 27, 28, 49, 78, 90, 146, 161, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 176
Zorawar Chand, Wazir of Bilāspur — 348
Zorawar Singh (brother of Charat Singh, Raja of Chambā) — 222, 345, 351
Zorawar Singh (cousin of Brajrāj Dev, Raja of Jammu) — 356
Zorawar Singh (son of Tegh Singh, Raja of Kashtwar) — 362
Zorawar Singh Kahluria — 357, 362

COLOUR
and
MONOCHROME PLATES

PLATE I



Krishna's Bath. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

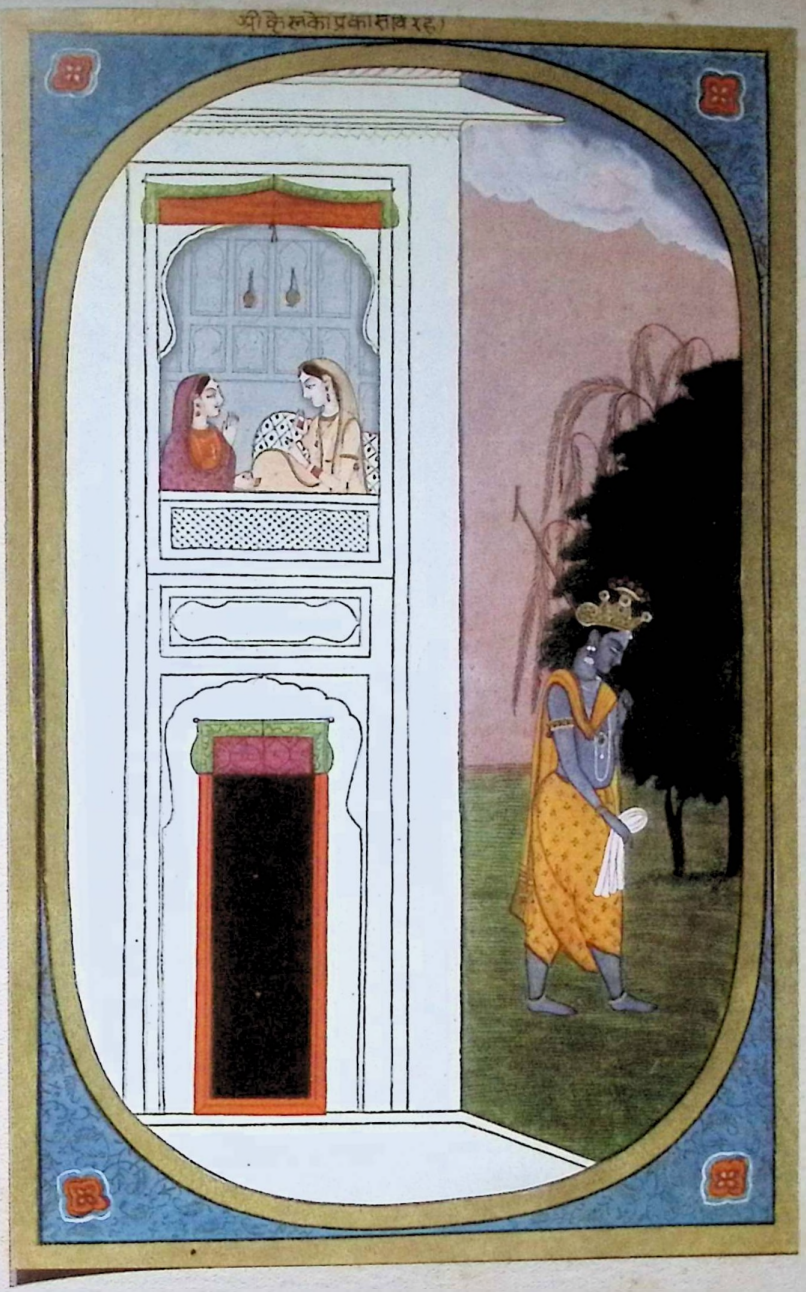


A Toilet Scene. Kangra Kalam.
1800-1825 A.D. Possession Author. Size 7¼ × 5½ ins.

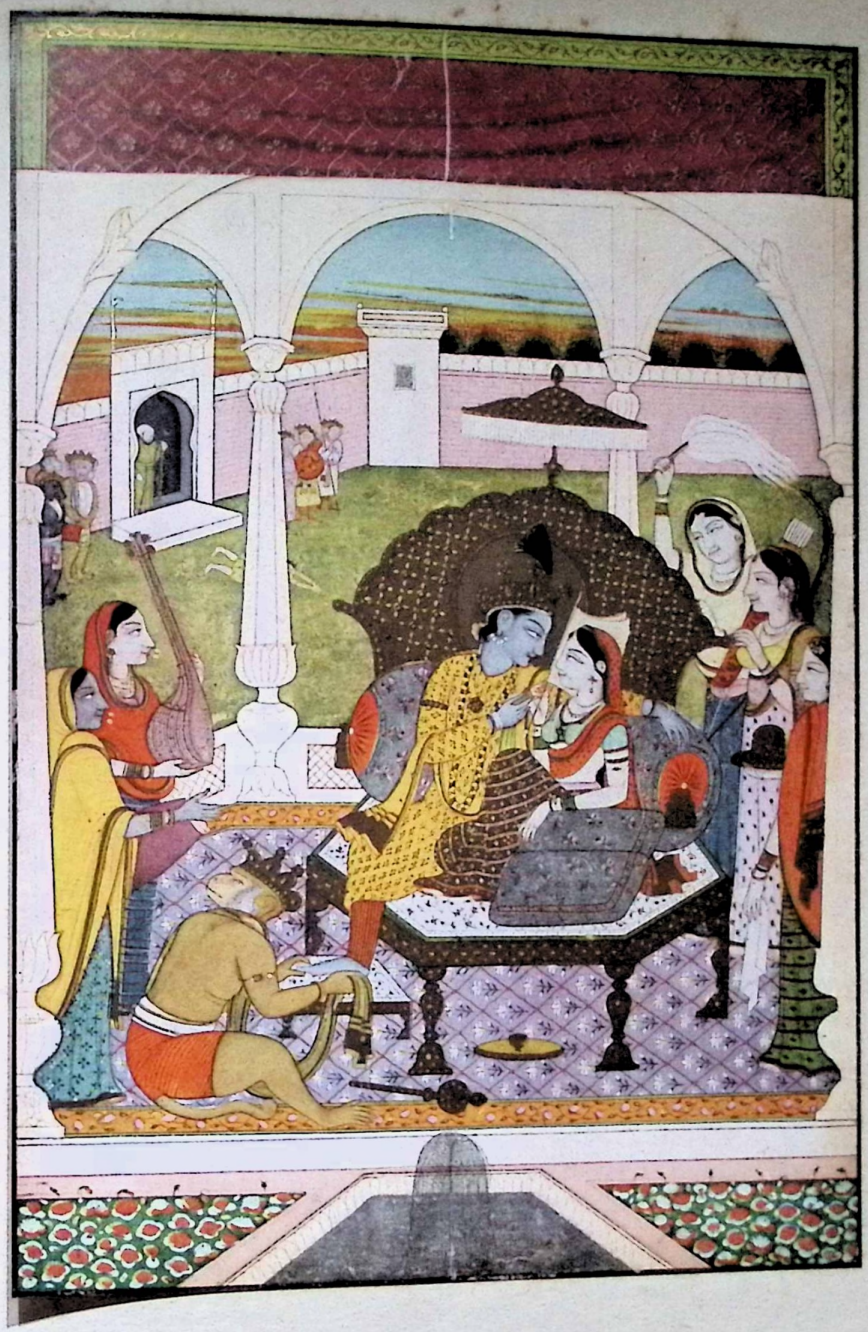


Girl Feeding Black Buck. Kangra Kalam.
Circa 1800 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Same size.

PLATE IV



ABHISANDHITA NAYIKA—The Heroine Separated from her Lover by a Quarrel. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D. Possession Author. Size 10½ × 7 ins.



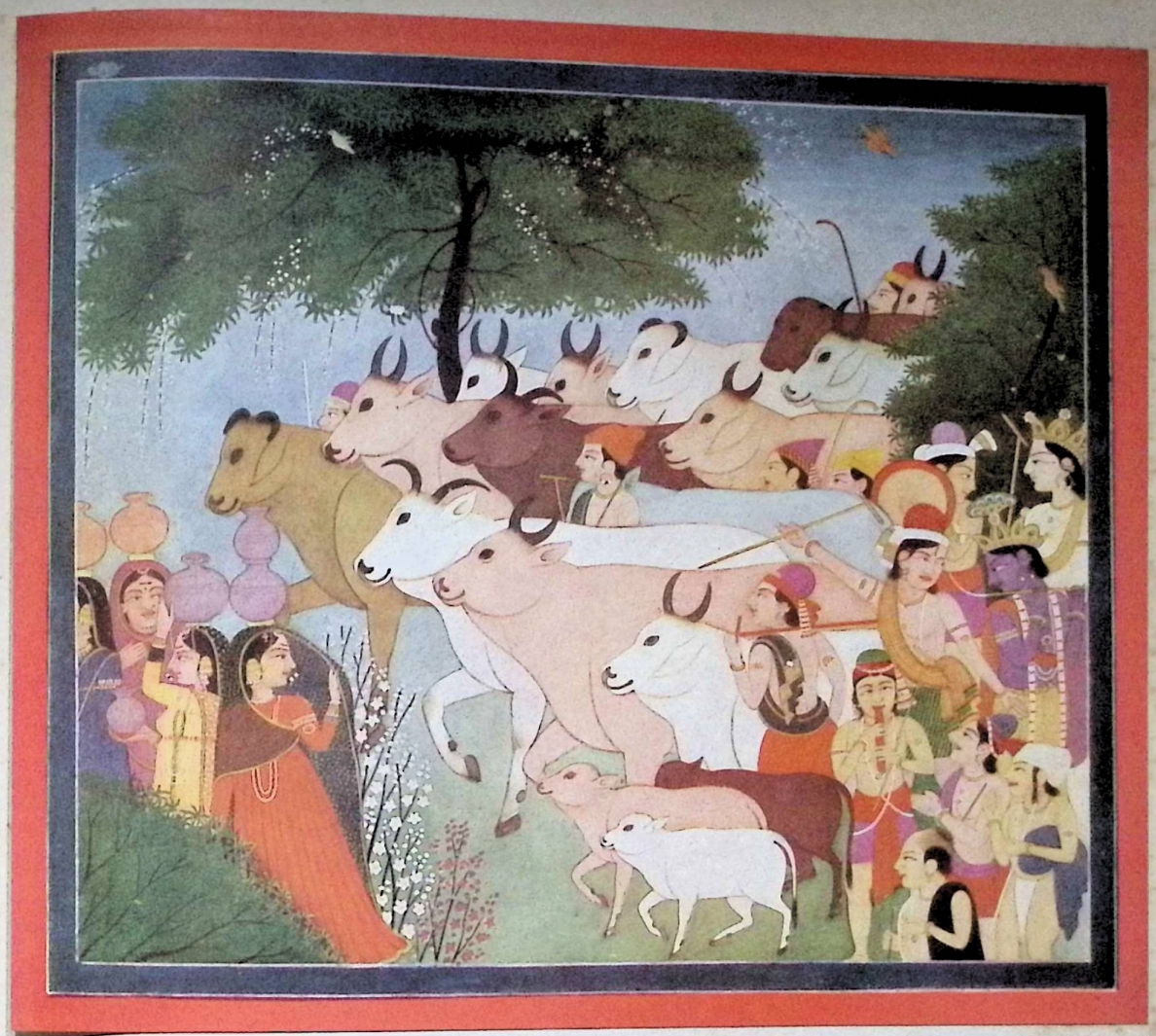
Hanuman Washing Rama's Feet. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D.
Probably painted in Mandi. Possession Author. Size 10 × 7¼ ins.



Krishna and Radha on the Banks of the Jumna. Kangra Kalam.
End of the 18th Century A.D. Possession Author. Size 9⅛ × 7⅛ ins.



Gopis waiting for Krishna. Detail from Fig. 13.
Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Possession F. D. Wadia, Poona.



GO-DHULI-BERA—The Hour of Cowdust. Kangra Kalam.
1800-1825 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Size 9¼ × 7¾ ins.



HOLI—Gopis at Holi Festival Dressing Krishna in Female Garments.
Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Kallianji Curumsey Damjee Collection, Bombay. Size 11½ × 7½ ins.



KALIYA DAMANA—Krishna's Subjugation of the Serpent Kaliya. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Jugmohandas Mody Collection, Bombay. Size 11¾ × 8½ ins.



Portrait of a Hill Raja Smoking Hukkah. Unidentified Kalam.
Early 18th Century A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



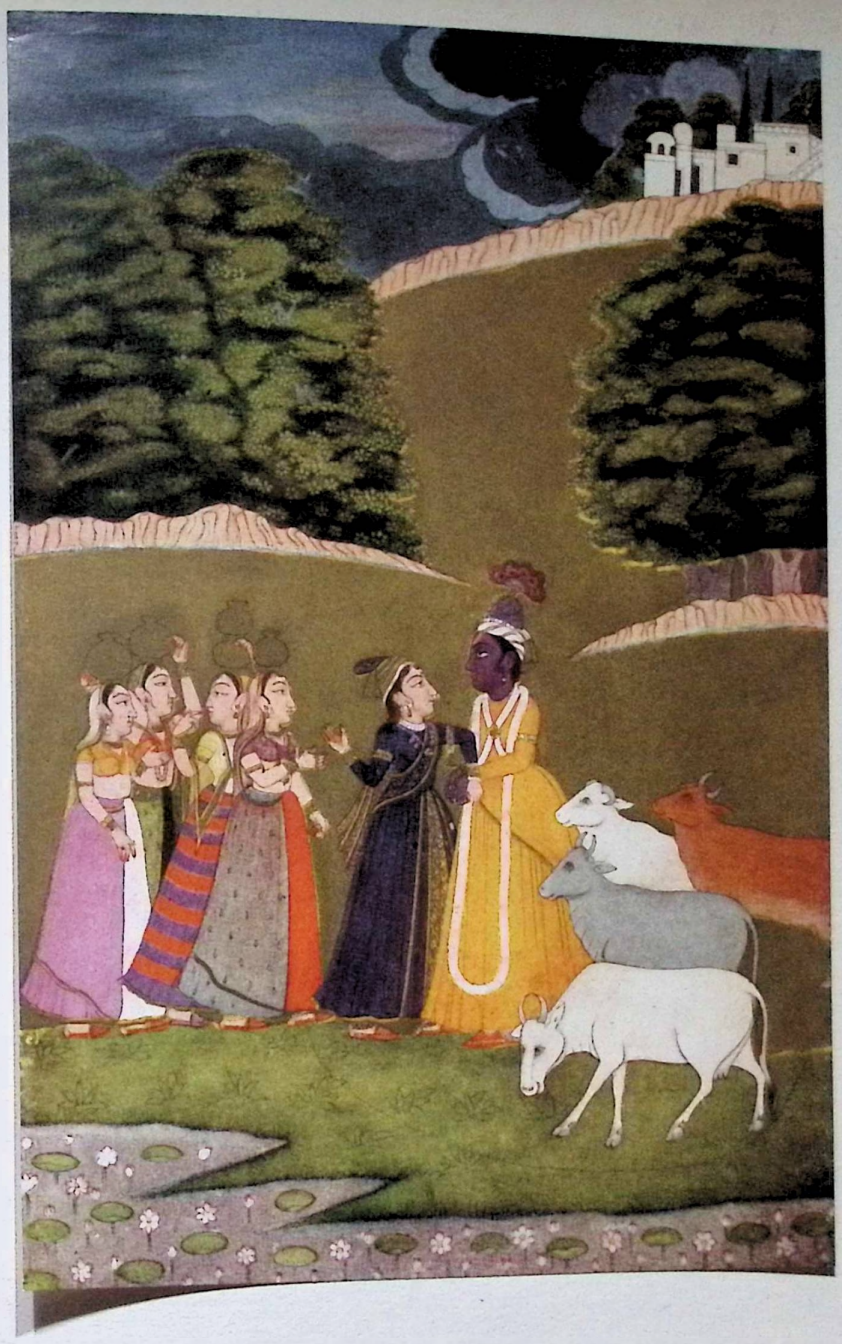
Toilet. Unidentified Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 9¼ × 7¼ ins.



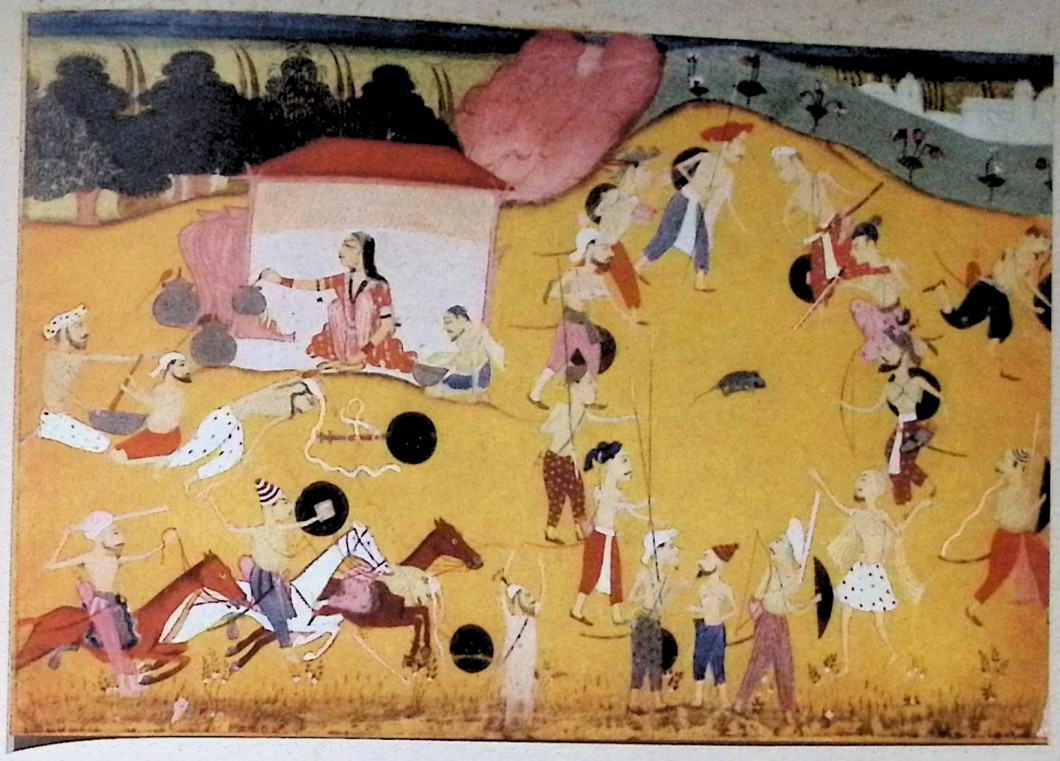
Shiva Seducing the Wives of the Brahmins. Unidentified Kalam.
Late 18th Century A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 11¼ × 7¼ ins.



Girls Flying Kites. Kulu Kalam. *Circa* Late 18th Century A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 8¼ × 5½ ins.



DANA LILA—The Taking of Toll. Unidentified Kalam.
Late 18th Century A.D. Possession Author. Size 9¼ × 6¼ ins.



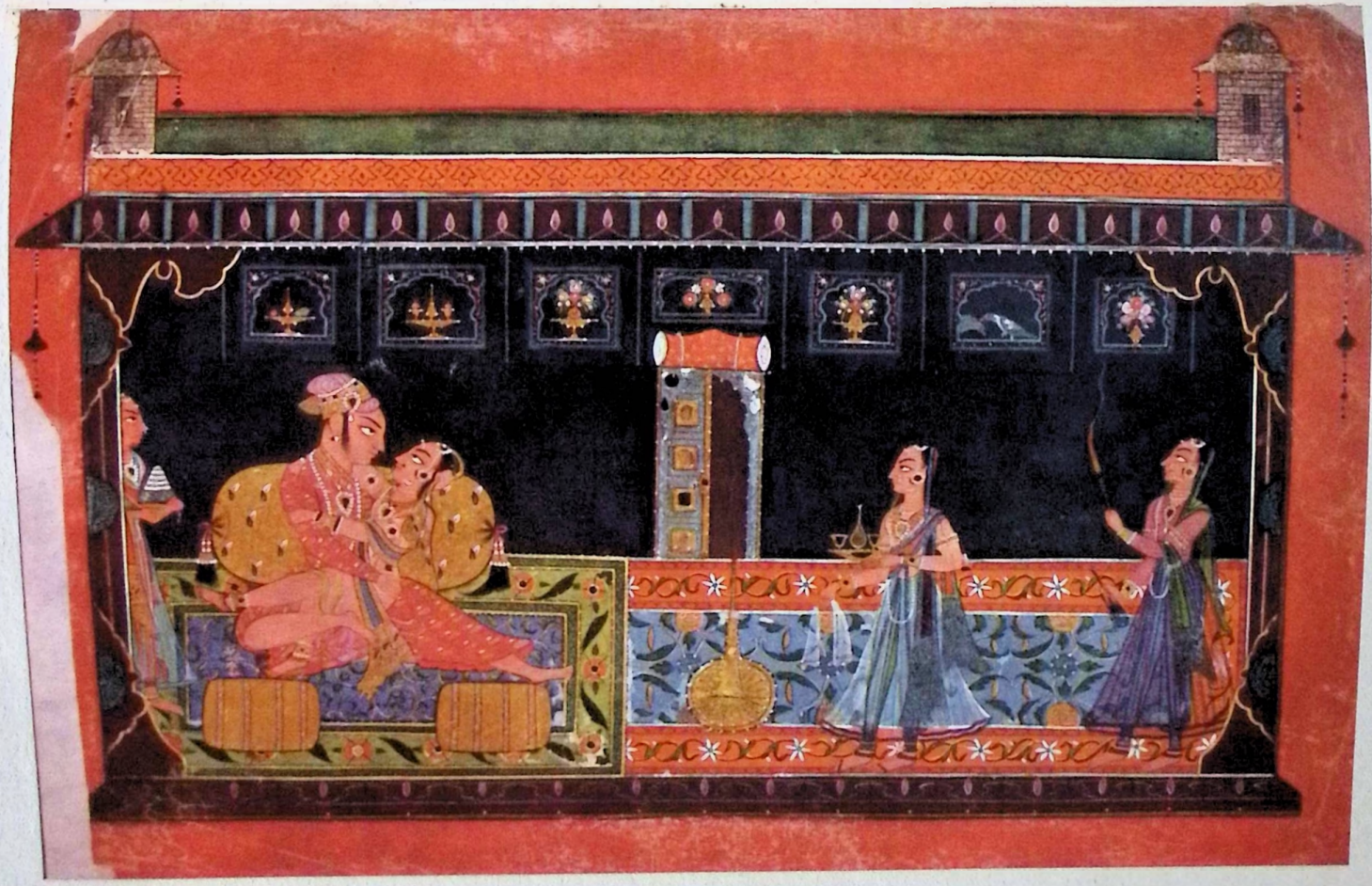
The Opium Eaters Wage War against a Mouse. Unidentified Kalam.
Late 18th Century A.D. Possession Author. Size 12¾ × 8¼ ins.



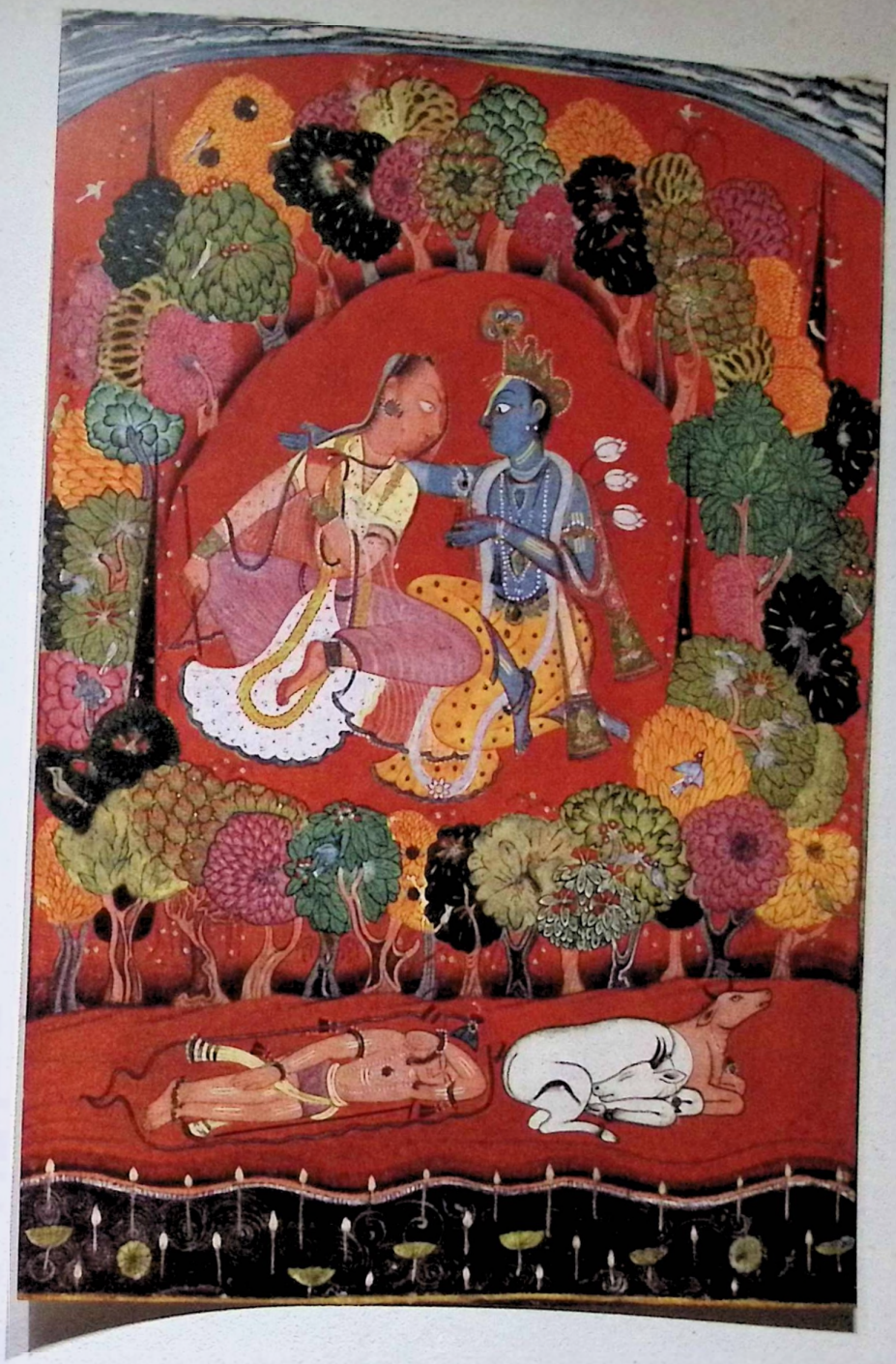
The Confidante Urging the Hesitant Radha to meet Krishna at the Rendezvous. Basohli Kalam. 1730 A.D. Illustration to the Gita Govinda. Originally in the Ajit Ghose Collection, Calcutta. Size 12½ × 8⅝ ins.



The Confidante Addresses Krishna. Basohli Kalam. 1730 A.D.
Illustration to the Gita Govinda. Originally in the Ajit Ghose Collection, Calcutta. Size 12⅛ × 8¼ ins.



A Love Scene. Basohli Kalam.
1700-1720 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



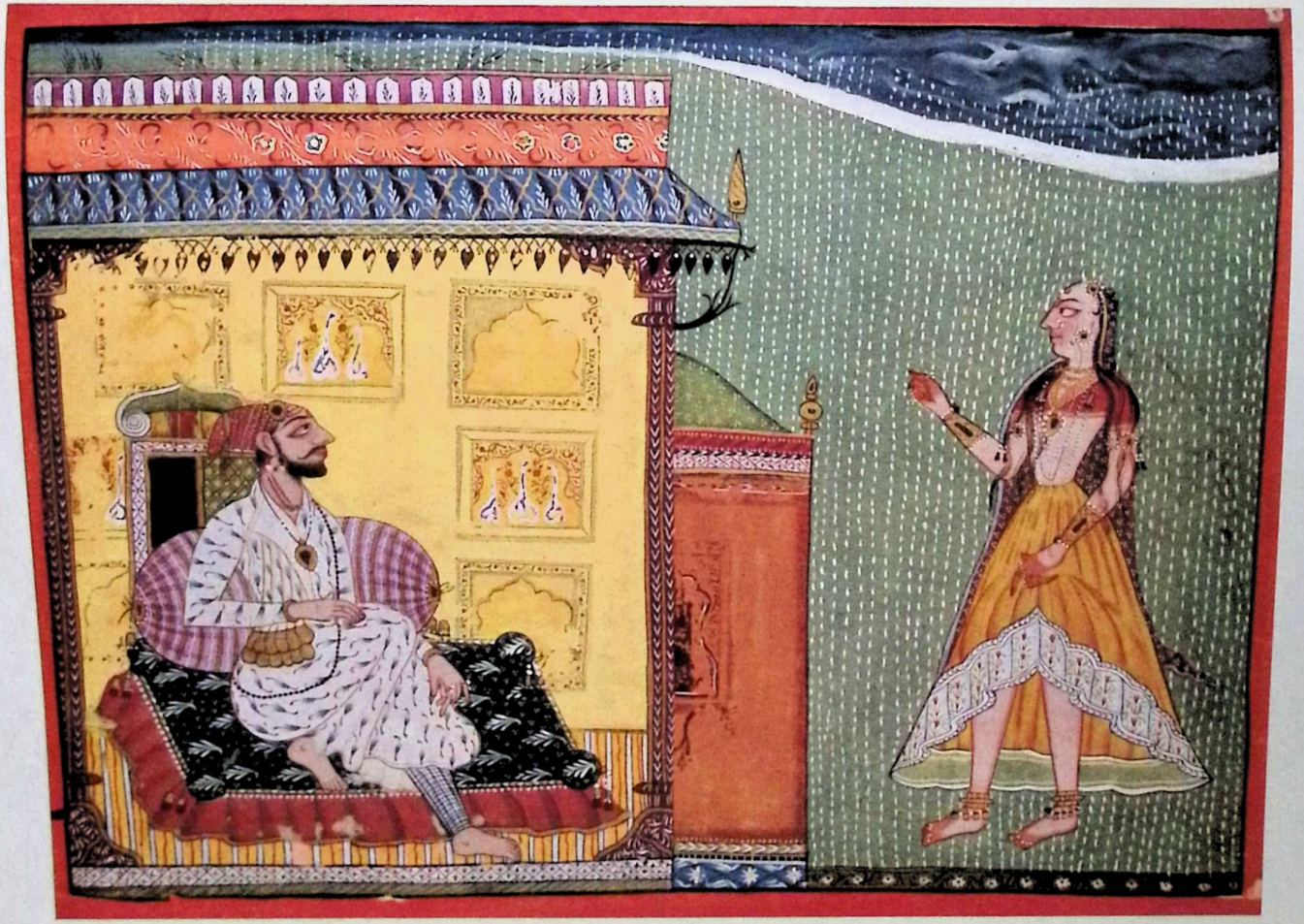
Krishna and Radha on the Banks of the Jumna. Basohli Kalam.
Circa 1690-1700 A.D. Possession Author. Size 8¾ × 5¾ ins.



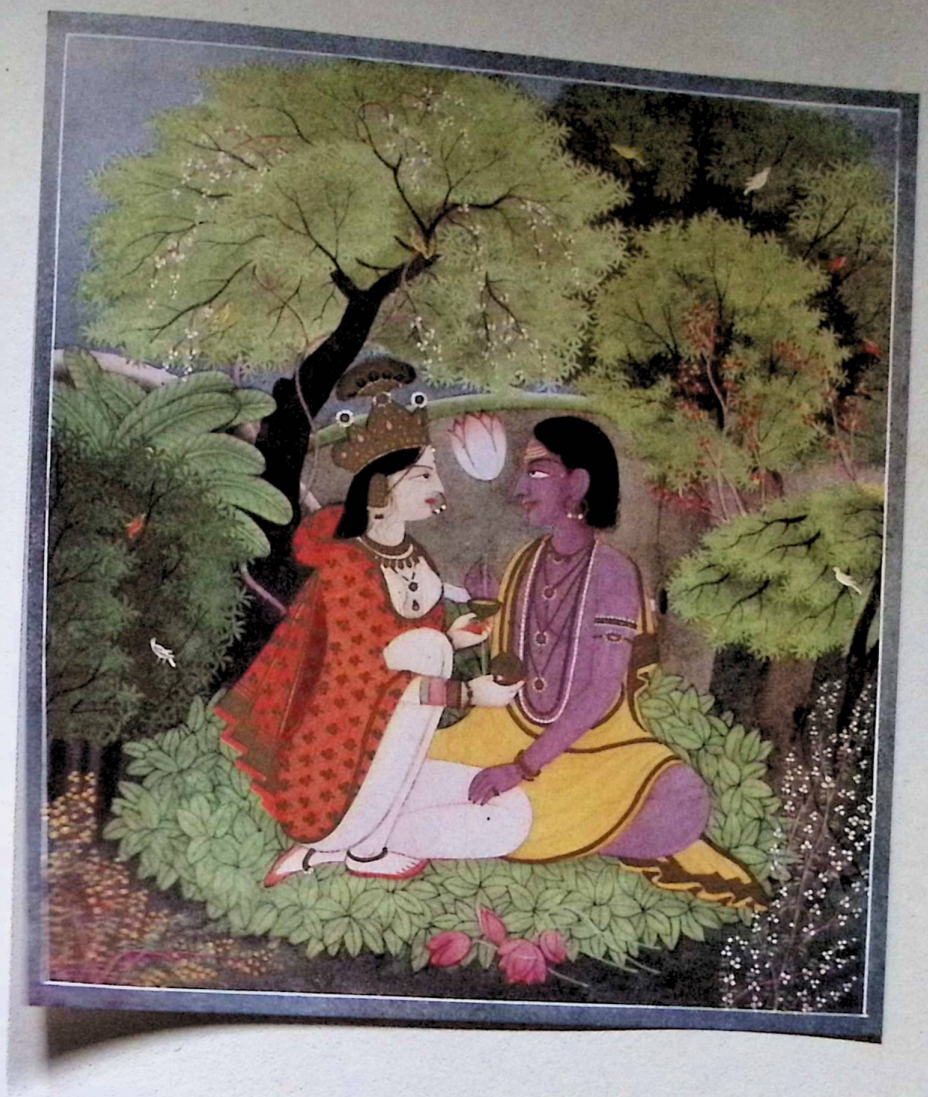
Infant Krishna on Nanda's Shoulder. Basohli Kalam.
1700-1720 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 8¼ × 6¼ ins.



DANA LILA—A Gallant Taking Toll from Milkmaids. Basohli Kalam.
Circa 1700 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 10¼ × 7¾ ins.



ABHISARIKA NAYIKA—The Heroine who Braves the Dangers of Night to meet her Lover.
Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1690-1700 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 9½ × 7¼ ins.



Radha Wearing Krishna's Crown. Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Size 8½ × 8 ins.



Fig. 1. MAKHAN CHOR (The Butter Thief). Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Possession F. D. Wadia, Poona. Size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 2. GIRI GOVERDHANA. (Krishna Raising Mount Goverdhana). Kangra Kalam. 1800-1820 A.D. Lahore Museum, Pakistan.

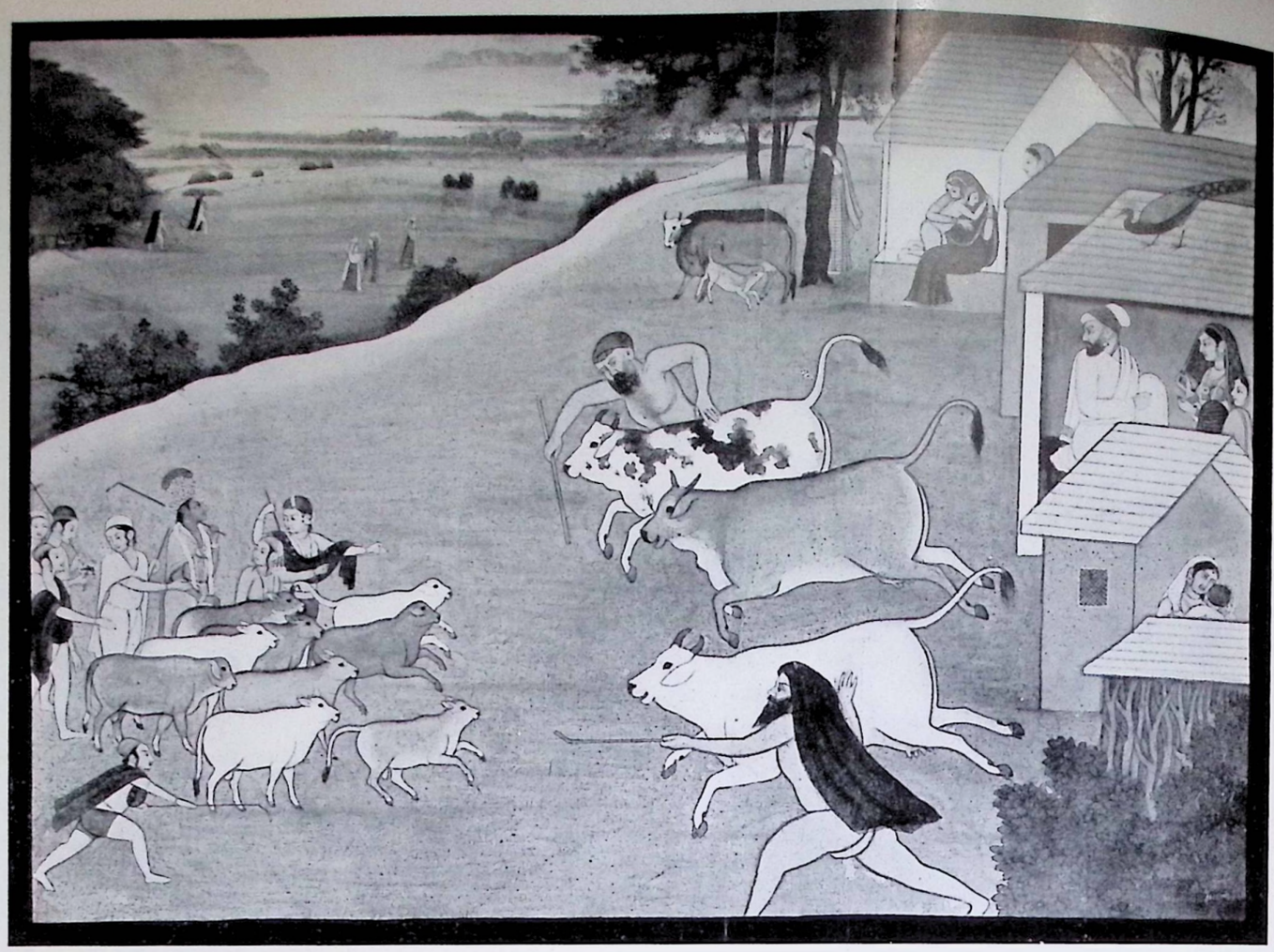


Fig 3. The Incident of the Cows rushing to meet their Calves. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Jugmohandas Mody Collection, Bombay. Size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

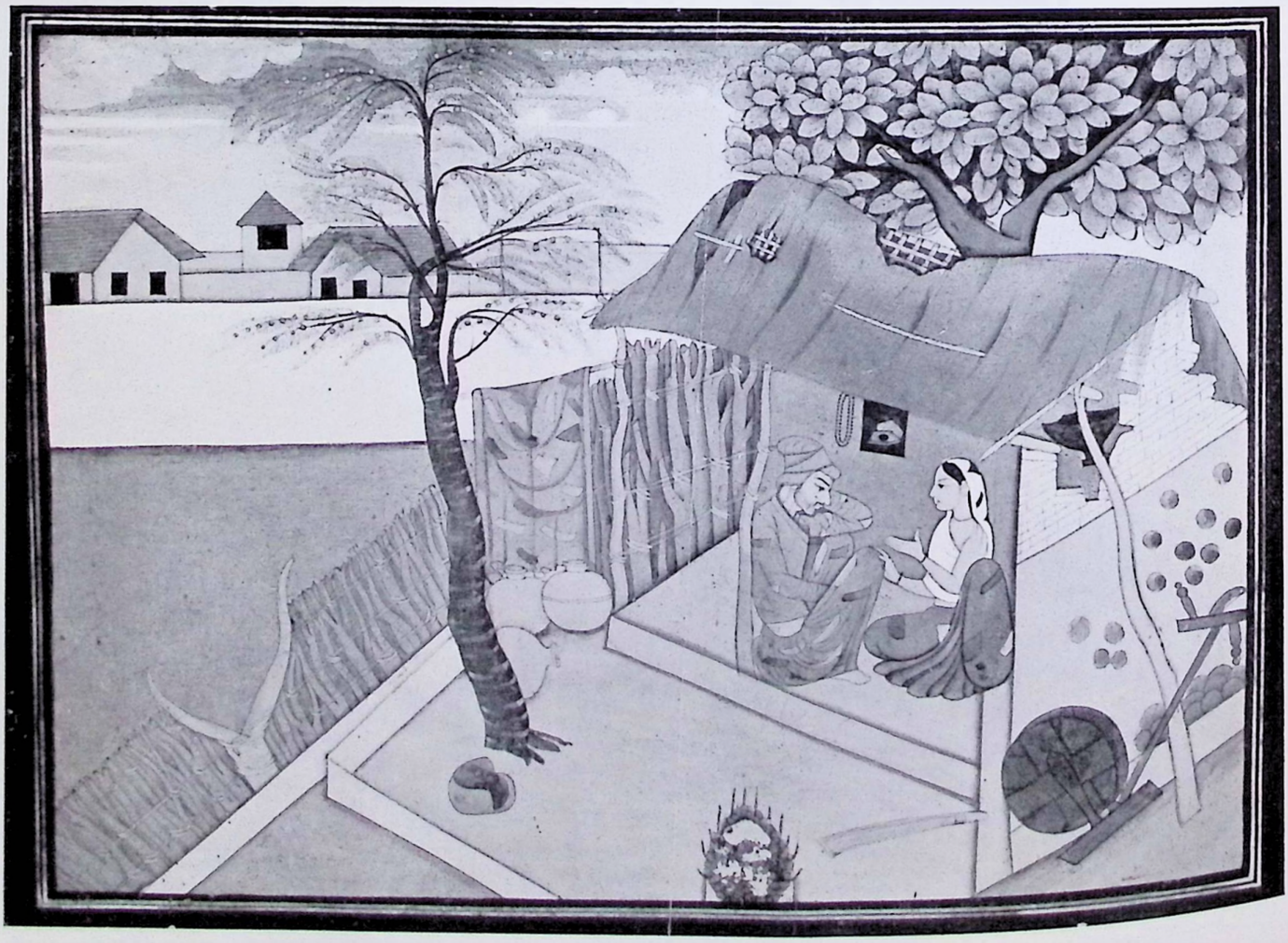


Fig. 4. Sudama and his Wife in their Hovel. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Krishna-Sudama Story. Jugmohandas Mody Collection, Bombay. Size 10 × 7 ins.



Fig. 5. PHUL LILA—The Sport of Gathering Flowers. Unidentified Kalam. *Circa* 1775-1800 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 13¾ × 11 ins.



Fig. 6. Cheetah Baiting. Sikh Kalam. 1825-1850 A.D.
Possession Author. Size 15¼ × 11¾ ins.



Fig. 7. Gaddis at Halting Station on Mountain Route. Unidentified Kalam. First half of 19th Century A.D.
Possession Author. Size 16 × $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 8. Sripata Simha Jagir with Gosain Nirmalji and Gosain Bhagvanji. Unidentified Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 9. DANA LILA—The Taking of Toll. Kulu Kalam. 1775-1800 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

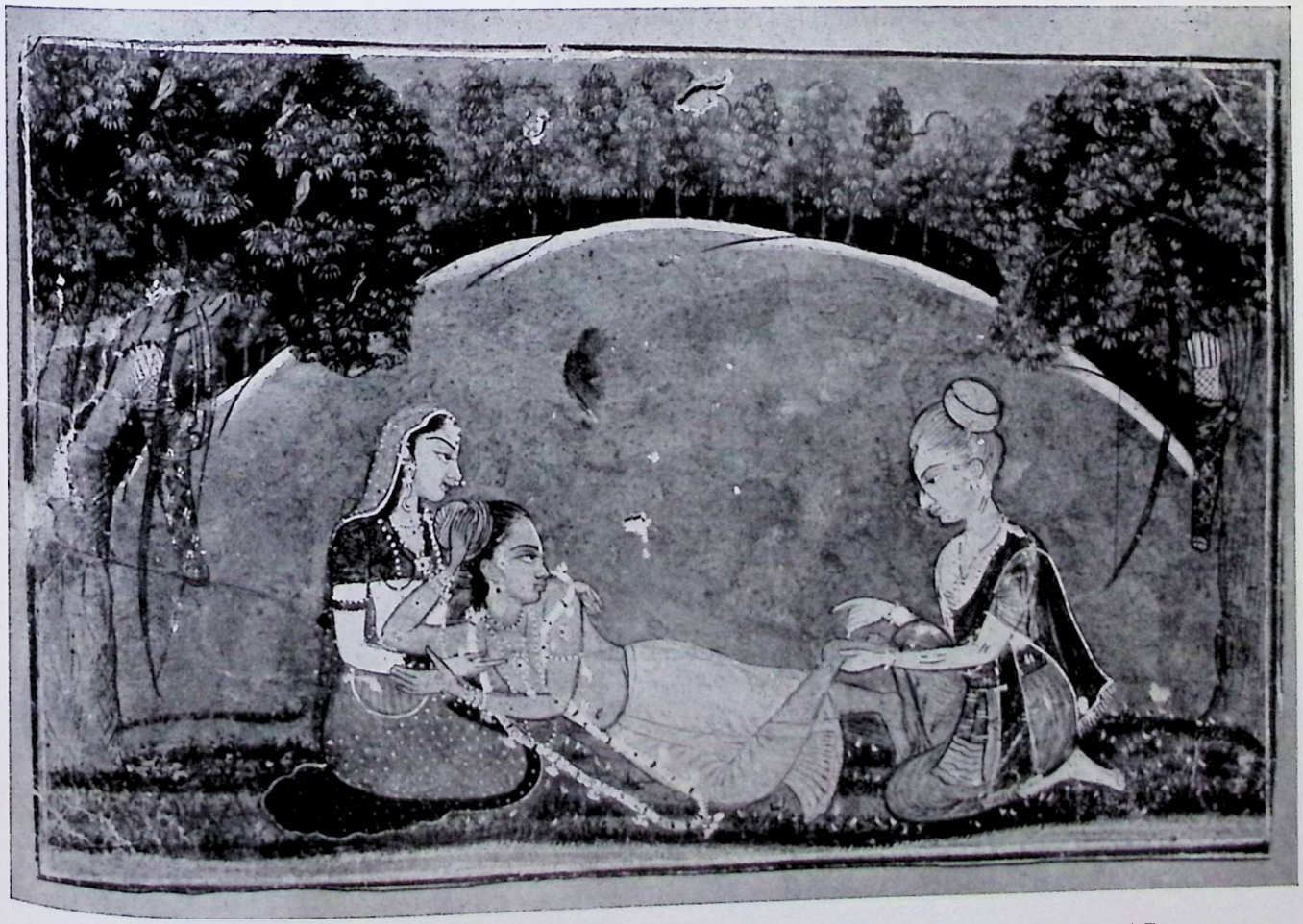


Fig. 10. Laksmana Removing a Thorn from Rama's Foot. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1775-1800 A.D.
Possession Author. Size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 11. Madhavanala with Veena. Bilaspur idiom of Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D. Illustration to Madhavanala-Kamakandala. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $12\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 12. Love Stricken Gopis with Krishna. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Kallianjee Curumsey Damjee Collection, Bombay. Size $12 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

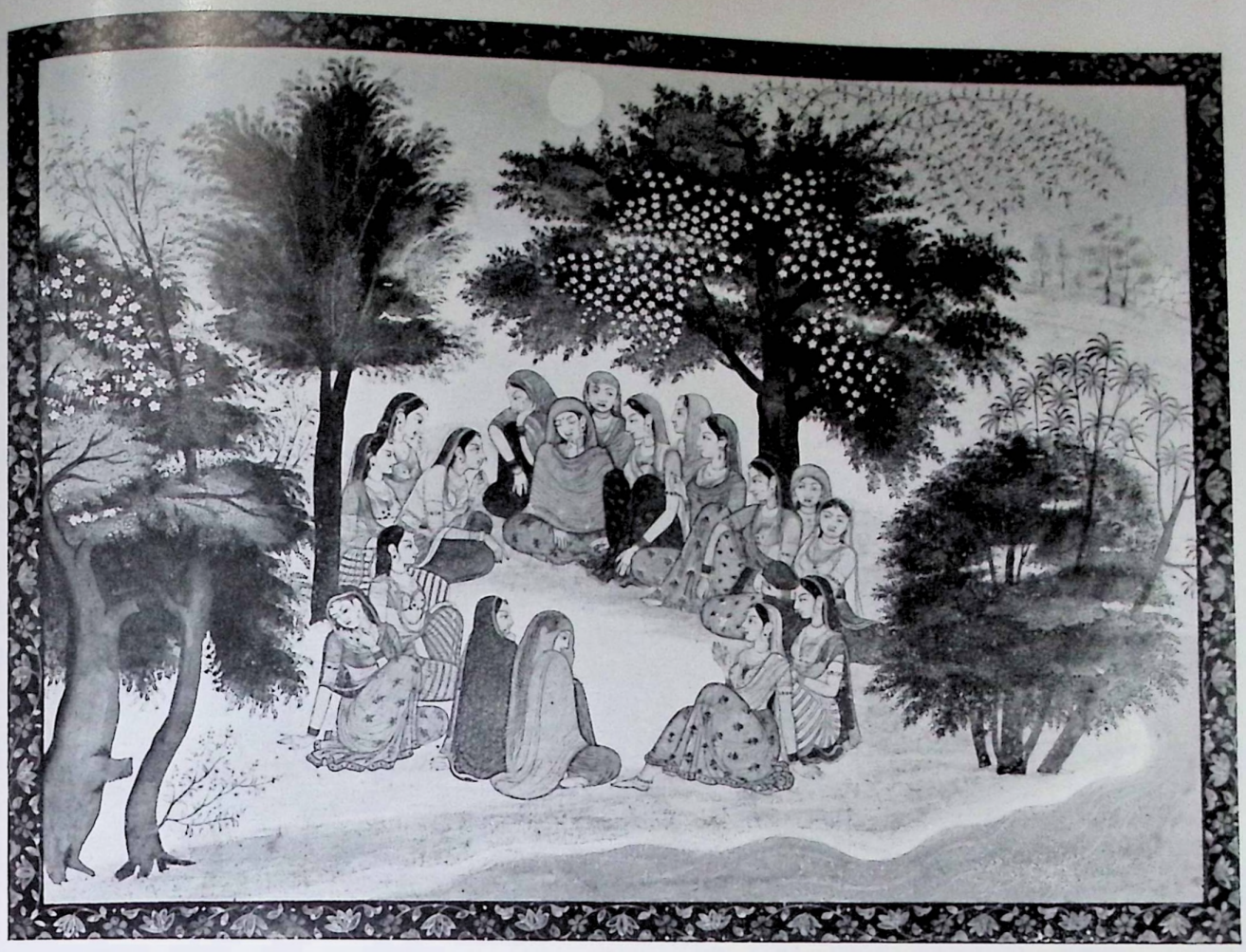


Fig. 13. Waiting for Krishna. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D. Illustration to the Bhagavata. Possession F. D. Wadia, Poona. Size 12 × 8¾ ins. Colour detail on Plate VII.



Fig. 14. Shiva and Parvati. Detail from Fresco in Rang Mahal Palace, Chamba. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. End of the 18th Century A.D. Size 51 × 31 ins.



Fig. 15. GOPIS—Milkmaidens. Unidentified Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 9½ × 7¼ ins.

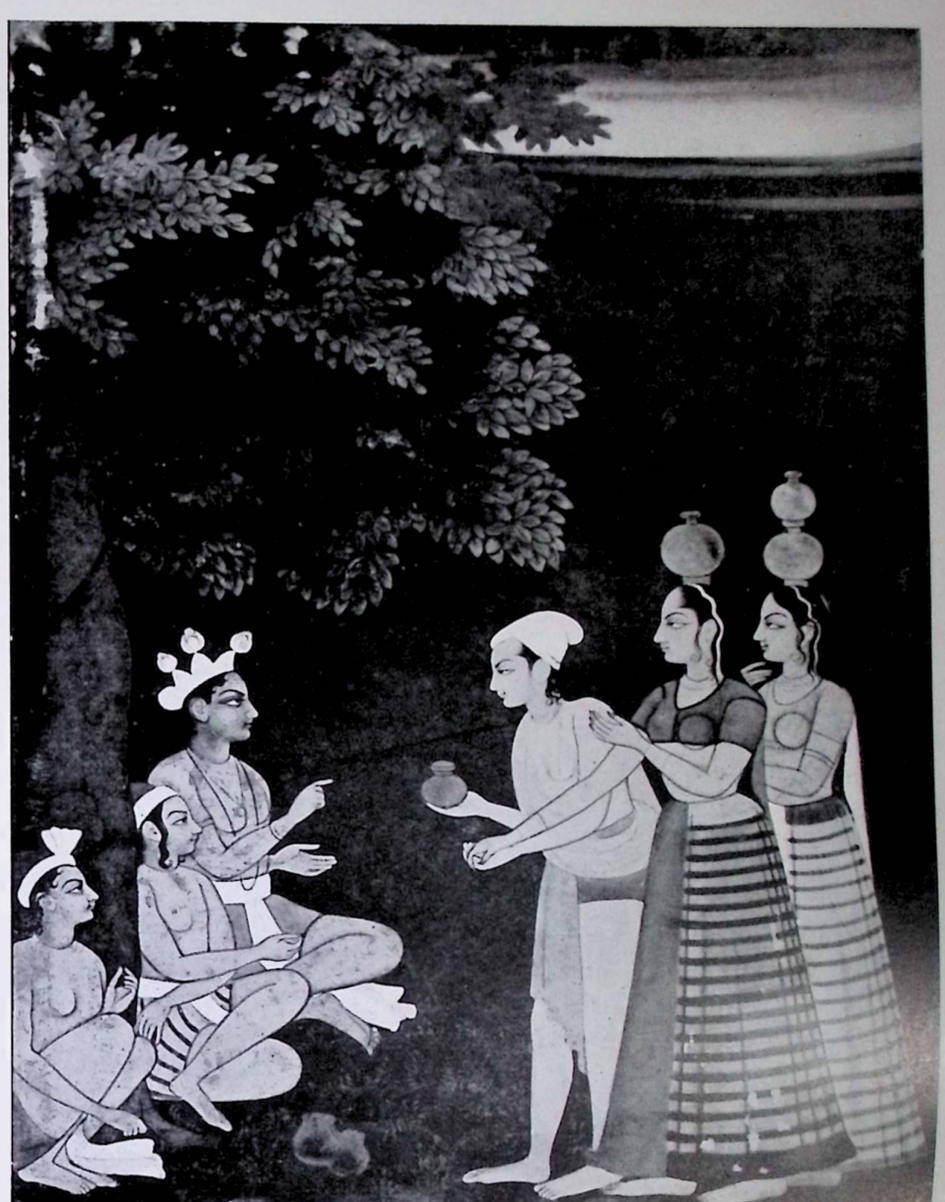


Fig. 16. DANA LILA—*The Taking of Toll. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam.*
1750-1775 A.D. Lahore Museum, Pakistan.

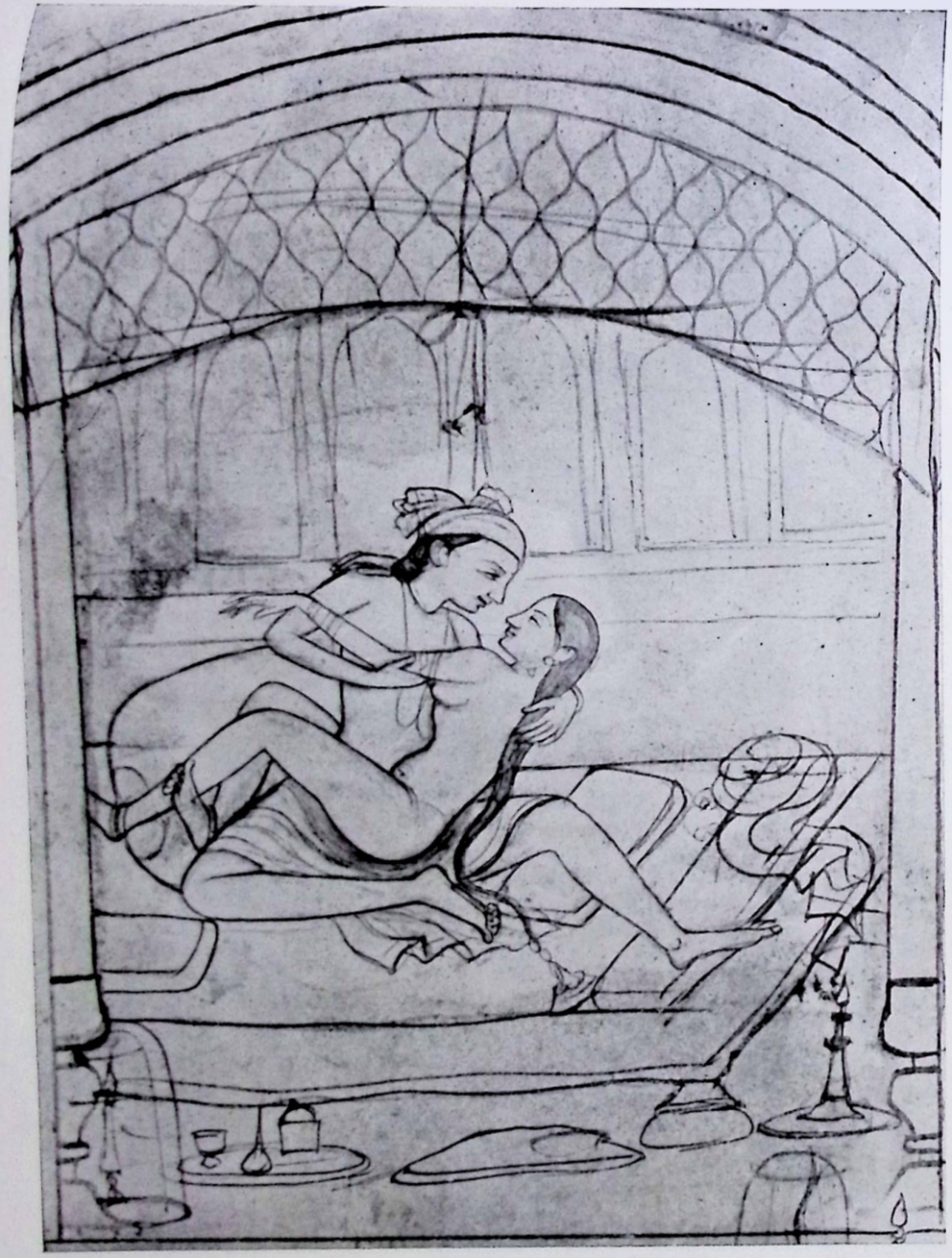


Fig. 17. Dalliance of Madhavanala and Kamakandala. Kangra Kalam Drawing (Sanguine). Detail from Illustration to Madhavanala-Kamakandala. 1800-1825 A.D. Possession Author. Size of detail 7 × 4¼ ins.

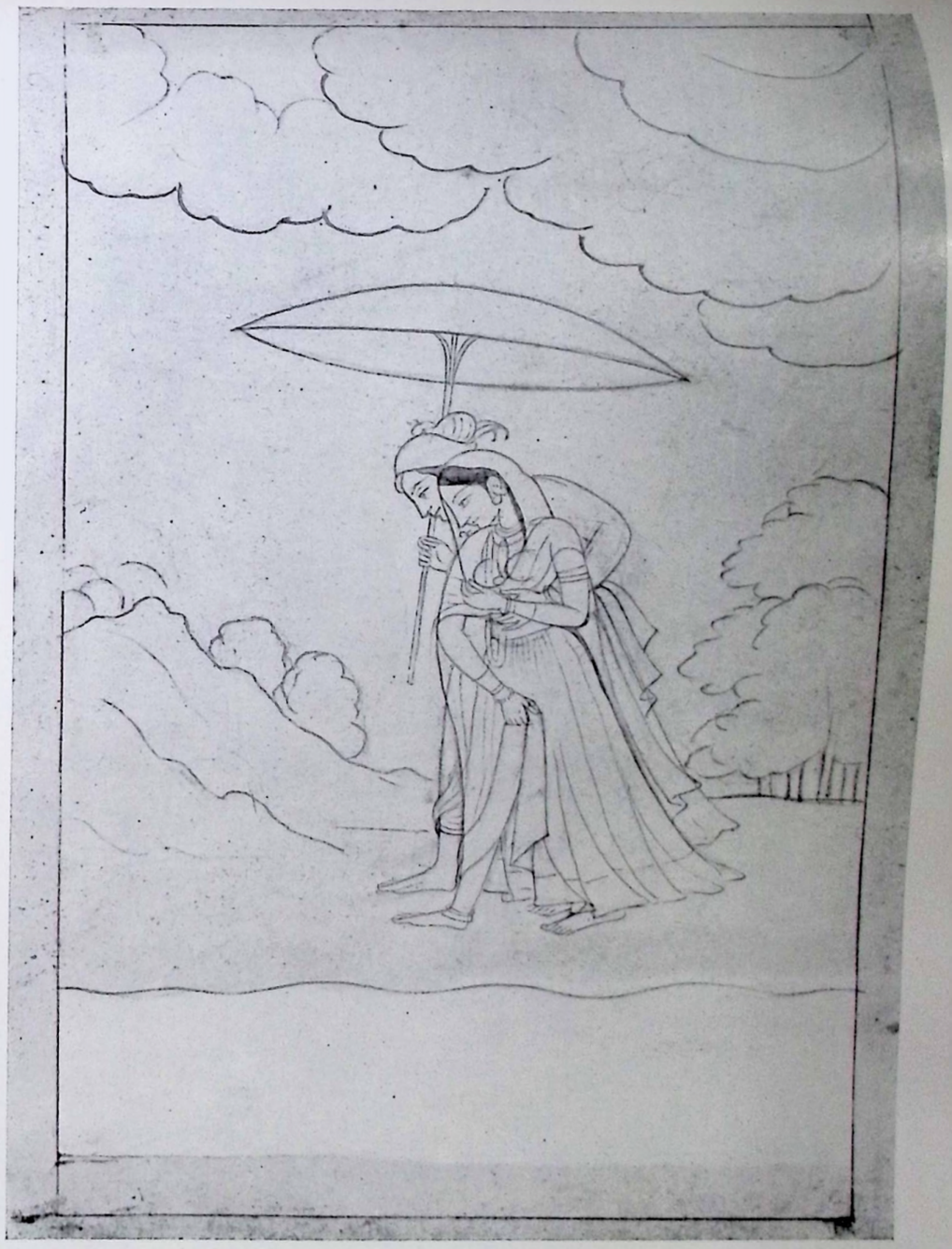


Fig. 18. Krishna and Radha in a Shower of Rain. Kangra Kalam Drawing. 1800-1825 A.D. Jugmohandas Mody Collection, Bombay. Size 8 × 5¾ ins.



Fig. 19. Krishna and Gopas Playing Blindman's Buff. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Possession Author. Size 9½ × 8 ins.

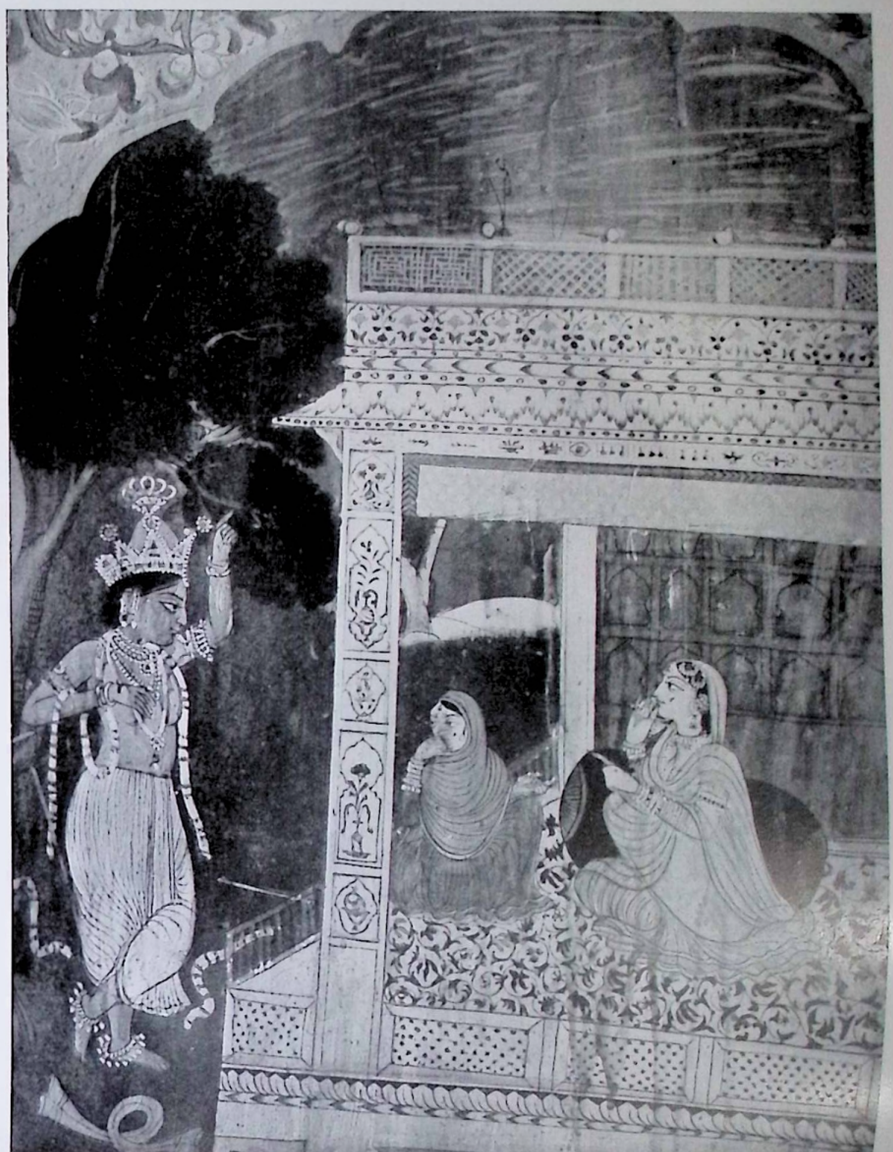


Fig. 20. Krishna and Radha. *Detail from Fresco in Rang Mahal Palace.*
Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. *End of the 18th Century A.D.*
Size 51 × 31 ins.

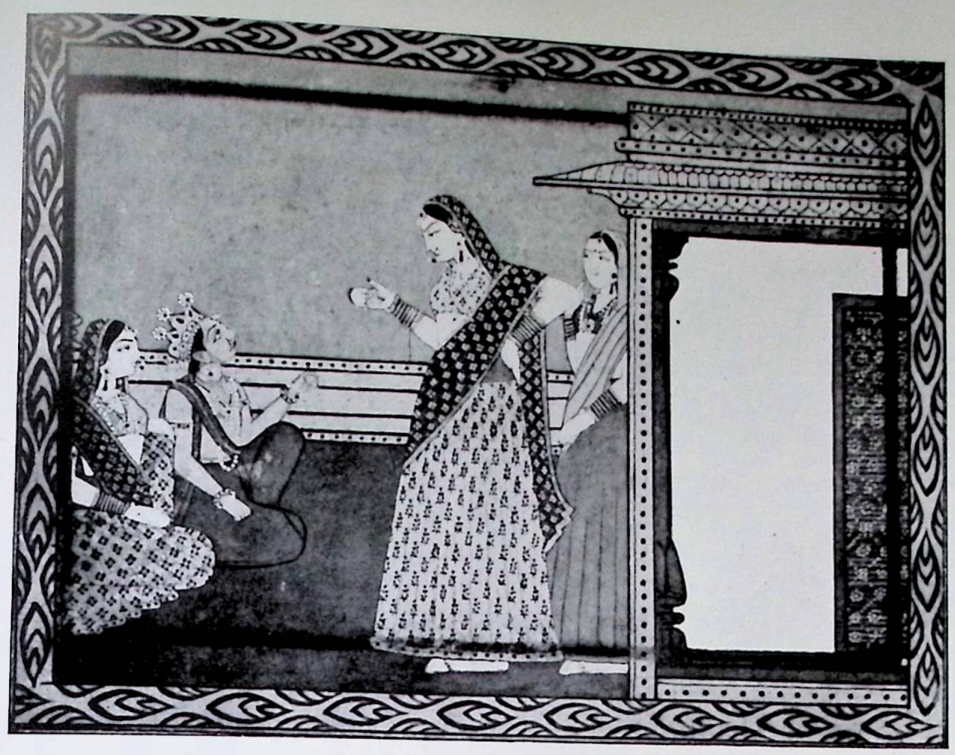


Fig. 21. Illustration to the Harivamsa. Unidentified idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 6 × 4½ ins.

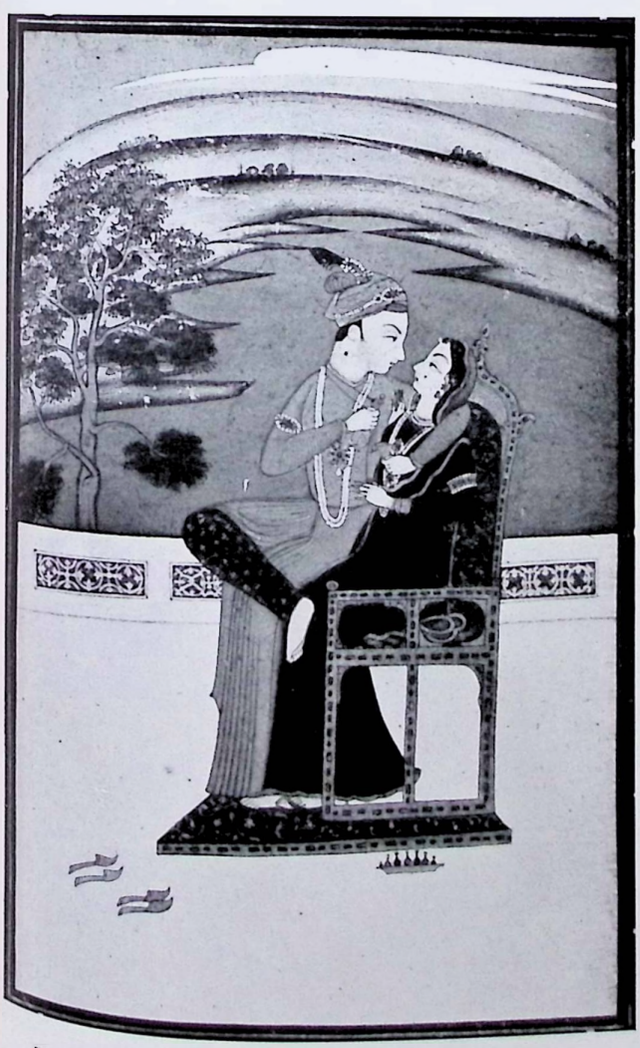


Fig. 22. A Love Scene. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. Possession Author. Size 8 × 6 ins.



Fig. 23. Portrait of Haridasa. Kulu Kalam. *Circa* Late 18th Century A.D. Possession Author. Size 8¼ × 6¼ ins.

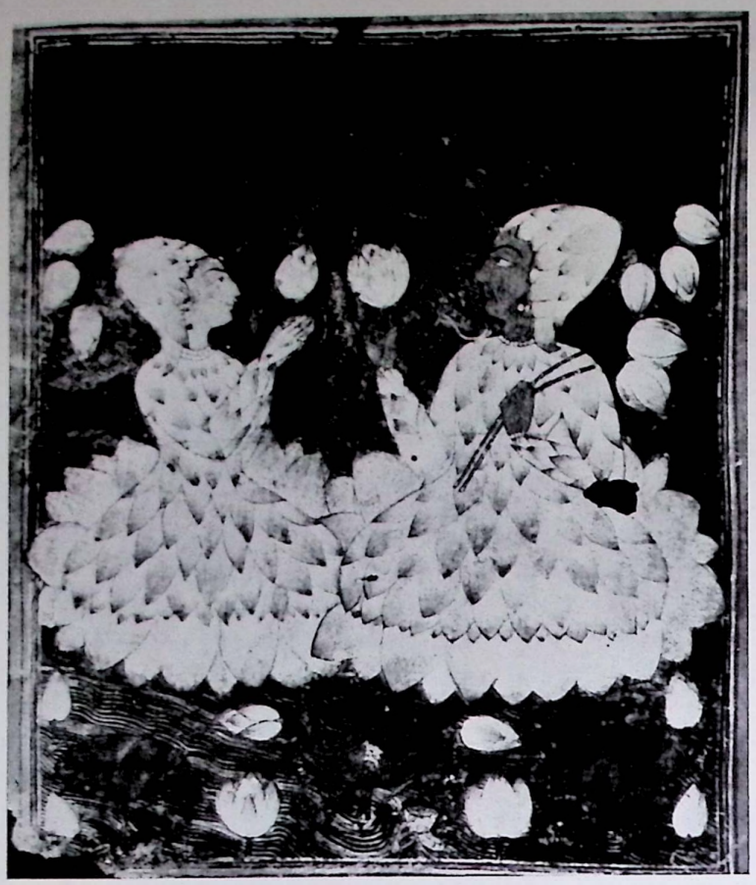


Fig 24. Krishna and Radha dressed in Lotus Flowers. Unidentified Kalam. Late 18th Century A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

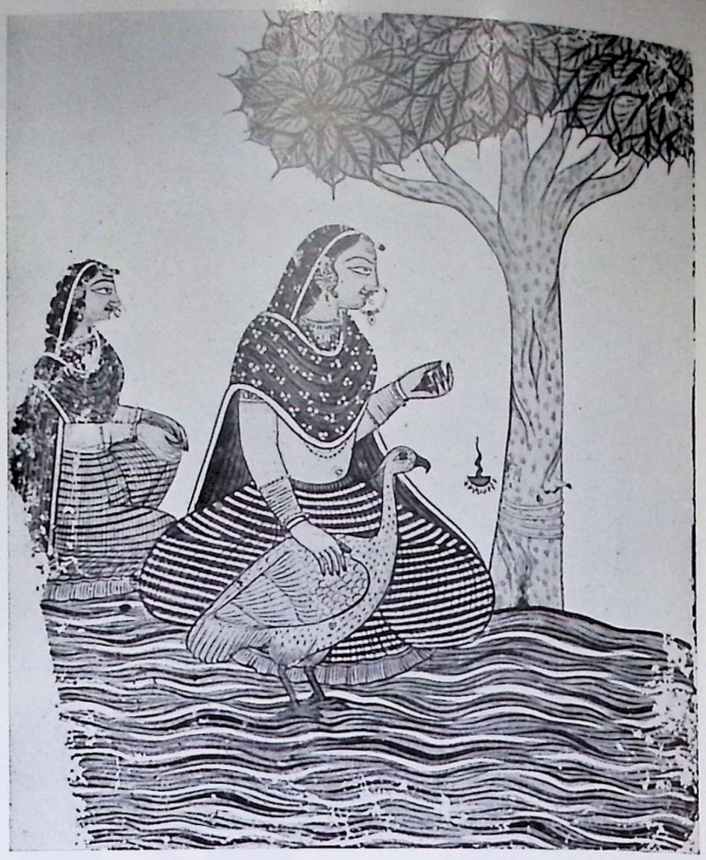


Fig. 25. VATA SAVITRI—Banyan Tree Worship. Unidentified Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 26. Local version of Moghul Portrait of Aurangzeb. Kulu Kalam. *Circa* Late 18th Century A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

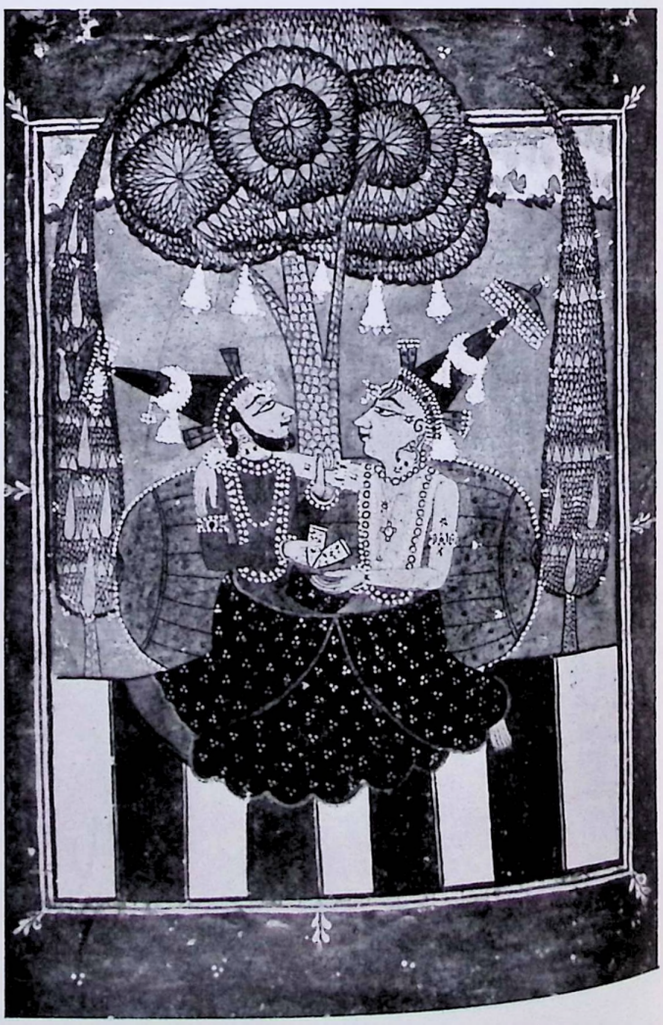


Fig. 27. Two Gosains. Probably Kulu Kalam. Late 18th Century A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig 28. Falconer Meeting Gosains. Kulu Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 8 × 5¾ ins.



Fig. 29. Illustration to Unidentified Story. Probably Kulu Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size 11¼ × 8½ ins.



Fig. 30. The Marriage Scene from Illustration to Nala and Damayanti. Detail from slightly coloured Kangra Kalam Drawing. Late 18th Century A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig 32. SHIVA PUJA—Worship of Shiva. Unidentified Folk Kalam. Dated 1805 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ ins.

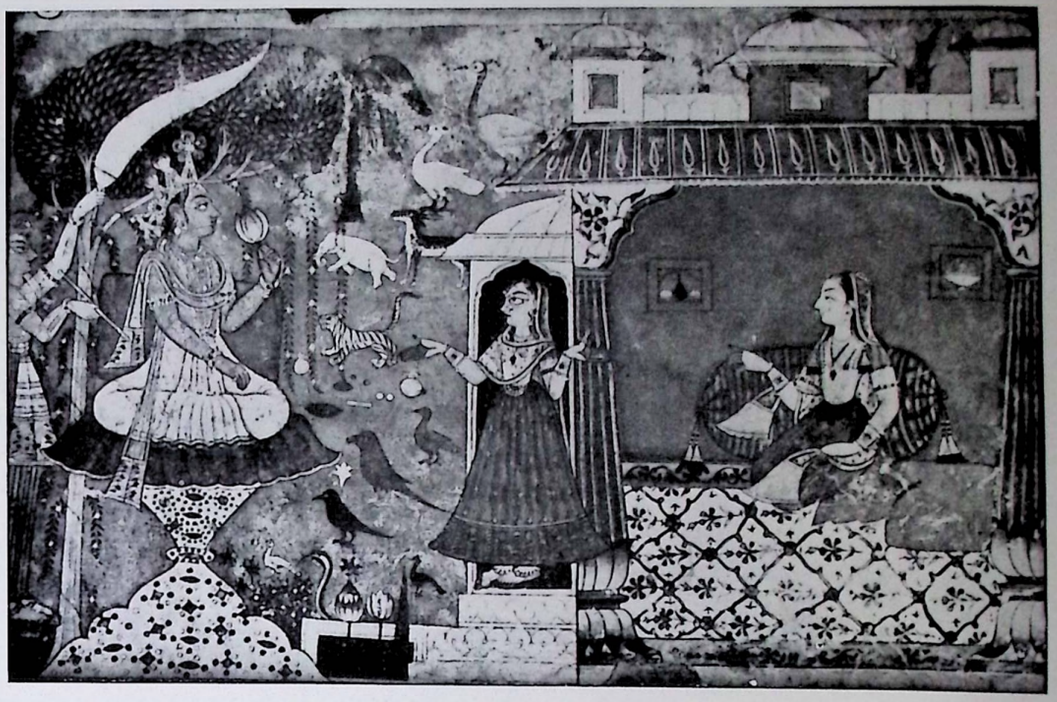


Fig. 31. Worship of Krishna. Mixed Kangra and Basohli Kalam. 1775-1800 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 33. Krishna and Radha. *Basohli Kalam. Dated 1730 A.D. Illustration to the Gita Govinda bearing the Manaku Inscription. Lahore Museum, Pakistan.*

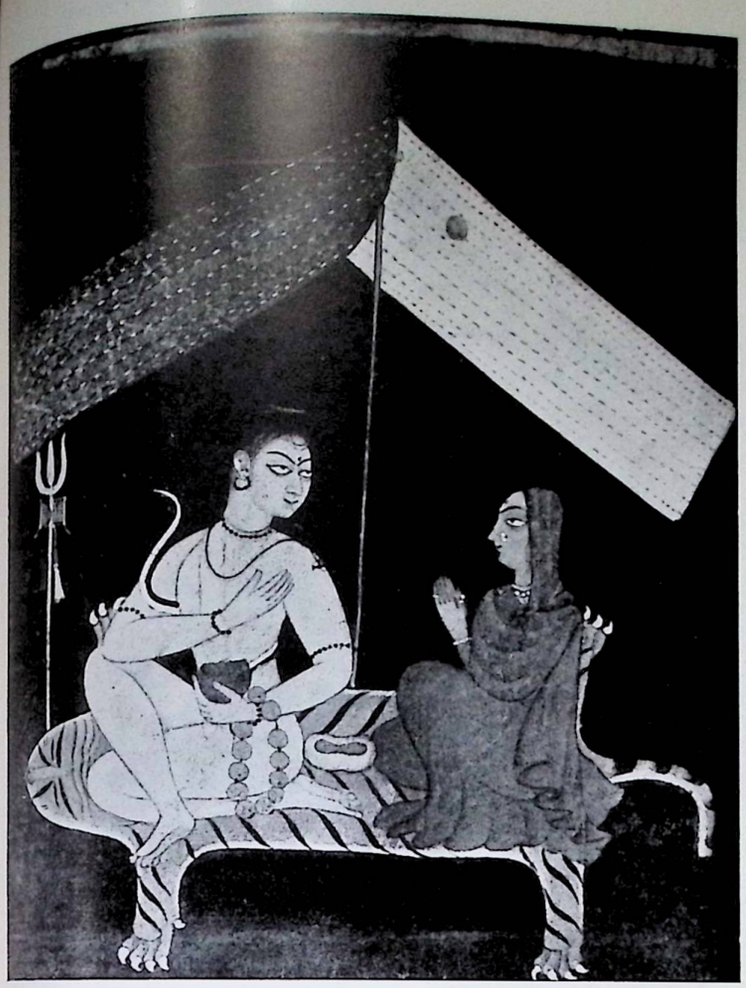


Fig. 34. Shiva and Parvati. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* Mid-18th Century A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

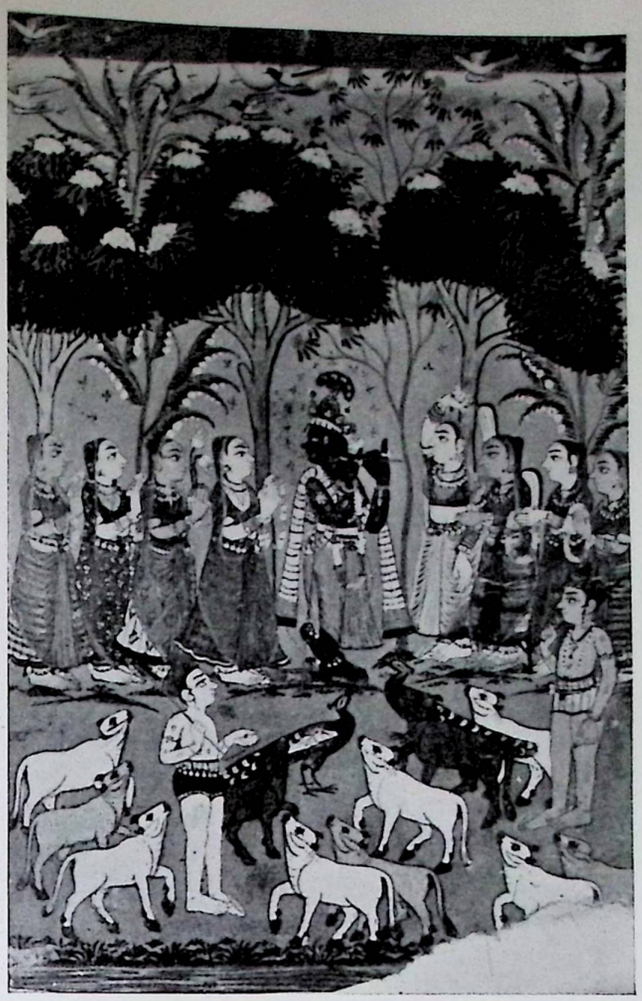


Fig. 35. VENUGOPALA—Krishna the Divine Flute Player. Kulu Folk Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 36. Portrait of a Hill Prince. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1700 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig 37. Krishna and Radha. Kangra Kalam. 1825-1850 A.D. Uncoloured Drawing with Monochrome Wash. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 38. Krishna playing at Holi. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. End of 18th Century A.D.
Possession Author. Size $20\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 39. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati on a Hillside at Night. Garhwal idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. Size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

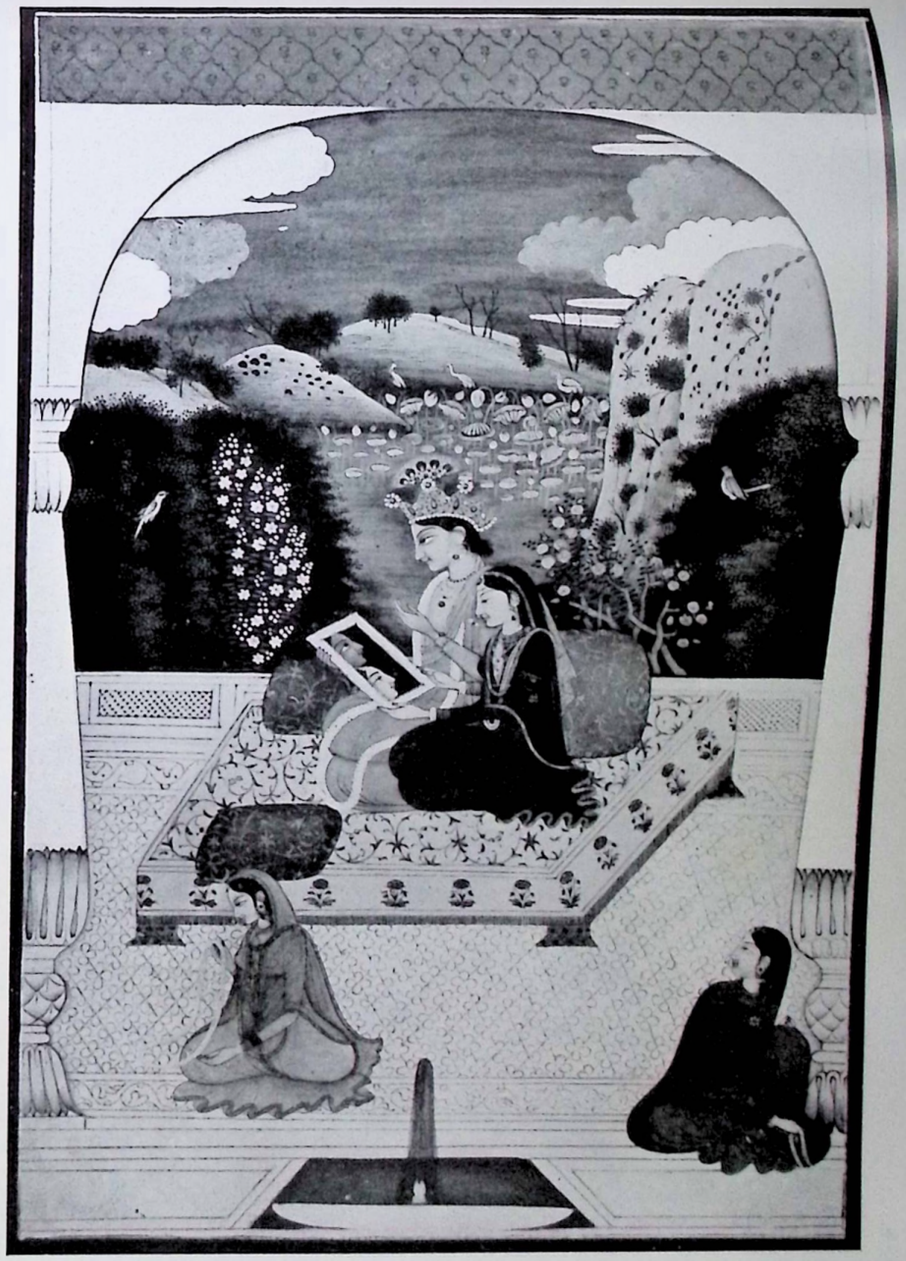


Fig. 40. Krishna and Radha Looking into a Mirror. Kangra Kalam. Probably painted in Garhwal. 1780-1800 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Size $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 41. Radha Dancing before Krishna. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800 A.D.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

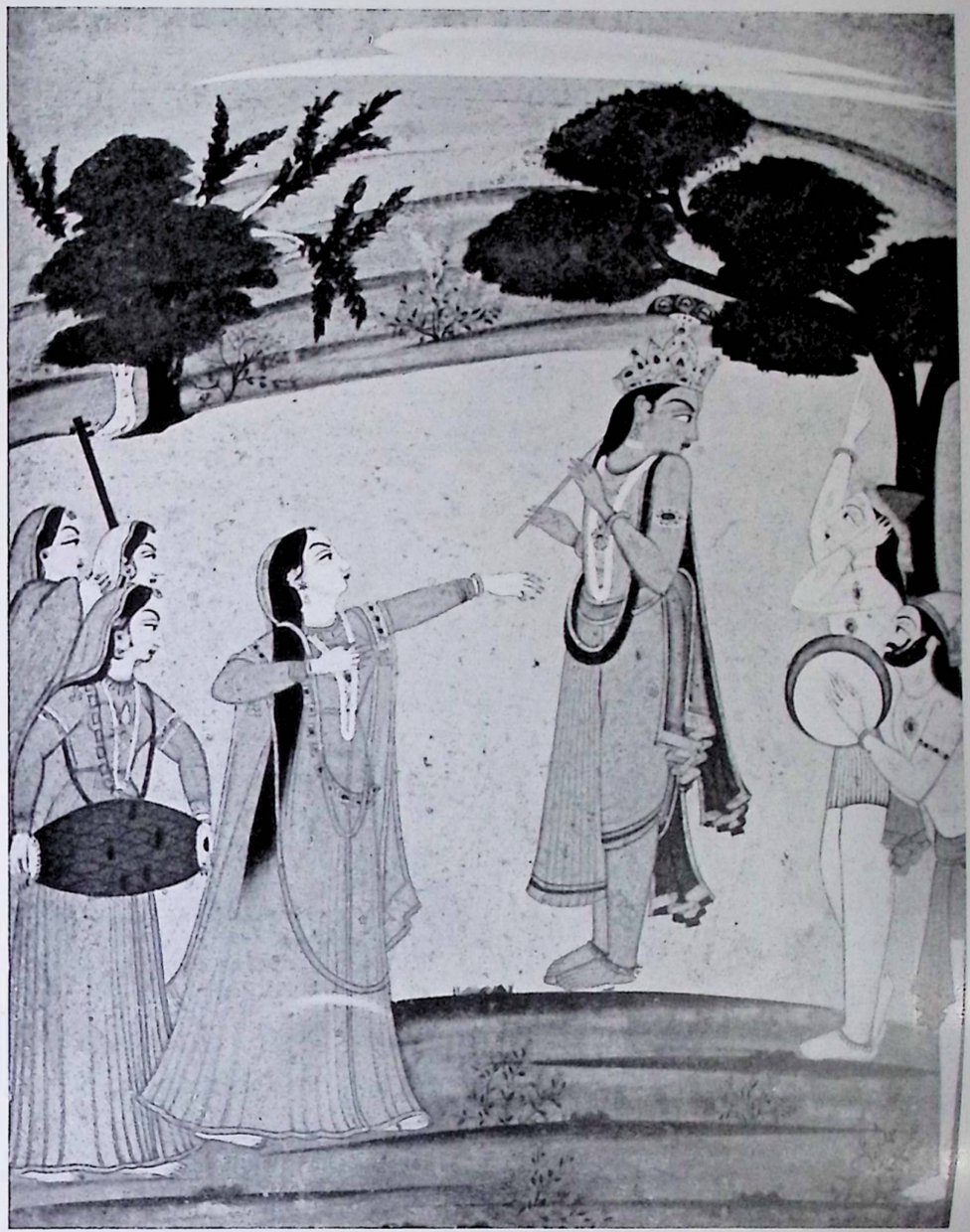


Fig. 42. Radha Dancing before Krishna. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa 1800 A.D.*
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

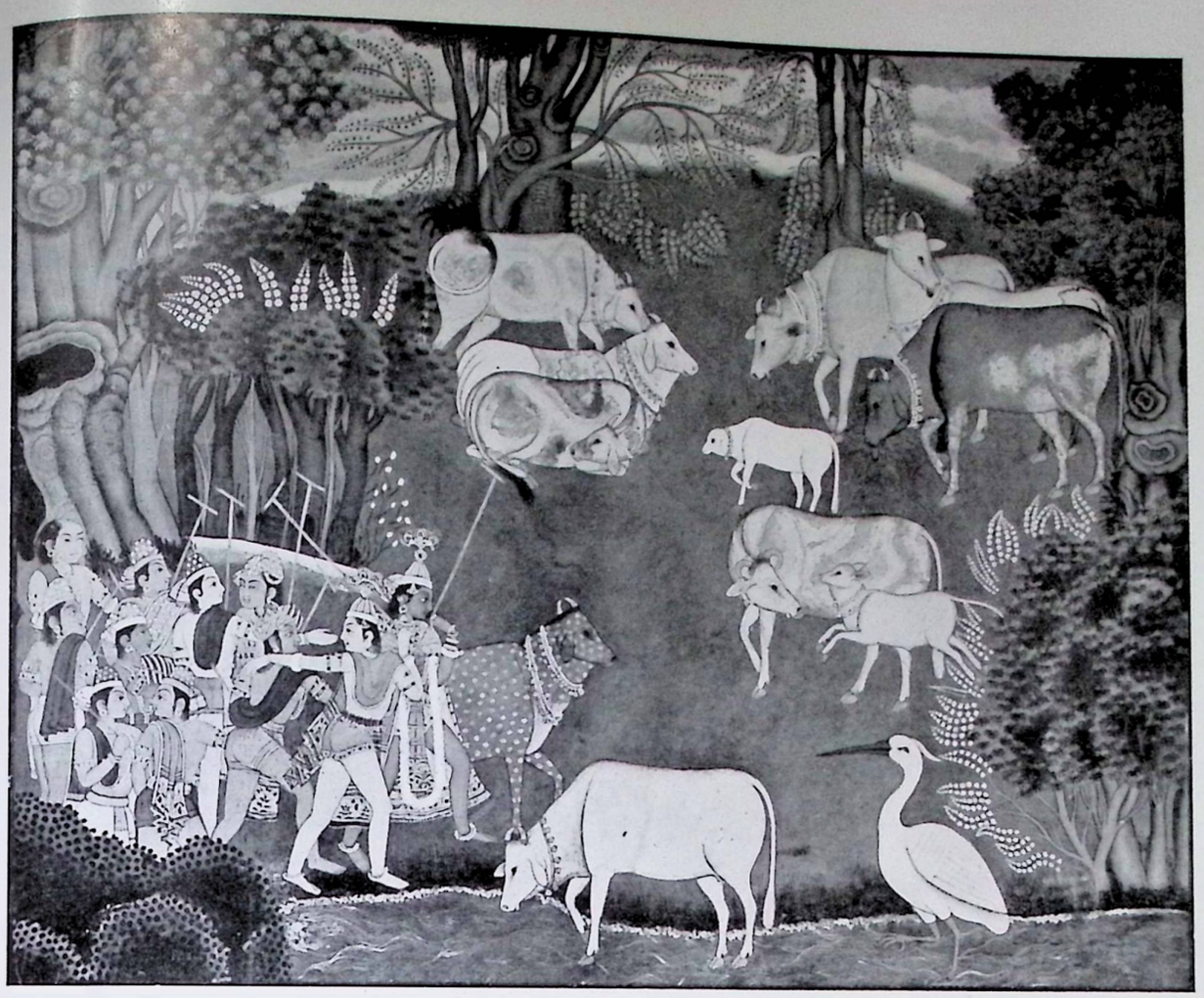


Fig. 43. Krishna and Gopas Grazing the Herds. Bilaspur Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Illustration to the Bhagavata. In the foreground is the demon crane Bakasura.
Artist Kisenchand. Svetoslav Roerich Collection.



Fig. 44. Krishna and Gopas Taking the Herds to Pasture. Bilaspur Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Illustration to the Bhagavata.
Artist Kisenchand. Svetoslav Roerich Collection.



Fig. 45. Krishna and Gopas Playing Blindman's Buff. Sikh Hill Kalam.
Probably Sirmoor idiom. 1800-1825 A.D.
Svetoslav Roerich Collection.



Fig. 46. VIYADHI—The Love Sick Heroine. Kangra Kalam.
Probably painted in Mandi. *Circa* 1800 A.D.
Svetoslav Roerich Collection.



Fig. 47. Detail from Illustration to the Bhagavata.
Bilaspur Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Artist Kisenchand. Svetoslav Roerich Collection.

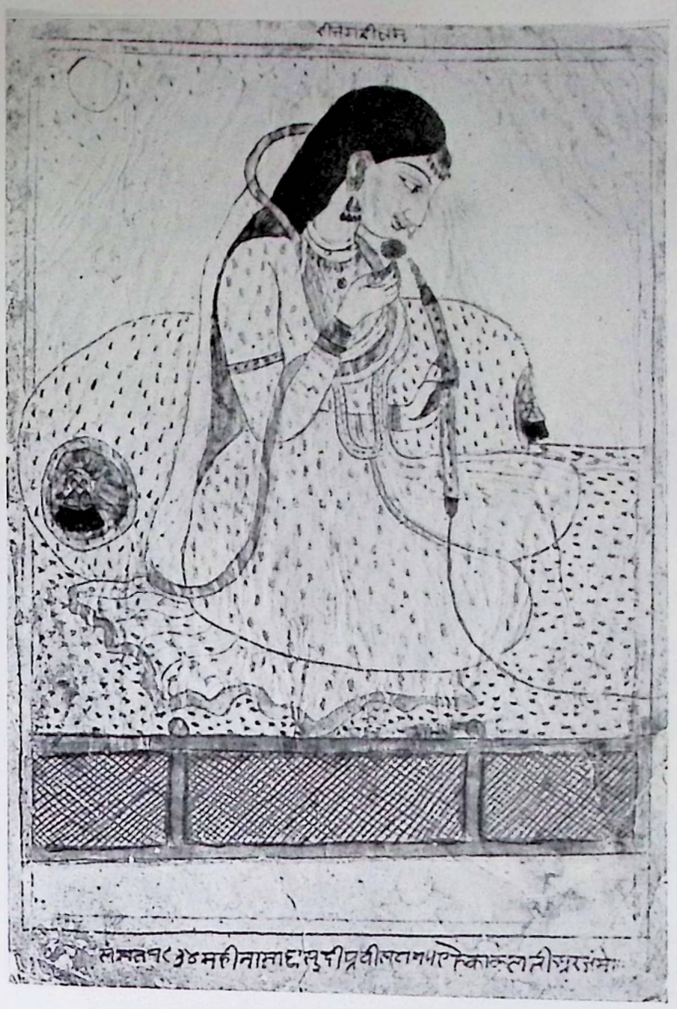


Fig. 48. Lady Smoking Hukha. Kangra Kalam. Dated 1777 A.D.
Possession Author. Size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ ins.



Fig. 49. Krishna and Radha Sheltering from the Rain.
Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D.
Allahabad Municipal Museum. Size $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 50. GAJA LAKSHMI—The Goddess Lakshmi being laved by Elephants. Mandi idiom of Kangra Kalam. Dated 1843 A.D.
Artist Fattu. Jugmohandas Mody Collection, Bombay. Size 9 × 6 ins.

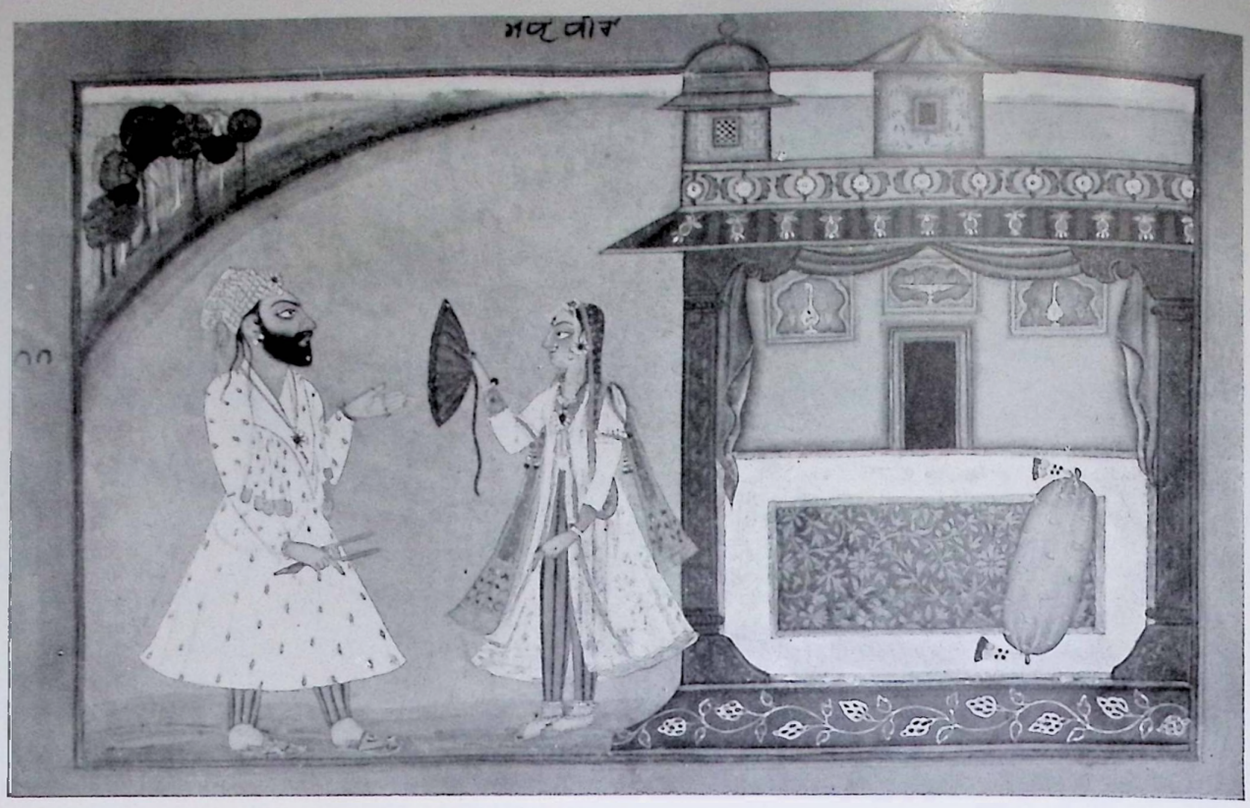


Fig. 51. MADHYA DHIRA NAYIKA—A Type of Heroine. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1700-1725 A.D.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.

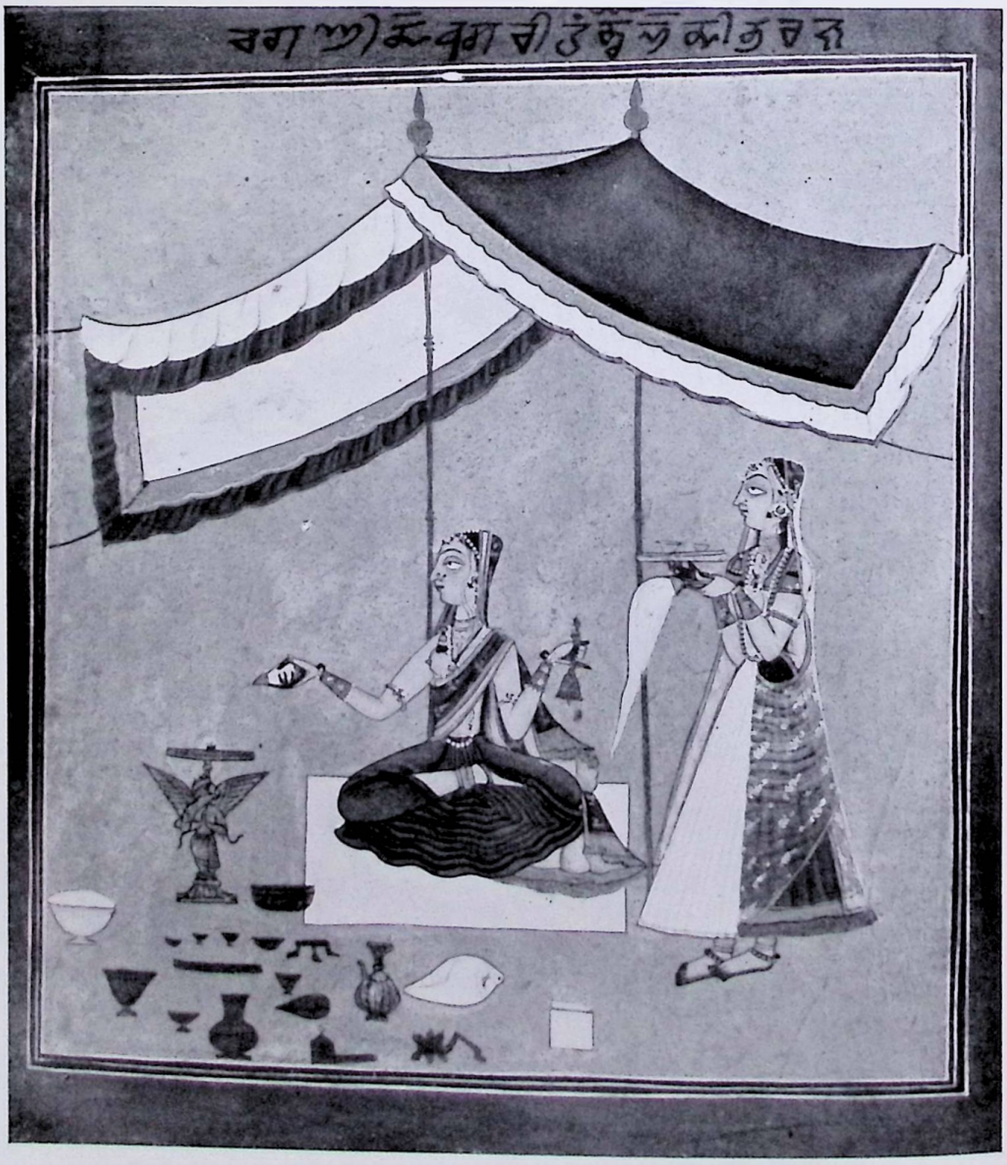


Fig. 52. RAGINI DEVAGIRI—A Musical Mode. Basohli Kalam. 1700-1730 A.D.
Possession Author. Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ ins.



Fig. 53. Laksmana Shoots Game in the Forest. Kangra Kalam Drawing. *Circa* 1800 A.D. Illustration to the Ramayana. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



1. Kulu Kalam. Late 18th Century A.D. See Plate XIV.



2. Kulu Folk Kalam. Not reproduced. 1800-1825 A.D.



3. Unidentified Folk Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. See Plate XII.



4. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. End of 18th Century A.D. See Fig. 38.



5. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. Fresco. Not reproduced. End of 18th Century A.D.



6. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. See Fig. 22.



7. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. See Fig. 22.



8. Bilaspur Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D. See Fig 44.



9. Basohli Kalam.
Circa 1690-1700 A.D.
See Plate XX.



10. Basohli Kalam.
Circa 1690-1700 A.D.
See Plate XX



11. Basohli Kalam.
1730 A.D.
See Plate XVIII.



12. Basohli Kalam.
1730 A.D.
See Plate XVIII.



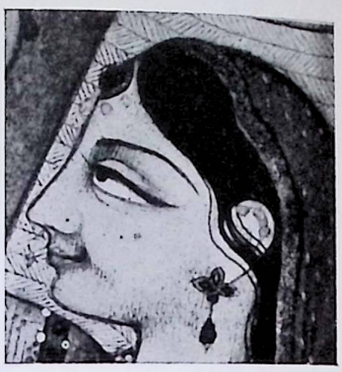
13. Basohli Kalam.
1730 A.D.
See Plate XVII.



14. Basohli Kalam.
Circa 1700-1720 A.D.
Not reproduced.



15. Kangra Kalam.
1800-1825 A.D.
See Plate V.



16. Kangra Kalam.
1800-1825 A.D.
See Plate V.



17. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D.
Not reproduced.



18. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D.
Not reproduced.



19. Guler idiom of Kangra
Kalam. 1750-1775 A.D.
See Fig. 16.



20. Kangra Kalam.
1800-1825 A.D.
See Plate II.



21. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D.
See Fig. 12.



22. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D.
See Fig. 12.



23. Kangra Kalam.
1780-1800 A.D.
See Fig. 12.



24. Kangra Kalam.
1825-1850 A.D.
Not reproduced.



Fig. 54. The Demoness Surpanakha seeks to entice Rama. Kangra Kalam. Dated 1769 A.D. Illustration to the Ramayana. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. Size 12 × 8 ins.



Fig. 55. Rama at Agastya's Hermitage. Kangra Kalam. Dated 1769 A.D. Illustration to the Ramayana. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. Size 12 × 8 ins.



Fig. 56. Krishna and Radha near the Cowpen. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D. Illustration to the Satsaiya of Bihari. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay. Size $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 57. ABHISARIKA NAYIKA—*The Heroine who braves the Stormy Night.* Unidentified Kalam. *Circa 1800 A.D. Svetoslav Roerich Collection.*

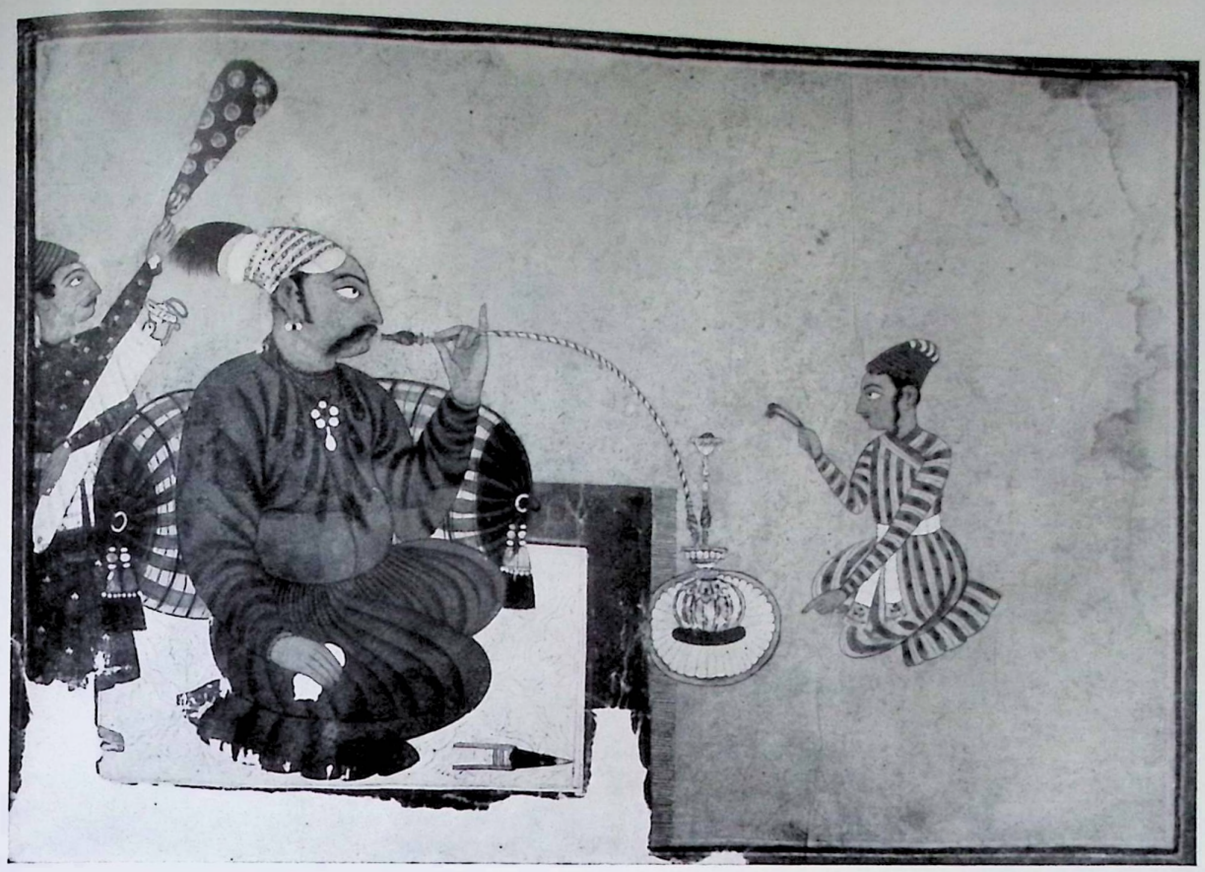


Fig. 58. Portrait of Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli. Basohli Kalam. 1690-1694 A.D.
Possession Author. Size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 59. Begum Sakir out Hawking. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 60. MADHYA KALAHANTARITA—The Remorseful Heroine who has rebuked her Lover. Jammu Kalam. *Circa* 1750 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

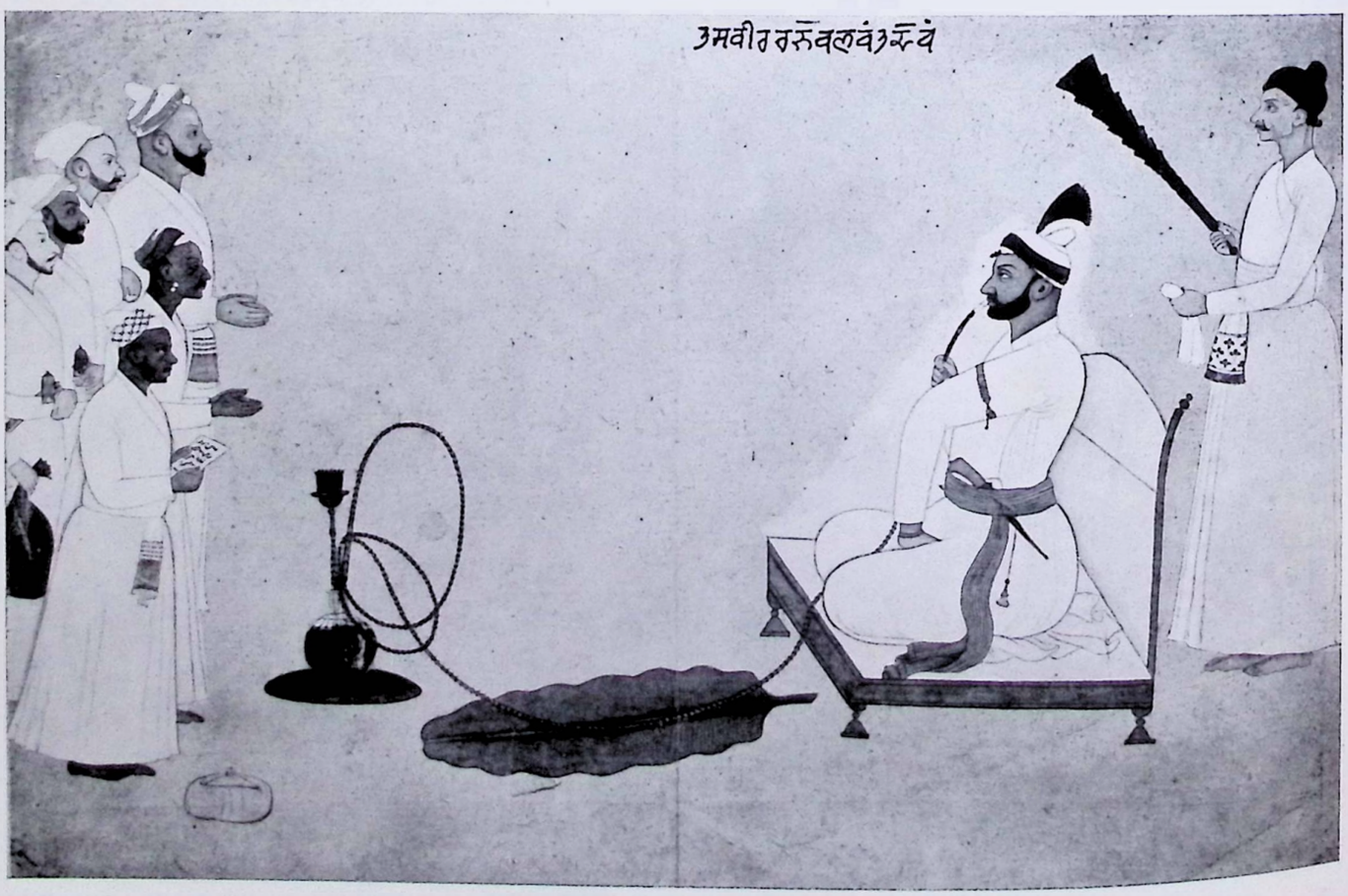


Fig. 61. Balvant Singh of Jammu and Attendants. Jammu Kalam. 1745-1750 A.D. Possession Author. Size $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

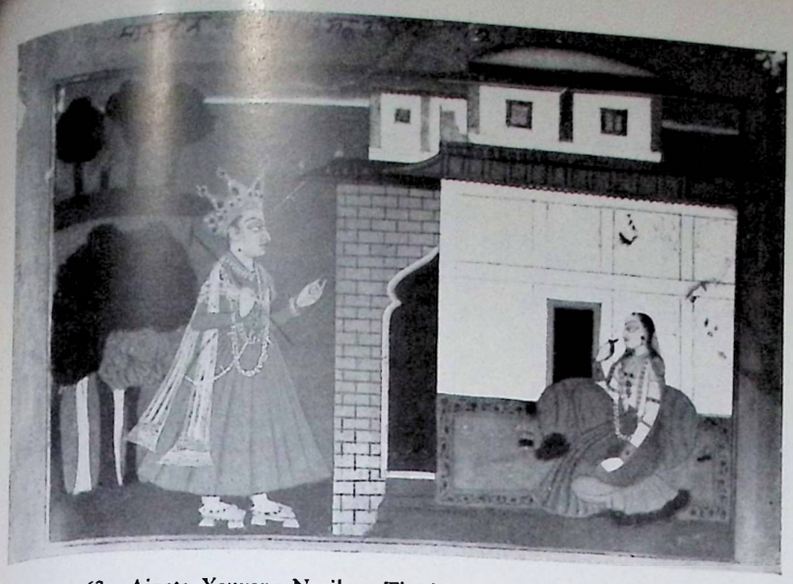


Fig. 62. Ajnata Yauvana Nayika. The heroine who will not listen to her lover. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720 A.D. Ascription of the series to Nurpur by Archer in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, is most doubtful. See pp. 236-37. Kasturbai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



Fig. 65. Portrait of a Balauria Queen. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Basohli. *Circa* 1765 A.D. Probably a stylized portrait. Possession Author. Size $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.



Fig. 64. Raja Man Singh of Guler (1635-1661 A.D.). Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Guler. First quarter of the 18th century A.D. Possession Author. Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

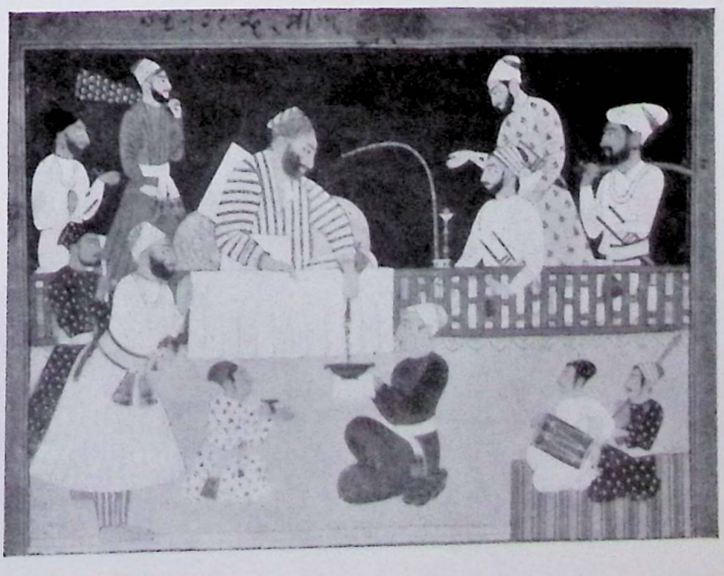


Fig. 63. Court Scene. Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Bandralta. First Quarter of the 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

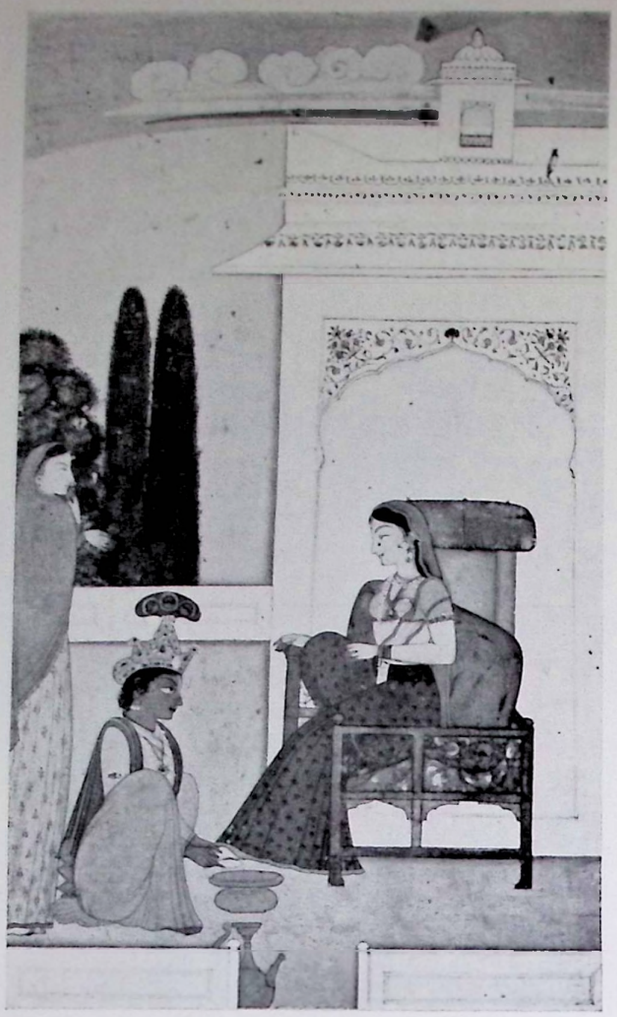


Fig. 66. Svadhina Patika Nayika. The Heroine who keeps her Lover in subjection. Chamba idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D. Possession Author. Size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

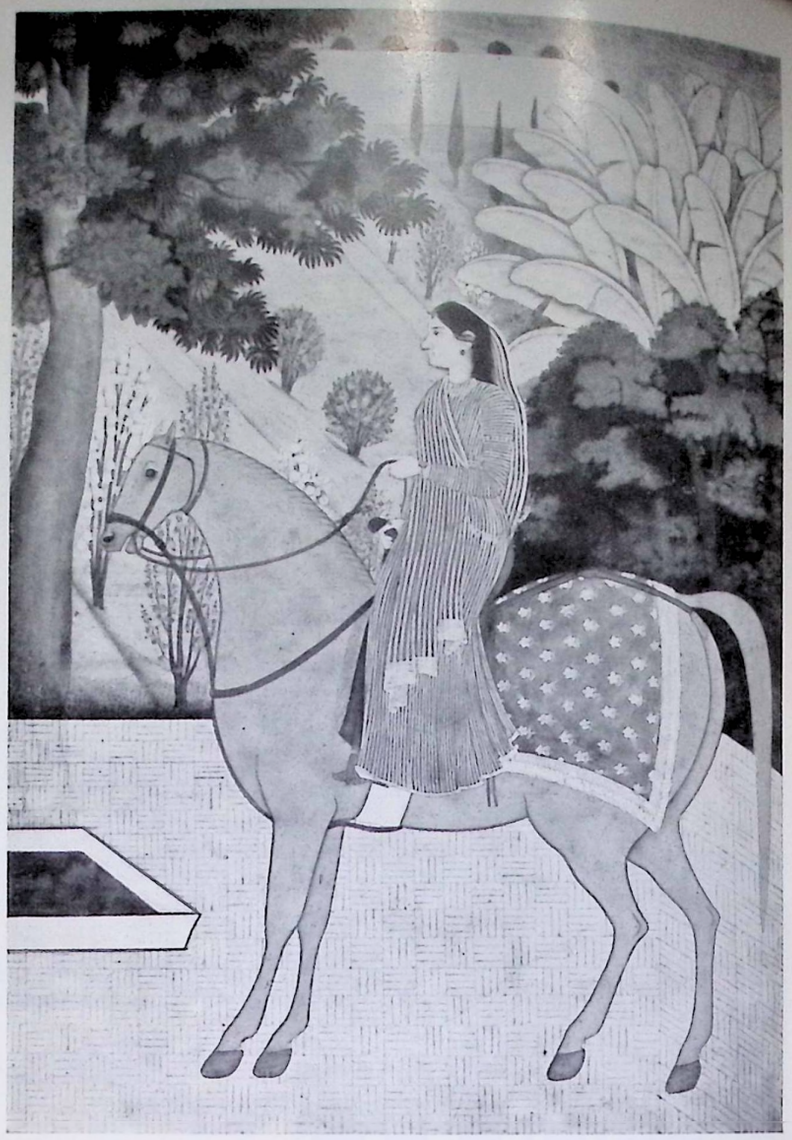


Fig. 67. Equestrian Portrait. Pre-Kangra Kalam, probably at Jammu. Mid-18th century A.D. See p. 320. Possession Author. Size $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 68. Raja Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790 A.D.). Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1773 A.D. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.



Fig. 71. A Marmot. Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A.D. Possession Author.

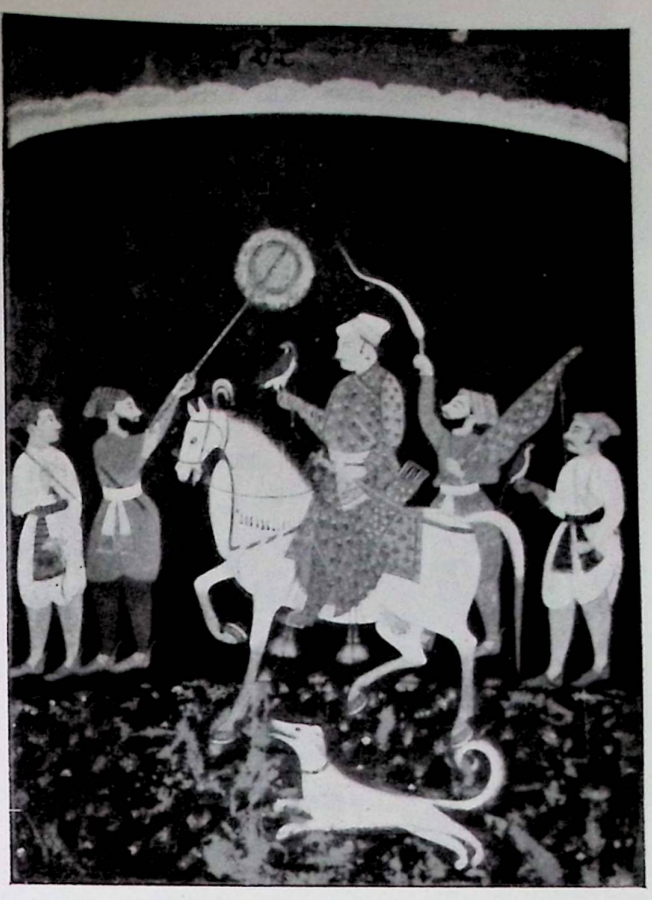


Fig. 69. Raja Rup Chand of Guler (1610-1635 A.D.). Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Guler. First Quarter of the 18th century A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 72. Raja Dalip Singh of Guler (1695-1745) playing polo. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1740-1745 A.D. Guler Darbar Collection.



Fig. 70. The Blind Raja Sital Dev of Mankot. Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Mankot. Second Quarter of the 18th century A.D. Possession Author. Size $7\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

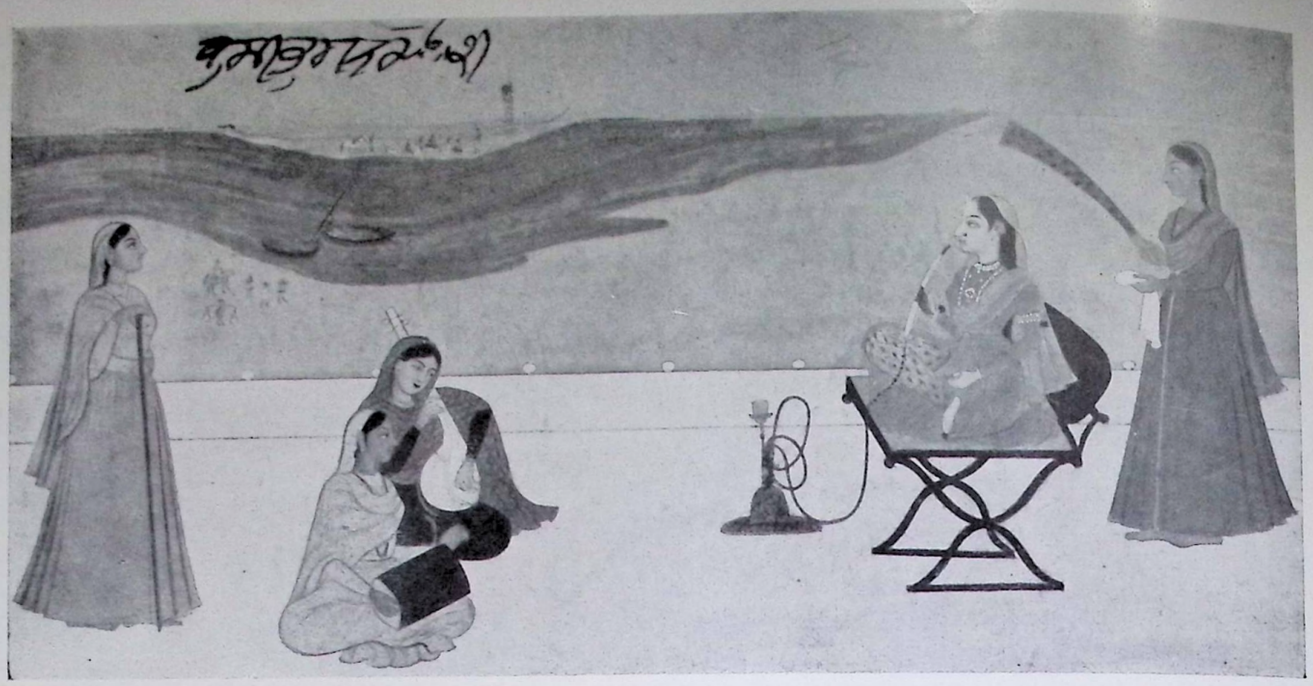


Fig. 73. The Singer Vasitu. Pre-Kangra Kalam. 1760-1775. Possession Author. Size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 74. Raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler with his Family. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1755 A.D. Guler Darbar Collection.



Fig. 75. Shiva and his Family. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800 A.D. Possession Author. Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 76. Rama and Sita. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1760-1775 A.D. Possession Mrs. Mehri Khandalavala, Bombay. Size $11 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.



Fig. 77. Sansar Chand riding in procession on the occasion of the Basant Festival. *Circa* 1785. See p. 321. Possession Author. Size $16\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

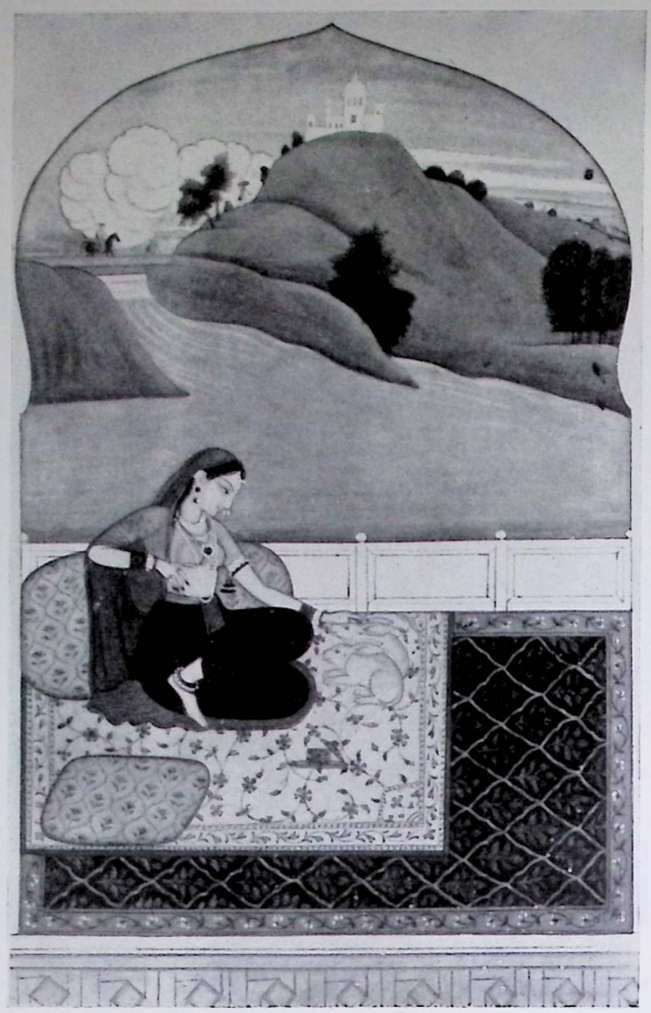


Fig. 78. From a Ragamala series. Kangra Kalam at Kangra. 1780-1800 A.D. See p. 321. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.

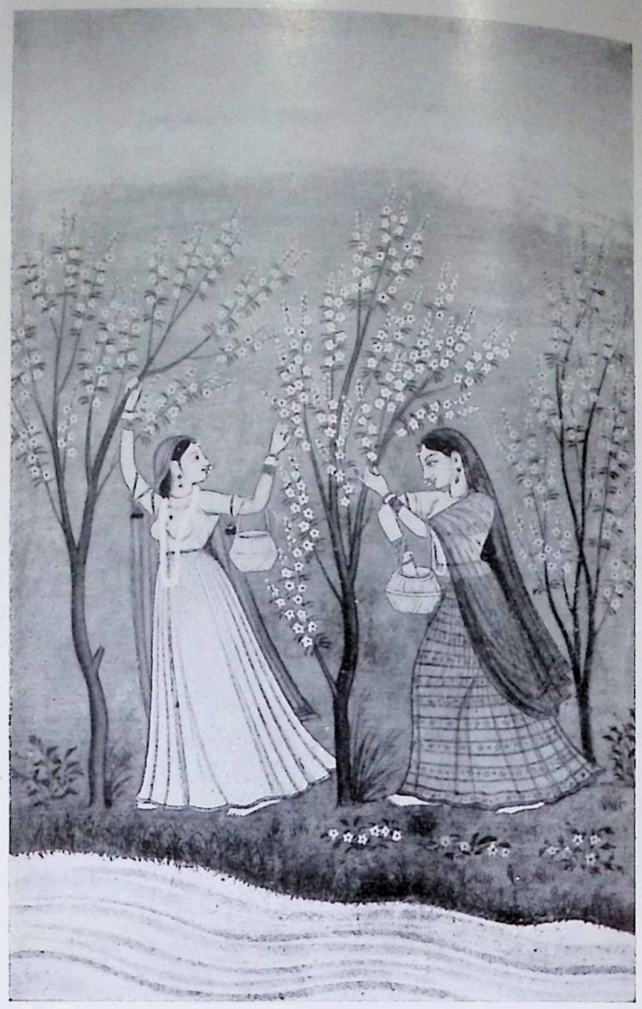


Fig. 79. From a Ragamala series. Kangra Kalam at Kangra. 1780-1800 A.D. See p. 321. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



Fig. 80. The young prince Bhoop Singh of Guler on tour accompanied by Wazir Dhian Chand. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1775 A.D. Guler Darbar Collection.



Fig. 81. Sansar Chand at Janmashtami Ceremony. Kangra Kalam at Kangra. 1795-1800 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 82. Girl with a musical instrument. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1780-1790. Possession Author. Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ ins.



Fig. 83. Anant Devi, Queen of Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790) with the young prince Bhoop Singh. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1775 A.D. Guler Darbar Collection. All the female faces are stylized and it is not a genuine portrait study of the queen.



Fig. 85. The aged Prakash Chand with his moneylender the Brahman Avatara. Guler idiom of Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1810-1820. Guler Darbar Collection.



Fig. 84. VENUGOPALA. Krishna playing the flute. Kangra Kalam. 1800-1825 A D. Possession Author. Size 10 x 8½ ins.



Fig. 87. Raj Singh of Chamba watching a dance performance. Chamba idiom of early Kangra Kalam. Artist Ram Sahai. *Circa* 1772 A.D. See p. 322. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.

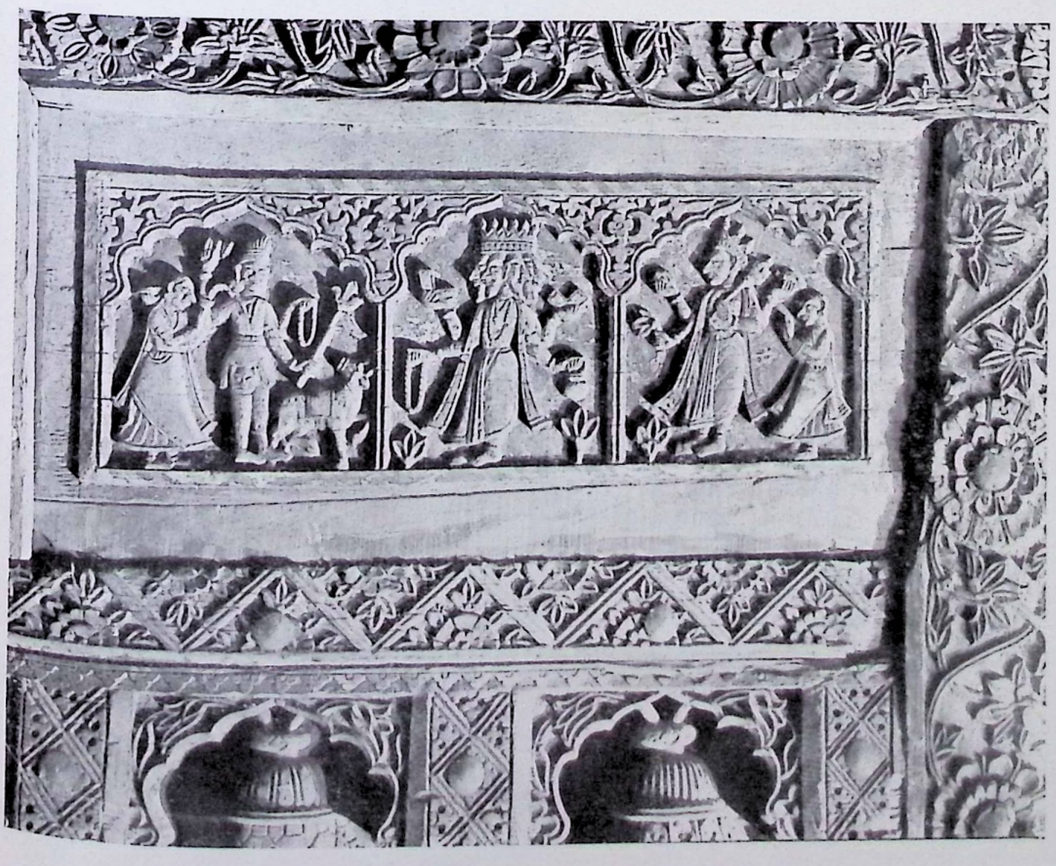


Fig. 86. See pp. 261-264. Wood carvings from Brahmor Kothi showing the late Basohli type carvings of the second half of the 18th century wedged into the lintel. Incorrectly ascribed by Goetz to *circa* 1670 thus leading to his erroneous conclusions as to the origins of Basohli painting. Chamba Museum.



Fig. 88. See pp. 261-264. Wood carving from the Brahmor Kothi in Moghul style. Probably mid-18th century. Chamba Museum.



Fig. 89. See pp. 261-264. Girl playing with a ball. Wood carving from the Brahmor Kothi in Moghul style. Probably mid-18th century. Chamba Museum.

STUDY SUPPLEMENT

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	No. 24	113	No. 149		No. 89	159	No. 220A
	No. 25	115	No. 53		No. 92		No. 242
	No. 28	118	No. 82		No. 95		No. 260
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83-87	No. 33	121	No. 80	135	No. 82		No. 218
88	No. 32		No. 112		No. 83		No. 287
92	No. 23		No. 114		No. 84		No. 295
93	No. 43	122	No. 106		No. 93	168	No. 145
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95	No. 26	125	No. 105		No. 85		No. 288
	No. 54		No. 112		No. 90	169	No. 217

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	No. 131		No. 195		No. 158	315	No. 284
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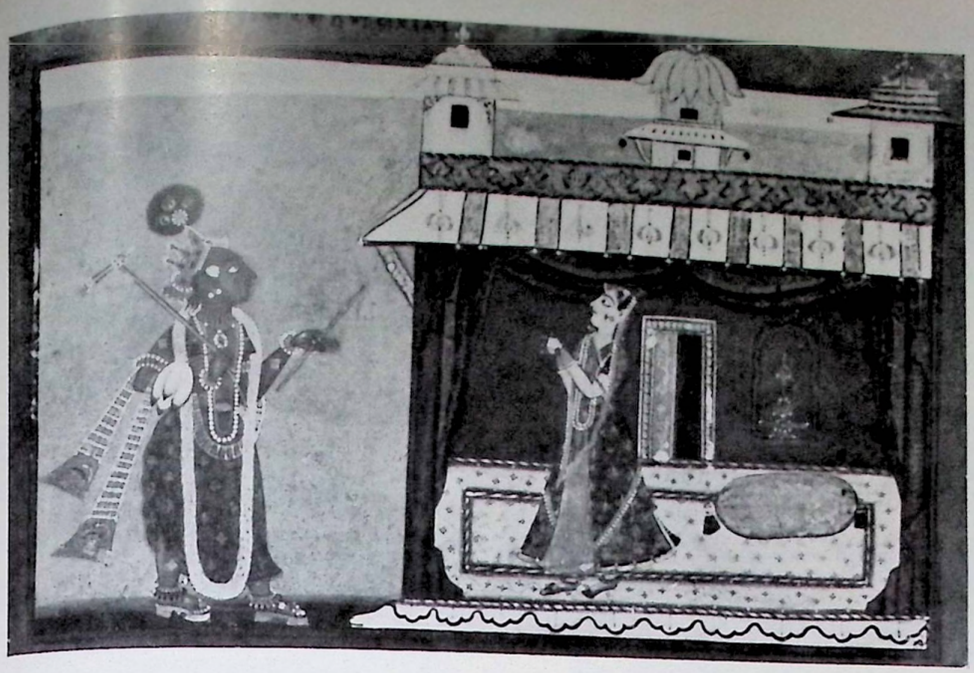
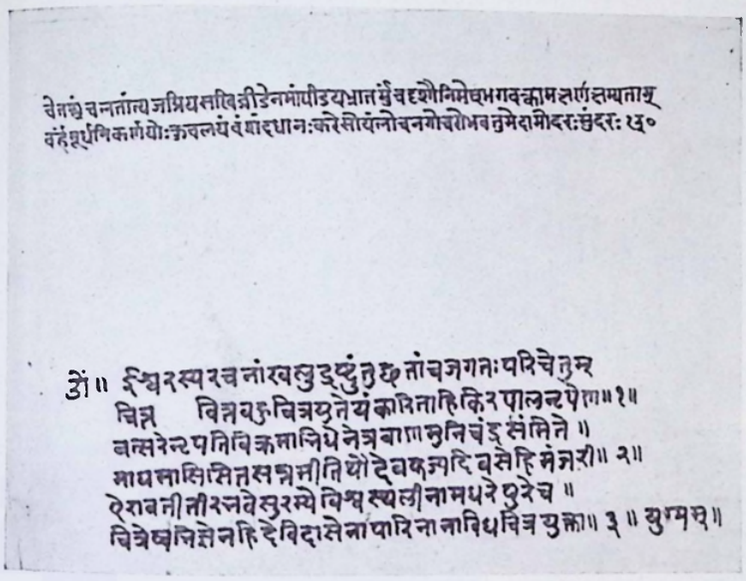


No. 1. pp. 63-65. Illustration to Bhanu Datta's *Rasmanjari*. Artist Devidasa. Early Basohli Kalam. 1694 A.D. Shastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book Illustration*, Pl. 6. Purchased by Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, from Shastri. Note monster head at base of pillar.



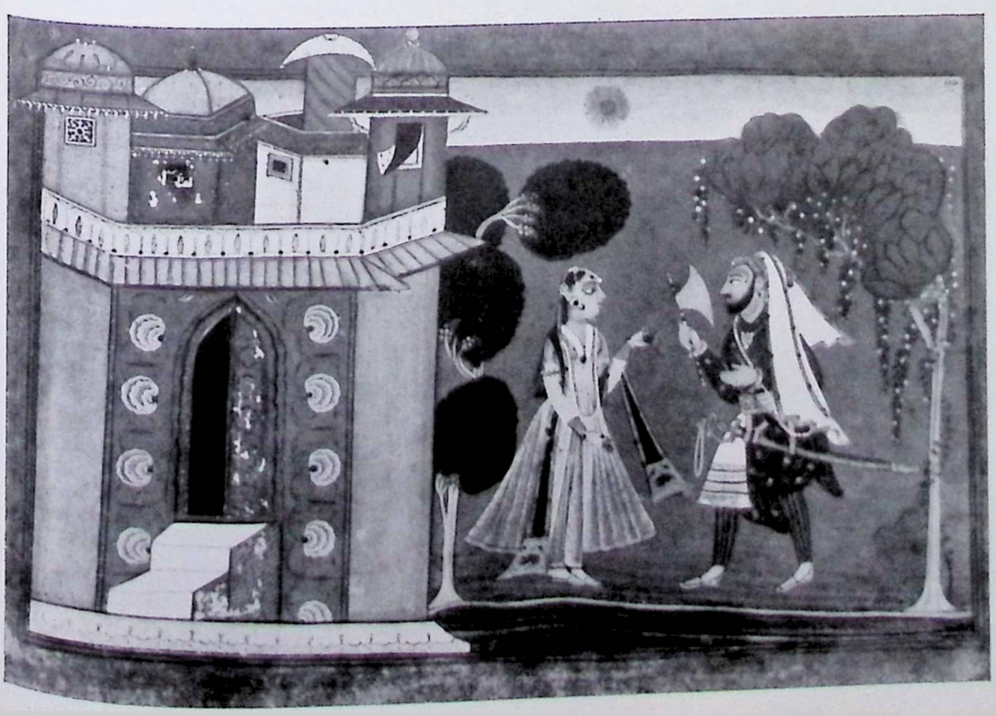
चेतश्चंचलतांत्यजप्रियसखिव्रीडेनमांपीडयभ्रातर्मुंचदृशौनिमेषभगवत्कामक्षणंक्षम्यताम्
वंहंमूर्धनिकर्णयोःकुवलयंवंशंदधानःकरेसोयंलोचनगोचरोभवतुमेदामोदरःसुंदरः ४०

ॐ॥ ईश्वरस्यरचनांखलुद्रष्टुंतुछतांचजगतःपरिचेतुम्
चित्त चित्तबहुचित्रयुतेयंकारिताहिकिरपालनृपेण॥१॥
वत्सरेनृपतिविक्रमाभिधेनेत्रबाणमुनिचंद्रसंमिते॥
माघमासिसितसप्तमीतिथौदेवकज्यदिवसेहिमंजरी॥२॥
ऐरावतीतीरभवेसुरम्येविश्वस्थलीनामधरेपुरेच॥
चित्रेष्वभिज्ञेनहिदेविदासेनापारिनानाविधचित्रयुक्ता॥३॥ युग्मम्॥

No. 2. p. 64. Colophon on reverse of No. 1.



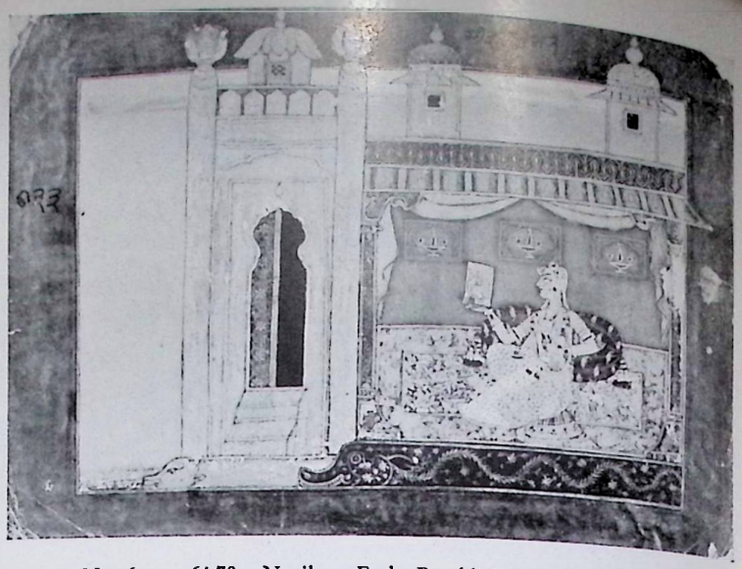
No. 3. Lady with Bird. Early Basohli Kalam. End of 17th century. *Lalit Kala* Nos. 3-4 (in colour). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 4. pp. 63-65. Illustration to Bhanu Datta's *Rasmanjari*. Artist Devidasa. Early Basohli Kalam. 1694 A.D. *Lalit Kala* Nos. 3-4 (in colour). Purchased by Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, from Shastri along with No. 1 and two more examples from the same series.



No. 5. pp. 63-65. Illustration to Bhanu Datta's *Rasmanjari*. Artist Devidasa. Early Basohli Kalam. 1694 A.D. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Same series as No. 1 and No. 4..



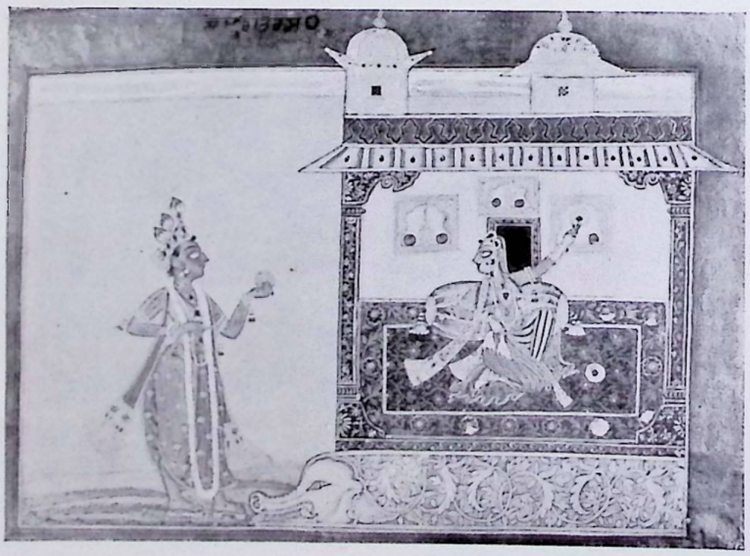
No. 6. pp. 64-70. Nayika. Early Basohli Kalam. End of 17th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 95, Fig. CCCVII. Note monster heads at bases of pillars.



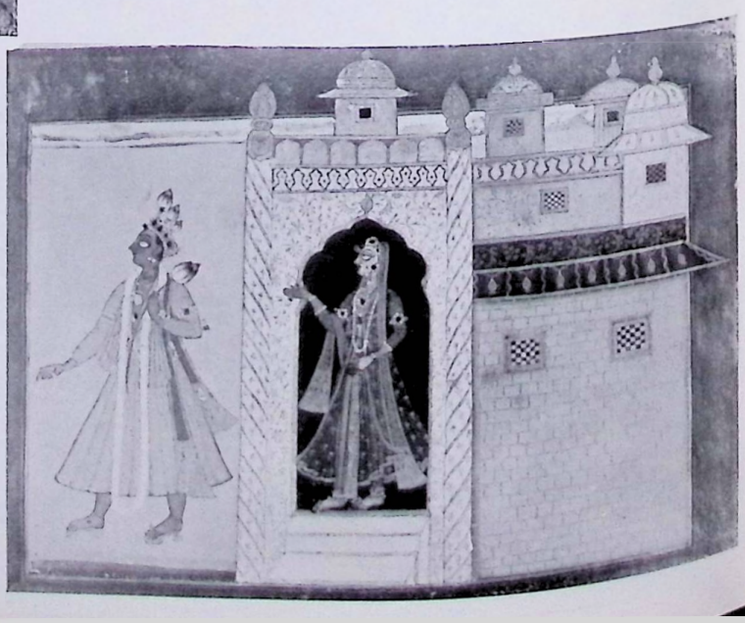
No. 7. pp. 64-70. Early Basohli Kalam. End of the 17th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 96, Fig. CCCVIII. Note monster head at base of pillar.



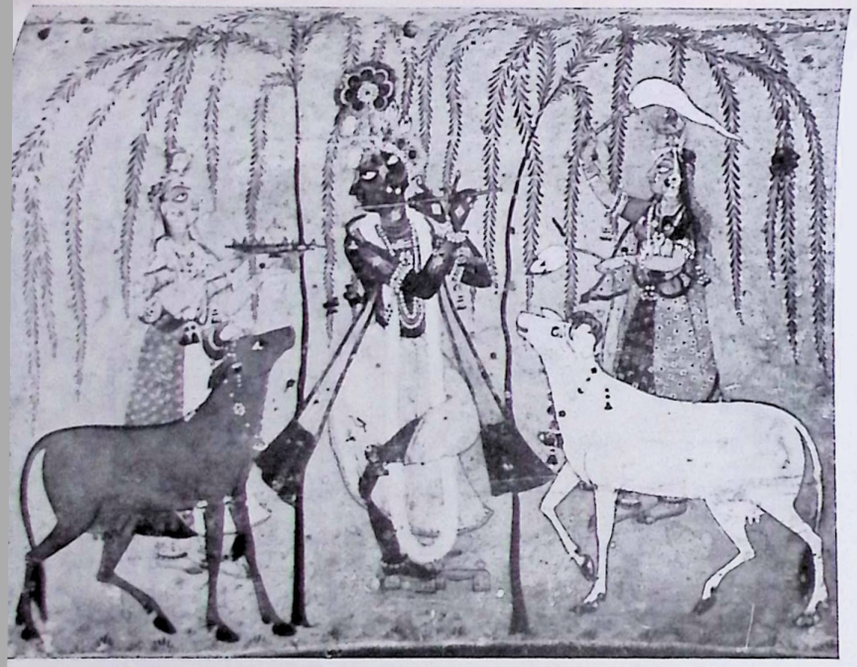
No. 10. Krishna and Gopa. Early Basohli Kalam. End of 17th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



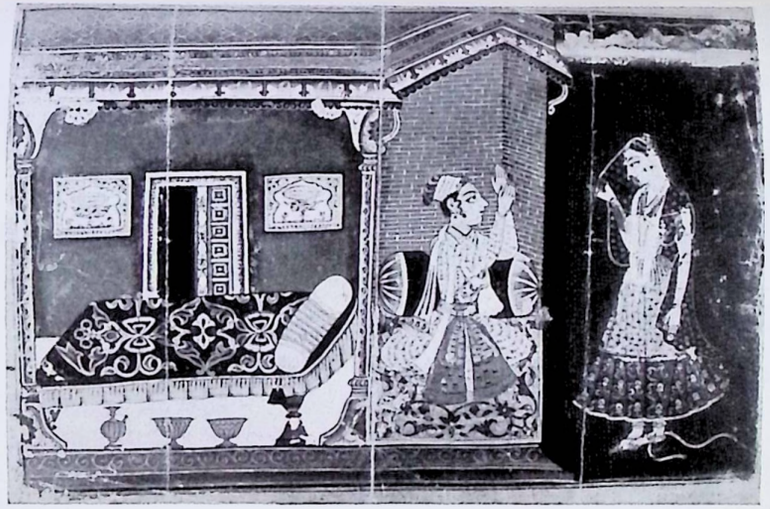
No. 8. pp. 64-70. Same series as Nos. 6 and 9. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 95. Fig. CCCVI. Note monster head at base of pillar.



No. 9. pp. 64-70. Same series as Nos. 6 and 8. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 94, Fig. CCCIV. Markedly elongated figures.



No. 11. Venugopala. Early Basohli Kalam. Early 18th century. Indian National Museum. New Delhi.



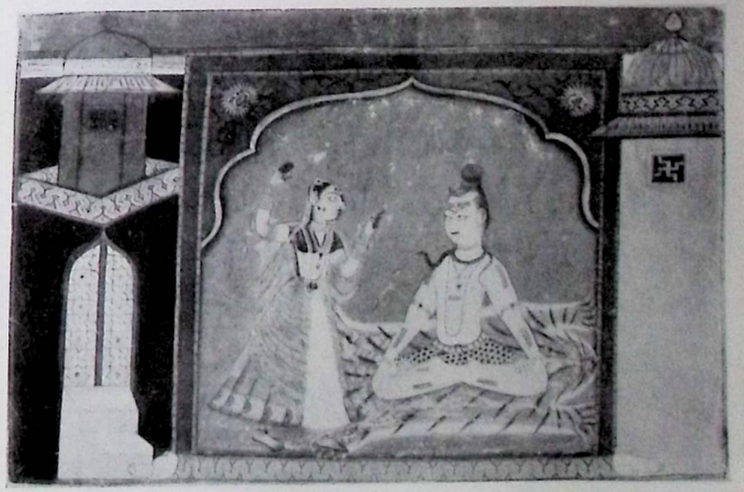
No. 12. pp. 64-70. Abhisarika Nayika. Early Basohli Kalam. Late 17th or early 18th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 96, Fig. CCCIX.



No. 13. Viyadhi. Early Basohli Kalam. Early 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 15. p. 78. Virahini or Princess in a garden. Early Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1700-1710. *Boston Museum Catalogue*. Pl. 97. Kramrisch, *Art of India*, Pl. 6 (in colour). Markedly elongated figures.



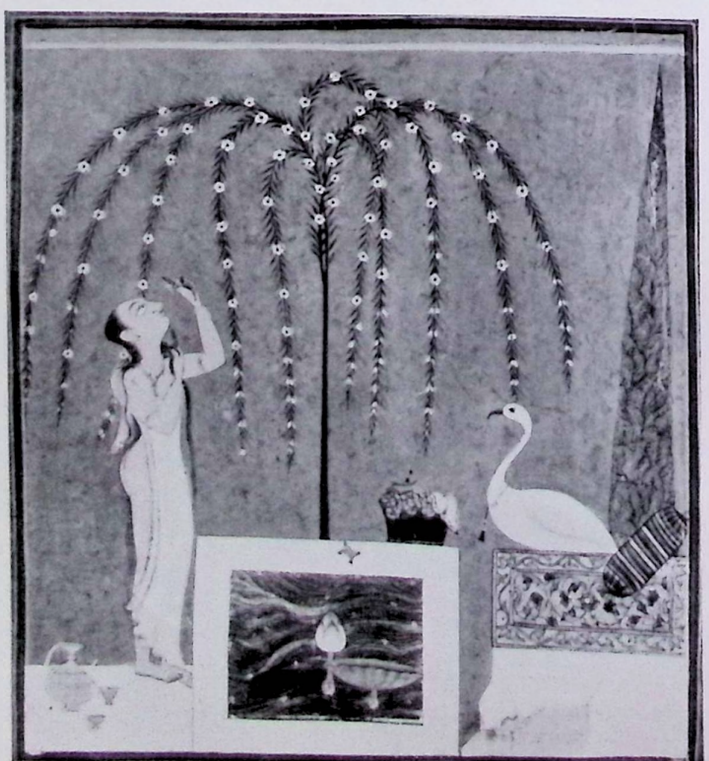
No. 14. pp. 64-70. Early Basohli Kalam. End of the 17th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 92, Fig. CCC. Note monster heads at bases of pillars.



No. 16. p. 79. Raga Vinoda. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1705-1720. *Rupam*, No. 37, opp. p. 15 (in colour). Gray, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. I (in colour). Victoria and Albert Museum.



No. 17. pp. 78-79. Krishna and Maidens. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1705-1720. French, *Himalayan Art*, Pl. I, and Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 20. J. C. French Collection, London.



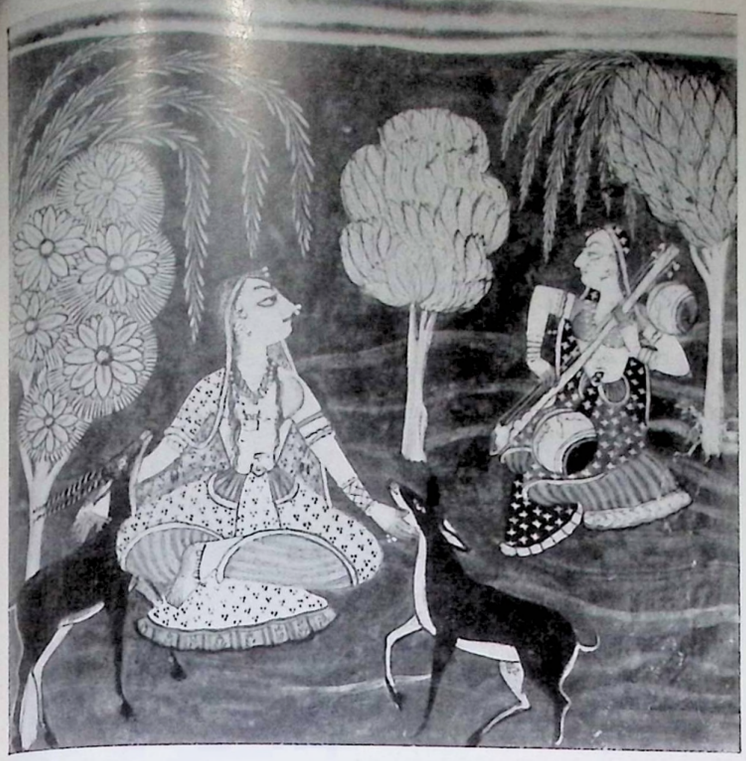


No. 18. p. 239. Raja Mandhata of Nurpur (1661-1690). Early Basohli Kalam. Late 17th or more probably early 18th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

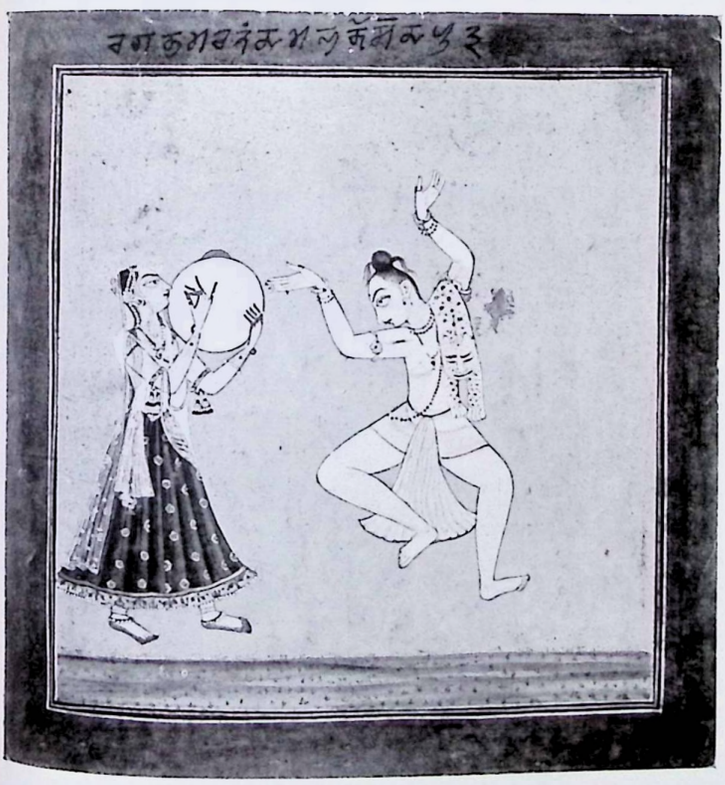


No. 20. pp. 79-81. Gujari Ragini. *Circa* 1720. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 33. Fig. LXXIV.

No. 19. p. 82. A Lady's Toilet. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720-1730. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 107, Fig. CCCCI.



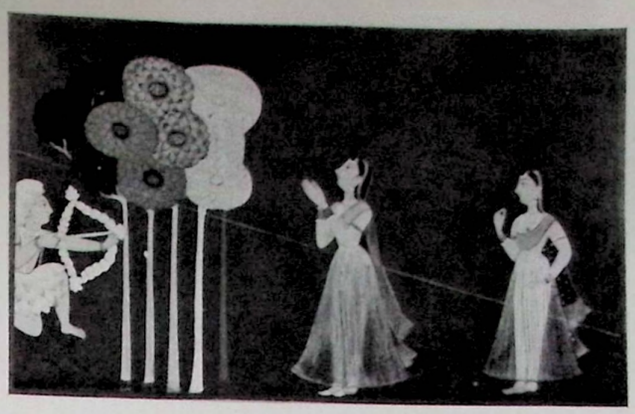
No. 21. pp. 79-81. Ragini Gujari. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 33, Fig. LXXI.



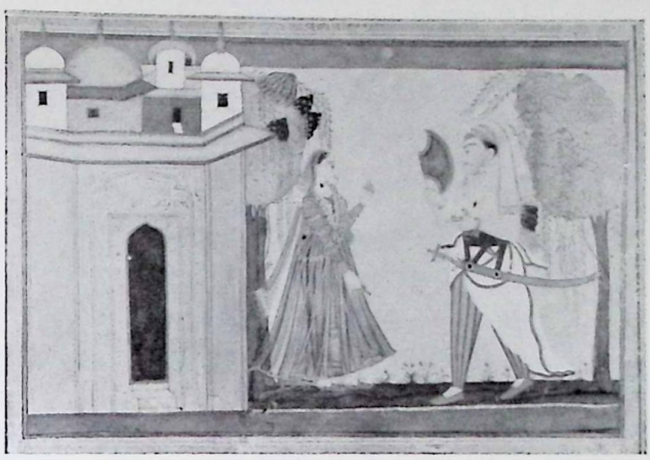
No. 22. pp. 79-81. Bhamarananda Raga. *Circa* 1720. Same series as No. 21. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 33. Fig. LXXIII.



No. 25. pp. 79-81, 236-37. Nayaka-Nayika Illustration. Same series as Nos. 28-30, Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



No. 23. p. 92. Vipralabdha. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Verse from *Sunder-Vilas* at back. Lahore Museum. Wrongly ascribed in *Lahore Museum Catalogue* to 19th century.



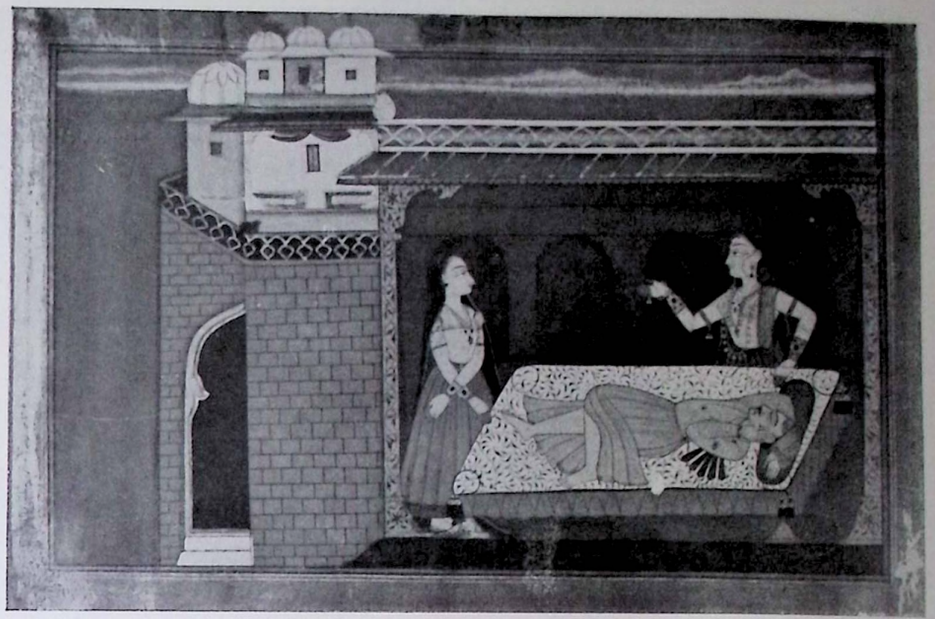
No. 24. pp. 79-81, 236-37. Nayaka-Nayika Illustration. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad. Perhaps from same series as Nos. 28-30 and apparently derived from the earlier example No. 5.



No. 26. pp. 95, 235. Flower-Gathering. Probably local idiom of Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 19. In *Marg*, Vol 8, No. 3, Archer suggests a Nurpur origin, but this is problematic. Lahore Museum.



No. 27. Ragini. Probably local idiom of Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Possession Author.



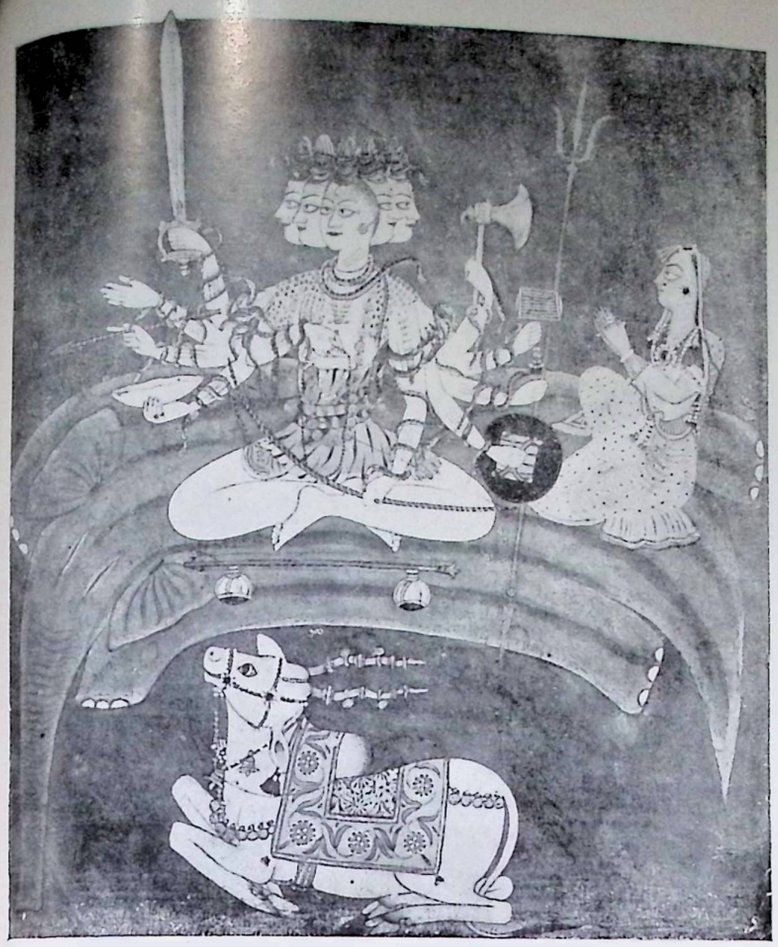
No. 28. pp. 79-81, 236-37. Nayaka-Nayika Illustration. Same series as Nos. 25, 29 and 30. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection. Ahmedabad.



No. 29. pp. 79-81, 236-37. Nayaka-Nayika Illustration. Same series as Nos. 25, 28 and 30. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



No. 30. pp. 79-81, 236-37. Nayaka-Nayika Illustration. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Series ascribed by Archer to Nurpur in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3. Ascription doubtful. Same series as Nos. 25, 28 and 29. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



No. 31. Shiva and Parvati. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1720. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



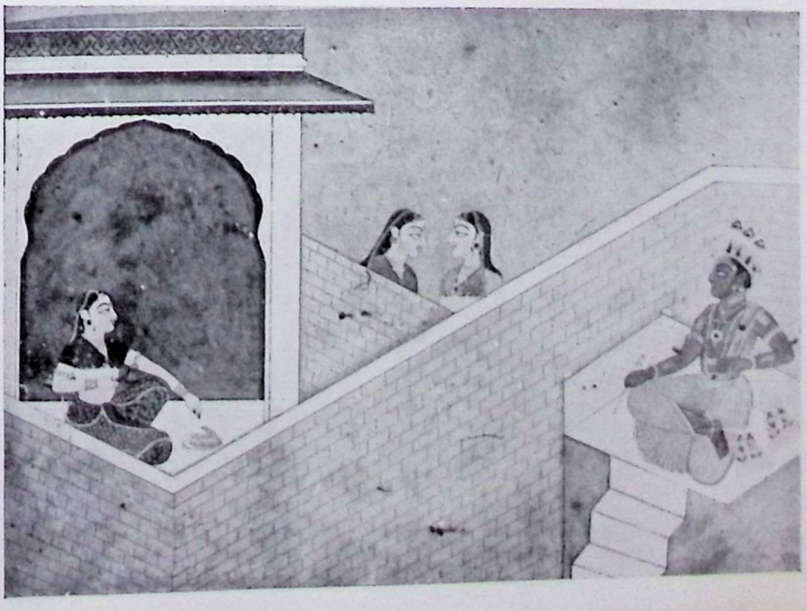
No. 32. p. 88. Krishna and Radha. Basohli Kalam. *Circa* 1730. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 101, where lower limit of the date 1730-50 is too late. Lahore Museum.



No. 33. pp. 83-87. Illustration to Gita Govinda. Basohli Kalam. 1730 A.D. Same series as Fig. 33 and Pls. XVII and XVIII. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.



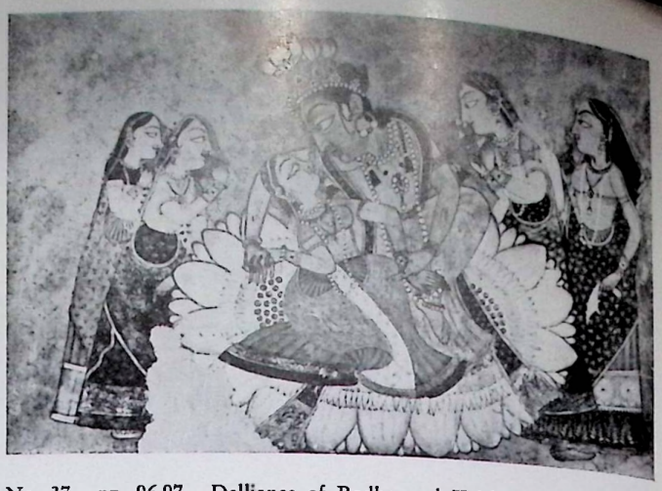
No. 35. pp. 96-97. After the Bath. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 100, Fig. 535, where ascription to Kulu Kalam is doubtful and date 1750 a little too early. Similar in type to Nos. 36-40, which I do not regard as examples of the Kulu Kalam in the absence of adequate data. Alma Latifi Collection, Bombay.



No. 34. Krishna outside Radha's house. Basohli Kalam. 1730-1740. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 36. pp. 96-97. Girl on a Stool. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 107, Fig. CCCXCVIII. Similar in type to No. 35.



No. 37. pp. 96-97. Dalliance of Radha and Krishna. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 30, where incorrectly dated 17th – 18th century. Similar in type to No. 35.



No. 39. pp. 96-97. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Pl. 5. Similar in type to No. 35.



No. 38. pp. 96-97. Radha and Krishna. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 65, Fig. CCXXV, where incorrectly dated early 18th century. Similar in type to No. 35.



No. 40. pp. 96-97. Krishna with the Flute. Basohli type, local idiom. Third quarter of 18th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 70, Fig. CCXXIV, where incorrectly dated 17th or early 18th century. Similar in type to No. 35.



No. 41. Illustration to Ramayana. Basohli Kalam, idiom Mandi. Third quarter of 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Similar to No. 42.



No. 43. p. 93. Kedarika Ragini. Basohli type, local idiom. 1760-1780. *The Art of India and Pakistan*. Pl. 104, Fig. 528, where dated 1750-60. Alma Latifi Collection, Bombay.



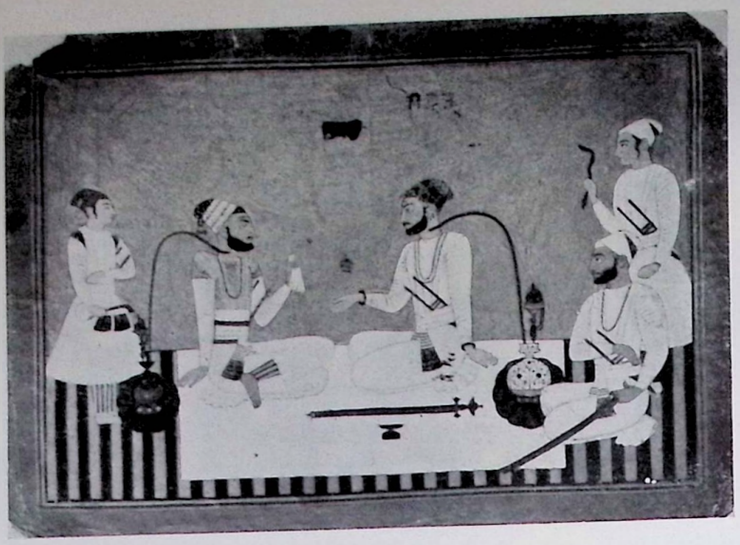
No. 42. p. 94. Illustration to Ramayana. Basohli Kalam, idiom Mandi. The date given in Lokakala era appears to be 1765. Inscription mentions Mandi. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 44. p. 93. Balarama. Basohli Kalam. 1760-1780. *Boston Museum Catalogue*. Pl. 69, Fig. CCLXXXIII. Note the stunted figures usually indicating the period of decline of the Basohli Kalam as in Nos. 45 and 68.



No. 45. Ras Mandala. Basohli Kalam, idiom Kangra. Third quarter of 18th century at the court of Ghamand Chand of Kangra (1751-1774). Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 11, (in 'Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art' General Editor, Karl Khandalavala). Lambagraon Darbar Collection.



No. 46. p. 265. Jai Singh and Sakat Singh of Chamba. Basohli Kalam, idiom Chamba. Second quarter of 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



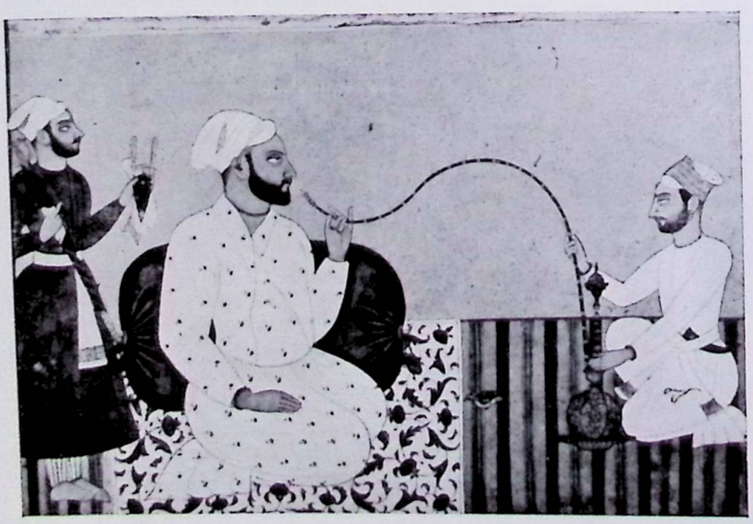
No. 48. Portrait of Jehangir(?). Basohli type. Probably some local idiom. First quarter, 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 47. p. 265. Udai Singh of Chamba (1690-1720). Basohli Kalam, idiom Chamba. Second quarter of 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 50. Unidentified portrait. Basohli Kalam, probably some local idiom. Second quarter of 18th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 51. Unidentified portrait. Basohli Kalam probably some local idiom. Mid-18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 49. pp. 94, 219. Ugar Singh of Chamba (1720-1735). Basohli Kalam, idiom Chamba. Second quarter of the 18th century. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 54, where ascribed to Jammu, but this is very doubtful. Rollenstein Collection, London.



No. 52. p. 103. Portrait of Emperor Shah Jehan. Basohli Kalam. Third quarter of 18th century. Possession Author.



No. 54. p. 95. Basohli Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Second quarter of 18th century. Wrongly ascribed to Jammu by Archer in *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 57 and incorrectly dated 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



No. 55. p. 95. Krishna Rescuing Nanda. Basohli type, idiom perhaps Guler. 1740-1750. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 23. Lahore Museum.



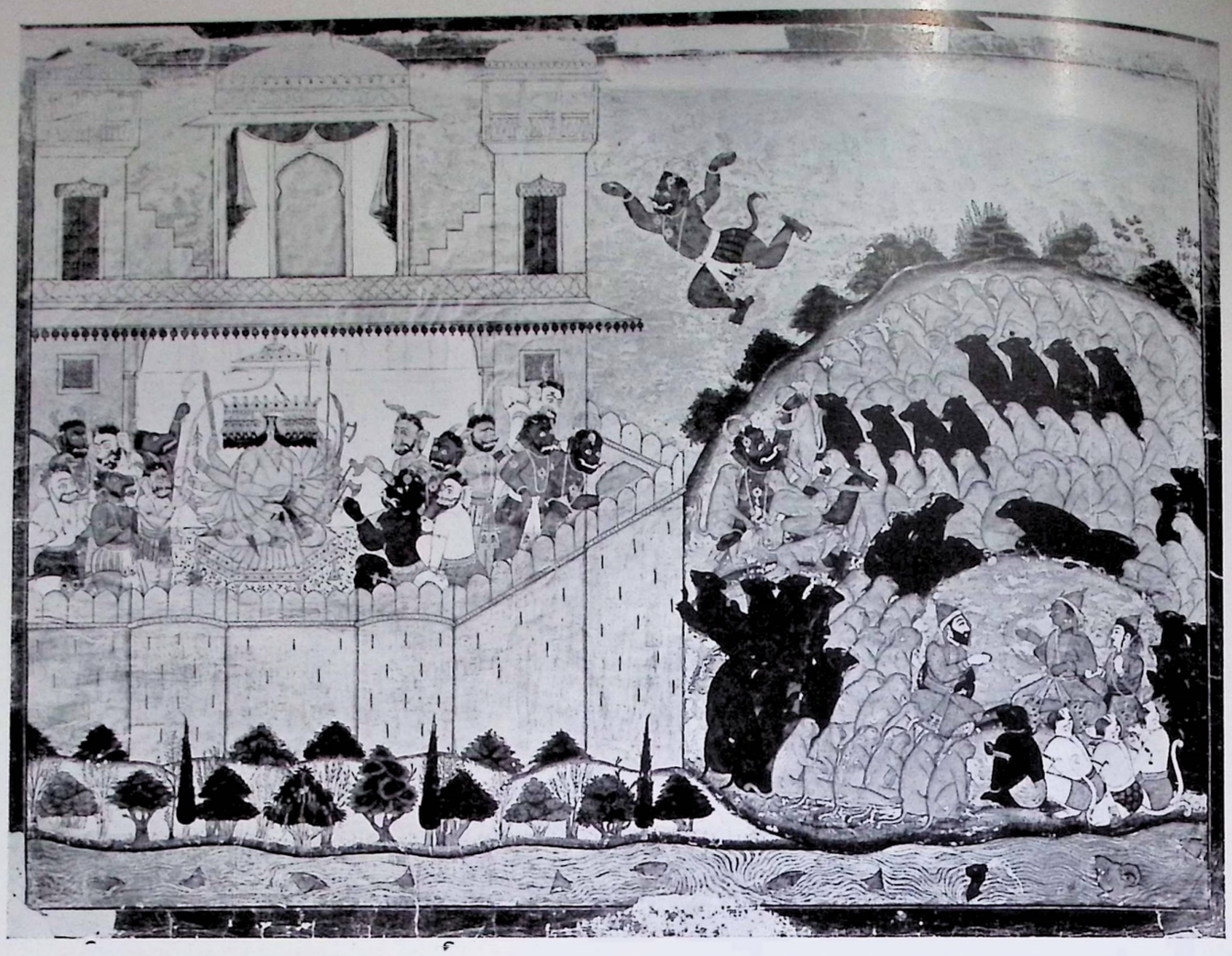
No. 53. p. 115. Krishna and Sudama. Basohli type, idiom probably Jammu. Mid-18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 29, where incorrectly dated *circa* 1625.



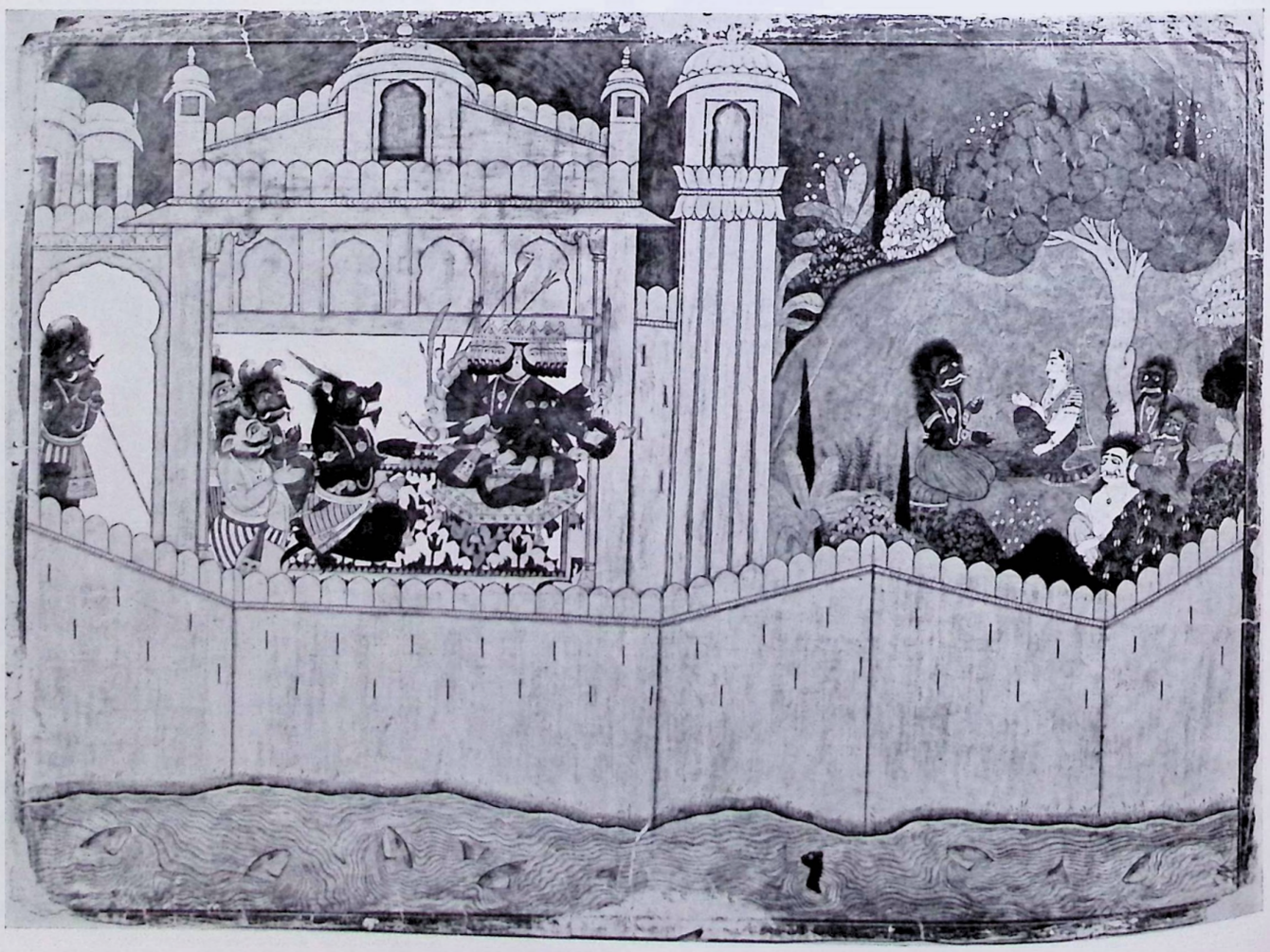
No. 56. pp. 236-37. Lady with Doves. Basohli type, local idiom. Second quarter 18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's attribution to Nurpur is very doubtful. Kartar Singh Collection.



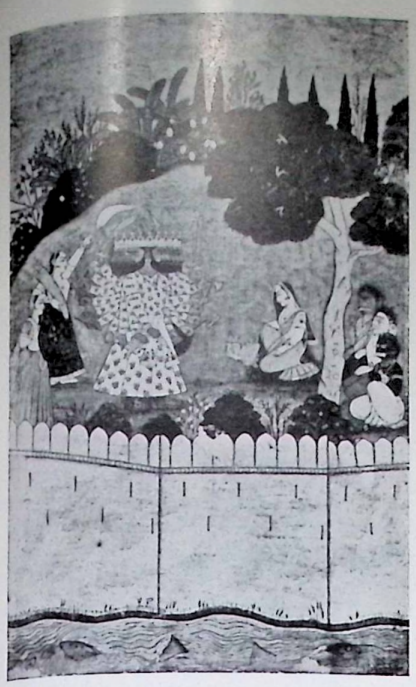
No. 57. p. 95. The Pet Deer. Basohli type, idiom probably Chamba. Second quarter 18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 48 A, where incorrectly described as early Kangra with some Jammu analogies. Also, Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, where incorrectly ascribed to Jammu and dated 1760 which is too late.



No. 58. pp. 127-28. Illustration to the Ramayana. Basohli type, idiom Guler. Second half of 18th century. Wrongly dated 17th century by Coomaraswamy in *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 22. Also wrongly dated 1720 by Archer in *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 12. Same series as Nos. 59 and 60.



No. 59. pp. 127-28. Illustration to the Ramayana. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 12, Fig. XX. Same series as Nos. 58 and 60.



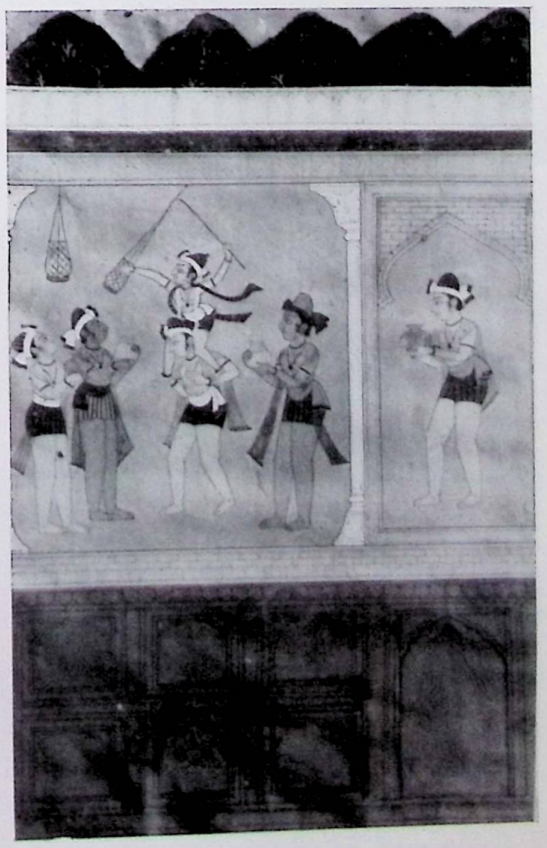
No. 60. pp. 127-28. Illustration to the Ramayana. Basohli type, idiom Guler. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 23, wrongly dated 17th century. Also wrongly dated 1720 A.D. by Archer in *Indian Painting, in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 13. Same series as Nos. 58 and 59.



No. 61, pp. 264-65. Illustration to Bhagavata. Exchange of Babes. Basohli Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig. 8. Mid-18th century. Chamba Museum.



No. 63. p. 264. Prithvi Singh of Chamba (1641-1664). Basohli type, idiom Chamba. Mid-18th century. *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Fig. 5.



No. 62. pp. 264-65. Illustration to Bhagavata. The Butter Thief. Basohli Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig. 12. Mid-18th century. Same series as No. 61. Chamba Museum.



No. 64. p. 264. Chattar Singh of Chamba (1664-1690). Basohli type, idiom Chamba. Mid-18th century. *Roopa Lekha,* Vol. 25, No. I, Fig. 6. Chamba Museum.



No. 65, p. 264. Umed Singh of Chamba (1748-1764). Basohli type, idiom Chamba. Mid-18th century. *Marg,* Vol. 7, No. 4, Fig. 11. Chamba Museum.



No. 66. p. 101. Raja Hataf. Basohli type, idiom Bandralta. First quarter of 18th century(?). Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 34A, and *Boston Museum Catalogue,* Pl. 121.



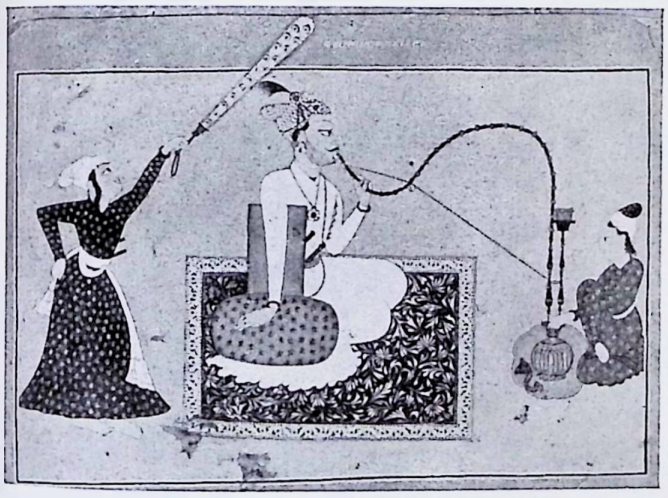
No. 67. Ragini. Late Basohli type, some local idiom, perhaps Nurpur. *Circa* 1775. Possession Author. Several examples of this series are in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



No. 68. Girl with attendant. Basohli Kalam. 1750-1770. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. Note the stunted figure as in Nos. 44 and 45 which usually indicates the period of decline of the Basohli Kalam.



No. 69. pp. 96, 102. Mian Mukund Dev of Jasrota. Basohli Kalam, idiom Jasrota. 1750-1760. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 42. Manley Collection, Guilford.



No. 72. pp. 95-96. Mihr Singh of Kashtwar (1771-1786). Basohli Kalam, idiom Kashtwar. *Circa* 1770-1780. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 105, Fig. 516, where the suggested identification as Jai Singh of Kulu is incorrect. Alma Latifi Collection, Bombay.



No. 71. Unidentified portrait. Basohli Kalam, probably some local idiom. Mid-18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 70. Man Singh of Guler (1635-1661). Basohli type, idiom Guler. Mid-18th century. Indian National Museum. New Delhi.



No. 73. pp. 102-103. Brajraj Dev of Jammu(?). Basohli Kalam, idiom Jammu(?). Last quarter of 18th century. *Art of India and Pakistan,* Pl. 106, Fig. 525, where a Chamba origin is suggested and a date *circa* 1750. Manley Collection, Guilford. My identification is only tentative.



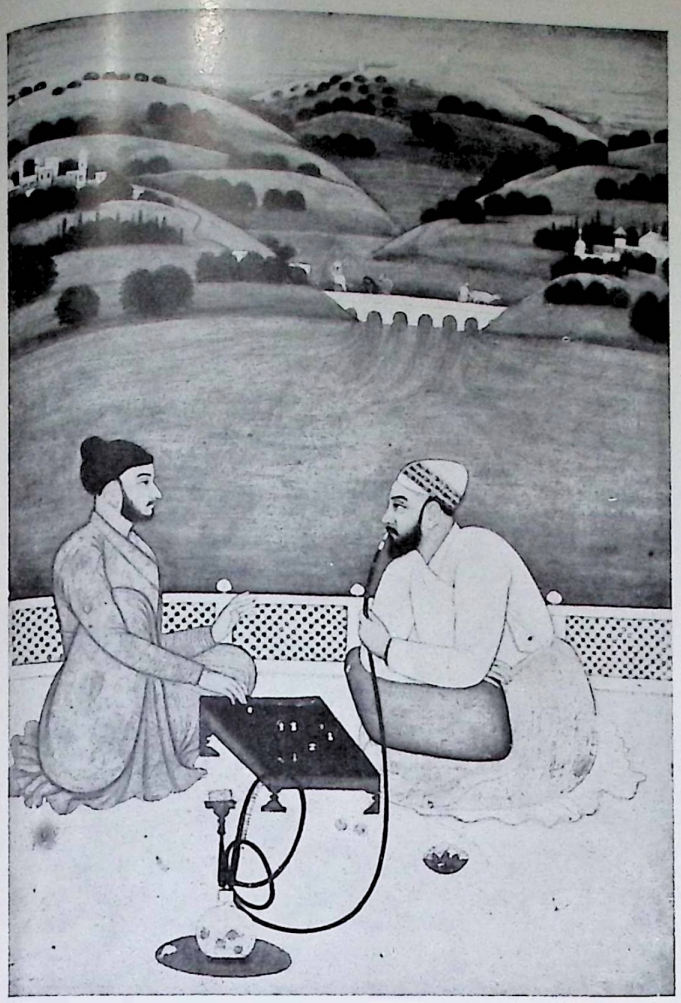
No. 74. p. 102. Brajraj Dev of Jammu(?). Basohli Kalam, idiom Jammu(?). Last quarter 18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 34B. My identification is only tentative.



No. 75. Ragini Todi. Late Basohli type, idiom Ramnagar (old Bandralta). Last quarter of 18th century. Possession Author.



No. 76. Raja Worshipping Deities. Late Basohli type, idiom Nalagarh(?). Last quarter of 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



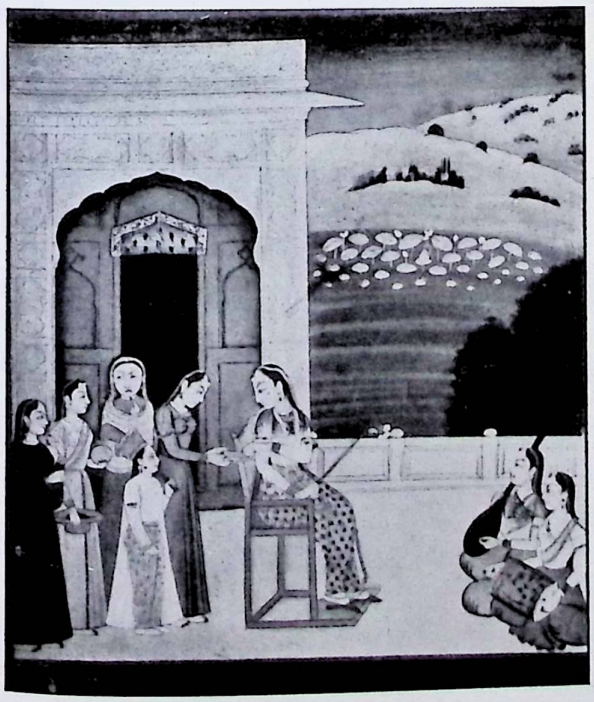
No. 77. A Game of Chess. Pre-Kangra Kalam in type. Personages unidentified. Probably third quarter of 18th century.
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 78. Portrait study. Pre-Kangra Kalam. Personages unidentified. Third quarter of 18th century.
Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 79. p. 239. Radha dancing. Pre-Kangra Kalam, probably at Guler. *Circa* 1760-1770. *Marg*, Vol 8, No. 3, where the attribution to Nurpur is doubtful. Kartar Singh Collection. Now in the Punjab Museum.



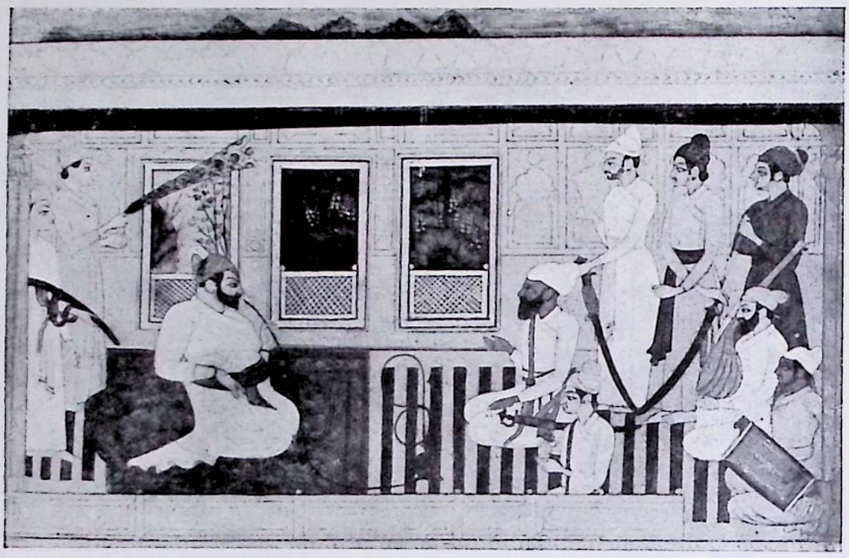
No. 80. pp. 120, 121, 139-140. Lady on a terrace. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1760. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 60, where incorrectly ascribed to Punch and wrongly dated 1780. Lahore Museum.



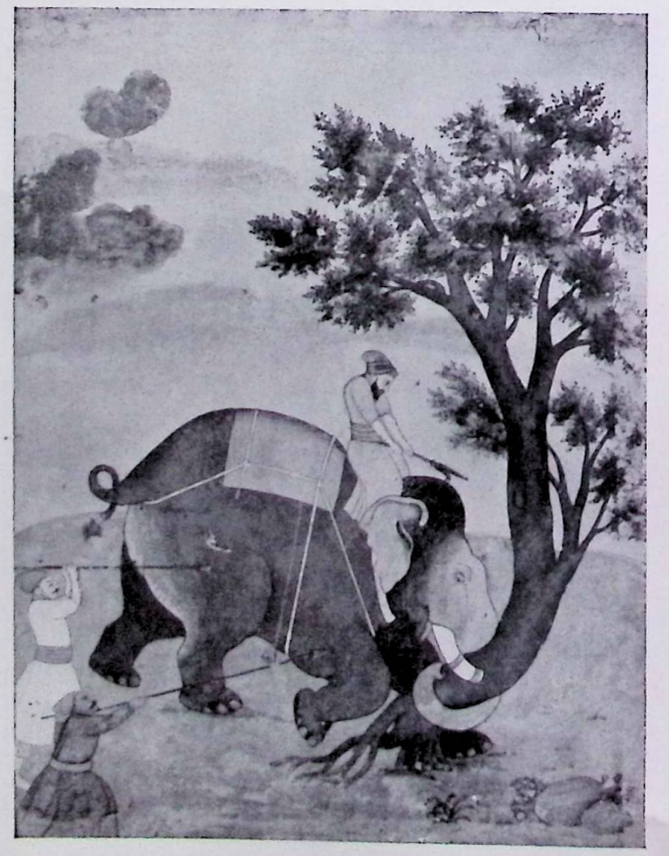
No. 81. p. 140. Bhils hunting deer at night. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1760-1765. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 42A, where incorrectly dated early 18th century. Was in possession of Lady Herringham, England.



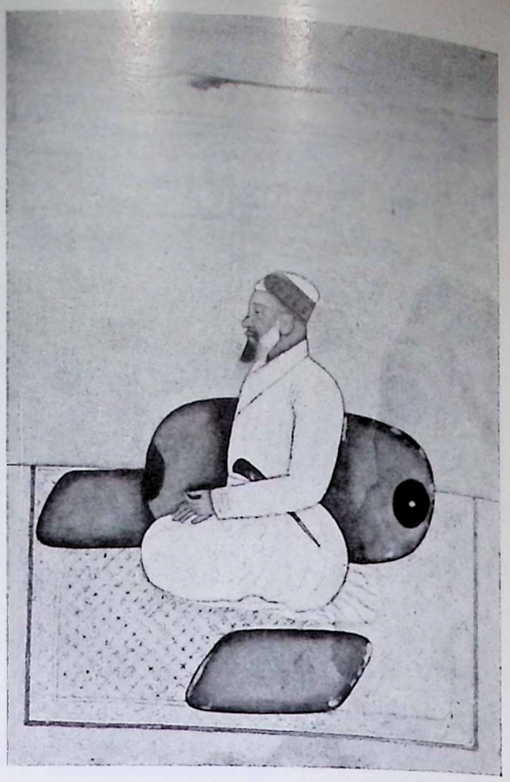
No. 82. pp. 118, 135. Mian Mukund Dev out riding. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jasrota. *Circa* 1750. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* Fig. 40, wrongly attributed to Jammu. Manley Collection, Guilford.



No. 83. pp. 135, 266. Bahadur Sena of Suket. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Suket. Third quarter of 18th century. For same personage see Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* Fig. 51, where wrongly ascribed to Jammu.
Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



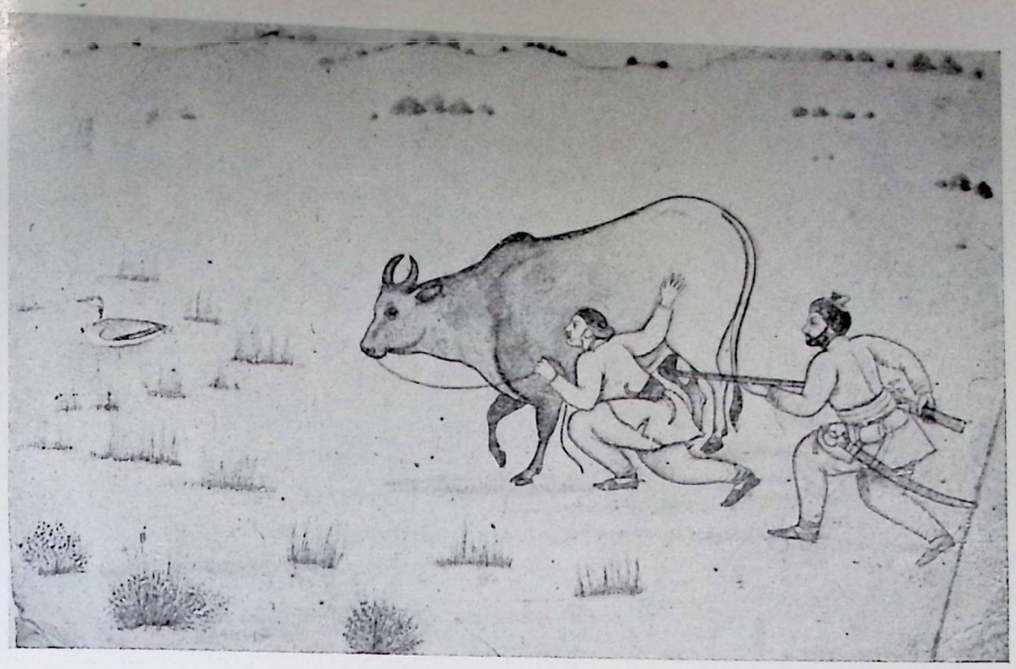
No. 86. Elephant felling a tree. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1770.
Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



No. 84. p. 135. Nawab Adina Beg Khan. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1750-1758.
Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



No. 85. p. 140. Tambula Seva. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1750. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 8, where wrongly described as Rajasthani but corrected as Hill Kalam in *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum,* Vol. X-XI, p. 12.
Late Manuk Collection.



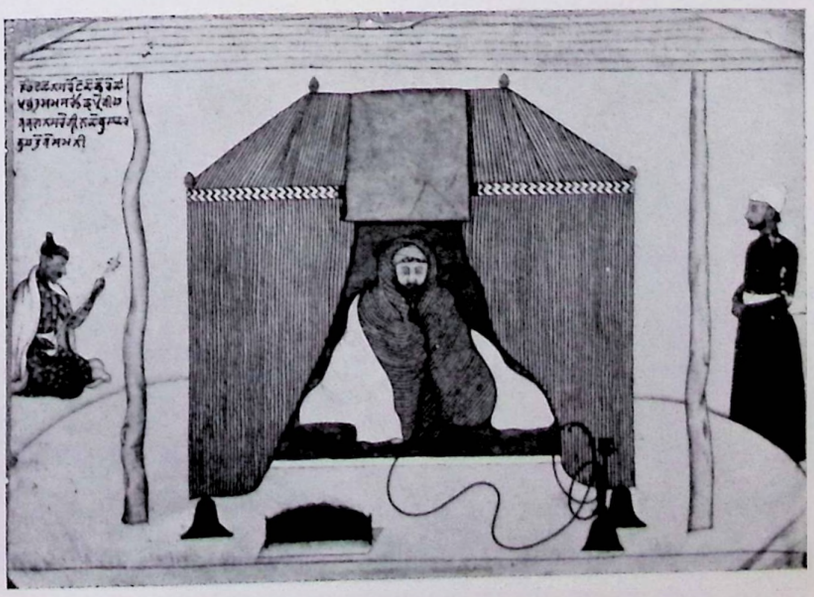
No. 87. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh out duck-shooting. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



No. 90. p. 140. Illustration to Sassi-Punnu story. Pre-Kangra Kalam. 1760-1765. *Rupam*, No. 30. Indian National Museum, New Delhi.



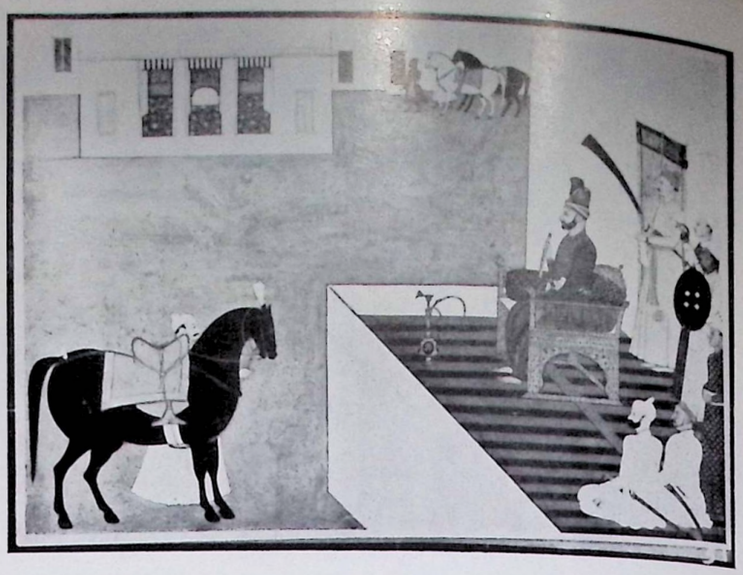
No. 88. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh in a Chinese Mandarin robe. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



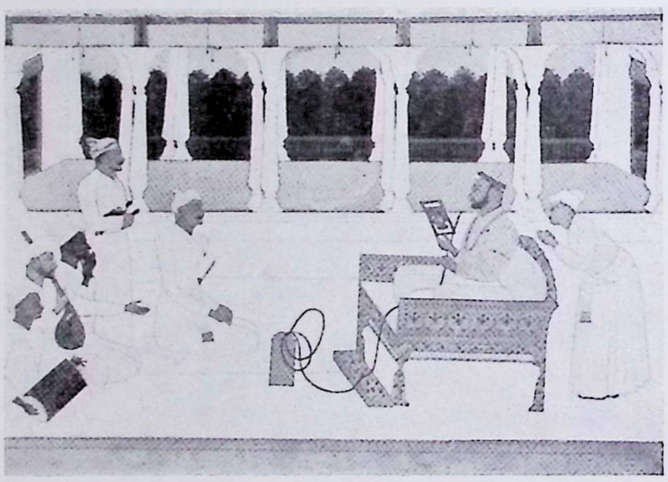
No. 89. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh resting in camp. *Circa* 1760. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Possession Author.



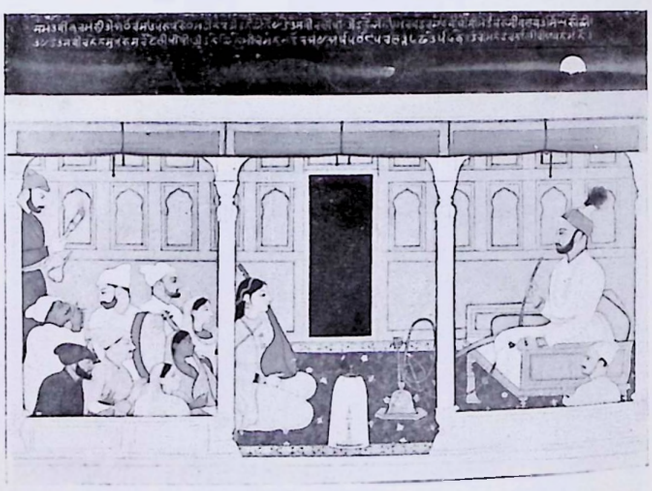
No. 91, p. 131. Balvant Singh of Jammu. Art'st Nainsukh. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. National Museum, New Delhi.



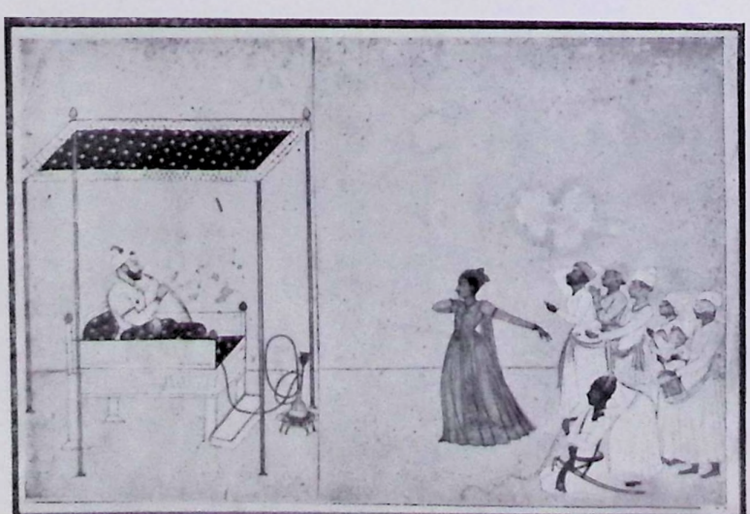
No. 92. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh inspecting a horse. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 38. Manley Collection, Guilford.



No. 93. pp. 118, 131, 135. Balvant Singh examining a painting with the artist Nainsukh standing behind him. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 36. Jalan Collection, Patna.



No. 94. pp. 118, 131. Balvant Singh at a Music Party. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. Painted by Nainsukh of Jasrota in 1748. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 35. Lahore Museum.



No. 95. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh watching a male dancer. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 37. Manley Collection, Guilford.

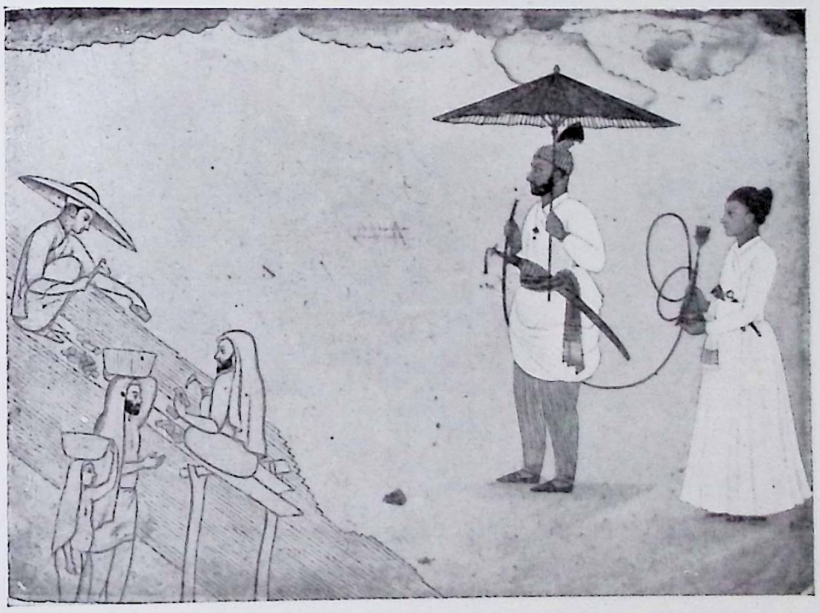


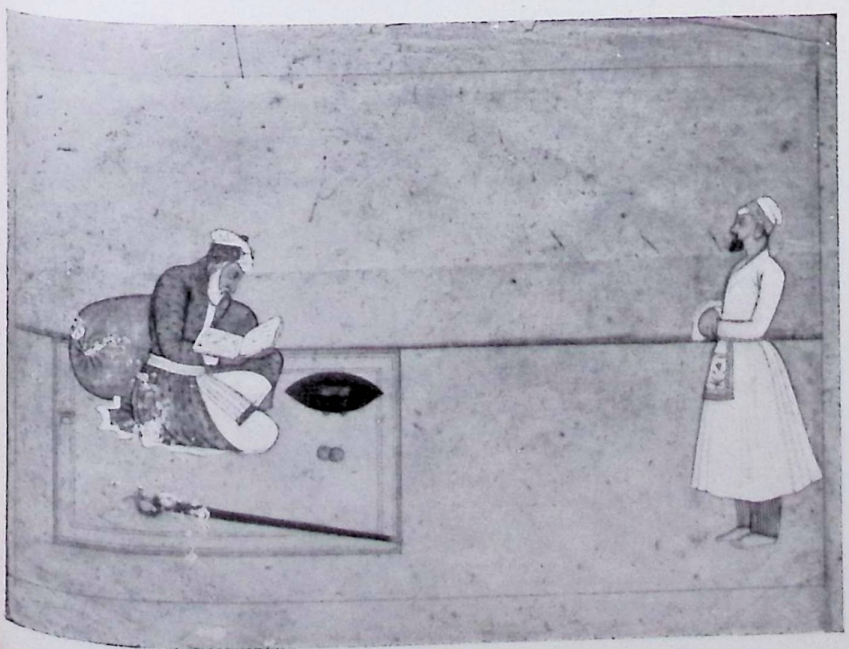
No. 96. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh having his beard trimmed. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1760. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



No. 97. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh playing with a child. Artist Didi. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

No. 98. pp. 131, 133. Balvant Singh inspecting construction of a building on his estate. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Possession Author.

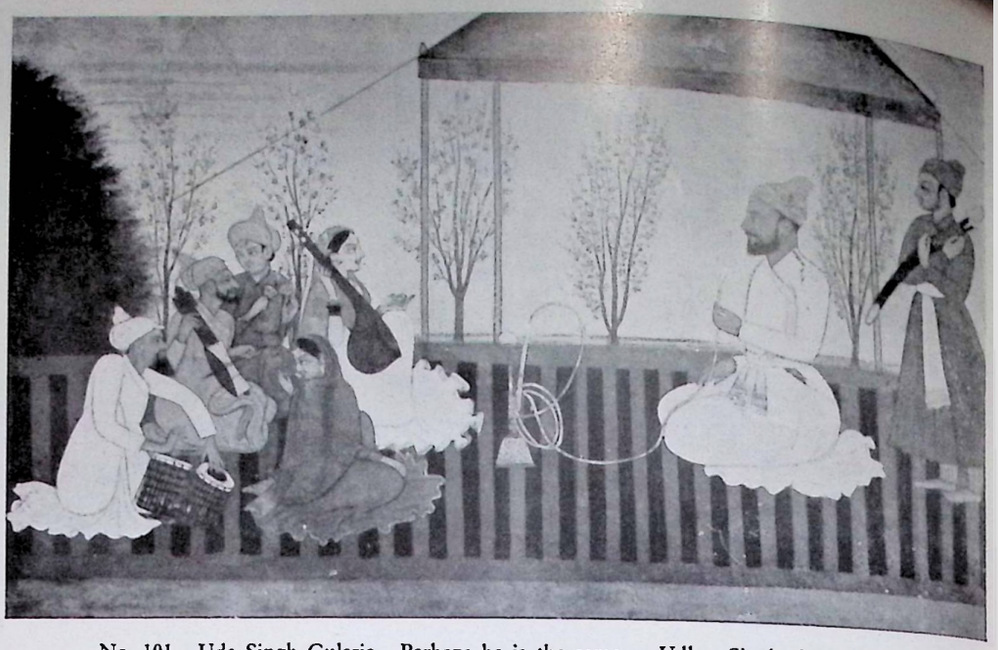




No. 99. p. 103. Study of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Jammu. *Circa* 1750. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



No. 100. p. 143. Jagdish Chand of Guler (1570-1605). Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1740-1750. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig. A on p. 42. Guler Darbar Collection.



No. 101. Ude Singh Guleria. Perhaps he is the same as Udhar Singh, friend of Raja Dalip Singh of Guler. See p. 366. Pre-Kangra Kalam, probably at Guler. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.



No. 102. Puja. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1740-1750. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection.



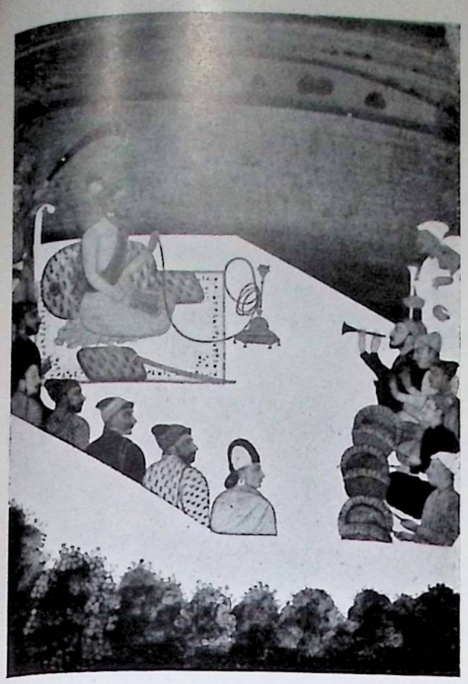
No. 103. p. 321. Goverdhan Chand of Guler watching a male dancer. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1755. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 104. Young Prakash Chand of Guler with his brother Parakram. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1755-1769. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection.



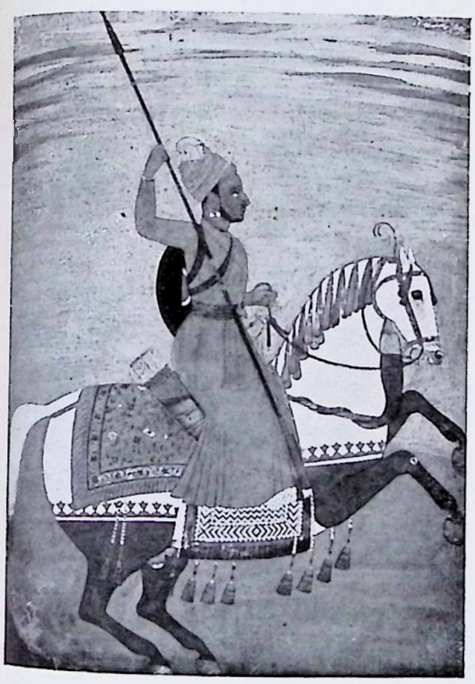
No. 105. p. 125. Shiva and Parvati. Pre-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1760. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 29. Late Manuk Collection.



No. 106. pp. 122, 187, 195. Goverchan Chand of Guler listening to Musicians. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1744. French, *Himalayan Art*, Pl. 9, and Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 1 (in colour). Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 107. p. 123. Goverdhan Chand on an Elephant. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1745-1750. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig. 3. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



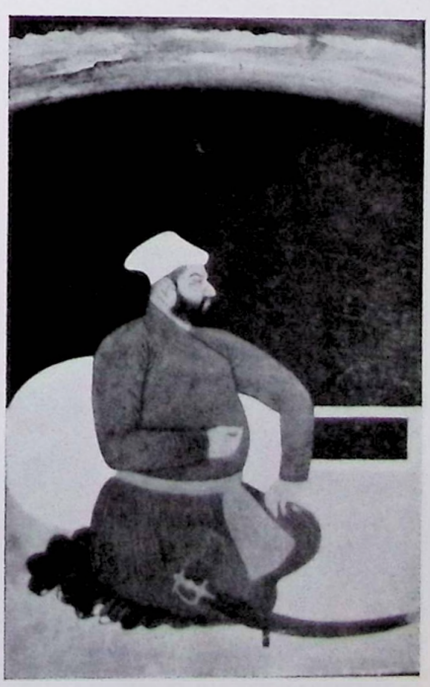
No. 108. pp. 122-23. Equestrian portrait of Goverdhan Chand. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1740-1745. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig. 2. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 109. p. 123. Goverdhan Chand with Three Ladies. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1750-1755. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 22. Allahabad Museum.



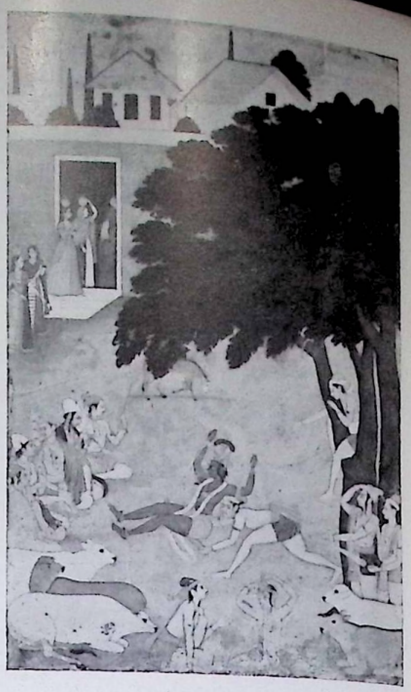
No. 110. p. 130. Bishan Singh Guleria. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1750. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



No. 111. p. 143. Bikram Singh of Guler. (1661-1675.) Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1740-1750. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Fig. B on p. 42. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



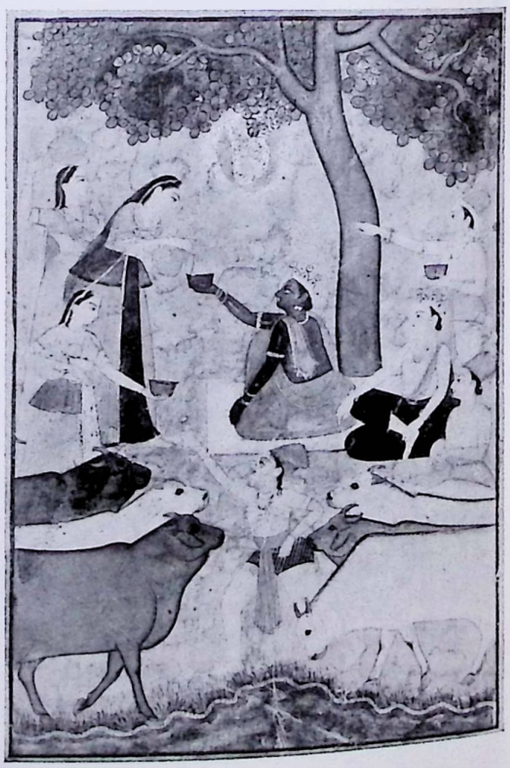
No. 112. pp. 121, 125. Lady of the Lake. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1760. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* Fig. 30. Late Manuk Collection, now in Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



No. 113. pp. 125-26. Hindol Lila. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1760. *Art of India and Pakistan,* Pl. 110, where incorrectly ascribed to Kangra and dated 1780. Jalan Collection, Patna.



No. 114. pp. 121, 125. The emergence of Kausiki. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. *Circa* 1770. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* Fig. 26, where incorrectly ascribed to *circa* 1755. Lahore Museum.



No. 115. p. 140. Wives of the Mathura Brahmans. Pre-Kangra Kalam at Guler. 1765-1770. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 46.

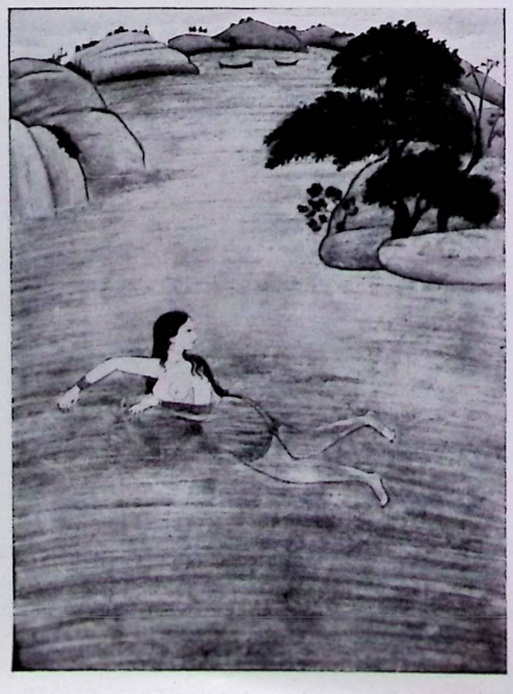
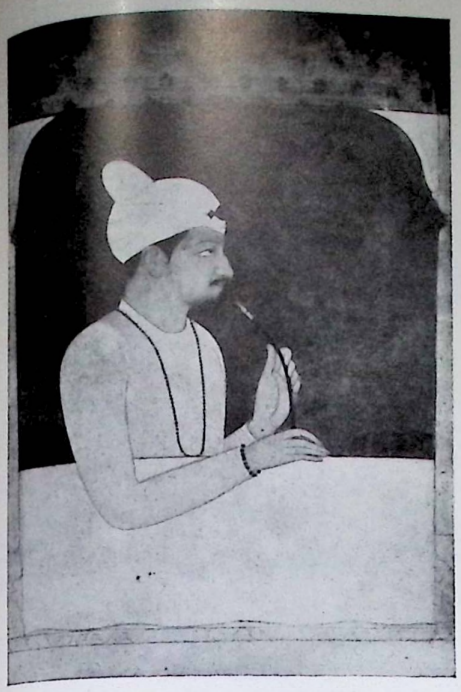


Fig. 116. p. 140. Sohni and Mahival. Pre-Kangra Kalam, probably at Guler. 1765-1775. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 29 (in colour). Late Manuk Collection.



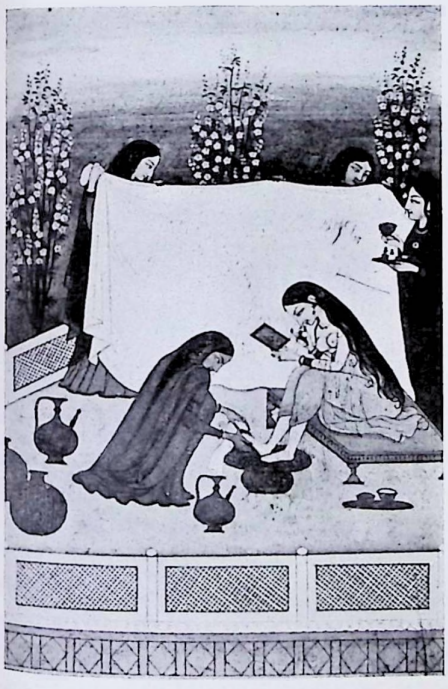
No. 117. p. 190. Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790). Guler idiom of late Pre-Kangra Kalam or early Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1773. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 23. Lahore Museum.



No. 118. p. 191. Toilet. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1790. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 38 (in colour). Indian Museum, Calcutta.



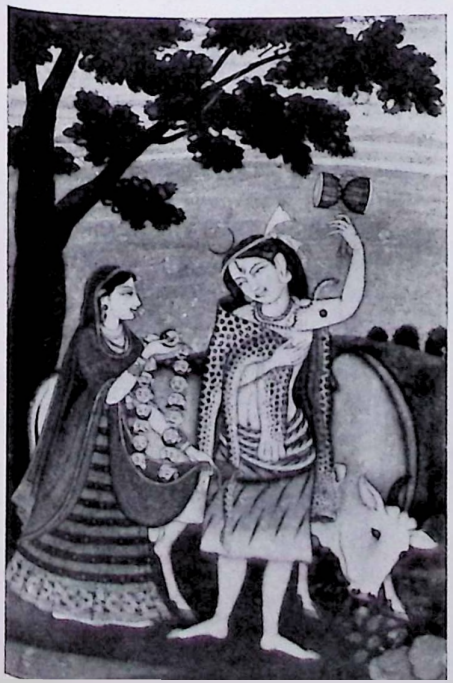
No. 119. p. 192. Lady with Hawk. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1785. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* frontispiece (in colour). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



No. 120. p. 193. Toilet of Radha. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. *Rupam,* No. 29 (in colour). All the illustrations from No. 117 to No. 135 are characteristic of the Prakash Chand period at Guler (1773-1790).



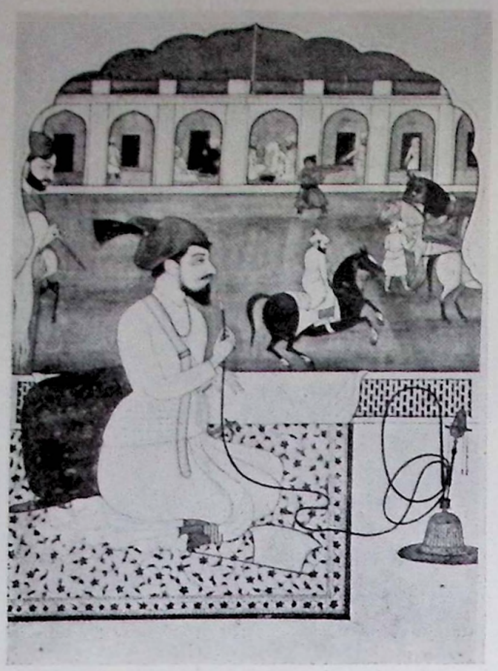
No. 121. p. 193. Yasoda and Krishna. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 36 (in colour). Late Manuk Collection.



No. 122. Shiv and Parvati. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



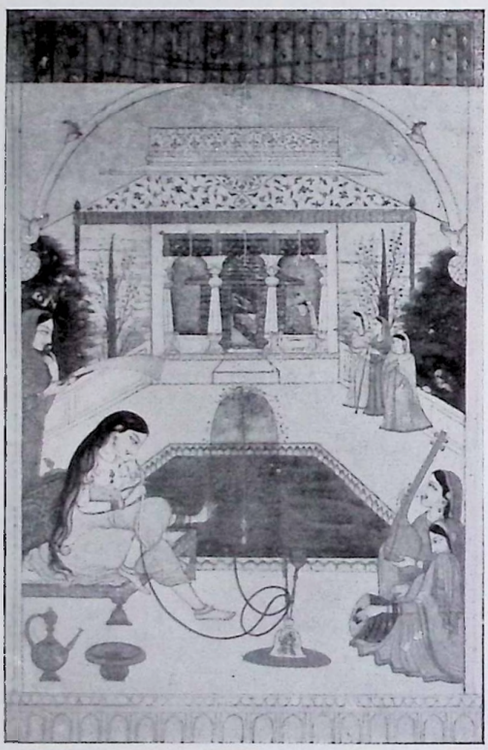
No. 123. Shiv-Parvati and family. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



No. 124. p. 190. Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790). Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1780. *Lahore Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 12. Incorrectly dated 1760 in Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 24.



No. 124A. p. 193. Noon-tide. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. *Rupam*, Nos. 22 and 23 (in colour).



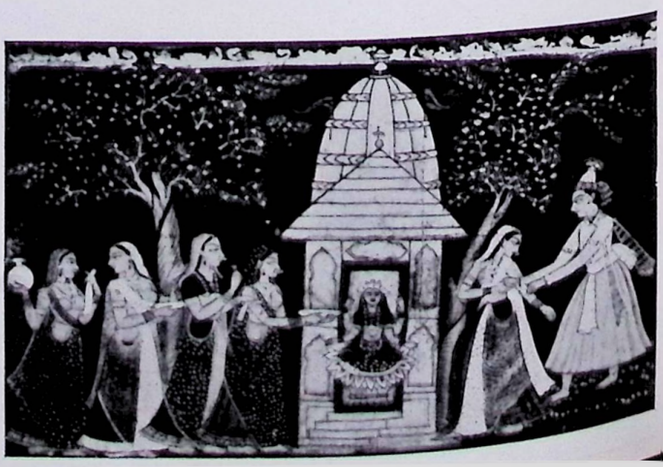
No. 125. p. 269. Summer Pavilion. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 19 (in colour). Punjab Museum. Formerly with Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler.



No. 127. p. 269. At the pool. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 18 (in colour). Punjab Museum. Formerly with Guler Darbar.



No. 126. p. 193. Lady with red shawl. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1790. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 95(a).



No. 128. p. 194. L'offrande de Krishna. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. Similar in type to Figs. 10 and 38. 1773-1790. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 92. Wrongly ascribed in Archer, *Loves of Krishna*, 1957, Pl. 18, to Bilaspur. British Museum.



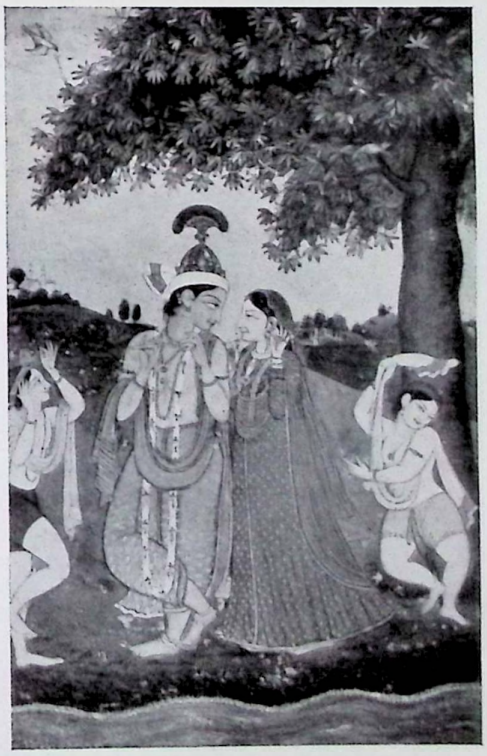
No. 129. Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1780-1790. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 130. Krishna and Gopis. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1780-1790. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 27 (in colour). Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 131. p. 190. Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790). Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1785. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 123.



No. 132. The divine pair. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1780-1790. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 35 (in colour). Punjab Museum. Formerly with Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler.



No. 133. p. 191. Young Prince Bhoop Singh of Guler out hunting. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1785. *Marg*. Vol. 6. No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 134. p. 172. Krishna and the milkmaids. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Guler. *Circa* 1790. Archer, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 7 (in colour). Possession Archer.



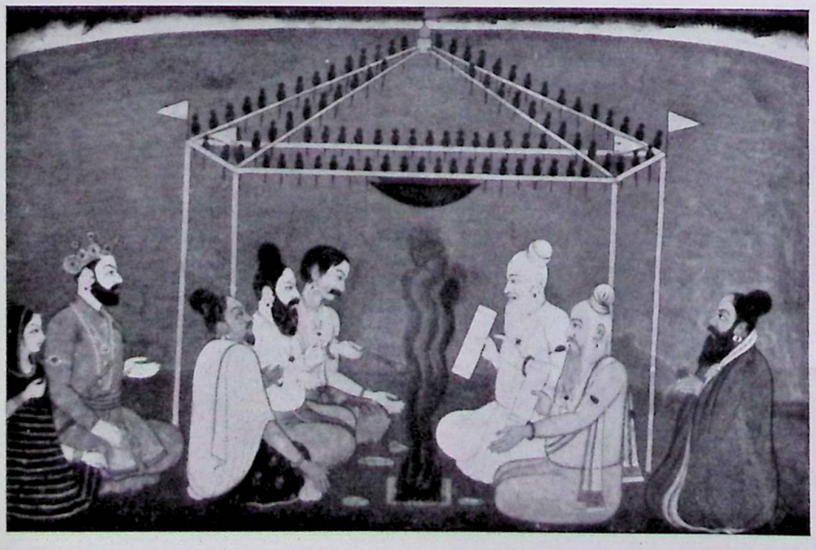
No. 135. p. 269. Lady with deer. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1773-1790. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 15 (in colour). Now in Punjab Museum. Formerly with Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler.



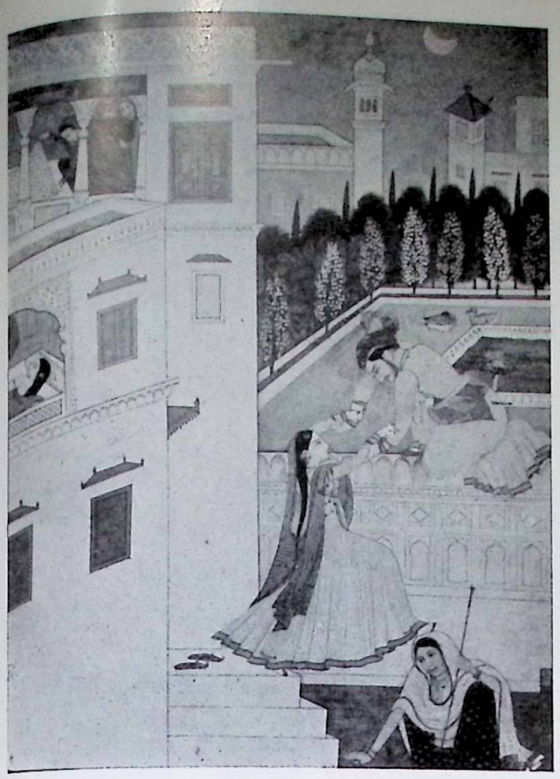
No. 136. p. 196. Bhoop Singh of Guler (1790-1826). Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1795-1800. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 137. Terrace scene. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 16 (in colour). Punjab Museum.



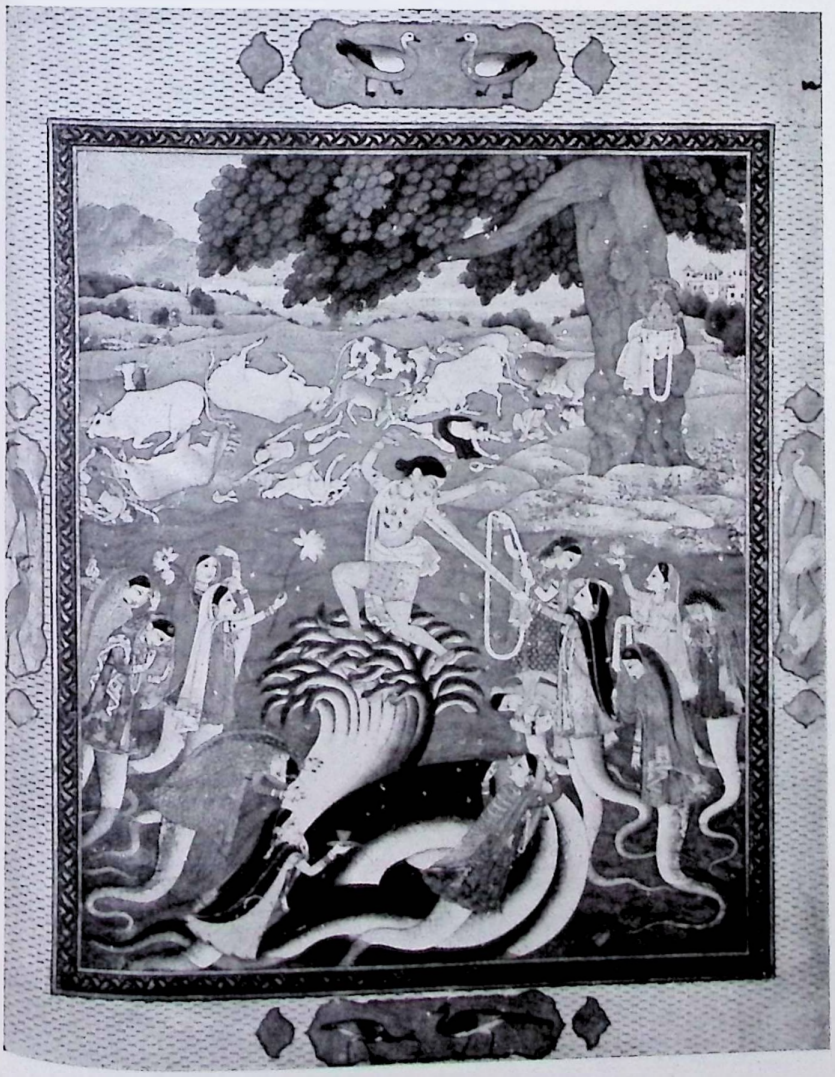
No. 138. Yagna ceremony. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Guler. 1790-1800. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. Characteristic red background of Guler idiom.



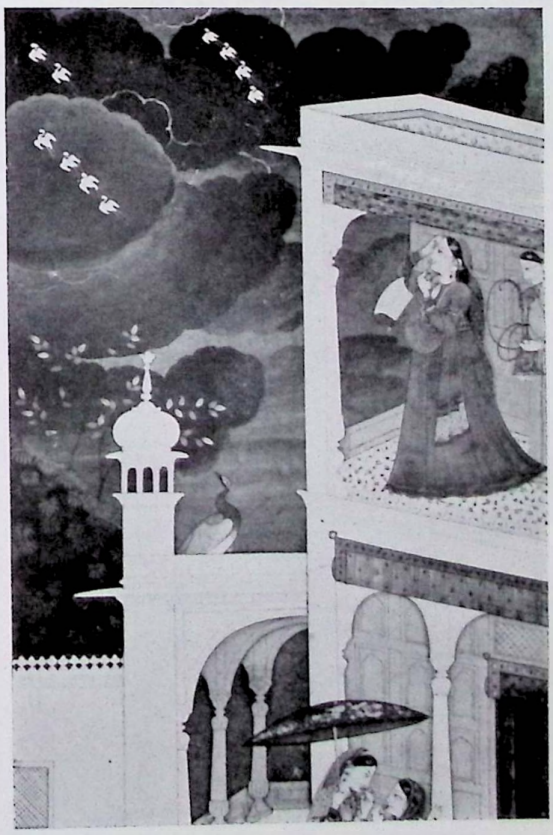
No. 139. The Dashing Lover. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. *Circa* 1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 22 (in colour). Formerly with Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler, now in Punjab Museum.



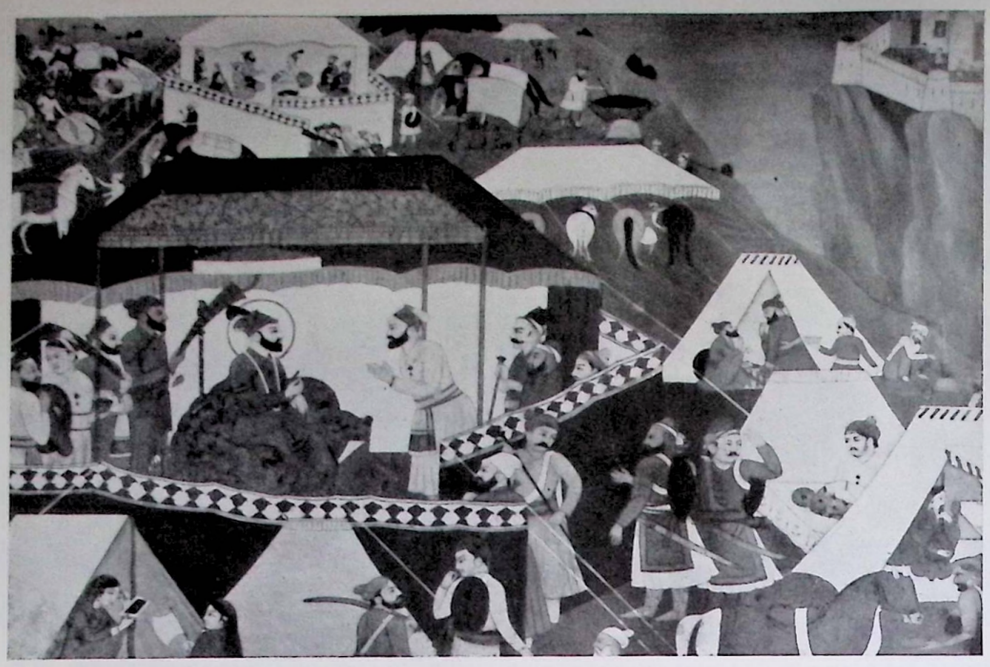
No. 140. p. 196. Bhoop Singh of Guler with family (1790-1826). Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1810-1815. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



No. 141. Kaliya Damana. Probably painted by the younger Gur Sahai. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. Early 19th century. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 4 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



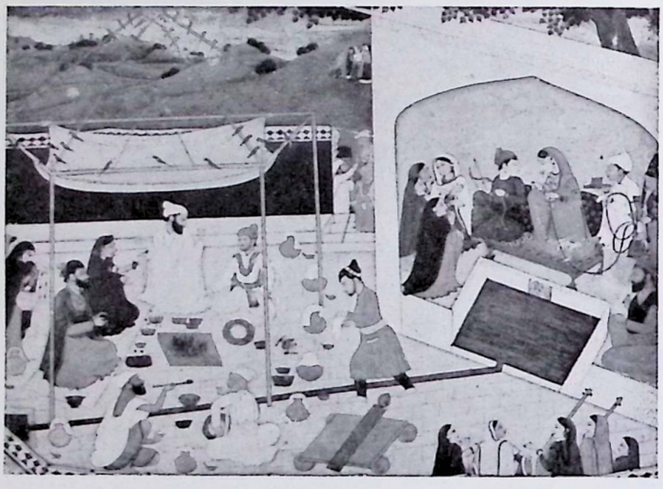
No. 142. The coming storm. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. Early 19th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 9. Formerly with Capt. Sunder Singh of Guler, now in Punjab Museum.



No. 143. Illustration to Hamir Hath. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1800-1810. Alma Latifi Collection, Bombay.



No. 145. p. 168. Lakshmana returns from hunting. Kangra Kalam, probably Guler idiom. *Circa* 1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 48, where incorrectly dated early 18th century.



No. 144. p. 196. Yagna Ceremony. Kangra Kalam, idiom Guler. 1800-1820. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4. Guler Darbar Collection. Now in Punjab Museum.



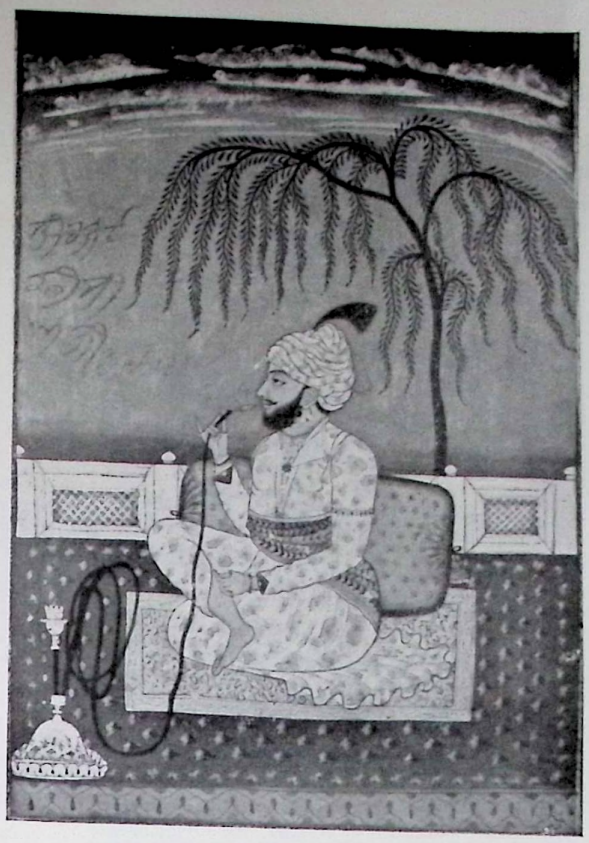
No. 145A. Ragini Sanwari. Kulu Kalam. 1775-1800. Possession Jagdish Mittal.



No. 145B. Tedhi Singh of Kulu (1742-1767) with a favourite. Kulu Kalam. *Circa* 1760-1767. Possession Jagdish Mittal. See Addenda.



No. 146. p. 105. Ragini Todi. Kulu Kalam. 1775-1800. Same series as Pl. XIV, Fig. 26 and No. 148. Kulu-Mandi area. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 147. p. 236. Tedhi Singh of Kulu (1742-1767). Kulu Kalam, third quarter 18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where incorrectly ascribed by Archer to Nurpur. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 148. p. 105. Lady holding child. Kulu Kalam in Kulu-Mandi area. 1775-1800. National Museum, New Delhi. Same series as Pl. XIV, Fig. 26 and No. 146.



No. 149. p. 113. Ragini Todi. Probably Kulu-Mandi area. 1775-1800. Same series as Pl. XII and Fig. 25. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 150. Abhisarika Nayika. Probably Kulu-Mandi area. 1775-1800. Related in type to No. 149. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 151. p. 235. Lady in a storm of rain. Kulu Kalam type. Kulu-Mandi area. Probably last quarter of 18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's ascription to Nurpur is very doubtful and date *circa* 1740 is incorrect. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 152. Lady with Attendant. Kulu Kalam in Kulu-Mandi area. 1775-1800. Possession Author. (uncoloured background.)



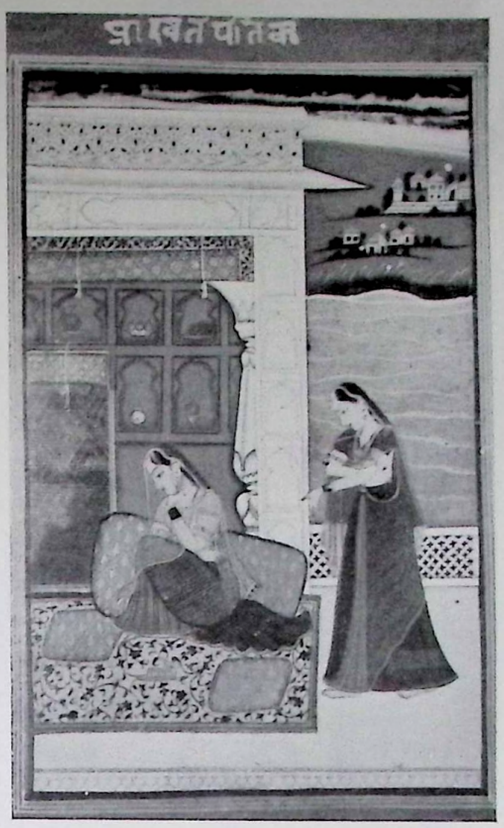
No. 153. p. 235. Lady with hukkah. Kulu Kalam type. Kulu-Mandi area. Probably last quarter of 18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's ascription to Nurpur is very doubtful and date *circa* 1750 is incorrect. Kartar Singh Collection. Pink orange background as in No. 147.



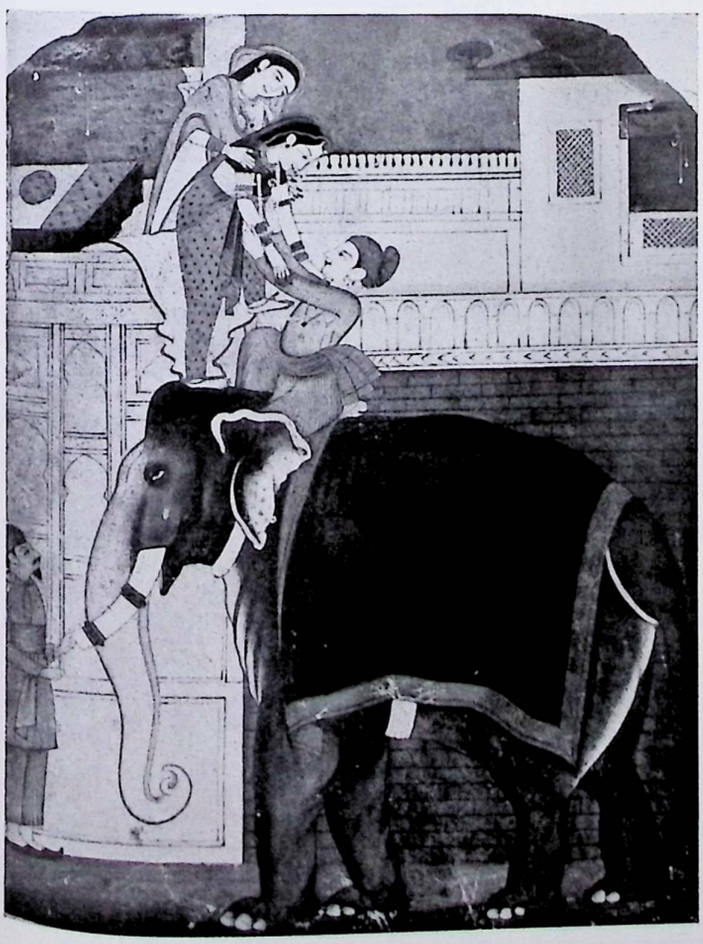
No. 154. p. 235. Ladies in a field. Kulu Kalam type. Kulu-Mandi. Probably mid-18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's ascription to Nurpur is very doubtful and date *circa* 1710 is incorrect. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 155. p. 225. Prince with bow and arrow. Kulu Kalam type. Kulu-Mandi area. Probably last quarter of 18th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's ascription to Nurpur is very doubtful and date *circa* 1710 is incorrect. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 156. Baramasa. Kangra Kalam, idiom possibly Nurpur. Late 18th century. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



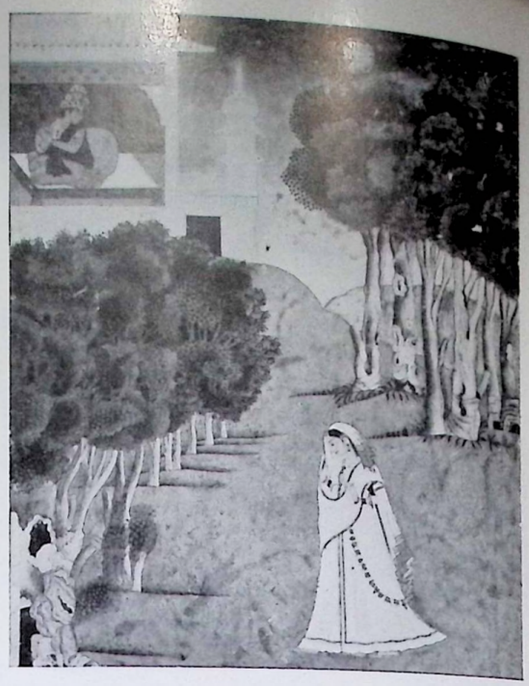
No. 157. p. 239. Elopement on an elephant. Kangra Kalam. idiom possibly Nurpur. Late 18th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 24 (in colour), and *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 158. p. 239. Drinking party. Kangra Kalam. idiom possibly Nurpur. Late 18th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 25 (in colour), and *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3. Kartar Singh Collection.



No. 159. p. 239. Wazir Sham Singh of Nurpur. Sikh-Kangra style. Early 19th century. *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3. Kartar Singh Collection.



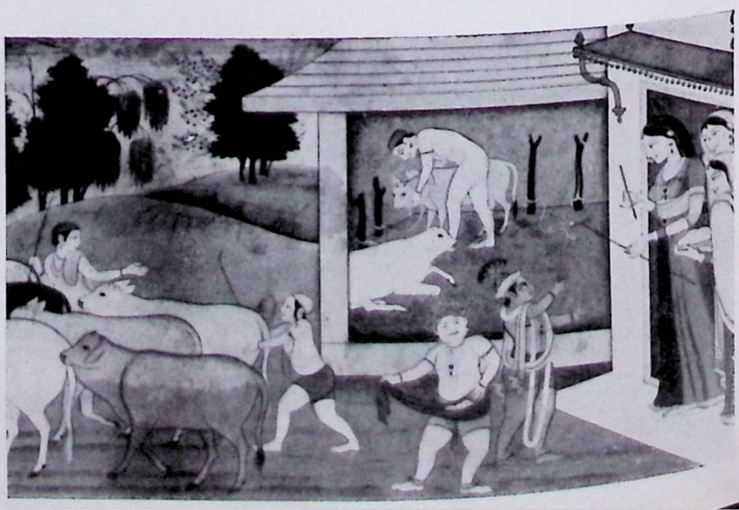
No. 160. p. 111. Suklabhisarika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Bilaspur. *Circa* 1775. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 109, Fig. 578, where incorrectly ascribed to Garhwal. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 161. Picnic in the forest. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Bilaspur. Last quarter 18th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 33 (in colour). Punjab Museum.



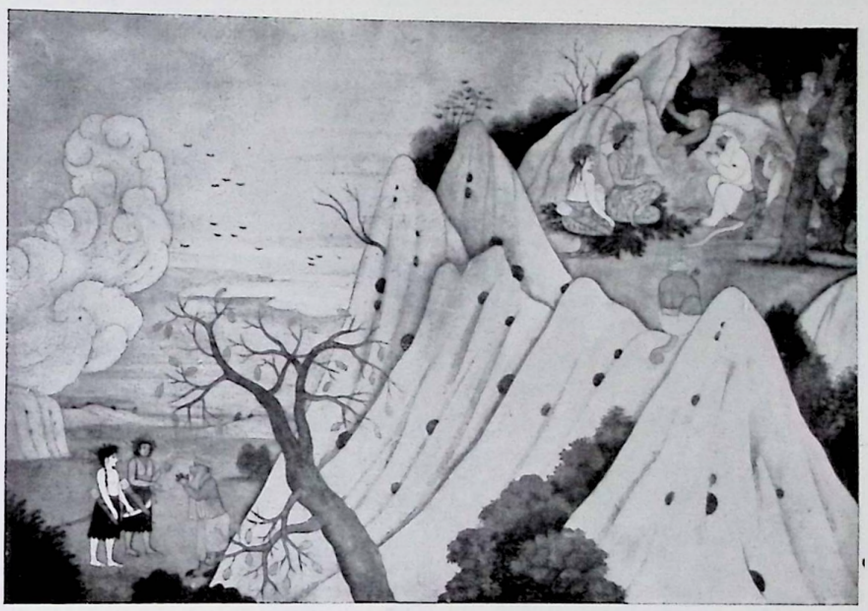
No. 162. p. 240. Holi. Kangra Kalam, idiom Bilaspur. Early 19th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 34 (in colour). Bilaspur Darbar Collection.



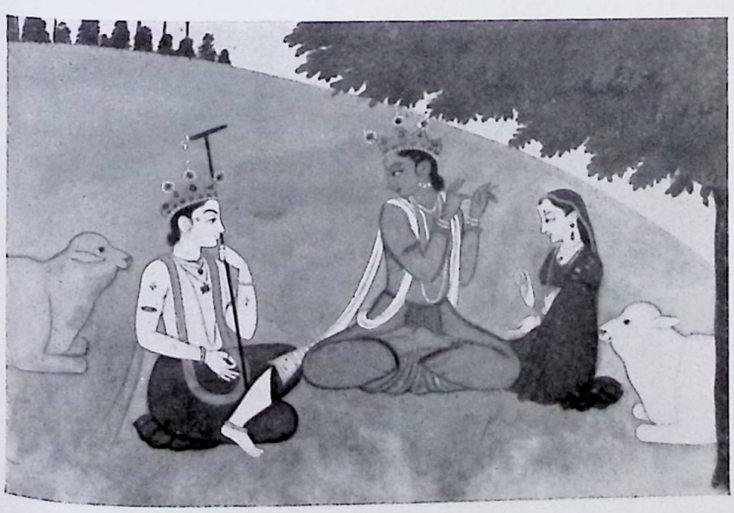
No. 163. p. 240. Taking the herds for grazing. Kangra Kalam, idiom Bilaspur. Last quarter 18th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 32 (in colour). Bilaspur Darbar Collection.



No. 164. p. 240. Village scene. Kangra Kalam, idiom Bilaspar. Early 19th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 37 (in colour). Bilaspur Darbar Collection.



No. 165. Illustration to Ramayana. Probably Nalagarh idiom of Kangra Kalam. Late 18th-early 19th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



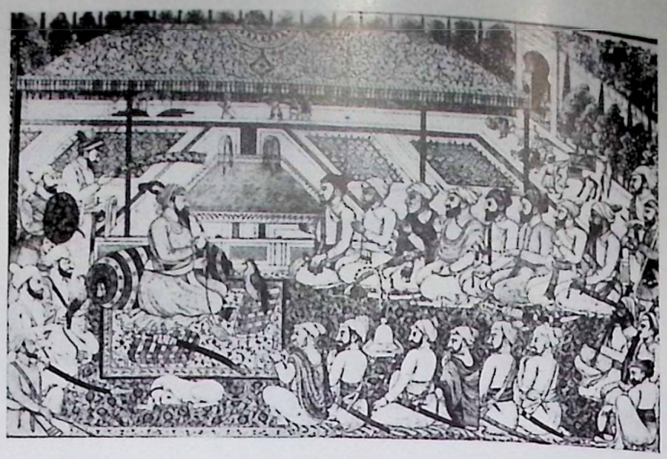
No. 166. Krishna, Radha and Balarama. Kangra Kalam, probably Bilaspur idiom. Early 19th century. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



No. 167. pp. 330, 333. Illustration to Ramayana. Kangra Kalam, idiom Nalagarh. Late 18th-early 19th century. Related to Bilaspur idiom. See Randhawa, 'Nalagarh Painting,' in *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2. Punjab Museum.



No. 168. p. 221. Raj Singh of Chamba (1764-1794). Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Circa* 1790. Stchoukine, *La Miniatures Indienne de la Musee Louvre*, and *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3. The Louvre, Paris.



No. 169. p. 221. Darbar of Raj Singh of Chamba (1764-1794). Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Circa* 1790. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3. Not traceable.



No. 170. p. 220. Raj Singh of Chamba (1764-1794). Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Circa* 1790. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3 and *Catalogue of the Chamba Museum*, Pl. 4.



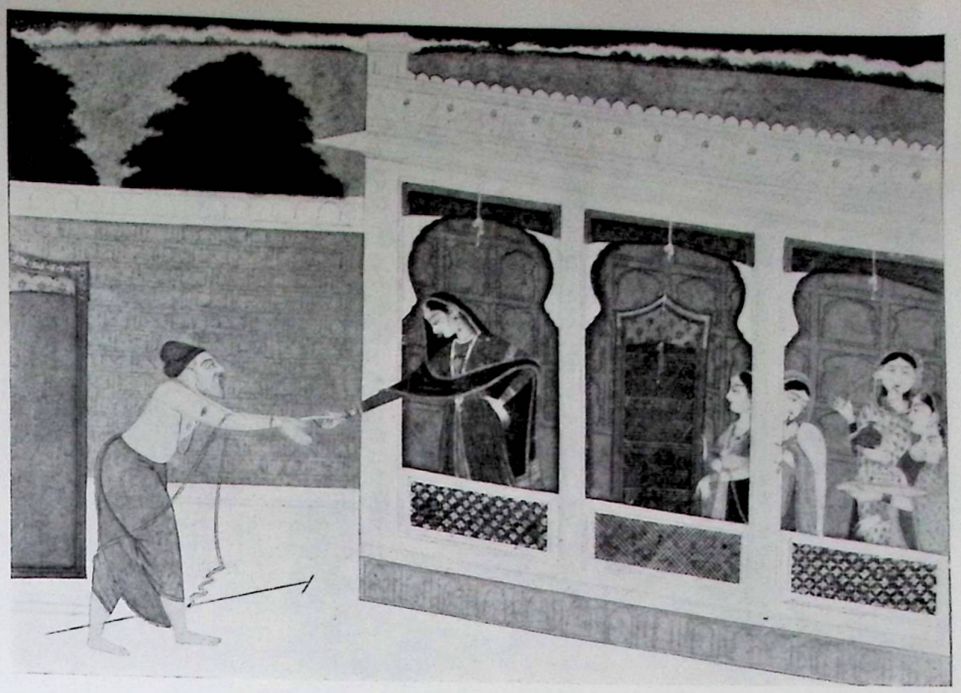
No. 171. p. 224. Krishna with flute. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 55.



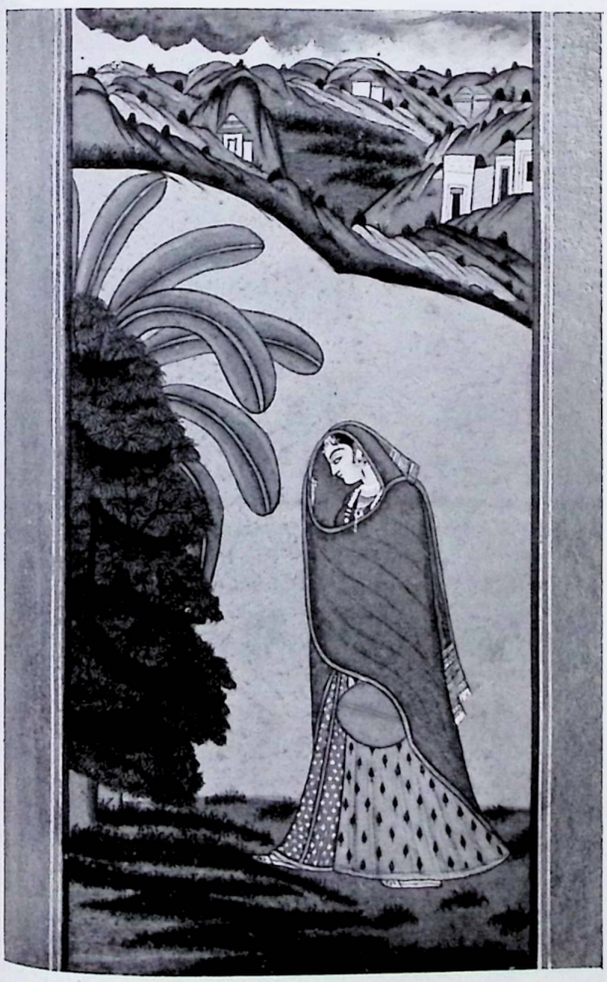
No. 172. p. 224. Radha and Krishna. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th century. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 79.



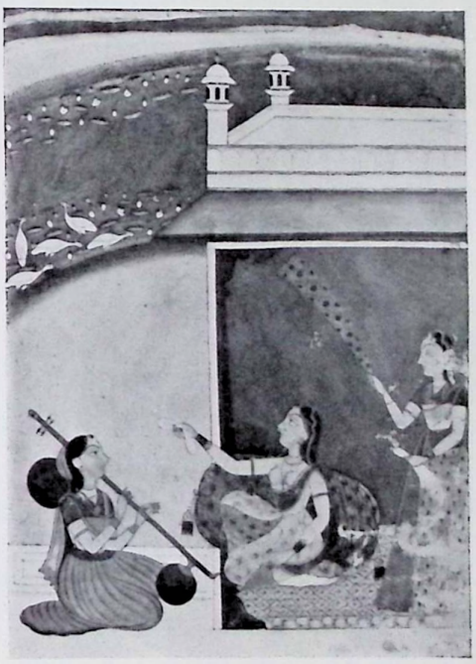
No. 173. p. 172. Lady with pigeons. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Late 18th century. *Art of India and Pakistan,* Pl. 116, Fig. 590. Late Manuk Collection.



No. 174. p. 260. Delivering the message. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Late 18th - early 19th century. British Museum. Said to have been painted by one Hiralal.



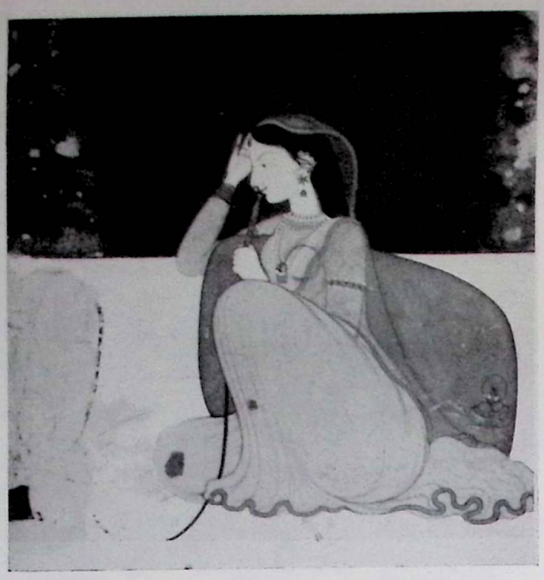
No. 176. p. 238. Lady with pitcher. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th-early 19th century. *Marg,* Vol. 8, No. 3, where Archer's attribution to Nurpur most doubtful, and date *circa* 1765 is incorrect. British Museum.



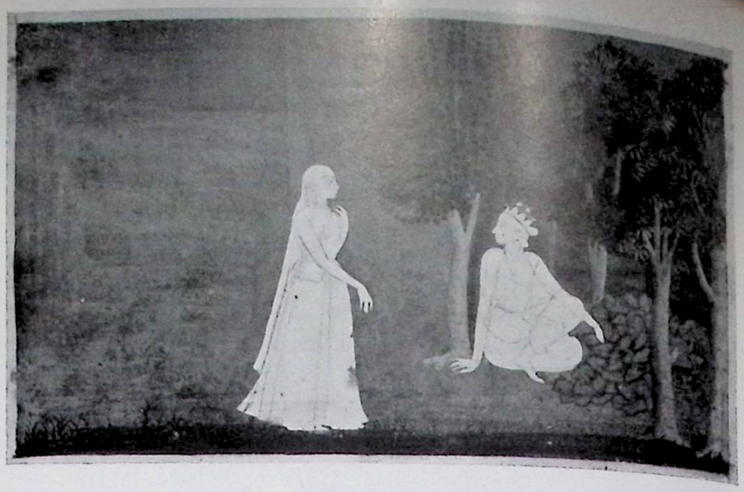
No. 175. p. 224. Lady listening to Veena. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th century. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills,* Fig. 55, where incorrectly ascribed to Jammu and wrongly dated 1760. Also *Art and Letters,* Vol. 25, No. 1. Rothenstein Collection.



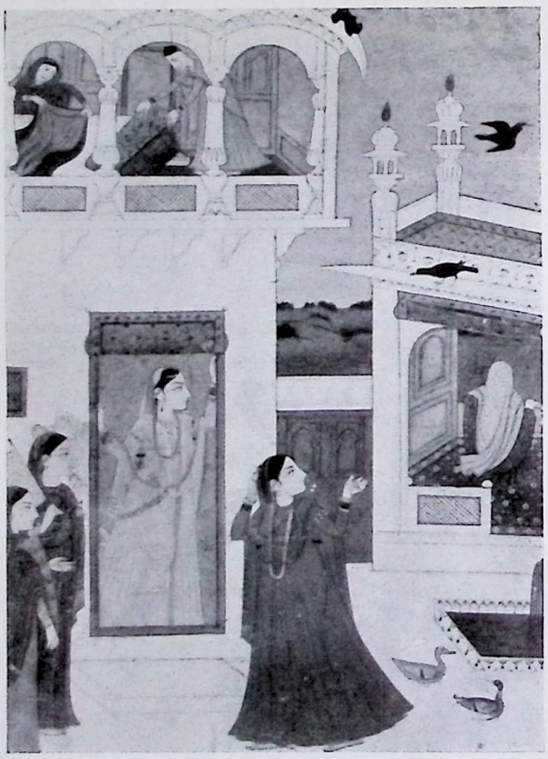
No. 177. p. 225. The expectant Heroine. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Late 18th - early 19th century. Gray, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 9 (in colour). Note the cloud formation and compare with Fig. 66. Also note elongation of figure as in No. 176.



No. 178. Lady smoking hukkah. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 6 (in colour) and *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3 where attribution to Nurpur is very doubtful. Kartar Singh Collection.



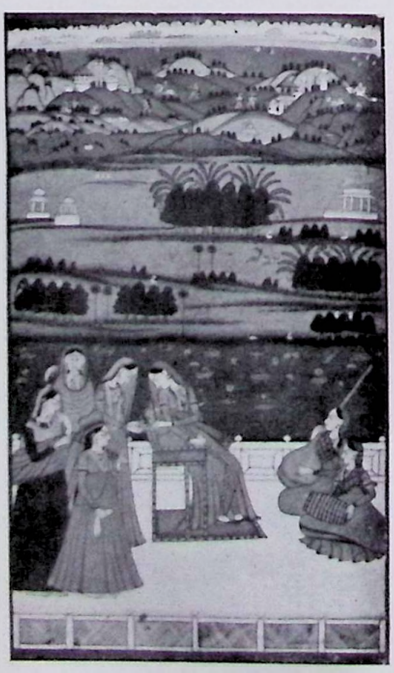
No. 179. Abhisarika. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 73-B. Similar in type to Nos. 171 and 172.



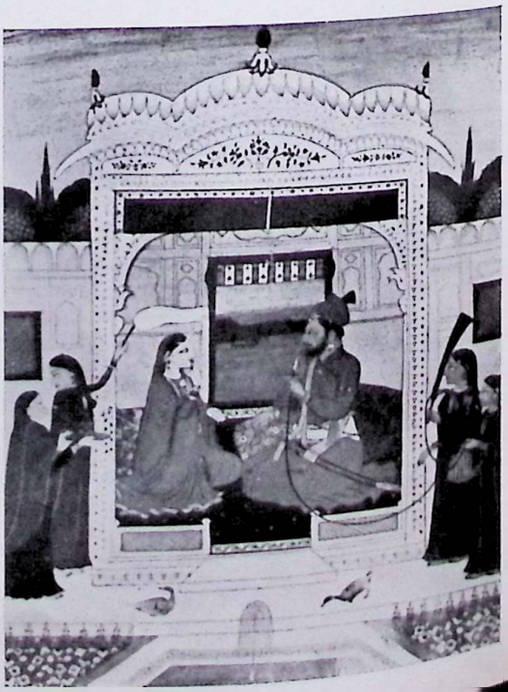
No. 180. Shiva and Parvati. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Late 18th century. Obtained from a Chamba artist family. Possession Jagdish Mittal. Note the marked elongation of the figures.



No. 181. p. 269. Vasakasayya Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Chamba. Late 18th-early 19th century. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 14 (in colour). Ascription to Guler very doubtful.



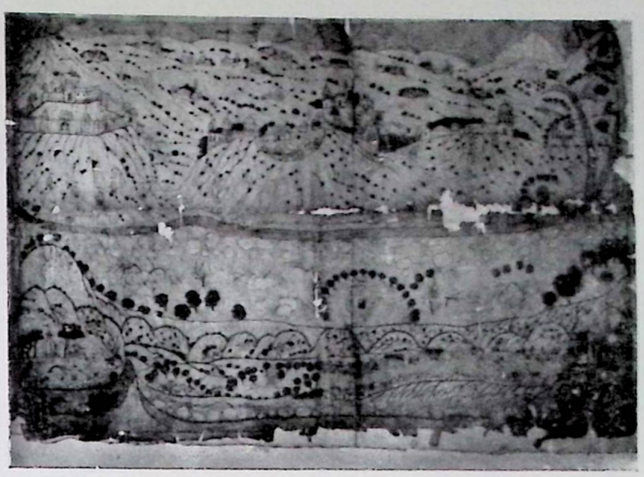
No. 182. p. 222. Jit Singh of Chamba (1794-1808). Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Circa* 1800-1808. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3 and *Catalogue Chamba Museum*, Pl. 5.



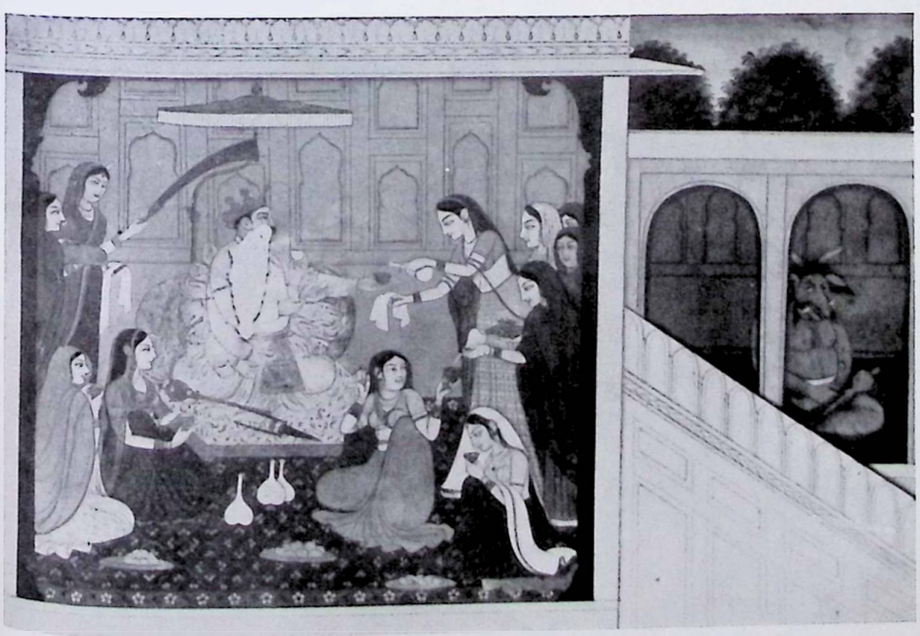
No. 183. p. 225. Lady on a terrace. Artist Jamil. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Early 19th century. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 62, incorrectly ascribed to Punch and wrongly dated 1760 and later in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3, incorrectly ascribed to Nurpur. Possession Archer.



No. 183B. Prince with attendants. Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. Late 18th century. This painting which came from a Chamba artist's collection is known to have been painted in Chamba by a Chamba artist. Note elongation of figures and compare clouds with No. 177. Collection Jagdish Mittal.



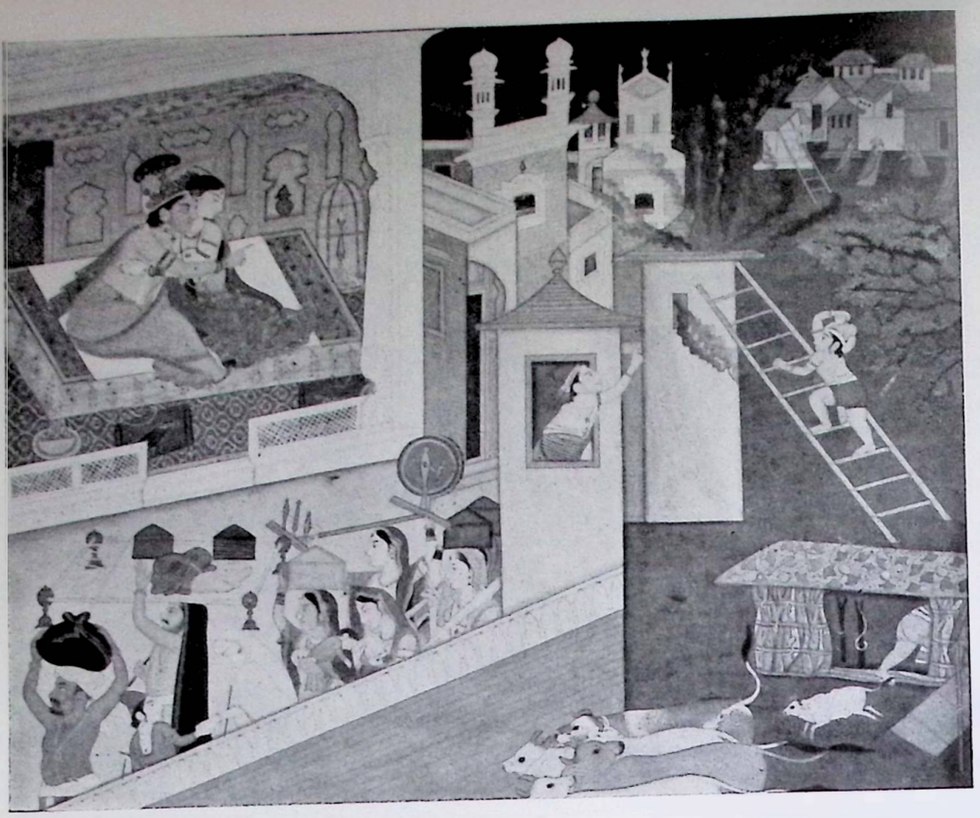
No. 183A. p. 199. Map of Kangra drawn by the Garhwal artist Molaram who visited it in *circa* 1771-1775.



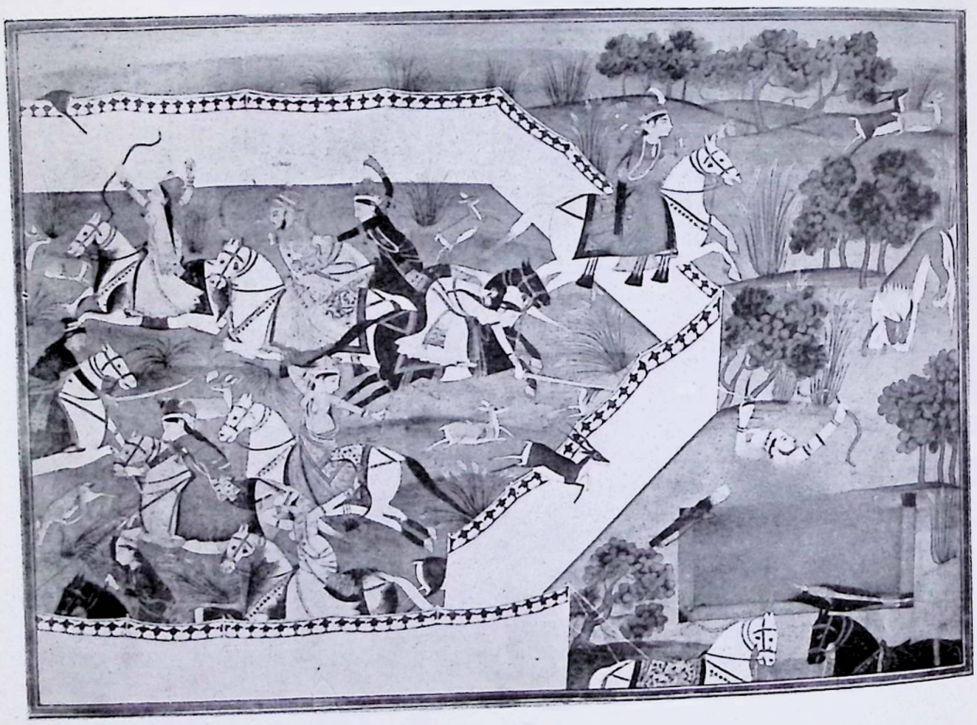
No. 183C. p. 268. Illustration from *Aniruddha-Usa* set painted in Chamba probably by the artist Ram Lal. Early Kangra Kalam, idiom Chamba. *Circa* 1770. *Lalit Kala* Nos. 1-2, Pl. V, Fig. 2. National Museum, New Delhi.



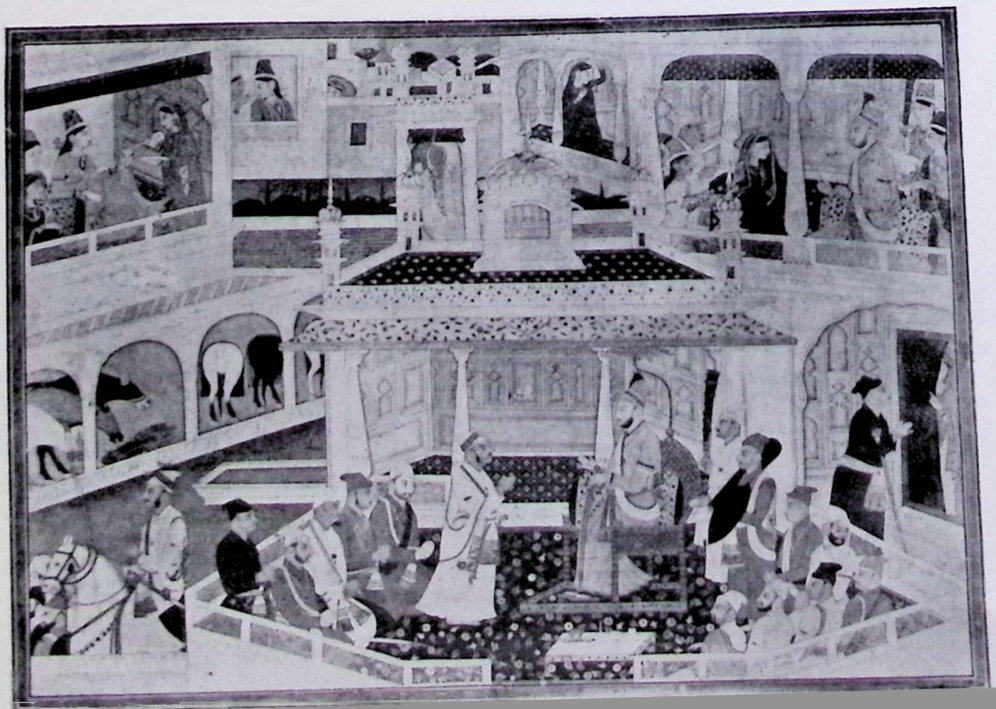
183D. Typical border from a Kangra painting. *Circa* 1800.



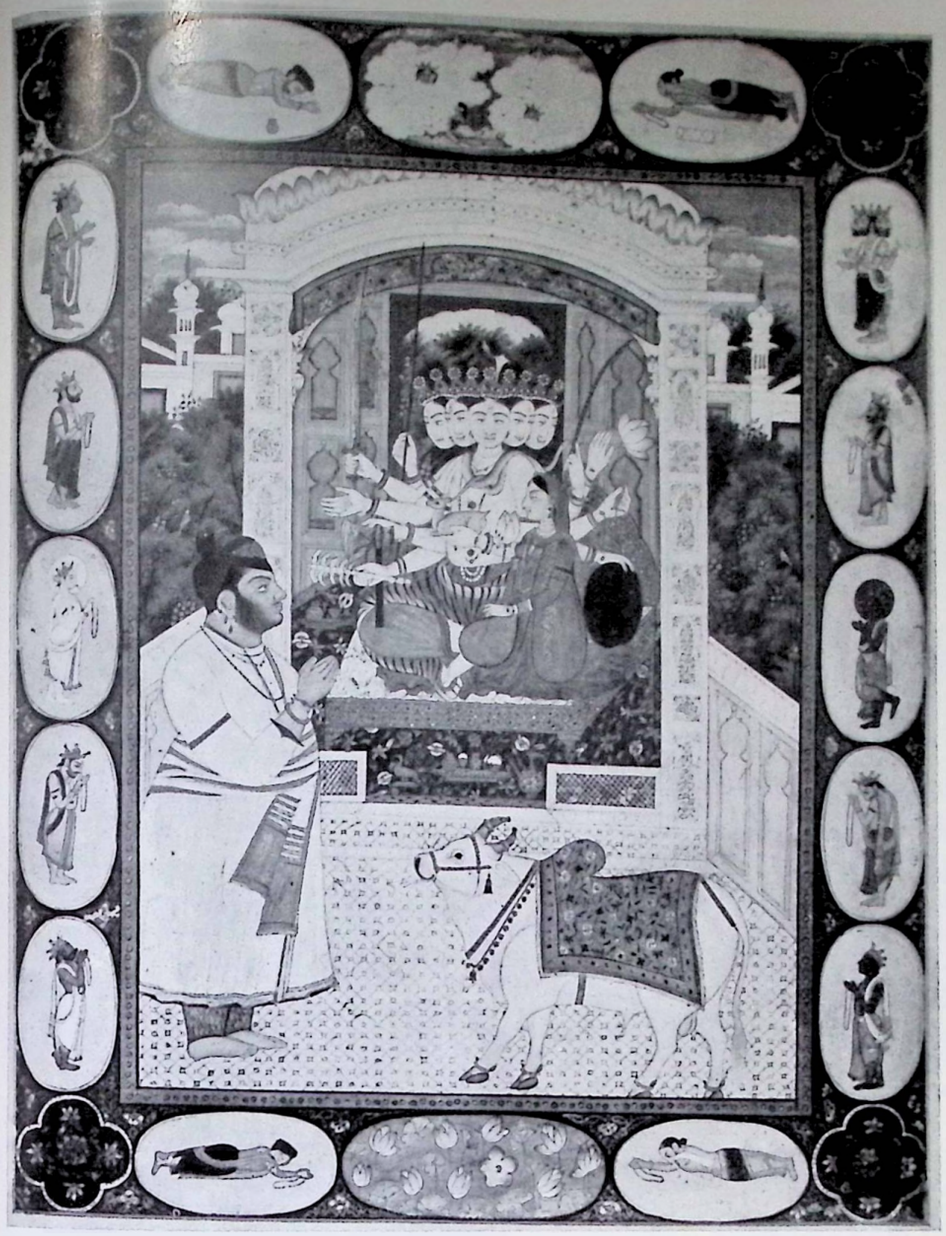
No. 184. pp. 232, 269. House on fire. Artist Sajnu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Mandi. Dated 1808. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 28 (in colour). Provenance incorrectly ascribed to Tira Sujanpur. Punjab Museum.



No. 185. pp. 230-231. Illustration to Hamir Hath. Artist Sajnu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Mandi. 1808-1810. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 17, No. 132. Mandi Darbar Collection.



No. 186. Illustration to Hamir Hath. Same series as No. 185. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 17, No. 132. Mandi Darbar Collection.



No. 187. p. 233. Isvari Sen of Mandi (1788-1826) worshipping Shiva. Artist Sajnu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Mandi. Dated 1808. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 188. p. 232. The Storm. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Mandi. Late 18th century. Archer, *Kangra Painting*. Pl. 9 (in colour). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



No. 189. Krishna and Radha. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Mandi. Early 19th century. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



No. 190. p. 234. Virasingha with a Mahant. Prince unidentified. Artist Fattu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Mandi. 1805-1820. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



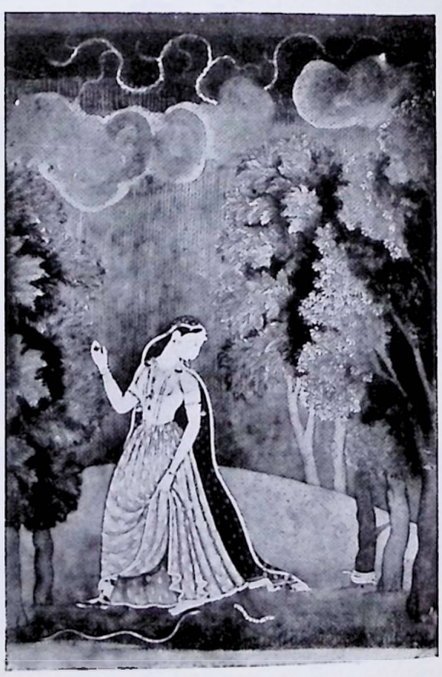
No. 191. pp. 207, 216-218. Abhisarika Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 100, Fig. CCCXXXIII.



No. 192. pp. 207, 216-218. Abhisarika Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 101.



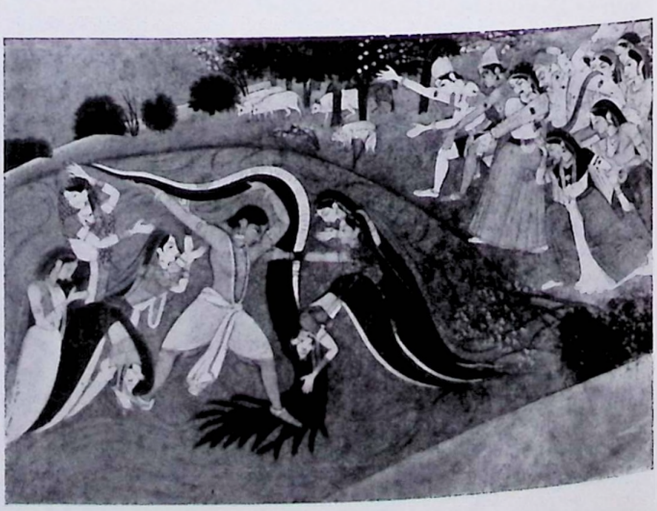
No. 193. pp. 207, 216-218. Gaicharan Lila. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 45 (in colour), and Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 9 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 194. pp. 172, 211, 240. Abhisarika Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 59, where wrongly ascribed to Punch. Lahore Museum.



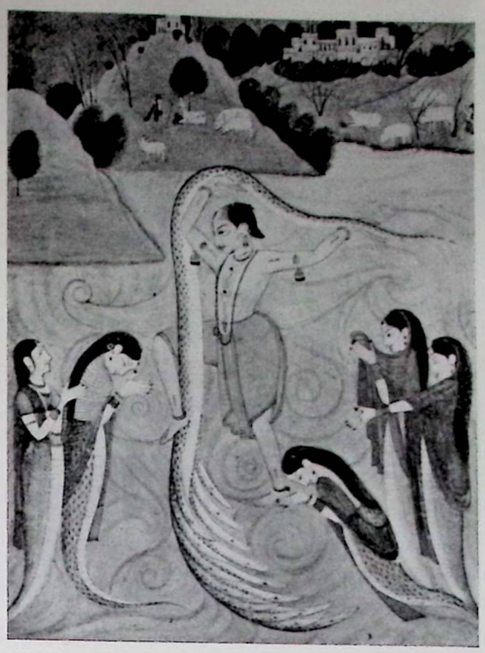
No. 195. pp. 207, 216-218. Shiva and Parvati. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 65 and Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 32 (in colour). By same hand as Fig. 39. Wrongly attributed to Molaram by Mukandi Lal in *Roop Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 2. Boston Museum.



No. 196. pp. 207, 216-218. Kaliya Damana. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 53 (in colour) and Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 46 (in colour).



No. 197. pp. 207-208, 210. Utka Nayika. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Gangoly. *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 27 (in colour) and Archer, *Ghartwal Painting*, Pl. 2 (in colour). Late Manuk Collection, now in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



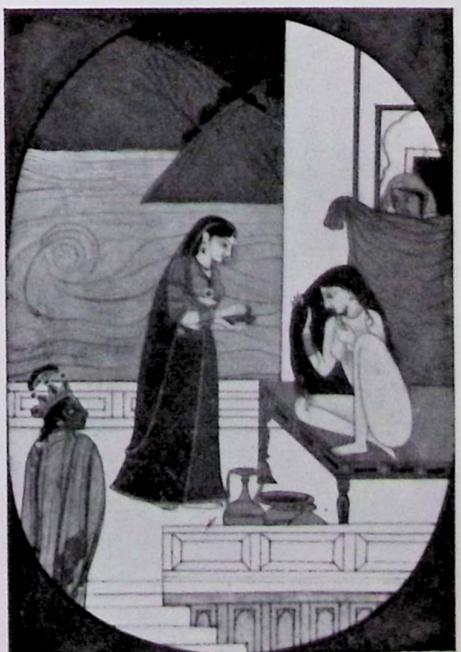
No. 198. pp. 204, 206-207, 216-218. Kaliya Damana. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 54A.



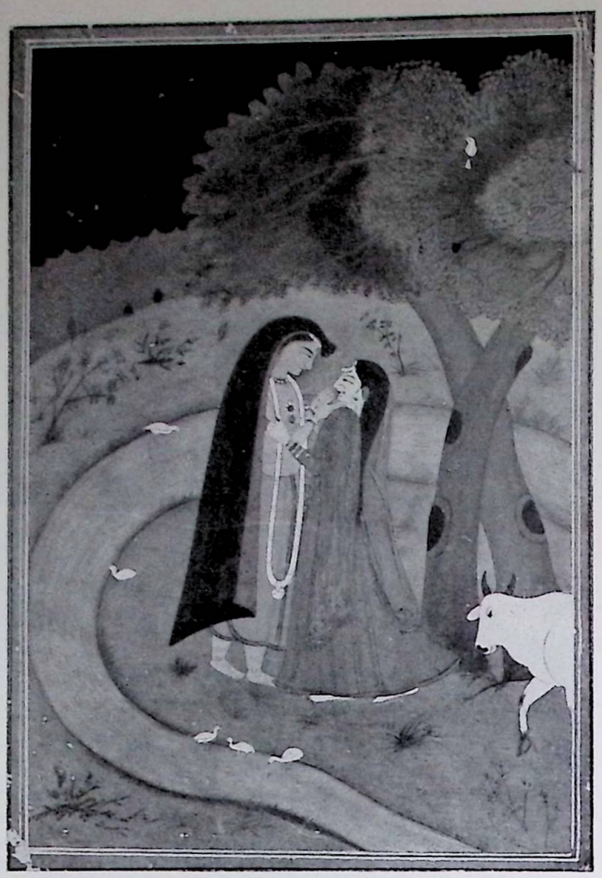
No. 199. pp. 204, 207, 216-218. Varsa Vihara. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 58, and Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 43 (in colour). Boston Museum.



No. 200. p. 260. Bathing in the Jamna. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. First quarter, 19th century. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Same series as No. 201.



No. 201. pp. 174, 211, 260. Radha Bathing. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. First quarter 19th century. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 100 and Archer, *Garhwal Painting*, Pl. 8 (in colour). Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Same series as No. 200.



No. 202. The Tryst. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. Late 18th century. Possession Author.



No. 203. Illustration to Ramayana. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. Late 18th century. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



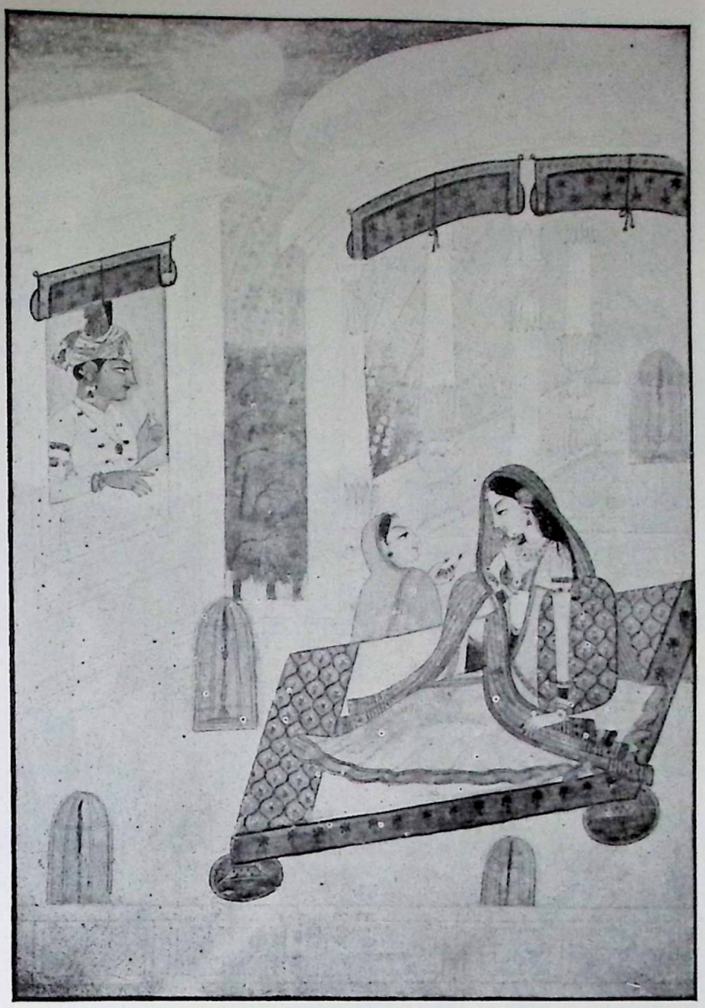
No. 204. p. 200. Mor Priya. Artist Molaram. Dated 1775. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 20, No. 2, and *Rupam*, No. 2, Fig. 4.



No. 205. p. 269. Krishna peeping at Radha. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. First quarter, 19th cent. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 12 (in colour) incorrectly ascribed to Guler.



No. 206. p. 200. The Damsel and the partridge. Artist Molaram. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. Dated 1795. *Marg*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (in colour) and *Rupam*, No. 2. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 207. Krishna peeping at Radha. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. First quarter, 19th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 208. p. 200. Vasakasayya Nayika. Artist Molaram. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. Dated 1810. *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. 21, No. 2, and *Rupam*, No. 8. Garhwal Darbar Collection.



No. 209. Dana Lila. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. Late 18th century. Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



No. 210. Radha arresting Krishna. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. In colour in Lalit Kala Postcards Series. Indian Museum, Calcutta.



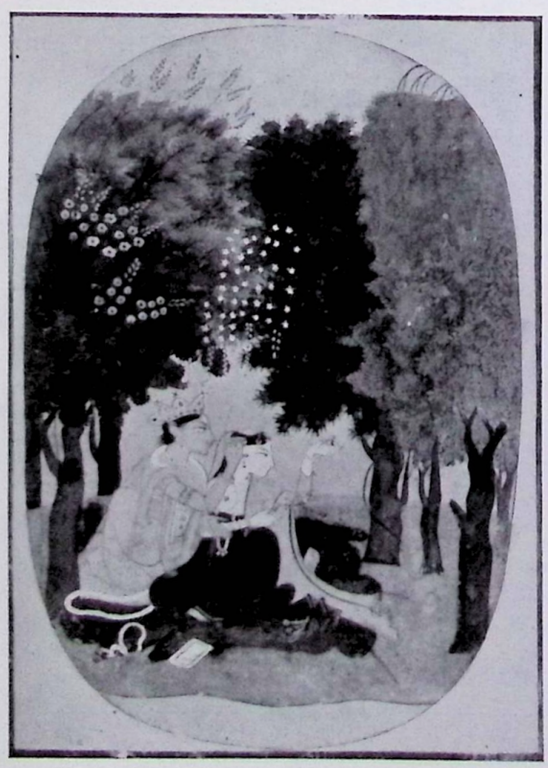
No. 211. p. 174. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 96, and *Rupam*, No. 12 (in colour).



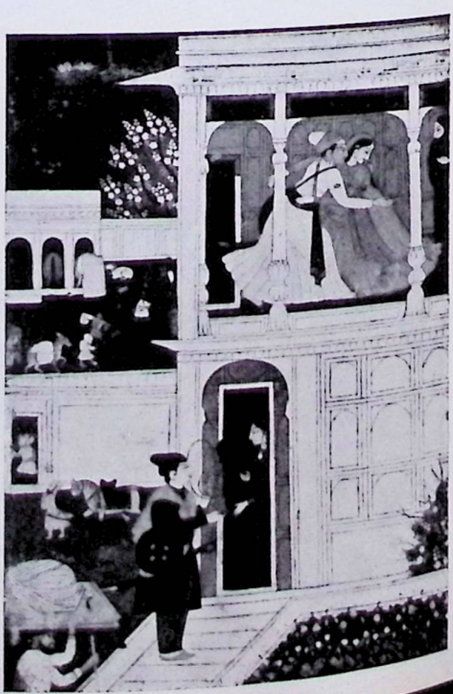
No. 212. p. 170. Radha arresting Krishna. Kangra Kalam, idiom possibly Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 88, Fig. CCXLIV.



No. 213. p. 170. Lila Hava. Kangra Kalam, idiom possibly Garhwal, Based on No. 281 of Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 103.



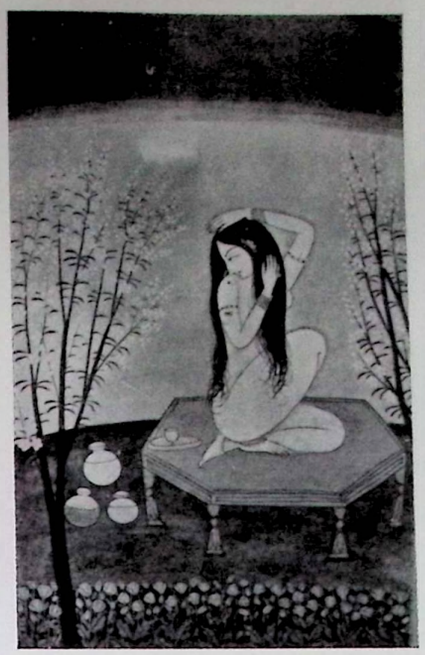
No. 214. p. 170. Radha and Krishna. Kangra Kalam, probably Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 78, Fig. CCLXVII.



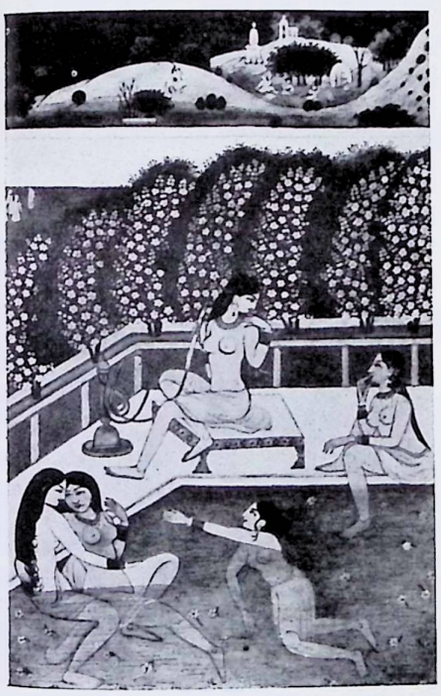
No. 215. p. 167. Agatapatika. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. Late 18th century. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 9 (in colour) wrongly ascribed as Rajasthani Painting, Jaipur school. Indian Museum, Calcutta.



No. 216. pp. 212-213. Rape of the Yadava Women. Artist Chaitu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. First quarter, 19th century. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Pl. 18, and *Rupam*, No. 26 (in colour). Formerly Garhwal Darbar Collection, now N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay.



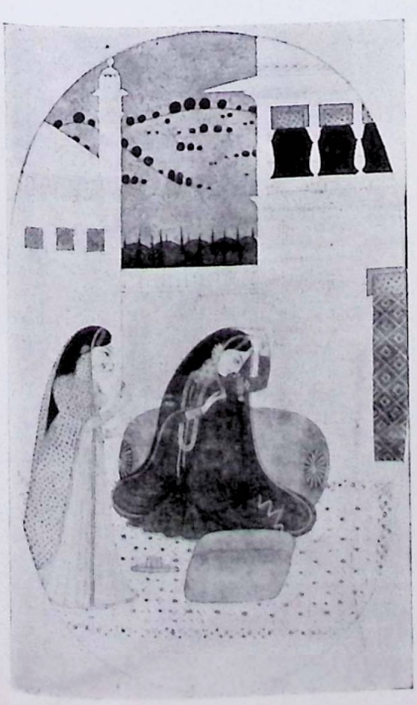
No. 217. p. 169. Radha's Toilet. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. First quarter, 19th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 72-A.



No. 218. p. 167. Ladies Bathing. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. *Circa* 1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 28.



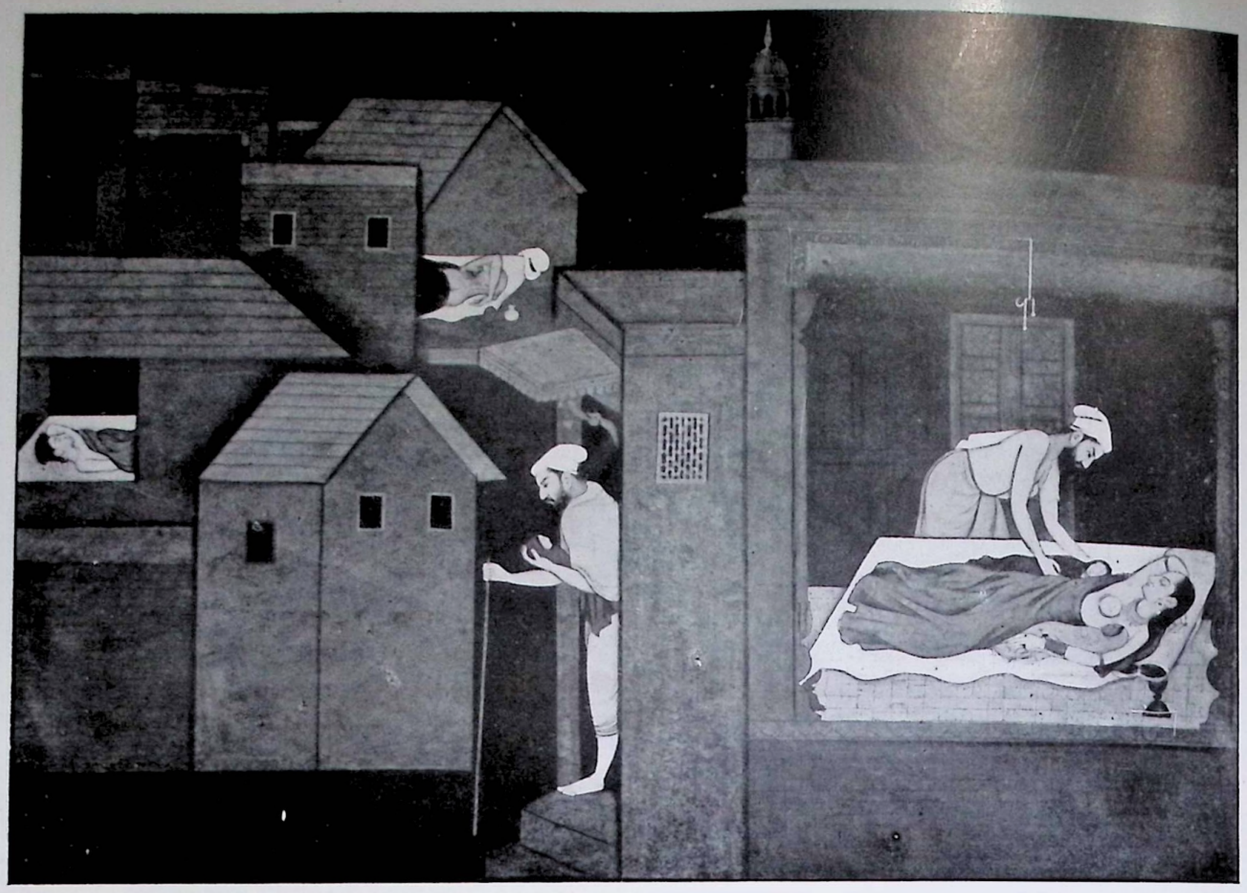
No. 219. p. 213. Dana Lila. Probably painted by Chaitu. Kangra Kalam, idiom Garhwal. First quarter of the 19th century. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Pl. 20. Garhwal Darbar Collection.



No. 220. p. 173. Manini. Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal. First quarter, 19th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 74-A, and *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 16, No. 128, Pl. 5, Fig. 10.

No. 220A. p. 159. Radha with Krishna playing his flute. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 40 (in colour). Bhagavata facial type. Lahore Museum.

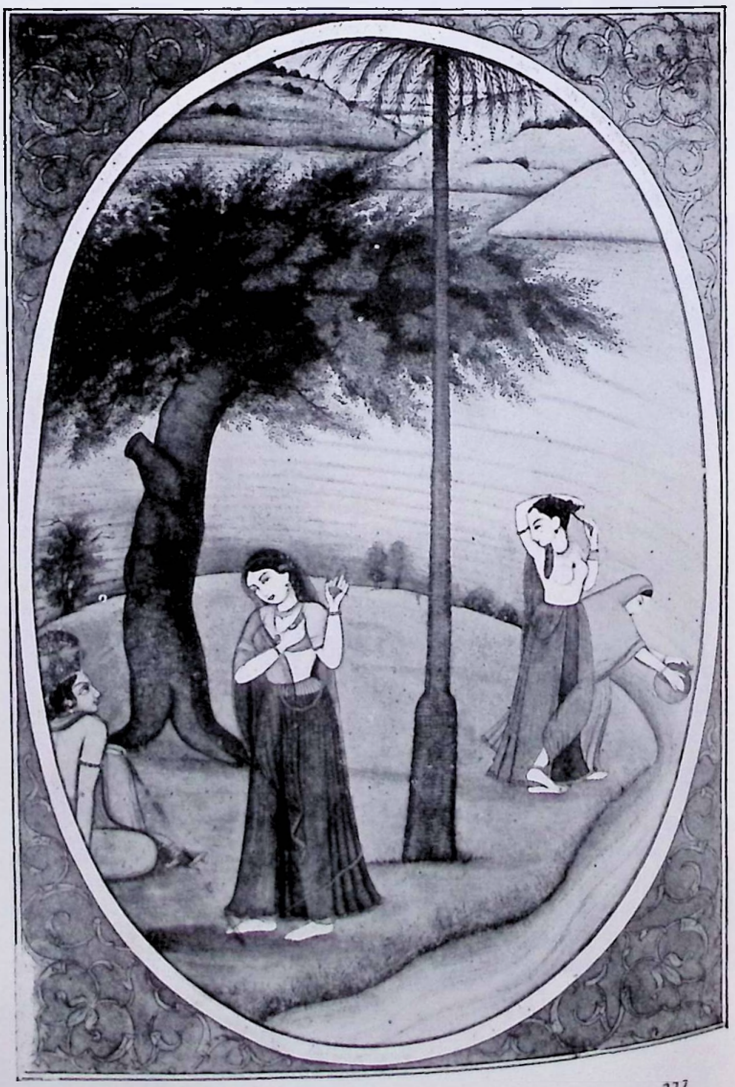




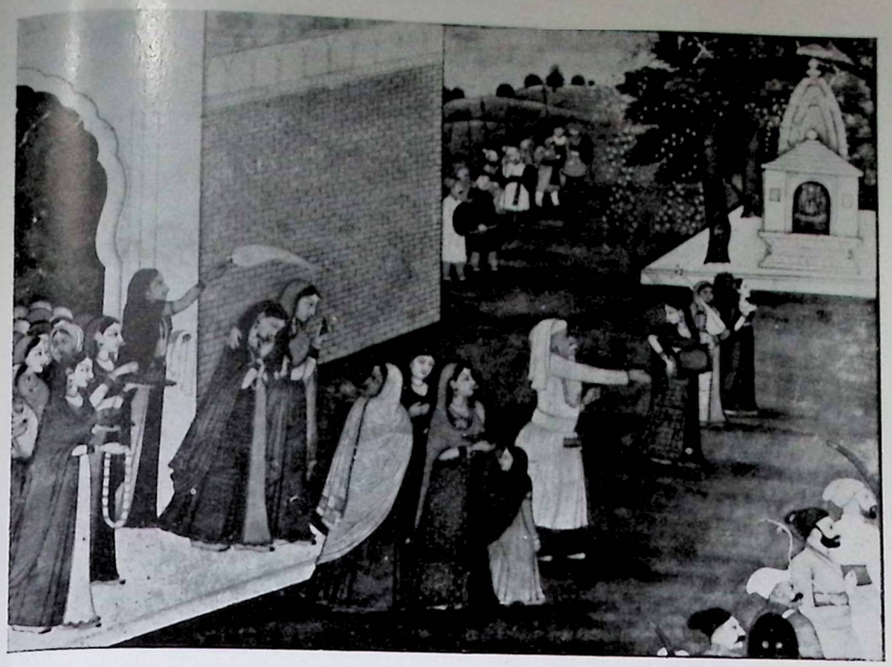
No. 221. Exchange of Babes. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. I (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Same series as Figs. 1, 3, 12, 13, Pls. Y, 7 and 10. Bhagavata facial style. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 222. p. 153. Krishna playing the Flute. Kangra Kalam, similar in type to Figs. 12 and 13. 1780-1800. *Catalogue of the Lahore Museum*, Pl. 15. Bhagavata facial type.



No. 223. By the Jamna. Kangra Kalam, similar in style to No. 222. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial type. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



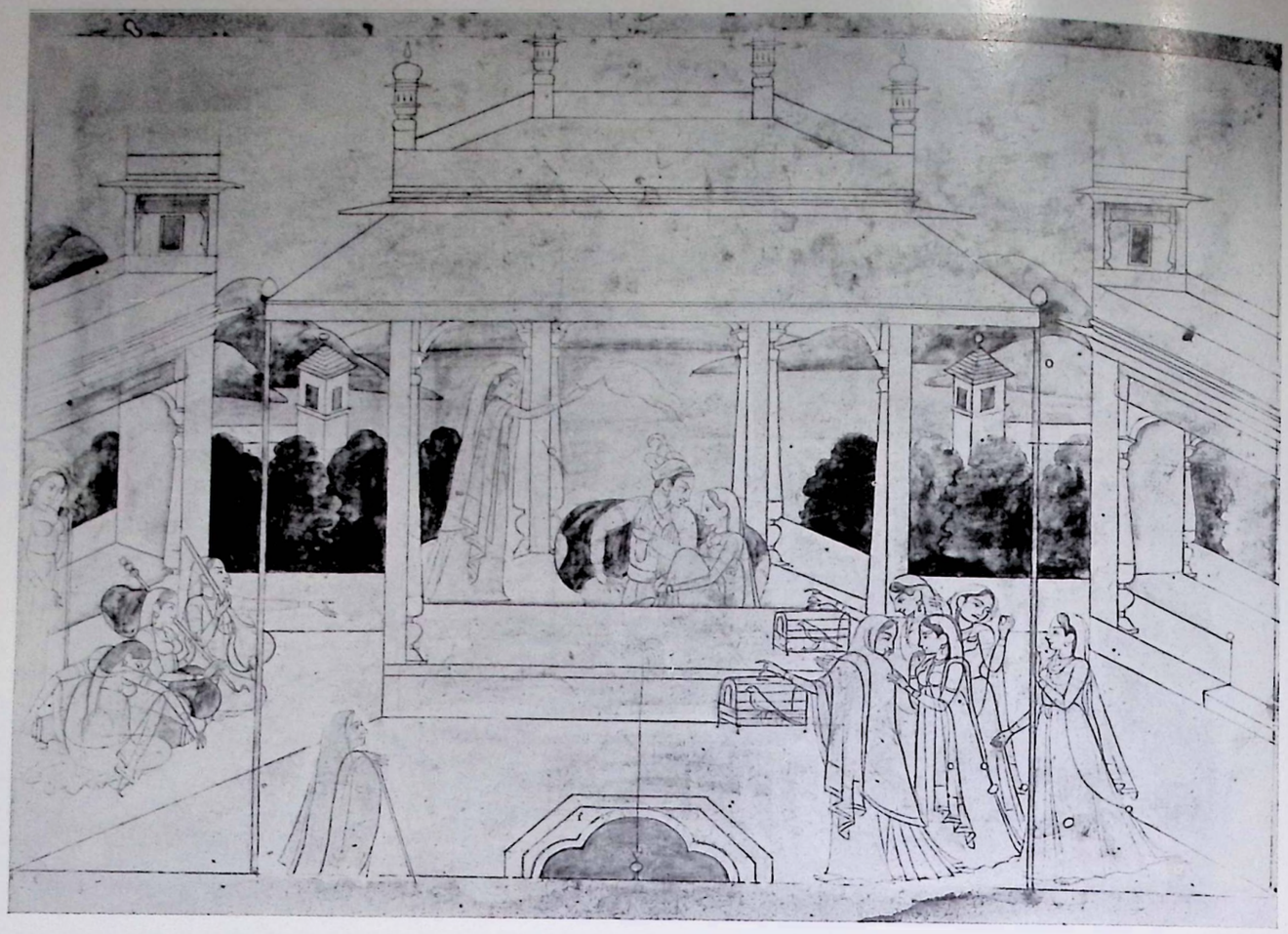
No. 224. p. 315. Illustration to Rukmini Harana. Kangra Kalam, similar in type to No. 222. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial type. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



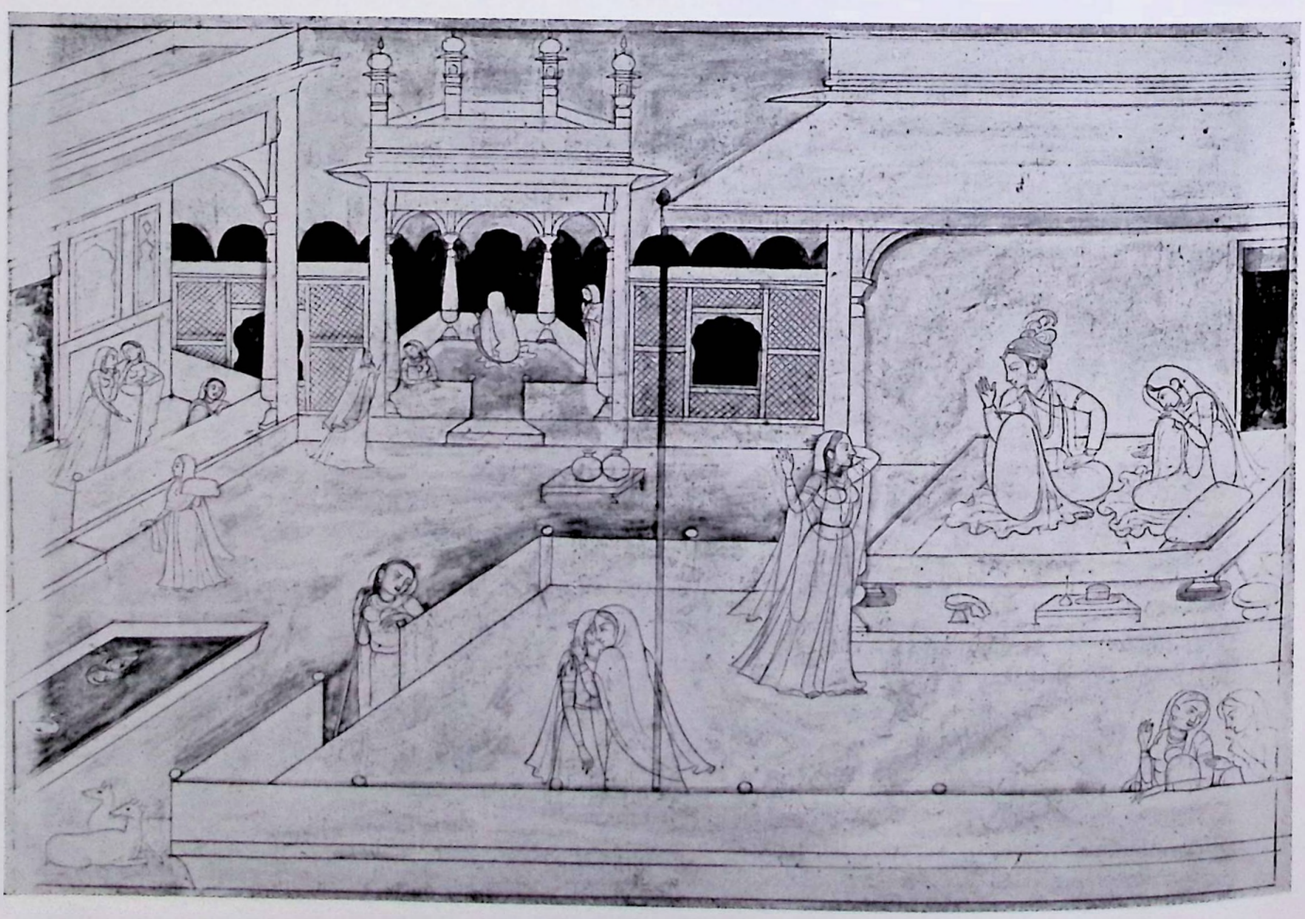
No. 225. Water sports of Krishna and the Gopis. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. Same series as Fig. 12. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 12 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Bhagavata facial type. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



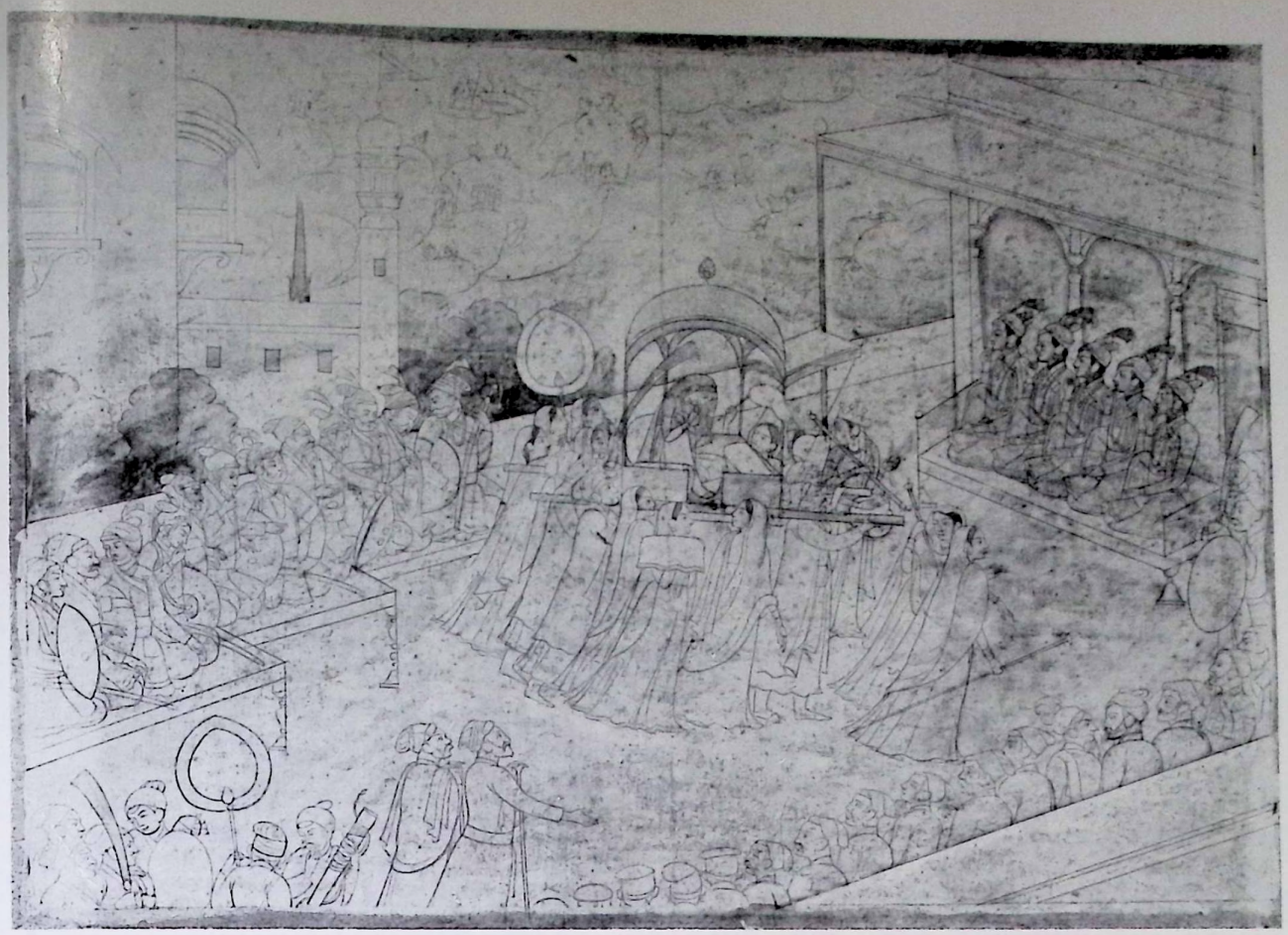
No. 226. p. 34. Krishna swallowing the forest fire. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. Same series as Fig. 12. 1780-1800. *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 7 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Bhagavata facial type. National Museum, New Delhi.



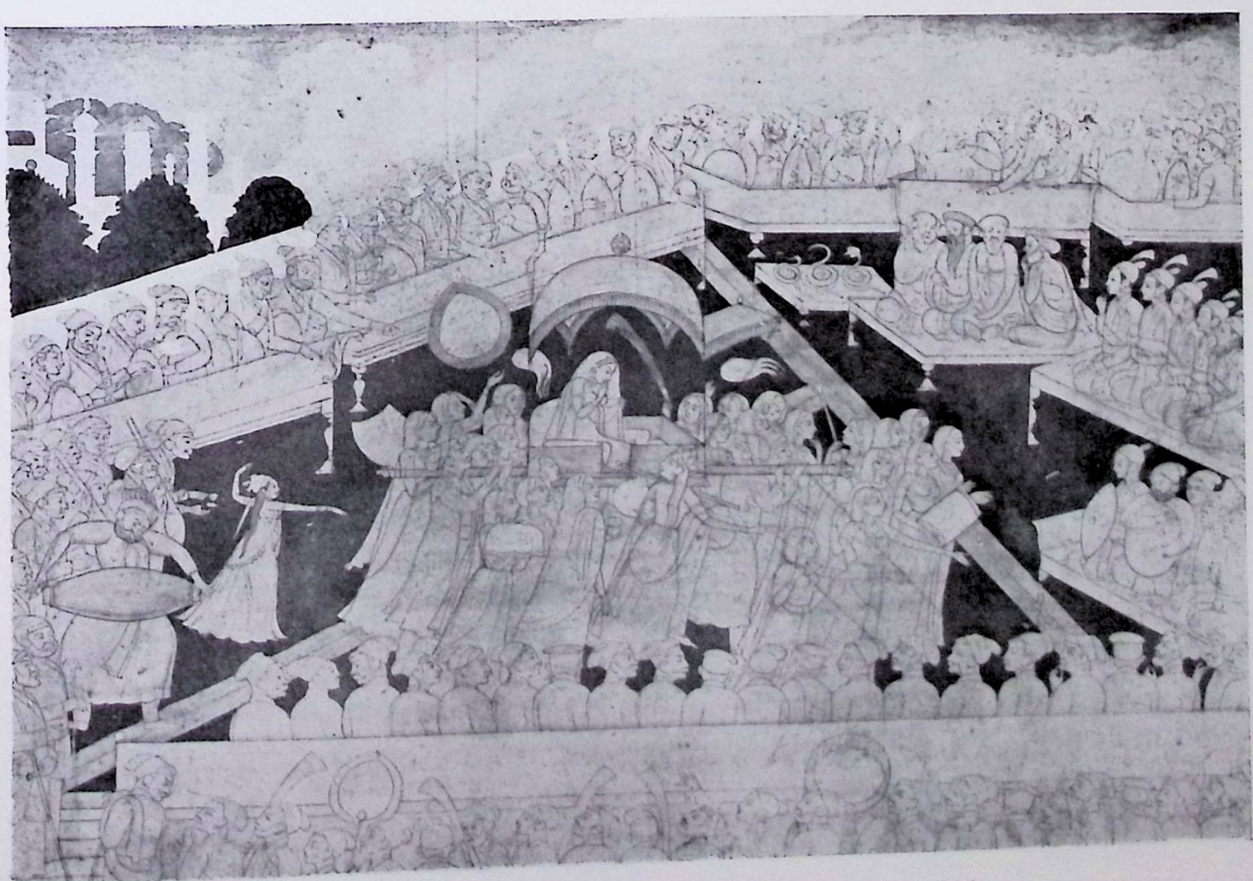
No. 227. pp. 150-152, 250-253. Drawing from Nala-Damayanti series. Kangra Kalam. Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 51, Fig. CXXVI. Bhagavata facial style.



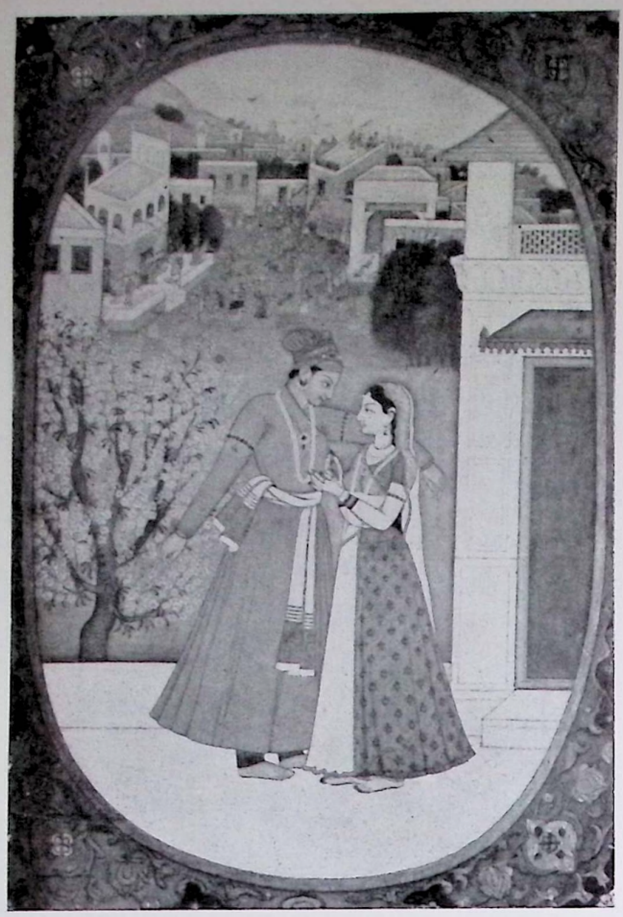
No. 228. pp. 150-152, 250-253. Drawing from same series as No. 227. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 50, Fig. CXXIII.



No. 229. pp. 150-152, 250-253. Drawing from same series as Nos. 227 and 228.
Boston Museum Catalogue, Pl. 39.



No. 230. p. 250. Same series as or related to Nos. 227, 228 and 229. National Museum, New Delhi. Originally in the Treasurywala Collection, Bombay. Underlay of deep red applied to middle background, rest unfinished.



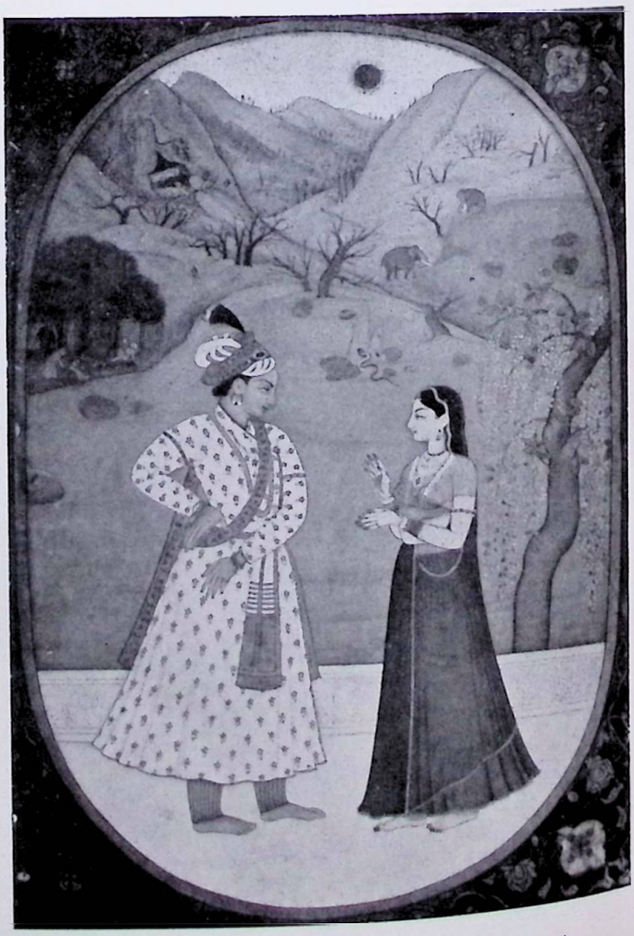
No. 231. pp. 181, 217. Spring (Vasant). From a *Baramasa* series. 1780-1800. Kangra Kalam. Sansar Chand's atelier. From Lambagroan Darbar which owns part of Sansar Chand's collection. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 3 (in colour). Bhagavata facial style.



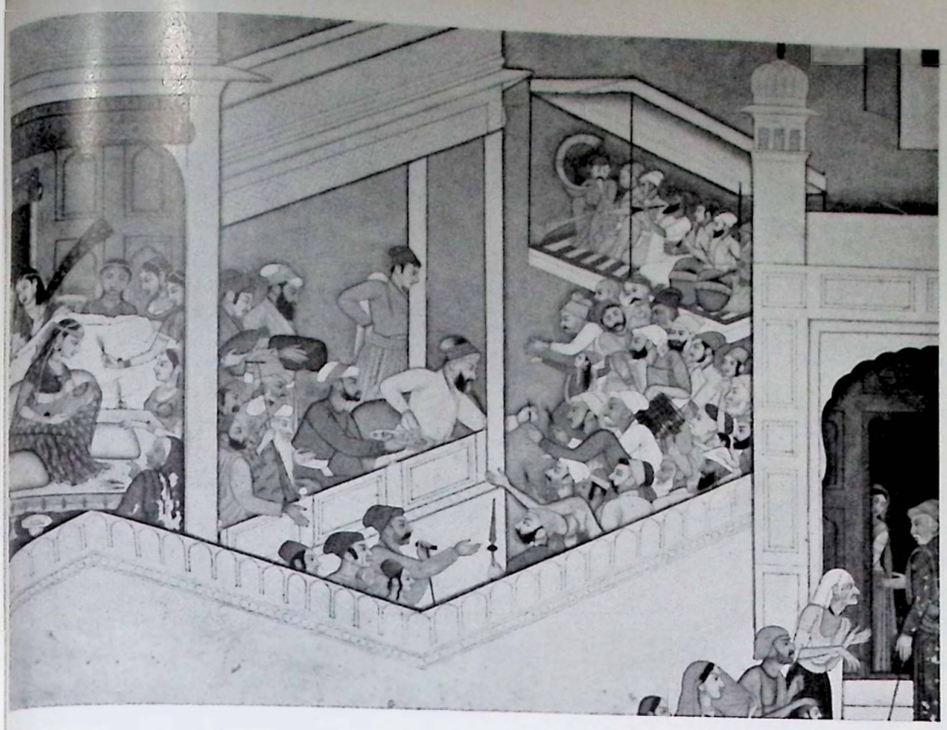
No. 232. pp. 118, 217. Same series as No. 231.



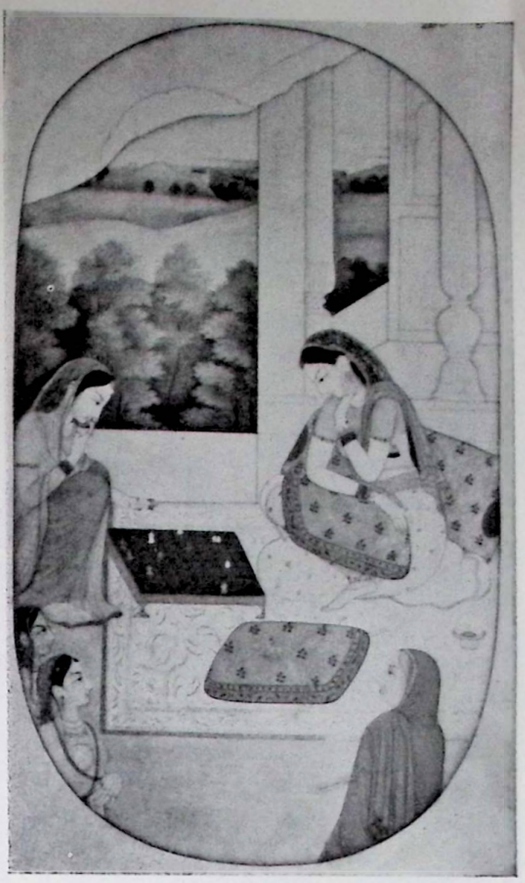
No. 233. pp. 181, 217. The Rains (Bhadaon). Same series as No. 231. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 5 (in colour).

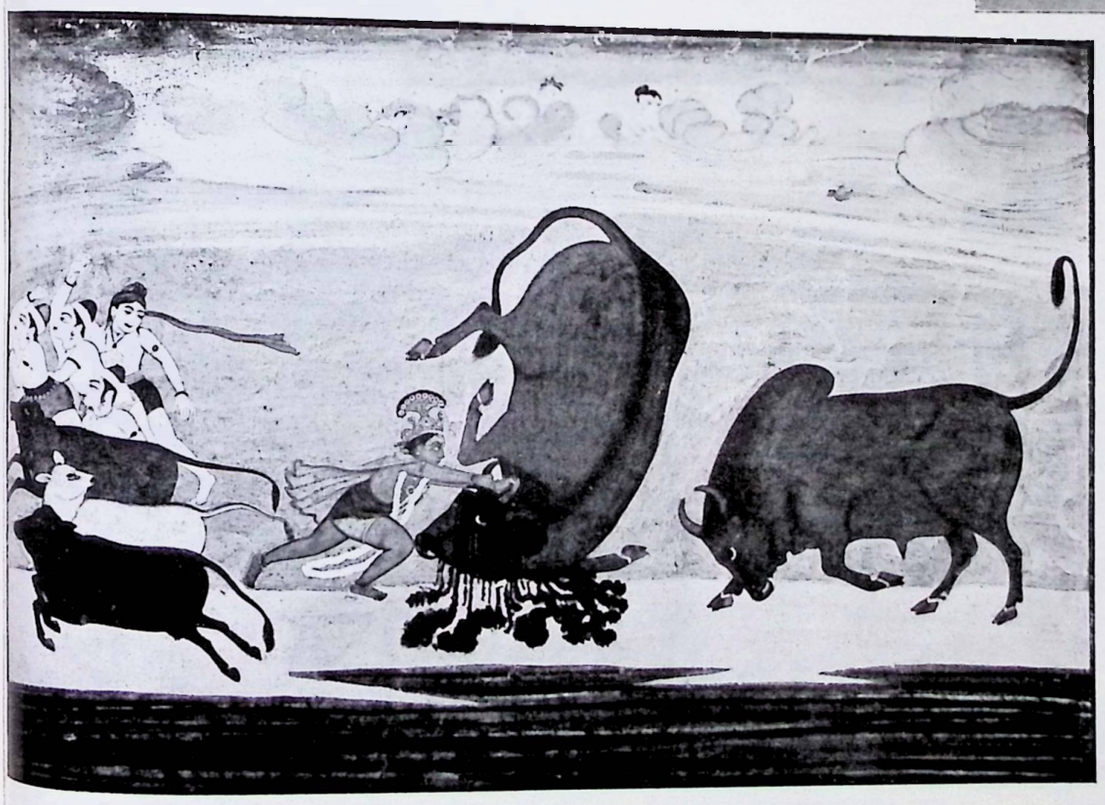


No. 234. pp. 181, 217. Summer (Jeshta). Same series as No. 231. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 4 (in colour).



No. 235. p. 152. Yasoda with the newly born babe Krishna. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. Same series as No. 221. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial style. National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly Modi Collection.



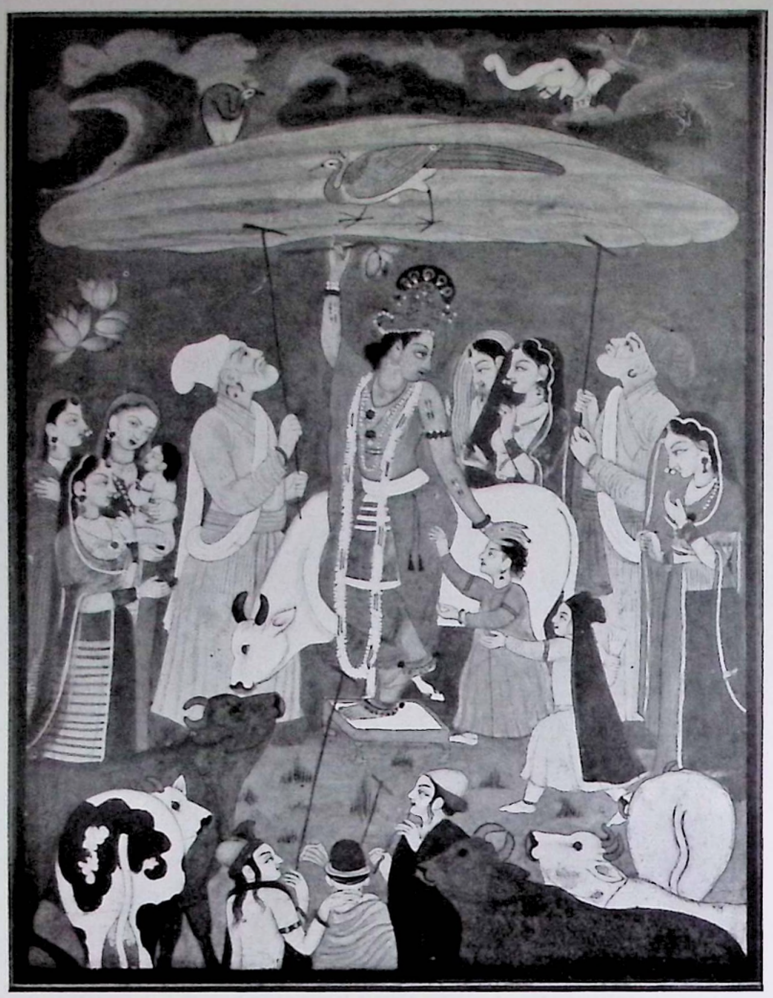


No. 236. pp. 149, 151, 328. Ladies playing Pachisi. Artist Fattu. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, and Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 17 (in colour). Bhagavata facial style. Possession family of Basant Singh of Arki.

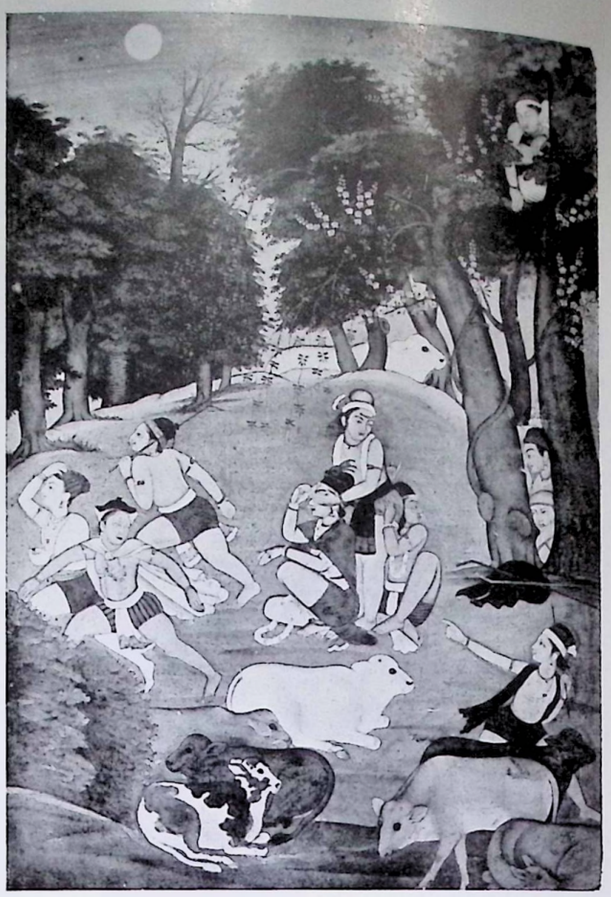
No. 237. Krishna slaying the bull demon. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial type. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 239. Holi. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial type. Lahore Museum.



No. 240. pp. 159-160, 332. Giri Goverdhana. Artist Majnu. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend,* Pl. 5 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Bhagavata facial style. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 241. pp. 186, 212. Blindman's Buff. Artist Manak. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. N. C. Mehta. *Studies in Indian Painting,* Pl. 21 (in colour) where wrongly attributed to Garhwal. Bhagavata facial style. Garhwal Darbar Collection.



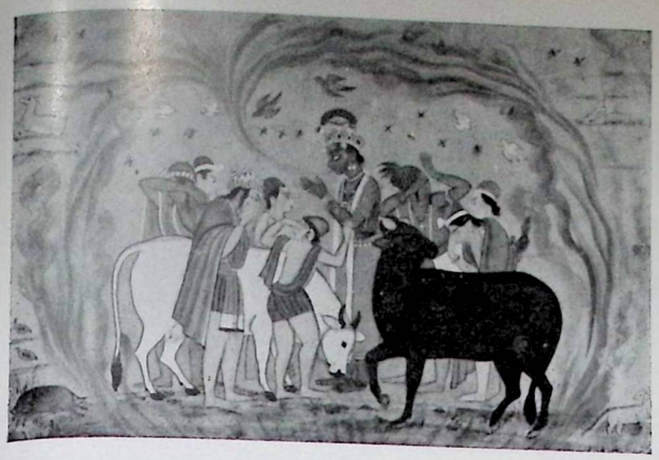
No. 242. p. 159. Abhisandita Nayika. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting,* Pl. 41 (in colour), and Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting,* Pl. 8 (in colour). Bhagavata facial style. Punjab Museum. Formerly in Lahore Museum.



No. 243. p. 150, 156-157. Illustration to Gita Govinda. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Same series as Pl. E. Bhagavata facial type. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay, formerly in the Garhwal Darbar Collection but does not belong to the Garhwal school.



No. 244. Same series as No. 243. N. C. Mehta Collection, Bombay. Formerly in the Garhwal Darbar Collection.



No. 245. p. 171. Krishna swallowing the forest fire. Kangra Kalam. Last quarter, 18th century. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 115, Fig. 538, where Chamba ascription is doubtful. J. C. French Collection.



No. 246. p. 50. Falcon attacking its prey. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1890. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



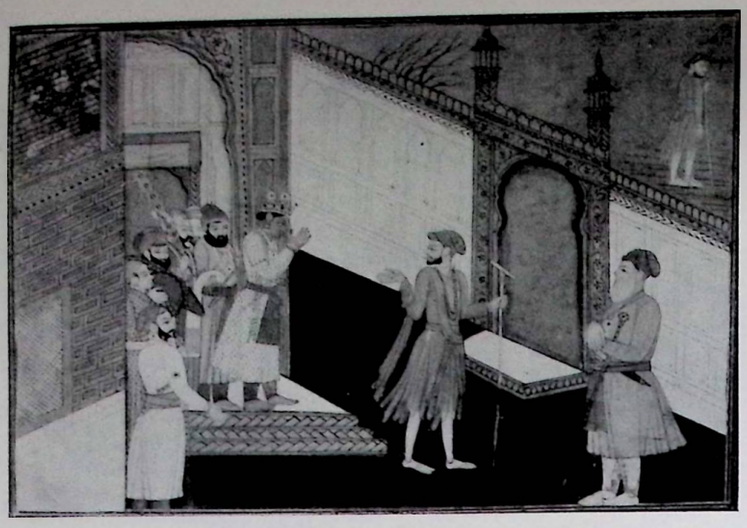
No. 247. Krishna and Radha. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



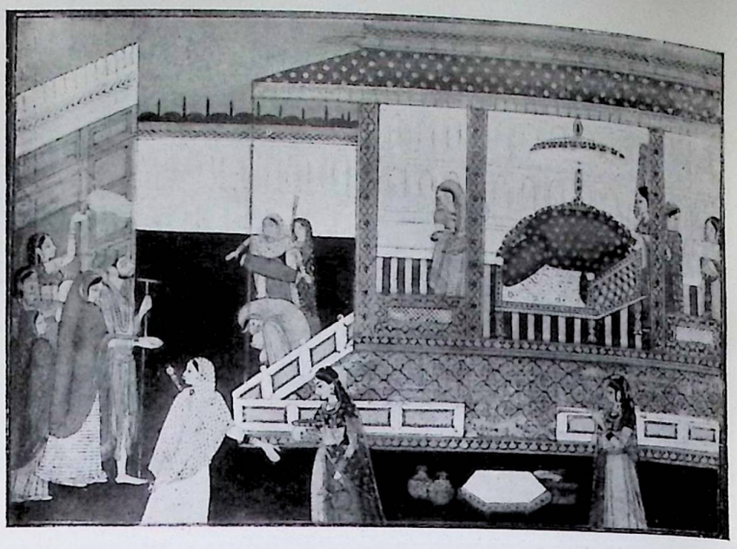
No. 248. Krishna seizing Radha's scarf. Kangra Kalam, similar in style to No. 245. 1780-1800. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



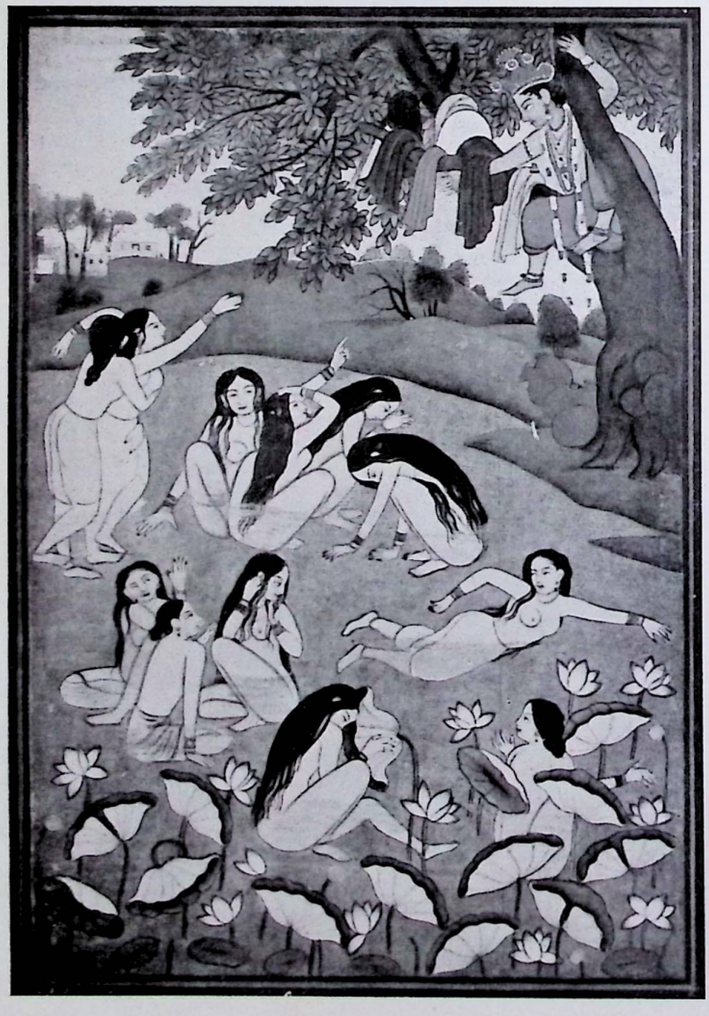
249. Sketch for decoration of scabbard. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. National Museum, New Delhi. Formerly in the Treasurywala Collection, Bombay.



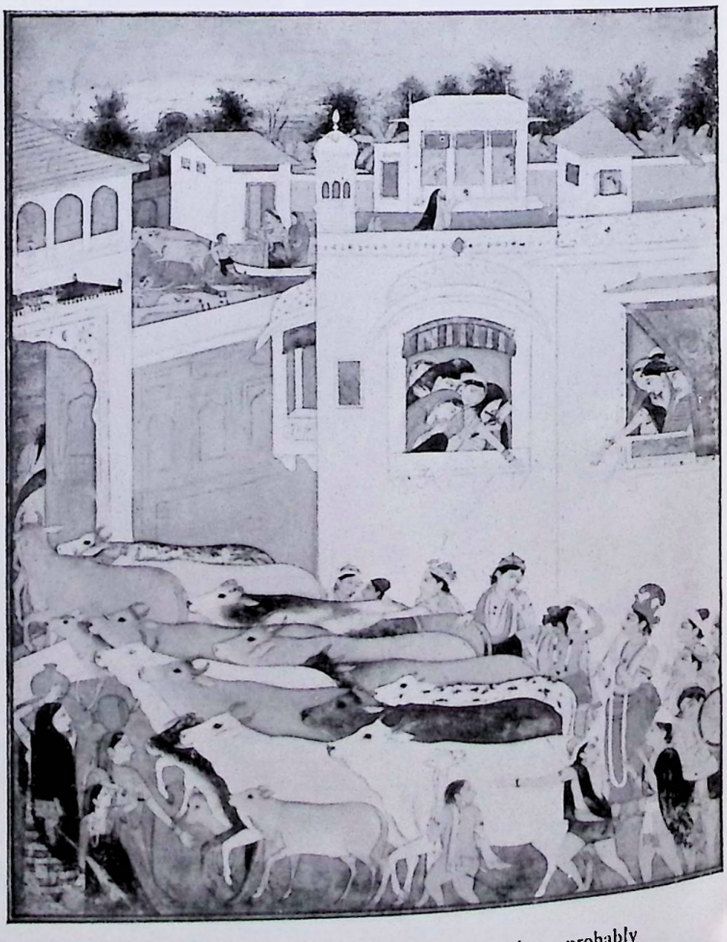
No. 250. p. 170. Illustration to the Sudama story. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 89, Fig. CCXCII.



No. 251. Same series as No. 250. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 90, Fig. CCXCIV.



No. 252. Cira Harana. Kangra Kalam, 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial style. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 6 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 253. p. 168. Cow-dust. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 51 (in colour), and *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 72.



No. 254. The Storm. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 20 (in colour). Punjab Museum.



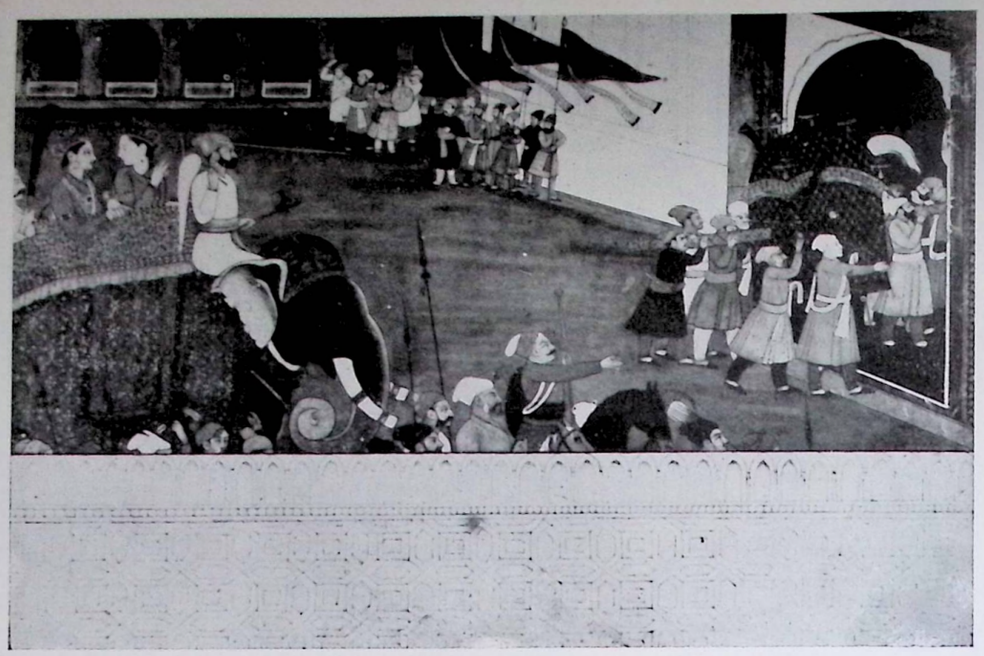
No. 255. p. 269. Krishna braiding Radha's hair. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 39 (in colour). Inherited by Lambagroan Darbar from Sansar Chand.



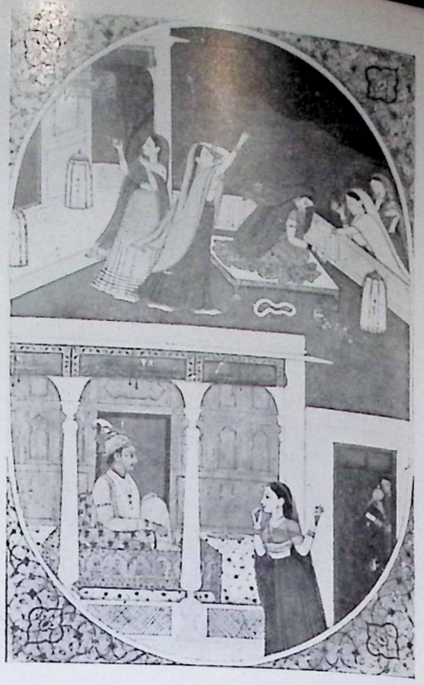
No. 256. p. 269. Krishna and Radha on tree trunk. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 38 (in colour). Inherited by Lambagroan Darbar from Sansar Chand.



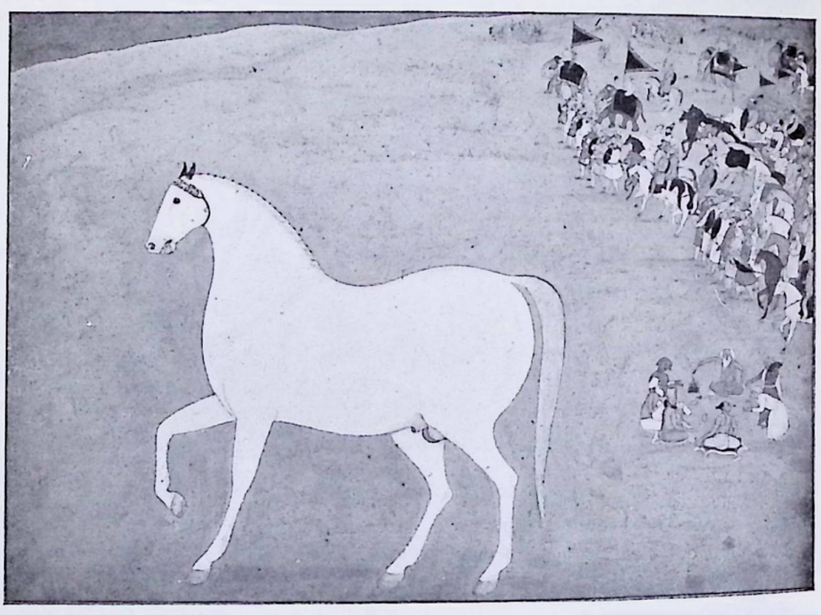
No. 257. p. 269. Rama, Sita and Hanuman. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 26 (in colour). Inherited by Lambagroan Darbar from Sansar Chand.



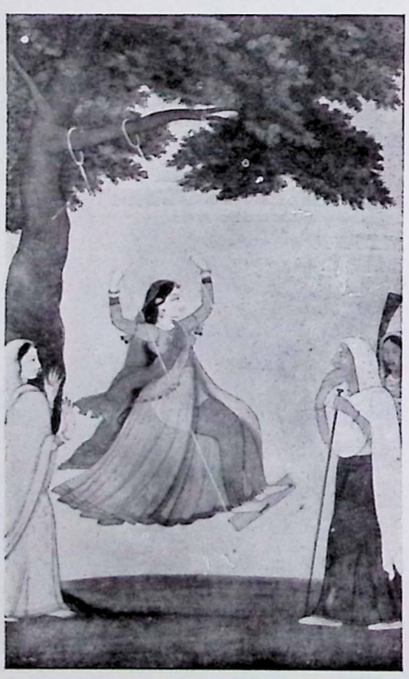
No. 258. p. 260. Illustration to the Ramayana. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Bears inscription that it was acquired from house of Chaitu, and not that it was painted by Chaitu as erroneously supposed by N. C. Mehta. In fact it is not the Garhwal idiom. Bhagavata facial type. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 259. Illustration to Krishna story. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Bhagavata facial type. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 261. p. 335. Illustration to Ramayana. Artist Sunedi. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Possession Author.



No. 260. p. 159. Girl on a swing. Kangra Kalam. 1789-1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 39 (in colour). National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 262. p. 168. Radha cooking. Kangra Kalam. 1780-1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 56. Lahore Museum.



No. 263. p. 173. Krishna and Radha in a forest. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. French, *Himalayan Art*, Pl. 22. Inherited by the Lambagroan Darbar from Sansar Chand.



No. 264. p. 174. Krishna and Radha in the forest. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. Stchoukine, *La Peinture, Indienne*, Pl. 97(b), and *The Studio*. Feb. 1948 (in colour). The series to which it belongs has been incorrectly ascribed to Garhwal. Victoria and Albert Museum.



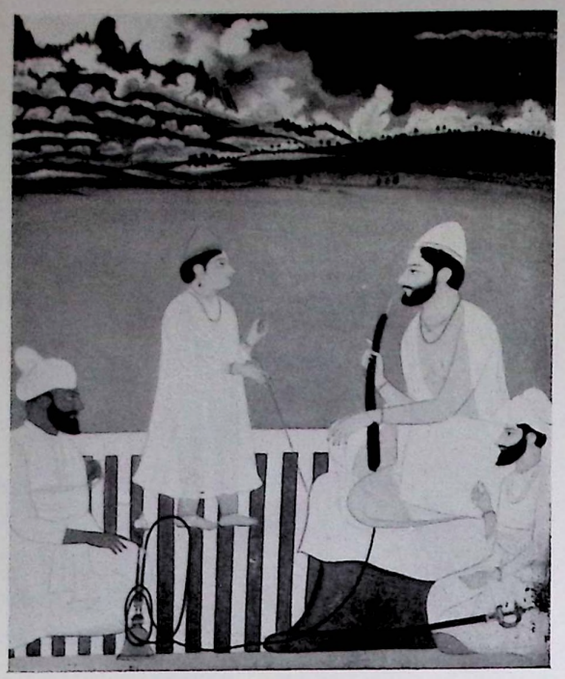
No. 265. The Divine Lovers. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1780-1800. National Museum, New Delhi.



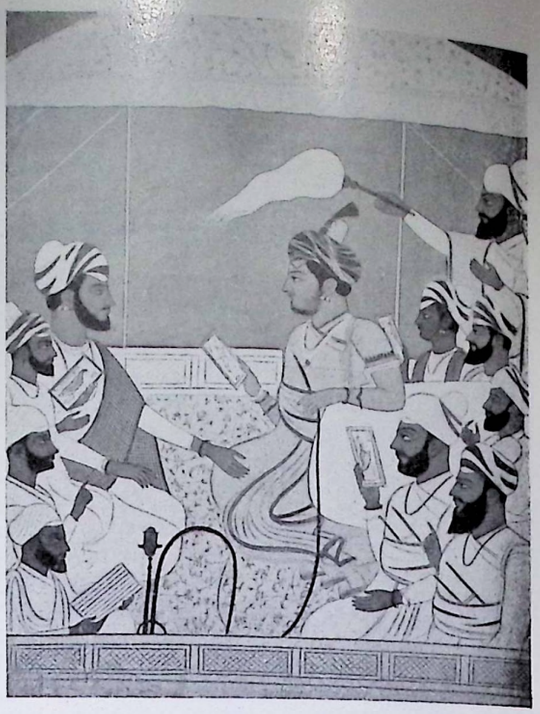
No. 266. p. 174. Utka Nayika. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1790-1800. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 95(b). Incorrectly attributed to Nurpur by Archer in *Marg*, Vol. 8, No. 3. Victoria and Albert Museum. London.



No. 267. Illustration to Krishna story. Same series as No. 264 or related series. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection. Bombay.



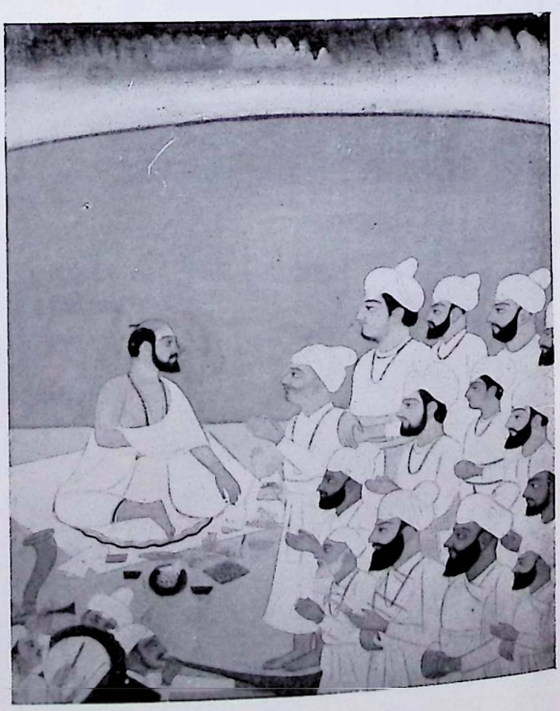
No. 268. p. 149. Sansar Chand with the young Aniruddha. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1795. *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3. Inherited by Ram Singh of Bhawarna from Sansar Chand. Now in Punjab Museum.



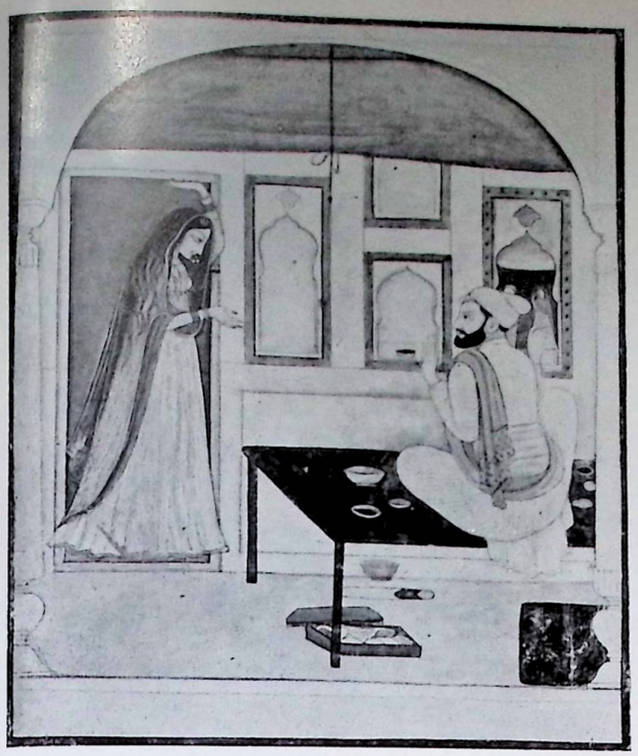
No. 269. p. 149. Sansar displaying paintings to his courtiers. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1785-1790. *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3. Inherited by Ram Singh of Bhawarna from Sansar Chand. Now in Punjab Museum. A similar theme is illustrated in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. 21, No. 2, but wrongly described as Sansar Chand inspecting the work of his artists.



No. 270. A Prince and Princess playing a game. Kangra Kalam. Late 18th century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 271. p. 150, Ghamand Chand of Kangra (1751-1774). Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1774. But if the fat man with slight beard is Sansar Chand then its date would be *circa* 1885 probably copying an earlier study and introducing the figure of Sansar Chand into it. Inherited by Ram Singh of Bhawarna from Sansar Chand. Now in the Punjab Museum.



No. 272. p. 169. Virahini. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 70-A and *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 99, Fig. CCCXLIV.



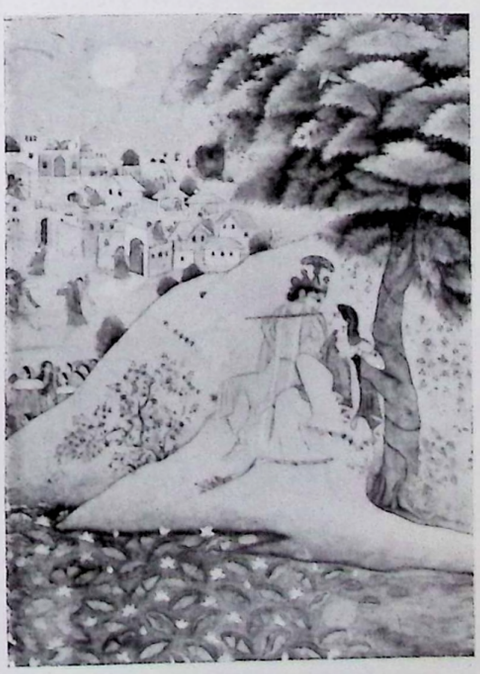
No. 273. p. 241. Brajraj Dev of Jammu (1781-1787). Kangra Kalam, idiom Jammu. 1780-1785. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 105, Fig. 540, and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 44.



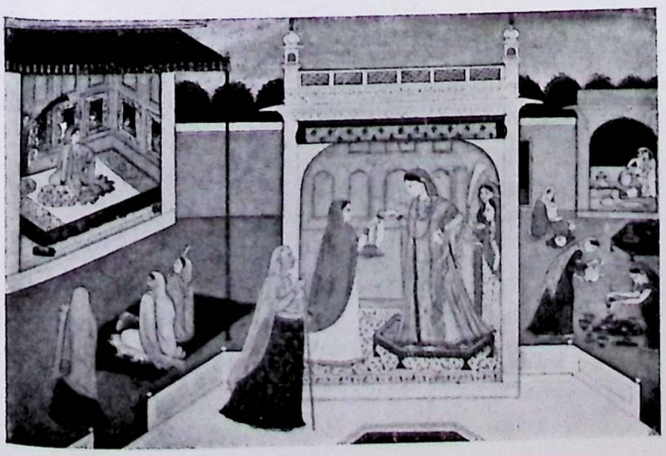
No. 275. p. 139. Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823). Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 47. National Museum, New Delhi.



No. 274. Girl on Swing. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1790-1800. Possession Author.



No. 277. p. 171. Krishna and Radha in the moonlight. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 109, Fig. 558. Alma Latifi Collection, Bombay.



No. 276. p. 172. Palace lady with maids. Kangra Kalam. End of 18th century. Vincent Smith, *Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edn., Pl. 160, and Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Fig. 3.



No. 278. p. 24. Suklabhisarika. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 11 (in colour). Inherited by Lambagraon Darbar from Sansar Chand.



No. 279. Utka Nayika. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 7 (in colour). Inherited by Lambagraon Darbar from Sansar Chand.



No. 280. Varsa Vihara. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. 1790-1800. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 30 (in colour). Punjab Museum.



No. 281. Hava Lila. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1790-1800. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend*, Pl. 10 (in colour) in Lalit Kala Series of Indian Art: General Editor, Karl Khandalavala. Inherited by Lambagraon Darbar from Sansar Chand.



No. 282. Radha arresting Krishna. Kangra Kalam. 1790-1800. National Museum, New Delhi. No. 210 is a Garhwali version of this theme.



No. 283. p. 168. Illustration to Gita Govinda. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1810. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 38, where wrongly ascribed to early 18th century.



No. 284. pp. 159, 172. Holi Lila. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Archer, *Kangra Valley Painting*. Pl. 6 (in colour).



No. 285. Varsa Vihara. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. *Art of India and Pakistan*, Colour Plate D. J. C. French Collection.



No. 286. p. 169. Shiva and Parvati enthroned. Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1800. *Boston Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 58.



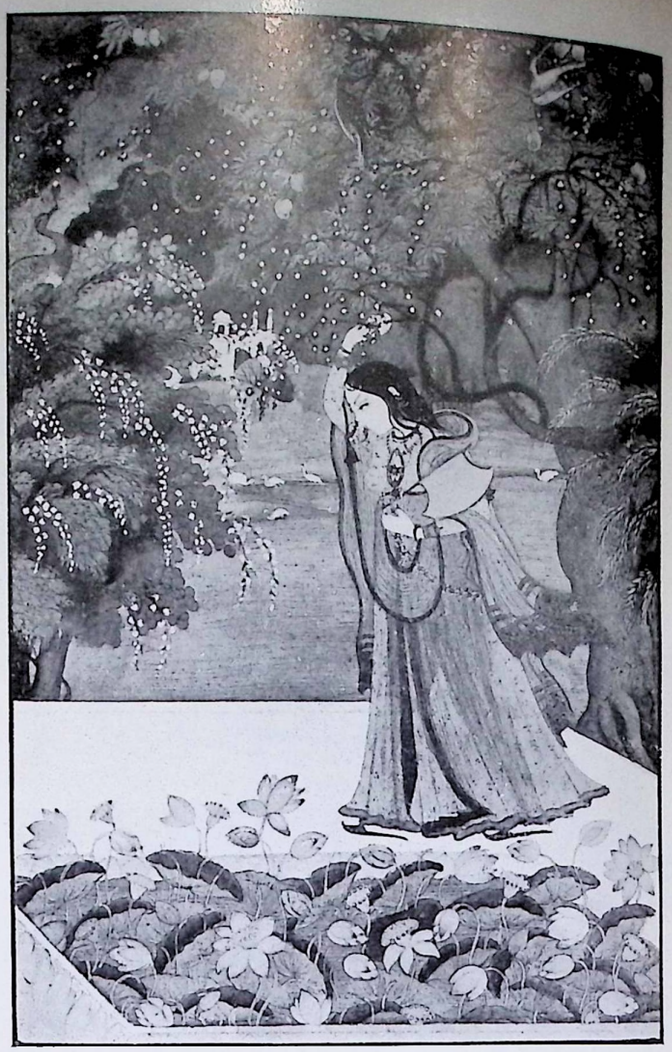
No. 287. p. 167. Crying for the Moon. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 37 (in colour). Possession O. C. Gangoly.



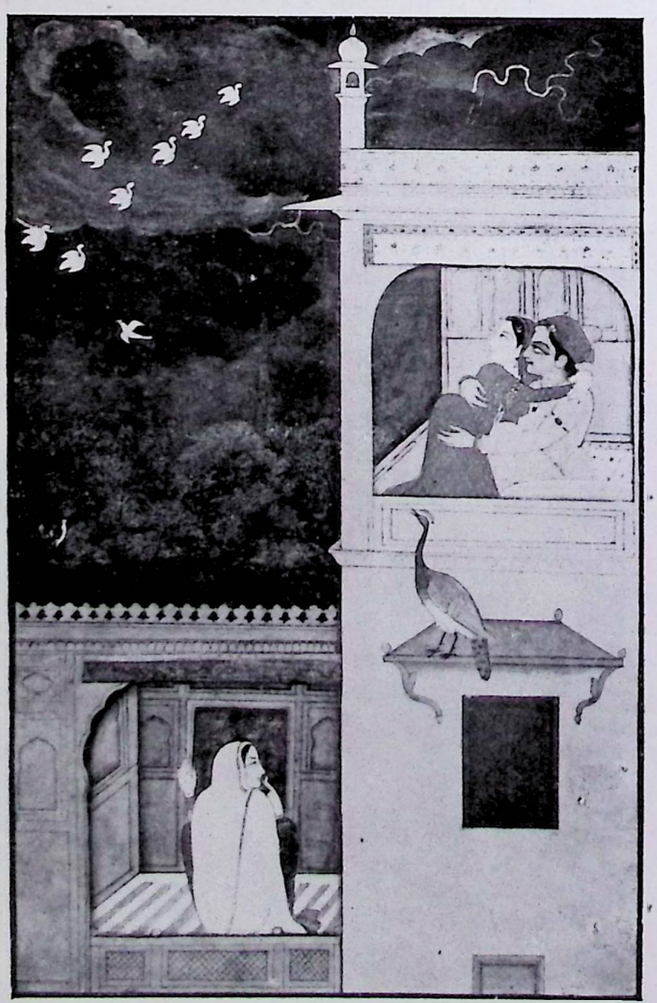
No. 287-A. The Hurricane. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 288. p. 168. Svadhinapatika. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1825. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 42 (in colour).



No. 289. Waiting Heroine. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 290. Lovers watching a storm. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.



No. 291. Krishna and Radha. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1825.



No. 292. p. 150. Aniruddha with courtiers and musicians. Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. 1805-1810. *Marg*, Vol. 7, No. 3. Inherited by Ram Singh of Bhawarna from Sansar Chand. Now in the Punjab Museum.



No. 294. Varsa Vihara. Kangra Kalam. Early 19th century. *Roopa Lekha*. Vol. 20, No. 1.



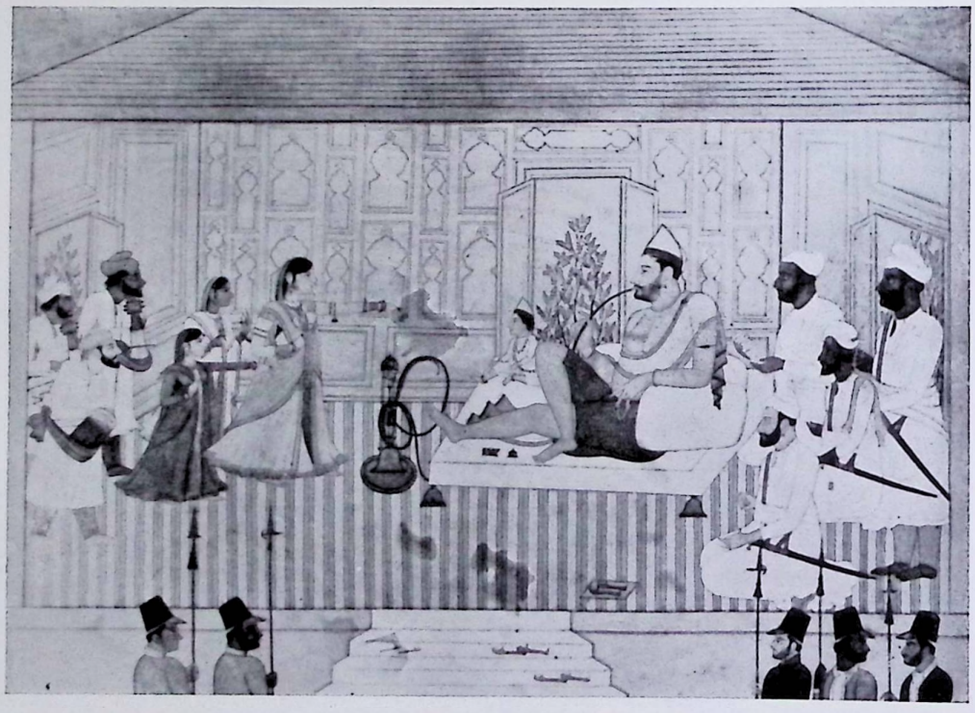
No. 293. Rama's return. Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1800. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. The idiom could be Guler, Mandi or Kangra itself.



No. 295. p. 167. Girl enticing parrot. Kangra Kalam. First quarter, 19th century. Gangoly, *Rajput Painting*, Pl. 5 (in colour), where wrongly ascribed to Jaipur school of Rajasthani painting.



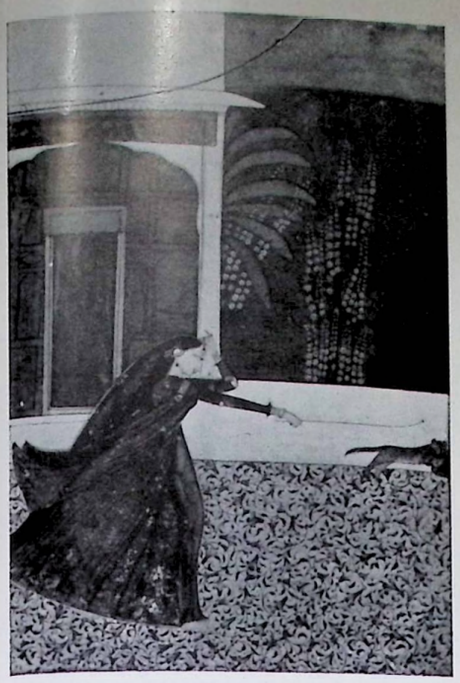
No. 296. p. 152. Sansar Chand of Kangra (1774-1823). Kangra Kalam, Sansar Chand's atelier. *Circa* 1815. Boston Museum Catalogue, Pl. 123. Fig. DXCVI.



No. 297. p. 152. Sansar Chand watching dancers. Kangra Kalam, late Sansar Chand period. *Circa* 1815. Note the markedly squat figures during the decline of Kangra painting as also seen in No. 298. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



No. 298. Illustration to a Bhagavata series. Kangra Kalam, late Sansar Chand period. *Circa* 1825. Possession author. Observe markedly squat figures of Krishna and companions though the workmanship of the painting is competent.



No. 299. p. 171. Girl chasing cat. Kangra Kalam, idiom perhaps Siba. First quarter, 19th century or later. *Art and Letters*, Vol. 25, No. 1. Rothenstein Collection.



No. 300. p. 299. Todi Ragini. Kangra Kalam. First quarter, 19th century. Painting on a fan. Possession Author.



No. 301. p. 171. The Messenger's Arrival. Kangra Kalam, idiom perhaps Siba. First quarter, 19th century or later. The *Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 108, Fig. 563. Rothenstein Collection.



No. 302. p. 244. An artisan at his bellows. Artist Kehar Singh. Late Kangra Kalam of Sikh period. *Circa* 1875. Possession Author.



No. 303. p. 196. Jai Singh of Guler (1877-1884).
Late Sikh-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1880. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4.
Guler Darbar Collection.



No. 304. p. 196. Ragunath Singh of Guler (1884-1920.)
Late Sikh-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1890. *Marg*, Vol. 6, No. 4.
Guler Darbar Collection.



No. 305. p. 243. Sucet Singh of Jammu.
Late Sikh-Kangra Kalam. Dated 1839 A.D.
Boston Museum Catalogue, Pl. 123, Fig. DXCI.



No. 306. p. 243. Gulab Singh of Jammu.
Late Sikh-Kangra Kalam. *Circa* 1840.
Art and Letters, Vol. 25, No. 1 where incorrectly
described as Kharak Singh.



No. 307. p. 176. Abhisarika
Nayika. Kangra Kalam, some local
idiom. *Circa* 1825. *Art and Letters*,
Vol. 25, No. 1, and *Rupam*, No. 21.
Rothenstein Collection.



No. 308. p. 246. Caricature of Saints. Perhaps Kulu
school of 19th century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*,
Pl. 35 and *Lahore Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 11.

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