

# **THE SENTIMENTS OF LOVE**

A Selection of Indian Miniatures from the Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden – I.

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Text	Nandana Chutiwongs ©
Research	Debjani Paul-Gupta & Nandana Chutiwongs
Editors	Paul L.F. van Dongen & Mariëes Jansen
Photographs	Ben Grishaaver (RMV-objects)

Museum website	<a href="http://www.rmv.nl">www.rmv.nl</a>
E-mail	<a href="mailto:nandana@rmv.nl">nandana@rmv.nl</a>

## THE SENTIMENTS OF LOVE

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### Introduction

The material presented in this digital publications forms part of a collection of Indian miniatures, brought together during the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Jean Philippe Vogel, Sanskritist and archaeologist, a celebrated Dutch scholar and acknowledged expert on Indian culture.



Prof. Jean Philippe Vogel, Deputy Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Benmore, Simla, 1910 - 1911.  
(Collection Kern Institute)

### I. The collector and his collection

Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958), worked for the Archaeological Survey of India from 1901 to 1914, first as inspector of archaeology of the Punjab Circle, later as the Superintendent of the entire Northern Circle, and finally from 1910 to 1912 as the Acting Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. He went back to the Netherlands, to occupy the Chair of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology at the Leiden University from 1914-1939. Vogel conducted surveys and excavations in India for longer than ten years, produced an amazing amount of archaeological reports, articles and books on various subjects related to the archaeology and history of India<sup>1</sup>. His major works, especially the *History of Panjab Hill States*, written in collaboration with Hutchison<sup>2</sup>, and his *Antiquities of the Chamba State*<sup>3</sup>, remain important sources of information for scholars even today.

Back in the Netherlands, Vogel founded the Kern Institute for Indology in Leiden. He also established the celebrated series titled: *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, which has now received a new lease of life through the combined efforts of scholars in the east and west.

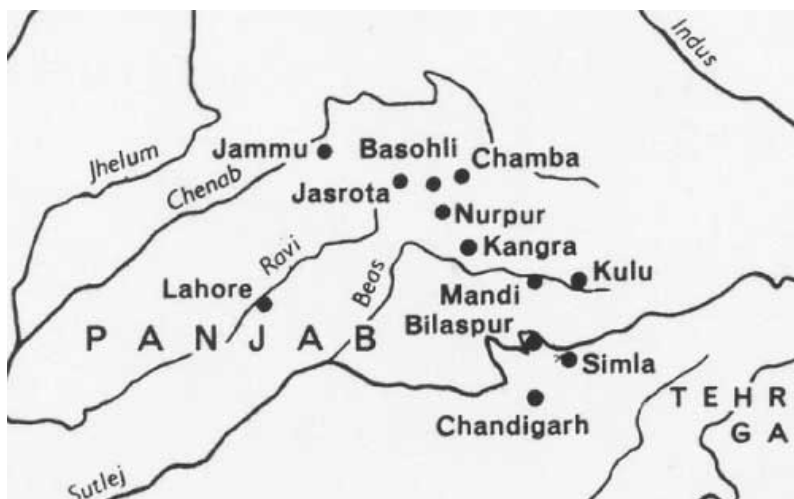
Vogel developed a great love for the Punjab, where he spent his tireless efforts bringing to light the archaeological remains and safeguarding its cultural heritage, by his extensive surveys, excavations, documentation and conservation. He was the inspiring force behind the establishment of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba<sup>4</sup>, where the cultural treasures of that Hill State were brought together under royal patronage, and where he is still remembered with much fondness and undiminished respect. It has been Vogel's life-long principle that objects of superior cultural importance, of high historical or aesthetic values, must remain in their countries of origin. Thus for example a large percentage of the fine miniature paintings in the present collection of the Lahore Museum<sup>5</sup> were also part of the fruits of his investigations and efforts for acquisition. His own private collection consisted mainly of the sketches and drawings that provided in particular the visual records of the artists' practice and their work process. Other items that were of especial appeal to his scholastic and personal interests, he picked up from local antiquarian shops and street bazaars, and were never of high commercial value.

Many pictures were cherished souvenirs, presented by his friends and colleagues, from those memorable days of hard work and pleasant sojourn in India.



Vogel and his wife on the back of an elephant in front of the palace of Mân Singh at Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh.

The Vogel collection in Leiden contains 150 drawings and paintings on paper. These are largely products of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century styles of the Punjab hill states, which are popularly known as '**Pahari miniature painting**' (*pahari* = 'of the hills'). Some other items reveal distinctive stylistic traits of the Punjab plains, especially of the region of Lahore and Amritsar, while a few came from Rajasthan.



Map of the Punjab area. (from Barrett & Gray, *Indian Painting*.)

Of this collection, a great number are sketches and uncoloured drawings, namely miniature paintings in different stages of production. Themes from **mythology**



Above: Shiva and Devi enthroned, Kangra/Mandi style, c. 1810-1830, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-34.

form an important subject matter, besides the episodes from the **Hindu epics**,



Above: Ramayana scene, Rama giving ring to Hanuman, Kangra style, ca. 1775-1800, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-7.

*puranas,*



Above: Scene from Devi Mahatmaya, Shiva's evening dance, Kangra style, c. 1780-1820, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-35.

and local *tales of valour.*



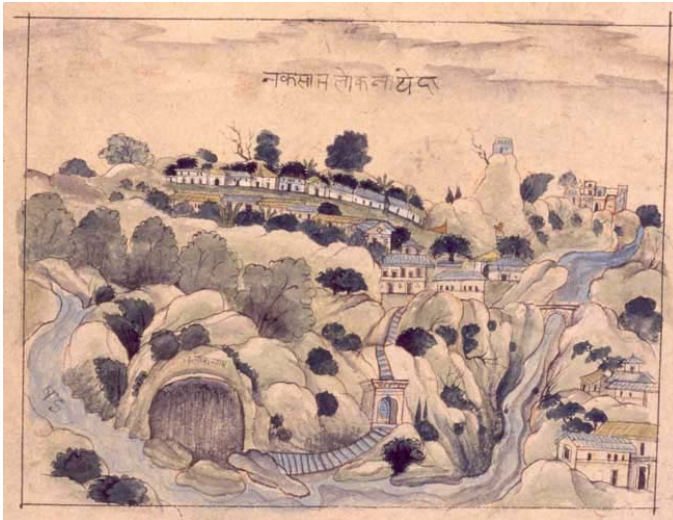
Above: Ballad of Hamir Hath, the retreat of the Sultan of Delhi, Kangra or Guler style, c. 1800-1820, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-49.

Many portray lyric scenes, inspired by romantic literature, a selection of which is the subject of the current production. Portraits of rulers and other *historical personages*



Portrait of Saran Singh, raja of Hindur, Hindur (Nalagarh) style, c. 1820, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-73.

constitute another group of items that strongly appealed to Vogel's scholastic sense, next to sketches showing idealistic views of historical sites and important **places of pilgrimage** in the Himalayas.



Trilokanath cave-temple between Nurpur and Kangra, Kangra style, c. 1840-1900, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-127(b).

Birds, Vogel's synonym, had a special fascination for him, and nearly a fourth of the collection consists of delightful sketches and drawings of the **birds of the Himalayas**.



Three species of Himalayan birds, Kangra style, c. 1800-1900, Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-121.

## II. PAHARI MINIATURE PAINTING

### A brief history

The tradition of Indian miniature paintings can be traced back a long way, although only a few examples of this art have been preserved from ancient times<sup>6</sup>. The miniature paintings were evidently used as illustrations for religious books, but this art must have also touched other aspects of life, including the beauty and joy of the transient world.

Even in those ancient examples of Indian religious art, sensuous beauty mingles with spirituality, thus asserting the inseparability of form from spirit, the understanding of which precedes the ultimate stage of spiritual liberation.

A new trend, which was to have far-reaching effects on the technique and character of Indian painting, began to flow into Buddhist and Hindu India in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, with the impact of the cultural tradition of the Islamic Middle East, especially from Persia. Persian painters were invited to work at the Muslim courts in India, new techniques and new themes were then introduced, and a successful synthesis of cultural and artistic elements emerged. The art of miniature painting in India, using the new mediums and techniques, was further enriched by imported themes and visions, to reach an unprecedented standard of refinement under the patronage of the art-loving emperors of the Mughal dynasty during the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Map of the Mughal empire 1526 -1707 (Source: Encyclopedia Britannica)

From the imperial court, the new artistic mode spread to every corner of the Mughal empire, where feudal rulers and governors began to vie with one another in setting up their own workshop. The courts of the Hindu Rajputs, rulers of Rajasthan and the Punjab hills, became important working terrain, and subsequently became the asylum to the Mughal-trained artists who had to flee from the imperial capital due to the drastic reinforcement of Muslim orthodoxy in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and again at the fatal Persian invasions of 1739. Various schools of miniature paintings then began to flourish in the Rajput states of the Western Himalayan foothills<sup>7</sup>. Basohli and Chamba became important centres by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>, but this art reached its highest peak of splendour under the patronage of the powerful *Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra* (1775-1823)<sup>9</sup>, whose political power and artistic taste dominated a large region of the Western Himalayas. A rapid decline set in after the reign of Sansar Chand, but some of its former glory lingered on throughout the new era of Sikh supremacy and through the British rule.

## Artists and Patrons

Pahari painting was essentially a court art, depending on the patronage of the ruling chiefs of the Himalayan hill states. Following the mode of the imperial Mughal court, the hill *rajās* strove to have their own collections of paintings, or even an atelier of renowned artists. Profiting from the gradual dissolution of the Mughal Empire, Sansar Chand of Kangra and other hill *rajās* asserted and increased their political power, to rise to the position that enabled them to become liberal patrons of art.

Names of artists and families of such artisans are now known, largely through genealogical records kept by priests at the centres of pilgrimage<sup>10</sup>. The best among them were those trained at the Mughal court, who later sought refuge and new patronage among the hill *rajās*. Some travelled from court to court, receiving large commissions at each, while others accepted a permanent settlement in the form of lands from their satisfied patrons. With the collapse of Sansar Chand's power, and with it the prestige and wealth of most of the hill *rajās*, the artists lost their principal means of subsistence. The militant Sikhs, who subsequently became the dominant power in the Punjab, had their own religion and a more sober way of life. Many court-painters and their descendants became impoverished craftsmen. Commissions were already scarce, when the disastrous earthquake in 1905 brought a deathblow to the economy of the hill countries. Some of the versatile artists, nevertheless, managed to maintain their traditional crafts, working on the satisfactions of the new patrons, namely the Sikh chieftains<sup>11</sup> and the British officers of the new Indian empire<sup>12</sup>.

## Material and Technique

Paper was the principal material used by the Pahari painters. Hand-made paper was evidently known in North India before the Muslim period, but became commonly used for illustrations from about the 14<sup>th</sup> century and after. Indian miniatures then began to abandon the limited space and framework of the traditional palm-leaf proportions, to acquire new formats. Gradually, dimensions of 30 by 10 cm became fairly regular, providing more space for meaningful details. Machine-made paper began to be introduced during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but paper apparently remained scarce in many areas. A great number sketches and preliminary drawings of the early 20th century Punjab have been drafted on the backs of used sheets.

In the early and the best periods of production, colours were obtained from mineral dyes, which required months of carefully grinding. Black, as an exception, was collected from burning oil-lamps. Synthetic dyes came into usage later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, producing harsh tints in contrast to the mellow colours of the natural pigments of the earlier times.

The paper employed in the best examples of Pahari miniatures was usually hand-made, which were carefully prepared and burnished smooth. The drawings were first sketched in outline, using red or ochre-yellow, and then corrected and finalised in firm black lines. The pictures were then covered with a thin priming of white, the outlines retraced and the colours applied. Uncoloured drawings are actually unfinished paintings in various stages of production, or trial sketches made by apprentices or by the masters themselves.

Frequently, the finished product has obviously been the work of more than one person, or even of a group. Unfinished paintings tell us much of the artist's talent and his work-process. These consist of trial sketches of varying qualities as well as those satisfactorily worked out models for the real picture. Dabs of colours and written words stating the colours and designs to be used, presumably served as a memory aid for the original maker of the drawing, and as well as a guideline for his associates, his professional successors, or whosoever it was to complete the picture. Such drawings, in many cases, would have been kept as prized possessions by successive generations of artists, to be copied or used as models time and again. Tracing, employing transparent paper or pouncing, were common techniques, as well as re-drawing by hand. Numerous drawings and paintings exist which could be ultimately traced back to the same model or parallel duplicates. In each case, the original compositions were retained, while modifications and fresh details were appended to create the desired effects and the right atmosphere<sup>13</sup>.



## Themes

Pahari painting is predominantly religious by nature, having its main contents adhering to sacred themes, namely representations of Hindu gods and goddesses, and scenes from Hindu mythology. Its most favourite subjects are drawn from the life of Krishna, the cowherd god and the incarnation of Vishnu, the divine protector of the Universe. Poets and painters dwell above all on Krishna's frolic sports and love-plays with the milkmaids



RMV 3025-25 (l.) and 60 (r.)

that have become impregnated with mysticism<sup>14</sup>. Episodes from the *puranas*, especially those that glorify Devi or Durga, the consort of Shiva and the personification of the female principle, frequently occur, side by side with events drawn from the national epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Moreover, Pahari paintings fondly illustrate every aspect of medieval Hindi literature, epic, lyric, musical and erotic. Scenes of valour, unfolding either legendary or local and historical deeds of heroism, enjoyed special favour among the valiant Rajput clans, as much as idealised portraits of the ruling *Rajas* and their illustrious ancestors. Configurations of musical modes, of various sentiments of love, ballads and romances taken from ancient and contemporary tales, formed part of the rich content of this art. Krishna subjects, known commonly as *Krishna Lila* predominate,



RMV 3025-22 (l.) and 26 (r.)

while the themes of love, inspired by the *nayakas* and *nayikas*<sup>15</sup>,



RMV 3025-57b (l.) and 52 (r.)

the *Baramasa* literature<sup>16</sup>,



RMV 3025-68

the *Bihari Satsai*<sup>17</sup>,



RMV 3025-58 (l.) and 56 (r.)

and such like,



RMV 3025-54 (l.) and 55 (r.)

enjoyed great favour.

Naturalistic drawings of animals and birds, of flowers and fruits also appeared frequently. Pahari painting presents in visual terms a world of fantasy, of mysticism and idyllic love, conceived in the sphere of chivalry and romance of the Rajput courts, but offers at the same time a glimpse of many delightful aspects of daily life and the natural environment in a most sympathetic way.

### Style and aesthetics

Pahari paintings represent a synthesis of classical Indian elements and the innovative trends introduced by the Mughals. It displays an unparalleled charm, which depends equally on the subjects and the modes of expression. Pahari paintings excel in the female figures, which were generally conceived as the embodiments of youth, beauty and emotive sentiment. Several physical types have been evolved in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The most characteristic and most favoured type of the Kangra style of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, nevertheless, sets the trend for practically all other styles of the same period and thereafter. This ideal physical type is slender and elegant, radiating infinite charm, sensitiveness and refinement.



RMV 3025-58 (l.) and 59 (r.)

Their delicate and fluid movements of irresistible grace, are further enhanced by the flowing lines of their drapery. The figures almost invariably appear in profile, which highlights the fine facial features and the character, and yet all are deliberately depicted in a simplified and abstract way rather than in realistic details. Feelings are revealed not by the facial expressions, but by gestures, by articulation and the stance of body and limbs.

Epic and romantic events unfold themselves with vitality, with chivalrous joy and mystic rapture dear to a Rajput's heart, against the background of nature, which is presented in a most sympathetic and romantic way, or against the setting of a fairy-tale palace of the Rajput court or a simple village yard. The colour-scheme, that was bright, vivid and contrasting in the early phase, became toned down in the style of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, to become soft, cool but brilliant and cheerful.



RMV 3025-70

This dominant type of colouring shows a perfect sense of tonality and a frank brilliance in its flatness and smoothness, applied not to create volume or shade, but to brighten the areas explicitly defined by clear outlines.

At the zenith of its refinement, Pahari painting presents a pure melody of flowing lines and glowing colours, breathing out a sense of space, tranquillity and poetic sentiment.



RMV 3025-68

Even the unfinished pictures and sketches reveal their own charms, in the free-hand movement of sensitive and spontaneous lines.



RMV 3025-56

Thin and swiftly applied dabs of faint colours, added here and there to guide the final composition, frequently enliven the unfinished pictures and give them an extraordinary opaque tint and a dream-like quality.



RMV 3025-70

Delicately drawn figures of heroes and heroines form the focus and pivot of the pictures. Their variant moods are expressed by the turn of their head, the stance of their limbs and the gestures of their sensitive hands. Besides, both animated and unanimated components of the entire surroundings are designed to reflect, or even emphasise, their moods and circumstances.

Nature, in particular, has a profound effect on man, and this perpetual relationship is constantly underlined. Seasonal changes, flowering or desolate landscapes,



Detail from RMV 3025-68

gathering clouds,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

rain, storm and flashing lightning,



Details from RMV 3025-54 (l.) and 52 (r.)

a dark wood glittering with fire-flies,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

a tree or trees entwined with creepers,



Detail from RMV 3025-26

birds gathering twigs,



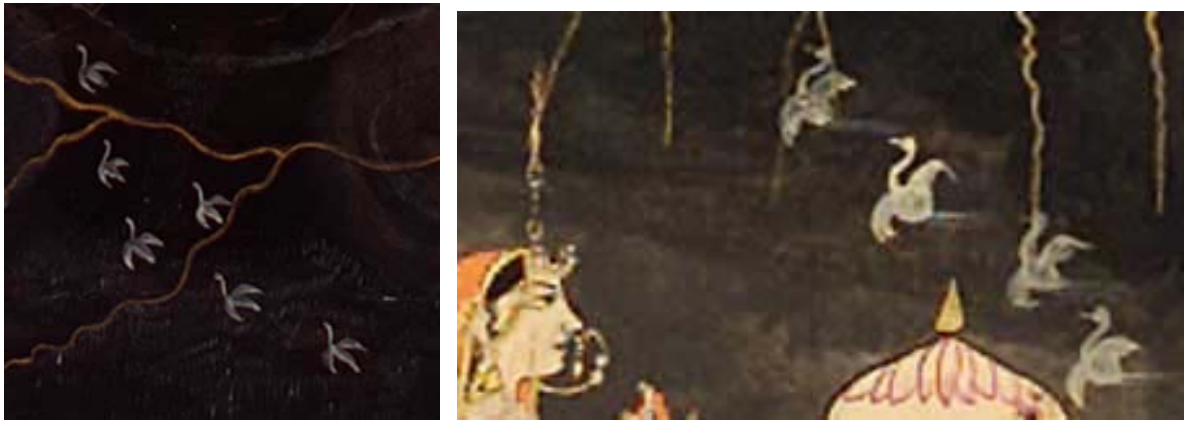
Detail from RMV 3025-22

a pair of doves,



Detail from RMV 3025-56

a flight of cranes,



Details from RMV 3025-55 (l.) and 52 (r.)

a perching *papiha*- bird,



Detail from RMV 3025-55

a lone peacock or loving pairs of them,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

all belong to the traditional Indian language of symbol, rendered in visual forms through these seemingly decorative details.

The same applies to man-made surroundings and their unanimated accessories.



A particular type of robe,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

the application of jewellery,



Details from RMV 3025-70 (l.), 59 (m.) and 26 (r.)

a reflecting mirror,



Detail from RMV 3025-70

a single cup of wine or two, or a tray of fresh fruits,



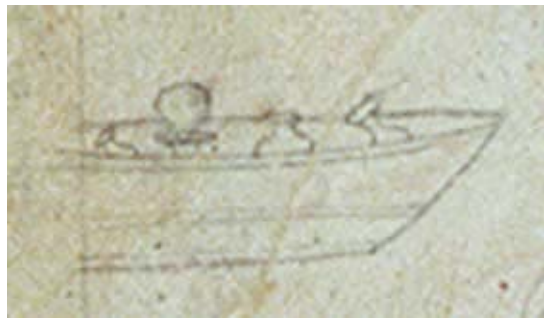
Detail from RMV 3025-70

a withered or freshly made garland,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

flasks of perfume and cosmetics,



Details from RMV 3025-59 (l.) and 26 (r.)

an open or closed door or shutter of a building,



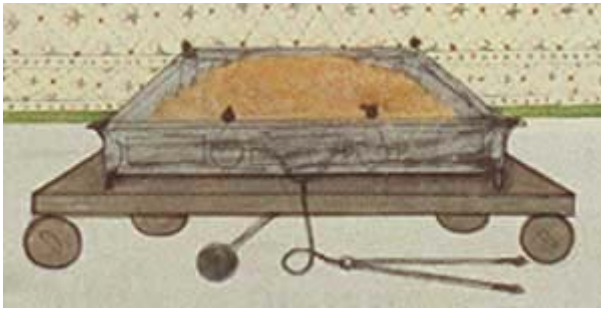
Details from RMV 3025-54 (l.) and 55 (r.)

a prepared bed,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

a smouldering brazier,



Detail from RMV 3025-22

all tell their story and intensify the moods of the main characters and the emotional atmosphere of the entire scene. The figures and their surroundings are thus one, united and complimentary to one another in their sentiments and in their aesthetic revelation.

### III. THE INDIAN CONCEPT OF LOVE

Love, one of the favourite subjects of Pahari painting, is invoked and portrayed in all its poignant aspects of pleasure and pain. Indian philosophy extols Love as a cosmic principle, being the cosmic desire and the first born out of the primeval chaos, emerging at the beginning of time to act as a catalyst in the universal process of creation<sup>18</sup>. Indian literature, both religious and secular, contains many allusions to metaphysical and physical love, as well as a wide range of sexual symbolism. Sexual pleasure has always been accepted as an essential aspect of human activity, for which provision has to be made in the scheme of existence. The *Kamasutra* describes and classifies manifold love-plays that would bring about maximum of sexual pleasure<sup>19</sup>. The appreciation of beauty of all kinds and the knowledge of the science of love, focusing on the capacity to give as well as to receive physical joy and happiness, are specially underlined in the treatises as essential assets of an educated person.

Jayadeva and other celebrated poets of medieval times elaborate the passion of the cowherd god Krishna and his favourite milkmaid Radha, and interrelate the levels of physical and metaphysical joy. Krishna's love with Radha is condensed into a religious ecstasy. His spiritual intimacy, which he had with an individual human being, simultaneously with all creatures in a universal scale, is expressed through the sensuality of his love with Radha. Krishna and Radha have been made the vehicles of erotic emotion, with all its joys and heartaches that ultimately lead to a blissful consummation of love. The aesthetic experience of this love is the means to break the imaginary barrier dividing the humans from the divine<sup>20</sup>.

Indian treatises on love and behaviours of lovers often consider Krishna and Radha as their idealised subjects. Poets and rhetoricians classify lovers (*nayakas* and *nayikas*) according to their temperaments and applied circumstances. The happy and unified lovers (*samyoga*) form one of the two broad categories, opposite to those suffering the pain of separation (*viyoga* or *viraha*). One often encounters Krishna and Radha in these roles of *nayaka* and *nayika*. In the same way, dainty women of frail beauty and willowy gaits, struck by love and by the variant sentiments of love, are also true reflections of Radha, the humble milkmaid and the beloved of God<sup>21</sup>.

## IV. VISUALIZING THE SENTIMENTS OF LOVE

### 1. Beauty is a Joy Forever



A scene inspired by *Bihari Satsai*.  
Kangra style, c. 1790-1800  
Line drawing on paper, with a thin wash of paint as a colour indicator  
22 x 16 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-58

Beauty is divine. The sight of true beauty can elevate the mind from its pettiness and everyday encumbrances, to the level of selfless adoration, which is close to human devotion to the divine. Such a situation is alluded to in verse 161 of *Bihari Satsai*, and also contained in this drawing:

“ Father-in-law entrusts the giving of alms to the daughter-in-law  
knowing that she has small hands,  
[But] the whole world, instigated by desire for beauty,  
came to her to ask [for alms]”

The drawing shows the lovely young bride moving timidly across the courtyard, carrying some alms in her dainty hands. The thrifty in-laws are seated in the house, writing and probably checking an accounts book. The setting is that of a well-to-do Indian house, with a fairly spacious courtyard in which two cows are peacefully resting. Mendicants and musicians throng at the gate. One of them, while receiving his tiny share of alms from her dainty hand, gazes intensely at her, amazed and stunned by her uncommon beauty. A musician has dropped himself in all humility and in adoration on the ground near her feet. Behind them, one notices a wandering ascetic and another man trying to push their way pass the gatekeeper into the courtyard. All, including the gatekeeper on duty, gaze at her, clearly enraptured by the mere sight of the young lady. Rumours had apparently been circulating around. Two men are seen beyond the gate, whispering to one another, while more people on the street seem to be purposefully making their way to this house to get a mere glimpse of this delightful vision of true beauty.

The elegantly drawn figure of the leading lady reflects all the grace and daintiness of the female sex, namely all the qualities that became highly idealised in the Kangra style of Pahari painting. The ethereal charm of the lady and the expressiveness of all other characters indicate the work of a master. This drawing was probably a prized possession of a practising craftsman, a model from which copies could be made to be completed with details and colours. The colour guides, given by casual strokes of opaque tints, enliven and enhance the charms of the picture.

## 2. Amorous Ambush



Krishna claiming a toll  
Garhwal style, c. 1785-1810  
Line drawing on paper, 14 x 24.5 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-25

Krishna the divine lover and an earthly incarnation the god Vishnu, spent his youth in the village of Gokul. Frolicking among cowherds and milkmaids, one of his favourite past-times was to accost the milkmaids on their way to the market with curd and milk, and playfully claiming a toll.

“ He embraces one woman, he kisses another,  
And fondles another beautiful one.  
He looks at another one with lovely smiles,  
And start in pursuit of another woman...”  
(*Gita Govinda*)

But this was merely a part of the “ sport of love”, mystically translated by Indian philosophers, song-writers and poets as the all-embracing love of God for all living beings. The love of Krishna is impersonal and universal, bestowed equally on all who love him. The tree entwined with creepers - frequently used in painting and literature as a symbol of erotic love – produces tender sprigs that bear the promise of blossoms. Krishna's turban and the girls' head-cloths are also adorned with delicate sprays of spring flowers.

The drawing style is bold and charged with ecstasy. The graceful human forms pulsate with vigorous life, health and blooming youth. Stylistically, the drawing reflects the trends of a workshop that developed around Mola Ram, a renowned poet and painter, who flourished at Garhwal between 1780 and 1833.

### 3. The Battle of The Sexes

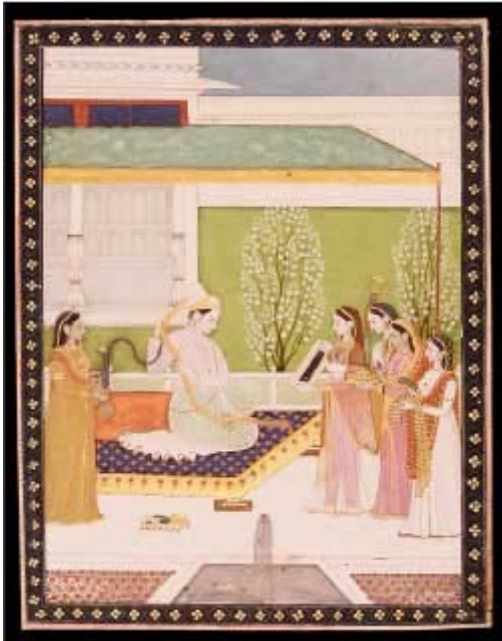


Krishna and Radha celebrating the Spring festival  
Chamba/Kangra style, c. 1780-1800  
Line drawing on paper, partly touched with water-colour, 24.5 x 19 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-60

A sham fight between the young men and women, using red powder, joyfully celebrates the Indian Holi Spring-festival or red coloured water (symbolic of life and procreation) as their weapon. This battle of the sexes, led by Krishna and his favourite milkmaid Radha, is shown to be in full swing. Krishna and his cowherd friends have invaded the ladies' residence to attack the inmates with syringes full of red coloured water. Radha and her companions, who have taken shelter in a building, throw down fistfuls of red powder at them. The men carry the powdered 'ammunitions' in the folds of their scarves, while large basins of supply stand in the courtyard ready to keep up the fight and the fun going for a long while. Excitement, pleasant anticipation, joy and romances fill the air. The happy and expectant atmosphere of Spring is further enhanced by the cluster of green plantain-trees, one of which is heavily weighed down with flowers and fruits.

The stylistic features of this drawing conform in general to the trends of Kangra, and yet a certain touch of robustness in the human form suggests an element of the painting style of neighbouring Chamba.

#### 4. Anticipating Romance



A preparation for rendezvous  
Kangra style, c. 1785-1800  
Coloured drawing on paper, 25 x 19.3 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-70

Idealistically conceived, as paragons of beauty and refinement, the princes and princesses remain favourite characters in Indian tales of love. This exquisitely drawn picture shows a young and handsome prince carefully adorning himself, while looking into the mirror and tying up a gold band round his turban. Five lovely maidens attend on him; one holds the mirror, while three others bring him the box of scent or jewellery, the crest ornament for his turban, his sword, the dagger and the golden scarf. The fifth maiden standing behind him has brought a *huqqa*-pipe. A golden plate of fresh fruits and dainty eatables stands in readiness near the canopied seat.

The scene is enacted on a marble terrace overlooking a green lawn, beautified by two blossoming trees. In the foreground of the symmetrically laid garden are rows of delicately drawn flowers, spreading out neatly round a spouting fountain. Stray blossoms float and move among the soaring jets of water. All elements contribute to a pleasant atmosphere fit for a happy rendezvous.

The theme of a prince or nobleman tying his turban occurs frequently in Indian paintings. It usually has a romantic connotation, suggestive of the preparative steps to lovemaking. The richness of the prince's garment, his carefully arranged ornaments, his jewelled sword and dagger, all point to his intention to appear in full splendour. His delicately patterned translucent robe provides the allusion to a relaxing, pleasurable and romantic occasion. The elegantly arranged seat, furnished with a bolster and a canopy, the tray of fruits and the prepared *huqqa*-pipe, all suggest that this rendezvous would probably take place on this beautiful terrace.

The figures are delicately drawn, the colours brilliant and clear, reflecting the style of Kangra at its best. The personal ornaments seem moderate, but exquisite and refined. Various shades of colours, expertly applied, glitter and blend harmoniously. The girls are given different shades of complexion, in addition to their multicoloured garments. Very fine lines mark out the decorative details of the architecture, of the frills adorning the canopy and the textures of the green lawn.



## 5. Pride and Penitence



The indignant heroine  
Kangra style, c. 1810-1830  
Line drawing on paper, partly coloured, 29.8 x 21.5 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-59

The distressed heroine sits on a terrace, helped by her maids to get ready for a rendezvous. Her bent head, downcast eyes and limp arms, however, suggest resentment and reluctance. An elderly maid, who is gently touching her arm, apparently begs her to relent and forgive her lover, who is shown calmly waiting for her in another building beyond the wall. The lady has apparently tossed the jars of perfume, lying pell-mell on the small table next to the cosmetic bowl and box, away in anger. A maid stands behind her, fanning and holding a folded cloth ready to refresh her mistress. The depressing heat was probably not so much due to the weather as to the lady's anger against her seemingly unconcerned lover. This is evidently cooling down, while her pride gradually gives way to penitence. She allows a maid to put on her anklets as the last touch of her toilet provisions, indicating thereby her readiness to go to meet him.

The attitude of the heroine conforms to the definition of '*Manini Nayika*', which covers a wide range of emotions such as pride, resentment, and jealousy, that may harden the heart of a woman in love. Since the beloved is around and she has agreed to go, the bent head in this case indicates the lingering stubbornness rather than any other emotion.

Dabs of colours give guidelines as to those to be used to complete the painting, while a line of writing records the instruction for the decorative patterns. In spite of its unfinished state, the thinly and swiftly applied colouring gives the scene an opaque tint and an extraordinary dream-like quality.

## 6. Quarrel and Reconciliation



Krishna and Radha  
Kangra style, c. 1850-1900  
Coloured drawing on paper, 25.5 x 17.3 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-22

Radha, Krishna's favourite, had spent a long night waiting for him in vain. Only in the morning did he come to tender his apology. By this time Radha's disappointment had turned into bitter anger, and she steadfastly refused to reconcile. Only at the end of the day, her anger became somewhat subsided. The scene could illustrate a verse from the *Gita Govinda*:

" As night came, he approached Radha  
Finding the force of her anger softened,  
Her face weak from endless sighing,  
At dusk she stared in shame at her friend's face  
As Hari (=Krishna) stammered his blissful words.'

The dark sky shown in the painting announces the approaching dusk, which has become even darker by the gathering clouds and pouring rain that hasten the white cranes to hurry homewards. Krishna, recognized by his characteristic blue complexion, bright yellow garments and peacock-feathered crown, has once again approached his offended mistress. Holding up a fresh garland of white jasmines, he humbly pleads for reconciliation and renewal of favour. Radha, leaning weakly on the bolster among faded leaves that were relics of her abortive wait of the previous night, still bends her head in stubborn anger. A confidante (*sakhi*) stands near her, pointing at the darkening sky and pressing her to give in to love and reconciliation, because:

" Strong waves of love throbbing in you  
Suggesting that you feel Hari's embrace  
Ask your rounded breasts if they wear  
Seductive pearls or drops of pure water !  
Madhu's tormentor (= Krishna)  
Is faithful to you, fool  
Follow him, Radhika (=Radha) ! "  
(*Gita Govinda*).

Krishna has apparently prepared for a night of passionate rendezvous in the building shown in the foreground of the painting. The door of this stands suggestively open, and a bed strewn with flowers has been prepared in the room upstairs. The setting, however, is that of a luxurious mansion and not the idyllic wood of Brindaban, as described in the *Gita Govinda*.

The theme of the "offended heroine" is also a favourite subject, which appears time and again in Indian poetry and in the paintings of the Panjab hill states, as being part of the eternal love-play that keeps the world turned.

The style of the painting keeps to the traditions of the late 18th century, and yet the figure style and details of jewellery indicate the mode of a much later time.

## 7. The Ecstasy of Love



Krishna combing Radha's hair  
Kangra style, c. 1800-1810  
Line drawing on paper, 16.8 x 11.1 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-26

Another intimate moment of Krishna and Radha, his favourite. The gentle act of combing the hair and adorning the beloved with jewellery are suggestive of a tender aftermath of lovemaking and the prolongation of ecstatic delight. Indian poets fondly dwell on this subject:

' My ears reflect the restless gleam of doe eyes, graceful Lord.  
Hang earrings on their magic circles to form snares for love.  
She told the joyful Yadu hero (Krishna), playing to delight her heart.'

' Pin back the teasing lock of hair on my smooth lotus-face !  
It fell before me to mime a gleaming line of black bees.  
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart..".

'.. Her yellow-robed lover  
Did what Radha said...'  
(*Gita Govinda*).

The setting is that of a clearing in the woods, on the banks of the river and far away from the city. The couple is positioned near a tree, which is entwined by a creeper, in the company of a pair of gentle-eyed cows and an inquisitive bird. The earrings and most of the jewellery are already in their place, and the divine lover is now gently combing the long locks of his beloved. She keeps looking at his handsome face, which is mirrored in the jewel of her ring - a frequent theme in love-poetry. A tray lies nearby, containing small jars, which might have contained perfumes, or perhaps curd, which never reached the market. The time could have been either early morning when the cows are still slumbering and the birds have not left their nest, or late in the evening when the cows and birds are preparing to sleep.

The drawing is vibrant with life and spontaneous charm. The flowing and sensitive lines combined with the elegant poses bring out in full the beauty of the human forms, aglow with ecstatic joy and tenderness resulting from the fulfilment of love.

## 8. Heartache in Springtime



Lovers bidding farewell  
Kangra style, c. 1800-1820  
Fully coloured drawing on paper, 26 x 18.8 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-68

This painting forms part of a series portrayals of the twelve Indian months (*Baramasa*). The first month of Chaitra (March/April) marks the Spring and the beginning of a new cycle of life, when nature wakes up from a long slumber and blossoms forth to the great joy of man and animals. Nevertheless, Chaitra also announces the season for travelling, thus bringing with it the pain of separation from the beloved. A pair of lovers sits on a marble terrace overlooking the flowering Spring landscape. The sky is pale blue, and the meadow yellowish green with young blades of grass. Birds fly in pairs, carrying twigs to build their nest. Young girls and boys meet and linger happily near the village tank where they have come to fetch water, but amidst all these joyous happenings, a traveller is seen in the field-bidding farewell to his family.

The lovers on the terrace, while breathing in the exhilarating air of Spring, yet appear to be sad and arguing, as shown by the delicate gestures of their hands. The handsome hero, clad in the typical attire of a Rajput nobleman, complete with sword and shield, has made himself ready to depart, and is gently taking leave of his beloved. The lady, on the contrary, keeps on arguing and is desperately persuading her lover to stay. The eloquent words of the poet Keshav Das describes her feelings in a heart-rendering way:

" Lovely creepers are in bloom, blossoming trees  
are young once more,  
And streams and lakes are full of flowers.  
Women, aglow with passion, dressed in their best,  
Abandon themselves to sports of love.  
The parrots, the *mainas* (=starling) and the *koel* (= cuckoo)  
are singing songs of love.  
Why think of going away, why spoil the joy  
in the month of Chaitra, my love ? "  
(*Kavipriya*)

This painting, moreover, has subtly added yet another poignant note to the lovers' pain. The attire of the young husband, equipped with sword and shield, implies his going to war. This, following the traditions and code of honour of the valiant Rajputs, meant either life or death to both of them.

## 9. Desolation



Deserted young bride consoled by a maid  
Kangra style, c. 1785-1800  
Line drawing on paper, 25.6 x 15.5 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-57b

Drawn on the reverse of no. 13, the drawing was apparently from the same hand. The desolate heroine is shown in despair, bending her lovely head and hugging herself in misery, listlessly ignoring all events of the world. A confidante, obviously an experienced old servant, tries to comfort her. The verse written above the scene records a dialogue, in which the older woman tries to assure the young bride of unchanging love of her absent lord, but the girl still feels sad and distraught, wondering: 'Shall I ever see my love again ?'

The scene, visible through an arch, is positioned on a terrace overlooking a great lake, in which a number of ferryboats with passengers are in view. Placing a number of mountain ranges on different planes expertly creates a sense of depth and of space. Clusters of trees and cities are seen in the background, drawing the eyes across the distance and over the water. The lines are eloquent, delicate but firm, successfully bringing out in visual terms the enchanting beauty of the heroine, the vulnerability of her youth and the depth of her unconsolated despair.

Many depictions on the same theme are encountered in Pahari paintings, and yet this uncoloured drawing, with its highly sophisticated simplicity and economy of lines, can be considered as being one of the best among them.



## 10. Bribing the Cranes



A Lady watching the lightning and the homing birds  
Kangra style, c.1850-1900  
Fully coloured drawing on paper, with an accompanying verse on the fly-leaf,  
22.1 x 14.88 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-52

The lovely and exquisitely dressed heroine stands on a balcony, in front of the open door to her apartment. Leaning and supporting herself against the wall, she raises her pearl necklace to her lips while looking at a row of white cranes and flashing streaks of lightning in the dark sky. The flowering bushes near her balcony indicate the season of Spring. The accompanying verse reads:

" In the month Chait (Chaitra = March/April),  
The young lady looks at the cloud formation.  
She raises the pearl necklace to her mouth  
and feels sad."  
(translation D.F. Plukker).

The Spring rain in the month of Chaitra, which annually wakens the world to life and love, also brings about the sad separation of lovers. The row of flying cranes, commonly seen in the rainy season, also alludes to wandering travellers. Desolate women in love bribe them with their pearls, to stay. The scene depicted is a faithful rendering of a popularly known verse:

" Ascending the balcony,  
regarding the clouds,  
the flashing and moon-like woman  
holding before her face the necklace of pearls,  
" Stay, O stay," she prays the cranes !"  
(translation A.K. Coomaraswamy).

## 11. Fondling the Doves



Pensive and lovelorn heroine  
Chamba style, c. 1790-1810  
Line drawing on paper, 18.8 x 15.5 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-56

A lonely lady sits in a pensive attitude, fondling idly a pair of doves. Undoubtedly, the spectacle of a pair of birds, stirs up the thought of love and longing in her mind. Verse 665 of the *Bihari Satsai* echoes the sad contemplation of the heroine:

" Your garments are your wings,  
Your food grains,  
You are always together with your mistress,  
My dove, my bird  
You alone are happy in this world. "

The drawing is composed of superbly drawn lines, fluent, firm and clear. There are no indications of the artist having to correct or redraw them. The wholesome feminine form reflects the traditional Indian ideal of beauty and sensitive charm, enhanced by the elegant gestures and expressive postures of the body, limbs and hands. Certain robustness in the structure of the figure suggests the style of Chamba.

## 12. The Storm of Separation



A lady braving the storm and the rain  
Kangra style, c. 1820-1850  
Fully coloured drawing on paper, 29.7 x 24.4 cm.  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-54

The Spring rain, accompanied by a storm, has descended with full force on the earth, bending and crushing the flowering shrubs. The heroine, caught in this torrential rain, attempts to cover her head and maintain her balance, while rushing towards a shelter.

The accompanying legend: ' *Virahini Nayika* (= Abandoned heroine), detaining the opposing rain', refers to her brave efforts to bear the devastating pang of separation, alluded to by this heavy rain and storm. The pathos of her apparent vain effort and unhappy result is further emphasized by the emptiness of the shelter she is heading to.

This is a popular theme of love and heartache that has found many delightful expressions in Indian literature and Pahari paintings. A verse from Bihari's *Ratnakara* describes the emotion of such a lovelorn lady:

" Oh Beloved, the fire of separation is unique,  
it is inexhaustible. It increases if there is a shower  
of rain; its fierce flames are not extinguished even  
when there is a heavy downpour."

The painting shows a well-conceived composition, along with lively animated lines and fine decorative details. The frail and delicate form of the beauty in distress, moving along bravely on her slippered dainty feet, is made to glow brilliantly against the background of a dark sky. Shown to be bending and be blown in the same way the flowering twigs and grass blades are crushed by the merciless natural forces, she like them, would also finally manage to survive the onslaught of the Spring rain and the overpowering inner pain.

### 13. The First Drops of Rain



The hopeful heroine watching the clouds and cranes  
Kangra style, c. 1785-1800  
Line drawing on paper, accompanied by verses, 37 x 27.3 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-57a

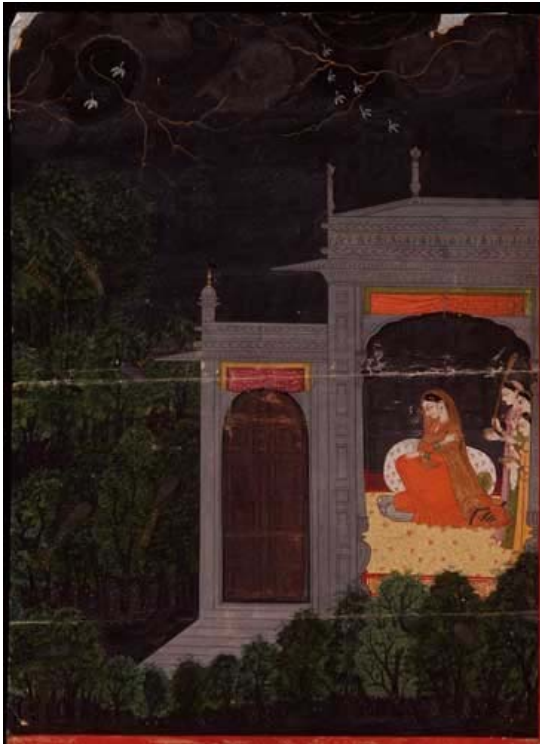
A drawing on the same sheet as no. 9, and apparently by the same capable hands. It shows a lovely damsel standing on an open balcony, holding a *huqqa*-pipe while raising her hand to her head in a wondering gesture. She also gazes at the dense cloud-formation and the flying cranes, hopefully expecting rain. A lone peacock perching on the roof of the other building also looks up expectantly for the first drops of the monsoon rain. A couple of maids standing below have already provided themselves with an umbrella in anticipation. The atmosphere is charged with expectations. The metaphor of a desolate lover seeking the news of the beloved from the clouds, as immortalised by Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (Cloud- Messenger) of the classical period, continues to be a favourite theme in Pahari paintings. Besides, the continuous rumble accompanying the dark clouds announces the rainy season, the happy time when travellers are expected home. The expectant heroine gazes hopefully at the horizon, and prays to the lightnings and leaden clouds for the safe and speedy return of her beloved.

The legible lines of the accompanying writing read :

" The clouds, O Lady Friend, have appeared,  
replete with heavy rain of all sides.....".  
(translation D.F. Plukker)

The drawing, composed of firm and fluid lines, shows an exceptionally high degree of skill and perfection. It could have served as a model for many drawings and paintings, which were finished by various hands and are known to us from a number of collections.

#### 14. The vigil through the Night



The heroine waiting for her belated lover  
Kangra style, c. 1800-1810  
Fully coloured drawing on paper, 37 x 27.3 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-55

Conforming to the definition of a '*Prositapatika Nayika*' of Indian poetry on love, the heroine is here waiting with the intensity of longing for the return of her lover. The appointed time has passed, but he has not yet returned. The desolate lady sits in the company of her maid-attendants, but in the attitude of sadness and longing, hugging herself to ease the aching pains of the heart. The door of the mansion is now closed, since the appointed time has come and gone. The dark clouds, the flashes of lightning and the flights of the cranes announce the rainy season, the time when travellers should return home from abroad. The solitary *papiha*-bird, seen perching on the gate and looking intensely into the dark and rainy night, reflects the longing and anxiety of the heroine. The flickering lights of the fireflies in the dark wood, nevertheless, mirror the lingering glow of hope  
The painting appears to be a fairly close rendering of verse 137 of Bhartrhari's classical work:

" Flashing streaks of lightning,  
Drifting fragrance of tropical pines,  
thunder sounding from gathering clouds,  
Peacocks crying in amorous tones -  
How will long-lashed maids pass  
these emotion-laden days  
in their lover's absence ".

That this agonising vigil will subsequently end in a happy reunion is suggested by the presence of many pairs of peacock, the bird which is associated with the sun and light, shown in the dark wood surrounding the mansion.

## 15. Domestic Bliss



A hill-state chieftain and his bride  
Guler style, c. 1800-1850  
Coloured drawing on paper, 19 x 12.5 cm  
Vogel Collection, RMV 3025-76

A *raja* of a Panjab hill-state shares a happy and intimate moment with his beloved. Sitting comfortably together in the cosiness of their inner chamber, he tenderly holds her hand, while looking fondly into her eyes and smoking contentedly. She responds with a rather shy, but loving and trusting gaze. The colour of her red gold-lined garment suggests that the wedding ceremony has just been concluded, and the large chest standing nearby, probably contains the bridal dowry. A brazier with glowing coals standing in the foreground implies a cold season, and reinforces at the same time the human warmth, which permeates the scene.

The theme of a *raja*, or a householder, enjoying the company of his beloved in the intimacy of their inner chamber, reflects the ideal domestic bliss, peace, security and contentment, that belong to a happily married life – the ultimate consummation of human love and romance.

“ Here is Love’s enchanted zone  
Here Time and the Firmament stand still  
Here the Bride and Bridegroom  
Never can grow old.  
Here the fountains never cease to play  
And the night is ever young.”  
(Sawant Singh, *Raja* of Kishangarh)

Details of the background seem to have been left out intentionally, to make the elegant and colourful figures stand out distinctively within the simple frame formed by a marble arch and geometrically patterned drapery. Fine decorative details of the carpet, of the *Raja*'s shoulder-cloth and the lady's ornaments follow the style of early 19th century Guler.

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## VI. GLOSSARY

### **Arjuna**

Third of the five Pandava brothers ; a leading figure in the *Mahabharata* epic.

### **Baramasa**

'The Twelve Months'; a cycle of poems describing the feelings and behaviours of lovers during each of the twelve months.

### **Basohli**

A Punjab hill-state; an important centre of Indian miniature paintings.

### **Bhartrihari**

Author of a number of lyric poems, probably from the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Bihari Lal**

A 17<sup>th</sup> century Hindi Poet; author of the *Bihari Sat Sai* and *Ratnakara*.

***Bihari Satsai*** 'Hundred Songs of Bihari', the most famous work of Bihari Lal.

### **Chamba**

A Punjab hill-state ; an important centre of Indian miniature painting

### **Devi**

'The Goddess', wife of the god Shiva, the Universal Mother and personification of the female principle.

***Devi Mahatmaya Purana*** A religious work, especially glorifying Devi.

### **Durga**

A destructive form of Devi.

### **Garhwal**

A Punjab hill-state.

### **Gita Govinda**

'The Song of the Cowherd'. Poem in Sanskrit by Jayadeva (fl.1180-1200), recounting the love of Krishna and Radha.

### **Guler**

A Punjab hill-state; an important centre of miniature painting.

### **Hamir Hath**

'The Pride of Hamir'. A ballad in Hindi describing the siege of *Raja* Hamir Dev of Ranthambhor in Rajasthan by *Sultan* Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi.

### **Hanuman**

A monkey chief with supernatural power who assisted Rama in his battles with the demon king of Lanka.

**Hindur** A Punjab hill-state.

### **Huqqa**

Smoking pipe of elaborate structure.

### **Jayadeva**

A celebrated poet of 12<sup>th</sup> century, author of the *Gita Govinda*.

### **Kalidasa**

A great poet and playwright of Indian classical age (c.5<sup>th</sup> century), author of the *Meghaduta*.

***Kavipriya***

'The Poet's Breviary', a love-poem by Keshav Das.

**Keshav Das**

A renowned poet of late 16<sup>th</sup> century; author of the *Kavipriya* and *Rasikapriya*.

***Kiratarjuniya***

'Arjuna and the Mountaineer', a Sanskrit work describing the encounter and fight between Arjuna and the god Shiva in disguise as a mountaineer.

**Kishangarh**

A state in Rajasthan, an important centre of miniature painting.

***Krishna Lila***

'The Sports or Dalliances of Krishna', a term particularly applied to his amorous behaviours with Radha and the milkmaids of Gokul.

***Mahabharata***

'The Great Wars of the Bharatas'; an epic-poem, relating the wars between the sons of two brothers, the Pandavas and the Kauravas.

**Mandi**

A Punjab hill-state.

**Manini nayika**

'The Proud Heroine', a term covering many unhappy types of *nayikas*.

***Meghaduta***

'The Cloud-Messenger', a poem by Kalidasa.

**Nayaka and Nayika**

'Heroes and Heroines', forming a favourite subject of Indian love- poems.

**Nurpur**

A Punjab hill-state.

**Panjab/Punjab**

'Land of the Five Rivers', the region comprising the Western Himalayan foot-hills.

**Papiha**

Crested Indian cuckoo, frequently used as a symbol of love and longing.

**Prositapatika nayika**

'She who frantically awaits the over-due return of her lover'.

**Purana**

Ancient religious works, containing accounts on cosmogony, cosmology, genealogy and exploits of the gods and the semi-divine dynasties that ruled the earth.

**Raja/Rajah**

A ruling king or chieftain.

**Rajasthan**

A dry zone in Western India, another stronghold of the Rajputs.

**Rajput**

War-like dynasties, famous for heroism and strict code of honour; the warriors either won the war, or died on the battlefields; their wives followed them in their death.

**Rama**

Seventh incarnation of Vishnu and the personification of righteousness and virtue.

***Ramayana***

'The Adventures of Rama'; an epic-poem describing the exploits of Rama, in quest of his wife Sita, abducted by the demon-king of Lanka.

***Rasikapriya***

'The Lover's Breviary', a love-poem in Hindi by Keshav Das.

**Samyoga**

'Union', a term applied to the happy categories of united lovers.

**Sawant Singh of Kishangarh**

A great patron of art and fervent worshipper of Krishna.

**Viraha/Viyoga**

'Separation', a term applied to the unhappy categories of desolate or abandoned lovers.

**Virahini nayika**

'Abandoned' or 'desolate heroine'

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For an almost complete list of Vogel's publications, see K.W. Lim, The Writings of Dr. J.Ph. Vogel, *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. 27, nos. II-IV, pp.17-47.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hutchison & J. Ph.Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Government Printing, Lahore 1933.

<sup>3</sup> J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba States*. Part I, Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadan Period, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XXXVI, Calcutta 1911.

<sup>4</sup> For this see J. Ph.Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, Calcutta, 1909.

<sup>5</sup> See F.S. Aijazuddin, *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum*, London, 1977, especially p. XXI.

<sup>6</sup> Among these are fine 11th –12th century manuscripts from Northeast India, see D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Indian Painting*, New York, 1978, pp.51-54; J.P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, London, 1982, pp.18-36; P. Pal, *Indian Painting*, A catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection, vol. I, Los Angeles, 1993, pp.43-73; W. Zwalf, *Buddhism, Art and Faith*, London, 1985, nos. 62, 81. For illustrated manuscripts from 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century Western India, see Gray and Barrett, *Indian Painting*, p.54; Pal, *Indian Painting*, pp.77-149.

<sup>7</sup> For the most comprehensive works on Pahari painting see K. Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958; and W.G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills: a survey and history of Pahari miniature paintings*, London, 1973.

<sup>8</sup> See Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, pp.16-52, 63-91.

<sup>9</sup> See M.S. Randhawa, Maharaja Sansar Chand, the patron of Kangra painting, in *Roopa-Lekha*, vol.32, no.2, December 1961, pp.1-30; and Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, pp. 249-252.

<sup>10</sup> See B.N. Goswami and E. Fischer, *Pahari Masters*, Court Painters of Northern India, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* XXXVIII, Zurich 1992; and V.C. Ohri and R.C. Craven Jr., Painters of the Pahari Schools, *Marg*, vol.50, no.1, September 1998.

<sup>11</sup> See W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs*, London 1966; J.S. Grewal, The Sikh of the Punjab, in *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. II, 3, Cambridge 1990; and S. Stronge (ed.), *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms*, London 1999.

<sup>12</sup> See M. Archer, *Company Paintings*, Indian Paintings of the British Period, London, 1992.

<sup>13</sup> For more information on material and technique see A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Cambridge Mass., 1926, Part V, pp. 20-22; Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, pp.247-255.

<sup>14</sup> See W.G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry*, London, 1957; M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda*, New Delhi 1963; B. S. Miller, *Love Song of the Dark Lord, Jayadeva's Gitagovinda*, New York, 1977.

<sup>15</sup> See Bahadur, K.P., *The Rasikapriya of Keshavadasa*, Delhi, 1972; Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 64-68.

<sup>16</sup> See V.P. Dwivedi, *Baramasa – The Song of Seasons in Literature and Art*, Delhi, 1980.

<sup>17</sup> See G.A. Grierson, *The Satsaiya of Bihari*, with a commentary entitled the *Lalacandrika*, Calcutta, 1896; and A.N. Jha, *The Veiled Moon*, Translation of *Bihari Satsai*, New Delhi 1973; M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai*, New Delhi, 1966.

<sup>18</sup> See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised ed., London, 1967, pp. 317-318.

<sup>19</sup> See I. Sinha, *The Love Teachings of Kamasutra*, London, 1980.

<sup>20</sup> See W.G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry*, London, 1957; M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda*, New Delhi 1963; B. S. Miller, *Love Song of the Dark Lord, Jayadeva's Gitagovinda*, New York, 1977.

<sup>21</sup> See M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Painting on Love*, New Delhi, 1962; H. Bach, *Indian Love Paintings*, New Delhi, 1985.