Whatever the significance of the portraits of hill Rajas with Vaishnava tilaka or performing puja, there seems to be little doubt, as Dr. Archer suggests, that these were "only a fraction of the themes portrayed." This, because, in the great majority of instances, "the pictures had an altogether different function — the illustration of Hindi and Sanskrit poetry. Themes were drawn from the Hindu classics — the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and some of the Puranas, and even more significantly from the Gitä Govinda of Jayadeva and the general literature of love."

When one is considering illustrations to text of religious significance one is in fact faced with an embarrassing profuseness of material. Nearly all writers have pointed to the intimate connection between the various schools or styles of paintings in the hills and the subject matter which they treated of. The Krishna Lila, or the themes from the Gitä Govinda and the Bhagavata Purana have received careful treatment.

1. Indian Painting in the Paniab Hills. 5.
either in general works collectively or in separate monographs. This has led even more to the popular mind now beginning to associate Pahari Painting with little else than illustrations of Vaishnava texts of these descriptions. There is no gainsaying the fact that the painter drew very considerably from these texts, leaning very heavily upon these themes and he has produced large sets of illustrations. To some of the principal these sets attention is drawn below. But before this is done certain other matters require brief consideration.

From the 17th century, with which we associate the beginnings of this art in the hills, even if we take the usually accepted date of Raja Kripal Pal's reign as marking this beginning, there is not available a single set of illustrations of a text that can properly be called Vaishnava. We have seen above, the possibility of the beginnings of the Pahari painting going back to the 2nd quarter of the 17th century or thereabout but even then one does not come upon any illustrations to the texts with which one becomes so familiar in the 18th century and, of course, in the first half of the 19th. There are no illustrations to the Bhagavata or

1. Most of the monographs and albums have been brought out by the National Museum or the Lalit Kala Akademi. Full details of these are given in the bibliography.
the *Ramayana* or even the *Gita Govinda*. All that we have from this period is stray isolated pictures, some of Vaishnava interest, but mostly portraits. The only set in fact which can be said to come from the 17th century quite clearly, because it is supported by a dated colophon, is that of *Chittarasantari* of Bhanudatta (see fig. 39). Much has been written about the sets of paintings of this theme, and of the colophon of one of the sets which dates it to 1694-1695, and mentions the name of the artist as Devidas, and the place of its painting as Basohli. Dr. Randhawa has written exhaustively on this theme only recently, and has brought together illustrations from all the three different sets of the *Rasamanjarí*, one of which may be said to date from 1680, because it is earlier than the 1684-95 set, and the third which Dr. Archer places in Nurpur and dates in the beginning of the 18th century, perhaps about the year A.D. 1720. But however much Krishna and Radha may appear in the illustrations of the

1. Among the earliest notices of the set was by Dr. Niranjana Shestri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-Illustrations*. The colophon was discussed there for the first time; also see, *Khandalavala*, P.M.P., 63-66.


Rasamanjari and Krishna assume the garbs of a loyal or deceitful lover, or however much the celebration of the passion of love may be found in the poetry, of Bhamdatta, the fact remains that the Rasamanjari is not a Vaishnava text. It is essentially and primarily a text on rhetoric and is one of the earliest, considering that it was written perhaps in the 14th century, of texts in Sanskrit or Hindi dealing with the theme. If Krishna and Radha appear repeatedly in these pictures and become a language of love they have become the archetypes not merely in the hills but elsewhere in India equally. Whenever a lover has to be referred to, he is cast in the mould of Krishna, and when a beloved is thought of, Radha naturally comes to the mind. This is a development, however, which, it must be emphasised, arose in the plains and is not peculiar to the Punjab hills. In texts on rhetoric it is often not the painter who conceives the navaka and nawika as Radha and Krishna but, as in the case of the Sati Sal of the Bihari, the composer who does this. When he thought of fidelity he thought of Rama, the rasa of shrngara put him in mind of Krishna and Radha; renunciation often reminded him of Shiva. If Radha and Krishna came in more often than the others, then it is because shrngara is the rasa that interests him the most. The close following of text of the verses left the painter quite often with
no choice. He was after all giving visual form to the verses.

A fact of interest about the Rasamanjari itself that needs to be mentioned is that not only are there illustrations of verses with Radha and Krishna as the characters, there are others. The anukula nayaka is visualized as Rama, for example. Again, where the text demands it, Shiva and Paravati are brought in. Consider, for example, the painting in which Paravati standing in her pyjama, sees herself reflected in the moon that rests on the brow of Shiva who stands outside. Seeing the reflection, she takes it to be the figure of another woman and chides Shiva for being unfaithful to her, raising a hand dramatically in remonstrance. There is, then, the illustration of the verse in which the Sakhi cuts a joke with Sita, asking her to name "the seventh" (incarnation that is Rama), and Sita replies by pointing to a drawing of Rama on the wall instead of uttering the name of the husband. Of even greater interest is the fact that the verse with which Rasamanjari opens is really an invocation to

1. Hep. in Roopalekha, XXXVI, 1 & 2, 96.
3. Ibid., XXXVI, 1 & 2, 92. Rama and Lakshmana also appear in another painting of the Rasamanjari. Ibid., XXXVI, 1 & 2, 113.
Shiva. A painting of this theme reproduced by Dr. Randhawa from the collection of the Raja of Lambagraon clearly shows Shiva and Parvati. The Rasamaniari is not really, in the sense in which the Bhagavata or the Ramayana are, a Vaishnava text.

While one is on the subject of the 17th century, paintings, attention needs to be drawn perhaps to two paintings which are apparently early and which may possibly belong to a set of illustration of the Dashavatara, or the ten incarnations of Vishnu. One of these (see fig. 40) is a scene representing the bending of the bow by Rama. In its style the painting is close to the picture of Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur paying homage to Vishnu and Lakshmi. The drawing of the figures, the colour scheme, the format, and the general feeling are indicative of this link. Early date is suggested also by the manner in which architecture is treated as much as by the female figure, in this case Sita, who peeps from behind a cloth-screen on the upper storey. The painting has a naive directness about it. The artist has not made any attempt here to show the grandeur of

1. Roopalekha, XXXVI, 1 & 2, 7.

2. Chandigarh Museum, No. 1358. The painting has come from the Mankot collection.
the court of Dasratha, or the scene of the \textit{Svayamvara}
by placing Sita in the midst of a bevy of maidens
holding a \textit{mala} in her hand, as is usual. He has, with
great economy, abbreviated the whole scene. The four
brothers appear at the right of the picture, led by
Rama who is bending the bow. In their middle is their
guru, Visishtha. Just outside the 'palace' at the
left is the figure of Dasratha, who holds a garland in
his hands. The figure of Sita on the upper storey is
again not in conformity with the general way in which a
scene of this sort was painted. A painting of this very
theme reproduced by Dr. Archer shows the contrast
between the two treatments. But then this is quite
possibly an early painting. In theme it is not
apparently a part of Ramayana set, but of a \textit{Dasa}
\textit{Avatara} series. Our view gets some strength from
another picture which is stylistically closely allied
and which is also from the Mankot collection, showing
the \textit{Vamana} incarnation. In this the dwarf appears at
the left; the gift of "three-steps" of land is being
made by him by Raja Bali who is pouring water out of a
vessel in the traditional manner. Behind Bali, trying

1. Reproduced in Archer, \textit{Kanora Painting}. Also
   reproduced in Khandalavala, \textit{P.M.P.}, Plate \textit{a}.
2. Chandigarh Museum, No. 1836.
vainly to restrain him is Shukracharya who knows the truth about the disguise adopted by Vishnu. In that painting again we have perhaps an early work from the hills. And if these two are connected, as they appear to be, there are reasons to believe that they are part of a set showing the ten incarnations in a simple hieratic manner.

On the subject of the ten incarnations, one has very interesting evidence in some other works. In the Rasamanjari, illustration cited above, where a dialogue between Sita and a confidante of hers is shown, the sakhi asks the question playfully, because she knows that Sita cannot utter the name of her husband, to name "the seventh". But, sealed as her lips are, by convention, Sita does not utter the name of Rama; she simply turns and points to a drawing on the wall which shows the Rama incarnation. On the back wall of this loggia, in different panels, are drawn all the ten Avatars shown in a series beginning at the left. There is clear indication here of the practice in the hills of the ten avatars or other themes being painted on the walls, a practice which may safely be said to belong to a date earlier than the date to which we assign the Rasamanjari paintings. It is not without significance that most of these pictures are elaborately
caste inside a frame of a scalloped, pointed arch, reminding one of the early series of portraits briefly alluded to above, in which the Rajas appear in a balcony with this kind of arch. One cannot unfortunately see all the ten details of the ten incarnations in the Rasamanjari painting clearly, even though one can recognize them; yet the similarity between the frames of the early portraits and the ten incarnations that we see here is at least intriguing.

In yet another set of paintings, the famous Gita Govinda of 1730 by Manaku, we have a similar situation. Here (see fig. 41) the poet Jayadeva is shown, in what must have been one of the first paintings of the whole series, bowing in person to Vishnu. This is a representation of the stutl of Vishnu by the poet. Vishnu is seated inside a loggia and at the back of the wall of the loggia are, once again, drawings of all the ten incarnations in a series beginning at the left. These drawings are extremely delicate and have a fineness of quality which is striking. All of them have iconographical details which are quite easily recognisable. This panel is entirely appropriate to the scene, because the Gita Govinda

begins with a Dasa Avatara/Varananam. The actual paintings, which are of the same set as the Gita Govinda itself, are also in existence. But the artist, in this case, thought it fit to point to all the ten incarnations of Vishnu in a picture in which the poet himself appears.

These are interesting facts, pointing to an early tradition. When we move further into the 18th century and then into the 19th, there is a great profusion of material on this theme. We are not always able to find these paintings in full sets, but it is possible to recognize single paintings forming parts of a set of this description. A complete set of Avatars, would, really speaking, consist of twenty-four incarnations, but these are seldom portrayed in their entirety, the smaller version of the ten incarnations being preferred. In rare cases, however, we do see all the twenty-four incarnations, as, for example, in the frescoes in the Brijrajswami temple. For many years we were used only to considering these frescoes in Nurpur as treating of the exploits of Krishna. But the recent restoration and cleaning of the walls by a team sent by the Archaeological Survey of India has revealed paintings

1. The paintings are popularly called "Kansa ka Akhara". See, Goswamy, "Golu, the Nurpur Artist", Marg, XVII, iii, 62.
which were not known before. In a long panel running above the door on the ground-floor of the temple, are all the twenty-four incarnations in a series. Here, in fact, there are, in case any doubts were left, inscriptions in Takri giving the names of the various incarnations.

When we enter the 18th century, we find ourselves in a period rich in illustrations of sets. Among the very first sets of Vaishnava significance from the hills, may be a set of Ramayana paintings which has survived only in fragment and some leaves of which are in the Chandigarh Museum. This set has not received much attention, except only very recently, but there is little doubt that it belongs to the early years of the 18th century on grounds of style. There are no extraneous indications, like a colophon of the date of the set. But quite clearly in its style it is related to the famous Cīta Govinda of 1728; this set is, however, stylistically earlier and can be therefore be placed in the first quarter of the 18th century. Even though we do not have many leaves,

1. These were seen by the present writer in May 1967, sometime after the cleaning done by the Archaeological Survey team.


these Ramayana paintings leave a deep impress on the mind, because of this intensity of feeling. The compositions are extremely simple, but bold; the drawing is vigorous; the colours are deep and vibrant; and there is tremendous movement in some of the scenes. In a scene, for example, like Rama killing a demon, there is great power. With an economy which the artist used here to superb effect, we are presented with a painting which is more than an illustration: it is an independent visual entity.

In this series of the Ramayana paintings are certain scenes which show the architecture of Lanka. Lanka appears here as golden, as envisaged by Valmiki and Tulsi Das; in this set we also notice the characteristic treatment of the figures of women. Quite clearly the set which Dr. Coomaraswamy ascribed to Jammu, and which has come to be called, "the siege of Lanka", is related somewhere to the present series in the Chandigarh Museum. The date given to the "siege of Lanka" pictures by Dr. Coomaraswamy, A.D. 1630 or so, is not considered to be tenable any more by most scholars. Those pictures new to the 18th century, though to which part of it scholars are not

3. Dr. Archer places these pictures in about A.D. 1720, while Mr. Khandalavala places them in the 2nd half of the 18th century.
agreed about. They may be related to the present pictures from the Chandigarh Museum because some of the compositions are derived. But one cannot be too certain. In any case the leaves just discussed appear to belong to the very first series of *Ramayana* paintings from the hills of which we have any knowledge at present.

Although one cannot be certain about the date of the large *Ramayana* with "Siege of Lanka" pictures, its importance and beauty cannot be denied. Dr. Coomaraswamy referred to it "as a series unique in size ... and historical importance, strong in colour and bold but not refined in draughtsmanship, and recalling the mural art from which it undoubtedly derives". It is a series which does not leave one unaffected both because of its unusual size and because of the undoubted feeling, which belongs to some of the leaves. In the scene, for example, of Rama encamped before the city of Lanka with the army of bears and monkeys, Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed to "vivid realisation on the part of the artist of the


descriptive passages in Valmiki; yellow or tawny, and some white with coppery faces, "innumerable groups going to and fro, leaping and resting by turns... long-tailed, roaring like mighty clouds, irresistible as tigers... these are gazing upon Lanka, as if to lay her waste... and these whom thou seest here, like mighty banks of sable clouds, like dark collyrium, puissant, innumerable, dwellers in the mountains in the countryside and by the rivers, these dread bears are marching..." This series might originally have consisted of a hundred or more sheets although only a few have survived.

Another and quite extensive set of the Ramayana from the Punjab hills is the one which is now associated with Shangri, once a part of the Kulu state. This series is now mostly in the National Museum at Delhi. The set was formerly in the collection of Raja Raghuvir Singh of Shangri but was acquired in 1962 for the National Museum from the dealer. There are as many as 168 pictures which are in the National Museum now. But the importance of the Shangri Ramayana, does not lie in its numbers. Crude as the style may

1. The paintings were acquired through the art-dealer, C.L. Naulakha. Two leaves had earlier been acquired by the National Museum in 1947 from Mr. B.N. Treasurywala.
sometimes be thought to be, and unsophisticated as
the expression superficially may seem, there is a
great deal of intensity which belongs to some leaves
of the Shangri Ramayana. The colours, and the quality
of drawing, add to this feeling. There are in it
naturalistic features like trees and foliage, but
it remains essentially a statement of primitive
strength. The faces of some of the figures, including
those of Rama and Lakshmana, remind one very strongly
of some Kulu kalam pictures, but in the set also there
appear to be two or more sub-styles. There is one
which is refined, and another that may be called "rough"
or primitive. At their best, the Shangri leaves evoke
great feeling and are among the most vigorous paintings
of this theme from the hills. The date of the Shangri
Ramayana cannot be easily ascertained. What one
depends upon is a leaf at the back of which there
is an inscription which mentions one Kapurgiri of
Mandi and the year Samvat 41. This has been interpreted
as being the year of the Shastra Samvat which
would give us the year 65, possibly meaning

1. See, e.g., Randhawa, Basohli Painting, pls. 16, 17, 18.
2. Khandalavala, P.M.P., 94.
1765. But this is by no means final; even the inscription is not necessarily directly related to the production of the Ramayana set. The fact that Kapurgiri is mentioned as being in the town of Mandi raises some further doubt whether we are right in believing this date as being of the execution of the series. The set may well be a little earlier than that in date.

The Shangri Ramayana set apart, another set to which Mr. Khandalavala has drawn attention is in the Sir Goswasjee Jahangir collection, Bombay. Mr. Khandalavala has stated that this set is dated A.D. 1769 because this date (V.S. 1826), he says, appears at the back of each leaf of the set. This is a circumstance, which in itself, extremely suspect, because such a practice was entirely unknown in the hills. For an artist to date one leaf of a set was enough sometimes; it is nearly inconceivable either for the artist or the patron to put the date of the set at the back of each painting of the series. But apart from this circumstance, the intrinsic evidence of the style of the Ramayana, illustrations clearly

1. The use of the Shastra Samvat always introduces an element of vagueness. In this case even the word "Shastra" has not been employed so that we are not certain whether this does refer only to the Shastra or Sapt Rishi era. The inscription does not relate directly to the Ramayana set. It only mentions these two lines, forming the dhvanya, having been inscribed by Gosain Kaper Giri in Mandi Town.

2. Khandalavala, P.M.P., 144-145.
raises a point. The style is much too late and decorative, even stilted, to belong to a period as early as A.D. 1769. The paintings may belong, in fact, to the early years of the 19th century rather than to the sixties of the 18th. The colouring of these paintings, as also the stunted figures, the extremely ornate treatment of the trees, the thin beaded border, etc., are all evidences that point to a late date for this set. In style, the set is relatively inferior and is more or less a mechanical production.

The most complete set of Ramayana illustrations is of a date as late as A.D. 1816 (See fig. 42). This is the set of nearly 700 paintings in sanguine by the artist Ranjha, son of Nainsukh, executed by him in the reign of Raja Bhupendra Pal at Basohli in the year A.D. 1816. Fortunately the entire set is intact and is now in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. The drawings are essentially preliminary, original sketches rendered in a free hand and yet one can see that the artist here was able to command a sure line and had a fluency in of drawing

1. For a discussion, See. B.M. Goswami, "The Artist Ranjha and a dated set of Ramayana drawings", scheduled for publication in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Golden Jubilee Volume.
which excites admiration. Two circumstances connected with this set are interesting. The colophon in the hand of the Kashmiri Pandit, Sudarshan, ends with words of 1 prayer to Shiva, which comes as a surprise on a Vaishnava text. Then, in a drawing showing Rama in the forest, we find Lakshmana roasting on iron-rods over a fire some pieces of deer's flesh and then feeding them 2 to Rama. This little detail, however, insignificant it might appear, is worth remarking because no such reference to the eating of flesh by Rama is found in Valmiki. Indeed it would be wholly inconceivable in relationship to a Vaishnava deity. And yet the artist has introduced what might be called an "irreligious" detail probably from his own experience of everyone in the hills eating flesh freely.

3 Dr. Coomaraswamy has reproduced one or two half-finished paintings of the Ramayana in his Catalogue also. These may well have been based upon the drawings of Ranjha. Their size is very nearly the same as those of Ranjha's namunae. And the treatment of architecture as also other details like trees and flower beds are very similar.

1. Bharat Kala Bhavan, No. 2702.
2. Ibid., No. 259.
In the Chandigarh Museum are some leaves of a 1
Ramayana set which were acquired from Nalagarh. But
these are late pictures, quite possibly in the hand
of an artist who derived most of the inspiration from
earlier sets. The most original statements in the
series of the Ramayana paintings from the hills remain
those made by the artist who painted the 1720 set in the
Chandigarh Museum, the "Siege of Lanka" series, and the
Shangri Ramayana of possibly the first half of the 18th
century.

The second major set of the 18th century from 2
the hills is the famous Gita Govinda which carries
an acutely controversial inscription. The inscription
is in the nature of a colophon and mentions the year
1730 as the year of completion. It also refers to the
artist whose name, in view of the latest opinion given
on the subject, can finally be taken to be is quite
clearly Nanaku. The place of execution of the set is

1. See, Chandigarh Museum, Nos. 1024-1038.

2. From the time that Mr. H.C. Mehta first discussed
this set and its colophon, much has been written
about these paintings. The controversy centred
first around the date, then around the point whether
the name Manaku in the inscription was of the
artist of this set or his lady patron. Dr. Archer,
in his introduction to Randhawa, Kanora Paintings
of the Gita Govinda, has given the latest and the
most definitive view on this subject.
not given, but it is generally assumed to be Basohli, largely because the paintings are in the Basohli style. In a strict sense, perhaps, the *Gita Govinda* is not a Vaishnava text, because the contents of the great work of Jayadeva are essentially poetic and literary rather than religious. There is no denying that there is a *stuti* of the ten "*avatara*" in the beginning, nor any denying that profuse references to devotion to Krishna are made. But perhaps it was the *bhakti* of later generations, and the form that Vaishnavism took under Chaitanya in Bengal, which are responsible for seeing more in the *kavya* than was perhaps originally intended by Jayadeva. The lyric content of the poem is, in any case, superb and for the reasons that it celebrates the loves of Radha and Krishna, even if it does not spring from an essentially religious inspiration, it is significant from the point of view of the present study. An interesting aspect of the present set is that the colophon mentions the patron as an "*sriabhakta*" i.e., "devotee of Vishnu". The Basohli *Gita Govinda* appears

1. "... Jayadeva, like Vidyapati, was chiefly and essentially a poet.... It is not our purpose to deny Jayadeva's Vaishnava leanings, which are too obvious to be ignored, but we should like to emphasise the point that as a poet it was probably not his concern to compose a religious treatise in accordance with any particular Vaishnava dogmatics." S.K. De, *Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement*, 10. Again, "... many of the sequences in the poem read like Vatsyayana's Book of Erotics versified." Krishna Chaitanya, "The Flute and the Palette", *Cultural Forum*, IX, No. 1 & 2, 35.
to have been quite extensive and a fairly large number of its leaves have survived. Many of them are in the Chandigarh Museum, some are in the Lahore Museum, now, and others in some public and private collections. In style this set is closely related to, and possibly a development from, the Ramayana set of Ca. 1720 which we have just considered. The place of painting of this set does not concern us here, but stylistically the set belongs to a complex of sets which needs to be taken into account together and which will be briefly referred to later. The colours of the Basohli Gita Govinda are hot and brilliant, the drawing is sure and vigorous again, and there is genuine feeling in some of the pages. The accent is, however, on love more than it is on bhakti, if the two can be disassociated from each other at all in Vaishnava belief. The fact that the artist goes into intricate details of physical congress (see fig. 43) between Radha and Krishna, the fact also that he takes the slightest opportunity to venture into establishing physical connection of this

1. For a discussion of this and related see, see, Goswami, "Fahari Painting, the Family as the basis of Style".

2. See, e.g., Chandigarh Museum, No. I.72.
sort, leads one to believe that the artist is also, in a sense like the poet, using the poem more or less as a pretext for celebrating love, not necessarily divine. It was of course convenient for him, because the poet had done it, to cast the lover and beloved, in the mould of Radha and Krishna, but he is producing here what is more or less a treatise on love. Mr. Barrett does not rate the *Gita Govinda* paintings very highly. "There is little feeling in these pictures and no movement", he says, although he concedes that "the grouping and the colours in the best of them are magnificent. Before a dark lit back cloth, glimmering trees and a thin line of white sky the figures of Krishna and his lover pose and cluster with grave and intent faces as if arrested in the performance of some elaborate masque. The muted landscape and the glint of the dark green beetles wings give an air of the evening to the most successful pages". At its best the *Gita Govinda* set is highly evocative of the passion with which the poet has infused his verses and this, from the point of view of the appraisal of the set, is saying a great deal. Because the poem of Jayadeva is a frank celebration of passion.

In the *Gita Govinda* set there apparently is some evidence of a movement towards naturalism, a movement

which becomes more and more intense as we move further into the 18th century. Some experiments are made and a great degree of fluency of expression is achieved. But this concerns matters of style, and not strictly speaking, the content of the pictures.

Shortly after the production of the 1730 *Gita Govinda* set, there is evidence that at least some leaves of the *Gita Govinda* were painted in a style which is only slightly removed from it, in the direction of further naturalism. One of these leaves is in the 1 National Museum, New Delhi and the other in 2 Bharat Kala Bhavan. In these we find a greater attention paid to architectural details; the artist is also rendering the figure with more vividness, not really treating them as visualisations of iconic formulae.

But whether this was a complete set or not, we cannot be certain about in the absence of evidence. There is indication that some leaves of the *Gita Govinda* were painted in other styles also which cannot be easily 3 identified. Some of the paintings in the Chandigarh Museum, thus, appear at first sight in the illustrations of the *Rasamanjari*, but they really are illustrations

1. Rep. in Khandalavala, P.M.P., No. 34.
2. Bharat Kala Bhavan, No. 168.
3. See, e.g., the painting rep. in *Cultural Forum*, IX, No. 1 & 2, fig. 20.
of the *Gita Govinda*.

The second great set, dealing with the same theme, comes from the third or fourth quarter of the 18th century. This is the great set which is in the collection mostly of the Tehri Garhwal darbar at the present moment. Some magnificent examples from this series have been published by Dr. Randhawa in his monograph on the subject. There have been some other publications treating of this also. And in all these one bears witness to the superb skill of the Kangra artist not only in creating a magnificently haunting landscape and making it the backdrop of the love of the divine pair but also in investing everything with a persuasive, quiet charm which has rarely been exceeded. Whether it is Krishna painting the bindi on the forehead of Radha, or "Radha embracing the darkness of the night", or Radha and her confidantes listening to the footfalls of Krishna (see figs. 44, 45) as he invisibly approaches: the artist is able to conjure up here a world suffused with tenderness.

"What Chinese art achieved for landscape," as Dr. Coomaraswamy wrote of Rajput Painting, "is here accomplished for

1. Kangra Painting of the *Gita Govinda*.
human love. Here if never and nowhere else in the world, the Western Gates are opened wide. The arms of lovers are about each other's neck, eye meets eye, the whispering Sakhis speak of nothing else about the course of Krishna's courtship, the very animals are spellbound by the sound of Krishna's flute, the elements stand still to hear the Ragas and Raginis.

The *Gita Govinda* from Garhwal shows clear dependence upon the set of 1730 even if it appears to be a far more suave and lyrical version of the poem. Its compositions are often borrowed from the *Gita Govinda* of 1730. There are some paintings, in fact, in which if one only makes allowances for the landscape which has become more naturalistic and lush, one sees an identical placing of the figures and other details like gestures. There seems to be little doubt that the two sets are, somewhere, connected.

There are some pictures which have come out of the Lambagavan collection, and are a part of *Gita Govinda*. The paintings of this series show a relatively lower level of achievement than the Garhwal set, but not without their own charm, especially in the matter of the luxuriance and richness of the forest and the landscapes.

1. Some of these are in the Chandigarh Museum.
The artist is able to bring about an affinity between the feelings of Radha and Krishna and the divine sentiment of their love on the one hand and the loving forms that the vernal foliage takes. Symbols abound and the paintings exude a great deal of tenderness.

When we come to the illustrations of the Bhagavata Purana proper, "that great repository of Vaishnava legend", then we are in the heart of the theme of Pahari painting as it has generally been understood to be. For here we deal with the Krishna Lila. In the illustrations of the Bhagavata Purana we do not only see the childhood of Krishna and his exploits as a youth; we also have a host of other legends connected with him. The tenth and the eleventh skandas of the Purana are obvious favourites. This, because they yield to the artist the opportunity for narrating the sports of Krishna in great and loving detail. But our first acquaintance with the Bhagavata Purana set in the 18th century is with the earlier skandas. Closely connected with the 1730 Gita Govinda, but the marking a degree of development further away from it in the direction of more naturalism, are some paintings of nearly the same form and a slightly larger

1. For a discussion, see, B.N. Goswamy, "Pahari Painting: the Family as the basis of Style".
size, which are now scattered over many collections. Mr. Milo Beach has recently drawn attention to some of these leaves in the Boston Museum collection pointing out their connection with some other sets. There are a few leaves of this series in the Chandigarh Museum also. In these seem to be close to the 1730 Gita Govinda although we are already a step removed from it because there is greater freedom and more of naturalistic detail in the landscape, and the faces show a distinct softening. The scenes are not very familiar because the first few skandas of the Bhagavata Purana have not often been painted, or at least in the Punjab Hills. When one comes upon, therefore, scenes like Swayambhu Manu with his daughters, the birth of Kapila-Narayan (see fig. 46) king Prithu chasing the cow, or the Prahetas levelling the forest, one strives for a moment to place these exactly. These are the only paintings of these themes that were apparently ever painted. But they form very much a part much of the Purana which is much larger than the tenth and eleventh


4. Beach, op.cit., fig. 3.
These skandas give the artist the opportunity of bringing in very dramatic moments (see fig. 47). In a magnificent page of the series in the Chandigarh Museum, a battle between the Boar incarnation of Vishnu and a Rakshasa under the waters is shown. It is a scene of tremendous power in which the demon and the deity are to attack each other summoning all their miraculous powers making the heavens yield missiles and thunderbolts of every description. In the painting there is a grandeur of conception and an epic quality which are not often found. This set may well belong to a decade between 1730 and 1740 although one cannot be certain, but it was apparently never completed, for there are many unfinished drawings of the same series which are also available.

Only a little later we have the illustration of the tenth and eleventh skandas in paintings of a large size and rendered in the Guler-Basohli style. Paintings of this set have only recently started attracting the notice that they deserved. But there we have a magnificent

1. Chandigarh Museum, No. F.131. The photograph included here, fig. 47, is of the same series and episode.

2. Some of these drawings are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. See, e.g. No. 882. The art dealer, P.R. Kapur, had also with him many other drawings of this series according to Rai Krishna Das Ji.

3. See, B.K. Goswamy, "Pahari Painting: the Family as the basis of Style". A large number of paintings of this series were sold at a sale at Sotheby's a few years ago.
series in which presages, in a great degree, the achievement of the famous Bhagavata set upon which some of the fame of Kangra painting is taken often to rest. At their best, these leaves are of a superb quality, full of tenderness and power alike. This set is widely scattered now. There is only a single leaf of it in the Chandigarh Museum; many pictures are in private collections including those of Dr. and Mrs. W.G. Archer, and Macdonald. It is difficult to get together the material for the proper study of this set of illustrations, but the paintings do clearly deserve pointed notice.

The famous Bhagavata from Kangra is again somewhat dispersed. Many of its leaves were formerly in the collection of Mr. Jugmohandas Mody of Bombay, but these were later acquired by the National Museum. There are others in different collections, both public and private. It is this great set, which at its finest possesses a haunting quality of melting tenderness, which becomes, in the years between 1770 and 1795 or so, the great achievement of the Pahari painting (see fig. 48). The exquisite loveliness of the female forms in this, the rendering of the landscape, and of effects of moonlight, the vivid naturalism, and above all the

1. Chandigarh Museum, No. 6.79.
2. Rep. in Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting, Nos. 67-72.
3. Some of the best paintings from this series are rep. in Randhawa, Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana.
evocation of the mood of the great text have all been
the subject of much comment and appreciation. When
Dr. Archer speaks of the loves of Krishna finding
their "most exalted expressions" in the art of the
Punjab hills, he clearly has a set like this Bhagavata
Purana in his mind. The "unearthly radiance" of the loves
"threaded
of the divine pair, and the forests thick with phases of
passions" lead one to that magic world of Dr. Coomaraswamy's
description in which "all men are heroic, all women are
beautiful and passionate and shy, beasts both wild and
tame are the friends of man, and trees and flowers are
conscious of the footsteps of the Bridegroom as he
passes by." Here is a world "which is not unreal and
fanciful but a world of imagination and eternity, visible
to all who do not refuse to see with the transfiguring
eyes of love."

There are, apart from this Bhagavata set, other
series of Bhagavata illustrations. There is an extensive
one from Mankot, probably of the first or second
quarters of the 18th century. One leaf of it was

1. Archer, The Loves of Krishna, 93.
2. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, I, 7.
reproduced by Dr. M.S. Randhawa in his *Basohli Painting*, but the full set deserves to be more widely noticed. The Mankot artist, painting as he did with directness and passion, conjures up images of great power occasionally. In a remarkable scene in which the infant Krishna is whisked away into the air by the demoness, the artist creates a painting which can only be described as a diagram of force (see fig. 49). In some of the paintings there is a quality of sweet nobility, even if some lack of the sophistication of the later sets from Kangra or Guler.

From Chamba in the hand obviously of a local family of artists, is another extensive set of the *Bhagavata Purana*. This is in a very distinctive hand and is quite large. The figures of Radha and Krishna appear in this as relatively short, and on the whole there is a certain hardness in the design which belongs to characteristic Chamba work of the middle of the 18th century. From Bilaspur, in the collection of Svetoslaw Roerich, comes another *Bhagavata*, a leaf of which bears the name of the artist Kishanchand. Many pictures of this set have not been reproduced, but the set indicates the prevalence of the theme in,

3. See, Khandalavala, *P.M.P.*, 110, and figs. 43, 44, 47. These paintings are in the S. Roerich collection.
and illustrates the style of, the Bilaspur region, which in itself is a matter of some importance. From Kulu comes another extensive series of Bhagavata illustrations. More appropriately they should be called illustrations of the Harivamsa which is a late appendix to that great epic, the Mahabharata. But the themes are essentially the same as in the Bhagavata. The style of these pictures is very distinctive again, and has virtually nothing to do with the style of the Shangri Ramayana which is also from the Kulu region. These leaves are relatively small, and have narrow but elaborate borders which remind one either of painted designs on wood or of feathers on a peacock’s tail. The figures are slightly wooden, and have small round faces; the treatment on the whole is highly stylised and shows a locally developed manner. But the designs in many of these pictures are, however, beautiful as, for example, in the scene in which Krishna swallows the forest fire (see fig. 50). This set was produced by the artist Bhagwan for Raja Pritam Singh of Kulu in about the year A.D. 1794. But apparently this was not the only set which was produced in this style at that time.

There are numerous paintings which might conceivably belong to sets of illustrations of the Bhagavata Purana.

1. There are more than thirty paintings of this set in the Chandigarh Museum. See, Nos. 1280, 85, 86, 87, 88, 101 etc.
3. See, Jagdish Mittal, "An Illustrated Manuscript of Madhu-Malati and other Paintings from Kulu," Lalit Kala, Nos. 3-4.
but might also be only isolated episodes from the Krishna story. To another category belong several sets of illustrations of texts which are not primarily religious. Many of these are essentially Pauranic legends or romances which are only remotely connected with a Vaishnava theme. It is not to be denied that Krishna or Rama, or some other familiar characters from the Vaishnava lore, figure in these legends, but their purpose essentially is to tell a story, not necessarily devout in intention. Among these, for example, would be the Bhagavata story of Usha-Aniruddha which is a great favourite of the Pahari painter (see fig. 51). The story, in all its dramatic and intimate detail, is told at length in various sets. There is the well-known set of this theme in the Chamba Museum which Mr. Khandalavala has ascribed on relatively inadequate evidence to the artist Ramlal. Dr. Coomaraswamy has referred to several paintings of the Usha Aniruddha theme in the Boston Museum Catalogue also. There is an extensive, if rather late, set of the theme which has come from the Sedhi Family of Rupat. This set, which has not received much

notice, is in the hand of the artist Suchu whose name appears in the colophon of the set. The quality of this set is definitely inferior to that of the Chamba Museum, but the battle scenes are well rendered and the artist is able to bring in a lot of commotion, into his leaves. A matter which needs to be pointed out in the context of paintings, of the Usha theme is that the artist's primary interest is in the scenes of battle with which the story teems. There is no religious feeling in these leaves. The inscription is clearly different. Another small set, small because the story is not very extensive, deals with the illustrations of the Rukmini Narana episode. In this the story of the abduction of Rukmini by Krishna and the fight that follows is told in great detail but again the artist's interest is in the dramatic content. There are many sets of this theme, some rather early. The leaves in the Chandigarh Museum have come from Guler (see figs. 61,52). The set continued to be of interest to patrons of the XIX century Punjab, and one complete set is in a private collection at Delhi.

1. The colophon is in Gurmukhi and the artist's name figures quite clearly in it.

2. Chandigarh Museum, Nos. 429,430,431,477,478. Also see Nos. 870,871,872,891.

3. The collection of Col. and Mrs. Sahai.
A legend which is illustrated in an early style, possibly of the 2nd quarter of the 18th century, is that of Parijat-Nagana in which Krishna brings the Parijata tree from the heaven of Indra to appease Satyabhama, his consort. The Parijat series of pictures in the Chandigarh Museum is not large but it is in a style which is quite distinctive and does not easily fit into Mankot or Basohli painting as we know it. The Krishna-Sudama story is another favourite but this also becomes in the hand of the artist a straight narration, not a devoutly religious tale. Apart from the well-known sets in many collections, there is a complete series in the family of Shri Jagannath Upadhyaya of Basohli.

Another story that we encounter in the paintings of the hills is of Nala and Damayanti; Mr. Eastman who has devoted a monograph to the Nala-Damayanti drawings in the Boston Museum has convincingly shown that these illustrations are not of the story in the Mahabharata, but are based on the famous Sanskrit kavya, Naishadhiya Charita of Sriharsha. He has been able to demonstrate that the drawings stop at a point at which the poem also stops and some of the details

1. See, e.g., No. 1351. A Painting from the Lambagraon collection, of the same theme, is reproduced in Randhawa, Basohli Painting, pl. 15.
3. This set was seen by the present writer at Basohli in May 1966. It is entirely intact.
which do not occur in the Nala Damayanti legend in the **Mahabharata** find a place in the drawings and there very closely tally with the text of Sriharsha's poem. For many years scholars had proceeded on the assumption that the Nala Damayanti set consisted only of drawings but the discovery of fully painted pictures illustrating the earlier portions of the poem, in the personal collection of Dr. Karan Singh, has changed the situation a little. These paintings are in the high Kangra style, and are possibly of the same set to which the drawings belong, because the drawings take over from a point at which the paintings cease.

The **Mahabharata** is possibly too enormous an epic for it to have been completely attempted by any Pahari artist. For our purposes, strictly speaking, it does not even fall under the category of Vaishnava literature, because as Mr. Hopkins has shown convincingly that it is at least as much Shaiva as Vaishnava in its contexts. No single large set of the **Mahabharata** come to light yet, but small groups of some treating of the Krishna story, are occasionally seen. There are some in the collection


Another series of sets belong to the category of which the Rasamanjari really belongs: texts on rhetoric and erotics. The illustrations to the Sat-Sai of Bihari, so well-known and so central a part of the achievement of the Pahari artist in the latter part of the 18th century, not a part of Vaishnava themes. The verses of Bihari do take, even more than the Rasamanjari, Radha and Krishna as archetypes and celebrate most lovingly their sports and tender exchanges. But in its essence, the work of Bihari is not religious.

Of the Bihari Sat-Sai there were some early pictures in the Basohli style also so that we see the artist’s interest in poetics at an early date again. The Kangra set of the Bihari Sat-Sai is too well-known. It belongs to the late 18th century or the first decade of the 19th. Now most of the paintings are in the personal collection of the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal. Some paintings (See fig. 54) and a few drawings of the same set are in several collections in a rather dispersed form.


2. See, e.g. the painting rep. in The Art of India and Pakistan, 506, pl.100. An early painting, in a style very akin to the Rasamanjari paintings, is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (No.9853) and is an illustration, in all likelihood, of a verse of the poet Moti Ram.

3. Some splendid examples have been reproduced in Randhawa, Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat-Sai.
The *Rasamanjari* of Keshava Das, so rich a storehouse of the *Nayaka* and *Navika* themes, gave to the Pahari artist the opportunity once again to explore the universe of love pictorially. A large number of illustrations are available. The *Kavyaprīya* which treats in much detail of the *Baramasa* theme was another favourite of the Pahari artist. But in all these the figures of Radha and Krishna that appear are incidental. The concern is with poetic imagery and lyric expression, not with religion at all. In the *Ragamala* pictures again the figures that appear are not central to the themes. The artist is concerned with the illustration of musical modes, and if Krishna appears dancing to the beat of the music played by *gopis* in the *Vasanta ragini*, it is not give the theme any religious significance at all.

Feeling is by no means monopolised by paintings which belong to given sets of text illustration. Separate leaves, some clearly hieratic in intention, possess sometimes great depth of feeling (see fig. 55). A painting of haunting beauty that is often reproduced is the British Museum picture of Krishna receiving the

1. The innumerable pictures of the *Nayak-Nayika bhedā* theme are heavily dependant upon the text of the *Rasikapriya*. An extensive set, from the 19th century, of illustrations is in the collection of the Kapurthala royal family.

2. Many *Baramasa* pictures have been reproduced, among those some in Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting*. A complete set of extremely fine paintings of this series in sanguine is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Nos. 10288-10299.


homage of 

depis. Intense, passionate, reflecting the beauty of the legend and entirely aware that the reality to which it refers is of the mind, it is a superb example of religious art. The praise which Dr. Coomaraswamy lavished upon the "Hour of Cowdust" was again justified. In it he saw the transformation of an ordinary scene of daily life in a village into a moving religious experience in the hands of the artist.

Of considerable interest are two drawings which illustrate an episode from the Vaishnava classic, the Bhaktamala (see fig. 56). It is not usual to find this theme which becomes more or less a Pauranik legend here, but the knowledge of the Bhaktamala in the hills certainly has some bearing on our discussion. From the Rama story, again, we have pictures showing the return of Rama to Ayodhya, or Rama and Sita seated on the throne with Hanuman washing their feet, that are full of the sentiment of bhakti. The artist was not always in these producing illustrations to a text, but only religious pictures for special purposes.

There are many Vaishnava paintings which do not lean on the Krishna or the Rama stories. And these possess a certain hieratic or iconic significance. Paintings

1. See, the painting, Rep. in Khandalavala, P.M.P., Pl. V.
which show Vishnu and Lakshmi are frequently come upon, and in these the two figures do not appear surrounded by any legend, nor participating in any incident, but essentially as the Lord and his consort to be worshipped. The paintings of Vishnu and Lakshmi, for instance, which are in the Chamba Museum; these which are in the Chandigarh Museum showing Vishnu, lying on the Sesha serpent, belong to this category. Of even greater interest, from the point of view of their significance as icons, are some paintings which are purely sectarian, so to speak, in character.

Among these are paintings of the Vishnu pada, the feet of Lord Vishnu (see fig. 57). The soles of the feet which are sometimes placed on a lotus throne have a very large number of Lakshanas or signs of divinity; among these Lakshanas, clearly painted, thus, we find an elephant goad, a bow, a lotus, a mace, a flute, a swastika sign, a khadaga, a tree, a flag, a ghhatra, a leaf, a shankha, a pitcher, a fish, some straight rekhas which run from the big toe to the middle of the sole and so on. The significance of the Vishnu-pada pictures is not to be missed. Used apparently as icons by the devotees, they are, in a sense, more directly connected with the faith of the worshipper or the patron,

2. Chandigarh Museum, Nos. E-36, 486, 897, 954, 980, 2141 etc.
3. See, Chandigarh Museum, Nos. 1318, 1324.
than many pictures which belong to illustrations of
texts.

B. FRESCOES

More than from the royal collections of miniature
paintings from the various states, direct evidence
of Vaishnava themes should come from frescoes in
the temples that we are familiar with in the hills.
This, because the frescoes are in situ and there cannot
be any doubt about their not having originally formed
a part of the collection in which they were found.
However, miscellaneous they may be in theme or content,
the frescoes which occur in a temple like the
Brijrajswami at Nurpur or the Rama-Gopala temple at
Damtal, are necessarily bound to have been executed by
the artist with the full knowledge that they were being
painted on the walls of a specific shrine devoted to
a specific deity. In the case of the Vaishnava
establishments of Pindori and Damtal, both of which
have frescoes on their walls, the frescoes are of
even greater significance from the point of view of
theme, because the commissioning of the artist here
must have been done by the Mahants themselves who were
in no doubt at all about their personal faith and who
would have impressed, one imagines, upon the artist
the necessity of selecting his themes carefully. We
are familiar with several temples in the hills which have these frescoes, and the 'Pahari Murals' number of
the Mara drew attention to many of these. Frescoes are to be found, thus, in the Brijrajswami temple at Nurpur, the Narbadeshwar temple at Sujanpur, the Gauri Shankar temple at Tira, the Narbadeshwar temple at Nadaun, the shrine at Dharamsala near Chintpurni. Frescoes at Dada Siba in the Mandi palace, and at Arki have also survived. There are some in Kulu, among them the Devi murals to which Mr. Jagdish Mittal 2 has drawn detailed attention, and others in the small shrine which the present writer had the occasion to see, and which is attached to the building in which the Devi Mural originally was. These are, incidentally, in a far superior hand than the Devi Mural and are most certainly related to the Bhagavata pictures which have come out of Kulu. Only they are much better than some of the Bhagavata pictures and possess a grace and a dignity of bearing which the illustrations by Bhagwan sometimes lack. The frescoes in the Akhand Chandi palace and in the Rangmahal at Chamba are known, and some of them have actually been physically transferred to the National Museum.

1. XVII, No. 3, June 1964.
2. Jagdish Mittal, "The Devi Mural at Kulu", Roopalekha, XXXII, No. 2.
3. This temple is normally inaccessible and is the personal chapel of the Raja. The murals on the walls are now extremely faded.
4. The quality of these frescoes is indifferent and the hand quite late, but the transfer of whole panels to Delhi has made it very convenient to study these in detail.
But the frescoes which would yield us the most accurate information about the themes chosen by Vaishnava devotees would come from Damtal and Pindori. The frescoes in the Ram Gopala temple at Damtal may go back to the time of Mahant Gopal Das. We have an account of the middle of the 19th century which mentions a party of Englishmen passing through Damtal, and Ganesh Lal, who accompanied the party, mentions the fact prominently that the group visited the temple and found that it/recently been decorated with frescoes by the artist Bishandas of Nurpur. The Pindori frescoes are in the main shrine, the Raghunath temple, which may belong to the period between 1807 and 1843. The work is in an indifferent state of preservation at the present moment, but seems to have been reasonably good in quality, even though rather late (see figs. 58, 59, 60). The themes treated of in the Raghunath temple at Pindori are of special importance because Pindori is the largest Vaishnava establishment, that is relevant for a study of the sect in these parts, and also because these frescoes are, at present, virtually unknown.

2. The construction of the temple is attributed to Mahant Narottam Das whose period on the gaddi was from A.D. 1807-1843. The frescoes are likely to have been painted nearer the latter date.
The Raghunath temple frescoes are not very large in size. Some of the panels are, in fact, rather small, ten inches by twelve inches or so in size, thus reminding us strongly of miniatures. Others are slightly larger, but none of them bigger than 15 inches by 20 inches. Most of the frescoes are set inside panels at a height of 6 to 8 feet from the ground. Many of them are painted inside arches, scalloped, cusped or plain, their pandrams being decorated with floral work. The whole circumambulatory path or the pradakshina patha of the Raghunath temple is full of frescoes and one takes the themes in as one goes around. Most of the panels treat of the Krishna theme. There are thus panels which illustrate the birth of Krishna, Vasudeva taking Krishna across the river, his exchanging the babies at Nandga's palace, the little girl who has been exchanged for Krishna being taken to Kansa, the death of Yogmaya, the killing of Putana, Krishna killing demons like Dhenukasura, Krishna stealing butter, or releasing Nala and Kāvara from their curse. There are other panels which tell of the loves of Krishna and Radha. In these Krishna appears with the gopīs playing with cowherds, clinging to Radha under an umbrella, lifting the Mt. Govardhana, killing
Kansa, disappearing with the clothes of the \textit{gopila} in the \textit{Chiva Haraka Lila}, intercepting the wives of the Mathura Brahmins. All these are scenes with which one is wholly familiar from other sets or single pictures. But of interest also in the present study is the fact that these are not the only scenes which the artist treats of inside the precincts of the Raghunath temple, which, we might remind ourselves, is dedicated to \textit{Rama}. There are other scenes which include \textit{portraits} of the mahants, the inclusion of which in the context of the Pindori shrine is understandable. But there are other panels which treat of themes like Shiva and Paravati. In one of the panels, we see Durga on a tiger killing the demon Mahisasura. The \textit{Todi Ragini} is depicted, and so are some genre scenes like a Raja pulling a Rani towards himself. A Rani seated on a terrace listens to music being made for her. The Rani smokes a hookah while in this painting with a banana sheaf hanging down to which the Rani suggestively points.

This is not all. In the \textit{gaddi ghar} which is attached to the Raghunath temple at Pindori, some more frescoes of a slightly later date are seen. In these there occur entirely unrelated themes. The artist treats here
of the ten *avatara*, and paints Rama fighting Ravana or Rama and Sita on the throne. But there are also scenes like two men playing *gatka*, or two men with falcons in their hands, or pictures of wrestlers and girls on horseback, or shikar scenes showing a Rani hundng on horseback, and so on. In the *samadhi* of Baba Mahesh Das, which is very close to the main Pindori establishment, and is now a part of it, there are still more frescoes of a later date, but among these, oddly enough, are themes like Lila and Majnu which also form a part of the 'decoration' of the building. Quite clearly there is no attempt on the part of the artist here to paint pictures only of Vaishnava themes. When he is painting, the function that he is performing in his own mind, is the embellishment of the temple. This he does with the aid of the whole repertoire of pictures which he has inherited or possesses. It just happens that most of the scenes are Vaishnava. But he is not selecting or consciously picking out themes which are relevant to the shrine. All that he is doing is that he is putting most of what he knows on the walls, depending of course on the space available. The situation in Damtal is not very different. There again, in the Ram Gopal Temple, there is a preponderance of Vaishnava themes,
as would be expected, but there are other themes which are treated of. Paris or fairies and apsaras fly in the air; or Ragas and Raguins are portrayed; a Raja goes on horseback to visit a shrine, then sits inside a pavillion, watching a cloud and so on. In a later hand we even get an Englishman and his "mem" going riding in a phaeton! The themes are thus wholly mixed and here, as elsewhere, the predominance of Vaishnava themes is not so much because the artist in this case chosen to bring them in, but more because they anyhow belong to his stock-in-trade.